

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed the Protopalatial ceramic deposits from Mochlos in terms of their chronological synchronicities and particularities concerning other sites of east and Central Crete, this exploration concludes by considering the pottery as an indicator of social and cultural behaviors on the micro-, meso-, and macroscale. Borrowed from Knappett, these terms are relative and general but serve to sort through the massive data and order relationships among households at Mochlos (microscale), inter-regional trade and influence in the Mirabello Gulf (mesoscale), and broader trends and political ties with sites farther away, throughout all of Crete where the data allows (macroscale).

The data allow several observations regarding patterns of production, distribution, and consumption in various categories of vessels and types, intimating household preferences for either local or regional workshops. The study of the material strata by strata also lends the data toward the purpose of parsing out changes and continuities in the sub-periods of the Protopalatial, rather than considering the period as a monolith as surveys have tended to do. As discussed in the introduction, surveys that have been conducted in the region describe a complex society in several high-density sites in the landscape, from the uplands to the lowlands. Population density must have created competition for natural resources, participating in a regional inland and coastal trade network, best illustrated in the Middle Minoan IIB shipwreck at Pseira (Hadjidaki and Betancourt 2006). Mochlos was a port town and played a major role in this network.

The movement, or intrusion, of new populations into the region, may have increased competitive pressure for the native social hierarchy established in the Mirabello since the end of the Early Bronze Age. This is illustrated in house-tomb cemeteries. During Middle Minoan IB–II, new house-tomb structures were placed above earlier Early Minoan ones, such as Mochlos Tomb Lambda (Soles 1992, 420) and at Myrtois Pyrgos (Cadogan 1977–1978, 72–73). Building on preexisting traditions and social norms, altars for offerings were placed just outside of tombs at this time as well (Watrous and Schultz 2012; Soles 1992). During this period, ceremonial areas were built in the Petras cemetery, incorporated in the funerary landscape which also included house-tombs (Tsipopoulou 2017b, 95).

This shift in the funerary architecture and the addition of structures for feasting indicates not only the connection of local elites with their past but a conscious conspicuity of that connection to legitimize their status relative to new populations (Doudalis 2018, 165). It is against such a backdrop of flux and competition that the Protopalatial material from Mochlos might give a glimpse of the society throughout the sub-periods of the Protopalatial.

5.1 Mochlos in Middle Minoan IB

This phase is represented by MM IB material mixed with MM II as well as fills of only MM IB date in House 1's Room 1 (Layer 3) Room 2 (Layers 2 and 3), Room 3 (Layer 2 and 3), and Room 4 (Layer 3), and the fill in the lowest level of the stratified material that came from below House C.12 (Level 3). This material allows some observations about the standing of Mochlos in this period, especially in its regional (mesoscale) environment considering the production, consumption, and distribution of the ceramic material.

The MM IB phase at Mochlos is marked by regional trade. Many vessels of Mirabello fabric were identified by their granodioritic inclusions, demonstrating close ties with the western part of the Mirabello, probably primarily Gournia. This is not merely a matter of importing goods in storage jars. Several cups, pouring vessels, and cooking vessels were identified. Alongside this consumptive

relationship with workshops from the Mirabello, though, there are locally-made vessels such as carinated and semi-globular cups. Drinking vessels seem to be mostly locally made, and, notably, of innovative shape, during the MM IB phase. New shapes crop up as well, such as cups and jugs with offset bases and straight-sided cups with concave profiles. The new shapes are decorated with motifs of the former period, the distinctive east Cretan light-on-dark schema, which demonstrates the strength and longevity of the tradition into the beginning of the Protopalatial.

The presence of granodioritic, wheel-made vessels in MM IB Mochlos allows us to observe synchronicity with other sites in Crete, probably a result of interregional migration into the Mirabello area that brought new people—and, importantly, potters—into the area along with their technology and traditions (Doudalis 2018). The first vessels made with rotative kinetic energy (RKE) are dated as early as EM III–MM IA, and they finally make their way to east Crete in MM IB. Polychrome also appears in Mochlos at first in this period, neither does it appear in the MM IA North Trench Group at Gournia (Andreou 1978, 57–63). The primary decorative innovation of MM IB fills at Mochlos is the introduction of dark-slipped interiors with light-on-dark and dark-on-light motifs and a tendency of covering the entire surface of the vessel.

If the shapes and decorative motifs of these newly studied Protopalatial deposits from Mochlos are indicative of broader trends of production and consumption in the region, then it seems that Mochlos is well-connected with other sites and/or workshops in the region. This first phase does feature some innovations, but it is rather conservative in scope and change is rather limited. Even if new settlers, including potters, entered the social climate, the EM III–MM IA norms of long-established elites lingered with force. The notable exception is the presence of polychrome wares which intimate an innovative, forward-trajectory in consumption habits.

The attractive interpretation of drinking vessels as vehicles for the performance of power in the preceding Early Minoan period (Day and Wilson 1998; 2002) and even at Petras in this period (Haggis 2007, 2012) unfortunately cannot be applied with certainty to the MM IB material from Mochlos, as no MM IB context can be identified for social drinking at the site. If we consider the scarce vessels that have been found in the deposits, we can see that some of the vessels consumed could possibly be part of a system of differentiation, as there is a heterogeneity of form and quality. If we consider that a vessel instantiates resources such as time, energy, and technical skill, which can be associated with its consumer (Barrett 2000, 148), then possibly vessels with alternating floral style, rectilinear polychrome motifs, and even new shapes such as the carinated cups, served to differentiate their owners from those without, performing status and displaying wealth.

