

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



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Petras, Siteia

– 25 years of excavations and studies

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Edited by

Metaxia Tsipopoulou



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Priestess? at work.

A LM IA chlorite schist lentoid seal from the Neopalatial settlement of Petras*

David W. Rupp & Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Abstract

On the Pateropoulos-Liondakís property just outside the northwestern edge of the archaeological site of Petras a test excavation in 2007 revealed part of the Proto- and Neopalatial settlement. On an LM IA floor a dark greenish gray-chlorite schist lentoid seal was found. The seal has a well-carved image of a woman wearing a flounced bell skirt, holding a caprid in her right arm and shoulder and with an object in her left hand. That object appears to be a long bow. While the consensus for the other 18 examples of this scene from Crete is that the woman is a priestess carrying a caprid to a sacrifice the presence of the long bow may indicate that a hunting goddess is presented here instead. There are two other examples which too may depict a long bow. This scene is part of the iconographic repertoire of the soft stone workshop tradition which may represent the sub-élite artistic milieu in Minoan society.

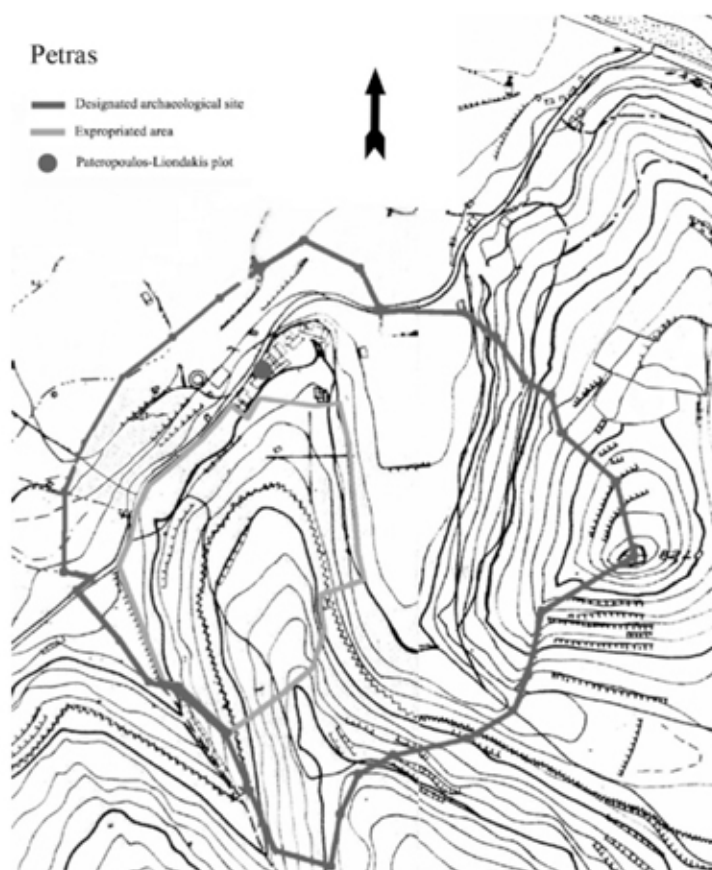


Fig. 1. Map showing the location of the Pateropoulos-Liondakís plot at Petras.

Introduction¹

To the northwest of the line of the fence of the archaeological site of Petras is the Pateropoulos-Liondakís property (Fig. 1). On the eastern portion of the plot there is a small, old house. In the western portion there was a small courtyard measuring 6.50 x 9 m (Fig. 2). The trial excavation conducted in July, 2007 was limited to the courtyard.² Modern or Venetian walls came to light, followed by

* The excavation was funded by the 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Dr Yiannis Papadatos conducted the excavation for the Ephorate. INSTAP provided the funding of conservation, photography and drawings. Clio Zervaki conserved the seal and the pottery. Jerolyn Morrison drew the pottery. Chronis Papanikolopoulos photographed the seal. Garifalia Kostopoulou executed the photoshop work for the illustrative materials.

¹ A shorter version of this contribution was given at the 11th Cretological Conference in Rethymnon in October, 2011.

² The excavation was conducted by Yiannis Papadatos.



Fig. 2. View from the northwest of the Pateropoulos-Liondakís plot before excavation in July, 2007.



Fig. 3. View of the plot to the northeast after excavation with the findspot of the LM IA lentoid seal.

remains of the Late Minoan I and the Middle Minoan periods (Fig. 3). To the Neopalatial period belongs a probable large terrace wall, preserved for 3.20 m and 1 m wide as the widest, as well as another two walls, to the east, narrower, possibly with a similar function.

