

AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

VOLUME 6

2002



Studies and Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology and Civilization
ser. II volume 7

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
WARSAW

Mycenaeans at Mochlos ?

Exploring Culture and Identity in the Late Minoan IB to IIIA1 Transition

T.M. BROGAN, R.A.K. SMITH, AND J.S. SOLES

I. Introduction

Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion in Knossos have outlined the transformation that Cretan material culture undergoes in the LM I, LM II and IIIA1 periods, as far as it concerns north central Crete.¹ There is a broad consensus among scholars that the palatial civilization of LM IB Knossos continued in LM II and LM IIIA1, if in an altered form that included the adoption of new ceramic shapes such as goblets, new types of graves and grave goods, and eventually at least Linear B Greek for written documents.² Opinions differ, however, over the cause of the LM IB destructions (natural disaster, internal civil war, or external invasion) and the identity of the following LM II administration at Knossos.³ For the latter a large group of scholars interpret these changes as an indication of discontinuity when a new group from Mainland Greece took over

the region in LM II.⁴ Another group sees evidence for continuity whereby a local Knossian elite emerged from the destructions of LM IB to form a new administration in LM II/IIIA1, which would only be replaced by a Mycenaean administration in LM IIIA2/IIIB.⁵ A recent interpretation, dubbed the “Theseus Model” by its author, combines both positions, suggesting that a mainland prince, perhaps through marriage, gained control of Knossos (in late LM IB or LM II) and re-fashioned an essentially Minoan group into a Greek-speaking elite who took over the island.⁶

¹ M.R. POPHAM et al., *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos* (Athens 1984).

² For a summary of these changes, see J. DRIESSEN, *An Early Destruction in the Mycenaean Palace at Knossos* (Louvain 1990), 117–130; P. REHAK and J.G. YOUNGER, *Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete*, *AJA* 102 (1998), 149–166; J. DRIESSEN, *Kretes and Iawones*, in J. BENNET and J. DRIESSEN (eds), *A-NA-QO-TA: Studies Presented to J.T. Killen* (Minos 33–34, 1998–99), 102–105.

³ For the cause of the LM IB destructions, compare J. DRIESSEN and C. MACDONALD, *The Troubled Island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini Eruption* (Liège 1997), 105–118 (civil war); REHAK and YOUNGER (n. 2), 148–149 (Mycenaean involvement); P. WARREN, *Review of The Troubled Island*, by J. Driesen and C.F. MacDonald, *AJA* 105 (2001), 117–118 (earthquake).

⁴ M.S.F. HOOD, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (Harmondsworth 1978), 24; POPHAM et al. (n. 1), 263–264; REHAK and YOUNGER (n. 2), 148–166. For a list of authors supporting this view, see W.-D. NIEMEIER, *Die Palaststilkeramik von Knossos. Stil, Chronologie und historischer Context* (Berlin 1985), 2, n. 20, and M.R. POPHAM, *Late Minoan II to the End of the Bronze Age*, in D. EVELY, H. HUGHES-BROCK and N. MOMIGLIANO (eds), *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History. Papers presented in honor of Sinclair Hood* (Athens 1994), 89–102.

⁵ E. HALLAGER, *The Mycenaean Palace at Knossos* (Stockholm 1977); W.-D. NIEMEIER, *The Character of the Knossian Palace Society in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century B.C.: Mycenaean or Minoan ?*, in O. KRZYSZKOWSKA and L. NIXON (eds), *Minoan Society: Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981* (Bristol 1984), 217–227; NIEMEIER (n. 4), 217–231; see also E. CLINE, *A Wrinkle in Time: Orientalia and the Mycenaean Occupation(s) of Crete*, in J. PHILLIPS (ed.), *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhodes Bell* (1997), 163–167, with a useful review of the bibliography.

⁶ DRIESSEN 1998 (n. 2), 83–105.

At first, the absence of recognized LM II pottery outside north central Crete caused scholars addressing this problem to focus attention on the material from Knossos; however, excavations at Kommos, Malia and Chania have produced sufficient LM IB–LM II–LM IIIA1 sequences to broaden the discussion to all of central Crete and parts of western Crete.⁷ All attempts to isolate this sequence in eastern Crete have, however, been frustrated by an apparent gap in the sequence between the IB destructions and IIIA1 reoccupation, leading some to posit an abandoned landscape.⁸ Such a break in the material record also appears to be reinforced by a similar absence of east Cretan toponyms in Knossian Linear B documents, references thought to reflect parts of Crete under Knossian control later in the LM IIIA period.⁹ Is this gap in the material record of east Crete a real period of abandonment in LM II or is it an accident of recognition?

To explore the problem scholars need a larger set of data from more east Cretan sites. One promising body

⁷ For LM II Knossos and earlier controversy of LM II as a chronologically distinct style of pottery, see A. FURUMARK, *The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550–1400 B.C.*, *OpArch* 6 (1950), 254–27; M.R. POPHAM, *Late Minoan Pottery. A Summary*, *BSA* 62 (1967), 337–345; IDEM, *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos. Pottery of the Late Minoan IIIA Period* (Göteborg 1970), 84–88; IDEM et al. (n. 1), 158–181; P.P. BETANCOURT, *The History of Minoan Pottery* (Princeton 1985), 149–158; POPHAM (n. 4), 89–102. For Kommos, see L.V. WATROUS, *Kommos III: The Late Bronze Age Pottery* (Princeton 1992), 119–125; for Malia, see A. FARNOUX, *Malia au Minoen Récent II–IIIA*, in J. DRIESSEN and A. FARNOUX (eds), *La Crète Mycénienne* (BCH Suppl. 30, Paris 1997), 135–147; and for Chania, see B.P. HALLAGER, *LM II and Khania*, in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Cretological Congress A2* (Chania 1990), 77–83.

⁸ The one exception in east Crete is the site of Palaikastro, where recent excavations have recovered a few LM II sherds imported from Knossos. For preliminary reports of this material, designated as Period XIII at the site, see J.A. MACGILLIVRAY, *The re-occupation of eastern Crete in the Late Minoan II–IIIA1/2 periods*, in DRIESSEN and FARNOUX (eds), *La Crète Mycénienne* (BCH Supplement 30, Athens 1997a) 275–279; J.A. MACGILLIVRAY, *Late Minoan II and III pottery and chronology at Palaikastro: an introduction*, in E. HALLAGER and B.P. HALLAGER (eds), *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, Athens 1997b), 193–207. We would like to thank the directors, S. MacGillivray and H. Sackett, of the Palaikastro Excavations for discussing their evidence for sub-phases in the LM IB–LM IIIA1 periods at Palaikastro during the summer of 2002. We look forward to the publication of this important data, which will provide a major contribution to understanding the issues raised in this paper.

⁹ J. BENNET, *The Wild Country East of Dikte: the Problem of East Crete in the LM III Period*, in J.T. KILLEN, J.L. MELENA, and J.-P. OLIVIER (eds), *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to John Chadwick* (Minos 20–22, 1987), 77–88; IDEM, *Knossos in Context*, *AJA* 94 (1990), 208–211.

of evidence has been recovered in recent Greek-American excavations at Mochlos.¹⁰ The finds include a large Minoan community, including a town with a local ceremonial center, an artisans' quarters and rural farmsteads, all of which were destroyed at the end of LM IB. A small but significant community subsequently reoccupied the island and buried their members in a chamber tomb cemetery opposite the island in LM III. The analysis of the remains of both the LM IB community and the subsequent reoccupation has revealed important new evidence for defining sub-phases of this LM IB–LM IIIA1 transition.

Although the study of the material from Mochlos is ongoing, this paper outlines some preliminary interpretations, which are relevant to the discussion of Mycenaean in Crete and which should stimulate closer examination of the problem at other sites currently being excavated in east Crete. Background is provided by a contextual analysis of the LM IB–IIIA1 phases emphasizing aspects of site formation, particularly the process of abandonment. More detailed consideration of the pottery follows with two objectives. First, the most characteristic and chronologically distinct shapes of these periods are examined as evidence for the chronology of the architectural phases and the apparent break in habitation at Mochlos in LM II. Many of these same ceramic shapes, particularly those related to drinking activities, are then reexamined as evidence for the formation of cultural identity at Mochlos. Finally, changes in burial customs, religious practices, and social stratification are considered. Continuities and discontinuities in the material record provide a venue for examining the question of Mycenaean presence at Mochlos and offer a new basis for integrating east Crete into the broader discussions of the LM IB–IIIA1 transition across the island.

II. Site Formation Processes: A Contextual Overview of Late Minoan Mochlos

The careful reading of the processes through which the Mochlos settlement expands, shrinks or is abandoned is stressed throughout the discussion. Proponents

¹⁰ J.S. SOLES and C. DAVARAS, *Excavations at Mochlos*, 1989, *Hesperia* 61 (1992), 413–445; IDEM, *Excavations at Mochlos*, 1990–1991, *Hesperia* 63 (1994), 391–336; IDEM, *Excavations at Mochlos*, 1992–1993, *Hesperia* 65 (1996), 175–230.

of household archaeology have emphasized the importance of these parameters for qualifying the analysis of finds from ancient houses and subsequent interpretations of household activities.¹¹ In particular, our contextual analysis is influenced by the critical approach to house floor assemblages outlined by LaMotta and Schiffer.

The authors define three phases in the formation of household assemblages: habitation, abandonment and post-abandonment and the way each can be modified by certain processes of accretion and depletion.¹² In assessing habitation, the authors draw attention to primary, secondary and provisional depositions. Primary deposition includes the placement of artifacts through discard or accidental loss. While primary depositions are potentially the most important type of assemblage “for reconstructing social, economic, and demographic characteristics of households...,” they should not be interpreted simply as the gradual and complete buildup of residues of household behavior over time.¹³ Houses were often cleaned of refuse and broken artifacts, resulting in secondary deposition of this debris outside the house. A third process of habitation is identified as provisional discard which includes broken or old items kept with the expectation of later use or repair or as heirlooms.

The abandonment phase of the houses offers again two competing actions that modify household context: *de facto* refuse deposition resulting in the things left in the abandoned house and curate behavior which selects objects to be taken to the new household. A common approach to this data is provided by the least-effort model of abandonment behavior. This theory assumes that “when abandoning a settlement or structure, the inhabitants will transport as much of their household assemblage as is economical, given the conditioning factors of (1) replaceability, (2) transport costs, and (3) conditions of abandonment.”¹⁴ In determining the reason for the abandonment of a site, archaeologists can use this model to infer site conditions.

¹¹ P. ALLISON, Introduction, in P. Allison (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London 1999), 1–18; V.M. LAMOTTA and M.B. SHIFFER, Formation Processes of House Floor Assemblages, in P. ALLISON (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (London 1999), 19–29; IIDEM, Behavioral Archaeology: Toward a New Synthesis, in I. HODDER (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cornwall 2001), 40–47.

¹² LAMOTTA and SHIFFER (n. 11, 1999), 20–25.

¹³ Ibidem, 21.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 22.

Houses found to contain a variety of artifacts, especially portable objects with high replacement values, are characterized as having undergone sudden and unplanned abandonment, while those containing only large, broken, or low value objects may have experienced gradual and planned abandonment.¹⁵

The final formation process encompasses the life of the house after its abandonment up until the moment of excavation. These activities include the gradual removal of objects during a planned abandonment, the salvage of objects and building materials by later inhabitants, and the use of ruined houses as rubbish dumps.

Our study attempts to distinguish these phases in the houses of the LM IB – LM IIIA1 levels at Mochlos. The focus of this contextual analysis is a diachronic review of broad changes to the settlement of Mochlos between the LM IB and LM IIIA1 periods rather than a detailed description of buildings from each phase. We are seeking to recover patterns of behavior rather than demonstrate detailed interpretations of any particular context. In practice we have found that consideration of the habitation phase is crucial for understanding the earlier levels of houses used continuously over several periods. Careful analysis of the destruction levels and post abandonment processes indicate the value of combining this evidence in order to grasp not only the pace and form of the abandonment but also its temporal and spatial relationship to subsequent phases of habitation.

A. LM IB Settlement¹⁶

The review begins with the evidence for an early phase of LM IB, an important parameter in our hypothesis that the LM IB period can be broken down into subphases as is currently being suggested for the contemporary levels at Kommos and Palaikastro.¹⁷ The

¹⁵ We are aware of LaMotta and Schiffer’s discussion of the potential for ritual formation processes to influence the abandonment assemblage; however, none were detected in the Mochlos assemblages.

¹⁶ We should note here that the current excavations (1989–94) were directed primarily at the recovery of the LM IB destructions and later reoccupation. As a result, our sample and our understanding of the earlier LM I period is fragmentary. Future excavations are planned for these earlier levels, providing an opportunity to test some of the ideas mentioned in this paper.

¹⁷ For Kommos, see A. VAN DE MOORTELE, *The Transition from the Protopalatial to the Neopalatial Society in South-Central Crete: A Ceramic Perspective*, (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College 1997), 28–29. For Palaikastro, see MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 275–277.



Fig. 1. Plan of Late Minoan I town

early phase of LM IB has been detected in the Neopalatial town of Mochlos, which included a large number of multi-storied houses originally built in MM IIIB/LM IA (Fig. 1). This town spreads across what is today the island of Mochlos and is divided into blocks by paved streets running up the slope of the hill perpendicular to the coastline (these blocks were labeled A, B, C, and D by the first excavator of the site, Richard Seager).¹⁸ Additional streets, some paved, some of packed earth, join these arteries at various points up the slope (e.g., between houses C.3 and C.6).

Recent excavation of the town has revealed a series of architectural additions or changes to the town in association with the Thera volcanic eruption. Two houses in the town, C.1 and B.1, have a distinct layer of tephra recovered in the foundations of exterior walls, all near the town's coastline.¹⁹ This evidence bears witness to a construction horizon of repair and new building following the eruption. House C.1 is the most clearly understood.²⁰ The eastern half of the house sits on top of the tephra layer (the western half was excavated by Seager) and the house was essentially, perhaps entirely, a new construction that followed shortly after the volcanic eruption. It was located along the western side of a pre-existing plateia that stood at the northern end of the isthmus that led across to the Mochlos settlement from Crete itself. Its main entrance, framed by ashlar blocks cut from a nearby quarry, opened on to what remained of this plateia, and its eastern façade flanked a corridor that led up into the settlement that lay to the north. Our pottery studies, moreover, have shown evidence for use of LM IA pottery styles below the ash but none in the succeeding occupation levels.²¹ The evidence indicates that the construction should be equated roughly with the break between LM IA and LM IB material culture on Crete, and the associated construction forms a phase that we call early LM IB. Building B.2 was also constructed at this time. It was located near the center of the site, employed massive ashlar blocks in its east wing, and was designed with

certain palatial architectural features. Its upper columnar shrines, fixed kernoi, and large dining areas have allowed us to identify it as a ceremonial or religious center for the surrounding community.²²

Building was not restricted to the main settlement area on what is now the island of Mochlos; on the coast opposite the town, two new houses were erected in a more isolated spot, Buildings A and B of the Artisans' Quarters (Fig. 2).²³ Tephra deposits were found beneath both Building A, Room 10 and Building B, Room 7, where they had been sealed by construction at the site soon after the eruption, again early in LM IB.²⁴ Detailed study of the architecture and finds has demonstrated that these buildings underwent three architectural phases. In the original plan, called LM IB Phase 1, both buildings were originally smaller, one-story houses whose occupants were artisans producing pottery, stone vases and metal objects for the nearby townhouses and for a wider market around the Bay of Mirabello.

