

**Protopalatial Pottery.
Relative Chronology and Regional Differences
in Middle Bronze Age Crete**

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in Middle Bronze Age Crete**

edited by **Ilaria Caloi & Georgios Doudalis**

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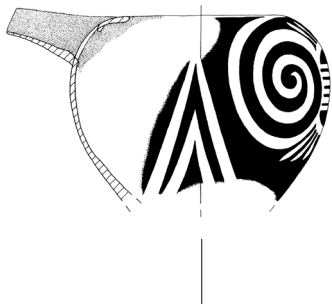
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To the memory of Giuliano Merlatti



Giuliano Merlatti (1967-2021)

Original drawing by Giuliano Merlatti



Conference logo



PROTOPALATIAL POTTERY
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in Middle Bronze Age Crete

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7. The Protopalatial pottery from Malia: combining new and old data¹

Ilaria Caloi
Georgios Doudalis

1. Introduction (IC-GD)

The Protopalatial pottery at Malia is best represented in its last stage, namely the MM IIB phase. The pottery from the MM IIB destruction levels of Quartier Mu, as published by J.C. Poursat and C. Knappett (2005), undoubtedly forms the reference material for the end of the Protopalatial period – not only at Malia but also in many other sites of North-Central and Eastern Crete. Recent studies of Protopalatial contexts from the Palace (Devolder & Caloi in prep.) and high-profile buildings (*i.e.* Building Dessenne: Devolder & Caloi 2019) and sectors (*e.g.* Quartier Nu: Schoep & Knappett 2003; Quartier Pi: Pomadère 2012-2013; *Abords Nord Est*: Darcque *et al.* 2014) of the Malia town (**Fig. 7.1**) have recently increased the number of homogeneous MM IIB deposits and revealed new MM IIA deposits as well (Knappett *et al.* 2017; Devolder & Caloi 2019). Moreover, fresh studies of the materials from the soundings undertaken by Olivier Pelon in the North Wing of the Palace have shown that some levels could date to MM IB (Devolder & Caloi in prep.). Although the MM IB ceramic phase is still not well-known at Malia, an initial attempt will be made here to determine its characteristic wares and shapes, especially based on comparisons with contemporary deposits from Petras and Knossos.

Combining new and old data, this paper seeks to identify the ceramic characteristics of each Protopalatial phase and relate them to the production of other Cretan sites in the region and indeed across the whole island.

2. Looking for MM IB pottery at Malia (IC)

The site of Malia has so far not revealed stratified pottery deposits dating to the MM IB phase. Hitherto, MM IB pottery mainly occurs in mixed deposits, both as the latest material in Late Prepalatial fills or as residual material in MM II-MM III deposits (Devolder 2019; Devolder & Caloi in prep.). The result is that wares, shapes, and decorative systems typical of MM IB pottery at Malia are scarcely known. Hitherto, what has been considered as MM IB products at Malia is either that pottery to which comparisons may be made with contemporary MM IB products from closed deposits of Knossos and of Eastern Crete sites, especially Petras, or the pottery which slightly differs from the MM IIA out-put of Malia.

In these pages will be presented the pottery retrieved from a level excavated in 1985 by Pelon in Room IXb during the soundings he undertook from 1978 to 1992 (Pelon & Hue 1992; Pelon 1993) in the area north of the Central Court. The spaces to the north of the Central Court include the *Portique Nord*, Room IX 2, known as Salle Hypostyle, Room IX 1, to the west, Rooms IX a and b to the east, and Room XXI 2 to the north (Devolder *et al.* 2023). The pottery from these soundings has been recently studied by Ilaria Caloi within the ‘Malia Palace Project’ directed by Maud Devolder (Devolder *et al.* 2023).

According to a recent study by Devolder, Room IXb in its latest form comprised the second flight of a staircase that led from the *Portique Nord* of the Central Court to a series of elaborate spaces above Rooms IX 1 and IX 2 (Devolder & Caloi in prep.). The above-mentioned level was positioned on a white stucco floor, which in turn sat

¹ The authors want to thank Davide Aquini for his work on the figures of this paper, Roxane Dubois for her help at the Malia *apothiki* and Don Evely for the English edition of the paper. Ilaria Caloi thanks Maud Devolder, the director of the Malia Palace project, for the long-term and fruitful collaboration. Georgios Doudalis is grateful to Maia Pomadère, the director of the Quartier Pi project. The authors of the paper are Ilaria Caloi (IC) and Georgios Doudalis (GD). Each part of the paper is signed according to their initials.



FIG. 7.1 PLAN OF THE CORE OF THE MALIA SETTLEMENT WITH THE LOCATION OF THE MAIN BUILDINGS (©EFA/L. FADIN).

above a Late Prepalatial level. According to the new study conducted by Devolder and Caloi (Devolder & Caloi in prep.), it could be interpreted as a destruction level. It mainly contains fragmentary vessels in Monochrome and Spatter Wares, produced in local fabrics, which seem to date to MM IB. It also includes a few residual fragments dating to EM III-MM IA, likely coming from the Late Prepalatial levels below the floor.

The Monochrome Ware includes a goblet, a shallow bowl, and a deep basin (or lekane) with a thickened and flattened rim (Fig. 7.2a-c). The goblet (Fig. 7.2a) is black-painted only on the outside and displays a black band below the rim interior. The deep basin (Fig. 7.2c) finds good parallels in some vases called kraters and dated to MM IB, retrieved from the fill of Building AA at Kommos (Van de Moortel 2005: Ba/6, Ja/23).

