CHAPTER 3

TRANSCULTURAL STREAMS OF INTER-ACTION IN THE SOUTHERN AEGEAN DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

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Abstract

The intensification of contacts between the Cyclades and Crete during the Early Bronze Age led to the creation of a space in the broader region of the southern Aegean, where many cultural traits were communicated and exchanged. The transcultural character of these contacts is attested mainly by the influence of the Cyclades on Crete, which was of a varied degree in terms of space and time. The imports and then the local copies manufactured on Crete argue for a selective adoption and adaption of different off-island ideas while using local technological skills and processes of production.

Introduction

The excavations in various sites on Crete (Fig.1) have brought to light many objects

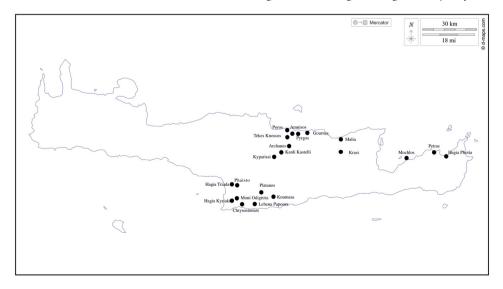


Figure 1: Map of Crete with sites mentioned in the text, based on d-maps.com and modified by the author.

(figurines, stone vases, pottery, jewelry, tools, weapons) and raw materials (metals, obsidian, and stones), which are related to the Cyclades. The artifacts are either imports ('Cycladic') or local copies, characterized by a mixture of local and off-island features ('Cycladicizing').

At the beginning of the archaeological research, Colin Renfrew (1964) was the first to study the Cyclades' influence on the Aegean systematically. Renfrew interpreted the various common characteristics and technologies in the broader area of the southern Aegean during the EB II (the 'International Spirit' as defined by him; for extensive discussion, see Catapoti, 2011; Vavouranakis, 2020) as a phenomenon being motivated mainly by the acquisition of metals and obsidian (Renfrew, 1972, p. 453). During these early years, the research focused mainly on subjects regarding the provenance, the typology (Getz-Preziosi, 1987), and the chronology of the objects (Renfrew, 1969; Branigan, 1971; Mac Gillivray and Barber, 1984) found in and outside the Cyclades. Since only a few artifacts deriving from Crete have been found in the Cyclades, many hypotheses have been suggested regarding the movement of population from the Cyclades and the creation of colonies on Crete (Doumas, 1976; 1979; Sakellarakis, 1977a; 1997b; Zapheiropoulou, 1984). In recent years, the need for a better understanding of the complex mechanisms relating to the nature of transcultural contacts and interrelations has become more urgent in archaeological studies (Clarke, 2005; Papadatos, 2007b; Karantzali, 2008; Wilkinson et al., 2011; Panagiotopoulos, 2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2013; Vavouranakis, 2011; 2020; Stockhammer, 2012; Steel, 2013; Abu-Er-Rub et al., 2019; Autiero and Cobb, 2022; Vavouranakis and Catapoti, 2021), the research started to examine more closely the role of these objects, both imports and local copies, in the social practices.

The present paper will discuss the contacts between Cyclades and Crete (mainly north-central, southern, and eastern). Within the framework of transculturality, the character of the relations and the interactions that were created during the long period of the Early Bronze Age will be analyzed. The primary purpose is not to detect the differences between imports and local creations in Crete but to try to grasp at least some of the mechanisms involved in transmitting ideas and technologies in the broader region of southern Aegean. Many questions arise concerning the way of perception, adoption or discard, and adaption of various cultural characteristics related to the Cyclades by the local communities on Crete.

Theoretical and methodological framework

It is essential to follow multiple perspectives to avoid discerning between different cultural traits, namely between 'Cycladic' and 'Minoan' ones. The asymmetry in power relations does not necessarily mean that the less powerful side has a passive role (Maran, 2011; Wagner, 2019, 17-25). On the contrary, it is the one that chooses the elements for integration according to the already established cultural setting and the current theories and views of the world (Phillips, 2005, 40; Papadatos, 2007b, 422-4; Michaels, 2019, 9-12; Maran, 2019). Concerning an import's entry, its non-local character would become readily apparent, making it different from other objects. Through regular imports and use in social practices, the object would gradually become part of the local way of life (Panagiotopoulos, 2012, 53-8). One point that should be emphasized is that the perception of an object (or an idea) and its use in the social sphere are two notions that cannot be separated (Stockhammer, 2019, 269; Vanzetti, 2020). In other words, through the constant use of an object in social practices, its values would become negotiated, and new meanings and significance may also come.