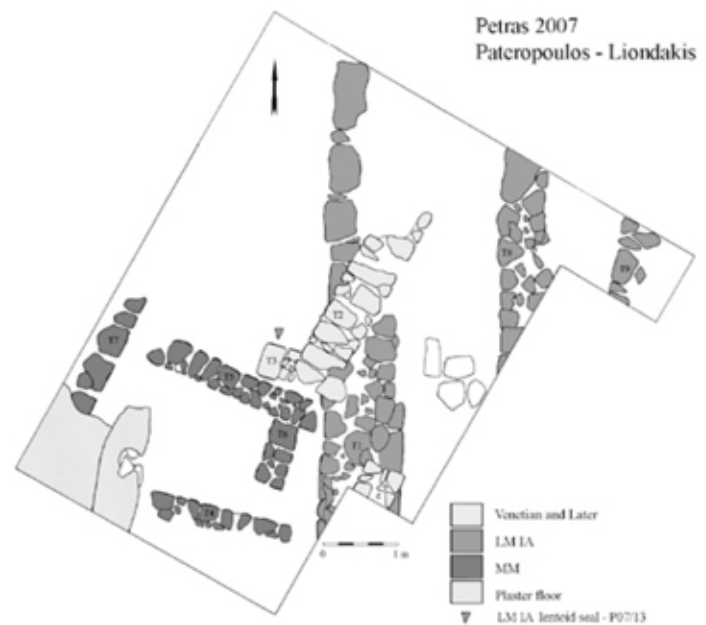


Fig. 4. Plan of the excavated remains with the findspot of the LM IA lentoid seal.

The find context and its dating

To the west of the large wall, in Layer 3, Locus 7 (Fig. 4), a chlorite schist lentoid seal (P07/13) was found on a LM IA surface. The closed shape and open shape vessels from this context were largely from the LM IA period (Figs. 5–6), with intrusive later material associated with the construction of the Venetian or later wall.

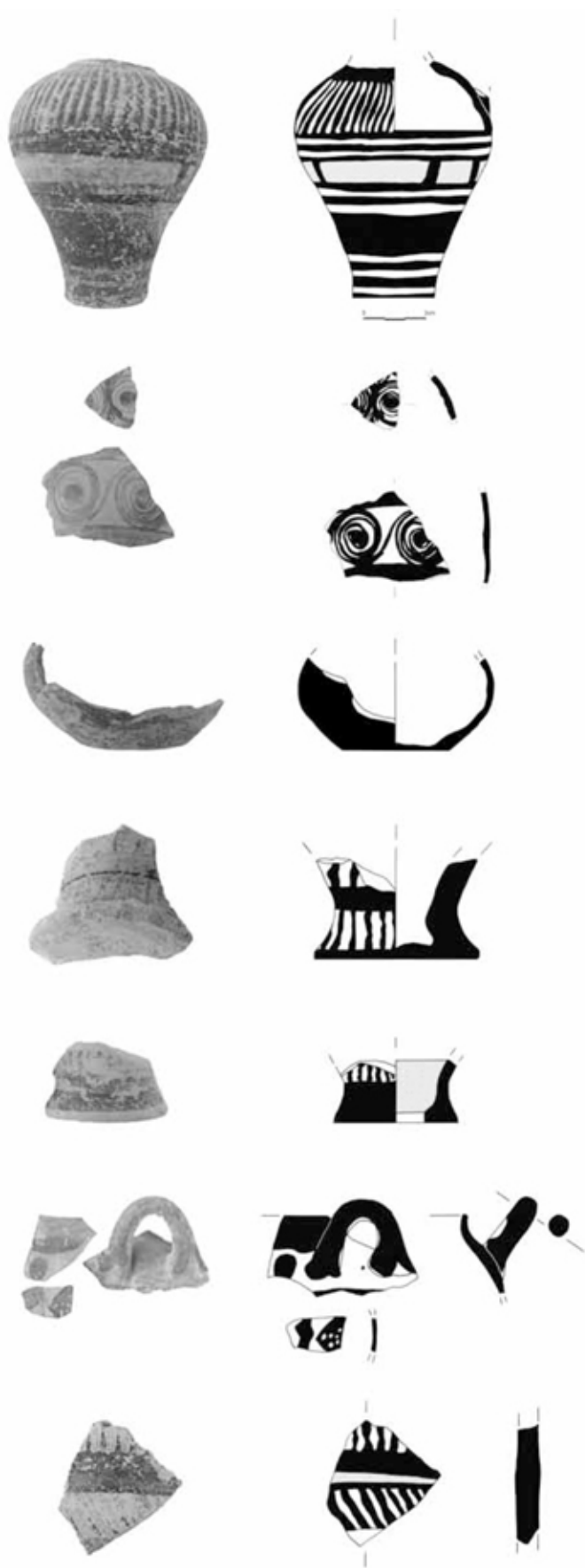


Fig. 5. LM IA closed shape vessels recovered in Layer 3, Locus 7 (photographs by M. Tsiopoulou).