The Spatter Ware is represented by bridge-spouted jugs with three different profiles: carinated, squat-rounded, and piriform (Fig. 7.2d-g). Where preserved, they have a circular-section, vertical handle, placed opposite to the spout. The shape is very typical at Malia, where it is quite popular and especially so in MM IIA and MM IIB deposits (Poursat & Knappett 2005; Knappett *et al.* 2017). The decoration consists of a black horizontal band on the exterior rim and some spatter decoration on the body, which seems somewhat organised in the sense that it tends to a horizontal orientation (Fig. 7.2e). The spatter decoration can be combined with black diagonal bands

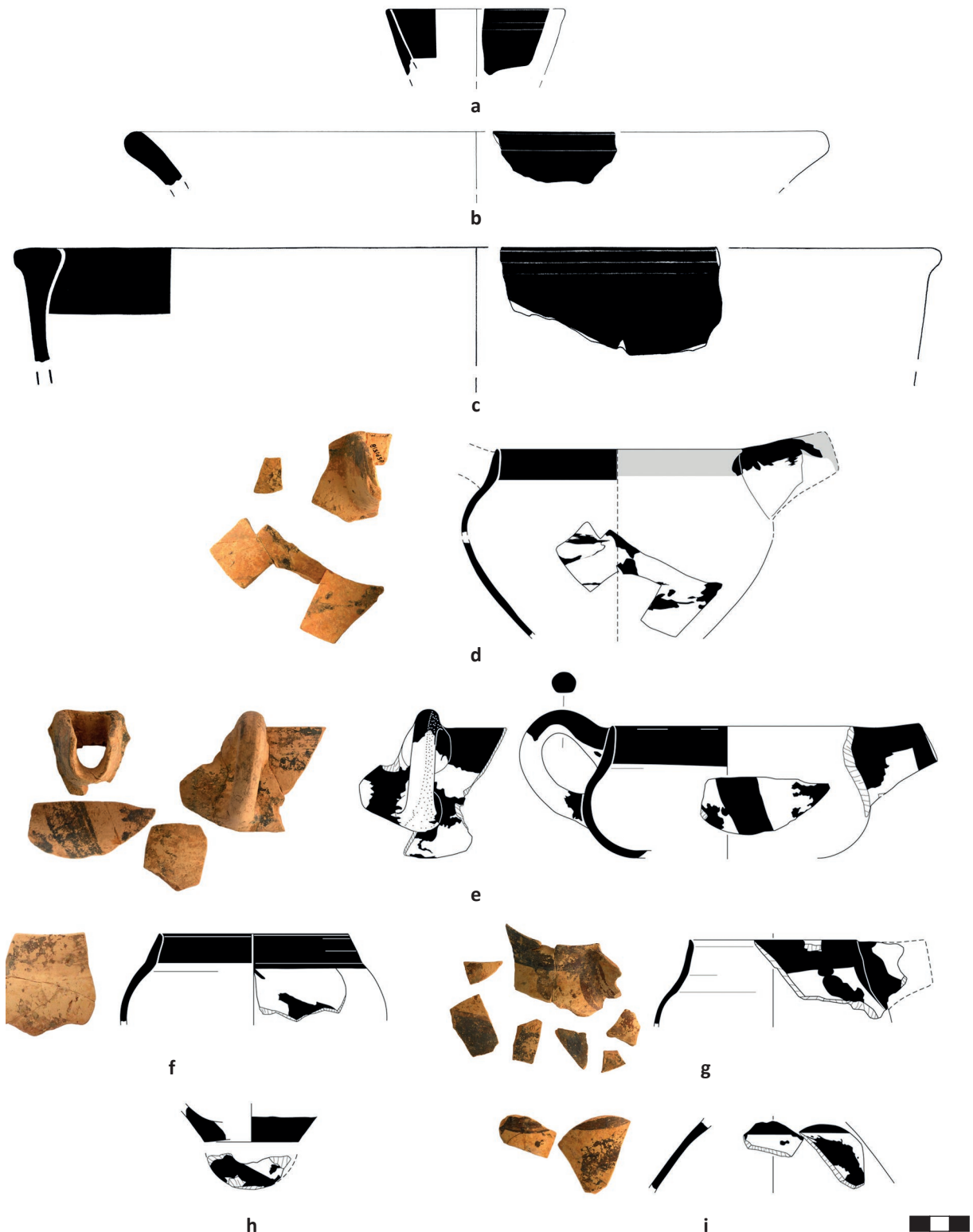


FIG. 7.2 POTTERY FROM THE MM IB LEVEL FROM ROOM IXB OF THE PALACE (PHOTOS I. CALOI, DRAWINGS B. KONNEMANN ©EFA; DEVOLDER & CALOI IN PREP.). MONOCHROME WARE: A. CONICAL GOBLET (85P1486); B. SHALLOW BOWL (85P1490); C. BASIN (85P1492); BRIDGE-SPOUTED JUGS IN SPATTER WARE: D. 85P1518; E. 85P1483A; F. 85P1483E; G. 85P1514A; H. 85P1554; I. 85P1483B.

(**Fig. 7.2e**). Pottery decorated with spatter decoration does not appear to be frequent at Malia; nevertheless, it is present in the South-West part of the Palace and dated there to MM I (Chapoutier *et al.* 1962). One bridge-spouted jar is reported from Quartier XVII,1 (Chapoutier *et al.* 1962: 46, n° 8637, pls VI-VII) and several goblets from the so-called *Redan Sud-Est* of House C in the *Maisons Sud* (Chapoutier *et al.* 1962: 46, n° 8638, 8640, 8643, 8644, pls VI, XXXVIII). Further, C. Poursat (1993: 605) mentions some vases – especially conical goblets and bridge-spouted jugs – decorated with “taches noires”, which seem to refer to vessels decorated in Spatter Ware; these come from the unpublished MM IB levels found below the MM IIB destruction levels in Quartier Mu. One goblet in Spatter Ware is reported also from the Chrysolakkos building, but it is dated to MM II (Stürmer 1993: 161-162, n° 144, fig. 13).

Precise parallels are found outside Malia, especially in the MM IB Lakkos deposit of Petras, where many different shapes make up the Spatter Ware (Haggis 2007: figs 13-15). The most similar to the Maliote ones is a spouted jar with piriform profile (Haggis 2007: fig. 13e). Some examples in Spatter Ware have been found also in the Petras cemetery (Tsipopoulou 2024: this volume, § 11, fig. 11.8: 11/721) and in the palace trenches (Tsipopoulou 2012: 183, fig. 8e). Good parallels are visible in some squat tumblers retrieved from Palaikastro, in a deposit dated to MM IA, but with some hints of MM IB (Knappett & Collar 2007: 7, fig. 5: 5-6). In this same paper, the authors report that the Spatter Ware is also attested at Myrtos Pyrgos, but this has not been published yet.

Despite some similarities between the Malia spouted jars illustrated in **Fig. 7.2** and some MM IB specimens from Knossos (*e.g.* Macdonald & Knappett 2007: 65, fig. 3.4: n° 156), at least in the shape and upward-pointing spout, it appears that most parallels for the Maliote Spatter Ware of MM IB come from Eastern Crete, while the rest of the island does not reveal good comparanda. This is probably not surprising: from EM IIB to MM IA, most of the imports attested at Malia are from Eastern Crete, especially from the Mirabello area (Devolder & Caloi in prep.). Likewise, the imitations of vessels look in that direction, as shown both by the EM IIB Maliote productions in Mottled Ware that emulate the Vasiliki Ware (Caloi 2019; Devolder & Caloi in prep.) and by the EM III-MM IA *lamps à piton*, which imitate decorative patterns typical of the East Cretan White-on-Dark Ware (Caloi & Dubois 2022).

