SOCIAL ARENAS IN MINOAN CRETE.

A REGIONAL HISTORY OF THE MESARA IN SOUTH-CENTRAL CRETE FROM THE FINAL NEOLITHIC TO THE END OF THE PROTOPALATIAL PERIOD.

Volume 2: Chapters 7 to 9
Bibliography and Illustrations

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Maria Relaki

University of Sheffield
Department of Archaeology

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CHAPTER 7

LET THERE BE INTEGRATION: THE FIRST PALACE AT PHAISTOS

7.1. Sudden Impact? The rise of the Palaces

> "The twentieth century BC saw the appearance, in several regions of Crete, of complex monumental buildings (i.e. palaces) of closely similar form, the material embodiment of *radically new institutional features* and *major changes* in the organisation basis of Minoan society." (Cherry 1986: 27, emphasis added)

Changes from one archaeological period to the next are usually identified by transformations in material culture that are considered 'dramatic' enough to demonstrate a concomitant change in political structure. Among such 'dramatic' events, the passage from the Prepalatial to the Palatial period has been the most important in Minoan archaeology, generating not only a substantial body of literature, but also, and perhaps more significantly, an overarching framework for interpretation.

The rise of the Palaces is taken to reflect a complete transformation of social and political organisation. As in earlier times, apart from the existence of truly monumental architecture at this phase, the main domains where changes have been noted are the settlement pattern and the organisation of production. In this respect, the political establishment of elites and the institutionalisation of status and wealth differences have been considered another important trademark of the Palatial period. In the first Palatial phase (Old Palace period ca. 1900-1750 BC, MMIB to MMIIB in ceramic terms), such transformative processes are thought to be mostly evident at a regional level, and socio-political integration at a regional scale is considered the main role of Palatial institutions.

Along such lines, the emergence of the palaces indeed appears as the most significant and radical transformation of social life in Minoan times. An important point emanating from the discussion of the previous chapters, however, is that changes, as drastic as they may seem from our distanced position and within chronological frameworks that encompass centuries, are never so abrupt and radical when it comes to everyday practice. In the case of the Palatial period, the appearance of monumental architecture has dominated every aspect of the discourses of change, and to a large extent has produced an underestimation of any elements of continuity between this and the previous periods. Nevertheless, assessing the *pace* of change must be the most important factor in understanding the motives and strategies behind such transformations, and consequently, in highlighting the ways in which such changes affected existing, or generated new social practices.

To a large extent, such an impression of sudden change may also be the product of the very nature of the evidence available to us. The Old Palace period, that is, the precise 'moment of transformation', is not as well known as the following, Neopalatial period, when the characteristics of Palatial authority might be more evident (although by no means straightforward). Many of the architectural elements considered typical of a Palatial building are most notably a feature of the Neopalatial, whereas the precise plan, room layout and organisation of the First Palaces is not known so accurately since the common Minoan practice of rebuilding in exactly the same locations has obscured the character of these structures, increasing the difficulty in interpreting space associations and room 'functions'. Moreover, in contrast to the striking architectural homogeneity of the Second Palaces, the First Palaces, although sharing a number of similarities in concept (e.g. large open spaces in the form of central or external courts, large scale storage, monumental facades), are also quite different from each other in general architectural layout as well as in details of execution and use of space. Such 'individuality' of the first Palatial buildings is as much a reflection of their long architectural evolution as of any organisational changes that they underwent in the course of more than two centuries.

Although such differences are generally acknowledged (e.g. Cherry 1986; Driessen & Schoep 1995; Dabney 1995), the simultaneous appearance of these buildings and their generic similarities are considered sufficient to underline the homogeneity of political structure responsible for such developments. In other words, although these first Palatial structures differ quite substantially from each other – in architecture most obviously, but perhaps also in their economic and political strategies (e.g. see Schoep 2001 for differences in administrative practices) – and despite emerging in very distinct regional landscapes, they are considered the outcome of homogeneous processes. It is a main argument of this chapter, however, that the distinctly regional circumstances into which the Palace of Phaistos came to be established were the most crucial factor in determining its character and 'functions'. It goes without saying that cultural homologies of the sort that Cherry (1986) highlights as characteristic of the First Palaces were indeed prominent[1]. However, as he also stresses, these pertain more to the description of these structures in action, after they had emerged as central institutions across the island, rather than to the situation at the time of their emergence (1986: 43). In this respect, putting forward a diachronic regional perspective such as attempted in this thesis, is the only valid way in which we can understand better the processes which led to or allowed the emergence of such institutions.

On the other hand, an important distinction must be made at this point. This understanding of the local processes contributing to the emergence of Palatial institutions proffered here, must be distinguished from traditional approaches based on evolutionary schemes, in that it does not seek 'origins' or 'causal factors', but aims to stress the importance of *persisting social practices*. Such practices, I have argued (see Chapter 3), constitute social arenas, in that they represent the most crucial and relevant aspects in the life of a community. Because they are so important to all community members, they can be at the same time enduring traditions of life and powerful negotiating strategies aiming to generate changes. By focusing on social arenas, therefore, we achieve a more dynamic perspective of change. We are able to assess the

[1] It is also important to remember that such 'cultural affinities' are evident in the Prepalatial period as well, but the absence of monumental architecture prevents arguments of political integration to be put forward for this period. However, as will be shown below, the monumentality of Palatial buildings alone does not suffice to demonstrate the existence of political integration, or the specific nature of central authority; other, broader processes of interaction must be taken into account.

particular pace and nature of change, by investigating not only which elements are transformed, but also, which remain intact.

Thus, if we are to put Palatial emergence into perspective in the Mesara, we must first consider the historical circumstances within which the First Palace at Phaistos came to be established. As we saw in Chapter 6, the significance attributed to changes in settlement patterns has been paramount. However, there is an inherent circularity in causal arguments using settlement pattern as the main line of evidence. On the one hand, the nucleation of settlements around the palace is explained as an effect of the political integration and centralisation brought about by the palace, that is, the emergence of the palace 'caused' nucleation; on the other hand, the processes of nucleation are seen as already underway by the late Prepalatial period, and the Palace emerges as the result of such processes, i.e. nucleation 'causes' political centralisation. The methodological and theoretical incoherences of such approaches have been discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3, while, as was demonstrated in Chapter 6, the archaeological record of the Mesara does not seem to support nucleation for the period preceding the emergence of the Palace. In this chapter, we shall focus more on evaluating changes in settlement practices during and after the construction of the First Palace.

The character of the First Palace itself must come under scrutiny. In the case of Phaistos we are privileged to be dealing with one of the best preserved Protopalatial buildings of which we can also trace the architectural development in considerable detail (despite significant controversy in its dating, see §7.3). Furthermore, the material preserved from the Palace allows a closer evaluation of the precise 'functions' it performed. The centralised control of agricultural and craft production has been proposed as such function, largely on the basis of the provision for large scale storage space in the Palatial building. However, workshop areas remain difficult to identify (Platon 1993; *contra* Branigan 1987; 1988b), while the extant storage magazines along with the sealings and Linear A documents reveal more about consumption strategies in the palace than the organisation and management of production (see Chapter 8). Moreover, the nature of agricultural (and perhaps also craft) activity means that most of it would take place in

the surrounding countryside and not in the Protopalatial town of Phaistos, thus limiting our line of inquiry.

It would seem that the reconstruction of the economic system of the First Palace would require more evidence than the mere existence of storage magazines. In this respect, evidence provided by the surveys conducted in the area and any other information we can gather from the sparse excavated sites in the surrounding 'Palatial hinterland' is most helpful. On the other hand, although the sealing archive provides a rather cryptic and complicated type of information, several detailed studies of its contents and patterns of operation (Levi 1957-58a; Fiandra 1968; Weingarten 1986; 1992; 1994a; Militello 2000; Schoep 2001; 2002a) allow us an invaluable insight into the workings of the First Palace and its relationship with the surrounding region. Moreover, extensive studies on aspects of pottery production and consumption (Fiandra 1973; Carinci 1997; Wilson & Day 1994; Day & Wilson 1998; Van de Moortel 1998; Shaw *et al.* 2001; Faber *et al.* 2002), permit a tentative reconstruction of some aspects of the organisation of craft production in the Mesara as well as to evaluate the degree to which this was controlled by the Palace of Phaistos.

It will be argued that both the configuration of settlement in the Protopalatial period and the organisation of production were characterised by more complex patterns than so far assumed, a situation largely due to the influence of pre-existing social practices and the role they played in the establishment of the First Palace. Evidently, such a reconsideration has significant repercussions for the understanding of political transformations at the time of the First Palaces. It involves a reappraisal of the negotiating means employed by competing groups and the social practices at the centre of competition. The emergence of the Palaces is generally considered as direct evidence for the institutionalisation of social hierarchy expressed in status and wealth differences. However, it will be shown, that, first, such a process was embedded in conflict even to the very last stages of the Palatial era in the Mesara, and secondly, that such presumed status differences were more nuanced in practice and dependent upon pre-existing identity strategies than is presently held.

Therefore the aims of Chapters 7 and 8 are:

(a) To evaluate the nature and the pace of change from the Prepalatial to the Palatial period in the Mesara, by investigating elements of both disruption and continuity.

(b) To provide an account of the main social arenas of this period, evaluate their importance for the organisation and unfolding of social life, and compare with previous primary social strategies.

(c) Finally, to suggest an alternative account for the social processes that allowed the emergence of the First Palace at Phaistos, as well as a reappraisal of its nature and role within the history of the region.

7.2. Palatial emergence: regional and wider processes

Chapter 6 aimed to make two important points about the nature of the First Palace at Phaistos: that it appeared to be the product of a regional collaboration, at least in its initial form; and that the need for a formal stage, where ceremonial wine consumption at large scale could be held, might have formed the basis of this co-operation. Inevitably, in a program of such large scale and broad scope, other factors (perhaps largely of an economic nature) had a role (Halstead 1981; Cherry 1984; 1986; Branigan 1987; 1988b; 1995; Manning 1994). However, it is not clear whether such aspects of the Palatial administration were part of the initial projects or whether they characterised a more developed Palatial system. Most of the aforementioned works to different degrees have tried to distinguish between the 'functions' of the First and Second Palaces. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the workings of the Protopalatial institutions remains quite obscure. To a large extent, this problem stems out of the paucity of the evidence. On a second level, though, such insufficiency is largely the product of theoretical preconceptions about the economic and political role of the Palaces as centralised organisations.

There is no denying that the emergence of such strikingly similar institutions all around the island, utilising analogous resources, cannot be taken as a coincidence. Although we

have been so far narrowly concerned with the social developments in the Mesara, there is no doubt that the Mesara was not an isolated world, but part of socio-political processes with island-wide influence. In this respect it can be argued that the establishment of the palace at Phaistos was part and parcel of the general trends at the end of the Prepalatial period. Insofar as it was an integrative mechanism with regional appeal and influence, indeed it was. However, the similarities would seem to stop there.

Hindsight, the knowledge of 'what happened next', has in many respects affected the ways in which we think about the First Palaces and the services they performed. Nevertheless, if we take a very superficial look at the other Palatial centres apart from Phaistos, we see that they emerged through quite differentiated local circumstances. Knossos was a centre for ceremonial activity since the beginning of the EM period (Day & Wilson 1999; Day & Wilson 2002), and remained the largest settlement in the island with perhaps substantial regional appeal all the way through to the Protopalatial period. Phaistos on the contrary went through a phase of disruption and later building activities are not sufficient explanation for this, since similar processes did not obstruct the survival of evidence at Knossos. Mallia emerges as a regional centre already in the EMIII period, during the later phases boasting a peculiar mix of 'public' buildings with diverse functions like the Agora or Quartier Mu (Schoep 2002b), while the extent and nature of the 'Mallia-Lasithi state' has also been debated (Knappett 1999a). The First Palace at Petras is constructed in MMIIA, in spite of the site's dynamic trajectory throughout the Prepalatial period (Tsipopoulou 1999), while the special nature of the far east of the island and the unusual relationships between its main political centres have also been stressed (Driessen 2001: 59; Cunningham 2001; Day & Relaki 2002: 223-224). Despite the MMI-II remains at Galatas, the Palace there does not take shape architecturally and administratively until the MMIII-LMIA period (Rethemiotakis 1999). Monastiraki was a thriving Protopalatial centre but with unclear indications as to the existence of a 'canonical' Palatial building there; moreover, it was never re-built after its destruction at the end of MMIIB (Kanta 1999). Finally, at Zakros, the excavator is reluctant to recognise a predecessor with the same administrative character in the large Protopalatial building under the NE wing of the LBA palace, on present evidence (Platon 1999).

It is clear, therefore, that wherever the First Palaces appeared, they came out of very localised socio-political circumstances, which cannot easily justify generalised assumptions about their 'functions'. In this sense, the very local needs that the First Palace at Phaistos seems to have served do not contradict a later use of this institution for broader economic concerns (e.g. Branigan 1987; 1988c). What is crucial, though, is that these first 'purposes' of the palace of Phaistos were instrumental in determining its political and administrative trajectory and continued to set it apart from the other Palatial institutions over the island, even during the Neopalatial period where a more pronounced homogeneity of Palatial form and structure is noted throughout Crete.

To return to the Old Palaces, we generally accept without debate that they shared many common features, but even when we admit that such similarities may be the product of a long period of interaction (Cherry 1986), we do not often entertain the possibility that their initial form might have not been the same across the island (but see Driessen & Schoep 1995; Schoep 2001; Schoep 2002a). After all, similar processes and nearly identical types of material culture can be noted for the entire Prepalatial period and yet in this case the existence of the same political institutions everywhere in Crete seems plainly unfounded. Why? The monumental character of the Palatial buildings is largely responsible for such attitudes. Monumental architecture has always been considered the mark of socio-political complexity, and despite the criticism that such models have received, monumentality still remains central in arguments of social complexity in all periods. However, it will be argued below that the monumentality of the Palatial building of Phaistos was the product of a long process lasting throughout the Protopalatial period and encompassing a range of architectural transformations that were not part of the initial structure. Therefore, it is also argued that such architectural modifications reflected changes in the practices sheltered by the Palatial building. In this respect, the re-examination of the architectural evolution of the First Palace of Phaistos can provide us with invaluable insights as to the activities taking place there and any changes these underwent in the course of the two centuries that the First Palace was active.

7.3. The Old Palace at Phaistos: a labyrinth of stratigraphy

The architectural evolution and date of the First Palace at Phaistos has been a matter of controversy since the first publication of Levi's new excavations to the SW of the building previously revealed by Pernier (1935; Pernier & Banti 1951). Levi suggested that this new wing comprised the remains of three successive chronological phases built each time on top of the destroyed remains of the previous phase. His Phases I (sub-divided in Ia and Ib), II and III would correspond to MMIB, MMII and MMIII in Evans' chronological system (see also Tables 7.3, 7.4). Moreover he dated the wing excavated by Pernier to his third phase, MMIII. This suggestion was strongly criticised by Zois (1965) and N. Platon (1961-62; 1968) who instead preferred to reconstruct in Levi's wing three storeys of the same building, all belonging to the same chronological phase. Levi's reconstruction has also been refuted by the architect of the excavation, Enrica Fiandra (1961-62; 1980). Fiandra proposed a 4-phase evolution of the Palatial building which had two advantages: on the one hand, it correlated the architectural evolution of both wings, the North West Wing excavated by Pernier and the South West Wing excavated by Levi, giving thus a more complete account of the phasing of the First Palace. On the other hand, her phases were in line with Evans' chronological system used throughout the island, but also corresponded roughly to the phases distinguished by Levi (Tables 7.3, 7.5). Later studies of MM pottery and chronology (Walberg 1976; Warren & Hankey 1989; MacGillivray 1998; Van de Moortel 1998) have accepted Fiandra's reconstruction and her view constitutes at the moment the most reliable suggestion for the dating and the architectural evolution of the First Palace at Phaistos. However, since all alternative theories include relevant arguments we will examine them here in more detail.

Levi's (1964; 1976) main argument for the existence of three different chronological phases in the building he excavated was based on the recognition of a layer of a cement mixture (known in the literature as *calcestruzzo*), covering the debris of every different period. In this way, he reconstructed three successive layers of *calcestruzzo,* which every time covered the remains of the previous phase and raised the floor levels of the building in time, so that by the end of the Protopalatial period (his Phase III), the ground floor levels of the SW Wing were at the same height as the floors of the NW

Wing situated at a higher point on the natural contour of the hill (Fig. 7.4). This was in agreement with his dating of the NW Wing, not earlier than Phase III. There are several problems with this theory, both in terms of architectural and ceramic development (see also Tables 7.3, 7.4, 7.5).

After several years of continuous research by the Italian School at Phaistos, it has become obvious that Levi's Phase III had a very restricted extent and, most importantly, corresponds to the MMIII period, which today marks the beginning of the Neopalatial era (Carinci 1989; La Rosa 1999; 2002). Work on the subsequent history of the Palace after the MMIIB destruction has revealed an immediate attempt to reconstruct the palace, dating in MMIIIA and including the remains recognised by Levi as Phase III. This attempt was never completed and the final building of the Second Palace took place in LMIB, after its abandonment during the intermediate phase (La Rosa 2002: 82). It was also confirmed that the NW Wing of the First Palace excavated by Pernier is not dated to Phase III, but had been destroyed and covered by *calcestruzzo* at the end of MMIIB, at the same time as the SW Wing (Fiandra 1980; La Rosa 2002). It is clear, therefore, that Levi's Phase III should belong to a new chronological and historical horizon, which appears considerably different from the First Palace[2]. This leaves us with three phases of the First Palace, if we take sub-phases Ia and Ib as different.

Although Fiandra's phases seem to follow roughly Levi's tripartite phasing, there is a fundamental difference in their interpretations. As far as any architectural transformations are concerned (e.g. the general layout of the building, access ways etc.) they seem to be in broad agreement. However, Fiandra (1980) is categorical with respect to the layers of *calcestruzzo*: there was only one event of pouring *calcestruzzo* over the debris of the destroyed palace and this dated at the end of her Phase 3, in the MMIIB period. Her disbelief in the theory of successive strata of cement covering the debris of every phase is based on the observation that the rooms of Phase 3 (MMIIB) have been re-used at their original floor levels of Phase 1 and 2 (MMIB and MMIIA). In

[2] Phase III corresponds to Fiandra's last Phase, 4. However, her reconstruction of this phase proves not so accurate today, as it was based largely on the material that Levi dated as Phase III. La Rosa (1999; 2002 especially) provides a more detailed picture after a meticulous examination of the MMIII deposits and building remains in the Palace. Therefore, Phase 4 as defined by Fiandra will not be part of the following discussion.

this sense, the layer of *calcestruzzo* that was found at a short depth above the floors was supposed to have sealed the remains of Phase I according to Levi, while the finds on these floors belonged clearly to Phase 3, MMIIB (Fiandra 1980: 170; Warren & Hankey 1989: 48).

Fiandra's reconstruction can be supported by a series of arguments. First, on what concerns the re-use of the floors at their initial level, contrary to Levi's suggestions, the rise of floor levels between Phases 1 and 2 is only minimal, as is evidenced, for example, by the two superimposed floors in Room LXV (Levi & Carinci 1988: 299). Fiandra (1980: 173) suggested that, after the destruction at the end of Phase 2 (MMIIA) by earthquake, the debris contained in the rooms was emptied out to facilitate the partial demolition of the damaged parts and their reconstruction. In this way, material of Phase 2 was dumped in Grotta M and under the floors of many rooms and was also used to fill the channel running underneath rooms LIX, LX, LXIV and Court LXX, which were subsequently paved at a higher level than their original floors of Phase 1 (Fig. 7.9). This would explain why MMIIA material has rarely been found *in situ* in the rooms of the First Palace.

Support for the above suggestion comes unexpectedly from Levi and Carinci's (1988: 299-307) reconsideration of the dating of several Protopalatial deposits excavated in both Palace and town. In this work, they recognise that there existed an early and a late part of their Phase Ib. Moreover, Phase Ib-late proves very difficult to distinguish from material of the following Phase II, the two phases therefore representing a homogeneous ceramic assemblage (1988: 303). Furthermore, inside the built benches found in Rooms LI and LXIII (Fig. 7.7), they were able to recognise material earlier than that found on the floors of these rooms; the material inside the benches was for the most part dated to MMIB-IIA periods while that on the room floors, which had been sealed by the destruction, dated to the latest part of Phase Ib (1988: 301). When we consider their argument for Phases Ib-late and II being part of a homogeneous ceramic phase dating the final destruction of the First Palace, it becomes obvious that the material found on the floor of these rooms should date to the MMIIB period (see also Van de Moortel 1998: 305; Tables 7.3, 7.4).

Levi and Carinci explain this by arguing for architectural transformations without changes in the pottery typology. Walberg (1976: 106-107) has also argued for changes in the architecture of the First Palace taking place within the same ceramic phase, what she calls Classical Kamares (Table 7.3). Fiandra reconstructs very few architectural changes in the Palatial building of her third phase (MMIIB, Levi & Carinci's Phase II), which consist mainly of the addition of the groups of Rooms V-VII in the NW Wing, and L-LVI-LVII in the SW Wing (Fig. 7.8), leaving the rest of the building almost intact. Therefore the most plausible explanation of this situation is that the SW Wing of the Palatial building, destroyed at the end of MMIIB, comprised two storeys. The collapsed material of both their floors was sealed by the only layer of *calcestruzzo* poured after this destruction. Therefore the material found in the ground floor levels and dated by Levi to Phase Ib-late and the material discovered on the upper levels and labelled Phase II both correspond to the MMIIB period. Fiandra's reconstruction support this, as well as Levi & Carinci's re-evaluation of Phase Ib.

Further support for this explanation comes from the study by N. Platon (1968). A main argument in Platon's proposal to reconstruct three storeys of a single building instead of Levi's three different phases, is based on the discrepancy that would have been created between the constant raising of the ground floor level of the building after each reconstruction and the level of Court LXX. Although Platon is not entirely correct in suggesting that Levi's phases have no chronological significance, he is right to notice that by the last Phase III, the building should have been inaccessible from the level of the Court (Fig. 7.4). In this respect, Fiandra's reconstruction is again more reliable and overcomes such a problem by considering Levi's Phase II, found mainly in upper levels, as a second storey.

Moreover, Fiandra's reconstruction of the building sequence of the two wings, the NW and SW, also appears to be more accurate. She dates the construction of the NW Wing Pernier to Phase 2 (MMIIA), being destroyed finally at the end of MMIIB, together with the SW Wing Levi (Fig. 7.7). The excavation under the Neopalatial floor of Room 25 (Levi 1957-58a), as well as soundings conducted by Pernier (1935: 124-125, 151-

155) under the floors of the NW Wing, verify this evolution. The soundings by Pernier in the Protopalatial rooms behind the western façade of the NW Wing and Rooms XXV-XXVII revealed either Prepalatial material or parts of an earlier paved floor that could be attributed to the first phase of the Theatral Court (Piazzale I) (Pernier 1935: 139-150, 151-152; Vagnetti 1972-73: 37). Such finds are corroborated by the observations by Levi and Carinci (1988: 300) that underneath the floors of Rooms XXVII-XXVIII (also attributed by Fiandra to the building programme of Phase 2, MMIIA), were only Prepalatial remains. A similar situation was encountered by Pernier (1935: 319) in soundings under the Protopalatial Magazine XXXIV of the NW Wing. Finally, in Room 25, Levi and Carinci (1988: 303) observe that under a layer of fill there was a stratum covered by *calcestruzzo* containing the remains of the sealing archive and pottery of the latest part of Phase Ib, which we can now date to the MMIIB period. The absence of Levi's Phase II in the NW Wing, moreover, can be explained by the destruction of the upper parts of these rooms when the New Palace was built (Fiandra 1961-62: 121). Therefore, all the evidence from soundings under the NW Wing verifies Fiandra's suggestion that this part of the building had not been constructed till the MMIIA period, while before, a smaller version of the SW Wing was the only Palatial building on the hill.

It appears then that in both chronological and architectural terms Fiandra's theory provides the most convincing reconstruction of the building evolution of the First Palace of Phaistos, a view which, moreover, is enhanced by the latest reconsideration of Levi's initial phasing (Levi & Carinci 1988; Carinci 1989; La Rosa 2002). Such reconstruction has important repercussions for our understanding of the 'functions' and the political significance of the First Palace at Phaistos, as well as the changes these underwent.

7.3.1. Palatial Architecture: practice and meaning

We suggested in our earlier discussion that the First Palace of Phaistos was the result of a collaboration at regional scale, executed by the Mesaran communities in order to

provide a formal stage for the hosting of drinking ceremonies. Let us now consider to what degree such a suggestion is corroborated by the evidence of the architecture. Although architecture should not be read as a direct reflection of social relations, it nevertheless holds a major role in the shaping and negotiation of such relations. Moreover, in light of the information we have gathered on the social developments just before the emergence of the palace at Phaistos as well as the political role this was called to perform, a detailed examination of the architecture of the Palatial building and the changes it underwent through time will further illustrate the nature of the Protopalatial social arenas.

The **first building phase/MMIB** of the palace as described by Fiandra (1961-62: 114-115) comprised only part of the SW Wing (Fig. 7.6). This first building was set on the southern part of the Phaistos hill, and at a level substantially lower than that of the later NW Wing and the Second Palace (Fig. 7.4). It consisted of a series of small rooms which, most probably, served as storage areas, as they did for the latest part of their life during Phase 3/MMIIB (c.f. Branigan 1987; 1988c). There were no openings in this phase on the western side of the building which formed a continuous façade built with ashlar blocks. Orthostats and ashlar masonry are a feature of Minoan architecture appearing at the beginning of MM times and characterising almost exclusively Palatial buildings (Driessen & Schoep 1995: 651). In this sense, the western façade of the First Palace is a strong statement of monumentality despite its short length.

Notwithstanding such early attempts at monumentality, the First Palace was a rather small building, and occupied but a fraction of its later extent. The eastern limits of this first building have not been recovered so far (Fig. 7.5). The Protopalatial remains bordering the west side of the Central Court at the level of Room 22/XLV belong, for the most part, to Phase III. They date therefore to the MMIII period (La Rosa 2002: 73). However Carinci (1989: 77) mentions Protopalatial remains of Phase I in the southern section of the west side of the Central Court, so we can at least assume that the Palatial building would reach as far as the Central Court in this phase. Even in this case though, it does not appear to have been very large. Moreover, the remaining part of this building does not allow us to recognise any true monumental character in the interior of the building. The surviving rooms are small, without doorways or windows and quite low

ceilings, features that make their use as nothing more than storage areas all the more possible. The living quarters of this building presumably would have been on the upper floor, traces of which do not survive at this stage.

However, the existence of an upper floor can be surmised by other features of this building. Firstly, Fiandra's reconstruction gives the series of rooms LXI, LXIII and LXV as blind (Fig. 7.6); therefore they must have been entered from above. Secondly, in the interior of the building, the rooms and all the entrances are arranged along an E-W axis, allowing us to presume that there must have been an entrance on the Eastern side of the building, most probably facing the Central Court. However, as the surviving wing is set at a level much lower than the floor level of the Central Court, we have to assume that any such entrance was to be found at a higher storey.

On account of the above observations, it is possible to argue that the Central Court existed during the first phase of the palace, although in quite different configuration from the one it will assume during MMIII with the stone paved floor and the western colonnade[3]. Nevertheless, there appear to be no other buildings surrounding it, making it a central feature within the building, in the form that it appears most clearly in the Neopalatial edifices (Fig. 7.5; 7.10). With respect to the surrounding area, Damiani-Indelicato (1982; 1988) has made some important remarks. First, we know from Fiandra's plans and our discussion above that the NW Wing of the Palace did not exist at this stage. From the soundings executed by Pernier (1935: 335-341; Pernier & Banti 1951: 220-222, 237) and Levi (1976: 405-408) under the Neopalatial floors of the North and the East Wings of the Second Palace only material dating to MMIII or the Prepalatial period has been retrieved. The precise date of the MM remains in this area is also confirmed by the latest re-examination of the MMIII material at the Palace (Carinci 1989; La Rosa 2002). Therefore, it seems that Damiani-Indelicato (1988:67) is correct in suggesting that there were no buildings to enclose the court at their centre. However this does not preclude the existence of an open area in the space of the later Central Court. Moreover, Damiani-Indelicato is mistaken in ignoring the absence of entries in

[3] Levi (1976: 253) attributed these features of the Central Court to his Phase III, that we now know forms part of the Neopalatial reconstructions at Phaistos. For the latest discussion on the date of the paving and the colonnade see La Rosa (2002: 73).

the west side of the building in Fiandra's reconstruction. In her attempt to demonstrate that this open area was not surrounded by buildings, she also ignores the evidence of Corridor III, constructed in Phase 2/MMIIA, with the purpose to connect the Western with the Central Court; if there was no Central Court, what would be the point of this corridor?

Another controversy surrounds the date of the Western Court. Damiani-Indelicato (1982: 100-106; 1988) maintains that this court existed as the public square of the Phaistos town since the MMIA period, before the construction of the Palace, and was later incorporated into the Palatial building. However, this suggestion faces several problems. Firstly, Levi is inconclusive about his finds in the trenches he excavated in the area; at times he identifies three superimposed paved floors (Levi 1964: 6), which however seem to exist only in connection with the paved ramp south of the court. In another instance he speaks only of two floors, which he dates to his Phases II and III respectively. Although he mentions 'upper and lower strata' in the fill between the two paved floors (Levi 1976: 333), he does not provide a clear stratigraphy. However, he notes that the material of the upper layers between the two floors is dated to Phase Ia (MMIB), while the pottery of the lower layers is mixed Phase Ia with Prepalatial material that he describes as Ag. Onouphrios ware. In this respect, we can verify the existence of an early paved area dating to some stage during MMIB, and another one, superimposed, dating to just after MMIB, and most probably constituting the West Court of the First Palace that survived till its final destruction.

However, Levi's sounding was only of very restricted extent (Levi 1976: 333-334) and at some distance from the soundings conducted by Pernier (1935: 151-155) under the floors of the Protopalatial rooms of the NW Wing. There, Pernier also identified some paved surfaces predating the Protopalatial building, but it proves difficult to correlate the two finds. Therefore, Damiani-Indelicato's theory that this area formed the square of the late Prepalatial town of Phaistos cannot be substantiated clearly. Furthermore, there is evidence for EM walls in the area south of Room V and to the south of the Court in the area of the Koulouras (Levi 1976: 334-335, 349-358; Vagnetti 1972-73: 37-39). As the full layout of these rooms and the correlation of stratigraphic levels are not precisely known, it is not easy to determine whether surfaces described as floors in this particular

area belonged to Prepalatial houses or to an open area. Moreover, if this area was occupied by the Prepalatial town of Phaistos, then the construction of a large paved area at the end of MMIA or during MMIB there – at the same time that the Palatial building was also under construction (Fiandra 1961-62: 114: Walberg 1976: 124) – would probably have disrupted the life of the settlement, which we know in later times was moved to the areas surrounding the Palace to the West, South and North of the hill (Table 7.6). I therefore suggest that, if a paved court can be reconstructed in this area of the hill as early as MMIB, it was probably connected with the construction of the palace, whether it predated it or was contemporary with it.

The only certain information we have for the construction of the West Court is a *terminus ante quem*: the theatral steps at its Northern limit must date before the construction of the complex of Rooms V-VII during Phase 3/MMIIB, the NW corner of which is set on top them (Pernier 1935: 188; Fig. 7.8). It would seem, then, that the West Court and the theatral steps were in use during Phase 2/MMIIA, when the NW Wing was constructed. If the earlier paved floor identified by Levi indeed belonged to an earlier version of this court, then we could reconstruct an expansive open area surrounding the early Palatial edifice, some of which might even have been paved. Although Damiani-Indelicato's arguments for a town square do not appear convincing, we cannot exclude the possibility that the area of the West Court served as an open space for the palace at an earlier stage than Phase 2/MMIIA.

In light of the above observations, it would seem that the first Palatial building was no more than a glorified storeroom surrounded by large open spaces, to its east, north[4] and west. Such a picture appears very much in line with the interpretation of the First Palace as a formalised setting for ceremonial communal consumption. All the components of the first Palatial building could support this. It is monumental, but its monumentality is not allowed to become an overt statement of power. Its size, internal layout and external arrangement of open spaces serve the purposes of large scale gatherings, without facilitating or encouraging hierarchical distinctions. It is not the building that dominates

[4] In the Northern part of the hill, under Court 48/XXXV and Corridor 41, Pernier (1935: 335-341; Pernier & Banti 1951: 220-222, 237) excavated the remains of an earlier paved area with a raised walkway dating to Protopalatial times. However a more precise Protopalatial phase is not given, and it is possible that these remains are part of the MMIII reconstruction of the Palace after the final destruction at MMIIB.

the hill, but the extravagance of the open spaces surrounding it. Moreover, although entrances are not conspicuous and the external walls are very thick and imposing, the first Palatial edifice appears open from every side. However, this was about to change.

The building of **Phase 2/MMIIA** presents a totally different picture (Fig. 7.7). The SW Wing is preserved and enlarged with the addition of Rooms IL, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXII, and XXIII to its north side, while the NW Wing is constructed in this phase. Again, we cannot be sure of the extent of any of the wings towards the east. The finds from Rooms XXXIV and 25 in the NW Wing all date to the final period, MMIIB, while for the SW Wing there seems to be no surviving evidence for its eastern façade. However, if Fiandra is correct in her suggestion that all the Phase 2/MMIIA material was cleared away when the building was destroyed at the end of this phase, then we can assume that the NW Wing was constructed as a whole, reaching as far east as Rooms 25 and XXXIV. Moreover the general layout of this wing (Fig. 7.5) would support its execution as a homogeneous complex. The NW Wing extends in a perfectly balanced rectangular area, with symmetrical façades on the west, south and east sides, while the internal layout and organisation of the rooms reflects the same careful design and uniformity in construction. This new wing appears much more compact and monumental than the pre-existing SW Wing, perhaps reflecting some experience gained through time in designing and building edifices of such scale and sophistication. Its long western façade, built of orthostats and unbroken by virtue of the absence of doorways (Fig. 7.7) constitutes the most monumental feature of the entire building.

The most important transformation effected by the construction of the NW Wing, though, is the breaking of the openness of the court areas that surrounded the Palace in the previous period. Now the Central Court was not openly accessed or even visible as before, but one had to proceed through the carefully contained and controlled route of Corridor III in order to get to the other side of the Palatial buildings. Entrances on the western façade of the SW Wing are still lacking, although there are several doorways in the newly constructed Rooms IL, XXV and XXII, leading to the interior of the building and possibly even to the other side, onto the Central Court (Fig. 7.7). However, these passages are again very closely controlled by Portico II, a small, open square area to their west from where any circulation in and out of the building can be monitored and

overlooked by the higher floors. Moreover, the route through the interior of the building is not direct, but winding, proceeding through a series of small and narrow rooms which do not allow a clear view of where one is heading. As concerns the upper floor, for which evidence is clearer at this phase, whereas before a ramp from the exterior of the building could lead to it, now access to the upper storey was gained by means of the narrow staircase LII, contained within a room (Fiandra 1961-62: 117; Fig. 7.7).

This impenetrability of the building obtained by indirect entries and control of internal circulation was further enhanced by the alignment of the western façades of the two wings. Such co-ordination of plan as well as building materials, apart from unifying the two parts of the building, made it even more imposing for someone standing on the West Court. The palace appeared as a great barrier blocking not only direct *access* to the Central Court, but also, immediate *visibility*. For the inhabitants of the region, used to the previous plan of the Palatial edifice, this transformation would have appeared striking. It would seem thus that, at this stage, the Palatial architecture projected strong messages of differentiation: between those who had visual or actual access to the Central Court and those who did not; between those who could gain access into the building and those would could not. We can also note another distinction between the two wings: the SW Wing which retained its largely 'utilitarian' character being an area where mundane everyday activities would be centred, was allowed to be accessed from the western side, the more public side of the site. On the contrary, the monumental NW Wing, with its unbroken façade and its highly formalised, impenetrable storage magazines in its interior, could only be accessed through Corridor III, which Fiandra (1980: 170) presumes to have been a covered passage. We do not know the layout of this wing on its northern side, but it seems unlikely that any openings would be found there. Evidence of doorways on its eastern side is also lacking[5] (Fig. 7.5).

Such transformations in the general layout of the palace must have had some bearing on the activities taking place there. We noted the prevalence of the open areas in the

[5] It appears peculiar that the NW Wing had almost no openings apart from the one through Corridor III. Although it seems unlikely that entries would exist on its northern side, we could perhaps reconstruct an opening through the remains of Room 25 during this phase, which might have been blocked by the subsequent, MMIIB period, when the entrances on its western façade are constructed. However, this is entirely conjectural.

previous phase and correlated it with the co-operative nature of large scale gatherings that might have encouraged the construction of the First Palace. We cannot be certain where exactly on the hill such gatherings might have taken place, but the reconstructed entrances of the first building onto the Central Court area may provide a hint. If the area of the Central Court had been the locus for the ceremonies of Phase 1, then its enclosure during Phase 2 may be suggestive of a change in the activities taking place there. Considering also the general restrictions of access and visibility noted throughout the building, it would appear that whatever activities were taking place on the Central Court became more restricted.

However, the First Palace of Phaistos demonstrates a peculiar mixture of forbidding and inviting elements that underline the broader basis of its power, even in this phase of circumscription. While the Central Court became restricted for certain groups of people, the Western Court became more formalised by the construction of the Theatral steps at its northern edge and the stone slab paving. Moreover, this area of the Palace could be accessed directly by means of the North Road leading from the town and the valley up to the hill and the Palace. In this respect, the Theatral Court, at this stage in the history of Phaistos, is the most public space on the site. Could we envisage perhaps a distinction between the ceremonies taking place in the two open areas of the Palace, with more public, open accessed gatherings in the Western Court and ceremonies of more restricted nature taking place in the Central Court? It is difficult to pin down the criteria upon which such distinctions would have been made: did they involve restrictions in the status of the participants? Were there different types of ceremonies that took place only in one of the two courts? Were such distinctions based on the development of more hierarchical relations between the Palatial personnel and the rest of the populace? It is difficult to determine. However, what can be noted with more certainty is that such distinctions were only just taking form and were not openly oppressive. It is worth remembering that the Central Court, despite the privileged status attributed to it, was not paved or formalised till the reconstruction of the New Palace. On the contrary, the Theatral Court may be the earliest formalised open space in the Palace, and loses this character only with the building of the New Palace, when its function might have been taken over by the Central Court.

Although social practices appeared to be characterised by greater differentiation, the co-operative nature of the first Palatial institution may have restricted the sharpness of such transformations. Such a suggestion finds support also in the patterns of Protopalatial administration (see Chapter 8), as well as in the changes in the settlement pattern throughout the region during the Protopalatial period. However, before proceeding to this discussion we must conclude our survey of the transformations of Palatial architecture.

The **MMIIB** is the **last phase** of the First Palace, at the end of which it is totally destroyed by an earthquake (La Rosa 1999 *contra* Fiandra 1961-62, destruction by fire). The changes in the Palatial building are very few in this phase (Fiandra 1961-62: 118-121; Fig. 7.8). Most important among these are the openings constructed in the western façade of both Palatial wings, in the NW Wing through Room X and in the SW Wing through Room LIX. These new entries provide almost direct access to the interior of the building, which, however, remains quite shallow: the entry through Room LIX leads only as far as Room LXIV and the series of Magazines LXI-LXIII-LXV. On the northern side, the doorway on the west side of Room X could only lead in one direction, to the east side of the room and we are unsure of what lies there. Additional access from the western side of the building was obtained through a series of newly constructed rooms in both North and South wings. To the north, Rooms V-VI gave access to Room VIII and IX, while room VII appeared to function more as a gatehouse for the entrance through room X. Moreover, the first complex of small rooms has been described as a public sanctuary (Pernier 1935: 195-238) and an analogous function has been suggested for a series of rooms in the SW Wing (Gesell 1987: 123-124). In the latter, newly constructed Rooms LVI and LVII controlled access to Magazines LVIIIa-e and the upper storey by means of two small staircases at the SW and NE corners of Room LVI (Fig. 7.8). Corridor L, also a new arrangement, led from Court LXX to Room IL, which at this phase resembles more a passage way than an actual room, providing a shortcut route from Court LXX to Portico II and the northern part of the building. Staircase LII, leading to the upper floor in the previous period, is now blocked by a wall. Direct communication between the two wings is also provided by the openings on the north side of Room IL and the south side of Room XIX.

We are faced again with this peculiar mix of inviting and restricting trends that we noted in the earlier Palatial edifice. In this phase, an impression of direct access into the building from the Western side is created by cutting openings into the western façade, while its continuity and imposing uniformity is broken down by the addition of the small rooms in both north and south sections. At the same time, though, all the newly opened entrances are either shallow – they do not penetrate the centre of the building – or carefully guarded, while the upper storeys remain inaccessible from the exterior of the building, as before. At this stage in the life of the site, the Protopalatial town is densely built around the palace, containing and almost suffocating its open areas[6]; the Theatral Court is entirely blocked on its western side at this period (Fig. 7.10). Nevertheless, this is also the time when a new, beautifully paved court is constructed directly to the north of the very public Theatral Court, the Upper Western Court 94. At its eastern side, Pernier (1935: 191-194) excavated a series of small holes which, he suggested, held wooden columns forming a sort of a portico on this side. La Rosa (2002: 75-76), however, rightly observed that the distance between the hollows and the wall to their back is too short and any hypothetical portico would be too shallow. Moreover, the permanent placement of wooden beams in the ground would have caused the latter to rot. La Rosa suggested instead that this construction might have served to hold wooden pegs for the temporary display of flags or emblems of some sort. This function for the Upper Western Court 94 would enhance the ceremonial nature of the western courts of the Palace, as well as underline the provision of an additional ceremonial space in the Palatial building during Phase 3.

Such architectural transformations thus reflect an interesting and subtle interplay between allowing more access to the Palatial building at the same time as devising new means to control and manipulate it. The ambiguity of creating openings into the imposing monumental western façade while at the same time directing ceremonial gatherings away from the core of the Palatial edifice is indicative of the equivocal nature of the political power of the First Palace of Phaistos, never overtly hierarchical, but always attempting to stamp its authority on a continuously unconvinced regional audience.

[6] See more on the Protopalatial town in §7.4.

How, then, is Palatial authority received by the surrounding hinterland and what does such authority entail?

7.4. The emergence of a 'Great Triangle'? Inhabiting the Protopalatial hinterland

As discussed in Chapter 6, nucleation did not seem to characterise the settlement pattern just before the emergence of the palace in the Mesara. On the contrary, a substantial number of settlements with carefully defined territories appeared to be scattered throughout the region, even in remote and less favourably agricultural areas, such as the Asterousia. Has this picture changed with the establishment of the palace, and if yes, in what ways? It is to be expected that the emergence of the palace at the beginning of the period would have affected the way in which life was organised in these communities. However, the general presumption that the palace exerted tight political and administrative control over every aspect of regional life may be an exaggeration in the case of the Mesara. Moreover, as was demonstrated above, the palace itself underwent a series of transformations which affected not only its material appearance but also the practices accommodated in it and consequently the people involved in these.

Surveys constitute again the main source of information. Their necessarily broad chronological frameworks make the firm separation of different phases difficult. Consequently the more precise identification of shifts in the settlement configuration and its correlation to the contemporary changes in the Palace are also impeded. Moreover, the eastern and northern part of the region are only known from rescue excavations and fragmentary reports. However, as excavation projects have concentrated mainly on large urban centres, our knowledge of the Protopalatial sites of Ag. Triada and Kommos as well as the town of Phaistos has been augmented considerably. The full publication of the Western Mesara Survey will complete this picture, and in the meantime the very informative preliminary reports (Vallianou & Watrous 1990; Watrous *et al.* 1993) aid the reconstruction of any shifts in settlement.

The general view of Protopalatial settlement pattern is that marginal areas such as Ayiofarango and the Asterousia are abandoned progressively, in favour of the fertile lowlands in the western part of the plain (Blackman & Branigan 1977; Cherry 1984; Watrous *et al.* 1993). Such changes are attributed mainly to the emergence of the Palace at Phaistos which presumably attracted population from the wider region. Although some retraction of habitation in the Ayiofarango valley cannot be denied, a few larger sites, including Doukiania, Megaloi Skinoi and Aloniou Kefali seem to continue well into Protopalatial times and beyond[7] (Table 7.1). Smaller sites, described as farmsteads, can also be found in discrete clusters around these larger settlements, or along the coast, but these are much fewer in this period (Fig. 7.2). From the cemeteries of the area, Ag. Kyriaki, Ag. Andonios, Skaniari Lakkos, Megaloi Skinoi, and Moni Odigitria continue to receive depositions until the MMII period, in most cases (Table 7.2). Since these cemeteries are associated with the continuing settlements it seems that the main change in the habitation pattern of the area consists of the abandonment of several smaller Prepalatial sites in favour of fewer, larger towns. We may suggest, then, that the population of the abandoned sites was not assimilated by the Palatial centre, but rather was concentrated locally in a lesser number of continuing settlements.

In the coastal area around Kommos the situation appears rather different (Fig. 7.3). Here Protopalatial settlement seems to have exploded and a number of new installations can be noted, most notable among them the site of Kommos (see also below). However, it must be noted that most of these new sites consist of only thin pottery scatters clustered around earlier Prepalatial sites and may better reflect an expansion of pre-existing habitation in the area (see §6.4, Table 7.1). This can be exemplified by the persistence of high altitude site locations, a feature of the settlement pattern of the Prepalatial, while from the Protopalatial period onwards a preference for coastal locations is attributed to new interests in maritime activity and foreign exchange (Shaw 1996: 9). Among the important sites in this area, Kalamaki, to the north of Kommos, stands out (Fig. 7.3). Here the survey team identified a large cluster of sites dating from EM to LM times with particularly dense remains in MM times (Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995: 393), while

[7] This deterioration continues into the Neopalatial period (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 69). However, some slight evidence can still be found in these sites, while the establishment of totally new sites such as Vathy dating to the MMIII-LMI period (Davaras 1968: 405; Vasilakis 1989-90b: 60-61) indicates that such retraction of settlement, although serious, had perhaps a slower pace.

excavations (Karetsou 1978: 357; Vallianou 1979: 383-384; 1987: 546) have also revealed parts of a large building with unusually thick walls and areas used for storage. Abundant MM pottery, particularly MMIB and later, was also revealed.

The Western Mesara Survey has also demonstrated a considerable increase in the number of settlements from the MMIB period onwards, noting nevertheless that most of these sites were established at the same locations as pre-existing Prepalatial sites (Watrous *et al.* 1993: 225). In the preliminary report, two new sites, one small farmstead (B14) and one larger settlement (A24/B12), are identified in the vicinity of Kamilari, while from the rescue excavations of the Greek Archaeological Service we have information of Protopalatial sites (albeit of imprecise nature, extent and in most cases, date) in the vicinity of Phaistos (Table 7.1, Fig 7.1).

Expansion is also noted in the town of Phaistos. MMIB deposits and few traces of walls have been found west of the West Court of the Palace, as well as the Chalara and Ag. Photini quarters at the foot of the hill (Fiandra 2000b; Table 7.6), while Watrous (*et al.* 1993: 225) interprets Protopalatial material found at Ag. Ioannis, further south from the Phaistos hill as part of the Palatial town (see Fig. 6.1). The MMIB remains consist mainly of ceramic material and a few flimsy walls, however they do document an enlargement of the habitation area of Phaistos, that now was located around the hill, which had been taken over by the Palace. In the subsequent periods of MMIIA and MMIIB, the evidence for the Phaistos town is more substantial, comprising almost complete layouts of houses and floor deposits in the same areas as above (Table 7.6). By the end of MMII, the areas West and SW of the Palatial building are densely occupied, while the Ag. Photini and Chalara quarters seem quite extensive and habitation reaches perhaps as far west as Ag. Georgios at Phalandra. It is important to note that during the earliest phase of the Palace's life, there seems to have been a restriction on the presence of town houses on the hill where the Palace was set. The MMIB remains to the west of the Theatral Court comprise almost entirely ceramic material, while some walls that could be attributed to this phase seem to belong to very small, rectangular rooms that appear more convincing as some sort of storage units than actual houses. It is only during the latest phase of the Palace's life that proper houses,

some of them quite substantial (e.g. the remains to the SW of the paved ramp), are built on the hill, enclosing the Palace and its open spaces from almost every side.

In the northern part of the Plain, on the low slopes of Ida, information comes again from the excavations of Xanthoudides (1924). Both the important Prepalatial cemeteries of Kalathiana and Marathokephalo continue to receive depositions in the Protopalatial period (Table 7.2), while Kalathiana is also the location of a substantial MMI-II settlement. Xanthoudides (1924: 84-85) excavated ten houses there. Houses Δ and H were the largest and the richest (but he does not publish any plans). House H seemed particularly important, as its external walls consisted of a façade with the characteristic rectangular embayments reminiscent of the Palatial façades, built of dressed stones. The existence of Protopalatial remains in Voroi (Vallianou 1990: 427-428), a site near the Zaros lake (Vallianou 1987: 549) and perhaps even in the settlement identified near the cemetery at Vorou (Marinatos 1930-31: 166-167) would indicate that habitation in the northern part of plain continued uninterrupted from the Prepalatial period.

Information on the eastern part of the plain, as for the north, comes mainly from the tholos cemeteries, although some direct evidence for settlements is not lacking in this period. At Koumasa, activity in the cemetery continues well into Protopalatial times. As in other cemeteries, such activity now is centred more at the exterior of the tombs. At about 100m. south of the tombs, a settlement unearthed by Xanthoudides (1924: 49) gave material only of MM and LM date. On the neighbouring hill Xanthoudides also excavated the remains of what he interpreted as a MM sanctuary. A variety of different types of sanctuaries has been recognised in this building (Gesell 1985; Rutkowski 1972; 1988; Georgoulaki 1990 for further references). Georgoulaki (1990) in the most recent re-evaluation of the material retrieved from this site disagrees with such interpretations. Although the location of the building on the high summit of Korakies, overlooking the entire plain, could support the existence of a shrine there, she remarks that such strategic position may suggest the seat of a local ruler (1990: 21-22). The careful construction of this edifice and the attention paid to detail, with beautifully paved floors and massive walls would support such an interpretation. Moreover the only finds that can be unequivocally described as cultic paraphernalia belong to the LMIII period. It seems,

then, that in Koumasa, as in Kalathiana, the MM settlement accommodated quite impressive, and perhaps politically significant buildings.

The situation at Platanos is less clear; we have evidence of continuing activity at the cemetery (Table 7.2) even as late as the MMIII period (Branigan 1968), however there exists no such evidence at present for the settlement. At Apesokari, on the other hand, both tombs receive depositions until the end of the Protopalatial period and from the part of the settlement that has been excavated (Schörgendorfer 1951: 23-26) we can glimpse a view of a large building with two different wings and very wide walls, consisting mainly of storage areas (Fig. 7.11). The excavators dated the destruction of this building to MMIIB, and attributed it to the same earthquake that destroyed the Palace at Phaistos. The earliest material in the site is MMI, and thus contemporary with the cemetery.

Unfortunately surveys are lacking for the eastern and south parts of the Asterousia, the area in the vicinity of Trypeti and Lebena on the coast. However, as there is evidence for the establishment of a new site at Phylakas when the EMIII/MMIA site of Trypeti is abandoned (Vasilakis 1995: 69-70) and some MMIB material has been recovered in the tholos of Lebena Zervou (Alexiou 1992: 166), we may presume a degree of continuity from the previous period. However, such gaps can only be cured by further research in the area.

