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# POLITICAL GEOGRAPHIES OF THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN

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# The Political Geography of Central Crete during the Early Neopalatial Period from a Ceramic Perspective

Iro Mathioudaki, Luca Girella

## Abstract

Minoan studies have of late progressed, thanks to the addressing of crucial chronological issues, in the refinement of ceramic sequences, i.e. at Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, thanks to the undertaking of new research projects and the conduct of new excavations (Galatas, Sissi and others). In this respect, our understanding of the political situation on Crete in the early Neopalatial period has advanced significantly, particularly in the area of central Crete. After the Protopalatial period, a good argument can be made for more regulated forms of Knossian hegemony over much of the island. At the advent of the Neopalatial period, different affiliations were taking shape, indicating new patterns in the formation and maintenance of political space. Topography and demography are important factors that commonly structure the size and extent of political territories. However, aspects of material culture might offer purchase on political divisions. Regional variations in pottery style can be used to trace production and consumption strategies, and may suggest political affiliations. Focusing on the relations between three regions, namely Sissi-Malia, north-central Crete and south-central Crete, as attested by ceramic typological-stylistic distributions, we review the processes that led to the formation of a new political geography in Crete during the Neopalatial period.\*

## INTRODUCTION

The study of the duration and character of the Neopalatial period, long a matter of debate, has benefited in recent years from extensive research undertaken by several sets of scholars.<sup>1</sup> The Neopalatial period, spanning 250 years, is now viewed not as a monolithic and unvaried unit springing into being with the establishment of the rebuilt palaces, but as a complex and developing passage of fermentation, a continuum. As our understanding of individual site histories and regional patterns improves, we are in a position to progress from a more fixed picture to new frameworks of spatio-temporal analysis that elucidate the formation of shifting polities. As we move into the Late Bronze Age, regional dynamics provide illustrative examples to help understand the greater social and political complexity. Hierarchical or heterarchical relationships are coordinated through stylized groups of social indices, among which pottery styles and technologies should be counted.

This contribution draws principally on ceramic evidence of the early Neopalatial period, i.e. MM IIIA and IIIB, and is based on the improved appreciation of the pottery sequences of the sites presented.<sup>2</sup> It seems that at the advent of the Neopalatial period different affiliations were

coming into play, indicating new pathways in the formation and maintenance of political space. The extent of the Malia-Lasithi polity, hypothesized on the basis of the distribution of specific fine tableware styles,<sup>3</sup> decreases as Knossos gradually achieves supremacy. In the Pediada, a palace is built at Galatas under Knossian influence, evident in both architecture and ceramic technology.<sup>4</sup> This is the period when many sites, even Phaistos, suffer destructions and some are permanently abandoned. The 'ceramic regionalism'<sup>5</sup> observed until now gradually disappears; wheel-made pottery appears *en masse* in the form of the conical cup, clearly moving through different experimental stages at Knossos from the early MM IIIA period on. From this time onwards, large numbers of conical cups appear in many Minoan sites, on the Cyclades and along the Anatolian coast; the phenomenon reaches its peak in the LM IA period.

Attempts to identify and define territorial states in Crete before the documentation of the Knossian Linear B tablets have shown different approaches, based mostly on topography and geography, which in several cases, when the available data are minimal, worked well in predicting polities or defining boundaries (cf. GIS