The MM IB pottery here described ought to represent the first step towards a fuller definition of wares and shapes arguably typical of the MM IB ceramic phase at Malia. The current study of ceramic deposits from the *Maisons Sud* by Maud Devolder and Ilaria Caloi, from the Chrysolakkos building by Sylvie Müller (Müller *et al.* 2021) and the Malia necropoleis by Sylviane Déderix and Katerina Boukala will shed new light on the Maliote pottery of both the MM IA and MM IB phases, of which we have yet only a very vague idea.

3. The MM IIA pottery at Malia: some observations on distinctive Maliote drinking shapes (IC)

The MM IIA pottery is again still too poorly known at Malia to be able to set out here its characteristic wares and shapes. MM IIA pottery has been so far identified in a very few closed deposits: a small level containing some pots found beneath the Dessenne Building (Devolder & Caloi 2019: 199-201, fig. 101), which are here illustrated in **Fig. 7.3**, and two secondary fills found in Space 25 (Knappett *et al.* 2017: fig. 2). The pottery from these deposits have been mainly dated on the basis of stylistic comparisons with MM IIA ceramics from stratified deposits of other Cretan sites, especially of Eastern Crete. MM IIA pottery is also reported in levels found beneath the MM IIB destruction levels of Quartier Mu (Poursat 1993) and of *Abords Nord-Est* (pers. comm. A. Van de Moortel), which have not been published yet, as well as in mixed deposits from the Chrysolakkos building (Stürmer 1993) and the Malia necropoleis (Demargne 1945). As a result, the MM IIA pottery at Malia is not clearly defined and is hard to distinguish from either MM IB or MM IIB pottery. That said, the next pages will sum up what is acknowledged to be from the few levels and/or fills dated to MM IIA, focusing on the most characteristic drinking shapes at Malia.

Among the handleless cups, the most popular MM IIA shape attested at Malia is the conical goblet, which dates back to Prepalatial times; the changes in shape it went through from MM IA to MM IIA are not defined yet. By MM IIA though, it is wheel-made and mainly attested in the Monochrome and Dark-on-Light Wares, as shown by the examples from Quartier Pi (here called tumblers; see Knappett *et al.* 2017: 497-499) and from Building Dessenne (**Fig. 7.3b**). While in MM IIA the shape is quite popular in North-Central and Eastern Crete, it appears that in South-Central Crete is less common.

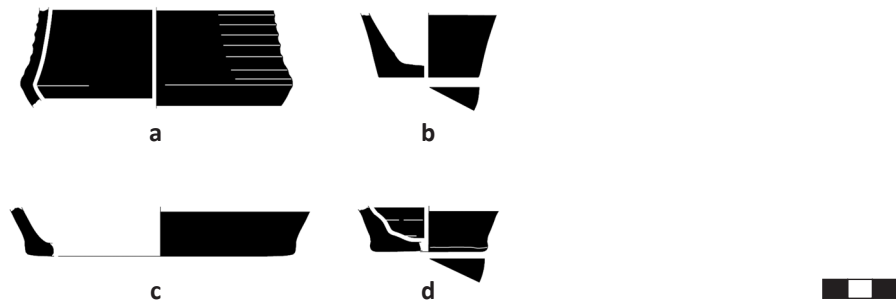


FIG. 7.3 THE MM IIA DEPOSIT FROM BENEATH THE BUILDING DESSENNE (DEVOLDER & CALOI 2019: FIG. 101, N° 121-124). MONOCHROME WARE: A: CARINATED CUP; B: CONICAL GOBLET; C: JAR, D: ONE-HANDLED CONICAL CUP.

A very distinctive shape of Malia is the one-handed conical cup with concave walls on a narrow base with a circular-section or strap handle. According to Andreou (1978), this cup shape goes back to the Late Prepalatial period; then in Protopalatial times, and especially in MM IIB, it becomes the commonest drinking cup shape encountered not only in the palace, but also in all the Malia town buildings; it is used in both settlement and funerary contexts. In comparison to the well-known MM IIB versions (see Quartier Mu in Poursat & Knappett 2005: 77), Carl Knappett reports that the MM IIA examples in fine ware known from Quartier Pi have different proportions (shorter and with a larger base), may have an off-set base and have a strap-handle; if they display a white-on-dark decoration, the most common motifs are the pending festoons made with thin lines (Knappett *et al.* 2017: 503-505). One fragmentary example was also retrieved from the MM IIA level of Building Dessenne (Fig. 7.3d). The Malia specimens dating to MM IIA find their best parallels at Sissi, both in the settlement (Dubois 2024: this volume, § 8, fig. 8.2a-b) and in the cemetery of Zone 9, but are common also in MM II deposits of Eastern Crete (see references in Caloi 2023: 67-68), as shown in other papers of this volume.

Carinated cups are quite popular at MM IIA Malia, as illustrated in the recent paper by Knappett and other scholars (2017: 500-501). Most of them are in Monochrome Ware. A very common type at MM II Malia is the black-slipped carinated cup with horizontal grooves, exemplified by the examples of Quartier Pi (Knappett *et al.* 2017: 500-502, figs 20-22) and of Building Dessenne (Fig. 7.3a); the MM IIA specimens differ from the later examples in their carination (more rounded than angular) and in possessing grooves, which are less dense and shallower. Other papers of this book have confirmed that in MM IIA the grooved and carinated cups are well-attested not only at Malia and its neighbouring sites (*e.g.* Sissi, Dubois 2024: this volume, § 8, fig. 8.2a-b), but across the whole island, from Central (*e.g.* Phaistos: Caloi 2009: 421, fig. 14o-p) to Eastern Crete (*e.g.* Mochlos: Doudalis 2022: 334-336; Palaikastro: Knappett & Cunningham 2012: 121, fig. 4.6; Chryssi: Sofianou *et al.* 2024: this volume, § 14, fig. 14.3). In MM IIA Malia, the grooved decoration is frequently displayed on bridge-spouted jugs and on straight-sided cups as well (Knappett *et al.* 2017: 502, 506-508). It remains to be understood whether this elaborate ribbed shape goes back to MM IB also at Malia, as is the case at Knossos (MacGillivray 1998: 126-127, n° 95-97, pls 40-41).

