

Protopalatial Pottery

Relative Chronology and Regional Differences in Middle Bronze Age Crete

Edited by Ilaria Caloi & Georgios Doudalis



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To the memory of Giuliano Merlatti



Giuliano Merlatti (1967-2021)

Original drawing by Giuliano Merlatti



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Protopalatial pottery: Relative chronology and regional differences in Middle Bronze Age Crete. Introduction

Ilaria Caloi Georgios Doudalis

The birth of the conference: aims and challenges

This conference devoted to Protopalatial pottery was organised at the INSTAP Study Centre in East Crete in June 2022, in collaboration with Tom Brogan, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Pacheia Ammos Centre's operation.

The idea of such a conference was raised in March 2021, during INSTAP's Kentro Pottery Workshop devoted to the Protopalatial pottery from the Pediada and presented by Lauren Wilson, when we (Ilaria Caloi and Georgios Doudalis) as discussants realised that there was so much material that has been dug up in Crete and published as excavation reports but never collected in a volume dedicated to Protopalatial pottery. We also understood that most of the research was dedicated to single sites in different geographical regions across Crete – North-Central, South-Central, and East – but no general comparative studies had yet been produced. Another major concern we discovered through our discussion is that evident ceramic sequences exist only for a few sites on the island and that many sites still lack for a clearer picture of every diverse phase of the Protopalatial period. Thus, an important question emerged: was this situation a reflection of genuine chronological gaps within sites, or was it a result of a shortage of publications by which to facilitate the creation of comparanda?

Because more and more material from this period is garnering attention, as the conference made abundantly plain, we thought to invite scholars first to present the chronological sequences from their sites and then to discuss aspects of uniformity and diversity across scales of interaction. That led to the next step in our progression: a re-discussion of regionalism. Various theoretical approaches have already been explored regarding the role of palaces in the creation of their territories and to what degree. For example, the literature is dominated by terms such as 'Malia-Lasithi state' or the 'Mesara Triangle' to express the relationship of Palatial sites with non-palatial settlements.

Ceramic material played an important role in these studies on influence and regionalism, and the consumption of particular wares and styles was used as a proxy to explain this relationship. So: Are these regional approaches still valid? Can pottery still be used to explain such a relationship? And how far can we stretch the ceramic material to realize the connections between Palatial and non-palatial sites within a region?

These big concepts necessitated a diachronic approach; they also needed to be broken down into the different periods of the Protopalatial period. Given the typological similarities between the ceramics at various sites and in distinct phases of the Protopalatial period, we thought it would be valuable to better appreciate intra- and interregional processes that characterise associations / isolations in Crete's diverse and dynamic cultural environment.

So, thinking and utilizing ceramics at the micro-scale of their respective settlements as the basis for discussion, we were interested in discovering, or re-discovering, regional stylistic idiosyncrasies / homogeneities and phenomena of isolations / interactions.

A final objective generated in our discussion relates to manufacturing technology. Since most sites report – through their ceramic sequences – that the adoption of the potter's wheel in whatever manner happened during the beginning of the Protopalatial period, the identification of ceramic construction techniques site by site becomes vital for advancing our knowledge of technical innovations, diffusions, experimentations, and relationships across the island. The proceedings and the discussions spawned in this volume will surely elucidate degrees of concurrence or expose a-synchronicities in the adoption of or resistance to the new technology in Crete.

Introduction

We thus proposed to address these questions by bringing together experts in charge of studying Protopalatial pottery at different Cretan sites to discuss, confront and contextualise their respective assemblages and associated pottery. Tom Brogan then offered to organise this conference at the INSTAP Study Centre to celebrate 25 years from its foundation. Following the 2011 book devoted to LM IB, which he co-edited with Erik Hallager, we decided to keep a similar title: Protopalatial Pottery: Relative Chronology and Regional Differences in Middle Bronze Age Crete.

