MELETEMATA

STUDIES IN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
PRESENTED TO MALCOLM H. WIENER
AS HE ENTERS HIS 65th YEAR

III

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Introduction

The excavation of the Minoan town at Petras has been conducted continuously since 1985, and owes much both to the support of INSTAP and the personal encouragement of Malcolm Wiener. It is with profound pleasure that I accepted the honour to contribute to the present volume. My purpose is to undertake a concise examination of the architectural phases of the palatial building (Pl. CLXXXVIIa). Evidence from the entire excavated area will be marshalled, with special attention being paid to the data provided by the stratigraphical trenches within the complex itself.

A previous study summarized the results obtained from the most significant stratigraphical trenches, with the stress placed on the indications for a Protopalatial foundation date. Here, efforts will center on all available information relative to changes in the plan of the building, the additions and alterations over time, and the consequences of destructions, at least partial, by fire. A complete record for each phase cannot be gained throughout the building due to the effects of reworking the bedrock, of levelling and backfilling, and of the later use to which the site was put, on the vertical and horizontal stratigraphical sequence.

Before the Palace

Substantial indications, in terms of architecture and finds paralleled at other sites, of an Early Minoan IIIB presence have been documented for a large proportion of the plateau upon which was later raised the palatial building (Pl. CLXXXVIIb). The orientation of the walls of this phase, which appear to belong to separate units rather than a larger agglomeration of rooms, is different from that of the now visible palatial remains, and internally consistent. These constructions were founded immediately on the bedrock, there being practically no sterile soil, suggesting that the entire subsequent fill is of an archaeological nature. The walls were raised with middle-sized, unworked stones. Plaster fragments, surprisingly many with red paint, have been uncovered throughout, while several trenches have produced clay floors. The

* I wish to express my warmest thanks to Dr Michael Wedde, for his many contributions to the Petras excavation and study since 1993, and for his special help in translating the present paper and to my husband Prof. David W. Rupp, for suggesting the title, and for his patience in dealing with the excavator of Petras. The drawings are by M. Wedde and the author.


2 The present account is by necessity brief, concentrating on the architectural remains. The ceramic evidence for each dating will be laid out in full elsewhere.

3 Cf. ΤΣΙΠΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ and WEDDE (supra n. 1).
pottery is of good quality and abundant, with affinities to and imports from sites in the Mirabello area and the isthmus of Ierapetra – including Vassiliki ware. Complete vases of various shapes were recovered from floors. An important feature of this phase is the industrial installations, mortars and basins cut into the bedrock, across the entire plateau, with a concentration along its eastern flank, suggesting a communal work space since it is devoid of architectural remains. Several of the mortars have produced stone tools.

Evidence from the Early Minoan III-Middle Minoan IA phase is scarce (Pl. CLXXXVIIIa). It is restricted to a floor of limited extent with White-on-Dark sherds in Trench E2, and to fragmentary remains of floors and short runs of wall below the narrow parallel spaces 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 (from East to West) in the north-western sector of the later building. This latter context has produced two Middle Minoan IA bridge-spouted jugs. Statements regarding the extent of the settlement, or the architecture, cannot be formulated, only the following conjectural observation: the wall fragments run on the same orientation as the north façade of the palace. The floor in the 5th parallel space showed intense signs of fire. It had been laid down immediately upon a level containing Vassiliki ware, and been subsequently cut through by the north façade foundation trench. In terms of construction technique there are no differences to the Early Minoan IB walls, except for a slightly greater thickness. The pottery is again of good quality, with clear connections with the isthmus of Ierapetra. The two afore-mentioned jugs are, in terms of fabric, shape and decor, very similar to the isthmian production, especially from the Gournia-Pacheia Ammos area, either imports or direct imitations.