The MM IIA deposits known at Malia have so far revealed a limited number of drinking shapes that are mainly attested in Light-on-Dark, Monochrome, and Dark-on-Light Wares. As already pointed out by Knappett, it appears that polychrome vases are not particularly attested in MM IIA Malia deposits. It is, however, interesting to remark that the mixed deposits of Chrysolakkos (Stürmer 1993) have revealed many vases (especially bridge-spouted jugs, tumblers and carinated cups) in Polychrome Ware that appear to date to MM IIA on stylistic grounds. Many depict decorative motifs typical of Phaistos's MM IIA repertoire (Baldacci 2017: 82; Caloi 2019: 339) and that of Knossos.

4. The MM IIB pottery: new and old deposits (IC-GD)

MM IIB pottery is well-known at Malia thanks to the MM IIB deposits from the Quartier Mu destruction levels (Poursat & Knappett 2005), and to the contemporary deposits from high-profile buildings (*i.e.* Building Dessenne: Devolder & Caloi 2019) and sectors (*e.g.* Quartier Nu: Schoep & Knappett 2003; Quartier Pi: Pomadère 2012-

2013; *Abords Nord Est*: Darcque *et al.* 2014) of the Malia town, but less well known is the ceramic material from the Palace.

In the next pages, Ilaria Caloi will reanalyse the *cuvette* deposit found by Pelon in the northern part of the Malia Palace (§4.1) and Georgios Doudalis will present a new MM IIB deposit from Quartier Pi, part of the material from Space 17 (§4.2). Then, a brief discussion follows (§4.3).

4.1. The Palace: reviewing the *cuvette* deposit found in Room XXI 2 (IC)

The Malia Palace has so far revealed few closed deposits dating to MM IIB. One of these was found by Pelon (1993) in Room XXI 2, to the north of the Salle hypostyle (Room IX 2) in the area north of the Palace Central Court. This deposit, interpreted as the result of the MM II destruction of the Palace, was called the *cuvette* deposit by Pelon because it was found collapsed onto a floor made of stucco and domatochoma, with ceramic material that he dated to the Neopalatial period (Pelon 1993: 537-543). The recent study of the north area of the Palace (Devolder & Caloi in prep.) has shown that the *cuvette* deposit of Room XXI 2 is part of a destruction level dating to MM IIB, coming from below a MM IIIA destruction level deposited on the abovementioned floor. Besides the vessels published by Pelon (1993: 538-540, figs 16a-b, 17a-b), other fragmentary vessels belonging to this deposit were found. The assemblage is now composed of 10 cups produced in Monochrome, Light-on-Dark, and Dark-on-Light Wares and one spouted cooking pot (Fig. 7.4).

The most elaborate vase is the carinated cup with double carination (*tasse à double courbure*) in Light-on-Dark Ware (Fig. 7.4e), decorated with white horizontal lines that find good comparisons in Quartier Epsilon (Pelon 1970: 20-21, n°1-2, pl. X, 3-4) at Malia. The decoration is popular on MM IIB cups from Phaistos, but mainly on simple carinated cups (Levi 1976: F 405, F 5016, pl. 134f, l).

The Monochrome Ware includes only drinking vessels: a one-handled conical cup, three carinated cups – two plain and one with grooved decoration – one convex cup, and one conical goblet with straight and thin walls (Fig. 7.4a-d, f-g). The carinated cups, both plain and grooved, find their best parallels in the MM IIB deposits of Quartier Mu (Poursat & Knappett 2005: 70) and of Quartier Epsilon (Pelon 1970: pl. 10), as well as in mixed deposits at Malia. The cup with a convex profile does not appear to be common at Malia but finds similar specimens at Palaikastro (Knappett & Cunningham 2012: 131, n° 121, fig. 4.13).

Besides the plain conical goblet published by Pelon (1993: 539-540, fig. 16b: 4) (Fig. 7.4i), there are other two specimens produced respectively in Plain and Dark-on-Light Wares (Fig. 7.4.h, j), which show straight and thin walls. The Dark-on-Light example has a simple band on the rim's interior and exterior. This shape, very common at Malia since late Prepalatial times, is one of the most popular in every Protopalatial building at Malia (see *infra*), in the nearby site of Sissi (Dubois 2024: this volume, § 8, fig. 8.4), and in Eastern Crete as well.

The spouted cooking pot illustrated in Fig. 7.4k with its shallow and open profile finds precise parallels in Quartier Mu (e.g. Poursat & Knappett 2005: n° 366, pl. 47).

This small palatial deposit illustrates only a limited number of shapes, produced in the most attested wares of the MM IIB period at Malia (namely the Monochrome, Light-on-Dark and Dark-on-Light Wares), which appear to be very popular in all the MM IIB deposits of the town. Hitherto, the MM IIB deposits of the Palace have not been studied or published; thus only the ongoing study of the pottery deposits from the Palace will help in defining the characteristic products from the Palace and in comparing such with those of the other settlement buildings at Malia.

4.2. Quartier Pi (GD)

The Protopalatial material from Quartier Pi, which Georgios Doudalis analysed within the project directed by Maia Pomadère and the Sorbonne University, enriches our understanding of the final Protopalatial period (MM IIB). While most of the material is in the final study and publication process, Space 17's analysis in this area provides information for production, distribution, and consumption strategies in the MM IIB period.



FIG. 7.4 POTTERY FROM THE MM IIB CUVETTE DEPOSIT FROM ROOM XXI 2 OF THE PALACE (PHOTOS I. CALOI, DRAWINGS B. KONNEMANN AND M.-J. SCHUMACHER ©EFA; DEVOLDER & CALOI IN PREP.). MONOCHROME WARE, A. ONE-HANDLED CONICAL CUP (92P1852A-B); B-D. CARINATED CUPS (P92.3, 92P1856A-B, P92.5); F. CONVEX CUP (P92.8); G. TUMBLER (92P1855). CARINATED CUP IN LIGHT-ON-DARK WARE, E. P92.4. CONICAL GOBLET IN DARK-ON-LIGHT WARE: H. (92P1853). CONICAL GOBLET IN PLAIN WARE: I. P92.6; J. 92P1847. COOKING WARE, K. COOKING POT (P92.7).

