

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



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Volume 16

Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

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Athens, 9–10 October 2010

Edited by

Metaxia Tsipopoulou



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Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

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Preface

Βίος ἀνεόρταστος, μακρά ὁδὸς ἀπανδόχεντος.
Demokritos (470–370 BC)

It is indeed hard and dull to lead a life, both personal and professional, without celebrations, anniversaries, gatherings of friends and colleagues, symposia of any type. The 25th anniversary of the Petras excavations offered a wonderful opportunity for me to organize a Symposium, and for an international group of scholars, known for many things, including being members of the Petras team, to work hard, and then gather in Athens and present the results of their studies.

It was an exciting experience organizing and conducting this two-day Conference, and also editing the Proceedings and preparing the present book. I was very happy to be able to work during the multiple tasks of the preparation, the coordination of the contributors, the two days of the event itself, the collection of the papers and the editing of the present volume, with two hard working, creative, and very patient colleagues, Ms Garifalia Kostopoulou and Dr Maria Psallida. They are responsible before the event for the invitations, the preparation of the catering, the reservation of the restaurant for the speakers' dinner, and the printed material of the Conference. During the Symposium they made sure that everything went smoothly. After the Conference they worked for many months to do the pagination, the bibliography and the list of contributors, and they helped significantly with the proof reading and the index (Psallida), and the plates and the cover design (Kostopoulou). The editing of the volume was a very interesting task for me, and having no day job at the Ministry after the end of November 2011, a victim of the crisis that struck Greece, I was able to dedicate myself entirely to it. Furthermore, I am responsible for the transcription of the discussions, an interesting first-time experience. Many thanks go to David Rupp who patiently corrected all the English manuscripts of the 11 non-native speakers, as well as the dis-

cussions. Also my warmest thanks to Melissa Eaby for the final proof reading and significant improvements. The specialized text of Konstantinos Togias, the developer of the Petras website, was translated from Greek by Ms Effie Patsatzi, Museologist, a specialist in the Management of Digital Heritage.

Dr Erik Hallager is responsible for the final pagination and the insertion of the figures into the text.

I wish also to thank the creators of the four posters presented at the Conference: two posters, one of which was in collaboration with the director of the excavation, were by Ms Clio Zervaki, the Petras Conservator, MA in Museology and MA in Cultural Management, and another two were by Garifalia Kostopoulou.

The Danish Institute at Athens, and its two consecutive Directors, Erik Hallager, a dear old friend and member of the Petras team, and Rune Frederiksen, have my gratitude for hosting the Symposium and for including the publication in the series of monographs of the Institute.

The Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), which has been supporting the excavations at Petras, the conservation of the finds and the studies since 1987, also funded the Symposium and the publication of the present volume. My deep gratitude goes to INSTAP and its Executive Director, Philip Betancourt, also a good friend and member of the Petras team.

The success of the Symposium, which was really a wonderful and very stimulating experience, is due to all the participants, the speakers, and the chairpersons. More than 100 colleagues, Greeks and foreigners, from the Hellenic Archaeological Service, the Universities and the Foreign Schools of Archaeology in Greece, including senior members and graduate students, were present at the Danish Institute, and were very active during the discussions. They contributed to the creation of a very

friendly and positive atmosphere throughout the Symposium. A very special thanks goes to the chairpersons, Philip Betancourt, Michael Wedde, David Rupp, Erik Hallager, Colin Macdonald, Lefteris Platon, Thomas Brogan, Olga Krzyszkowska and Alexander MacGillivray. I am very grateful to Peter Warren, my mentor, who enthusiastically agreed to write the concluding remarks for this volume.

Three generations of scholars participated at the Symposium, some of the younger ones had come to Petras as undergraduate or graduate students, long ago. Their names in the order they presented their papers are: Yiannis Papadatos, Eleni Nodarou, Tatiana Theodoropoulou, Cesare D'Annibale, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly, Olga Krzyszkowska, Sevasti Triantaphyllou, Heidi M.C. Dierckx, Donald C. Haggis, Maria Emanuela

Alberti, Kostis S. Christakis, Nektaria Mavroudi, Erik Hallager, David W. Rupp, Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw, Photini J.P. McGeorge, Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Chrysa Sofianou, Thomas M. Brogan and Konstantinos Togias.

The 25 years of the Petras excavations and studies coincided with a period of crisis for Greece that worsened significantly between October 2010, the time of the Symposium, and spring 2012, the time these lines are written. From the beginning my idea for the organization of this event and its publication was an idea of resistance to the crisis. I am very happy that we succeeded and very grateful to all who worked hard and made this success happen.

Athens, Exarcheia, Easter 2012
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Abbreviations

Archaeological periods

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EH	Early Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
FN	Final Neolithic
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
LN	Late Neolithic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MH	Middle Helladic
MM	Middle Minoan
MN	Middle Neolithic
PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic

Petras Area

HT	House Tomb
L	Lakkos
P	Petras

P.TSK	Petras cemetery
P.TSU	Petras-Rock Shelter
Σ-palace	Stratigraphical trenches of the palace

Other

A.S.L.	Above Sea Level
diam.	diameter
gr	gram
h	height
kg	kilogram
w	width
wt	weight
th	thickness
lt	liter
NISP	Number of Identifiable Specimens
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
SM	Archaeological Museum, Siteia
vol.	volume

The form of the English language for the native speakers (British or American) was the author's choice. For the non-native speakers the American form was applied.



House II.1 at Petras, Siteia: its architectural life^{*}

Nektaria Mavroudi

*This constant manipulation of material things,
this ceaseless war over their meanings...*
M. Johnson 1996, *An archaeology of capitalism*.

Abstract

House II.1 is one of two fully excavated domestic complexes of the Neopalatial settlement at Petras. While the study for the final publication is still in progress, a first attempt at reading its architectural life offers some initial important data. House II.1 can be included in a series of large urban buildings of domestic character, which, at the beginning of the LM I period, adopted a number of architectural innovations, until then known only in palatial buildings. House II.1 was contemporary with the neighboring House I.1, which displays vernacular architecture, suggesting that its inhabitants were looking for a social distinction within the settlement. It continued to be occupied after House I.1 was abandoned, towards the end of the LM IA period. Finally, House II.1 also ceased to be used at an advanced stage of LM IB. The modifications to the original plan in its final phase of occupation testify to the changing organization of the life within it, as well as to a possible change in economic activity, towards a more industrial function. It is possible that this was influenced by the radical changes in social and political structures that characterize the LM IB period throughout the island.

Introduction

The site of Petras covers a total of four low hills at a distance of about 1.5 km east of Siteia. The main MM and LM settlement is organized on Hill I. House II.1 lies on a low terrace on the east slope of that hill, *ca.* 5 m lower than Houses I.1 and I.2 and 3 m lower than a path carved into the bedrock, which is assumed to have connected the town with the sea (Fig. 1). It is one of the two completely excavated domestic buildings of the main settlement; the largest part of its plan was uncovered through a systematic excavation that took place during the years 1989–1991.

