

# Petras, Siteia

## 25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens  
Volume 16

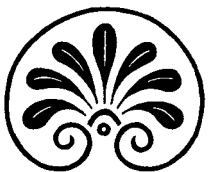
# Petras, Siteia

## – 25 years of excavations and studies

Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at  
Athens, 9–10 October 2010

Edited by

*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



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Volume 16

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Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

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# Contents

11 List of contributors

13 Preface  
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

15 Abbreviations

16 Bibliography

43 Greetings  
from *Erik Hallager*

45 Introduction: 25 years of excavations and studies at Petras  
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

## **I. The earliest occupation: FN-EM I Kephala**

69 Back to the beginnings: the earliest habitation at Petras on the basis of the evidence from the FN-EM I settlement on Kephala  
*Yiannis Papadatos*

81 Pottery fabrics and recipes in the Final Neolithic and Early Minoan I period: the analytical evidence from the settlement and the Rock Shelter of Kephala Petras  
*Eleni Nodarou*

89 Neolithic and Minoan marine exploitation at Petras: diachronic trends and cultural shifts  
*Tatiana Theodoropoulou*

105 Obsidian modes of production and consumption from a diachronic perspective as seen from Petras and the Siteia Bay environs (abstract)  
*Cesare D'Annibale*

## **II. The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery**

107 The architecture of the house tombs at Petras  
*Philip P. Betancourt*

117 The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, Siteia: a diachronic symbol of social coherence  
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

- 133 Affluence in eastern Crete: metal objects from the cemetery of Petras  
*Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly & Philip P. Betancourt*
- 145 Seals from the Petras cemetery: a preliminary overview  
*Olga Krzyszkowska*
- 161 Kephala Petras: the human remains and the burial practices in the Rock Shelter  
*Sevasti Triantaphyllou*
- 171 Size does matter: the significance of obsidian microliths and querns at the Petras cemetery  
*Heidi M.C. Dierckx*

### **III. The transition from the Prepalatial to the Protopalatial**

- 179 Defining the end of the Prepalatial period at Petras  
*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*
- 191 The Lakkos pottery and Middle Minoan IB Petras  
*Donald C. Haggis*

### **IV. Neopalatial Petras**

- 205 Petras, Siteia: political, economic and ideological trajectories of a polity  
*Kostis S. Christakis*
- 221 House II.1 at Petras, Siteia: its architectural life  
*Nektaria Mavroudi*
- 235 Vessels in cooking fabrics from Petras House I.1 (LM IA): overview and capacity measures  
*Maria Emanuela Alberti*
- 255 Miniature vessels from Petras  
*Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw*
- 265 Literacy at Petras and three hitherto unpublished Linear A inscriptions  
*Erik Hallager*
- 277 Death in Petras: two men fighting on a LM IA lentoid seal  
*David W. Rupp*
- 291 The Petras intramural infant jar burial: context, symbolism, eschatology  
*Photini J.P. McGeorge*
- 305 Priestess? at work: a LM IA chlorite schist lentoid seal from the Neopalatial settlement of Petras  
*David W. Rupp & Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

## **V. The Byzantine cemetery**

- 315 Pottery of the Middle Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Venetian occupation from Petras, Siteia  
*Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou*

## **VI. The Siteia Bay area**

- 327 Papadiokampos and the Siteia Bay in the second millennium BC: exploring patterns of regional hierarchy and exchange in eastern Crete  
*Chrysa Sofianou & Thomas M. Brogan*

## **VII. [www.petras-excavations.gr](http://www.petras-excavations.gr)**

- 341 The website [www.petras-excavations.gr](http://www.petras-excavations.gr)  
*Konstantinos Tógias*

- 347 **VIII. Final discussion**  
chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

## **IX. Concluding remarks**

- 355 Petras in context: localism, regionalism, internationalism  
*Peter M. Warren*
- 361 Index

# 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.



# Introduction: 25 years of excavations and studies at Petras<sup>\*</sup>

*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*

Petras is located *ca.* 2 km east of the modern town of Siteia in eastern Crete (Fig. 1). The first to investigate the site was Robert Carr Bosanquet in 1900,<sup>1</sup> for two days, following his excavations at Praisos. He opened various trenches on the plateau of the hill and on the lower slopes, but was disappointed. He abandoned the site and moved on to Palaikastro.<sup>2</sup> Bosanquet, however, did not fail to note in his brief report the importance of the site as a harbour place.<sup>3</sup> In 1983, as a junior member of the Hellenic Archaeological Service, I was transferred from Khania (25<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) to eastern Crete (24<sup>th</sup> Ephorate). The then Ephor, Dr Costis Davaras, entrusted me with the supervision of the Minoan monuments and sites of the Siteia area. In 1984 and 1985, I had the chance to excavate the MM I fortified rectangular building at Hagia Photia-Kouphota.<sup>4</sup> The excavation started as a rescue project, as the construction of a hotel was planned on the site. That building which is of a unique plan, the fortification wall, the two MM IIA circular buildings which were constructed partially on top of the large rectangular construction,

and were practically empty, but identifiable as tholos tombs for their architecture, were, individually and collectively, very difficult to understand, and even more so incorporate into a meaningful historical reconstruction of the area of the Siteia Bay and eastern Crete in general. Twenty-six years later, despite

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<sup>\*</sup> The conservation of the finds is by Clio Zervaki, and the drawing in fig. 5 is by David Rupp. The photographs in Figs. 5, 9, 16 are by Metaxia Tsipopoulou, in Figs. 6, 7, 10a by Yiannis Papadatos, in fig. 17 by Garifalia Kostopoulou and Michael Wedde. The plan of the cemetery in Fig. 13 is a collective work by the members of the excavation team. The vessels in Figs. 6, 7 have been photographed by Chronis Papanikolopoulos. G. Kostopoulou is also responsible for the plates and D. Rupp checked my English text. To all of them my warmest thanks.

<sup>1</sup> Bosanquet 1901–1902.

<sup>2</sup> Bosanquet 1901–1902.

<sup>3</sup> Bosanquet 1901–1902, 282: “Lying on a deep bay and commanding as it does the easiest route into the Eteocretan highlands, it seemed likely that Petras might furnish useful clues, if not to the indigenous culture of the district, at any rate to the foreign influences that were at work during the Bronze Age”.

<sup>4</sup> Tsipopoulou 1988.

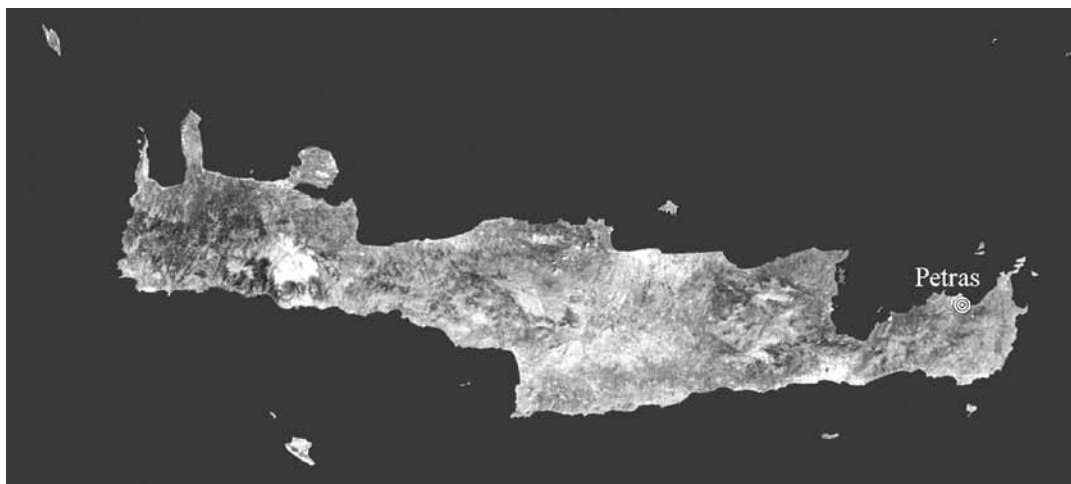


Fig. 1. Map of Crete showing the location of Petras (Google Earth).

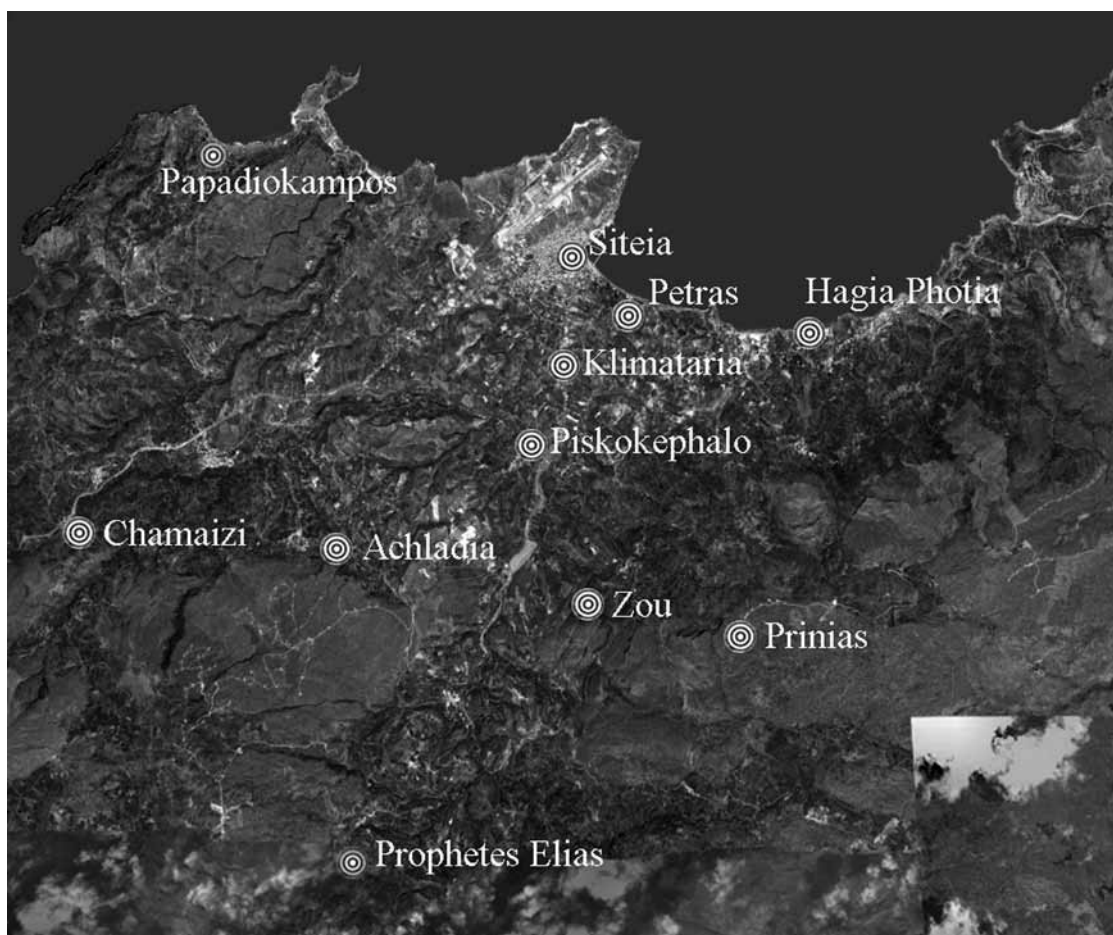


Fig. 2. Petras and its hinterland.

the important discoveries at Petras, the mystery of the Kouphota building(s) remains unsolved.

