

# Petras, Siteia

## 25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



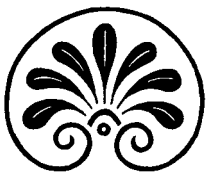
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– 25 years of excavations and studies

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Edited by

*Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



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# Preface

*Βίος άνεόρταστος, μακρά όδός άπανδόχεντος.*  
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 Togiias, 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 Toggias.

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.



# 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*

## *Abstract*

The settlement on Kephala Hill, to the east of the Minoan town and the palace of Petras, is dated to the FN IV–EM IA period, providing the earliest evidence so far for habitation in the Siteia area. The excavation revealed only part of the settlement but provided enough new evidence to generate new archaeological questions and raise issues for further research. This presentation reviews the new evidence and focuses on issues raised from the study of the archaeological material, such as the organization and dating of the settlement, the relations with nearby sites, as well as the contacts with areas beyond Crete.

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide an updated review of the material evidence that derived from the excavation of the settlement on Kephala Hill. The settlement was unearthed between 2002 and 2004 in the course of three successive excavation seasons, carried out by the 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the area of Petras. Presentations and publications on specific issues have been made over the past few years, but this volume celebrating 25 years of Petras excavations provides an excellent occasion for a more general synthesis of the archaeological evidence, with particular focus on issues in which Kephala Petras provided new contributions.

The site is situated on the north slopes of Kephala Hill, 1,300 m northeast of the lower hill where the Minoan town and the palace of Petras are situated.<sup>2</sup> The location, although not naturally defensible, is not as easily accessible as the palace hill and has better visual control over the plain, the sea and the hinterland. The above factors were probably the primary criteria for establishing the first important settlement in the area, just before the end of the Neolithic. The excavation covered only an area of 360 m<sup>2</sup> but the quantity and distribution of the surface pottery indicate a significantly larger settle-

ment extending also to the southern slopes of the hill.<sup>3</sup>

## Architecture and organization of space

The architectural remains belong to three major phases of occupation (Fig. 1a).<sup>4</sup> The earliest are dated to the last phase of the Neolithic, FN IV, and consist of two rooms belonging to a partially preserved building. The next phase dates to the EM IA period and the architecture comprises a few partially preserved rectilinear and curvilinear walls belonging to two or three free-standing structures. On top of these, within the course of EM IA, a building complex of at least eight rooms was erected. There are no indications of violent destruction

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\* I would like to thank Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou for entrusting me with the material from the excavation at Kephala Petras and for providing constant support through all the stages of my work at Petras.

<sup>1</sup> Papadatos 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Tsipopoulou 2002; Tsipopoulou this volume, Introduction, Fig. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Tsipopoulou 1990a, 321; Nowicki 2002, 28.

<sup>4</sup> Papadatos 2008.