Since the complete analysis and publication of House II.1 by the excavator is still in progress, this paper is mainly based on the excavation notebooks and a careful, on-site analysis of its architectural and structural characteristics. However, in attempting

to provide a preliminary chronological sequence of the house's architectural life, as well as a reconstruction of its different functions, all available evidence was taken into account, including the pottery and

^{*} I am grateful to Dr Metaxia Tsiopoulou, Director of the National Archive of Monuments, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and Director of the Petras Excavations, for giving me the opportunity to study the architecture of House II.1, providing access to the site and the excavation notebooks and facilitating my work in every possible way. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Katerina Kopaka, for her guidance during the completion of my MA thesis at the University of Rethymnon, Crete; some of the results of this work are presented here. I am indebted to Don Evelyn for his valuable suggestions after running through the initial English text. My special thanks also to Jan Driessen for letting me reproduce the plan of House Z β of Malia, as well as Steven Soetens and Peter Tomkins for providing me with the photo of Hill I of Petras.



Fig. 1. Hill I of Petras, from left to right: Sector III, House I.1 and House II.1, from the east (Photo kindly provided by P. Tomkins, S. Soetens).

movable finds, as well as the already published material from the excavation of Petras.¹

Elements of original architectural planning

House II.1's ground floor plan covers some 250 m². It consists of 18 closed, semi-closed or open spaces, and most probably also extended to a first floor (Fig. 2). It is fully adapted to the contours of the

natural limestone bedrock, which has an inclination from the west down to the east (Fig. 3).² This natural slope initially led the builders to organize the construction on at least two terraces, as was shown

¹ For the excavations at Petras, Tsipopoulou 1991a; 1991c; 1995; 1997a; 1999a; 1999b; 2002; 2006; Tsipopoulou & Dierckx 2006; Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996; 2010; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011; Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997; Rupp & Tsipopoulou 1999; Burke 2006; Alberti 2007.

² Mavroudi 2011.

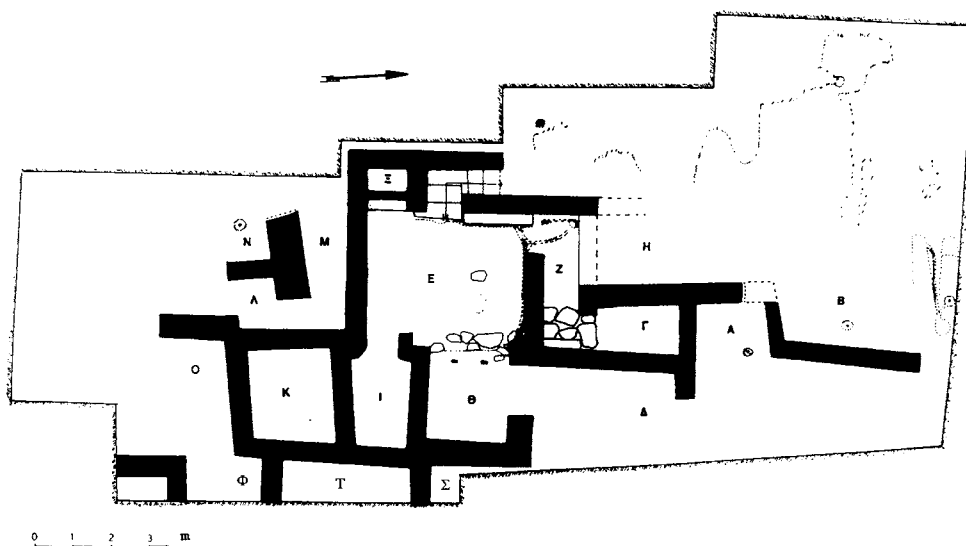


Fig. 2. House II.1, excavation plan 1989–1991 (Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997, fig. 4).



Fig. 3. House II.1 from southwest (general view).

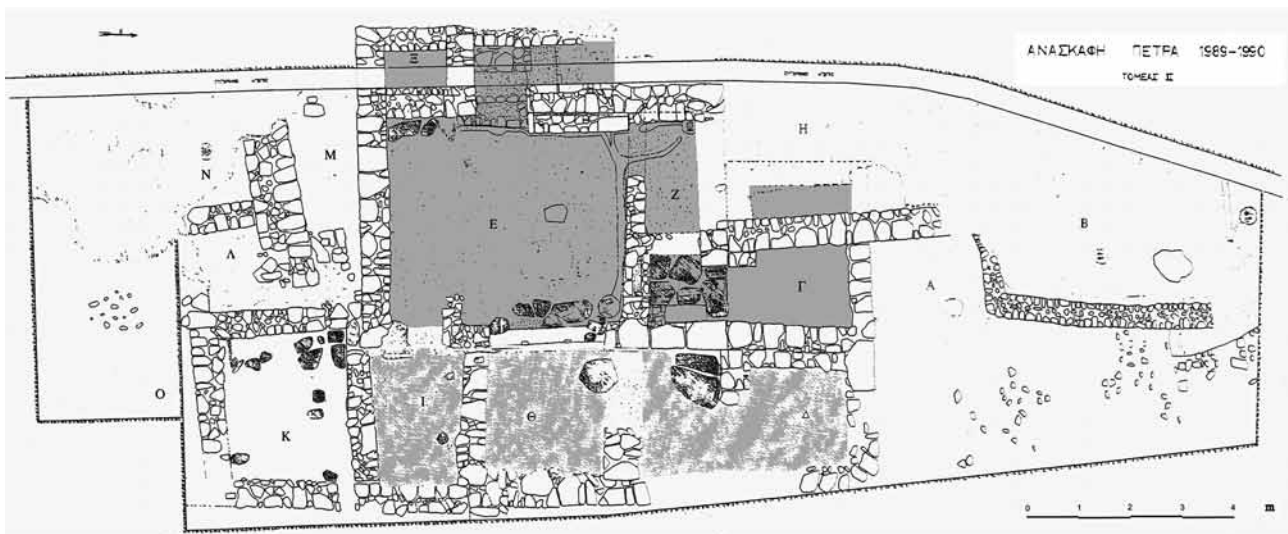


Fig. 4. House II.1, excavation plan 1989–1990. Rooms included in the original architectural plan – presumably also including Rooms I, Θ, Δ (Initial plan kindly provided by M. Tsiopoulou).

during the last excavation period by the discovery of walls continuing lower to the east. On the plan we are able to observe only the ground floor rooms of the western level, which seems, however, to have comprised the main part of the house.

Rooms E, Z, Γ-H, Space Ξ and the west staircase were formed in cavities created by carving out the bedrock and, therefore, must belong to the original architectural plan. The same technique, i.e. the foundation of the walls and floors on the carefully

worked bedrock, was probably used in the creation of Rooms I, Θ and Δ (Fig. 4).