Space 17

According to the stratigraphical sequence of the excavation, Space 17 was an area, possibly a room, that was filled and levelled at the beginning of the Early Neopalatial period (MM III). Based on the material evidence, it possibly had two storeys since, under the Early Neopalatial fill, material from the collapse of the upper floor and part of the ground floor was identified. The material found on the ground floor included ceramics and the by-products of stone and bone implement manufacturing. It is unclear if the space was part of a workshop or if those working in nearby workshops merely deposited their detritus there. A thick ash layer at the ground level indicates it was destroyed at the end of MM IIB, suffering the same fate as the neighbouring Quartier Mu.

In this paper, I will present the material from the floor area of Space 17 as an example of what kind of vessels were consumed in Quartier Pi during MM IIB.

Fabrics

The material of Quartier Pi has been meticulously divided and analysed into its various fabrics, following Knappett's divisions in the material from Quartier Mu (Poursat & Knappett 2005: 10-29). The fabrics were carefully classified into local fine, semi-coarse, coarse, and non-local fabrics based on the clay's colour and inclusions, so demonstrating the thoroughness of our approach.

The fabrics have been systematically categorised using the Latin alphabet's letters. For instance, Fabrics A1 and A2 are fine buff and B1- B6 define local semi-coarse buff fabrics, which are distinguished by the texture of the clay core and the presence of organic temper and sand grains. Most Plain Ware vessels were fashioned from C1, C2, C2A, and C3 local red/orange fabrics, categorised according to their phyllite or calcareous inclusions.

Non-local fabrics also exist. Fabric D is related to vessels imported from the South Coast presenting a light pink to purple clay core, while Fabric E finds kinship with vessels from the Mirabello region containing grano-diorite inclusions. Fabrics F1, F2 and F3 define vessels imported from the Messara plain, divided off by the size of their multi-coloured inclusions and the hardness or softness of the clay.

Space 17: MM IIB pottery from the floor deposit

The storage-vessel category includes hole-mouthed jar sherds. Those are mostly undecorated or, in rare cases, decorated with dark-on-light linked discs on the exterior, as is an example from the lower layers of the upper storey collapse (**Fig. 7.5a**). An unusual example, made in local orange fabric (C) with plastic decoration (agrimi goat horns) and dark-on-light linked discs (**Fig. 7.5b**), is also part of this complex, but it is a unique example for the Quartier Pi. A few locally made sherds with wide flat rims belong to wide-mouthed jars, and depending on the thickness of the vessel's walls, they may indicate the presence of pithoid wide-mouthed jars destined for storage. Most of the collected vessels are undecorated, but some of the vessels are made in fine buff fabrics (A1), with one example (**Fig. 7.5c**) being decorated with a dark slip on the exterior and a dark band on the rim and the top of the wall interior.

Oval-mouthed amphorae are also common. Most amphorae present a short neck, oval mouth, rounded shoulders, adjacent vertical, circular-section handles attached to the rim and the shoulders, and a piriform profile. Some examples are imported from the South Coast (fabric D), decorated with a dark-coated slip on the exterior (**Fig. 7.5d**), but the majority are local and undecorated (**Fig. 7.5e**).

The pouring vessel category from the floor includes different kinds of jugs and pitchers and one bell-shaped jug. Most are made of local fabrics, and only one example was imported from the south coast. Generally, they are undecorated, and only some sherds maintain incised wavy decoration on the shoulder. In contrast, some undiagnostic sherds of a jug are decorated with a dark-coated slip on the exterior surface. The one bell-shaped jug from this deposit (**Fig. 7.5f**) has a body profile of that shape, a tall, narrow neck, and a cut-away spout. Exact parallels to this shape appear in Quartier Mu (Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 25, 676). The decoration is of dark vertical bands on the exterior surface, extending from a thick band painted at the bottom of the neck. Piriform jugs with cutaway spouts of different sizes are made from either a fine local fabric (A1) (**Fig. 7.5g**) or with a local orange/red fabric (**Fig. 7.5h**). Both presented examples have parallels from Quartier Mu at Malia (Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 21, 468; pl. 22, 476). Sherds of locally-made jugs with globular profiles are also present in this deposit, and one of them has parallel incisions as decoration on the exterior surface (**Fig. 7.5i**). Jugs with collar necks and cutaway spouts also exist, and they are made in local red/orange (C1, C2) or buff fabrics (A1).

