

“River” and “Earth”: Two “provinces” of the Minoan principality of Phaistos - Hagia Triada

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Two Minoan palatial sites of Phaistos and Hagia Triada are located on the opposite slopes of a hill dominating the Messara plain. The hill itself divides the plain into two valleys: larger Timbaki valley to the North, and narrow Kamilari valley to the South. The Timbaki valley is well watered by the Ieropotamos (ancient Lethaios) river; now hothouses fill it, but in antiquity it was used mainly for grain production. The Kamilari valley is dry, and now, as in antiquity it is full of olive-trees. Phaistos is situated on the eastern edge of the hill facing both valleys, and Hagia Triada is found on the north-western slope of the hill facing Timbaki valley only. The main aim of the present study is to show how this two valleys' topography was reflected in the Minoan administrative terminology attested in the Linear A archives of Hagia Triada.

It is not easy to isolate toponyms among phonetically written Minoan “words”. Facchetti proposed to identify Minoan toponyms on a basis of the fixed word order.¹ However, this rule is valid for Mycenaean Pylos only. It is enough to compare KN E 749 and Og 833 to realise that no fixed order of toponyms existed on Mycenaean Crete. The Linear B Theban Fq series also consist of words written in fixed order, but they are certainly not place-names.² Uchitel and Finkelberg proposed to treat as toponyms those words, which appear both as items in lists and headings.³ This was a working hypothesis whose main purpose was to isolate possible Minoan verbal forms, which cannot be found in this position. Though place-names are likely to function in such a way, not all such words are necessarily place-names, and not all

¹ G. M. Facchetti, “Comparable Name-Lists in Linear A”, *Kadmos* 35, 1996, pp. 100-104.

² See V. L. Aravantinos, L. Godart and A. Sacconi, *Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmée*, vol. 1, *Les tablettes en Linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou (édition et commentaire)*, Pisa, 2001.

³ A. Uchitel and M. Finkelberg, “Some Possible Identifications in the Headings of the Linear A Archives”, *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 36, 1995, pp. 30-31.

place-names are found exclusively in this position. It seems that the most realistic approach is to stick to the minimalist view that only place-names securely identified in the Linear B, which are also attested in the Linear A can be considered as Minoan toponyms.

Unfortunately, they are very few: *da-i-pi-ta* (ZA 8, 10a), *ka-pa* (HT 6, 8, 94, 102, 105, 140), *ka-ta-re* (KH 41),⁴ *pa-i-to* (HT 97, 120), *se-to-i-ja* (PR Za 1b), *su-ki-ri-ta* and *su-ki-ri-te-i-ja* (PH Wa 32, HT Zb 158). Only two of them (*ka-pa* and *pa-i-to*) are attested in the Hagia Triada archives,⁵ but the functioning of these two words in two scripts is very different. Linear B *ka-pa* is a very obscure place-name being attested in the archive from Knossos only twice, in this form (E 71) and as an ethnic *ka-pa-jo* (B 5752) in the context parallel to several other Cretan toponyms.⁶ The Linear A *ka-pa*, on the other hand, seems to be one of the most important places in the Minoan principality of Phaistos - Hagia Triada, appearing twice in lists (HT 8, 140) and four times as a heading (HT 6, 94a, 102, 105). *pa-i-to*, which is of course the syllabic spelling for Phaistos itself, on the contrary, is very poorly attested in Linear A, being found only twice in the lists, and without its Linear B equivalent it would be hardly possible to identify this sequence of signs with the major Minoan palatial site. In Linear B this is of course one of the most important place-names, whose names survived during the classical age and played crucial role in the decipherment of this script. In fact, Phaistos is the only Cretan toponym attested in Linear A, Linear B, and alphabetic Greek.

Especially interesting is the appearance of these two words on three tablets: HT 6, 102, and 120 where *ka-pa* is consistently opposed to *da-qe-ra* in the headings. The structure of these texts is shown on table 1.