Room Γ originally included Space H, which now appears as a Π-shaped cutting (2.60 m long) in the bedrock on the west, the walls having been previously removed. Later, a new west wall was built on the floor of the existing room, thus decreasing its space significantly. The stones of the new west wall extend over those of the north wall of Room Γ, but without obstructing its organic continuation.



Fig. 5. North wall of Room Z from the south.



Fig. 6. Room Γ, east wall of ashlar masonry (east view).

In the initial phase of the building, Rooms E and Γ most likely communicated by means of a small space that may have been a light well, as indicated by its good quality flagstone floor with plaster between the stone slabs. A wall located at the western side of that flagstone floor separated Room Γ from Room Z.

Although there is evidence for some earlier occupation at the site, the foundation of House II.1 may have been in MM IIIB, as suggested by a pottery sherd decorated in ripple pattern, found under a slab of the floor of Room Δ. In any case, it seems that an ashlar masonry wall was built on the east side of Room Γ at the time of the foundation or not long after, i.e. at an early stage of LM IA. It probably extended at least to the southern limit of Room Θ and was flanked by flagstone floors on both sides. The main entrance to the house has not been located, but the plan would seem to

indicate its existence on the east side of the building. The use of ashlar masonry, with triangular blocks shaped with particular care on their eastern face, and the remains of a good quality flagstone floor in Rooms Δ and Θ, probably a corridor, are perhaps elements related to a main entrance in this location.

Construction and materials

The architecture of House II.1 demonstrates thorough planning prior to its construction. Before the actual building began, there must have been a careful estimation of the static and volumetric needs, for creating the most suitable foundation system for supporting the overall and the partial loads upon the ground floors and upper floors, and for ways to transmit those loads to the ground. Similar matters are determinative, especially when the construction of an edifice is summative – as is the case for Crete in the second millennium BC – and every built part constitutes a constraining fact for the next stage.³

For the creation of a level surface, large amounts of limestone bedrock were removed from the western slope, which was then evened out. In contrast, the lower, east level was raised by a fill of earth. The walls of the house are founded directly on the bedrock; indeed, in some cases the bedrock itself comprises their lower parts (cf. the north wall of Room Z, Fig. 5). The walls are constructed mainly from rubble but we also meet ashlar masonry (Fig. 6). The latter is generally believed to serve a need for display in Neopalatial architecture at times for entire buildings, in other cases only for certain areas of a building.⁴

Mud or clay was used in the construction of House II.1 as the binding material for the rubble walls. The walls of the first floor were built of mudbricks.⁵ The local soft limestone (*kouskouras*) mixed

³ Palyvou 1999, 427.

⁴ It has been “used for the sake of appearance”, Graham 1972, 153.

⁵ In the excavation notebooks, there are often references to “disintegrated mudbricks” in layers mainly attributed to the first floor.



Fig. 7. Room E, from the southeast (general view).



Fig. 8. Space Ξ, southwest corner of Room E from the east.

with small sea pebbles was used for the creation of the plastered floors.

Wood is also present, though, as ever, it is a rather “invisible” element in the Aegean Bronze Age architecture.⁶ The impressive extent of its use shows a conscious and advanced provision against earthquake damage. The masons clearly trusted it as a structural component of a building. The clearest indication of its use in the framework of House II.1 is the possible column base of Room E and the *polythyron* stone bases between Rooms E and Θ. Elsewhere in the house we encounter several impressions, holes and cavities suggesting the existence of wood.⁷

Focal point of House II.1 on the ground plan

Room E dominates the ground plan due to its size, its almost square outline and its central position (Fig. 7). It seems to have been the focal point of the ground floor of the house. It must have served as the central meeting and activity area. A series of other rooms on the ground floor are organized around Room E. They all communicate with it – Rooms I, Θ, Z, and initially also Γ while communication with the first floor was provided by the staircase on the west. The dimensions of Room E (4.40 x 3.70 m) probably demanded a pillar to support its ceiling.⁸ Indeed a single slab of irregular shape (0.35 x 0.35 m), found in its northern part, could be seen as

a possible column base. The floor of Room E was covered with a layer of plaster and small sea pebbles at a date later than the creation of the flagstone floors, since it incorporates its slabs in certain areas.

A tripod cooking pot was found *in situ* in the northeast corner surrounded by stones, probably indicating the place of a hearth.⁹ On the west side of the flagstone floor two more hearths were located.

The rectangular Space Ξ at the southwest corner, almost 2 m long, was probably a cupboard (Fig. 8). A large number of vessels, mainly conical and globular cups (approximately 100) and well preserved kalathoi, were found inside it. Their good condition indicates that they had either fallen from a low position or that they were placed on shelves in a cupboard.¹⁰

A jug or amphora sherd with two Linear A signs was found on the floor just in front of Space Ξ.¹¹

⁶ Palyvou 1999, 425–6.

⁷ Wooden doors must have existed between Rooms I–E, Δ1–Δ2 and at the south of Room Γ, while evidence also exists for a piece of wooden furniture on the east side of the flagstone floor of Room Γ.

⁸ For the character and the uses of rooms with a central pillar, Michailidou 1986.

⁹ For the typology of tripod cooking pots of House II.1, Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 484–92.

¹⁰ For the shapes and uses of cupboards in the Cretan architecture of the Bronze Age, Kopaka 1984, 312–9; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 466, fig. 5.

¹¹ Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996, fig. 14a–d.



Fig. 9. Stone *polythyron* bases, between Rooms E and Θ from the east.

The same area provided the upper part of a pithoid jar decorated with double axes, which may have fallen from the upper floor.¹²

All the above features, along with the existence of a built bench on the west, reveal the importance of Room E.

Subsequent LM IA alterations

Within LM IA, both the plan of the house and certain architectural features underwent a series of changes. Some walls were demolished, others were built or rebuilt, some spaces significantly decreased in size, other rooms were added and floor surfaces were changed. Some of these changes may have been necessary after a series of natural disasters (e.g., earthquakes), while others seem to have been deliberately carried out, reflecting a shift of social roles in the settlement.¹³

In mature LM IA, the south part of the ashlar east wall of Room Γ was removed for the creation of a pier-and-door partition, as a roughly cut block north of the opening between Rooms E and Θ shows (Fig. 9). It is possible that this act was intended to create a non-typical “Minoan Hall” in this part of the building, with Room Θ serving as an anteroom to the main hall (Room E), and the paved southern part of Room Γ, which at the time communicated with Room E, being used as a light well. The resulting non-axial organization of the space resembles that of House Zβ of Malia, where a

non-typical “Minoan Hall” is also recognized at the southwestern corner of the building (Fig. 10).¹⁴

With the creation of a *polythyron*, access to Room E could be controlled, while still retaining its central role in the life of its inhabitants. Whoever went into the house from the east entrance could now walk along a paved corridor to reach Room Θ, which possibly served as an anteroom, and through the pier-and-door-partition enter Room E.¹⁵

At the same time, a single layer of plaster and small sea pebbles covered the floors of Rooms E, Z, I, and most of the staircase. Remains of a plastered floor are also found between Rooms Δ and Θ, incorporating slabs of the previous flagstone floor in that area, a practice also observed in the eastern and southwestern parts of Room E.¹⁶ The lower sections of the walls resting on these plastered floors are constructed from small and medium-sized stones fitted tightly together, while their upper parts are comprised of significantly larger stones. Such a difference in wall-building possibly reflects two different construction phases. This characteristic could therefore lead one to attribute the architectural layout of Rooms E, Z, Ξ, the staircase and at least part of Rooms I and K to the same mature LM IA phase. We cannot be sure about the use of Rooms I and K at this period, but the orientation of their walls shows that they were an addition to the central Room E.

