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From Past to Present. Studies in Memory of Manfred O. Korfmann

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From Past to Present. Studies in Memory of Manfred O. Korfmann

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Contents

Helladic Greece from the Middle Bronze Age to c. 1350 BCE*

Malcolm H. Wiener

Abstract

This paper examines the development and transformation of Helladic Greece over the course of three chronological periods: 1) Middle Helladic Greece c. 1800–1630/10 BCE; 2) the rise of the Mycenaean-dominated Argolid, Messenia, and Laconia to mainland preeminence in Late Helladic I–IIA c. 1630/10–1450/40 BCE, including the effects of the Theran eruption c.1525 BCE on the Minoan thalassocracy; 3) the century c. 1450/40–1350/40 BCE, beginning with the devastating destructions in Crete at the end of Late Minoan IB/Late Helladic IIA, marking the mainland conquest of the island, and ending with the destruction of Knossos early in Late Minoan/Late Helladic IIIA2 c. 1350/40 and its aftermath.

Chronological Preface

The absolute date ranges stated are based on a number of recent developments. First we may note the revision of the radiocarbon calibration curve contained in IntCal20, limiting the radiocarbon-measurement-derived date range for the Theran eruption late in Late Helladic (LH) I to the span 1570–1510 BCE (Reimer et al. 2020). The result is based on annual rather than decadal measurements of tree-ring segments of known calendar date from the number of annual rings (thereby limiting the effects of »spike years« to the single year in which they occur rather than the entire decade, at the same time reducing the potential distorting effect of the 11-year solar cycle (Shumilov et al. 2011, 856). Second is the realization that the Theran eruption was of a magnitude matched only by the Tambora eruption of 1815, which was followed by the »Year Without a Summer« of 1816 (McCoy 2004; Johnston et al. 2014; Martin 2018, 29). Third are indications of likely volcanic eruptions in tree rings of 1525 and 1524 BCE in California, Nevada, central Europe, and China.

Newly discovered ancient texts or corrected readings of ancient texts, and in particular the recognition that the scarab of Amenophis III found in a Late Minoan (LM) IIIA1 burial at Sellopoulo Tomb 4 at Knossos refers to a Sed Festival of the pharaoh (who held Sed Festivals to celebrate his 30th, 34th, and 37th years) and hence could not date from early in his reign as had once been assumed (Wiener forthcoming b), result in a downward shift in the date of the great destruction of the palace of Knossos and its control of much of Crete to c. 1350/40 BCE.

The Reemergence of Helladic Greece

The collapse of civilizations ranging from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia (e. g., Troy II–III) to Malta and Spain c. 2250–2050 BCE[1] included the

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* It is an honor and pleasure to dedicate this paper to the memory of my dear friend, colleague, and mentor in all matters Anatolian, Prof. Manfred Korfmann. Thanks to his great kindness, I was twice able to spend several days in his company at his excavation at Troy, each an unforgettable experience. His sudden and untimely passing deprived the scholarly world of his vast trove of knowledge of Anatolia in all periods, and of the Troad in particular.

My profound thanks are due to Erin Hayes, Jason Earle, Rebecca Hahn, and Catriona Hughes for advice and research assistance. I am also grateful for probing questions and helpful comments from Jeremy Rutter, Peter Warren, Richard Janko, George Huxley, Jack Davis, Shari Stocker, and Jan Driessen.

[1] Wiener 2014; 2018; Weiss 2012; 2013; Pavúk et al. 2014; Kouka 2013; de Miroschedji 2010; Broodbank 2013.

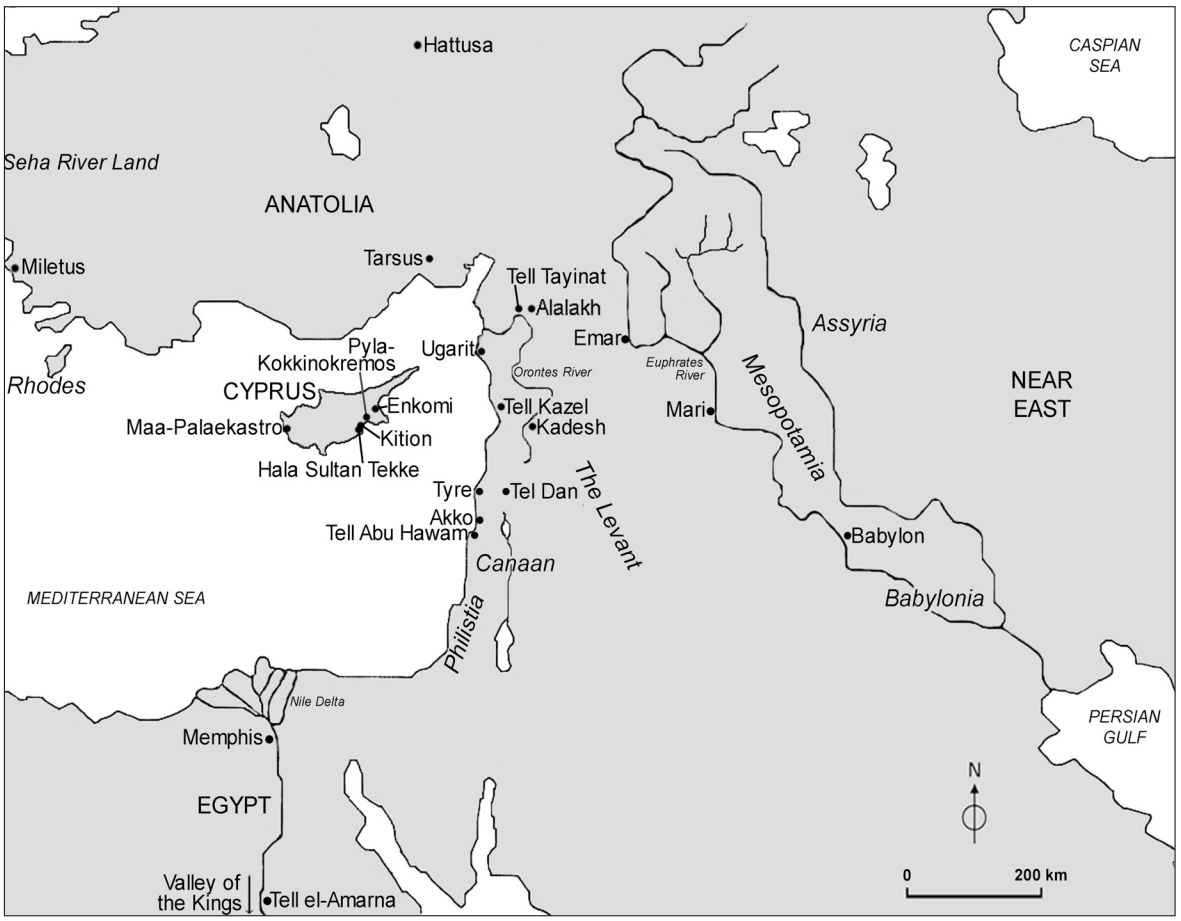
Map of the Greek mainland showing sites mentioned in the text.

Early Bronze Age culture of Greece. The Early Bronze Age in Greece was exemplified by the large, multi-story structures of the Rundbau at Tiryns and the House of Tiles at Lerna, with their evidence of the administrative use of seals (Kilian 1986; Wiencke 2000, 652–653; Dickinson 1994, 189), both destroyed in the Early Bronze Age and replaced by simpler dwellings with no indication of administration. The first indication of the reemergence of incipient complex societies in mainland Greece post-2000 BCE comes in Middle Helladic (MH) II c. 1800–1700 BCE with the construction of a monumental building complex with massive defensive walls at Kolonna on the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf off the northeast coast of the Peloponnese, which remained in use with additions until LH I–II.

Middle Helladic II also sees the construction of an impressively large building, now under excavation, at Marathon in northern Attica, where tholos tombs of the same date also appear (Vavouranakis/Papadatos 2017). By virtue of its position near a fertile plain and a strategic mountain pass on the west

Map of the Aegean showing sites mentioned in the text.

coast of Attica, Marathon may well have been able to control a large part of the narrow strait separating the island of Euboea from the mainland. (Marathon of course was again of strategic significance around 1,200 years later.) In general, however, the MH period throughout MH I and MH II displays a significant degree of homogeneity between households, no great distinctions in burials, and a general absence of valuable or non-functional objects (Voutsaki 1998, 44; 2010, 91–92; Touchais/Touchais 2016, 289). Joseph Maran (2011, 286) has described Middle Helladic society as »latently stratified,« but restrained in display. The end of the Middle Helladic period is also a time of abandonment of some settlements and the reorganization of others. The rise of Mycenae beginning in MH III as indicated by the burials in Grave Circle B and continuing into LH I was followed by the gradual decline of other sites in the Argolid, first Lerna, then Asine, and later Argos (Voutsaki 2010, 100). A segment at Mycenae had succeeded in entering networks of alliance or gift exchange with elites in Crete (and perhaps elsewhere, including



Map of the Eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia showing sites mentioned in the Text.

Aegina – see Voutsaki 2010, 96). The arrival of Minoan luxury products, itinerant craftspeople, and access via Crete to expansive exchange networks appears to have been significant in disrupting a more egalitarian ethos of Middle Helladic societies (Voutsaki 1998, 47).

By the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, Protopalatial Crete had established connections with the Near East and Egypt (Wiener 2013a). Cretans (Keftiu) and Crete (Kaptara) appear 35 times in texts from Mari, with many texts remaining to be translated (Foster 2018, 343–344). An 18th century BCE text from Mari on the Euphrates instructs that a shipment of tin be delivered to the man of Kaptara and his agent at Ugarit (Foster 2018, 346; Wiener 2013b, 160, and citations therein). The introduction of bronze weapons in numbers was to have a major impact on Helladic society, particularly via their introduction from Crete in the form of Minoan Type A swords and their successors (Wiener 1984, 21 n. 40; 1987, 263 n. 12). Two such swords were already present at Malia in MM II (Sandars 1961; Molloy/Georganas forthcoming). A batch of Type A swords deposited at the end of MM II or beginning of MM III was found in the Arkalochori sacred cave near Galatas, within the territory of Knossos (Molloy 2013a, 62; Molloy/Georganas forthcoming). The swords and their method of use in battle represented a major advance in weaponry and organization, superior to anything known at the time. The swords were accompanied by the introduction of figure-eight shields, another important innovation and one requiring coordinated training and use by squads of fighters. These innovations were passed on to Helladic Greece at least by LH I as seen in the Shaft Graves of Circle A at Mycenae. Molloy and Geor-

GREEK MAINLAND		CRETE	
MH II	c. 1800–1700		
MH III	c. 1700–1630/10		
LH I	c. 1630/10–1520/10	**LM IA**	c. 1630/10–1520
LH IIA	c. 1520/10–1450/40	**LM IB**	c. 1520–1440
LH IIB	c. 1450/40–1410/00	**LM II**	c. 1440–1410/00
LH IIIA1	c. 1410/00–1365/55	**LM IIIA1**	c. 1410/00–1355/45
LH IIIA2	c. 1365/55–1290/85	**LM IIIA2** **Destruction of Knossos**	c. 1355/45–1290 c. 1350/40
LH IIIB1	c. 1290/85–1240	**LM IIIB**	c. 1290–1200
LH IIIB2	c. 1240–1200/1190		
LH IIIC	c. 1200/1190–1070	**LM IIIC**	c. 1200–1070

Chronology Chart.

ganas (forthcoming) observe that the swords which emerge in the period »require very specialised skill-sets to use effectively, which in turn requires the dedication of time and resources to warriors and their training.« The 40+ Type A Minoan swords found in Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae are unlikely to have been the personal equipment of the deceased; rather they may be weapons contributed by companions or taken from enemies (Molloy/Georganas forthcoming). In any event, in Mycenaean Greece and before that to a significant extent in Minoan Crete, leadership in warfare appears to have been a major component of authority to rule.

The end of Middle Minoan (MM) IIB and the Protopalatial (aka Old Palace or First Palace) period c. 1700 BCE marked the beginning of a series of major developments in Crete with profound effects on the intertwined histories of Crete and Helladic Greece throughout the Bronze Age. Discussion of the evolution of Helladic Greece must always take into account critical developments in Minoan Crete. First, major earthquakes around 1700 BCE rocked Crete, including the major palaces, with Phaistos and Malia likely suffering greater damage than Knossos. The destruction of Phaistos, Malia, and many other sites was not limited to earthquake damage, however. Rather the destructions and abandonments at the end of MM IIB and in the years following marked the beginning of the dominance of palatial Knossos over all or almost all of Crete. Malia, the site of a Middle Minoan palace and other grand structures, was not rebuilt until the end of MM III/beginning of LM IA, having lain unoccupied during MM III. In the course of the rebuilding at Malia, the northwest area of the former palace was abandoned and the former palace extended toward the south, thus taking on the appearance of Knossos, complete with Knossian-type mason's marks and horizontal beams which had no precedent at Malia (Devolder 2020).

Phaistos with its grand Middle Minoan palace was not rebuilt with a completed palatial structure until LM IB, around 200 years after its destruction at the end of MM IIB. The major Phaistian settlements at Monastiraki and Apodoulou in the Amari Valley between Phaistos and the north coast of Crete were destroyed and abandoned, likely as a result of Knossian assault (Wiener 2007, 232). The areas surrounding Ierapetra on the south coast of Crete and the nearby island of Chryssi were also destroyed and abandoned. Many of these areas remained largely unoccupied until MM IIIB/LM IA, when they were

reinhabited with indicia of strong Knossian influence. During this interval the palace at Galatas in the Pediada plain directly east of Knossos was also destroyed by hostile action. At least 50 local Minoan peak sanctuaries fell out of use during this period, while the roles of the peak sanctuary of Juktas above Knossos in particular, and of Kophinas, c. 20 km to the east of Phaistos, appear to increase dramatically.

It is important to note in this regard the omnipresence of cultic practice in Minoan Crete prior to the mainland conquest of Crete at the end of LH IIA. N. Marinatos (1984) has described Minoan Crete as not only a thalassocracy but also a »threskeiocracy« (a state ruled via cult and cultic ritual). The multitude of peak sanctuaries, sacred caves, cultic installations at major buildings, and depictions of cult in various media, including vast numbers of seals, all testify to the role of religion in Minoan life. Accordingly cultic conflict, including the infilling of lustral basins around the same time as the creation of Minoan halls (but with new lustral basins added at Phaistos in the course of LM IB rebuilding [Carinci 2019, 26]), as well as the abandonment of many peak sanctuaries and some of the sacred caves during the period when Knossos takes control of all of Crete and becomes its cosmological center (Soles 1995) may have played a major role in events leading to the Helladic conquest of Minoan Crete at the beginning of LM II/LH IIB discussed below.

Prior to the destruction of the palace at Phaistos, two principal scripts were in use in Crete: Minoan Linear A, principally in the Phaistian area centered on the Messara plain in the south of Crete, and Cretan Hieroglyphic, mostly in the Knossian area in the north of Crete. After the Knossian domination of Crete beginning by MM IIIB, the script of the defeated south, Linear A, is adopted by Knossos and subsequently adapted to record an early form of the Greek language in Linear B. It would appear that the rulers of Knossos, in order to administer the whole of Crete plus sites in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, and in the area of Miletus on the coast of Anatolia (Driessen/Schoep 1999; Wiener 2013b, 151; Niemeier 2005a, 7), made use of former Phaistian scribes in the course of adopting the former Phaistian script. Descendants of these scribes and/or others they trained in turn became the scribal class of Helladic Greece and the greater Mycenaean realm of LH IIIA2–IIIB. Literacy is directly connected to the exercise of authority, both in the area controlled via recordkeeping and in the ability to communicate with areas beyond.

Notwithstanding internal strife within Crete, Minoan culture beginning in MH II and increasingly in MH III–LH I provided a powerful inspiration, attraction, and source of knowledge for Messenia, Mycenae, and the great citadel at Kolonna on the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf as well. Thucydides (1.4) describes a Crete once ruled by a Minos who put down the pirates and established his sons as governors of islands, an account which raises the question of whether Aeginetans, perhaps at some point during MM II prior to the establishment of Knossian island-wide control of Crete, may have been among the pirates (Wiener 2013b, 164). One Aeginetan Middle Bronze Age sherd shows a scene of naval warfare (Rutter 1993, 778–780, fig. 14). By MM III, however, relations between Crete and Aegina appear close, with Minoan culture exercising a strong influence on Kolonna. The Aegina Treasure, a trove of jewelry of exceptional quality found on the island during clandestine digging, includes items of gold jewelry of seemingly Minoan creation and others perhaps of eastern Mediterranean origin which likely passed through Minoan hands (Higgins 1979; Gates 1989; Laffineur 2003). Moreover, Minoan-style ceramics were produced on Aegina from local clays, suggesting the at least occasional presence of Minoan potters and pot-painters, a phenomenon noted at places on the Greek mainland as well (Hiller 1993; Gauss 2006, 445). Among the ceramics made from local clay on Aegina were archetypal Minoan conical cups thrown on the wheel. Minoan-type loom weights made from local clay, a Minoan stone hammer, and Minoan faience jewelry also appear on Aegina.