The volume

This volume is organised according to the two-day meeting. In this workshop, the first paper was delivered by Jan Driessen, who was invited to open the conference. Then, 28 papers followed, grouped into three parts, according to the three topographical areas of Crete – North-Central, East, and South-Central – represented by the delivered papers. The absence of West Crete is not due to lack of archaeological evidence, but because no contributions have been submitted to cover that area. After the presentation of all three groups, a summary of the Protopalatial sequences from the sites of each topographical area conclude the results. The volume is closed by a general concluding paper by Ilaria Caloi and an appendix that serves as a shape compendium for Protopalatial pottery.

The main goal of most papers is to contextualise well-stratified assemblages of the Protopalatial period through the analysis of their ceramic typology, decorative variations, and technological variables so as to understand the different phases of occupation represented and their characteristics. The delivered papers showed that the ceramic material from the sites, according to the nature of the assemblages, can be attributed either to single (*i.e.* MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB) or to transitional phases (*i.e.* MM IB-MM IIA, MM IIA-MM IIB), thus revealing that attempts to locate synchronisms between various sites of the island can be challenging. This situation is indicated by the uneven distribution of deposits across the Cretan sites, which has made it difficult for many contributors to tie in the single-site phases with the Knossian phases, as elaborated by Arthur Evans in the early 20th century.

However, working on the belief that chronological distinctions were possible by comparing already published data, most authors tried to analyse the connections between different areas to understand intra- and inter-regional processes. Thus, connections between nearby or distant sites reveal similar or variable production and consumption patterns – arguably dictated by geographical, cultural, and political parameters. From a ceramic perspective, a regional approach is still a valid tool, but it works only in areas where the ceramic traditions are well investigated and defined. Despite the trials encountered in discovering synchronisms (and asynchronisms) for the Protopalatial contexts of the entire island, and in defining regions in Protopalatial Crete based on similarities and affinities of pottery products, most of our questions were addressed throughout the papers of this book.

The papers

The paper of **Jan Driessen** opens the volume, the only contribution here concerning with Protopalatial Crete from a non-ceramic perspective. Dealing with ideas of urbanisation and state formation that started in MM IB, he explores the relationships between the elite structures (palatial and non-), the non-elite kinship structures that work the land in the agricultural territories, and the pastoralists that had flocks on the mountains. After analysing these categories according to archaeological evidence across the island, he concludes that their relationships were defined by cooperation or conflict. Thus, he postulates that the destructions at the end of MM IIB in various regions were caused by an internal conflict between the pastoralists on the uplands and the farmers on the lowlands.

For the North-Central area of Crete, **Colin Macdonald** and **Carl Knappett** review the Protopalatial ceramic deposits and types of the Knossos stratified material in their paper. They present the pottery from inside the Palace and the town, focusing on the presentation of the MM IB, IIA and IIB phases by considering questions about provenance through macroscopic fabric, stylistic and vessel formation analysis.

Alexandra Karetsou and Carl Knappett, in their analysis of the pottery from Iuktas, present the MM IB shapes and wares from the two terraces and the chasm from the temenos. They conclude that the site was reorganised in MM IB at the same time as Knossos' First Palace construction. Interestingly, the sanctuary's depositions appear to include not only Knossian products but also imports from Phaistos and possibly Malia. **Betancourt** *et alii* describe the ceramic sequences on the peak sanctuary of Galeniano Mameloukos. They explore the phases of the sanctuary's use and activities and tangled topics such as social stratification as represented by such as patterns of consumption of both modest and elaborate vessels like kantharoi.

For the area East of Knossos, the pottery from the site of Agriana, still under excavation, is discussed by **Christakis** *et alii*. The authors present the pottery from a fill dated to MM IB and well-stratified floor deposits dated to MM IIA. After a detailed presentation of their assemblages, they conclude that Agriana in MM IB is strictly related to the Pediada tradition. At the same time, in the next MM IIA phase, alongside Pediada characteristics, the inhabitants of Agriana also adopt Malian shapes and wares. In the same area, **Stella Mandalaki** presents the pottery from the newly excavated site of Kato Gouves. The pottery comes from deposits dating to MM IIA, along with some earlier material and MM IIB. The author underlines a change in the pottery consumption at the site from MM IIA to MM IIB, which she interpreted as due to the influence of the Malia Palace.