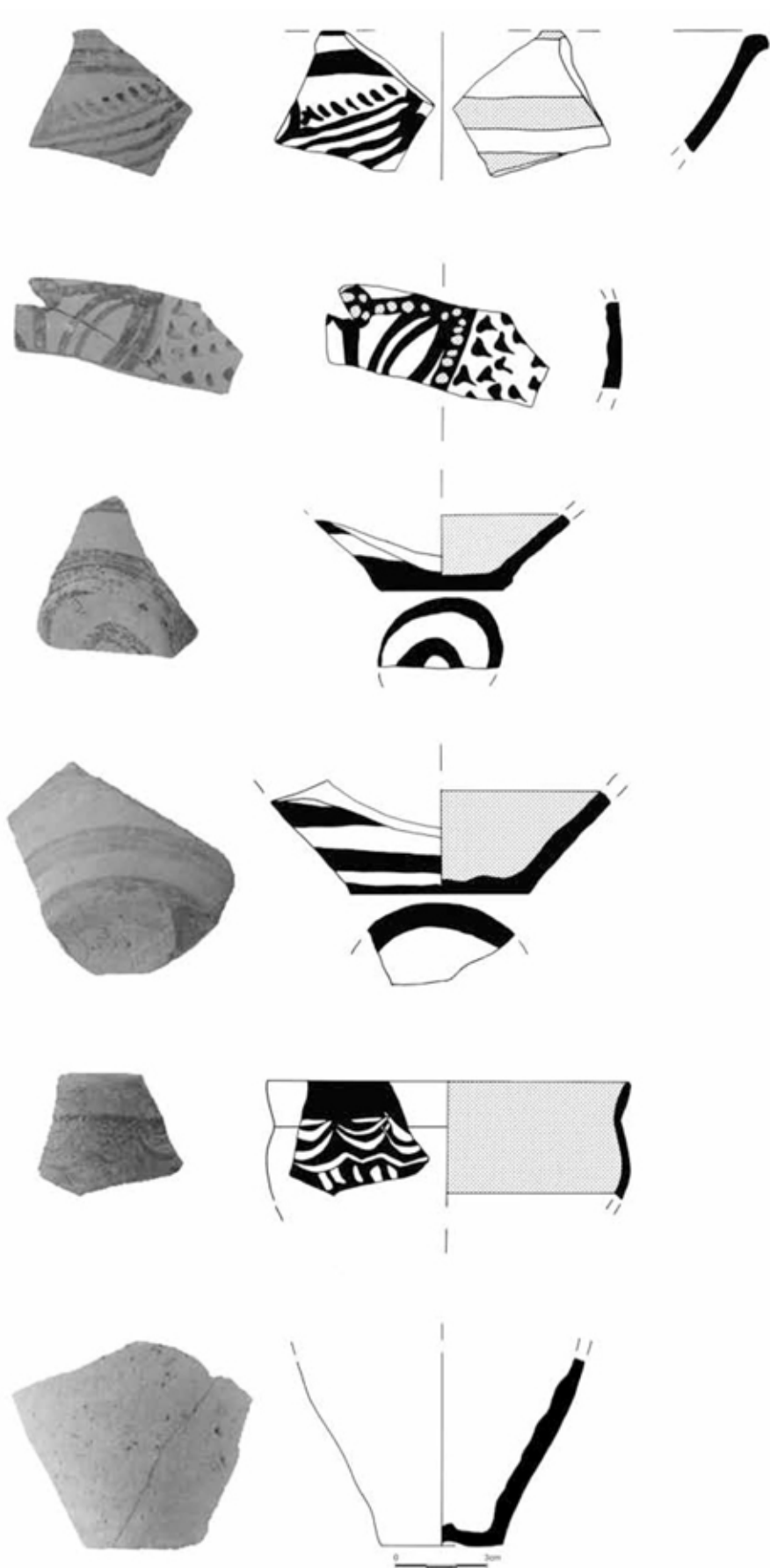


Fig. 6. LM IA open shape vessels recovered in Layer 3, Locus 7 (photographs by M. Tsiopoulou).