So far only the pottery from the Artisans' Quarters has been completely studied, and because the buildings were continuously inhabited through the IB period, the ceramic remains from Phase 1 are not easily distinguished from later phases.²⁵ In a few crucial areas we were able to make observations about what we would identify as early LM IB pottery. In particular, the large decorated vases still carry bands and motifs in dark slip with added red paint in addition to white, and the preferred drinking cups are small semi-globular cups, often decorated with running spirals or bands of dots, and bell cups. Preliminary pottery studies of the houses from Block C in the LM I town of Mochlos indicate that fragmentary examples of these smaller drinking cups are found in the fills of the floors; however, none of these houses at Mochlos has revealed a sealed

¹⁸ For the blocks, see SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), 425, fig. 6.

¹⁹ J.S. SOLES, S.R. TAYLOR, and C.J. VITALIANO, Tephra Samples from Mochlos and their Chronological Implications for Neopalatial Crete, *Archaeometry* 37 (1995), 385–393. Of the three deposits on the island, deposits A and B are associated with house C.1 while deposit C was recovered at the southeast corner of house B.1.

²⁰ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), 430, fig. 8, 434–439, pls. 98–100.

²¹ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), 436–438, pl. 100 c–d.

²² SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), 184–189.

²³ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1994), 412–426; *IIDEM* (n. 10, 1996), 202–207, fig. 15; J.S. SOLES, A Community of Craft-specialists at Mochlos, in R. LAFFINEUR and P. BETANCOURT (eds), *TEXNE: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 16, Philadelphia 1997), 425–431; J.S. SOLES, Mochlos IA. Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinoumouri. *The Sites*, (Philadelphia 2003); K.A. BARNARD and T.M. BROGAN, Mochlos IB. Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans' Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinoumouri. *The Neopalatial Pottery*, (Philadelphia 2003).

²⁴ SOLES, TAYLOR and VITALIANO (n. 19), 385–393.

²⁵ BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23).

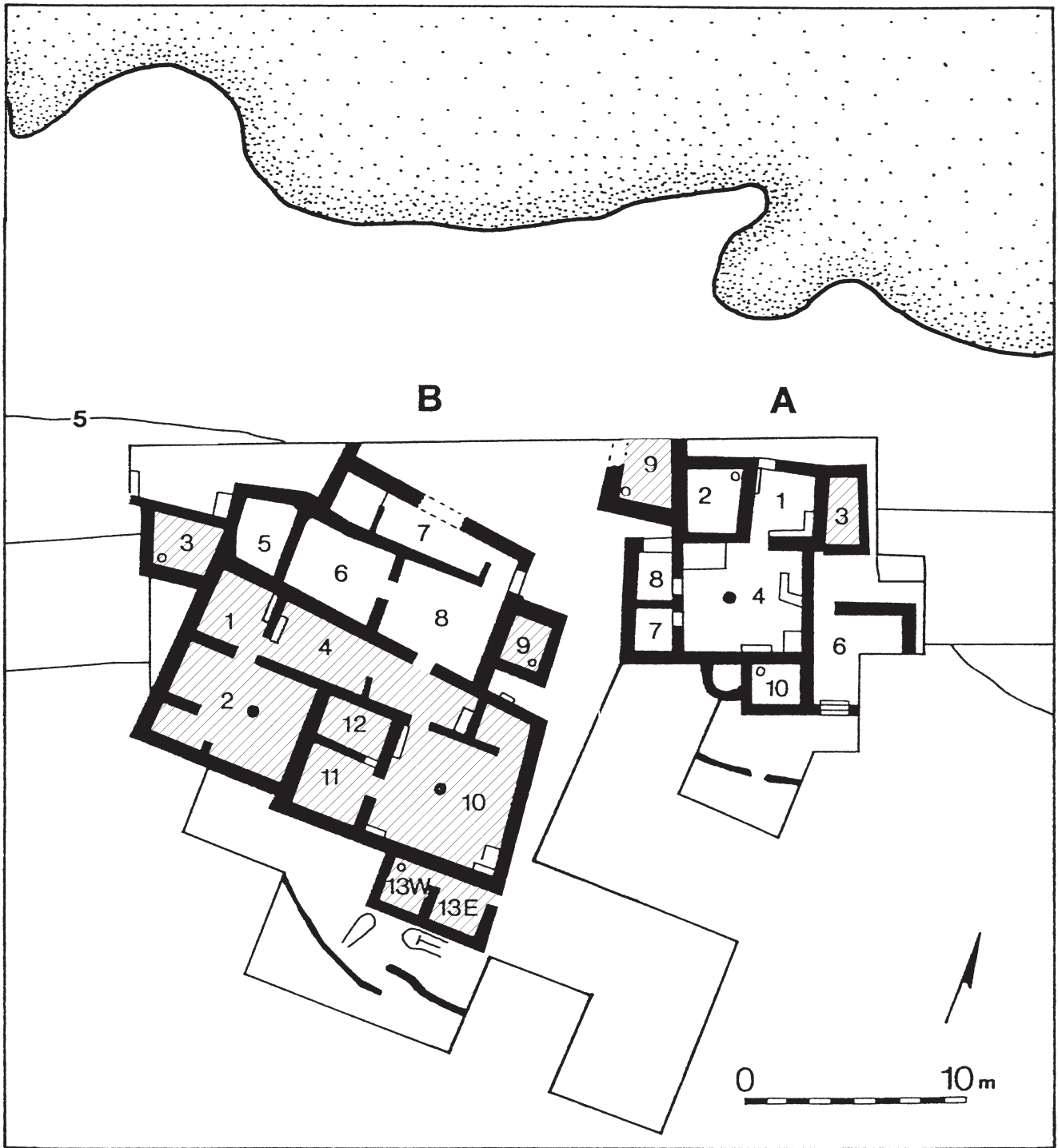


Fig. 2. Plan of Artisans' Quarters Buildings A and B

destruction deposit preserving rich assemblages of this material.²⁶

B. Final Late Minoan IB (or LM IB/LM II) Settlement

During the LM IB period the occupants of the ceremonial center and town houses, and the Artisans' Quarters made changes to the designs of the houses and system of streets. In general these changes represent additions to houses, which restricted traffic in the town by blocking some of the secondary streets and paths, and they often include the addition of small, one or two room units of one story.²⁷ No clear event has been identified as the cause of these changes, and it is not our opinion that one such event should be sought as an explanation. These changes, instead, may represent the growth of the town during the LM IB period until all areas were abandoned in a single destruction event. The ceramic assemblage recovered in this destruction level suggests that much of the material culture in addition to the architecture was modified during the period.

On the island the architectural changes are most clearly seen in the streets between Houses C.3 and C.2 and between C.3 and C.7 (Fig. 1). The occupants of House C.3 made two substantial changes to the arrangement of the street running south of the house. At one point they added a single room with a sandstone mortar, which narrowed the street near the middle. At a later point in the period, the occupants of C.3 built a low wall at the west end and a two-room addition to

the east, changes that completely blocked the street at both ends. In effect, this expansion created a private terrace accessible only from the basement rooms of C.3, while adding a new two-room suite at the south-east corner of the house, probably entered via a wooden staircase from the upper story of house C.3. Similar construction is seen at the southwest corner of house C.7 where the addition of a one story room completely blocked the street, which originally separated houses C.3 and C.7.

This pattern of additions is seen even more clearly in the Artisans' Quarters (Fig. 2).²⁸ The original core of Building B actually undergoes two changes. The first, called Phase 2 by the excavators, involves the major addition of Rooms 1, 2, 4, 10, 11, and 12, to double the size of the building. In a next phase of construction, a series of small rooms, B.3, B.9, B.13 and A.9, are added. These rooms clearly served a similar function as all are fitted with stone mortars, which closely resemble the later additions to houses C.3 and C.7 described above. The sequence of construction of individual rooms can not be specified, but most if not all were added in a final phase of the LM IB period.

At the time of its destruction the town included a ceremonial center in Building B.2, surrounded by blocks of spacious, multi-storied houses, at least two independent artisans' quarters that operated on the coast opposite, and a series of remote farmsteads, like that excavated at Chalinomouri, that dotted the nearby coastal plain. All were found with a homogeneous ceramic assemblage (see Fig. 5).²⁹ When these levels escaped later activity, they show a remarkable degree of preservation with whole rooms in the Artisans' Quarters or the basement rooms of houses on the island left full of intact vessels and several metal collections.³⁰

Several additional points about this destruction can be mentioned, all of which point to its violence as well as the suddenness of the abandonment. First, there is evidence suggesting that many houses in the town were burned. Seager's excavation shows clear evidence for

²⁶ An illustration of earlier LM IB material comes from the preliminary report of LM I sherds from a basement room at the southeast corner of in House C.2 (SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), pl. 96b). The room had two basement floor levels and these sherds come from the lower level. One cup fragment in the lower row is decorated with a running spiral. What is not clear from the picture is the color of slip, bright red and the surface treatment, which is highly burnished. Another example comes from a cup found in the drain of House B.2 (SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), pl. 51d.) The publication of House BS/BV at Pseira provides a much larger selection of such vessels; see C. FLOYD, in P.P. BETANCOURT and C. DAVARAS (eds), *Pseira III. The Plateia Building*, (Philadelphia 1998), 188–191, fig. 5: BS/BV 77 (cup with running spirals), fig. 6: BS/BV 103 (cup with dot band), fig. 15: BS/BV 230–233 (bands of added red), and fig. 16: BS/BV 235 (bands of added red).

²⁷ For a more detailed presentation of the construction during the LM IB period, see J.S. SOLES, *Late Minoan IB additions at Mochlos*, in L.P. DAY, M.S. MOOK, and J.D. MUHLY (eds), *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the 'Crete 2000' Centenary Celebration of American Archaeological Work on Crete (1900–2000)* (Philadelphia, forthcoming).

²⁸ SOLES (n. 23, 2003); BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23).

²⁹ For preliminary illustration of the pottery found in the destruction levels of the town of Mochlos, see SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), 437, fig. 13, pl. 99 a–b (House C.1); IIDEM (n. 10, 1996), 193, fig. 10 (House B.2, west wing) and pl. 52c (House B.2, west pillar crypt).

³⁰ Compare the basement assemblages found in house C.3 and C.7, SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1994), 402, fig. 6, pl. 93 (C.3); IIDEM (n. 10, 1996), 200, fig. 13, pl. 58a (C.7).

this in Houses B.1 and D.1 (Fig. 1), and the recent excavations have found evidence for partial burning in the Artisans' Quarters.³¹ The fact that not all the houses burned as badly as D.1 may have something to do with the amount of perishables in that particular context. That not all the occupants were able to escape this destruction was reported first by Seager in 1908 on the basis of human remains found in many of the houses.³² Recent excavations have recovered at least one more case.³³

While one cannot be certain of the cause of this event, there is additional testimony to the speed with which people abandoned the site. Several rich deposits of metal artifacts and raw material were recovered in the houses of the town and Artisans' Quarters. That survivors failed to return to recover this material suggests two things about the abandonment: it was too sudden for them to take the metal with them, and it was permanent since they never returned to collect the metal. Most of the recovered metal is from basement contexts (primarily because they are the ones that have survived) but it is hard to believe that the site was destroyed so badly that it prevented occupants from returning to recoup their possessions.³⁴ According to the least-effort model of abandonment behavior, the evidence appears to point to a sudden and devastating destruction for the local inhabitants.

C. *The LM II Gap*

There is strong circumstantial evidence for a break in habitation at Mochlos between the final LM IB (or LM IB/LM II) destruction and the Reoccupation Period in LM II/IIIA1. This evidence primarily concerns our understanding of the way the town was abandoned during the final LM IB destruction and the way the site was subsequently reoccupied. The discontinuity is also reflected in the establishment of a new cemetery at

Limnaria, and by the ceramic assemblages of the two periods.

It is difficult to believe that the entire population of Mochlos was killed in the LM IB destruction, even though both old and new excavations at Mochlos found evidence for human remains in the town houses. Where did the survivors go? New evidence from the excavations at Katalimata, Halasmenos provides one possible answer. Excavations at Katalimata have found evidence that remote, defensible sites were occupied at some period between the MM II and LM IIIB periods; unfortunately, the sample contains very few diagnostic pieces and initial studies were unable to provide a more precise date than somewhere between LM IB and LM IIIA1.³⁵

In search of additional comparanda for the material, K. Nowicki kindly showed us the Katalimata material.³⁶ One shape, a rounded or semiglobular cup with spout pulled from the rim (Fig. 3, no. 71) finds close parallels with the pottery of the final LM IB destruction levels of the Artisans' Quarters. At Mochlos three examples are slipped all over like no. 71 from Katalimata; two others are partially slipped as blob cups.³⁷ There are other shapes at Katalimata (Fig. 3, nos. 67 and 72), notably two large decorated closed vessels, possibly jugs, and a squat closed vessel (perhaps an alabastron) that find parallels in the final LM IB destruction pottery at Mochlos.³⁸ The stylized tendril motif on Katalimata no. 67 is often outlined by rows of dots on similar jugs found at Pseira and Mochlos.³⁹

We would like to suggest that the existing parallels support the hypothesis that inhabitants of coastal sites like Mochlos, Pseira and Gournia fled for a short period of time to more remote, defensible sites like Katalimata following the final LM IB destructions. Although the sample from Katalimata is admittedly small, the discovery of a copper ingot fragment at this site provides another link to the coastal destructions of final

³¹ R.B. SEAGER, *Excavations on the Island of Mochlos, Crete*, in 1908, *AJA* 13 (1909), 281 (Block B), 288 (Block C), 293–302 (Block D). For the Artisans' Quarters, see SOLES (n. 23, 2003).

³² SEAGER (n. 31), 301–302.

³³ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), 194.

³⁴ Collections of metals were found in three locations in house B.2, and in houses C.3, C.7 and Artisans' Quarters Building A. Individual metal objects are found in many more houses. For an overview, see T.M. BROGAN and T. CARTER, *Patrons and Clients, Entrepreneurs and Consumers: the Manufacture of Stone Vases and Bronze Utensils as Evidence for the Organization of Craftworking at Neopalatial Mochlos*, *AJA* 105 (2001), 257.