For Malia, **Ilaria Caloi** and **Georgios Doudalis** summarise old and newly excavated data and publications concerning the Protopalatial material from the palatial site. Despite the difficulties in presenting new pottery from MM IB and MM IIA contexts, because of the paucity of pottery deposits across the site, they attempt to identify the main changes of fine wares and shapes from a diachronic perspective. For the MM IIB phase, they reveal similar and different production and consumption patterns in the various areas of the settlement. For the site of Sissi, **Roxane Dubois** presents the pottery from secondary fills found in the settlement for the first time. She provides a detailed and critical description of the ceramic material from MM IIA and MM IIB contexts and explores similarities and differences with the neighbouring Malia settlement. At the end of her paper, she also argues for continuity in ceramic types between MM IIB and MM IIIA.

In his paper, **Todd Whitelaw** challenges the idea that the ceramic changes in shapes and wares in the different phases of the Protopalatial depict political relationships between centres and their peripheries. By exploring microscale production and consumption processes in various regions using quantitative and qualitative data from wellpublished sites, he proposes that the production and consumption strategies in each area are dictated by complex networks of ideas and practices that are first related to the choices made by full-time potters of the Palatial centres to satisfy the consumption at these sites, and then by how the part-time or seasonal potters that worked in and around the rural sites adopted shapes and wares developed in the Palaces and integrated or changed them according to the local pottery traditions.

For Eastern Crete, **Georgios Doudalis** tackles the idea of understanding culturally interconnected landscapes in the various phases of the Protopalatial period. By presenting multiple ceramic categories in the MM IB, IIA, and IIB phases from Mochlos and connecting them with the material found in sites from Central-East and Far East Crete, he shows how the distribution of common stylistic practices affects/reflects the creation of unified or divided cultural and political landscapes. In the same Mirabello area, **Lauren Wilson's** presentation of the Alatzomouri Pefka deposit provides information about a single phase of the Protopalatial period – the MM IIB. Analysing the ceramic material from the purple dye workshop, she gives information about the ceramic-type distribution and wares in Mirabello Bay.

Moving to the South-Eastern part of the island, Gerald Cadogan and Carl Knappett examine the chronological divisions in Myrtos Pyrgos, assigning them to the site's particular phases (Pyrgos IIc, IId, III). Thus creating a complete chronological sequence, the material from Myrtos Pyrgos acts as a good reference for other sites in East Crete. Additionally, the detailed study of the material from the island of Chryssi by Sofianou *et alii* provides information about how a site that consumes only imported material is interconnected with various sites to its north, either in the Central or in the Eastern part of the island, in the different phases of the Protopalatial period. For Petras, in Siteia Bay, Metaxia Tsipopoulou presents part of the material from the Ceremonial Area 2 of the Petras necropolis. Her work focuses on the detailed ceramic presentation of the two phases involved, the Early (MM IB/IIA) and the Late Phase (MM IIA/MM IIB). While the material does not allow a tripartite division for the Protopalatial period, in the analytical presentation of types, decorative tendencies, and comparisons with data from primary deposits of East Crete sites, she makes important deductions about evolutions and changes in ceramic shapes between the two phases. For the site of Palaikastro, Carl Knappett works on synthesising the Protopalatial data from the settlement. He compares the typologies and styles between the various phases by presenting the material from distinct deposits that can be dated to MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB. He explores aspects of variability and standardisation between the Early and Late periods of the Protopalatial at the site of Palaikastro; for

