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THE CERAMIC DEPOSITS AT ANEMOSPILIA (ARCHANES): A CENTRAL CRETAN PERSPECTIVE

Luca Girella

Summary

The paper is concerned with the overall character of the pottery and the relative chronology of the Anemospilia/Archanes building on Juktas. The ceramic assemblages are discussed according to their position within the same. Re-examination of the ceramic deposits of the nearby building of Alonaki and publications of MM III ceramic deposits in central Crete allow a reconsideration of the Anemospilia deposits and building function. It will be argued that a final stage of the MM IIIA period for dating the ceramic material cannot be ruled out. Finally, a general reconsideration of the building within the context of the monuments on Juktas mountain in MM III will be presented.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE BUILDING, THE CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEM AND ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE EARLY NEOPALATIAL PERIOD RESEARCH

The building at Anemospilia is located ca 400 metres below the peak sanctuary on the north slopes of Mt Juktas (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis 1994; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137-156; 1997, 268-311). Discovered by Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki and excavated in 1979 by Yannis Sakellarakis in only one season, the Anemospilia building has a special place in the archaeological literature of Minoan Crete because of its function in the context of the Juktas religious landscape, the peculiar character of its violent destruction, and the contested chronology (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1981; Sakellarakis 1994; see also Karetsou, Moody 2024, 95-97).

The building lies close to a cobbled path that connected Anemospilia with Alonaki and the peak sanctuary (Evans 1928, 66, 68; Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979, 347; Karetsou 1981; 2013; Karetsou, Mathioudaki 2012, 100-102, figs. 24-26; see now, Karetsou, Moody 2024, figs. 68-70). It is centred around a broad E-W central corridor (which hereon on will be called the antechamber) and a row of three rooms to its south. The northern part is poorly preserved probably because of the earthquake and subsequent conflagration, leaving open the possibility that the corridor represented the central part of the structure, with three more rooms located to the north (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 271-272; see also, Driessen 2001; McEnroe 2010, 66-67; Jasink, Kruklidis 2013).

According to this reconstruction, the building would have been similar to the Minoan tripartite shrines, such as the one represented on the Zakros rhyton (Shaw 1978, figs. 5-9). The significance and religious character of this building are confirmed by a few important details that are often forgotten: 1) the walls were plastered white and decorated with red bands; 2) a cross-shaped mason's mark was deeply carved into a poros block on the eastern jamb of the central room; 3) a 1 metre-long fragment of a poros block was carved in the shape of a horns of consecration (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 215); and finally, 4) a pithos fragment, found amid rocks as a surface find, bears a Linear A inscription or sign (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 269; not clear if the pithos fragment is the same published in 333, fig. 297, again described as pithos, but more precisely a pithos lid with either a Linear A sign, AB 04, or a Cretan Hieroglyphic one, 025: see Fig. 9).

There is no doubt that the life of the building ended after a violent and extensive conflagration that sealed the rooms and the antechamber together with the rich ceramic deposits (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 222, 229, 241). The building is also famous for the discovery of three human skeletons in the west room, two of which lay on the ground, and a fourth one in the antechamber, all sealed by the destruction (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 294-308).

The pottery from Anemospilia was presented in the extensive 1997 publication of Archanes (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 415-426), albeit incompletely, and it is still awaiting a final publication. It was nonetheless

treated as a special ‘pottery group’ dated to MM IIB/IIIA by the excavators, as it contains much that refers to the MM IIB ceramic period as well as to MM IIIA (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979, 350; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 415, 417). In her stylistic review of the pottery, Walberg dated the Anemospilia ceramic deposits to “*Post-Kamarea phase or Evans’ Middle Minoan IIIB*” (Walberg 2011, 688).

However, the date of the pottery and the destruction of the building have been a matter of research. The rich ceramic deposits derived from this primary earthquake destruction have been dated both to a MM IIIA early period (Girella 2001, 70; Macdonald 2017, 344; Mathioudaki 2018) and to a later phase of MM IIIA (Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, 83-84, table 5.9).

Recent studies and publications of the MM III ceramic deposits allow us to reconsider the features of the Anemospilia ceramic deposits and to discuss their chronology once more: namely the ceramic contexts from the nearby building at Alonaki at 730 metres on the enclosed plateau – just under the summit of Psili Korfi, where the peak sanctuary is located, at an altitude of 810 metres (Karetsou, Mathioudaki 2012; Karetsou 2013; Girella forthcoming). Of equal significance are also the recent publications and re-examination of MM III ceramic deposits from Central Crete, mainly from the two major palatial sites, Knossos (Macdonald, Knappett 2013; Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014; Mathioudaki 2018; Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023; Velegraki 2024) and Phaistos (Girella 2009; 2010).

Although a quantified analysis of the unpublished ceramic material is not feasible, a reconsideration of the published corpus allows us to suggest that the ceramic deposits are earlier than MM IIIB. However, whether they belong earlier rather than later in MM IIIA cannot be firmly decided, for the ceramic deposits show both early and late MM IIIA stylistic features and boundaries between the two stages are very smooth (see below). Worth of clarifying here is that the following analysis is the product of a secondary study, not based on firsthand observation of the finds themselves.

Our position, albeit not offered as definitive, is that there is enough evidence to indicate that the Anemospilia ceramic deposits have linkages with both the MM IIIA Early and Late periods (*contra* Girella 2001, when the writer had originally suggested a MM IIIA Early destruction). Caution is stressed, however, in that we are dealing with a large context that though reported on excellently and extensively, has been considered mainly from the point of its most representative vessels as reconstructed and illustrated in the 1979, 1991 and 1997 publications (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 137-156; 1997, 415-426).

It does nevertheless seem clear that this material predates MM IIIB in central Crete, and that it may correspond to the same major destruction seen at Alonaki in the MM IIIA Late period, with which the Anemospilia ceramic deposits have some links.