In 1985, during the second year of the excavation at Hagia Photia, we were able to conduct an intense surface survey over 4,000 stremmata in the Hagia Photia Plain, with the support of the Municipality of Siteia.<sup>5</sup> The survey produced interesting results, dated mostly to the Neopalatial period. Several small isolated farmhouses, scattered over the plain, were identified. Many years later, in 1997, I was able to return to Hagia Photia to conduct further cleanings of the fortification wall and thus complete its plan. Only then was I able to realize that some puzzling remains at the southwest part of the site belonged to the EM I–IIA settlement of the better known cemetery.<sup>6</sup>

Already in 1984 the idea of investigating intensively the totality of the Siteia Bay area in order to understand the settlement patterns over various

prehistoric periods was a very clear research goal for me. That year I visited for the first time the Hill of Petras. The topography, and also the surface remains convinced me that an important Minoan site should have existed in that place. Soon I discovered that Nikolaos Platon believed the same.<sup>7</sup> He never investigated Petras, even though the presence of the shrine at Piskokephalo suggested to him the significance of the site. Zakros was discovered in 1960 and he went there to fulfil his destiny. When I first asked Davaras to allow me to make some trial trenches at Petras, he did not believe that the preservation of the site was worth an excavation, but he supported me nevertheless and wished me to discover “a second Gournia”.

<sup>5</sup> Tsipopoulou 1989.

<sup>6</sup> Tsipopoulou 2007a.

<sup>7</sup> Platon 1952a.

Excavations began in 1985. In the late 1980's the excavation was granted the status of a "systematic research project" by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, after the expropriation of 40,000 m<sup>2</sup>.

Prior to the beginning of the excavation at Petras, the following sites were known, due to the earlier research in the area of the Siteia Bay and its hinterland, by Stephanos Xanthoudides at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Nikolaos Platon in the 1950s, and Costis Davaras in the 1970s (Fig. 2):

- a) The Middle Minoan Oval House at Chamaizi.<sup>8</sup>
- b) Two Minoan shrines at Piskokephalo and Prinias, dated both to the Proto- and the Neopalatial periods.<sup>9</sup>
- c) Several important Neopalatial buildings in the hinterland, the so-called "villas" at Klimataria, Zou, Achladia and Prophetes Elias.<sup>10</sup>
- d) The LM III tholos tomb at Achladia.<sup>11</sup>
- e) The well known Early Minoan cemetery at Hagia Photia.<sup>12</sup>
- f) The above-mentioned fortified late Prepalatial building at Hagia Photia, and the Neopalatial remains located during the survey.<sup>13</sup>

All these sites, each one very important, seemed rather isolated, and apparently there was a link missing to integrate them into a meaningful interpretative narrative. It was easy to see Petras as the central place in the area, and the continuation of the research has demonstrated that this hypothesis was valid.

## Hill I

The systematic excavation on Hill I of Petras (1985–2000), revealed part of a large urban Minoan settlement, dated from EM II to LM IIIB, and a small palace, built in MM IIA, which functioned until the end of the Neopalatial period in LM IB (Fig. 3).<sup>14</sup>

In 1985, at the beginning of the excavation, and for a few years afterwards, I believed that Petras was principally a Neopalatial settlement, although the intensive surface survey of 1986 (see below) had also produced MM pottery. The existence of a central building on an artificial plateau, midway up the hill, seemed probable, as the topography was similar to that of Gournia.<sup>15</sup> However, my priority was

to obtain first a good knowledge of the topography and the stratigraphy, and also to get acquainted with the various categories of finds, before I started investigating the large plateau.

### *I. The settlement*

Excavations in Sectors I, II and III, as well as various stratigraphical trenches below the palace, combined with trial trenches excavated prior to the construction of the paths for the visitors, have offered significant evidence about the settlement, which will be summarized below. Unfortunately, because of the fragmentary character of the investigations, the extent of the Prepalatial settlement is not well established. It is certain though, that the area of the future palace was more or less covered by EM houses. Also, remains of this period came to light in Sectors I and III. The Proto- and Neopalatial settlement extended from the top of the hill to the seashore. It is quite probable that the settlement of Petras in the palatial periods occupied a very large part of Hill I, if not the totality, although I will never be able to support this hypothesis. Furthermore, very little is known about the urban layout, unlike at other Minoan towns such as Gournia, Pseira, Palaikastro, Zakros or Mochlos.<sup>16</sup> Maybe a future generation of archaeologists will return to Petras to continue the excavation within the expropriated area, and bring to light more of the settlement.

The only complete plans of houses excavated to date on Hill I are the two large two-story Neopalatial buildings, investigated between 1985 and 1990, on the north-northeast slopes of the hill, Houses I.1, and II.1. The first one was abandoned in LM IA, probably after an earthquake.<sup>17</sup> Stratigraphical

<sup>8</sup> Xanthoudides 1906.

<sup>9</sup> Platon 1952a, 631–6; Davaras 1971; 1972; 1976; 1988.

<sup>10</sup> Platon 1952b, 636–9; 1952c, 646–8; 1953; 1954b; 1955; 1956; 1959; 1960.

<sup>11</sup> Platon 1952c, 643–6.

<sup>12</sup> Davaras & Betancourt 2004.

<sup>13</sup> Tsipopoulou 1989.

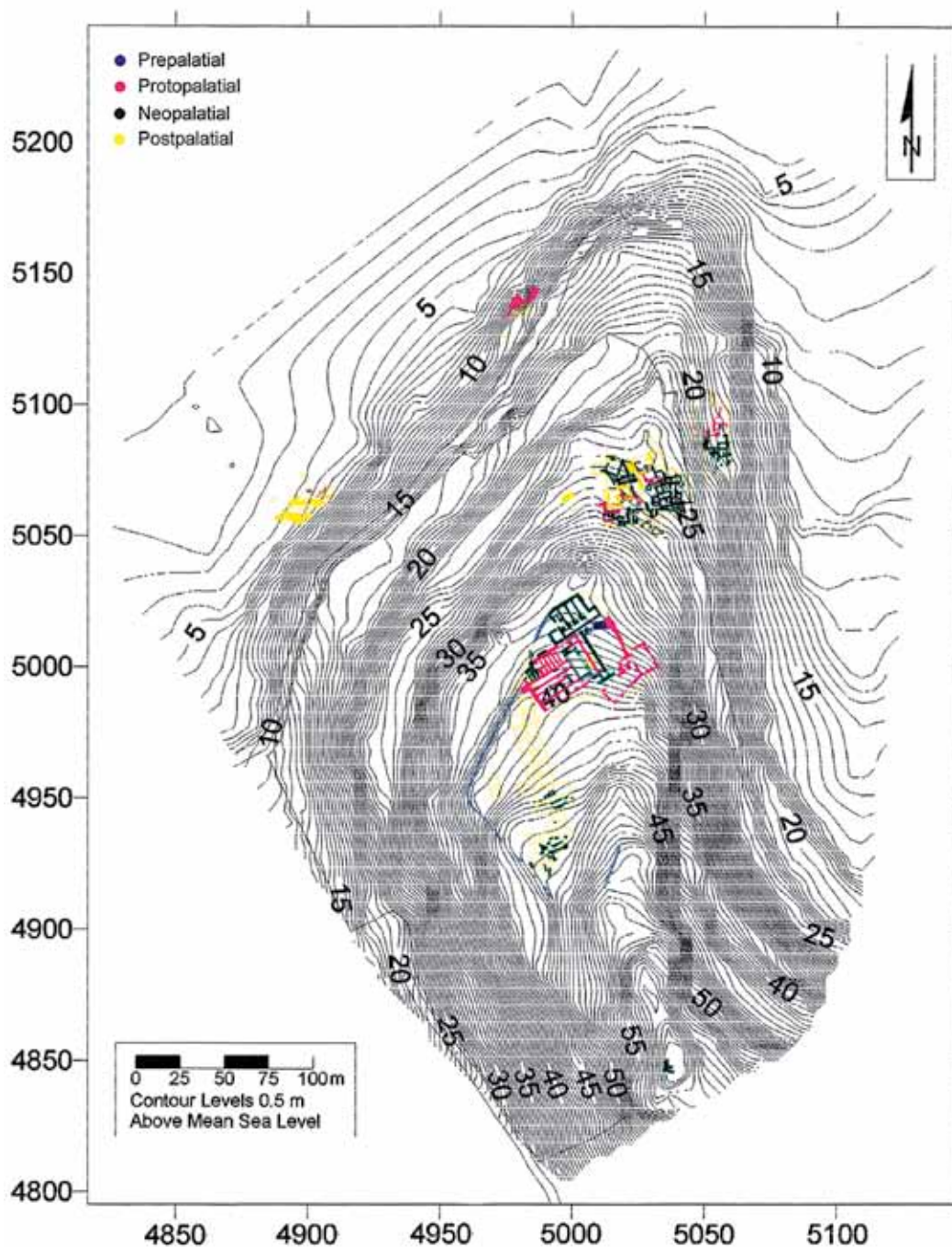
<sup>14</sup> Tsipopoulou 1999b.