Over time, a new creation could occur, following essentially the local preferences. One can assume that in prehistoric societies, the knowledge related to producing artifacts and skills of neighboring areas should have met some restrictions. Therefore, whereas an object's 'foreign' character could be recognized, the exact place of origin would probably remain obscure (Panagiotopoulos, 2012, 52-3; 2013, 160; 2017, 280). As a result, a copy could be seen as an original, and in some cases, it could gain more value in the new context than it had in its primary (Stockhammer and Forberg, 2017, 6). It could be argued that those who had the skills and ability to copy the original may also have had the privilege to control the production (Stockhammer, 2017, 180).

The parameters considered referring to the materiality of the artifacts are suggested as follows: dimensions, surviving part(s), raw material, type (and its developing stages), state of preservation, traces of repair, way of manufacture, technological tradition, and traces of tools, and when available and published petrographic analysis and chemical analysis for the pottery and XRF-analysis and isotope analysis for the metal artifacts. Also, except for the materiality of the objects, what is mainly examined is the archae-

ological context and the geographical distribution. After collecting a broad array of published data, it was possible to come to some preliminary results.

Results

The first contacts between the Cyclades and Crete have been established since the Final Neolithic period, as evidenced in the research for the first time by the discovery of obsidian in Knossos (Evans, 1964, 233; 1968, 270). Later, the coastal site of Kephala Petras was also added to the list, and it was addressed as one of the securely earliest sites being in direct contact with the Cyclades already since the Final Neolithic IV (detailed documentation concerning Lavrion and Euboea-Kea area in Papadatos and Tomkins, 2013; 2014). In Petras, besides the import of obsidian in the form of raw nodules and blade manufacturing technology, imported pottery, although in a small percentage, and newly introduced pottery shapes and objects (including spindle whorls and pendants) were found (Papadatos and Tomkins, 2013, 358, 363; 2014: 336). Also, indications for metallurgical production (smelting of copper ores) on site were detected for the period spanning from FN IV to EM I (most likely already in FN IV, Papadatos, 2007; Papadatos and Tomkins, 2013, 367).

However, it was only at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age that these contacts became more intensive. Mainly during the transitional Early Minoan I-II, the so-called 'Kampos culture', the 'Cycladic' presence was mostly traced in northern Crete, such in Hagia Photia (Day et al., 1998; Davaras and Betancourt, 2004; 2012), Gournes (Galanaki, 2006; 2021), Pyrgos (Xanthoudides, 1918), Poros Katsambas (Dimopoulou - Rethemiotaki, 1998; Wilson et al., 2004, 2008; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki et al., 2007), Krasi (Marinatos, 1929a), Kanli Kastelli (Alexiou, 1951) and Amnisos (Marinatos, 1929b; 1930). Tekes (Marinatos, 1993), also located on the N coast, had connections with the Cyclades (as long daggers and figurines suggest) but lacked an archaeological context.

Concerning Hagia Photia and Gournes cemeteries, the tomb architecture, namely the rock-cut chamber tombs, which has not been found elsewhere in Crete, shows close affinities with Ano Kouphonisi in the Cyclades and mainland Greece (for more details see Zapheiropoulou, 2008, Sbonias, 2021). Furthermore, most of the pottery in these two cemeteries, i.e., 94.3% of the overall assemblage in Hagia Photia (Davaras and Betancourt, 2012, 94-5) and 86% in Gournes (Papadatos, 2021, 118), presents parallels with the Cyclades, mostly with Ano Kouphonisi. The settlements of Poros Katsambas, Pyrgos, and the Kanli Kastelli burial caves also display many pottery sherds with solid connec-

Figure 2: Chalice from Pyrgos Burial Cave. Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (H. 15-20 cm). Photo of the author.

tions to the Cyclades. Although there is an apparent influence in the typology with the originals being outside of Crete, at the same time, there have been different local versions of a vessel. Such examples are the 'jars with fenestrations' (or incense burners),

the chalices (Fig.2), and the frying pans (the latter ones found only in Hagia Photia and Poros), which diverge in terms of style and form from those found in the Cyclades. In some cases, imports and their local variations are unearthed in the same context. For example, in a few cases in Gournes and Hagia Photia, both the local and non-local types of chalices were found together in the chamber of the tombs (Papadatos, 2021, 190).