5.2 Mochlos in Middle Minoan IIA

Since there is no singular system or set of diagnostics for distinguishing between Middle Minoan IIA and Middle Minoan IIB in most sites in the Gulf of Mirabello, the sub-periods traditionally have been considered as one. One particular, stratified deposit from Mochlos does provide evidence for the distinction.

Middle Minoan IIA is the date of Level 2 underneath House C.12. Because it can be dated to this period, it is perhaps the most important deposit analyzed here. A short summary of the shapes is undertaken below to illustrate how MM IIA manifests at Mochlos, but Appendix 1 is a full catalog of accessioned vessels. MM IIA at Mochlos includes one local amphora (**MOX.487**) decorated with red bands and stripes. Several jars including pithoid, hole-mouthed, wide-mouthed, and bridge-spouted in every fabric—purple phyllite, silver mica, phyllite and silver mica, phyllite and metamorphic rocks, and granodiorite—show that interregional trade continued alongside flourishing local production. When they are decorated, there is a preference for red-slipped exteriors. A number

of different lid types appear, generally having a discoid profile, sometimes with a knob- or loop handle. Again, red slip is the decoration of preference, both for local and imported lids.

MM IIA pouring vessels at Mochlos are represented by ewers, jugs, and pitchers. Only one ewer is preserved, and it is local, while jugs and pitchers are both locally-made and imported from their regional neighbors to the West. Several decorative motifs coexist in the jug category, including dark-linked discs, dark-slipped exteriors, and red triple plumes. Pitchers are less frequent finds but are generally undecorated.

Drinking vessels present immense variety by all measures. Angular cups of the fine tan or pink clays are dark- or red-slipped inside and out, Type 2b carinated cups are fashionable and popular, always in fine clay, and again decorated in dark- or red-monochrome slip. Unribbed carinated cups are possible imports from Palaikastro in MM IIA, although those with offset bases could be local. One aberrant is the tripod carinated cup, which so far has found no parallels in published material. All Type 5 tumblers, the most frequent, are decorated, with one exception being undecorated. Another is particularly distinctive for its white arcs. Straight-sided cups are in evidence and have several variations in terms of morphology, decoration, and clay type. Semiglobular cups are treated either with polychrome or with burnished interiors and exteriors.

Serving vessels include various bowls and one kalathos. Bowl types of limited frequency seem to be made in fine tan or coarse silver micaceous wares, but sometimes such as 2b are both local and imported. Type 2c includes some probable imports from east Crete. While carinated bowls are local and undecorated, Type 2c flared-rim bowls are dark- or red-monochrome or otherwise have red bands on the rim and red-slipped interiors or otherwise a dark band on both sides of the rim. The only kalathos that was preserved is locally made, undecorated, and have a narrow base and a tall, flared-rim profile. Cooking vessels and utilitarian wares such as scuttles and scored and plain basins and scuttles are present and are both locally produced and imported.

Middle Minoan IIA at Mochlos is a period of intensified local production relative to the previous period and the regular use of the wheel. Significant experimentation with the technology takes place, as smaller and medium-sized vessels such as drinking and pouring wares are either entirely wheel-thrown, partially coil-built, and finished on the wheel. Hand-building with coils remains the standard production procedure for larger wares used for storage. While the “fast wheel,” evidenced by concentric striations on the underside of the base, is in use at Palaikastro (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923; Knappett and Collar 2007) and Petras (Tsiopoulou 2017) throughout MM II, all cups and smaller vessels at Mochlos have parallel striations, indicating that the fast wheel was more quickly adapted to its east. The fast wheel and the technique of cutting the vessel off the bat or stump while the wheel continued to move, thus creating concentric marks from the string, was introduced and mastered at Palaikastro and Petras first before Mochlos potters adopted the practice.

Workshop practices at Mochlos again show a more conservative approach to new technology, and surely this has to do with the time-consuming process of training motor skills and undertaking apprenticeship (Roux 2017). Introducing the wheel, even the slow wheel, allowed faster production and as a result greater quantity in general. If we consider the mastering of the wheel during this period, the intensification of local production, as well as the appearance of the first potters’ marks, we may be able to identify local workshops contributing toward the local market and supplying for local needs during the MM IIA period.

In addition to identifying local production, there are a few comments to be made regarding consumption strategies in MM IB and MM IIA. One major difference is that there is no standardization of vessel types. Many different types appear in all categories, reflecting local and regional experimentation on the part of artisans and workshops. For instance, there are eighteen different types of cups and seven types of bowls in the MM IIA Level 2 below C.12. This diversity also applies to Palaikastro (Knappett and Cunningham 2012; Knappett and Collar 2007) and at Petras’ Phase 1 and Phase 2 (Tsiopoulou 2017a; 2017b).

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While Mochlos saw a flourishing in local ceramic production in MM IIA, it is still very much connected with workshops around Gournia, Kalo Chorio, and Vrokastro. Most material imported from this area is represented storage vessels, traded for their contents, as well as pouring vessels decorated in dark-on-light. In the preceding period, cooking wares came primarily from this Mirabello area to the west, but in the MM IIA period, a significant shift occurs in most cooking wares, which are primarily produced in local fabrics. Certainly, though, Mochlos consumers were participating in the trade network of cooking vessels as Hayden's survey of Vrokastro indicates (2004).