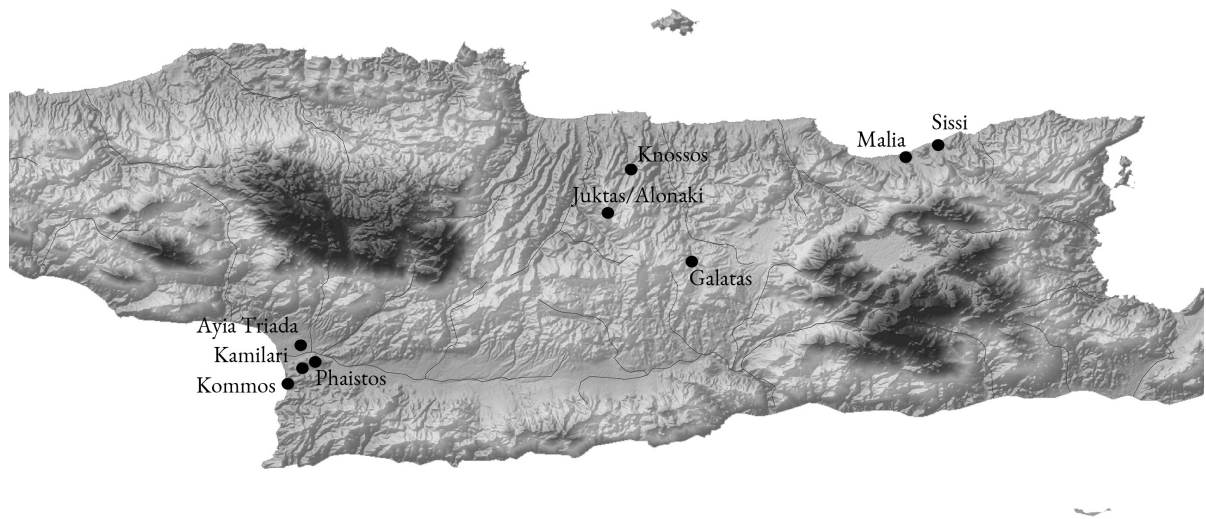


Fig. 1. Map with sites mentioned in text.

walking-time calculation, agricultural catchments analysis, network models).<sup>6</sup> At a different level, defining polities through material culture distributions often runs foul of methodological issues.<sup>7</sup> One should consider the role that conspicuous consumption may play in our assessment, when deliberate attempts are made to form cultural ties through imitation by local elites (cf. the “Versailles effect”<sup>8</sup>), or material culture variations can be interpreted as reflections of Knossian interest in the management of its cultural and economic influence over Crete, as emphasised by Poursat.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, as shown through Knappett’s and Galaty’s work (among others), interesting insights can be gained through the equation of territorial extent of social units with material culture groupings.<sup>10</sup> These efforts, as lately epitomized in Oddo’s work, argue for the reliability of ceramic groupings in suggesting political affiliations.<sup>11</sup> Underpinning this approach is the assumption that stylistic similarities in pottery, visible between two or more sites, are at least the result of intensive interaction between the communities, which may be indicative of much stronger links at the sociopolitical level.

Given the limits constraining this contribution and the large corpus of quantitative and qualitative data at our disposal, we will proceed in our analysis by using specific datasets from three different areas, i.e. Knossos, south-central Crete and Malia-Sissi. The main goal is to examine the assumed association of pots with politics (*fig. 1*). The datasets we use draw upon selected aspects of pottery production, distribution and consumption: those involved here are a) the conical cup,

its popularity and distribution in particular; b) the dark-on-light style of pottery decoration, especially the so-called Lustrous dark-on-light style, eventually the dominant one for fine tableware in Crete and beyond; and c) technological parameters, i.e. manufacturing techniques, which resulted in a massive output of pots. The three sets, which overlap in the case of the enormous production of conical cups, are present at Knossos from early MM IIIA and become ever more evident in assemblages from this phase onwards. The conical cups and the Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery also played a significant role in feasting practices, an arena where new roles were performed and ideologies cultivated.<sup>12</sup> By assessing these data, one might be able to grasp some of their meaning for the societies that produced them. They certainly represent new trends in pottery production and consumption.<sup>13</sup> These developments derive from a continuously expanding Minoan site, Knossos. This centre exhibits no gaps in its occupation, and so is suitable to support our investigation into the association of pots with politics.

#### SITES AND DATASETS IN COMPARISON

We begin with our main site of reference, early Neopalatial Knossos. Already from the early MM IIIA period we note (1) the presence of large numbers of conical cups,<sup>14</sup> (2) the increasing use of the dark-on-light style for decoration, resulting in impressive lustrous-painted vases<sup>15</sup> and (3) technological features that reveal a shift in production to more rapid modes.<sup>16</sup> In more detail,

conical cups appear in larger numbers in the MM IIIA period than in the previous phase, while in the Palace material their percentage is even greater, since the palatial deposits are mainly composed of this form; for example, the conical cup percentage for the Olive Press Room deposit, dated to the early MM IIIA period, is 72.4%.<sup>17</sup> The Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery increases from the MM IIIA to the MM IIIB period at Knossos. After establishing itself in MM IIIB, this pottery style becomes typical of the output in the LM IA period.<sup>18</sup> Already in MM IIIA some bowls and jugs are decorated in this style, i.e. the in-and-out bowls and tortoise-shell ripple pattern. In MM IIIB, the number is even larger and this style is commonly attested on straight-sided and s-profile cups, jugs and ewers.<sup>19</sup> MM III conical cups are mass-produced and carelessly executed.<sup>20</sup> Many have untrimmed edges on the base and a large number is deformed; the manufacture of the handleless conical cups on the wheel, i.e. by using rotary kinetic energy (RKE), is evident from their intense spiralling rilling, the concentric striations at the bases and the string-cut rims, all features which are present in large percentages in the Palace material.<sup>21</sup> Thus, already in the MM IIIA period, all the features that we are tracking are present at Knossos. Indeed, there is a strong possibility that they actually started there; their initial appearance in their 'iconic' form at the site supports this. Wheelmade conical cups with intense rilling on the interior, striations on the base etc. are an integral part of the 'Minoanisation package' of the south-eastern Aegean and

the Cyclades. But we should also consider their spread as much a process in Crete itself.