On HT 6 the numerals refer to figs (*NI*), and on HT 102 and 120 they refer to grain (GRA). Both commodities are recorded against phonetically written words. At least one of these lists (HT 120) consists of place-names, since the city of Phaistos (*pa-i-to*) is found there. Fracchetti dismisses this claim on the ground that Phaistos appears here in a context different from the rest of the words (without following the ideogram for grain).⁷ The comparison with HT 102 shows, however, that all words,

⁴ Attested in Linear B as *ka-ta-ra* (KN Np 85), *ka-ta-ra-i* (KN Co 906), and *ka-ta-ra-pi* (KN V 145, X 7773). Especially important for identification with Linear A *ka-ta-re* is KN Co 906, since the Co series constitute a list of toponyms in western Crete.

⁵ *su-ki-ri-ta* also appears at Hagia Triada, but on a clay vessel, not in the archive.

⁶ Especially B 5752, which belongs to a set of nine texts (B 808, 814, 815, 816, 985, 5752, 7035, 7043, 8006), all of them lists of men designated *po-ku-ta* (in full writing or abbreviated as *po*) conscripted from various places appearing as ethnics: *da-wi-jo*, *e-ki-si-jo*, *do-ti-jo*. See J. K. McArthur, *Place Names in the Knossos Tablets* (Minos suppl. 9), Salamanca, 1993.

⁷ See G. M. Facchetti, “Comparable Name-Lists in Linear A”, *Kadmos* 35, 1996, pp. 100-104.

with or without the following ideogram were treated in the same way for the purpose of the total's calculation (*ku-ro* 1070=976+33+33+10+3+10+5).

TABLE 1 (*ka-pa* and *da-ge-ra*)

HT 6		HT 102	HT 120
<i>ka-pa</i>	<i>da-ge-ra</i>	<i>ka-pa</i>	<i>da-ge-ra</i>
<i>da-ta-ro</i> TE NI 15 <i>pi-ta-ja</i> 24 <i>JA+RU</i> DD <i>ma</i> -*321 10 <i>o-ra</i> ₂ - <i>di-ne</i> 2 <i>ka-pa-ge</i> 5JE	<i>ge-pi-ta</i> 22JE NI 15J <i>wa-du-ni-mi</i> 3H <i>ra-ti-se</i> 1 <i>ma-ri</i> -[re]-i 3 <i>du-da-ma</i> 66 <i>da-ki</i> 3E <i>sa-ma</i> 35 *56- <i>ni-na</i> 17J	<i>sa-ra</i> ₂ GRA 976 *56- <i>ni</i> GRA+PA 33[VIR GRA+PA 33 <i>di-ri-na</i> 10 <i>ma</i> -*78 3 WI 10 <i>i-ka</i> 5	<i>da-me</i> GRA+L ² K 74 GRA+PA 62JA <i>da-u</i> -*49 I GRA+PA 20 <i>ki-re-ta-na</i> GRA+B 60 GRA+PA 48 <i>pa-i-to</i> 3D
(56+)	(165+)	<i>ku-ro</i> 1060[+10]	(267+)

Other words found besides Phaistos in this list are unusually well attested. *da-me* is found in conjunction with *mi-nu-te* twice: on HT 86a under the heading *a-du* and on HT 106. On HT 86a these two words are associated with grain (GRA) and on HT 106 they are connected to barley (*303) and some commodity expressed by an abbreviation *SI*. As all words listed on HT 86, *da-me* and *mi-nu-te* reappear twice on HT 95 under the headings *da-du-ma-ta* and GRA (see table 2).

TABLE 2 (*da-me* and *mi-nu-te*)

HT 86a	HT 95a	HT 95b	HT 106
<i>a-du</i>	<i>da-du-ma-ta</i> GRA	GRA	
<i>da-me</i> GRA+B 20 <i>mi-nu-te</i> 20	<i>da-me</i> 10 <i>mi-nu-te</i> 10	<i>da-me</i> 10 <i>mi-nu-te</i> 10	<i>mi-nu-te</i> *303 6J SI 5J SI 1 <i>da</i> -[me] 8 SI 3

ki-re-ta-na and a related form *ki-re-ta*₂ are both attested as headings in three lists of agricultural commodities (HT 2, 125b, and 129) and one list of personnel (HT 108). One of these lists is connected to the file of TH 86-HT 95 through the common heading *a-ka-ru* (HT 2 and HT 86a) and another one (TH 125) is associated with HT 102 through the common word *sa-ra*₂ (see table 3). The agricultural commodities, which appear in these lists are olive oil (*302), grain