The drinking and serving vessels reflect the consumption of local products in MM IIA. The preceding MM IB period had many vessels in the Mirabello granodioritic fabric, connecting the conspicuous consumption of individualized vessels with the region at large and possibly strengthening social ties with social structures actively at play in the western Mirabello. As discussed above, these connections and ties are preserved in the funerary practices and architecture in the Early Minoan Period and MM IB (Watrous and Schultz 2012; Soles 1992). During the MM IIA, the consumption habits demonstrate connections with central Crete as well as east Crete. The ribbed carinated cups with deep, irregular grooves and mid-to-low carination have strong parallels with Malia, while one-handled conical cups with strap handles present parallels with Knossos, Malia, and Petras as well. Carinated cups with offset bases are also found at Petras and Palaikastro, and Type 2c flared-rim bowls have strong connections with Petras. Several very fine tan-pink flared-rim bowls may be imports from a workshop in east Crete, probably Petras, as the only close parallels come from the cemetery and Ceremonial Area 1 there (Tsipopoulou 2017a). Thus, in Middle Minoan IIA, Mochlos has significant connections with both centers at Petras and Malia. The extent to which MM IIA Mochlos was connected remains uncertain, as only one certain deposit can be securely dated. It may be that this particular household wanted to express a relationship with elites at both sites to perform their status. This will remain a hypothesis, though, unless further MM IIA deposits are excavated at the site. Nevertheless, the dual connections between two centers cast some doubt on Mochlos' belonging to a Malia state as Betancourt has argued toward Hagios Charalambos (2007)

5.3 Mochlos in Middle Minoan IIB

The ceramic deposits underneath C.3, C.7, and B.2, as well as Area 1 of House C.3, the middle layer of Room 4 of House 1, and Level 1 underneath House C.12 are extremely homogeneous and as outlined in the above chapter of chronology, they define production, distribution, and consumption practices of this late period of the Protopalatial (MM IIB). This section does not include the mixed deposits of House 1, as it includes a mix of MM IB and MM IIB material.

The statistical analysis and the cataloged vessels inform us about production, distribution, and consumption practices at the local level. From the general coarse ware percentages presented in Tables 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, and 49 we can identify that during the Middle Minoan IIB active workshops are exploiting the phyllitic and silver micaceous sources that are located in the close vicinity of Mochlos. In addition, imported vessels from the regional workshops from the western part of the Mirabello area also continue to show the connections that Mochlos had with its close regional neighbors, and some imports from the South Coast signify a limited connection of Mochlos with sites further afield as well. Again, a brief summary below illustrates Mochlos in the MM IIB period.

In this final sub-period of the Protopalatial, storage vessels are locally produced as well as imported from the Mirabello, and one Type 2 amphora came from the South Coast and has red trickle decoration. Storage wares are decorated and undecorated, including a Type 1 carinated jar with alternating floral style. This vessel might be considered an heirloom, even, as it is an almost complete example from MM IB (Floyd 1997) in an MM IIB context. It is otherwise an intrusion from below or

part of a fill for the construction of later phases that survived remarkably well. All pithoi collected are granodioritic and thus imports, and a few examples have a dark slip or dark trickle pattern. Lids are decorated with bands, stripes, and trickle patterns. Local amphorae and jars are mostly undecorated, while all imported storage vessels are decorated in some way. This perhaps shows the circulation of these vessels in the extended Mirabello region and beyond and belongs to the workshops of the West Mirabello, which arrive west as far as Malia (Poursat and Knappett 2005b) and east as far as Petras (Nodarou 2017).

Pouring vessels appear in a variety of types and fabrics. The most popular jug type is the jug with a cutaway spout. It has a number of variations, but the piriformed Type 1a appears in almost all MM IIB deposits and is both locally made and imported, with one example probably from Palaikastro. Most local examples are undecorated, or in very few instances have dark bands or linked discs. Granodioritic imports and fine wares are decorated with white-on-dark bands, stripes, and linked discs. Only one example is burnished on the exterior and may represent an early example in continuous use into MM IIB. Bridge-spouted jugs are local and decorated, with skeuomorphic characteristics. Trefoil-mouthed juglets and jugs appear in single deposits and are locally made and undecorated. There is also one Chamaizi juglet, a shape ubiquitous in east Crete. The “pear-shaped” jug has several parallels with Malia and is a rarefied shape in Mochlos, it is either undecorated or decorated with red bands on a white-slipped exterior. Another South Coast import appears underneath C.7, and it is decorated with dark bands on a white-slipped exterior.

Drinking vessels remain important for dating deposits and interpreting MM IIB Mochlos. Not all types appear in all deposits, but the ribbed carinated cup appears throughout in deposit underneath C.3 (Deposit 1), in Deposit 2 (E4 4334–4335), and Deposit 4 (E4 31/3204–31/3224) underneath House C.7, in Deposit 6 (E3 5521) underneath B.2, Area 1 (D2 811–1810) of House 1, layer 2 of Room 4 of House 1, and in Level 1 of the deposit underneath House C.12. The majority of this type of carinated cup is of fine orange or fine buff clays, with fewer examples in purple phyllitic, medium-fine tan with granodiorite, fine pink, medium-fine orange with purple phyllite, silver mica, or granodioritic coarse wares. They are both decorated and undecorated, with the most popular being dark or red monochrome metallic slip on both the interior and exterior. In rare cases, a white crescent appears below the exterior rim or white bands are painted on a dark-slipped exterior. Mottled decoration that imitates Vasiliki wares, so-called “Pseudo-Vasiliki” (Caloi 2018, 295), is also present. Other types, such as the trefoil-mouthed carinated cup or the tripod carinated cup, appear but not as regularly as the ribbed carinated cup. Ungrooved, short-rimmed examples are sporadically preserved in the settlement.