Moving to the area of Malia, during the MM IIIB period the pottery industry was specialized in the formation of nicely made, thin walled vessels, remarkable for their time consuming finishing processes, i.e. smoothed surfaces, elimination of formation marks.<sup>22</sup> In addition to that, the same vessel form was produced in a variety of sizes, from large to small (morphological sets), and the same production manner, i.e. *chaîne opératoire*, was followed for different series of products, like the carinated, hemispherical and convex cups. In the MM IIIA period, the previous repertoire of shapes and decorative styles changes radically: conical cups, appearing now for the first time, are produced in large amounts, outnumbering other cup types. This, together with the introduction of different forming techniques, resulted eventually in altering the composition of the MM III assemblages at Malia and Sissi<sup>23</sup> (table 1). The systematic and extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis of large deposits at Sissi reveals interesting patterns of ceramic production and consumption at the site. Examination of morphology and style shows a progression of events similar to that encountered in the north-central Cretan assemblages. This development is starkly evident when contrasted with the situation in earlier periods, as exemplified at Malia. Particularly obvious at Sissi, this morphological and stylistic uniformity and conformity with north-central Cretan features runs quite contrary to any concepts of regionalism.

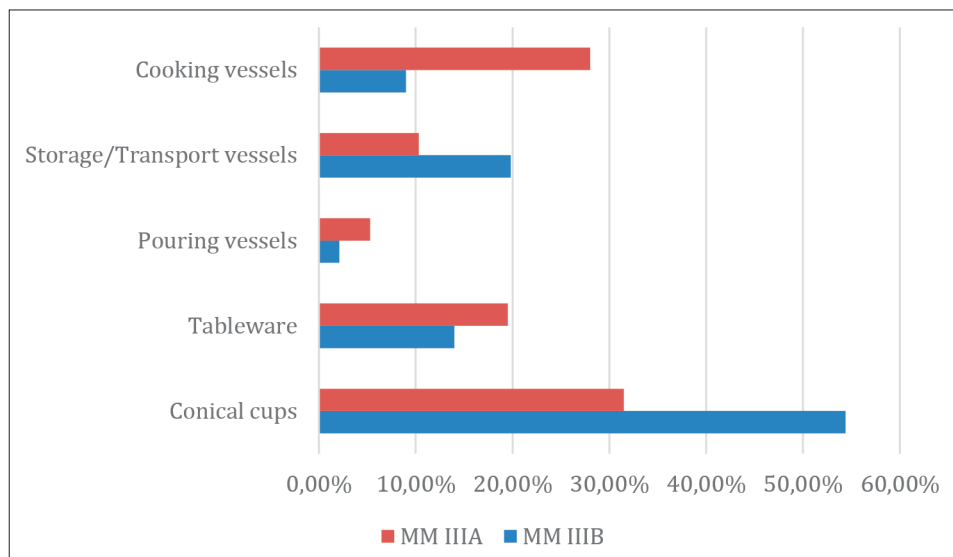


Table 1. Functional categories based on complete assemblages from Sissi (MM IIIA, room 4.4/Building CD; MM IIIB, space 10.6; Court-Centred Building).



Fig. 2a-b. MM IIIA conical cup, exterior/interior. Building CD, room 4.4, Sissi (© EBSA; photo courtesy of Chronis Papanikolopoulos).



Fig. 3a-b. MM IIIB conical cup, exterior/interior. Court-Centred Building, space 10.6, Sissi (© EBSA; photo courtesy of Chronis Papanikolopoulos).