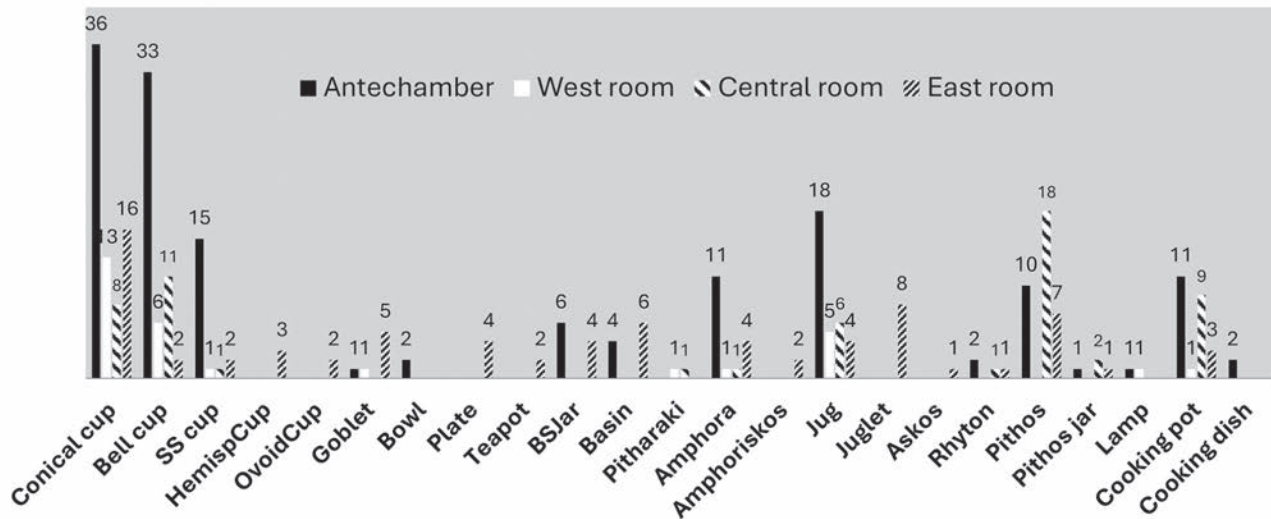
The chronological aspect and the date of the Anemospilia building construction and destruction are not merely stylistic exercises. They have a potential import, for MM IIIA is the first phase of the Neopalatial period characterised by a Knossian expansionism, with undoubted consequences for the whole Aegean. As we shall see in the last paragraph, the site of Anemospilia takes on particular importance in the early Neopalatial political geography because of its close joining to Juktas and Alonaki, forming a complex of sites with religious function. It is therefore a crucial piece of this new geopolitical setting that helps to understand the role of Knossos and the likely political interference in the new religious landscape.

2. THE CERAMIC DEPOSITS

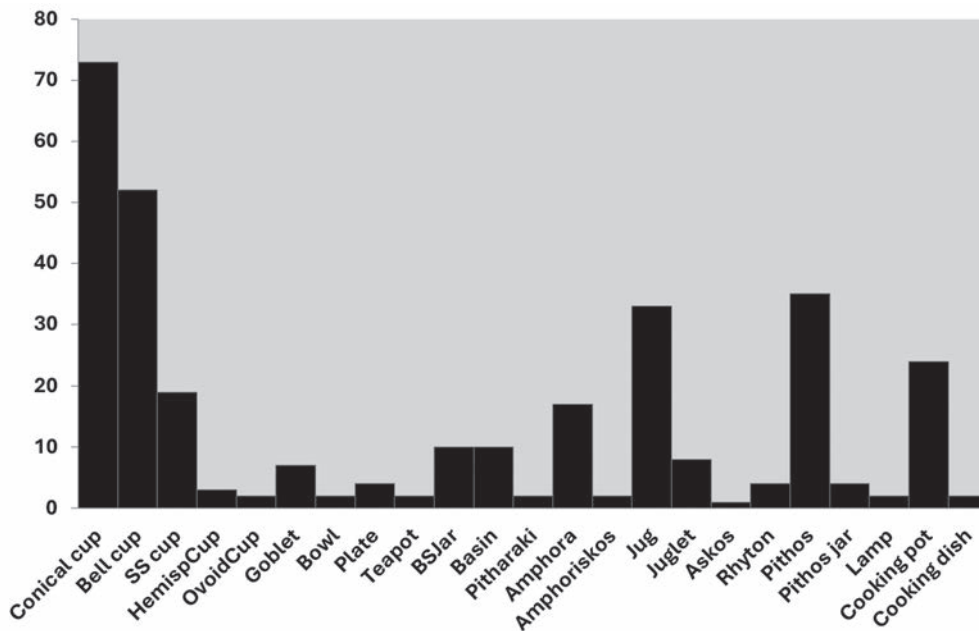
The following analysis discusses the ceramic evidence according to the room distribution and floor levels, which is mainly reconstructible from the extensive preliminary report of the excavation (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979) and the overall publication (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 268-311, 415-429) (Graphics 1-2). Because the storage vessels, including pithoi, are robust vases by nature and their fragments are generally large, they likely reflect the original number extant at the moment of the general conflagration; however, the number assessed refers to almost entire vessels and does not take account of the fragments. Pithoi were mainly concentrated in the antechamber,

along with the east and central rooms (as shown in Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 280-293, figs. 229-243, 248-251, drawing 74). Cooking vessels, on the other hand, are probably underrepresented (the publications often refer to tripod cooking pots and cooking dishes, see Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 219, 221, 226).

In the following analysis other categories of finds, such as stone tools and vases (pestles, mortars, lamps), metal objects and seals, are not considered (but see Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 575, 597-598, 650-651, 692-694).



Graphic 1. Distribution of vessel types according to rooms at Anemospilia (data after Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).



Graphic 2. Total shapes based on published and named vessels at Anemospilia (MIN: 318) (data after Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).



Fig. 1. Lamps, cooking ware (a-d) and stone vessels (e) from Anemospilia (elaboration after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 217, 218, 219, 226, 580, vessels not to scale).

2.1. *The antechamber*

The antechamber floor level (below the destruction fill) contained 155 vessels, with drinking and pouring shapes much in evidence; secondarily, pithoi (at least three are mentioned) and cooking vessels are also present (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979, 352-360, pl. 178b; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 220-221).

Cooking pots will have played an important role: those in the antechamber are in fact related to animal bones and carbonized seeds. Two categories of cooking vessels are documented in the antechamber (Fig. 2b-c): the tripod cooking pot and the cooking dish (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 220-221, 226), both well represented in MM III (see for south-central Crete, Girella 2005, figs. 3, 16, 26). The tripod cooking pot with short walls, spout-



Fig. 2. Selection of drinking and pouring vessels from Anemospilia (elaboration after Walberg 2011, figs. 3a, 4a, 6a, 9a-b, 11b; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 386, 389, 394-395, vessels not to scale).

ed and horizontal ridges below the rim is documented at Knossos in MM IIIA (Mathioudaki 2018, 59, fig. 26b). Two lamps are also documented, from the antechamber and the west room (Fig. 2a, d): the type is well represented at Phaistos in MM IIB (Levi 1976, pl. 154).