The picture emerging thus far for the western part of the plain is that there seems to be an expansion of settlement with several new sites, mainly on the coast, and the enlargement of pre-existing settlements. On the other hand, in the farthest parts of the region, settlement continued, but there seems to be a retraction in the number of the smaller sites, which seem to have been assimilated by their neighbouring larger sites (Fig. 7.1). However, it must be noted that, since there is no survey evidence from this part of the region, such a view may prove inaccurate. Perhaps more can be gauged by focusing on the continuous activity in the tholos cemeteries. Although such activity is now on a much smaller scale than in the Prepalatial period, its persistence in areas exterior to the tombs may show that the cemeteries continued to represent a local

ceremonial centre for some communities. Since the main part of ceremonial activity was now concentrated in the Palace, such persistence in the cemeteries is revealing about the strong ties that these communities had with the practices of the past and their specific territories. Such a fact also hints at the slow pace at which the new authority and function of the palace, as the formal regional ceremonial centre, was accepted by its hinterland communities.

In association with these processes, we must consider the very late establishment of the tholos cemetery at Kamilari, at MMIB. It has already been noted that throughout the Prepalatial period Phaistos might not have used a tholos cemetery. Moreover the close association of town and tholos cemetery in Ag. Triada up to LM times, precludes the use of Kamilari by this site. Other smaller sites in the vicinity, like Kouses and Sivas had tholos tombs since the EM period, so the only remaining possibility is Phaistos. The cemetery at Kamilari is also expanded and used during the whole of the MMIII period, when only one or two other cemeteries continue to receive burials (Table 7.2). In this respect, Kamilari may be considered the formal burial ground of Phaistos. Its late establishment is of great significance. In a period when Palatial authority is still fresh and the Palatial edifice does not convey the overwhelming monumentality of the later periods, at the time when the majority of the communities of the region continue to use their long-established cemeteries as foci for communal ceremonial behaviour, the building of a tholos cemetery exclusively associated with Phaistos would have legitimated the newly emerged regional centre in the eyes of the regional public. Kamilari may have been an effort to stress that common ground existed between the Palatial site and the supporting region. If any doubts about the value of the Palatial project still existed, the establishment of a tholos cemetery would dissolve them.

The uneven pace of acceptance of the new authority throughout the region can be demonstrated also by the large, somewhat central buildings in sites across the region, such as these of Kalathiana, Koumasa, Apesokari and Kalamaki. However before we discuss in detail the significance of such edifices in the later part of the MMII period, we need to examine in more detail the evidence for Protopalatial activity in the sites of Kommos and Ag. Triada.

The nature of the Palatial hinterland in the Mesara has always been a matter of debate by virtue of the presence of two very important Minoan centres, Ag. Triada and Kommos. Indeed the political relationship between Phaistos and Ag. Triada, at such a short distance from each other, has troubled researchers (La Rosa 1985). After the excavations at Kommos, a third contender was added to form a 'Great Minoan Triangle in south-central Crete' (Shaw & Shaw 1985). The ambiguity of such political topography was somehow moderated by the belief that Ag. Triada and Kommos only became important political centres in the region during LM times, while in the Protopalatial period the supremacy of the Palace of Phaistos was undisputed. However, recent research (Shaw & Shaw 1995; 1996; Shaw 2002; La Rosa 1977; 1979-80; 1988; 1995; 2001; Carinci 1995; 1997; 1999; 2000; Cultraro 2000) now demonstrates that both Kommos and Ag. Triada were important centres during the Protopalatial period too, although the political relationships between the three sites remain to be clarified.

The town of **Kommos** was founded in the MMIB period, although there exists evidence for earlier habitation there dating to the FN and EM periods. As the survey has noted a marked preference for higher locations during the Prepalatial period, the paucity of earlier remains at Kommos may be attributed to this trend. Moreover, the large Prepalatial site of Vigles, located only a short distance from Kommos, on the slopes of a hill to the south (Fig. 7.3, site 70 mainly and sites 6, 10 and 66), may be considered the predecessor of the MM town of Kommos, the location of which reflected newly acquired interests for maritime activity in this period. During MMIB the town of Kommos extended mainly on the Central Hillside (Shaw 1996: 1-14) although sparse remains have been located also on the Hilltop and the area of the Classical Sanctuary to the south (Betancourt 1990: 28-30). During the following period, MMII, the town expanded both north and south and covered at this stage the Central Hillside, part of the Hilltop to the north and the area of the civic buildings to the South (Betancourt 1990: 30-37; Shaw 1996: 2-3; Shaw & Nixon 1996; Wright 1996; see Fig. 7.12). A paved walkway in this south part of the settlement, running E-W dates to MMIB-IIA (or earlier) and perhaps had a building to its east side (Shaw 2002: 100). In the MMIIB period a massive building comprising a large Central Court is built in the southern area of the town, the exclusive location of civic structures in the site from this point onwards

(Shaw 1996; 1998: 13-14; 2002: 100). This building, named AA, was rectangular in outline, oriented N-S, had a large Central Court bordered with colonnades forming stoas at both its north and south sides (Shaw *et al.* 2001: 8, 95; Shaw 2002), and was set adjacent to the broad paved road leading from outside the town to the coast (Fig. 7.13). In this respect it was physically separated from the town (Shaw 2002: 100), an effect which would have been further accentuated by its massive walls.

Building AA was replaced in the MMIII period by Building T, a structure of similar layout, configuration and perhaps even function. The civic character of Building T appears more secure than AA, but since the two edifices share so many features, perhaps such an analogy is allowed. The excavators appear perplexed by the existence of such a monumental structure encompassing many of the features of a palace in the Protopalatial town of Kommos. They further remark that the town at this stage was not large enough to provide the resources for the construction of AA, therefore its building should be attributed to a centrally organised Palatial project run by Phaistos (Shaw 2002: 101). However, there are some arguments against such a suggestion, which will be better understood in conjunction with the discussion of the other similar buildings found in other Mesaran settlements during the MMII period. Therefore we will return to this problem at the end of our discussion.

Ag. Triada is the other Mesaran site, the proximity of which to Phaistos always caused puzzlement (La Rosa 1985). Generally though, even in Prepalatial times when the dominance of Phaistos is not so evident, Ag. Triada is considered a subordinate site, rising to primary power only after the destruction of the First Palace of Phaistos (Carinci 1989; La Rosa 1988; 2002). Such interpretations of Ag. Triada owe much to its proximity to Phaistos, and to our preconceptions about the centralised nature of the Palatial institution, which under normal circumstances would not have allowed the existence of such an important site so close. Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 6, the local historical circumstances at the time of the palace's emergence might have been responsible for this unlikely propinquity. Recent research moreover throws more light on the character of the Protopalatial town of Ag. Triada, which appears to be quite important.

Until recently more information was available on the cemetery than the settlement of Ag. Triada, by virtue of the dense Neopalatial and LMIII remains covering the settlement (Fig. 7.14). The cemetery, which had been in use since the beginning of the EMII period boasting one of the largest tholos tombs in the region, flourished during the Protopalatial period also. After the filling in of the extensive annexes outside Tholos A, a new, free-standing complex of rooms, the *camerette*, was constructed to the SW of the tomb in MMIA and received several modifications during the following periods, remaining in use till MMIIA (Cultraro 2000: 310). The rooms of this annexe were carefully constructed, some of them having plastered floors which were refurbished repeatedly, while Room 7, located at the centre of the building, had a stone paved floor and a long bench, and has been interpreted as the focal point of the rituals taking place there (Cultraro 2000: 318). The building was also furnished with a paved area onto which several of the rooms opened (Fig. 7.15), and where drinking vessels, conical cups and one-handled cups, had been found (Cultraro 2000: 317). In contrast to the finds of the paved area, inside the *camerette* the pottery consisted mainly of vessels for the storage of liquids, while large numbers of drinking cups have also been recovered in Room LI of the annexes of the tholos. Cultraro (2000: 318) suggests that the complex was never meant for burial deposition as no human bones were retrieved from this area, but that, in light of its architectural configuration and its finds, it served more as a kind of storage magazine holding the paraphernalia for the ceremonies conducted outside, in the area between the *camerette* and the tholos. He further remarks that the consumption of drink was central in such ceremonies, while La Rosa (2001: 224) also argues for the consumption of food based on the evidence of large numbers of baking plates and dishes found there.

Burial depositions continued in Tholos A up to the MMII period, while at this time the area of the cemetery underwent important architectural modifications. A series of three rooms, *a-c* came to light to the west of the *camerette* in the course of new explorations in the area of the cemetery (La Rosa 2001). They were placed on an earlier structure of MMIA date in which two stones interpreted as baetyls had been incorporated. In the course of the MMII period, a rectangular paved space was constructed incorporating the baetyls. In the centre of the paved area, a large stone with a series of hollows has been

interpreted as an offering table. These transformations created a new ceremonial space outside the cemetery which was now at the back of the spectators facing the baetyls. La Rosa (2001: 225) interprets this new arrangement as a 'public chapel', the religious symbolism of which was no longer connected with the dead.

At the same time, more information on the Protopalatial town of Ag. Triada allows us to reconstruct quite a substantial settlement there since the MMIB period. Remains of houses have been found under the Sacello, as well as underneath the floors of the Neopalatial villa, while MMIB material has been recovered in soundings throughout the town, under the Bastione, the Agora, Building P, Edificio Nord Ovest, and Edificio Ovest to the north of the *Muraglione* highlighting the potential extent of the Protopalatial habitation (La Rosa 1977; 1979-80; 1988; 1995; Fig. 7.14). MMII material is even more abundant, extending in all the aforementioned locations and further north from the limits of the Neopalatial town. In this area, a paved street has been discovered, running E-W along the contour of the slope, immediately South of the *Complesso della Mazza di breccia,* connecting the town with a vast paved area, which was remodelled during Neopalatial times (La Rosa 1995: 541; Carinci 1999: 123). The road entered the paved area by means of a ramp, best parallels for which can be found in those leading to the west court of the Palace of Phaistos. At the SE corner of this paved court, a small podium or altar was located. These features date to the end of the MMII period. Further excavation in this part of the settlement gave a detailed stratigraphy in which Levels 31 and 32 contained exclusively MMII material comprising an abundance of Kamares ware of the finest quality (Carinci 1999: 121).

The excavators commented that the co-existence of a street and a public court already in Protopalatial times and its re-introduction and partial reuse during the Neopalatial period is an indication of a precise and constant function of the NE sector of the town in the urban planning of Ag. Triada (La Rosa 1995: 541). Moreover, this new sector calls for a re-appraisal of the relation between the town and the necropolis during MMII. Although the particular character of the Protopalatial houses of the settlement remains obscure, the monumentality of the public spaces of the Protopalatial town highlights the importance of Ag. Triada at this period as well.

From the above discussion it is clear that many sites at the end of the Protopalatial period were quite substantial settlements and, more importantly, they were furnished with large civic buildings and monumental public quarters. What does this situation reveal about their political relation with the regional centre, the Palace of Phaistos? We saw that in the case of Kommos, Building AA comprised a large Central Court. The excavators have also noted the presence of a MMIIB deposit in association with Building AA, which they describe as ceremonial in function (Shaw 2002: 104). In Ag. Triada an analogous situation is evident on two occasions, first in the Protopalatial sector of the cemetery where drinking ceremonies are clearly documented (see §6.5.1) and, secondly, in relation to the open paved court of MMII date, where a large amount of Kamares pottery (predominantly drinking/serving vessels) has been discovered. Several of the other civic buildings, identified throughout the area, comprised extensive storage facilities and monumental façades reminiscent of the Palatial building. If all these features are taken in combination, it would seem that we are faced with a series of Palatial 'reproductions' across the region. How was this possible or allowed?

Of course these buildings are not 'palaces' and we cannot at present determine their precise functions. However their similarities with the primary functions of the Palace (large scale storage, management and organisation of drinking ceremonies) are far too numerous. The situation in the cemetery at Ag. Triada, where the *camerette* functioned as a storeroom for liquid products and their containers in front of a paved court where drinking ceremonies were held, is particularly telling. What is this if not a micrograph of the palace in its initial inception? On the other hand, Shaw (2002) has suggested that Building AA was such a monumental project that it could only have been carried out under the auspices of Phaistos. Why, though, would the Palace allow for such a building to be manufactured? Traditional views of the Palatial institution would explain such edifices as second-order centres, managed centrally by the Palace and attending to the local collection and management of resources in the areas where they were set. Kommos moreover has been interpreted as the port of Phaistos[8] (Shaw 1996: 9; 1998).

[8] Such interpretation may indeed be true considering the date of the establishment of the site (MMIB) and its location. However, the close association of the town with Phaistos appear to have gradually changed in the course of the Protopalatial period and the political relationship between the two sites never returned to its initial form. It is also interesting to note that foreign material imported at Kommos does not appear to reach Phaistos or Ag. Triada (La Rosa 1985: 53; Shaw 1996: 9; 1998: 16; Carinci 2000). See also Chapter 8.

However, while these explanations may have some bearing, the suggestion of second order centres subordinate to the Palace does not explain why the exclusive features of Palatial authority, that is, the large-scale storage of goods (and particularly liquids goods - presumably wine?) and the hosting of communal feasting ceremonies were allowed to slip away from central control. It is one matter to use local centres for the benefit of central administration, but a totally new situation when these are allowed to reproduce the primordial functions that give the palace reason to exist. Surely this was undermining not only the centrality of Palatial administration but also its authority and regional reputation?

How can such trends be explained? In the case of Ag. Triada and Kommos (where more precise chronologies are available) the timing of these transformations is crucial; they happen at the end of the MMII period. This is the time when the Palace at Phaistos is at its prime, and as we saw above, it is also the period when more explicit messages of differentiation and hierarchy are expressed by the architectural configuration of the Palatial edifice. The Palace at this stage attempts openly to exert more firm political control over the region by removing itself from the broader collective base which had established it[9], through the manipulation of its monumentality but also by the re-organisation of the ceremonies taking place there. Consequently the attempts of several communities to recreate some of its functions at a more local level may reflect a certain degree of discontent from the hinterland. The transformations at Ag. Triada most of all, but also at Kommos, represent the most explicit expressions of disregard for the Palatial authority that certainly would not have been met favourably by the Palace. Such ostentatious acts of disapproval could not have been possible if the Palace had not been initially conceived as a collective project with regional appeal; neither would the lesser sites have been so contemptuous, nor would a strictly centralised, hierarchically constituted Palace have allowed such centrifugal trends to surface. Again, the ambiguity of the Palatial authority that we observed with respect to the architecture of the Palace is corroborated by the settlement developments across the region.

[9] Compare also the almost total enclosure of the Palatial building by the MMII town of Phaistos, as opposed to the situation at the beginning of the Protopalatial period.

At the end of the MMII period the Great Triangle has already emerged and, more significantly, appears to expand to encompass a series of local centres which may have grown increasingly resentful of Palatial authority. Is there any other type of evidence that could illuminate the ways in which Palatial administration operated and confirm or reject the above suspicions?

CHAPTER 8

CONSUMING POWER – CONSUMED BY POWER: PALATIAL AUTHORITY IN ACTION

8.1. Palatial authority in action

It was argued in the previous chapters that the Palace at Phaistos emerged out of very local circumstances which affected its character and the political role it performed. It was further suggested that the Palace was the outcome of a collaboration with broad regional support, a feature which was most obvious in its initial architectural configuration. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 7, the changes that the palatial building underwent during the two centuries of its use may reflect changes in the activities taking place there, and more importantly, changes in the way the palace exerted its authority and in the way that authority was perceived and accepted by the regional populace. It appeared that the First Palace of Phaistos, although emerging out of a collective regional collaboration, became progressively dissociated from such a broad base of support towards the end of the MMII period. Moreover, the evidence of the Protopalatial settlements of the area attests to a growing decentralisation of some of the palatial functions (see also Driessen 2002), most probably without palatial consent. Although we cannot be very precise about these palatial functions, the historical development before the Palace's emergence and the architectural configuration of the Palatial edifice suggested that these might be focused on large scale feasting (see also Moody 1987; Hamilakis 1999; Day & Wilson 1998; 2002). Such a suggestion is corroborated by the large amount of space devoted to storage as well as by the ceramic assemblage of the Palace, which we will discuss below. However, there are other 'functions' attributed to the palatial system, the examination of which will enable us to

determine whether the decentralisation we noted in the organisation of settlement during MMII was evident in other domains of life.

Most common among the responsibilities attributed to Palatial administration is the supervision of agricultural production and the organisation of large scale storage for redistribution. Other services the palaces are supposed to have offered include the centralised organisation of craft production and the regulation of exchange (Renfrew 1972; Branigan 1987; Cherry 1984; 1986). Although the storage magazines and the abundance of surviving storage jars of various sizes and types can safely attest to the provision for large scale storage in the palaces, they nevertheless reveal very little about the organisation of production. Additional support has been sought in the administrative records wherever they survive, which, however, are bound by serious limitations. Linear A documents, although very informative in many respects, are not yet deciphered and the Linear B evidence pertains to political regimes quite different from the Old Palaces. With respect to craft production, debate has revolved around the degree to which craftspeople were independent or attached and, consequently, whether the palatial centres were responsible for most of the craft production in their polities or whether there existed a degree of decentralisation (Walberg 1976; Cherry 1986; MacGillivray 1987; Branigan 1987; Carinci 1995; 1997; Day *et al.* 1997; Day & Wilson 1998).

Ceramic production and consumption in the Mesara have been studied sufficiently well to illuminate some of the above issues, while the extant sealings and Linear A archive from the Palace of Phaistos consists of the most complete documentary evidence for the Protopalatial period. The following discussion therefore will concentrate on the ceramic evidence, with both production and consumption in mind, and the administrative system of the palace of Phaistos as it can be revealed from the surviving Archive, with the aim of assessing the degree of centralised control wielded by the Palace over its hinterland.

8.2. Consuming power – consumed by power: the strategies of producing and consuming Kamares Ware in Protopalatial Mesara

It is a common premise of earlier approaches that the centralised control of production was a direct outcome of the emergence of the Palaces (Cherry 1984: 33), and the existence or not of palatial workshops of craft production has monopolised debate. Although it cannot be denied that some craft activity might have taken place within the palace (e.g. Branigan 1987), the physical evidence of workshops is either lacking or tenuous (see Platon 1993 for more detailed discussion). It has also been suggested that craft production supervised by, or attached to, palatial administration might have taken place in locations away from the palatial building (MacGillivray 1987). With respect to pottery manufacture, more detailed changes in the organisation of production have been proposed on the basis of the introduction of the potter's wheel technology in MMIB, presumably leading to specialisation, standardization and mass production (Cherry 1986: 37; Betancourt 1985: 104). However, such approaches have been criticised in some detail and it has been demonstrated that such technological innovation was a much more complex process than initially suggested (Day *et al.* 1997; Day & Wilson 1998: 352; Knappett 1999b).

Traditional approaches of centrally controlled palatial craft activity find their epitome in the most prominent pottery type of the Protopalatial period, Kamares Ware. The highly decorative style of this pottery points to its use as a prestigious ceremonial artefact for conspicuous display (Wilson & Day 1998; 2002). By virtue of this attribute, the production of Kamares Ware has been closely associated with the palatial centres (Walberg 1976; 1983; 1987; Cherry 1986), although no precise physical evidence of such production in the palaces has been recovered yet (Day & Wilson 1998: 352). Moreover Walberg (1983; 1987) has suggested a distinction between 'palatial' and 'provincial' Kamares Ware, presumably reflecting differences between production centres, with 'provincial' representing lower quality 'imitations' of the higher quality products of the palatial workshops. However, as rightly pointed out by Day and Wilson (1998: 356), this distinction is made on the basis of the find locations of the pottery and

not any information on actual production locales or groups[1]. The bias towards palatial production of Kamares Ware is also evident when discussing the Kamares finds from other Mesaran sites like Ag. Triada and Kommos: although both these sites have yielded very fine examples of Kamares Ware as well as some evidence for local production, their vessels are considered the products of the palatial workshops of Phaistos (Van de Moortel 1998: 348, but see more in discussion below). In addition, although all opinions seem to be in agreement that Kamares pottery is characterised by immense variability, most notable in decoration patterns but also in the shapes (Walberg 1976: 21; Betancourt 1990: 33-37; Carinci 1997: 321; Van de Moortel 1998: 221), thus making the argument of standardization even thinner, still the production of Kamares is considered centralised and restricted to the palaces. Interpretations of Kamares Ware as the epitome of palatial production owe much to assumptions about the economic role of the palaces as producers and distributors of specialised craft products, which however, in the case of pottery production in the Mesara must come under scrutiny.

Recent analytical work on Kamares Ware from Knossos and Phaistos (Day & Wilson 1998; Faber *et al.* 2002) has demonstrated that a substantial amount of the pottery of the two centres had been manufactured by the same production group, to be found in south-central Crete and more precisely, in the Mesara Plain and its surrounding foothills. Day and Wilson (1998: 355) moreover, comparing this evidence to their previous work (Wilson & Day 1994) on Prepalatial ceramics from the two areas conclude that "Kamares Ware may be viewed within the context of pottery production in centres which existed already in the Prepalatial period, and perhaps not as the products of workshops which were established with the First Palaces". A number of arguments can be listed in support of such a view.

[1] It appears from Walberg's (1983) discussion of the Mesaran 'provincial' sites that most of the Kamares pottery discovered away from the Palace has 'palatial' features. However, on the one hand it is impossible to imagine the palace producing all the pottery needed by an entire region, and on the other, the high quality of Mesaran pottery has been shown to be a constant feature of the pottery system in the area (Van de Moortel 2002: 205). Walberg's distinction in this case appears meaningless, more so because the following discussion hints at the existence of 'provincial' workshops producing pottery of palatial quality.

A detailed technological comparison between EM and MM pottery fabrics from the Mesara (Day & Wilson 1998; Day *et al.* forthcoming) has shown that clay recipes and particular ways of manipulating raw materials survive intact from the Prepalatial through to the Protopalatial and LM times (see also Shaw *et al.* 2001), highlighting a very long and strong tradition of pottery making in this area. Precise characteristics of shapes, clay mixing (Betancourt 1990: 6; Shaw *et al.* 2001: 118-119), use of specific raw materials, and technology of colouring and firing (Faber *et al.* 2002) underline a remarkable consistency in the ways of producing pottery that, although not revealing much about attached or independent pottery workshops, show beyond doubt that the basic ways of manufacturing pottery in the Mesara remained largely unaffected by the establishment of the Palace.

Furthermore, other elements of the Protopalatial pottery system in the Mesara could point to the existence of more than one ceramic workshop in the area in this period. Despite the remarkable variation in Kamares Ware, the common technological and stylistic features of the Mesara examples put them firmly within a homogeneous pottery making tradition (Van de Moortel 1998; Carinci 1997). However, as became evident for the Prepalatial period (see Chapter 6, §6.3.2), such homogeneity may not be the outcome of one production source, but rather of a number of production groups using the same recipes, widely available raw materials and techniques to manufacture similar products (Wilson & Day 1994: 82; Shaw *et al.* 2001: 131-133). The remarkable consistency in the modes of manufacturing pottery from the EM to the MM period would further corroborate the continuity of such different workshops in the area. However, in light of the implications of such a suggestion for the organisation and operation of palatial administration further evidence must be sought to demonstrate the existence of different production groups in the area during the Protopalatial period.

Only one example of a Protopalatial kiln is known in the area, built to the west of the West Court in the Palace of Phaistos[2]. However, MM kiln wasters have been reported in

[2] This kiln excavated and dated by Levi to the Neopalatial period has been re-dated to the MMIIB period (Tomasello 1996; Carinci 1997; La Rosa 2002).

all three sites, Phaistos, Ag. Triada and Kommos (Carinci 1997: 319; Betancourt 1990: 92, 164). Moreover, a mould for appliqué marine decorations has been discovered in MMIIB levels in Ag. Triada and was shown to have been used for the manufacture of vessels found in both Ag. Triada and Phaistos (Carinci 1995). The existence of another similar, but certainly different mould, has also been verified by some examples of such decorations in the Phaistos assemblage, indicating that both sites were producing this type of vessel. The fragments of two pottery discs, dated to the MMIB-II period have been found at the Palace of Phaistos, while another fragmentary example has been retrieved at Ag. Triada (Carinci 1997: 320; Evely 1988: 89-90). All these elements, as well as the abundance and high quality of Kamares pottery in all three Mesaran centres, have indicated to Carinci that more than one ceramic workshop must have operated in the area of Phaistos during the Protopalatial period (1997: 321).

Van de Moortel (1998: 224-225) on the other hand, disagrees with the identification of MMIIB kiln wasters at Kommos for two reasons: first, one of the examples is simply an overfired sherd, while the other, a true waster, was recovered in a mixed deposit and therefore is not clearly datable; and secondly, no remains of a kiln structure have been identified in MM Kommos. However, the construction of pottery kilns inside urban centres, and more precisely in the vicinity of 'central' buildings seems to be a practice more common in Neopalatial times as can be documented in the case of Phaistos, East Court kiln (La Rosa 2002: 85), Ag. Triada (Levi & Laviosa 1979-80) and Kommos (Shaw *et al.* 2001). The pottery kiln at Phaistos, although redated to the MMIIB period, was constructed after a destruction that happened towards the end of that period, and therefore could not have produced the bulk of the MMIIB assemblage of the site (Carinci 1997: 318; Van de Moortel 1998: 348, n. 222; La Rosa 2002: 75). Moreover, kilns dating to the Prepalatial period are conspicuous by their absence, and yet the high quality of some ceramic products like the EMI-II Fine Gray Ware makes it difficult to imagine how such even reduction grey colour could have been produced without a cross-draft or down draft kiln technology (Shaw *et al.* 2001: 132). The evident excavation bias that exists towards dense urban areas, at the expense of more rural locations may be another factor affecting the recovery of such installations. Therefore, such negative evidence should be treated with great caution, especially when there are other indications pointing to the direction of decentralised pottery production.

Finally, the enormous variabilty of Kamares vessels themselves may be listed in favour of the existence of more than one production group in the Mesara. Nikolaidou (2002: 82-83) has underlined the importance of pottery production, as well as consumption, as a means of symbolic signification during the Protopalatial period. Representations of people carrying vessels are known from Protopalatial seal iconography (one example also from the Archive at Phaistos) while the connections between Kamares decoration and motifs and colours in both seal and fresco iconography have also been noted (Blasingham 1983: 16; Day & Wilson 1998: 356; Blakolmer 1999). Van de Moortel (1998) further notes that most of the high quality vases from Kommos had such unique decoration that they must have been individually produced. The greatest variation in decoration would seem to exist in the one-handled cups, which could further support an argument for a closer connection between the vessels and their owners. It is quite possible, therefore, that Kamares decorative schemes were highly meaningful and could be associated with different production groups.

Three important points emanate from the above discussion: first, that the production of Kamares Ware in the Mesara was part of a long tradition of pottery making that did not appear to have been taken over or re-organised by the Palatial establishment; secondly, that the production of this ware was not the absolute privilege of palatial workshops, but was instead manufactured in a number of different locations[3]; and finally, that this particular ware appeared to have important symbolic connotations which we shall explore further now.

It has already been noted that the shape repertoire of Kamares Ware consists almost entirely of vessels for the handling of liquid products, storing, serving and drinking, and

[3] The distribution of Kamares Ware in the Mesara is fairly wide including examples found in almost all the tholos cemeteries which continued to be used in Protopalatial times, as well as partially excavated sites like Kalamaki, and in sites recognised by surface surveys (Watrous *et al.* 1993). It is possible therefore that more ceramic workshops operated in the area, but such a gap will be filled only with further research including more extensive excavation of the MM sites in the region.

the suggestion is made that Kamares was used primarily in prestigious feasting ceremonies taking place at the palaces (MacGillivray 1987; Day & Wilson 1998). It has also been suggested (Day & Wilson 1998: 357) that, apart from food and drink, the vessels themselves were consumed in such events as the most precious 'hardware' of ritual consumption. For Knossos, MacGillivray (1987; 1998) has recognised funtional sets of Kamares vessels, consisting of bridge-spouted jars and cups, bearing the same decoration and presumably used in conjunction. Similar sets can be recognised in the Phaistos assemblage, whether their manufacture can be attributed to the same artisan or not (Pelagatti 1961-62; Fig. 8.1). It is clear, therefore, that Kamares vases played a very important role in Protopalatial drinking ceremonies and their possession would have conferred substantial status to their owners. It can also been demonstrated that this particular type of pottery may have had a very close connection with the ceremonial consumption of wine.

The close connection of the palace with the hosting of wine consumption ceremonies has been argued already (§6.5, §7.3.1). However it is not very clear whether such a connection involved also the direct control of wine production by the palace, or whether the Mesaran communities continued to produce wine as before and the palace was responsible for the collection, storage and redistribution of wine through feasting. In light of the large scale of consumption in the Protopalatial period, some centralisation of this activity might be expected, but is there any evidence of this?

At the Palace of Phaistos a pithos containing the remains of many whole grape pips, which Levi interpreted as raisins, was discovered in Room LVIIIc. Subsequent analysis (Logothetis 1970: 41-42) showed that the pithos contained vast numbers of such seeds, while the soil in which they had been recovered preserved traces of an organic matter, which was interpreted as the remains of wine. Hamilakis (1996: 3) notes that wine production involves large amounts of grapes which create concentrations of grape seeds that are archaeologically more visible than grapes simply eaten as fruit, while the process of squeezing the juice out of the grape berries usually leaves the pips fairly intact. Moreover, the ceramic assemblage of Phaistos contains a considerable number of vessels with strainers or sieves (Fig. 8.4). Many of these consist of large jars, usually

spouted, while there are also examples of bridge-spouted and side-spouted jars with sieves on their spouts (Walberg 1976: 20). Combining the above evidence, it could be suggested that some stages of the processing of grapes may have taken place at the palace, involving transferring large quantities of the drink to different containers, and draining any grape remains from the juice. Although such evidence does not clarify many aspects of the organisation of agricultural production, it underlines the possibility that the Palace might have been directly involved at least in some stages of wine production.

As far as the surrounding hinterland is concerned, evidence for wine production can be surmised with greater facility for the MMIA period, when ceramic vats interpreted as grape presses have been found in miniature form in the cemeteries of Ag. Triada, Apesokari and Porti (see §6.5.1), while for the Protopalatial period it is mostly lacking. This could be an effect of our poor state of knowledge of the Protopalatial settlements in the Mesara, with information deriving largely from cemeteries and very few excavated settlements. However, since such implements have been recovered in some late Prepalatial cemeteries, it is possible that the lack of evidence could reflect the more centralised production of wine by the Palace, at least for the early parts of the Protopalatial period. More can be gauged in this respect if we examine the patterns of wine consumption.

The ceramic assemblage of the Palace of Phaistos shows a great elaboration of shapes associated with the handling of liquids, including also a variety of 'rare' and unusual types, not found in other contexts (Walberg 1976: 19-20; 1983: 4-11; Van de Moortel 1998: 347). The bridge-spouted jar is the most common shape, perhaps the successor of the Prepalatial teapot, which is still encountered in small numbers and usually in miniature form. Bridge-spouted jars would be used for the serving rather than the storing of products, while they could also have been used for mixing substances, since they usually have quite wide mouths (Fig. 8.3). Other serving vessels include a large variety of jugs of different sizes and capacities (Fig. 8.2) and other spouted vessels. Also prominent in the assemblage are large pedestalled craters and vessels which are described as 'louteres' and consist of a deep bowl set on a high foot, with a hollow in its

middle, for the disposal of liquids (Fig. 8.4). Some of these vessels are so ornate (Fig. 8.1) that they only make sense as feasting paraphernalia. Drinking cups also show a great range of shapes and decorations, while at this period, there is a clear distinction between decorated and undecorated cups; the decorated examples are of high quality with many metallising features like egg-shell thin walls and strap handles (Fig. 8.2); the undecorated examples consist of plain conical cups, quite often made of coarse fabrics, and coming in three distinct sizes (large, medium and small) that have been interpreted as different measures for food or drink (Fiandra 1973; Carinci 1997: 321). It could be suggested that such distinctions of decoration reflect differences in the status of the cup owners.

This variability of the assemblage allows us to reconstruct quite complex procedures in the handling of wine: the mixing of wine with some other ingredients[4] could be surmised by the presence of craters and the so-called 'louteres'; the mixed drink would be transferred to the bridge-spouted jars, which would be easier to handle, in order to be served. However, most of them are quite substantial in size (there are also some oversized examples see Levi & Carinci 1988: 109-140, plates 49-57), and when full, would require more than one person to handle them in order to pour, thus making the act of serving even more ritualised. Finally, the drink would be transferred to the jugs, which would be used to serve directly the participants in their cups. It is possible that some distinctions also existed in the order in which participants were served, reflecting their differential status. Such complex procedure might have taken place in full view of the gathered guests, and the multiple and prolonged stages of serving wine would have underlined its ritual importance. On the other hand, such ceremonial process would impress upon the viewers the 'correct' way of consuming such substance and would highlight the role of the palace and its officiates as the exclusive practitioners and bearers of such knowledge. Therefore the authority of the palace would seem to consist more in controlling the 'proper' consumption of wine.

[4] Palaima (1990b: 91) notes that there is a variation in the Linear A signs from the Phaistos tablets associated with wine; this could either mean other commodities or other varieties of wine. Palmer (1994: 27-39; 1996: 273) has made similar observations for the wine ideogram, while with respect to the Linear B documents she has also identified other commodities mentioned in association with wine, like honey, must, or vinegar. The mixing of wine with honey is a practice documented in later times, as is the widespread practice in Classical times of mixing it with water (Sherratt 1995: 19, n. 43; Palmer 1996: 275).

The augmenting ritual and religious significance of wine during Protopalatial times can be also demonstrated by some other elements. The MM is the main period when depositions of ceramics take place in the cave of Kamares in Mt. Ida (Dawkins & Laistner 1912-13). The religious symbolism of this cave for the entire Mesara region has been noted on many occasions; it is visible from the palace at Phaistos, and in light of the absence of peak sanctuaries in the Mesara during the Protopalatial period[5], it represents the only example of a religious site with general appeal. The vessels found in the cave consist mainly of bridge-spouted jars and storage jars, with very few examples of cups and dishes, suggesting that pouring or libation ceremonies might have taken place rather than feasting (Tyree 2001: 45). During the MMII period a new shape appears in the ceramic repertoire, the rhyton in the form of a bull's head, usually bearing polychrome decoration (Betancourt 1985: 147). Although zoomorphic vessels had been common in the Prepalatial cultic assemblages, the novelty of this type consists of allowing the direct flowing of liquids through it. The religious significance of the bull in Neopalatial ritual practice is well known (Marinatos 1993), and there may be a case of connecting the symbolism of these vessels with wine. Sherratt (1995: 39, n.44) has remarked how the pouring of wine through such vessels would evoke an image of the animal spouting blood thereby imitating the act of a sacrifice. Such bull's head rhyta have been found in MMII contexts, apart from Phaistos in both Ag. Triada and Kommos (Betancourt 1985: 147, plate 12), indicating that the practice and its symbolism had widespread appeal.

To summarise therefore: Kamares Ware appears to have been the type of pottery exclusively connected with the ceremonial consumption of wine during Protopalatial times; the production, but mostly the consumption of wine seem to have been under palatial supervision, which manifested itself more strongly in the manipulation of the 'proper' handling of wine; this ideological manipulation is evident in the complex

[5] For debate on the Peak Sanctuaries identified in the Mesara see Blackman & Branigan (1977), Branigan (1994), Peatfield (1987; 1990), Rutkowski (1988), and Watrous (1995). Much has been made of the ritual and cultic connections of peak sanctuaries with Prepalatial cemeteries and their ritual practice (Peatfield 1987; Haggis 1999). However, in the Mesara, the only secure example of a peak sanctuary is Kophinas which dates to the MMIII period (Alexiou 1961-62b; Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990), and its establishment can be attributed to different political circumstances than those pertaining to the founding of the peak sanctuaries in other areas of Crete.

patterns of wine consumption in the palace as well as in the more overt religious symbolism associated with it towards the end of the Protopalatial period. Kamares Ware was the material embodiment and ceremonial instrument of such ideology, and therefore constituted a very prominent means of social negotiation at this time.

How can we relate these observations to the patterns of manufacturing Kamares vessels? As was demonstrated above, there exists a case for a more decentralised production of Kamares Ware by more than one communities in the Mesara, while its distribution is even wider encompassing almost all known examples of Protopalatial sites. Since the symbolism of this pottery was so closely connected with the dominant palatial ideology, surely the wide availability of these items would have reduced their prestige-conferring properties. Moreover, if Kamares had such an exclusive association with the consumption of wine, are we to surmise that such consumption took place in other contexts apart from the Palace?

These observations have significant implications for assumptions about the economic and political role of the First Palaces. First, if the Palace had centralised control over every aspect of agricultural and craft production, then we should expect the manufacture of such a prestigious item as Kamares Ware to be quite restricted. However this does not prove to be the case in the Mesara. Secondly, if the political control exerted by the Palace over its hinterland was as tight and centralised as has been assumed, then not only should the availability of Kamares Ware have been more restricted, but also the venues for its ceremonial consumption should not have been permitted to exist. And yet in the Mesara, Kamares Ware appears to be consumed quite widely. On the other hand, we noted that the Palace appeared to have somewhat greater involvement in the production, and more so the consumption of wine, which became increasingly embedded in a sophisticated consumption ritual devised and exclusively performed by the Palace. Moreover, wine itself appears to become part of a religious ideology that was also closely supervised by the palace.

It follows that the Palace, far from having absolute control over every aspect of life in the region, had quite restricted authority which encompassed mainly ideological and

ceremonial guidance. Granted, it appears that palatial administration might have been largely responsible for the production of wine, but as was shown, such control went hand in hand with the more important task of supervising the appropriate *consumption* of wine. In this respect, the ceremonial symbolism of wine and the patterns of its consumption dictated the organisation of its production. Its economic role appeared to be secondary. Furthermore, activities such as pottery production, which had been embedded deeply in the ways of life of the Mesaran communities for centuries, were not easy to uproot and control centrally. This is also revealing for the initial collaborative character of the Palatial institution in the Mesara. Of course the Palace pooled resources from the entire area and progressively might have exploited quite large numbers of personnel for its effective operation. However, such obligations were part of the ideological regime that created it; they were accepted as the natural repercussions of having a palace. They do not necessarily reflect the exertion of centralised control by the Palace over the entire region.

Pottery production and consumption prove very powerful symbolic and economic resources within these Protopalatial social arenas. As argued earlier (§6.3.2) pottery production had been used by the Prepalatial communities as a means of social negotiation and more precisely as a way to effect community solidarity. This would impede the dislocation of the pottery system from the local contexts of several communities to the central control of the Palace, a fact which is further demonstrated in the patterns of manufacture and consumption of Kamares Ware. This Protopalatial ceramic style moreover, may have proved an even more advantageous medium of social negotiation, as on one level, its production evoked familiar ways of collective representation, while its consumption in the context of feasting events allowed the negotiation of personal status to be performed[6]. It could be argued further that the pre-eminence of the pottery systems in every stage of the Mesaran history is not merely a reflection of the abundance of this type of material in the archaeological record. Instead it seems to be an effect of the role that pottery, its production and consumption, played

[6] Additional evidence of the significance of Kamares Ware as a craft item comes from its exportation to Egypt during Protopalatial times (Carinci 2000: 36). Carinci notes that local imitations of Kamares Ware imported from the Mesara demonstrate that these vessels had a value beyond their contents, and were imported as craft goods in their own right. Such attributes of Kamares Ware would have enhanced its negotiating power in the local Mesaran arenas.

in the articulation of social arenas in prehistoric Mesara. Such a role may also be evident in the construction of a pottery kiln in the close vicinity of the Palatial building at the end of the MMII period. Although no details are known about the needs that this kiln fulfilled, its location may be reflecting a palatial attempt to wield tighter control over the production of pottery. This example was followed later on by both Neopalatial communities of Ag. Triada and Kommos, and although the practical and economic role of the kilns in the sites is of primary importance, the political symbolism of building these structures in the vicinity of central buildings should be kept in mind.

It seems, then, that the only domain where the palace had more complete control was the ideological. However, although the ideological symbolism of the Palace continued to attract respect and reverence from the entire region until its final destruction, the political exploits of such ideology from the part of the Phaistian administration did not seem to be easily accepted by the other Mesaran communities. Moreover, the operation of the palatial institution appears to have relied greatly on regional support and consent, elements of which were evident in the patterns of administration even during the latest and most 'hierarchical' periods of its existence, as will be demonstrated by the following discussion of the palatial archive.

8.3. Administrating identities: the *Archivio di Cretule* at Phaistos

The administrative concerns of the Minoan Palaces are evident in the sophisticated record keeping systems retrieved from them. These consisted of diverse sealing practices (Weingarten 1986; 1988; 1992) as well as written documentation, using Cretan Hieroglyphic script in the North and NE of the island and Linear A in the south-central part (Schoep 1995; 1999; 2001). At Phaistos, 21 Linear A tablets, a few inscribed roundels, and a mass of clay sealings were discovered in several areas of the First Palace (Vandenabeele 1985: 12-15; Schoep 2001: 89). The majority of the clay sealings, 6585 in total, and a scatter of written documents originated in the Protopalatial levels under Room 25.

The excavation underneath the Neopalatial Room 25 (Levi 1957-58a) brought to light the remains of a Protopalatial room bordering the west side of the Central Court and an abundance of finds, among which the clay sealings, or *cretule*, found covered by a layer of *calcestruzzo*. Several pottery vessels were also retrieved, most interesting among them ca. 400 small jugs with identical painted decoration of two pairs of lance-shaped leaves (Fig. 8.5). The enormous number of the clay sealings prompted their interpretation as an archive, presumably found *in situ* (Levi 1957-58a; Schoep 1995: 41; Kanta & Tzigounaki 2000: 1999). Such a view was initially debated, on the basis that the deposit appeared to have been a dump fill and not the contents of the room found *in situ* (Fiandra 1968; Weingarten 1994a). However, the large number and the dense concentration of the sealings in the same area make it unlikely that they had been brought from several different areas of the palace to serve as a fill, and as Fiandra (1968; 2000a: 365) clarified, it is most likely that we are dealing with the homogeneous assemblage of a discarded archive. The homogeneity of the deposit has been verified by later studies and it is now accepted as an archive, irrespective of whether it was found *in situ* or not (Militello 2000: 223). The finds from Room 25 date to the MMIIB period, and are contemporary with the rest of the sealings and documents recovered in other rooms of the palace, all belonging to the last phase of the First Palace[7].

The sealings of the archive consist of direct object sealings, that is, they are small lumps of clay pressed on an object while still wet to ensure the integrity of the contents. Levi (1957-58a; 1987) initially suggested that the sealings had been used to seal vessel stoppers, presumably the lids of the small jugs found in the same area. However, a subsequent thorough study by Fiandra (1968; 2000a) demonstrated that only a small amount of them had sealed vessel lids, more precisely pithos lids woven of plant leaves. By studying the reverse of the sealings Fiandra was able to identify 16 different objects which had been repetitively sealed by the sealings of the archive (Fig. 8.6). These consisted mainly of wooden pommels or pegs of different dimensions which had been attached either to wooden doors or boxes and chests. These containers were further

[7] For the date of the administrative documents from Phaistos see Vandenabeele (1985: 12-15), Schoep (1995: 38-43), and Perna (1995). For the date of the Archivio, Walberg (1981; 1990) and Fiandra (1968). See also discussion of the stratigraphy and architecture of the First Palace, Chapter 7.

secured by a rope tied around the pommel, and the clay nodule was pressed against the pommel so as to incorporate the rope, making it impossible to open the container without breaking the sealing (Fiandra 1968: 387, plate ΡΛΕ'). After that, the wet clay nodule would be impressed by a seal. When the containers and storerooms were opened the sealing would be broken and kept for book-keeping purposes.

Fiandra (1968: 384) remarked that a very large number of the clay sealings preserved their seal impressions (see Table 8.2), while there were also quite a few that appeared to have been removed while the clay was still wet, therefore damaging the seal impression. However, these were also kept in the archive for further checks, even though their use as documents was no longer possible. Fiandra suggests that they were probably part of a statistical control of the frequency of opening and closing containers/doors. There was another category of sealings which preserved two seal impressions, one in the exterior (visible part when attached to the object) and one in the interior of the sealing. Fiandra interprets this peculiarity as a re-use of sealings: the sealing would be removed while still wet and re-applied on the object with a new seal impression in the remaining clear side. In this way however, one of the seal impressions would have been entirely cancelled. Moreover, a substantial number of sealings had been attached to containers without bearing an impression; these had been also kept with the discarded stamped sealings (see Table 8.2). This occurrence appears in contrast to Fiandra's suggestion of a re-use of sealings. Another factor opposing such a re-use is the discovery with the broken sealings of several lumps of clay, which had been ready to seal objects and were accidentally preserved by burning. It appears therefore that raw material for sealings was not so sparse to justify a re-use of such devices. On the contrary, since the 're-used' examples almost always preserved impressions of different seals, they probably had a purpose within the administrative system of the First Palace.

Other peculiarities of the sealing practice have been noted with respect to the seal impressions. Weingarten (1986; 1994a) studied the number of impressions that each different seal produced and was able to recognise more active and less active seal-owners, according to how many impressions each had produced. A little over 320 different seal impressions have been recognised in the archive from Phaistos deriving

from an equivalent number of different seals (Levi 1957-58a; CMS II.5). Among these, 44 seals account for about 70% of all impressions, while the other 283 produced the remaining 30% of the impressions (Weingarten 1994a: 276; Schoep 2001: n. 3; Table 8.1). Among the 44 most active, 3 seals were major leaders having produced more than 100 impressions each; these were followed by a group of 7 seals producing 35-55 impressions each, and finally around 280 different seal motifs occurred between 1 to 20 times, with greater frequency in the lower values; just above 170 motifs appear only once (Militello 2000: 227). Weingarten (1994b: 181) concluded that the most active seal-owners were resident in the palace, while the least active represented non-residents.

She then compared the activity of the different seals with respect to the different objects sealed. The objects with the most activity (opened and sealed most times) were Pommel-A, Pommel-B, Peg-C, Peg-D, Peg-E and Bolt-M (Fig. 8.6). These could have belonged to either the doors of different storerooms or to wooden chests (Fiandra 1968: 387-391), although their large size makes them more plausible as parts of doors (Weingarten 1994a: 277, particularly n.29). Even if their interpretation as pommels of large wooden chests was preferred, these would not appear to represent goods sent to the Palace from the hinterland, but rather containers stored permanently in the Palace and emptied and refilled repeatedly. Such explanation is corroborated by the identical nature of the back imprints which would argue in favour of a single container being stamped repeatedly on the spot, instead of many similar containers being sent sealed from different areas to the palace. In addition, the high number of sealings applied presupposes a constant opening and closing of these containers, which could only be justified if these were kept in the Palace (see also Militello 2000: 225). It seems thus that whichever of the two interpretations is preferred, the activity of sealing these containers/doors was taking place in the Palace at regular intervals.

This observation has important repercussions. As Weingarten (1994a: 277) was surprised to find out,

> "There is hardly doubt that a Palace the size of Phaistos could support six different storerooms, but it is somewhat startling to discover that a total of 207 different seals stamped these pommels, pegs and bolt. Worse even (from a bureaucratic point of view), 55 seal owners had stamped more than a single type of door closure, presumably having gained access to diverse storerooms."

Militello (2000: 228), moreover, observes that no objects were stamped exclusively by one or two stamps, indicating that it is more likely that the seal was applied by the seal-owner in person upon withdrawal or deposition of goods, rather than by a representative or administrator of the Palace. To avoid such an "undignified free-for-all", Weingarten (1994a: 278) suggested that the pommels and pegs either belonged to large boxes or that the sealings had accumulated over time, or both, concluding that the most likely situation would be an accumulation over time. To support this argument she divided the seals represented in the archive into stylistic groups and compared the activity of each group with respect to different containers, and also the seal motifs of Room 25 with those found in other rooms of the Palace. She concluded that the seals of Room 25 represented more ancient motifs than the rest of the rooms, therefore there was a stylistic evolution in seal motifs which would be inevitable if the sealings had accumulated over a long time. Since all the sealings came from MMIIB contexts, she proposed that the time length in which the archive accumulated was around 15 years (Weingarten 1994a: 290). However, there are several problems with this suggestion.

Firstly, the broken sealings are kept for book-keeping purposes, that is, to check the amounts withdrawn against the amounts stored in the palace, or the quantities deposited against the required quotas etc. Such administrative practice presupposes that broken sealings which had been checked and accounted for should be discarded immediately. If this was not done promptly, the risk of them being added (by mistake or fraudulently) to the new archive under formation would create considerable confusion; therefore if sealings of different administrative years were kept, these should have been discarded in a careful manner in order to avoid such problems (Fissore 1994: 304). Moreover, the archive of Phaistos shows a very intensive pattern, which presumably extended over only one administrative year, whatever the duration of the latter (Fiandra 1994: 300, 302; Frangipane 302). Weingarten (1994a: 305), in an attempt to counter such criticism, suggested that the checked sealings were discarded in a haphazard fashion since they were no longer necessary. In this case, though, several archival dumps should have originated in disposal areas away from the areas of daily administrative activity. Such dumps, however, have not been found at Phaistos, and even Weingarten's parallels of such disposal heaps from Arslan Tepe have been debated (Frangipane 1994: 300).

Therefore, in administrative terms, it does not make sense for discarded sealings to have been kept for such long periods of time.

Another argument against the suggestion that the Phaistos Archive represents an accumulation over a long time, concerns the patterns of preservation of the sealings. The sealings, consisting of unbaked clay have only been preserved because they were accidentally fired during the destruction of the Palace. If broken sealings were to be kept for the time length that Weingarten suggested, then these should have been intentionally baked, a situation which, however, is not evident in the Phaistos archive (Poursat 1994: 297).

Finally, the argument of stylistic evolution cannot be sustained either. Weingarten (1994a: 287-290) divided all the different seals into stylistic groups, the main distinction being between geometric and figurative designs. The geometric designs, moreover, included many motifs described as 'archaic', which seemed to be more active primarily in the storeroom represented by Peg-D. Weingarten concluded that this storeroom must have been in use earlier than the rest and was replaced at some point by the storeroom of Pommel-A. To add support to this suggestion, she argued that "while it is easy to imagine Interlace or Figurative designs, as, for example, clan emblems, it is difficult to picture any contemporary group using archaic dots and circles, or cross-hatching as its symbol" (1994a: 289). However, there are again problems with these arguments. First, since geometric designs represent the majority of seal motifs (56% according to Weingarten's calculations), and as the storeroom of Peg-D received the greatest number of sealings among all the different objects (Fig. 8.6), it should be perhaps expected that more geometric patterns would be encountered there. Secondly, although there are grounds to suggest that different seal motifs could operate as symbols of different groups of people, the assumption that 'simple dots and circles' would have been avoided ignores the context in which the iconography of these seals evolved.

It is evident, therefore, that the sealings of the Phaistos archive cannot represent an accumulation over 15 years but rather make more sense as the outcome of a single administrative cycle. Before we proceed into a detailed consideration of the implications

of this inference, we need to examine more carefully the suggestion that different seals can be associated with different persons or groups of people.

The meaning of seals and their iconography constitutes a recurrent debate in the archaeological literature. Several 'functions' have been proposed, the most commonly cited being that seal motifs identify different persons, different administrative activities or different products participating in the transactions. Militello (2000: 227-228) in agreement with Weingarten, also identified different groups of seal owners according to the frequency of the seal motifs in the archive (less, medium and most active) and stated that such differences should reflect different roles based on either, the type of activity, the type of produce, and hierarchy or function. However, it seems that these three groups of seal owners did not possess exclusive functions, since the same objects had been sealed by diverse seals irrespectively of the latter's frequency (i.e. position in an administrative hierarchy). It is also possible that different storerooms were devoted to different products, but again, there does not seem to be a close association between particular seals and specific storerooms. Therefore it appears that seal motifs were not designed and used to reflect distinctions about the types of produce involved in transactions. Furthermore, in light of the immense variability of seal motifs, it is also unlikely that these represented types of activities.