Relations no doubt reflected Crete's enormous advantage in population and resources. Crete was able to establish a colony on the island of Kea near the silver and copper mines of Lavrion (Wiener 2013b, 157), notwithstanding Aegina's far greater proximity to both Kea and the mines. The Minoan colony on Kea was provided at the time of its founding in MM IIIB–beginning of LM IA with a stout defensive wall (J. L. Davis 1977, esp. 177, 183–184), unlike any site on Crete or other Minoan site abroad at

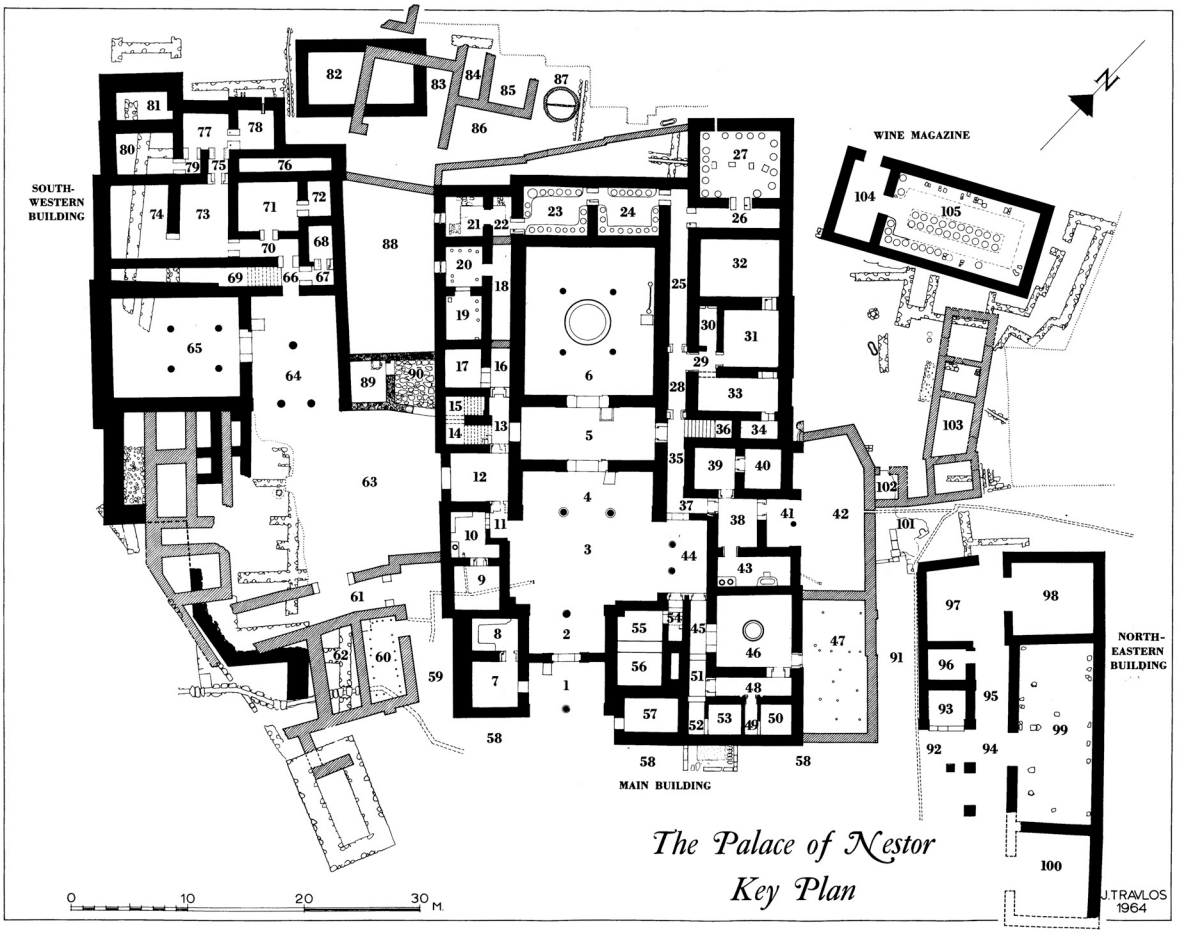


Fig. 1: Plan of the Palace at Pylos (GNU Free Documentation License).

that time. Minoan Crete's interest in the Lavrion mines may have focused on their copper, which when combined with tin, some of which Crete obtained from Mari via Ugarit, produced the essential bronze of the Bronze Age. After the Theran eruption toward the end of LM IA/LH I, three major stone tholos tombs are constructed on the hill of Thorikos overlooking the Lavrion mines, no doubt signifying the controlling authority, whether located at Athens or situated locally. At least 6 silver objects out of a total of 40 found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae have been sourced metallurgically to Lavrion (Kelder 2020, 41, citing Stos-Gale 2014, 196–198; Pareja et al. 2019, fig. 11). It is in this metallurgical milieu that Mycenae rose to the prominence first suggested by the wealth buried in the Shaft Graves of Grave Circle A, described below. The mines of Cyprus soon thereafter became the principal source first of Minoan, then of Helladic, copper as its use grew exponentially during the Late Bronze Age.

Minoan connections in LM I extended all the way to the Indian subcontinent, as shown by finds from a LM IB buried hoard from Chryssi island off the south coast of Crete which included two oxhide ingot fragments from Cyprus, carnelian from India, glass beads from the Levant, lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, blue frit beads from Egypt, amethyst from Egypt, and many pieces of gold (Sofianou et al. forthcoming). The monkey from the LM IA wall painting on Thera shown handing crocuses to an enthroned female figure has recently been described as a type known to have existed in India (Pareja et al. 2019). The trade in copper and tin was of special importance (Wiener 1984, 18–19; Betancourt 2002,

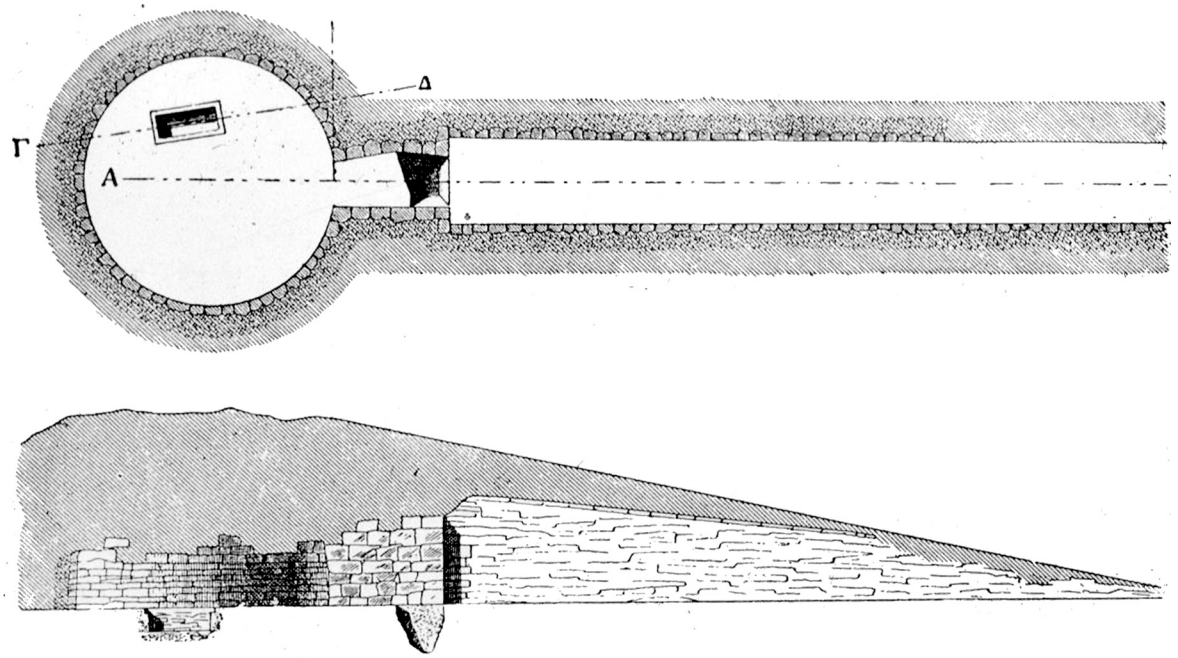


Fig. 2 – Plan and Section of the Vapheio Tholos (after C. Tsountas, Έρευναι εν τη Λακωνική και ο Τάφος του Βαφειού. Archaiologiki Ephemeris 1889, 137–138).

208). Crete is endowed with little or none, yet by LM I was producing large amounts of impressive bronze objects, including Type A swords, spears, enormous bronze axes, and cauldrons, plus countless tools (Muhly 1973, 191; Betancourt 2002, 208). Acquiring copper and tin required ships, the means of protecting them, and goods to exchange, plus a bureaucracy to manage the production and trade (as exemplified by the parchment or papyrus packets countersigned by over a thousand seal impressions found in House A at the eastern Cretan port of Zakros (Wiener 1987, 265). The scale of the Minoan thalassocracy under Knossian control is clearly relevant in assessing the Minoan impact on Helladic Greece.

In MH III (c. 1700–1630/10 BCE), the Argolid itself shows signs of increasing complexity, particularly at the site of Argos, 12 km from Mycenae, where the residential area contained several large multistory buildings, courtyards, and streets surrounded by an enclosure wall (Papadimitriou et al. 2015; Deger-Jalkotzy 2018). The finds included fine ceramics. Social stratification is apparent, with the remainder of the populace living in simpler dwellings at the foot of the hill. It seems likely that a similar community existed at Mycenae itself, given the nature of the earliest burials at Mycenae, but evidence of any such settlement on the Mycenaean citadel was removed by later building on a grand scale. The area of the later palace at Pylos in Messenia also provides evidence of ambitious structures near the end of MH III and of early contact with Minoan Crete (Fig. 1; J. L. Davis 2019; J. L. Davis et al. 1997, 429–430; Nelson 2017, 304, 311–314, 349–350). Both the Argolid surrounding Mycenae, and Messenia with its center at Pylos, enjoy littoral advantages via the proximity of coasts, lowlands, and hillsides.

The following LH I period in Greece witnessed a marked increase in social differentiation, both between individuals and between localities, that was intimately connected to greatly expanded contact with Crete. The profound impact on Helladic Greece of the palatial culture of Minoan Crete can be seen in the Argolid at Mycenae itself and other sites; in Laconia at the recently discovered Mycenaean palace at Ayios Vasileios, the tholos tomb nearby at Vapheio (Fig. 2), and the impressive structure known as the Mansion at the Menelaion; and in particular in Messenia at Pylos, both in the architecture of the original palace and especially in the tomb burials, described below, some of which contained stunning

objects from Minoan Crete. One tomb displays a Minoan mason's mark, such as also appears on a still more impressive tholos tomb at Peristeria also in Messenia, both likely the work of Minoan architects and masons (Nelson 2007, 151, 155; Shaw 2009, 66).

Over the course of six or seven generations, from c. 1625 BCE to the mainland conquest of Minoan Crete c. 1450/40 BCE, and for half a century thereafter, the rulers, elites, warriors, traders, and skilled craftspeople of Helladic Greece absorbed Minoan culture in manifold dimensions, including elite architecture, domestic and funerary, literate administration via the Linear B script based on Minoan Linear A, and much terminology in the form of words with no Indo-European cognates. Many of the divinities mentioned in the Linear B tablets and prominent in later Greek religion including Zeus, Athena, Dionysus, and the Delphic cult of Apollo and Demeter, together with the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, have no Greek etymological roots and may have come from Crete, perhaps partly by intermarriage at various times and levels (Wiener 2016).

Because the Minoan influence on Mycenaean Greece was not the result of conquest or a major transfer of population, I described the contact many years ago as a type of »Versailles Effect« (Wiener 1984), referring to the impact of the French court in the fields of architecture, art, adornment, and language on the culture and physical appearance of the courts and aristocracies of Germany and Scandinavia. Regarding Mycenaean Greece, it is likely that unlike the case of Versailles, significant numbers of skilled Minoan architects, craftspeople, and in particular literate bilingual administrators moved, whether or not voluntarily, from Crete to the mainland both shortly before, and increasingly after, the eruption of the Theran volcano toward the end of LH I c. 1525 BCE,[2] and continued their emigration throughout LH IIA and LH IIB, but particularly after the Helladic conquest of Minoan Crete at the end of LM IB/LH IIA c. 1450/40 BCE. Conversely, it may be that mainland cohorts were active in Crete even perhaps as a Knossian praetorian guard, prior to the Helladic conquest of Crete at the beginning of LM II.

[2] Pearson et al. 2018; 2020; Wiener 2012; forthcoming b; Wiener/Earle 2014.

The Funerary and Cultic Evidence

The origin or inspiration of the Helladic tholos tomb has been a matter of controversy. Some have argued for a Minoan inspiration in the form of MM III burials in tholoi, a view bolstered by Minoan masons' marks on mainland tholoi built of stone, such as the MH III tomb at Koryphasion (e. g., Hood 1960) and the LH IIA tomb at Peristeria, as noted above. The earliest of the somewhat Minoanizing mainland tholoi, at Koryphasion near Pylos, was built at the end of the Middle Helladic period. Tholos Tomb B in the major Minoan burial ground at Archanes-Phourni c. 7 km from Knossos of MM I–II date provides perhaps the closest parallel to mainland tholoi, but also appears to differ in some respects (Dickinson 2011, 588). (Of course similarities can occur because architects may respond to similar desires with similar available techniques. Voigtlander notes the appearance of tombs resembling Tholos Tomb B at Archanes in the 6th century BCE in Caria [2009, 118–119.])

Others (e. g., Dickinson 1977, 61; Howell 1992, 37; Korres 1993, 236) have argued for the derivation of the tholos from the mainland tumulus, noting inter alia that tumulus burials and tholoi are often found in close proximity (Voutsaki 1998, 42). The Helladic ruler/elite funerary elaboration is perhaps best described as the continuation of a mainland tradition intensified by access to Minoan construction methods and skills. The building of tholoi as burial chambers spread quickly from Messenia to nearby Laconia, the Argolid, and coastal Attica (particularly at Thorikos above the mines at Lavrion), the major mainland centers in LH IIA. Grand tholos tombs in various places suggest the existence of highly specialized architects and masons, some of whom at least are likely to have been Minoans or their descendants who traveled. Tholoi were not adopted at Thebes, however, and everywhere rulers and other members of the elite were also buried in Helladic shaft graves of various types, such as those in the Grave Circles at Mycenae and the Tomb of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos, and in impressive chamber tombs. Helladic civilization from c. 1600 BCE to c. 1300 BCE, and in certain respects until c. 1200 BCE, exhibited a combination of Minoan and Helladic behaviors, traditions, and practices.