Some vase types from the antechamber requires special comment. The ledge-rim bowl with dark-on-light tortoise-shell ripple on the inner surface (Figs. 2h, 3f) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 383q, 386 d-e) is a type known at Knossos (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 18, V.103; Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, 23, 29 figs. 3.4, 3.6 (74 and 103), pl. 11b, who also mention three unpublished examples from the Stratigraphical Museum Extension excavations (P 1763-1765); Velegraki 2024, fig. 30) and documented also at Akrotiri (Deposit C = MM IIIA) (Knappett, Nikolakopoulou 2008, 22, fig. 12: 24). The Knossian contexts are MM IIIA Late and IIB in date. The combination of ledge-rim bowl with dark-on-light tortoise-shell ripple at Alonaki and Knossos occurs also with tortoise-shell ripple on the outer surface and a monochrome interior (Girella forthcoming, see P 66, P 174-

175, P 423), but the ledge-rim bowl involved here is shorter and likely more at home during the late phase of MM IIIA. The small-sized type does though continue into MM IIIB (Warren MM IIIB-LM IA transitional phase; for a discussion, see Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 75-76).

The straight-sided cup with a characteristic series of ridges, made by cutting horizontal grooves into its walls (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 385 a-b), is considered typical of an early MM IIIA stage at Knossos (Figs. 2d, 3i-k) (Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 12; MacGillivray 1998, 70-71, Group E, pl. 17; Group P, pls. 154, 156; Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014), but it is also present in MM IIIA Late contexts (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 16 (V5), fig. 18 (V 49, 95-98), fig. 19 (V 52, 114, 116, 119). For instance, this type is documented at Alonaki from MM IIIA Late levels (Girella forthcoming, see P 195, P 271, P 243, P 256, P 275, P 280, P 317, P 429, P 522, P 564, P 592, P 606, P 612, P 643).

The cup with white-on-dark running spirals on the rim is well documented at Phaistos during both the MM IIIA Early and Late periods (Fig. 3l) (Levi 1976, pl. 207, a, c, d-e).

Interestingly, in two cases the straight-sided cup is decorated with dark-on-light tortoise-shell ripple on the exterior (Figs. 2a-b, 3m) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 383c). This feature will become very characteristic of MM IIIB central Crete ceramic contexts (see, in particular, Warren 1991, 330, fig. 9H, pl. 79C, where, however, the treatment of tortoise-shell ripple is finer compared to the Anemospilia cups): it is a key indication of a MM IIIA Late stage present in the Anemospilia ceramic deposits, in keeping with various MM IIIA deposits documented at Knossos (Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, pl. 13a.2; Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, Deposit C, fig. 23, and Macdonald 2013, 24, fig. 2.3, no. 1144). However, it is not documented at Alonaki: either it is an accidental lack (also related to the bad quality of the pottery and its preservation) or it is related to functional meaning, whereby dark-on-light lustrous ware played a minor role at Alonaki.

The Vapheio cup with midrib and dark-on-light tortoise-shell ripple on the upper part is also attested (Walberg 2011, fig. 9B) (Fig. 2c). This type is documented at Knossos in both MM IIIA Late and MM IIIB contexts (Fig. 8C) (Acropolis Houses: Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, Deposit D, fig. 27; NE Magazines: Popham 1977, fig. 1B, pl. 29b, d-e; Hatzaki 2013, fig. 4.5), but apparently not from MM IIIA Early contexts. At Phaistos the type, with unusual and unique white-on-dark vertical stripes imitating the decoration in tortoise-shell ripple, is reported in a MM IIIA Late context (Levi 1976, pl. 212r; Girella 2010, fig. 71 (type 9a), pl. XIII, deposit 6B.7; the piece is always and incorrectly regarded as a dark-on-light lustrous tortoise-shell ripple).

Among the pouring vessels from the antechamber (several amphoras and jugs are mentioned), the ewer with a flaring round mouth is common, usually painted with white-on-dark spirals or stylised floral motifs (Fig. 4f, k) (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1979, 354-355, fig. 2; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 388 e-f). Good examples come from MM IIIA Early (Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 19), MM IIIA Late (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 18, V 90, fig. 23, V 154, fig. 24, V 156) and MM IIIB (see from the Temple Repositories, Panagiotaki 1999, fig. 31, pl. 26) contexts at Knossos.

A distinctive vessel is the so-called communion chalice with a crinkled rim, two small opposing handles and a distinctive plastic imitation of rivets at junction of the handle and rim (Fig. 5) (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1979, 355, fig. 3; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 422, fig. 393). The type is found in the Kato Syme sanctuary (Archontaki 2012, 22-24, fig. 3 d-g, type B) already in MM IIB and IIIA. Similarities can be pointed out with *kantharoi* from Malia, Gournia and Pseira (Van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1963, pl. XLIV:7882; Hawes *et al.* 1908, pl. C.1; Seager 1910, 20, fig. 5), but the Anemospilia vase stands out for its unusually large dimensions (so far with no comparisons) and thereby emphasises the communal character in the collecting and sharing of liquids. All in all, an inspiration from eastern Crete cannot be ruled out.

The most remarkable vessel from the antechamber is the pithoid jar decorated with a relief white bull on a landscape of crocuses, ivy, and palm-trees (Fig. 6d) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 548-562, figs. 553-556). Of particular interest is the motif of white spirals with a crocus flower at the centre (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 549, figs. 558-559), which has a strong parallel at Phaistos in a globular rhyton dated to MM IIIA Early (already in Girella 2001, 65-66; see also Girella 2010, pl. IV (F 5259); Levi 1976, pl. LXXXIVc). Vessels with similar



Fig. 3. Selection of drinking and pouring shapes from Anemospilia (elaboration after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 383, 385, 387; Walberg 2011, fig. 2a, 8a, 11c, vessels not to scale).



Fig. 4. Selection of pouring and transport shapes from Anemospilia (elaboration after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 387-388, 392, vessels not to scale).

plastic decorations are reported from Knossos and Malia where they belong to the MM IIIA iconographic revolution, when animal figures are realised in relief on various vessels shapes (bowls, *rhyta*, bridge-spouted jars, pithoid jar) (Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, fig. 3.11; Warren 2018, figs. 3-4). These are likely connected to bull sacrifice, an event that received particular emphasis from MM IIIA (most recently, see Warren 2018).

The type of the vessel (a conical pithos, with squared section and a spout, two horizontal handles and one vertical one opposite the spout; Christakis 2005, 20, fig. 24, Form 114) is a common shape attested in both domestic and funerary contexts. Its religious connection is also demonstrated by a similar example from the Ailias necropolis

at Knossos with two plastic appliquéés of the image of *agrimi*/wild goats (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 554-555, figs. 560-561) and the clay medallion with *agrimi* from a MM IIIA context at Alonaki (Girella forthcoming, see no. P 697).