Could the seals then be related to diverse types of authority? When we consider the sharp differences that exist between the leading seals (more than 100 impressions each) and the least active seals (1 to 20 impressions each), this interpretation seems quite plausible. However, the differences in the frequency of use of the different seals only demonstrate that different persons or groups might have had more responsibilities in the administrative system, but do not reveal anything about the nature of these duties. Moreover, the large number of seal owners who were allowed access in the palatial storerooms, as well as the absence of specialisation with respect to which objects could be sealed by which seal owners, indicate that distinctions between the seal owners were not rigid. Of course, we cannot deny that the three leading seal owners appear to have more administrative responsibility than others, but their authority is not required in every type of transaction and there are transactions that presumably did not necessitate

the authority of any seal owner as would be demonstrated by the sealings without seal imprints.

It seems that the seal motifs represented in the Phaistos archive cannot be associated clearly with either the types of products and transactions involved, or with the position of the seal owner, although differences in the frequency by which the seals are encountered could reflect different levels of administrative authority. To elucidate such patterns we must turn to the specific iconography of the seals. Although Weingarten's suggestion that simple, archaic motifs could not have been used as means of identification is not justified, her observation about the 'antiquity' of such motifs is very acute; most of these motifs are either the same or derive closely from Prepalatial seal motifs (Fig. 8.7). Sbonias (1999a: 42), moreover, has argued that, by the end of the Prepalatial and the beginning of the Protopalatial period, different iconographic groups were associated with particular communities in the Mesara, while Pini (1990: 37) has remarked on the possibility that some seals continued to be used a long time after their manufacture. Thus it would be possible to recognise in the archaic seals of the Phaistos archive either seals that had been in use for a long time, or seals which preserved quite carefully the Prepalatial motifs. How can such a situation be interpreted?

Another observation concerning the seal motifs of the archive which might help is that, despite the great number of different seal designs, most of these are somewhat related: either they are very similar to the point of being considered 'look-alikes' (Weingarten 1992; Militello 2000), or they illustrate variations of the same core theme (Fig. 8.8, a-b). Weingarten (1992: 28), who coined the term look-alikes, describes the significance of such seals as "functional multiforms, namely visually different seals which, nonetheless, function as a single glyptic unit, a relationship which would have been impossible to guess in the absence of their look-alike partners". She further notes (1992: 34) that the owners of look-alike seals must have been members of a closed group, whether officials, families or clans, with largely comparable authority. The look-alikes and related variants of the Phaistos archive, moreover, can be shown to have very close associations with Prepalatial iconographic groups, some of which can be traced back to particular communities, as evident by the comparison with seals found in different

tholos cemeteries (Fig. 8.7). Branigan (1969: 11-15), in an attempt to identify the origins of the Cretan scripts, has also remarked that many elements of the Phaistos archive are echoed in motifs and pictorial groups of the Prepalatial and concluded that some of the motifs featured in MM sealings could have represented various communities or political units. In light of such observations, it is suggested here that these iconographic groups with such long duration may represent some type of corporate groups associated with different communities in the region. Moreover, the variations within the same iconographic group could reflect different members as well as different levels of authority within the same seal-owning group. What are the implications of the above suggestions?

Let us first recapitulate our observations so far.

(1) The archive of Phaistos appears to represent the outcome of a single administrative year and had not accumulated over a long time (at least the majority of sealings found in Room 25). In this respect, the great number of sealings indicates an intensive activity with transactions happening quite regularly.

(2) All the broken sealings had been kept, despite the seal impressions in some of them being damaged, while several sealings did not bear a seal imprint, indicating that the authority or the presence of a seal owner was not always necessary in order to perform transactions.

(3) The sealings had sealed mainly storeroom doors in the Palace, or containers which remained permanently in the Palace, while objects sent sealed to the Palace cannot be recognised clearly. Moreover it seems that the sealing activity was performed by the seal owners in person and not by the palatial officials who, presumably, supervised the transactions.

(4) A surprisingly large number of seal-owners had sealed and stamped the six main storerooms, after having gained access in them. More than 50% of seal owners had been authorised to enter the storerooms (Militello 2000: 227).

(5) Although there exist differences in the frequency in which different seals have been used, perhaps reflecting different levels of administrative authority between resident and non-resident seal owners, there does not seem to be any specialisation regarding

associations between particular storerooms/containers and specific seal-owners; on the contrary, different seal owners had sealed a variety of objects, irrespectively of their position in the sealing administration.

(6) Most of the seals can be grouped into tight stylistic categories which can be traced back to Prepalatial iconographic groups and are associated with particular Mesaran communities. There exist many look-alikes or related variants within each of these groups, perhaps reflecting the comparable authority or the social position respectively of different members within these groups.

What can we conclude about the operation of palatial administration based on the above observations? First, there does not seem to be any rigid hierarchical control concerning who enters the storerooms or opens containers. Moreover, although it has been argued that this system reflects more the distribution of produce rather than the collection of products by the Palace (Schoep 2001: 90; 2002a: 20), it is not possible to determine the direction of these transactions (Palaima 1990b: 92). On the other hand, if the seal owners were indeed performing the transactions themselves (as seems to be the case), then what would be the meaning of non-resident seal owners with a low position in the administrative system, locking the doors of palatial storerooms? If this act was meant to verify that items had been collected by the seal owner then surely, a responsible palatial official should have kept track of such activity. Moreover, the overwhelming variation of seal designs (and the close associations between many of them) would make it practically impossible for a palatial official to recognise who the different seals represented and consequently, complete the book-keeping procedure. The same difficulties would apply on the occasion whereby the seal owner deposited goods in the palatial storerooms. Such impediments might have been overcome with the keeping of records in inscribed Linear A documents. However, the Linear A tablets from Phaistos are mostly fragmentary and those which are not, never occur in association with bulk commodities, preserving instead accounts of small quantities of goods such as wine (mostly) and some type of grain (Palaima 1990b: 92; Schoep 2001: 90). The modest amounts mentioned in the tablets have been used in favour of suggesting the distribution rather than the collection of produce. Finally, no tablets have ever been sealed (Weingarten 1994a: 285) and Linear A never occurs in sealstones, whereas Cretan Hieroglyphic does (Cherry 1986: 34). It is quite possible thus that the Linear A

documents reflected different administrative concerns than the sealing practices, at least at this stage of Palatial administration[8].

On the other hand, when we consider the correlations between the different seal owners and the patterns of sealing represented in the archive, an interesting possibility emerges. Fiandra (1968: 384; Ferioli *et al.* 2000: 354) has suggested that the door sealings could have born witness to control inspections or statistical reckoning of how often the storerooms were opened or closed. This suggestion is corroborated by the preserving of all the broken sealings irrespectively of whether their impressions were legible or not. Militello (2000: 225-226) moreover, has noted that the ratio of door sealings to smaller container sealings from Phaistos indicates a system whereby the storerooms were sealed while the receptacles stored in them were unsealed. The opening of doors thus could have had a quantitative value, to register the number of transactions performed by counting the broken door sealings, or a qualitative value, *to guarantee the order of things in the storerooms*. It is argued here that the latter may have been the main activity reflected in the Phaistos archive. Although quantitative concerns could have been equally served by this system, the sealing of doors by people non-resident in the palace, and therefore without central administrative responsibility, would run against the suggestion of quantitative controls conducted by the Palace. It appears more likely that the storeroom doors had been opened by a large number of people who subsequently locked them by stamping their seals on the clay nodules to certify that they had been satisfied with the condition of the contents. The performance of such sealing activity would make more sense if conducted *for the palatial subjects*, rather than for the palatial authority. Moreover, such activity seems to have been a formal affair, perhaps

[8] However, it should be noted that Linear A inscriptions and seal impressions occur together in the roundels, which appear for the first time in the Archive of Phaistos. These are not direct object sealings but independent documents that could have functioned as some kind of receipts (Weingarten 1994a: 276) and become more common in Minoan administration in Neopalatial times (Weingarten 1986). The roundels of Room 25 bear the ideogram of WINE and possibly SHEEP but lack seal impressions, while the roundels found in rooms LI-LV are inscribed with short texts and each bears one or more seal impressions and could indicate a chronological evolution of the document type (Weingarten 1994a: 276, 284), although a different function cannot be excluded. With respect to the relationship between roundels and tablets, Palaima (1990b: 92) notes that the sealed nature of the roundel indicates its function as a direct record of a transaction, whereas the Linear A tablets usually record the results or the expectation of such transactions. For a detailed discussion of the function of these administrative documents see Schoep (1995) and Hallager (1996); for the roundels of Phaistos, see Perna (1995).

restricted to specific occasions or whenever the seal owners visited the Palace. The evidence of non-stamped sealings demonstrates that the storerooms were opened and closed more frequently, but a record of who was in charge in every particular opening-closing was not always kept.

If we now introduce in the discussion the connections that the different iconographic groups recognised in the Archive had with different communities in the region, it would seem that such qualitative control of the order of the palatial storerooms was performed by representatives from the different Mesaran communities sending their envoys to the Palace at regular intervals, which unfortunately cannot be specified. Of course, it has to be stressed that the leading seals demonstrate that palatial authority was monitoring such 'checks' and apparently had the primary responsibility of collecting, storing and distributing the goods at the disposal of the Palace. It is only to be expected that a degree of leadership would be necessary to ensure the successful operation of such a mechanism. The surprising factor, though, is that palatial authority had to account for its dealings to a rather broad base of subjects across the entire region. Moreover, if the look-alikes and related variants encountered in the different iconographic groups were indeed members of the same corporate groups with diverse levels of local authority, then their presence and frequency in the palatial archive may indicate the level of control and authority that different communities might have had regionally, as also the personal authority and perhaps social position of the seal owners themselves.

It would seem, therefore, that the archive of Phaistos indeed reflects an 'undignified free-for-all' situation, which further appears to have been concerned more with the seal owners rather than with the palatial officials. Such a situation, moreover, agrees with the observations concerning the meaning of the architectural evolution of the First Palace (§7.3.1) and the limited control that the Palace had over localised practices such as craft activity (§8.2). The sealing practices of the archive reconstruct a system whereby the dealings of palatial administration had to be accounted for in some detail and the operation of the palatial storerooms had to be overseen and approved by quite a large regional base of controllers. Such peculiarities of the administrative system could only be explained by the collaborative nature that the palatial institution had at its inception.

However, it must be stressed, that despite such 'freedoms' Palatial authority had the final word. The clear distinctions in the frequency of occurrence of the different seals underline that different levels of administrative authority existed, while the performance of transactions without stamping the storeroom doors highlights the fact that the Palace was able to conduct business without the approval of regional representatives. It would seem that the checking of palatial storerooms by non-resident seal owners was a kind of ceremony organised and supervised by the palace to keep the populace satisfied, while when it came to ordinary, daily economic processes the Palace had no obligation to justify its dealings.

The introduction of Linear A script into MM administrative practices may also concur with attempts by the palace to enforce more hierarchically organised procedures. Weingarten (1994a: 285) has suggested that the inscribed and sealed roundels represent administrative documents addressed to a 'functionally illiterate' seal owning bureaucracy. She further argues that it was the seal owners who were the trusted functionaries, not the scribes, and this would explain why Minoan scribes never sealed their tablets, as well as why only simple ideograms of Linear A that everybody could recognise, occur in the sealed roundels. If we consider the greater antiquity of sealing practices as opposed to writing/inscribing practices, and recognise that Linear A script in this period only occurred in palatial contexts and never on sealstones (Cherry 1986: 33-34), we could tentatively suggest that Linear A was a palatial invention to exert more rigid control over administrative practices which had not been easy to contain previously. Moreover, if the script had somewhat widely known religious connotations[9], this would have made it easier for the public to accept it as another palatial exclusivity over ideology. On the other hand, many of the ideograms or pictorial forms used in it, perhaps, were recognised quite widely, if we accept their similarities with Prepalatial seal motifs (Branigan 1969: 11). The palace, therefore, might have combined already existing elements to create a representational medium which would serve exclusively palatial needs. Again, such attempts by the Palace were largely based on ideological

[9] Such religious symbolism could be implied by the occurrence of non-archival Linear A inscriptions most commonly in peak sanctuaries, sacred caves and tombs (Cherry 1986: 34), although it has to be noted that these contexts date usually to the Neopalatial period.

manipulation, which has so far proven the most powerful political means utilised by palatial authority. A final example will illustrate this suggestion.

As noted above, although it is generally maintained that the Phaistos archive reflects more the distribution rather than the pooling of resources from the hinterland (Ferioli & Fiandra 1990: 222; Schoep 2001: 90; 2002a: 20), there exists no concise evidence for the direction of transactions, while it is accepted of course that goods must have been collected there despite such an activity not leaving a clear record. It would seem, perhaps, that the Palace was more concerned with the monitoring of consumption rather than production and accumulation, although these activities might have been equally important for palatial administration. The 400 juglets recovered together with the sealing archive in Room 25 (Fig. 8.5) could provide interesting insights with respect to such palatial concerns. These consist of small vessels, usually made of coarse fabrics and bearing an identical decoration of two pairs of lance-shaped leaves painted dark over the light clay body; they are very consistent in their dimensions, measuring between 13 to 18 cm in height and have been found almost exclusively at Phaistos, and mostly in the deposit of Room 25, while they do not survive the end of the Protopalatial period (Levi & Carinci 1988: 88-89). The juglets have been used to argue for the distribution of produce by the palace[10], and Walberg (1990), more precisely, has suggested the distribution of small quantities of wine for immediate consumption in palatial festivals. Although the consistency of their dimensions and decoration could point to their use as some type of set measures, it cannot be determined whether they had been used to distribute or to collect products and what kind. The spatial distribution of the jugs on the other hand may prove informative. Although the only examples mentioned outside Phaistos are a jug found at Ag. Photini (Levi & Carinci 1988: 89) and one at the Ag. Triada cemetery (Banti 1930-31: 173-174, fig. 24), their occurrence in isolated numbers in these contexts may be taken to indicate that the Palace indeed was the distributor of such items, which otherwise would not have been widely available.

[10] Contrast Levi (1976: 394) who argues for a use of the jugs to collect 'luxury' substances such as perfumed oil from the Palatial hinterland.

What was distributed in them? In light of the above discussion of the patterns of wine consumption in the palace, the distribution of wine for immediate consumption in this manner would not seem likely; the proper consumption of wine was the main prerogative of the Palace and Kamares Ware the exclusive medium of such consumption. It would be against palatial propaganda to introduce such a radically different way of consuming wine. So, if wine was distributed, perhaps it was not for immediate consumption. On the other hand, if wine was given away as gift to the local elites, the quantity contained in each jug was hardly worth the gesture, while the receptacle itself was not worthwhile either. Surely no elite member would be satisfied with such a small token of recognition. The only possibility remaining is that whatever was distributed in the jugs was of such high value that even the smallest quantity would suffice. If we take into account the evidence of the Linear A always mentioning wine in small quantities, then perhaps a connection with wine indeed existed. But what precisely?

We could interpret this situation in two ways: either a product necessary for the proper consumption or production of wine was distributed, such as spices or honey (if we can presume that these were goods not widely available); or palatial wine was given away. However, what would be the use of acquiring palatial wine in such small amounts? It would only make sense if palatial wine was considered to have properties better or different than any other kinds of wine presumably produced in the region. A small amount of such 'special' wine would perhaps transform more 'common' varieties if blended with them[11]. A modern analogy of the same process can be found in the Greek Orthodox ritual of the distribution by the church of 'sanctified water' at the beginning of every year, which is subsequently used in several households activities involving water to ensure prosperity and good fortune. By the same token, the Palace might have distributed 'sanctified wine', only available by the palace, as the exclusive religious/ideological authority. This practice moreover could have served to restrain the centrifugal trends that had started to emerge throughout the region during MMIIB and involved the reproduction of exclusively palatial features (such as ceremonial

[11] See Toussaint-Samat (1992: 263) for the practice of blending wine in Classical Greece.

consumption) in localised contexts (see Chapter 7, §7.4). If the Palace wanted to maintain its exclusivity, such localised trends would have had to be subdued and controlled. The most effective way to achieve this would be through the ideological manipulation of wine consumption. In a region with a tradition of a few centuries in the production of an alcoholic drink, it might not have been easy to control the means of such production. On the other hand, the Palace had been the fulcrum of regional ideology for nearly two centuries; the Palace was accepted and believed as the authority in matters of ideology. It would not have been difficult to impose or propagate ideological constraints for the performance of local ceremonies of drinking consumption. By ensuring that palatial, 'sanctified' wine would be perceived as the only wine suitable for ceremonial consumption, the Palace might have been setting clear limits to the frequency of localised consumption events, while such restrictions might have also diminished the ritual importance of such local ceremonies.

If the Palace ever had absolute control over anything this was ideology. We identified this property of the palace with respect to other lines of evidence, it now becomes evident from the examination of the patterns of administration, that ideology was the primary means of palatial authority and power.

8.4. Persuasion, Coercion, Co-operation: the different faces of palatial authority during the Old Palace period in the Mesara.

The aims of Chapters 7 and 8 have been to identify the social strategies which were at the core of social life in the Protopalatial period and compare them to the Prepalatial, and finally, to assess current models of palatial emergence and if possible, suggest an alternative.

Although, when viewed in the long run, the transformations between the Prepalatial and the Protopalatial period are sharp and the political circumstances of the two periods can be clearly distinguished, it becomes obvious from the discussion of the emergence and the evolution of the palatial institution in the Mesara that strong links of continuity with the past are also present. The social arenas of the Prepalatial and the Protopalatial period, although different, revolve around social practices which retained a prominent place in the articulation of life in the Mesara throughout both periods. Surely we can contrast the nature of drinking ceremonies taking place in Prepalatial cemeteries to the large scale ceremonial drinking consumption taking place in the palace, however in both cases, the practice of communal drinking had been at the centre of collective identification strategies and operated as the primary means of social negotiation. Certainly craft production has evolved in terms of technological achievements, however, in both periods craft activity, and most precisely pottery manufacture retained its importance as a social currency with substantial negotiating power. Obviously the symbolism of seal use and iconography underwent changes, but the strength of this type of material culture as a means of symbolic representation is underlined by the fact that it penetrated the organisation and the operation of the palatial institution so much, that it outlived the destruction of the First Palace of Phaistos[12]. Therefore, although changes in the way life was organised were indeed effected by the emergence of the palace, such transformations were rooted in and drew upon the patterns of the past.

The emergence of the Palace at Phaistos, moreover, only makes sense if viewed in relation to pre-existing social strategies pertinent to the local contexts of the Mesara. Of course, the existence of similarities with the other palaces across the island cannot be overlooked, but in most cases these are too general to have any explanatory potential. By the same token, models of palatial emergence based on broad socio-economic patterns, although in many respects illuminating, leave many aspects of the organisation and the operation of the palaces obscured. As shown, assumptions about the centralised politico-economic character of the palaces, do not appear accurate in the case of Phaistos (see also Schoep 2002a: 33). Moreover, by examining several aspects of the

[12] See the administrative practices of Neopalatial Ag. Triada (Weingarten 1986; Schoep 2002a: 25-28).

palatial organisation in conjunction, it became evident that it is not always easy to distinguish between clearly economic or strictly political patterns, as both aspects were intertwined in the social practices accommodated by the palace. The Palace clearly had an economic role at a regional scale. However, its administrative system reveals a concern with only specific resources and particularly with consumption strategies. The paucity of evidence concerning the overseeing or management of production by the palace may be due to a biased archaeological record which has not preserved such information. On the other hand, though, the abundance of information on the control and supervision of consumption creates a sharp contrast and hints that perhaps records were kept for only specific activities, which might have been more important or relevant to the organisation and the operation of the Palace. In any case, palatial interests appear stronger in ideological matters and the political reach of the Palace is nowhere exemplified in a clearer manner than in the ideological strategies employed to achieve political goals. Such strategies constituted the core of palatial political power, while their misappropriation may have brought about the demise of the Palace at the end of the Protopalatial period.

The First Palace of Phaistos indeed achieved political integration at regional scale. However, the details of its operation reveal that such political integration was as much subject to palatial control as dependent upon more local agents of political interaction. The authority of the palace was not absolute, but on the contrary had limited reach even during its most 'authoritarian' phase, at the end of MMIIB. Palatial administration evolved in accordance with the role that the Palace played in every different stage of its existence. At its initial inception, the co-operative broad base which contributed to its establishment was at its height. The Palace, as represented by the palatial edifice, was a means to an end, and its architectural configuration ensured that such a message was not misunderstood: the open spaces around the edifice conveyed more monumentality than the building itself, dwarfing it rather than elevating it through their vastness. Architecture proved a very eloquent means of signification since the architectural transformations of the palatial building in the subsequent phases essentially operated as the most overt propaganda for palatial authority. Not only did the building become clearly monumental, its open spaces became enclosed, contained, and controlled. In a similar fashion as the cemeteries, the ceremonial spaces of the Prepalatial had become

the focus of architectural circumscription towards the end of the period, the Palace as the ceremonial locus of this period became progressively enclosed and the practices associated with such spaces acquired more precise direction. Such practices of enclosure proliferated towards the end of the Protopalatial period, when the Palace was entirely surrounded by the town of Phaistos and the Central Court had been totally blocked from public view (and use?).

This was the time that the importance of the past in the Mesara resurfaced in the political strategies of the rest of the communities. Every aspect of life during MMII embodied some kind of resistance or defiance towards the palatial authority. The palatial elite enclosed the open spaces of the building which was built primarily for public consumption. As a reaction, smaller sites acquired their own formally demarcated ceremonial space: initially the cemeteries re-emerged as the *loci* of such activities, subsequently, open paved courts acquired a public function independent of the practices of death. By the end of MMII, the region is scattered with miniature 'reproductions' of the main palatial functions. The palace attempted to promote differentiations by utilising high quality Kamares vessels (perhaps also their metal prototypes?) in feasting ceremonies. Far from allowing the pottery system to operate in a coercive way, the long traditions of producing and consuming high quality ceramics in the Mesara meant that ceramics re-emerged as a negotiating currency, and this time even more advantageous by virtue of the versatility of the ware and the connotations of its consumption. Kamares Ware became a separate arena within the political arenas of the region.

The authority of the Palace of Phaistos appears to be characterised by such ambiguities throughout its history. The Palace, emerging out of regional collaboration without strict hierarchical structure, attempted to institutionalise differences by manipulating the activities that had been central in engineering its establishment. The same activities, however, had been instrumental in the articulation of social identities across the region and not only have all communities had access to them for centuries, but also, all the communities were very competent in manipulating and reproducing them. Therefore, the means of political control at the disposal of the palace were the same as the

negotiating means at the disposal of the palatial subjects. Out of such balance palatial administration could not acquire an overtly authoritarian nature; it was liable to control and justification by its hinterland.

However, the Palace had an attribute that the rest of the Mesaran communities could not have had individually: the palace was the embodiment of the collective ideology that brought these communities together in the first place. As such, the Palace not only had ideological preponderance, it was the ultimate ideological authority. The political reach of Phaistos might have been debated, defied even, but the ideological significance of the palatial institution appears beyond doubt. Even when the exclusivity of the palatial functions had come under challenge, the palatial response did not seem to involve coercion, but persuasion; the palace did not appear to have the means to forbid the rest of the region to construct formal venues for ceremonial drinking consumption. The palace rather appears to have managed the patterns of wine consumption in such a way as to devalue such more localised strategies; wine consumption was not to have meaning unless it was conducted in a 'proper' manner.

The persuasive strategies of the Palace of Phaistos were rooted in its long history as a regional symbol and sustained its authority till the end of MMIIB, despite the growing regional contention. However, the socio-political circumstances out of which the Palace had emerged as well as the conditions which were created during its rule, meant that when the First Palace was finally destroyed the regional populace did not appear as willing to reconstruct it as it had been at the beginning. As Appadurai (1986: 26) put it "the politics of enclaving far from being a guarantor of systemic stability, may constitute the Trojan Horse of change". The political tactics of the Phaistian administration towards the end of its rule had not been welcomed across the region. Consequently, after its demise other centres emerged, such as Kommos and Ag. Triada, and although these might have yielded different levels of regional appeal throughout their history, it is not likely that they enjoyed the level of regional socio-political integration of the First Palace. The palace at Phaistos went through a brief phase of partial reconstruction during MMIII (La Rosa 2002), which coincided with the majority of depositions in the tholos at Kamilari, and the construction of a second, adjacent

tholos at Mylona Lakko, while the only certain peak sanctuary of the region is established in Kophinas bearing all the traits of Neopalatial peak sanctuaries, with a demarcated temenos and built enclosing walls (Karetsou & Rethemiotakis 1990: 429-430). Again, it would seem that ideological manipulation proved the primary agenda.

The Second Palace, after a phase of almost complete abandonment, was not completed until the LMIB period (La Rosa 2002: 80). The change had been drastic: it is significantly reduced in size and its architectural layout is sharply different from before. Although Moody (1987: 239) has argued for an enclosing of the palatial buildings during Neopalatial times in contrast to the Protopalatial period, this does not seem to apply to Phaistos. Not only is the main entry to the Central Court, Corridor III/7 enlarged, but the building appears open from the North through the pier-and-door partitions of Rooms 85 and 79 and the East through the portico and pier-and-door partition of Rooms 63 and 64[13] (Fig. 8.9). The main storage area, moreover, Rooms 27-37, is openly accessible from the Central Court through the portico of Room 25, while new storage areas were constructed in the north-eastern part of the building, again adjacent to a court. The most significant transformation, however, is represented in the contruction of the monumental complex of Rooms 67-69. This arrangement encompasses a monumental staircase overlooking the enlarged, but no longer paved, West Court, and has been interpreted as the main entrance in the Palace at this period. However, this 'entry' concludes in a blind wall with very small openings located to the North and SE sides, while the succession of small portico Spaces 68 and 69 meant that any circulation in this area would have to be quite slow and controlled. By contrast, Corridor III/7, leading straight into the core of the building, had been left unguarded and entirely open. In light of these discrepancies, it is possible to argue that the architectural arrangement of the West Entrance makes more sense as a formal, ceremonial '*exit*' onto the West Court, most probably devised in relation to the ceremonies taking place in this court (Relaki 2001). Such changes might have given the Second Palace of Phaistos a more religious than political character (see also La Rosa 2002: 95), while the paucity of

[13] However, see Driessen (1995) for the construction of a guarded entrance at the Eastern Court of the Palace at some stage during the LMI period. Such change is viewed within a broader context of transformations throughout the island in this period, possibly reflecting unstable political circumstances.

finds preserved in it as well as the virtual absence of administrative documents would enhance such an impression.

It is apparent, therefore, that even when broader socio-political patterns become more pertinent in the Mesara, as it may have been the case during the Neopalatial period, the practices of the past and the long lived, familiar traditions of social life still played the most crucial role. The turbulent trajectory of the palace of Phaistos after its destruction at the end of MMIIB reflects a disillusioned regional audience which was reluctant to entrust its resources and its highly prized ways of life again to an establishment which had failed to uphold the main purpose for which it had been conceived. It took nearly 200 years for the region to allow the Palace to re-emerge and this time its character was more than clearly ideological; the palace was no longer responsible for the political fates of the Mesaran communities; this role had been handed over, willingly or unwillingly to other centres, most prominently Ag. Triada. Although the same place, Phaistos had become a different Palace and the Mesara a different region.

CHAPTER 9

ONE REGION IN TIME?

The aim of this thesis has been to provide an understanding of the distinct regional character of the Mesara, in south-central Crete, during most of the Bronze Age period. To fulfil this aim, it was first necessary to discuss the character of the central historical questions in Minoan archaeology. Such questions are mainly concerned with the emergence of social complexity in the form of the Palaces. The region has been the primary scale of analysis where such emergence has been examined by a variety of different models. The clustering of distinctive types of material culture in particular areas has been the main way in which such regions have been defined. By consequence, spatial association has been considered the primary factor in generating regional patterns. However, as such patterns are taken to reflect particular social interactions, spatial associations are translated into social units. In this sense, spatial units, organised according to their size come to represent social units, presumably following a similar hierarchy. By implication, the clustering of such socio-spatial units within a clearly defined topography is taken to reflect socio-political integration at a regional level.

However, it was argued that social cohesion is not an unequivocal outcome of spatial proximity. Social integration as a sense of belonging must be achieved and this can be done through a variety of different ways. Therefore, community as an actively performed sense of belonging represents the only valid way in which we can explore social integration. It was argued that region should be seen as such an active creation of belongingness. Perceived in this manner, the region is a process; it is constantly under construction. Different regions are generated through the choice of people to participate in specific social interactions. In this sense, a number of regions may be active simultaneously, some being more 'visible' than others. The crucial transformation

brought about by this approach is that it allows regionalism to be a meaningful phenomenon which has emerged through the conscious choice of social actors to invest in and promote particular types of community. Regional identity, thus, is not reduced to the accidental outcome of spatial co-existence. On the contrary, this alternative perception of region places equal significance on the materiality of space and on the choices of social agents.

The 'extent' and the 'visibility' of such a region depends on actively performed structures of belonging. Such structures can be context-specific; they can depend on the context of activity in which social agents engage. In this way, several different identifications (and groupings – 'communities') are possible within the course of a single day. I am a student when I go to the University in the morning, a member of my family when I return home, a member of the audience when I go to the cinema in the evening. However, different identifications have different strengths as community generating factors. The strength of such identifications depends as much on particular historical circumstances as on the choices and intentions of social agents.

In this way, structures of belonging can also be enduring; they can be identifications that receive more long-term investment. Some groupings are singled out from a range of possible identities as the most *relevant*, the most important for the way we live, or want to live our lives. Such identification structures are *social arenas*; they have more strength as types of community; they represent how we see ourselves and our relationships with others. Social arenas comprise all the elements in the way we live our lives that are important enough to be preserved and perpetuated. At the same time, though, the significance of such elements also renders them the primary target for negotiation and change. The sharing and active performance of such community identifications generates *networks of relevance.*

The concept of the network is the most advantageous way in which to describe region as an ongoing process. The network has no boundaries, a beginning or an end; it is only visible because different participating nodes connect to it; it becomes evident only when it is *practised.* Urry's (2000: 122) example of the World Wide Web as a self-making,

autopeitic system which emerged without centralised control illustrates eloquently the way the network operates: nobody really started it, it is not centrally controlled or managed, and although rules pertain to its operation, these were not set by any overarching authority but rather sprang from the necessities of practice. Social networks which generate homologies of the sort of the Minoan Palaces should be understood in similar terms. They are historical in that they exploit material and social conditions which are specific to a place and time, but their meaning is not exhausted in such specificity. Their significance lies in the fact that people got connected in them, they invested in the social practices of the network, they identified with the social positions generated by such practices, and by doing so, they reproduced the network.

By adopting this way of thinking we can understand how the social practices of the Mesara acquired their significance, how and why such significance changed, and how such transformations affected the way the inhabitants of the Mesara led their lives, understood one another and their relationships. We can, then, reassess the meaning of the 'distinctiveness' of the Mesara: what made the Mesara different, and how and when was such distinctiveness understood and acted out. Is the picture of the homogeneity of the Mesara merely the result of our distanced position as outsiders, or can we find out whether and how such belongingness at a regional level may have been evident among the Mesaran communities themselves?

We have examined the social practices of the Mesara synchronically, in the course of a single period (although this obviously entails a diachronic dimension as well), and diachronically, from the FN to the end of the Protopalatial. How was community generated and performed in the course of every different period?

It was argued that during the FN period community was understood and enacted at a regional level by participating in common patterns of settlement and movement within the area. Such movement appeared to have a regular focus on the hill of Phaistos where drinking consumption ceremonies, possibly involving the communities of the entire region, took place. During the EMI the performance of community changed scale and means. Burial practices represented the main means by which communal identification

was enacted for the communities of the Asterousia, while on the plain the importance of Phaistos as a place with communal symbolism diminished; Phaistos was no longer the exclusive location for ceremonial drinking consumption. At the same time, in the Asterousia the familiar drinking ceremonies were incorporated in the funerary ritual, thus acquiring a secondary role as identification means for these communities. Therefore, different perceptions of region were active between these two areas of the Mesara. This situation proliferated during the later part of the Prepalatial period. From EMIIA, tholos cemeteries started to colonise the plain, and specific cemeteries became progressively associated with particular settlements only. The cemetery-settlement pair represented the main way in which late Prepalatial communities expressed their understanding of belonging. Other strategies were also employed to project and safeguard the symbolic boundary of such identification, most notably pottery production and seal iconography. The architectural circumscription of the settlements and cemeteries towards the end of the Prepalatial also formed part of the same strategies. Drinking ceremonies proliferated and, although still held at the cemeteries, no longer had a funerary character. The symbolic content of such ceremonies was also enhanced; the consumption, but perhaps also the production, of an alcoholic beverage for these events, represented one of the main ways in which different Mesaran communities engaged in competition with one another. At the end of the Prepalatial, the understanding and performance of community was confined to each different settlement/cemetery, which represented regions of their own. Such fragmentation came to an end when the First Palace of Phaistos was established at the beginning of the MMIB period. The Palace appears to have been a combined effort of several Mesaran communities, and in its initial form seems to have operated as a large-scale, formal venue for feasting events which may have attracted the whole of the regional population. This integrative mechanism achieved regional cohesion at several levels, but did not manage to permeate and diffuse entirely the boundaries that local communities had been carefully constructing during the previous period. When palatial authority attempted to impose more centralised and hierarchical structures, the regional populace reverted back to their familiar ways of group identification. The local settlements became again the level at which community was felt and enacted. The understanding of community at a regional level, which the First Palace had achieved, was short-lived.

In every period that we examined, therefore, the scale at which belongingness was *practised* marked the extent and the visibility of the relevant region. Although the Mesaran communities shared many common social practices, the scale at which they performed such practices marked the level at which community was understood as a structure of belonging. In this sense, although the investment in common practices may have generated a sense of community at a regional level, it was the performance of such practices in very local contexts and for very local purposes which reflected the degree of social integration among the Mesaran communities. In any type of identification there may exist several common features between the members of a group. However, we choose which elements represent us better according to the specific circumstances we find ourselves in. Therefore, it is not simply the features we have in common that make us a group, it is the way we practise such identities that really projects who we are and what this means to us and others. These specific ways in which we perform our identities depend as much on our history as on our choices to reproduce or transform such identity. Thus, the most important factor in the generation of community is the *scale* at which we perform the identities we perceive as more relevant than others. Community is generated through our practice.

In every different period of the history of the Mesara, the scale at which a sense of belonging was performed was different. Although the choice of such a scale may have been affected by wider processes, it was more dependent upon local conditions. For example, an emphasis on burial practices was common throughout most of the southern Aegean during the EBA. The Mesara formed part of this wider network by investing on the mortuary sphere. However, the particular ways in which the participation in this network of relevance was expressed, were specifically local. It was not simply the material forms preferred in the Mesara (e.g. tholos tombs as opposed to rectangular house tombs in Eastern Crete) that were relevant to local processes, but also the way in which these were manipulated and the needs that such a manipulation fulfilled. For instance, artefacts of distinctively Cycladic nature (and often provenance), such as marble folded-arms figurines and obsidian blades, were included in tholos burials. Such items were part of funerary assemblages in other areas of Crete and the Aegean. In this sense, the Mesara was, again, partaking in a very wide network of relevance which cross-cut geographical and cultural boundaries. However, the consumption of both

figurines and obsidian blades in tholos burials obeyed very localised practices that embedded these 'foreign' materials in very local strategies. Not only were Cycladic-type figurines produced from local raw material, they were also adapted to local styles unknown and unfamiliar to the Cyclades (Papadatos 1999: 109-114). Obsidian blades, although manufactured by Cycladic raw material and according to a technological format common for most of Central Crete, they are found in funerary contexts of 'feasting' activities in the Mesara, in a manner that has no parallels in any other area of the southern Aegean (Carter 1998). In this sense, the local scale at which such wider influences were performed is, again, most revealing about the nature of social negotiation and cohesion in the Mesara.

It seems, therefore, that the Mesaran communities, throughout their history, but particularly towards the end of the Prepalatial period (and again at the end of the Protopalatial), reproduced structures of belonging at very local scales. However, as they all invested heavily in the same social practices, the impression of regional homogeneity is created. When viewed by outsiders, non-residents in the Mesara and non-participants in its social practices, the region appears as a homogeneous entity. However, such a picture cannot be taken literally. On the contrary, the Mesaran communities, by engaging in the same practices for local reasons, unintentionally reproduced a wider picture of regionalism. This is precisely the significance of the network: wider ideas and processes are performed and reproduced at a local level. This is the only way in which the network can be activated and become visible. Similar processes may also be responsible for the emergence of palatial structures simultaneously across the island: people connected to a wider network of beliefs and practices for local purposes and according to local circumstances.

Such processes, therefore, would describe one of the ways in which the Mesaran communities reproduced regionalism as an unintended consequence of their social practices. However, such communities were also characterised by more enduring structures, which, although may have been influenced by unforeseen conditions, were chosen specifically as most relevant to the life of the communities which reproduced them. Let us consider, then, how such enduring structures may have come about.

We have suggested so far that the apparent homogeneity of the regional character of the Mesara may have been an unintended consequence of practices which had more localised focus and competitive, rather than integrative, scope. If the expressions of regionalism in a synchronic dimension were not aiming to generate congruity, was there any other way in which the Mesaran communities understood themselves and their neighbours as members of a common region?

A sense of community may have been achieved simply by recognising that all the inhabitants of the area were investing in common social practices. However, such a sense of community may have been more apparent in the long run, as practices and ways of doing persisted and became traditions of living. In the Mesara, *collective practices* were at the core of long-term investment. To a certain degree, this picture may be influenced by the nature of the available evidence which makes the identification of more 'personal' strategies, difficult. However, we should not underestimate, on the one hand, the remarkable persistence of such practices through time, and on the other, their centrality in the articulation of social identities in the area for nearly a millennium. Even when we can discern more individual concerns reflected in material culture, these appear to have always been expressed through collective means and had been framed within collective contexts of activity. For example, the use of seals may have afforded ample grounds for personal identifications and distinctions, however, such attempts were largely 'contained' by collective strategies; difference was performed by 'variegating' standard seal designs used by entire groups, instead of adopting entirely new ones or importing foreign motifs. The performance of a personal distinction seemed more relevant at the level of the local group. Individual actors aimed to negotiate their status more within the realm of their corporate group and less with respect to a wider regional arena. Such attitudes can be attributed largely to the specific historical development of collective structures in the Mesara; identification at a collective level had been a central social strategy in the Mesara since the FN period, and had become a tradition which permeated every aspect of life.

Among such collective practices, there are two which persisted through time and affected greatly the regional character of the Mesara, as this was projected to outsiders and as it was understood by participants: the interrelated domains of *feasting practices* and *pottery systems*. Critics would warn against overstating the importance of pottery for past social processes: it is commonly argued that the ubiquity and good preservation of this type of material, coupled with its primary use in archaeology for generating chronological sequences, affects greatly our perceptions of its presumed significance in the past. Furthermore, it is true that a range of materials, which do not survive equally well, may have been used consistently in the past. It has also been argued that ceramics were too mundane to have been important as negotiating means in the past. However, while we should take into account the possibility of non-surviving material, to downplay the evidence of ceramics on the basis that it was a mundane – and therefore insignificant – aspect of life in the past, would be an unjustified argument. There are so many aspects of our mundane existence today that make such powerful statements about ourselves, our goals and aspirations that it would be impossible to ignore their role in the forming of our multiple identities. Although we may not contemplate such aspects during our everyday experience, they are still part of our conscious choices about who we are or want to be.

In the same sense, although there may have existed other containers made of more 'exotic' or 'precious' materials than clay, this should not diminish the role that ceramics might have played in the negotiation of social identities. Moreover, it is precisely the mundane nature of pottery that allows it to acquire a more active role in the processes of negotiation: by being part of everyday activities ceramics had a consistent role in projecting or rejecting particular messages. On the other hand, our evidence shows that ceramic containers were also part of more 'irregular' and less frequent events. Their use in such different occasions might have encouraged comparisons, thereby enhancing their negotiating properties. Furthermore, the significance of pottery is not exhausted in its raw materials and their availability. A whole range of parameters of the ceramic system can play an important role in social negotiation: technological know-how and technical competence may be used to generate or convey status; style and types of decoration may be used to mark or diffuse social boundaries; exchange of ceramics for their own merits as technological artefacts may be used to create social distinctions, etc.

Above all, it is the historical contexts in which ceramics have been used that can underline their significance for particular social processes.

In this respect, pottery is most important in our discussion because it is essentially "part of the language of cuisine" (Sherratt 1997: 376). Although ceramics may be greatly appreciated as technological artefacts, it is the context of their use which vest them with more meaning. They are containers and therefore, they acquire much of their significance from the specific nature of their contents. In this sense, the key role that feasting practices had in the history of the Mesara during the Bronze Age and the endurance and high quality of ceramic manufacture in the area are interrelated. In the Mesara, pottery had been effective as a negotiating means on a multitude of levels. The role of the consumption of high quality ceramics in the politics of large scale feasting has been discussed in some length (see Chapters 6 and 8). However, the patterns of their production were equally influential in the context of social negotiation in the Mesara.

During certain periods, the production of high quality pottery according to long established technological formats by different communities may have facilitated inter-community competition; technical skill in manufacturing pottery and the high quality of the finished artefact may have been used to symbolically reproduce the boundaries of different communities. At the same time, pottery from the Mesara was imported into other areas of Crete, most notably in EMIIA Knossos (Wilson & Day 1994). These Mesaran imports at Knossos included products of different production groups, from both the Mesara Plain and the Asterousia. In this sense, despite being produced at different locations within the region, Mesaran pottery as an export, operated as a common means of identification for the entire area; it was understood as a phenomenon typical of the Mesara, in the same way that the tholos tombs might have been considered a Mesaran peculiarity.

The timing of such exchanges is also significant. The greatest amount of imported pottery at Knossos dates to the EMIIA period (Wilson & Day 1994), a time when the dominant social framework in the Mesara promoted different communities as the level at which social integration was more active, in contrast to earlier practices which had

wider reach. By providing a means of competition among the local communities, pottery added to the deterioration of local alliances, while by travelling outside the Mesara, it represented a means of identification for the entire region. To any outsiders the Mesara may have appeared as a land of good potters. Although such an identity was used internally to serve competition, when faced with outsiders, the same identity could have operated as a unifying factor. When we also take into account the local circumstances in the Mesara, where feasting events started to proliferate towards the end of the Prepalatial, it becomes evident that ceramics may have gradually become particularly powerful means of negotiating identities.

Despite the disruption in the flow of exchanges with other areas during the late Prepalatial, Mesaran ceramics had acquired a reputation as high quality containers, which ensured that their procurement was resumed in later periods. Again, it is no coincidence that the following event of marked exchanges between the Mesara and Knossos is noted during the Protopalatial period, and involved the most prestigious feasting kit of the time, Kamares Ware. The production of Kamares Ware appears to have continued in the same ways and possibly by the same production groups as in the earlier periods (Day & Wilson 1998; Day *et al.* forthcoming). Such continuity is demonstrated by the use of the same clay recipes and raw materials, but also by the persistence of specific forming techniques. The transmission of such knowledge, more so in the case of forming techniques, would require face-to-face interaction between instructor and apprentice and would highlight the significance placed in preserving certain technological choices from generation to generation. When such details of skill and knowledge are preserved for centuries, while the products of such activity, the ceramic vessels, change considerably in appearance, we must acknowledge that the production of pottery, as well as its consumption, may have had a significant role in the process of social negotiation in the Mesara.

Such ways of doing and clay recipes are preserved through to the Neopalatial period as is demonstrated by the continuous use of certain clay fabrics and ways of producing pottery (Day 1988: 505; 1997: 227, n. 46; Van de Moortel 2002: 197; Shaw *et al.* 2001). The specific ways of making pottery appear to have been preserved as part of a strong tradition which was transmitted through face-to-face interaction and the learning of

specific bodily movements. The importance of pottery-making traditions in the Mesara may be also indicated by the presence of a substantial number of pottery kilns in the area even in modern times (Fig. 9.1).

It seems, therefore, that pottery making was an activity which acquired a crucial role in the articulation of identities in the Mesara. More importantly, in the long run it served as an identification factor with regional appeal. A reputation can follow us at great distances and through long periods of time (Fig. 9.2). The Mesaran communities worked on their reputation as skilled potters, perhaps, even as early as the FN[1]. Through the significance attributed to feasting as a primary way of creating and reproducing a sense of community at varied scales in the Mesara, pottery, as a consumed, but also as a produced item, was elevated to a powerful medium of negotiation. By investing so consistently in the pottery system and by carefully preserving and perpetuating the ways of manufacturing pottery, the Mesaran communities recognised in ceramics a strong tradition that in the long run brought them together as members of the same region. In this way, the pottery system may have generated a sense of community understood in the diachronic dimension. Pottery-making, practised in a typical Mesaran fashion which survived for centuries, was eventually separated from the contexts of consumption, which initially gave ceramics their special character, and became a tradition of regional identity.

This discussion of the pottery systems in the Mesara during the Bronze Age serves to illustrate the potential of the alternative understanding of region as an ongoing creation of communal identity. On one level, the significance placed in pottery can be seen as context-specific: ceramics were an essential part of the technologies of feasting and as such they acquired their meanings through the patterns of their consumption. On another level, pottery systems proved an enduring structure of belonging for the Mesaran communities: the production of pottery as a tradition of living was appreciated more in the long run and contributed to the reproduction of long term identification strategies. By looking at ceramics in this manner it becomes obvious how the multitudinous qualities of the region as a unifying, as well as a segregating process, are

[1] It has been suggested on stylistic premises that some Phaistian 'imports' can be recognised in the LN Knossian assemblage (Evans 1971: 114), but such suggestion has not been confirmed by analysis.

operationalised. The example of the pottery systems highlights the ways in which the region can become visible and dense, while the same means, when used for shorter-term purposes and more local circumstances, can also diffuse regional cohesion and promote a different sense of community. In this sense, the examination of pottery in this manner also allows us to perceive of an alternative way by which to investigate and grasp the relationship between wider and local processes. By studying archaeological material in this way, not only can we correlate multiple scales of activity, but we can also illuminate the dialectic relationship between short- and long-term processes.

The discussion of the pottery is also significant for another purpose: it demonstrates that general themes and broad questions, such as those introduced in the theoretical part of the thesis, can be implemented by quite detailed considerations of archaeological material. Although a certain level of generalisation is inevitable in every explanatory model we may propose, I hope to have shown that an alternative approach such as that suggested here can take into account the very specific character of the archaeology we choose to investigate. The benefits of the approach can be appreciated even more when we consider that such theoretical musings find application in the most mundane types of archaeological evidence, such as pottery. In this sense, the potential that such an approach holds for future work appears quite promising.

By adopting the particular perspective on region and the creation of community, I was able to highlight the variety of ways in which regional identities were generated and reproduced in the Mesara throughout most of the Bronze Age, as well as to evaluate the wider processes to which Mesaran communities participated or from which they were distinguished. In this sense, the study of the Mesara was placed within the more general framework of the broader themes of Minoan archaeology, such as the emergence of Palatial society and the understanding of regional pattern.

The Mesara was not the 'same region' through time. It rarely existed as a concrete region, reflecting the social integration of all the communities residing therein. Its geographical distinctiveness did not always warrant socio-political unification, even

when such impression may have been created by the use of similar types of material culture.

The Mesara encompassed different regions which were generated in response to the particular understandings of community and the varied scales at which such belongingness was practised. The sense of belonging which produced the distinct regional character of the Mesara was created by participating in common networks of relevance which defined what was to be considered local and in what ways.

Specific practices, such as pottery-making, became enduring traditions of life which emphasised the topography of the Mesara as a unifying factor. Long term practice made the region a common point of reference.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS IN TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Ancient Crete	Italian Archaeological School of Athens. *Ancient Crete: A Hundred Years of Italian Archaeology, 1884-1984.* Rome: Italian Archaeological School of Athens.
Ag. Kyriaki:	Blackman, D. and K. Branigan 1982. The excavation of an Early Minoan Tholos Tomb at Ag. Kyriaki, Ayiofarango, Southern Crete. *BSA 77*: 1-57.
Ayiofarango:	Blackman, D. and K. Branigan 1977. An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley, S. Crete. *BSA* 72: 13-84.
CMS II.5:	Pini, I. 1970. Iraklion Archäologisches Museum. Die Siegel Abdrucke von Phästos. *CMS* Bd. II, Tl. 5. Berlin: Mann.
FCM I:	Levi, D. 1976. *Festòs e la civiltà minoica.* Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
FCM II:	Levi, D. and F. Carinci 1988. *Festòs e la civiltà minoica II. L' arte festia nell età Protopalaziale. Ceramica e altri materiali.* Roma: Edizioni dell' Ateneo.
Kommos I,1:	Shaw, J.W. and M.C. Shaw (eds.) 1995. *Kommos I. The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town. Part 1: The Kommos Region, Ecology and Minoan Industries.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Kommos I,2:	Shaw, J.W. and M.C. Shaw (eds.) 1996. *Kommos I. The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town. Part 2: The Minoan Hilltop and Hillside Houses.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
South Coast:	Blackman, D. and K. Branigan 1975. An Archaeological Survey on the South Coast of Crete. *BSA* 70: 17-36.
Periochi Odigitrias:	Vasilakis, A. 1989-90b. Proistorikes theseis sti Moni Odigitria/Kalous Limenes. *Kretiki Estia 3*: 11-80.

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ASSA:	Palaima, T. (ed.) 1990a. *Aegean Seal, Sealings and Administration. Proceedings of the NEH-Dickson Conference of the program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, January 11-13, 1989.* Aegaeum 5. Liège: Annales d' archéologie égéenne de l' Université de Liège et UT-PASP.
FMP:	Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds.) 1987. *The Function of Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June 1984.* Stockholm 1987.

FMV: Hägg, R. and Marinatos, N. (eds.) 1997. *The Function of the Minoan Villa. Proceedings of the 8th International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6-8 June 1992.* Stockholm 1997.