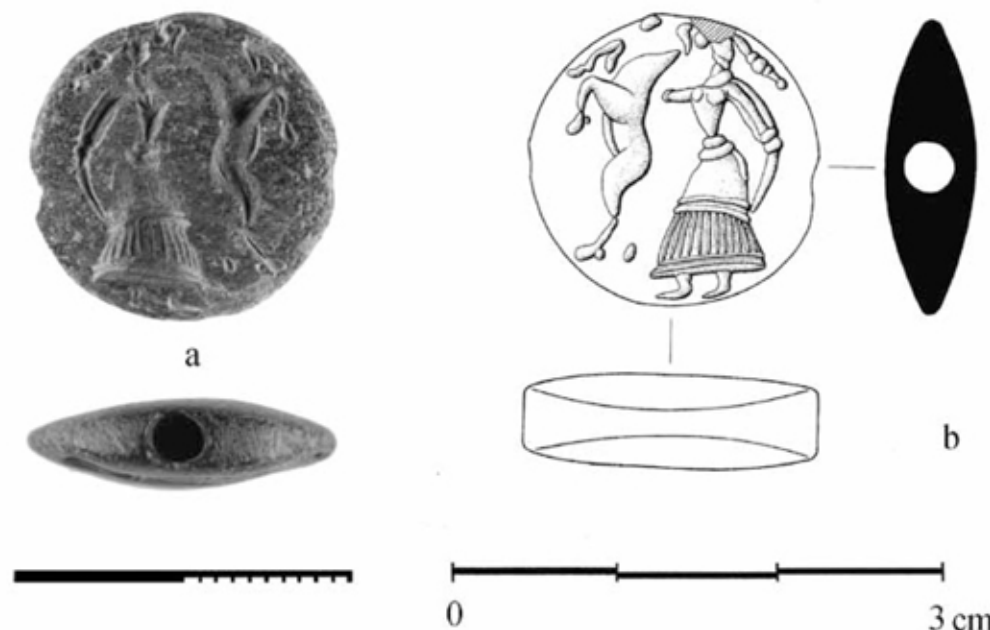


Fig. 7. a) Photographs of the lentoid seal; b) Drawing of the LM IA lentoid seal.

The Petras seal and its iconography

The new lentoid shape seal (Fig. 7)³ is carved from dark greenish gray chlorite schist (Gray 1 4/1/10Y). It measures 1.9 cm on its vertical axis and 1.8 cm on its horizontal one. Its maximum thickness is 0.5 cm. The string holes have a diameter of 0.024 cm (right) and 0.03 cm (left). The seal weighs 2.55 gr.



Fig. 8. Impression of the LM IA lentoid seal (taken by Clio Zervaki).

The scene (Fig. 8) engraved carefully on the slightly convex face of the seal consists of a woman facing left supporting in her out-stretched right arm and shoulder a horned caprid. The woman, with her two feet point to the left, wears a flounced bell skirt that is divided into two almost equal zones. The lower one is decorated with vertical lines and is bordered on the bottom and top by three ribs. The upper one is plain. The woman appears to wear a belt made from two raised horizontal ribs. It is not clear if her torso is clothed or not, but a horizontal raised band at her throat may suggest the former. As the seal is damaged, slightly the top of her head is now missing behind a dot-like eye.

The figure's left arm is hanging either at her side or behind her back. The hand appears to be holding a long curved object with a pointed end (Fig. 9). When this area is examined closely two observations can be made. First, there is a shallower area on either side of a deeper incision that curves downward. This appears to be her arm. Second, while this shallower area ends where there are two bulbous projections the deeper incision continues its arc downward and ends in a point. The shape of this deeper incision as Colin Macdonald⁴ observed is similar to that of the curved limbs of a long bow

³ The drawing was executed by Douglas Faulmann.

⁴ Pers. comm.



Fig. 9. Area of the right arm of the female figure.

(Fig. 10). The two bulbous projections could be the ends of the handhold. There is a short, slight straight incision that might be an attempt at depicting the bow's string.

The body of the caprid faces to the left with only one of its hind legs shown. The two front legs are flexed. Its head is thrust backwards over her shoulder behind the woman's head. One of its long horns is shown extending behind the woman's head.

The corpus of Minoan seals with the same scene depicted

There are a total of 19 examples (Fig. 11), including some sealings, in the corpus of LM I soft stone lentoid seals found in Crete that depict a woman holding or supporting a rampant quadruped, probably a caprid. In addition, there is a cylinder seal with this scene repeated twice (Fig. 11).⁵ In 10 they face to the right and the remainder to the left. There is another related corpus of seven stones lentoid seals carved from hard stones, including a sealing, as well as one possible soft stone seal, from the LH I-II Mainland that have a close version of this scene⁶. This corpus will not be discussed in this paper.