Final phase of the building

During the last phase of the building (presumably LM IB), it seems that the plan and circulation pattern changed once more. A wall with a foundation

¹² Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996, fig. 7e; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 467, fig. 6a.

¹³ It seems that almost all Cretan sites suffered at least some disturbance throughout LM IA and LM IB prior to the final LM IB destruction (Driessen & Macdonald 1997, esp. 35–47).

¹⁴ Driessen 1982, 52–3.

¹⁵ The slabs on the south part of Δ, Room Θ, and the east part of Room E could be the remains of such a corridor.

¹⁶ This type of floor covering, as well as the flagstone floor with plaster filling the interstices between the slabs, as is the case for Room Γ, seems to be characteristic of the Neopalatial period; Shaw 1973, 216–21.

deposit framed the opening between Rooms E and Γ.¹⁷ Room Γ could then only be reached through Room Z, after the demolition of the wall previously separating between them. In addition, it was narrowed by a new west wall, which extended to the north to meet the wall between Spaces A and B. This act apparently restricted free movement in the northern area of the house.

In addition, the upper parts of a number of walls (e.g., the north and south walls of Room E, west wall of Room Z, north and west wall of Room Ξ) were repaired with the use of larger stones. While this shows a sense of confidence in the previous masonry on top of which the building was continued, it also betrays an element of haste. Another feature connected with the last phase of House II.1 is the “triangular” construction most clearly visible on both the wall on the south side of Room M and the new west wall of Room Γ. This type of masonry refers to the “translation” of stones by the eyes and hands of the builders as triangles, the top of which, on both sides of the wall, always points to the middle of the wall’s width.¹⁸ There is also evidence for the use of Spaces T, O and Φ during LM IB, but with a role difficult to specify at the moment.

Furthermore, a characteristic marking the LM IB phase of House II.1 is the appearance of drains and pits alongside the north and west walls of Room E, as well as in Room Z. These were cut into the floor covering of plaster and small sea pebbles. It is possible that this reflects a change in the economic activities right before the abandonment of the building in LM IB.

Household activities

To make sense of space, form and content cannot be separated.

T. Saunders 1990, 194.

Although not a primary focus of this paper, however, a short presentation of the activities taking place in House II.1 will provide substantial help in better understanding its role during the last period of its life.¹⁹

The preparation and consumption of food and

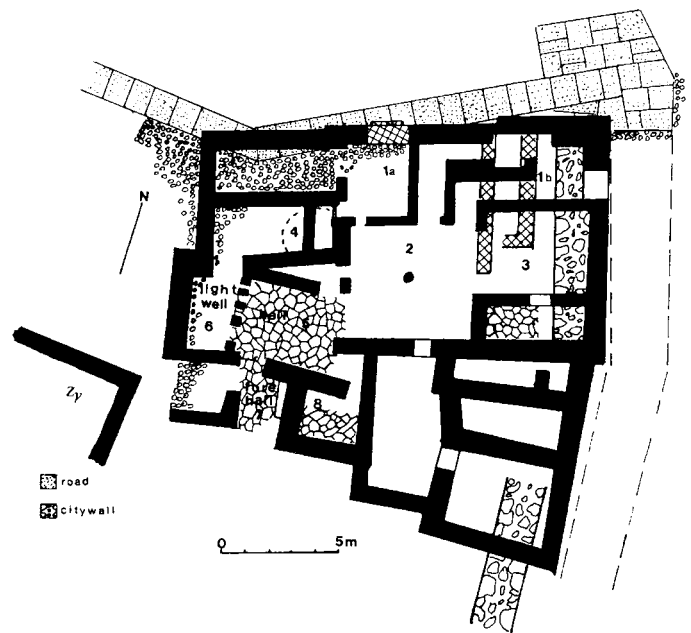


Fig. 10. Plan of House Zβ, Malia, with non-axially organized “Minoan Hall” at southwest corner (Driessen 1982, fig. 23).

drink is now indicated in Room E, the once elaborate central hall of the house, by a number of finds such as tripod cooking pots and disks, stone tools, obsidian blades, *gournes*, cups, trays, jugs, and also bones and shells, which were found mainly around the hearths. An intensification of activities that would demand drains and pits is apparent as well.

Room Θ, initially serving as an anteroom to Room E, seems to have also undergone a change in function, as it is now connected to food preparation, small-scale storage and restricted industrial activities. Together with the doorless Room K, where fragments of three pithoi and a *nodulus* with four signs of Linear A were discovered,²⁰ they are likely to have served the increased and varied needs of the central room. The significant number of small and medium-sized vessels for storage and transport found in Room I, where some 60 vessels were located *in situ*, and in the built cupboard Ξ, with an-

¹⁷ The foundation deposit has been attributed to LM IB, Rupp & Tsipopoulou 1999, 731.

¹⁸ Zois 1997, 44.

¹⁹ References to movable finds are based on the excavation notebooks; also on Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011.

²⁰ Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996, figs. 8, 15.



Fig. 11. a) Room Z, drains and pit in the northwest corner; b) Room E, north drain from the south.

other 100 cups of different types, shows that there was a need for additional storage, perhaps of a more temporary character. Although the total number of vessels identified is likely to increase after further study, it is quite obvious that the scale of storage represented in House II.1 could hardly have fulfilled the need for self-sufficiency.²¹ It may be that in times of shortage the inhabitants would be supplied by the adjacent palace building, probably recompensating the palace with products of their own.

A limited capacity for the construction of other classes of artifacts is also suggested by the unfinished kernos, a stone with traces of drill working trace and a feline mould for plastic pottery decoration.