The data-sets of the MM IIIA period show that conical cups, a shape non-existent before at Sissi, make up 31.5% of the assemblage.<sup>24</sup> These are wheelmade, with intense rilling marks on the interior and concentric striations on the base (fig. 2a-b); string-cut rims, untrimmed base edges and deformed examples are present. These characteristics of mass production are even more evident in the next phase, MM IIIB, well represented in deposits from the Court-Centred Building, at which time the quantity of the conical cups increases dramatically, now forming 54.4% of the total.<sup>25</sup> Several conical cups show intense interior rilling, sometimes also spiralling, implying the

use of the same forming techniques as those observed in synchronous north central-Cretan deposits (fig. 3a-b). Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery is present at Sissi from MM IIIB on, becoming more popular in LM IA (fig. 4a-b). This elaborate decoration is usually applied on jugs, cups, i.e. hemispherical or s-profile ones, or rhyta, employing the same motifs as encountered in Knossian deposits, and commonly in the same shape-motif combinations.<sup>26</sup> Thus, we may speak of a drastic simplification of the previous tableware, something associated with the steady intrusion of extra-regional features, deriving from north-central Crete. A process of typological stan-



andardization is observed in the development of the conical cup, obviously connected with changes in the production modes, i.e. with wheel-fashioning, and with the increasing demand for large drinking assemblages.

Looking more closely at south-central Crete, our datasets come mostly from published (and a few unpublished) contexts, namely the area of the Phaistos palace and the houses around it,<sup>27</sup> the so-called Villa at Ayia Triada, which is largely represented by secondary deposits and fills below LM I structures,<sup>28</sup> the houses and central building at Kommos,<sup>29</sup> and the rich deposits of tholos tombs A and B at Kamilari.<sup>30</sup> The four sites are located in the Western Mesara, three of them a few km distant from each other, while Kommos functioned as a harbour site on the coast. The datasets demonstrate a strong homogeneity in terms of wares, pottery technology and decoration, especially during MM IIIA, but with significant shifts in MM IIIB (*table 2*). Political changes that took place in the south between the MM IIIA and MM IIIB phases make the picture more complicated.<sup>31</sup>

After the MM IIB period, one can observe important shifts in pottery production, such as the decline in terms of labour input and the resultant impoverishment of forming techniques, the simplification in the range of shapes and decoration, and the disappearance of the top-quality Kamares pottery (e.g. egg-shell ware and carinated cups) and other specialized products, such as monochrome painted and burnished lamps.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, in the tableware, especially in the early MM IIIA period, there is still great continuity as regards the production of specific shapes and the use of much elaboration in decoration.<sup>33</sup> As far as the handleless conical cups are concerned, MM IIB examples are quite standardized, being largely wheel-thrown, slipped and with smoothed body walls. The MM IIIA versions, represented at all the sites of our analysis, show degree of continuity, but much more of change (*table 3*; *fig. 5*). Firstly, we perceive now the presence of an expanded typology: for instance, the broad cup with convex walls and marked rilling on the interior is a characteristic type at Knossos, although the type with slightly convex or straight flaring walls continues earlier versions. Secondly, manufacturing technology also shows changes, as reflected in irregularity of profiles, decline in the quality of surface smoothing and, interestingly, the use of both wheel-fashioning and wheel-throwing techniques (*fig. 5c*).

In the MM IIIB period, plain ware is still predominant and is again well represented by conical cups. These still show a range of variants, but

there are important changes: the broad type disappears, cups are mainly of smaller size and thick-walled, with there is a tendency towards a more conical profiles. Notably, a semi-ovoid type, monochrome coated inside and out, and another with large retorted white spirals make their appearance. In general, monochrome and Light-on Dark wares are widespread in this period and are characteristic of specific drinking sets, which maybe the results of strong interactions with nearby sites, where thick-retorted spirals are the most common form of decoration.



*Fig. 4a-b. MM IIIB Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery. Court-Centred Building, space 10.6, Sissi (© EBSA; photo courtesy of Chronis Papanikolopoulos).*