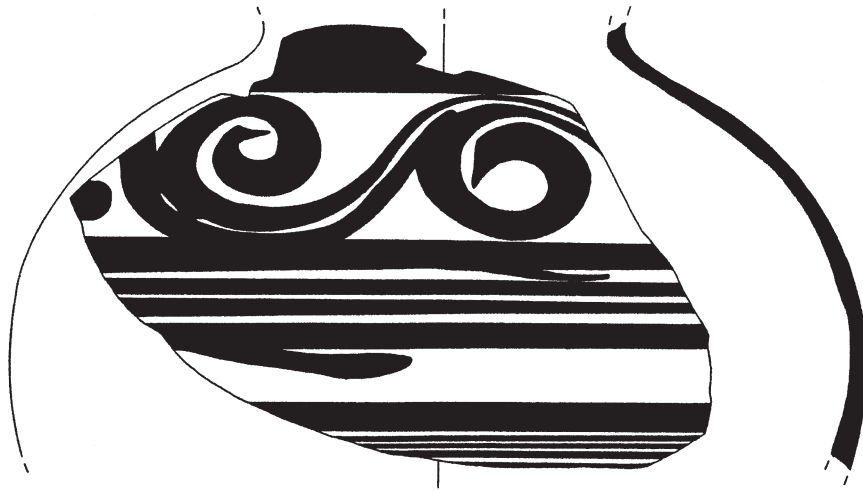
³⁵ William Coulson Memorial Lecture delivered by K. Nowicki at the Institute for Aegean Prehistory Study Center for East Crete in July, 2002.

³⁶ We would like to thank the director of the excavations at Halasmenos and Katalimata, Dr. M. Tsipopoulou, for kindly allowing us to include illustrations of this material in the paper.

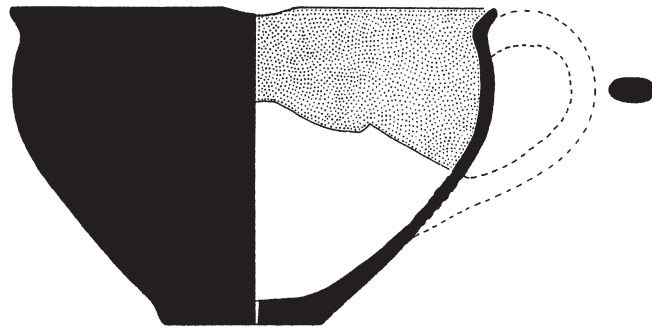
³⁷ BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23), nos. P 470, 1122, 2191, 2192 (solidly slipped) and no. P 1168 and 2779 (blob cups).

³⁸ For the jugs, see BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23), nos. P. 118 and P 1346. For the squat alabastron, see BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23), no. P. 650 (for shape) and P 2613 (for similar motif).

³⁹ FLOYD (n. 26), 67, ill. 16b (Pseira); BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23), no. P 2772 (Mochlos).



67



71



72



73

Fig. 3. Late Minoan Pottery from Katalimata: a. No. 67; b. No. 71; c. No. 72; d. No. 73

LM IB at sites like Mochlos where such fragments have been found in large numbers. Given the evidence for a sudden and violent destruction at coastal sites like Mochlos, the habitation of sites like Katalimata may provide yet another indication that the final LM IB coastal destructions were not the results of a natural disaster but rather of human causes.⁴⁰

D. The Reoccupation of Mochlos in LM II/IIIA1

Discussion of the reoccupation of the town of Mochlos (Fig. 4) begins with three observations. First, none of the multi-storied LM I houses was reoccupied; second, there are no robbing trenches to suggest that the later inhabitants were aware of the valuables of the earlier houses, particularly the metal collections, available for salvage; and third, the character of the new settlement differed markedly from that of the previous IB town. Consideration of the construction locations offers an interesting glimpse into the ruined site that awaited the reoccupants and their reoccupation strategy, which favored simple houses constructed with minimum effort. Six of the eleven houses which made up the new settlement, including most with evidence for the earliest pottery of the reoccupation, were built by blocking off sections of a Minoan street with two short walls (e.g., Fig. 4: House Iota). This pattern of reoccupation differs somewhat from that seen at sites like Knossos, Kommos, and Palaikastro, where inhabitants were able to reuse more existing LM I architecture (or at least the outlines of LM I building with new internal arrangements at Palaikastro).⁴¹ The greater discontinuity at Mochlos is an indication of the violent

destruction of the earlier town and the possibility that the site had been abandoned for a period of time, leaving the LM I houses beyond repair. While it is not possible to know exactly how long the break in occupation lasted, the ceramic remains provide a relative period within which this abandonment occurred.

Most of the houses in the reoccupation settlement confirm Hayden's useful typology of one, two, and three room LM III structures.⁴² Only House Alpha, which stands isolated in the eastern part of the settlement and is provided with its own paved approach from the coast, differs from these in size and construction (Fig. 4). The typical LM III household is many times smaller than the multistoried households of the previous IB period. The houses are scattered around the site with the exception of four, Houses Beta, ST, D, and H, that formed a cluster near the middle of the site (Fig. 4). The settlement was clearly less dense than the preceding LM I settlement, although it is not easy to estimate its real size. Most of the preserved LM III remains lie in areas that escaped later Hellenistic construction and Seager's excavations. One assumes, however, that some houses have been lost in this post-deposition activity. The surviving evidence suggests a considerable change in the nature of the population who lived here, however. In contrast to the earlier IB population, the LM III population was poorer and less egalitarian. It lacked a ceremonial center and appears to have been dominated by a single large household.

House Alpha (in both of its phases) is noticeably different from the rest of the houses, and its peculiarities indicate the important role or status of its occupants in the community. In the leveled remains of an LM I house (D.5), the builders of House Alpha raised a single story house with eight rooms arranged in two wings. These included a large room with columns in the south-east, where a double axe stand was located, cooking areas in the southwest, and storage and workrooms to the north. In an earlier paper Soles identified this as the house of a local religious figure buried in Tomb 15 of the LM III cemetery, and the size, scale, and richer furnishings all point to the high status which the occupant enjoyed.⁴³

⁴⁰ For a detailed examination of the evidence that human agency to explain these destructions, see DRIESSEN and MACDONALD (n. 3). The authors concluded that scenarios for internal civil war or invasion are equally plausible.

⁴¹ For Knossos, see POPHAM (n. 1), 264; for Kommos, see L.V. WATROUS, *The Relationship of Late Minoan II to Late Minoan IIIA1*, *AJA* 85 (1981), 75–77; J.W. SHAW and M.C. SHAW, 'Mycenaean' Kommos, in J. DRIESSEN and A. FARNOUX (eds), *La Crète Mycénienne* (BCH Supplement 30, Athens 1997), 423–431; for Palaikastro, see S.A. MACGILLIVRAY et al., *Excavations at Palaikastro, 1988*, *BSA* 84 (1989), 418, fig. 1, p. 431, fig. 10. The situation at Mochlos is perhaps more similar to the LM II/IIIA1 reoccupation of Kastelli, Chania where only a few LM IB rooms with solid exterior walls were reused Chania; see E. HALLAGER, *Architecture of the LM II/III Settlement in Khania*, in J. DRIESSEN and A. FARNOUX (eds), *La Crète Mycénienne* (BCH Supplement 30, Athens 1997), 175–185, esp. 177–178.

⁴² B. HAYDEN, *Crete in Transition: LM IIIA–IIIB Architecture. A Preliminary Study*, *SMEA* 26 (1987), 199–234.

⁴³ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), 218–222; J.S. SOLES, *The Collapse of Minoan Civilization: the Evidence of the Broken Ashlar*, in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *Polemos: le contexte guerrier en Cgée à l'Âge du Bronze* (Aegaeum 19, Liège 1999), 790–791.

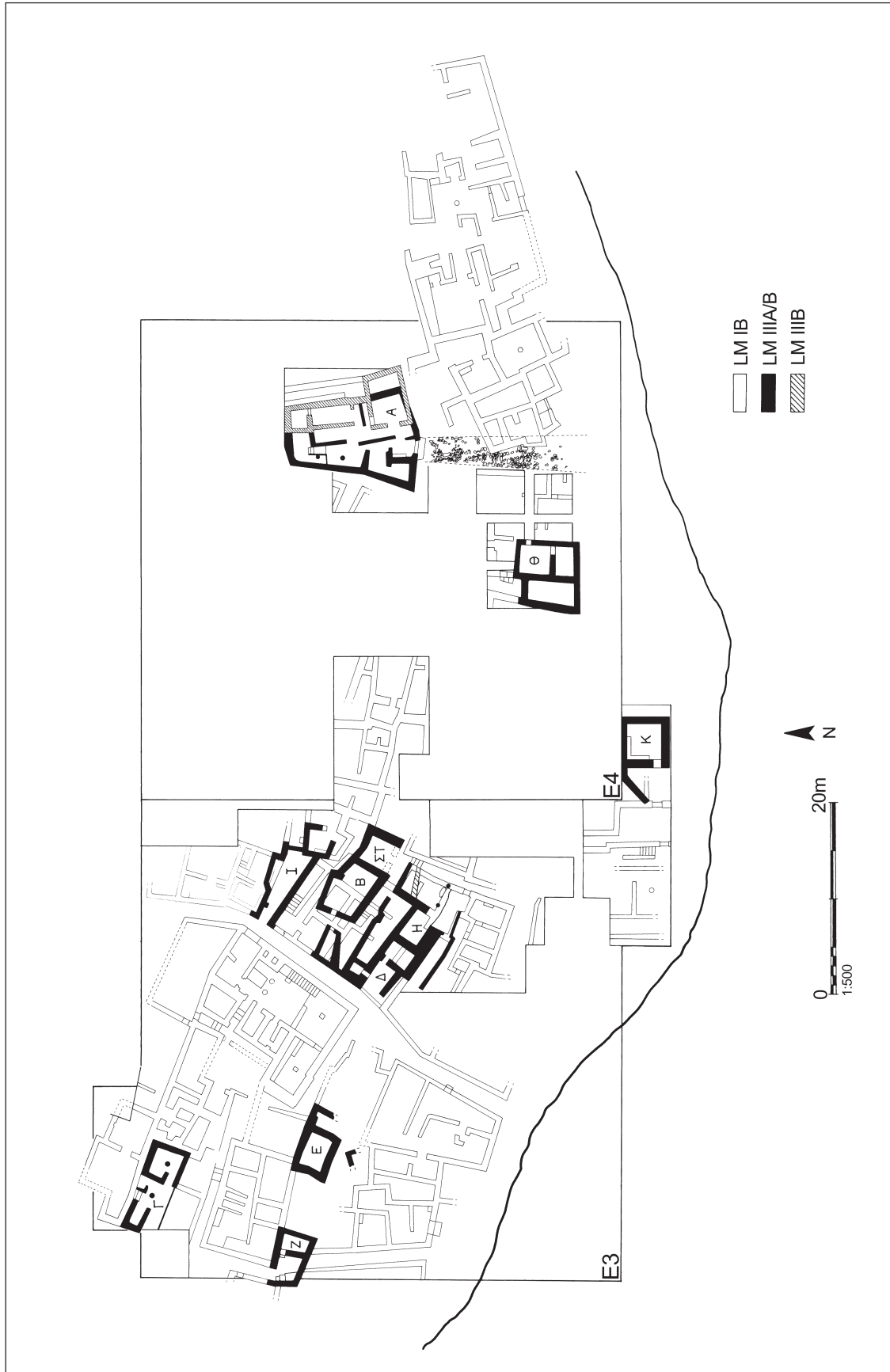


Fig. 4. Plan of Late Minoan III town

The cemetery of small chamber tombs and pit tombs that was established on the coast opposite the settlement at Limenaria offers another window into differences in the social status of the LM III households. Variabilities in grave goods, burial containers, and tomb architecture testify to a great disparity in the wealth of the burial population and suggest a feudal organization of the living population. There the five richest tombs contained males buried in chest larnakes, five more wealthy graves contained tub larnakes, while the larger number of burials in pithoi tend to be poorer.⁴⁴

While the total extent of the reoccupation may always elude us, we are beginning to grasp the pattern of settlement growth. There is a small but important body of evidence suggesting that a small number of families originally reoccupied the town. As these families expanded, the town grew in clusters of houses. Pottery from a mature phase of LM II (see Fig. 6) has been found in association with six of the houses (Alpha, Iota, Kappa, Epsilon, ST, Q), but is found in none of the tombs. While evidence for a stratigraphically distinct LM II phase is not good, there are contexts that suggest this possibility. A floor level below the LM IIIA1 floor of Room 1 in House Iota, for example, contained LM II material (Fig. 6, no. P 4460) in a fill above an LM I street. Fill below the LM III floor of Room 1 in House Kappa also dates to LM II (Fig. 6, no. P 5270). In Room 1 of House Alpha, an LM II deep cup (Fig. 6, no. P 3107) was found mixed in a deep fill beneath an LM III floor. Other evidence for LM II pottery exists only in chronologically later strata. It should be stressed, however, that none of the LM II material has been found in the collapse or on the floors of houses of the large Neopalatial town. It belongs to post destruction, reoccupation activity.

By LM IIIA1 the reoccupation of Mochlos was firmly established. Evidence of this phase (see Figs. 7–8) exists in all eleven houses and in thirteen of the thirty tombs that were excavated. From the eleven houses in the settlement, at least four contexts date securely to the LM IIIA1 phase. The East Yard of House ST has a floor level that dates to LM IIIA1. The floor of Room 1 of House Q contains good evidence for LM IIIA1, along with some stray sherds of LM II. Room 1 of House Iota contains good evidence for a LM IIIA1 phase stratified above the LM II phase mentioned above, and the bottommost floor of the House Kappa

Cook Shed also dates to LM IIIA1. Evidence of LM IIIA1 pottery from the remaining houses comes from later or mixed contexts.

From the thirty tombs in the cemetery, only one can be securely dated to the LM IIIA1 period (Tomb 30). On the other hand, as many as eight individual burials date to the LM IIIA1 or early IIIA2 periods. While other tombs contain pottery that is LM IIIA1 in style, the burials themselves either date to the LM IIIA2 period, or a specific date is indeterminable on account of the multiple interments in the tomb and a consequent mixing of the ceramic assemblages.

E. Summary of Site Formation Processes: LM IB – LM IIIA1

Our contextual analysis of the architecture and pottery from Mochlos has focused on three bodies of material between the LM IB and LM IIIA1 transition: the limited stratified sample of earlier LM IB, a rich body of final LM IB material from the extensive destruction levels of the LM IB town, and finally a smaller sample from the earliest levels of the reoccupation on the island in LM II/IIIA1 and burial in the nearby cemetery in LM IIIA1. For each phase the strengths and weaknesses of the samples were stressed, and an attempt was made to distinguish site formation processes. While the beginning of the first phase is marked broadly by an event (the Santorini volcanic eruption), the transition to final LM IB represents more gradual growth in architecture and ceramics during periods of stability. This continued habitation offers some explanation why the extant sample does not preserve large amounts of early LM IB material, which was probably removed, as LaMotta and Schiffer suggest, through cleaning and maintenance for secondary deposition. A similar situation can be argued to explain the limited size of the preserved LM II sample at Mochlos.⁴⁵

Of paramount importance for this paper is the evidence for the abandonment of the site after the final LM IB destructions. The contents of the houses, according to the least-effort model, suggest a single devastating event, which led to sudden and unplanned abandonment of the site. Further analysis of the process of site formation leading to the reoccupation offers interesting clues, which suggest a possible gap in the occupation on the island. This transition and the evidence for

⁴⁴ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), 210–222, esp. 212; SOLES (n. 43), 787–792.