Trench Σ15 produced part of a floor with a Middle Minoan IB amphora with connections to the Pacheia Ammos workshop in situ. The phase was also documented in Trench Δ2, in which smashed pottery, including a fruit stand and a cup, came to light on a paved floor (Pl. CLXXXVIIIb). Given that these contexts were cut through by the east-west axes of the palatial building, the phase is not of palatial nature at Petras. However, it must be noted that the floors of Early Minoan IB, Early Minoan III-Middle Minoan IA and Middle Minoan IB date in trenches Σ7 and Σ15 are not connected to each other despite their immediate proximity, indicating that they were separated by a wall not distinguished in the trenches, but obviously on the same orientation and line as the later palatial axis wall, suggesting reuse in the later phase and immediate continuity.

The First Palace

The Middle Minoan IIA phase represents a period of enormous change for Petras (Pl. CLXXXIXa). A historical reconstruction of this moment in the development of Petras would underline the increasing importance of the site within the local economy, mirrored by the imported fine ceramics, the stone vases, the (admittedly few) seal impressions. Yet it would also consider this phase as one of increasing stress for a settlement attempting to fill a function for which it does not possess the necessary architecture. A radical solution to the problem, necessitating substantial architectural changes, loomed on the horizon.4

The most emphatic testament to this change is to be found outside the immediate area of the later palace. The excavation of a part of the township encircling the eastern and northern flanks of the plateau brought to light an impressive concentration of Middle Minoan IB-IIA pottery in a natural depression situated at the juncture of Sectors I and III. Over some 15 m² and to a maximum depth over 1.50m, a thick fill contained Kamares and Light-on-Dark pottery of a quality superior to anything found elsewhere at Petras, various coarse wares, fragments of stone vessels and ritual clay vessels, stone tools, loom weights, as well as bones

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4 A as yet unknown role in any reconstruction of the Siteia Bay economic environment in MM IA-B must be granted the rectangular building at Ayia Photia, a complex clearly constructed to control the eastern half of the bay. Moreover, the architecture looks forward to the palatial concept. Cleaning undertaken in 1997 located the fortification wall on the east side of the building, and clarified a number of points concerning the plan. A new stone plan was prepared; it will be published in the Polemos volume.
and obsidian. No complete vases have been assembled, and no objects displayed traces of burning. The contents of the pit appear, on a first - and necessarily partial - confrontation with the material, to have been formed through a single deliberate act undertaken elsewhere on the site. The sole candidate for so substantial a transformation is the establishment of the palatial building on the plateau above the pit. At a still undetermined moment in the Middle Minoan II A phase the plateau was levelled and the debris was transported down the slope to fill the depression. Upon this flat space the palace was established, occasionally employing as foundations earlier walls left standing, while descending to bedrock elsewhere (Pl. CLXXXIXa).

More or less contemporarily, and part of the same building plan, the bedrock was cut back along the eastern flank of the plateau so as to seat a substantial retaining wall of almost Cyclopean stature, upon which was grafted a roughly rectangular bastion at the south-eastern corner. Within the same concept was included a rectangular building (16x5m), raised on a roughly north-east/south-west axis. This structure constitutes the only remains known today of construction south of the central court in the Protopalatial period. The retaining wall, the bastion, and the rectangular building, the first two at least visible from afar, embodied a forceful statement of power to any traveler approaching Petras from the sea. Today all that remains of the bastion are the foundations. None of the walls present an interior face, and no internal dividing walls have come to light, precluding all interpretations regarding whether it was hollow or filled in, and any reconstruction of its original height. Much of the retaining wall has disappeared, the stone blocks having rolled down the slope, some to find secondary use in the Late Minoan III walls in Sector III.

A second major transformation along the eastern flank was undertaken in the north-eastern corner, where substantial amounts of bedrock were removed from a roughly 7.5x2.5m cutting. Part of this was filled with massive boulders to create a small bastion partially inserted into the bedrock. The northern end was left open, forming what may be interpreted as a guard house controlling access along the flank.

The exact relationship between the rectangular building and the rest of the preserved palatial complex remains unknown. The southern limit of the west wing of the palace has not been documented beyond the affirmation that the line of orthostats of the two rooms in the south-western corner cannot have constituted an exterior wall. If further axial walls existed to the south remains open. The difference in orientation between the rectangular building and the palace need not preclude a direct connection since the south side constitutes the rear of the complex, with no major access way, and may not have had to answer to the same requirements of monumentality.