Furthermore, not only the pottery types but also the technology and materials often suggest the local tradition of production, and many similarities can be noticed between different regions of Crete (Wilson et al., 2008, 262; Davaras and Betancourt, 2012; Papadatos, 2021). Apart from specific categories, for example, the "bottles" in Hagia Photia (Day et al., 2014, 136), there is nothing to suggest that these vessels are imports, while instead, a center of manufacture in north-central and north-eastern Crete is suggested. This is also confirmed by the petrographical (Day et al., 2014, 119-130, 136-7; Papadatos and Nodarou, 2018, 289-293; Nodarou, 2021, 143-146) and chemical analysis that was conducted (Day et al., 2014, pp. 130-5). Although Knossos

is located close to Poros Katsambas (5 km apart), no 'Cycladic-related' pottery was found during this period. This starts to appear later in Knossos during EM IIA, also in the form of imports (Wilson et al., 2004, 69, 71).

In all the sites mentioned above located on the northern coast, several metal artifacts (copper, bronze, silver//lead, and gold) have been unearthed. Besides copper, silver is detected in many sites, such as in Krasi, Kanli Kastelli, Gournes, Amnisos, and Hagia Photia. Since only a few and not remarkable metal sources have been revealed in Crete (Chrysostomos and Sklavopoulou for copper and a minor lead source at Ano Valsamonero), the central provenance of these metals appears to be the Cyclades and the Lavrion (Legarra Herrero, 2004, 43; Gale and Stos-Gale, 2007, 104-5). The lead isotope analysis of the copper artifacts in Hagia Photia mainly pointed to two primary sources, namely Skouries on Kythnos and Aspros Pyrgos on Siphnos (Stos-Gale and Macdonald, 1991, 267; Gale and Stos-Gale, 2003, 91; 2007, 106-7) and partly to Seriphos. Although the results for silver did not point to any specific known source in the Aegean, the absence of silver sources on Crete, the evidence of exploitation of lead/silver ores in Attica already since the 4th millennium BCE (Maran, 2021), and in addition the procurement of early Egypt of the material from the Cyclades (and in a lower degree Lavrion, see Sowada et al., 2023) suggest a provenance of silver most probably from Siphnos or/and Lavrion (Stos-Gale and Macdonald, 1991, 270-1, 280).

An exceptional common characteristic of Gournes, Hagia Photia, and Poros Katsambas is their active role in metallurgical processes, as indicated by the metallurgical tools and byproducts found in those sites (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki, 1998; Betancourt and Muhly, 2007; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki et al., 2007, 91-3; Doonan et al., 2007; Wilson et al., 2008, p. 268; Bassiakos et al., 2021). Kephala Petras must have also been involved in the metallurgical production since the FN, more securely before the 'Kampos group' horizon (see Papadatos, 2007a). In Poros Katsambas, there is evidence that besides smelting, the casting of metals was taking place in both the EM I and EM II periods, and there are also signs of silver working. The finished objects were probably further distributed inland (Doonan et al., 2007, 104-110), which has also been suggested for Hagia Photia (Betancourt and Muhly, 2007, 152). In addition, a large amount of obsidian found in Poros Katsambas shows that obsidian production was taking place on-site, which was not only to meet the needs



Figure 3: Ivory figurine Tholos Gamma in Phourni cemetery in Archanes.

Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (EM IIA, H. H. 8.5 cm, W. max. 2 cm, Th. 0.9 cm).

Photo of the author.

of the local community but was also distributed in other areas (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki et al., 2007, 91).