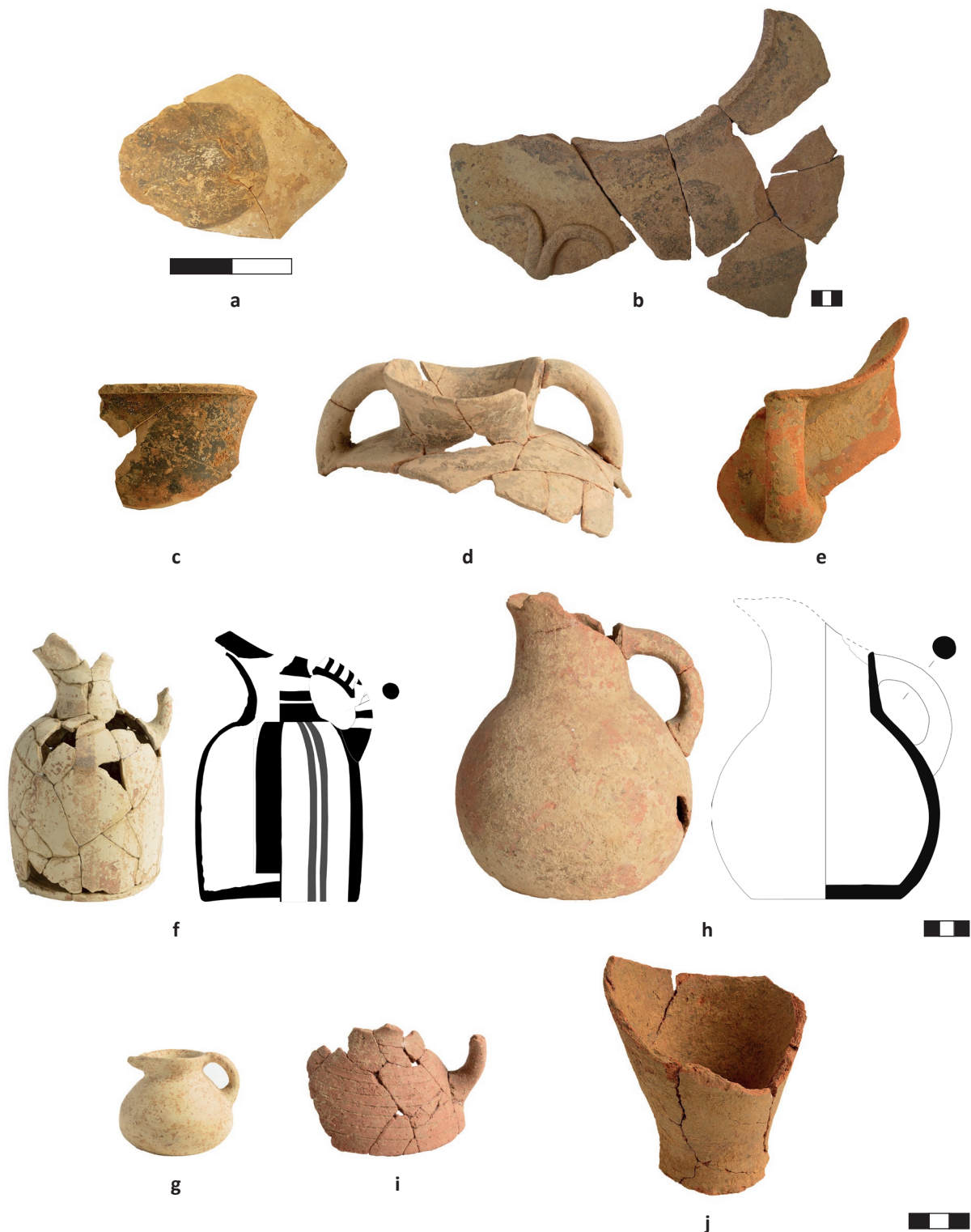


FIG. 7.5 MM IIB POTTERY FROM QUARTIER PI, SPACE 17 FLOOR, STORAGE AND POURING VESSELS. A. JAR BODY SHERD (6.036.12); B. HOLE-MOUTHED JAR (6.104.6); C. WIDE-MOUTHED JAR (6.104.55); D. OVAL-MOUTHED AMPHORA (6.104.39); E. OVAL-MOUTHED AMPHORA (6.122.101); F. OINOCHOE (6.104.22); G. GLOBULAR JUG WITH PULLED-RIM SPOUT (6.104.9); H. GLOBULAR JUG WITH CUT-AWAY SPOUT (6.104.7); I. GLOBULAR JUG (6.114.20); J. JUG WITH PIRIFORM PROFILE (6.122.194); (COURTESY OF EFA).

Sometimes, they have a piriform profile (**Fig 7.5j**). Jug sherds of granodiorite fabric (E) are not common but do exist; normally they are decorated with dark-on-light bands and parts of linked discs.

Juglets also exist in this floor deposit, predominantly those with a trefoil mouth and one of the Chamaizi type. The Chamaizi juglet type (**Fig. 7.6a**) is very popular in Quartier Mu (Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 36, 1125-1148) and is made of a white to buff clay (A1). It has a polished exterior surface and decorative incisions on the neck. This vessel appears in different sites of East Crete as well, such as Palaikastro (Bosanquet & Dawkins 1902-1903: pl. 22, 1), Vrokastro (Hall 1914: pl. 67), and Mochlos (Doudalis 2022: pl.16b): it is a type-fossil of the MM IIB period. The trefoil-mouthed jug is the most common form in this deposit. Most vessels of this type have a globular profile, a short neck and trefoil mouth (**Fig. 7.6b, d**), and they find parallels in other areas of Malia (Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 23, 581-625). They are undecorated, in local buff and red/orange fabrics (A2, C1, C2). A locally produced carinated trefoil-mouthed juglet (**Fig. 7.6c**) is a rare type, but gives some variation to this shape.

The pitcher (**Fig. 7.6e**) is the second most common pouring vessel appearing on the floor of Space 17. Many fragmented rims and complete vessels are represented: they have a flat base, and are of a convex low section, with rounded shoulders, an inverted rim and pulled rim spout. Most examples show a tall, thick, circular in section handle attached to the rim and the high on the wall exterior; they are made in local red/orange fabrics (C1 and C2). Undecorated, they are coil-made with the coil rounds visible on the interior and smoothed exterior surfaces; possibly they were finished on the wheel. This shape is attested exclusively at Malia (e.g. Van Effenterre 1976 & Van Effenterre 1976: pl. XIIG; Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 15; Poursat 1996: pl. 24a), and in sites of East Crete, like Mochlos (Doudalis 2022: pl. 12, g-h).

The drinking vessel category includes sherds of various kinds of cups: goblets (flaring and conical), carinated cups, rounded cups with inverted or flat rims, one-handled conical cups, very few straight-sided cups (not a common shape of the period), and a few tripod cups recognised by their legs. However, the best-represented categories are those of the one-handled conical cups, the tumblers, and the carinated cups.

The one-handled conical cups are of two types. The first type has a wide base, short wall (giving a conical profile), and a large handle attached to the rim and the middle of the wall exterior (**Fig. 7.6f, j**). The second type has a narrow base, tall 'conical' walls, and a handle that is attached to the rim and either high or in the middle of the wall exterior surface (**Fig. 7.6h, i**). All are made of local orange or reddish fabrics (C1 and C2). Most are undecorated, but the few decorated sherds maintain dark, red, or white monochrome-coated slips, either on both the interior and the exterior surfaces or only on the interior. It is interesting to observe the rarity of light-on-dark festoons set high on the interior wall below the rim (**Fig. 7.6g**): this is a common characteristic in the examples of the Quartier Mu and on sites of East Crete and the Mirabello Bay (Doudalis 2022: pl. 17a, MOX. 140; Nowicki 2008: pl. 65, KP 440, KP 439, KP 442; pl. 66, 449, Poursat & Knappett 2005: 970; Andreou 1978, pl. 18, 8; Pseira: Betancourt & Davaras 1999: pl. 8, BE 3; Hayden 2003: pl. 2, 12; Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908: pl. 5, 3). All examples are wheel-made and maintain parallel or concentric striations on the underside of the base and a small rilling knob in the middle of the base's interior surface.