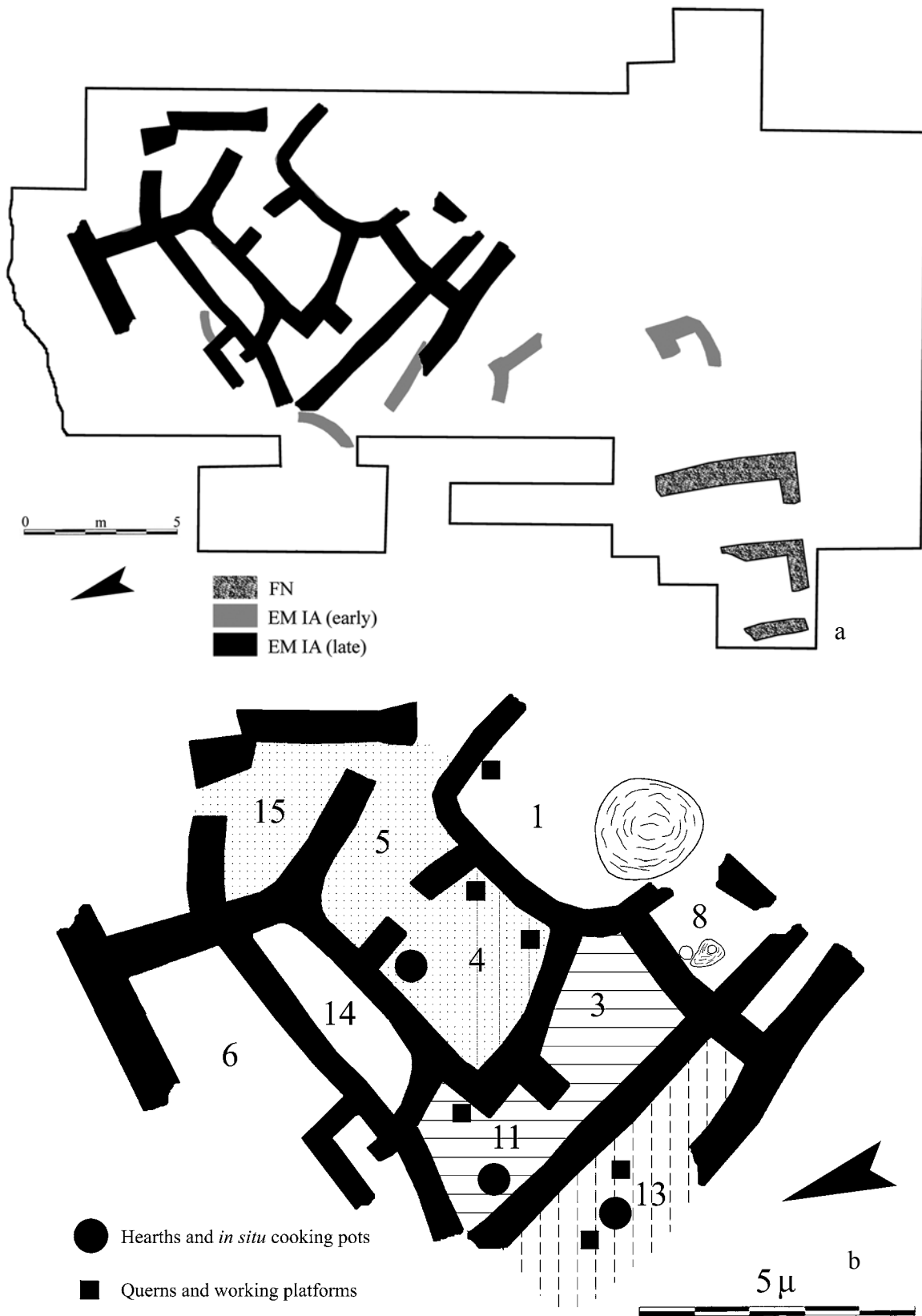


Fig. 1. a) Plan of the excavated area; b) Suggested domestic units.

in any of these phases or at the end of the occupation of the site. It seems that the settlement was abandoned peacefully and the population established a new settlement on top of the nearby lower hill, where the palatial building would be erected several centuries later.<sup>5</sup>

Since the abandonment of the Kephala settlement in EM IA was not caused by any sudden and/or violent event we do not have the “fossil” image of the activities taking place during the last days of occupation. However, in many cases the domestic equipment was preserved *in situ* where it was last used. The most characteristic examples comprise cooking pots with round bases fitted into shallow pits dug in the bedrock, grinders found on top of querns, and a fixed clay hearth with burnt animal bones, stone tools and clay pots found around it. All these indicate that the inhabitants left behind a great part of their household equipment, providing useful insights on the domestic activities, the organization and the use of space during the last phase of occupation. Moreover, the available evidence from EM IA Kephala acquires special importance considering the limited number of excavated Prepalatial settlements and the fact that any discussion on these issues starts with the settlement at Myrtos Phournou Koriphi, which dates several centuries later.

Although smaller, the EM IA building at Kephala is comparable in plan with the complicated, agglomerative, multi-roomed building complex at Myrtos. This architectural planning raises questions concerning not only the spatial, but also the social organization of the inhabiting communities. However, even for the excellently preserved settlement at Myrtos there is no consensus, with some scholars following the excavator’s interpretation that the settlement was organized at a community level,<sup>6</sup> whereas others support the view of social organization at the household level, which corresponded to small nuclear families.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of the available evidence three separate domestic units can be identified within the Kephala building complex, possibly corresponding to three different households (Fig. 1b).<sup>8</sup> This suggestion takes into account door openings and the presence of installations for food preparation, which can be found only in three rooms, one in

each unit. One room (13) was equipped with an *in situ* circular clay hearth with flat base and low rim of square section. Traces of fire at the centre of the hearth, burnt bones, clay vases and stone tools found around it clearly show that the area was used for food preparation. In two other rooms (4 and 11) cooking jars with curved bases were found *in situ* inside circular hollows cut in the soft bedrock. The lack of traces of fire indicate that cooking was taking place in other, probably open, areas and the cooking pots were brought into the rooms for food consumption afterwards. The use of these three rooms for food preparation and consumption is reinforced by the fact that all were equipped with paved working platforms, querns and grinding stones. If this is valid, it seems that each domestic unit comprised two rooms, one for food preparation and consumption, and one room for other, non-specified functions.