Kommos I,1: Shaw, J.W. and M.C. Shaw (eds.) 1995. *Kommos I. The Kommos Region and Houses of the Minoan Town. Part 1: The Kommos Region, Ecology and Minoan Industries.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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AAA: Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών (Athens Annales of Archaeology)
AA: Archäologischer Anzeiger
AD: Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (Archaiologikon Deltion)
AE: Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς (Archaiologiki Ephimeris)
AJA: American Journal of Archaeology
AR: Archaeological Reports
ASAtene: Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente
BAR: British Archaeological Reports
BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BSA: Annual of the British School at Athens.
CAJ: Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CMS: Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel.
JMA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.
JMS: Journal of Mediterranean Studies.
ILN: Illustrated London News
Op. Ath.: Opuscula Athenensia
OJA: Oxford Journal of Archaeology.
PPS: Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
SIMA: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
SMEA: Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.
TUAS: Temple University Annual Symposium

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TABLES

TABLE 4.1

FINAL NEOLITHIC PHAISTOS SUMMARY OF STRATIGRAPHY

TRENCH	STRATA	DESCRIPTION	DEPTH OF STRATUM		STRATIGRAPHY	NOTES
I	I	mixed MM EM FN			fill?	
	II	MM EMI some FN			fill	
	III	mainly EM some FN			fill	
	IV	Pure FN two floors	0.80 - 1.26 m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	no class E pottery
	V	FN on the bedrock	1.26 -1.02 to 1.52m.(rock)	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	rare class G pottery
II	I	Mixed MM EM plenty FN				
	II	Pure FN floors/ remains of child	1.00/1.20 - 1.50/1.60 m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	no class E pottery
	III	Pure FN /burial	1.50/1.60 - rock (variable depth)	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	rare class F pottery
III	II/f	FN, bones and pottery	1.45 - 1.62 m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	no class E pottery
	III/g'			*fill*	UPPER STRATUM (Vagnetti)	
	IV/g"	FN, structures, fire	1.85 - 2.80 m.	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	no class E and F
IV	I	FN, pottery, fire	1.45 - 2.00 m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	at the edges of the stratigraphy perhaps dumps
	II	FN stones sherds	2.00 - 2.20 m.	*fill?*	fill	
	III	FN, sherds organic remains	2.20 - 2.85 m.	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	no class E pottery
V	II	Neolithic hut/ floor	1.00 - 1.40 m.	*habitation*	LOWER ? STRATUM	II; all classes present
	III	foundations	1.40 - 1.55 m.			III: E, F and G missing
VI	II/G-O	FN,alternate burnt layers 'hearth'	2.30 - 3.05 m.	*habitation*	"UPPER STRATUM"	
	III/P	Fill	3.05 - 3.95 m.	*fill*	fill	
	IV/Q-R	FN, ashes/hearths?	3.95 - 4.95 m.	*habitation*	"LOWER STRATUM"	no class E pottery
VII	I/F-L	FN, 3 superimposed floors, wall	1.70 - 2.60m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	no class E pottery
	II/M	layer with the foundations of the wall	2.60 - 3.20/3.25 m.	*habitation (?)*	UPPER STRATUM (Vagnetti)	
	III/O	fill	3.35 - 3.65 m.	*fill*	fill	
	IV/P-R	FN, floor, stones	3.65 - 4.20 m.	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	
	V/S	Thin habitation deposit	4.45 - 4.60 (rock)	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	no class E and F
VIII	a	fill/mixed FN and EM	4.52 m.			
	b	pure Neolithic deposit	4.90 - 5. 40 m.		LOWER?	no class E/ plenty of class G.
IX	a	2 beaten earth floors		*?*		successive FN deposits to the bedrock
	b			*?*		no class E pottery
X						No real stratigraphy no pottery information
XI	a	mixed fill deposit				
	b	FN on the bedrock				
XII	I	mixed FN and later on a floor	0.10 - 0.30 m.			
	II	FN on beaten earth floor	0.30 - 0.85 m.	*habitation*	UPPER STRATUM	no class E pottery
	III	FN on the bedrock	0.85 - 1.10/1.50 m. (rock)	*habitation*	LOWER STRATUM	no class E pottery
XIII	I	burnt deposit FN and few EM	3.75 - 4.00 m.			no pottery information
	II	FN on the bedrock	4.00 - 4.30 m.			remains of a human skeleton (where?)
	III	sterile deposit on the bedrock	4.30 - 4.75 m. (rock)			
XIV	a	mixed FN and later material				
	b	pure FN on bedrock	3.86 - 4.05 m. (rock)			no pottery information

TABLE 4.2

FINAL NEOLITHIC PHAISTOS
SUMMARY OF ARCHITECTURE AND FEATURES IN THE SETTLEMENT

TRENCH	STRATUM	FLOORS	WALLS	OTHER STRUCTURES	NOTES
I	IV (UPPER)	two (?) floors/layers			
II	II (UPPER) III (LOWER)	*floor deposit*:floors of huts floor	small wall, NE-SW orientation small wall, N-S maybe	some fixed hearths, remains of a child a burial	number and position of floors not specified
III	IV (LOWER)	a layer of small stones (floor?)	wall N-S; maybe wall E-W (angle)		
IV	II				quantity of stones: collapsed wall?
V	II (LOWER) III (LOWER)	beaten earth floor	foundations of hut		partially dug on the rock, partially built
VI	II/G-O "UPPER" IV/Q-R "LOWER"	alternate thin burnt layers thin layer of stones/ floor?	small wall not on the flooor	stone slab/ part of hearth? Not on the floor interposed layers of ashes/ hearths?	
VII	I/F (UPPER) II/M (UPPER) IV/P-R (LOWER)	3 superimposed floors beaten earth floor (bottom) floor reddish clay + stones	wall (N-S probably) foundations of above wall	remains of hearth? hearth/not on the floor hearth/not on the floor	
VIII	b "LOWER"	thin layer of beaten earth	wall FN? EM? N-S		
IX	a b	beaten earth floor beaten earth floor	small wall N-S		
X					mixed deposits
XI					fiil/ Neolithic near the bedrock
XII	I (fill) II (UPPER) III (LOWER)	beaten earth floor beaten earth floor bedrock	2 walls: N-S and E-W		
XIII	I		2 walls parallel, N-S		
XIV					deposits with FN matertial

TABLE 4.3

WALLS

UPPER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	WALL	ORIENTATION	NOTES
I	IV			
II	II	1 wall	NE-SW	
III	II/f			
IV	I			
V	I-II			
VI	II/G-O	small wall	unknown	'Upper Stratum'
VII	I/F-L	wall	N-S	
VIII				
IX	a	small wall	N-S	'Upper Stratum'
X				
XI				
XII	II	2 walls	N-S; E-W	
XIII	I	2 walls parallel	N-S	
XIV				

LOWER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	WALL	ORIENTATION	NOTES
I	V			
II	III	small wall	N-S	In front of Room 23
III	IV	wall with angle?	N-S; perhaps E-W?	Underneath Room 25
IV	III			
V	II-III	circular wall of hut		
VI				
VII	IV/P-R			
VIII	b	wall	N-S	FN? EM? Uncertain
IX				
X				
XI				
XII				
XIII				
XIV				

FLOORS

UPPER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	FLOORS
I	IV	2 floors/ second with traces of fire
II	II	floors - number not given
III	II/f	
IV	I	
VII	I/F-L	3 superimposed floors
IX		1 floor?
XII	II	1 floor

LOWER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	FLOORS
I	V	
II	III	beaten earth floor
III	IV/g"	floor?
IV	III	
V	II-III	beaten earth floor
VII	IV/P-R	floor
IX		beaten earth floor
XII	III	

HEARTHS

UPPER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	HEARTH	NOTES
I			
II	II	fixed hearths	Number not specified
III			
IV			
V			
VI	II/G-O	part of hearth? not on floor	'Upper Stratum'
VII	I/F	remains of hearth	
	II/M	hearth/ not on floor	
VIII			
IX			
X			
XI			
XII			
XIII			
XIV			

LOWER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	STRATUM	HEARTH	NOTES
I			
II	III		
III	IV		
IV	III		
V	I- II		
VI	IV/Q-R	hearths?	interposed layers of ashes
VII	IV/P-R	hearth/ not on floor	
IX			
X			
XI			
XII			
XIII			
XIV			

TABLE 4.6

LOWER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCHES	STRATA
Trench I	Stratum V
Trench II	Stratum III
Trench III	Stratum IV/g"
Trench IV	Stratum III
Trench V	Stratum (II)
Trench VII	Stratum IV
Trench XII	Stratum III

UPPER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCHES	STRATA
Trench I	Stratum IV
Trench II	Stratum II
Trench III	Stratum II/f'
Trench IV	Stratum I
Trench VII	Stratum I and II
Trench XII	Stratum II

The distribution of the two Neolithic strata in the trenches

TABLE 4.7

LOWER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	WALLS	FLOORS	HEARTHS	STRATA
II	Small wall	beaten earth floor		III
III	wall with angle	floor?		IV/g"
V	neolithic hut'	beaten earth floor		II-III
VI			hearths?	IV/Q-R
VII		floor	hearth	IV/P-R
VIII	Wall			
IX		beaten earth floor		

Summary of features of the Lower Neolithic Stratum

TABLE 4.8

UPPER NEOLITHIC STRATUM

TRENCH	WALLS	FLOORS	HEARTHS	STRATA
I		2 floors		IV
II	Wall	floors	fixed hearths	II
VI	small wall (M)	Floor (O) Floors (G-I)	part of hearth? (M)	II/G-O
VII	Wall (wall foundations)	Floor layer (F) 3 superimposed floors (H-I-L) floor? (M) floor (N)	Hearth? (F) Hearth (M)	I/F-L II/M
IX	small wall	floor?		
XII	2 walls	floor		II
XIII	2 parallel walls			I

Summary of features of the Upper Neolithic Stratum

TABLE 4.9

FINAL NEOLITHIC SITES IN THE MESARA

SITE	DESCRIPTION	EXCAVATED	LOCATION	REFERENCE
Apothamenou Lakkos	pottery scatter, stone tools, traces of walls location: Kephali Vathy area	unexcavated, survey	Asterousia, low hill	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 58-60
Ag. Kyriaki II / E 4a	isolated farmstead, sherd scatter, stone tools *Ayiofarango*: one FN/EMI sherd	unexcavated, survey	Asterousia, hill	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 33-34 *Ayiofarango*: 31
Ag. Kyriaki IV / W 6 (Ag. Kyriaki A)	tholos tomb, FN in pre-tomb occupation	excavated	Asterousia, hill slope	*Ag. Kyriaki ; Ayiofarango; Periochi Odigitrias*
Ag. Triada	"perhaps settled at the end of the Neolithic period" .	?	Mesara, ?	La Rosa 1992a: 70
Charakas (east) 129	FN/EMI sherd scatter	unexcavated, survey	Kommos area, hill slope	*Kommos I*: 354-355
Gortyna Acropolis	burnished pottery similar to Phaistos material, obsidian blades, bone awls, spindle whorls	excavated	Mesara, high hill	Vagnetti 1973: 5-9
Kamilari	FN sherds, similar to Phaistian examples	surface collection	Mesara, hill	unpublished
Kala Selia	rectangular (?) house, stone implements, pottery	excavated	Asterousia, low hill	Vasilakis 1987
Kaloi Limenes II / SC 3 (Kaloi Limenes B)	tholos tomb, a few FN sherds	unexcavated, survey	Asterousia, low hill	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 21-23; *South Coast*: 20-21
Kannia/Mitropolis	MN/LN pottery and lithics discovered underneath various parts of the Minoan villa	excavated	Mesara, plain	Vagnetti 1973: 1-5; Levi 1959: 242
Megaloi Skinoi I / E 9 (Megaloi Skinoi C)	tholos tomb, one FN/EMI sherd	unexcavated, survey	Asterousia, low hill	*Periochi Odigitrias:38-39;* *Ayiofarango*: 37-38; Alexiou 1967: 483
Miamou Cave	thick deposits of FN habitation sequence, pottery, lithics, organic remains	excavated	Asterousia, mountain plateau	Taramelli 1897: 287-312
Lebena Yerokambos II	tholos tomb, FN (?) pottery found on the floor of the tomb	excavated	Asterousia, hill slope	Alexiou 1961-62a: 226-227
Nio Pervoli	isolated farmstead, traces of walls, FN sherds	unexcavated, survey	Asterousia, low hill	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 48
Phaistos	settlement, two occupation phases	excavated	Mesara, hill	Vagnetti 1972-73
Sendones (south-west) 25	extensive Minoan settlement, few FN or EMI sherds	unexcavated, survey	Kommos area, hill slopes	*Kommos I:* 373-374
Trypeti	tholos tomb at Kalokampos, fragment of FN vessel	excavated	Asterousia, high hill	Alexiou 1967: 484
Vigles (sand quarry) 133	the earliest settlement in the Kommos vicinity, a scatter of FN or EMI sherds, limestone pebbles and gastropod shells	unexcavated, survey	Kommos area, hill foot	*Kommos I:* 360

SETTLEMENTS AND TOMBS IN THE KALOI LIMENES, AYIOFARANGO AND MONI ODIGITRIA AREAS.

(data from *Ayiofarango*, *South Coast* and *Periochi Odigitrias*)

"SETTLEMENTS"	**TOMBS**
KALOI LIMENES AREA	
Ag. Pavlos EMI to MMI small farmstead (*South Coast* SC 5: small scatter)	**Kaloi Limenes I** EMI EMII tholos tomb (*South Coast* SC2)
Kala Selia FN house	**Kaloi Limenes II.** Tholos tomb FN, EMI, EMII, EMIII (*South Coast* SC 3)
Rodonas EMI, EMII, EMIII/MMI small farmstead	

AYIOFARANGO AREA	
Ag. Andonios II big isolated farmstead, EMII, EMIII/MMI, MMII, LMI	**Ag. Andonios I** (*Ayiofarango* E22 EMIII/MMI) EMI to MMII
Ayiofarango, remains of rectangular building ('ossuary'?) EM/MM -also site/scatter further higher on the hill: EMI, EMII, EMIII/MMI (*Ayiofarango* W11A)	

AG. KYRIAKI AREA	
Ag. Kyriaki I: building remains (*Ayiofarango* W8: buildings dating in MM, LM)	**Ag. Kyriaki I**: remains of two smaller buildings with fragments of bones. Burial Sites? EMII MMI
Ag. Kyriaki II: remains of three walls small rectangular building, probably isolated farmstead. EM MM sherds (very worn, difficult dating) (*Ayiofarango* E20: the building remains Hellenistic/Roman?)	**Ag. Kyriaki IV**: Tholos tomb excavated by Blackman & Branigan (1982). EMI, EMII MMIA, use until MMIB-II. FN remains of non-burial character (*Ayiofarango* W6).
Ag. Kyriaki III: remains of a wall, stone tools, probably isolated small farmstead. FN/EMI, EMII, EMIII/MMI (*Ayiofarango* E4a : MM)	

MEGALOI SKINOI AREA	
Megaloi Skinoi III: remains of long terrace or enclosure wall around the hill and remains of smaller walls inside the enclosure. Few sherds, but definitely EM and MM. (*Ayiofarango* E11, the largest settlement of the area)	**Megaloi Skinoi I** (IIIa). FN to MMI tholos tomb (*Ayiofarango* E9)
Megaloi Skinoi IV. Traces of many walls, the core of the largest settlement in the area. (*Ayiofarango* E12 a peak sanctuary? MMIA, MMIB and MMII)	**Megaloi Skinoi II** Two tombs. (the burial complex of tombs IIIA and IIIB) EMI, EMII, EMIII/MMIA, MMIB-II, LMIB *(Ayiofarango* E10A-B)
Yalomonochoro. Traces of a long (15m) wall and smaller walls cutting it, probably belonging to houses. Possibly a northern part of the very extended Megaloi Skinoi settlement. Large amount of very worn EM and MM sherds (*Ayiofarango* E13)	**Gavaliana**. Remains of EM tholos tomb. Partly destroyed. (*Ayiofarango* E17)
Gavaliani Kephala. Traces of an enclosure wall and large scatter of sherds around it. EMI-II, MMII and LMIA. (*Ayiofarango* E18 peak sanctuary?)	
Nio Pervoli. Small isolated farmstead. Traces of a long wall and others vertical on it. Very worn sherds, FN?-EMI, EMII, EMIII. (*Ayiofarango* MO.W2 Remains of a succession of farmsteads, EM MM)	

KEPHALI VATHY AREA	
Axi Vouni. Scatter of roughly worked stones and a light scatter of sherds, probably habitation of some kind. Minoan.	**Ag. Georgios**. Remains of looted tholos tomb. Very few sherds, possible early EM.
Doukiania. Remains of a long thick wall. Extended settlement near tomb sites 1, 2. Finds: EMIII/MMIA, MMIB-MMII, LMI, LMIII.	**Skaniari Lakkos.** Tholos tomb. Confusion as to the number and features of the tomb(s). Vasilakis (1989-90b) concludes that there are two tholoi, both with remains of antechambers, pottery EMI, EMII, EMIII-MMIA (whole vessels). The tomb has been known in bibliography as "EM tholos at Kephali Odigitrias".
Apothamenou Lakkos. Traces of an ancient building, finds dating to FN /sub-Neolithic.	
Vathy. Settlement - partly excavated (Davaras 1968). Walls of several rooms . Pottery finds MMIII-LMI.	
Orthes Petres. Small isolated farmstead? EMII? EMIII. *Kommos I,1*: Classical /Hellenistic date	

MONI ODIGITRIAS AREA	
Panaplos. One or two farmsteads (remains of walls belonging to rectangular buildings). Sherds EMII, EMIII/MMIA, MMI-MMII.	**Hatzinas Liophyto**. Burial complex of two tholos tombs. Tomb A: pebble-paved courtyard on the E. side and a small independent rectangular chamber on the NE. Tomb B: larger, 5 rectangular antechambers on the E side, paved courtyard and small altar to the E of the chambers; one ossuary between the two tholoi and enclosure wall to the NE of the complex. Finds, EMII to MMIB. Later burial(?) LMI.
Ag. Ephtychianos. Isolated farmstead? Traces of walls, sherds probably Early Minoan phases.	
Kalogrias Korphali. Traces of two rectangular buildings, moderately well preserved. Finds: stone rubbers and fragments of small pithos, sherds of EM and MM phases. Farmsteads or bastions/guard places on the route from the Mesara plain to the shore at Kaloi Limenes.	
Aloniou Kephali. Piles of building blocks and traces of some walls. Sherds EM and MM but there are some LM too. Probably the settlement to which the burial complex of Hatzinas Liophyto belonged.	
Ag. Andreas. Remains of buildings and large scatter of sherds. Stone tools and very worn sherds but dated to EM and MM phases. Probably one or two farmsteads.	

TABLE 5.2

EM MATERIAL FROM THE FN SOUNDINGS AT PHAISTOS

TRENCH	STRATUM	DESCRIPTION
Trench I	Stratum I	Mainly MM with mixed EM and N.
	Stratum II	Traces of fire, mainly EMI (Ag. Onouphrios and Pyrgos ware) mixed with MM and some FN sherds. Probably a fill.
	Stratum III	Like II, mixed deposit, mainly EM and some FN. Greater amount of animal bones.
Trench II	Stratum I	Plenty FN sherds mixed with MM and EM.
Trench IV	?Underneath Corridor 7.	Prepalatial walls
Trench V	-above the Neolithic/ I	Traces of 2 walls running N and W at right angle and remains of a stone-paved floor. Ceramics Ag. Onouphrios and Pyrgos.
Trench VI	Stratum I/F	Mixed Neolithic and EM.
Trench VIII	Stratum a (top stratum)	A rough paved floor attributed to the Prepalatial period. Underneath it mixed FN and EM pottery. A wall along the East side of the paving, just a few cm above the level of the paving; on the west side of the wall though, pure Neolithic deposits. It could not be established whether the wall was EM or belonged to a Neolithic structure.
Trench XII	Underneath a Protopalatial (Phase I) floor	A mixed deposit of NL and later (no specification) material laying on a beaten earth floor. Vagnetti does not discuss the two walls that are indicated as EM in the plan of the site.
Trench XIII (Kouloura II)	Stratum I	Very few EM infiltrations in the Neolithic stratum. A wall running E-W and resting on top of the Neolithic burnt stratum (separated from it a thin layer of soil) probably was built at some stage of the EM period.
Trench XV	Between the Minoan Ramp and Kouloura I	An EM structure; traces of two walls visible on the plan.
	Underneath Room LXXXVIII	EM level (floor?)
	Underneath room CI	EM level (floor?)

THE DATE OF THOLOS TOMBS IN THE MESARA

TOMBS	DATE			
	KARANTZALI 1996	BRANIGAN 1993	ZOIS 1998	WILSON-DAY 1994
1. Ag. Kyriaki A (W 6)	EMI-MMIA/MMII	EMI-MMI	EMIIA	EMI/IIA (Foundation EMI)
2. Ag. Kyriaki B (W 6a)	EMI?/EMII	EMI/II?		EMI/IIA
3. Ag. Kyriaki C (W 6b)		EMI/II?		EMI/IIA
4. Ag. Eirene E	EMI – MMI/MMII	EMI/II-?	EMII-MMI	
5. Ag. Eirene e	EMI- MMI/MMII	EMI-MMI	EMII-MMI	
6. Ag. Triada A	EMI-MMII	EMI-MMII		EMIIA
7. Ag. Triada B	EMI-II till MMI	EMI-MM		
8. Ag. Kyrillos		MMI	EMII-MMI (Alexiou)	
9. Ag. Georgios		EMI/II-MMI/II		
10. Ag. Andonios (E 22)				
11. Apesokari I		MMI	EMIII/MMIA	
12. Apesokari II		MMI	MMI	
13. Aspri Petra		EMI-MMI	EMMIIA	
14. Christos			EMIII-MMI	
15. Drakones D		EMIII-MMI	EMII-MMI	
16. Drakones Z		EMIII-?MMI	EMII-MMI	
17. Kalathiana K	EMI-MMI	EMI/II-MMII	EMI/EMIIA	
18. Kalathiana B		? Date?		
19. Kaloi Limenes A (SC 2)	EMI-EMII	EMI-II		
20. Kaloi Limenes B (SC 3)		FN/EMI-EMIII		EMI-EMIIA
21. Kaloi Limenes II/ Crysostomos A (SC 8)		EMI-MMI?		
22. Kaloi Limenes III/ Chrysostomos B (SC 8)		EMI-MMI?		
23. Kamilari I		MMI-MMIII		
24. Kamilari II		MMII-MMIII		
25. Kamilari III		MMI-?		
26. Kaminospelio		EMI/IIA-MMI		
27. Kephali Odigitrias (Skaniari Lakkos)	EMI-MMI?	EMI- MMIA	EMIIA-MMIB or MMII	
28. Kephali B		EM?		
29. Korakies A		EM-MMIA		
30. Korakies B		EM-MMIA		
31. Koumasa A	EMI/IIA-MMI	?EMI-MMI	EMIIA-MMIB	foundation EMI late
32. Koumasa B	EMI/IIA-MMI	EMI/MMI	EMIIA-MMIB	foundation EMI late
33. Koumasa E	EMI/IIA-MMII?	EMI-?MMII	EMIIA-MMIB	foundation EMI late
34. Koutsokera	EMI/EMII	EMI-?	EMI-EMII	
35. Krotos		EMII-III		
36. Lasaia A (SC 11A)	EMI-EMIIB	EMI-MM		
37. Lasaia B (SC 11B)	EMI-EMIIA	EMI-EMII?		
38. Lebena Papoura Ia	EMII-MMI	EMII-MMI		
39. Lebena Papoura Ib	EMII-MMI	EMII-MMI		
40. Lebena Yerokambos II	FN (Patrira) /EMI-MMIA	EMI-MMI		
41. Lebena Yerokambos IIa	EMII-MMIA	EMII-MMI		
42. Lebena III Zervou	EMII-MMIB	EMII-MMI		
43. Marathokephalo A	EMI-MMI	EMI-MMI	EMIIA-MMIA	no earlier than EMIIA- MMI
44. Marathokephalo B	EMI-MMI	EMI-MMI	EMIIA-MMIA	
45. Megaloi Skinoi IIIa (E 10a)	EMI-MMI	EMI-MMI/II	EMI?-MMIA/MMIB	EMI-MMI
46. Megaloi Skinoi IIIb (E 10b)	EMI-MMI	EMI-MMI-II	later than IIIa	EMI-MMI
47. Megaloi Skinoi C		EMI-MMI		
48. Moni Odigitria A (Hatzinas Liophyto)		EMII-MMIB		
49. Moni Odigitria B (Hatzinas Liophyto)		EMII-MMI		
50. Platanos A	EMII/EMIII-MMI	?EMII-MMII	EMII-MMII	
51. Platanos B	EMIII	EMII-MMII	EMII-MMII	
52. Platanos Γ	?	EMII-?MMI	EMII-MMII	
53. Porti		EMI/II-MMII		
54. Salame	EMI-EMII	EMI-?	EMI-EMII	
55. Sivas North	EMI-MMI	EMI-MMI	EMI/EMII-MMIIA	
56. Sivas South	EMI-MMI	EMI-?MMI	EMI/EMII-MMIIA	
57. Skotomenou Charakas A		EMI-MMI		
58. Skotomenou Charakas B		EM-MMI?		
59. Skotomenou Charakas C		EM?-MMI		
60. Sopata Kouse		EM-MMI		
61. Trypeti A		EMI-?		
62. Trypeti B		EM-?		
63. Vorou A		MMI		
64. Vorou B		?MMI		

TABLE 5.4

CONCORDANCE OF SURVEYS IN ASTEROUSIA

SITE	BLACKMAN-BRANIGAN	VASILAKIS	OTHER	DESCRIPTION	DATE	REFERENCE	BRANIGAN 1993
1		Axi Vouni		pottery scatter	EM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 48-50	
2		Aloniou Kephali		pottery scatter, traces of walls	EM MM LM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 65-66	
3		Apothamenou LakKos		pottery scatter, stone tools	FN	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 58-60	
4	E 22	Ag. Andonios I	Alexiou 1967: 483	Tholos tomb with two entrances	EMI-MMII	*Periochi Odigitrias:* 26-28, Fig. 8	Ag. Andoni n. 26
				Tholos tomb, two entrances	EMI/II-MMI	*Ayiofarango*:48, fig. 20	
5		Ag. Andonios II		isolated farmstead, sherd scatter, ttraces of walls	EMII-LMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 27-28	
6		Ag. Andreas		wall traces, sherd scatter	EM MM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 66	
7		Ag. Georgios	Alexiou 1967: 483	looted tholos tomb, Kephali/Vathy area	EM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 50	Ag. Georgios n. 25
8		Ag. Ephtychianos		wall traces, farmstead?	EM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 63	
9	W 8	Ag. Kyriaki I		2-3 buildings, human bones, sherd scatters	EMII-MMIA	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 32	
				2? buildings, human bones, extensive sherd scatter	MM-LMIA	*Ayiofarango*: 58, fig. 27	
10	E 20	Ag. Kyriaki II		rectangular building, scatter of worn sherds	EM MM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 33, fig. 11	
				thin sherd scatter, building Hellenistic/Roman	EM?	*Ayiofarango*: 47, fig. 19	
11	E 4a	Ag. Kyriaki III		isolated farmstead, sherds, stone tools	FN/EMI-MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 33-34	
				'peak sanctuary', sherds, stone tools	MM	*Ayiofarango*: 31	
12	W 6	Ag. Kyriaki IV	Alexiou 1967: 482	Tholos tomb	FN, EMI-MMI, MMII	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 34-38	
				tholos tomb	FN, EMI-MMI	*Ayiofarango: 56; Ag. Kyriaki*	Ag. Kyriaki A n. 20
13	SC 5	Ag. Pavlos		wall traces, isolated farmstead, thin sherd scatter	EMI, EMIII, MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 16-18, fig. 1, 2	
				building on summit Roman, enclosure wall Minoan	EM/MM	*South Coast*: 22-24, fig. 5	
14	W 11A	Ayiofarango		use of the building unknown, sherd scatter further up	EMI-MMIA	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 30-31, fig. 10	
				rectangular building, ossuary? MM date	EM, MM	*Ayiofarango*: 60-61, fig. 31	
15		Doukiania		Kephali/Vathy area, 'settlement'	EMIII/MMIA, MMIB-II, LMI, LMII	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 56-58	
16	E 17	Gavaliana		destroyed tholos tomb	EM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 46-47	
				destroyed tholos, no sherds	EM?	*Ayiofarango*: 44	Yalomonochoro n. 15*
17	E 18	Gavaliani Kephala		'settlement', enclosure walls	EMI/II-MMII, LMIA	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 47	
				enclosure wall, 'peak sanctuary"	EMI/II?, MM, LMIA	*Ayiofarango*: 44, fig. 16	
18		Hatzinas Liophyto		Burial complex, two tholos tombs and annexes	EMII-MMIB	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 64-65	
19		Kala Selia		FN house	FN	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 23; Vasilakis 1987	
20		Kalogrias Korphali		traces of two buildings, farmsteads?	EM MM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 63	
21	SC 2	Kaloi Limenes I	Davaras 1968: 405	Tholos tomb (known "Kaloi Limenes I")	EMI-EMII	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 18-21, fig.3	Kaloi Limenes A n. 27
					EMI-EMII	*SouthCoast*:17-20, fig. 2	(Kaloi Limenes I)
22	SC 3	Kaloi Limenes II		Tholos tomb, partly destroyed	FN-EMIII	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 21-23, fig. 5	
				Tholos tomb, no use after EMI	FN/EMI	*SouthCoast*:20-21, fig. 3	

CONCORDANCE OF SURVEYS IN ASTEROUSIA

23	E 9	Megaloi Skinoi I	Alexiou 1967: 483 (tomb with no number)	isolated small tholos tomb badly looted and damaged tholos, FN/EMI sherd	FN-EMIII/MMI EMI-MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 38-39 *Ayiofarango*: 37-38	Megaloi Skinoi C, n. 19
24	E 10 A-B	Megaloi Skinoi II	Alexiou 1967: 483 (tombs IIIa and IIIb)	Two Tholoi and pottery from the looted area around them Two tholoi, looted and then excavated by Alexiou	EMI-MMIB/II, LMIB EMI-MMI, reuse LM	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 39-45 *Ayiofarango*: 39-40, fig. 13	Megaloi Skinoi A, B, n. 17, 18
25	E 11	Megaloi Skinoi III	Alexiou 1967: 482-483	house or terrace walls, 'settlement' 'settlement' inside enclosure wall?	EM MM EMI-MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 45 *Ayiofarango*: 41, fig. 13	
26	E 12	Megaloi Skinoi IV		the core area of the large 'settlement' (site III) EM ritual place, MM 'peak sanctuary, too small to be a settlement	MMI-MMII EM, MM, LMIA	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 45-46 *Ayiofarango*: 41-43, fig. 14; Branigan 1994	
27		Nio Pervoli		traces of walls, isolated 'farmstead'	?FN?EMI, EMII, EMIII?	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 48	
28		Orthes Petres	Kommos Survey: 342-343 (4th to 2nd century B.C.)	traces of walls, isolated 'farmstead'	EMII, EMIII		
29		Panaplos		traces of walls, one or two 'farmsteads'	EMII_MMI/II	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 62-63	
30		Rodonas		traces of walls, isolated 'farmstead'	EMI-MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 23-26	
31		Skaniari Lakkos	Alexiou 1967: 483 Davaras 1963: 312; 1968:405	two tholoi with rectangular annexe rooms, looted A and D mention only one tomb, "Kephali Odigitrias"	EMI-EMIII/MMIA	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 50-56	Kephali A-B, n. 23-24
32		Vathy	Davaras 1968:405	settlement Davaras: LMIII settlement	MMIII-LMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 60-61	
33	E 13	Yalomonochoro		a further section of the extended M. Skinoi settlement traces of walls, possibly an extension of M. Skinoi	EM MM EM, MMI	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 46 *Ayiofarango*: 43	
34	SC 8		Davaras 1968:405-406	two tholoi in the Kaloi Limenes area Davaras: two tholoi to the West of Lasaia	EM	*South Coast*: 26	Chrysostomos A- B, n. 30- 31 (Kaloi Limenes II, III)
35	SC 11A -B			Blackman-Branigan: two tholos tombs to the East of Lasaia	EMI-II	*South Coast*: 32-34	Lasaia A- B, n. 31-32.

TABLE 5.5

AYIOFARANGO
SITE AND SOIL CONCORDANCE

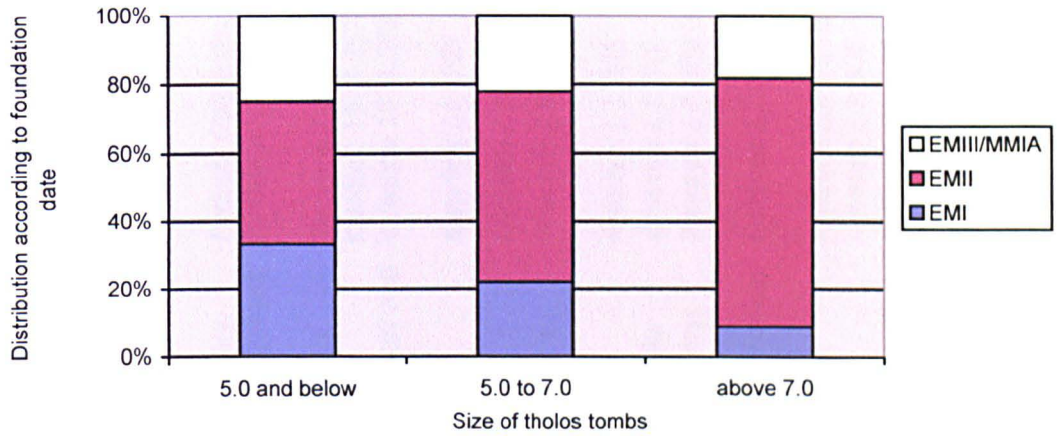
SITE	DATE	DESCRIPTION (*Ayiofarango*)	SOILS -GEOLOGY (Bintliff 1977a, b)	OTHER SURVEYS
E1	Minoan?	settlement? Scatter of 10 sherds	probably a fold site; steep slopes	
E4		small farmstead or hut? thin scatter of sherds	besides a sloping area of fertile land to the North great area of Step opposite W8 across the river	
E4a	MM	peak sanctuary?	on a barren summit ritual sites use similar types of lands as farm sites	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Ag.Kyriaki III FN?EMI?
E5	Minoan /EMIIA?	communal farmstead?? 5 sherds, 2 Ag.Onoufrios	by the perennial spring of Ag. Kyriaki good irrigable land	
E6		SECTION		
E8	Minoan	thin scatter of sherds, 2 Minoan	C quality land, difficult access to better land N good access to grazing, a fold site?	
E9	FN/ EMI -MMI	tholos	terraces and walls related to area of 'Step' good land	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Megaloi Skinoi I
E10A-B	A: EMI-MMI B: EMI-MMI	2 tholoi (maybe some burials in LM)	the largest zone of continuous high grade land water: a problem	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Megaloi Skinoi II Alexiou 1967 Tholoi IIIa and IIIb
E11 E14	EMI-MMI Minoan??	settlement' building'?	E11 and E14 considered together with E10.	
E12	EM/MM/LMIA	peak sanctuary		
E17	EM	tholos	good 'Step' land and beside a spring source at Yalomonochoro (E16)	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Gavaliana Tholos
E18	EM	peak sanctuary	could be a 'farmstead'	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Gavaliani Kephala 'settlement'
E20	EM (7 sherds)	building maybe Roman?	surrounded by considerable areas of grazing mixed farming and herding site	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Ag. Kyriaki II
E22	EMIII-MMI	tholos	isolated areas of B-C land and extensive surrounding C land	*Periochi Odigitrias:* Ag. Andonios I, EMI?
E24	EM/MM/LMI?	small farmstead	discrete zone of 'Step' arable/ settlement close to Gavaliana spring	
E27	A: EMI-MMI B: EM II or III C?	2 or 3 tholoi and small building/ossuary?	among level and fertile land outside the surveyed area	
E29	uncertain	no sherds/ big blocks of limestone ruined/not-completed tholoi?	considered together with W2 and W9 of similar nature	
OW1- 2	1: Minoan 2: EMII	peak sanctuary a succession of farmsteads	peak sanctuary and 'farm' extensive area of good B-C 'Step' land, easy access to higher grazing land and the valley floor for the springs	

TABLE 5.6a

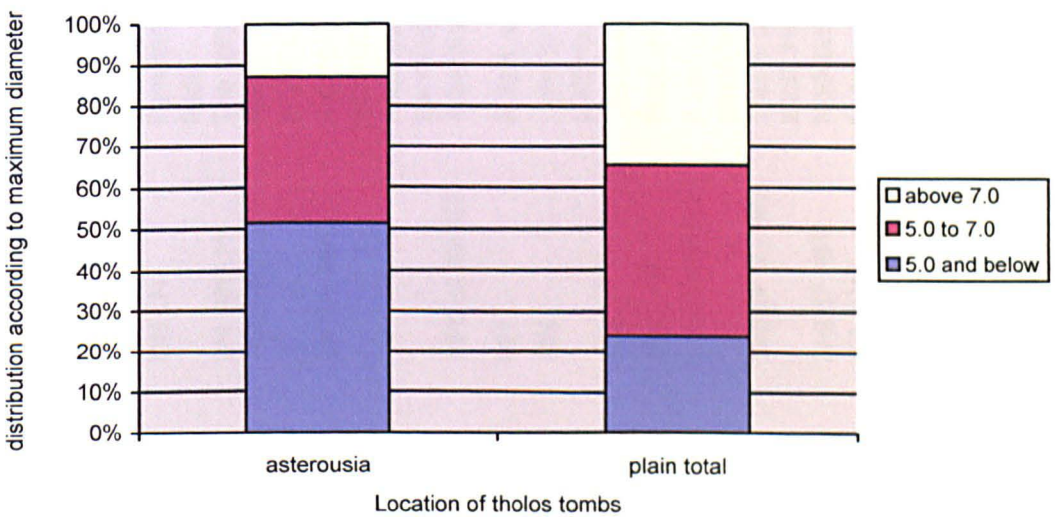
MESARA THOLOI: COMPARISON OF SIZE, LOCATION AND CHRONOLOGY

TOMBS	INTERNAL DIAMETER	DATE (foundation)	LOCATION
1. Ag. Kyriaki A (W 6)	4.6 m.	FN?/ EMI	Asterousia
2. Ag. Kyriaki B (W 6a)	7.0 m.	EMI/II?	Asterousia
3. Ag. Kyriaki C (W 6b)	3.2 m.	EMI/II?	Asterousia
4. Ag. Eirene E	8.0 m	EMI/II	Plain (South slopes)
5. Ag. Eirene e	5.45 m.	EMI/II	Plain (South slopes)
6. Ag. Triada A	9.0 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain
7. Ag. Triada B	5.6 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain
8. Ag. Kyrillos	4.6 m.	EMIII/MMI	Asterousia
9. Ag. Georgios	3.5 m.	EM	Asterousia
10. Ag. Andonios (E 22)	7.8 m.	EMI/II	Asterousia
11. Apesokari I	4.9 m.	MMI	Plain (South slopes)
12. Apesokari II	5.7 m.	MMI	Plain (South slopes)
13. Aspri Petra			
14. Christos	6.5 m.	EMIII/MMI	Asterousia
15. Drakones D	5.9 m.	EMIII?	Plain (North slopes)
16. Drakones Z	7.2 m.	EMIII/MMI	Plain (North slopes)
17. Kalathiana K	9.4 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (North slopes)
18. Kalathiana B	?		Plain (North slopes)
19. Kaloi Limenes A (SC 2)	4.9 m.	EMI	Asterousia
20. Kaloi Limenes B (SC 3)	5.5 m.	FN/EMI	Asterousia
21. Kaloi Limenes II/ Crysostomos A (SC 8)	5.5 m.	EMI	Asterousia
22. Kaloi Limenes III/ Chrysostomos B (SC 8)	4.0 m.	EMI	Asterousia
23. Kamilari I	7.7 m.	MMIB	Plain
24. Kamilari II	5.0 m.	MMII	Plain
25. Kamilari III	3.7 m.	MMI?	Plain
26. Kaminospelio	8.2 m.	EMI/IIA	Asterousia
27. Kephali Odigitrias A (Skaniari Lakkos)	3.9 m.	EMIIA	Asterousia
28. Kephali B	?	EM?	Asterousia
29. Korakies A	?	EM	Asterousia
30. Korakies B	?	EM	Asterousia
31. Koumasa A	4.1 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
32. Koumasa B	9.5 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
33. Koumasa E	9.3 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
34. Koutsokera	5.6 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
35. Krotos	4.0 m.	EMII/III	Asterousia
36. Lasaia A (SC 11A)	5.2 m.	EMI	Asterousia
37. Lasaia B (SC 11B)	5.3 m.	EMI	Asterousia
38. Lebena Papoura Ia	5.1 m.	EMII	Asterousia
39. Lebena Papoura Ib	4.5 m.	EMII	Asterousia
40. Lebena Yerokambos II	5.0 m.	FN/EMI	Asterousia
41. Lebena Yerokambos IIa	3.0 m.	EMII	Asterousia
42. Lebena III Zervou	5.4 m.	EMII	Asterousia
43. Marathokephalo A	5.5 m.	EMIIA	Plain (North slopes)
44. Marathokephalo B	5.6 m.	EMIIA	Plain (North slopes)
45. Megaloi Skinoi IIIa (E 10a)	6.0 m.	EMI	Asterousia
46. Megaloi Skinoi IIIb (E 10b)	6.5 m.	EMI	Asterousia
47. Megaloi Skinoi C (E9)	4.1 m.	FN/EMI	Asterousia
48. Moni Odigitria A (Hatzinas Liophyto)	6.5 m.	EMII	Asterousia
49. Moni Odigitria B (Hatzinas Liophyto)	3.5 m.	EMII	Asterousia
50. Platanos A	3.1 m.	EMII	Plain
51. Platanos B	10.3 m.	EMII	Plain
52. Platanos Γ	7.3 m.	EMII	Plain
53. Porti	6.6 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
54. Salame	5.1 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
55. Sivas North	4.6 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
56. Sivas South	5.9 m.	EMI/IIA	Plain (South slopes)
57. Skotomenou Charakas A	8.8 m.	EMI	Asterousia
58. Skotomenou Charakas B	6.6 m.	EM	Asterousia
59. Skotomenou Charakas C	4.2 m.	EM?	Asterousia
60. Sopata Kouse			Plain (South Slopes)
61. Trypeti A	4.6 m.	FN/EMI	Asterousia
62. Trypeti B	?		Asterousia
63. Vorou A	5.5 m.	EMIII/MMI	Plain (North slopes)
64. Vorou B	4.0 m.	MMI	Plain (North slopes)

TABLE 5.6b



Comparison of tholos tombs according to their size and foundation date.



Comparison of tholos tombs according to their size and location.

TABLE 7.1

MM SETTLEMENTS IN THE WIDER MESARA REGION

SITE	AREA	DATE	DESCRIPTION	REFERENCE
Aphratias	Coastal area	MM LM	Remains of a Neopalatial building with some Protopalatial finds.	Vallianou 1989: 436
Aloniou Kephali	Asterousia	EM MM LM	The settlement of the Moni Odigitria tholos cemetery.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 65-66
Apesokari	Plain (south slopes)	MMI?-MMII	Part of a large building with large storerooms. Excavated; in the vicinity of the tholos cemetery.	Schörgendorfer 1951: 23-26
Apothestres SW (site 64)	Coastal Area	EMIIA, MMI	A considerable scatter of Minoan sherds; continuous occupation from EM to LM. At the location Apothestres/Kalamaki large quantity of MMIB pottery and traces of buildings.	*Kommos I,1: 369* Karetsou 1978:357-358; Vallianou 1979:382-384
*Apothestres N (site 62)	Coastal Area	MMI or MMII?	A continuation of the settlement at site 64?	*Kommos I,1: 369*
*Apothestres S (site 63)	Coastal Area	MM	A light sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 369
*Argastiria S (site 126)	Coastal Area	MM	Light to moderate sherd scatter, possibly traces of a building.	*Kommos I,1*: 349
*Argastiria S (site 80)	Coastal Area	MM	Thin sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 349
*Arolithia SE (site 40)	Coastal Area	MMII-III	Most sherds on the slopes of a spur; a pile of rubble.	*Kommos I,1*: 350
Arolithia S (site 50)	Coastal Area	EMII? MMIA-III	A heavy concentration of MMI (mostly MMIB) pottery; possibly a MMI building; human bones.	*Kommos I,1*: 350-351
Arolithia (site 51)	Coastal Area	EMI or II, MMI	Traces of a small building (probably Minoan) on a conical knoll; Minoan pottery.	*Kommos I,1*: 351
Arolithia (site 31)	Coastal Area	EMIII? MMI	Moderate sherd scatter; some traces of walls.	*Kommos I,1*: 351-352.
Asphendilias E (site 21)	Coastal Area	EM MM?	Some sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 366
*Asphendilias S (site 120)	Coastal Area	MM?	Light sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 367
*Asphendilias W (site 36)	Coastal Area	MM?	A few coarse sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 367
Ag. Andonios II	Asterousia	EMII-MMII, LMI	Large isolated farmstead.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 27-28
Ag. Andreas	Asterousia	EM MM	Remains of buildings, large sherd scatter, farmstead?	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 66
Ag. Eirene	Plain (north slopes)	?	Settlement-no details.	Xanthoudides 1924: 132

Ayiofarango Site E24	Asterousia	MM	Thin spread of sherds, traces of walls.	*Ayiofarango*: 49
Ayiofarango Site E26	Asterousia	MM LM	Pottery scatter.	*Ayiofarango*: 49-50
Ayiofarango Site W7	Asterousia	MM	Pottery scatter, traces of walls, a farmstead?	*Ayiofarango*: 58
Ayiofarango (W11A)	Asterousia	EM-MMI	Remains of rectangular building; sherd scatter.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 30-31, fig. 10; *Ayiofarango*: 60-61, fig. 31
Ayiofarango Site W11B	Asterousia	EM MM	A 'peak sanctuary"?	*Ayiofarango*: 61
Ag. Kyriaki I (W8)	Asterousia	MMIB, LM	Building remains.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 32; *Ayiofarango*: 58, fig. 27
Ag. Kyriaki II (E20)	Asterousia	EM-MM	Building remains; Hellenistic/Roman?	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 33, fig. 11; *Ayiofarango*:47
Ag. Kyriaki (E4a)	Asterousia	EMI-MMI	Probably isolated small farmstead; MM 'peak sanctuary'?	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 33-34; *Ayiofarango*: 31
Ag. Kyrillos	Asterousia	EM	Traces of settlement to the SE of tholos (EMIII/MMIA).	Sakellarakis 1968: 52
Ag. Ioannis (site 32)	Coastal Area	MM	Light sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 366
Ag. Pavlos (SC5)	Asterousia	EMI-MMI	Small farmstead; small pottery scatter.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 16-18, fig. 1, 2; *South Coast*: 22-24, fig. 5
Charakas (site 18)	Coastal Area	EMI-II, MMI	A few sherds; not permanent occupation?	*Kommos I,1*: 353-354
Christos	Asterousia	?	Sparse remains of a settlement; no date specified.	Xanthoudides 1924: 70
Drakones	Plain (north slopes)	?	Settlement-no details.	Xanthoudides 1924: 132
Doukiania	Asterousia	EMIII/MMIA, MMIB MMII, LMI, LMIII	Extended settlement near tholos Skaniari Lakkos.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 56-58
Gavaliani Kephala (E18)	Asterousia	EMI-II, MMII, LMIA	Traces of enclosure wall, large scatter; 'peak sanctuary'?	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 47; *Ayiofarango*: 44, fig. 16
Kalamaki (site 20)	Coastal Area	EMI? EMII MMIA-LMI	Moderate and light scatter of sherds, traces of walls; large quantity of MMIB pottery.	*Kommos I*, Part 1: 368; Karetsou 1978: 357; Vallianou 1979: 383-384
Kalamaki/Kato Langos	Coastal Area	MMII-LMI	A thick deposit under a Classical building.	Vallianou 1987: 546
Kalathiana	Plain (north slopes)	MMI, MMII	Settlement N of the tomb; 10 houses excavated; House H built of dressed stones, façade with setbacks; all the finds in the houses of MM date.	Xanthoudides 1924: 84-85
Kalogrias Korphali	Asterousia	EM MM	Traces of buildings, farmsteads.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 63
Kalyviani Monastery	Plain	MM	Abundant pottery of MM date, large storage vessels.	Vallianou 1989: 432
Koryphes E (site 57)	Coastal Area	EMIIA, MMI, MMII-III	Moderate spread of sherds, some buildings?	*Kommos I,1*: 376
*Koryphes (site 81)	Coastal Area	MMI (-III?)	Moderate spread and part of a wall.	*Kommos I,1*: 376

Koumasa	Plain (south slopes)	MM LM	Extensive settlement, several buildings, MM and LM sherds no EM material; building of 6-8 or more rooms; interpretation as sanctuary doubtful.	Xanthoudides 1924: 49; Georgoulaki 1990: 6-23
Kouses	Plain	MM-LMI	Settlement to the NE of the tholos; one large building.	Vallianou 1989: 432
Kouses House	Plain	MMIIB?-LMI	House excavated by Marinatos, probably dating to MMIII-LMIA.	Marinatos 1923-24; Walberg 1983: 95
Langos S (site 33)	Coastal Area	EMI-II, MMI-II	Sherd scatter on the slopes of low hill.	*Kommos I,1*: 375-376
*Langos SW (site 45)	Coastal Area	MM	Light sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 376
*Langos NE (site 84)	Coastal Area	MMI	A few sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 376
Lasaia	Asterousia	MM	MM sherds near the Acropolis with a Prepalatial settlement.	Vallianou 1979: 382-384
Lebena	Asterousia	uncertain	Settlements at Aginaropapouro (in use till MMIA) related to tholoi at Papoura; Koutrouli Mantra and Pigaidopoulo, near tholos at Zervou, but not related; date given "Minoan".	Alexiou 1992: 164
Megaloi Skinoi III (E11)	Asterousia	EM-MMI	The largest settlement in Ayiofarango; near the tholoi.	Alexiou 1967: 482-483; *Periochi Odigitrias*: 45; *Ayiofarango*: 41, fig. 13
Megaloi Skinoi IV (E12)	Asterousia	EM, MMIA MMIB, MMII	Traces of walls, settlement; 'peak sanctuary'?	*Periochi Odigitrias*:45-46; *Ayiofarango*: 41-43
*Moutsounia (site 130)	Coastal Area	MM	Sherds of a MM pithos, probably not in context.	*Kommos I,1*: 355
Nio Pervoli (MO.W2)	Asterousia	EM MM	Remains of a succession of farmsteads.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 48; *Ayiofarango*: 63-64
Panaplos	Asterousia	EMII, EMIII/MMIA, MMI-II	One or two farmsteads, remains of walls.	*Periochi Odigitrias*:62-63
Patrikies	Plain	MMIA	Remains of a building, a paved road and a thick pottery deposit containing mainly teapots.	Bonacasa 1967-68; *FCM I*: 747-757
Pitsidia SW (site 2)	Coastal Area	MM	Few MM sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 364
Pitsidia/Plakes	Coastal Area	MMIII/LMIA	A LM country house with probably earlier Protopalatial levels.	Vallianou 1987: 548; 1988: 531-534; 1989: 438-441; 1990: 417-420
*Plakes NE (site 102)	Coastal Area	MM	A light scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 378
*Plakes E (site 48)	Coastal Area	MM?	A few sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 379
*Plakes S (site 55)	Coastal Area	MM	Light sherd scatter; LMI building.	*Kommos I,1*: 379
*Plakes N (site 54)	Coastal Area	MMIIB-IIIA	A few sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 379

*Plakes N (site 125)	Coastal Area	MM	A light scatter.	*Kommos I,1*; 380
Platanos	Plain	?	Settlement-no details.	Xanthoudides 1924: 132
Porti	Plain (south slopes)	MM?	Settlement? remains of walls (could belong to rectangular tombs).	Xanthoudides 1924: 54-55
Rodonas	Asterousia	EMI-MMI	Small 'farmstead'; traces of walls.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 23-26
Salame	Plain (south slopes)	MM LM	4-5 walls to the W of the tomb.	Xanthoudides 1924: 74
Selli (excavated)	Plain	MM	Large number of sherds; excavation revealed a Neopalatial settlement and Prepalatial and Protopalatial remains.	*Kommos I,1*: 377; La Rosa 1972-73: 515-525; La Rosa 1973-74: 914-16.
Selli W (site 53)	Plain	EMI or IIA MMIB-LMI	A light scatter, most sherds MM.	*Kommos I,1*: 378
Selli SE (site 47)	Plain	MMI-III?	The quantity and extent of Minoan pottery show a settlement site.	*Kommos I,1*: 378
Sendones SW (site 25)	Coastal Area	FN? EMI-IIA MMI-III	A fairly extensive Minoan settlement.	*Kommos I,1*: 373
*Sendones NW (site 92)	Coastal Area	MM	Light scatter of sherds.	Kommos I,*1*: 374
*Sendones E (site 89)	Coastal Area	MMI	Sparse sherds, remains of walls.	*Kommos I,1*: 377
*Sendones E (site 82)	Coastal Area	MMI, MMII?	Thin scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 377
*Sphakoryako (site 35)	Coastal Area	MMII-III	Traces of a Minoan settlement; wall foundations.	*Kommos I,1*: 367-368; Karetsou 1978; Evans 1928: 90; Pendlebury *et al.* 1932-33: 89
Trypeti Phylakas	Asterousia	MM	MM settlement in a promontory to the N of the EM site.	Vasilakis 1995: 69-70
Tsimbraga	Asterousia	EMII-MMI	Small EMII-MMI installation looted.	Blackman 1999-2000: 128
Vathy	Asterousia	MMIII-LMI	Settlement; partly excavated.	Davaras 1968: 405; *Periochi Odigitrias*: 60-61
Vigles SW (site 6)	Coastal Area	EMI-II MM	Minoan sherds and traces of walls on top of ridge.	*Kommos I,1*: 360
Vigles NW (site 70)	Coastal Area	EMI? MMI-III	Fairly extensive scatter of MM sherds; traces of a MM building?	*Kommos I,1*: 361
*Vigles (site 66)	Coastal Area	MM	A few stray MM sherds.	*Kommos I,1*: 361
*Vigles (site 10)	Coastal Area	MM	A few MM sherds, not in context?	*Kommos I,1*: 362
Voroi	Plain (north slopes)	MM LM	Remains of walls and pottery dating to MM(IB) - LM periods.	Vallianou 1990: 427-428

Vorou	Plain (north slopes)	?	Traces of settlement to the N of the cemetery (EMIII/MMIA). No excavation took place.	Marinatos 1930-31: 166-167
Vrondolakkos (site 16)	Coastal Area	EM? MM	Moderate sherd scatter.	*Kommos I,1*: 365
Yalomonochoro (E13)	Asterousia	EM MMI	Traces of walls, possibly an extension of M. Skinoi III, IV.	*Periochi Odigitrias*: 46; *Ayiofarango*: 43
Zaros Lake	Mt. Ida	EM MM	A substantial settlement of EM-MM date.	Vallianou 1987: 549

LEGEND
Abbreviations: see Bibliography
Location (see also Figs. 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3)
Asterousia: including Ayiofarango, South Coast, Lebena area, Trypeti area, Moni Odigitrias area
Plain: the Western Mesara plain
(north slopes): The low slopes of Mt. Ida facing the plain
(south slopes): The low slopes of Asterousia Mountains facing the plain
Coastal Area: the territory around Kommos and to the West of Phaistos and Ag. Triada
Sites marked * represent new establishments in MM period.
Data collected from surveys and excavations in the Western Mesara, Kommos region, Ayiofarango, Moni Odigitrias area, the excavations by Xanthoudides (1924), and rescue excavations by the Greek Archaeological Service, published in Archaeologikon Deltion.
(Site no): refers to sites identified by the survey at the Kommos region (see *Kommos I,1*); (e.g. Site 64).
(Site E no. or W no.): refers to sites identified by the survey in Ayiofarango (see *Ayiofarango*); (e.g. Site W8).
(Site SC no.): refers to sites identified by the survey in the south coast area of Kaloi Limenes (see *South Coast*); (e.g. Site SC 5).