Household rituals could be represented by several finds such as rhyta, an unfinished kernos, bull statuettes and pairs of horns of consecration. To these may be added a pithoid jar with painted decoration of double axes.²² It has usually been assumed that these elements symbolize authority and thus reflect “palatial” art or propaganda. At the same time, however, they show a tendency of the local “elites” to align themselves with the “palaces”.²³

The presence of two Linear A documents found in Rooms E and K is worth mentioning. Their discovery possibly places the residents of House II.1 in the literate segment of the population at the time; it shows differentiation in the means of access and

distribution of goods among different groups of people at Petras. It could further support assertions regarding political fragmentation, as observed in the wide distribution and local variety of Linear A documents, and an increase in competition among different groups during LM IA and LM IB.²⁴

Small concentrations of loom weights in Spaces A and B and in Room K (in total no more than 43), as well as a few spindle whorls, indicate restricted textile production. It has been proposed that House II.1 served as an industrial workshop for laundering, dyeing and weaving wool during its last phase.²⁵ Apart from the presence of loom weights, this interpretation was based on the ap-

²¹ House I.1 at Petras also presents a similar scale of storage, along with other LM I complexes in the Siteia Bay, such as Klimataria, Achladia-Riza, and Prophetes Elias-Praisos; it corresponds to the storage potential of Type 2 houses of McEnroe (Christakis 1999, 13).

²² Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996, fig. 7e; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 467, fig. 6a.

²³ Driessen & Macdonald 1997, 61–4, 70–4; Crowley 1995; D’Agata 1992, 252; Hallager & Pålsson-Hallager 1995; Rehak 1995.

²⁴ Driessen & Macdonald 1997; Driessen 2002, 12; Hamilakis 2002a, esp. 183–6, 193; Schoep 2002b, 18–21; Hallager this volume.

²⁵ Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997, 209; Burke 2006, 287–8; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 466.

Fig. 12. a) Pairs of cuttings in the natural bedrock, northwest of Area B (width 0.45–0.50 m, maximum depth 0.10 m) from the east; b) Semicircular cuttings in the natural bedrock northwest of Area B (0.70 x 0.45 m and 0.55 x 0.22 m) from the east.



pearance of the cloth ideogram found on two loom weights and conical cups,²⁶ as well as the presence of drains and pits carved in the natural bedrock both inside the house e.g., in Rooms E and Z, Areas A and B (Fig. 11a–b), and in the bedrock lying further to its north (Fig. 12a–b). However, the present number of loom weights indicates the existence of no more than two looms,²⁷ just enough for the needs of the house's inhabitants.

Secondly, such ideograms are generally supposed to indicate the objects intended of use, both by the potter and also by the user.²⁸ Together with the simpler pot marks detected at Petras and numerous other sites of Bronze Age Crete, they reveal a complex and developed production system connected to the local needs and conditions. Therefore the ideogram of cloth may, indeed, represent the presence of an administrative and bureaucratic organization, but it does not provide secure proof for the existence of industrial-scale work, exceeding the needs of a household, for the treatment and production of cloth.

Finally, the drains and pits in and around the house are rather small to be connected to the dyeing and washing of wool. Such work usually takes place by river banks or beside natural dams, since plenty of running water is needed for the different stages of wool processing. The adjacent Stomion River would seem the most probable place for

such an activity for the inhabitants of House II.1.²⁹ Besides, no large basins with an adequate capacity and no remains of coloring material, as in the case of Myrtos,³⁰ have yet been detected in House II.1. Even so, the morphology of the different cavities and drains in and around House II.1 – if they actually belong to the Bronze Age – shows their connection to smaller scale works involving liquids, probably water. The hearths of Room E, traces of fire in Rooms I and Θ and the numerous cooking vessels are more likely indications of work demanding the heating of water or other materials in a broader household or industrial context.³¹

House II.1 and “palatial” architecture

The evidence currently available places House II.1 at Petras among the buildings that employed

²⁶ Tsipopoulou 1995, 940, 944–5 (fig. 4), 971.

²⁷ Tzachili 1997, 181, 192.

²⁸ Tsipopoulou 1995, 943–4.

²⁹ For the need of water in different stages of wool processing, Tzachili 1997, 84–94.

³⁰ Warren 1972, 53–5.

³¹ For the cuttings north of House II.1 and suggestions for their use, Mavroudi 2004, 130–1.

a number of architectural innovations in domestic contexts throughout Crete at the beginning of the Neopalatial period.³² These exceptional domestic constructions appear to have co-existed with traditional architecture within a settlements.³³ Quite frequently the employment of both traditional and innovative characteristics in a single building is also encountered.³⁴

From the time of its foundation in MM IIIB and throughout the LM IA period, House II.1, unlike the neighboring House I.1, gradually incorporated innovative features, such as ashlar masonry and the pier-and-door partition, that reflect a need for distinction through specific functional procedures (e.g., ritualized reception).³⁵ These features were added to the original plan through a “translation” that displayed regional and probably local characteristics. At any rate, looking at House II.1 within its social surroundings indicates that a change in social dynamics occurred within the settlement, with the emergence of groups of people with a new economic and social status. This phenomenon is attested elsewhere on Crete during the same period, supporting the hypothesis of a significant change in the political and economic conditions, as well as an alteration in social structures, from the beginning of LM I onwards.

During the last chronological phase, the formerly distinct character of House II.1 was compromised. The need for self-sufficiency (intensification of industrial activities, increase of storage space, existence of Linear A documents) and the effort to control internal circulation, visible in a large number of LM IB households, are also apparent here, perhaps symptomatic of their decline by the end of the period.

Conclusive remarks

...We are shifting from seeing the archaeological ‘site’ as an object, to seeing it as a point of mediation between past and present.

I. Hodder 1999, 198.

The construction of House II.1 is embedded into the system of anonymous architecture, based main-

ly on the schema “prototype-prototype variants”.

*The constructive prototypes are shaped through time encapsulating the experience of many generations and are systematized so that they create a certain code of practices and techniques. These are the limits between which every builder has to operate for a functional, strong and inexpensive construction. The code is inherited from generation to generation and this tradition has the power of law.*³⁶

The standardization of constructive solutions, which clearly determine the type of building and materials used, is imposed for practical reasons, but not exclusively so. This should ensure the appropriate adaptation of the construction to the conditions of the natural environment, but also be suited to the various challenges of life and permit the symbolic display of its significance.

The foundation of House II.1 directly on the natural bedrock, for example, conforms to a tried and tested solution that provides stability and durability. It exploits the advantages of the local limestone substratum and is adaptable to the limitations imposed by the specific slope inclination. Moreover, the likely placement of the main entrance to the east of the house would have been suitable for the avoidance of the strong north-west winds that affect the site.

The geometrical outlines (e.g., Space Ξ and the original Room Γ), as well as the straight lines and right angles, indicate the existence of rules and conventions in the construction, without which such shapes are less likely to occur. But even when they are abandoned during the later phases of the house, the basic principles of planning do not cease

³² The term “palatial” is most frequently used to differentiate this type of architecture from “traditional” or “vernacular” construction. Other terms include: “innovating” (Tzedakis & Chrysoulaki 1987, 114), “nouvelle” (Zois 1990, 87), “polite” (McEnroe 1990), “innovative monumental” (Platon 2000, 55) and “formal” (Michailidou 1986, 523).