<sup>15</sup> Soles 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Cunningham 2001.

<sup>17</sup> Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997; Tsipopoulou & Dierckx 2006.

Fig. 3.  
Topographic map  
of Petras, Hill I  
with excavated  
remains.



trenches showed that in the area of House I.1 there was a Protopalatial (MM IIA) building with similar orientation, some parts of which have been integrated in the Neopalatial structure.<sup>18</sup> A few EM II sherds were found lying on the bedrock, but no walls of this period was preserved in the area. House I.1 presents interesting features, such as an installation for wine production with a large stone wine

press, one of the largest preserved, intact Minoan stone vessels, and pithoi.<sup>19</sup> It also offered evidence for stone vase production. A quite unexpected find connected with House I.1 was an infant burial.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Tsipopoulou 1999b; Tsipopoulou & Wedde 2000.

<sup>19</sup> Tsipopoulou & Dierckx 2006.

<sup>20</sup> McGeorge this volume.

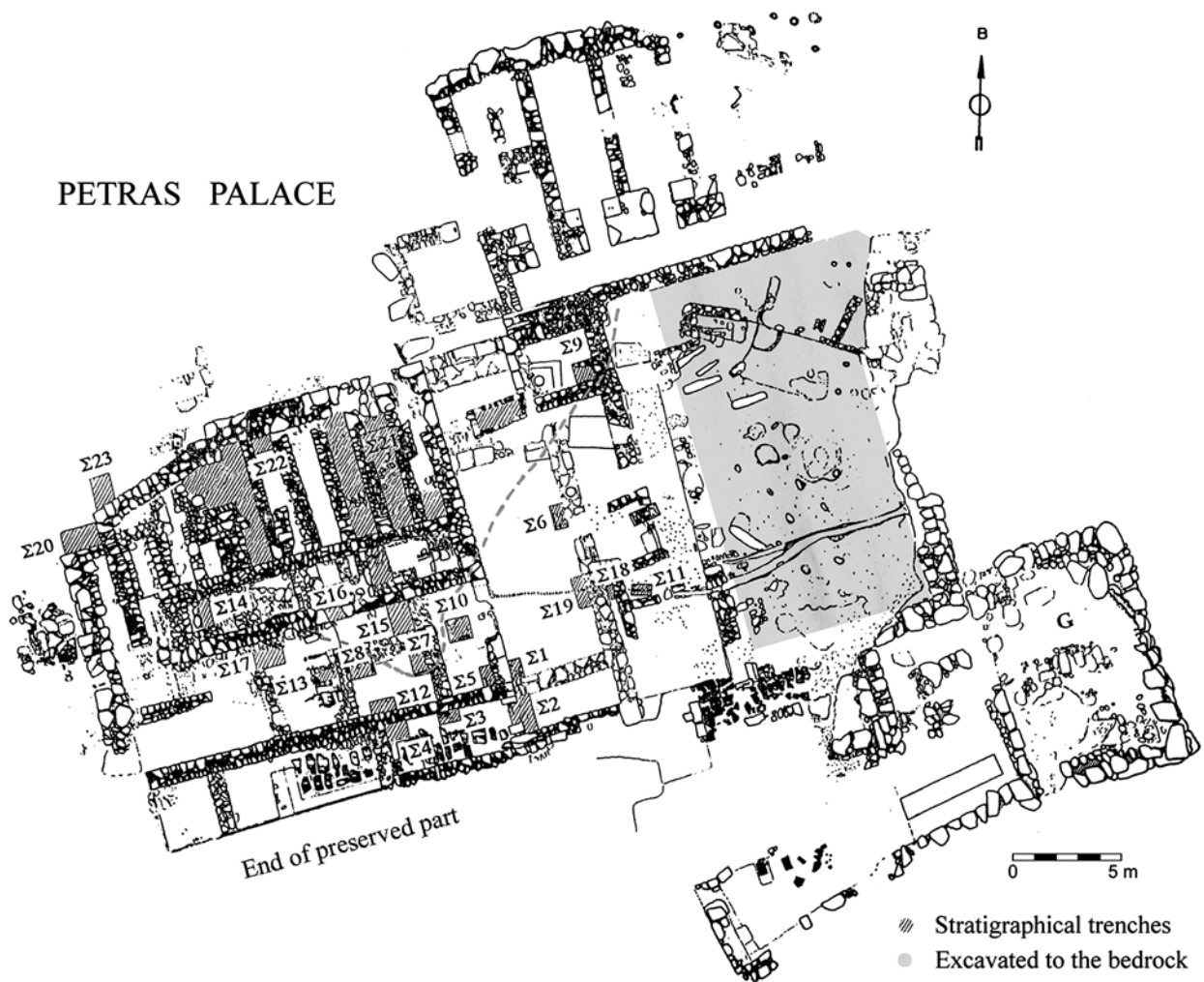


Fig. 4. Plan of the palace of Petras with stratigraphical trenches.

House II.1 was founded in MM III/LM IA and destroyed by fire in the LM IB period.<sup>21</sup> During its last phase of occupation, the ground floor was modified to be used for industrial activities, probably connected with wool dyeing and weaving, as suggested by various rock cut *gournes* which were connected with channels on the previously plastered floors, loom weights, as well as movable mortars.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1994 and 2007, various excavations offered evidence about the extent and the importance of the settlement, albeit rather isolated and fragmentary. From 1994 to 1997 a large program of stratigraphical trenches, measuring 1 x 1 m or 1 m x 0.50 m, was conducted in many areas of the palace, with the goal of discovering the pre-Neopalatial phases of the building itself, and the history of occupation on the plateau in general (Fig. 4). In

addition, the entire northeast section of the plateau was excavated down to the bedrock.<sup>23</sup> In that area Byzantine, LM III, Neopalatial, Protopalatial and EM remains came to light on the same level.

The first organized occupation on the plateau is dated to EM II. Architectural remains, including floor surfaces with complete pots *in situ* were preserved. It was a very fortunate coincidence that a large part of an EM II building, with a floor made of red clay, and a hearth cut into the bedrock, was preserved at the northeast end of the plateau, as

<sup>21</sup> Mavroudi 2004; 2011; Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011.

<sup>22</sup> Mavroudi 2004; 2011; this volume.

<sup>23</sup> Tsipopoulou 1999b; Tsipopoulou & Wedde 2000.

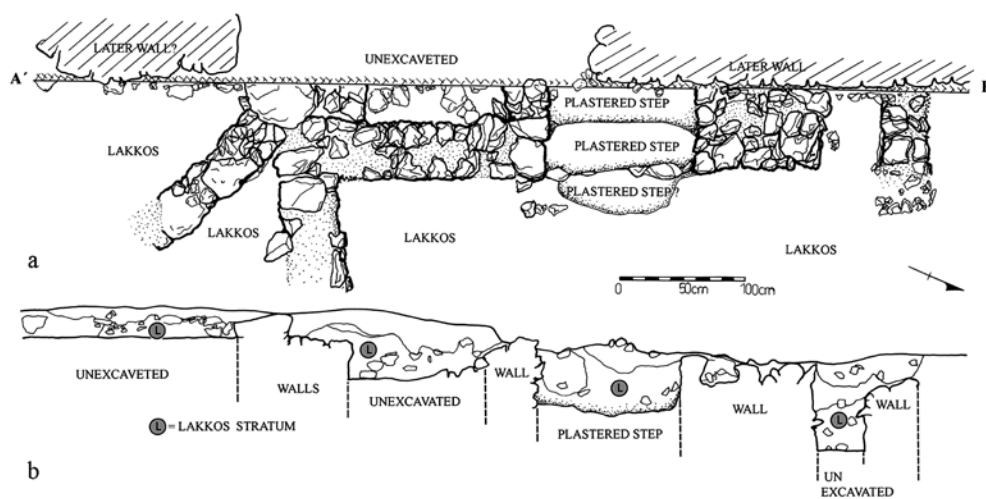
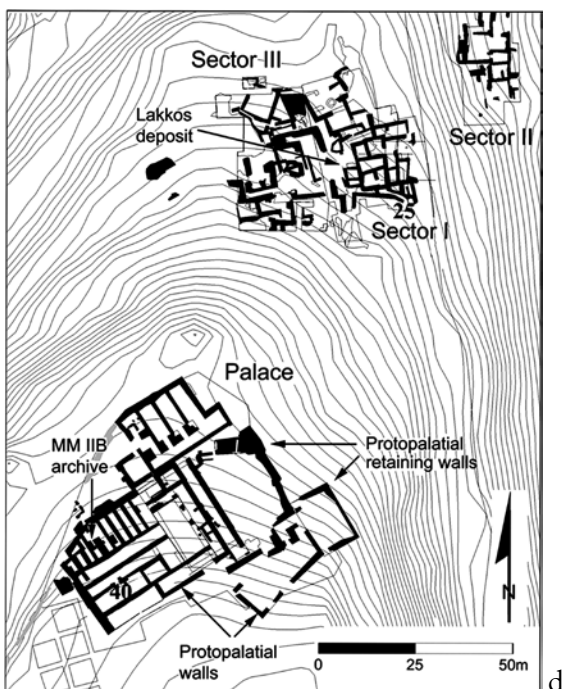


Fig. 5. The Lakkos:  
a) Plan of the northeastern façade of the EM III structure;  
b) Section A'-B' through the EM III structure showing the Lakkos stratum;  
c) View of the western section of the northeastern façade of the EM III structure from the northeast;  
d) Plan of the palace and the excavated areas of the settlement showing the location of the Lakkos deposit.



well as an industrial installation, consisting of several basin-like cuttings in the bedrock.<sup>24</sup>

From the second phase of occupation, EM III/MM IA, are preserved only a few remains on the plateau, although as it was proven later during the excavations in Sector III of the settlement, as well as in the cemetery, this period represents an increase in the population of Petras. There is a strong possibility, though that the plateau was not as densely inhabited as the slopes of the hill. In MM IB, the latest Prepalatial phase at Petras, the area of the palace was occupied by one or more important buildings, which were subsequently leveled to make space for the central building at the beginning of MM IIA. The MM IB floors produced pottery of high quality.