(GRA), figs (*NI*), and unidentified *304. Finally, *da-u* *49 is possibly attested also in a fragmentary context on HT 126.⁸

TABLE 3 (*ki-re-ta-na* and *ki-re-ta2*)

HT 2		HT 108	HT 125a		HT 125b	HT 129	
<i>a-ka-ru</i>	<i>ki-re-ta-na</i>	<i>ki-re-ta-na</i>	[]- <i>ra</i> ₂	<i>sa-ra</i> ₂	[<i>ki</i>]- <i>re-ta</i> ₂	<i>ki-re-ta</i> ₂	<i>tu</i> *21 ^f - <i>ri-na</i>
*302+RO 20	*302+RO 54	VIR 1	*302+KI 1D	GRA 2	GRA 7J	GRA 33JB	GRA 40J
*302+A 17	*302+A 47	<i>di-na-ro</i> 2	*302+MI 1J	*302 1	GRA+PA 20	*304 10	*302+DI 1
*302+E 3	1	<i>du-su-ni</i> 5[*302+RO []		*304 1	<i>NI</i> 22	*302+KI 6
		[]- <i>ra</i> ₂ - <i>ti</i> 10			<i>NI</i> 23		*302 []
		*65 []					

Most of the words listed on HT 102 under the heading *ka-pa* are also found as headings in numerous other texts. However, the presence of the ideogram for man (VIR) among them points towards a list of various qualifications of personnel (ethnic not excluded), rather than a list of toponyms. It can be observed that the word *56-*ni* appears under the heading *ka-pa* on HT 102, but its related form *56-*ni-na*⁹ is found under the heading *da-qe-ra* on HT 6. The latter form is attested also twice as a heading on HT 93, which has the following structure:

HT 93a	*56- <i>ni-na</i>	GRA	*56	<i>RE+SE</i>	12
		<i>di-ri-na</i>		<i>RE+DA+SE</i>	43J
		<i>ki-di-ni</i>			5JK
		<i>a-se</i>	<i>I</i>	GRA+PA	26JE
		<i>sa-ra</i> ₂			20
		<i>qa-qa-ru</i>	<i>I</i>	GRA+PA	5
		VIR	<i>I</i>		6
		<i>de</i> *65- <i>ku</i>			1J
		<i>o-ti</i> -[<i>ro</i>]			3
		<i>da-ri-da</i>			2
					2
	*56- <i>ni-na</i>	<i>pa-se-ja</i>			20
		VIR			10F
		[<i>i</i>]- <i>ka</i>			4
HT 93b	[<i>ku-ro</i>]				165H
		<i>ki-ro</i>			[]

⁸ [*da*]-*u* *49. Another possible reading is *u* *49, which is also attested on ZA 10.

⁹ Two words are related to each other in the same way as the above discussed *ki-re-ta*₂ and *ki-re-ta-na*, the same ending *-na* being used in both cases. *56-*ni* is also attested in Linear B at Knossos as a part of a name: *56-*ni-sa-ta* (KN As 607).

Besides *56-*ni-(na)*, this text is connected to HT 102 by the presence of four more common words: *sa-ra*₂, VIR, *di-ri-na*, and *i-ka* (see table 4).

TABLE 4 (HT 93a and HT 102)

HT 102	HT 93a	
*56- <i>ni</i> GRA+PA 33[<i>sa-ra</i> ₂ GRA 976 VIR GRA+PA 33 <i>di-ri-na</i> 10 <i>i-ka</i> 5	*56- <i>ni-na</i> GRA <i>sa-ra</i> ₂ 20 VIR I 6 <i>di-ri-na</i> *RE+DA+SE 43]	*56- <i>ni-na</i> VIR 10F [i]- <i>ka</i> 4

An equation of Linear B forms *56-*ra-ku-ja* (KN Ld 587) - *pa-ra-ku-ja* (KN Ld 575) served a basis for a possible phonetic reading of *56 as *pa*₂. This equation would provide a reading *pa*₂-*ni-(na)* for Linear A form *56-*ni-(na)*. However, Lejeune and Godart proposed a new reading (*ko*₂) for this sign on the basis of another equation: *56-*ru-we* - *ko-ru-we* frequently attested at Thebes.¹⁰ This reading would produce a Linear A form *ko*₂-*ni-(na)*, which seems to be connected to two other frequently attested Linear A words: *ku*-*56-*nu* (HT 1, 3, 42, 49, 88, 117, 122, PH 31) and *ku*-*56-*na-tu* (HT 47, 119),¹¹ since such readings as *ku-ko*₂-*nu* and *ku-ko*₂-*na-tu* could be reduplicated forms of *ko*₂-*ni*.