In the following Early Minoan IIA period, the relations between Cyclades and Crete followed a completely different scheme. The

amount of 'Cycladic-style' pottery at Poros Katsambas during this period was considerably smaller and consisted of 2% or less of the overall assemblage, in contrast to the 25% of the previous period (Wilson et al., 2008, p. 262). Additionally, for the first time, many imports started to appear in southern Crete, including Hagia Kyriaki (Blackman and Branigan, 1982), Moni Odigitria (Vasilakis and Branigan, 2010), Koumasa and Platanos (Xanthoudides, 1924). However, their number is limited and cannot be compared with the large amount of the 'Cycladic' objects found in the previous period on the northern coast. This time, the character of the imports is also different. Namely, the assemblages comprise not pottery but figurines, stone vases, jewelry, weapons, and obsidian. These artifacts influenced the local production and triggered the design and development of local types. One characteristic example is the figurines, which often present characteristics that are not usual in the Cyclades, such as relief lips (Papadatos, 2003, 278-81; 2006, 13-15; 2007b, 425-429; Marthari et al., 2017; 2019; Stampolidis and Sotirakopoulou, 2017) and besides marble they are made of various materials (ivory, shell, bone, steatite, and calcareous stones). An exceptional case is the cemetery of Phourni in Archanes because there have come to light plentiful objects with parallels to the Cyclades and the largest number of figurines that have been found on Crete in total (Fig.3) (Sakellarakis, 1972; 1977b, 100; Panagiotopoulos, 2002, 115; Papadatos, 2005, 29-31; Sapouna-Sakellaraki, 2017, 169-90). However, this 'Cycladic' connection of the cemetery is mainly demonstrated by only one of the two tholos tombs (tholos tomb Gamma; see details in Papadatos, 2005, 2007b; Legarra Herrero, 2012). In the cemeteries

of southern Crete (Messara and Asterousia) with similar tholos tombs, there is a uniformity in the distribution of these objects between the different cemeteries. Also, Kyparissi presents one of the largest assemblages of figurines found on Crete, all local creations with different individual characteristics (Serpetsidaki, 1994; 2006; 2017), together with other 'Cycladica' such as two marble vases and blades of obsidian.

Most figurines found in Crete are of the so-called Koumasa variety, a type not identified outside the island. The examination of a large corpus of figurines concluded that most of them belong to a type of marble that predominates on Crete. It has been found in the Cyclades only in a few cases (less than 1% of the total, compared with the rest of the corpus) (Tambakopoulos and Maniatis, 2017, 510-14). Another type of marble, with many but fewer examples than the former, was related to the Cyclades. However, a similar type was also detected on Crete (in the outcrops north of Lentas and west of Pachia Ammos). For the rest, a specific marble source could not be determined. In general, except from five figurines found in Phourni cemetery in Archanes (Sakellarakis, 1972, pl. 288b; Papadatos, 2005, pl.18, fig. 20; 2007b, 426), two from Tekes (Marinatos, 1933, 298-304, fig. 9:1 and 9:4), which are also made of Cycladic marble and possibly one figurine from Koumasa (Xanthoudides, 1924, pl. XXI, no.122; Kanta et al., 2017, 254, fig.29 - the marble type here could not be classified, but maybe also come from Cyclades-), the rest of the figurines found on Crete appear to be local creations.

Betancourt (2017, 60) suggested that the occurrence and repetition of the same characteristics mean that there is a specific image whose main features were already established before the recognition in Crete. If this assumption is correct, one must consider the moment of the entry of this image in a different cultural setting. This should be when this image's 'foreign' character could be immediately recognized. Then, after producing several copies, the artifact's 'foreign' character would start to fade (Panagiotopoulos, 2017, 281).

The local creativity and adaptivity were also expressed through metallurgical production, where some types of metal jewelry pieces and implements have parallels in the Cyclades. As it has already been noted in the case of the figurines, the material selection, namely the type of metal here, varies on Crete. One prominent example is the gold bead found in Phourni in Archanes, which has obvious parallels in the Cyclades, but there it is made of silver (Papadatos, 2005, 36, Nr. A20; 2007, 431;

Vavouranakis, 2011,: 105-6). The same phenomenon is attested in manufacturing the diadems, which are consistently made of gold in Crete and silver in the Cyclades (Vavouranakis, 2011, 105-6). In general, gold is absent in the Cyclades (Gale & Stos-Gale, 1981, 181), and silver and lead are used for different objects than those in Crete (Branigan, 1968; Legarra Herrero, 2004, 45; 2014; Papadatos, 2005, 35-6).

It is most likely that gold and silver had different social values in Crete (Legarra Herrero, 2014; Legarra Herrero and Martinón-Torres, 2021). This is attested by the fact that the gold artifacts are manufactured uniformly around the island concerning their typologies (for example, diadems made of gold) in opposition to silver and lead ones, whose typologies vary in every site (Legarra Herrero, 2004, 46). For example, a silver cup has been found in Mochlos (Seager, 1912, 52), while silver daggers (Koumasa, Xanthoudides 1924, 47), rivets, and a fragment of a pin (Platanos, Xanthoudides, 1924, 110) have been unearthed in the Messara.