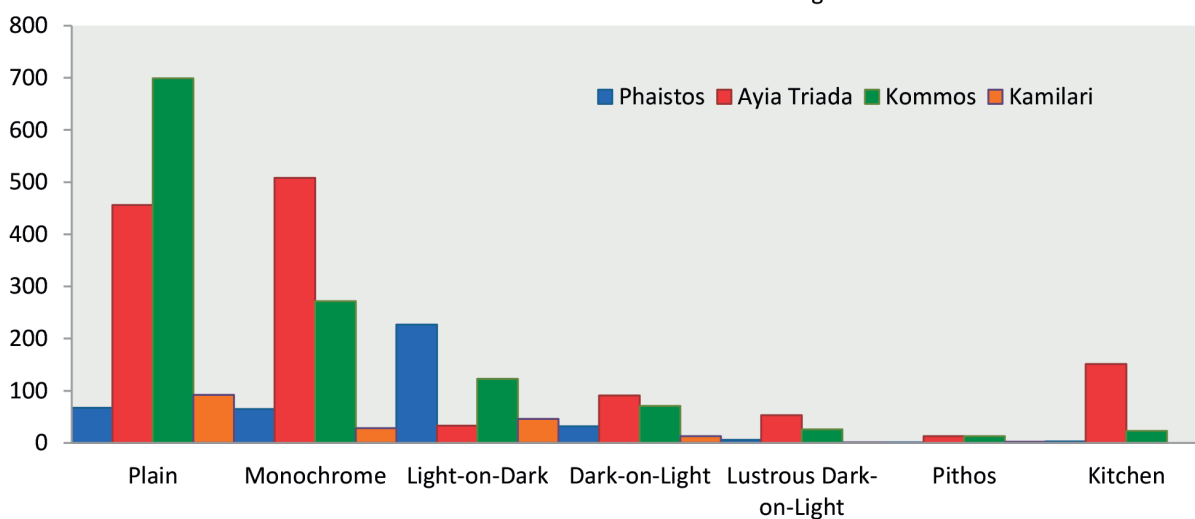
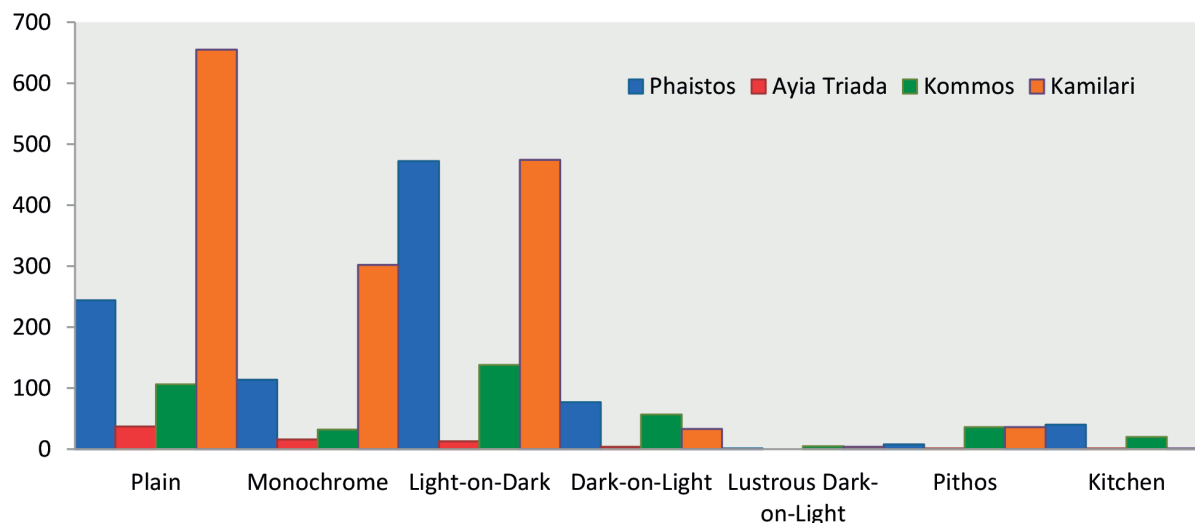


Table 2. a) MM IIIA wares based on cataloged vessels; b) MM IIIB wares based on cataloged vessels (after Betancourt 1992; Van de Moortel 2002; Rutter 2006; Girella 2010; Girella/Caloi 2019).

The Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery is almost absent in MM IIIA contexts of southern Crete, aside from a few vessels recognized at Kommos.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, during the MM IIIB period, a great change is seen in the diffusion of this style, as documented mainly at Kommos and Ayia Triada,<sup>35</sup> although sporadic examples appear at Phaistos and Kamilari. These vessels are of the highest quality. They still form a minority, but interestingly they belong to drinking shapes that do not belong to the ‘traditional’ Middle Minoan drinking set. For instance, ripple and spiral decoration appears strikingly frequently on hemispherical cups and in-and-out bowls that, from now on, complement the traditional straight-sided cups. The very high numbers retrieved at Ayia Triada (fig. 6), especially

from the destruction deposit of the House of the Alabaster Threshold,<sup>36</sup> hint at a major shift at this site after MM IIIA compared to Phaistos, with a striking innovation in drinking etiquette.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Assessing the variables that we set, a pattern emerges in the diffusion of specific features. First, the conical cups show great standardization in the MM IIIA period, when they closely resemble north-central Cretan prototypes; secondly, the introduction of wheel-fashioning techniques enabling the mass-production of pots is discernible, particularly in the case of the conical cup. A second pattern can be seen in the diffusion of the Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery. It starts