³³ Platon 2000; Chrysoulaki & Platon 1987; Driessen 1989–90; Shaw 1987.

³⁴ Driessen 1989–90, 12, 16; Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1995; Driessen & Sakellarakis 1997.

³⁵ Driessen 1982, 57–8.

³⁶ For the abstract of A. Rapoport 1976, *Ανώνυμη αρχιτεκτονική και πολιτιστικοί παράγοντες*, Athens, see Palyvou 1999, 429.

to be applied. On the contrary, the architectural planning is sensitive to a feeling of proportions and to simple geometric shapes (e.g., the axial placement of rooms); these are separately applied to the different structural entities created in each period.

So it becomes clear that, like a living “organism”, House II.1 lived a life parallel to the life of its users and that such concerns guided the continuous alterations that served their material and symbolic needs.

Discussion

- Vallianou** A very interesting presentation. I would like to ask about the small Area Ξ at the corner of Hall E. Does it have a small opening at its base?
- Mavroudi** It has no opening, but it can be easily reached, at least at the height it is preserved. In front of it ash was found, so this might be an indication of a wooden door. The vases were found *in situ* inside it and were very well preserved.
- Vallianou** And you said that there were *ca.* 100 cups. We have a similar very small built space in the villa at Pitsidia, and another one exists at Phaistos. Both have a small opening near the floor, and their function is not clear.
- Mavroudi** At Petras we have no opening.
- Vallianou** At Pitsidia we found 130 cups, and something similar at Phaistos, I hoped you could give me some idea about the function.
- Mavroudi** What is important to point out, and I did not report it, because of the limited time, is that this space increased a little during the latest phase of the building, and took up part of the steps of the staircase to the upper floor, apparently because the storage needs in Room E were increased.
- Yiannouli** Your paper was very interesting, especially what you said about the central room with the column base and the *polythyron*. I would like to ask, if I saw this correctly in the last slide you showed, there is a wall in Room M, which is almost double in thickness, than the rest of the walls. What was the purpose of that?
- Mavroudi** Unfortunately this area is not easy to understand as there are various cuttings on the bedrock and pottery clearly not *in situ*. This wall which limits Area M from the south, is one of the best preserved of the building. Where our study stands now, I do not think that we can prove that there was a superstructure in that area. It does not seem, however, to be a simple retaining wall to support the fill, it is too well constructed for that function.
- Tsipopoulou** An observation that might help, from the study of the architecture of House I.1. We have a change in level between the backyard and the main building, and the connection is through a staircase with three steps. We have an open space and from that a paved road starts, probably leading to the palace. The soil in this backyard was very loose, because of the presence of the Lakkos there (excavated in Sector III, and in the west part of Sector I). In order to keep in place this loose soil they constructed a strong retaining wall, which, very characteristically did not last over the centuries and

collapsed, and has been restored by us. In House II.1 maybe we have a similar situation. This wall is oblique to the rest of the walls of the house.

Mavroudi It is very close to the contour of the house. And Metaxia is right. It is very well built.

Greek abstract

Το Σπίτι II.1 στον Πετρά Σητείας: η αρχιτεκτονική του ζωή

Το Σπίτι II.1 είναι ένα από τα δύο πληρέστερα ανεσκαμμένα οικιακά συγκροτήματα του Νεοανακτορικού οικισμού του Πετρά Σητείας. Ενώ η πλήρης μελέτη για την τελική του δημοσίευση βρίσκεται ακόμα σε εξέλιξη, η πρώτη απόπειρα για την ανάγνωση της αρχιτεκτονικής του ζωής μας προσφέρει ήδη κάποιες πολύτιμες αρχικές παρατηρήσεις. Οι ενδείξεις που έχουν έρθει μέχρι τώρα στο φως τοποθετούν το Σπίτι II.1 στην σειρά επιλεγμένων κτιρίων οικιστικού χαρακτήρα, τα οποία από την αρχή της ΥΜ περιόδου υιοθετούν έναν αριθμό αρχιτεκτονικών καινοτομιών που μέχρι τότε απαντιόνταν μονάχα στα ανακτορικά κτίρια. Το Σπίτι II.1 συνυπάρχει με το παραδοσιακών αρχιτεκτονικών προτύπων παρακείμενο Σπίτι I.1, δείχνοντας τη βούληση των κατοίκων του να διακριθούν κοινωνικά στο πλαίσιο του οικισμού. Συνεχίζει να χρησιμοποιείται ακόμα και όταν το Σπίτι I.1 έχει πάψει να κατοικείται, προς το τέλος της ΥΜΙΑ, ενώ εγκαταλείπεται και το ίδιο, σε κάποια προχωρημένη στιγμή της ΥΜ ΙΒ περιόδου. Οι αλλαγές που παρατηρούνται στην αρχιτεκτονική του κάτοψη κατά την τελευταία περίοδο χρήσης του μαρτυρούν αλλαγές στην οργάνωση των κινήσεων και της ζωής μέσα σε αυτό, καθώς και πιθανή στροφή στην οικονομική του δραστηριότητα προς ένα χαρακτήρα πιο εργαστηριακό. Φαίνεται έτσι ότι επηρεάζεται από τις σημαντικές αλλαγές που επήλθαν στις κοινωνικές και πολιτικές δομές, οι οποίες σηματοδοτούν την ΥΜ ΙΒ περίοδο σε όλο το νησί.



Final discussion

chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

MacGillivray I do not know about you, but I feel dizzy after two days full time; Petras information overload in some ways. I think like with all excavations and all research projects you come away with more questions than you do answers, but I guess that is why we do it. Like many people yesterday, I should probably start by asking why Metaxia Tsipopoulou asked me. That is possibly because we are such good neighbors, and we have been good neighbors – I worked at Palaikastro since the very beginning. Hugh Sackett and I went in 1983 to Palaikastro though we did not start digging until 1986. We were both younger then, it was a really long time ago. So I have been associated with Petras, and with Metaxia, for all of those 25 years. One thing that does come through is the sheer amount of hard work that is involved, I do not just mean the digging, that is the easy part, it is the bureaucracy, the fund raising, and she had to deal with land owners. That part does not really show in the Symposium. We sit back now and we marvel at these results, but there is a whole back story to this, that perhaps should never be told, or nobody would ever go into archaeology. In Metaxia's case, it was very complicated, very difficult, and she showed amazing staying power, and we are very grateful that she did. When I first went to eastern Crete in 1983, you would drive by Petras, and there was nothing there, now 25 years later, what Metaxia has done is that she has given us this amazing site, she has put Petras on the map. Bosanquet went through there for a couple of days in 1901, and wrote about it, but Metaxia has effectively put Petras on the map. It has now become a fairly big dot in the discussions of Bronze Age Crete. One of the things she has shown us, and Costas Paschalidis was reminding me that, from the very beginning, from the Final Neolithic IV to the Byzantine period, Petras, I suppose by virtually being by the sea, has an international spirit and it has international connections. We are even talking about connections with Egypt in MM IB, and it functions very well as a harbor town.