In MM III bulls and *agrimia* relief decoration are signs of an artistic and religious revolution. The image of the *agrimi* and especially its application as a clay medallion (mould-made) on distinctive parts of vessel surfaces has a special popularity during MM IIIA and MM IIIB in Central Crete and clear connections with the religious and funerary sphere. As well as the Ailias pithos mentioned above, parallels are reported from Kastelli Pediada (Rethemiotakis 1992-93, pl. 18e); from Phaistos on a bridge-spouted jar and conical *rhyton* (Levi 1976, pls. 218, LXXVIII; Girella 2010, pls. XVI, XLV, no. 20C/212), and Ayia Triada on a conical *rhyton* (Girella 2010, 175, pls. LXX, LXXXVI, no. 345; see also Bloedow 2003).

2.2. The western room

Only a very few (and not clearly identifiable) vessels are reported from the western room. From here comes “a piece of a large Kamares vase decorated with painted branches” (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1979, 384; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 294, fig. 252) considered to be the only vessels fallen from the upper floor. From the preliminary report (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1979, pl. 184a-b) it is also clear that here too drinking and pouring shapes dominate. The room is well acknowledged for the discovery of three human skeletons (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 294-311).

2.3. The central room

The central room contained almost 60 vessels, mostly represented by pithoi, lined against the eastern and western walls, but also located, albeit smashed, at the entrance (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1979, pls. 179 a-b, 180 a-b; 1997, figs. 229-230). Pithoi here and in the east room represent an important category of the Anemospilia building; stylistically they belong to well-known types produced during MM IIIA in central Crete (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 470, fig. 450; Christakis 2005, types 6, 23, 24, 109, 112, 114, and 121, figs. 2, 7, 23-24; Levi, Carinci 1988, pls. 3d-e, 9g; Karetsou 2013, figs. 7.7, 7.14).

Worthy of note is the ewer with a knobbed handle and tortoise-shell ripple painted in rows on the outer surface (Figs. 2i, 4h) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 233, 388-389). This treatment is documented at Knossos during MM IIIA (Macdonald 2013, fig. 2.3, no. 1174; Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 16h), but it becomes more common during MM IIIB, especially on closed shapes (Malia, from *Maison de la Cave au Pilier*, Van Effenterre, Van Effenterre 1969, pl. LXIV:85-86, 110; from Prasa, Platon 1951, 254, fig. 9b; from Palaikastro Block M, see Knappett, Cunningham 2012, figs. 5.22, 5.27, 5.35).

A stone bench was placed at the back of the room, where two clay feet – related to a possible wooden *xoanon* – were found (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, fig. 119; 1997, 287, drawing 75 and 530-539; Sphakianakis 2019). Close to the bench, together with three large pithoi, one conical pithos and two ewers were found *in situ*.

The conical and spouted pithos (Fig. 6b) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 392e) has strong comparisons with those from the North Corridor of the Alonaki building (Girella forthcoming, see nos. P 216-217, 225-226).



Fig. 5. Big communion chalice with crinkled rim from the antechamber (after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, fig. 116).

The ewers (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, 285, figs. 233-234, 236, 240, 388 c-f) have white-on-dark spiraliform motifs (Fig. 4e, g). The shape is well documented at Alonaki and Knossos in MM IIIA Late and MM IIIB (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, figs. 16, 24, 25; Panagiotaki 1999, fig. 31, nos. 316-318, 320, pl. 26a).

Directly on the bench there were just two vases: namely, another conical and spouted pithos (Fig. 5c) and a globular rhyton (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, 285, figs. 235, 237).

2.4. *The eastern room*

The eastern room contained almost 80 vessels: once again drinking and pouring shapes outnumber the rest. A row of five pithoi was set along the eastern wall of the room; the ceramic deposit was found mainly between the pithoi and on the stepped altar located at the end of the room.

It is worth noting the large shallow conical bowl with two vertical handles bearing a Linear A inscription; the preliminary report mentions 3 signs (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakaki 1979, 380; for the type, Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1991, 142; 1997, 333 and possibly fig. 388).

Various ewers with white-on-dark painted decoration are documented from the floor (Figs. 4d, 6) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, fig. 388a-b). The small and ovoidal type is particularly prevalent at Knossos in Deposit C of the Acropolis Houses (Fig. 8A) (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 25, no. 152bis). The one from Anemospilia is unique because it exhibits a bichrome decoration that divides the vase in two broad sections, each of them composed by a stylised palm like with white leaves, springing from the base of the vase and filled with red/orange paint on dark ground. The combination of the colours and layout decoration reminds to the well-known oval-mouthed amphora from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (Evans 1921, colour plate vii left; Panagiotaki 1999, 142, 177, cat. no. 328, fig. 36, pl. 26a). This last context has been related to MM IIIB with the MM IIIA pots inside (Macdonald, Knappett, Mathioudaki 2023, 161-165; the oval-mouthed amphora with polychrome decoration of palm-like plants is dated to MM IIIA. For a LM IA date of Temple Repositories, see Panagiotaki 1999, 146-151).

The oval-mouthed amphora with horizontal dark-on-light bands (Fig. 4j) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, fig. 392d) is reported from MM IIIA and MM IIIB contexts at Alonaki (Girella forthcoming, see no. P 18) and Knossos (Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 21e; Warren 1991, fig. 5 A-B, pl. 76). A jug from a MM IIIA Late deposit at Phaistos has a similar treatment (Girella 2010, pl. VII, F 5194).

Tripod cooking pots from this room have an unusual deep globular body with incurving rim (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, fig. 381; Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 25f), which at Phaistos are typical of MM II (Levi, Carinci 1988, pl. 15 a, b, d, e).

The conical basin with plain rounded rim is reported at Phaistos in MM IIIA contexts (Girella 2010, fig. 77, type 1, pl. XVI, F 3983).

The big stamnoid amphora found close to the altar was decorated with a big white flower on the dark ground (Fig. 4i) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, figs. 250, 392b), which recalls a typical MM IIB vessel decoration from the palace of Phaistos (on a very wide variety of shapes, see Levi 1976, pls. 51 b-c, 71a, 76m, 80d, 82d, 89a, c, 92b, 108f, 120a, 126g, 128s, 131n, 148 a, c, e) and *Quartier Mu* at Malia (Poursat, Knappett 2005, pl. 55 no. 654).

Among the drinking shapes, various types of handleless cups are mentioned: they are broadly described as *λοπάδες* (Sakellarakis, Sakellarakaki 1979) and, from the drawings published, one can isolate the conical type, the broad conical version (occurring with dipped rim) and the saucer (Fig. 3a-d) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakaki 1997, figs. 382, 383). All are typical of MM IIIA, although saucers are typical of the end of MM IIB and MM IIIA Early (Popham 1974; Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 68). Saucers might have occurred, but in the preliminary publications this type might have been merged with broad handleless cups with shallow profile: we have therefore decided not to distinguish saucers from the rest of the handleless cups.