Two other words, *sa-ra*₂ and *i-ka* appear also as headings. *i-ka* appears on HT 91, where it introduces a list of agricultural commodities (grain, olive oil, olives, figs, wine, and unidentified *304 and E):

HT 91	<i>i-ka</i>	*326	GRA	X
			*304	A
			*302+KI	A
			*302+RO	A
			*302+MI	A
			OLIV	A
			NI	A
			VIN	A
			E	5
	<i>te-ri</i>	E		[]

¹⁰ M. Lejeune and L. Godart, “Le syllabogramme *56 dans le linéaire B thébain”, *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 123, 1995, pp. 272-277.

¹¹ Also *ku*-*56-[] (HT 101). Compare also Linear B names *ka*-*56-*no* (Df 1219) and *ka*-*56-*na-to* (As 1516).

The word *sa-ra₂* is of course one of the most common headings at Hagia Triada. It appears not less than seventeen times as main or secondary heading on top of lists of agricultural commodities (HT 18, 28a,b, 30, 32, 33, 34, 90, 94a, 99a, 100, 101, 114a, 121, 125a, 130), once it introduces men (HT 105), and once it serves as a subheading in a list of ships (*86 on HT 11b). All this information is summarised in table 5. Agricultural commodities include an enormous quantity of 976 large measures of grain on HT 102 and unusually high quantities of several unidentified commodities (kinds of vegetables?) on HT 33 (90 measures of *305, 100 measures of *341+*PI*, 100 measures of *56+*QE*) and on HT 34 (245 measures of *552).

TABLE 5 (*sa-ra₂*)

Text No.	heading	subheading	lists
HT 11b] <i>de-nu</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	*86 <i>KA</i> 40, <i>KA</i> 30, <i>KA</i> 50
HT 18	<i>sa-ra₂</i>		<i>GRA</i> 10, <i>NI</i> 10
HT 28a	<i>a-si-ja-ka</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>NI</i> 2, <i>VIN</i> 3, *302+ <i>DI</i> 1
HT 28b	<i>a-si-ja-ka u-mi-na-si</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 20, <i>NI</i> 2, <i>VIN</i> 4, *302+ <i>DI</i> 5
HT 30	<i>SI</i> 4	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	*303 []14], <i>NI</i> 7D, <i>VIN</i> 8J, *302+ <i>TA</i> DD, *510 D, <i>sa-ra-ra</i> J, <i>BOS</i> 1
HT 32	*307	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	*308 J, *302+ <i>NE</i> JK, *510 1K, *508 1, *550 1, <i>su-re</i> 108, <i>DI</i> 65, *302+ <i>NE</i> [], <i>RE</i> 104, <i>DI</i> 53
HT 33	[]	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	*401 ^{VAS} +*304 [], *510 1E, *508 L ² L ² []3, <i>E+KA</i> EL ² , *552 D, *305 90, *341+ <i>PI</i> 100, *56+ <i>QE</i> 100
HT 34	<i>da</i> *65- <i>te SI</i> .1	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 200, *550 [], *552 245, <i>E+KA</i> 2HK
HT 90	<i>i-ku-ri-na</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 20, <i>NI</i> 10, *302+ <i>DI</i> 3
HT 94a	<i>sa-ra₂</i>		*303 5, <i>NI</i> 3H, [<i>VIN</i>] 2
HT 99	<i>a-du</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	*303 4, <i>NI</i> 4, <i>VIN</i> 1H, <i>GRA+QE</i> []
HT 100	<i>sa-ra₂</i>		*303 5E, <i>NI</i> 2DD, <i>VIN</i> 2J, *302+ <i>RO</i> 2H, *302+ <i>MI</i> 3, *302+ <i>NE</i> JE
HT 101	<i>sa-ra₂</i>		<i>GRA</i> 41, *302 10
HT 102	<i>ka-pa</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 976
HT 105	<i>ka-pa</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>VIR</i> 235
HT 114a	<i>ki-ri-ta₂</i>	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 10, *302 7, <i>NI</i> 1, <i>VIN</i> 1, <i>BOS</i> 3
HT 121	<i>ki-ri-ta₂</i> *302+ <i>KA+DI</i> 10	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 5, *302 4, <i>NI</i> 2, <i>VIN</i> 3, <i>BOS</i> 3
HT 125a	[]	<i>sa-ra₂</i>	<i>GRA</i> 2, *302 1
HT 130	<i>sa-ra₂</i> *303 []	<i>SI</i>	*303 8, <i>NI</i> 6, <i>VIN</i> 3