Tumblers appear in every deposit and are either fine wares or coarse wares of local production. Most are undecorated but some are dark-slipped on both the inside and outside with white stripes on the interior. Many complete examples of these tumblers preserve a potter’s mark just above the exterior base. Type 1b is slightly more varied in decoration when it occurs, and this type is comprised of the same kinds of fabrics. Other kinds of tumblers are also in evidence in MM IIB Mochlos, such as the flaring tumbler, the ribbed conical tumbler, and the straight-sided tumbler.

One-handled conical cups are the third most common drinking vessel in the deposits of certain MM IIB date. Only Types 1a and b are present, except for one example of Type 2a in Deposit 4, which has a strap handle. These are predominantly locally produced and feature a variety of decorative motifs, including festoons on the interior rim, white hatches or bands on the handle, white stripes on the rim or interior, or dark or red monochrome slip. Several examples are undecorated, as well.

Angular or beveled cups, straight-sided, semi-globular, and tripod cups also appear selectively in different deposits. Only one angular cup made with fine ware orange clay and white-on-dark decoration appears in Deposit 1. Straight-sided cup Type 1a appears in Deposit 4. It is made with fine tan clay and is decorated with a dark slip on the interior and the exterior surfaces. Type 1b appears in Level 1 of the deposit underneath C.12 and is decorated with dark slip. Type 2 appears in Deposit 4

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and Deposit 6. Two fabrics have been used for the construction of this type, fine orange, and medium-fine tan with granodiorite. The decoration varies from dark monochrome to white-on-dark. Type 3 appears in Deposit 6 and is decorated with white-on-dark on the exterior. The last type of straight-sided cup (Type 6) appears only in Area 1 and has a large base and immediate straight-sided profile. It is made with very fine tan clay and its decoration with dark vertical bands on the exterior and dark cross below on the underside of the base shows that it is imported from Malia.

The semi-globular cups are also a rare category. Type 1b appears in Deposit 1, Deposit 3, Deposit 6, and Area 1 of House. 1. They appear in very small quantities with the largest concentration in Area 1 and Deposit 6. Most examples seem to be decorated, apart from one exception. The semi-globular/rounded cup from Deposit 1 seems to be imported from Central Crete, possibly Knossos and is decorated with dark stripes on a white-slipped exterior. The examples from the rest of the deposits are made with fine tan or fine orange and they present either dark or red monochrome on interior and exterior, dark-on-red and polychrome with orange bands on dark slip and white chevrons. Type 2a and 2b with everted rims appear only in Area 1 and they are similar to the S-cups that have parallels with Malia and east Crete (**MOX.421**). Type 2a is undecorated and is probably imported from east Crete, and Type 2a is a skeuomorph example decorated with a white band on a dark, lustrous, slipped exterior. The tripod cup examples appear only in Deposit 6. The collected examples present only the foot and they are made with medium-fine orange/red clays and are decorated with parallel white bands.

The review of cup types highlights the dizzying variety of cups in MM IIB, which includes a vast repertory not only of shape, but individuation of shape, fabric, and decoration.

Serving vessels are relatively standardized. The predominant type is the flared-rim bowl, with Types 2a and b being mostly undecorated and made of local fabrics. Just a few examples of Types 2a/b from Area 1 are granodioritic imports from the Mirabello, and Deposit 4 preserved a South Coast example. Bowls are generally undecorated but those that are decorated have a dark band on the interior or exterior rim or red hatches on the rim and may be heirlooms. Deep bowls are found with less frequency, as are tripod bowls. The deep bowl with everted rim (Type 5) may be an antecedent to the ledge-rimmed bowls of the preceding period. Saucers are generally made of local fabrics and are sometimes decorated with a red slip.

The cooking vessels in MM IIB include dishes, trays, and pots. They are mostly made locally, but there are granodioritic exceptions imported from the Mirabello. All are undecorated except for one tray which had a dark slip on the interior. At Mochlos, the cooking vessels do not appear to change significantly throughout the Protopalatial period, and in fact, rather than finding comparanda with contemporaneous sites, the closest parallels are found in the cooking vessels of Neopalatial Mochlos.

The only utilitarian vessels are scored (Type 1a) and non-scored basins (Type 1b) and scuttles (Type 1). They also appear in granodioritic fabrics with only Type 1b basins receiving decoration, either white- or dark-slipped in the interior. In a few cases, the scuttles preserve a potter's mark on their handl

5.4 Discussion

The preceding analysis of deposits, statistics, and summary allows a number of observations to be made regarding Protopalatial Mochlos. Attempting to avoid generalizations, the final comments conclude this work and highlight observations about consumption and production practices at Mochlos.