⁴⁵ For a similar interpretation of LM II levels at Kommos, see SHAW and SHAW (n. 41), 426.

continuity and discontinuity in material culture in the subsequent reoccupation are the focus of two following sections on chronology and identity.

III. Subphases of the Final LM IB to LM IIIA1 Periods: the Ceramic Evidence

The new evidence from Mochlos provides a significant sample for exploring the theory of sub-phases between LMIB and LM IIIA1. The preceding contextual analysis emphasized the strengths and weaknesses of the sample, which is by no means even. We begin by considering the date for the period of abandonment at Mochlos, and in particular the relationship of our ceramic evidence to either a final phase of LM IB or an early phase of LM II. This is followed by an examination of our evidence for a mature LM II phase at the site, and finally by an account of the LM IIIA1 evidence.

A. Final LM IB (or LM IB/LM II)

Our review of the ceramic evidence begins with the destructions characterized as Final LM IB in the previous section. Since the LM IB phases of the island settlement of Mochlos are still under analysis, this study will focus on the ceramic assemblages from the Artisans' Quarters and the Chalinomouri farmhouse on the coastal plain of Mochlos. While these assemblages are largely LM IB in style, certain features point toward a very late LM IB or early LM II date of destruction for these contexts.

This argument is presented in detail in the publication of the Artisan's Quarters and the farmstead at Chalinomouri; here we present only a brief summary (Fig. 5).⁴⁶ The vast majority of decorated pottery conforms to Betancourt's Standard Tradition and Floyd's more narrowly defined Mirabello Bay Style, but there are small numbers of imported examples of Marine Style.⁴⁷ Preferred shapes include straight-sided jars, alabastra, strainers, jugs, and stirrup jars decorated with dark brown paint with banding at the rim and the lower

body and an open register in the middle or the upper half of the vessel, which is filled with motifs, including wavy or foliate bands, running spirals, among others in dark slip often with added detail in white (Fig. 5, nos. P 272, 136).⁴⁸ Among the cups, two shapes stand out: the ubiquitous conical cup and the larger ogival cup, which is most often decorated in monochrome but also is dipped or plain (Fig. 5, no. P 1210). Finally, a rich selection of cooking vessels and medium-sized coarse jars and pithoi are made in local coarse fabrics with either hole-mouthed or piriform shapes, the latter often incised with images of lilies while the clay was still wet.⁴⁹

A small number of shapes, the rounded cups, horizontal-handled and knob-handled bowls, and squat alabastra in particular and a few stylized motifs, are less frequently recognized in LM IB assemblages and instead are found in LM II deposits (Fig. 5, nos. P 572, 199, 1205).⁵⁰ Their presence at Mochlos led the authors to consider the possibility that the assemblages might represent an east Cretan version of the LM II styles; however, three points eventually mitigated against this theory.⁵¹ First, examples of the rounded cup and horizontal-handled bowl have been recognized in central Cretan deposits of LM IB date, but very few are published.⁵² Second, examples of squat alabastra exist from LM IB

⁴⁸ For additional examples, see SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1994), pl. 101c–d (jug and alabastron) and SOLES (n. 23), pl. 163–164 (stirrup jars).

⁴⁹ For additional examples, see SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1994), 418, fig. 14 (jar), pl. 101 (hole-mouthed jar), pl. 104.b (lily jar).

⁵⁰ BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23). The authors would like to thank P. Betancourt for calling attention to some of these features and for the many discussions we have enjoyed while studying this pottery.

⁵¹ Excavators at Palaikastro have also suggested this possibility for the knob-handled bowls; see MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 275–279. We would also like to thank S. MacGillivray and H. Sackett for showing us this material on several occasions and discussing their approach to this problem. At Palaikastro (MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 278), the knob-handled bowl is considered to be a possible diagnostic feature of local production in LM II. At Mochlos there are only a handful of examples (as also the horizontal-handled bowls).

⁵² The same horizontal-handled bowl was mentioned in discussions about the LM IB or LM II date of the destruction of the villa at Nirou Chani. For the LM II date, NIEMEIER (n. 5), 209, n. 54, cited examples from LM II levels at Kommos; however, Popham (in the discussion included in NIEMEIER (n. 5), 215) reports that both the cup and bowl shape are already present in LM IB levels at Knossos (e.g., the houses along the Royal Road). After seeing the bowls and cups from Mochlos, M. Popham, P. Warren and E. Hazzaki again mentioned the existence of many unpublished parallels for both shapes at Knossos in LM IB. The authors of this paper would like to thank all of them for this information. Finally we would add that no examples of the horizontal-handled bowls have been noted so far in the reoccupation levels at Mochlos with the Knossian LM II material.

⁴⁶ BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23), 104–109.

⁴⁷ BETANCOURT (n. 7), 137–141, figs. 103–104; FLOYD (n. 26), 177–192. For the Marine Style at Mochlos (ca. 12–15 pieces as of 2003), see SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1992), pl. 99a; SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), pl. 52c; SOLES (n. 23), pl. 164; BARNARD and BROGAN (n. 23).

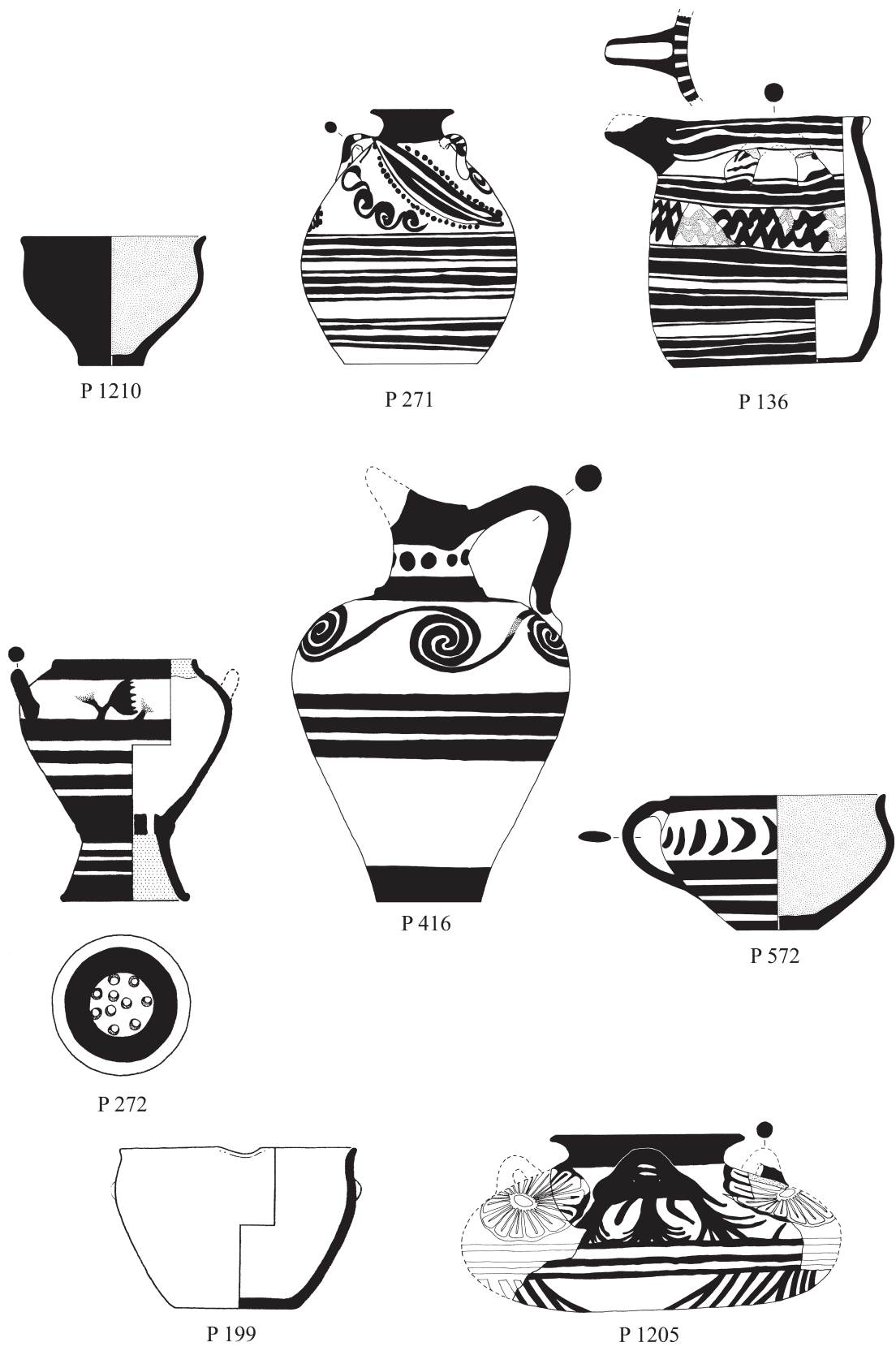


Fig. 5. Final Late Minoan IB Pottery from Mochlos

contexts (most often LH IIA imports from the main-land), and the example from Mochlos (Fig. 5, no. P 1205) shares the more rounded profile of these imports rather than the flat-bottomed shape of the squat alabastra often found in the LM II tombs at Knossos.⁵³ Finally and most importantly, the most recognizable LM II shape, the plain and decorated LM II goblet, was absent from these destruction levels at Mochlos.

We also considered the possibility, suggested by MacGillivray for Palaikastro, that the Mochlos evidence bore witness to a regional style of LM II that developed in east Crete without the goblets; further analysis of the reoccupation pottery at Mochlos, however, revealed that LM II imports, including goblets and deep cups of central Cretan manufacture, were in fact part of the local sequence at Mochlos (Fig. 6).⁵⁴ These shapes are never found mixed with the assemblages from the preceding destructions of LM I townhouses or the Artisans' Quarters (as has been suggested for several off-island sites with LM IB destructions like Aghia Irini-Kea), but are extant only in the earliest levels of the reoccupation at Mochlos.⁵⁵ We therefore interpret the major destruction not as a local LM II event contemporary with the destructions that have been observed at LM II central Cretan sites like Knossos,⁵⁶ but as an earlier event.

Even with this evidence that the final phase of the Artisans' Quarters and Chalinomouri did not represent a mature phase of LM II, we still have the problem of nomenclature. Possibilities include Final LM IB, LM IB/LM II, Sub or Transitional LM II. In this paper we

⁵³ M.S.F. HOOD and P. DE JONG, *Late Minoan Warrior Graves*, BSA 47 (1952), 243–277, figs. 10–11, pls. 47b–c and 48b; POPHAM (n. 7, 1970), 77; IDEM (n. 1), 173–174, pl. 154.2–3.

⁵⁴ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 275–279; IDEM (n. 8, 1997b), 194–195.

⁵⁵ For presence of LM II/LH IIB material at Aghia Irini, Phylakopi, and Kythera, see W.-D. NIEMEIER, *The End of the Minoan Thalassocracy*, in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (eds), *The Minoan Thalassocracy Myth and Reality. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 31 May – 5 June, 1982*, (Stockholm 1984), 205–215; IDEM (n. 4), 172–182. The stratigraphy of the LM II/LH IIB material at these sites is not particularly clear, and Niemeier's suggestion that the goblets at Phylakopi and Kythera (found in later LH IIIA strata) belong to the LM IB destructions is problematic. The situation at Mochlos provides a good parallel. We find the absence of such goblets on any final LM IB deposits a clear sign that the goblets at Mochlos (and probably those at Phylakopi and Kythera) belong to the earliest levels of the reoccupation. See now DRIESSEN and MACDONALD (n. 3), 252–257 for an overview of each site.

⁵⁶ POPHAM (n. 1), 264.

have used Final LM IB because of the continuity in settlement and ceramic tradition and absence of shapes like the goblet, however, we would have no difficulty with the use of LM IB/LM II to label this material. We also believe that a distinct LM II phase might eventually be recovered in the earliest levels of the reoccupation. The preliminary indications of such a phase are discussed in the next section.

B. LM II

In east Crete, the transition from LM IB to IIIA is sometimes characterized by a “gap” in the ceramic record.⁵⁷ The recent discovery of LM II sherds at Palaikastro, however, makes it clear that the LM II phase did exist in this region.⁵⁸ MacGillivray, in fact, posits two parts to fill this gap. First he reintroduces the suggestion that the destructions that characterized the end of the LM IB period (the second phase of LM IB at Palaikastro) occurred later in east Crete than in central Crete.⁵⁹ In effect, he asserts that the LM II style began at Knossos, but for a period of time the LM IB style was still being used in east Crete. Excavations at Mochlos are producing similar evidence for sub-phases in LM IB, but the exact relationship of the final LM IB destruction at Mochlos and the introduction of LM II at Knossos is still uncertain and its clarification will require the final publication of several sites across the island.

Evidence from two stratified wells at Palaikastro suggests that the site also witnessed a distinct LM II phase.⁶⁰ The well sequences, which span the LM IB to the LM III periods, demonstrate the continuation of local ceramic styles through these periods. The new evidence from Palaikastro closes the so-called LM II gap at this site, and forms the basis for what the excavators identify as an east Cretan regional pottery style that was contemporary with the Knossian LM II style.⁶¹ This regional style is not well defined among the published illustrations, but “the forms... are the jug, strainers, amphoras, spouted bowls and, most common, the pulled-rim bowl,” with bosses applied at right angles

⁵⁷ See MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a).

⁵⁸ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 41), 435, fig. 15, pl. 64d; NIEMEIER (n. 4), 176, n. 1324.

⁵⁹ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a); *contra* POPHAM (n. 1).

⁶⁰ S.A. MACGILLIVRAY et al., *Excavations at Palaikastro, 1994 and 1996*, BSA 93 (1998), 226–238, especially Well 605, 233, fig. 10.

⁶¹ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997b), 193–202.