THOLOS	**DATE** (latest use)
Ag. Kyriaki A (W6)	MMI-MMII
Ag. Triada A	MMII
Ag. Andonios (E22)	MMI/II
Apesokari I	MMII, MMIII (outside tomb)
Kalathiana K	MMII
Kamilari I	MMIB (foundation)-MMIII
Kamilari II	MMII-MMIII
Kephali Odigitrias (Skaniari Lakkos)	MMIB or II
Koumasa E	MMIB/MMII
Lebena Zervou	MMIB
Marathokephalo	MMIB-IIA
Megaloi Skinoi IIIa (E10a)	MMI/II
Megaloi Skinoi IIIb (E10b)	MMI/II
Moni Odigitria A (Hatzinas Liophyto)	MMIB
Platanos A	MMII
Platanos B	MMII
Porti	MMII
Vorou A	MMII-MMIII
Vorou B	MMIII

Tholos Cemeteries in use after MMI (data from Branigan 1968; 1993; Walberg 1983; Zois 1998; see also Table 5.3)

TABLE. 7.3

ACTIVITY	LEVI	FIANDRA	WALBERG	DATE
(Paterikies)	Prepalatial	Prepalatial	Pre-Kamares	MMIA
CONSTRUCTION OF PALACE – SOUTH BLOCK				
First period of use, South block, plus modifications	Phase Ia	Period 1	Early Kamares	MMIB
Second period of use, South Block and (new) North Block	Phase Ib (some)	(drain fill under LIX, LX, LXIV) Period 2	Classical Kamares	MMIIA
DESTRUCTION BY EARTHQUAKE				
Third period of use, repairs to and modifications of second phase buildings	Phase Ib (most) Phase II	Period 3	Classical Kamares	MMIIB
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE FOLLOWED BY SPREADING OF CALCESTRUZZO				
Fourth period of use	Phase III	Period 4	Post-Kamares	MMIII
SECOND PALACE				LMI

Phaistos First Palace: a synthesis of contrasting opinions about the Protopalatial chronology (after Warren & Hankey 1989, table 2.4, p. 49).

TABLE 7.4

LEVI & CARINCI	FIANDRA	EVANS
Phase Ia	Period 1: MMIB	MMIB
Phase Ib early	Period 2: MMIIA	MMIB/IIA
Phase Ib late/II	Period 3: MMIIB	MMIIB
FINAL PROTOPALATIAL DESTRUCTION		
Phase III	Period 4: MMIII	MMIII

Phaistos First Palace: synchronization of the Protopalatial phases (after Van de Moortel 1998, table 3, p. 305)

TABLE 7.5

PHASE	EVANS	LEVI
Phase I: construction of the Palace (southern section)	MMIB	Fase Ia
Phase II: Construction of the north section; modifications that respected the unity of the southern facade	MMIIA	Fase Ib
COLLAPSE BY EARTHQUAKE		
Phase III: substantial modifications and addition of new rooms at the façade in N and S sections, disturbance of the unity of the façade	MMIIB	Fase II
DESTRUCTION BY FIRE		
Phase IV: The palace does no longer exist as a unified architectural entity; not even the line of the façade is preserved; the level of the ground floor is raised.	MMIIB (end)- MMIIIA?	Fase III

Reconstruction of the building phases of the First Palace at Phaistos integrating Levi's phases with Evans' chronological system (after Fiandra 1961-62).

TABLE. 7.6

LOCATION	DATE	REFERENCE
Under the Building South of the Paved Ramp/ ceramic deposit	MMII	Carinci 1989: 73
Under House AA – complete sequence from EM to Geometric	MM?	Carinci 1989: 73
Under House CC – complete sequence from EM to Geometric	MM?	Carinci 1989: 73
Building West of the West Court – phase II pottery	MMIIB	Carinci 1989: 73
Building CV-CVIII, South of Acropoli Mediana to the West of the Palace	MMIIA	Levi & Carinci 1988: 299 (Phase Ib early)
South of Palace, West of Chalara Quarter: Trench II, MMIIA remains of fallen walls; MMIIB floor levels	MMIIA MMIIB	Fiandra 2000: 475-476
South of Palace, West of Chalara Quarter: Trench III, remains of wall	MMII	Fiandra 2000: 477
West of West Court: vani IC, C, CI, CIII – ceramic finds (later than the contemporary material from the palace), remains of walls	MMIB	MacGillivray 1998: 101; Levi & Carinci 1988: 302
West of West Court: Vani LXXXI, LXXXXIII, XCV, XCVII, XCVIII, IC, CI, CII, CIII	MMIIA	MacGillivray 1998: 101; Levi & Carinci 1988: 302
SW of the Palace: deposits in vani LXXVII-LXXVIII (rooms under Geometric House GG), XLVII (South House 2), LXVIII (South House 1)[1]	MMIIB – MMIIIA	MacGillivray (1998: 102); Levi & Carinci (1988: 302) for MMIII date of vani LXXVII-LXXVIII; La Rosa (2002: 77) for MMIIIA date of XLVII
Chalara North Sector: vano δ (fill), vano ζ1 (floor); rooms ι and ζ2 (MMIIA)	MMIB-IIA	Walberg 1976: 118; Levi & Carinci 1988: 302
Chalara South Sector: floor near wall 5; floor levels near walls 3, 4	MMIB-IIA	Walberg 1976: 118
Ag. Photini, room β, ceramic deposit inside bench	MMIB	Levi & Carinci 1988: 301
Ag. Photini vano κ2	MMIB-IIA	Walberg 1976: 118
Ag. Ioannis SW of the Phaistos hill, MMIB levels	MMIB	Watrous *et al.* 1993: 225

Middle Minoan remains in the town of Phaistos.

[1] South House 1 is the house immediately south of the Palace comprising rooms XLVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX; South House 2 is the building directly south of the above, containing the polythyron.

TABLE 8.1

SEAL OWNER	NUMBER OF IMPRESSIONS	PERCENTAGE	TOTAL
Top Individual (seal no 132)	175	7.9%	375 sealings
Individuals 2 and 3 (seal no 236 and 98)	200	9.1%	overall percentage: 17%
Next most active: 41 seal owners	1172	53%	
Least active 283 seal owners	660	29.9%	

Activity of different seal-owners at the Phaistos sealing archive (data from Weingarten 1994a; seal numbers from Levi 1957-58a).

TABLE 8.2

THE SEALINGS FROM THE *ARCHIVIO DI CRETULE*	
6586	Total number of sealings
1544	The analysed sealings (clear seal and object imprint)
1705	Misshapen – removed when wet
1600	Tiny fragments – chipped off larger pieces (?)
375	Simple lumps of clay
304	Without seal impression
233	Unrecognisable seal and object imprint
825	Clear seal imprint – unclear object imprint

The sealings from the archive of the First Palace of Phaistos. Data from Fiandra (1968: 386)

TABLE 8.3

OBJECT SEALED	NUMBER OF OVERALL SEAL IMPRESSIONS	NUMBER OF DIFFERENT SEALS PER OBJECT	NUMBER OF SEALINGS WITHOUT SEAL IMPRINT
Pommel-A	237	54	17
Pommel-B	311	77	38
Peg-C	59	30	14
Peg-D	479	92	54
Peg-E	35	11	0
Pommel-F (box)	10	3	0
Pommel-G (box)	18	8	0
Pommel-H (box)	3	2	0
Peg-I (metal?)	2	2	2
Peg-L (box?)	4	2	0
Bolt-M	131	57	22
Lid-N	15	15	0
Lid-O	8	7	3
Peg-P (chest/door?)	10	8	1
Lid-Q (mouth of askos	7	7	0
Pommel-T (chest)	4	4	0

Distribution of sealings on the different objects identified in the archive of the First Palace of Phaistos. The categories not included (R, S, U and V) represent respectively: flat-based nodules, roundels, a heterogeneous category of objects, and unrecognisable object imprints. Data after Fiandra (1968: 387-391).

FIGURES

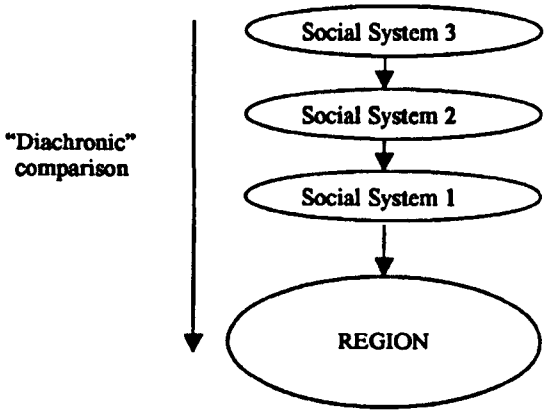


Fig. 2.1: Diachronic comparison of Regions/Societies: successive social systems ('societies') occupying the same region in time.

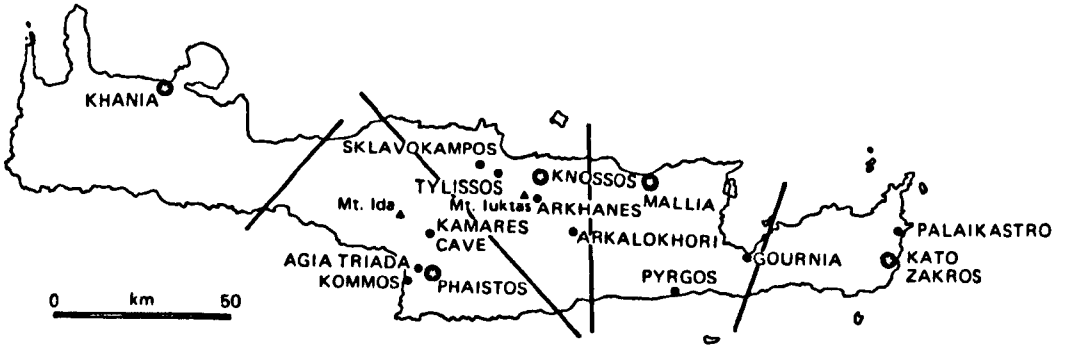


Fig. 2.2: Synchronic comparison of Region/Societies: co-existing different regions as represented by the distribution of Minoan Palaces (after Cherry 1986, fig. 2.2)

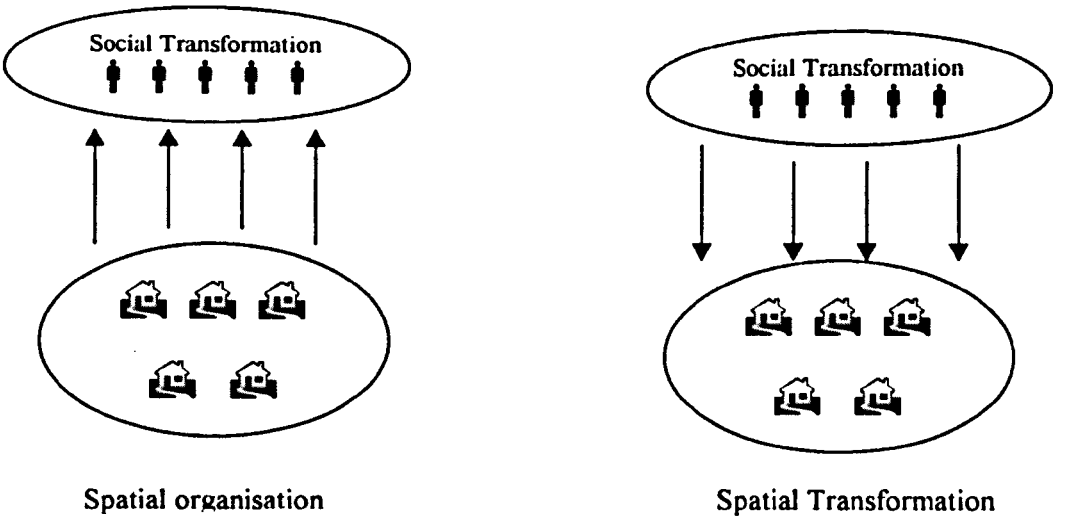


Fig. 2.3: The causal relationship postulated between social and spatial patterns.

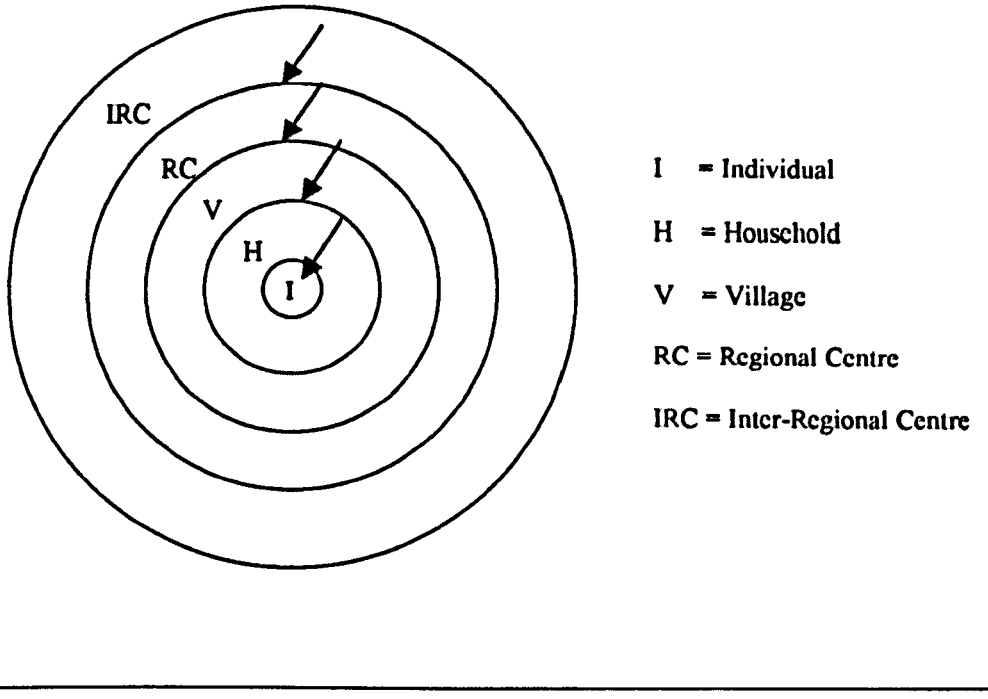


Fig. 2.4: The presumed hierarchy of spatial structures translated into social hierarchy. The arrows indicate the direction of control (higher/larger entities determining the operation of lower/smaller entities).

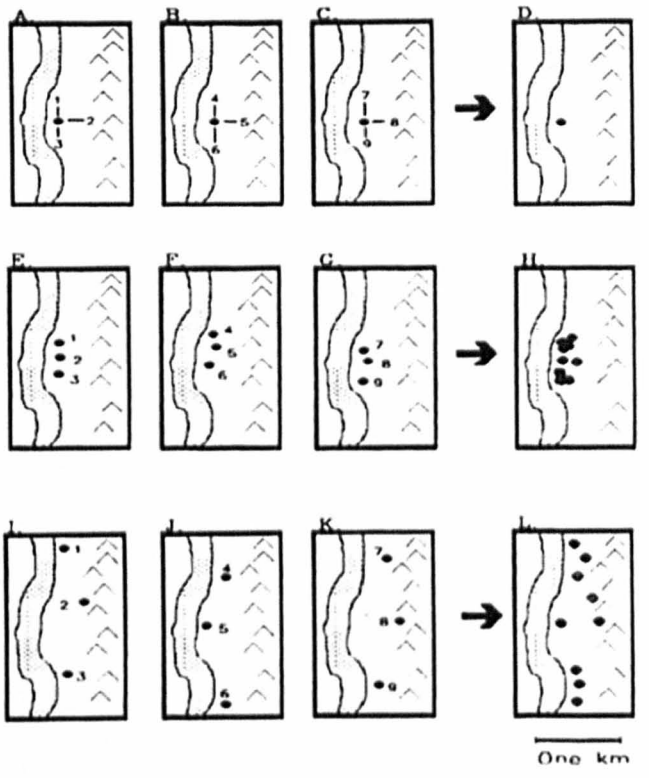


Fig. 2.5: Dewar and McBride's experiment of 'remnant settlement patterns' (after Dewar & McBride's 1992, fig. 1). The experiment is based on the idea that the periodical re-occupation of an area at short- and medium-term temporal scales may act as a site formation factor. The regular revisiting of a specific area without, however, settling precisely on top of the previous occupation, can be seen to generate three different 'settlement patterns': a first, where there appears to be no long term change since people have settled each time in the exact location of the earlier site; a second, where the relocation is only minor (resettling happens very near the previous occupation), so that it gives the impression of an increase in site number, in a nucleated pattern; and a third, where relocation has been quite extensive and creates the impression of a dispersed habitation.

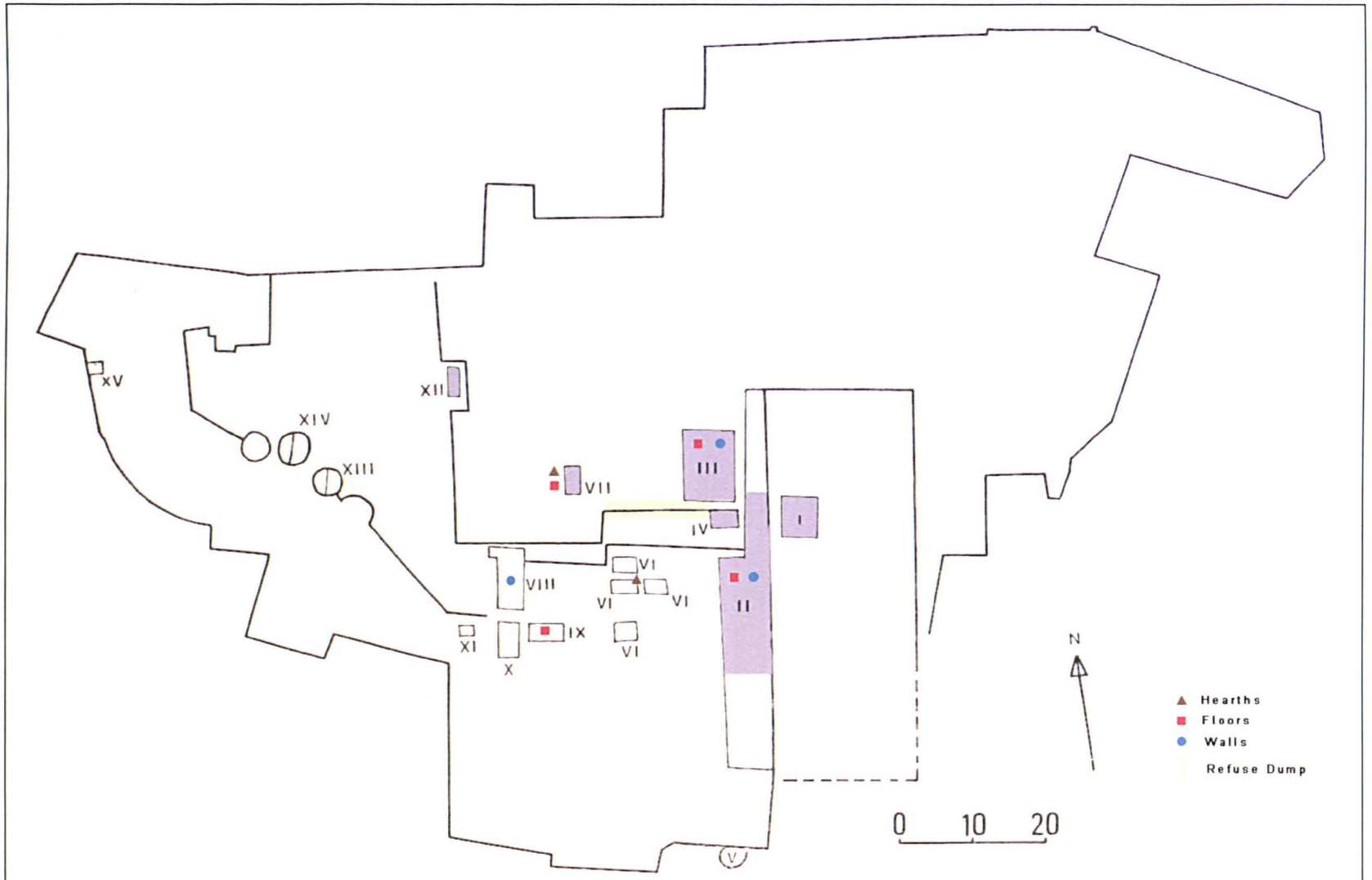


Fig. 4.1: FN Phaistos, extent of the Lower Neolithic Stratum (coloured areas) with distribution of walls, floors and hearths in the different soundings (adapted from Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 1)

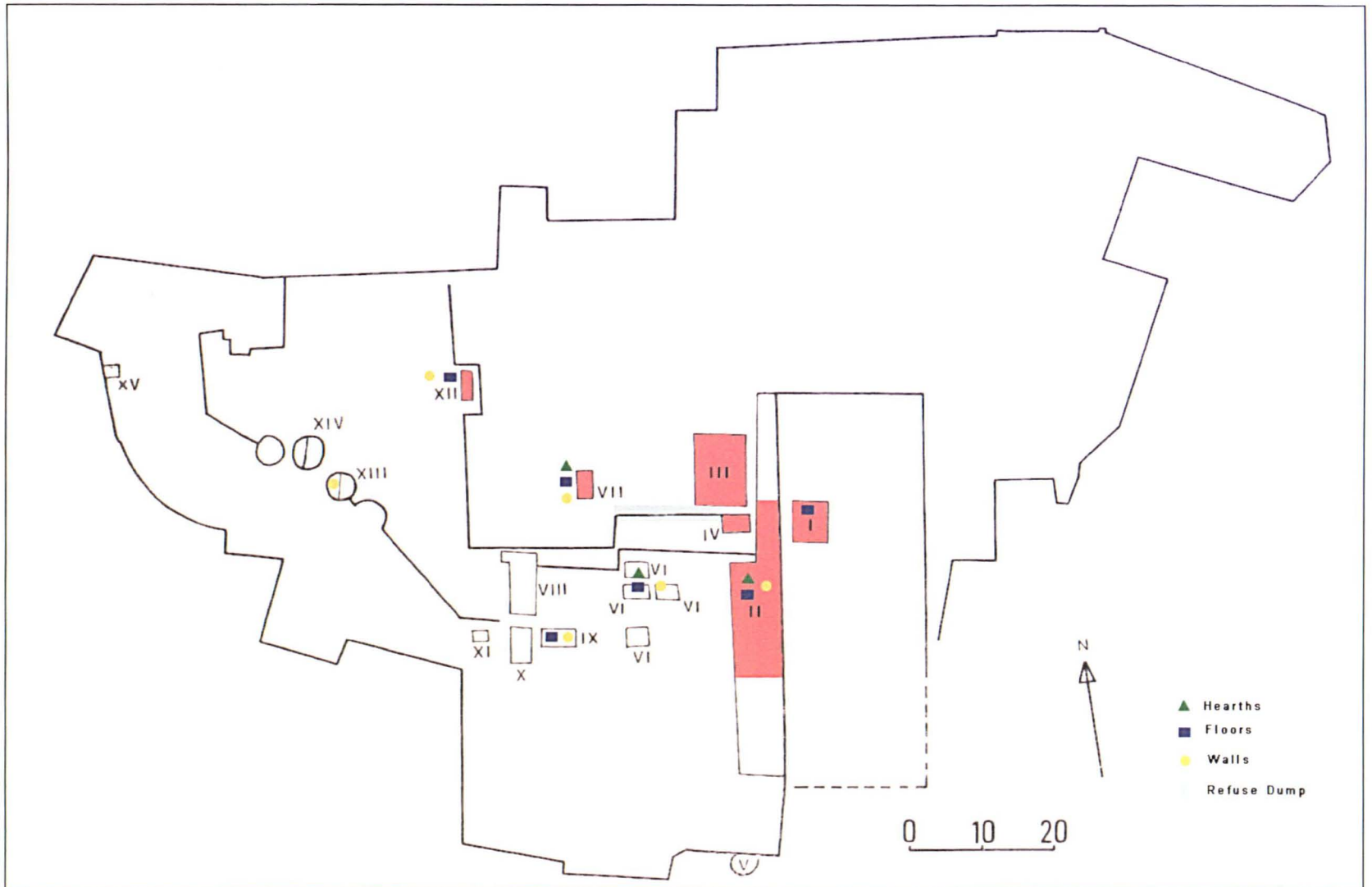


Fig. 4.2: FN Phaistos, extent of the Upper Neolithic Stratum (coloured area) with distribution of walls, floors and hearths in the different soundings (adapted from Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 1)

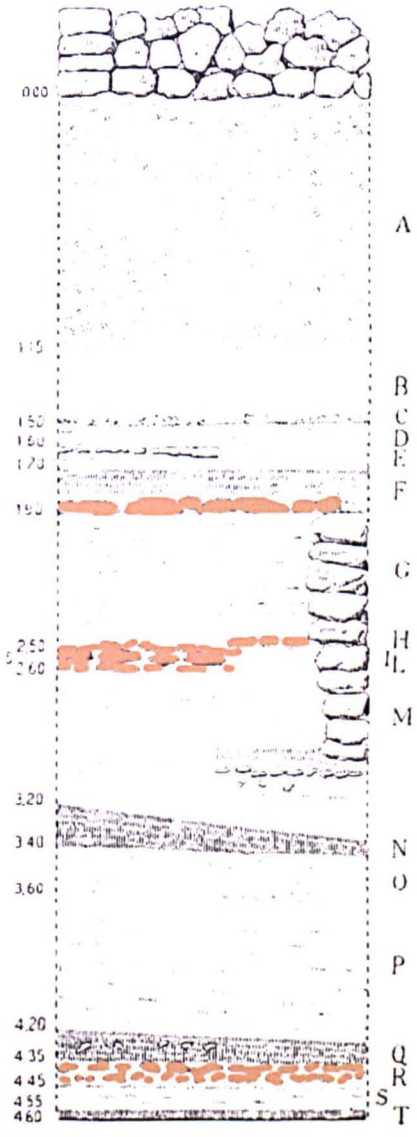


Fig. 4.3: FN Phaistos, Stratigraphy of Trench VI. The coloured areas represent stone paved floors (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 19)

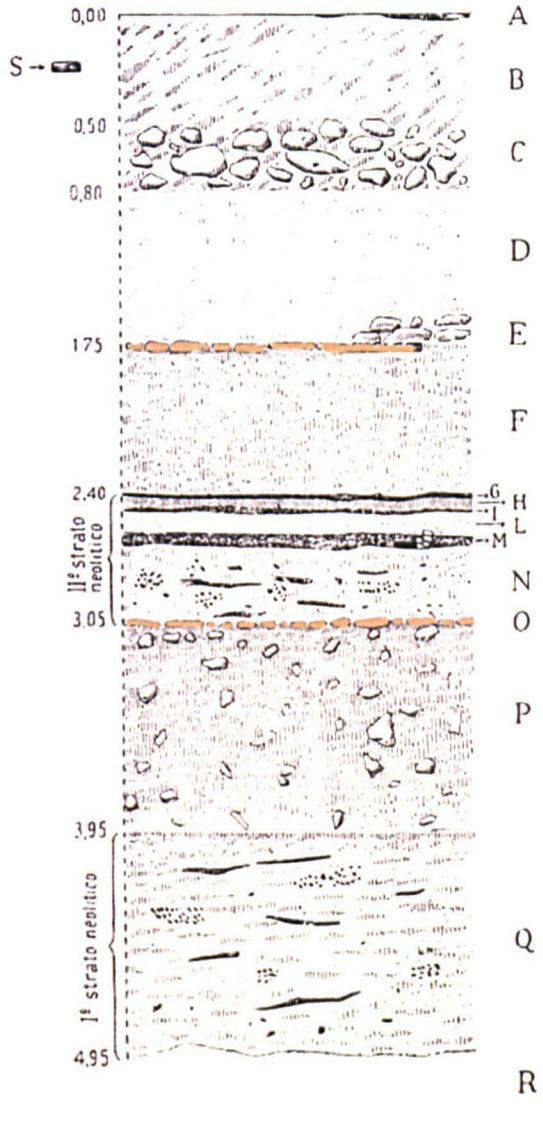


Fig. 4.4: FN Phaistos, Stratigraphy of Trench VII. The coloured areas represent stone paved floors (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 20)

Fig. 4.5: FN Phaistos, 'Retaining' wall in Trench VIII (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 23).

Fig. 4.6: FN Phaistos, Remains of wall in Trench II (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 7).

Fig. 4.7: FN Phaistos, Remains of wall in Trench III (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig 16).

Fig. 4.8: FN Phaistos, hearth in Trench II (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 12).

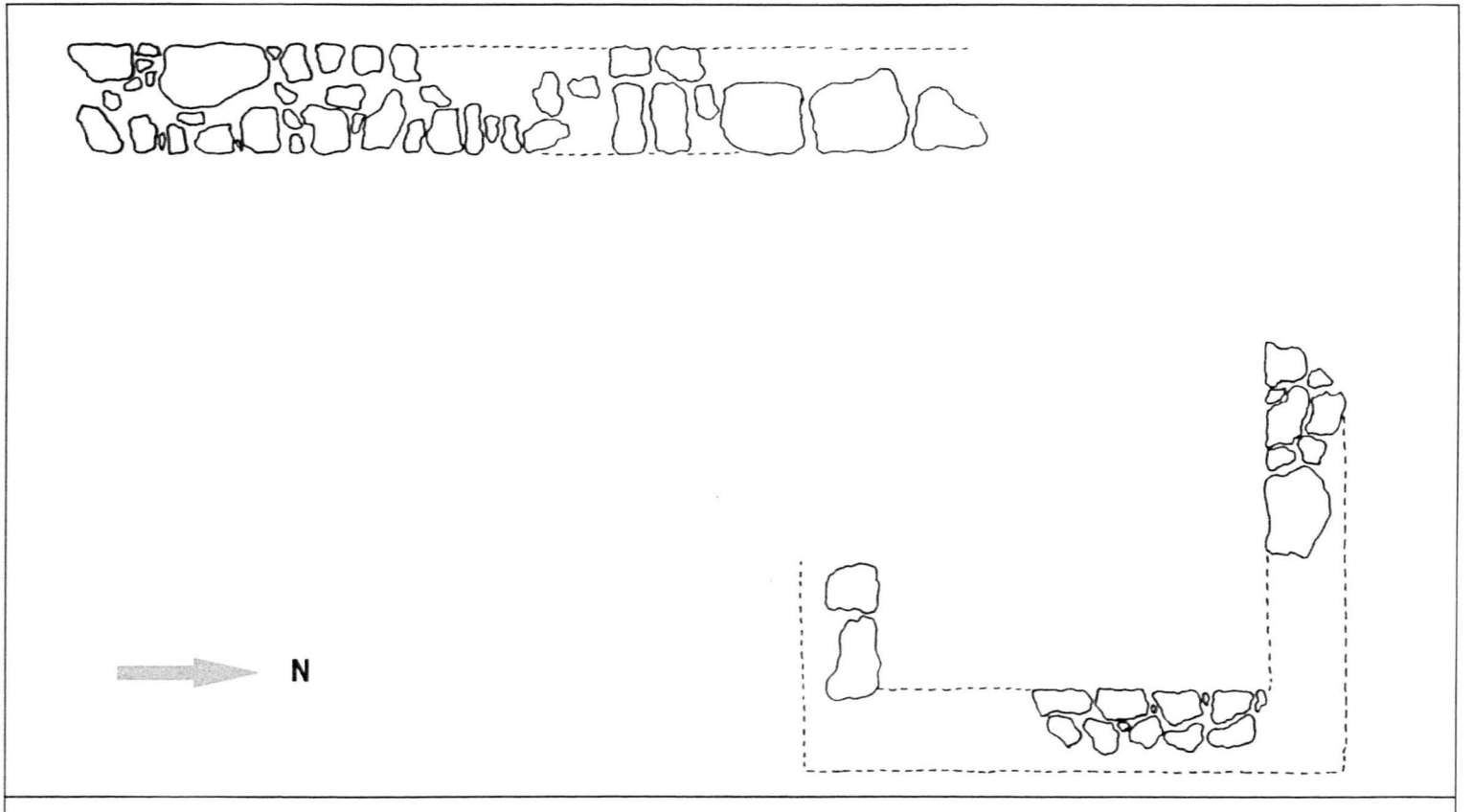


Fig. 4.9: FN House at Kala Selia, Kaloi Limenes (after Vasilakis 1987, plan 1).

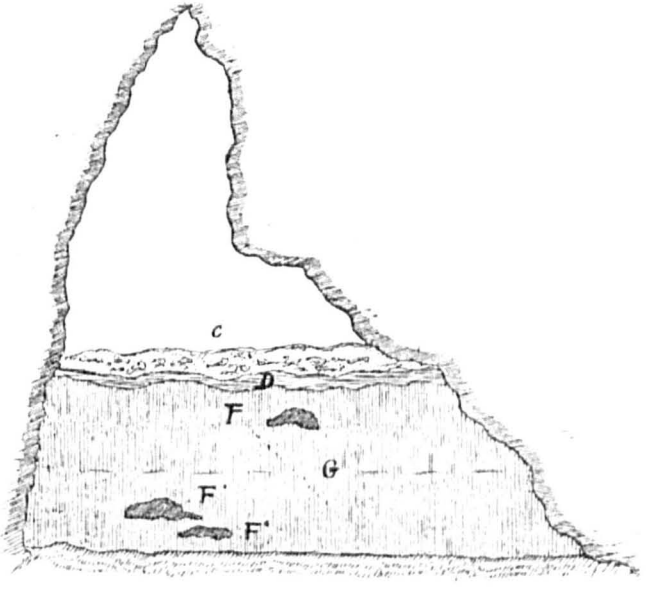


Fig. 4.10: Neolithic Cave at Miamou, stratigraphy (after Taramelli 1897, fig. 5).

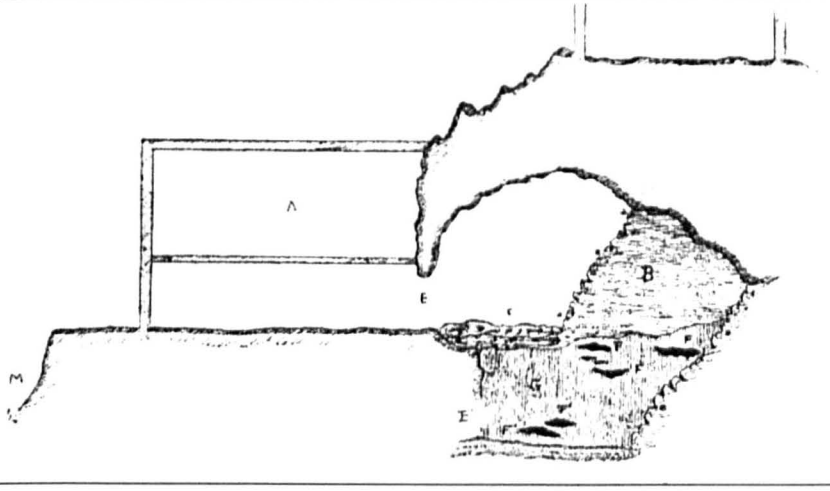


Fig. 4.11: Neolithic Cave at Miamou, stratigraphy (after Taramelli 1897, fig. 6).

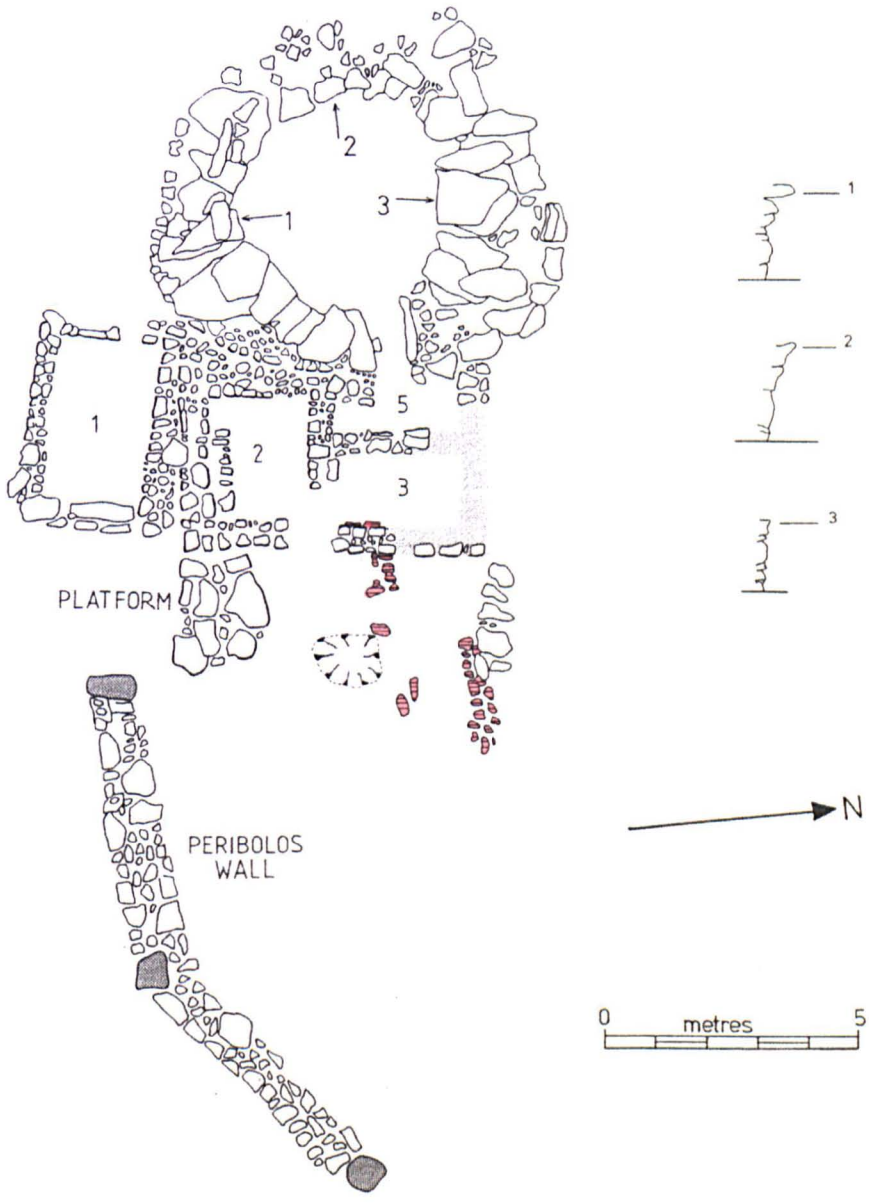


Fig. 4.12: Ag. Kyriaki tholos, pre-tomb FN occupation shown in colour (adapted from *Ag. Kyriaki*, fig.15).

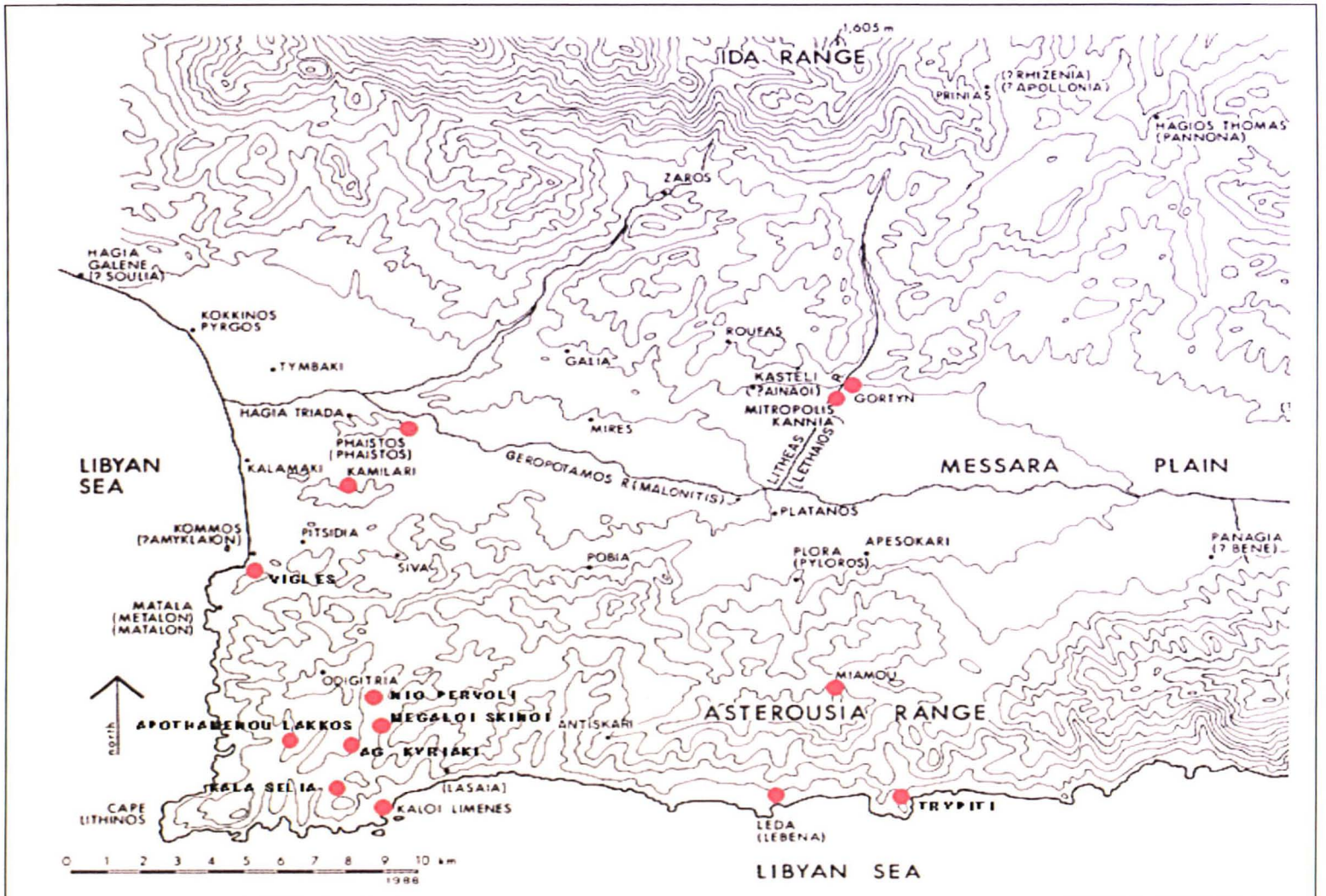


Fig. 4.13: Map showing the distribution of Neolithic sites in the Mesara.

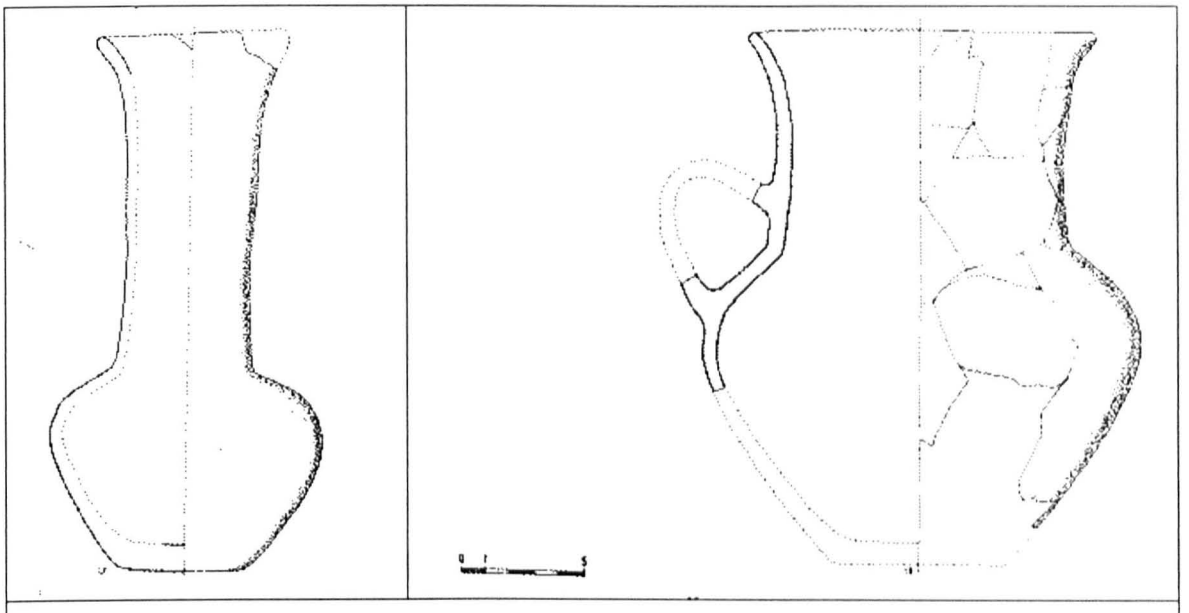


Fig. 4.14: FN Phaistos, bottle and necked jar (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 67, 17-18).

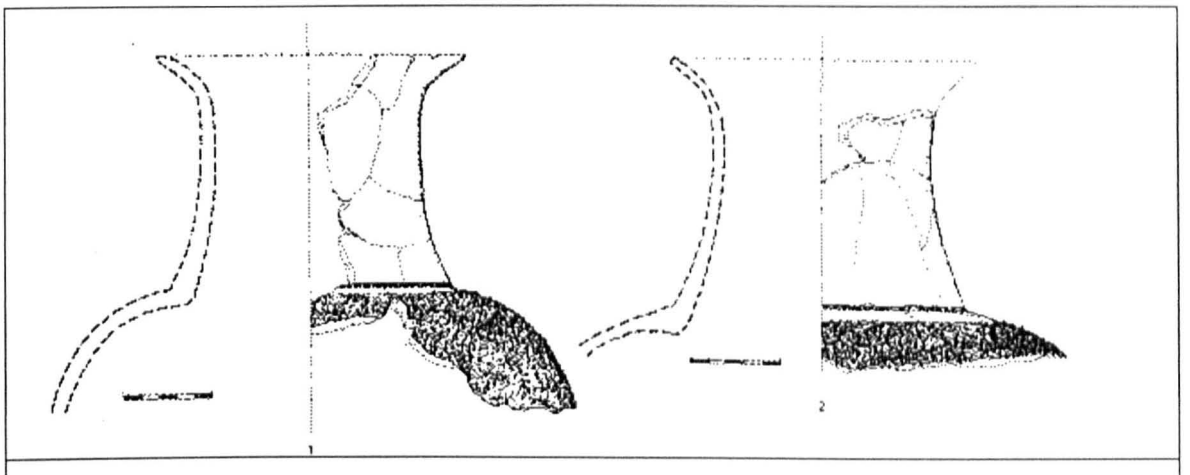


Fig. 4.15: FN Phaistos, necked jars and bottles combining more than one decorative technique (after Vagnetti 1972-73, fig. 76, 1-2).