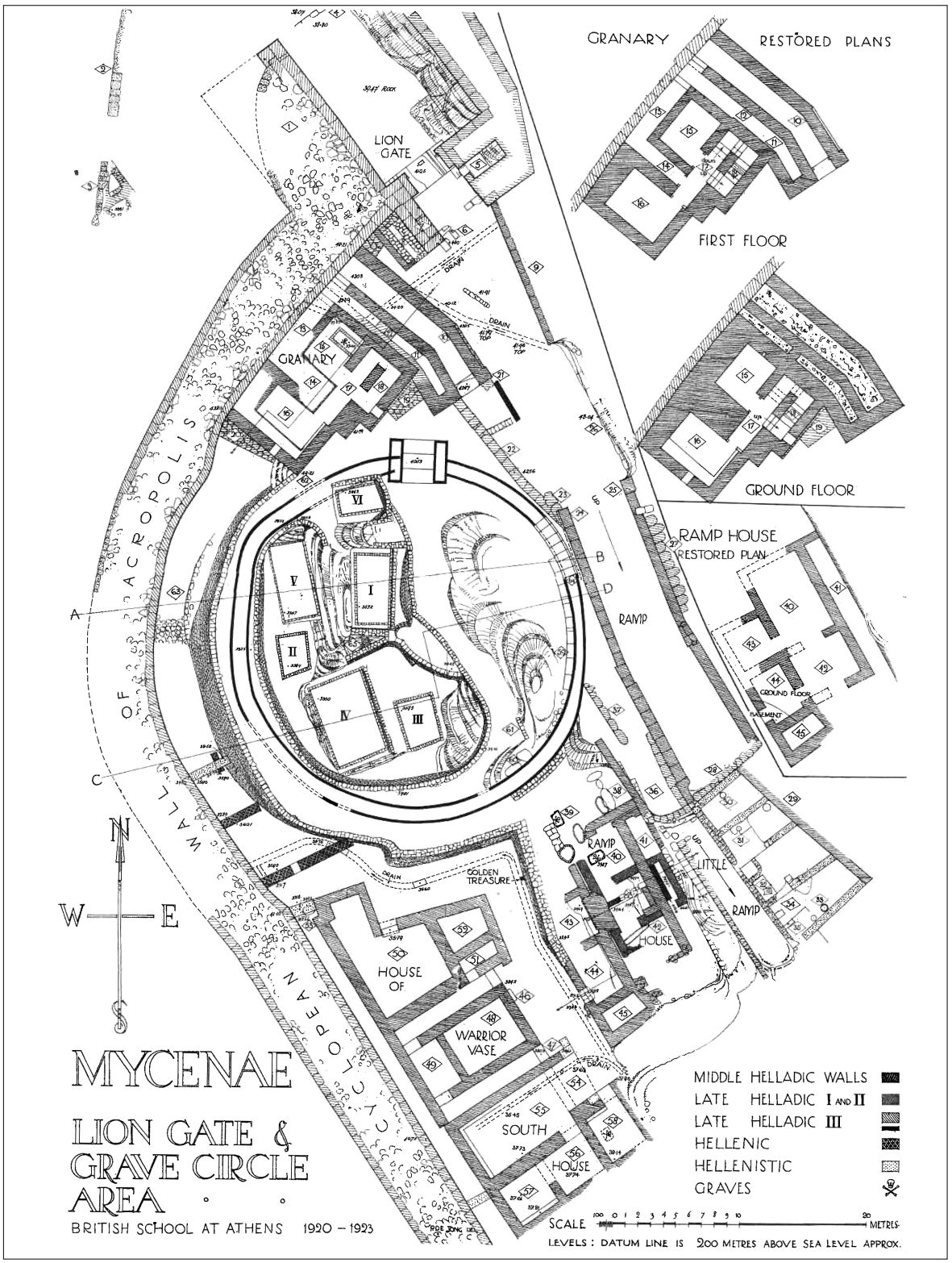


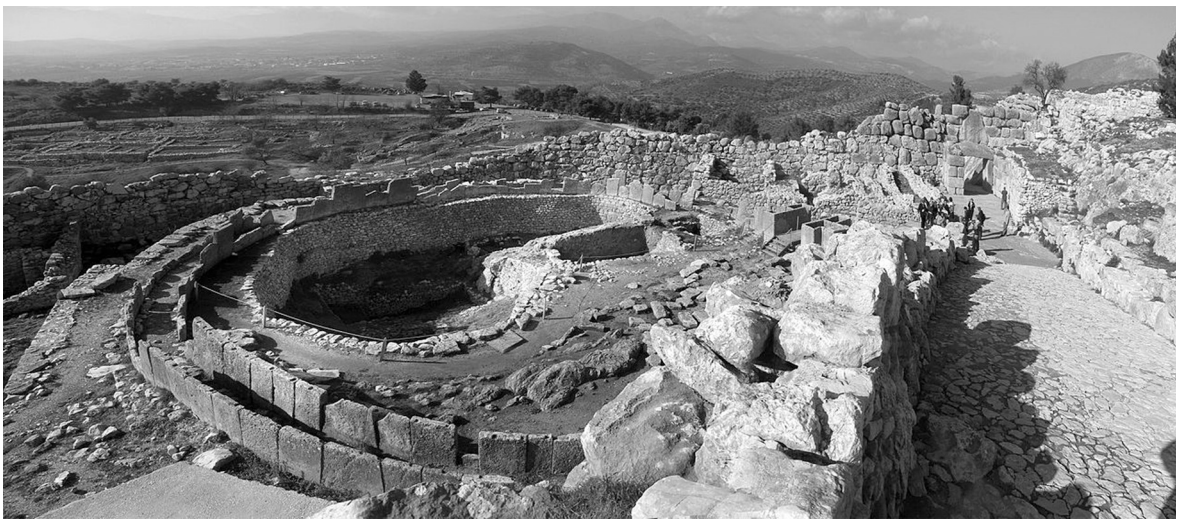
Fig. 3: Area Plan of Grave Circle A at Mycenae (A. Wace/W. A. Heurtley/W. Lamb/L. B. Holland/C. A. Boethius, The Report of the School Excavations at Mycenae. Annual of the British School at Athens 25, 1921/1923, pl. I).

The amount of wealth buried during LH I and the beginning of LH IIA in the Shaft Graves of Grave Circle A at Mycenae was extraordinary (Fig. 3). Shaft Graves III, IV, and V alone held 13 kilos' worth of gold objects and over 30 silver items (Foster 2018, 347). Face masks of gold, crowns, tiaras, luxurious jewelry and other ornaments, and Minoan precious objects and bronze swords, undisturbed through all the changes during the Mycenaean era, leave no doubt that Grave Circle A was the burial ground of Mycenaean rulers and their families (Fig. 4). Over 200 prepossessing objects made from various stones, faience, gold, and silver, all Minoan in appearance, buried in the Shaft Graves of Grave Circle A (Bloedow 1997, 444). Wright (2004, 20–24, 50–51) suggest that the luxury objects may have been commissioned, with Shaft Grave IV in particular carefully curated. The fortuitous preservation of the Shaft Grave contents, in comparison to the much more common looting of tombs, of course may present a distorted overall impression, but on current evidence certain classes of material including gold masks, animal rhyta, large gold and silver vessels, and many Minoan cultic accessories may have arrived only at Mycenae, and not at other mainland or island sites (Voutsaki 2001, 203). The appearance of such wealth cannot have been the result solely of intensification of agricultural and herding practices or access to resources and labor from an expanding territory, but must rather have been acquired from contact with Knossian-dominated Minoan Crete, with its own reasons for seeking an ally and peaceful relations in the Argolid and beyond (Voutsaki 2016, 75).

A desire to impress onlookers with the special status of the deceased, to avoid disfavor by the spirits of the deceased, or to avoid being perceived as benefitting from the deaths of those buried are among the possible explanations for the extent of wealth disposal in Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Similar burial behavior occurs at various places on the mainland, including Messenia, Laconia (Vapheio tomb), and Dendra in the Argolid. Some combination of control over ritual, over resources including at some point horses and chariots, and martial prowess may have been the bases of elite power. In Mycenaean palaces, as in a different manner at Knossos, the architectural plan was designed with ritual actions including feasting prominently in mind. The culture of Minoan Crete in the Neopalatial period, and of the palace at Knossos in particular, was clearly attractive and worthy of emulation in the minds of Helladic elites, who appear to wish to display emphatically their privileged contact with Crete and its Knossian overlords.

The Grave Circle A tombs at Mycenae contained the burials of eight males, nine females, and two children (with the gender determination based to a large extent on associated grave goods). Graves V and IV were the most richly endowed, and also contained by far the largest numbers of swords, together

Fig. 4: View of Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Andreas Trepte, CC BY-SA 2.5).



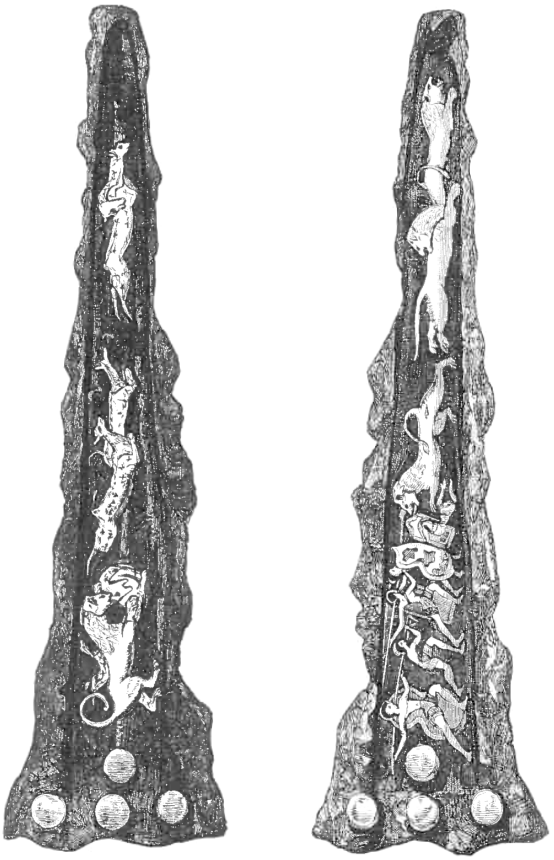


Fig. 5: Dagger from Grave IV, Grave Circle A at Mycenae (H. Schliemann, Mycenae. A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1880, 386).

with daggers (Fig. 5). Grave V held the finest of the gold face masks, plus the gold object known as the Cup of Nestor and the Silver Siege Rhyton with its depiction of warriors besieging a walled fortress. Also present in the burial were a staff, a scepter, and a gold signet ring showing armed combat in a mountain glen, in a scene very similar in composition to the gold signet ring from the Tomb of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos described below, if not as remarkable in artistic expression.

The Shaft Graves contained over 120 weapons, two-thirds of them swords, 30 of which had decorations along their midribs, sometimes elaborate, in gold, silver, and electrum, indicating the importance attached to the swords at the apex of the Mycenaean society (Foster 2018, 351). The fine weapons buried in Grave Circle A, including Minoan Type A swords whose use required special training, perhaps by Minoan instructors (Molloy 2013a, 60; Harrell 2009, 210), together with depictions of chariots with weapon-wielding occupants, suggest the existence of a warrior aristocracy, which appears to be a continuing feature of Mycenaean society. In addition to the swords and daggers, the burials contained body armor including helmets, shields, corselets, greaves, armguards, and handguards. All of the weapons found in the Shaft Graves were of Minoan manufacture or based on Minoan prototypes. The prevalence of weapons in lavish burials, together with depictions of males shown engaged only in warfare, single combat, or hunting powerful beasts, may be symbolic of the basis of rule (Voutsaki 2001, 211; Harrell 2009, 28, 210–214). Seals and finger rings from Shaft Graves III and IV show scenes of men fighting or hunting lions (Laffineur 1992, 108). The corpus of Mycenaean names mentioned 300 years later in the Linear B tablets from Pylos contains many names with warrior connotations (Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 127).

Warfare has often been regarded as generally playing a formative role in the development of social complexity, leading to rule over larger territories (Whittaker 2014, 194). Maran (1995) has noted significant changes in settlement patterns at the beginning of LH I with the abandonment of many long-occupied sites, and suggested that the concomitant establishment of new sites might be due to warlords making land grants. While the Mycenaean elite of the Shaft Grave era may have included non-military elements, as perhaps indicated by Shaft Grave III which contains the bodies of two men without weapons, the capability to engage and succeed in warfare appears to have been a central source of political power and elite identity in the early Mycenaean era. Moreover, mortuary rites (including the provision of feasts) may shape as well as reflect societal status. (Whether inhabitants of Mycenae were continuously aware throughout the Late Bronze Age of the royal burials in Grave Circle A is a separate and unsettled question [Gates 1985; Laffineur 1990; Younger 1997]).

Many of the objects found in Grave Circle A were made from precious or highly valuable materials not found in Greece, namely gold, bronze (tin and copper), semi-precious stones of various kinds, faience, amber in large quantities (Deger-Jalkotzy

2018), and, in Graves V and IV, exotic ivory tips of elephant tusks (Graziadio 1991, 406) likely imported from Egypt or the Near East via Crete, together with Egyptian stone vases, in one case reworked in Crete (Warren 2006, 305–308). The chariots depicted surely originated in Egypt, the Levant, or Anatolia, and may well have come to Mycenae via Crete. Almost all of the 42 silver vessels deposited in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were of Minoan workmanship. Accordingly, it seems highly likely that Minoan smiths were employed or required to create objects of gold and silver on Mycenaean themes, perhaps together with swords of Minoan type, some probably at Mycenae itself, and perhaps others in Messenia and Laconia.

Via Minoan Crete, mainland centers including Mycenae, sites in Messenia, and to perhaps a lesser extent sites in Laconia and elsewhere in Helladic Greece obtained access to international trade routes and a wide variety of products (Wiener 1987; Wiener 2013b; Betancourt 2002, 208). Particularly notable was the Minoan importation from the eastern Mediterranean of copper and tin, used to produce not only swords, but also gigantic bronze cauldrons and double axes, the earliest known large saws, and thousands of tools, as noted above (Betancourt 2002, 208; Muhly 1973, 191). Minoan access to supplies of metal, including gold, tin, and copper, came by three trading networks along which Minoan colonies and trading emporia of various sizes and relationships to local entities were established. One ran north to the mines of Lavrion, a second ran to the east and south to Cyprus rich in copper ore, the entrepôt of Ugarit, where tin coming via Mari was available, and to Egypt, rich in gold. The third network extended to the northeast via Kos, Kalymnos, and Samos to the Minoan colony at Miletus on the coast of Anatolia, where metals from further east arriving via the Meander river may have been obtainable. The third trading network continued northward to Mikro Vouni on the island of Samothrace, with its evidence of Minoan administration via seal use, a short distance by sail from the metal sources of the Rhodope mountains and Amphipolis in Macedonia (Wiener 2013b, 161–162).

While many of the early Mycenaean prestige objects including swords and perhaps chariots came from Crete, some may have come from elsewhere. Gold, for example, appears to have been relatively scarce in Crete and often used there in the Neopalatial period as a thin veneer (E. N. Davis 1983, 32–33) or for gold rings. Gold, however, was plentiful in the Mycenaean tombs. Much of the gold may have come not by Minoan trade routes, but rather directly from sources in Transylvania (in modern Romania), perhaps accompanied by tin (E. N. Davis 1983, 34). Spectacular objects of gold appear at Varna in Bulgaria already in the mid-fifth millennium BCE. A variety of metal jewelry similar to objects from Troy and Crete is found in Thrace in the late third millennium BCE. Major gold deposits occur in the Rhodope Mountains, where later LH IIIA1 pottery and a Helladic-type rapier have been found. Helladic weapons were also in use in the southern part of the western Balkans and south of the lower Danube River (Horejs/Jung 2018, 235). The finds indicate a period of significant contact. Reinhard Jung cautions, however, that »only by the late 15th and early 14th century BC did the best armed warriors of the central and eastern Balkans have swords that were exactly equivalent to the Mycenaean weapons« (2018, 246). Jung also notes that gold mining was occurring in the same area at the same time (2018, 248). The Helladic conquest of Crete c. 1450/40 BCE (see below) was doubtless followed by direct access to Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Cypriot sources of gold, copper, and tin via absorption of the former Minoan-controlled trading networks.

Small preciosities in particular sometimes traveled enormous distances in antiquity, especially at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. For example, carnelian and other agates sourced to India (Betancourt 2014, 88) and lapis lazuli from Afghanistan (Muhly/Betancourt 2015) have been found in LM IB destruction deposits in Crete, as noted above. The carnelian from India presumably came via sea to Mesopotamia where much has been found, then by river to Mari on the Euphrates, and perhaps from there to Ugarit or another Mediterranean port. Amber spacer beads have close parallels in the Wessex culture of England and may have arrived in Greece via down-the-line exchange (Maran 2013). What Mycenaean rulers offered in exchange during LH I and IIA, whether to Crete or regions to the north or west, is unclear; gold, silver from the Lavrion mines, green-flecked porphyry

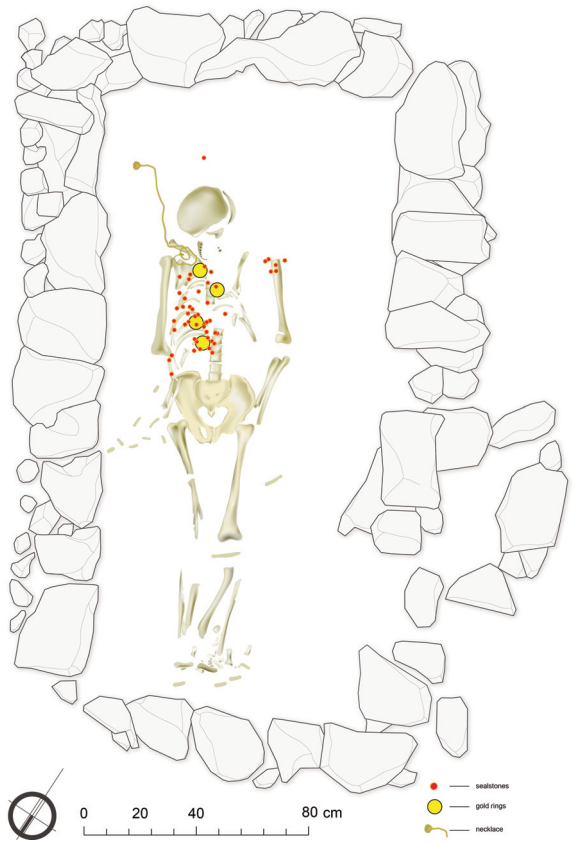


Fig. 6: Trench Plan of the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos (J. L. Davis/S. R. Stocker, The Gold Necklace from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos. Hesperia 87(4), 2018, 613, fig. 2).

(lapis Lacedaemonius) and red marble (rosso antico) from Laconia, swords, boars' tusk helmets, warriors, captives, horses, cattle, and agricultural produce are among the possibilities. Minoan Crete, however, faced the challenge of feeding what had become a very large island-wide population (Wiener forthcoming c) and particularly of Knossos, grown in LM I to an estimated size of 125 ha (Cutler/Whitelaw 2019).

Pylos in Messenia, the closest area of the mainland to Crete, has in particular provided evidence of early Late Bronze Age burials, buildings, and luxury products demonstrating the pervasive impact of Minoan civilization (Fig. 1). The hill of Ano Englianos at Pylos on which the Palace of Nestor stands was fortified from LH I–IIA onward. Mansions with ashlar facades and painted plaster walls preceded the later Mycenaean palace. Several building systems, including ashlar shell, evolved in roughly the same chronological order as at Knossos (Nelson 2017). As at Mycenae, there is an extraordinary investment of wealth in the mortuary realm.