The renditions of this scene from Neopalatial Crete (Fig. 11), display a consistency that points to a common prototype in an unknown medium. While the level of engraving varies from crude to



Fig. 10. Reconstruction of a long bow with bow string held in the right hand of the female figure (drawn by David W. Rupp).

very detailed, the treatments of the woman and of the caprid, are all very similar in conception and in execution, with some minor variations.

The woman's stance is rendered in two variations. The most common one, "A" (Fig. 12a), with 11 examples, is an upright, rigid pose, with an arm extended straight out, grasping the caprid by its neck or supporting it on her shoulder. In the other one, "B" (Fig. 12b), she appears to be bending forward at the waist, with her rear thrust outward slightly. She clothed in a flounced bell skirt. A few examples give the impression that it could be a coulottes-type skirt. The skirt is generally divided horizontally into two sections of varying width, separated by simple or more complex borders. The upper portion is often depicted as plain. The lower portion is decorated with a series of parallel vertical lines. Occasionally there are three sections. At the waist there is a belt or comber bun made from two horizontal bands. The upper torso above the waist normally is not well-defined. Sometimes, the line of the bosom or the breasts is rendered. When there is detail, it appears as if the woman is wearing a blouse with sleeves to the mid-forearm or to the wrist. Sometimes the line of the shoulder and the arm is decorated with dots. The woman's head is often missing either from damage or because the

⁵ CMS III, no. 511, Herakleion Museum, Giamalakis Collection, inv. no. 3264.

⁶ See Pini 2010d, 335–6, fig. 12.



VS3 No. 38



II,4 No. 111



XII No. 239



VI No. 322



XIII No. 5D



VIII No. 144



II,3 No. 287



II,3 No. 117



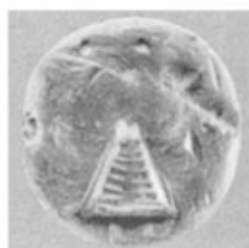
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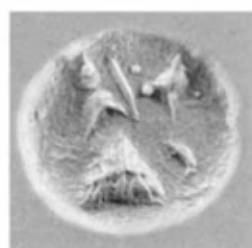
XII No. 276a



II,4 No. 204



II,4 No. 35



IV No. 307



VI No. 323



III No. 359



III No. 511,
Detail

Fig. 11. Corpus of 16 LM I soft stone lentoid seals and sealings from Crete with the “priestess holding a caprid” scene and a Minoan cylinder seal with the scene repeated twice (Pini 2010d).

animal’s head is shown here. When there is any preserved definition the head usually consists of a beak-like nose and/or a single dot for an eye.

If the woman faces right she holds the animal in her left hand; if she faces left it is in her right hand. The other arm is normally shown bent at the elbow with the upper and lower parts in appropriate proportions. Only one example, *CMS* VI, no. 322 (Fig. 12c),⁷ has some indication of a free hand. For two seals, *CMS* II.3, no. 213 (Fig. 12d)⁸ and *CMS* II.4, no. 111 (Fig. 12e),⁹ some have suggested that the woman is holding a knife. Besides the possible bow on the Petras seal, *CMS* VIII, no.144 (Fig. 12f)¹⁰ has an object with a similar appearance. This

seal’s rendition of the scene is, in fact, very close to that on the Petras seal. The possible knife on *CMS* II.4, no. 111, may be interpreted as a bow as well.

Most scholars have identified the quadruped as a caprid, usually a goat or an agrimi. A sheep, a ram or a deer also have been suggested. The animal is shown in 11 examples with its head draped over

⁷ Thought to be from Crete; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1941.120.

⁸ Seized in 1927 from Chersonissos; Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1499.

⁹ From Evans’ excavations in 1923 of the “House of the Frescoes”; Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1287.

¹⁰ Rev. V.E.G. Kenna Collection, inv. no. 144.

Fig. 12. Impressions of selected seals depicting the “priestess holding a caprid”.



the woman's shoulder. In the others it is rampant. In all cases three or four of its legs are depicted as hanging limp. When there is sufficient detail and there is no damage, five of the animals have horns and five do not. For the others it is not clear. Thus, it is difficult to say if the quadruped is meant to be a horned caprid. If it was a goat, an agrimi or a ram the horns may have been removed if the animal was intended for sacrifice.