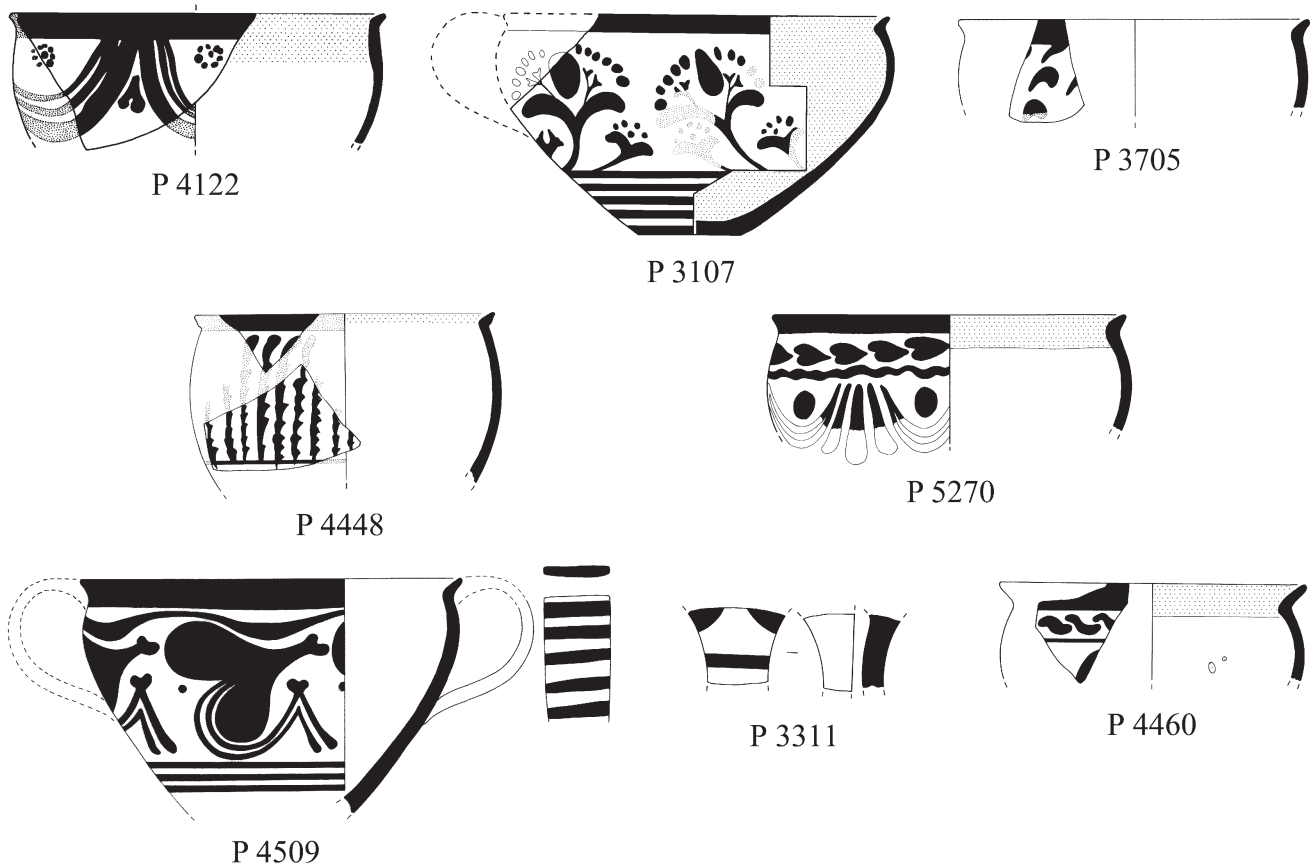


Fig. 6. Late Minoan II Pottery from Mochlos

to the spout.⁶² All are decorated as a very distinctive “Burnished Blot and Trickle Ware.”⁶³

The excavators very kindly showed us this material in the summer of 2002. At Mochlos there are certainly no pulled-rim bowls decorated with burnished blot and trickle yet recognized in our final LM IB destructions. The few plain knob-handled bowls from these assemblages are undecorated, unburnished and much smaller in size (both width and height). It appears, instead, that we would find examples of this Palaikastro “Burnished Blot and Trickle Ware,” in the earliest levels of the re-occupation at Mochlos, but so far our studies have not been able to isolate and characterize this Palaikastro LM II style or any equivalent local Mochlos production.

Instead our research has suggested a gap at the site of Mochlos before the appearance of the mature central Cretan LM II style pottery in contexts associated with the earliest reoccupation on the island. Evidence for

LM II at Mochlos exists in the form of various sherds in the Knossian LM II style. A total of eight objects have so far been identified as LM II deep cups and Ephyraean goblets (Fig. 6). While most of these cups and goblets are central Cretan imports to the Mochlos region, at least one deep cup (P 4122) appears to be made from a local fabric. The existence of local ceramic production in an LM II style is a further indication of the existence of a distinct LM II phase at the site.

The most complete LM II object (Fig. 6, no. P 3107) is a deep cup found in Room 1 of House Alpha.⁶⁴ Other deep cups include one from Room 4 of House Alpha (Fig. 6, no. P 3705), two from Room 1 of House Iota (Fig. 6, no. P 4122, P 4448), and one from Room 1 of House Kappa (Fig. 6, no. P 5270). All have the characteristically pronounced, everted lip of LM II rims and are decorated with bands at the rim and a frieze of abstract designs below.⁶⁵ While the decorative schemes

⁶² MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 278.

⁶³ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 278.

⁶⁴ R.A.K. SMITH, Regionalism, pottery, and Mochlos in LM IIIA1, *Kendro: The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete* 3 (2002), 10–11.

⁶⁵ POPHAM (n. 1), 160–161, pls. 147, 156 § 1, 2, 4.

of these cups could arguably place them in LM IIIA1, when considered along with their rim profiles, a date of LM II is preferred.

In addition to these cups were found a total of three Ephyraean goblets. The most complete of these came from the floor of Room 1 of House Q (Fig. 6, no. P 4509). This example is made of a central Cretan fabric and preserves the rim, handle, and profile of a goblet down to the beginning of the stem. It is decorated with a monochrome interior, rim banding with a wavy line and ivy chain motif (FM 12) below, and three narrow bands beneath this frieze. The other two were found on the floors of Room 1 of House Epsilon (Fig. 6, no. P 3311) and Room 1 of House Iota (Fig. 6, no. P 4460). These examples are not so well preserved. The example from House Iota preserves only the rim and traces of a decorative frieze. The other, from House Epsilon, preserves only the stem and the bottommost parts of two curvilinear decorative patterns that indicate the presence of characteristic, LM II unity motifs on opposite sides of this goblet.

As was discussed above, LM II pottery has been discovered in six of the eleven houses of the island reoccupation. Study of these deposits is ongoing, and may eventually provide more evidence for an LM II phase at Mochlos. Deposits in Houses Alpha, Iota, Q, and Kappa, are especially promising since they provide LM II material in the earliest levels of the reoccupation. It is hoped that closer study of these deposits will allow the definition of a local LM II style to complement the Knossian LM II style pottery described above.

C. LM IIIA1

While evidence for the LM II period is often lacking at east Cretan sites, the LM IIIA1 period is more prominent. The period has been characterized as one of widespread Knossian ceramic influence across Crete.⁶⁶ It has also been suggested, on the other hand, that east Crete remains outside Knossian influence; the lack of Linear B tablets or references to east Cretan place names suggests that Knossos may not have exercised administrative control over this region.⁶⁷ The new

evidence from Mochlos, however, suggests a different possibility. Influences from Knossos represent the strongest (and most easily datable) trend in this period of early reoccupation. At the same time, it is clear that ceramic production and consumption were not limited to the importation and imitation of Knossian style pottery. The role played by both surviving local traditions and influences from Palaikastro should not be ignored.

While the evidence for an LM II phase at Mochlos is admittedly sparse, pottery of the LM IIIA1 period is more common in both the settlement and the cemetery (Fig. 7). This includes imported and locally made wares in the Knossian LM IIIA1 style, as well as imported and locally made wares in an east Cretan tradition. The most distinctive LM IIIA1 shapes are deep cups and kylikes that find contemporary parallels at Knossos, and are in most cases imports from this region (Fig. 7, nos. P 3390, P 3393, P 373, P 3273). Various other shape types that date to this phase are also imported from central Crete. These include collar-necked (Fig. 7, no. SM 11071) and funnel-necked jugs (Fig. 7, no. SM 11072), shallow bowls (Fig. 8, no. SM 10036), composite vessels (Fig. 8, nos. SM 946 and SM 9379), and amphoroid kraters (SM 9395). Another shape type that can be dated to this phase is the pulled-rim bowl, which is distinctive to east Crete in LM III. At Mochlos, examples are both locally made and imported from Palaikastro.

The more plentiful evidence from this period allows a direct comparison of the LM IIIA1 assemblage to that of the Final LM IB. This comparison will serve as both a description of the early reoccupation pottery, and allow an examination of the new cultural identity that surfaced at Mochlos. The following will focus first on the ceramic continuities that existed between Final LM IB and LM IIIA1, then go on to describe the discontinuities. It will become apparent that although the pottery of the reoccupation was strongly influenced by new developments at Knossos, and especially by Mycenaean-inspired ceramic traditions, a strong undercurrent of local, east Cretan traditions survived from the Neopalatial Period.

Ceramic Continuities

A number of shapes and decorative styles display a distinct continuity between the end of the Neopalatial Period and the reoccupation. The Final LM IB shapes

⁶⁶ FURUMARK (n. 7), 65; POPHAM (n. 7, 1967), 345; IDEM (n. 7, 1970), 88; M.H. POPHAM, *Cretan sites occupied between c. 1450 and 1400 B.C.*, BSA 75 (1980), 166; IDEM (n. 4), 99.

⁶⁷ BENNET (n. 9, 1987); H.W. HASKELL, *LM III Knossos: evidence beyond the palace*, SMEA 27 (1989), 81–110.

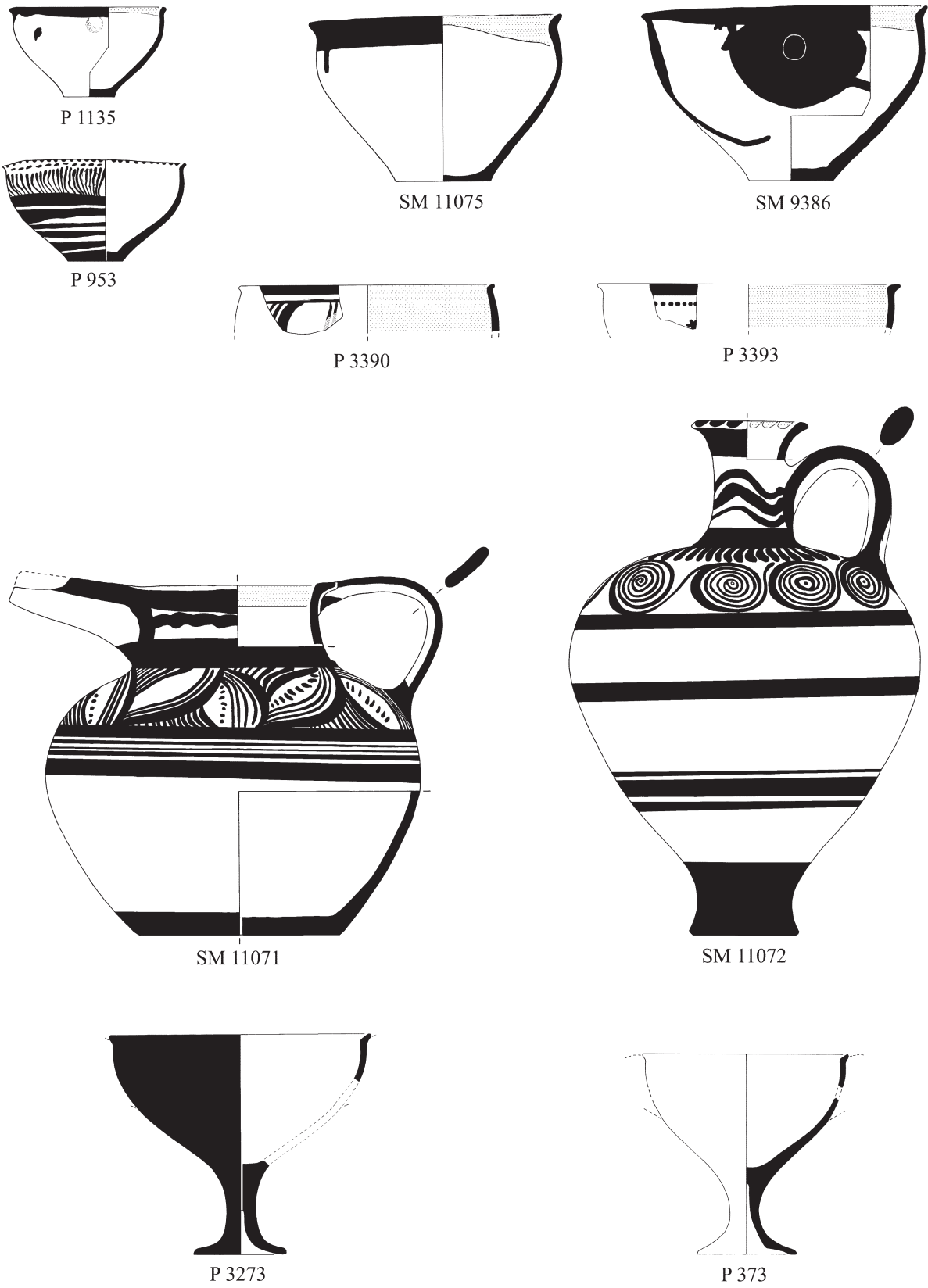


Fig. 7. Late Minoan IIIA1 Pottery from Mochlos

that continue, and their LM II–III A1 equivalents, are listed in Table 1. The decorative styles that continue include both a dipped and a band-painted style. In some cases, due to slight changes in form and for matters of chronological distinction, the name of the shape or decorative style changes between the periods. In other cases the name remains the same. In most cases, although it is clear that the later forms and styles are a development of the earlier, clear distinctions do exist, and these will be discussed below.

The ogival cup of Neopalatial Mochlos develops into the pulled-rim bowl of the reoccupation, and this transition has also been noted at Palaikastro.⁶⁸ In addition, two other shapes should be mentioned in refer-

Neopalatial examples were made locally, while the majority of those from the reoccupation were imported. This, in itself, is a significant sign of discontinuity and will be discussed in the next section. The morphological changes that the shape in general undergoes have been discussed in depth elsewhere, but are most pronounced and recognizable at the rim of the vessel.⁷⁰ At Mochlos, while the vessel has a distinctly everted rim in the Neopalatial period, the rim becomes more sharply everted in the LM II examples (Fig. 6, no. P 3107), and forms an even sharper “ledge-rim” in LM III A1 (Fig. 7, no. P 3390). The decoration of this shape remains similar to those of Neopalatial Mochlos, with a monochrome interior, banding at the rim and

Table 1. Continuities of fineware shape types between LM IB and LM II–III A1 Mochlos.

Neopalatial shape		Reoccupation shape
Cup, ogival	→	Bowl, pulled-rim
Bowl, knob-handled		
Cup, rounded	→	Cup, deep
Jug, collared	→	Jug, collared

ence to the ogival and pulled-rim bowl shapes. The first is the rounded handleless cup, which is common in LM III Mochlos.⁶⁹ This shape develops from the ogival cup, and shares its tendency for monochrome decoration. It differs from the ogival cup, however, in its lack of an everted rim. The second is the knob-handled bowl, which exists in small quantities from the Artisans’ Quarters. The ogival cup and knob-handled bowl of Neopalatial Mochlos both bear similarities to the pulled-rim bowl of the reoccupation. The ogival cup’s profile and dipped decoration develops into the pulled-rim bowl shape, and the knob-handled bowl’s knob handle and pulled-rim spout contribute two of the features that make pulled-rim bowls distinct. The pulled-rim bowl seems to be an amalgam of these two separate Neopalatial shapes.