Three hemispherical cups are worth mentioning (Fig. 3o-q). The first is decorated with thick retorted white-on-dark spirals (Figs. 2g, 3p), quite unusual for MM IIIA ceramic contexts in central Crete (Sakellarakis, Sapou-

na-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 383a; Walberg 2011, fig. 6a). In fact, at Knossos (Popham 1977, 192-193, fig. 1, pl. 29a, Room of Tripod Vases; for the MM IIIB date of the Room of the Tripod Vases, see also Hatzaki 2007, 160) and Phaistos (Girella 2010, pl. XVIII, F 2698) the type is documented in MM IIIB (Fig. 8C).

Two other cups, on the contrary, are at home in MM IIIA at Knossos and Phaistos: one has white spots on dark ground (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 383b; see Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, fig. 3.9, pl. 21b) and the other is decorated in the so called 'Wavy-line Style' (Figs. 3o, q, 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 384; Walberg 2011, 679, fig. 6b). This last treatment is distinctive on hemispherical cups and starts at the very end of MM IIB (Levi 1976, p. 124f); it then becomes a key element in the MM IIIA Early period at Knossos (MacGillivray 1988, 75, 63, pls. 12, 73-74; Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, 27, no. 92, fig. 3.6, pl. 13b) and Galatas (Rethemiotakis, Christakis 2013, 99, fig. 8.5). Well represented in the kouloures material (MacGillivray 1998), the 'Wavy-line Style' continues on into MM IIIA Late (Fig. 8B) (see, for instance, Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, fig. 5.3, from a *kasella* in the north-west corner of the North Lustral Area, where it is possibly a hangover).

Among the cups found on the altar and relevant to this discussion is the straight-sided type with ridged walls and white-dotted decoration on the outer rim (Figs. 2d, 3i-k) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 383 l-m, 385; see also Walberg 2011, fig. 8a). This distinctive ware becomes a significant MM IIIA feature in north-central Crete and is very iconic of MM IIIA production documented at Knossos in both MM IIIA Early (MacGillivray 1998, pls. 17, 81) and MM IIIA Late contexts (Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 12; Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 18, pl. 3j; Velgaraki 2024, figs. 33, 41).

A peculiar type of cup with a deep ovoid profile and ridged rim (Figs. 2l, 3h) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 383e, 386) has a parallel at Knossos from a MM IIIA Late context (Fig. 8A) (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, 28, fig. 18, pl. 4c, V.94).

Furthermore, chalices with a disc-shape base and pronounced flaring walls are typical of the Knossian area during MM IIIA (Figs. 3r, 7); they are found at Knossos and Alonaki (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, figs. 121, 123; 1997, fig. 383r-s; Mathioudaki 2018, 61, fig. 27; Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 16, no. 6; Girella forthcoming, see nos. P 81, 84, 111).

Among the pouring shapes, the deposit includes several types. One is a globular jug with trefoil mouth and white-on-dark running spirals with open centres (Figs. 2j, 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 250, 387c, 394). The treatment of 'wavy' running spirals has strong parallels with vessels from MM IIIA Early and Late contexts at Phaistos (Girella 2010, pls. I, IV, XIV, XVI, XX, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLIV) and MM IIIA Late at Knossos (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 18, V. 91-92).

There exist two jug types: one with a cut-away neck decorated with white dots (Figs. 3a, 6) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 387b) and the other with a funnel mouth and white spirals linked with horizontal lines spirals (Figs. 2k, 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 387 e-f, 395). Both types and decoration have parallels at Alonaki, Knossos (Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, fig. 18, no. 90; fig. 23, no. 154; Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 19) and Phaistos (Girella 2010, fig. 87, types 10, 15).

A small oval-mouthed amphoriskos has ovoid profile and dark-on-light horizontal bands on the lower body and disc on shoulder (Figs. 4c, 7) Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 387i).

An iconic and rare type of jug is known as the 'libation jug'. It has a globular profile with a rising strap handle and torus disc at its neck (Fig. 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 247, 387h) and, when highly decorated, it belongs to a peculiar class named by Evans 'Creamy-bordered Style' (Evans 1935, 126-127, pl. XXIX D, F), well documented at Knossos during MM IIIA (MacGillivray 1998, 147, nos. 542-545, pls. 90-91; Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, 30, 86-87, fig. 3.6, pl. 14d; see also from the Temple Repositories a faience version, Panagiotaki 1999, 91, fig. 22, pl. 15a), at Phaistos (Girella 2010, 285-286, fig. 86, type 8a). We have also found the type in funerary contexts, such as at Troy from a cist tomb of the VIa period (Girella 2014, with discussion of other comparisons) and at the rock shelter at Kephala Petras (Tsipopoulou 2012, 125, fig. 12, from a LM IB context).

A dark monochrome cylindrical jar (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 387 l) finds a good parallel with a jar from a MM IIIA context at Alonaki (Girella forthcoming, no. P 125).



Fig. 6. Selection of pithoid vessels from Anemospilia (elaboration after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 392, 556, vessels not to scale).

Various bridge-spouted jars are also reported (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 382, 387 m-n; Walberg 2011, figs. 2a, 3a, 4a): they have an ovoid profile (Figs. 2e-f, 3s-u), and upright handles and are embellished with a great variety of painted decorations, encompassing dark monochrome, white spots, horizontal bands, festoons and running spirals. The best comparisons for this class of vessel come from south-central Crete – and Phaistos in particular; they date the example from Anemospilia in both the MM IIIA Early and Late periods (Girella 2010, fig. 80, types 3-6, pl. XVI; F 5509; but see also Rethemiotakis, Warren 2014, 40, fig. 3.10, pl. 23c). A close link with a MM IIIA Late context at Phaistos is the bridged-spouted jar decorated with white-on-dark festoons (Fig. 2), as already noted by Walberg (2011, 679-680, fig. 2a).

Almost without comparisons in MM IIIA is the globular teapot with tubular beak and vertical handle opposite to it (Fig. 4b, 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, fig. 123; 1997, fig. 387o). At Phaistos and Malia teapots are common in MM II, mostly with cut-away beak and sometimes two lateral horizontal handles (Levi, Carinci 1988, pls. 44-46; see also Caloi, Aquini 2024, 525, fig. 31.24).

Finally, worthy of comment is the small spherical *askos* with a tubular spout and coiled handle on top, whose upper surface is decorated with dark-on-light leaves (Fig. 7) (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 422, figs. 387, 391; Walberg 2011, 686, fig. 13a). A similar type with a dark-on-light lustrous surface comes from Knossos (see Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 139, fig. 4.12, no. 905), from the MM IIIA Late context of the Room East of School Room: it is considered an East Cretan import.



Fig. 7. Selection of vases from the east room (after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, fig. 121).