TABLE 7 (HT 6, 8a, and 85)

HT 6	HT 8a	HT 85a	HT 85b
<i>da-qe-ra</i>	<i>je-di</i> *302+ <i>KI</i> 10 *56	<i>a-du</i> VIR *638	<i>ki-ki-ra-ja</i>
<i>wa-du-ni-mi</i> 3H <i>ra-ti-se</i> 1 *56- <i>ni-na</i> 17J	<i>PA</i> 3J <i>qa</i> -*310- <i>i</i> JE <i>ki-re-ta-na</i> J	*56- <i>ni</i> 12	<i>wa-du-ni-mi</i> 1 <i>re-di-se</i> 1 <i>PA</i> 1 <i>qa</i> -*310- <i>i</i> 1 <i>ki-re-ta</i> ₂ 1

HT 8 consists of two parts written respectively on the obverse and the reverse of the tablet. The first part probably deals with the production of olive oil, being introduced by the heading *je-di*, which was interpreted by Finkelberg as the verbal form “they will do/they are doing”,¹⁵ and an ideogram for olive oil (*302+*KI*). The second part deals with the shipment of this production, since ideograms for “ship” (*86) and “load” (*188) are repeatedly found there.¹⁶ One can notice that *ki-re-ta-na* associated with *da-qe-ra* is found in the first part, and *ka-pa* appears in the second part of the text. The overall structure of this text is shown on table 8.

TABLE 8 (HT 8)

HT 8a			HT 8b		
<i>je-di</i>	*56		<i>su-pu</i> ₂		*56
*302+ <i>KI</i> 10	<i>ka-ra-ti</i> 1J <i>PA</i> 3J <i>te</i> -*301 2 <i>qa</i> -*310- <i>i</i> JE <i>si-ki-ra</i> E <i>ki-re-ta-na</i> J		*188 1 5		*188 2 <i>qa</i> -*310- <i>i</i> 1EF <i>ka-pa</i> J <i>pa-ja-re</i> 1F *86+*188 J J

One can also observe that the ideogram for ship (*86) appears on two more tablets in conjunction with *ka-pa*: twice on HT 94 (on obverse and reverse) under the heading *ka-pa*, and on HT 140 *ka-pa* is found in a list under the heading, which includes the sign for ship (*86.SI.*118). Finally, a combination of signs *86 and *188 (ship and its load) is found on HT 26b directly after the word *i-ka*,¹⁷ otherwise associated with *ka-pa* on HT 102 (see table 1).

¹⁵ A. Uchitel and M. Finkelberg, “Some Possible Identifications...” (note 3), p. 32.

¹⁶ The transliteration of HT 8 is based upon *GORILA* 5, p. 70 (corrigenda).

¹⁷ *GORILA* reads *I*-*308, but the second sign is certainly *ka*.

Let us summarise the information about the *ka-pa* – *da-qe-ra* dichotomy derived from this structural analysis of Linear A texts:

1. Phaistos (*pa-i-to*) is associated with *da-qe-ra*, while *sa-ra*₂ is associated with *ka-pa*.
2. *56-*ni-(na)* is associated with both *ka-pa* and *da-qe-ra*.
3. *da-qe-ra* and the words associated with it (*ki-re-ta-na* and *ki-re-ta*₂) are connected to the olive oil production, while *ka-pa* and associated words (*sa-ra*₂ and *i-ka*) are connected to grain production and shipment.