The discussion of this scene and specific examples from the corpus

Variations of the scene carved on the Petras lentoid seal have been the subject of a long simmering discussion since 1972. Yiannis Sakellarakis¹¹ started it off by discussing a lentoid seal found at Vapheio (*CMS I, no. 220*; Fig. 12g)¹² which depicts two priestesses moving to the left, with the left

one carrying a rampant caprid. He assembled the then known 12 examples which all have only one woman holding a caprid. He moved the discussion further in 1975¹³ when he postulated, on the basis of the Vapheio seals and partially preserved clay sealings from the deposit in Room VII of House A at Kato Zakros (*CMS II.7*; Fig. 12h),¹⁴ that the subject was an abbreviated representation of a procession of priestesses to the right, one of whom was carrying a rampant caprid, to an altar for sacrifice.¹⁵

A more specific relative date of LM IB was given by Wolf-Dietrich Neimeier¹⁶ than simply Neopalatial for the then known two examples from excavated contexts in Crete. They are from the “House of the Frescoes” at Knossos (*CMS II.4, no. 111*; Fig.

¹¹ Sakellarakis 1972.

¹² Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1760.

¹³ Sakellarakis 1975.

¹⁴ Herakleion Museum, HMs 32/1–4.

¹⁵ Sakellarakis 1975, table 88.

¹⁶ Neimeier 1981, 94 and 96, Abb. 7 and 9.

12e)¹⁷ and from the 1902 Italian excavations of the Villa at Hagia Triada (CMS II.3, no.117; Fig. 12i).¹⁸ Later Nannos Marinatos¹⁹ returned to the theme, adding a few more examples to the corpus, and succinctly summed up what these were intended to represent. She had access to Christos Boulotis' 1978 unpublished doctoral dissertation²⁰ on Aegean processions where he commented on this subject. She too sees the seal images as an short-hand version of a sacrificial procession of only women, possibly priestesses, where at least one of them is carrying an animal, probably already dead, to a terminal point, possibly an altar or a sacrificial table. What the women will do with the animal, especially if it is dead, is not clear. Cut off its head with a knife or simply consecrate it? She emphasizes that the "division of capacities and duties between the sexes is accentuated in the ritual sphere". That is "hunting or killing is done by men, the consecration by women".²¹

A compositional analysis by John Younger²² described this scene as a standing woman in back of a rampant animal which could either be an agrimi, a goat or a generic quadruped. Four of the then known examples of this corpus were referred to by him.

Karen Krattenmaker²³ in her analysis of the representation of architecture in glyptic cult scenes identified the women on the seals as priestesses carrying agrimia. In doing so she accepted Sakellarakis' assumption that the Kato Zakros sealings display a short-hand version of an altar at the right edge of the field. To her the flounced bell shirt suggested that "a special activity is indicated".²⁴ The association of agrimia with peak sanctuaries led her to read these representations of women carrying agrimia "...as possible references to sacrifice, or as depictions indicating a (protective?) relationship between female figures and agrimia".²⁵

Stefan Hiller²⁶ has noted the increasing frequency of depiction of goats during the Neopalatial period. The representation of them in peaceful animal life, hunted by men and sacrificed, forms a coherent cycle. Hiller, following Marinatos, sees the hunting and the sacrifice of goats as two aspects of a ritually connected sequence of events. Further, they reinforce the close connection between the goat and the female sphere.

In a discussion of four inscribed hanging nodules

(ZA Wa 38) Erik Hallager²⁷ dated the Kato Zakros sealings from the deposit in Room VII of House A to LM IB, thus, along with Neimeier's input, establishing the end of LM IB as the *terminus ante quem* for the Cretan examples.

Olga Krzyszkowska's²⁸ comprehensive overview of Aegean seals touched on many issues germane to this corpus. The frequency of references to processions, especially with female figures, produces the impression that "...these are excerpts from or allusions to the larger and more explicit scenes on signet rings".²⁹ She is uncertain, however, "...whether [the woman carrying a sheep or goat] is a worshipper or a priestess bringing an animal to sacrifice, or a goddess in the guise of the Mistress of the Animals".³⁰ The examples of this scene from the Mainland dating to LB I-II are also treated by her. She notes that one cannot determine if these examples "are Minoan imports or close copies of Minoan originals".³¹

The seals of this corpus with known provenience from Crete were carved from soft stones while those from the Mainland with a similar scene utilized hard stones. Ingo Pini³² has explored this striking dichotomy. He identified the woman as a priestess carrying a ram. Pini argues that "it seems likely that the scenes indicate some kind of preparation for sacrifice although the altar once thought by Yiannis Sakellarakis to appear on the sealings from Kato Zakros does not in fact exist"³³ according to a new drawing of it.

¹⁷ See n. 9.

¹⁸ Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 183.

¹⁹ Marinatos 1986, 34-5.

²⁰ Marinatos 1986, 34, ns. 134 and 137.

²¹ Marinatos 1986, 35.

²² Younger 1988, p. 179, fig. 126.