Conical goblets are the second most popular category of drinking vessels. Two major types of this shape are found in the floor deposit. Most of the first type are conical in shape and are made of local red and orange fabrics (C1, C2), and have a narrow, flat base and conical body profile with straight rims (**Fig. 7.6k, l, m**). The height of the conical goblet examples varies between 7.8 cm and 8 cm, with a base diameter between 4.8 cm and 5 cm and a rim diameter of around 9 cm. The majority are undecorated, with few examples preserving their red, dark, or brownish-coated slips. Only one example (**Fig. 7.6n**) has a Dark-on-Light thick band on the rim, covering the high wall interior and exterior surfaces. This type is very common in Malia (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1976: pl. XII; Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 30) and in East Cretan sites such as Monastiraki-Katalimata (Nowicki 2008: pl. 68), Mochlos (Doudalis 2022: pls 6, 7, 8), Alatzomouri-Pefka (Betancourt & Brogan 2020: fig. 37, 66, 67) and Petras (Tsipopoulou 2017: 125, fig. 8, a-g). The second type is rare, having a ring base and a tall flaring profile. It is made in a local buff clay (A1) and decorated with a red-coated slip (**Fig. 7.6o**). It is larger than the first type, with a base diameter of 5.5 cm, a height of 11.2 cm and rim diameter of 12 cm.

Carinated cups are also present in this deposit, but in smaller quantities. The examples that are made in local fabrics (C1, C2) have middle to low carination-points and concave upper wall profiles that end in an everted rim and ovoid, strap, or circular in section, in some cases, handles (**Fig. 7.7a, b, c, d**). Rare are the examples made in a semi-fine buff fabric mixed with phyllite (B1) or with very small pink inclusions (A2). This deposit had a



FIG. 7.6 MM IIB POTTERY FROM QUARTIER PI, SPACE 17 FLOOR, POURING AND DRINKING VESSELS. A. CHAMAIZI JUGLET (6.104.33); B. TREFOIL-MOUTHED JUGLET (6.104.30); C. CARINATED TREFOIL-MOUTHED JUGLET (6.122.64); D. JUGLET (6.122.24); E. PITCHER (6.104.17); F-J. ONE-HANDLED CONICAL CUPS (6.080.27, 36, 37, 51, 41); K-N. CONICAL GOBLET (6.104.31, 125, 11); O. FLARING TUMBLER (6.122.34); (COURTESY OF EFA).

few ribbed carinated cups (**Fig. 7.7f**) with a sharp mid-profile carination, thin regular grooves, and a vertical strap handle. They are made of a fine buff fabric and ornamented with dark metallic slips on the interior and the exterior. Very few of the non-ribbed carinated cups are undecorated, and most of them maintain dark-coated or metallic slips on the interior and the exterior. Rarely does a red or brownish slip appear, giving some variation in decorating this type of vessel. The very small quantities of ribbed carinated cups of this period are probably a hang-over of the MM IIA period (Knappett *et al.* 2017). Similar low quantities of ribbed carinated cups exist in Quartier Mu, showing that either the consumption of this type of vessel was particular to a few consumers or that it fell out of production, being replaced by the unribbed examples. The carinated cup example is a shape that in its basic format appears in every part of Crete in different periods of the Protopalatial (Caloi 2023), but its evolution, manufacture, and shape changes according to the local traditions. For example, such are attested in Mochlos and Knossos (Doudalis 2016; Macdonald & Knappett 2007; MacGillivray 1998). The ungrooved example is popular during this period and appears in Quartier Mu and other Malian areas, as well as in areas of East Crete, such as Mochlos (Doudalis 2022: pl. 23e), Gournia (Boyd-Hawes *et al.* 1908: pl. 5, 23, Betancourt & Silvermann 1991: pl. 8), Palaikastro (Knappett & Cunningham 2012: pl. 4.17, 157), Alatzomouri Pefka (Betancourt & Brogan 2020: figs 42-43) and Petras (Tsipopoulou 2017: pl. 8i).

Only two rounded cups and two straight-sided cup sherds have been found in this deposit. All are made from local red/orange clays (C1, C2) and a very few with buff clays. Most examples remain undecorated, and a red or brownish-red slip on the interior and exterior surfaces is rare. The examination of the bases of this vessel indicates that they are wheel-made: they were either removed from the wheel while it was rotating (concentric striations) or when the wheel or bat had stopped (straight striations on the underside of the base).

A final cup type is the tripod cup (**Fig. 7.7g**). The best-preserved example has a flat base, conical body profile, and the regulation three legs. It was produced with local fabric (C1), was not ornated, and wheel-shaped.

This workspace also contained serving, cooking, utilitarian and miniature vessels. The presence of such a variety of vessels surely indicates different functions were carried out in the workspace excavated as Space 17.

The most popular serving vessel is the *kalathos*, with most of the collected vessels and fragments made with a local clay (C1 and C2). This shape is either with three feet (**Fig. 7.7h**) or has a flat base, a flaring body profile, and thick, everted rim. Some preserved burning on the interior shows they were used for cooking or in the workshop manufacturing processes. This type in Quartier Mu is called a bowl with a flaring profile, one that has its tripod variation (Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 53, 1084, 1155); it also appears in other sites of East Crete such as Mochlos (Doudalis 2022: pl. 21, c).

A few saucers with flat bases and flaring profiles exist, mostly as fragmentary sherds, all made in local C1, C2, and C3 fabrics. Similarly, deep bowl sherds with flat inverted rims and rounded profiles exist, all constructed in the same fabrics as the saucers, with only a few made with fine or semi-fine buff fabrics (A1 and A2). One fragmented deep bowl with a knob handle was found on this floor (**Fig. 7.7i**), made from a C2 fabric and undecorated. In general, most bowls are undecorated, and but very few are ornamented with a dark slip-coating, or a white one in the case of a deep bowl. Flared-rim bowls are the last type of bowls that appear in this deposit. All vessels of this category are wheel-shaped and made of coils that were finished on the wheel.

Cooking vessels also exist. These are very fragmented, made of the C2 fabric and may be divided into rounded shallow bowls, cooking dishes with flaring profiles and trays. Additionally, the utilitarian vessel category includes fragments of scuttles, scoops, shallow basins and vats, all undecorated and made with C1, C2 and C3 fabrics. The only complete example is a bridge-spouted bowl with a flat base, a rounded profile and inverted rounded rim, two horizontal handles on each side of the rim and a bridge spout (**Fig. 7.7j**). A good parallel was found in Alatzomouri-Pefka (Betancourt & Brogan 2020: fig. 34, 23); it was decorated with a dark band on the rim interior and exterior.