In 1994–1997 Sector III of the settlement, situated at the northeast slope of the hill, was investi-

<sup>24</sup> Tsipopoulou 2012.



Fig. 6. Trial trenches excavated before the paths for visitors were constructed to the north of Sector III: MM IIA floor with column base and conical vessel *in situ*.

gated. Fragmentary Neopalatial houses, as well as a very interesting stratigraphical sequence from EM II to LM IIIB came to light there. Of particular importance was the excavation of a large refuse pit (or Lakkos) dated to the end of the Prepalatial (for Petras) period (Fig. 5).<sup>25</sup> It occupied a large depression in the bedrock, more than 15 x 4 m, and 2 m in depth, which was filled with very good quality pottery, indicating large scale food and drink consumption or ritualized feasting. The cavity in the bedrock had been partially dug out to accommodate the refuse, thus partially covering the ruins of an EM III/MM IA building. A seal with the depiction of a probable male authority figure, one of the earliest in Crete, was found in this area.<sup>26</sup> The pottery of the Lakkos had MM IIA as a *terminus ante quem*. For many years I believed that the contents of the Lakkos came from elite houses that occupied the plateau of the palace and were destroyed prior to its construction. Test trenches dug prior to the construction of the paths for visitors in 2005, offered evidence for the presence in the immediate vicinity of the Lakkos of important Pre- and early Protopalatial buildings of elite character, unfortunately not well preserved, nor extensively excavated, though they suggest that this material connected with *symposia* could have been related to them. At the north slope of the hill, slightly lower than Sec-

tor III of the settlement, a MM IIA floor, made of beaten earth, and initially part of an important building was excavated. It included three large column bases, *ca.* 50 cm in diameter. On the floor there was an upright large conical vessel (Fig. 6). Unfortunately, the walls of the building were not found in the limited space excavated. This was the first time at Petras that a Protopalatial structure was found free of later buildings. Column bases are very rare, as no such features are preserved in the Protopalatial palace. This data suggests that the structure was of special character. To this one should add some of the finds, clearly of elite, or more precisely, palatial character, although this building is at a distance of 100 m from the palace. The finds in this area include a fragment of a stalactite, very nicely cut, and a sea pebble with incised bull's heads.<sup>27</sup> It could not be excluded that the situation at Petras in the Protopalatial period was similar to that well known at Malia, where important structures were excavated outside of the palace.

Below the level of the column bases, excavation proceeded down to the bedrock. A deep deposit with very good quality MM IB pottery, includ-

<sup>25</sup> Haggis 2007; this volume.

<sup>26</sup> Rupp 2006.

<sup>27</sup> Hallager this volume, Fig. 2.

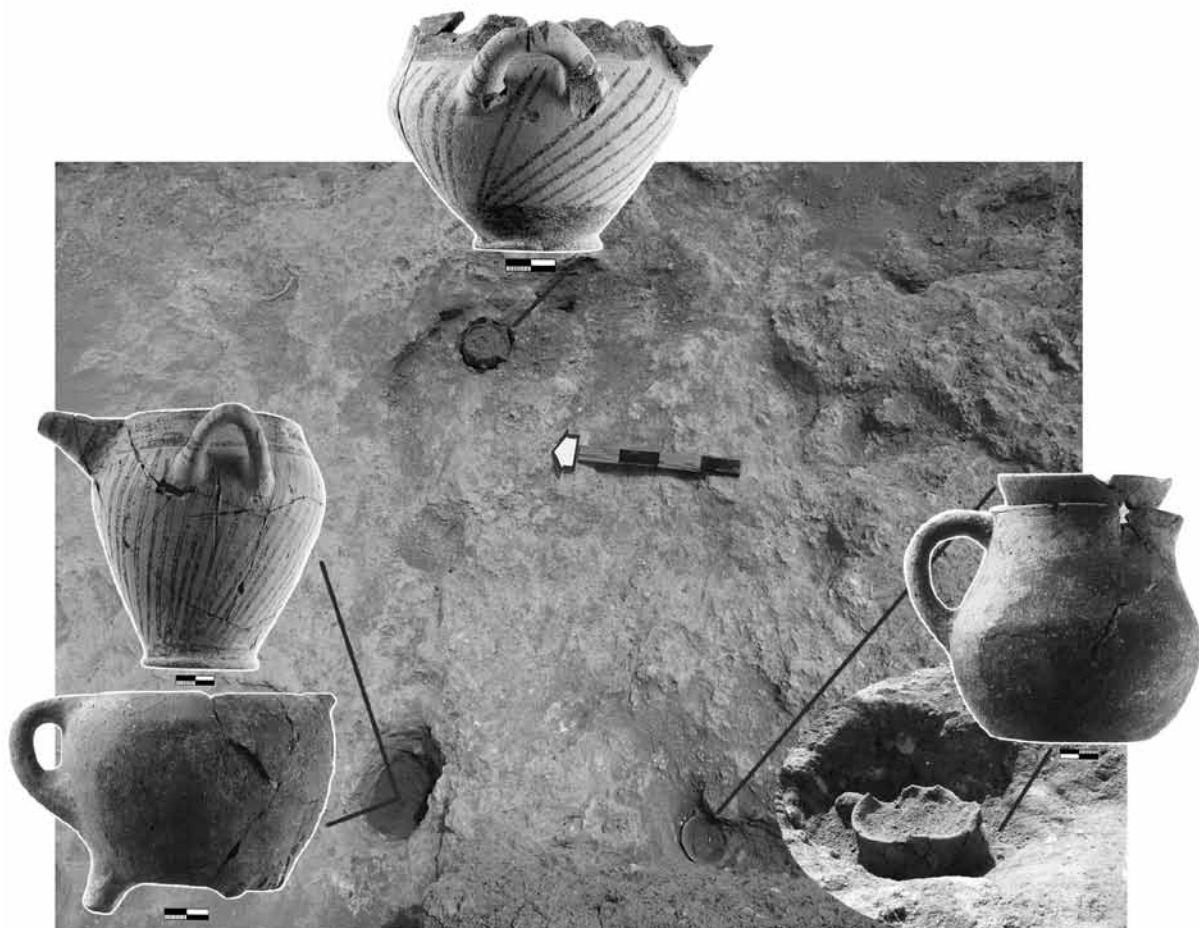


Fig. 7. Trial trenches excavated before the paths for visitors were constructed to the north of Sector III: probable foundation deposits with vases.

ing polychrome vases similar to the pottery of the Lakkos, was preserved in this earlier level. In three small cavities in the bedrock, probable foundation deposits of MM IB date were preserved, including two bridge-spouted jugs, a one-handed cooking pot and a wide-mouthed jug with a conical cup as a lid (Fig. 7). In the neighbouring trenches, in an area close to House I.1, two very interesting LM IA rooms have been excavated. The smaller one contained a large number of conical cups in a deposit with traces of burning, animal bones and painted plaster.

In 2007 three private properties excavated on the west slopes of Hill I offered new evidence about the settlement.<sup>28</sup> The first one was adjacent to the fence of the expropriated site, very close to the entrance gate. Test excavations brought to light fragmentary Neopalatial, Protopalatial and Prepalatial remains. To the Neopalatial period belong three

terrace walls. The earlier remains consisted of two rooms, one of them destroyed by the construction of a large LM IA wall, the second one using the bedrock as its floor. To the east of the latter a floor made of plaster and sea pebbles was partially excavated. The limited space and the scarcity of *in situ* movable finds do not allow for an understanding of the function. A very interesting find was a LM IA seal bearing a female figure (a priestess? or possibly a hunting “goddess”?) holding a rampant horned caprid and a bow.<sup>29</sup>

The second property excavated is adjacent to the road connecting Petras and Piskokephalo. Neopalatial architectural remains (walls and floors) came to light. In the same plot, there were parts of a Roman

<sup>28</sup> For the location of these excavations, see [www.petras-excavations.gr](http://www.petras-excavations.gr).

<sup>29</sup> Rupp & Tsipopoulou this volume.



Fig. 8. Aerial photo by M. Bridges of the palace of Petras.

irrigation pipe and a Byzantine oil or wine cistern. The third property lies also on the lower slope of Hill I and is adjacent to the previous one. There, part of a Neopalatial wall was discovered. An interesting find was a rectangular construction with a plaster floor, probably Byzantine in date, used for the storage of oil or wine and comparable to the cistern in the neighboring property.

As far as the Postpalatial periods are concerned, on Hill I at Petras there were various indications of occupation, albeit again rather fragmentary. First it should be pointed out that no LM II pottery has come to light anywhere at Petras. In the area of the palace there is evidence for the existence of at least two small houses dated to LM IIIA and B, while the central court was an open space between them.<sup>30</sup> At the northeast end of the plateau, there was a refuse pit containing good quality LM IIIA pottery. Poorly preserved architectural remains, dated to LM IIIC, were excavated to the

north of House I.1. They consisted probably of three or four rooms. Two hearths made of stones and clay were part of the same complex. In Sector III isolated fragments of walls and associated pottery dated to LM IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC came to light. Scattered sherds of the various Postpalatial periods were found during the intensive survey on all the slopes of Hill I. The most important feature of the Postpalatial period was the double fortification wall on the lower east slope of the hill (see below).

## *II. The palace (Figs. 4, 8)*

In 1990 the excavation of the large plateau on top of the hill started. Before any architectural remains were uncovered, the first Linear A inscription came

<sup>30</sup> Tsipopoulou 1997b.

to light just below the surface.<sup>31</sup> In 1992 the central court of the large building was excavated.<sup>32</sup> The Petras palace is equipped with nearly all of the usual architectural features found in the important Minoan structures conventionally labeled “palaces”, although on a smaller scale. Unfortunately, it is not preserved in very good condition, as its south section is completely lost and there is no evidence regarding its original dimensions.