²³ Krattenmaker 1995, 120 and 124-5, figs. 1, 13 and 3.

²⁴ Krattenmaker 1995, 125.

²⁵ Krattenmaker 1995.

²⁶ Hiller 2001, 293-4, pl. XCIV, 23a-b.

²⁷ Hallager 1995, 11-3 and 17, figs. 8 and 10.

²⁸ Krzyszkowska 2005.

²⁹ Krzyszkowska 2005, 142.

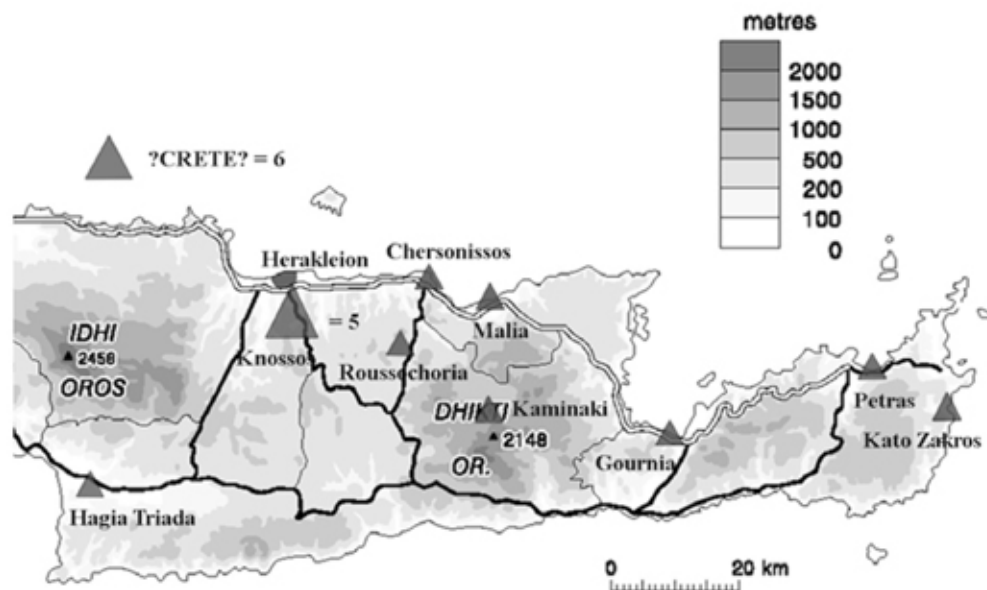
³⁰ Krzyszkowska 2005.

³¹ Krzyszkowska 2005, 253.

³² Pini 2010d.

³³ Pini 2010d, 395.

Fig. 13. Map of Central and eastern Crete with the locations of the known find spots for the seals in the corpus of seals and sealings with the “priestess holding a caprid” scene.



The complex central question remains as to why this scene is only depicted on soft stone lentoid seals from Crete that date to LM IA-B. As for an answer, Pini suggested “...that the soft stone seals were abbreviated representations of processions toward an altar or a shrine, although so far no such processions are known from metal rings”.³⁴ It should be noted here that such processions with women are also absent from other Neopalatial artistic media. He then went on to speculate whether these seals were carved for ordinary people as he labeled them, while the members of the elite and the administrators had metal rings or hard stones.³⁵ As soft and hard stones required different engraving techniques, there must have been different specialized workshops producing each type, Pini believes.³⁶

The importance of the new seal from Petras for understanding the corpus

So what does the new example in this corpus from Petras bring to this discussion and to our understanding of the various issues involved? First, the seal is very well carved, with considerable detail for a soft stone example. It joins two other examples from the corpus with the scene carved in a complex fashion. Second, the seal was found in a securely dated LM IA domestic context at Petras.

This provides us with a firm *terminus post quem* for this corpus which means that the soft stone seals from Crete with this scene were carved between the beginning of LM IA and the end of LM IB. Third, the location and the nature of the associated artifactual assembly and the preserved architectural remains do not suggest that this was a supra-elite dwelling or one connected to palatial functions in some fashion.

Fourth, if the female figure in the flounced bell shirt on three seals³⁷ is, in fact, holding a bow in her free hand, then these might be representations of “a goddess in the guise of the Mistress of the Animals” as Krzyszkowska wondered.³⁸ Fifth, it appears that the variations of the basic scene are different abbreviations of a procession of priestesses, possibly in the symbolic presence of the Mistress of the Animals, or, of only one or two priestesses shown in a series of separate, “stop-action” frames as in a comic strip. They are carrying one or more goats and/or agrimia. The procession is moving toward an unseen altar, a table of sacrifice, a shrine or a simple, consecrated space.