3. CERAMIC SYNCHRONISMS: A WORK IN PROGRESS

Research over the last two decades has increased our knowledge of the MM III period, especially as regards pottery deposits. In particular, MM IIIA is considered to have been a much longer period than previously thought (MacGillivray 2007, 144-149; Girella 2009; 2010; Macdonald, Knappett 2013; Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 59-63, 169). Furthermore, the almost omnipresence of handleless cups in MM III domestic and funerary contexts and their well-known and high typological variability within MM III have allowed not only for a distinction to be proposed between MM III B and III A, but also the identification of two ceramic sub-phases within MM III A, early and late. In central Crete at least there exist enough data to test and validate this chronological distinction (Girella 2009; 2010; Macdonald 2013; Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 169). However, while this distinction is clear at major palatial centres, such as Knossos and Phaistos, the evidence from other sites is compromised. At Alonaki, although MM III A Early ceramic features can be isolated, this sub-phase is not represented by homogeneous deposits, whereas the main destruction horizon is dated to MM III A Late (Girella forthcoming).

The main problem concerning the present state of knowledge of the pottery from the Anemospilia building is linked to the limited information about entire vessel numbers and especially of the drinking plain vessels, such as handleless cups; graphics 1 and 2 collate in fact estimations by counting referenced pieces. Handleless cups are documented in such a way that though we can clearly date them to MM III A, we cannot assign them precisely to an early or late stage of MM III A (similar to the handleless cups whose various types occur independently within Deposits A-D from the Acropolis Houses, cf. Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979) (Fig. 8A). The lack of fabric and technological analysis on ceramic material is yet another significant obstacle to a better comprehension of the Anemospilia depos-

its and their contextual and chronological significance. In short, the limited information at our disposal allows the identification of both MM IIIA Early and Late morphological features, but our chronological re-examination is necessarily based on other ceramic features, primarily macroscopic and stylistic.

The deposits contain several fine wares; such features have plenty of diagnostic potential. This assessment is a work in progress: decisions must wait until a complete study of the pottery is achieved (in terms of style, wares and statistics; see, methodology applied in Mathioudaki 2018; Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023).

The realisation that a new examination was required was prompted by the study and publication of the pottery deposits from the nearby complex at Alonaki on Juktas (Girella forthcoming). The stratigraphy and ceramic study from this site have allowed this author to suggest a major destruction at Alonaki at the end of MM IIIA. Regrettably, there are not enough stratigraphical and ceramic data to test at Alonaki whether a MM IIIA Early ceramic phase can be distinguished from a later one. The complex continued in use until the very end of MM IIIB. The study has also pointed out differences in its ceramic assemblages from the Anemospilia corpus, in terms of shapes and pottery production. The Alonaki set is represented mostly by handleless cups, cooking and pithos wares and is of a distinctly lower quality (previously Karetsou, Mathioudaki 2012; Karetsou 2013; see now Girella forthcoming).

The analysis presented above has shown that many ceramic features at Anemospilia, if not all, in terms of shapes and decoration, are very close to central Cretan pottery production (see already this issue discussed in Girella 2001; for regional variations of pottery production in Central Crete, cf. Van de Moortel 2002; for pottery traditions in the context of communities of practice, see Wenger 1998). Thus, for instance, one may observe the close affinities with Phaistos, especially for the occurrence of bridge-spouted jars and the treatments in white-on-dark of thin and wavy running spirals on cups and jars, and white-on-dark festoons (on this and other aspects, see already Girella 2001). The material aligns closely to both MM IIIA Early and Late ceramic contexts from Phaistos, in particular those from the House South of the Ramp and Rooms 18 and 50 from the Palace (Table 1).

Connections with the MM IIIA pottery of Alonaki have also been pointed out, although the Alonaki pottery assemblages show a different range of shapes and very limited painted decoration. This major divide, as has already been suggested (Karetsou, Girella, Mylona forthcoming; Girella forthcoming), implies different functions for the two buildings that are in fairly proximity on the northern slope of Juktas and both in connection with the peak sanctuary (see below).

On the other hand, some specific features make Anemospilia close to Knossian pottery production, especially in the use of lustrous dark-on-light ware, i.e.:

- a) the tortoise-shell ripple decoration on open and closed shapes;
- b) the straight-sided cup with ridged walls and white dots at exterior rim;
- c) the Vapheio cup with tortoise-shell ripple;
- d) the ledged-rim bowl with inner tortoise-shell ripple.

More specifically, the key elements for a MM IIIA Early chronology of the Anemospilia deposits are:

- a) the straight-sided cup with ridged walls and white dots at exterior rim;
- b) isolated spirals with an internal crocus;
- c) wavy-running spirals;
- d) straight-sided cups with thin running spirals at the rim;
- e) hemispherical cups with the polychrome 'Wavy-line Style'.

Prominent elements for a MM IIIA Late chronology of Anemospilia ceramic deposits are:

- a) ledge-rim bowls with dark-on-light tortoise-shell ripple on the inner surface;
- b) straight-sided cups with ripple on the exterior;
- c) Vapheio cups with tortoise-shell ripple on the exterior;
- d) absence of weakly-carinated cups;

MM IIIA Early	
<i>Knossos</i>	<i>Phaistos</i>
Room of the Stone Drain-Heads/Olive Press	Room 18
Magazine of the Medallion Pithoi	Room 50
Houses of Sacrificed Oxen and Fallen Blocks	West Bastion
Kouloures I-III	House South of the Ramp (LXXXVI-LXXXVII)
SW Houses (S.V 4.2 Lower level)	
Gypsades/Building 2 (Floor deposits)	
Vlachakis Plot (Trench A; Baulk II)	
Town Houses (over the Town drain)	
MM IIIA Late	
<i>Knossos</i>	<i>Phaistos</i>
Court of the Stone Spout/1 st Blind Well	Rooms 101-102
Room East of the School Room	House South of the Ramp (LXXXVIII-XCIII, XCVI)
Kasella in NW corner of North Lustral Area	Rooms LXXV-LXXVI
SW Houses (S.V 4.2 Upper level; S. VII 4; S.V 4.1?)	Acropoli Mediana
Vlachakis Plot (Trench A; Baulk II)	Chalara Rooms i, k, l
Acropolis Houses/Deposits A-D	
MM IIIB	
<i>Knossos</i>	<i>Phaistos</i>
North-East Passage	Rooms 103-104
Cist below the Stepped Porch	Rooms LXXI-LXXIV
Room of Tripod Vases	Below and North Room CC
North-East Magazines	
Temple Repositories	
South Propylaeum/kasella	
Hellenistic Kiln site (KS 178)	
Stratigraphical Museum Extension Excavation Pit VI/ Trench D	
Minoan Unexplored Mansion, South Corridor (KS 186)	
Gypsades Well, lower levels	

Tab. 1. Major MM IIIA Early, Late and MM IIIB ceramic deposits at Knossos and Phaistos.