Recent developments have added major new information regarding Pylos. First came the discovery in 2015 of the Tomb of the Griffin Warrior (Fig. 6), with a male buried in a Helladic shaft grave. The grave contained no pottery, but the shaft contained fragments of LH IIA pottery (Davis/Stocker 2016, 635–637; Davis/Stocker 2017, 22). In his grave were 55 Minoan or Minoanizing seals plus 4 gold signet rings incised with remarkable Minoan ritual scenes (Fig. 7), as well as a sword pommel decorated in the rare gold embroidery technique (Fig. 8), and the ivory plaque with an image of a griffin which gave the tomb its name (Davis/Stocker 2016). His grave (along with Tholos IV of earlier LH I date) is aligned with the entrance to the palace. The nature of the Griffin Warrior burial raises the question of whether the position of the Mycenaean *wanax* (ruler), whose role is described in the Pylian Linear B accounting tablets found in the c. 1200 BCE permanent destruction of the palace, may already have been present in 1450 BCE, with ruler insignia adopted from Crete.[3]

LH IIA ends a decade or more prior to the end of LM IB–beginning of LM II destructions on Crete and Helladic takeover of most of the island. Unless the grave was prepared a decade before the interment; a potter and/or pot-painter was still working in an older idiom; or those working on the tomb were using pottery which had been in use for a decade or more, the Griffin Warrior must have been active in an important manner in Crete prior to the mainland conquest. If, however one of the special circumstances noted pertained, then the Griffin Warrior may have returned with treasures seized in the conquest. Further, the Griffin Warrior and/or his ancestors may have participated in dynastic intermarriage between Minoan and Mycenaean ruling families. (DNA analysis of the skeleton now underway directed by Prof. David Reich at the Harvard University Science of the Human Past program may provide important data in this respect.)

[3] Stocker/Davis 2020; Blakolmer 2015; 2016b; Palaima 1995; Wiener 2016.

Fig. 7: Gold Ring from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos (J. L. Davis/S. R. Stocker, The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos. Hesperia 85(4), 2016, 639, fig. 9).

Fig. 8: Weapons from the Grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos (J. L. Davis/S. R. Stocker, The Lord of the Gold Rings: The Griffin Warrior of Pylos. Hesperia 85(4), 2016, 650, fig. 13).

The burial raises additional major questions regarding the nature of Helladic-Minoan interactions between the eruption of the volcano on Thera toward the end of LH I c. 1525 BCE and the mainland conquest of Crete at the end of LH IIA c. 1450/40 BCE. They include whether major contingents of mainlanders were already present in Crete prior to the fall of Knossos and in what capacity; whether the additional evidence of highest-level exchange increases the likelihood of dynastic intermarriage between Minoan and Helladic ruling families; whether mainland princes may have spent time in Crete during LM I/LH I–IIA as part of their preparation for rule at home; whether mainland troops served as a praetorian guard for Minoan rulers at Knossos facing internal unrest, perhaps due in part to cultic conflict as suggested below, or food shortages; or alternatively, whether the Griffin Warrior had participated in the final assault on Knossos, returned to Pylos, and died very shortly thereafter.

Next came the discovery in 2019 at Pylos of two nearby large tholos tombs, 12 and 8.5 m in diameter respectively. Both tombs had been looted in antiquity, but left behind, particularly in the larger tomb, were hundreds of pieces of gold foil, beads of amber, carnelian, and malachite, and a golden pendant depicting what appears to be the Egyptian goddess Hathor, which probably arrived via Crete. Considering the nature of what was found, one can only imagine what the tombs held prior to looting. Pottery connected to the larger tomb suggests an early LH IIA, if not an LH I, date for the burial (S. Stocker, pers. comm. of 4 January 2020, for which I am most grateful). The tombs at Pylos excavated by Blegen and Rawson many years ago (the Grave Circle, Tholos III, and Tholos IV) appear to fall within the LH IIA period as well. Together they suggest intense Messenian contact with Crete in the period prior to the vast destructions and abandonments in Crete at the end of LM IB–beginning of LM II. The Shaft Grave burials of Grave Circle A at Mycenae described above present a similar impression. (The critical role of mortuary structures and ceremonies in the communication of messages and memories is discussed in Murphy 2019.) With the recent discoveries at Pylos, it can no longer be maintained with regard to Helladic Greece in LH I–II that the vast majority of contacts with Crete and further afield »were concentrated at Mycenae, with one or two contacts at nine other sites« (Parkinson 2010, 20), nor that Messenia and Laconia »probably had little to do with events on Crete« (Driessen/Macdonald 1997, 258).

The recent discoveries at Pylos also confirm the impression, created by the treasures from Grave Circle A and tombs such as Chamber Tomb 55 at Mycenae, that Helladic rulers and elites employed Minoan architecture, luxury goods including remarkable seals carved on exotic stones such as agates, Minoan imports from the Near East and Egypt including

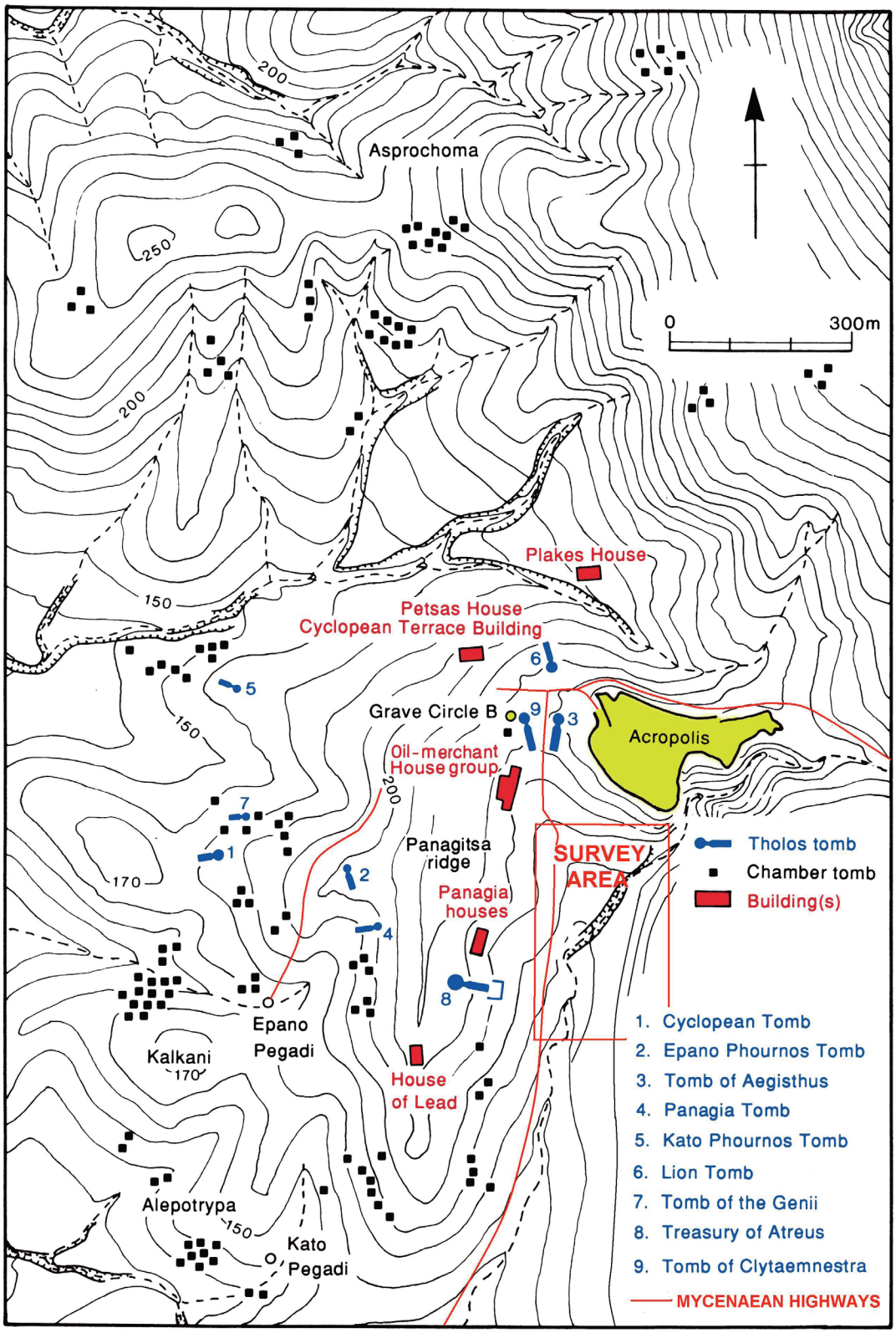


Fig. 9: Area plan of Mycenae (C. Maggidis, personal communication).

ivory, and in particular Minoan Type A swords, to signal status. The fact that so many remarkable Minoan seals and four gold rings were buried with the Griffin Warrior may indicate that the items buried were regarded as personal insignia of rule. However, while Minoan Crete made intensive use of sealings in administration from at least the beginning of the Old Palace period c. 1950 BCE, seals only first appear on the mainland in LH I (apart from their brief presence over 500 years earlier in the House of Tiles at Lerna and the Rundbau at Tiryns), and there is little evidence of their administrative use except at the palace of Pylos, where seals appear to have been used administratively until the destruction c. 1200 BCE as shown by the presence of 165 impressions from at least 114 seals, with impressions particularly prevalent in the wine magazines (Pluta 2011, 188–189). After the destruction of Knossos c. 1350/40 BCE, Mycenaeans produced a series of beads in soft stones and glass known as the Mainland Popular group that look like seals, but (perhaps with one exception) these objects were not used administratively (Younger 2010, 329, 332–333).

Among the Minoan iconographic objects found both at Mycenae and Pylos are key cultic indicators including architectural horns of consecration, double axe and bull representations, sacral knots, and shrine imagery (Palaima 1995, 126). The IIIA2 Early destruction level of the Minoanizing early palace at Pylos also contained numerous examples of the archetypal Minoan ordinary and very humble drinking vessel, the conical cup (Vitale et al. 2018), likely indicating that the Minoan practice of festivals involving large numbers, probably with cultic significance, had been adopted within Helladic cultic community feasting practice. Distinctive aspects of elite Helladic burial practice continue, however, to reflect fundamental mainland traditions unknown in Crete, such as burial in grave circles, shaft graves, and, in the case of Grave Circle A at Mycenae, decorated gravestones. Both the gravestones with their carved scenes of warfare and hunting and the gold facemasks found within two of the Shaft Graves seem to modern eyes to be of poor design and craftsmanship compared to the Minoan imports.

The Mycenaean investment in the mortuary sphere both at Mycenae and at Pylos was enormous (J. L. Davis 2019). Further evidence of lavish Mycenaean ruler burials is provided by the extraordinary repoussé gold Vapheio cups (E. N. Davis 1974; Wiener 2016), found in the LH IIIA1 Vapheio Tholos near the Mycenaean palace at Ayios Vasileios in Laconia, not far from Sparta (Fig. 2; Vasilogamvrou 2014). What treasures once filled the grandest tholos tombs, such as the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra at Mycenae constructed later (Fig. 9) or Tholos Tomb IV at Pylos, found emptied, can only be imagined. Clearly the rulers/ruling clans were able to command a large share of the resources and revenues of their polities. A degree of redistribution via large-scale state banquets may have occurred, but in the main, what went up, stayed up. The populace in general probably benefited, however, from the great engineering works of the following centuries, particularly the drainage systems and roadways (except perhaps for any serfs or slaves forced to labor on the projects).

Females as well as males were among those buried in style in Grave Circle A at Mycenae, suggesting the existence of vastly powerful ruling families. In Grave Circle B outside the citadel, where burials began earlier but with later burials overlapping in time those of Grave Circle A, of the 35 individuals buried two were identified via DNA analysis as brother and sister (Bouwman et al. 2008, 2580), perhaps suggesting the existence of an elite family. Osteoarchaeological analysis discloses that males consumed more meat than females, perhaps mainly at the great state banquets such as the one that preceded the destruction of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos c. 1200 BCE, where it appears that at least 10 cattle were consumed by a gathering of possibly thousands (Schepartz et al. 2014). A Minoan Linear A tablet (HT 31) found in the end of LM IB destruction of the Minoan palatial site of Ayia Triada lists 3,710 conical cups (Fig. 10), 10 of one type, 700 of another, and 3,000 of a third (Duhoux 2000–2001). It may be that the 10 were of metal, such as the silver conical cups found in a tholos tomb at Kokla in the Argolid (Demakopoulou 1990; Demakopoulou/Aulsebrook 2018); 700 of well-made and decorated terracotta; and 3,000 of the typical undecorated, hastily formed, and generally wretched variety (Wiener 1984; 2011). In that case, conical cups would have been at hand to accommodate a very large, but socially rigidly structured,

Fig. 10: Minoan Conical Cup (Met Museum, Public Domain, CC0 1.0).

Fig. 11: »Mykenaia« fresco from Mycenae (C. Papanikolopoulos, courtesy INSTAP-SCEC).

feast. Hosting large feasts appears to have been the practice of rulers in both Minoan and Helladic societies. The role of such feasts in establishing bonds of both comradeship and obligation is likely to have been significant.

In general, the evidence available suggests »strong, though selective, adaptation of diverse elements of Minoan material culture and Minoan social, political and religious ideology« by the Helladic mainland (Palaima 1995, 127 n. 28). Minoan architecture reached new heights in LM I, providing a source of aspiration for mainland elites. Linguistic borrowing seems evident, with a Minoan origin likely for Linear B words in areas including cloth manufacture and dyeing, certain foods and spices, and the word for bath (Palaima 1995, 133, 136; Renfrew 1998, 249–250, table 2). Even *wanax*, the designation of the ruler on the Linear B tablets, has no evident Indo-European root or meaning, and may be a borrowing from Minoan Crete (Palaima 1995, 137), as noted above. The use of symbols central to Minoan cult practice persists at Mycenae throughout the Late Bronze Age. Examples include the great entrance gate to the citadel itself erected c. 1250/40 BCE with its decoration of lions or lionesses standing atop Minoan altar tables guarding a Minoan column, and the LH IIIB–C Shrine Complex with its large fresco painting of the »Mykenaia« (Fig. 11), a goddess in Minoan dress, and snakes, horns of consecration, and double axes, objects central to cult practice in Neopalatial Minoan Crete.

At least by the time of the destruction of the Palace at Knossos while under mainland rule early in LM IIIA2 c.1350/40 BCE, and continuing to the time of the destructions in the Argolid and of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos c. 1200 BCE, the palaces had effective control of the land in the state. The Linear B tablets found in the destruction level of the Palace of Nestor describe a system in which the land was assigned to others in exchange for a significant portion of what the land produced (Bennet/Halstead 2014).

The increase in social differentiation with the beginning of the Late Helladic period c. 1630/10 BCE was not limited to Mycenae, Pylos, or the Peloponnese in general. In southern Attica at Thorikos above the great silver, copper, and lead mines of Lavrion the first of three grand tholos tombs was erected in LH I (Laffineur 2010a; 2010b; see also the discussion above). In Athens itself, the surviving Bronze Age elements suggest the one-time existence of a major polity. On the Acropolis, an imposing Cyclopean fortification wall, a stone staircase to a spring, and the possible remains of a palace where the Erechtheion now stands all indicate the one-time existence of an important site, as do the LH II–IIIA1 chamber tombs of the important Mycenaean cemetery under the Agora of Athens (Martens 2020). To the north, at the site of Mitrou on the Euboean Gulf, elite architectural complexes appeared along with new luxury crafts such as purple-dye production, and the settlement was altered to allow the construction of wider roads, perhaps to permit the passage of chariots, as

suggested by the excavator (Van de Moortel 2019). At Eleon in Boeotia, about halfway between Thebes and the Euboean Gulf coast, an LH I rectangular funerary complex, called the Blue Stone Structure by the excavators, contained two very large standing stelai, likely reflecting the existence of social hierarchy (Burke et al. 2019).

The palace of Mycenaean Thebes lies under the modern city, but excavations at various locations have revealed remains of the Late Bronze Age palace, including the use of seals and gold signet rings. The texts of later LH IIIB Linear B tablets show great similarities with those of Knossos in LH IIIA2 Early and Pylos at the end of LH IIIB with regard to feasting, religious rituals and offerings, and rations for palace and sanctuary personnel (Aravantinos 2020, 767–768). Chamber tombs outside the citadel have produced LH IIA, LH IIB, and LH IIIA1 vases (Mountjoy 1999, 644–645). At Lamia in Phthiotis, on the summit of the hill of Akrolamia, in legend the home of the Trojan War hero Achilles, there are recently discovered ruins of a huge building complex with walls 80 cm thick, capable of supporting upper floors, possibly the site of a Helladic palace, with LH I–II sherds in the vicinity. The hilltop has sweeping views over both the Spercheios Valley in which over 50 Mycenaean sites have been found, and the Maliakos Gulf 4 km to the east (but with the water much closer to Lamia in the Bronze Age). The Spercheios Valley lies between the LH II palatial states of Iolkos (modern Volos) to the northeast and Orchomenos plus Gla and Thebes to the south, and is also near Lokris and the island of Euboea to the southeast (I am greatly indebted to C. Maggidis for the foregoing information concerning Lamia and the wider Spercheios Valley, via pers. comm. of 22 July 2019). In LH IIB following the mainland conquest of Crete, Mycenaean culture also spreads rapidly, if somewhat superficially, throughout Thessaly (Mountjoy 1999, 823).