As it has been identified from the analysis, the statistics, and the summary of the data different observations can be made about production, status performance, and possible relations with the state-model that located Malia as its center.

The general statistical analysis of the pottery highlights different consumption habits. In Deposit 1 (MM IIB deposit underneath C.3), Deposit 2 (MM IIB deposit underneath C.7), Deposit 5 (fill underneath B.2), Deposit 6 (bin in B.2), and Area 1 of House 1, inhabitants consumed a higher percentage of local fabrics (purple phyllite and silver mica), while Deposit 3 and Deposit 4 (MM IIB deposits underneath C 7) show predominant consumption of vessels that were made with granodioritic fabric. Thus, it seems from the preserved and statistically analyzed data that different households have different preferences in the consumption practices. Similar preferences in consumption have been argued for the LM IB fine wares of Myrtos Pyrgos (Oddo 2019, 20). In Mochlos, some of the deposits show strong ties with the regional workshops as they appeared in the dominating percentages of imported pottery of the Mirabello region, and others seem to have preferred local workshops since the vessels that are made from phyllitic and silver micaceous clays appear in much higher percentages than those from granodiorite. This possibly depicts competitive behavior among Mochlos households and social structures based on economic interests and capabilities.

This regional and local competition is illustrated in the appearance of the potter's marks, which appear already in the MM IIA and continue into the MM IIB period. A little comparative discussion between the two periods has to be done in this section to value the local production-consumption between the MM IIA and MM IIB periods. The distribution of potter's marks is not a phenomenon unique to Mochlos, but it appears in different sites of the Mirabello area and east Crete, with most of them, studied at Malia and Petras (Tsipopoulou 2016; 1995; 1990) and very little in Monastiraki and Gournia (Christakis 2014, 115). Christakis has summarized a large repertory of potter's marks from Crete from the Final Neolithic to Late Minoan IIIC period (Christakis 2014, 77). As Tsipopoulou identifies in the analysis of the Petras marks, the potter's marks have a complex meaning (Tsipopoulou 2016, 138) and it is not only related to the recognition of vessel sets that were fired in the same locations, possibly kilns as the earlier studies in the analysis of these marks have indicated (Poursat et al. 1978, 99). Several hypotheses have been identified by Beller and are pertinent to the work of other scholars such as Christakis (2014, 155–156) and included that the potter's marks have been used for either as 1) ornament, 2) production marks, which considers the kiln firing mentioned above, 3) marks of trade including the identification of the workshops that were making them, or 4) administration marks, for the control of the production or vessel marks for indicating the capacity of the vessels (Beller 2014, 2–9).

Twelve instances of potter's marks have been identified in the MM IIA levels of Mochlos, with five of them belonging to open vessels and seven of them to closed vessels. The potter's marks consist of pre-firing incisions that can be divided into two major categories: the two diagonal incisions and the single oblique incision. Most of the open vessels that have been recognized belong to the miscellaneous open vessel category (P 12594 (**MOX.572**), P 12562 (**MOX.571**), P 12523 (**MOX.573**)), while P 12599 (**MOX.578**) is a flared-rim bowl (Type 2b), and P 12549 (**MOX.539**) is a conical tumbler (Type 1b). Cups are marked on the lower exterior wall above the base and sometimes on the top of the handle. The flared-rim bowl is marked on the upper interior wall below the rim. Different variations of the two-line incision have been identified. The most common is the diagonal parallel incisions, but a variation of two curvy diagonal incisions exists on one example (P 12562 (**MOX.571**)). The potter's marks on closed vessels have been incised on miscellaneous vessels (P 12561 (**MOX.503**), P 12547 (**MOX.516**), P 12614 (**MOX.501**) and P 12560 (**MOX.502**)), a hole-mouthed jar (Type 5a/b), and on a scuttle (P 12598 (**MOX.602**)). For the miscellaneous closed vessels, the most common mark is the two diagonal incisions on the top of the handle, while one example (P 12545 (**MOX.515**)) maintains two vertical parallel incisions roughly in the shape of an arrow point. The scuttle example has also two pre-firing parallel incisions on the attachment of the

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handle with the rim, with the one closer to the rim being larger than the farther one. The hole-mouthed jar maintains the only example of a single diagonal incision on the handle side. Apart from the minute variations in the type of the mark, the most important characteristic is that all the examples are made from local clays, mainly with phyllite fabric but also phyllite combined with white metamorphic rocks or silver mica.