Stratigraphical trenches and other finds permit assigning a number of walls and rooms to the Protopalatial phase of the main building. Starting from the East, the exit of the rock-cut water drainage channel forms part of the measures - the cutting back of the bedrock and the construction of the retaining wall - undertaken along the eastern flank of the plateau, and is thus datable to this period. It, in turn, is intimately connected to the first central court since Trenches Σ12, Σ16 and Σ19 indicate that the channel is situated immediately below the level of the plaster of the court. Trenches Σ1 and Σ6 have provided no evidence to contradict a Protopalatial date for the first central court. This should provide a terminus for the core of the building as it would have been raised concurrently with the laying of the court. Likewise part of the court complex are the monumental staircase at the former's northern end, and the square room (4x4m) that opens onto the staircase. This architectural unit formed the access.

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5 The pottery from this significant deposit is currently being studied by Prof. Donald C. Haggis.
6 A future campaign can hope to uncover cuttings for the seating of walls, a feature known from elsewhere in the palace, but, due to the limited soil coverage, hardly the walls themselves.
7 A few nondiagnostic coarse ware sherds came to light on this plaster floor in these trenches (kept very restricted in surface so as to cause minimal damage to this feature). Underneath the floor Σ6 had a thick stone tumble containing few sherds, while Σ1 just touched the corner of a EM III house and produced sherds of that period. A further trench will be opened in the future to address this issue.
to the central court and control of this entry.\(^8\) The southward continuation of this room’s eastern wall constituted the eastern delimitation of the court. Further support for a Protopalatial dating of this area comes from the U-shaped ashlar blocks forming the northern exit of the drainage system which lies on the staircase.

Since the wall running along the western edge of the court may reasonably be associated with the latter, and since the major east-west axes of the building are integral to the plan at the moment the court was established, it would follow that the greater part of the building was raised at a single moment in the history of the site. Analytically, and working southwards from the north façade, the following observation can be made:

The north façade, 1.20m wide, joins the west wall of the court at the second step of the monumental staircase, indicating that this juncture dates to the one and the same moment. It ran for some ten meters to the original north-western corner, situated just before the later oblique wall. At this point it turned south, and provided a two meter wide doorway for access into the building. A ramp of flat stones, some conserved in situ, running north-south, led to this entrance. A staircase rose to the upper floor in two narrow parallel spaces between the north façade and the second axial wall, approximately six meters to the south. A further four such parallel spaces, all of identical dimensions, fill the space created by the four walls, but it is unlikely that they served any other purpose than that of foundations for the upper floor.\(^9\) Whereas the monumental staircase served the court, the western staircase, narrow and with a switch-back, provided direct access to the upper story of the western part of the building. The discovery of the hieroglyphic archive fallen down into the doorway not only provides the raison d’être for the entrance, but also provides a secure terminus ante quem for the construction of the building.

The hieroglyphic archive, on the basis of what is known in general about archives in the Minoan world, indicates that storage of goods must have taken place in the immediate vicinity. The Protopalatial plan, as it can be reconstructed, provides no obvious storage areas. The north magazines, Neopalatial in date, were constructed on a terrace created through the substantial cutting back of the bedrock, a process which is known to have destroyed an unknown extent of the Early Minoan IIB houses on the north-east corner of the site. The reuse of the cubic ashlar blocks in the pylons of the Neopalatial structure could indicate the presence of an earlier construction on the same emplacement. Whether this hypothetical building would have served for storage cannot be proven, but the existence of the archive, cataloging large quantities of goods, in the vicinity could provide elements of an argument in favor.\(^10\) However this may be, it is clear that the main route for produce into the complex in Protopalatial times had the archive as its terminus, proceeding from the anchorage on the beach at the foot of the hill, and past the large cyclopean-like wall uncovered below the modern road.\(^11\)

As argued above, the east-west axes are all of a single moment. Substantial modification in the Neopalatial and later periods has destroyed the immediate evidence for the Protopalatial use of the central part of the building’s ground plan, the spaces north and south of the Neopalatial corridor.\(^12\) Only the southern-most section, as extant, can be examined in some detail. It consists of three successive rectangular rooms accessed through the