- e) hemispherical cups with white-on-dark retorted spirals;
- f) closed vessels (mainly jugs) with tortoise-shell ripple on the exterior;
- g) elongated bridge-spouted jars;
- h) bridge-spouted jars with white-on-dark festoons.

In general, the various ceramic features fit neatly with MM IIIA Early deposits at Knossos, especially contexts immediately outside the Palace, such as the Kouloures, the Houses of Sacrificed Oxen and Fallen Blocks, the SW Houses, the so-called Town Houses and various levels from the Vlachakis Plot (Table 1). However, links are also observable with MM IIIA Late contexts, mainly with SW Houses (S.V 4.2 Upper level) and Deposits A-D from the Acropolis Houses (for which we lean towards a MM IIIA Late date of the deposits. For the problems of dating the Acropolis Houses, see Hatzaki 2007, 155, table 5.2), as shown in Fig. 8A, where selected vases from all four deposits offer strong *comparanda* for the Anemospilia vessels.

Elements of both MM IIIA Early and Late ceramic features indicate that not much time must have passed between the two stages. For instance, the ledge-rim bowl with dark-on-light tortoise shell ripple on the inner surface is recently considered a MM IIIA Early features (Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 75), but the cases above listed from Knossos a larger chronological range, as it occurs throughout the MM III period. It is important to point out that the passage between the two phases could have been smooth, so that elements of MM IIIA Early pottery



Fig. 8. A: Selection of MM IIIA Late vessels from Deposit A-D of the Acropolis Houses at Knossos (elaboration after Catling, Catling, Smith 1979, figs. 16-18, 20, 23, 24, 26-27); B: MM IIIA Late vases from the Kasella in North-West Corner, North Lustral Area (after Knappe, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, fig. 5.3); C: MM III B vases from the Room of the Tripod Vases and NE Magazines (elaboration after Popham 1977, fig. 1A-B). Not to scale.

style may have continued in the later stage (this fluidity is crucial to understand ceramic boundaries, for which labels are often unsuited for indicating closeness in time).

For these reasons, quantitative analysis of pottery from Anemospilia (not currently possible) could be crucial in the future. A critical factor, for instance, is the presence of straight-sided cups with white dots at the exterior rim. There are some examples at Anemospilia, but one cannot estimate their percentage; on the other hand, we know that a key ceramic element of MM IIIA Early in the Knossos area is the extent and richness of the white-dotted ware (especially on drinking shapes, such as ridged straight-sided cups and hemispherical cups), as documented at the Vlachakis Plot (Rethemiotakis, Warren 2013, table 5.7), the Houses of the Fallen Blocks and Sacrificed Oxen (Mathioudaki 2018, fig. 30) and the so called Town Houses excavated by Hogarth (MacGillivray 1998, 50-5, Group P, fig. 1.13, pls. 154 (nos. 1035-1037), 156-157; Momigliano 2007, 145); by contrast, this ware diminishes in MM IIIA Late (Deposit A-D of the Acropolis Houses, see Catling, Catling, Smyth 1979, 67-72), and disappears in MM IIIB contexts (the appearance on the Hellenistic Kiln deposits KS 178 may be considered a hangover, Macdonald 2000, 64, fig. 39; 2002, pl. IX; Hatzaki 2007, 161).

Interestingly, straight-sided cups with white dots at the rim are not attested at the Galatas Palace (Rethemiotakis, Christakis 2013, 99, figs. 8.4), where by contrast white-spotted cups on the entire surface (often in and out) are more common: either this ware was not adopted at Galatas or the MM IIIA destruction horizon in the Palace could be MM IIIA Late in date.

The analysis proposed here argues that the destruction horizon including the Anemospilia ceramic deposits is MM IIIA Late in date and that some of the pottery retains MM IIIA Early features. According to this hypothesis, one can therefore suggest that the construction and use of the Anemospilia building are to be placed in MM IIIA Early and that its life ended in the MM IIIA Late period.

The position of the Anemospilia destruction in the late stage of MM IIIA fits with the analysis of the Alonaki contexts, whose major destruction has been dated to the same horizon (see above) and seems to show that no MM IIIA Early destruction took place the Juktas slopes. Future work needs to investigate and synchronise the link between the Juktas MM IIIA destructions and those documented in the palace of Knossos, where both MM IIIA Early and Late ceramic deposits and destructions are known (Knappett, Macdonald, Mathioudaki 2023, 171-172).

4. THE LINK WITH ALONAKI AND SOME CONCLUSIONS

The Alonaki building provides plentiful information about the MM IIIA ceramic deposits (major details in Girella forthcoming). The north sector of the building yielded the major concentration of MM IIIA contexts: these are related with the principal rooms, i.e. North Corridor (or sottoscala, Room 8) and the Corridor/Room 4, Rooms 4a (and likely for 4b), 6, the two narrow corridors 3 and 9, and Room 2, whose floor and the collapsed material from the upper floor over it both are homogeneously dated to MM IIIA Late.

The western unit of the building is represented by a few rooms closed along the western side by the natural rock (Rooms 12-13). The southern part of the Alonaki building is represented principally by the two courtyards: evidence for the MM IIIA occupation here is provided by two important floor deposits, trench E-Z/5-7 in the Central Courtyard (Space 10) and trench H-Θ/5-7 in the Eastern Courtyard. Finally, two of the larger and more informative MM IIIA contexts are both dumps: namely Trench A in the north-east part of the excavation area and the dump south of Room 14.

Evidence for destruction in MM IIIA is mainly provided by Trench A, Rooms 2, 4, 4a-4b, 5, 6, Corridors 8 and 9. Room 2 offers plentiful evidence about this MM IIIA Late destruction with a consistent sequence of layers isolated during the excavation. The more informative ceramic features indicative of this late stage is the hemispherical lipless monochrome bowl, the ledge-rim bowl with outer tortoise-shell ripple, and the 'in-and-out' bowl with tortoise-shell ripple.

Ceramic connections with Anemospilia have been above stressed, as for the straight-sided cups plain or monochrome with ridged walls, with white-on-dark dots on the exterior rim, the occurrence of chalices with ring base and plastic decoration applied on the wall, as well as several types of jugs, ewers and conical pithoi, including the well-known bucket jar with the appliqué bull.

Moving away from pottery, the function of the Anemospilia building is open to question (Branigan 2000, 386; Girella 2001, 71-73). The excavators defined it as a ‘temple’ (Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 269-274), while it has also been suggested that it acted as a ‘Temple Repository’ for the Juktas sanctuary, where cult equipment was stored (McEnroe 2010, 66), along with amounts of food supplies. Another proposal sees it as one of the ancillary buildings of the peak sanctuary (cf. Kyriakidis 2005, 56). Lastly, the Anemospilia building has been interpreted as a multipurpose one, suggesting that the west room might have served for preparation of the corpse for primary inhumation whose final deposition would have been the cemetery of Archanes Phourni (Müller Celka S. 2016).