Generally, in opposition to the scarcity of metals in the previous period, there is a wide distribution of metal objects around the island (details in Legarra Herrero, 2004, 34, 45; contra to Nakou, 1995, who argues that the lack of metals results from the consumption and depositional practices of the period). While gold is primarily concentrated in the more extensive cemeteries, such as Mochlos, Koumasa, Platanos, Hagia Triada, and Archanes, copper objects (except for Koumasa and Platanos cemeteries with 20 and more than 70 dagger blades, respectively) are more equally distributed between the different sites (Legarra Herrero, 2004, 42; Xanthoudides, 1924, 25, 106). Although the provenance of silver (see above) and gold (for possible sources, see Legarra Herrero, 2014, 4-6) cannot be securely recognized, at least for copper, it was proved through lead isotope analysis that the metal used for the manufacture of 58% of the copper-based artifacts that analyzed, originates in Kythnos, Siphnos, Seriphos and possibly Keos, while 26 % comes from Cyprus (in an unknown form) (Gale and Stos-Gale, 2007, p. 107). In addition, while there seems to be a local ore in the Messara in Chrysostomos (Gale, 1990, 313; Gale and Stos-Gale, 2007, 107), its use was very limited and as confirmed through analysis of the copper for most of the weapons in the Messara is consistent with ore deposits from Kythnos (Gale, 1990, 313-4).

Regarding obsidian production and consumption, two different systems were operating on Crete. The one with fine and long blades is related to the Cyclades, a production already attested in the previous period in Poros Katsambas and Hagia

Photia, and the other with shorter, narrower, and thinner obsidian blades with central-south Crete (Carter, 1998, 69-71; 2010, 164). The latter pressure-flaked technology, which Carter describes as a "technological koine," runs from the south coast to Archanes, Knossos, and across Malia (Carter 1998, 70). Moni Odigitria in the Messara presents an exceptional assemblage of 474 pressure-flaked prismatic blades (over 95% originating from the Sta Nychia quarry in Melos), which is a significant amount in comparison to the neighboring sites (Carter, 2010, 151-2). However, no cores were found here, as seen in Lebena Papoura II, Marathokephalo II, Koumasa, Platanos B, and the Area of the Rocks in Phourni in Archanes. The number of tweezers probably for depilation, found in the cemetery, comprising 1/3 of the metal finds, indicates that the local population might have been engaged in modification practices, as it has also been suggested for similar finds in the Cyclades (Carter, 2010, 166).

Nevertheless, no palettes, pestles, or pigments have been found, as seen in the Cyclades. Therefore, a selective adaption of the social practices related to the transformation of the human body is suggested. The features, which concern not only the dimensions and the preparation of the obsidian blades but also their use and the associated materials and tools, probably were perceived as non-identical in the Cyclades and Crete.

In the same context of local production of obsidian, Mochlos (Seager, 1912; Branigan, 1991; Soles, 1992) seems to be primarily involved not only in the procurement of the raw material and its processing but also in its further distribution inland as only a limited number of finished products was present on site (Carter, 2004). The assemblage, which also included exhausted cores, is the largest deposit found outside Melos, and all stages of production were documented (Carter, 2004; 293), while at the same time, a local distinct technology of production concerning preparation and reduction could be determined (Carter, 2004, 298). Branigan's characterization of Mochlos as a 'gate community' (Branigan, 1991) seems appropriate primarily. However, it should not be confused with the role of Poros Katsambas as a contact zone in the previous period. The main reason is the lack of evidence in Mochlos of any other form of interaction with the Cyclades (Carter, 2004, 296), in contrast to the many imports and local copies found in Poros Katsambas.

At the end of the Early Bronze Age, the 'Cycladic presence' on Crete was not that strong, a phenomenon that continued with greater intensity during the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

Discussion

Despite the regularity of these contacts, there have been found only a few artifacts (see Warren, 1984; Sotirakopoulou, 2008, 84; Renfrew, 2010) in the Cyclades, whose origin could be placed on Crete. This asymmetrical relationship can only be explained if the objects transported to the Cyclades were of perishable materials, such as wood, leather, and/or food products, something that cannot be proved easily in archaeological contexts. It seems more probable that regular population movements would occur from the Cyclades to Crete, which would not be of an extensive character (Todaro, 2020, p. 68).