Near the Argolid in the Corinthia, Mycenaean impact is seen in various locations including the Nemea Valley, a major tholos tomb near Corinth, remains of substantial fortification walls at Korakou near the harbor of Corinth, and on the citadel of Acrocorinth (Wright 2015, esp. 216–217; Tartaron 2015; Tzonou 2020). Such recent discoveries serve as a reminder that uncovering the full geographic extent of the Mycenaean realm is an ongoing process.

Major effort including investment of labor was required to construct the grand tholoi and chamber tombs at Mycenae and throughout the Greek mainland, built to memorialize the status of the person buried and perhaps his clan as well, with the cemeteries sometimes maintained for centuries. The large cemetery at Kolikrepi-Spata in Attica, for example, continued in use from LH I/II until the beginning of LH IIIC shortly after the destruction of the Helladic palaces, a period of approximately 350 years. Both sexes and all ages are present in the burials (Papakonstantinou et al. 2019, 738).

Within the Argolid, Mycenae's position, situated against the mountains at the northern end, commanded the broad and fertile plain and main mountain passages to the region of Corinth to the north and the rest of the Peloponnese to the south, as well as the excellent harbor of Nauplio nearby (Wiener forthcoming a). However, were it not for the near-miraculous survival of the Grave Circle A treasures, together with the subsequent discovery of the earlier Grave Circle B, nothing would set the site of Mycenae significantly apart from other mainland centers in LH I. Accordingly there remains some uncertainty about the preeminent status of Mycenae in this early period. In any event, Mycenae gradually supplanted Kolonna on Aegina as the leading center in the area.

The Role of Warfare

The vast amount of wealth deposited via acts of »conspicuous destruction« in the Shaft Grave burials at Mycenae, including fine weapons and a depiction of warfare on a grand silver vessel known as the Silver Siege Rhyton, raises the question of whether the burials signal the appearance of a ruling caste whose authority was based in large measure on force, including success in warfare. Whether Helladic Greece or Minoan Crete was the first to utilize chariots for warfare, hunting, and trade, or whether the adoption was simultaneous, is at present unclear. The earliest known Minoan evidence for chariot warfare, in the form of a battle chariot shown on a seal impression from the LM IA Volcanic Destruction Level on

Fig. 12: Chariot depicted on Grave Stele V, from Grave Circle A at Mycenae (after H. Schliemann, Mycenae. A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1880, 81, no. 140).

Thera, made by the same or an identical gold ring as stamped seal impressions found in LM IB destruction contexts in Crete (indicating use over a period of c. 85 years), is as early as any of the mainland depictions of horses and chariots (Krzyszkowska 2005, 167–168, 172–173; Wiener 2007, 236). Depictions of horses and chariots also occur in the same general timespan on Stelai I, IV, V, and VIII in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Fig. 12). In any event, chariots in Late Helladic Greece were of critical importance in warfare and rapidity of communication, and likely played a major role in elite bonding and status display.

Whether chariots and horse-harnessing first reached Mycenae via the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin (Maran/Van de Moortel 2014) or via Crete, where the first evidence of the use of chariots comes from the LM IA seal impression described, is an open question. The Hyksos had already employed horse-drawn chariots in the course of their conquest of much of Lower Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. The extraordinary status of chariot forces in the Late Bronze Age is indicated by Near Eastern and Egyptian texts (e. g., EA 8 and 35 from Amarna in Egypt) in which rulers extend their good wishes not only to the ruler they are addressing, but to their wives, children, and chariot forces (*maryannu*) as well. Chariot forces became the leading element of the Egyptian army (Spalinger 2005, 173). Heavy cavalry continued to dominate warfare during the Classical, Medieval feudal, and Mongol periods until the invention of gunpowder in the early Renaissance.

Finds of body armor and depictions of chariots, horses, and armed men continue throughout the Bronze Age in Mycenaean Greece. A chamber tomb at Dendra in the Argolid of LH IIIA1, c. 1410/00–1365/55 BCE contained a full suit of bronze armor (Åström 1977). Pieces of bronze from what is believed to have been a similar suit have recently been found in the archeological storeroom at Pylos (Fig. 1; J. L. Davis 2019). Body armor is inventoried in the Linear B texts found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos, believed by a substantial number of scholars to have been destroyed sometime in LM II–IIIA1 Early (e. g., Driessen/Langohr 2014, but with the date questioned by others who would prefer a later date, as in Warren 1991). The deposit contained tablets listing 200–250 chariots, while another tablet from Knossos (Sf[2] 4420) records 80 chariot wheels (Palaima 1996, 382). Massive effort and expense were required to create and maintain such a force. Later the ruler of Ahhiyawa, most likely centered at Mycenae,[4] was said in a Hittite text to control a force of 100 chariots on the Anatolian coast (KUB 14.1; Kelder 2004–2005, 154). Chariots are a prominent theme in palatial wall painting, with depictions appearing at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, and Orchomenos. Also during LH III, terracotta kraters depicting chariots were made from local clay at the pottery works at Berbati near Mycenae and exported to Cyprus and the Levant, where they were placed in important tombs, evidently as a status symbol, per-

[4] Dickinson 2009; Wiener 2009; contra Latacz 2004, 243–244; Niemeier 2005b, 203; Mountjoy 1998.

haps after initial use in dining ceremonies (Steel 1999). In addition to chariots, the kraters generally also depicted marching spearmen, animals, and men carrying objects. The ability to maintain significant chariot forces was clearly a significant factor with respect to relations between states throughout the Late Bronze Age until at, or shortly before, the destructions at the end of LH IIIB.

From the Theran Eruption to the Helladic Conquest of Crete

Toward the end of LM IA/LH I, a mega-eruption of the volcano on the Cycladic island of Thera destroyed a critical node in the Minoanized Aegean maritime network. The eruption was accompanied by the fall of volcanic tephra over an area which included the north-central, northeast, and eastern coast of Crete, and by a tsunami (giant wave) which surely caused some damage along the northeastern coast, although the extent of the damage is conjectural and disputed. It has even been suggested that the airborne tephra from the eruption may have improved crop yields on Crete (Cadogan 2014, 48). Any Minoan or other vessels in the ports struck by the tsunami would have been destroyed, while those at sea in many cases may have been unharmed, if more recent tsunami experience is any guide. At Priniatikos Pyrgos on the north coast to the west of Gournia, the apparently prospering community vanished completely after the eruption and the surrounding landscape was largely abandoned (Molloy et al. 2014, 43–47). Mochlos, an important port to the northeast of Priniatikos, appears to have suffered directly, but the damage was quickly repaired (Brogan et al. 2002, 93). Whatever the physical damage caused by the eruption, it may have been dwarfed by the damage in the cultic realm, in a culture suffused with indicia of cult. Apart from the Theran eruption, Knossos at the end of LM IA may also have begun to feel the stress of having reached a size of c. 125 ha (Cutler/Whitelaw 2019), compared to the 100 ha size sometimes stated as a natural barrier (Manning 1999, 474–479), including stress both on its food and water supply, notwithstanding its innovative use of skillfully engineered drains in the palace. The number of donkey-powered carts of food required to feed the estimated populace of Knossos in LM I is daunting (Whitelaw 2019, 104).

The impact of the Theran eruption on Crete and the disappearance of the major Theran node included a change in Aegean trade patterns, with an enhanced role for the Helladic mainland. While there is no LH I pottery in Crete, Cyprus, the Levant, or Egypt, small amounts of LH II appear along with some LM IB in all four areas after the eruption (van Wijngaarden 2016, 352), which occurred near the end of LM IA/LH I. LH IIA pottery sourced to the Berbati kilns near Mycenae is found at Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus (Fischer 2019, 241–242). While the critical silver, copper, and lead mines at Lavrion on the coast of Attica opposite Kea, already in use by c. 3000 BCE (Laffineur 2010a, 26), were surely always under mainland control, and likely under the control of the ruler or clan who built the great LH I tholos tomb (Thorikos Tomb III) on Velatouri hill overlooking the mines and the harbor below, much of the finishing of the copper ores and their introduction into the Aegean trading network during LM IA/LH I prior to the Theran eruption appears to have been accomplished by the Minoan metal-processing port of Ayia Irini on the island of Kea, where uniquely every single house contained metallurgical tools (Wiener 2013b, 157), in marked contrast to the near-universal pattern of evidence of metallurgy confined to one area of a site (see, e. g., Shennan 2000). In LM IA/LH I, the islands of Kythera, Melos, and Kea and the area of the Anatolian coastal enclave at Miletus at the mouth of the Meander River appear to have been Minoan settlements vel sim., unlike Thera which exhibits a combination of Minoan features with others of a continuing Cycladic tradition, or sites like Iasos on the Anatolian coast, where the Minoan community appears to have been small in comparison to the Anatolian inhabitants (Momigliano 2009).

Minoan links with the Near East and Egypt were already present in the Middle Minoan period, as noted above. That contacts with the East are maintained and greatly intensified by LM I is shown by the lavish use of bronze in Crete, not only for weapons, but also for prestige objects such as huge double-axes and bronze cauldrons the height of a human being, and by numerous bronze hoards found buried in the LM IB destruction deposits.

With Minoan Crete firmly in control of colonization and trade with the eastern Mediterranean and the islands between, as indicated, inter alia, by the total absence of LH I pottery from Cyprus and the Levant (van Wijngaarden 2016, 352), Helladic Greece in LH I prior to the Theran eruption explored relations with the central Mediterranean. Beginning in LH I, Helladic pottery is found at 60 sites in continental Italy, Sicily, and the Aeolian islands (van Wijngaarden 2016, 351).

In LM IB, strong links are apparent between Knossos and Chania (Kydonia) in West Crete, the island of Kythera, Messenia (as indicated by both tombs and their contents as noted above), Laconia, and Mycenae.[5] Soon after the eruption during LM IB/LH IIA, Minoan gem carvers may have moved to Mycenae to continue their work (Weingarten 2018, 257). It is also in LH IIA after the Theran eruption that true ashlar construction in Minoan style appears in mainland Greece, first recognizable in Tholos Tomb I at Peristeria in Messenia north of Pylos, where two Minoan mason's marks (a branch sign and a double axe) appear (Grumach 1962; Vermeule 1964, 124; I am grateful to J. Wright for pointing me to these references).

In LM IB/LH IIA the direction of trade in Lavrion copper as well as silver appears to begin to shift toward the Helladic mainland, with the change complete by LH IIIA1, at which time crucibles and litharge disappear from the Minoanized site of Ayia Irini on Kea (Earle 2008, 177). In LH IIA a second tomb (Thorikos Tomb IV) of unique elliptical shape is built on Velatouri hill above the great mines of Lavrion, followed not long thereafter by a third grand tholos (Laffineur 2010b, 713–715). Minoan and Minoanizing pottery on the islands of Kea and Melos, imported and locally made, is replaced to a significant extent by Helladic pottery, with Athens rather than the Argolid initially the main source (Mountjoy 2004, 399); Mountjoy and Ponting refer to the LM IB Marine Style pottery on Kea and Melos as belonging to the »Athenian Super-Group« (2000, 166), rather than having a Cretan origin.

Crete post-eruption during LM IB/LH IIA was still a place of cultural influence, wealth, skills, and large population (Wiener forthcoming c), but had begun to lose its former quasi-control over Aegean trade routes, with the Helladic realm becoming active in Cycladic and trans-Cycladic exchange. During LH IIIA, construction of elaborate tombs ceased at Thorikos and the fortified settlement of Kiapha Thiti between Athens and the Lavrion mines was abandoned, suggesting direct Athenian control of the area, including the mines (Earle 2008, 177). After the eruption of the Theran volcano toward the end of LH I, and clearly after the mainland conquest of Crete at the end of LH IIA, the important silver, copper, and lead of the Lavrion mines entered the trade via Helladic channels. Small amounts of LM IB and LH II lustrous decorated fine ware have been found in Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt (van Wijngaarden 2016, 352), suggesting high-level exchange involving both Crete and the Helladic mainland.

Both Ayia Irini on Kea and Phylakopi on Melos suffer some damage in LM IB/LH IIA or the beginning of LM II/LH IIB, and Ayia Irini appears to shrink in size. During LM IB/LH IIA the mainland-type goblet becomes the standard drinking vessel at Ayia Irini. Further damage and size reduction appears to occur at both sites in LH IIB, after the Mycenaean conquest of Minoan Crete (see below). None of the innovative Minoan decorative features of LM IB pottery such as the famed »Marine Style« are found on the local pottery of the islands after the Theran eruption, and neither the LM II pottery which followed the Mycenaean conquest of Crete nor the contemporaneous mainland LH IIB pottery is reported in significant quantities from the Cyclades, suggesting a period of partial abandonment or isolation resulting from loss of function as maritime harbors, perhaps in the wake of Mycenaean mainland raids (Earle 2008, 92–95).

The Helladic conquest of Crete at the beginning of LM II/LH IIB described below saw not only the destruction and often the abandonment of many settlements across Crete during much of LM II, but also destructions at formerly Minoan or Minoanized sites in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, and along the Anatolian coast in the area around Miletus. At the important site of Ialysos on Rhodes, strongly Minoan in character in LM IA/LH I (Wiener 1984, 18; 2013b,

[5] Davis/Stocker 2016; Earle 2008, 81; Mountjoy 2004; Broodbank 2004, 77–81.

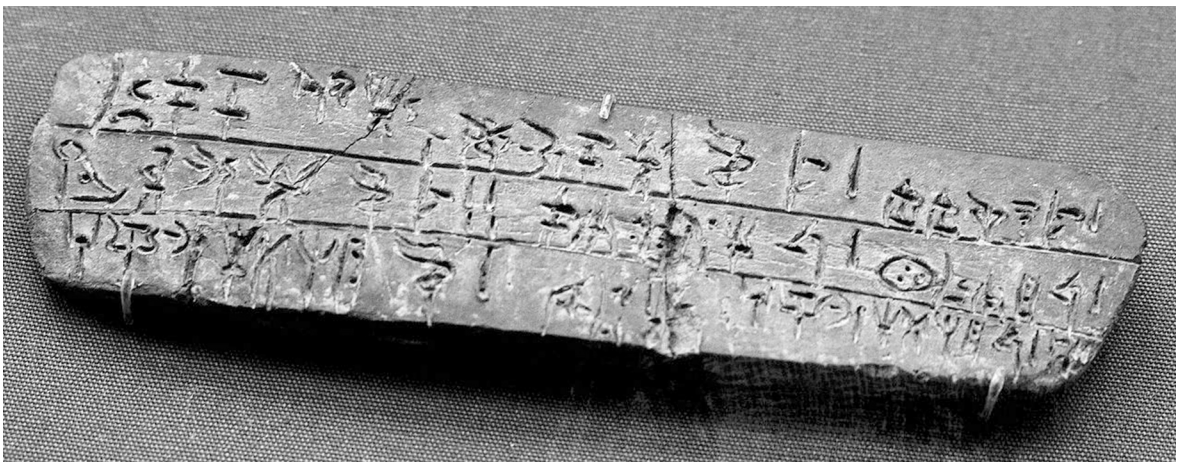


Fig. 13: Linear B tablet from Knossos (CC BY 2.0).

159), LH IIA pottery imported from the Argolid outnumbers LM IB pottery from Crete (Karantzali 2009, 356–359; Mountjoy 2015, 39). On Melos (located between Kea and Crete), Minoan and Minoanizing local pottery is largely replaced by Argive imports from the vicinity of Mycenae in LH IIIA1 (Earle 2016, 114). From this point through LH IIIB, some striking similarities appear between the small towns and tombs of the mainland Greek countryside and the Cycladic islands (Earle 2008, 179). Mycenaean cult objects in the form of rhyta and well-made figurines appear in the Cycladic islands together with an unprepossessing class of seals known as the Island Sanctuaries Group, which also are found at inland Mycenaean shrines. Mycenae and other centers in the Argolid, the early palatial site of Pylos along with nearby sites in Messenia, and Athens all exhibit evidence of increasing complexity and overseas links in LH IIA and LH IIB (Davis/Stocker 2016; Korres 1984). Mainlanders produce excellent pottery of Minoan shape and decorative design in Mycenaean updraft kilns (Betancourt et al. 2016, 63). Mycenaean metalwork includes many objects employing Minoan iconographic motifs to produce hybrid and sometimes inconsistent images (Blakolmer 2016a; 2016b). In LH IIA/LM IB, strong connections appear between Laconia, Kythera, Chania, and Knossos in particular (Broodbank 2004, 77–81; Mountjoy 2004).

Contacts between Helladic Greece and Troy now appear. At Troy, vases made from Anatolian clay are decorated in the manner of pottery of LH IIA c. 1520/10–1450/40 BCE (Girella/Pavúk 2016, 25; I am grateful to Manfred Korfmann for showing me one such piece on a visit to Troy). Mycenaean contacts with Anatolia are also indicated by the presence of a Hittite stag rhyton made of silver in Shaft Grave IV in the Grave Circle at Mycenae, likely deposited somewhat earlier in LH I (Wiener 2009; 2016). During LH I and LH II, Troy (and several Italian sites as well) had already received a mixture of matt-painted pottery in the Middle Helladic tradition and LH I and II ceramics, suggesting exchange may have occurred at various levels (van Wijngaarden 2016, 352).