Undoubtedly, several pieces of evidence and finds of Anemospilia building stress its distinctiveness and divergence from the Alonaki complex, namely the ritual connotation of several vessels (i.e., *rhyta*, the ‘libation jug’, the bull vase and the huge ‘communion cup’), the poros horns of consecration found right outside, the *xoanon* from the central room, and the finds associated with the skeletons in the west room: the engraved spearhead with a frontal boar’s head, an iron and gold signet ring, and the cushion seal made of black and white agate engraved with a scene of man rowing a boat (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, figs. 215, 237, 247, 254, 393, 530-537, 553, 621-622, 717, 793-795). Although the function of the Anemospilia building is beyond the scopes of the present paper, it is quite clear that the complex served controlled rituals and ceremonies managed by a restricted group of people, such as priesthoods, otherwise people directly involved in the palatial sphere. Linear A inscription and signs are in fact documented on various media (pithoi and bowls) and indicate the presence and authority of people who was familiar with the administrative control of foodstuff and rites (Fig. 9).

The pottery provides evidence for various activities at the building, mainly: storage and transport of food, food preparation, serving and consuming the food, drinking of beverages; ceremonial equipment for ritual purposes. The available evidence permits some instructive comparisons between Anemospilia and Alonaki, pointing towards a development and change in the feasting (or commensal) practices in the two buildings in the shadow of the peak sanctuary (a major analysis is to be found in Karetso, Girella, Mylona forthcoming; Karetso forthcoming).

Food consumption played a role at Anemospilia, but the comparison with Alonaki hints at important differences between the two buildings. For instance, according to the published data, table and cooking wares had a low incidence at Anemospilia (Graphic 2), whereas the large amount of cooking pots and table ware from the East and Central Courts of Alonaki building emphasises that a constant form of commensality took place there, involving medium to large-sized groups of people.

Furthermore, the evidence of the faunal remains from Anemospilia seems not that overwhelming (it is variously reported in Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1979; Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 274, 277, fig. 225), being largely represented by a few deposits on the west side of the antechamber where pig, goat and cattle have been identified. The presence of a good number of pestles and querns in this space may also indicate food processing and preparation; however, the overall picture seems to argue for more restricted groups being served at Anemospilia.

Pithoid vessels in the Anemospilia building – one for storage and one (the pithoid jar) for pouring/storage – are prominent finds (Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 282, drawing 74, figs. 231-232, 236, 238-243, 248, 251). The large size of the pithoi set along the walls of the antechamber and both the central and eastern rooms suggests that food storage was one of the building’s key functions, perhaps related to its surrounding agricultural landscape. Among the pottery types found in the building, specialised vessels with distinct decoration and shapes, of a kind not encountered at Alonaki, argue that if feasting took place there, it could have been of the so called diacritical type (Dietler, Hayden 2001), in which there was no interaction between the social actors participating in the ritual activities and the rest of the community. This would explain the use of special and high-quality vessels at Anemospilia, probably restricted to a few distinguished participants and for ritual purposes. At Alonaki, by contrast, large-scale feasting took place, in spaces specially designed for gathering, and using vessels that were plain, mass produced and undifferentiated in status (Karetso, Girella, Mylona forthcoming).

Furthermore, the architectural expression at Alonaki is less elaborate than that of the Anemospilia building and comparatively well-suited for gatherings. The participants there contributed food, with only some of the con-

sumed products being stored and processed in the building. Given the faunal evidence analysed by Dimitra Mylona (Karetsou, Girella, Mylona forthcoming; and Mylona in Karetsou forthcoming) choices regarding meat consumption at Alonaki were perhaps specific and driven by the event(s) that took place at the peak sanctuary: piglets and young cattle and probably the consumption of a variety of small and large fish and of birds point in this direction. It has also been clarified that at Alonaki animal remains are related only to cooking and eating, whereas any relevance to animal sacrifice is indirect.

Such dissimilarities aside, Anemospilia and Alonaki show an important novelty in religious places at the dawn of the Neopalatial period, i.e. the organisation of storage of agricultural products distributed and networked from the main peak sanctuary to two nearby buildings. This is a big step after the Protopalatial period on Juktas and indicates the political growing of the sanctuary and its agricultural surroundings in MM IIIA. It is possible that this new scenario was prompted by Knossian elites, in the context of the large investments for the palace renovation. However, as already been pointed out by Christakis (2008, 142), there is no proof that the considerable stored products in the Juktas sanctuary, Anemospilia and Alonaki would have served settlements at regional level. On the contrary, the data at disposal permit us to see the storage capacities connected with the needs of the sanctuary area.

After MM III, the structures at Anemospilia (in MM IIIA) and Alonaki (in MM IIIB) were abandoned. During LM IA one can observe a big change in the storage policy of the sanctuary, with the goods being concentrated in the sanctuary building itself. This was the period when the Juktas peak sanctuary, in step with the development of local socio-political conditions, embarked on a more extensive building program. The construction of a wing of rooms was carried out, which would remain in use throughout the LM III period and on even into Early Archaic times (Karetsou 1981; Karetsou, Moody 2024).

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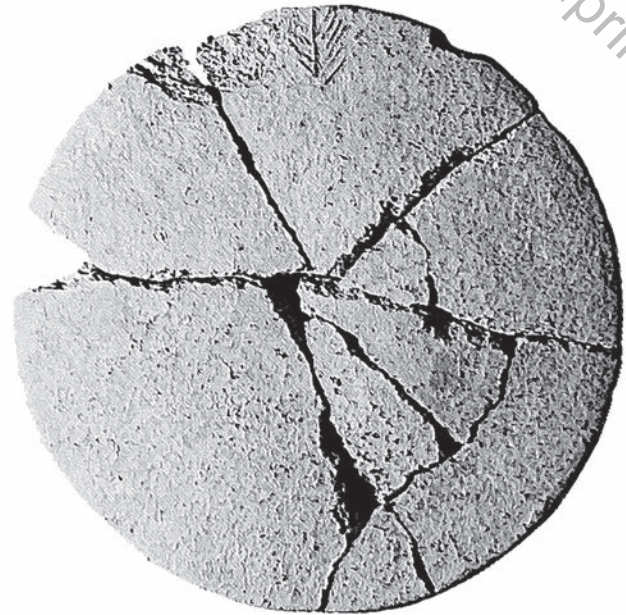


Fig. 9. Pithos lid with Linear A sign from Anemospilia (after Sakellarakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 333, fig. 297).

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