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8 A similar system is manifest at the entrance to the court of the fortified rectangular building at Ayia Photia.
9 Although superficially similar to the triple staircase at Malia, these spaces cannot have served such a function. The later extension of the north-western corner in an identical manner to the west indicates that this architectural feature served as foundations.
10 It should be noted that the function of the large rectangular building at the south-eastern corner of the site, over by the bastion, remains unknown. It could well have served for storage.
12 The section of wall which appears to cut this corridor in two some 2.5m from the court could suggest that the corridor did not exist in the Protopalatial period, and that the rooms were arranged one behind the other. Further study is required.
easternmost from the south-western corner of the central court.\textsuperscript{13} The floors in the first two were covered with flagstones, and the second had a bench along its south and west wall. The interstices in the floor, the bench, and the orthostat wall were plastered. The total absence of eloquent Protopalatial finds in these rooms renders their interpretation difficult, but the plaster bench provides an indication of a representational, perhaps even religious, function.

The south-west corner of the building has been destroyed, but the remaining traces indicate that it consisted of a row of orthostats backed by a substantial stone wall which continued northward to join the cutback of the north façade. The physical remnants of this façade appear to be largely those of the Neopalatial period, but a wall constructed on the same line is more than probable for the previous constructional phase. The remains of a paved courtyard west of the façade may be part of a Protopalatial west court running from the doorway leading to the archive, over the extent of the cutback in the north façade, and then possibly south along the west façade.

Further building activity in the Protopalatial period on the site cannot be traced. On the present evidence, the building, comprising the greater part of the walls visible today, was raised in a single phase from scratch, and was destined, architecturally and functionally, to serve from the beginning as a central administrative complex. The implications thereof are substantial, and will require careful consideration in relation to the history and topography of the region, with special reference to Malia and Zakros, as well as to a number of other East Cretan sites, an analysis to be undertaken elsewhere.

The Middle Minoan IIB period represents the acme of the first palace. It is also the phase of a major destruction which deposited the hieroglyphic archive in the doorway. Consequently the pottery associated with the use of the complex just before its destruction is dated to Middle Minoan IIB. It does not follow necessarily that the palace was founded in this phase since the latest non-palatial horizon is datable to Middle Minoan IB, and no break can be identified in the ceramic sequence. The Middle Minoan IA material is primarily to be found in the pit in Sectors I and III, indicating that the levelling of the plateau - and therefore the construction of the building - took place in this period. Pottery associated with the initial use of the complex would have ceded its place to the subsequent dictates of fashion.

The Second Palace

No substantial period of time appears to have passed after the destruction of the first palace. It is quite possible that damage was restricted in extent since the reconstruction employs all the major elements of the previous plan. The second palace is dated to the Middle Minoan III-Late Minoan I period, and building activities can be divided into two phases, each terminated by a destruction, one in Late Minoan IA, the second at some moment in Late Minoan IB. Most architectural features of the first palace are incorporated into the plan of the Neopalatial structure, thus giving a clear sense of continuity (Pl. CLXXXIXb).\textsuperscript{14} Four major changes can be identified for the earlier phase.

The first involves the abandonment of the entire south-eastern Protopalatial complex, the bastion and the large rectangular building, leading to substantial filling in and levelling out of the entire eastern flank of the plateau. This may have been associated with modifications of the circulation patterns extending down into the eastern part of the township in its relationship to movements of goods from the smaller "harbour." It was argued above that the bastion served to control these movements onto the plateau, a function it now appears to

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\textsuperscript{13} The dividing wall between the second and the third room can still be seen, whereas that between the first and the second appears to have been destroyed when the two Neopalatial walls were built. A clear demarcation between the front and the middle room is, in any case, affected by the constructional and chromatic change in the floor, from schist slabs in red mud to limestone slabs in white plaster.