The Foreign Relations of Late Bronze Age Greece in the Century from the Helladic Conquest of Crete through the Destruction of Knossos c. 1350/40 BCE

Our account of the Helladic realm in the Late Bronze Age continues with the mainland conquest of Minoan Crete c. 1450/40 BCE (Wiener 2015a). The evidence for the conquest includes 1) the replacement of the Minoan Linear A script with Linear B which records an early form of the Greek language (Fig. 13); 2) a significant change in Cretan burial customs with the introduction at Knossos of mainland-style shaft graves typical of the Argolid and present at Pylos as well, alongside mainland-

type tholoi with long dromoi and chamber tombs, in cemeteries in new areas north of the palace, while the earlier cemeteries of Mavro Spelio and Gypsadhes continue in the main as traditional Minoan burial grounds, notwithstanding the presence of burials exhibiting some mainland characteristics, thus exemplifying the mixed population of Knossos after the mainland conquest (Driessen/Macdonald 1984, 66; D'Agata 1991, 51; T. Whitelaw. pers. comm. of 9 November 2019); and 3) Mycenaean outposts replacing Minoan settlements in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, and along the coast of Asia Minor, accompanied by a major shift in relations between Egypt and an Aegean world now dominated by mainlanders.

The devastation throughout Crete at the end of LM IB consumed much of the island, with many major sites left unoccupied for a time. At Knossos only the main palatial building survived mostly intact, while other grand structures nearby were destroyed or, as in the case of the Little Palace, were severely damaged and converted to workshops (Fig. 14). The harbor town of Knossos at Poros was destroyed and its cemetery, which included impressive chamber tombs and grave goods, was abandoned. In LM II a new cemetery was established a few kilometers distant at Katsambas, suggesting the arrival of a new group (Warren 2012, 258). At Chania in the west of Crete, the Minoan palace at the harbor suffered a destruction, followed by a reoccu-

Fig. 14: Plan of the Palace at Knossos (after D. T. Fyfe in A. J. Evans, The Palace of Knossos. Annual of the British School at Athens 8, 1901/1902, pl. 1).

pation of marked mainland character, including burials in impressive chamber tombs, shaft graves, and pit caves suggesting burials of warriors and others of different ranks. However, one of the burials of the less prepossessing pit-cave type contained fine bronze weapons, objects of gold, silver, and ivory, and three precious sealstones (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 523–526), recalling on a lesser scale the contents of the Tomb of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos described above. Many major sites throughout Crete, including Mochlos and Gournia on the north coast, appear to have remained uninhabited throughout LM II. Significantly, all of the grand »country houses« or »villas« which existed across much of Crete, each the center of a small village unprotected by walls or barriers, and defended only by the *pax Knossiana* (Wiener 2007), were destroyed and permanently abandoned. On the island of Kythera located between the mainland and Crete, the LM I habitation sites, all purely Minoan in character, were destroyed, with the inhabited area and population in LM II/LH IIB becoming much smaller (Rutter 2005, 34; Popham et al. 1974).

The Helladic conquest of Crete poses major questions to which there are no clear answers at present. One question is the extent of the participation of the various polities on the mainland. Mycenae and the other sites in the Argolid, Pylos and its environs in Messenia, perhaps Ayios Vasileios in Laconia, and Athens may each or all have played a major or a minor role. The many Minoan objects of great value buried in the LH I Shaft Graves at Mycenae have long been regarded as emblematic of a »special relationship« between Mycenae and Minoan Crete (Dickinson 1996, 70). (The possibility that the citadel of Kolonna on Aegina played some role in the initiation of the relationship is considered below.) The very recent discoveries at Pylos, followed by the realization that all six of the important burials surrounding the Palace of Nestor, the undisturbed ones containing Minoan objects of the highest value and quality, were of LH IIA (and in one case, early in the period, if not LH I), all certainly or possibly prior to the mainland conquest of Crete (S. Stocker, pers. comm. of 3 January 2020, for which I am most grateful), clearly raises the question of Messenian participation. The palace at Ayios Vasileios near Sparta in Laconia, the area closest geographically to Crete, may also have participated, as suggested by the 21 Minoan Type A swords of 16th century BCE date carefully curated and found in a ritual context of c.250 years later (Cavanagh 2011, 23; Vasilogamvrou 2014; A. Vasilogamvrou, pers. comm. of 5 January 2016). Athens, connected to Crete by the Theseus legend recounting the slaying of the Minotaur and by the appearance on the Cycladic island sites formerly part of the Minoan thalassocracy of Minoan-type pottery made from Attic clay, perhaps the work of émigré Minoan potters and pot-painters (Mountjoy/Ponting 2000), is another candidate. The presence at Athens of Minoica including tin-coated vessels and conical cups (Immerwahr 1966; Wiener 1984, 21 n. 40), may also suggest Attic participation in events in Crete. Mainland pottery has been found in a number of LM IB pre-conquest deposits in Crete, but in the main has not been subject to chemical analyses to determine its geographic source or sources (J. Rutter, pers. comm. of 3 January 2020, for which I am most grateful). It remains likely, however, that Mycenae itself was centrally involved in the Mycenaean conquest of Crete in view of its subsequent rise to preeminence.

Whitelaw (2019) has raised the question of whether there existed any polity on the mainland at the end of LH IIA able to organize a significant invasion of Crete. In this regard, it is necessary to recall that Mycenaean Type B swords and fighting methods improved significantly on Minoan Type A swords (Peatfield 1999, 69) and that it was near this time that Mycenaeans developed suits of armor (Molloy 2010, 423; 2013b); that the invading force may have included contingents from various polities; that mainland forces may have been invited to Crete to attempt to maintain Knossian control, possibly as mercenaries; and perhaps most significantly, that a coherent defense may have been impeded by the factors discussed below.

One question is whether the mainland conquest was preceded by major internal strife, especially conflicts over cult belief and practice after the Knossian conquest of Crete beginning in MM IIIA described above. The infilling of the sunken rooms known as lustral basins and creation of structures known as Minoan halls (but with some lustral basins reconstituted both before and particularly after the eruption of the Theran volcano noted above); the reorganiza-

tion of the Temple Repositories and abandonment of major cult objects at the Palace of Knossos (Panagiotaki 1999, 71–179); and the abandonment of c. 50 local peak sanctuaries with only 6 known to continue into LM I (Peatfield 1990, 119, 126–127), leaving the shrine on the summit of Mt. Juktas above Knossos as the most complex and significant of those which continue, all signal major cultic disturbance. The Theran eruption, an event of a nature previously unimagined, must have had theological/cultic impact in a cult-suffused culture in which religion and rule must at least have been closely aligned. »Crises cults« may have arisen in the wake of the eruption and tsunami (R. A. K. Smith 2020). Exploited regional/local factions, perhaps including serfs or captive slaves, may have played a major role in the disturbances, as suggested by the willful destruction of cult buildings and of ritual objects of high value at Knossos, Pseira, Mochlos, and Palaikastro in Crete in the island-wide destruction horizon at the end of LM IB.[6] The blocking of entrances of buildings at many places in Crete (Driessen/Macdonald 1997, 46) may suggest fear of groups or individuals intent on pillage or theft.

The exactions of the Knossian rulers on the populace prior to the mainland conquest of Crete must surely have been major. To take one example, the LM I construction of the structure at Knossos known as the Unexplored Mansion is estimated to have required 43,525 man-hours (Devolder 2013, 116); the palace itself would have required far more. The Neopalatial palace at Phaistos, described by Warren (2012, 260) as »magnificent and monumental,« plus the major site at nearby Ayia Triada, as well as the palatial building at Kato Zakros were only begun after the destruction caused by the Theran eruption and resulting tsunami near the end of LM IA, thereby increasing the burden on the general populace during LM IB which ended with the great destructions and the mainland conquest of Crete. (Mycenaean rulers/ruling elites in their great building programs in the Argolid and elsewhere may have emulated Minoan rulers/elites in the extent of their demands upon the populace.) The palatial demands on the food supply to feed the populace of Knossos alone, plus those in various places producing brilliantly colored fabrics for export to pay for the import of tin and copper and manning the ships to transport goods and supply settlers, were clearly extensive.

With regard to whether the destructions may have been due in part to a serf or captive revolt, certainly Minoan Crete was capable of seizing captives – compare Crete, with a population estimated at c. 300,000 in LM I (Wiener forthcoming c) to Cycladic islands with much smaller populations lacking Minoan-type swords. The taking of slaves by naval powers and corsairs was common throughout much of Mediterranean history. The Egyptian pharaoh Tuthmosis III boasts that in the course of his 5th campaign in the Levant in the 29th year of his reign c. 1450 BCE, he seized two ships laden with male and female slaves (Breasted 1906, §§454–462, cited in Knapp 2018, 105). Hittite texts speak repeatedly of taking thousands of prisoners.

In a major work entitled *The Troubled Island* (1997), Driessen and Macdonald proposed that a major earthquake followed by the Theran eruption had led to cultic unravelling, food shortages, and internal warfare in Minoan Crete throughout much of LM IB, leaving Crete exposed to Helladic occupation. For example, at Gournia on the north coast at the entrance to the Isthmus of Ierapetra passage leading to the south coast, signs of trouble appear early in LM IB, soon after the Theran eruption, with the authority of the damaged mini-palace of Gournia diminished by non-palatial local groups, who intrude into what had previously been palatial grounds (Buell/McEnroe 2019, 49). At the time some were skeptical of the Driessen/Macdonald thesis. The present author noted that construction of the Neopalatial structures at Phaistos, Ayia Triada, and Kato Zakros had only begun in LM IB and that the population in some areas had clearly increased, as indicated, for example, in the foundation of four new settlements on the south coast of Crete in the limited area between Myrtos-Pyrgos and Arvi during LM IB (Warren 1975, 103; Wiener forthcoming c). Accordingly, the LM IB destructions were regarded as occurring primarily at the end of

[6] Hood 1985, 173; Driessen/Macdonald 1997, 108–109; Driessen 2000a, 46; Driessen 2000b, 94–95; Brogan et al. 2002, 95–96; Soles/Davaras 2010, 2 and fig. 3; 2013, 16; MacGillivray 2007, 177; Preston 2007, 266.

the period. Moreover, Minoan Crete appeared to maintain high-level contacts with Egypt during LM IB, as shown for example by wall paintings in Theban tombs depicting Minoans bringing luxurious gifts. The evidence provided by the recent discoveries at Pylos of possible elite Pylian presence in Crete during LM IB/LH IIA may however provide some support for the Driessen/Macdonald thesis. Moreover, in preindustrial societies the threat of famine was ever-present. As recently as 1876–79 CE a famine in northern China took over a third of the population, and in Shanxi and Shandong provinces perhaps 50 % or more (Arnold 1988, 21). In heavily populated LM IB Crete (Wiener forthcoming c), a famine whether the consequence or partial consequence of earthquakes, could have wreaked havoc and led to rebellion.

The end of LM II destructions at sites in Crete appear to have occurred at somewhat different times, as indicated for example by the difference in the pottery in the destruction levels at the neighboring sites of Mochlos and the island of Pseira just off the northern coast of Crete, with the Pseiran destruction occurring perhaps a decade earlier (Betancourt 2011). (Alternatively, a shipment containing the latest-style Knossian pottery may have arrived at Mochlos just prior to its destruction before any similar pottery reached the nearby site of Pseira, or a Knossian-trained potter may have moved or traveled intermittently to Mochlos.) In any event, the inhabitants of the northern coastal sites of Gournia and Mochlos, and of Pseira where slingstones had been stored in anticipation of an attack (Betancourt/Frangakis 1998), fled to defensible refuge sites, such as the site on the forbidding hillside of Katalimata (Brogan et al. 2002, 96). The destruction of Mochlos was particularly violent, with bodies in the destruction level accompanied by evidence of deliberate destruction of ritual/ruling structures and objects (Soles et al. 2017, 319). When the excellent harbor site was reoccupied more than a generation later, the new occupants apparently knew little of what had preceded them, for they made no effort to recover buried metal hoards containing thousands of bronze items in total and other valuables, and the new structures built on the site were far less elaborate than their Minoan predecessors. No attempt was made to rebuild houses 150–250 sq m in size, with walls 2 m in height still standing. The population of Mochlos after its resettlement was dramatically lower, and all memory of the past had disappeared or been deliberately rejected (Brogan et al. 2002, 98). Bronze hoards such as those excavated at Mochlos are heavily concentrated in LM IB destruction levels throughout Crete (Wiener forthcoming b), likely hidden prior to abandonment in anticipation of imminent attack (Hakulin 2016, 584–586).

At the east coast harbor of Palaikastro, a site second in size only to Knossos at the height of Minoan power in the New Palace period, clear differences in pottery styles from those of Knossos appear early in LM IB, possibly due to a diminution of Knossian contact following damage along the seashore caused by the Theran eruption and ensuing construction by Knossos of a new palatial structure and center of trade with the eastern Mediterranean at Kato Zakros, located on the next embayment to the south on the east coast of Crete (Wiener 2007, 234–235). The later destruction at Palaikastro at the time of the mainland conquest of Crete at the end of the LM IB period is marked by acts of iconoclasm, with extraordinary cult objects violently smashed and parts made of precious materials not recovered (Knappett/Cunningham 2019). Palaikastro and Zakros were both undergoing repair at the time of the end-of-LM IB destructions (Platon 2011, 609). The relative roles played by potential causes of the major destructions at both the major east coast harbor sites – devastating earthquakes, domestic uprisings, and/or mainland attacks – is uncertain.

At Galatas and Kastelli-Pediada near Knossos to the east, the excavators concluded that hostile assault was responsible for the LM IB destructions, but that the destructions occurred earlier in the period than elsewhere, perhaps suggesting attacks by local forces, while internecine attack by Knossos itself is also a possibility (Rethemiotakis/Christakis 2011, 208; 2013, 93–94). A prior major destruction of the Palace at Galatas (architecturally and ceramically Knossian) in MM III, about 200 years earlier (Rethemiotakis/Christakis 2013, 103–104), suggests the internal strife between contending ruling factions or a local uprising at that date. At Knossos, however, where much of the city was destroyed at the end of LM IB, with fine mansions such as the Little Palace converted to metal foundries, the Palace of

Minos itself was spared, as noted above. The palace was nevertheless redesigned and restructured, with many rough walls inserted to change the circulation pattern and perhaps to restrict access as well (Macdonald 2010, 540). How long it took for the newly established mainland overlords at Knossos to establish the total control over central, east central, and much of western Crete indicated by the Linear B tablets of early LM IIIA2 c. 1350/40 BCE is difficult to determine, but the process was surely largely complete at some point during LM IIIA1.

With respect to the island-wide destructions in Crete at the end of LM IB, the possibility of a widespread earthquake horizon across north-central Crete should be noted (Macdonald 2017; Warren 2012, 268). While it is unlikely that an earthquake in itself was the major cause of the island-wide devastation and the Helladic takeover of Crete, a major earthquake could well have contributed to cultic upheaval and societal fracture. In any event, Crete with its resources and skills was largely controlled after c.1450/40 BCE by mainlanders, for whom Minoan scribes created Linear B out of Minoan Linear A to record an early form of Greek, as noted above.

It is important to note, however, that Knossos although reduced in size from an estimated 125 ha to about 60 ha after the Mycenaean conquest (Cutler/Whitelaw 2019) remained the largest site in the Aegean, larger than any mainland habitation site of the time including Mycenae itself. Knossos under mainland control continued to invent and establish the forms and styles for much of Crete in weapons, jewelry, ceramics, and tombs (as, for example, in the case of the princely LM IIIA1 burial of Tholos A at nearby Archanes, as well as the Warrior Tombs previously noted). During LM II/LH IIB c. 1450/40–1410/00 BCE, the great majority of Egyptian objects in the Aegean are found in or near Knossos, in comparison to the few found on the mainland or the Cyclades (Cline 1999, 118). Knossian contact with the eastern Mediterranean continues, as indicated by the appearance in LM II of southwestern Anatolian reddish-brown burnished ceramic imports at Knossos, and at the Cretan south coast port of Kommos as well (Rutter 2006, esp. 145–146, 150–151). Kommos appears to have been spared the general island-wide destructions attendant upon the Mycenaean takeover at the end of LM IB, presumably because the mainland Greek conquerors needed a functioning port in the vicinity of the expanding quasi-palatial center at Ayia Triada on the south coast near Phaistos.

The subsequent Helladic administration centered on Knossos may not encompass East Crete, for there are no references to East Cretan sites in the Knossian Linear B tablets, which in contrast cover central and West Crete in great detail, to the point of knowing the sex and age of 110,000 or more sheep grazing over these areas. The absence of references to East Crete in the Knossian Linear B tablets may of course be due to the accidents of preservation, but the fact that East Crete in later times was the domain of the Eteocretans, who continued to write and speak a non-Greek language as late as the 4th century BCE, suggests that the surviving Knossian Linear B tablets reflect the underlying situation. The »wild country east of (Mt.) Dikte« (a phrase which later was used to refer to the part of East Crete away from the coasts and ringed by mountains) seems never to have been a part of the Mycenaean realm. The northeast and east coast port sites of Palaikastro, Zakros, and Petras Siteia saw some occupation, in particular Palaikastro in LM IIIA2 after the destruction of Knossos early in IIIA2, at the time of maximum Argive Mycenaean activity in the eastern Mediterranean. Palaikastro was destroyed and abandoned at the end of IIIA2, however, at the same time as a number of sites on the mainland.