The remains of this large Minoan building were extensively disturbed, and in some cases destroyed, by 33 graves of various types and by a built ossuary dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (see below).<sup>33</sup> The graves caused great disturbance to the Neopalatial strata, and the ossuary is situated at the north part of the central court, its construction having destroyed all earlier levels down to the EM II. Also a Byzantine burial placed on top of the plaster covering the “monumental” staircase leading to the central court, disturbed the LM IA destruction deposit which contained large amounts of conical cups, fallen from the upper floor.<sup>34</sup> A rock cut tomb even used a part of the big drain of the central court. Further complication in the stratigraphy was created by the fact that funerary meals took place among the tombs, and consequently Byzantine pottery was scattered everywhere. For example, both of our LM IB Linear A tablets were found with pottery predominantly dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>35</sup>

The stratigraphical trenches showed that the history of the palace was particularly complex. It became clear that the main core was Protopalatial, and that it continued to function as a palace, with many repairs and alterations, to the end of the Neopalatial in LM IB.

MM IIA was marked by major changes at Petras, the most significant being the construction of the palace. Concurrently the large plateau was surrounded by a massive wall of almost cyclopean construction, equipped with a large tower at its eastern end. The wall, visible from a distance, especially from the sea, separated the palace from the settlement, and had apparently both a defensive and a highly symbolic function, being a statement of the newly established central authority. The construction of this wall is particularly significant for

the investigation of the deep economic and social changes connected with the foundation of the Cretan palaces.

At the end of MM IIB, the palace was destroyed by fire, and one of the destruction deposits contained the hieroglyphic archive.<sup>36</sup> It is particularly noteworthy that it was a rare opportunity in Minoan archaeology to study and to publish the entire excavation context of a hieroglyphic archive, including the pottery, the animal bones, the obsidian and a catalogue of the important and well preserved plaster fragments.

The careful excavation and study enabled us, for the first time in Minoan archaeology, to reconstruct the archive room on the upper floor, where the scribes worked, and to establish that the catastrophe from the earthquake and the subsequent fire occurred in the morning, while people were working in the archive. The scribes ran away from the area, leaving several documents incomplete. The study of the pottery dated the archive to MM IIB and confirmed the presence of two scribes who used two different sets of elite pottery to take their snacks during work hours.

The palace was rebuilt after the disaster with various changes to its plan, the most significant being the addition of the large North Magazines.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, no evidence of the Protopalatial magazines is preserved, as the Neopalatial magazines were founded directly on the bedrock, destroying all traces of previous occupation. A staircase connected the magazines to the upper floor, where perishable goods such as textiles might have been stored.

The next big destruction, in LM IA, caused large scale alterations to the structure. The last palatial phase, LM IB, saw important changes to the plan as well as the functions and the circulation patterns of the palace, starting from the central court, the dimensions of which were reduced. Also, many im-

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<sup>31</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Tsipopoulou 2007c.

<sup>33</sup> Poulou-Papadimitriou this volume.

<sup>34</sup> Rupp & Tsipopoulou 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996.

<sup>36</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Tsipopoulou 1999a; 1999b; 2002.

Fig. 9. Protopalatial probable fortification wall on the lower west slope of Hill I.



portant areas with flagstone floors changed use and became storerooms.<sup>38</sup>

The Neopalatial palace as preserved, covers an area of *ca.* 2,400 m<sup>2</sup> and comprises four units: the west wing, the central court, the North Magazines and an open space to the east. In the sizable complex of the North Magazines there were 36 large pithoi which probably contained oil at the time of the LM IB destruction. Two of them bore a Linear A inscription.<sup>39</sup> Also a medallion inscribed on both sides in hieroglyphic script was connected to another pithos, suggesting the use of that script in Neopalatial times at Petras.<sup>40</sup> A 4.5 m wide plastered staircase connected the lower level of the magazines to the central court in LM IA, but it went out of use in LM IB, when another magazine was added in front of it.

At the west part of the palace, in the same area where the hieroglyphic archive was found, fallen from the upper floor, two Linear A tablets came to light, at a level of some 2 m higher than the archive.<sup>41</sup> It is not certain whether there was also a Linear A archive at Petras, due to of the large scale disturbance caused by the Byzantine cemetery. However, the large storage facilities and the Linear A tablets prove the continuity of the administrative function of the palace in the Neopalatial period.<sup>42</sup> A large open space to the southwest of the building is probably identifiable as a garden. Buildings on a higher smaller plateau could have been the industrial areas of the palace.

Furthermore, the architecture, the increase of storage spaces, the nature of the deposits and the movable finds of the LM IB period indicate that the inhabitants suffered a period of insecurity and stress before the final destruction. This fact differentiates Petras from the other settlements of East Crete, where the last phase of the Neopalatial period was a time of prosperity and expansion. In LM IB pithoi were stored even in the central court.<sup>43</sup>

### *III. The Protopalatial fortification wall*

Low on the west slope of the hill, very close to the Minoan coastline, an impressive massive wall, of almost cyclopean construction and equipped with towers, is preserved to a height of *ca.* 3 m. This wall was erected during the extensive urban modifications of the Protopalatial period in Middle Minoan IIA. This wall is unique to Crete, especially for its dimensions, and probably had a defensive function (Fig. 9).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Tsipopoulou 1999a; 1999b; 2002.

<sup>39</sup> Hallager this volume.

<sup>40</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996.

<sup>41</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996.

<sup>42</sup> Christakis this volume.

<sup>43</sup> Tsipopoulou & Hallager 1996.

<sup>44</sup> The wall was visible at the time of Bosanquet's investigation and was also noted by Evans when he first visited the site in 1897.

#### IV. The LM III fortification walls

In 2002 a private plot was excavated, situated very low on the slope of Hill I, to the west of the fenced main site. This area is only 4–6 m above sea level.<sup>45</sup> Parts of two massive walls came to light, of similar construction, oriented east-west, and roughly parallel to each other. Between them there is a long open space, *ca.* 4 m wide. The width of the walls is 2.2 to 2.60 m; their total length is still unknown. The north wall has been excavated to a length of 19 m and the south to a length of 11 m. The preserved height was 1.85 m, but probably they were higher initially. The exterior faces of the walls are built in a pseudo-isodomic style, mostly with very large ashlar blocks, some of which are clearly Neopalatial in a secondary use, and bear mason's marks similar to those found in the palace. The space between the two faces is filled with medium sized stones, as well as with mudbricks and earth. The manner of the construction of the walls suggests a hasty effort. The most important diagnostic sherd connected with the foundation of the walls was a fragment from a stirrup jar, a product of the Kydonia workshop and LM IIIB in date. Presumably the construction of the walls belongs to the same period. Since the excavation was not completed, many issues remain obscure, such as their exact date, the historical conditions related to their construction and their pronounced Mycenaean features. Also the two walls are directed towards the coastline, and not parallel to it, which again is very puzzling. Nevertheless their defensive function is indisputable.

#### V. The Byzantine cemetery

The Byzantine cemetery of Petras, dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, is of great importance for the history of Crete, since there are not many completely excavated Middle Byzantine cemeteries.<sup>46</sup> It included 33 graves of different types: cist which were built using Minoan stones and in many cases Minoan walls, rock cut rectangular graves, and simple pits, usually dug into the LM IB destruction deposit of the palace.<sup>47</sup> All graves contained single burials. Both sexes and various age groups, including small children, were represented. The study of

the skeletal material by Ethne Barnes revealed that the graves were used several times and cleaned of their previous content. Thus the number of dead identified amounted to 99.<sup>48</sup> A very interesting and unusual feature for an orthodox cemetery is the lack of a church. Many burials were accompanied by one clay bowl. In one case a pair of iron belt buckles was deposited with a young female. Often, underneath the skulls there was a large coarse sherd inscribed *ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ*. Several of these sherds were Minoan.

#### Hill II (Kephala)

Remains of human presence on Kephala Hill (Fig. 10) were first identified in 1986 during surface survey (see below), when sherds of Final Neolithic date and a substantial quantity of obsidian were collected. Remains of LM III occupation were also located and a LM IIIA seal was collected.<sup>49</sup>

I had no intention to continue excavating Petras in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as with an international team of experts we are studying the various classes of materials for final publication. The fact that several areas with surface remains, especially on Kephala Hill, were not included in the registered (legally protected) sites in 2000, forced me to continue the excavations in non-expropriated plots, as the only way to protect them.

Excavation has revealed a unique (for Crete) FN IV and EM I settlement, in stratigraphical sequence,<sup>50</sup> as well as a cemetery, which included house tombs and a rock shelter and was in use from an advanced stage of EM I (slightly later than the neighboring EM I settlement) until the end of the Prepalatial period for Petras (MM IB–beginning of MM IIA), while some of the house tombs contained Protopalatial burials.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Tsipopoulou 2005b.

<sup>46</sup> Poulou-Papadimitriou this volume.

<sup>47</sup> Tsipopoulou 2007c, figs. 6.11–6.13.

<sup>48</sup> E. Barnes, unpublished manuscript.

<sup>49</sup> Tsipopoulou 1997b.

<sup>50</sup> Papadatos this volume with further bibliography.

<sup>51</sup> Betancourt this volume; Tsipopoulou 2011b; this volume, 117–31; in press a.