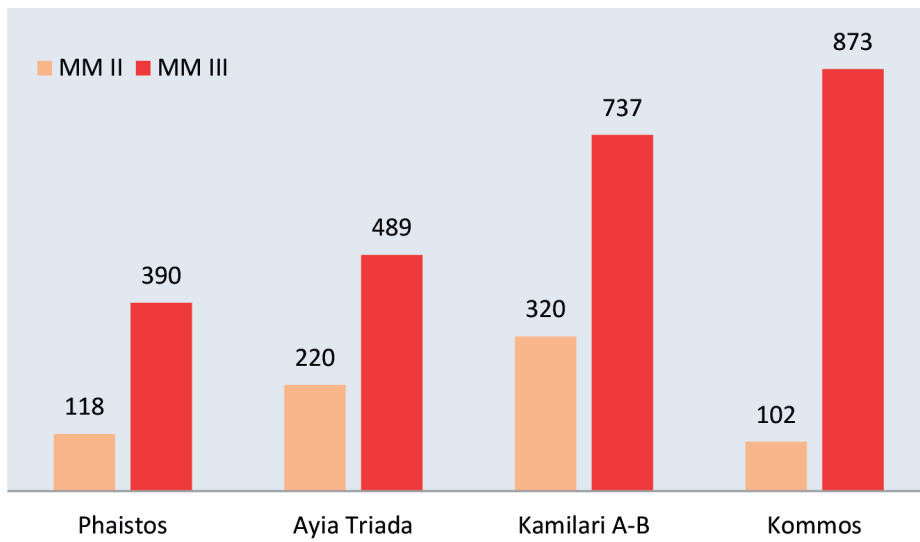


Table 3. Calculation of MM II and MM III conical cups from published contexts.



Fig. 5. MM IIIA conical cups. a-b Ayia Triada; c Phaistos (Room 50); d Phaistos (Chalara) (photo L. Girella).



Fig. 6. MM IIIB Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery. Ayia Triada (below Room P) (photo L. Girella).

in MM IIIA at Knossos and becomes common in MM IIIB north-central Cretan deposits. Its strong presence at Ayia Triada may represent specific 'elite' choices there, possibly linked to Knossian ones. Eventually, this became the dominant style for fine tableware across the island and beyond, replacing the pronounced regionalism of earlier periods.

How would we construe these patterns? There is a relevant interpretive framework available; by applying it, something on political hierarchies may be added to the picture. This assessment is deduced from the evidence of events of a communal character: these took place at the sites mentioned in the text, and produced masses of traceable archaeological material. It seems that the conical cups and the Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery played a significant role in such communal events: as features associated with the introduction and employment of new practices, they may be argued to materialize the performance and display of new power relationships. How can events of a communal character be linked to political circumstances – and indeed what is their relevance to our postulated association of pots with politics? Such correlations may be deemed feasible, if read as manifestations of political strategies deployed in the course of power consolidation processes.<sup>37</sup>

The shift in typology and technology observable in the MM IIIA pottery at Sissi was apparently triggered by an increase in consumer demand for pottery, something even more evident in the next phase, when a court-centred

building of mainly ceremonial and ritual function existed at the site.<sup>38</sup> The datasets here enable us to identify a driving force that was already present in the early MM IIIA period at Knossos. The transformation of production processes to ensure a hugely increased and more selectively elaborated output, following Knossian lines, suggests the existence of a strong cultural influence in which ideological and socio-political parameters were at work, particularly in the area of Malia and Sissi, which 'may have appealed to Knossos above all as a place controlling access to eastern Crete'.<sup>39</sup> Under these circumstances, it is also worth observing the situation of the MM III building complex at Alonaki, on the plateau just under the summit of Psilokorfi/Juktas.<sup>40</sup> The high percentage of tableware, in which conical cups make up almost 70%, may indicate repeated gatherings of persons in and around the building, that focused on collective food and drink consumption. Conical cups here follow the morphological changes observed between MM IIIA and IIIB at Knossos.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, in the Protopalatial period, Galatas in the Pediada is claimed to have been part of the Malia-Myrtos Pyrgos cultural sphere, but in the Neopalatial era the ceramic tradition seems to be closely modelled on Knossian prototypes,<sup>42</sup> making possible once more the hypothesis of a Knossian cultural (and political?) expansion towards the neighbouring region of the Pediada.