The rounded cup, which becomes the deep cup in LM II–III, also undergoes a morphological change. This change might be partly attributed to the fact that the

base, and a frieze of abstract motifs between these bands. Occasional monochrome examples exist on both sides of the gap, but decoration with dipped “blobs,” which occurs in LM II and LM III A1 Knossos, does not continue in reoccupation Mochlos.⁷¹

Two distinct types of collared jugs exist in Neopalatial Mochlos. The bridge-spouted jug type is also found at Neopalatial Mochlos, and is morphologically similar to the collared jug type. Neopalatial collared jugs fall into a larger class decorated with painted bands and an abstract frieze on the shoulder, and a smaller class that is left undecorated, or occasionally uses dipped decoration (P 2904). Bridge-spouted jugs fall into the former class. From these Neopalatial jugs come two distinct types in the reoccupation. The first is a smaller variety of collared jug, which is treated with a dipped form of decoration (Fig. 8, no. P 1520). This type is most clearly related to the Neopalatial undecorated and dipped collared jug types. A second variety is larger and is always painted with banded decoration and a frieze of abstract motifs on the shoulder

⁶⁸ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997a), 278.

⁶⁹ This shape suffers from a multiplicity of names, including rounded bowl (S.A. MACGILLIVRAY et al., Excavations at Palaikastro 1991, BSA 87 (1992), 140), bell cup (MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997b), 197–198.

⁷⁰ E.g. POPHAM (n. 1), 181.

⁷¹ For examples from Knossos, see POPHAM (n. 1), pls. 160, nos. 2–3, pl. 172, no. 8.

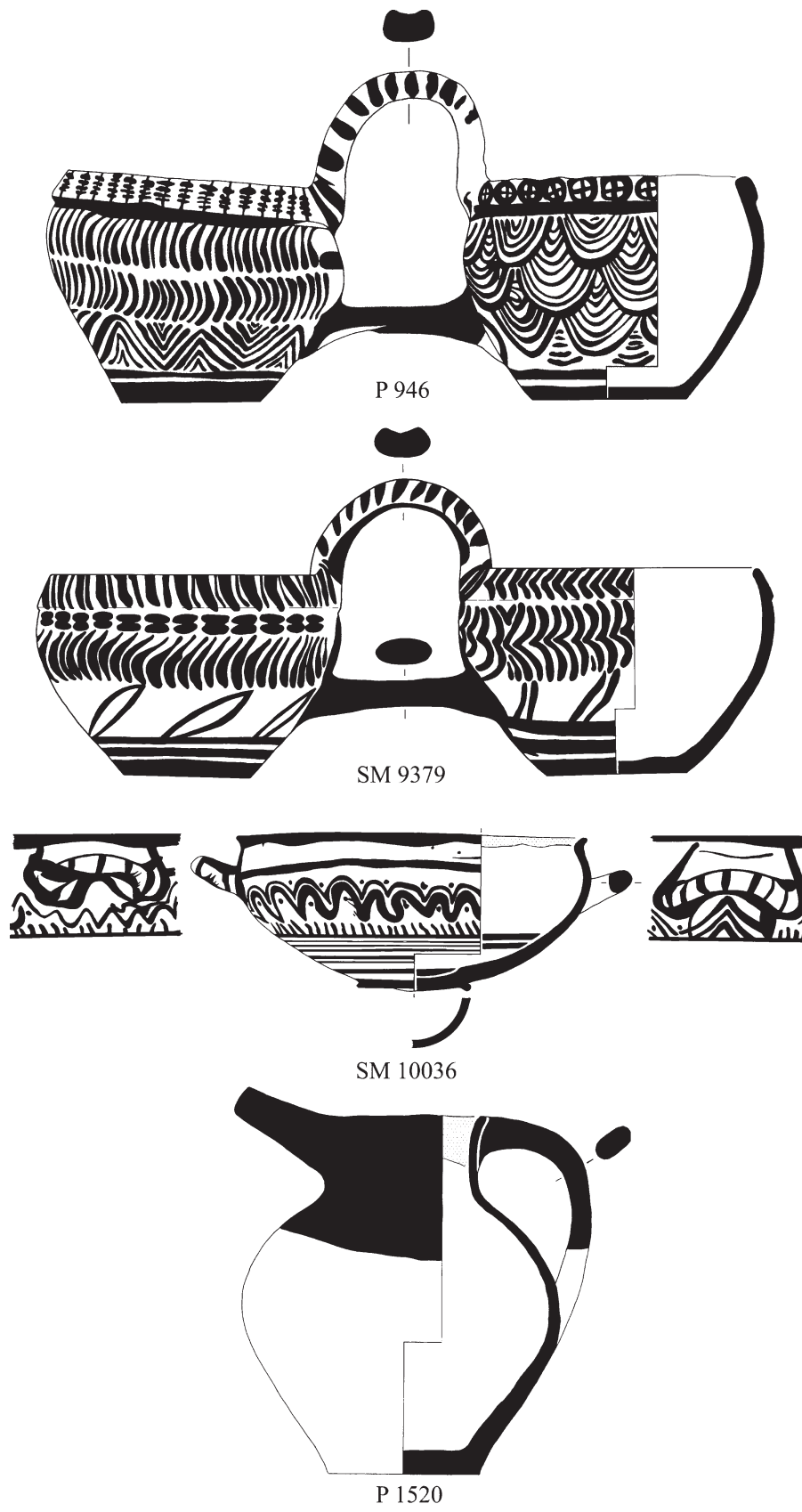


Fig. 8. Late Minoan IIIA1 Pottery from Mochlos

(Fig. 7, no. SM 11071). This type bears a distinct resemblance to the Neopalatial bridge-spouted jug. Its body is larger and squatter than those with dipped decoration.

The above shapes also illustrate the continuation of the two major decorative styles. The first of these, the band-painted style with a frieze of abstract motifs, continues from LM IB to LM IIIA1 on deep cups and collared jugs. It is also used on a single early example of the pulled-rim bowl shape (Fig. 7, no. P 953). The basic syntax of this style remains, with a rim band, a decorative frieze of abstract motifs on the shoulder or upper body of the vessel, and more banding below this frieze. The banding below the frieze, however, changes from a series of regularly spaced bands to banding just below the frieze and at the base. Several vessels that date to a very early period of the reoccupation retain the regularly spaced banding (Fig. 6, no. P 3107; Fig. 7, no. P 953). In addition, the motifs used in the reoccupation examples bear little resemblance to those from the Neopalatial period. Overall, while this band-painted style retains its general syntax, it has undergone considerable change from the end of the Neopalatial to the beginning of the reoccupation.

The same is also true of the dipped style of decoration, which is found on LM IIIA1 pulled-rim bowls. This style can be categorized into three basic syntaxes in the LM IIIA1 period: monochrome, top-dipped, and top and blob-dipped.⁷² The first of these syntaxes is self-explanatory. The second, top-dipped, involves the dipping of the top of the vessel. The third syntax, top and blob-dipped, adds multiple dipped discs at the points of the vessel's maximum diameter. Frequently the dipped portions of both top-dipped and top and blob-dipped vessels are allowed to drip. This syntax is new at reoccupation Mochlos and will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

While the above shapes and decorations continued in recognizable form between the Neopalatial and early reoccupation period at Mochlos, in no case did they do so without some form of morphological or decorative change. It is evident, therefore, that while some of the ceramic traditions that characterized Neopalatial Mochlos reemerged in the reoccupation, they underwent significant changes during an occupational gap that occurred in LM II. Nevertheless, the continuity

implied by the persistence of the ceramic traditions outlined above argues for the reoccupation of Mochlos by a group related to at least some elements of the Neopalatial population. The production and consumption of pulled-rim bowls and the dipped style of decoration, furthermore, connect the reoccupation pottery with a wider tradition that survived in east Crete and formed a regionally distinct ceramic tradition in LM III.

Ceramic Discontinuities

The discontinuities in the ceramic record fall into two groups: those shapes and decorations that stop after the Neopalatial period, and those that begin during the reoccupation (Table 2). It is important, at this point, to recognize the differences in context between the two periods. While the Final LM IB evidence comes from the coastal Artisans' Quarters and farmhouse at Chalinomouri, and is supplemented by preliminary evidence from the island settlement, the reoccupation evidence comes from the island settlement and the coastal cemetery. The discontinuities discussed below, therefore, are preliminary observations, especially concerning the nature of the Neopalatial ceramic record. Nevertheless, they indicate that some of the most elaborately formed and decorated of the Neopalatial shapes did not continue into the reoccupation, and that the new shapes of the reoccupation can be related to a Mycenaean-inspired tradition that emanated from central Crete beginning in LM II.

The first discontinuities to be discussed will be those shapes that cease after the end of the Neopalatial period. These included the large one-handled conical cups, which were normally decorated with a monochrome interior slip and a rim band; in some cases they carried an exterior motifs and banding, as well. This shape is known from the Neopalatial island settlement as well as the Artisans' Quarters and Chalinomouri, and is perhaps related to the straight-sided cup, which has a long history in Minoan Crete.⁷³

Horizontal-handled bowls with a deep profile also disappeared after the transition. Like the rounded cups, this Mochlos shape has similarities to both LM IB and LM II examples, but finds its closest parallels in LM II bowls from central Crete.⁷⁴ It resembles the rounded cup in both shape and decoration, with an everted rim

⁷² MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997b) has characterized the second and third of these syntaxes at Palaikastro as the 'Rim Banded' and 'Blot and Trickle' styles, respectively.

⁷³ BETANCOURT (n. 7).

⁷⁴ E.g. POPHAM (n. 1), pl. 148, nos. 5–8, pl. 156, nos. 13–14.

Table 2. Discontinuities in shape types between Neopalatial and Reoccupation Mochlos.

Shapes that stop after Neopalatial	Shapes that begin in the Reoccupation
Horizontal-handled bowl	Kylikes and champagne cups
One-handled conical cup	Shallow bowl
Alabastron	Amphoroid krater
Jar, bridge-spouted	Funnel-necked jug
	Composite bowl
	Ladles and dippers

and a band-painted decorative style with abstract motifs on the exterior of the upper body. Horizontal-handled bowls are larger than rounded cups, however, have two round horizontal handles that sit below the rim, and are frequently banded on the interior as well as the exterior.

Only a single vessel from the early reoccupation may be compared to this earlier shape. A shallow ring-based bowl from Tomb 2 (Fig. 8, no. SM 10036) is similar due to its horizontal roll handles, everted rim, and interior and exterior banded decorative style. Its shallower profile, ring base, and more complex decoration, however, set it apart from the earlier bowls. While this bowl was found in a tomb that dates to LM IIIB, it dates to the earlier LM IIIA1 period.⁷⁵

Another Neopalatial shape that finds no analogue in the reoccupation is the alabastron. These were one of the most common forms of fine decorated ware from the Artisans' Quarters, and were represented by both tall and squat categories. Tall alabastra were the most common, and are normally decorated with painted bands and an abstract motif on the upper body; frequently added white decoration was applied over the darker slip (Fig. 5, no. P 271). While a version of this shape continues into LM II–III in other areas of Crete, it is absent in reoccupation Mochlos.⁷⁶

Examples of the squat alabastron are also found in the Artisans' Quarters, but are absent in the reoccupation. The squat alabastron shape is normally associated with LM II deposits in Crete, although it is present on

mainland Greece as early as LH I.⁷⁷ It is significant, therefore, that one of the squat alabastra from the Artisans' Quarters is a mainland import and dates to LH IIA, a period that is roughly contemporary with LM IB (Fig. 5, no. P 1205). While the Neopalatial squat alabastra thus suggest an LM II character for the final Neopalatial phase at Mochlos, they do not necessitate it.

A final shape category that disappears after the Neopalatial period is the bridge-spouted jar. This was a popular pouring vessel in the Artisans' Quarters and at Chalinomouri, and is typically band-painted with a frieze of abstract motifs on the upper body. White paint is often added on top of the dark slip. A larger version of the same shape is elaborately decorated with lilies, double-stemmed crocuses, and frequent use of added white. This large bridge-spouted jar is paralleled by three examples from the island that were excavated by Seager.⁷⁸

The lilies on these large bridge-spouted jars may be connected to other uses of lilies as decoration on Neopalatial Mochlos. This particular decorative motif can also be found on numerous piriform storage jars, and may have been peculiar to ceramic production in Neopalatial Mochlos. While the lilies on the bridge-spouted jars are painted, those found on the piriform jars are either incised or, in some cases, in relief (P 2586). The lily motif does not survive into the reoccupation period at Mochlos.

Another decorative tradition that does not survive after the end of the Neopalatial period is the added

⁷⁵ POPHAM (n. 7), fig. 10, nos. 33–35.

⁷⁶ IDEM, pl. 10e; HOOD 1956, p. 69; also see B.P. HALLAGER, *Terminology – The Late Minoan Goblet, Kylix and Footed Cup*, in E. HALLAGER and B.P. HALLAGER (eds), *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1, Athens 1997), 15–19.

⁷⁷ L. ALBERTI, *L'alabastron nelle necropoli di Cnosso del TM II–III A1*, in V. LA ROSA, D. PALERMO, and L. VAGNETTI (eds), *Epi ponton plazomenoi: Simposio italiano di Studi Egei dedicato a Luigi Bernabò Brea e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. Roma, 18–20 febbraio 1998 (Rome 1999), 167–175.

⁷⁸ SEAGER (n. 31), 280, 299–300, pl. VI.

white paint found on bridge-spouted jars, alabastra, and, rarely, ogival cups (P 2236). This, along with rare examples of added red paint, represents the last vestiges of a polychrome decorative tradition that extends back into LM IA.⁷⁹ This tradition does not survive the destruction that occurs at the end of the Neopalatial period.

While the above shapes and decorative traditions no longer occur after the Neopalatial period, a number of new shapes and decorations appear for the first time. Unlike the pulled-rim bowl, which can be connected to the ogival cup, the following shapes and decorative traditions do not have obvious precedents in the Neopalatial ceramic record of Mochlos. It is therefore necessary to look outside the region for their origins.

The most prominent of these new shapes is the stemmed cup, or kylix, which develops from the LM II Ephyraean goblet.⁸⁰ Three LM IIIA1 kylikes were found in the cemetery, two from Tomb 2 and one from Tomb 15. On the island, they represent the most numerous and recognizable indicator of the early reoccupation, and are distinguished by a sharply everted "ledge-rim," vertical strap handles, and a hollow, continuously curving stem.⁸¹ While they are not normally decorated like the earlier Ephyraean goblets, they are finely burnished. Rarely, they are decorated with a monochrome slip (Fig. 7, P 3273).