The miniatures are a special category of vessels found in large numbers in this deposit. Those consisted of miniature conical cups (**Fig. 7.7k**), a beak-spouted jug (**Fig. 7.7l**), a miniature bridge-spouted jar (**Fig. 7.7m**), a miniature carinated cup (**Fig. 7.7n**) (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2016: 129, fig. 31, MV 23- PM 264), a miniature jar (**Fig. 7.7o**), a miniature saucer (**Fig. 7.7p**), a miniature trefoil-mouthed jug (**Fig. 7.7q**) (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2016: 130, fig. 31, MV6), and three miniature tumblers (**Fig. 7.7r, s**) (Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2016: 130, fig. 10, MV 8-MV 20; Poursat & Knappett 2005: pl. 36, 1201-1202). All examples are made from the local red or orange clays (C1, C2), and only one jug and the saucer were ornamented with dark-coated slips. The function of the miniatures is still debated: they could be classified as ritual objects, toys (Dewan 2023: 77-79), or economic



FIG. 7.7 MM IIB POTTERY FROM QUARTIER PI, SPACE 17 FLOOR, DRINKING, UTILITARIAN AND MINIATURE VESSELS. A-F. CARINATED CUPS (6.122.19, 28, 38, 43, 50); G. TRIPOD CUP (6.104.65); H. TRIPOD KALATHOS (6.122.123); I. BOWL (6.104.62); J. BRIDGE-SPOUTED BOWL (6.080.16); MINIATURE VESSELS: K. CUP (6.122.56); L. BEAK-SPOUTED JUG (6.122.45); M. BRIDGE-SPOUTED JAR (6.122.09); N. CARINATED CUP (6.122.64); O. JAR (6.122.52); P. SAUCER (6.114.39); Q. TREFOIL-MOUTHED JUG (6.130.12); R-T. TUMBLERS (6.130.10, 14, 39); (COURTESY OF EFA).

tokens (Poursat 1994: 253). All these objects can be categorised as ‘micro-miniatures’ (Dewan 2023: 88) since their size prevents any practical use. The presence of spouts that belong to rhyta in this context, combined with the interpretation of the miniatures as ritual objects, may indicate that ritual activities were conducted in this area, possibly to protect the workshop and its products.

The ceramic material from Quartier Pi is very similar to Quartier Mu in terms of shapes, following the homogenised tradition that appears in Malia, at least during MM IIB. However, the apparent differences give us a better understanding of the various choices existing inside the Protopalatial settlement of Malia. The ceramic analysis when compared with that of Quartier Mu shows that the material from Quartier Pi is of lower quality. Even if the types and construction techniques are similar, the care taken in more elaborate decoration is absent in Quartier Pi, so indicating different local workshop practices and possible choices in producing and consuming the ceramic material.

4.3. Discussion: Preliminary thoughts on Fine-ware consumption at MM IIB Malia (IC-GD)

The study of the MM IIB material from Malia has been dominated, justifiably so, by the detailed analysis of the Quartier Mu ceramics. The newly studied and under-study ceramic material from the Quartier Pi, Building Dessenne and *Abords Nord-Est* have shown in their shapes similarities to those of Quartier Mu. Thus, the drinking vessel types, such as the one-handled conical cups, conical goblets and carinated bridge-spouted jugs, are common to most areas and may signify the existence of a standard pattern for specific types of product and consumption for the entire site and the people occupying it.

The main difference between the various areas of the settlement is seen in the presence of elaborate wares and decorations. While Plain, Dark-on-Light, and Monochrome Wares are popular for common drinking, pouring, and serving vessels in every part of the settlement, the more intricate ones, such as Polychrome and Trichrome Wares, do not appear everywhere though, showing specialised consumption in different areas. These wares are absent from the newly studied areas and rarely present in areas like Quartier Nu, with only one example (Schoep & Knappett 2003: 62-63, n° 7, fig. 15) and in Quartier Epsilon, with a few fragments (Pelon 1970: pl. XI, 6). Polychrome and Trichrome Wares are attested in large numbers in Quartier Mu, and in some Protopalatial deposits of the Malia palace, found below the Neopalatial Quartiers III and IV (Pelon 1984). Here, the presence of elaborate pedestalled bowls with central holes were likely associated with ritual activities (Caloi 2023).

While this paper concerns the production and distribution of fine-ware pottery, be it plain, monochrome, or elaborate, the material from the different areas of the Malia settlement shows connections with the area of the Messara, the South-East coast, and the Mirabello Bay during the MM IIB period, especially in imported pouring and storage vessels. These connections, however, are more complex than that. As the relationship between Quartier Mu and Myrto Pyrgos in the consumption of the fine table wares attests (Knappett 1999: 628, figs 8-9), there is possibly a connection between the elites occupying Quartier Mu and those of a site in the south-eastern part of the island. If we postulate that the decorative variations may indicate status-testifying connections or separations between elites from different sites, then in the local Malian environment, such patternings could propose a distinction between different social hierarchies at Malia, as has been suggested by Ilse Schoep (2006). Thus, the occupants of Quartier Pi, Building Dessenne, and other sectors of the Malia town who do not consume these elaborate wares might have occupied lower echelons of status than their neighbours in Quartier Mu and the Palace. These differences may offer shades of status complexity within this one site: something that is worth exploring in the future.

5. Conclusions (IC-GD)

At Malia, the few deposits dating to MM IB and MM IIA make it difficult to construct a full ceramic sequence of the site and achieve an understanding of which wares and shapes were introduced in one phase rather than another. Only future studies of old deposits and new excavations of closed deposits will define the MM IB-MM IIA pottery phases at Malia.

The picture of the MM IIB Malia pottery is more encouraging, thanks to the Quartier Mu publication and the recent studies at the Palace and in the quarters of the Malia town, such as Quartier Pi. The presence of common types with but minute variations, especially in drinking and pouring vessels in fine wares, may indicate a homogenised pattern in production and consumption strategies across the entire site. However, the uneven distribution of elaborate wares – such as Trichrome, Polychrome, Barbotine, and potentially Light-on Dark – in the various quarters of the Malia town may reveal differences in the consumption strategies in specific settlement areas, possibly mirroring differences in the social stratification in the palatial settlement.

Ongoing studies of the Palatial complex and the various quarters of the Malia site will shed new light on further chronological distinctions, as well as on patterns of production, distribution, and consumption in the different Protopalatial phases.

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