A number of developments at the major mainland centers most likely to have been involved in the occupation of central and western Crete are worth noting. At or near the time of the destruction of Crete at the end of LM IB/beginning of LM II, Mycenae appears to receive a substantial influx of Minoan artisans, including a Minoan gem engraver whose work is primarily known from the LM IB destruction at Zakros on the east coast of Crete but later appears on the mainland (Weingarten 2018, 257). After the mainland conquest of Crete, fine ashlar limestone construction in Crete ends abruptly and permanently (Macdonald 2010, 539), while appearing on the Helladic mainland. The transfer to the mainland of skilled Minoan architects and masons seems a likely inference. Master artisans were regularly exchanged between Near Eastern and

Egyptian rulers in this period, sometimes chained to prevent escape (Zaccagnini 1983, 247).

»Linear B Mycenaean« may have been a scribal (and perhaps purely palatial) court and administrative dialect, with the bulk of the populace speaking something closer to the Arcado-Cypriot dialect of later centuries. Janko describes Linear B as a Minoanized artificial scribal language, unlike any later known dialect, a »language of power,« to quote Duhoux (1983, 41; Janko 2011). Following in time the strong Minoan links to the grand objects in the LH I Shaft Graves of Mycenae previously noted are objects which strongly suggest direct contacts between Knossos and the Mycenae-Dendra-Asine area during LM II–IIIA1, particularly with regard to bronzes, leading Popham et al. (1974, 253) to ask whether »the Mycenaean families of consequence at Knossos in this period were drawn from the Argolid?« Conversely, the Minoan links to Messenia, Laconia, and Attica are noted above.

In LH II grave circles fall out of use in the Argolid and are replaced by tholos tombs, possibly derived from those of Crete, and by elaborate chamber tombs. These appear at Mycenae, Prosymna, Berbati, Dendra, Kazorma, and Kokla. By LH IIIA1 the construction of tholoi is limited to the palatial centers and by IIIA2 to Mycenae itself (Voutsaki 1995, 58–62). By LH IIIA1 c. 1410/00–1365/55 BCE the Argolid clearly encompasses a number of significant centers including Mycenae, Tiryns, Nauplio, Midea, Argos, and perhaps others as suggested by the extremely rich tombs noted at both Dendra and Kokla. The rulers clearly were able to mobilize massive resources to serve the interests of the state and its ruling elite. Certainly the Helladic world was able to maintain the prior Minoan links to sources of copper and tin, the latter probably via Miletus, Cyprus, and perhaps Ugarit as well, plus possible areas in the northern Aegean. The Sellopoulo chamber tombs at Knossos with their strong resemblance to Helladic tombs contained a conspicuous number of mainland-type bronzes. By LH IIB (LM II), Helladic pottery also appears at Trianda and other places in Rhodes, on the maritime route to Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt, most of it imported from the Argolid (Benzi 1988, 59). Mainlanders quickly established new cemeteries on Rhodes beginning in LH IIB, ignoring the locations of prior Minoan cemeteries.

A Hittite text known as the Indictment of Madduwatas c. 1430 BCE refers to the »the man of Ahhiya,« (possibly a Hittite rendering of a man from the land of the Achaeans, a term often used in Homer to refer to the Greek mainland forces besieging Troy) carrying out raids against Cyprus, indicating early Helladic potency at sea, whether originating on the mainland or in Crete, or aided by Minoan mariners (see, e. g., Wachsmann 1998, 128–129). Mainlanders quickly take control of the former Minoan site of Millawanda (Miletus) in Anatolia (Niemeier 2003, 103–105; Niemeier 2005a, 10–16) and Argive pottery appears in quantity on Rhodes and Kos as noted above (Mee 1982, 81–83).

Very shortly after the conquest of Crete, Mycenaean contact with Egypt appears to intensify in the wake of prior Minoan contact, as exemplified in the Minoan-style wall paintings from Avaris, the former Hyksos capital in the Delta. The term Tanaja, perhaps related to the Greek term Danaoi and used in Egypt to denote Helladic Greece, appears in an Egyptian text as a realm paying tribute to Tuthmosis III (Cline 1994, 114). (Egyptian texts often describe the incoming portion of royal gift exchange or trade goods in general as tribute.) Assuming the present majority view among Egyptologists favoring an accession date of 1479 BCE for Tuthmosis III is correct (Wiener 2015b and works cited therein), the date of the text of his 42nd regnal year is 1437 BCE, immediately following the date of c. 1450/40 BCE proposed for the Helladic conquest of Crete. The asserted tribute consisted of a silver jug of Keftiu

[7] E. g., W. S. Smith 1965, 33; Cameron 1974, 633–641; Immerwahr 1990, 89, 172; Koehl 2008, 271; MacGillivray 2009, 166–167; E. J. W. Barber 2015, 209–210; Judas 2015, 130; but see contra Rehak 1998, 40–42. With regard to the proposed chronological correlation, if 1) the present minority view placing the accession of Tuthmosis III 14 years earlier at 1493 BCE (Aston 2012–2013) is correct, 2) the identification of Tanaja as Danaoi holds, 3) the author of the Egyptian text is in fact distinguishing between Minoans and Helladics, and 4) no Helladic polity had direct contacts with Egypt before the mainland conquest of Crete, then the Helladic conquest would have occurred and become known to the Egyptian scribe prior to 1451 BCE rather than prior to 1437 BCE.

Fig. 15: Painted ceiling from Malqata, the Palace of Amenhotep III at Thebes, depicting Minoan-style bucrania and running spirals (Met Museum, Public Domain, CC0 1.0).

(Cretan) work and four unattributed jugs with silver handles. At the same time – indeed, perhaps in the same year – a wall painting in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire at Thebes was repainted to indicate a change in dress of the Aegean tribute-bearers bringing gifts to the pharaoh. The alteration has been interpreted by some as substituting Helladic dress for Minoan.[7]

In LH/LM IIIA1, c.1410/00–1365/45 BCE, major Creto-Mycenaean links with Egypt and the East are apparent (Cline 1994, 9). From LH IIIA1 onward, Mycenaean pottery is abundant in Cyprus, and from IIIA2, just after the destruction of Knossos, in the Levant as well (van Wijngaarden 2016, 355). Evidence for links with Egypt is found in particular in the reign of Amenophis III (c. 1390–1352). Glazed-faience plaques with his cartouche are found at Mycenae, although in contexts later than his reign (Phillips 2007). The painted ceiling of his palace of Malqata at Thebes (Fig. 15; Hayes 1959, 246) depicts Minoan-appearing bull heads with rosettes amid typically Minoan running spirals, and a statue base supporting one of the statues on the portico of the peristyle court of his mortuary temple is inscribed with what are thought likely to be names of major sites in Crete and on the mainland.[8] Among the sites listed are Knossos and the one-time Minoan palatial sites of Phaistos and Chania plus the Knossian port at Amnisos, the island of Kythera, Mycenae and its port at Nauplio (Wiener forthcoming a), and Messenia. (Curiously the names of locations are carved over prior inscriptions; perhaps the earlier carvings provided prior Minoan designations for places in Crete.) The sea trade indicated was evidently accompanied by significant piracy, for Amenophis III ordered that the mouth of the Nile be fortified against pirate attacks (Bietak 2015, 31 n. 17).

After the destruction of Knossos early in LM IIIA2 c. 1350/40 BCE discussed in detail below, Egyptian and Near Eastern objects practically disappear from the Cretan archaeological record. Taking their place were Egypto-Mycenaean connections centered on Mycenae itself (Cline 1994, 13–23; Wiener 2015a, 136). The Helladic overlords of Crete most likely absorbed much of Minoan Crete's maritime capability. Kim Shelton, the excavator of Petsas House outside the Lion Gate of the Mycenaean citadel, has described LH IIIA as »a time of great internal growth and outward expansion for Mycenaean civilization,« with a marked increase in the number and size of sites (2010, 184). By LH II grand funerary tholoi are built near Mycenae at Prosymna and at the great pottery production center of Berbati; followed by another at Dendra in the Argolid in early LH IIIA. At some point in LH IIIA2 c. 1350 BCE, the construction of grand tholoi is limited to Mycenae itself (Voutsaki 2010, 100).

The Helladic palaces both prior to and after the conquest of Crete appear to have exercised tight control over long-distance high-value trade, including both precious and base metals and various notable exotic objects. Unlike Minoan Crete, where wealth in the form of substantial residences and luxury goods is widespread at its peak in LM IA prior to the Theran eruption, in Helladic Greece (including Helladic-occupied Crete until the destruction of Knossos in early LM IIIA2) wealth appears to be heavily concentrated in the palaces and in palatial burials. Mycenae in particular, and subsequently other palatial centers, established links with Egypt, the Near East, and Anatolia, making use of ports in-

8 Cline 1987, esp. 27–30; Wachsmann 1987, 95–99; Latacz 2004, 210; Kelder 2005, 146; Cline/Stannish 2011.

cluding Kommos in Crete, Ialysos on Rhodes (as suggested, inter alia, by the presence of four Helladic-type chamber tombs), and sites on the Anatolian coast, in particular Miletus where a sizeable Helladic colony supplanted the earlier Minoan colony, and Musgebi, which also contains impressive Mycenaean tombs (Wiener 2009, 707–708). To maintain a major presence at Miletus and the surrounding area on the Anatolian coast as well as other outposts in the eastern Mediterranean must have required a major Helladic, and likely Mycenaean, maritime capability. The Cycladic islands, however, seem bypassed and impoverished in comparison to their status under Minoan control, direct or indirect, in LM IA, as noted above. Both Ayia Irini on Kea and Phylakopi on Melos suffer major destructions at the end of LM IB, along with Crete (R. L. N. Barber 1999, 134–135). There is only scant evidence of occupation in many of the Cyclades in LM II/LH IIB. In LH IIIA there is renewed occupation in which Helladic cultural domination seems complete, but none of the sites are impressive (Cummer/Schofield 1984, 146, cited in Earle 2008, 135).

The nature of Helladic contact with the Cycladic islands clearly differed from that of Minoan Crete. Whereas Crete had long ties via settlements and trade links with the Cyclades including a major presence on Thera (Wiener 1984; 2013b) mainland contact was far more limited. Thera itself had been abandoned after the eruption, and with Crete itself now available as a stepping-stone en route to Miletus, Kos, and Rhodes, all of which provide evidence of significant Helladic presence (Niemeier 1998, 30–41; 2005a, 10–16), mainland Greece had significantly less need of Cycladic ports.

One major question remains with respect to the ascent of Mycenae to dominance within much of mainland Greece, Crete, and the Cyclades, together with a significant presence along the Anatolian coast: how and when did Mycenae supplant Kolonna on Aegina as the preeminent center controlling the Saronic Gulf? The island of Aegina sits in the middle of the Gulf, which connects the Peloponnese to Attica and the metals of Lavrion. Through the 18th, 17th, and early 16th centuries BCE, Kolonna with its massive fortification walls and indicia of wealth and widespread trading contacts was clearly the most impressive Aegean site north of Crete. Its pottery was widely exported, reaching sites throughout Attica and the northern Peloponnese including Lerna and other sites in the Argolid (Gauss 2007, 164; Lindblom 2007; Kelder 2020, 40). During LH I, the Aeginetan trade network extended to northern Corinthia north of Mycenae, where a range of Aeginetan cookware, kraters, and larger storage and pouring vessels appear (Tartaron 2010, 171). Moreover, there is no convincing evidence at this time for Mycenaean roadworks continuing into the Corinthian plain (Tartaron 2010, 172). The situation begins to change in LH I, with the intensification of relations between Crete and Mycenae as illustrated by the Minoan treasures accompanying the ruler burials in Shaft Grave Circle A at Mycenae discussed above (but with the caveat noted that Aegina could have been an intermediary in some manner, perhaps even through intermarriage between ruling clans). Kolonna near the beginning of LH I constructs a massive fortification wall extending the area of the site encompassed, with work seemingly continuing into LH IIA (Felten 2007, 18–19; Gauss 2007, 163–164). It may well be that the fortification wall was built with the growing power of Mycenae in mind.

In any event, at some point in LH IIB (perhaps soon after the Helladic conquest of Crete described above) Kolonna suffered a major destruction of its administrative center, which was not rebuilt. In LH IIIA a pottery kiln was built in the building's destroyed shell (Kelder 2020, 43). Evidence is lacking to determine whether part of the Mycenaean force which participated in the conquest of Crete at the beginning of LH IIB/LM II moved on to attack Kolonna. Unlike the situation in Crete, there is no evidence at Kolonna of subsequent Mycenaean administration, whether in the form of Linear B tablets or otherwise. Kelder (2020, 43–44, citing in part Siennicka 2002, 184–187) summarizes the situation after c. 1400 BCE as follows:

»… the number of sites around the Saronic Gulf almost doubles, and at a number of sites, there are clear indications of Argive/Mycenaean influence on the material culture. Megali Magoula, a site on the southeastern coast of Troezenia, which had already been of importance during the late Middle Bronze Age and hitherto seemed to have particularly strong

cultural ties to Aegina, seems to have become »Mycenaeanized« during LH IIB. The most vivid testimony to this is the erection of two tholos tombs of clear Mycenaean design…«
(I am grateful to J. Kelder for sharing his paper with me prior to publication.)

Tartaron (2013, 213–232) as well has argued that the LH IIB–IIIA period of the late 15th to early 14th centuries BCE saw the development of Mycenaean hegemony over a preceding Aeginetan-dominated trading network in the Saronic Gulf. It is in this period that Mycenae is first mentioned as a seagoing state in Hittite texts (see below). Meanwhile on the Helladic mainland the imprint of Mycenaean palatial culture moved steadily northward from the Peloponnese throughout LH II and IIIA1, as evidenced by the imposing administrative structures, fine tholos tombs, and a few Linear B inscriptions at Dimini and in the surrounding area near the Bay of Volos (Hope Simpson n.d.), noted above, reaching its apogee in LH IIIA2.

Knossos under Helladic Rule

The Linear B tablets found in the c. 1350/40 BCE destruction deposit at Knossos reveal a center that controlled over 110,000 sheep in central and western Crete, as noted above (Halstead 1998–1999, 158–159, table 2), mostly rams kept for their wool, requiring about one-third of the island of Crete to graze. This enormous quantity of sheep suggests the production and export of cloth in large volume, in all likelihood including brilliantly colored garments of the kind depicted in the wall paintings at Knossos, executed when Knossos was already under mainland rule. Some of these garments were included in the shipments sent to the eastern Mediterranean and to Egypt, where wall paintings in the tombs of viziers depict Aegeans bringing clothes as gifts, as noted above. The Linear B tablets from Knossos and also Pylos later list numbers of female weavers, some of whom are identified as coming from various Aegean islands, including islands in the northern Aegean, perhaps descendants of Minoans and/or others trained from early childhood in the use of a vertical warp-weighted loom (see Cutler 2012, 148–149; 2019; Nixon 1999, 565), some or all of whom may have been serfs/slaves.

The tablets pertaining to sheep, cloth, and weavers reflect a Crete under mainland control that was centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic, recording what must have been close to the total amount of wool produced and sheep extant at the village, district, and Knossian palatial level in central Crete (Olivier 1997). Shipments of wool or cloth were accompanied by bits of clay with identifying seal impressions (nodules), with the information they contained summarized on Linear B tablets by specialized scribes (Olivier 1997) and when required on parchment packets (Wiener 1999, 415, citing Weingarten 1983; Hallager 1996). One Knossian Linear B tablet found in the LM IIIA2 destruction debris, dealing with textiles made in southern Crete in the vicinity of Ayia Triada, contains more than 125 pieces of information, including the names of the weavers and the size, color, weight, and decoration of the clothes (KN 1568, written by scribe 103 as discussed in Olivier 1997, 316). As Joanne Cutler (by the time of her tragic death at an early age, already the leading authority on Minoan textiles) noted:

»… textiles would have constituted a significant component of the material and visual environment. The demand for cloth would have been considerable; textiles were needed for a wide variety of purposes, such as clothing, bedding, wall-hangings, canopies, coverings for furniture and floors, sails, bags, sacks and wrappings … The textile production process, from the acquisition and preparation of the raw material to the finished fabric, is highly labour intensive and involves a number of separate stages; meeting the need for cloth within Aegean Bronze Age communities would have required a substantial investment of time, as well as specialised craft knowledge.[9]«

The extraordinary number of sheep listed in the Linear B tablets from the LH IIIA2 Early destruction at Knossos also provided a source of food, both on a

[9] Cutler 2019; I am deeply indebted to Todd Whitelaw for making Dr. Cutler's text available to me prior to publication, as well as for his dedicated care and assistance to Dr. Cutler prior to her passing.

regular basis and as a buffer against malnourishment in poor crop years (Halstead 1999, 161).