What I thought I might do, in order to lead this discussion, and you may want to talk more with the speakers, was really think about what these 25 years at Petras have given us. Being an old school archaeologist I still tend to think chronologically, instead of thematically. I thought it would be simpler really to run through what these excavations have given us in terms of the broader picture of Bronze Age Crete, and then Bronze Age Aegean, and then in the later periods, in Byzantium. Obviously the place to start is FN IV, when we have the first settlers, and we have strong Cycladic influence. What do you think that means? Are the people of Petras like people from Hagia Photia in the next period? I suppose Petras was looking for metals and lithics. The thing that still amazes me is that these people who we see trading abroad, which means that either they are going by the sea, or somebody is coming to them by sea, were not eating fish; there is a problem sailing over all this wonderful food, and not eating it, although we did see the fish hooks.

So, you can look at EM I and EM II and see what that gives us, in terms of the overall picture, what happens in EM III–MM IA, when we have the wonderful ossuaries with their pots, especially that collection of whole vases, at the end of that period. MM IB is a very interesting period when you had very expensive well painted ceramics that were put down in the Lakkos. And there is the wonderful tempting reconstruction that the hill was used, certainly in that period, if not earlier, for social gatherings, people coming together; feasting, if we want to use that trendy term, it is a focal point, for perhaps more than one community going there. What they are consuming is, certainly, when we are looking at the pottery, material locally made, but also imported, and therefore, slightly more expensive. Who are these people, where do they live, are they coming from further afield, to gather at this place? This was obviously important, and then this was replaced by the first palace, which if I am not mistaken, could be fortified; you think that the terrace wall could work as a fortification wall?

Tsipopoulou Not entirely, one part yes.

MacGillivray So it gives an impression, like the façades of the other palaces, we then have this change. There is enough wealth, enough power and enough desire to build this larger center, and this coincides with the change, it seems, in the Kephala cemetery, where, instead of re-deposited burials, we have these two males, these two fairly interesting individuals, who are using, presumably, these wonderful seals, that we saw Olga Krzyszkowska present. As they coincide with the construction of the palace, it would be interesting to speculate who were these young men, and why they were buried differently, inhumations, as opposed to whatever their normal practice was.

Then there is the destruction of this first palace, at the end of MM IIB, and we have the archive, that is one of the main reasons why we can talk about it as a palace. How big a center is Petras, is it controlling a wide area, can we tell that from the goods in the archive? I am still not entirely convinced, we might be misleading ourselves with these big state maps that we draw for Middle Minoan Crete. They could be much smaller, like Hellenistic city-state areas, much smaller areas of control. I think we are reading back almost from the modern Greek church boundaries, which currently separate Crete, and so we trying to recreate something like that, but that may have not been the case. That is something we can discuss.

This palace then, like many other buildings throughout Crete, towards or at the end of MM IIB, gets trashed, fortunately for people like Erik Hallager, who then have all this wonderful material to work with, and allows him, or us, to reconstruct what is actually being recorded in this building. And does this palace, that is very well excavated now, much better excavated than Knossos, does this allow us to answer the question that Jan Driessen has posed most recently, is this, are these, social ritual centers, or are they really the palaces of a monarch? Are we meant to view kings, or queens, living here? Or is Crete the only place in the ancient world where you do not have some divinely inspired, or actually divinely stated ruler in charge? Can Petras help us to solve that question in this period?

We then go to MM III, and that is something that we will have to see what it gives us over time, but we have that rather amazing rod, with the Linear A inscription. So, certainly there is administration in that period. But where is the building that has

been used? It is probably the building in which they have the LM IA floor deposits afterwards.

The LM IA period is amazing, I thought that we would never go through a whole two-day conference about a site in the Aegean, talking about its Bronze Age history, without mentioning the Theraeruption. But it came through at Papadiokampos, and it is kind of interesting that it was not mentioned by any of the workers at Petras.

Tsipopoulou We do not have ash.

MacGillivray You would not have ash, because the tsunami does not get up on a hill. That is what is preserving the ash at Mochlos, Papadiokampos, Palaikastro and other places. But even without the ash, you have destruction, you have abandonment, and then you have a change in LM IB, when you have a smaller courtyard, a slightly rearranged building, could that be a reflection of the kind of damage you had in the period, depopulation, etc.? When Zakros and Gournia and Mochlos and other sites have all these wonderful buildings in LM IB, the Late Minoan Renaissance, Petras has suffered somehow, the harbor at Petras may have silted in, as a result of the debris flows coming back? It is worth discussing.

Then you have the LM IB destructions. Petras comes in line with the rest of the world. You do not seem to have evidence for LM II, so there is no instant reoccupation of the area, and in a sense it is your great LM IA palace with the Linear A that may be the last glory days at the site.

It is interesting that there is that memory of the place, where for some reason, I suppose it is the topography that demands it as well, where people would come and relocate, but not necessarily relocate to live, because in different periods you live in different places but some local community, possibly even just a family, was coming through where you have the LM IIIC settlement and megaron on Kephala.

Then in the Byzantine period, with a time span of 150 years for the use of the cemetery, it would not have been simply serving just one family, one farmstead. And they were manufacturing stuff also, up on the hill, but it remains a sacred place.

The fun thing is that Hill I has now become a sacred place again. Metaxia has fought tooth and nail to keep it from becoming a suburb of Siteia, and instead she has turned it into a place that reminds people from Siteia, or at least should remind people from Siteia, like Giorgos Alexopoulos, that they do have a very long and rich history, with a lot of external communications.

These are some of the themes I am thinking of. Then there is the theme of burial practices. That would be very interesting, changes in burial practices, what happens in MM III–LM I. If anybody would like to start, attacking, commenting on ideas that have come up, please do.

Hallager I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, it has always been a very great mystery to me why you have no rubbish pits in the LM I settlement. As I travelled around the island I asked all our colleagues excavating LM I settlements “where are your rubbish pits?”, and they were not there. It was Phil Betancourt who gave me an answer, which I am going to suggest also for the missing fish bones. He said that during that period and probably

also in the earlier periods, such organic remains were very important and they were taken out into the fields to be used as manure. This might be one possible suggestion for the missing fish bones.

MacGillivray Interesting.

Vallianou I just want to point out that Metaxia must be a very happy Greek archaeologist. After 25 years of hard work, and having faced many difficult problems, she managed to complete an important work, to excavate a particularly important site, to establish its relations with other areas, to have very good collaborators, to publish a lot, to reach almost the end of her research, and to make the site accessible to the public, with modest but appropriate interventions. I would like to wish her luck in the future, and I believe that she deserved all she has achieved up to now.