The undecorated shallow bowl is another shape that is new to Mochlos in the reoccupation. It first makes its appearance in LM IIIA1 contexts, and is distinguished from later examples of the same shape by a sharply everted rim and horizontal strap handles set below the rim (P 4585). The shape first appears on Crete in LM II, and is related to the Mycenaean shape FS 295. Popham suggests that it represents "another instance of Mycenaean tastes adopted at Knossos in LM II."⁸²

Amphoroid kraters also appear at Mochlos in the early reoccupation. Examples were found just above the LM IIIA1 floor in Room 1 of House Iota (P 4623, P 4452), as well as in some of the earlier tombs (Tomb 15 P 1156; Tomb 30 SM 11076). The origins of this shape type are uncertain. Popham maintains that

it began in LM IIIA, corresponds to a Mycenaean LH IIIA form (FS 52–57), and may derive from metallic prototypes.⁸³ Mountjoy attributes its origins to a development of the Minoan Palace Style Jar.⁸⁴ Kanta attributes its ultimate origins to the MM II jar with two vertical handles.⁸⁵ Such jars are not present in Neopalatial Mochlos, however, and the amphoroid krater was undoubtedly an extra-local introduction to reoccupation Mochlos. Dippers and ladles, which were probably used with these kraters, were apparently introduced at the same time.

Although no funnel-necked jugs have been recognized in the early reoccupation island settlement, four examples were found in the cemetery. Two of these are decorated (SM 11072, SM 11077), and two are left plain (SM 9374, P 991). This shape is similar to both the LM IB ewers and to jugs with cut-away funnel-shaped necks, which have Mycenaean origins and are found in Crete as early as LM II.⁸⁶

A final shape that must be considered is the composite vessel. In the Mochlos cemetery, three examples of this shape exist, all in the form of two bowls joined together by a high, arching handle attached at the rims as well as a strut joining the lower bodies of the bowls. Two of these vessels have bowls with convex, rounded profiles (Fig. 8, nos. P 946, SM 9379), while the third has bowls with straight-sided profiles (SM 9369). All are highly decorated with multiple motifs and date to LM IIIA. Similar vases have been found in the nearby tombs of Myrsini and Sphaka, as well as at Kedri, Gournia, and Palaikastro.⁸⁷ Kanta traces the origins of

⁷⁹ IDEM (n. 7, 1967), 345; IDEM (n. 7, 1970), 76.

⁸⁰ P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction* (Oxford 1993), 73.

⁸¹ A. KANTA, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete. A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution* (SIMA 58, Göteborg, 1980), 273.

⁸² For ewers, see N. DIMOPOULOU, *The Marine Style ewer from Poros*, in P. BETANCOURT et al. (eds), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he Enters his 65th Year* (Aegaeum 20, Liege 1999), 217–226. For jugs with cut-away funnel-shaped necks, see S. HOOD, G. HUXLEY and N. SANDARS, *A Minoan cemetery on the Upper Gypsades*, BSA 53–54 (1958–59), 194–262, 240, fig. 26, nos. 1–2; KANTA (n. 85), 261. For the Mycenaean origins of this shape (FS 131–133, 135–136) see P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery* (SIMA 73, Göteborg 1986); A. FURUMARK, *Mycenaean Pottery I. Analysis and Classification* (Stockholm, 1972); IDEM, *Mycenaean Pottery III. Plates* (Stockholm 1992); POPHAM (n. 4, 1994, 101), on the other hand, suggests that this shape may be a Knossian invention.

⁸³ Myrsini: SMITH (n. 64); Svaka (or Sphaka): KANTA (n. 85), fig. 66, no. 7; Kedri: EADEM (n. 85), fig. 58, no. 1; Gournia: H. BOYD-HAWES et al., *Gournia, Vassiliki, and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra Crete*. (Philadelphia 1908), pl. X, no. 6;

⁷⁹ BETANCOURT (n. 7), 139.

⁸⁰ The short-stemmed version of the kylix shape is often called a 'goblet' (e.g. HALLAGER (n. 76), 19–21).

⁸¹ The ability to easily recognize kylikes in the ceramic record, especially by their stem, makes it likely that they are over represented among the diagnostic LM III objects.

⁸² POPHAM (n. 1), 206, 210.

this shape to the Mycenaean mainland, where it appears as early as the Middle Helladic period.⁸⁸ The stippled decoration of one of the Mochlos examples (Fig. 8, no. SM 9379) is also a common decorative pattern in Mycenaean pottery, and begins on the mainland as early as LH I.⁸⁹ It becomes very common in LH IIIA1, and is found at Knossos as early as LM II.⁹⁰

Although certain decorative traditions disappear after the Neopalatial period, those that exist in the early reoccupation are for the most part a continuation of the earlier dipped and band-painted styles. There are details of syntax and motif, however, which appear for the first time in the early reoccupation. In the band-painted style, these follow similar developments across Crete, and in general represent a greater tendency toward abstraction and standardization.⁹¹ Many of these decorative developments can be connected to Mycenaean influences.⁹² Motifs were more abstract and more frequently confined to the shoulder or upper body of the vessel, and painted bands were also often limited to transitional areas of the vessel. These included the rim, the maximum diameter, and the base, as well as handle and spout attachments. On larger vessels, there was also frequently a painted band around the area of the lower body where two segments of the vessel were attached together in the manufacturing process (e.g., Fig. 7, no. SM 11072).

Among the vessels painted in the dipped style of decoration, only the top and blob-dipped syntax (described above) is new. While the monochrome dipped and top-dipped styles were common among Neopalatial vessels, and some were also decorated with irregular blobs of slip (P 591), the regular combination of top-dipping with multiple blobs is new in the reoccupation. This style is also present at Palaikastro, where it is called the “Blot and Trickle” style, and also begins in the LM IIIA1 period.⁹³ A number of top and blob-dipped vessels from Mochlos, in fact, are imports from Palaikastro (e.g., Fig. 7, no. SM 9386). Even the dipped style of decoration, therefore, shows signs of develop-

ment between the end of the Neopalatial and the beginning of the reoccupation at Mochlos.

While the continuities in the previous section show that certain ceramic traditions survived between the Neopalatial and reoccupation periods at Mochlos, the discontinuities clearly show that much had changed. How did this change manifest itself? It seems clear that many of the new shapes and decorative styles that appeared in the reoccupation were related to Mycenaean-inspired traditions that began to appear on Crete in LM II, especially at Knossos. It is more difficult to find a pattern in the disappearances of Neopalatial ceramic traditions. In general, they are comparable to changes that occur across Crete during this period, with the disappearance of the polychrome decorative tradition, bridge-spouted jars, straight-sided cups, and horizontal-handled bowls. These shapes and decorations are common in the Standard Tradition.⁹⁴

How can the disappearance of the Standard Tradition be related to both the appearance of a new, Mycenaean-influenced Knossian style and to the continuation of a local tradition that survives as a regional style in east Crete? We would like to suggest that production and consumption of pottery of both the Standard Tradition and the new LM IIIA1 styles were both closely tied to the respective communities at Mochlos. The demand for various alabaster, straight-sided jars (etc...) decorated in the Standard Tradition disappeared with the collapse of Neopalatial authority and destruction of the wider community. The simpler tradition of dipped pottery, on the other hand, survived this transition, developed during the LM II gap at Mochlos, and reappeared at Mochlos during the reoccupation. This dichotomy may suggest that these two traditions were the products of different workshops, and that while the Standard Tradition was in some way exclusively connected to activities of Neopalatial Mochlos, the dipped tradition could survive without them. This survival may also be a simple matter of economic necessity. The dipped tradition was much simpler to produce and fulfilled the basic everyday needs during what appears to have been a turbulent period of cultural change.

The disappearance of the Standard Tradition, with its ties to the Neopalatial workshops, is complemented by the appearance of Knossian LM II–III A1 style

Palaikastro: R.C. BOSANQUET and R.M. DAWKINS, *The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations, 1902–1906* (London 1923), 92, fig. 76.

⁸⁸ KANTA (n. 85), 173.

⁸⁹ MOUNTJOY (n. 86).

⁹⁰ MOUNTJOY (n. 84)1, 65 (LM IIIA1); POPHAM (n. 1), pls. 148, 156 (LM II).

⁹¹ POPHAM (n. 7, 1967); BETANCOURT (n. 7).

⁹² BETANCOURT (n. 7), 154.

⁹³ MACGILLIVRAY (n. 8, 1997b), 200.

⁹⁴ For the Standard Tradition, see J.S. SILVERMAN, *The LM IB Painted Pottery of Eastern Crete*, TUAS 3 (1978), 31–35, and BETANCOURT (n. 7).

pottery in the early reoccupation. The appearance of this pottery signals the formation of a new elite class that derived at least part of its authority from connections to Knossos. These elites were certainly able to procure ceramic imports in the Knossian style, but were they able to use them in specific ways that connected them to an elite Knossian identity? The next section explores this question and the connections between ceramic use and cultural identity.

IV. Mycenaean at Mochlos ?

The preceding discussions have pointed to a significant amount of evidence for change in the material culture at Mochlos between the LM IB and IIIA1 periods. There are certainly indications that some sort of

striking changes in material culture appear in the character of the settlement architecture of the reoccupation, the establishment of a chamber tomb cemetery at Limenaria, the loss of the LM IB Standard Tradition, and the addition of new, Mycenaean-inspired ceramic traditions from Knossos. On the other hand, continuities in ceramic traditions suggest that the reoccupation does not represent a complete break from the Neopalatial traditions. To what extent, then, can we determine the degree to which the inhabitants of LM III Mochlos identified with either their Neopalatial predecessors, or with another, outside group? In particular, how closely did the new inhabitants of Mochlos identify with the Mycenaean traditions that appeared in Crete, and especially at Knossos, during LM II–III? Were those who reoccupied Mochlos, in fact, Knossians? Were they Mycenaean?

Such questions must first confront the problems of determining cultural or ethnic identity from archaeological

Table 3. LM IIIA Mochlos tombs.

Tomb	Tomb type ⁹⁷	Burial Container	# of pots	Chronology of pots		Other materials ⁹⁸
5	Ch	Pithos	4	IIIA1?	IIIA2?	—
6	Ch w/dr	Pithos	9		IIIA2	—
7	Ch w/dr	Chest larnax	9		IIIA2	—
8	Ch w/dr	Pithos	8	IIIA1	IIIA2	—
9	Ch w/dr	Pithos	9	IIIA1?	IIIA2	I, Br
10	Ch w/dr	Tub larnax	8	IIIA1	IIIA2	B, Br, Gd, Gs, S
15	Ch w/dr	Chest larnax	27	IIIA1	IIIA2	Br, W
16	Ch w/dr	Pithos	5	IIIA1?	IIIA2?	Br, Gd, Gs, S
19	Ch w/dr	Pithos (2)	16	IIIA1	IIIA2	Br, Gs, S
21	Pit	Pithos	3	IIIA1?	IIIA2?	Br
22	Ch w/dr	—	3	IIIA1	IIIA2?	Br
26	Ch w/dr	Pithos	3	IIIA1	IIIA2?	—
30	Ch w/dr	Chest larnax	5	IIIA1		Br, S
Totals			110			

occupational gap did indeed exist at Mochlos during the LM II period. On the other hand, the length of this gap is less clear, as is the relationship of those who returned for the reoccupation to those who fled or abandoned Mochlos at the end of the Neopalatial period. The most

remains. The very nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to define with artifactual variables; there is “rarely a straightforward correlation between cultural similarities and differences and ethnic boundaries.”⁹⁷ Ethnicity is subjective, dynamic and situational. The creation and

⁹⁵ Ch = chamber tomb; Ch w/dr = chamber tomb with dromos.

⁹⁶ B = bone, Br = bronze, Gd = gold, Gs = glass paste, I = ivory, S = stone, W = wood.

maintenance of social bonds is both economically and politically necessary since social groups require the organizational structures to ensure access to crucial resources.⁹⁸ This is done, in part, through the creation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries, and material culture can play an important role in this process, both in an ordinary, everyday fashion, and especially when incorporated into ritual practices.

Evidence for ritual practices in reoccupation Mochlos comes from House A in the settlement and from the Limenaria cemetery, but is most abundant in the cemetery. The occupation in the house and the earliest burials in the cemetery date to the LM IIIA1 and IIIA2 phases. A total of thirteen tombs may be assigned exclusively to LM IIIA (Table 3). During this first phase of use, it is possible to see clear differences between the burials and their associated assemblages.

One tomb in particular – Tomb 15 – stands out for its large number of associated artifacts and especially pots, most of which (85%) were related to drinking activities. Furthermore, a closer examination reveals that the majority of these vessels were open drinking shapes – seventeen in all. This suggests the possibility of a drinking ceremony that involved multiple participants.⁹⁹ The ceremony might have taken place at the funeral for the dead individual, or possibly the vessels were meant to provide that individual with the equipment necessary for such a ceremony in the afterlife. In either case, it is clear that the focus of the mortuary ritual in this tomb, whether real or symbolic, was drinking.

The use of wine, and other alcoholic beverages, in socially and politically meaningful drinking ceremonies is a well-known phenomenon in both the ancient and modern world.¹⁰⁰ Drinking rituals are intimately associated with a group's social, economic, and political institutions and processes, and can play a prominent role in the formation and maintenance of both indi-

vidual and group identities, as well as be a catalyst for social change.¹⁰¹ The use of specific drinking rituals by elite groups, therefore, may be seen as part of a legitimization strategy. Access to specialized beverages and the knowledge of their proper consumption are potential elements in the development of sociopolitical complexity, and the retention of specialized drinking paraphernalia by an elite class is often indicative of a competitive process of emulation involving such drinking rituals.¹⁰²

A comparison of Tomb 15 with others that date to the same period is instructive. The number of pots associated with the twelve other tombs ranges from three to sixteen.¹⁰³ On average, these tombs contain about six pots per burial. Of the total of eighty-three vessels in these tombs, over half are plausibly connected with drinking activities. All of these tombs contained open drinking vessels as well as jugs for pouring. Drinking, it seems, was a standard part of mortuary ritual in re-occupation Mochlos.

On the other hand, the other tombs contained, on average, only 1.6 open drinking vessels per burial.¹⁰⁴ While such vessels are therefore present in all the tombs, only Tomb 15 contained large numbers of open drinking vessels. This implies a fundamental difference in the type of drinking ritual that was associated with the burial in Tomb 15, and suggests that what we are seeing is a communal drinking ceremony.

The nature and purpose of this ceremony can be illuminated with a closer examination of its context and the specific vessel types involved. Tomb 15 is a chamber type with a dromos, and contained a chest larnax with a single inhumation of an adult male.¹⁰⁵ Included with this burial were several bronze objects: a dagger,

⁹⁷ S. JONES, *Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past*, in P. GRAVES-BROWN, S. JONES and C. GAMBLE (eds), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: the Construction of European Communities* (New York 1996), 67.

⁹⁸ I. HODDER, *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture* (New York 1982); JONES (n. 97).

⁹⁹ J.S. SOLES, *Reverence for dead ancestors in prehistoric Crete*, in R. LAFFINEUR and R. HÄGG (eds), *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum 22, Liège 2001), 231–232.

¹⁰⁰ Compare M. DIETLER, *Driven by drink: the role of drinking in the political economy and the case of Early Iron Age France*, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9 (1990), 352–406; A. JOFFEE, *Alcohol and social complexity in ancient western Asia*, *Current*

Anthropology (1998), 297–322; Y. HAMILAKIS, *The anthropology of food and drink consumption and the Aegean archaeology*, in W. COULSON and S. VAUGHAN (eds), *Aspects of Paleodiet in the Aegean* (London 2002), 55–64; M. DIETLER, *Theorizing the feast: rituals of consumption, commensal politics, and power in African societies*, in M. DIETLER and B. HAYDEN (eds), *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* (Washington, D.C. 2001), 65–114.