\textsuperscript{14} This continuity accounts for the difficulty experienced in dating specific elements of the plan solely on the basis of the pottery, since the deposits recovered are usually dated to the final use of the associated architecture. Occasionally observations can be made from the architecture itself, especially in the case of wall built on earlier floors, or butting against pre-existing walls.
have ceased to fill. The bastion and the retaining wall along the eastern edge of the plateau remained in place, but a specific function in the Neopalatial period cannot be assigned to the area.

The north magazines were constructed in this first phase. The bedrock was cut back substantially, being present in its original form, datable at least to the Early Minoan IB period, only near the Early Minoan IIIB houses south of the magazines, and the rock-cut mortars at the north-eastern corner. A wall was seated on and against the bedrock below the monumental staircase and the 4x4m room, and four pylons (the second from the west being half-sized) were raised to support one upper floor, possibly even two to judge by their strength. Access was provided by a doorway next to the first pylon, leading to a switch-back staircase. The corridor along the south wall opened onto three storage rooms and an alcove at its end. The ground floor alone provides space for some 60 pithoi.

The entrance into which the hieroglyphic archive fell was never reused, being replaced by an oblique extension westwards which employed the same system of narrow parallel spaces as foundations. The manner of construction leaves something to be desired in comparison to the Protopalatial forerunners, thus distinguishing the phases not only chronologically but also architecturally. While the reasoning behind the extension can be reconstructed, it remains unknown why it was treated in so haphazard a manner, creating a north façade consisting of three different planes. If there are tectonic reasons, these cannot be immediately grasped, nor would their correction appear beyond the capabilities of the architects, based on the amount of substantial transformation that the site had already undergone or was undergoing at the time.

If the observations made above concerning the organization of space in the central part of the building are valid, in contrast, the Neopalatial transformations appear clear: a corridor was opened from the court to the west façade, and a series of rooms laid out to its south (the layout north of the corridor remains shrouded in uncertainty). The function of these rooms in the Late Minoan IA period remains unknown, but it may be noted that the third room from the east had a paved floor. In addition, the room with the plaster bench was filled in between two walls, the eastern built roughly at the junction of the two paved floors, the western cutting the western-most room in half. Whereas the front room and the south-west corner of the extant building remained in use, the central portion was sealed off.15

The Late Minoan IA phase of the building complex came to an end in a destruction which produced two substantial deposit, one at the head of the monumental staircase, producing more than six hundred conical cups and a small proportion of other shapes, the other on top of the hieroglyphic archive, consisting of well over a thousand vases, again mainly conical cups.

The building itself did not suffer major damage since few changes can be observed in the architecture (Pl. CXCa). The rooms south of the corridor are, in the Late Minoan IB phase, clearly employed for storage as is indicated by a number of pithoi and amphorae uncovered from them. Substantial transformations occur in association with the central court. The monumental staircase was taken out of use, either by the destruction, or during the refurbishment. At its base an additional room was appended to the north magazines, again reemploying an ashlar block (with a mason’s mark). The head of the staircase and the adjacent 4x4m room were covered by a plaster and pebble floor which extended out over the older eastern wall of the central court to a new wall raised almost two meters further east. The central court itself was reduced in size by a single-course wall upon which stood alternating columns and pillars.16 The effect was that of dividing the enlarged court into two equal halves, the western open to the sky, the eastern functioning as a stoa, possibly with an upper story that may also have partially covered the area of the old monumental staircase. This would be suggested by the column base that came to light within the 4x4m room. In the south-eastern

15 A logical explanation for this bizarre behavior does not come immediately to mind. If the suggestion that the room with the bench had a religious function is valid, an explanation may be sought in that direction.

16 The original proportions are retained through the addition of single-course crosswalls at the northern and southern ends of the original court.
corner of the court a new entrance with paved floor was added to the plan. A staircase at its western end gave access to the upper story, or to a hypothetical extension to the south of the building.\textsuperscript{17} With the successive closing of the north-western entrance during the first Neopalatial reconstruction, and the northern entry during the second, the palace appears to have changed orientation. This may be associated with effects of the destruction on the circulation patterns in the township, or on the use of the two anchorages at the foot of the hill.