the Palace of Kato Zakros, Lefteris Platon and Maria Tsiboukaki analysed the ceramics by types, construction technology, and surface treatment. As in the case of Petras, they observe that there is no clear distinction between MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB since the material found in the deposits presents characteristics that correspond broadly to an Early (MM IB/ IIA) and a mature (MM IIA/IIB) phase. In the periphery of Kato Zakros, Leonidas Vokotopoulos presents a detailed analysis of the types and decorations of Protopalatial pottery from two buildings (Karoumes and Choiromandres) and one tomb (Karaviadaina). He distinguishes different phases of occupation or use and attributes pottery types and decorations to MM IB, Early MM IIA, MM IIA, and MM IIB. Thus, instead of strictly using the tripartite system of chronology, he employs this system to define transitional periods, where this is possible. Finally, Georgios Doudalis summarises the ceramic sequences in East Crete by combining old and new data. Using the published material from Central-East Crete, the Mirabello Bay and Far East Crete, including the Siteia Bay, he explores local and regional developments during MM IB, MM IIA and MM IIB and reflects on social and political processes.

For South-Central Crete, the paper by **Ilaria Caloi** produces a synthesis of more than 20 years of pottery studies at Phaistos, summarising the main wares, shapes, decorative patterns, and technological features of pottery from stratified or homogeneous deposits dating to MM IB Early, MM IB, MM IIA and MM IIB. She sets out to identify the main changes in pottery production and consumption from one phase to another, connecting them to major transformations of the role of Phaistos not only in South-Central Crete but also on the island. Remaining at Phaistos, **Sofia Antonello** presents the pottery dated to the last stage of MM IIB – the MM IIB Final, retrieved from those palatial structures re-occupied in the so-called Shrine phase before the final collapse of the First Palace. She first describes in detail the shapes, decorative systems, and manufacturing traits of this pottery, then shows convincing comparisons with pottery from contemporary Cretan sites, especially Knossos, to identify this ceramic phase across the island.

Giorgia Baldacci undertakes a comprehensive study of the ceramic deposits of Aghia Triada, remarking that for every phase of the Protopalatial period, the pottery of the site followed the trends of Phaistos. However, the creativity identified in some fine products encourages her to explore the possibility of local pottery workshops. The same pottery held in common is valid for the Kamares Ware too, on which Aleydis Van de Moortel has contributed. She presents the pottery from the Kamares Cave according to the three phases (plus sub-phases) of the Protopalatial period as identified at Phaistos. In her paper, she concludes that the Kamares Cave depositions are part of the pottery tradition of South-Central Crete and underlines the differences with the North-central Crete pottery in terms of wares, shapes, decorative systems, and ceramic forming techniques.

Three papers are devoted to pottery from the tholos tomb cemeteries of the Mesara plain. The ceramic material from the tholos of Porti is presented by **Georgia Flouda**, who dates the non-stratified assemblages of the necropolis to the ceramic phases identified at Phaistos, thanks to the identification of precise parallels and similarities between the products of the two sites. She thus addresses questions about the relationship between the necropoleis and Phaistos, suggesting cultural affiliations. Likewise, **Giorgos Vavouranakis**, in his paper devoted to the tholos B of Apesokari, underlines not only the strong similarities between the tomb pottery products with the Phaistian ones, but also the adoption at the tomb of the palatial consumption etiquette, especially in the MM IB phase.

Katerina Kopaka and **Euthimis Theou** deal with the pottery retrieved from the site of Katalimata at Gavdos. The first presentation of this pottery, which includes both local products and imports from Phaistos, causes the authors to recognise two different patterns present on the site: a local production with idiosyncratic features and several imports from Phaistos that hint at a possible influence from there.

The paper by **Diamantis Panagiotopoulos** focuses on two topics: presenting his ongoing study of Protopalatial structures and pottery from the cemetery and settlement of Koumasa and addressing the pressing necessity of replacing the old Minoan system created at Knossos more than 120 years ago and creating a new one aimed at more convincingly correlating the shorter-lived sites of Crete.