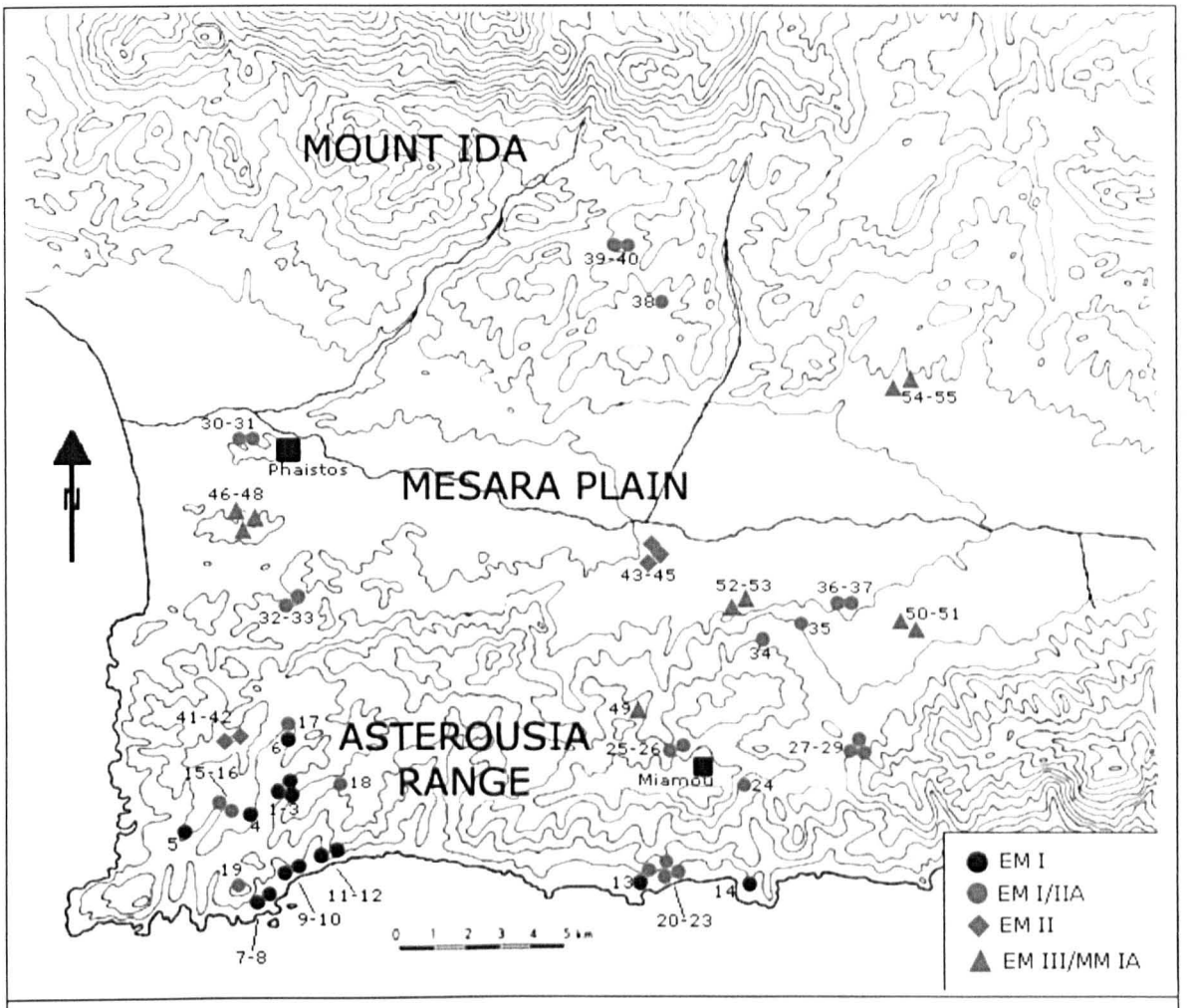


Fig. 5.1: Distribution of tholos tombs in the Mesara according to their foundation date: **1-3.** Megaloi Skinoi A-C; **4.** Ag. Kyriaki A; **5.** Kephali A (Skaniari Lakkos); **6.** Skotomenou Charakas A; **7-8.** Kaloi Limenes A-B; **9-10.** Chrysostomos A-B; **11-12.** Lasaia A-B; **13.** Lebena Yerokambos II; **14.** Trypeti; **15.** Ag. Kyriaki B-C; **17.** Skotomenou Charakas B; **18.** Kaminospelio; **19.** Ag. Andonios; **20-23.** Lebena Yerokambos IIa, Lebena Papoura I-1b, Lebena Zervou; **24.** Krotos; **25-26.** Korakies A-B; **27-29.** Koumasa A, B, E; **30-31.** Ag. Triada A-B; **32-33.** Sivas N-S; **34.** Porti; **35.** Salame/Koutsokera; **36-37.** Ag. Eirene E-e; **38.** Kalathiana K; **39-40.** Marathokephalo A-B; **41-42.** Moni Odigitrias A-B (Hatzinas Liophyto); **43-45.** Platanos A-C; **46-48.** Kamilari A-C (foundation date MMIB); **49.** Ag. Kyrillos; **50-51.** Drakones D-Z; **52-53.** Apesokari I-II; **54-55.** Vorou A-B.

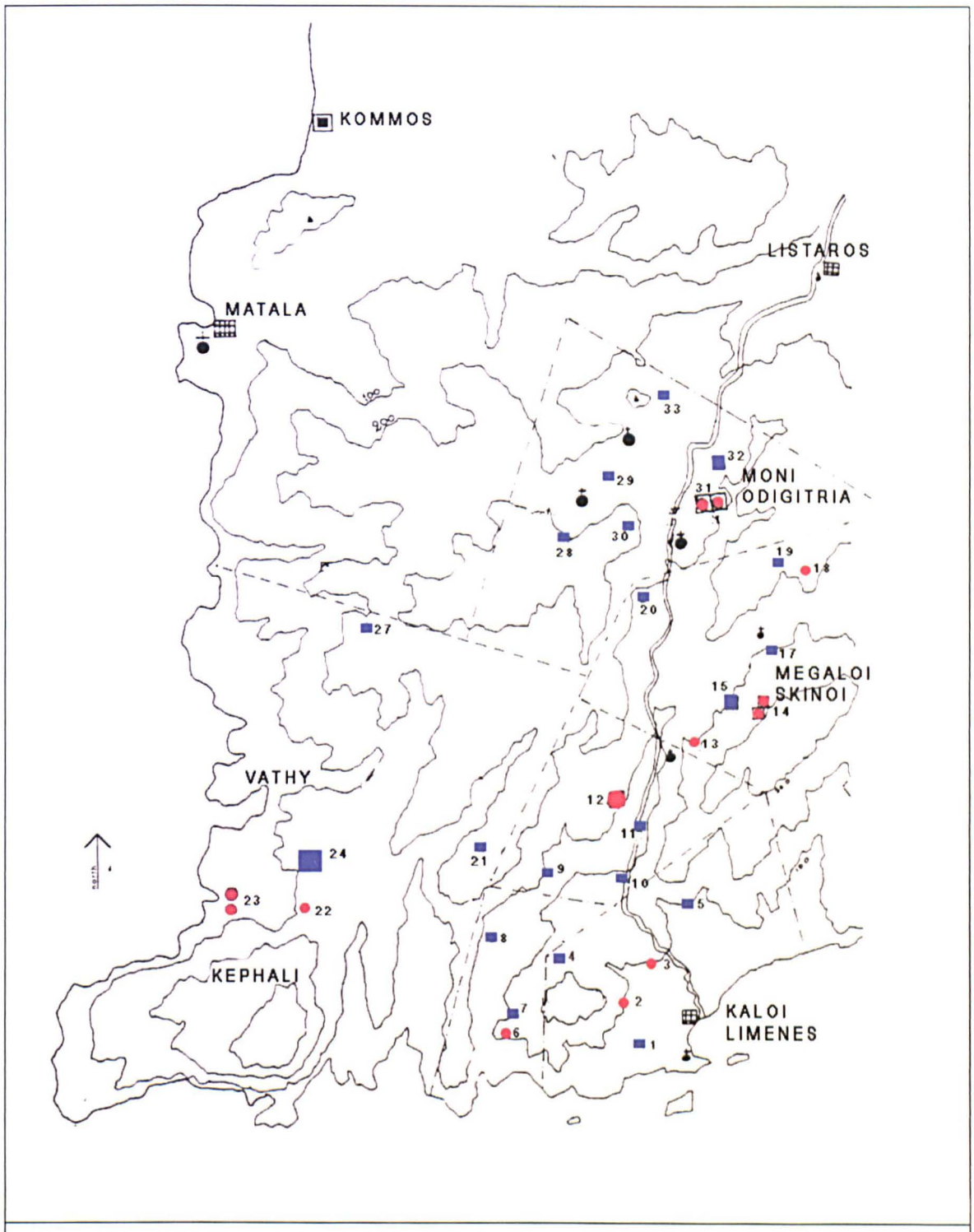


Fig. 5.2: Distribution of EM sites in the Moni Odigitria area. Tholos tombs are indicated in red and settlements are shown in blue (after *Periochi Odigitrias*, map 2). **1.** Ag. Pavlos; **2.** Kaloi Limenes I; **3.** Kaloi Limenes II; **4.** Kalia Selia; **5.** Rodonas; **6.** Ag. Andonios I; **7.** Ag. Andonios II; **8.** Ayiofarango; **9.** Ag. Kyriaki I; **10.** Ag. Kyriaki II; **11.** Ag. Kyriaki III; **12.** Ag. Kyriaki IV; **13.** Megaloi Skinoi I; **14.** Megaloi Skinoi II; **15.** Megaloi Skinoi III; **17.** Yalomonochoro; **18.** Gavaliana; **19.** Gavaliani Kephala; **20.** Nio Pervoli; **21.** Axi Vouni **22.** Ag. Georgios; **23.** Skaniari Lakkos; **24.** Doukiania; **27.** Orthes Petres; **28.** Panaplos; **29.** Ag. Ephtychianos; **30.** Kalogrias Korphali; **31.** Hatzinas Liophyto (Moni Odigitria); **32.** Aloniou Kephali; **33.** Ag. Andreas.

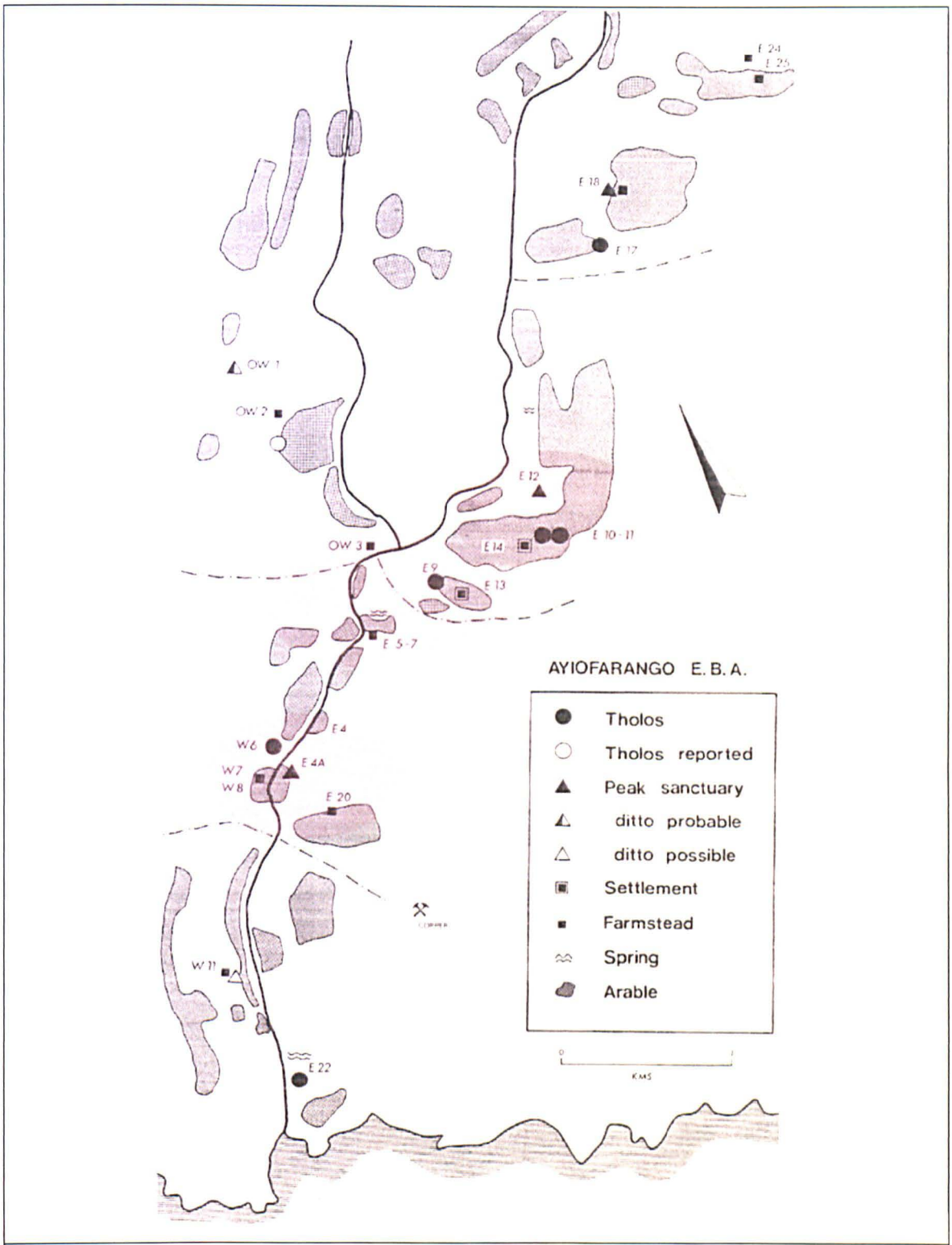


Fig. 5.3: Map of Ayiofarango showing clustering of sites near the tholos tombs (adapted from *Ayiofarango*, fig. 34).

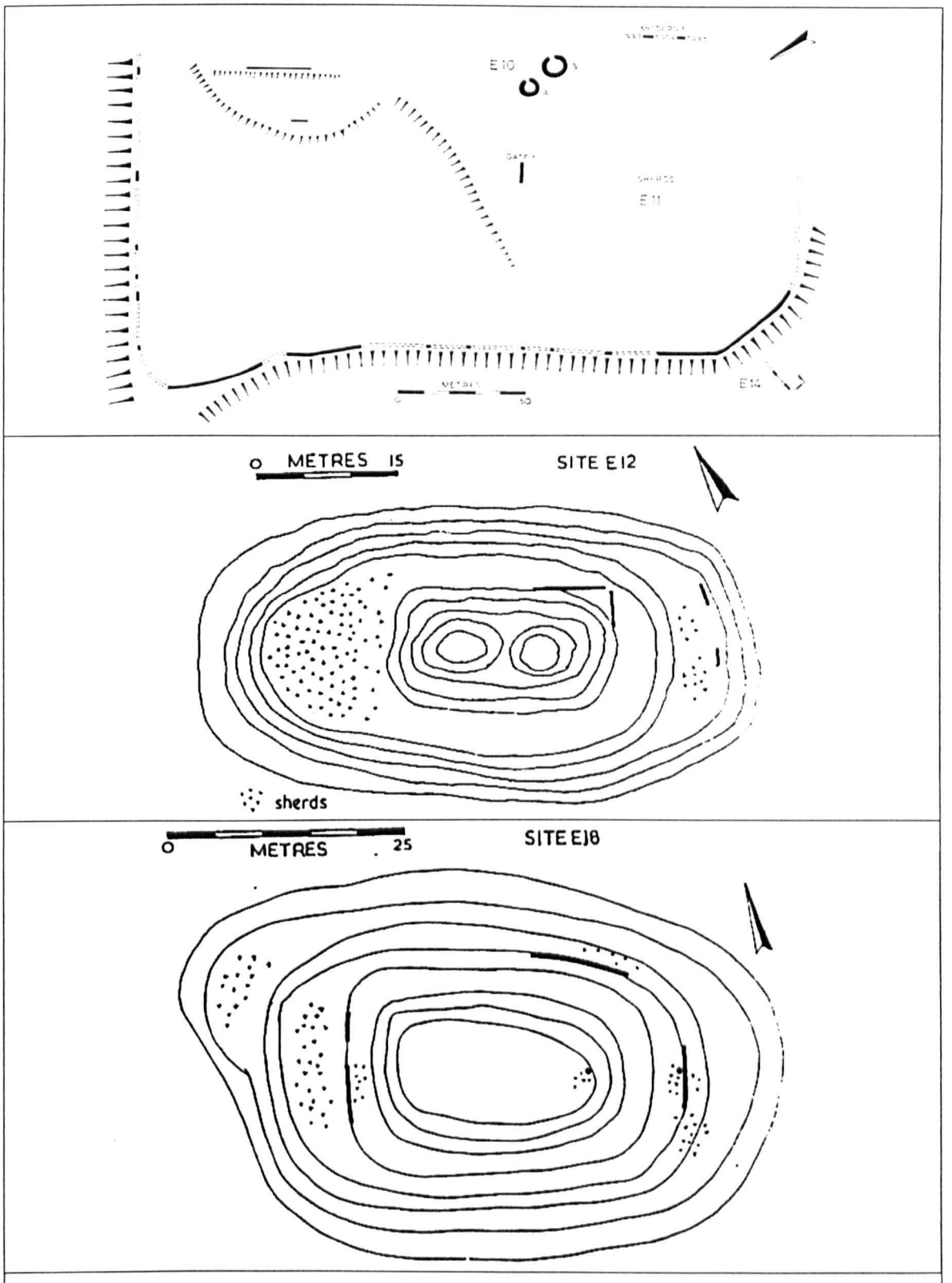


Fig. 5.4: Sites E11, E12 and E18 in Ayiofarango (after *Ayiofarango*, figs. 13, 14, 18).

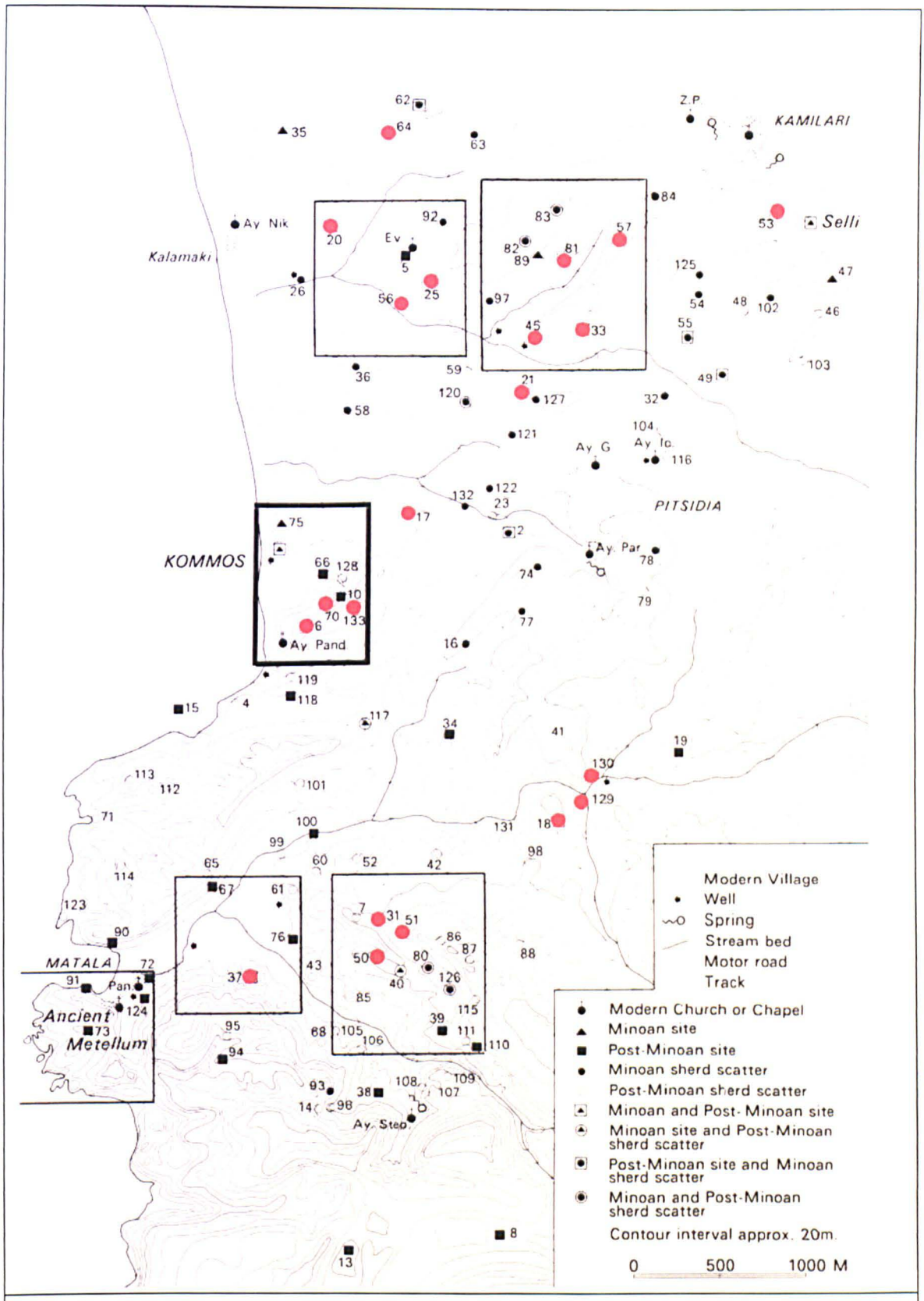


Fig. 5.5: Distribution of Early Minoan sites (shown in red) in the Kommos region (adapted from *Kommos I*, fig. 7.47).

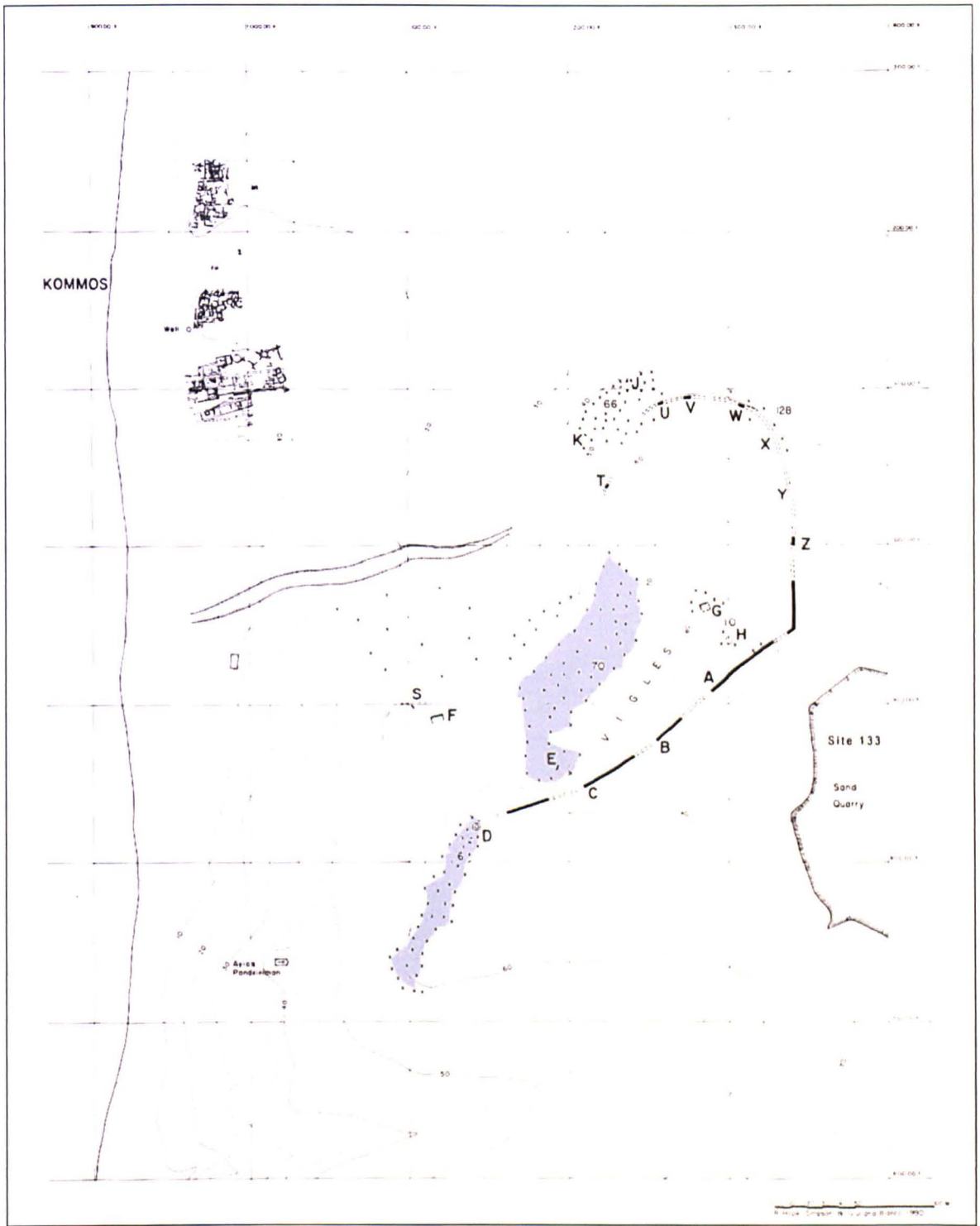


Fig. 5.6: EM scatter at Vigles, sites 70, 6 and 133 (after *Kommos I*, fig. 7.49).

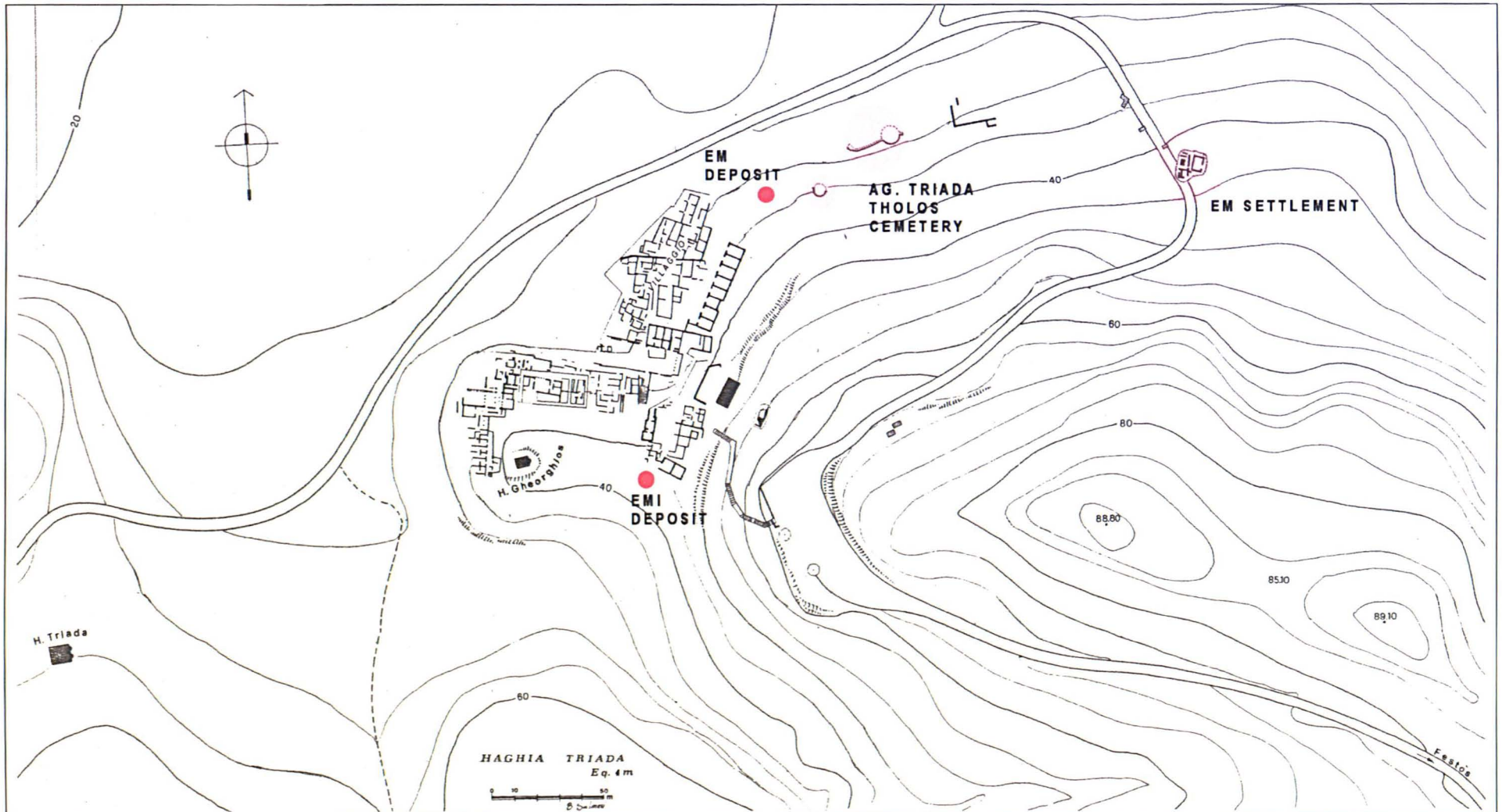


Fig. 5.7: Prepalatial remains in Ag. Triada: cemetery, EM settlement and EM deposits (adapted from La Rosa 1979-1980, fig. 1).

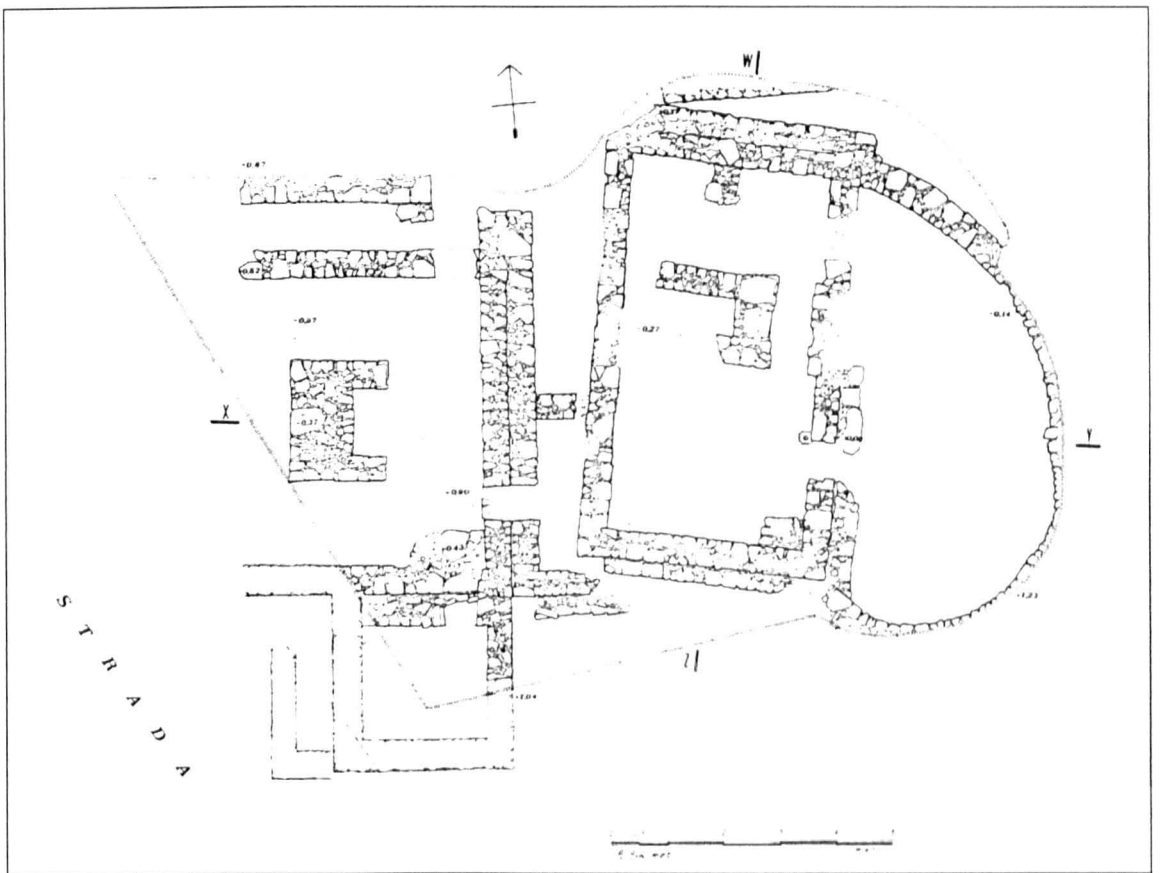


Fig. 5.8: Prepalatial houses at Ag. Triada (after *Ancient Crete*, fig. 200).

Fig. 5.9: EMIIA pithos from the West House at Ag. Triada (after *Ancient Crete*, fig.201).

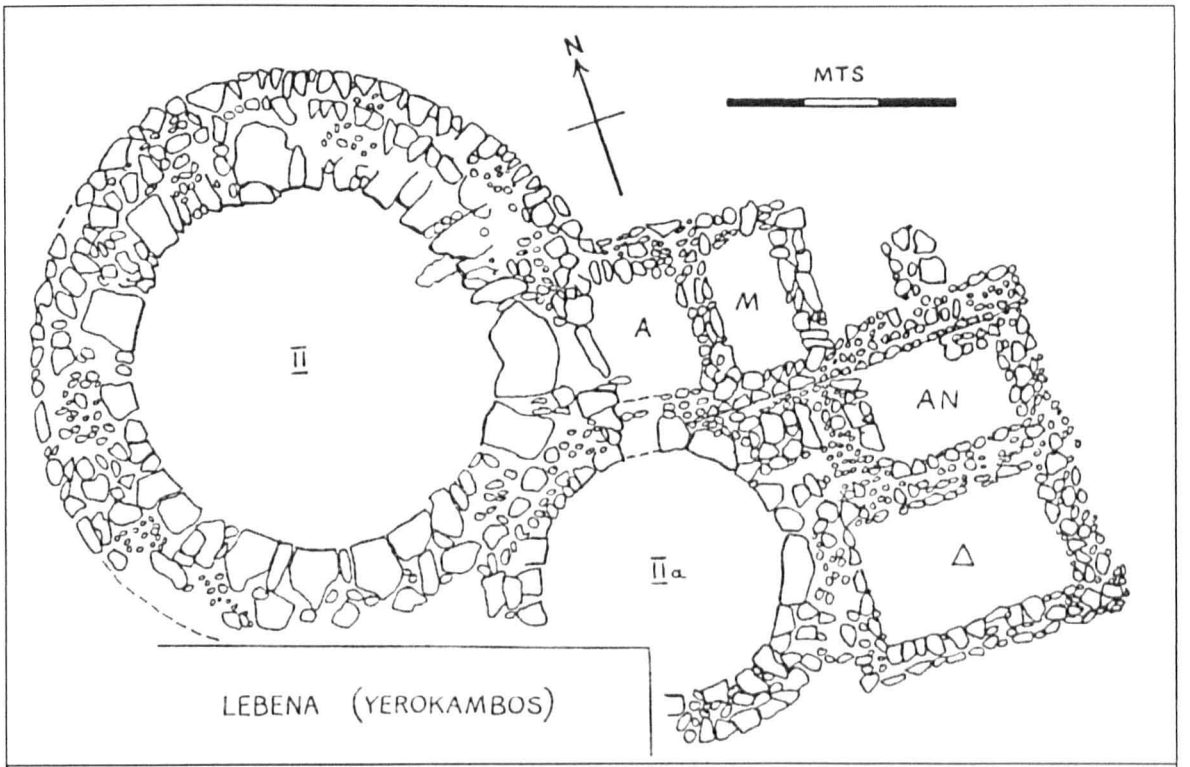


Fig. 5.10: Tholos tombs at Lebena Yerokambos (after Alexiou 1961-62a, fig.1).

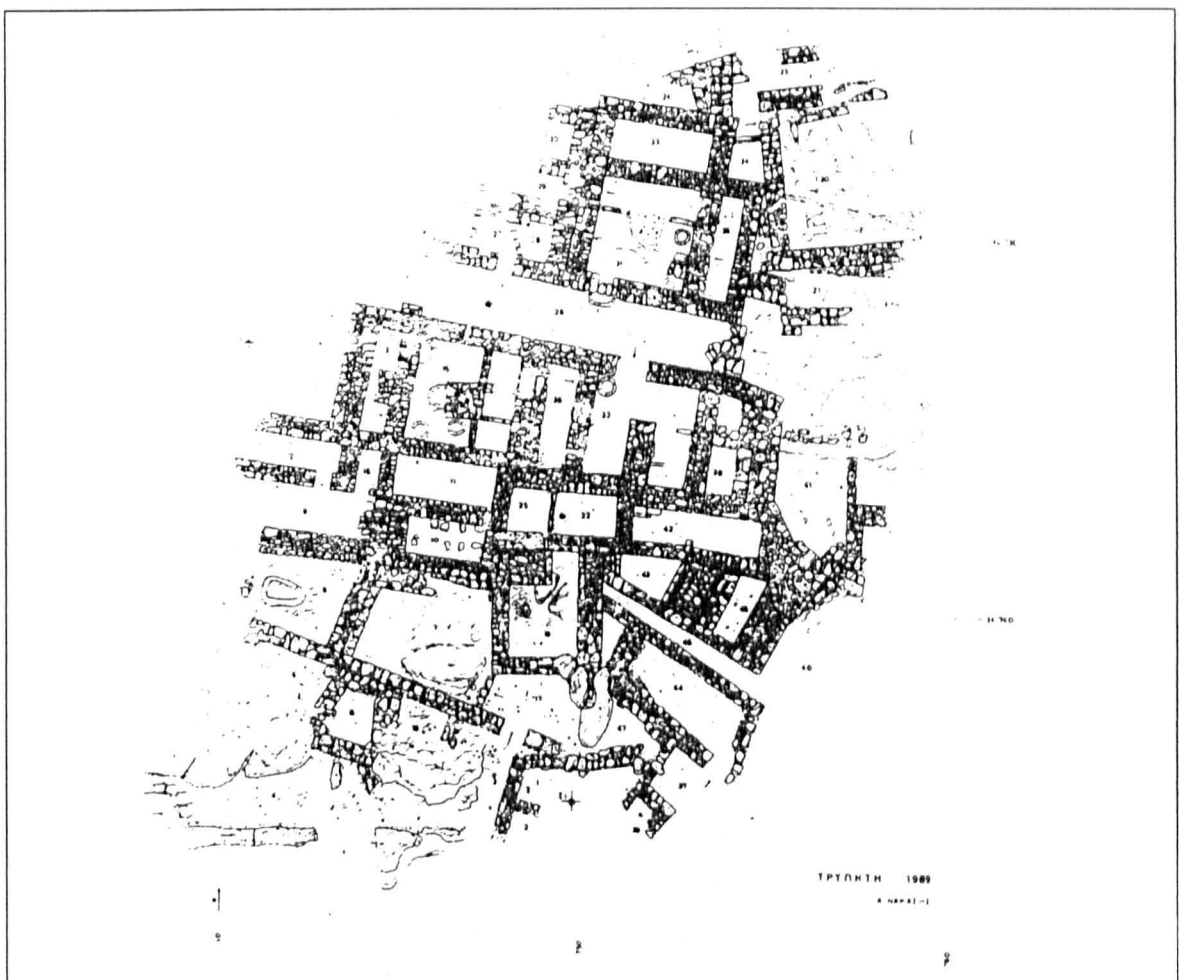


Fig. 11: The Prepalatial settlement of Trypeti (after Vasilakis 1995, fig. 1).

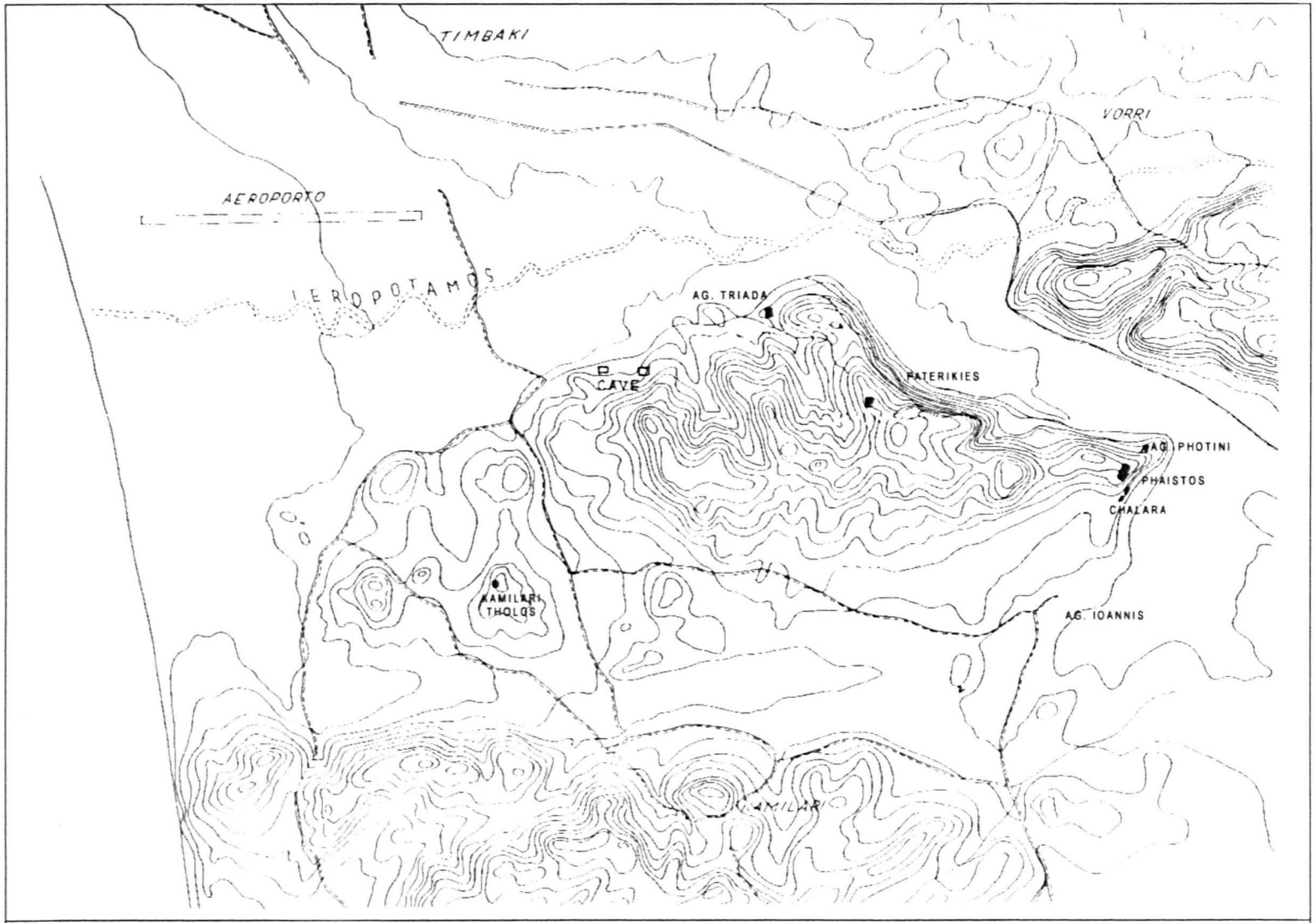


Fig. 6.1: Map of Western Mesara with locations of Phaistos, Ag. Triada and Patrikies (after Levi 1961-62, fig. 2)

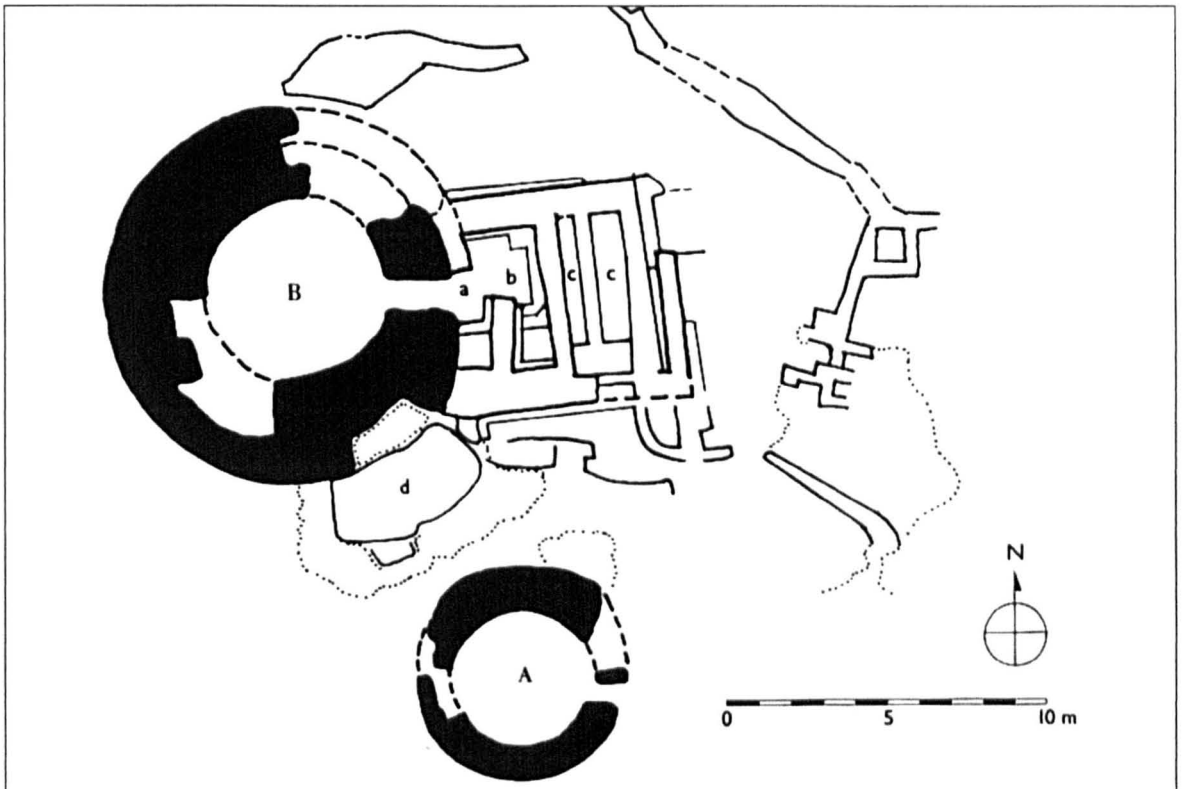


Fig. 6.2: The Moni Odigitria Cemetery (after Vasilakis 1992, fig. 30.2).

Fig. 6.3: The Ag. Triada Cemetery, Tholos A, annexes, *camerette* and the recently excavated rooms *a-c* (after La Rosa 2001, plate LXXII).

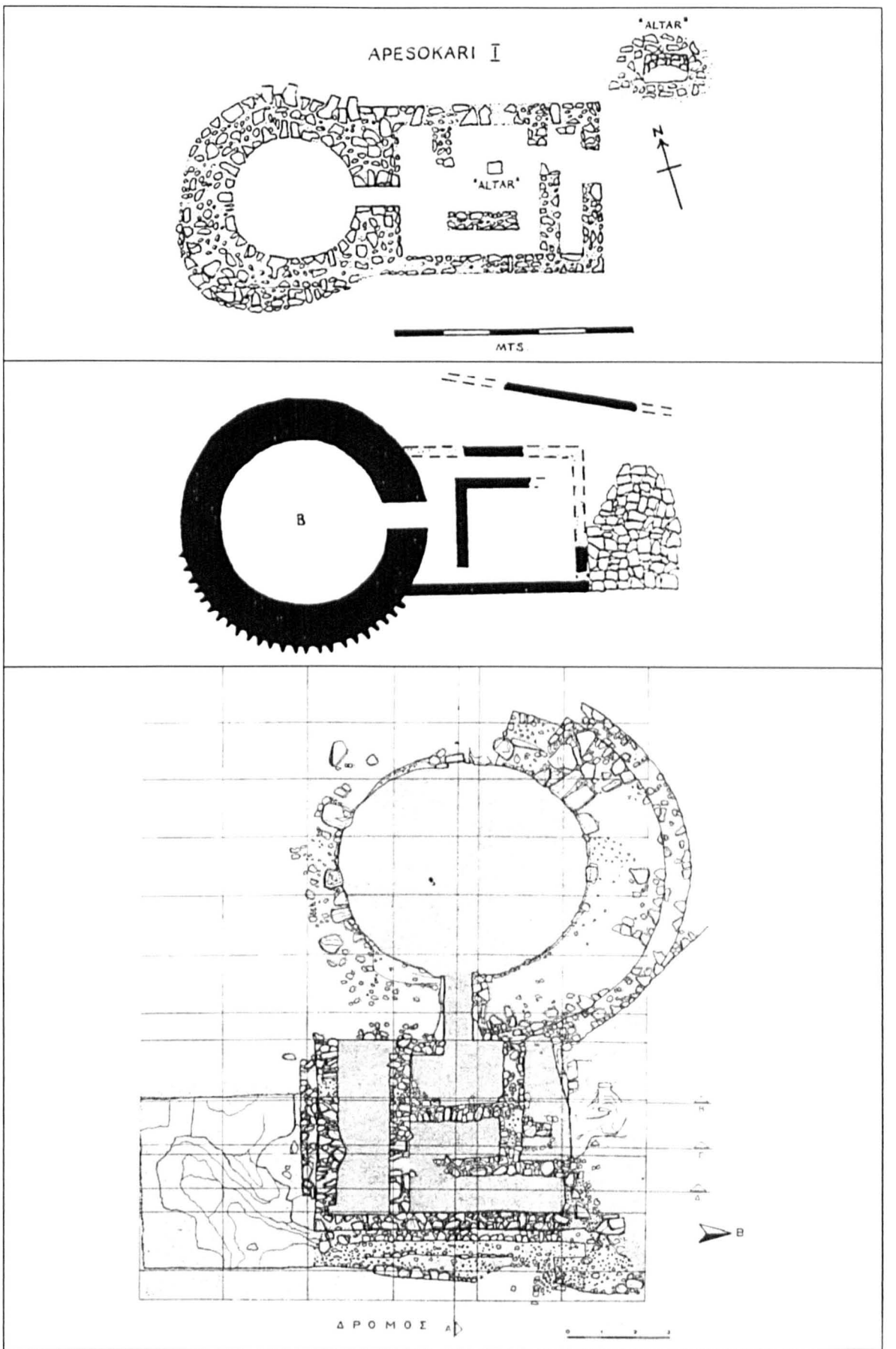
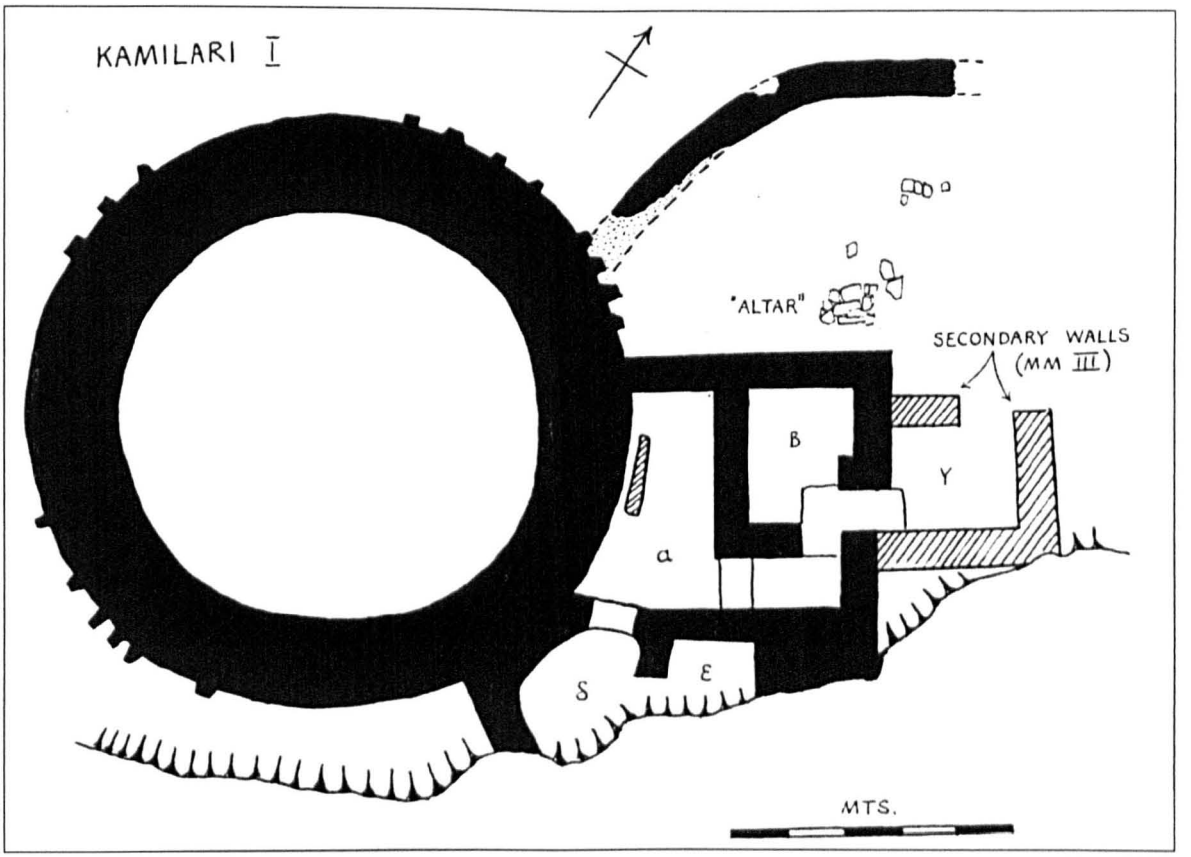


Fig. 6.4: Tholos tombs with incorporated long antechamber at Apesokari I, Platanos B and Sopata Kouse (after Branigan 1970, figs. 2 and 28, and Vallianou 1989, fig.4).