While those twelve marks above came from MM IIA contexts, most of the potter's marks come from the MM IIB deposits or mixed with MM IB fills as it happens in the case of the layers of Room. 1. Eleven instances of potter's marks have been identified in Deposit 1; two in Deposit 3; two in Deposit 6; one in Room 1, Layer 1; three in Room 1, Layer 2; two in Room 3, Layer 2; three in Room 4, Layer 2; one in Area 1; and six in Level 1 of the deposit underneath House C.12. A limited variety of vessels are marked, with eleven of them appearing in conical tumblers of Type 1a (P 4474 (**MOX.32**), P 1866 (**MOX.33**), P 4414 (**MOX.34**), P 4417 (**MOX.35**), P 1872 (**MOX.36**), P 1318, P 4412 (**MOX.38**), P 8548 (**MOX.127**), P 6385 (**MOX.128**), P 12942 (**MOX.379**), P 12507 (**MOX.463**)), two in Type 2a/b flared-rim bowls (P 4312 (**MOX.67**), P 12850 (**MOX.245**)), one one-handled conical cup (P 13252 (**MOX.59**)), two miscellaneous cups (P 13205, P 12591 (**MOX.472**)) one Type 1 pitcher (P 9519 (**MOX.202**)), one miscellaneous jar (P 12382 (**MOX.239**)), one cooking dish with a mending hole (P 12855), seven miscellaneous closed vessels (P 12370 (**MOX.412**), P 13108 (**MOX.339**), P 12949 (**MOX.374**), P 12510 (**MOX.446**), P 12592 (**MOX.449**), P 12578 (**MOX.606**), P 12500 (**MOX.447**)), three scuttles (P 12829 (**MOX.250**), P 12383 (**MOX.358**), and P 12381 (**MOX.436**)), and one basin (P 12965 (**MOX.384**)). When the Type 1a conical tumbler is marked, the mark is located on the lower exterior wall above the base, while the one-handled conical cup is marked on the top surface of the rounded handle. In addition, the miscellaneous cups preserve the mark on the body. The flared-rim bowls and the cooking dishes are marked below the interior rim. The basin example is marked on the top of the flat part of the rim, while the miscellaneous closed vessels, the jar, the pitchers, and the scuttles are all marked on the handles.

The conical tumblers show a variety of two pre-fired incisions that are parallel and diagonal, or parallel and horizontal slightly diagonal, or vertical and parallel, or a combination of one diagonal and one parallel incision. When the mark is located on the handle as in the case of the miscellaneous closed vessels, the one-handled conical cup, the pitcher, the jar the main mark is even diagonal and parallel incisions, with only one example (P 12758 (**MOX.448**)) to maintain one preserved diagonal deep incision. The scuttles are also marked on the handle which in two cases (P 12383 (**MOX.358**) and P 12829 (**MOX.250**)) is two horizontal parallel incisions, and in just one case it (P 12381 (**MOX.436**)) consists of one diagonal incision on the attachment of the handle with the rim. The mark on the basin consists of diagonal parallel incisions, while the flared-rim bowl mark is either two diagonal incisions, or one horizontal. The cooking dish has a mark that consists of a horizontal incision and a diagonal one that together forms a point. All but two of the scuttles (P 12829 (**MOX.250**) and P 12383 (**MOX.358**)) which are made with granodioritic clay are made with medium-fine or coarse local clays, varying from purple phyllitic, fine orange clay containing purple phyllite, silver micaceous, purple phyllitic and white metamorphic rocks, and fine orange clay that included silver mica.

Christakis, in the examination of the potter's marks from Syme Viannou (2014, 156–161), writes that the marking was not used for measuring the quantity (trade-mark according to Beller) or administration purposes and connections between ruling social structures and potter's that were attached to them (Christakis 2014, 159; Lindblom 2001, 132), because the number of vessels in the Cretan sites that are marked is limited, and vessels that are related with elite expression, such as elite tableware are not marked. According to Christakis (2014, 160–161), the most convincing scenario is that the ceramists were marking their vessels so that they can recognize them in the kiln during the manufacturing process. Thus, the potter's mark functioned strictly as a production signature to connect the vessel and the potter. He does not, however, dismiss the multifunctionalism of the potter's

marks as it has been proposed by other scholars related to the social and economic environment that marked vessels have been used (Halepa-Bikaki 1984).

The analysis of potters' marks at Mochlos alters this picture and provides information about local workshop practices as well as patterns of consumption of the produced ceramic material. The small number of marks, the variety of vessels marked, and the standardization of the marks shows that the potters might have been using marks to identify their vessels in the kiln. This hypothesis can also be supported with the variations that appear in the cups with the two oblique incisions, which may indicate that the marked vessels can be attributed to different members of the same workshops according to the graphological characteristics as Christakis has claimed in Syme Vianou (Christakis 2014, 163). However, the presence of potter's marks on vessels from the western part of Mirabello, even if it appears only in two scuttles that bear the same mark which is the two parallel horizontal incisions may add a supplementary interpretation, which is the distinction of the locally made vessels from the imported vessels that were made by regional workshops. The appearance of similar marks from the MM IIA shows that the practice of marking started with the intensification of the local pottery production, and use of local clay sources, by largely replacing the consumption of vessels that come from regional workshops.

The appearance of small variations of potter's mark may indicate a small number of workshops that were active in the Mochlos area from the MM IIA onward. The appearance of these marks together with the intensification of the local production after the MM IB period indicates the necessity of marking the vessels, in order possibly to compete with the other regional workshops. The simple form of the potter's mark may indicate that this competition was regional thus it seems like the example of the two scuttles with granodiorite indicate that the direction of the line mattered in the recognition of these workshops. Thus, the two long, shallow, horizontal, parallel lines seem to be a mark that belonged to potter's that appear in the Gournia area, while the diagonal parallel incisions and the single incision seem to exclusively mark vessels that come from local purple phyllite.

The potter's marks are related with coarse ware vessels that appear continuously from the MM IIA period and the marks are relatable; we can see that the same kinds of vessels are marked with a similar mark, which indicates workshop practices related to the use of the same mark from the old and new members of the same workshop (and perhaps a family) that were active in the local market system from the MM IIA to the MM IIB period. Interestingly, the same two diagonal parallel lines appear above the exterior base of a straight-sided cup at the beginning of the Neopalatial, this time painted, and quite deliberately. This continuation of potter's marks and its standardization especially in the MM IIB period in which we have the examples of the conical tumbler Type 1a that is usually marked upon the base indicates the point of origin and workshop practices to the consumers and producers on the one hand, but also "territorial" relationships with their clay sources, used for the manufacture of local vessels. This proposal is bound up with the general competition that occurs in a stabilized market system where sites import material from others.