Athanasia Kanta presents the Protopalatial pottery from various buildings of the Monastiraki complex in the Amari Valley. In her paper, the ceramic deposits of the site are divided into two phases: MM IB/MM IIA and the second to MM IIA/MM IIB, the latter sub-divided into early and late. If the pottery from the settlement buildings follows the ceramic shapes and decorative systems of Phaistos, the shrine complex, here presented for the first time, reveals some products that could look at different pottery traditions.

In the same area, the main features of pottery from the MM IIA and MM IIB deposits of Apodolou are published by **Ioanna Venieri**. Her detailed description of pottery that she ascribes to two phases, MM IIA-early MM IIB and MM IIB respectively, shows the strong correlations with the Phaistian products, which were likely both imitated at and imported to the site.

In his detailed and critical synthesis of the data from the sites of the Mesara plain and neighbouring areas, **Filippo Carinci** defines the similarities and differences between the Phaistian products and those from the other sites of the region, underlining the influential role of Phaistos in South-Central Crete. He also explores the relationship of Phaistos with Knossos and North-Central Crete, suggesting an important role of Phaistos here too in the production of high-value ceramic vessels.

In the final paper, **Ilaria Caloi** offers a counterbalance to the first paper by J. Driessen, by now providing a ceramic view of Protopalatial Crete. The paper looks at topics such as patterns of production and consumption within a Protopalatial scenario which lacks known pottery workshops, and the definition of possible cultural regions on Crete from a diachronic perspective. It highlights fundamental changes from one area to another of the island, and from the earlier to the later phases of the period. Collating the suggestions made by the various authors in the volume, prospects and avenues for future studies are also listed here. The main needs for pottery studies of the Protopalatial era – and also Minoan Crete in general – are a systematic programme of radiocarbon dates and petrographic analyses coupled with an internal site phasing. These are both fundamental tools in the creation of intercorrelations among the Cretan sites, and of an opportunity for the major exploration of sites from neglected or less investigated areas of Crete, *i.e.* Western, South-Eastern, and Eastern Mesara.

The lack of evidence from sites in West Crete needs to be addressed, and this is highlighted in several papers in the volume. The contribution by Maria Andreadaki-Vlasaki devoted to pottery from West Crete sites, originally included in the programme of the conference, would have much enriched our knowledge of Protopalatial Crete. Likewise, Despoina Hatzi-Vallianou's paper on the Smari settlement would have contributed to the understanding of the relationship of the Pediada sites with Knossos and Malia.

Another area ripe for improvement, as pointed out by Nicoletta Momigliano in her critical and thought-provoking conclusions of the two-day workshop, is the absence of a common terminology for the shapes attested in the Protopalatial repertoire – but also again for the whole Minoan repertoire. An attempt at finding a solution is to be found in the shape compendium written by **Davide Aquini** and **Ilaria Caloi**, who provided the authors with a guide and nomenclature of the shapes to help the contributors use the same terminology. The shapes are not all termed in the same manner in all the volume papers, but a strong effort has been made in most of them.

We wish to warmly thank the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete and its director, Tom Brogan, the Ca' Foscari University of Venice, the Mochlos Foundation and its director, Jeff Soles, and Maud Devolder along with the University of Ghent (Project BOF/STA/202209/012: Ceramic Synchronisms in Middle Bronze Age Crete) for their financial support. Our warmest thanks go to Jan Driessen and Charlotte Langohr for hosting the manuscripts in the Aegis series of UCLouvain and to Davide Aquini for type-setting of the volume. We are very grateful to Donald Haggis for his insightful comments as a discussant during the workshop; to Sofia Antonello, Roxane Dubois, and Alessandro Sanavia for their precious help in the practical organisation of the two days of the meeting; to Angela Ratigan for her design expertise and English edition of the texts; to Don Evely for the English editing of some other parts of the text. A special thanks go to the people of Pacheia Ammos for their generous hospitality.

Finally, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to the contributors of this workshop for being gracious with their time and materials and rising to the challenge of presenting the pottery from their sites so we may all better understand the Protopalatial period. We hope and expect that the breadth and depth of this volume's papers will serve as a guide for specialists in the future.