The function of the complex is subject to reemphasis: storage invades the main building, and the central court, and necessitates the addition of a room to the north magazines. Similar rethinking of specific areas within a building is known throughout Late Minoan IB Crete: representative areas, frequently with paved floors, sometimes also with polythra, are converted into industrial or storage areas. At Petras it may also be observed in the house excavated in Sector II. In the palace new floors are lain in the corridor and in the rooms to its south, while no architectural evidence for the use of the northern half of the building is available for this period.

The building phase comes to a fiery end. A thick destruction layer peppered with architectural fragments (ashlar blocks, some with mason’s marks, door jams, elements of pier-and-door partitions) fallen from the upper storey covered the central court. Many blocks fell into the room with the schist and red mud floor, where the fire was so intense as to rubify the walls. The layer continues across the corridor, the southern rooms, and out over the narrow parallel spaces. A second major - and explosive, due to the oil stored in the pithoi - fire wreaked havoc in the northern magazines, where the destruction layer reached 1.20m in thickness. Petras is abandoned.

After the Palace

The site is re-inhabited in Late Minoan IIIA after a certain period. Its exact chronological extent remains unknown, but it may be noted that nowhere at Petras has Late Minoan II pottery come to light.\textsuperscript{18} The earliest post-palatial ceramics date to the IIIA1 phase. The inclusion of fine ware sherds suggest a permanent presence rather than chance deposits. Architectural remains are limited to two concentrations of wall fragments, one forming at least two rooms inside the Late Minoan IB stoa, the other above the narrow parallel spaces, more scattered in nature, and amounting to one or more structures (Pl. CXCb). The central court was reemployed as indicated by sherds on its surface, but it does not appear to have been completely cleared. Most of the pottery dates to Late Minoan IIIA-2, while the latest sherds belong to an early phase of IIIB. No architectural remains of the IIC period have come to light, but the discovery of sherds of this phase at the north-western-most part of the plateau cannot exclude the existence of a structure destroyed in the Byzantine, or a later, period.\textsuperscript{19}

On the basis of the evidence briefly presented and discussed here, the history of human occupation at Petras can be divided into nine distinct phases:

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\textsuperscript{17} This staircase and its function remains a major problem in the understanding of the architectural plan.

\textsuperscript{18} Indications from sites such as Mochlos (Chalinomouri) and Palaikastro suggest that non-palatial sites did not experience a break after the end of Late Minoan IB. The only possible Late Minoan II sherd from the Siteia Bay area known to the author was picked up in the survey of the Aigia Photia plain at one of the Neopalatial “farmsteads.” It should be kept in mind that the period is short, and that a change in ceramic style is not necessary at minor agricultural site. It is noteworthy that the settlement at Achladia has produced Late Minoan IB pottery of a slightly more advanced kind than Petras, particularly a type of deep globular cup which approaches LM II profiles absent from the Petras material.

\textsuperscript{19} For more information on LM III Petras, cf. M. TSIOPOPOULOU, “Late Minoan III Reoccupation in the Area of the Palatial Building at Petras, Siteia” (supra n. 1).
The above observations, which leave largely untouched the Byzantine presence on the site, are but notes on work in progress. Their publication in the present context may contribute to the general discussion concerning the foundations, architectural phases, and destructions of the palaces of Crete, not only by providing indications regarding one of these sites, but also because the data upon which they are based underline the complexity of the subject, in particular the definition of what is, in fact, a Minoan palace, and what are the functions of such an architectural complex. These topics have been, are, and will constitute the main problems of Minoan archaeology.
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PETRAS III
Early Minoan III-Middle Minoan IA
Occupation in the Area of the Palatial Building

Various remains

PETRAS IV
Middle Minoan IB-IIA
Occupation in the Area of the Palatial Building

Remains of floors
PETRAS VII
Palatial Building: Second Phase
Late Minoan IB

PETRAS VIII
Late Minoan IIIA-IIIB
Occupation in the Area of the Palatial Building

- Walls
- Central court, stone surfaces, staircases
- Drainage system
- Walls, finds

Scale: 5m