The widespread destructions across the island at the end of the MM IIB period should be seen in connection with these transformations in production and consumption patterns.<sup>43</sup> The geopolitical situation changes: the evidence from Knossos, reinforced first by events and evidence on site like the extensive rebuilding program and then by its 'visibility' in the southern Aegean,<sup>44</sup> demonstrates how new arrangements in interregional relationships may be manifested in material culture. This approach accepts at some degree the incorporation of craft industries into palatial political economies, which could have been also reliant on the strength of independent craft industries. The situation in the Mesara is more intricate, and points to a series of re-negotiations of power embodied by the large building programs at Phaistos and Kommos in MM IIIA, which probably culminated with the construction of the Villa at Ayia Triada, under Knossian control, at the end of MM IIIB.<sup>45</sup>

MM IIIA is a period of striking changes and crisis for the South, with a new building program at Phaistos that shows how the palace, although badly damaged, was still active in MM IIIA as an administrative centre.<sup>46</sup> Less clear is the role of Ayia Triada, where several new constructions

have been identified in various parts of the settlement, including below the future Villa.<sup>47</sup> Elsewhere, the site of Kommos shows striking changes with a redefinition of settlement architecture (especially in the Central Hillside area) and the monumental construction of Building T.<sup>48</sup> The investment at both Phaistos and Kommos indicated by the introduction of new architectural components and construction techniques is really impressive. How should we consider these two building projects, a few km distant from each other? Do they result from a power realignment in the south? Is this a shift of power from Phaistos to Kommos? Or should we already be thinking of some kind of Knossian endorsement for one or the other project? A clear sign of a socio-political and religious alteration in the area is symbolized by the dramatic drop in vessel deposition at the Kamares cave after MM IIB, when the special bond developed between the palace of Phaistos and the cave ceased.<sup>49</sup> Whatever the project and the reconfiguration of power, this process ended with a late MM IIIA destruction at Phaistos. Whether human agency and/or earthquake were responsible for this destruction, this is of great interest, not least because of the possibility that it reflects internal unrest.

The following MM IIIB is a definitive turning point for this region with a real crisis at Phaistos – where only a few parts of the former palace and houses around it survived – and a shift in relative importance between Phaistos and Ayia Triada. The latter site shows a wide range of depositional processes hinting at intense activity during and after MM IIIB.<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile, at Kommos Building T underwent various modifications and retrenchments, including the construction of a pottery kiln in the southern stoa, that hints at a general and temporary decline.<sup>51</sup> From the ceramic point of view, particular interest must be observed on the modes of appropriation and technological transfer of Lustrous dark-on-light decorated pottery, which is quite common at Kommos and Ayia Triada, but not at Phaistos. The analysis of archaeological data in this region reveals several important changes in MM IIIB, not least a political rearrangement, which is also reflected in the establishment of a new, potentially palatial, building at Protoria/Damandri, apparently incorporating ashlar masonry blocks, magazines, and mason's marks, and the commencement of intense ritual activity just to the south, at the Kophinas peak sanctuary.<sup>52</sup>

The early Neopalatial is a period when leading members of smaller or larger communities strategically invested in social events and formed ideologies, including those of 'belonging', in which

processes pottery played and expressed a role. Pot production and consumption patterns could be seen as strategies of a political character. Both the conical cups with their innovative forming methods and the elaborate lustrous-decorated pottery held an appeal as new 'iconic' objects.<sup>53</sup> The datasets used in our argumentation could also act as useful parameters to assess the degree of variation and standardisation in pottery production during this period and to investigate the degree of homogeneity in material production in relation to its social, economic and political context. The production modes of these and similar 'elite' products, i.e. lustrous-decorated pottery, and the labour invested in them need to be studied, by practical investigations of the *chaîne opératoire*.<sup>54</sup> Patterns in the distribution of material culture detected in this way could well delineate spheres of political interaction, and would thus be worth integrating into the discussion of intra- and inter-regional relationships and hierarchies.

#### NOTES

\* This contribution is based on the research carried out by Iro Mathioudaki as F.R.S.-FNRS postdoctoral fellow at the Université catholique de Louvain. The authors would like to thank the organizers of the workshop for the invitation to participate. They are also deeply indebted to Oliver Dickinson for useful comments and for revising the English text.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald/Knappett 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Knappett et al. 2013; Girella 2007a; 2010a; Langohr et al. 2017. For a different terminology of MM III, as adopted especially in south central Crete, see Van de Moortel 1997; Shaw et al. 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Knappett 1999; 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Rethemiotakis 2002; Rethemiotakis/Christakis 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Haggis 2007; Knappett 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Whitelaw 2004; 2018; Bevan 2010.