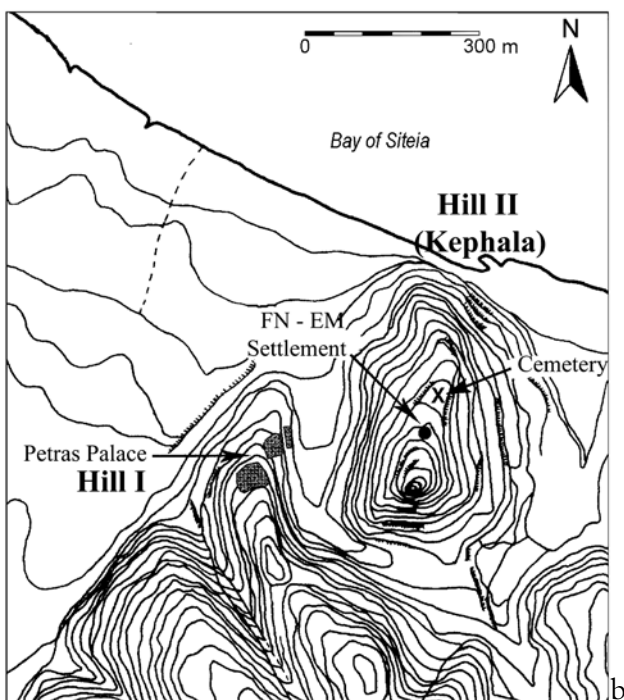
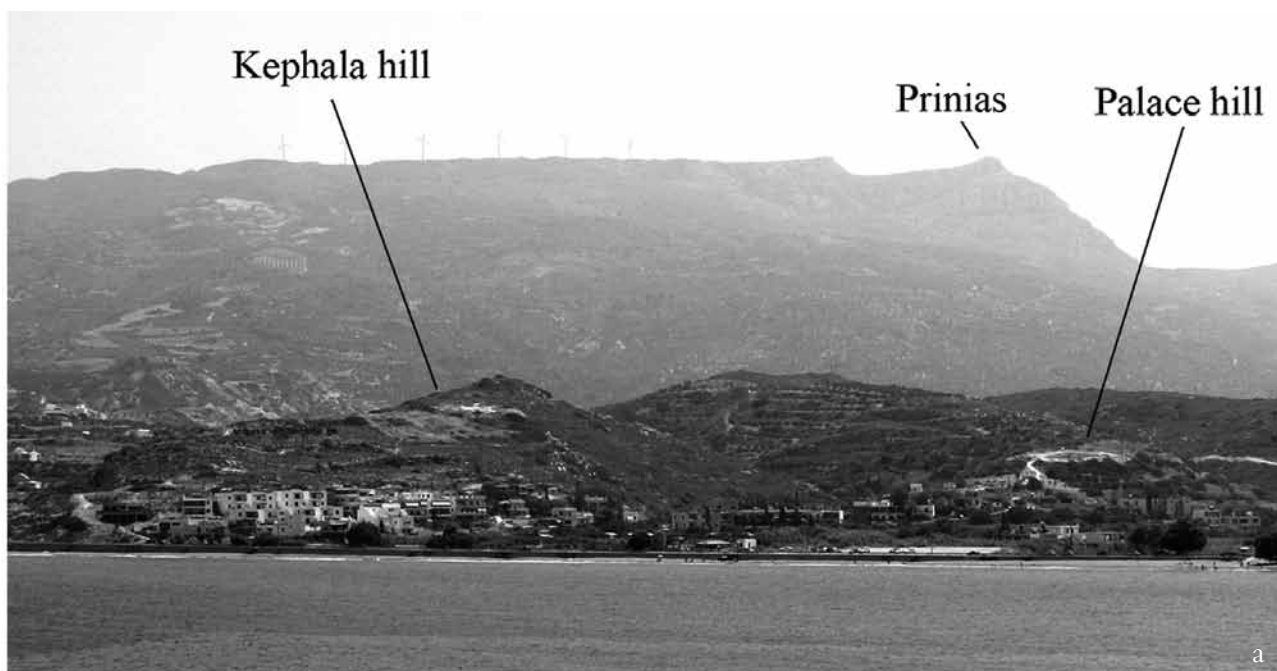


Fig. 10. a) Petras, Hill I, Hill II (Kephala) and the peak sanctuary at Prinias; b) Topographic map of Hills I and II.

### I. FN–EM I settlement

In 2002 and 2003 a private plot on the north slope of Kephala Hill was excavated. The area lies 65 m above sea level and has visual control of the gulf of

Siteia to the north and the valley to the southwest. The EM I remains belong to a large complex with at least 11 rooms occupying some 300 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 11).<sup>52</sup> The architectural remains, the pottery (both fine and coarse wares) and the large number of bedrock mortars suggest a domestic installation. Architectural remains of this period are extremely rare in Crete. Very significant is the spatial relationship of the EM I installation at Kephala with the well-known Hagia Photia cemetery, which is only 2 km distant from it.<sup>53</sup> The architecture is well preserved. The finds included a large amount of good quality pottery, many tools, ground stone and obsidian, pumice, shells, animal bones, amulets and beads made of stone and bone. The Final Neolithic phase includes a series of curvilinear and rectilinear walls belonging to three buildings, founded directly on the bedrock, and a large cavity in the bedrock, probably a storage pit, lined with vertical schist slabs. The pottery from this period shows close relationships with the East Aegean. Other finds include beads and ground stone tools. Of major importance is the evidence of metallurgical activity at Kephala,<sup>54</sup> which was found below the floors of the EM I buildings.

<sup>52</sup> Papadatos this volume.

<sup>53</sup> Davaras & Betancourt 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Catapotis *et al.* 2011.



Fig. 11. Aerial photo of FN-EM I settlement on Kephala Hill.

The Kephala settlement constitutes the first human presence in EM I at Petras. Kephala Hill is higher, less easily accessible, and hence more protected, than the lower Hill I, where the Minoan settlement and the palace lie. It is obvious that it has been used for habitation in not very secure times. This applies not only to the earliest period of the Minoan era, but also to the latest, namely LM IIIC, when a settlement was established there after the abandonment of the main site in LM IIB (see below).

## II. Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery (Figs. 12, 13)

The unlooted cemetery on Kephala (excavated from 2004 to present) lies on a large plateau, a few meters lower than the FN IV-EM I settlement. It consists of house tombs and it is dated to the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods.<sup>55</sup> Until now 11 large house tombs have been completely or partially excavated, and it is certain that more exist. The excavation of 2010 showed that the visible buildings with finds date to the end of the Prepalatial period and that a few Protopalatial burials were

built upon the remains of earlier ones which are probably dated to EM IIB. The size of the house tombs is usually over 60 m<sup>2</sup>, and they have at least six rooms, in many cases as many as nine or ten. The house tombs belonged to elite groups of society,<sup>56</sup> and, as the study of the bones showed, these groups are identifiable as nuclear families.<sup>57</sup> Both sexes and all ages are represented.

The cemetery is also important because it shows the transition from the Pre- to the Protopalatial period. In House Tomb 2, probably the latest to be constructed, there were burial vessels, namely two larnakes and a pithos. The tombs contained a large number of prestige artifacts, such as stone vases (some clearly imported) and also an abundance of metal objects made of gold and bronze, both jewelry (bands, amulets) and items of personal beautification, such as tweezers.<sup>58</sup> The seals, especially those from House Tomb 2 are remarkable, some of them have hieroglyphic inscriptions, probably an

<sup>55</sup> Tsipopoulou 2011b.

<sup>56</sup> Tsipopoulou this volume, 117–31, with further bibliography.

<sup>57</sup> Triantaphyllou in press; Triantaphyllou *et al.* forthcoming.

<sup>58</sup> Ferrence *et al.* this volume.

Fig. 12. Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery. View from the north. End of 2010 excavation campaign.



indicator of palatial administration.<sup>59</sup> The skeletal material from the house tombs is preserved in a very large quantity and is also in good condition.

House Tomb 1 was also a very important structure. Although its excavation is not yet completed, it is certain that it was earlier than House Tomb 2. Interestingly enough, despite the fact that it contained various prestige artifacts, such as gold jewelry and stone vases, along with its impressive architecture and large size, it did not produce any seals.

In 2006 a rock shelter was excavated on the west slope of the hill, a few meters lower than the plateau of the house tombs, which was used for secondary burials. It is probable that the deposition took place on a single occasion following the cleaning of a particular house tomb, as shown by the inverted stratigraphy.<sup>60</sup> Of great interest is the chronology of the Rock Shelter, which dates from EM I to MM IB–IIA. It must be stressed that the earlier periods were not found *in situ* in the house tombs.

The skeletal material has already been studied by Sevasti Triantaphyllou, with interesting results.<sup>61</sup> Most pottery types of the Prepalatial, and to a lesser degree the early Protopalatial, periods are represented in the ceramic material. Of great importance is the presence of pottery of the so-called Kampos group, similar to that of the neighboring

cemetery of Hagia Photia.<sup>62</sup> More finds from the Rock Shelter include silver and gold jewelry and EM III seals made of bone.

The Cycladic pottery and the silver jewels from the Rock Shelter are not the only evidence for a relationship between the Cyclades and EM Petras. In the disturbed surface levels of the cemetery, fragments from four marble Cycladic figurines came to light. One of them belonged to a figurine at least 0.58 m in height. Another one has lips in relief.

The cemetery of Petras was the diachronic centre of coherence for the community, not only during its period of use for burials, as the ceremonial areas connected with House Tomb 2 (and probably with other tombs as well), and the associated votive deposits (along with the rooms which were used for the storage of ceremonial vases) indicate, but also in later periods of time.<sup>63</sup>

### III. LM III settlement (Fig. 13)

In the same areas where the FN IV and EM settle-

<sup>59</sup> Krzyszkowska this volume.

<sup>60</sup> Tsipopoulou 2010b.

<sup>61</sup> Triantaphyllou 2010b.

<sup>62</sup> Nodarou this volume; Tsipopoulou 2012.

<sup>63</sup> Tsipopoulou this volume, 117–31.