MacGillivray Excellent. She has been very clever about getting the right sort of collaborators.

Macdonald Can I just ask about the end of LM IB, perhaps you did not go into detail, at least House II.1 is abandoned, not destroyed by fire?

Tsipopoulou There is fire, especially since the industrial activity taking place there was connected with hearths, heating water, etc. The whole of Room E gave evidence for a fire. In the Shaw Festschrift, the *Krinoi kai Limenes* volume (Tsipopoulou 2007c), I published, for the first time, several pictures of the destruction deposit over the central court of the palace. There was a thick LM IB destruction deposit, full of blocks fallen from the upper floor, door jambs, from *polythyra*, many with mason's marks among them (we have identified 29 on fallen blocks, and some more are *in situ*). There was this very thick deposit with intense burning, all over the central court and to the east of it. In the central court we had 10 Byzantine graves and also the ossuary. Some of them, as Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou said, used one Minoan wall and then built another three walls, to have a cist built tomb. In other cases, they excavated in this very thick and compact destruction deposit, which was like the bedrock, and they put their dead in it.

MacGillivray So the LM IB fire destruction reached very high temperatures.

Tsipopoulou It is something very similar to the Phaistos "*astraki*". We do not have much LM IB pottery, because what we call the west wing of the palace, the parallel corridors on the plan, are all basement, or rather they are structural features to support the upper floors, so they were practically empty of any traces of the latest use. When we dug deeper, we found the walls of previous buildings. The latest phase of the palace is not well preserved, but we do have the destruction deposit.

Besides the central court, there was a room with an intense LM IB destruction deposit. This room is adjacent to the so-called "shrine" with the 4 m long plastered bench. This room with the bench was Protopalatial, and following the MM IIB destruction was sealed and never re-used. To the northeast of it, there was a long room with a flagstone floor, and in it even the slabs were burnt. It was also full of plaster and mudbricks both from the ground and from the upper floors.

- MacGillivray** That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.
- Tsipopoulou** What always makes me wonder is why they kept this smaller, sort of symbolic, central court, and they did all the re-arrangement with the alternating columns and pillars. It has always been a palace with the memory of the earlier glory.
- MacGillivray** The Linear A tablets come from that?
- Tsipopoulou** Yes.
- MacGillivray** So there is administration.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, but we do not know about the existence of an archive. There were two tablets, in the same trench, at the west part of the building, the same trench that contained the hieroglyphic archive in a deeper stratum. And in between there was also an LM IA destruction deposit, all that in the same trench, we excavated almost 3 m. Kostas Christakis excavated the LM IA destruction deposit.
- MacGillivray** I wonder if, maybe Kostas Christakis will talk about the notion of foreigners and locals that Tina McGeorge brought up quite clearly.
- Paschalidis** I would like to change the subject, based on a comment we exchanged yesterday with Metaxia. In this Symposium, the LM III period was not adequately represented, not because it did not exist at Petras.
- Tsipopoulou** Right.
- Paschalidis** So, in order to have a complete picture of the site we should need to include this important period as well.
- MacGillivray** Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?
- Tsipopoulou** And also LM IIIC, as we saw.
- Paschalidis** There was a cemetery, Metaxia, that you showed us yesterday.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, there has been a cemetery; we had the larnakes, both chest-shaped and bathtub. The cemetery started in LM IIIB and continued into LM IIIC.
- MacGillivray** The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras, that was occupied for thousands of years, is that you can almost visualize populations coming and going. One of the best ways to see them is through their burial practices and to see how these change over time. Because you are dealing with the same spot, but obviously you are not dealing with the same people, you are watching populations come and go.

- Tsipopoulou** I would like to remind you about the Achladia tholos, which is Mycenaean in type and construction. This is very close to Petras, only 4 km from the coast, and it was also almost on top of an earlier settlement, a very small one, a *metochi* type, both Proto- and Neopalatial.
- MacGillivray** Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?
- Tsipopoulou** Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.
- MacGillivray** That is pretty old, anyway.
- Tsipopoulou** It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.
- MacGillivray** The Theraeruption? No the Mycenaean invasion.
[Laughs from the audience!]
- Tsipopoulou** The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.
- MacGillivray** Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?
- Blackman** I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *EΛKEΘΕ* [Hellenic Center of Marine Research] the problem of relative sea level change. Relative is the important word here, has the sea gone down and the land gone up, or both phenomena? The question goes back to Spratt and the whole question of what Crete has done, we know about elevation in the west, but something was happening in the east, and we have these submerged buildings at Palaikastro, which we wanted to survey. The whole issue of reconstructing the palaeoenvironment is very important. Now, at Siteia we have a *neoreion* that is classical, too late for our Prehistorian friends, but there you have something which functions with a precise sea level, not far from your site. First the geologists disagree about what has happened to the sea. Secondly the land is not one block, so what applies to Palaikastro will not necessarily apply to Siteia.
- MacGillivray** No, you have local tectonics.
- Blackman** But, nevertheless, a local study of the evidence for submerged beach lines would enable you to understand what has happened in the later periods, including eruptions, what has happened to the shoreline. Geologists can help with all that. Keep working with geologists, it is a challenge, they do not know how to apply for archaeological permits, and also the jealousies of geologists are far greater than the jealousies of archaeologists.
- MacGillivray** Impossible!
[Laughs in the audience!]

Blackman Nevertheless, it is very important for reconstructing communications by sea in the Minoan period, it is very important to try to reconstruct where the coastline was before you can understand the use of harbors, whatever harbors mean. It has been a wonderful conference. Congratulations to Dr Tsipopoulou.

MacGillivray I think this is probably the best time, to thank not only Metaxia but also her whole crew, for putting together the Symposium, and obviously these two days represent the end-result of 25 years of hard work, but you are probably less than half way there on the site, so we should probably meet every five years and get all the new information.
[Laughs in the audience]

And I hope you will all join me thanking Metaxia and her colleagues for this fantastic Symposium!

Bibliography

Bibliographic abbreviations

AASOR – *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*

ActaArch – *Lov Acta archaeologica Lovanensia*

AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPA – *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*

AR – *Archaeological Reports*

ArchDelt – *Archaeologikon Deltion*

ArchEph – *Archaïologike Ephemeris*

ASAtene – *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*

BAR-IS – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*

BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCH – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BCH Suppl. – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément*

BÉFAR – *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes e de Rome*

BICS – *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*

BSA – *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSPF – *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*

CHIC – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1996. *Corpus hieroglyphicarum inscriptionum Cretae* (Études Crétoises 31), Athens and Rome.

CMS – *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, Berlin 1964–2000; Mainz 2002–

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CretChron – *Kretika Chronika*

Curr.Anthr – *Current Anthropology*

JAnthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*

JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*

JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

JPR – *Journal of Prehistoric Religion*

Kentro – *Kentro: The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete*

OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*

Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Etaireias*

SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

SkrAth – *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

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