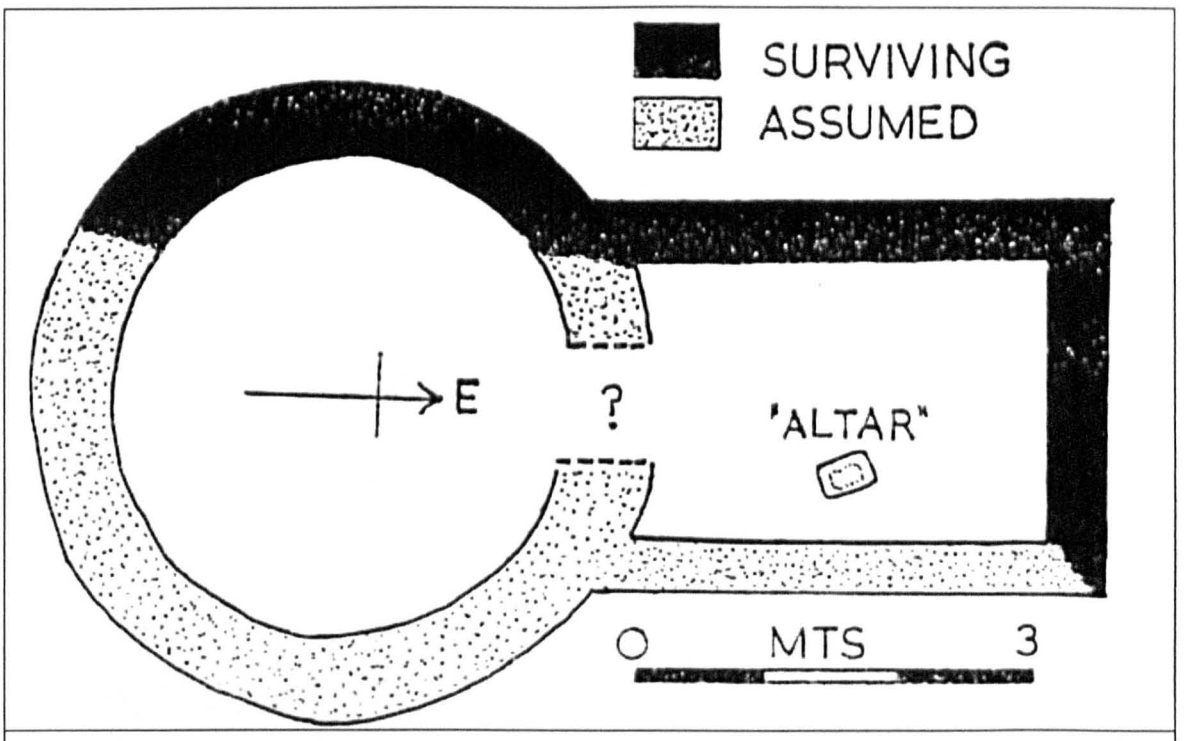


Fig. 6.5: Tholos tombs A and C, at Kamilari (after Branigan 1970, fig. 21 and Branigan 1976, fig. 1).

Fig. 6.6:Clay model of dancers from Kamilari Tholos A (after Levi 1961-62, fig. 174a-b).

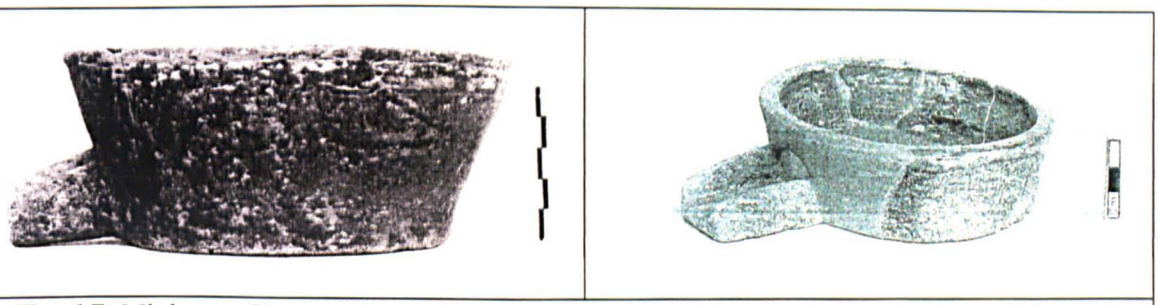


Fig. 6.7: Miniature Clay vats from the cemeteries at Ag. Triada and Apesokari, possibly used as wine presses (after La Rosa 2001, plate LXXIVd ; Kopaka & Platon 1993, fig. 4;).

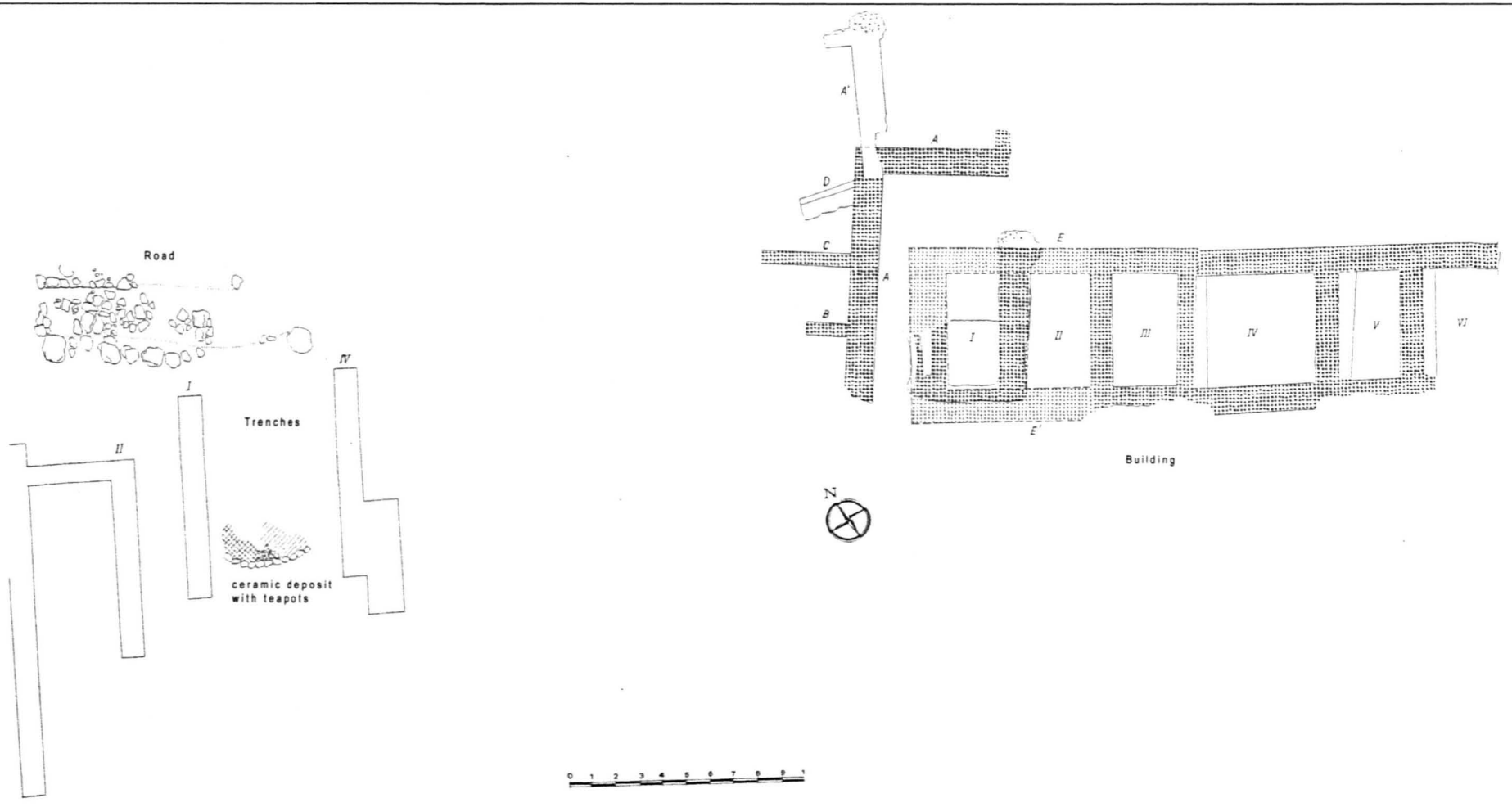


Fig. 6.8: The site of Patrikies showing the triangular ceramic deposit, the road and the building (adapted from Bonacasa 1967-68, plates I-II).

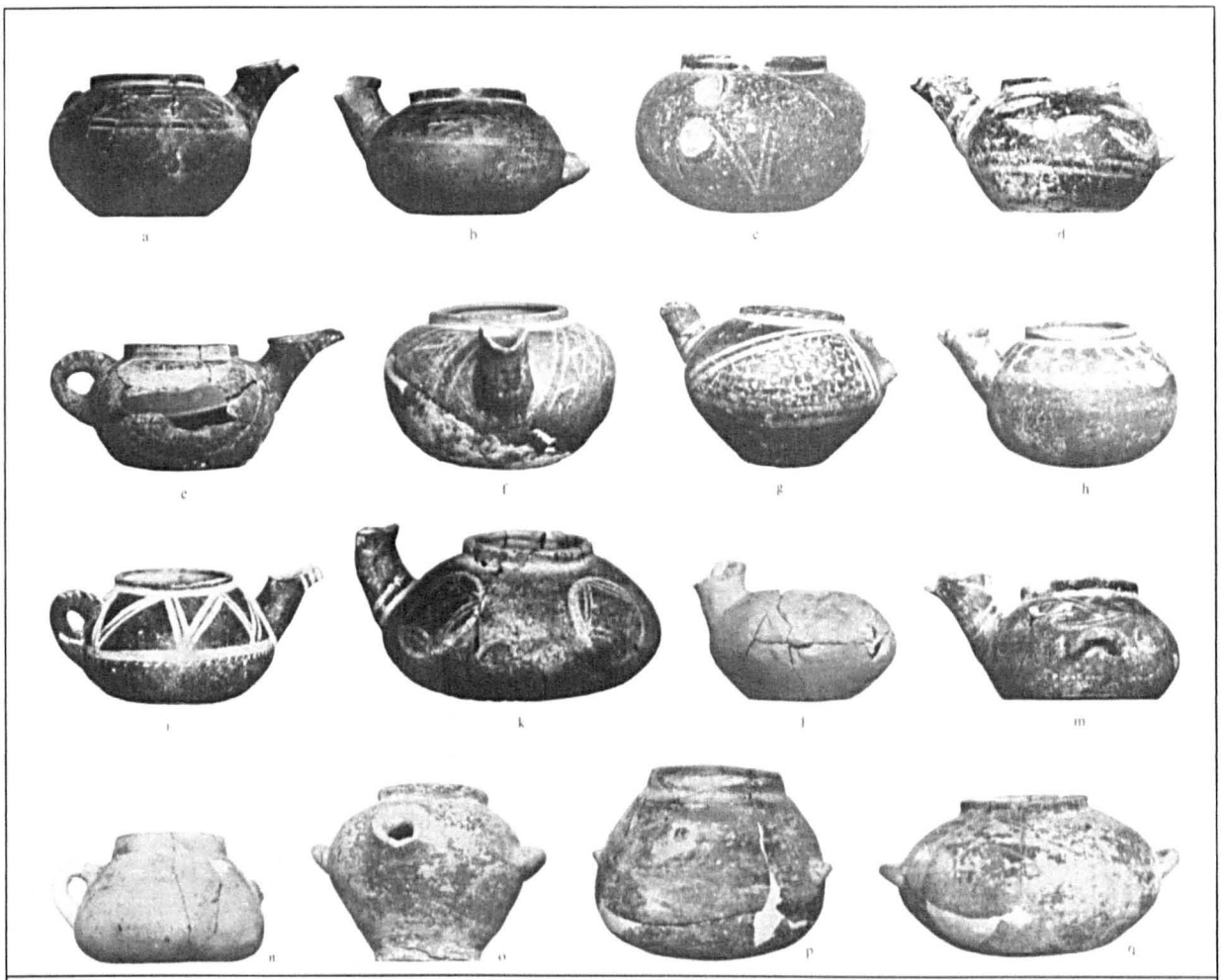


Fig. 6.9: The main teapot shapes from Patrikies (after *FCM I*, plate 15).

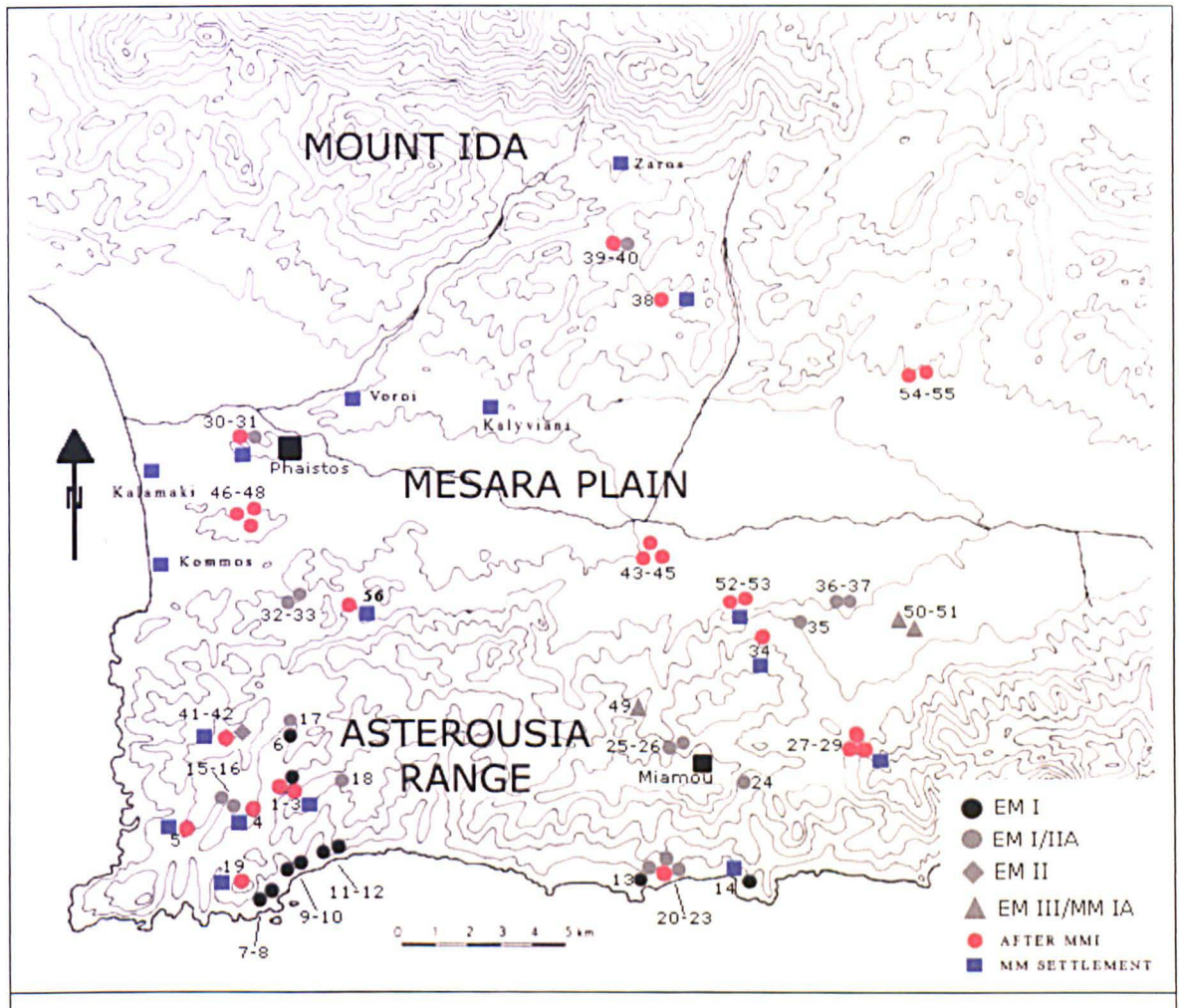


Fig. 7.1: Map of Mesara showing tholos cemeteries in use after MMI and the distribution of MM settlements. Cemeteries: **1-2**: Megaloi Skinoi IIIa-IIIb; **4.** Ag. Kyriaki A; **5.** Kephali A (Skaniari Lakkos); **19.** Ag. Andonios; **23.** Lebena Zervou; **27-29.** Koumasa; **30.** Ag. Triada A; **34.** Porti; **38.** Kalathiana; **39.** Marathokephalo; **41.** Moni Odigitria A (Hatzinas Liophyto); **43-45.** Platanos; **46-48.** Kamilari; **52-53.** Apesokari; **54-55.** Drakones; **56.** Sopata Kouses. Settlements (see also Table 7.1): **1-2.** Megaloi Skinoi; **4.** Ag. Kyriaki (W8, E4a, E20); **5.** Doukiania; **19.** Ag. Andonios II; **14.** Trypeti Phylakas; **27-29.** Koumasa; **30.** Ag. Triada; **34.** Porti/Salame; **38.** Kalathiana; **41.** Aloniou Kephali; **52-53.** Apesokari; **56.** Kouses

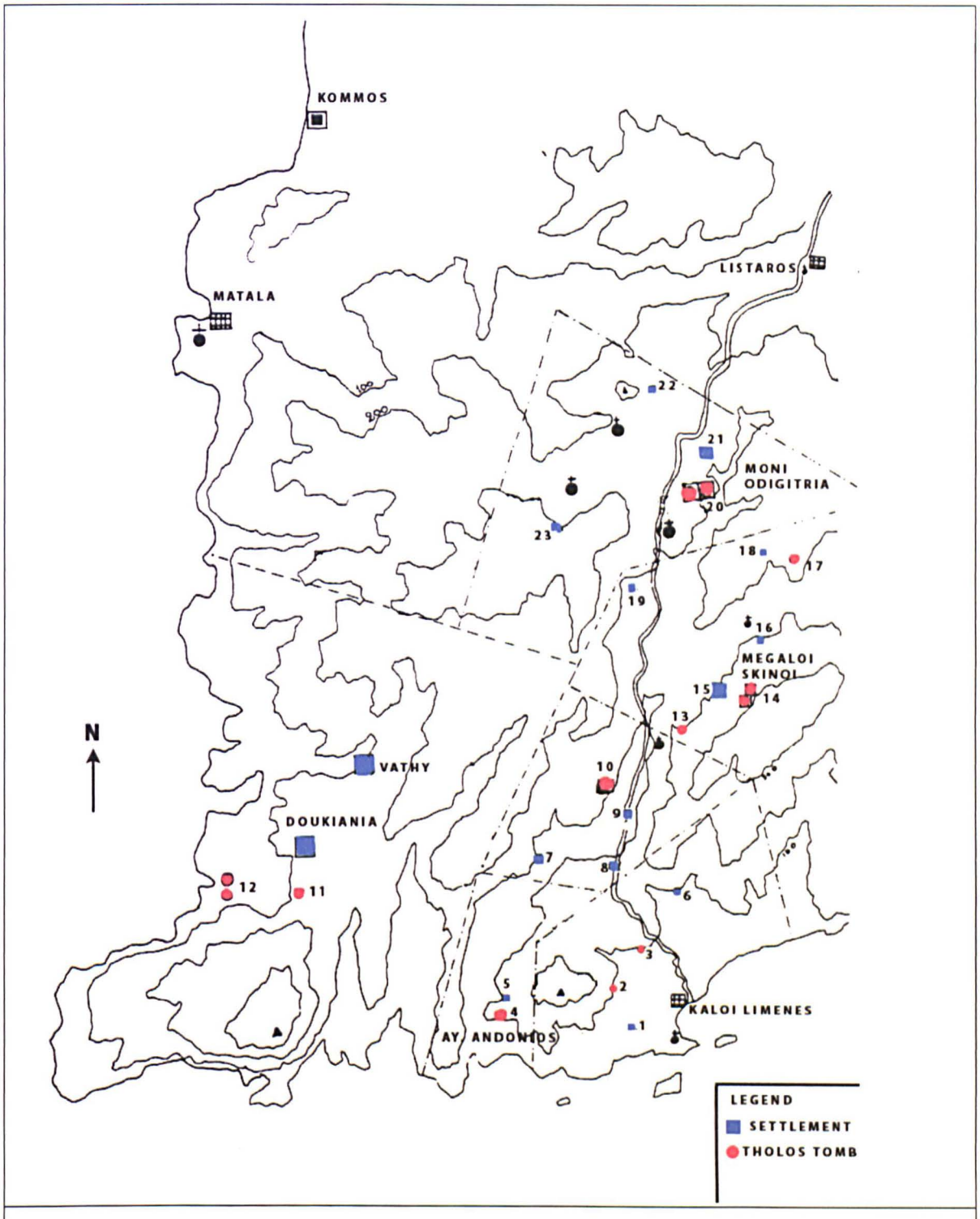


Fig. 7.2: Moni Odigitria area: distribution of cemeteries in use after MMI and MM settlements (adapted from *Periochi Odigitrias*, map 2). **1.** Ag. Pavlos; **2.** Kaloi Limenes I; **3.** Kaloi Limenes II; **4.** Ag. Andonios I; **5.** Ag. Andonios Ii; **6.** Rodonas; **7.** Ag. Kyriaki I; **8.** Ag. Kyriaki Ii; **9.** Ag. Kyriaki III; **10.** Ag. Kyriaki IV; **11.** Ag. Georgios; **12.** Skaniari Lakkos; **13.** Magaloi Skinoi I; **14.** Megaloi Skinoi II; **15.** Megaloi Sakinoi III-IV; **16.** Yalomonochoro; **17.** Gavaliana; **18.** Gavaliani Kephala; **19.** Nio Pervoli; **20.** Moni Odigitria; **21.** Aloniou Kephali; **22.** Ag. Andreas; **23.** Panaplos (for settlements see also Table 7.1).

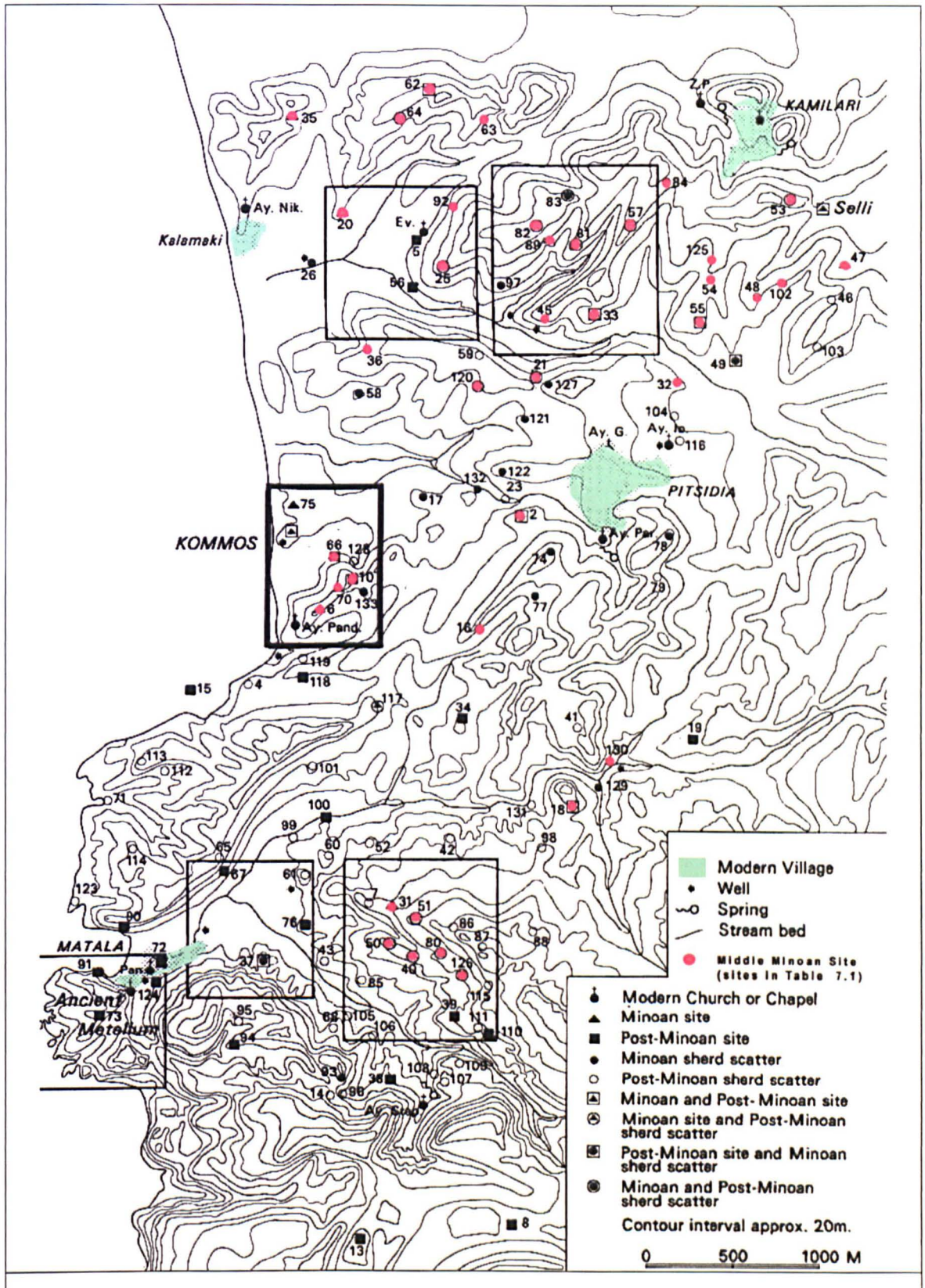


Fig. 7.3: Coastal Area around Kommos: distribution of MM sites (adapted from *Kommos I*, fig. 7.47).

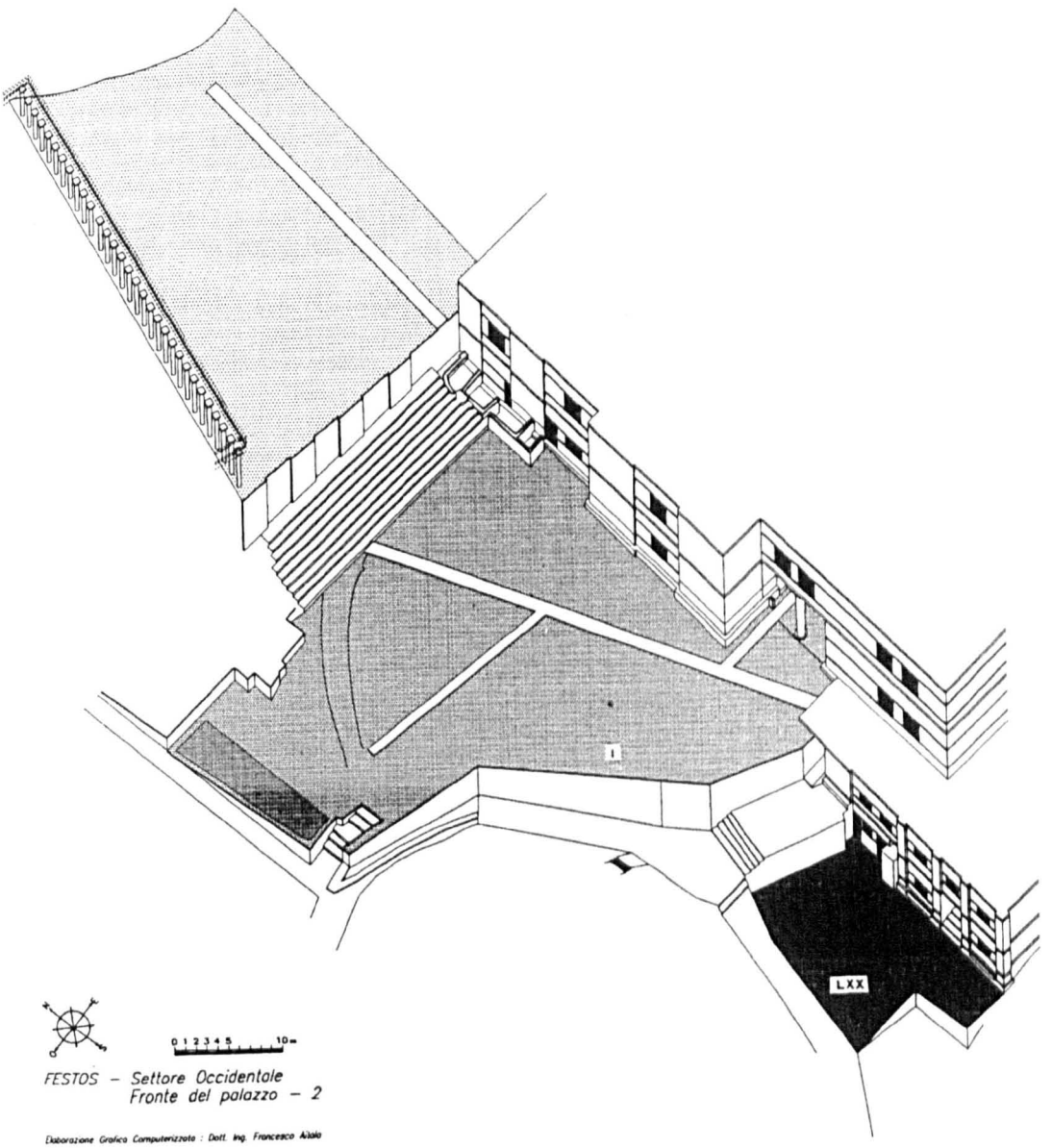


Fig. 7.4: Reconstruction of the First Palace of Phaistos showing the difference of level between the NW and the SW wings (after Tomasello 1999, fig. 2)

Fig. 7.5: Plan of the Palace of Phaistos highlighting the Protopalatial remains at the end of MMIIB (adapted from Fiandra 1980, plate 29).

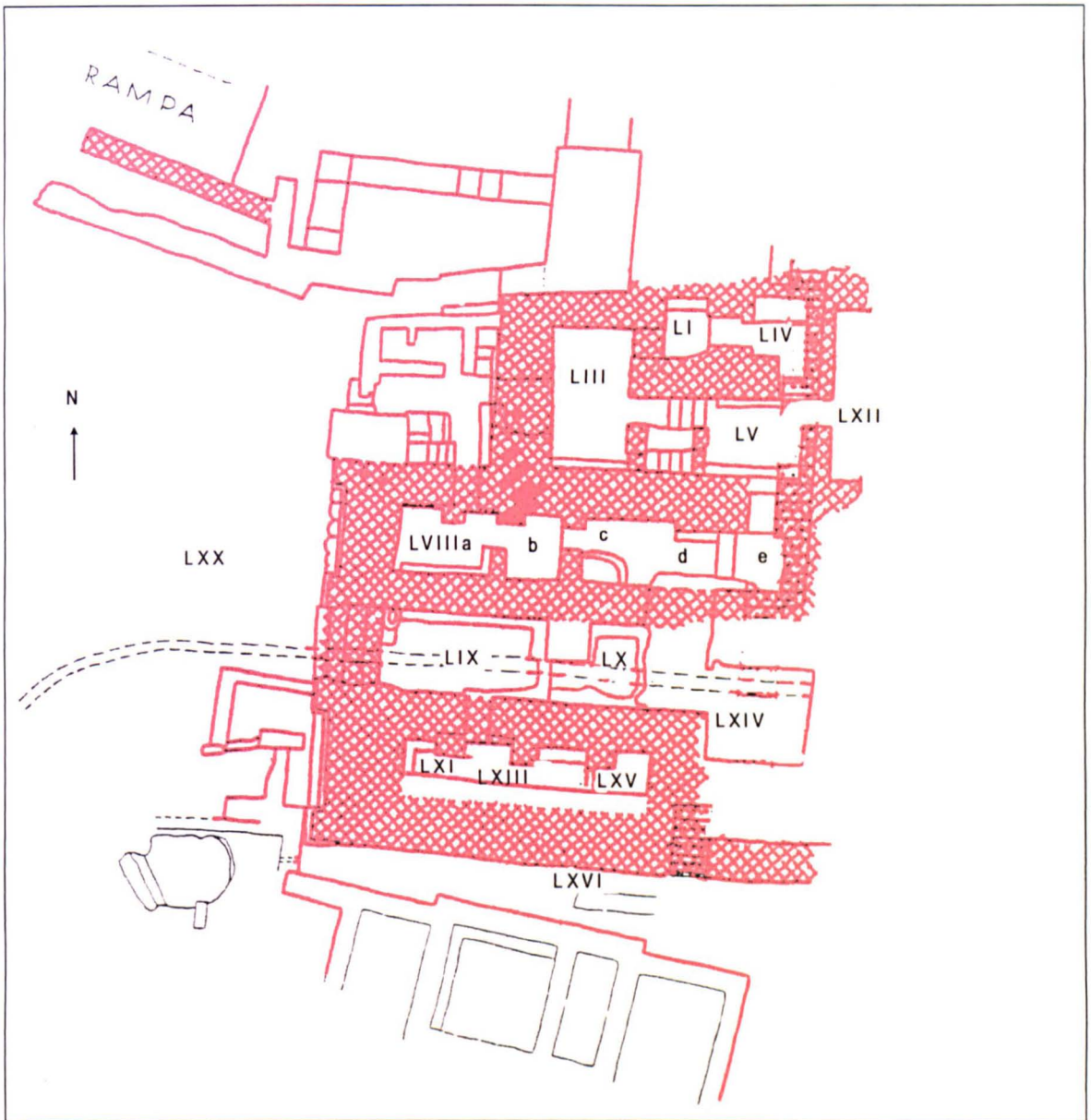


Fig. 7.6: First Palace of Phaistos, plan of building of Phase 1/MMIB (after Fiandra 1961-62, plate IZ).

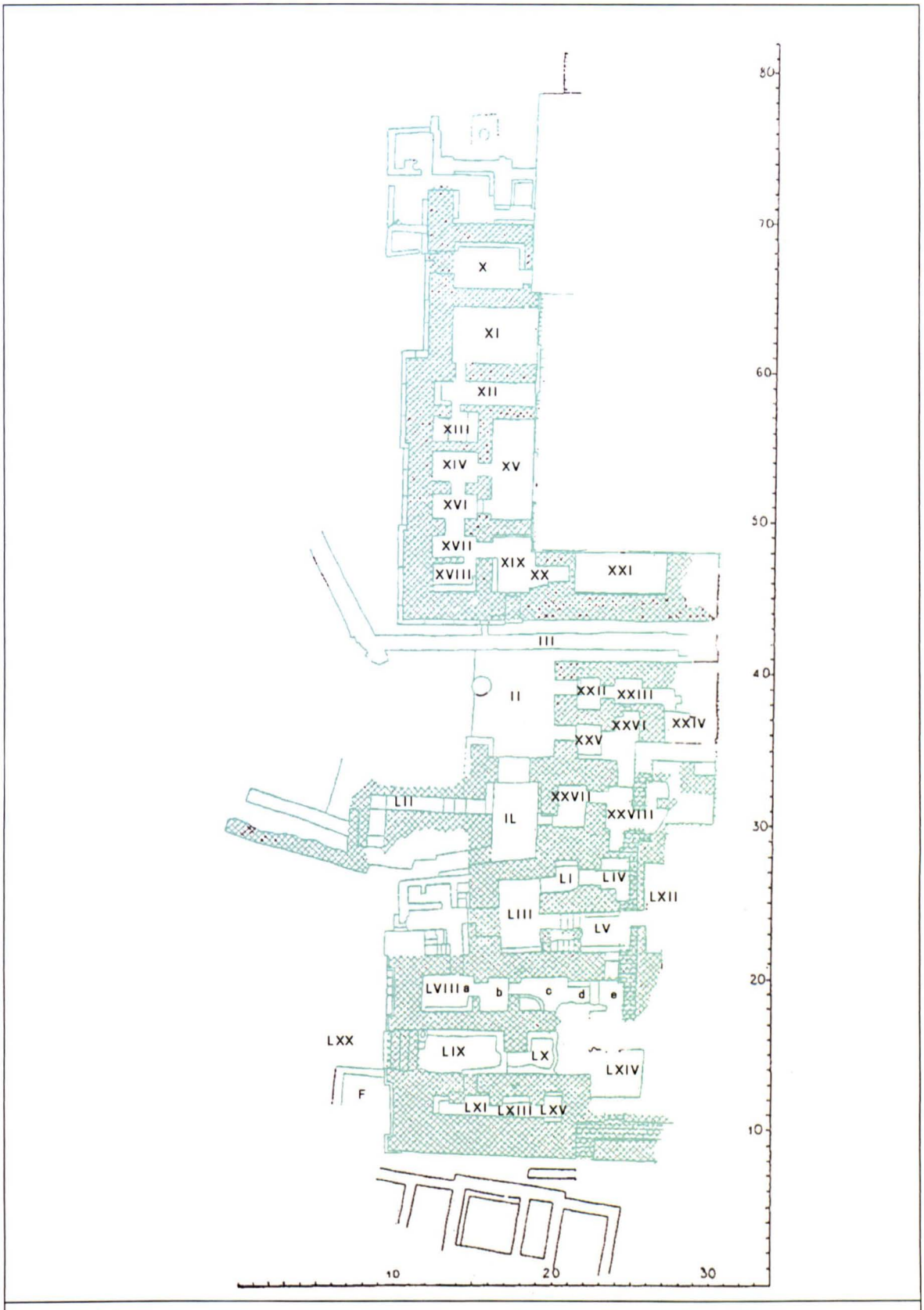


Fig. 7.7: First Palace of Phaistos, plan of building of Phase 2/MMIIA (after Fiandra 1961-62, plate KΘ).

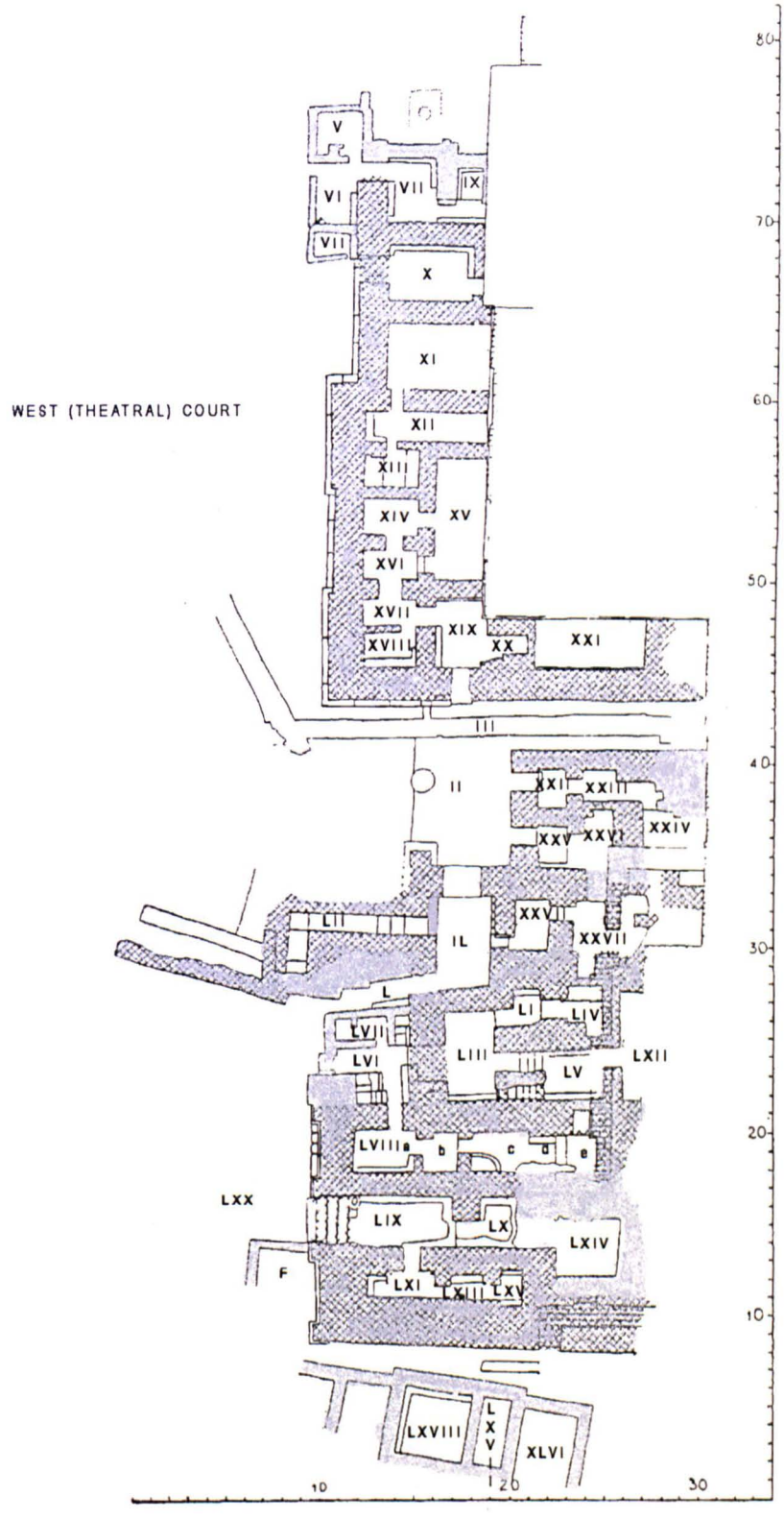


Fig. 7.8: First Palace of Phaistos, plan of building of Phase 3/ MMIIB (after Fiandra 1961-62, plates KE and KΓ; and Fiandra 1980, plate 29).

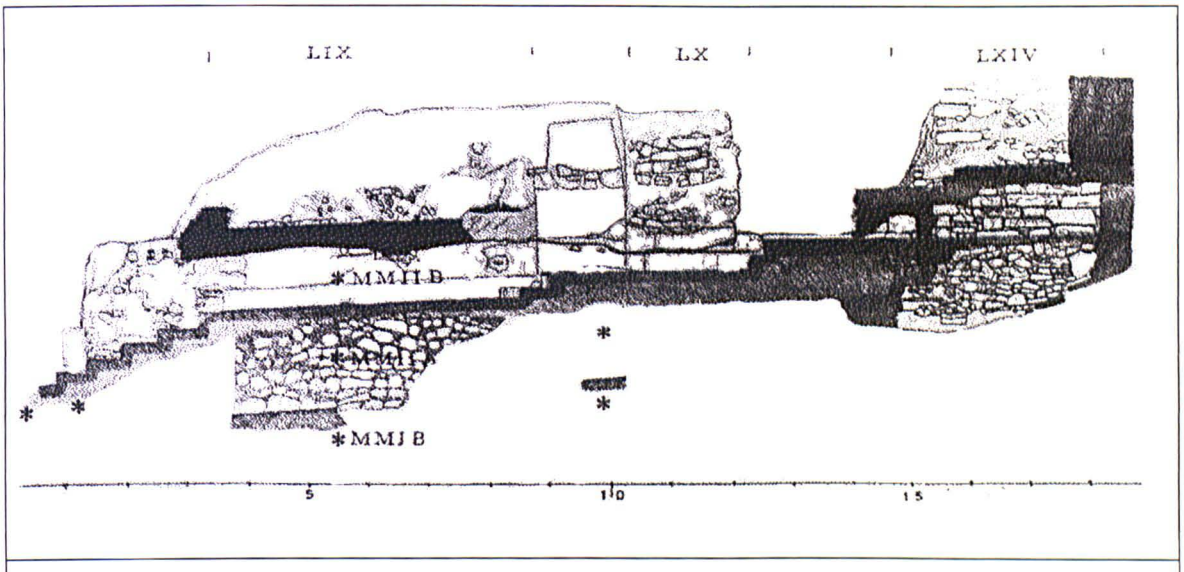


Fig. 7.9: Stratigraphy of Protopalatial Rooms LIX, LX, LXIV and Court LXX showing the rise of floor levels from Phase 1/MMIB to Phase 3/MMIIB; the asterisks indicate the locations where pottery was retrieved (after Fiandra 1980; plate 27).

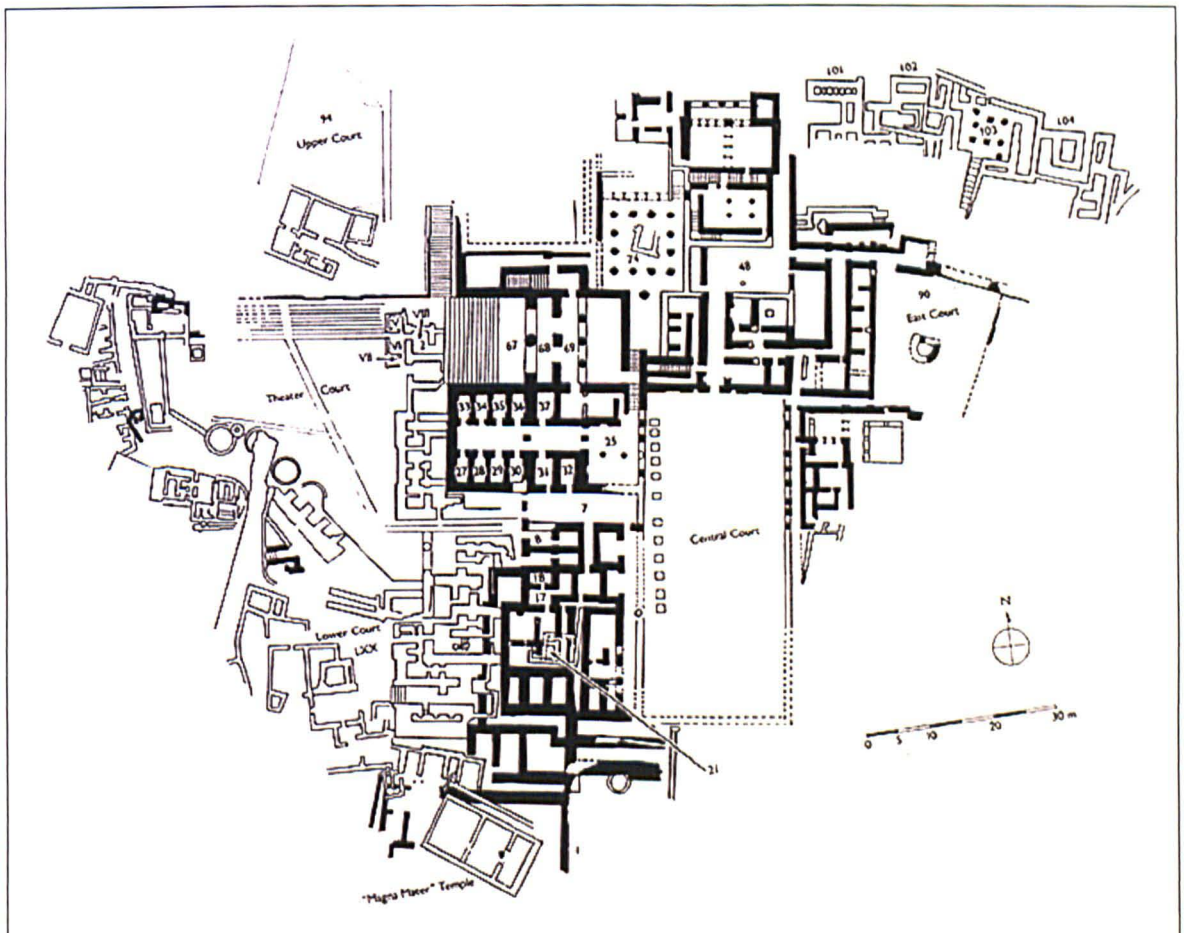


Fig. 7.10: Palace of Phaistos. General plan including remains of all periods; remains of the settlement to the West and South-West of the Palace.

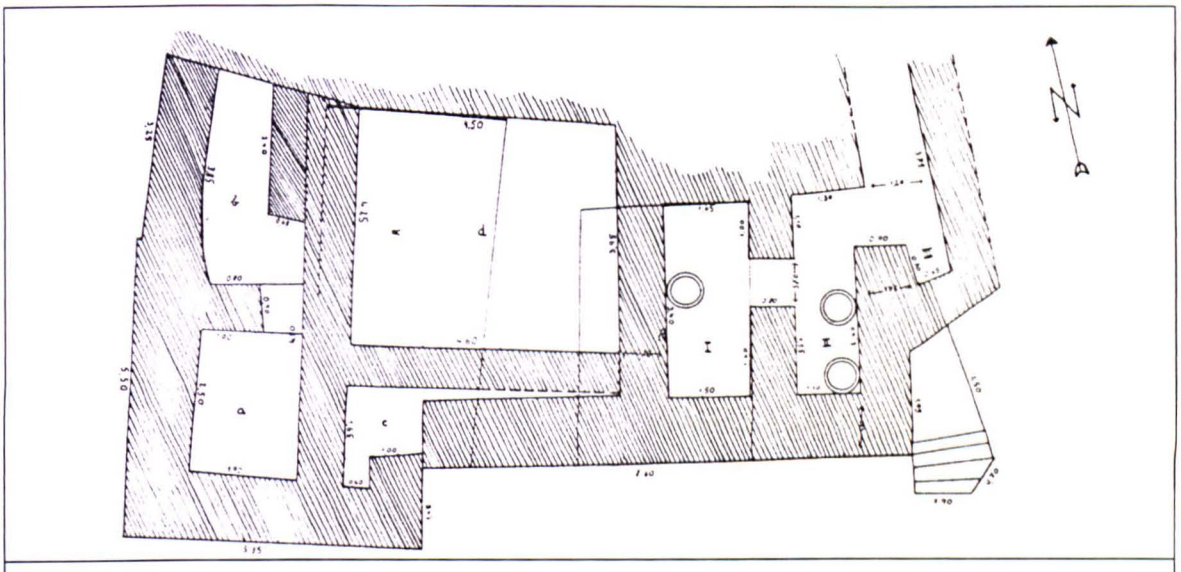


Fig. 7.11: Building remains of the Protopalatial settlement at Apesokari (after Schörgendorfer 1951, plate 27).