The character of contacts with the Cyclades followed a different pattern during EM I-II and EM IIA, and these could be considered two different facts (Papadatos and Galanaki, 2021, 193). The strong 'Cycladic' influence on the northern coast of Crete during the transitional period of EM I-II seems to be an exceptional and restricted phenomenon (Wilson et al., 2008, 262; Papadatos and Galanaki, 2021, 193), and it is not related with objects of any specific social status or with luxury. Also, this phenomenon lasted only for a limited range of time during the 'Kampos period' and was prominently related to the southeastern Cyclades, especially Ano Kouphonisi (Karantzali, 2008, 259; Papadatos and Galanaki, 2021).

In general, the archaeological data indicate a selective adoption and adaption of various cultural characteristics and their adjustment to the local traditions and social practices. The cross-craft interaction, which takes place during production processes, the circulation of patterns, and the consumption of the final product would promote the manufacture of local copies of different materials with various characteristics, which would not be necessarily present in their 'prototypes,' as, for example, the case of the figurines indicates—following the suggestion of Vickers and Gill (1994, 189; see also Brysbaert, 2007), the word 'evocation' and not 'imitation' should be used when talking about characteristics that are transferred from one medium to another. A series of innovations are likely to occur through this transfer, and new technologies may come. In other words, even if the image of the figurines were already a fixed image with specific features, the use of different materials other than marble would lead to various new ways of depicting this image, which would evoke and pinpoint the original image using at the same time different processes in the production. The same

selective character in social practices and local manufacture of objects was also seen in the cases of metallurgy and obsidian production and consumption.

A significant impact on these complex processes must have also had the nature and extent of networks between the different regions in Crete itself. The regions in the North would provide the areas in the South with the desired objects through a distributive system (Carter 1998, 70-73; Serpetsidaki 2006, 252-3; 2017, 211; Papadatos, 2007b, 438-40). In such a system, some sites in the North, such as Poros Katsambas during EMI-II and Mochlos later from the EM II period, seem to act as contact zones ('gate communities', as defined by Branigan, 1991), where first the off-island ideas and technologies would become transmitted and then further distributed inland. One can imagine that Knossos (and/or Phaistos) or Archanes could have played an intermediary role. Also, Kyparissi, which presents connections with Messara and Krasi during EM II (Serpetsidaki, 2006, 245-250; 2017, 211) and from EM III also with Archanes and Knossos, seems to be involved in the processes of exchange of ideas and products. The artifacts would not necessarily be perceived as imports from the Cyclades but as something not local or simply as products from the North or Knossos. One can also imagine that Archanes, with its numerous 'Cycladic' objects, may have had the skills and/or the means to make copies and local variations and then redistribute them throughout Crete while taking advantage of its proliferous geographical position.

It is not easy to assert that the acquisition of off-island objects was related to any statement regarding identity. At least for the cemeteries of Gournes and Hagia Photia, it can be argued that whether the groups of people buried there were coming originally from the Cyclades or not, they differentiated themselves from the nearby communities by choosing a non-local burial architecture and objects (Galanaki and Papadatos, 2021). In addition, for Phourni in Archanes, it has been proposed that the distinction in two separate groups buried in the two tholos tombs of the cemetery, with those included in tholos tomb Gamma having more accessible access to 'Cycladica' in striking contrast to those in tholos tomb Epsilon, manifests a claim of only a part of the community in participating in the trading networks related to the Cyclades (Papadatos, 2007b). As mentioned above, this preferential access could also be due to other reasons, such as (also noted above) inclusion to a group with probably specific knowledge of processing non-local materials, which would enable the control over the manufacture and/or distribution of the 'Cycladica' further inland. For southern

Crete, considering that they were the last recipients in the long chain of transactions and the limited knowledge of people of that time regarding distant regions, one can imagine that (if ever possible) only a glimpse of the original perception and even evaluation of an artifact would reach its way till the South coast.

To conclude, the close contact between the Cyclades and Crete set in motion a space of cultural exchange in the southern Aegean. During these processes, every region on Crete had been under a varied degree of off-island influence, which was not the same intensity during the long period of the Early Bronze Age. Therefore, Crete does not constitute a homogeneous cultural entity but consists of various sets of material culture.

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