Knossos tablet F(2) 852 found in the great destruction soon after the beginning of LH IIIA2 records more than 960,000 liters of grain stored in the Messara plain in the south of Crete (Earle 2008, 122), perhaps at the site of Ayia Triada. The Helladic palaces controlled vast food supplies as is evident on the mainland as well, both in Messenia as documented by the Pylos Linear B tablets and in Boeotia where the drainage of the Kopais basin constituted a marvel of Helladic engineering around the beginning of LH IIIB, and where the massive citadel constructed at Gla would have provided vast storage capacity to buffer the stresses of poor crop years.

In addition to Helladic-governed Knossos' control of sheep and grain, one Linear B tablet (Gm 840) from the LM IIIA2 destruction at Knossos records the disbursement of 14,342 liters of wine. If the wine was intended for a single banquet as proposed by Bendall (2007, 154–155), it would surely have been a great state festive and/or cultic event involving many people (Yasur-Landau et al. 2018, 331). The later Linear B tablets from the destruction stratum of Pylos c. 1200 BCE describe a feast on a grand scale as noted above, suggesting that palatially organized feasting was a significant aspect of Helladic social practice and rule. Alternatively, the wine dispersed at Knossos may have been intended primarily for export, or for a combination of feasting, export, and regular consumption. It is worth noting that in all the foregoing respects, including the organization of work and management of labor, central Crete was subject to significantly greater control than western Crete (Del Freo 2016, 632, discussing Bennet 1985, 240–242).

Knossos under mainland control prior to its destruction also produced quantities of Type B, Ci, and Di swords, superior to any other known swords of the day, and the finest spearheads in the Aegean as well. The swords and spearheads may have been produced largely at the Little Palace/Unexplored Mansion site, near the Palace of Minos at Knossos (Catling/Catling 1984, 203–208; Peatfield 1999, 69–70; Hatzaki 2005). Significant numbers of swords are listed on the Linear B tablets from the early LM IIIA2 destruction of Knossos; at least 110 of a total of 138 tablets from Knossos refer to arms and armor, including 78 corselets, 8,640 spear and arrowheads, and 213 daggers (Snodgrass 1999, 23). The Uluburun shipwreck off the coast of Anatolia of 40–50 years later is thought to have been en route to the Aegean (Pulak 1998, 218–220), with its cargo of 10 tons of copper and one ton of tin. If used solely for weapon manufacture, the cargo would have been sufficient to produce 30,000 swords (Papasavvas 2012, 124). One Knossos tablet mentions at least 50 weapons and another 18 and 99, but on most of the 22 tablets listing swords the totals are either missing or incomplete (Driessen/Macdonald 1984, 64). Crete under mainland control, and in particular the palace of Knossos, may have been the prime armorer of much of the Helladic world. Cretan skill in weapon manufacture was already evident in the Protopalatial period, as indicated by the swords found at the palace of Malia, weapons which the armorers of Egypt and the Near East could not match (Sandars 1963, 119). The fine Minoan Type A swords of the Neopalatial period which followed were also unmatched (Molloy 2013a, 60). The Linear B tablets from Knossos also record significant numbers of men in a military context, some of whom may be at or from places abroad (Macdonald 2005, 216).

As noted above, the Helladic palace at Knossos also produced and controlled large numbers of chariots, as evidenced by one Linear B tablet (Sf[2] 4420) which records 80 chariot wheels and tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets which list a total of 200–250 chariots, as well as charioteers equipped with two sets of body armor and a pair of horses (Palaima 1996, 382). Chariots are depicted in a number of media, with terracotta models frequent (French 1971, 176). The fire destruction of the Room of the Chariot Tablets is thought by a number of scholars to be earlier (LM II–IIIA1) than the general destruction in LM IIIA2 Early (Driessen 2000c, but see Warren 1991) and the tablets contain a higher proportion of recognizably Helladic Indo-European names (70–90 %) than other series such as the livestock tablets, which contain a very high proportion of names that are not recognizable as Indo-European (Driessen 2000c, 192).

Some of the chariots listed in the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets may have been deployed in Anatolia. A Hittite text from Hattusa of the early 14th century BCE reports that the ruler of Ahhiyawa, a realm including the Mycenaeanized sites

around Miletus, commanded a force of 100 chariots (KUB 14.1; Kelder 2004–2005, 154). Chariots and their horses were extremely costly to maintain, and the copper and especially tin needed for the bronze swords and spearheads costly and challenging to obtain. The demands made of Crete by the Greek-speaking rulers of mainland descent at Knossos were clearly both extensive and intensive. The information supplied by the Linear B tablets from the destructions of the LM II–IIIA1 Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos, the LM IIIA2 palace, town, and harbors, and the transitional LH IIIB/C palace at Pylos suggest a radical centralization of power in the palaces (to some extent prefigured in the burials in Grave Circle A and the subsequent grand tholos tombs built at Mycenae). The fact that the names of »collectors« at these and other sites recur over approximately 200 years or 6 generations may suggest a hereditary class of administrators covering a large part of the Helladic realm (Shelmerdine 2008, 132, citing Killian 1979, 176–179; Olivier 2001, with a note of caution by Rougemont 2001, 135–137).

The Knossian Linear B tablets were found throughout much of the West Wing of the Palace of Minos, some perhaps fallen from an upper floor (Macdonald 2005, 214–216). The tablets in the main contain accounting records of goods present in, or near, or controlled by, the palace, and reveal nothing about such critical matters as the acquisition of metals; supplying of ships, shipyards, shipsheds, ships' crews and their dependents; or foreign trade, gift exchange, or foreign relations generally. Minoan palaces prior to the Helladic conquest at the end of LM IB/beginning of LM II may have kept such records on sealed packets of parchment or papyrus, of which only the sealings with parchment impressions on their back surfaces remain, as in a deposit in House A at Kato Zakros (Wiener 1987, 263 n. 22). Another method of record keeping was discovered in the cargo of the later Uluburun shipwreck off the southern coast of Anatolia, c. 1300 BCE at the end of LH IIIA2, which contained two hinged wooden tablets, presumably once lined with wax. The excavator surmises that the tablets belonged to two Mycenaean envoys or merchants (Pulak 1998, 216).

The new overlords of Crete from Helladic Greece apparently absorbed what remained of the maritime capabilities of the prior Minoan thalassocracy (Wiener 2015a, 135–136), including its major entrepôt at Miletus on the Anatolian coast at the mouth of the Meander River, a likely route of transmission of the tin and lapis lazuli from what today is Afghanistan. In mainland-controlled West and central Crete, Minoan shipsheds (which may also function as shipyards) continued in use until LM II–IIIA at the port of Poros/Katsambas on the north coast of Crete 5 km from Knossos, and in LM IIIA2 and B1 at Kommos, 5 km from the palaces of Phaistos and Ayia Triada on the south coast. The situation clearly differs from that at the height of the Knossian-led Neopalatial period in LM I, however. In LM I every single harbor on all coasts of Crete contained a substantial town, some with elite palatial dwellings. On the north coast in the area of the Bay of Mirabello, the occupied sites included Priniatikos Pyrgos, Gournia, Pseira, Mochlos, and Papadiokampos (Brogan 2019, 60). On the east coast the evidence for prior Minoan maritime administration in LM IB comes from the more than one thousand seal impressions from a multiple sealing system at Kato Zakros (Wiener 2015a, 137), while on the south coast, in addition to Kommos, the area surrounding the harbor of Ierapetra and nearby Chryssi island (Chalikias 2015, 42–43) provides evidence of foreign trade in LM IB, in the case of Chryssi in precious cargo (Brogan 2020). Indeed, most if not all of the small islands surrounding Crete including Chryssi, Koufonisi, Pseira, Dia, Antikythera, and Gavdos were occupied in the Neopalatial period, and all were abandoned at the time of the mainland conquest in LM II.

The new Helladic rulers of Crete may have made extensive use of Minoan mariners and shipwrights, some of whom may have moved to the impressive Argive port of Nauplio (Piteros 2015, 252–253; Wiener forthcoming a) or to Pylos. Records from the great trading entrepôt at Ugarit refer to Keftiu (Cretan) ships in the port in LH IIIB1 (Knapp 2018, 188) prior to the breakdown in Mycenaean exports c. 1250/40 BCE, an era which also marks the beginning of the dissolution of the Mycenaean realm (Wiener forthcoming b).

The period between the mainland conquest of Crete beginning c. 1450/40 BCE and the destruction of Knossos early in LM IIIA2 c. 1350/40 BCE may itself have been interrupted by significant conflict. The fire destructions in early LM IIIA1 (c. 1390

BCE) of the Little Palace/Unexplored Mansion, together with the fire destructions farther up the hill at the Stratigraphic Museum site, plus those in the Room of the Chariot Tablets in the palace itself, suggest that the mainland occupation of central Crete included at least one period of conflict, whether among the Helladic occupiers (Driessen 1990, 112–116), or with some of the native Minoan population, perhaps including captives, native or foreign, or both. In any event, after the destruction of Knossos early in LM IIIA2 and for a century thereafter until the end of LH IIIB1 c. 1240 BCE, Mycenae played a dominant role in the Peloponnese and in trade relations with the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt. Conversely, after the destruction of Knossos there is relatively little evidence of Egyptian, Near Eastern, or Cypriot imports in Crete.

The Amarna tablets from the reign of Akhenaten c. 1348–1331 BCE contain a possible reference to the destruction of Knossos. A message (EA151, 52 ff.) from the Egyptian vassal ruler of Tyre reports a change in governance in the land of Danuna in their islands, without an outbreak of general unrest (Haider 1990, 44–45). The term Danuna is thought to refer to the Danaoi of Homer, one of his designations for Mycenaeans in general. Alternatively the report may refer to a dynastic change at Mycenae as recounted in the later Greek dramas.

The Mycenaean Presence on the Anatolian Coast as Indicated by the Ahhiyawa Texts

Following the Helladic conquest of Crete at the beginning of LM II/LH IIB, Miletus and the nearby area on the Anatolian coast also changed from Minoan to Mycenaean in character (Niemeier 2005a). Hittite texts speak of this area as part of the land of Ahhiyawa, described as an entity controlling, at least to some extent and at most times, a section of the Anatolian coast and some nearby islands (Matessi 2016, 119 n. 2). Several of the Hittite texts imply that the capital of Ahhiyawa lay abroad. Ahhiyawa was an entity of some importance to the Hittites from at least the early 14th to the late 13th century (Niemeier 1999, pl. 15; 1998, 17–27, 43–45; Bryce 1989). The ruler of Ahhiyawa is sometimes addressed by the Hittite emperors as »brother.« The term does not necessarily connote a ruler of a major state, however, for it is often used in Egyptian diplomatic correspondence to address a ruler of a much less significant entity (Dickinson 2009); rather, the term is seemingly employed whenever the pharaoh wants something, gifts in particular. The Ahhiyawan rulers with whom the Hittite rulers correspond are out of reach of Hittite power, but deploy land forces on the Anatolian coast which include 100 chariots, assuming that Attarsiya, described in Hittite texts as the man of Ahhiyawa, is under the Ahhiyawan ruler's control. (The name Attarsiya has aroused speculation as to whether it could be a Hittite rendering of the Greek Atreus, the legendary ruler of Mycenae.) A brother of a ruler of Ahhiyawa rides with a charioteer who has married into the family of a Hittite queen and driven the Hittite emperor (Dickinson 2009; Hope Simpson 2003, 230). The Hittite Emperor Mursili II (c. 1321–1295 BCE) on one occasion requests a statue or token of an Ahhiyawan deity, in the hope that the object imported will be able to cure the Hittite ruler's illness (Morris 2001, 428), perhaps the plague which ravaged Hittite lands at this time.[10]

That Ahhiyawa in its heyday was regarded as a major power whose reach extended to the eastern Mediterranean and that its center lay on the Helladic mainland seems clear. While some have championed Thebes as the putative capital of Ahhiyawa (Latacz 2004, 243–244; Niemeier 2005b, 203), it seems far more likely that the capital of Ahhiyawa was Mycenae (Dickinson 2009; Wiener 2009).

The Destruction of Knossos and Its Harbors c. 1350/40 BCE

The causes and agents of the early IIIA2 destruction of Knossos and its harbor towns of Amnisos and

[10] In a paper dedicated to the memory of Professor Manfred Korfmann, it seems appropriate to note that a message from a later Hittite ruler to a Mycenaean ruler c. 1310–1250 BCE (the date is disputed) known as the Tawagalawa letter refers to the land of Wilusa (the area of Troy) as a place where they had had hostile relations but were now at peace (CTH 181; Beckman et al. 2011, 101–122).

Poros/Katsambas with their shipyards and/or shipsheds (Shaw 2019, 89–90) are uncertain. Among the possibilities are 1) conflict arising between Mycenae itself and Helladicized Knossos for whatever reason, perhaps including the Mycenaean dynastic conflict portrayed in later legends noted above, or warfare between mainland polities for control of Crete; 2) an uprising in Crete; 3) the conquest of Knossos by Chania, which appears to succeed Knossos as a site with both palatial buildings and administrative literacy after both disappear or diminish markedly at Knossos; or 4) conquest by a confederation of sites, likely including Chania. The close similarity of some of the Linear B tablets from the destruction level at Knossos and the somewhat later ones from Chania (Olivier 1993) suggests the existence of at least a common scribal school, and perhaps the physical transfer of scribes from Knossos to Chania. Moreover, both imports from a very wide horizon and Chaniot finds abroad indicate the widespread contacts of Chania in LM III (Cline 1999, 119–121; Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 523–524). In addition, Chania in this period has large buildings, organized in a different way from earlier Minoan palaces (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 524). Western Crete in particular seems to thrive comparatively in the latter part of IIIA2 and IIIB1, not only at Chania but also in the hinterland of the harbor of Rethymnon as indicated by the impressive burials at the Armenoi cemetery (Godart 2018, 253–254). In LM/LH IIIA the cemeteries at Chania, Knossos, and on the mainland are in general very close in appearance (Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 525). Of course the fertile valley of Knossos and the remains of the palace itself continue to be occupied after the major destruction of LM IIIA2 Early. The occupation is evident, for example, in the Shrine of the Double Axes, along the walls of the south front of the palace, in the area of the North Entrance passage, and in the storeroom of the giant pithoi, which would themselves have provided an attraction to inhabitants of the area (Wiener forthcoming b). The fact that the excavators, Evans and Mackenzie, discarded all undecorated pottery and sherds contributed to the uncertainty as to the extent of the post-destruction occupation. After the LM IIIA2 Early destruction, the one-time Palace of Knossos no longer functioned as a center of rule for much of Crete, however. The sites of Archanes and Tylissos near Knossos appear to continue and to some extent prosper after the LM IIIA2 Early destruction of Knossos, however, as indicated, for example, by the fine IIIA2 tholos tomb at the cemetery at Archanes-Phourni (Sakellarakis/Sakellarakis 1997, 158–168). On the south coast of Crete, Ayia Triada revives as an important regional center with the erection of impressive buildings including the structure known as the Stoa late in the IIIA2 period, and nearby Phaistos also experiences a period of land reclamation during LM IIIA2 Late and early LM IIIB (Borgna 2011, 487–488). During LM IIIA2, the capacity of the silos at Ayia Triada increases three- to four-fold (Privitera 2014, 443). Various regions of Crete may have participated in the end of Knossian control. Gypsum vases made in the Knossian workshop prior to its destruction are subsequently found throughout Crete (Poursat 1997) and more importantly, the production of swords is no longer restricted to Knossos; rather the Dii sword type is »now apparently made in many more centers« (Sandars 1963, 132). Moreover, with Knossian control absent, the various regions of Crete appear more directly in touch with mainland Mycenaean influences (Poursat 1997), while at the same time cultic and burial practices in various parts of the island begin to display wide differences (Betancourt 1999, 223). Resettlement of at least one Creto-Helladic community in mainland Greece may be indicated by the major appearance at Tanagra near Thebes of the use of burial larnakes in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE (Aravantinos 2020, 768). The art of seal engraving on hard stones seems to disappear entirely from Crete after the destruction of Knossos (Janko 2008, 596). During LM II and IIIA1, pottery production in Crete displayed a high degree of consistency, but after the destruction of Knossos early in LM IIIA2 ceramic assemblages in Crete are more restricted in geographic scope and in some cases parochial (Rutter 2018). The island of Kythera between the Peloponnese and Crete appears to suffer a loss of perhaps 80 % of its population after the destruction of Knossos (Broodbank et al. 2005, 87).

That Knossos and its harbors were not rebuilt after the great destruction of 1350/40 BCE provides evidence of the transfer of authority within Crete to Chania and Ayia Triada, and to Mycenae exter-

nally. Notwithstanding the destruction of Knossos and its cessation as the center of direction and control of central and west Crete early in LH IIIA2 and the subsequent general decline of Crete, the Mycenaean imperium appears to reach its maximum extension throughout Greece, the Cycladic islands, the Dodecanese, and the coast of Anatolia around the site of Miletus, by the late LH IIIA2 period c. 1325 BCE. It is at this time that Mycenaean contacts with the Troad gain in intensity (Korfmann 1986, 27–28; Bryce 2006, 122–123; Mountjoy 2017, 18). That we now possess some evidence of the degree of contact over time between Late Bronze Age Greece and the Troad is due largely to the monumental excavations of Troy and its surroundings directed by Prof. Manfred Korfmann.

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