The standardization of the ceramic material in MM IIB is most apparent in the carinated cup type, which includes only two types in relation to six of the former period (MM IIA). This type (2a and 4a) appears in every Mochlos MM IIB deposit showing a clear trend in the consumption of this vessel. The grooved examples rarely appear in the sites of far east Crete, showing a more specialized distribution in the region of Mirabello. Grooved examples appear at Malia (Quartier Mu) (Poursat and Knappett 2005, PL. 27, 769), but a large amount of Mochlos examples follows this trend rooted in MM IIA but the grooves are very thin and elaborate, imitating metal characteristics (Knappett 2005, 145–146). This is apparent in the carinated bridge-spouted jug that also appears in many sites in the region. Most of the vessels that maintain metalized characteristics are made with fine clays, and we cannot be certain if they are imported or local.

A great percentage of drinking wares are local, especially the conical and flaring tumblers and the one-handled conical cups, which are popular shapes during this period throughout east Crete from Malia to Petras. The manufacture of these drinking sets allows a narrative in which local workshops

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adopt foreign trends and participate in the repertoire of shapes that are broadly consumed in this region during this period. Most of the examples of these types that are made with semi-fine ware orange-reddish clays seem to be either undecorated or decorated with simple motifs as festoons, stripes, and pendent arcs. However, fine orange ware and fine ware tan appear to be decorated in the highest percentages with monochrome slip on the interior and the exterior, sometimes metallic but in most cases buff. Since the clays are very fine it is very difficult to claim them as local or regional. The ribbed carinated cups (Type 2a) are mainly made with fine wares, and they are mainly decorated with dark or, rarely, with red metallic slip on the interior and the exterior or with white-on-dark crescent or band. They are the descendants of the ribbed carinated cup with irregular grooves. The ridges of these cups are very thin and regular. A few semi-globular and straight-sided cups maintain monochrome, white-on-dark, or dark-on-light decoration, showing that there is little variation in the local production or import of drinking sets in general.

If we consider that the drinking sets are related to the performance of status, it is very interesting to note the strong correlation of locally produced wares with wares produced at Malia. However, this macro-scale relationship between Mochlos and Malia is not similar to that of Malia and Myrtos Pyrgos during the Protopalatial period. In Malia and Myrtos Pyrgos, Knappett has identified similar elite expression through the imitation at Myrtos Pyrgos of shapes and decoration of the tableware from the center of Malia, even though both sites produced locally (Knappett 1997; 1999a; 2012). Mochlos in the Protopalatial seems to show a different picture. Firstly, not many imports can be identified at Mochlos during the MM IIB apart from the straight-sided cup (**MOX.419**) from Area 1 with the cross decoration on the bottom and the vertical dark bands on the exterior. Secondly, the skeuomorphic vessels, the semi-globular cup from Area 1, and the bridge-spouted jugs from the deposit underneath C.3 are not exact imitations of the examples that appeared in Quartier Mu and elsewhere at Malia in MM IIB, but they seem to be local and regional variations. On the contrary, the production of one-handled conical cups and the tumblers either slipped or decorated with festoons and arcs shows specialized manufacture of these vessels in the same mode as it has been produced in the center of Malia. The same idea has already been seen in the MM IIA period, where the first ties with Malia have been identified, with the similar production and consumption of conical cup/conical tumblers (Type 5), one-handled-conical cups with strap handles (Type 2b) and ribbed carinated cups with deep irregular grooves (Type 2b) and has been related with the interregional migrations from the area of Malia during this period (Doudalis 2018). Thus, in the MM IIB seems that Mochlos turns its pottery production and consumption strategies in a similar trend at Malia, but not for the elite consumption as it has been argued in the consumption between the tablewares of Malia and Myrtos-Pyrgos (Knappett 1999a). The same pattern appears in the entire Mirabello region and if we had to characterize the connection between Malia and Mirabello region through the ceramic material, this connection seems to be decentralized and possible related to the trend that is adopted by the producers and the consumers, in some of the tableware vessels, with others such as the carinated cups following local and regional variations. This connection is most intense in Mochlos in the MM IIB, while in the MM IIA there are more equal connections with the eastern part of the island.