¹⁰¹ DIETLER (n. 100, 1990).

¹⁰² DIETLER (n. 100, 1990); DIETLER (n. 100, 2001).

¹⁰³ Tomb 19, which contains four individuals and sixteen pots, is a rare example where the pots can be associated with specific individuals. In this tomb the number of pots with each individual ranged from two to six.

¹⁰⁴ Tombs 7 and 9 each contained two open drinking vessels. Tomb 10, which contained two individuals, also contained two open drinking vessels. Tomb 6 contained four, and Tomb 19, with four individual burials, contained seven.

a small chisel, and the remains of two other blades. In addition to the drinking vessels were found two conical rhyta and two funnel-shaped rhyta. The specific drinking vessel types included pulled-rim bowls, conical cups, a kylix, collar-necked jugs, a trefoil-mouthed jug, and an amphoroid krater. While pulled-rim bowls and trefoil-mouthed jugs are common in the less well-equipped burials (pulled-rim bowls, in fact, occur in every single tomb), conical cups, collar-necked jugs, and amphoroid kraters are rare. In addition, only Tomb 15 contained a kylix.¹⁰⁶

As discussed above, the pulled-rim bowl and trefoil-mouthed jug shapes, with their dipped decorative styles, are continuations of ceramic traditions that existed in Neopalatial Mochlos. In LM III, these shapes are peculiar to east Crete and their characteristic dipped decoration is also rare outside of this region. The pulled-rim bowls from Tomb 15, in fact, are imports from Palaikastro. Conical cups and collar-necked jars, also, have Neopalatial precedents at Mochlos, but neither is specific to Mochlos or east Crete in LM III. One of the collar-necked jugs is also an import from Palaikastro, while the others appear to be imports from central Crete. The amphoroid krater and kylix, on the other hand, are new shape types at Mochlos. While kraters are a widespread, if relatively rare, shape in LM III Crete, kylikes are less common in east Crete than in central and western Crete. In the Mochlos settlement, they become less common after the LM IIIA period. Appropriately, while the krater from Tomb 15 is an import from Palaikastro, the kylix is most likely from central Crete.

Tomb 15 thus displays a diversity of regional styles and imports that is also common in many of the other LM IIIA tombs. With regard to its drinking vessels, it is only their large number and the presence of a kylix that sets it apart. At Mochlos, only two other tombs contained kylikes. One – Tomb 27 – was clearly disturbed and contained a single, imported LH IIIA2 kylix along with four pots of the Orientalizing Period.¹⁰⁷ The other – Tomb 2 – dates to an early phase of LM IIIB and bears remarkable similarities to Tomb 15.¹⁰⁸ Like Tomb 15, the individual buried in the tomb was an adult

male interred in a chest larnax. The tomb also contained a large number of open drinking vessels, including two kylikes imported from central Crete, a decorated shallow bowl possibly imported from Palaikastro (SM 10036), three conical cups, and six pulled-rim bowls, one of which is an import from Palaikastro (SM 9382). Also like Tomb 15, there was a decorated collar-necked jar probably imported from central Crete, trefoil-mouthed jugs, and three amphoroid kraters. The drinking assemblage in this tomb was therefore similar to that of Tomb 15 due to both the large number of open drinking vessels and the types of drinking vessels. Furthermore, it is the only other intact tomb to contain kylikes.

At LM IIIA1 Knossos, D'Agata argues that kylikes are associated with elite male burials that "show features of distinctly Mycenaean derivation."¹⁰⁹ With the destruction of the Knossos palace in LM IIIA2, D'Agata argues that kylikes become characteristic of all elite male burials, and what was originally a Mycenaean shape becomes standard among the elite of LM III Crete.¹¹⁰ At Mochlos both Tomb 15, dating to the LM IIIA 1–2, and Tomb 2, dating to IIIA 2–B, contain the characteristic drinking set of kylix, krater, and cup. Were the occupants making a claim to some Mycenaean or even Knossian identity?¹¹¹ Before answering this question one should be reminded that the Mochlos elites also incorporated distinctly local drinking practices into their mortuary rituals, and utilized imports from far eastern Crete as well as central Crete.

The elite tomb assemblages at Mochlos may well have their roots in Mycenaean and Knossian drinking traditions, but by the time they are deposited at Mochlos it is unclear whether such specific references still apply. Even if they do, the diversity of the tomb assemblages at Mochlos makes it clear that they express multiple layers of identity. Among these layers, the connections to local tradition may have been every bit as important to elite legitimization as the kylikes and kraters that signified their association with Knossian or pan-Cretan elite practices.

¹⁰⁸ The late date of this tomb is based primarily on an imported LH IIIB1 stirrup jar (SM 9344). Two other stirrup jars (SM 9346, SM 11126) also date to a late phase of LM IIIA2 or early IIIB. The other decorated pottery in the tomb, as well as the plain kylikes, date to LM IIIA.

¹⁰⁹ A.L. D'AGATA, *Hidden Wars: Minoans and Mycenaeans at Hagia Triada in the LM III Period. The Evidence from Pottery*, in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *Polemos: le contexte guerrier en Egée à l'âge du bronze* (Aegaeum 19, Liège 1999), 52.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*, 54–55.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*, 54.

¹⁰⁵ SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), 218–222, fig. 24; SOLES (n. 44), 789–790.

¹⁰⁶ Kylikes, in general, are very rare in the Mochlos tombs. Only Tombs 2, 15, and 27 contained a total of four.

¹⁰⁷ SOLES (n. 99).

The pottery and ritual practices associated with the tombs at Mochlos may not conclusively support the presence of either a specifically Mycenaean or Knossian elite. In regard to the identity of those who first reoccupied Mochlos, however, it is possible that the individual buried in Tomb 15 was one of these individuals. The relatively short time span of the LM IIIA1 period and the advanced age of the individual in Tomb 15 raise this possibility.¹¹² He need only have arrived at Mochlos in young adulthood during a late stage of LM II or an early stage of LM IIIA1. By the time of his death the mixture of LM IIIA1 and IIIA2 pottery in his tomb would be the natural result of the mixture of new and old pottery in contemporary use. If this is the case, the mortuary rituals practiced at the time of his death, which is likely to have occurred at about the same time as the destruction of Knossos, may bear little resemblance to those practiced in the place of his birth. By the time of his interment those who performed the rituals celebrated with a drinking ceremony that was typical for the Cretan elite of LM IIIA2, and that also included substantial local characteristics. It was not a specifically Mycenaean, or even a Knossian, ceremony, therefore, but one that fits well into the context of elite burial in LM IIIA2–B Crete.

V. Conclusions

This paper presented a series of observations that have emerged from recent study of the sub-phases of the LM IB–LM IIIA1 transition at Mochlos. Three points stand out. First, there is growing evidence that LM IB was a substantial period of habitation in the wider Mochlos region and one that witnessed changes on several levels. The most striking is the increasing settlement complexity with the addition of an urban ceremonial center, an artisans' quarters and several rural farmsteads operating under influence of a regional palatial center at Gournia.¹¹³ Pottery, one of our most sensitive measures of Minoan culture, develops considerably

during the period, culminating in a rich and varied body of fine wares now identified as the Mirabello Style or the Standard Tradition. While the recent overview of Driessen and MacDonald has suggested that the LM IB period is a period of stress and decline after the Thera eruption,¹¹⁴ such a view would not seem to be supported by the evidence from Mochlos and the Mirabello region, which appears to be expanding in population size and becoming more stratified in LM IB than in earlier periods.

Another record of this regional change is provided by the diachronic changes in local settlement patterns picked up in intensive survey at Kavousi.¹¹⁵ While the Prepalatial and Protopalatial landscape around Kavousi is characterized by an integrated scatter of small, egalitarian settlements taking advantage of best available agricultural resources, "...the Neopalatial landscape of Kavousi is highly connected... There are clearly lines between sites of different sizes, (and) ...the sites' relationship to the landscape is dictated not by customary land use, but by a regional hierarchy...".¹¹⁶ From survey material it was not possible to distinguish the LM IA and LM IB phases of this settlement pattern in the Kavousi area; however, the excavation of several different types of sites at Mochlos (town, artisans' quarters and farmstead) provides a strong indication that this landscape pattern continued to become even more complex through Final LM IB. That is not to say that other regions of Crete all followed the same trajectory in response to the volcanic eruption, but sudden and real decline in the Mirabello area only followed the Final LM IB destruction.¹¹⁷ The precise relationship of this destruction with the transition from LM IB to LM II at Knossos is a subject of immense interest, but also one that will require more thorough publication of complete assemblages across the island.

For the Mirabello region we note that the collapse of this regional political structure and its ruling elite in the violent Final LM IB destruction coincides with the disappearance of flourishing local production of metal artifacts, stone vases and the Mirabello style pottery. We are convinced that ultimately human action brought

¹¹² According to P.M. WARREN and V. HANKEY (Aegean Bronze Age Chronology (Bristol 1989), the LM IIIA1 period lasted approximately twenty to thirty years. Manning suggests a range of time for the same period from as many as sixty-five to as few as fifteen years (S. MANNING, *The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Early Bronze Age: Archaeology, Radiocarbon and History* (Sheffield 1995). The individual buried in Tomb 15 was an adult aged 44 to 56. See also SOLES and DAVARAS (n. 10, 1996), SOLES (n. 43), and IDEM (n. 99), 232.

¹¹³ J.S. SOLES, *The Gournia Palace*, *AJA* 95 (1991), 17–78; IDEM (n. 43), 61–62; WARREN (n. 3), 115–118; SOLES 2002.

¹¹⁴ DRIESSEN and MACDONALD (n. 3).

¹¹⁵ D.C. HAGGIS, *Integration and Complexity in the Late Pre-Palatial Period. A View from the Countryside in Eastern Crete*, in Y. HAMILAKIS (ed.), *Labyrinth Revisited. Rethinking 'Minoan' Archaeology* (Oxford 2002), 133–138.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 134.

¹¹⁷ SOLES (n. 43), 61–62.

about these events, and the new military elite at Knossos would appear to be the most likely suspects.¹¹⁸ This presentation of material from Mochlos provides more understanding of how this destruction fits into the wider pattern across the island, and in particular whether there was a single, island-wide event or something that started in central Crete first before reaching more distant parts of the island after LM II culture had already firmly taken hold.

In tracing the subsequent reoccupation, the recent excavations at Mochlos have documented for the first time in the area the presence of LM II pottery in the Mirabello region, as well as the possibility of a distinct but poorly preserved LM II phase. The paper has presented various pieces of evidence suggesting that this reoccupation occurred after the site was abandoned for a short period of time, although the site was reoccupied before the end of the LM II period. The possibility that the new settlers were sent to Mochlos under Knossian direction has been suggested in an earlier paper, which identifies the occupant of Tomb 15 as one such local religious leader, possibly a Telestas.¹¹⁹ Certainly the pottery from the LM II–III A1 levels reveals the strongest links with Knossos and central Crete. There are no extant tombs from the LM II period in the Limenaria cemetery, but their discovery cannot be ruled out. In any case there are signs that the new population in the settlement was organized in a more hierarchical fashion than the population of the earlier IB town. There are many large houses in the IB town, all showing considerable signs of wealth, while there is only one in the LM III A town, House Alpha, which is much larger and better furnished than the other houses. Many of the large IB houses also show signs of overseas trading contacts, particularly with the Cyclades, while only House A in the later settlement shows any evidence of this kind. Religious activities also appear to have been more dispersed in the earlier town with

small house shrines located in many of the IB houses, and a ceremonial building which met communal needs. In contrast, religious activities in the III A town appear to have been localized in House A. Social distinctions are even clearer in the cemetery where the five richest tombs contain males buried in chest larnakes, two of which contain a much richer series of grave goods than the others.

Finally, analysis of LM II–III A1 pottery assemblages provides evidence for measuring degrees of continuity and change in the reoccupation. The continuation of certain shapes and decorations suggests that a local tradition survived the LM IB destructions. The discontinuation of others, and the introduction of new ceramic shapes, also suggests that this tradition was accompanied by substantial change. In particular, the early reoccupation pottery suggests that although imports and influences emanated from Knossos during LM III A1, Palaikastro also played a role in local consumption habits. The imports from Palaikastro, moreover, fit well into local ceramic traditions that survived from Final LM IB.

This new body of evidence about the LM IB–III A1 transition at Mochlos enables us to examine the cultural identity of the population reoccupying Mochlos. It seems likely that a foreign element moved back onto the Mochlos point in order to take advantage of re-emerging sea-borne trade. The earliest reoccupation pottery so far found suggests that the foreign elements had ties to Knossos. At the same time, it is possible that some elements of a local population also returned to the area. Our knowledge of local ceramic traditions does not yet allow chronological distinctions at the same level of precision as those of the Knossian style.¹²⁰ In either case, the inhabitants of early reoccupation Mochlos were affected by the emergence of new cultural traditions.

By LM III A2, we see the emergence of a new elite class with ties to a pan-Cretan elite identity. These elites, however, also drew upon the local and east Cretan ceramic traditions. This combination of local and foreign traditions points to a fusion of cultural identities at Mochlos during this period. On the one hand, the most prevalent ceramic style in the settlement and tombs of early reoccupation Mochlos is a local tradition that is specific to the east Cretan region. On the other hand, a Mycenaean-inspired tradition originally emanating from

¹¹⁸ M.S.F. HOOD, Warlike Destruction in Crete c. 1450 B.C., in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Cretological Congress*. 21 September – 1 October, 1981 (Herakleion 1985), 170–178; SOLES (n. 43), 57–65 for the suggestion that the final LM IB destruction was preceded by a local earthquake destruction earlier in LM IB. For an interesting overview of the conditions, which gave rise to this Knossian military elite, see DRIESSEN (n. 2, 1998–1999), 98–105.

¹¹⁹ J.S. SOLES, The Ritual ‘Killing’ of Pottery at Mochlos, in P. BETANCOURT et al. (eds), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he Enters his 65th Year* (Aegaeum 20, Liège 1999), 787–791. A more detailed version was delivered as a lecture at the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete in 2001.

¹²⁰ And given the simplicity of the local dipped decorative style, such chronological precision may never be possible.

central Crete is widespread on the island and particularly concentrated in the elite tombs of LM IIIA Mochlos. These traditions are particularly evident in pottery that can be related to drinking activities, and such activities play a crucial role in the development of social and cultural identities. We suggest that they were used by the elite of reoccupation Mochlos to assert an empowering

connection to both local traditions and the more widespread elite traditions of LM III Crete.

Thomas M. BROGAN
INSTAP Study Center for East Crete
Pacheia Ammos
Ierapetra 72200
GREECE

R. Angus K. SMITH
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, PA
USA 19010

Jeffrey S. SOLES
Dept. of Classics
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Greensboro, N.C.
USA 27412