<sup>7</sup> As epitomized by Whitelaw 2018, 223.

<sup>8</sup> Wiener 1984; Warren 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Poursat 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Knappett 1999; Galaty 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Oddo 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Van de Moortel 2002, 203; Wiener 2007, 234; Girella 2007b; Knappett/Hilditch 2015, 98; Caloi 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Girella 2007b.

<sup>14</sup> Mathioudaki 2018, 34 Fig. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Hatzaki 2007, 164.

<sup>16</sup> Knappett 2004; Knappett et al. forthcoming.

<sup>17</sup> Knappett et al. forthcoming.

<sup>18</sup> Warren 1991; Hatzaki 2007.

<sup>19</sup> For Knossos, exact numbers cannot be extracted from publications. However, selective quantitative aspects are presented in Warren 1991.

<sup>20</sup> Knappett et al. 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Conical cups are conventionally called 'wheelmade', meaning pots formed with the use of rotary kinetic energy (RKE) (Roux/Courty 1998); in several examples coil seams are visible in breaks, suggesting wheel-fashioning techniques or other combinations of forming

- techniques. There are several aspects to this matter, see particularly Knappett/Van der Leeuw 2014, 81-84.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Poursat/Knappett 2005.
- <sup>23</sup> Langohr/Alberti 2018, 224, Fig. 1; Mathioudaki 2021.
- <sup>24</sup> The percentage is formed by the quantitative analysis of the pottery found in a test within the north-east sector of Building CD, in room 4.4 where a primary floor deposit was identified; see Langohr et al. 2017, 302-303 and Mathioudaki 2021.
- <sup>25</sup> The percentage is formed by the quantitative analysis of the pottery found in space 10.6, a deposit of pottery and fragmented plaster dumped in successive layers, excavated in the west-wing of the Court-Centred Building; see Langohr et al. 2017, 305 and Mathioudaki 2021.
- <sup>26</sup> See also Caloi 2018, fig. 7.
- <sup>27</sup> Carinci 2001; Girella 2007a; 2010a; 2010b.
- <sup>28</sup> Carinci 2003; Girella 2010a; 2013.
- <sup>29</sup> Betancourt 1990; Wright/McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997; Shaw et al. 2001; Rutter 2006.
- <sup>30</sup> Girella/Caloi 2019.
- <sup>31</sup> Girella 2016.
- <sup>32</sup> See Girella 2007a; 2010c. Detailed discussion also in Van de Moortel 1997, 636-648; 2002.
- <sup>33</sup> Girella 2010b.
- <sup>34</sup> Van de Moortel 1997, fig. 81.
- <sup>35</sup> Girella 2013, fig. 10.3.
- <sup>36</sup> Girella 2010a; 2013.
- <sup>37</sup> For a conclusive analysis of these processes, see Knappett 2012.
- <sup>38</sup> Driessen 2017, 41-42; Caloi 2018, 36.
- <sup>39</sup> Poursat 2010, 265.
- <sup>40</sup> Karetsov/Mathioudaki 2012. The forthcoming publication of the building and the pottery contexts is supervised by A. Karetsov and L. Girella.
- <sup>41</sup> In particular, we refer to their mass production, intense rilling, striations, and deformed examples.
- <sup>42</sup> Rethemiotakis/Christakis 2013.
- <sup>43</sup> See also Wiener 2007, 231-232 and see the contribution by M.H. Wiener to this volume.
- <sup>44</sup> For this aspect, see Knappett 2012, 390.
- <sup>45</sup> La Rosa 2002; Girella 2011; 2013; 2016. In contrast, A. Van de Moortel (2002) has suggested, in analyzing technological and distributional patterns, that "Central Cretan pottery data do not convincingly support the notion of political control by Knossos over the Mesara in the Neopalatial period". She prefers to explain the developing similarities between the two regions by "an increased exchange of ideas, reflecting also in stylistic correspondences".
- <sup>46</sup> Girella 2010a; 2010b.
- <sup>47</sup> Girella 2013.
- <sup>48</sup> Shaw/Shaw 2006.
- <sup>49</sup> Van de Moortel 2011.
- <sup>50</sup> La Rosa 2002; Girella 2010a; 2011; 2013; 2016.
- <sup>51</sup> Shaw et al. 2001. According to the authors, the pottery kiln is considered 'Advanced LM IA' in date.
- <sup>52</sup> See also Warren 2004; Spiliotopoulou 2014.
- <sup>53</sup> For this notion, see Knappett/Hilditch 2015.
- <sup>54</sup> Hilditch 2014, 26-27.

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