In terms of hierarchical or heterarchical structures, we can identify only some small glimpses from the Mochlos material that has been revealed from the MM IIB layers. Considering that drinking and feasting were used for status performance, in which material cultures are transformed into power (Hamilakis 1999, 40-41; Hayden 1996; Dietler 1996), then the use of cups with metalized characteristics, such as carinated and semi-globular cups, may indicate an asymmetrical social relationship with owners of more humble cups. These social structures seem to be active in the local and regional environment, illustrated both by preference in consumption of local or imported material as well as in the consumption of different kinds of drinking vessels. Thus, if the carinated cups are distinguished from the tumblers or the one-handled conical cups, then there is a distinction within the household level with those who consumed these more technologically challenging wares with

metalizing features from those who consumed the semi-fine ware examples possibly on drinking ceremonies inside and outside the household. If conspicuous consumption can be seen at the household level in the MM IIB period, two possible deposits present a variety of pouring and drinking vessels, through which their consumption can show power structures. These are the House 1 and possibly the household represented in the deposit underneath House C.3. House 1 is the only space that contained metals, with the presence of vessels such as carinated cups, a semi-globular cup (Type 2b) with dark metallic slip on the interior and the exterior and a white band below the rim and a straight-sided cup (Type 6) possibly imported from the Malia region with the cross decoration on the underside of the base and the white bands on the exterior. If we consider the suggestion of the excavator—that Area 1 was a working area in the same household, the distinction of the drinking vessels in it may indicate the same social stratification as has been noticed in the Archive area at Petras (Tsipopoulou and Hallager 2010). In this intra-household system of social stratification, perhaps we can identify a pyramidal social stratification with those who consumed the undecorated tumblers and one-handled conical cups at the bottom of the hierarchy, the carinated cups with red or dark slip immediately after, and the semi-globular with the straight-sided cup on the top, distinguishing their consumers from the rest in the consuming area. The deposit of the house that was located underneath C.3 may also have been an elite house since it included the only example of alternating floral style on a carinated jar (Type 1), which was an heirloom from the MM IB period, together with the only two examples of skeuomorphic bridge-spouted jugs and multiple occasions of ribbed carinated cups. This household seems also to be the one that is strictly tied with possibly one local workshop, since most of the vessels with the potter's mark of the two pre-firing incisions come from this house, and most of these belong to Type 1a conical tumblers. We are left to wonder whether this household possibly controlled part of the local production by controlling local workshops. The household certainly consumed mostly local vessels and may have found legitimization of status by consuming special fine wares.

5.5 Conclusions

Mochlos was an active settlement during the Protopalatial period, one that was closely following the same social changes that appear in the broader Mirabello area. On the contrary to what Watrous and Schultz believed about the shrinkage of Mochlos settlement during the Protopalatial period (Watrous and Schultz 2012,46) based on the evidence of Seager's excavations (Seager 1909, 287,290, 302) and a few Mochlos reports (Soles and Davaras 1992, 422–423, 426–428; 1996, 180–184), the evidence from Mochlos shows that during the Protopalatial period, the settlement at Mochlos was extensively occupied, especially during the Middle Minoan IIB period, if we can generalize based on the wide dispersal of the deposits from the eastern part of the settlement (Level 1 on the deposit underneath House C.12) to the western part (House 1).

In the MM IB, the ceramic material indicates strong connections with the western Mirabello area and the regional workshops in aspects of production and consumption, both cooking, drinking, and storage ware. However, the appearance of polychrome and new shapes such as cups with offset bases also indicate openness to contact with the eastern part of the island. These new shapes and decorations were connected with the introduction of the wheel and the population increase in the area, which probably included potters from different and more technologically advanced regions, such as Knossos, Malia, Petras, and Palaikastro. This expansion of population changed the social and economic landscape in the region.

In the MM IIA, the most significant development in terms of pottery is the full adoption of wheel technology, which altered production and consumption practices. The exploitation of local clay sources becomes more intense, and the local workshops produce storage, pouring, and serving vessels

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for the Mochlos households. The first potter's marks appear either as production marks or as a way of indicating local origins in what was becoming a competitive market system. In the mesoscale, market networks with the western Mirabello area included Gournia, Kalo Khorio, and Vrokastro. In the macro-scale environment, Mochlos seems to be connected with both the emerging Palace of the east at Petras and with Malia in Central-eastern Crete. It may be possible that the heterarchies of the island were establishing authority through the connection via similar consumption practices with the regional and interregional networks and.

During the MM IIB period, there is a shift in production and consumption practices, with a marked standardization in terms of consumption preferences. The local workshops continue to be active but the regional connections in terms of stylistic trends follow the Malia pottery workshops more closely, although there are obvious local and regional variations. These variations can be seen clearly in the production of drinking and pouring vessels, such as conical tumblers and pitchers which also appear at Malia in large quantities and are sometimes marked, showing a copying of center's trends in the production of domestic pottery. During this period the regional networks become stronger, as do distinctions between the households and their internal social structures. Some households consume mostly locally-made vessels, while others prefer imports from the western part of the Mirabello region. In a heterarchical environment, in which the upper echelons compete and interact, individuals, seem to express their status through their local authority, or by garnering social cache via the connections with regional social structures, by participating very actively in the networks of consumption of material such as pottery from elsewhere.

This research has provided a macroscopic analysis of the Mochlos ceramic material found in stratified deposits at Mochlos. Its extensive presentation of the data ideally will assist comparative studies with other projects in the same region. By establishing dating criteria for each sub-period of the Protopalatial, it may be possible to revisit previously examined works that we're unable to parse out the distinctions. However, this work has not portrayed a total view of the life of the Middle Minoan settlement or the ceramic workshops that were active in the Mirabello region. Further study will include microscopic analysis of the pottery to better understand fabric inclusions and their origins, and the picture will be greatly improved with the additional consideration of other archaeological material from these strata. In addition, newly excavated material from neighboring sites throughout the area is due soon for publication, such as at Pefka-Alatsomouri and new work at Gournia, Petras, and Chryssi, and this will enrich, supplement, and complicate our understanding of inter-site dynamics in this period.