Sixth, the absence to date from Neopalatial Crete of renditions of this procession scene on metal rings or on hard stone seals as well as the

³⁴ Pini 2010d, 338.

³⁵ Pini 2010d.

³⁶ Pini 2010d, 339.

³⁷ Petras, CMS VIII, no. 144; CMS VIII, no. 111.

³⁸ Krzyszkowska 2005, 142.

lack of such a procession in contemporary frescoes, metalwork or carved stone reliefs supports the view that the prototype for this scene, at the very least, comes from the iconographic repertoire of the soft stone workshop tradition. Its source may also originate in the sub-elite artistic tradition in a medium or media that have not been preserved.³⁹ Finally, the large number of seals and sealings, 19, with this scene and their broad distribution from a variety of Neopalatial find spots in Central and eastern Crete (Fig. 13) lends support to the interpretation that they are examples of art beyond the palace walls and its immediate environs. If these thoughts are plausible then we have an insight into some of the characteristics of the art of a segment of the elite who were not at the very top of Minoan society.

Conclusions

In the realm of Minoan seals, Petras continues to produce on a regular basis a wide array of examples from all periods and materials. These not only enlarge the Minoan seal corpus as a whole, but also challenge us to think beyond the limits of the presumed known, by providing unexpected and unusual examples to contemplate and to integrate into our narrative about the nature and beliefs of Minoan society.

³⁹ The procession and sacrifice scene painted on Side B of the LM IIIA2 limestone sarcophagus from Tomb 4 at Hagia Triada may be a reflection of the postulated motif. See Burke 2005.

Greek abstract

Ιέρεια (;) *ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ*. Ένας ΥΜ ΙΑ φακοειδής σφραγιδόλιθος από σκουροπράσινο οφείτη από τον Νεοανακτορικό οικισμό του Πετρά

Στην ιδιοκτησία Πατεροπούλου-Λιοντάκη, εξωτερικά του βορειοδυτικού άκρου του απαλλοτριωμένου χώρου του Πετρά, δοκιμαστική ανασκαφή το 2007 έφερε στο φως τμήμα του Παλαιο- και Νεοανακτορικού οικισμού. Σε ΥΜ ΙΑ δάπεδο βρέθηκε φακοειδής σφραγιδόλιθος από σκουροπράσινο οφείτη. Φέρει παράσταση γυναικείας μορφής με φαρδιά κωδωνόσχημη φούστα, η οποία κρατεί στο δεξί της χέρι αιγοειδές και στο αριστερό της ένα αντικείμενο, που μοιάζει με μακρύ τόξο. Αν και η γενικά παραδεκτή άποψη για τα υπόλοιπα 18 κρητικά δείγματα αυτού του εικονιστικού τύπου είναι ότι πρόκειται για ιέρεια που κρατεί αιγοειδές για να το θυσιάσει, η παρουσία του τόξου μπορεί να δηλώνει ότι γίνεται εδώ αναφορά σε θεά του κυνηγιού. Υπάρχουν άλλα δύο παραδείγματα τα οποία πιθανώς εικονίζουν μακρύ τόξο. Η σκηνή εντάσσεται σε εικονιστικό ρεπερτόριο εργαστηρίου σφραγίδων από μαλακό λίθο, το οποίο πιθανώς εξυπηρετούσε τις καλλιτεχνικές ανάγκες μιας σχετικά χαμηλής κατηγορίας άρχουσας τάξης στη Μινωική κοινωνία.



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 all excavations and all research projects we 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 work at Palaikastro – since the very beginning. Hugh Sackett and I went in 1983 at Palaikastro and 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 it should never be told, or nobody would ever go to archaeology. In Metaxia's case it was very complicated, very difficult, and she showed amazing stain 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, see if we can pick up certain areas, and you may want to talk more with the speakers, was really to 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 you think that means? Are 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 them trading abroad, which means that either they are going at 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 have been put down in the Lakkos. And there is the wonderful tempting reconstruction of the hill been 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 coming there. What they are consuming, is, certainly, when we are looking at the potteries, material locally made, but also imported, 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 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 have then this change. There is enough wealth, enough power and enough desire to build this larger center, and this is coincident 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 are these young men, and why they are 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-states 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 very well excavated now, much better excavated than Knossos, does this allow us to answer the question, that Jan Driessen is posing 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 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 that 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 Thera eruption. 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 staff 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, and especially since this industrial activity that was 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 and 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 the IIIC.
- MacGillivray** The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras that was occupied for thousands of years, is 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 Thera eruption? 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 about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *EΛKEΘE* [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 the local study of what is the evidence for submerge 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 to thank Metaxia and her colleagues for this fantastic Symposium!