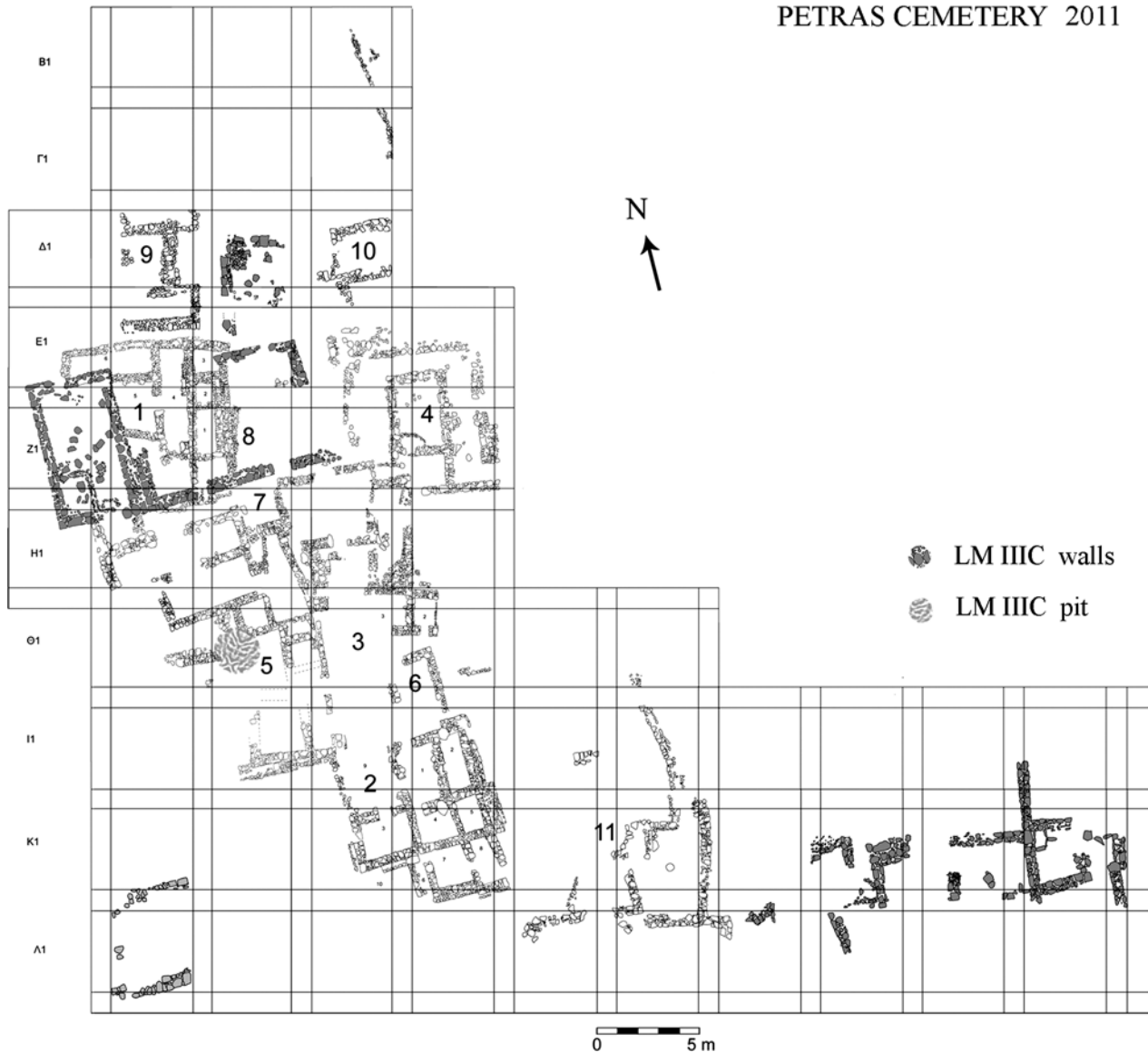


Fig. 13. Plan of the Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery (2011).

ment and cemetery were discovered, a LM IIIC settlement was located and partially excavated.<sup>64</sup> The architectural remains are not well preserved and consist of rectangular or slightly irregular rooms. It is interesting that the inhabitants of that period avoided the cemetery, except for the north section, where a megaroid building was constructed together with an accompanying peribolos, probably a building of special function, possibly to honor their ancestors.

LM IIIC pottery came to light almost everywhere in the excavated area at Kephala. The character of the pottery and the rest of the movable

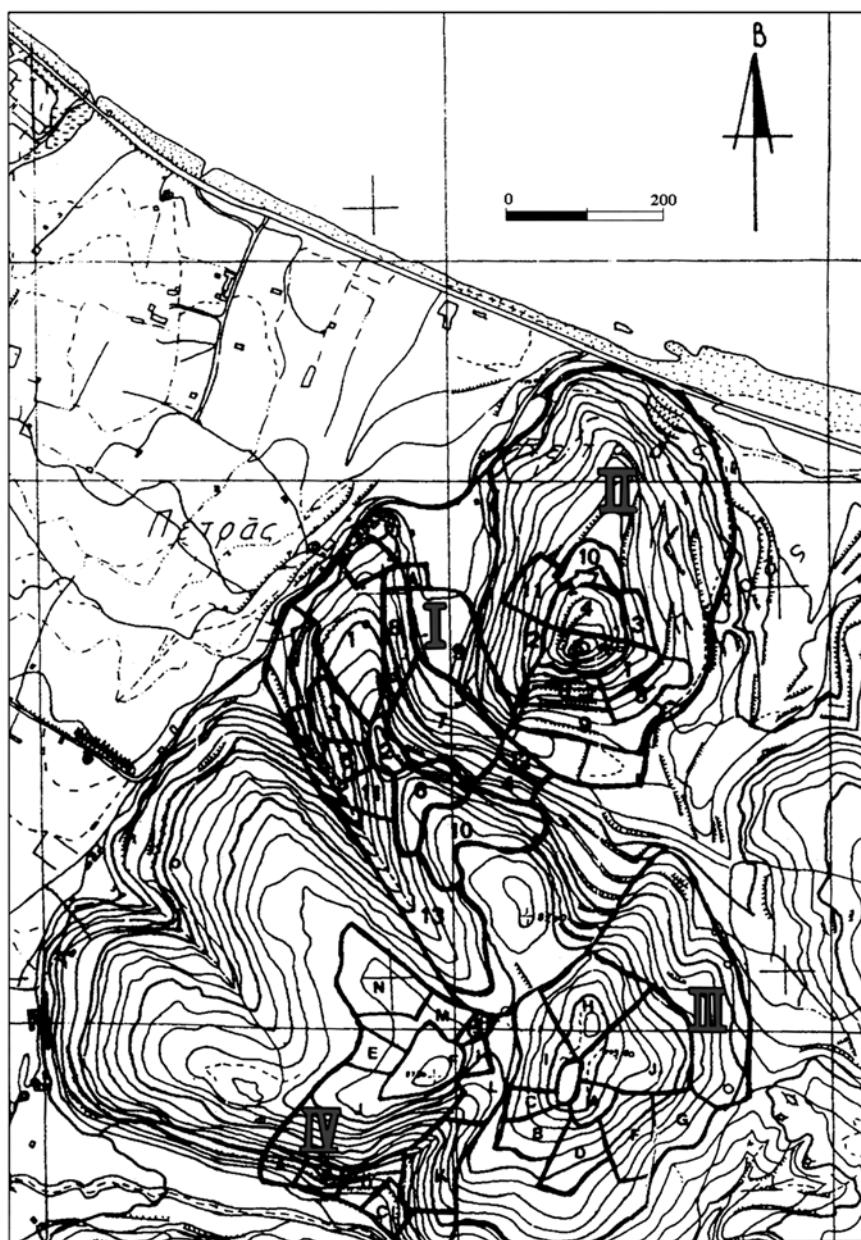
finds (stone and bronze tools, clay loom weights of Mycenaean type and obsidian blades) suggest an occupation of domestic character. It is estimated that the settlement covered *ca.* 5,000 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>65</sup> The topographic and chronological situation is similar to that of Palaikastro-Kastri,<sup>66</sup> and it seems that after the destruction by fire of houses from the LM IIIB settlement on Hill I, the inhabitants moved to a more elevated and more naturally protected place.

<sup>64</sup> Tsipopoulou this volume, 117–31.

<sup>65</sup> Tsipopoulou 2011b.

<sup>66</sup> Sackett & Popham 1965.

Fig. 14. Topographic plan of the 1986 survey.



## The surface surveys (Fig. 14)

An intensive surface survey of the four hills that constitute the area of Petras was integrated from the beginning into the research strategy. The survey took place in 1986 and the sites were revisited in 1990. The Petras survey aimed at a better understanding of the surroundings of the urban settlement and also the movement of habitation places over various prehistoric and historic periods. Furthermore, the Petras survey was a continuation of the Hagia Photia intensive survey (1985), which had produced evidence for isolated farmhouses dated to the Neopala-

tial period. The site where the palace and the urban settlement are situated was named Hill I. Very interesting remains were located on Hill II, to the east of it, also known as Kephala. On the northeast and southeast slopes of Kephala, Final Neolithic remains were identified, consisting of sherds and a very large quantity of obsidian. Also, almost on top of the hill, many LM III (A-C) remains were located. From this area came a LM IIIA seal.

These Postpalatial surface remains were probably related to a cemetery, plundered on various occasions during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which was originally situated on Hill III of the survey, also

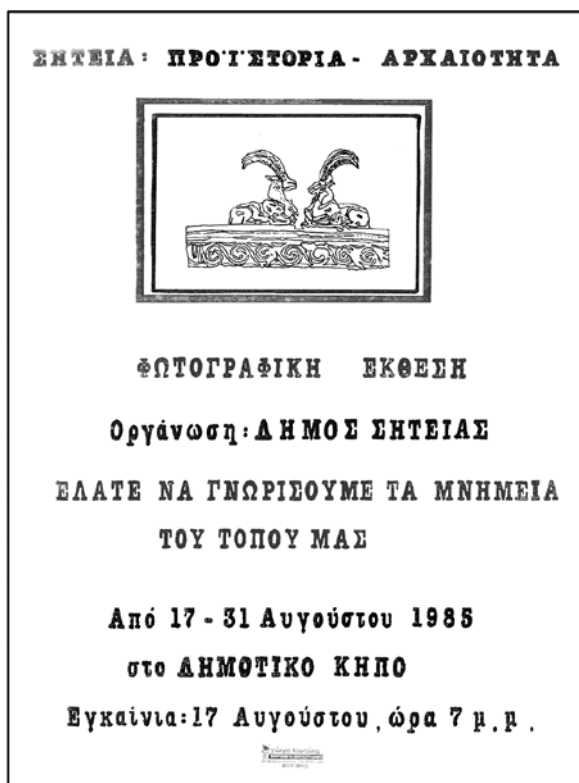


Fig. 15. The 1985 photographic exhibition: a) Poster; b) Nikos Petrakis, Mayor of Siteia and Metaxia Tsipopoulou at the opening.

known as Papoura. From these plundered tombs, various larnakes are preserved in the Museums of Hagios Nikolaos and Siteia and, unfortunately, also in private collections and museums abroad.<sup>67</sup>

In 1987–1990 various locations in the Siteia Bay, as well as the areas around the so-called “villas” in the hinterland were also surveyed. New sites were discovered at the Siteia airport, Analoukas and Cape Stavros close to the Toplou Monastery.<sup>68</sup> As for the “villas”, it was established that only Klimataria which is very close to Petras, and is in fact, an annex of the main settlement, was isolated, while there is enough evidence for the existence of a separate settlement connected with Hagios Georgios, Achladia-Riza and Zou respectively.<sup>69</sup>