Therefore, it can be tentatively assumed that this pair of headings (*ka-pa* and *da-qe-ra*) represents some very general rubrics of classification. Most probably *ka-pa* with its emphasis on grain and shipment corresponds to modern Timbaki valley, and *da-qe-ra* with its olive oil connection corresponds to modern Kamilari valley. Following the Anatolian hypothesis of M. Finkelberg¹⁸ *ka-pa* can be compared with the common Anatolian *hapa/i-* “river”, and *da-qe-ra* – with the H. Luwian *taskwira/i-* “earth”, standing for two parts of the local Minoan principality called respectively “river-(side)” and “(dry)-earth”. Having in mind the peculiar topography of western Messara plain such terminology is not at all surprising. On the Anatolian side numerous “river-lands” (KUR.ÍD in cuneiform, FLUMEN.REGIO in hieroglyphics),¹⁹ their “river-lords” (FLUMEN.DOMINUS in hieroglyphics),²⁰ and even “river (people)”²¹ are well attested in the second and the early first millennium BC. The last mentioned usage of the Luwian word for river (*hapi-*) is in fact the closest parallel to the reconstructed meaning of the Minoan *ka-pa*:

Izgin 1, §5. *hapatinzi-pa-wa-ta hapatinza apani anta iziha.*

§6. *Taitan-wa tamaha,*

§7. *Malizinzi-pa-wa isanuwaha.*

§8. [*x-wa*] *hapin sara Yaliyasas CITY-nanza isanuwaha.*

“And I added river-lands upon river-lands. I built the city Taita, and I settled the Melidians. I settled the [...] river (people) up in the towns of Yalijas”.²²

¹⁸ M. Finkelberg, “Minoan Inscriptions on Libation Vessels”, *Minos* 25/26, 1990/91, pp. 43-85.

¹⁹ With phonetic readings *hapati-* or *hapari-*. See A. Morpurgo Davies and J. D. Hawkins, “The Late hieroglyphic Luwian Corpus: Some New Lexical Recognitions”, *Hethitica* 8 (Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata, ed. R. Lebrun), 1987, pp. 270-272.

²⁰ J. D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. I *Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin, 2000, part 1, pp. 69 (Karatepe 3), 145 (Cekke), 336 (Boybeypinari), 342 (Malpinar).

²¹ FLUMEN-*na* (*hapin*), *ibid.* p. 315 (Izgin 1, §8).

²² *Ibid.*

If Phaistos was associated with *da-qe-ra* and *sa-ra*₂ with *ka-pa*, it is possible that *sa-ra*₂ stands for Hagia Triada itself being an ethnic derived from the common Anatolian adverb *sarali* – “up” referring to the personnel under direct control of the central palatial administration. Since Linear A archives from the neo-palatial period have not survived at Phaistos, this site is very poorly attested. However, the proposed hypothesis about two-valley administration in western Messara would explain the very existence of two palatial sites of Phaistos and Hagia Triada in close proximity to each other.

The traditional reading of *56-*ni-(na)* as *pa*₂-*ni-(na)* opens a possibility to compare this Minoan word with the common Anatolian *parna-* “house” in a sense “temple”, with a meaning “cultic personnel”. This identification would explain appearance of this word in both parts of Phaistos - Hagia Triada State. The new reading *ko*₂, however, casts serious doubt on this interpretation.

In light of the pattern of olive oil production in the Kamilari valley and its shipment through the Ieropotamos River, it is interesting to recall that *su-ki-ri-ta*, one of the well attested Linear B Cretan place-names, appears in the Linear A on a clay nodule at Phaistos (PH Wa 32) and on a clay vessel at Hagia Triada (HT Zb 158). Since this toponym is otherwise unattested in Hagia Triada archives, and, as we have seen, *da-qe-ra* is generally less documented there, this place was probably located in Kamilari valley.²³ If this is true, it is possible that a vessel with olive oil produced at Minoan *su-ki-ri-ta* was sealed at Phaistos and then transported to Hagia Triada for shipment.

²³ In Linear B *su-ki-ri-ta* is always associated with sheep (KN Db 1324, 1327, Df 1325, Dl 47, Dn 1092, Dv 5232) and goats (C 911), therefore is possible that it was situated on the slopes of Asterousia mountains, farther South of Kamilari valley.