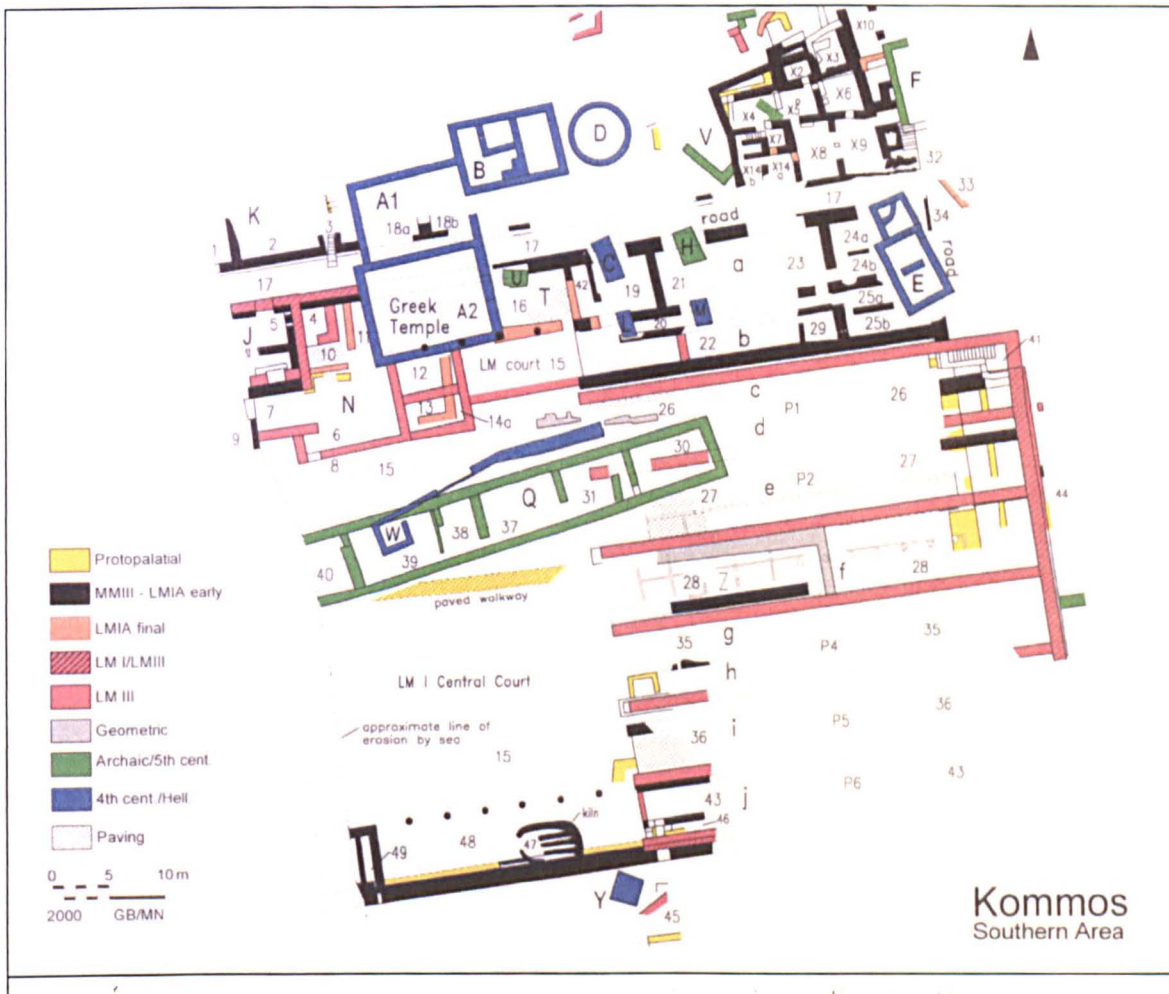


Fig. 7.13: Remains of Protopalatial Building AA at Kommos (after Rutter 2001, fig. 1).

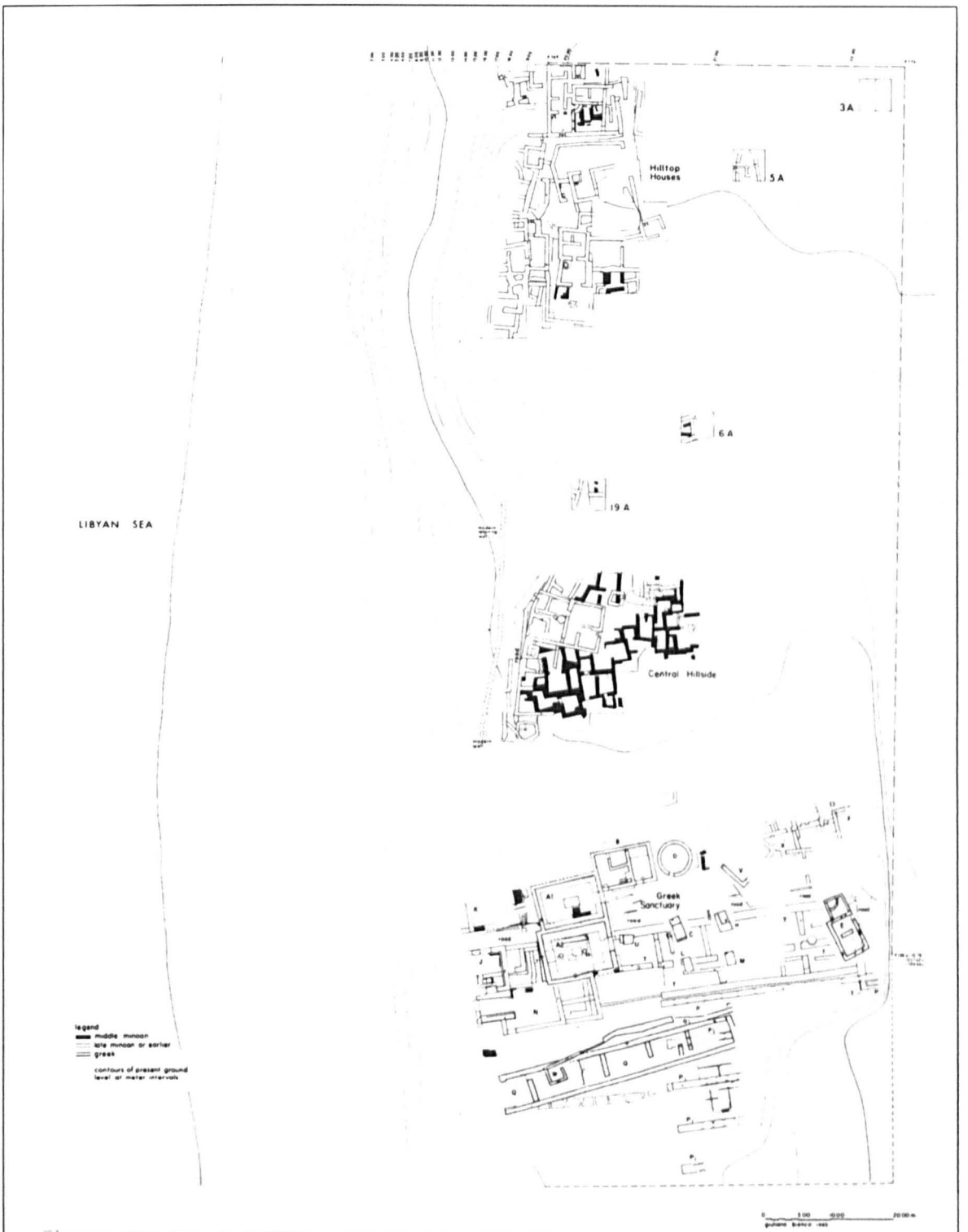


Fig. 7.12: The extent of the Protopalatial town at Kommos (after *Kommos I,2*, Plate 1.2).

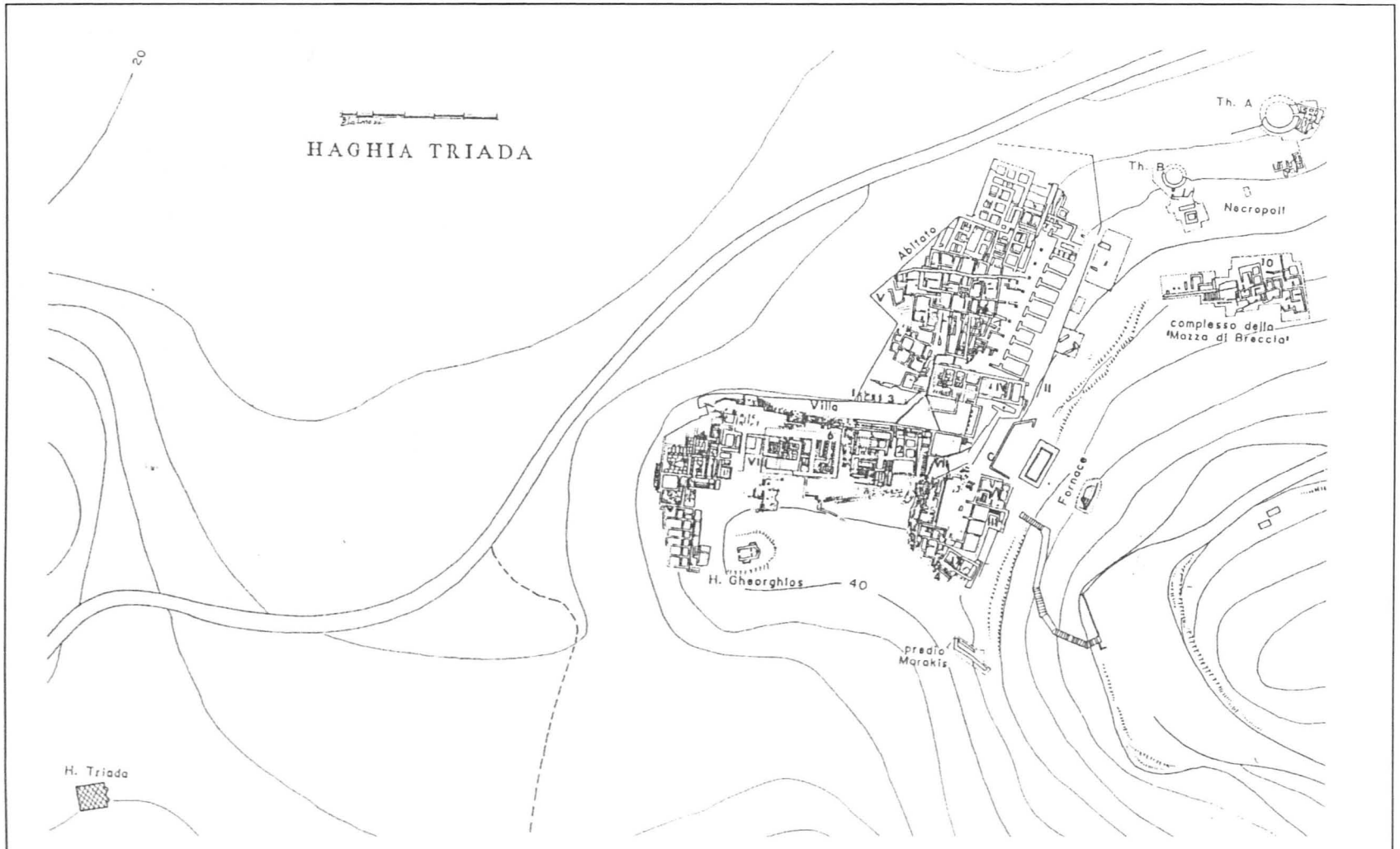


Fig. 7.14: Plan of the Neopalatial town of Ag. Triada; the numbers indicate the distribution of Protopalatial deposits and remains, Latin numbers indicate the soundings (after Carinci 1999, fig. 1).

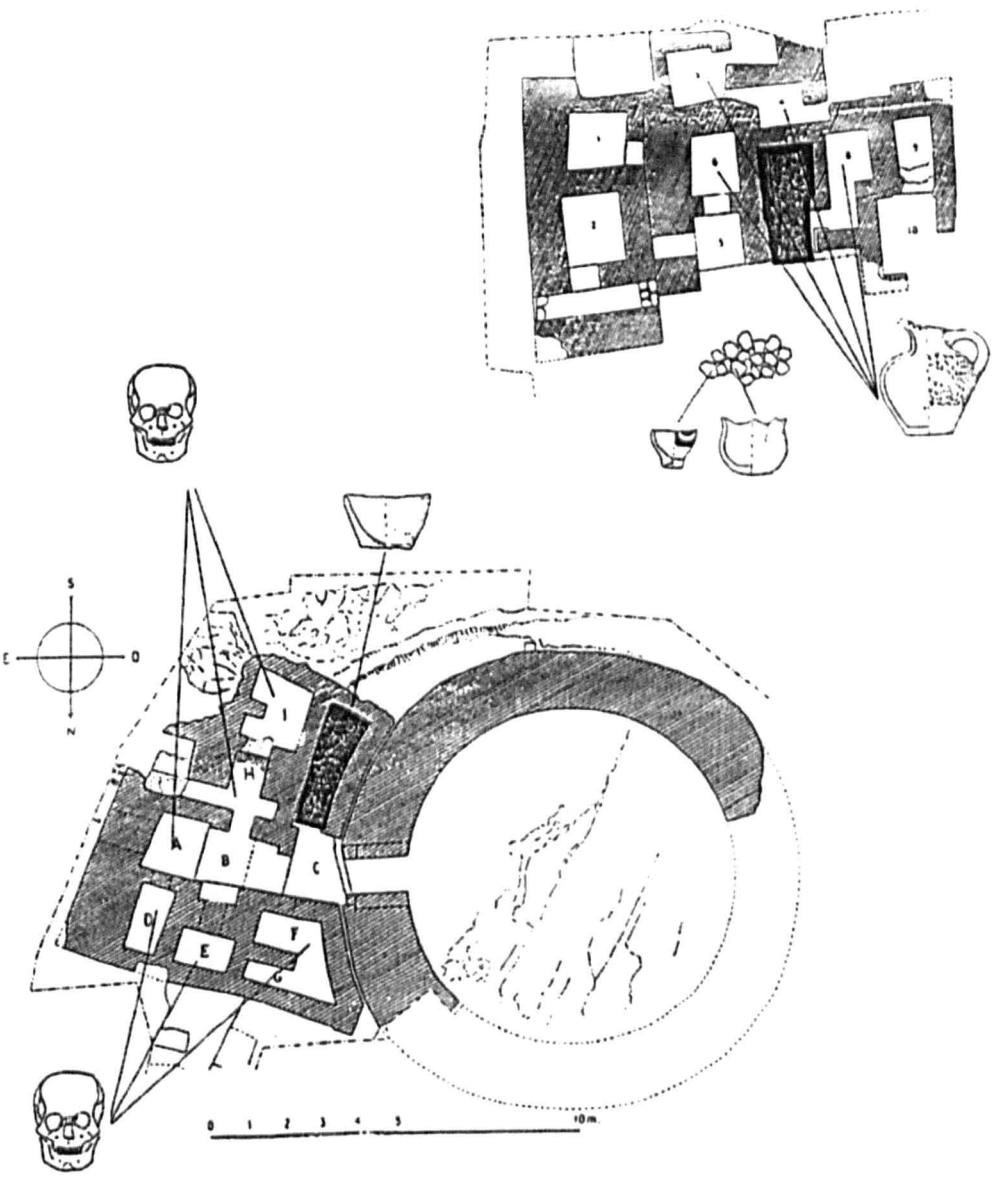


Fig. 7.15: Ag. Triada cemetery: Tholos A and *camerette* (after Cultraro 2000, plate 3).

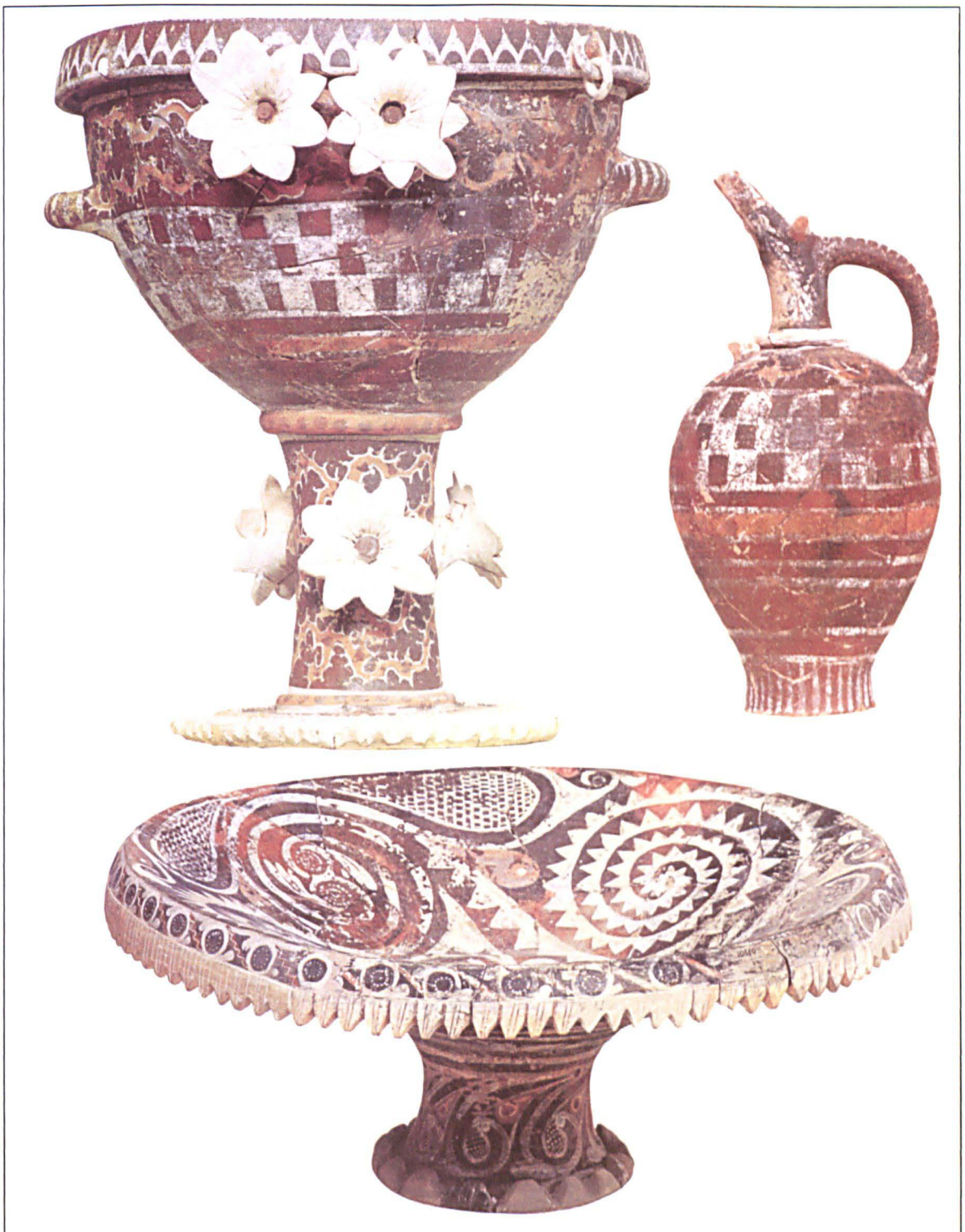


Fig. 8.1: Kamares Ware 'feasting set': crater, fruit bowl and jug with similar decoration (after *FCM I*, Plate XXVII).

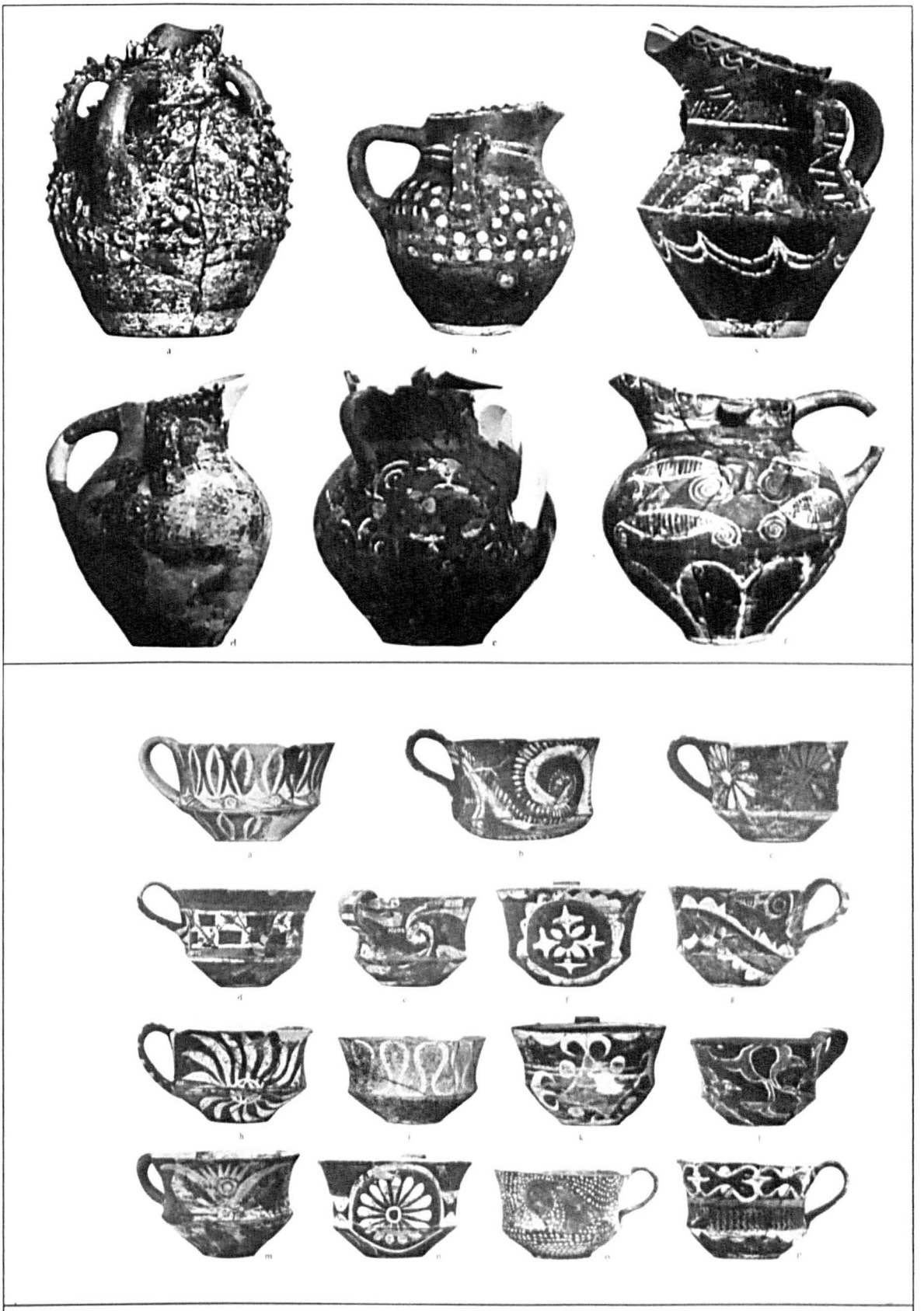


Fig. 8.2: Repertoire of Protopalatial vessel shapes from Phaistos: jugs; cups; (after *FCM I*, plates 77, 81).

Fig. 8.3: Repertoire of Protopalatial vessel shapes from Phaistos: bridge-spouted jars (after *FCM I*, plate 110).

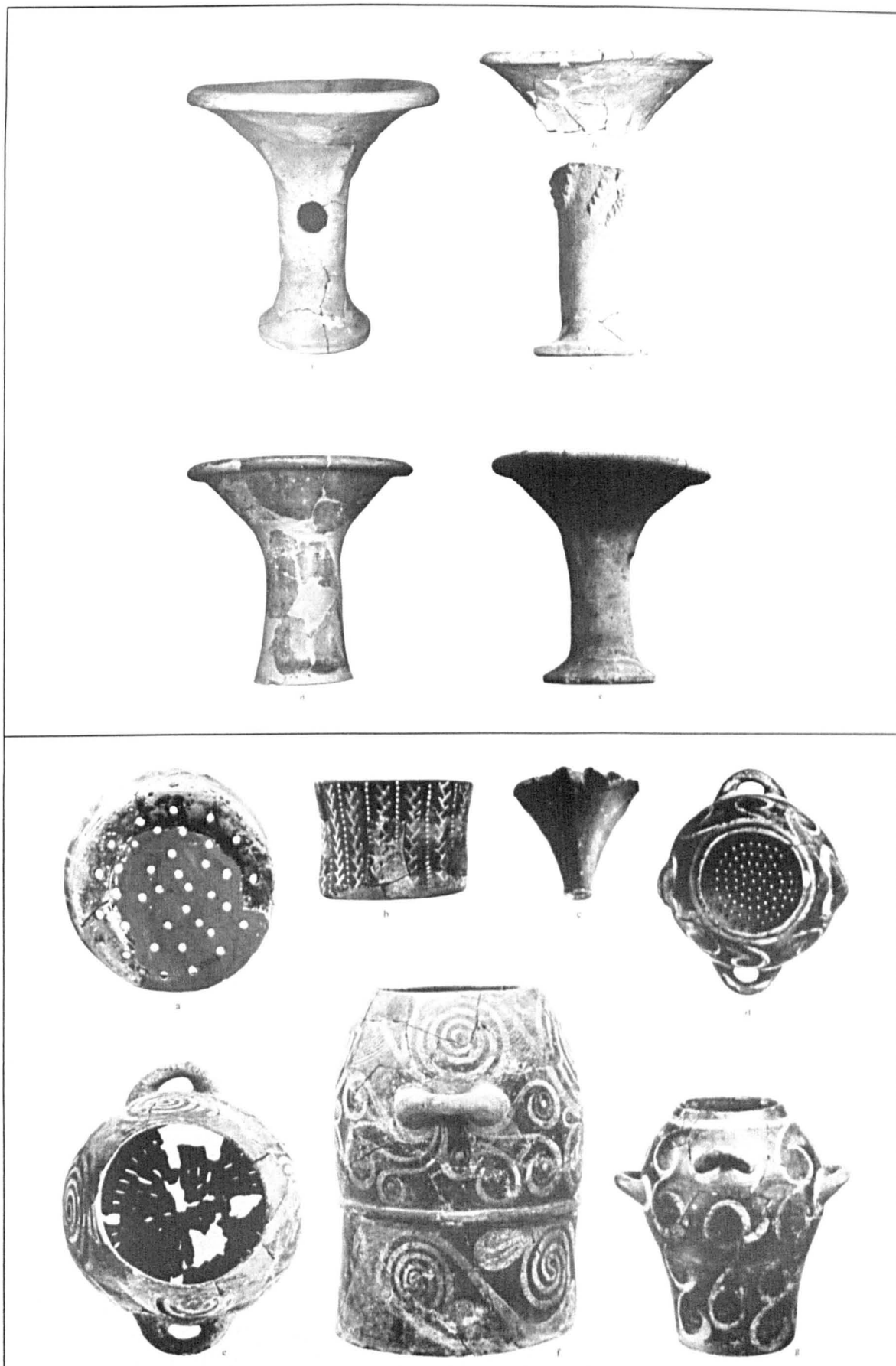


Fig. 8.4: Repertoire of Protopalatial vessel shapes from Phaistos, 'rare' shapes: louteres and sieves (after *FCM I*, plates 55, 114).

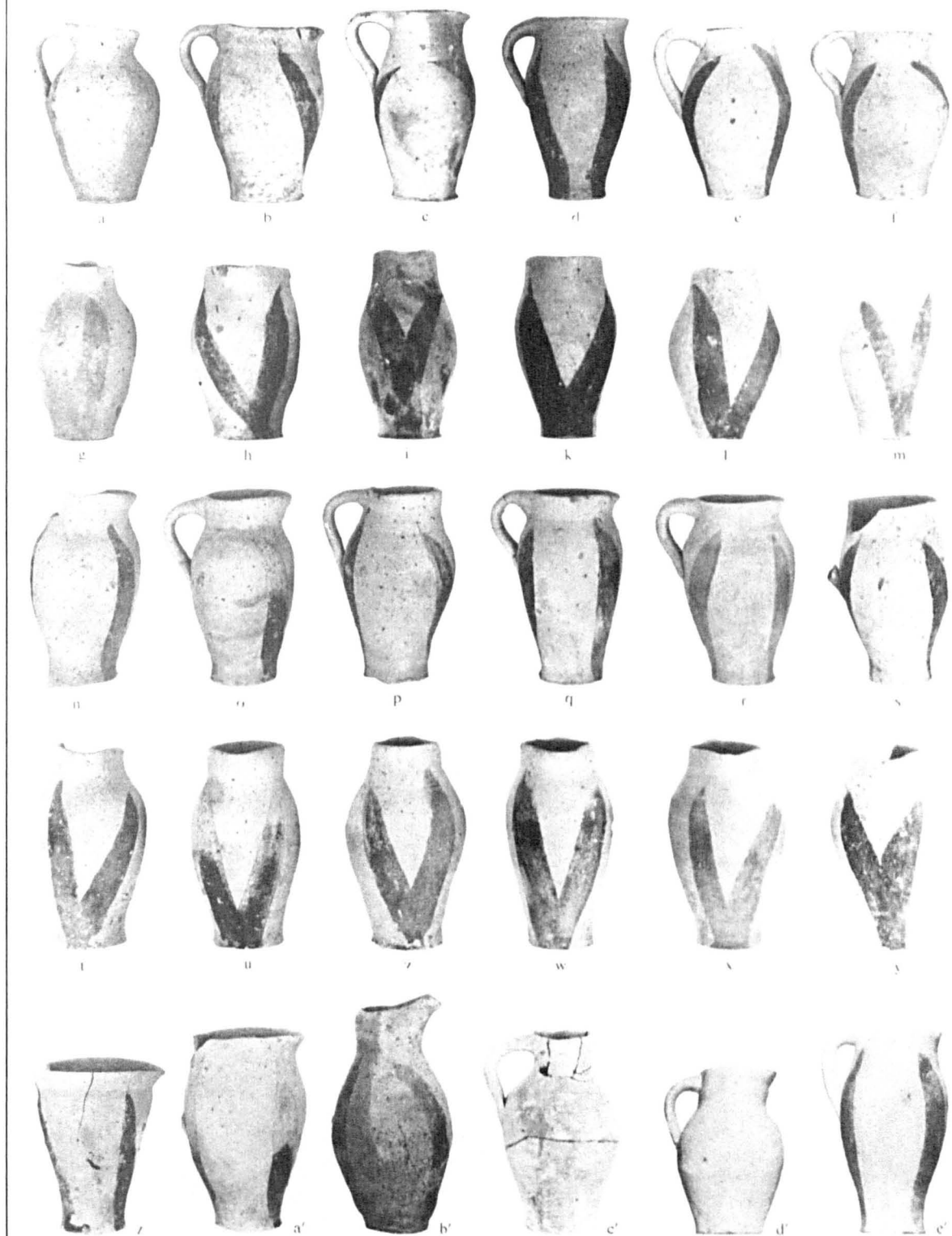


Fig. 8.5: Small jugs with decoration of two pairs of lance-shaped leaves found together with the sealing archive underneath Room 25, at the Palace of Phaistos (after *FCMI*, plate 97).

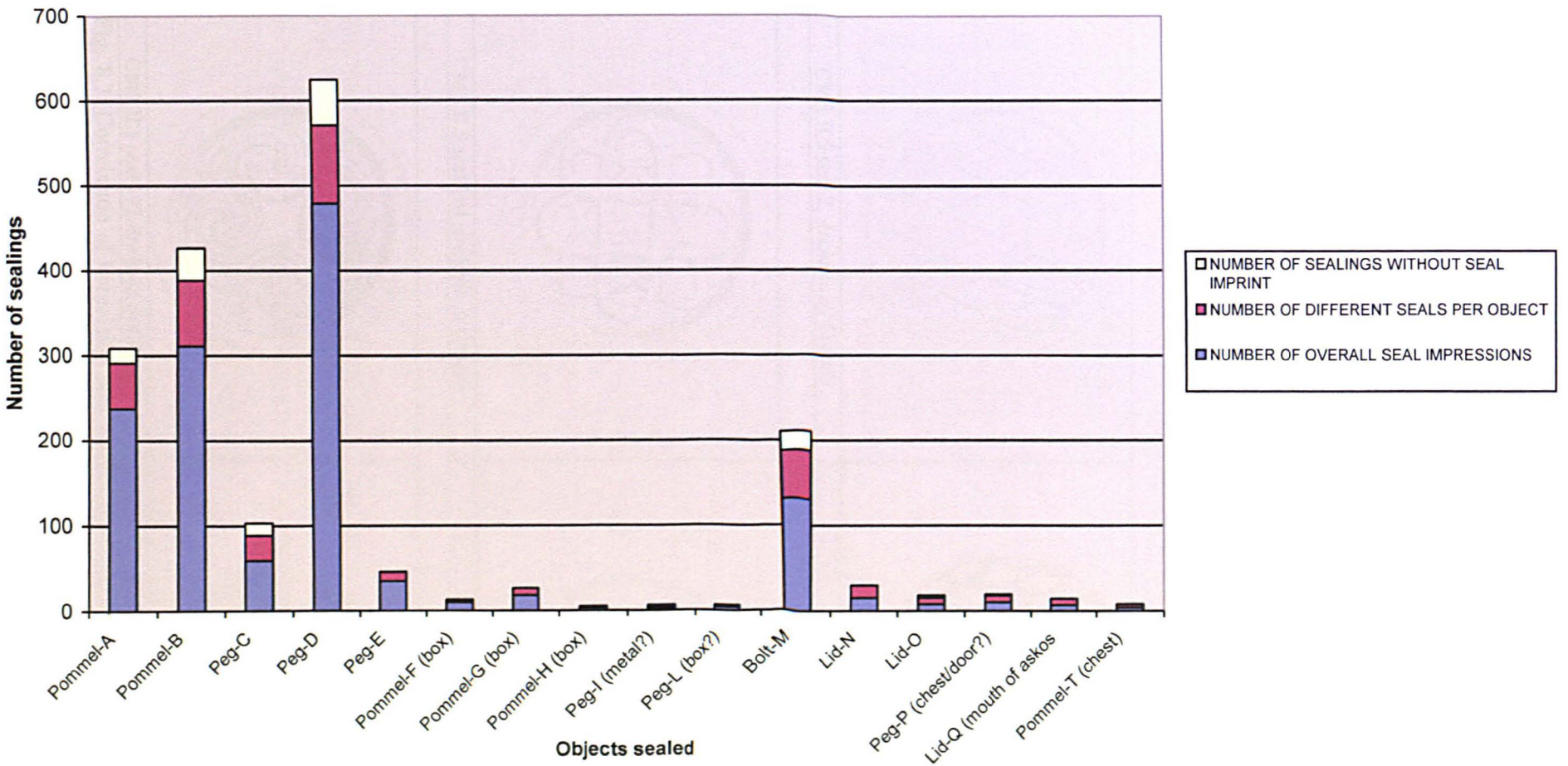
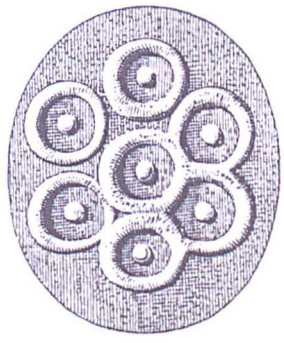
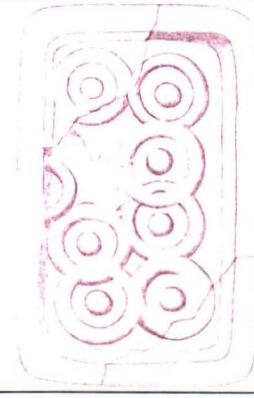


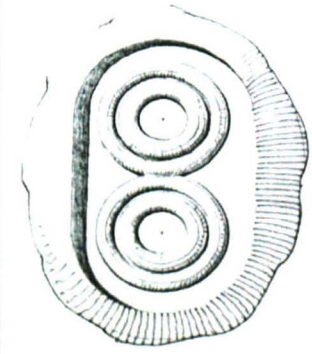
Fig. 8.6: The correlation of sealings, objects sealed and different seals per object in the archive of the First Palace at Phaistos (data from Fiandra 1968; see also Table 8.3).



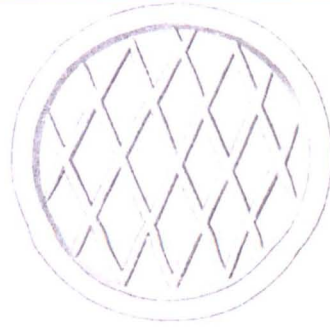
Seal 325, Ag. Triada Tholos A



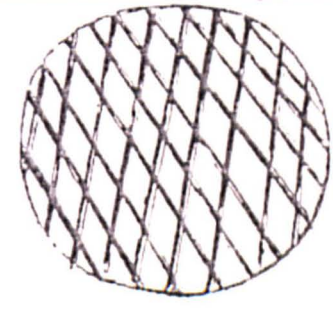
CMS II.5 seal 48, *Archivio di Cretule*



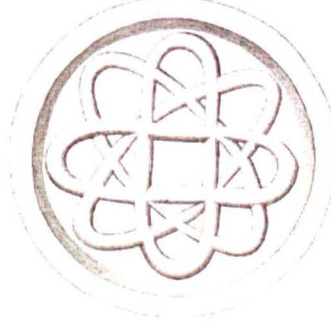
CMS II.5 seal 46, *Archivio di Cretule*



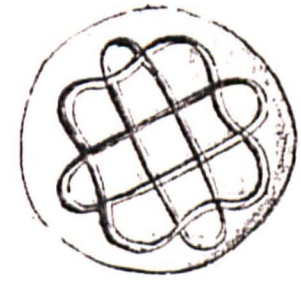
CMS II.5 seal 2, *Archivio di Cretule*



Kalathiana seal 820



CMS II.5 seal 164 *Archivio di Cretule*



Platanos seal 1077

CMS II.5 seal 192 *Archivio di Cretule*

Koumasa seal 517

Fig. 8.7: Correlation of Prepalatial seal motifs (by cemetery) and seal motifs from the Archive of the First Palace at Phaistos (adapted from Xanthoudides 1924; Banti 1930-31; CMS II.5).

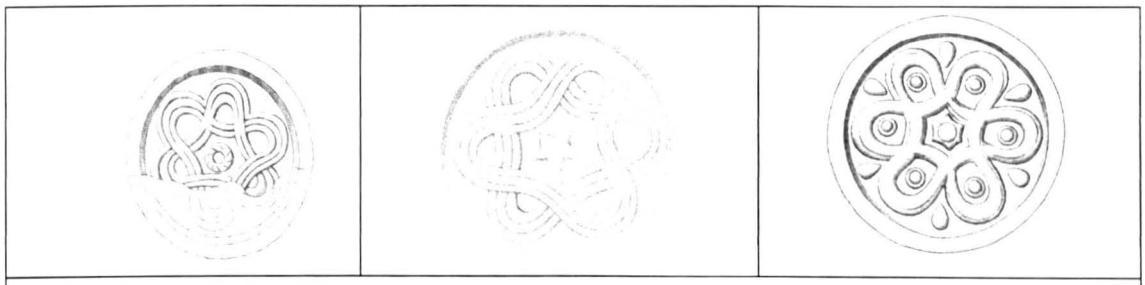


Fig. 8.8a: Related variants of seal motifs from the *Archivio di Cretule*, at Phaistos (seals after CMS II.5, nos. 155, 156, 157).

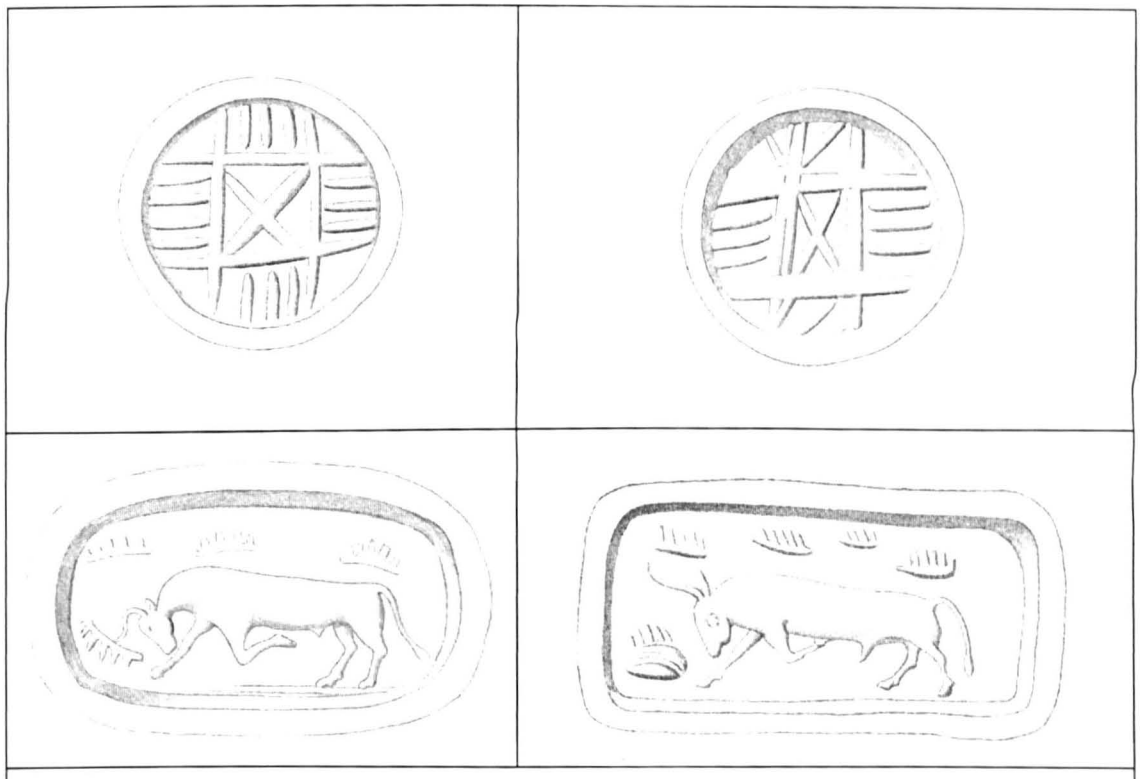


Fig. 8.8b: Look-alike seals from the *Archivio di Cretule* at Phaistos (seals after CMS II.5, nos. 68, 69, 268, 269/second leader seal motif).

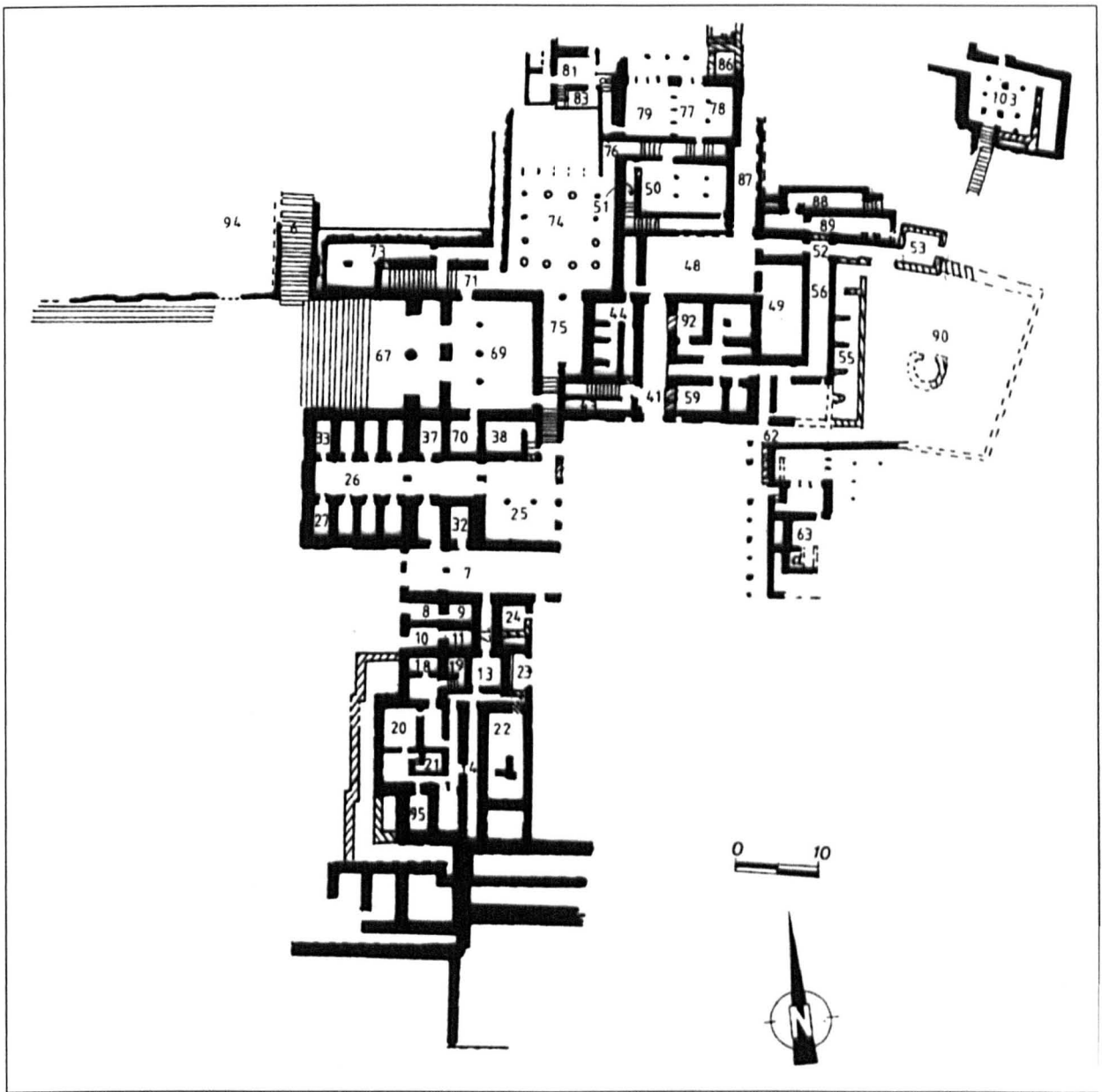


Fig. 8.9: The Second Palace at Phaistos (after Driessen & MacDonald 1997, fig. 7.55)

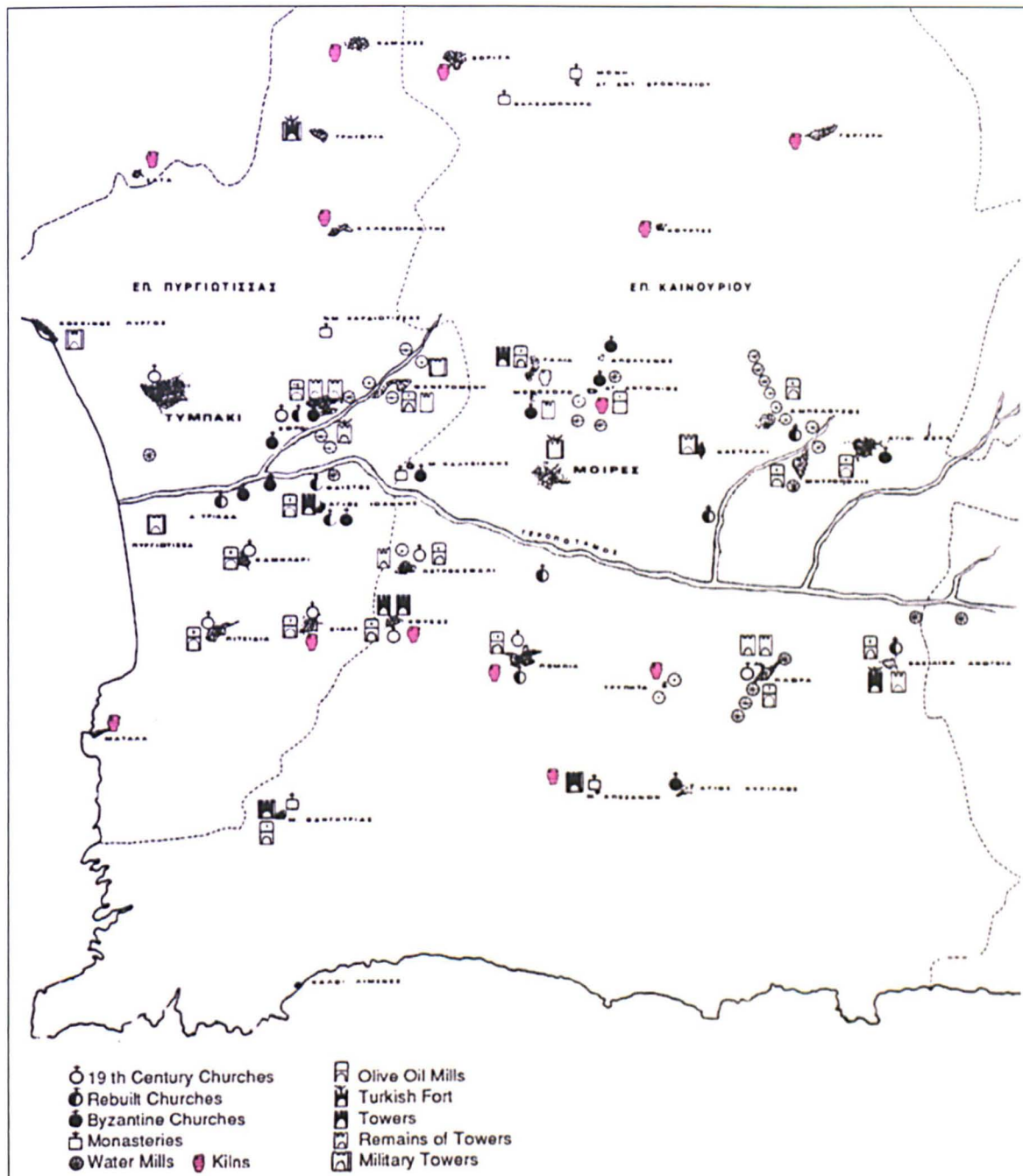


Fig. 9.1: Distribution of modern pottery kilns in the Mesara (after Watrous *et al.* 1993, fig. 2).

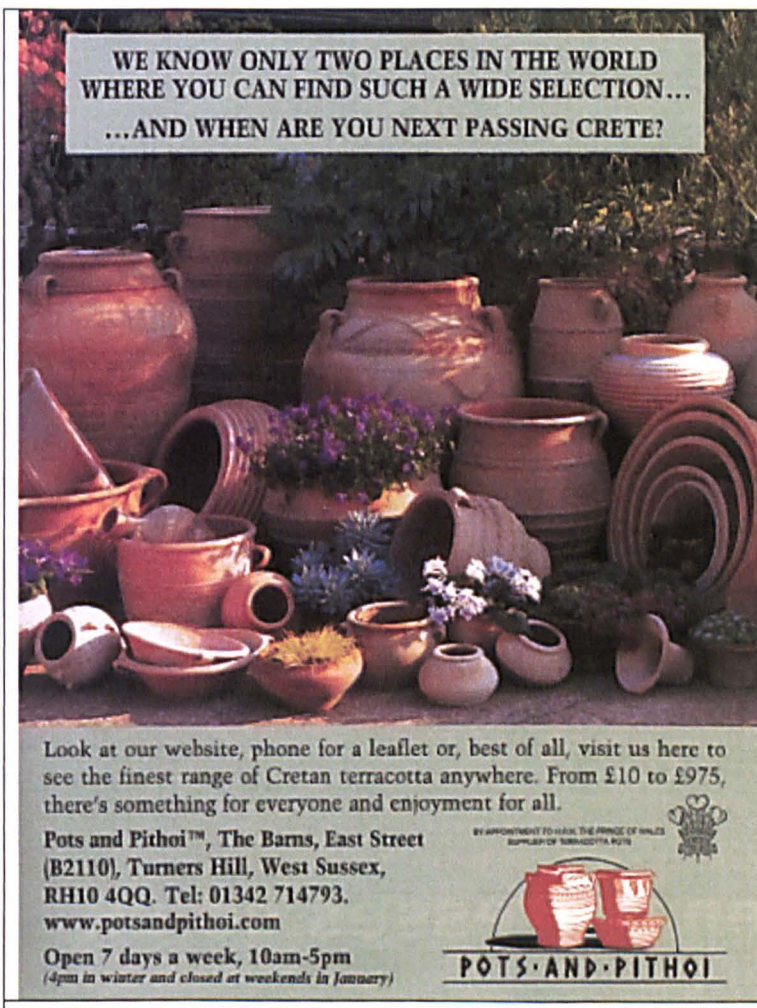


Fig. 9.2: A potter's reputation survives for a long time.