## The presentation of Petras to the public

The Petras project from its outset was designed to include public outreach and educational programs, in collaboration with Universities and the Siteia Municipality. Thus, a photographic exhibition was

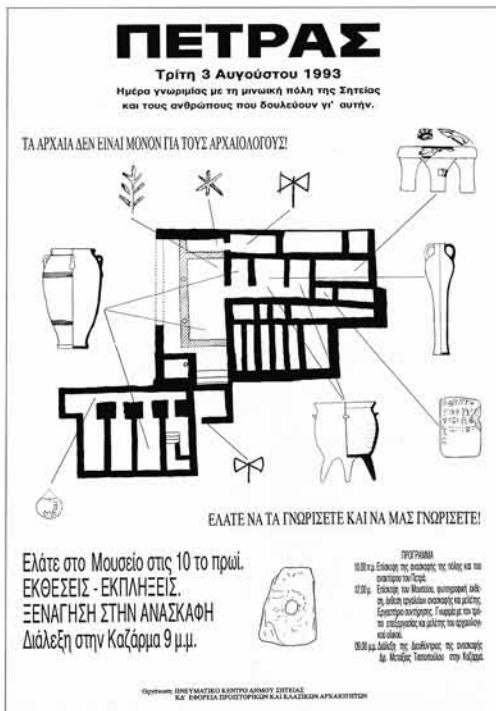
organized in 1985 (Fig. 15) and an Open Day for visitors at the Museum and the site, accompanied by public lectures, exhibitions in the Siteia Museum and guided tours in 1993 (Fig. 16).<sup>70</sup> Since the early 1990's at least, I was planning to make Petras accessible to the public, following the expropriation of 40,000 m<sup>2</sup> of land in the late 1980's and the fencing of the site in the early 1990's. In 2002 with Clio Zervaki, the conservator of the Petras project and museologist, we crafted the project, which was presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Museology Conference organized by the University of the Aegean in 2004. In collaboration with the Municipality of Siteia, the necessary funding was secured (program Leader Plus of the E.U.), and the project was realized in 2005–2006. Since September 2006 the site is open to the public (Fig. 17). The project aimed, along with the development for tourism an area lacking

<sup>67</sup> Tsipopoulou & Vagnetti 1997.

<sup>68</sup> Tsipopoulou 1991a.

<sup>69</sup> Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997.

<sup>70</sup> For more details, see [www.petras-excavations.gr](http://www.petras-excavations.gr) under “Public outreach”.



a



b



c



d



e

Fig. 16. 1993 Open Day at the site and the Siteia Museum: a) Poster; b) Exhibition of pottery from Petras in the conservation lab of the Siteia Museum; c) Vassilis Tsiopopoulos, aged five, in charge of the Educational Program; d) Loom weights and documentation of the Petras excavation in the conservation lab of the Siteia Museum; e) Metaxia Tsiopoulou guiding a group at the site.

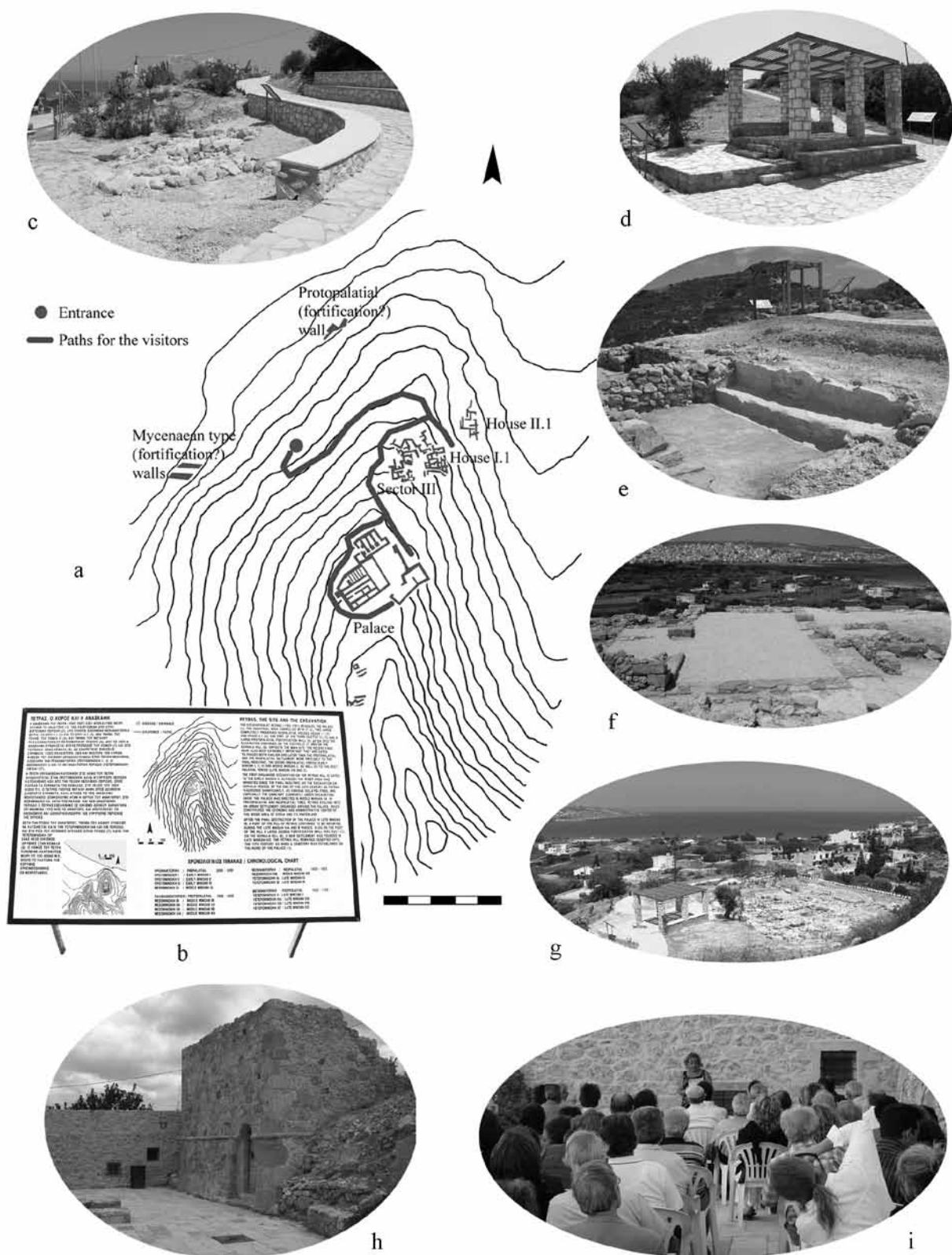


Fig. 17. a) Topographic map of the site with the paths for the visitors; b) Sign; c) Neopalatial remains near the gate from the west; d) Shaded station to the south of Sector III; e) Palace, the Protopalatial area with the plaster bench from the west; f) The central court of the palace from the south; g) View of Sectors III and I from the south; h) The restored Venetian tower at the entrance to the site from the southwest; i) The opening of the site, 6th September 2006.



Με πολλές ευχαριστίες σε όλους!!

ΕΡΕΥΝΑ

Fig. 18. Poster by Garifalia Kostopoulou.

significant monuments, to attract visitors and also to promote the awareness of the local population. Also, it offered us the chance to excavate all the paths for the visitors to the bedrock, an operation which produced a significant amount of new data. As part of the same program in 2010 the Petras website was created.<sup>71</sup>

After 25+ years of excavations and studies at Petras, more and more questions are emerging (Fig. 18). Every new excavation and every new study shed new light and challenge previous hypotheses.

Petras is, fortunately, to be understood within a framework of intensive field activity, remarkable finds and important studies at other sites in eastern Crete, all complementary to each other. Central to this significant progress is the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, without which much less would be achieved by all these projects.

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<sup>71</sup> Togias this volume.

# Discussion

**MacGillivray** It is rather early to start congratulating, we will say that tomorrow evening, but I have a question about MM III.

**Tsipopoulou** That is a good question!

**MacGillivray** A difficult question?

**Tsipopoulou** No, it is not so difficult. The stratigraphical trenches in the palace did not offer any evidence about the date of the construction of the palace. The only thing we know is that the building integrated Protopalatial walls, dated to MM II, and that the building suffered a destruction in LM IA. So, sometime between MM IIB and LM IA the palace was built. This is what is known about the plateau. There is no other evidence. The only indication of a more or less clear layer of MM III date is in Sector III. Colin Macdonald had asked me to present that deposit at the MM III Symposium he organized, but I was too busy at the Ministry. There is a room, a basement space, cut in the bedrock, which contained a secondary deposit, a MM III fill, unfortunately not *in situ*. This deposit included a very interesting Linear A tablet that Erik Hallager will present in his paper later today. So, we have not found clear MM III, but I need to point out that Petras has not been excavated extensively as only a small part of the settlement has been unearthed. The settlement is very large. What we have revealed does not look like Gournia, Palaikastro or Zakros. As we have excavated a very small part, we do not know the exact situation. It is the same with House I.1, which was abandoned in LM IA; it contained Protopalatial walls, but we do not know the exact date of its foundation. It has two Neopalatial architectural phases, the latest one being LM IA. It has integrated Protopalatial walls of an earlier building, but we have not found MM III pottery. This is all I can tell you.

**Platon** First of all I would like to congratulate Dr Tsipopoulou, I believe this is the right chance, before we proceed to the papers dealing with particular subjects, to congratulate her on the amazing achievements at Petras in the last years, that offer us so much evidence and so many important finds. I have a question, again on chronology, and I believe this is related directly to the general history of the site. We have seen in LM IB that the modifications to the plan of the palace have reduced it, and have actually diminished it, having blocked the main access to it, and having created a picture of inferior occupation. I just wonder whether this picture represents a long or a short period of time. This is an important question, I believe, because if LM IB, as those who accept the absolute chronology suggest, lasts *ca.* 150 years, then the picture is, how to put it, like having squatters for a very long period of time.

**Tsipopoulou** It is obvious that we lack the necessary evidence, my feeling is, as important as my feeling can be, that the LM IB period was rather short, although I cannot prove that beyond any doubt.



## 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!

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*ActaArch* – *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*

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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*

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