On the other hand, two spaces are not connected to any of these three units, but serve specialized functions. The first space (6) produced 30% of the stone tools of the settlement, mostly pounders, grinders and rubbers, most of which bear use marks, according to the study carried out by Dr D. Evely.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, this space opens to an outdoor area with hollows cut in the bedrock, which were probably used as mortars for various grinding activities. It could, therefore, be a communal space dedicated to specific grinding activities or at least for the storage of the stone tools used in the adjacent open area of the settlement. The second space (joined 1 and 8) produced a large quantity of pithoid jar fragments,<sup>10</sup> probably originally placed next to a large cistern cut in the bedrock and lined with slabs. Both the space and the cistern did not produce any significant quantities of archaeobotanical remains, suggesting the storage of liquids rather than staple food. The above evidence may suggest that this space was

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<sup>5</sup> Tsipopoulou & Wedde 2000.

<sup>6</sup> Warren 1972; Tenwolde 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Whitelaw 1983.

<sup>8</sup> Papadatos 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Evely, internal report.

<sup>10</sup> Papadatos 2008, fig. 15.6.d; for the shape, see Betancourt 2010, figs. 1.4 and 1.5.

also a communal area used for the storage of large quantities of liquids, perhaps water, in order to serve the needs of the entire community.

The analysis of pottery distribution within the households indicates that each space contained similar amounts of vessels intended for serving and food consumption as well as for small-scale storage.<sup>11</sup> Equally distributed are all the other classes of material, namely the animal bones, the shells and the archaeobotanical remains. Moreover, in most rooms there are indications of minor obsidian blade production and use. According to the study carried out by Cesare D'Annibale, obsidian technology did not constitute an intensive, but rather a small-scale activity, taking place when the need for it emerged.<sup>12</sup> Finally, the presence of spindle whorls in many rooms indicates weaving activity without any particular distribution pattern in the settlement.

Although fragmentary, the evidence from Kephala Petras indicates that buildings with complex plans, such as the one encountered at EM II Myrtois Phournou Koriphi, appear as early as EM IA. Moreover, the Kephala evidence may suggest a pattern in between the two expressed so far with regard to the organization of space. It seems that small domestic units (households) did exist, particularly for activities related to food preparation and consumption. However, certain activities went beyond the level of the unit and had a more collective character, namely grinding, storage of stone tools, and the large-scale storage of liquids. These activities were taking place in areas dedicated to specialized functions, which did not belong to any of the suggested households. It is also worth stressing here that there does not seem to have been any controlled access to these spaces.

## Population movement and the colonization of Crete

Another issue pertaining to Aegean studies is the transition from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, and especially the historical conditions defining it. The demographic increase detected across the island, along with the emergence of new pottery types have led to theories of population move-

ments and colonization of the island by newcomers from Asia Minor and/or the rest of the Aegean.<sup>13</sup> However, there is no agreement on the date of these movements or the origin of the newcomers. The comparative study of the pottery from the two phases of Kephala provides an excellent opportunity to test these theories, focusing on the continuities and discontinuities of the ceramic record.

In the FN the majority of the pottery (*ca.* 80%) is manufactured in a local grog-tempered fabric.<sup>14</sup> The vessels have a brown burnished surface and have been fired in open pits, at low temperatures without good control of the firing atmosphere. The amount of local pottery is even higher in the EM IA phase (more than 95%), but there are some changes in the technology of manufacture. The same grog-tempered fabric was still used for the majority of the local pottery, with a change only in the amount of the added grog, which becomes significantly higher. The firing temperature also gets higher and there is better control over the atmosphere, resulting in a homogeneous grey or red vessel surface. It seems that the kiln has already been introduced.<sup>15</sup> These changes in pyrotechnology affect the visual appearance of the vessels, the color and the surface treatment. In contrast to the standardized brown burnished surface of FN pottery, in EM IA there are three major wares: the dark grey burnished, the wiped and washed, and the fine red slipped ware, and several minor ones, which are variants of the above, including the orange/buff and the brown burnished, the dark-on-light painted and the red slipped and polished.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to the shape repertoire of the locally made pottery, in the FN period there are two dominant shape categories comprising jars and bowls, with parallels in other contemporary sites such as Knossos, Phaistos, and Kastelli Phournis. In EM IA there is greater variety of shapes: many types of bowls, plates, jugs, pyxides, oval-mouthed jars, col-

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<sup>11</sup> Papadatos 2011.

<sup>12</sup> D'Annibale 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Papadatos 2008 for full discussion.

<sup>14</sup> Papadatos *et al.* in press; Nodarou this volume.

<sup>15</sup> Betancourt 2008, 16–23.

<sup>16</sup> Papadatos 2008, 265–8.

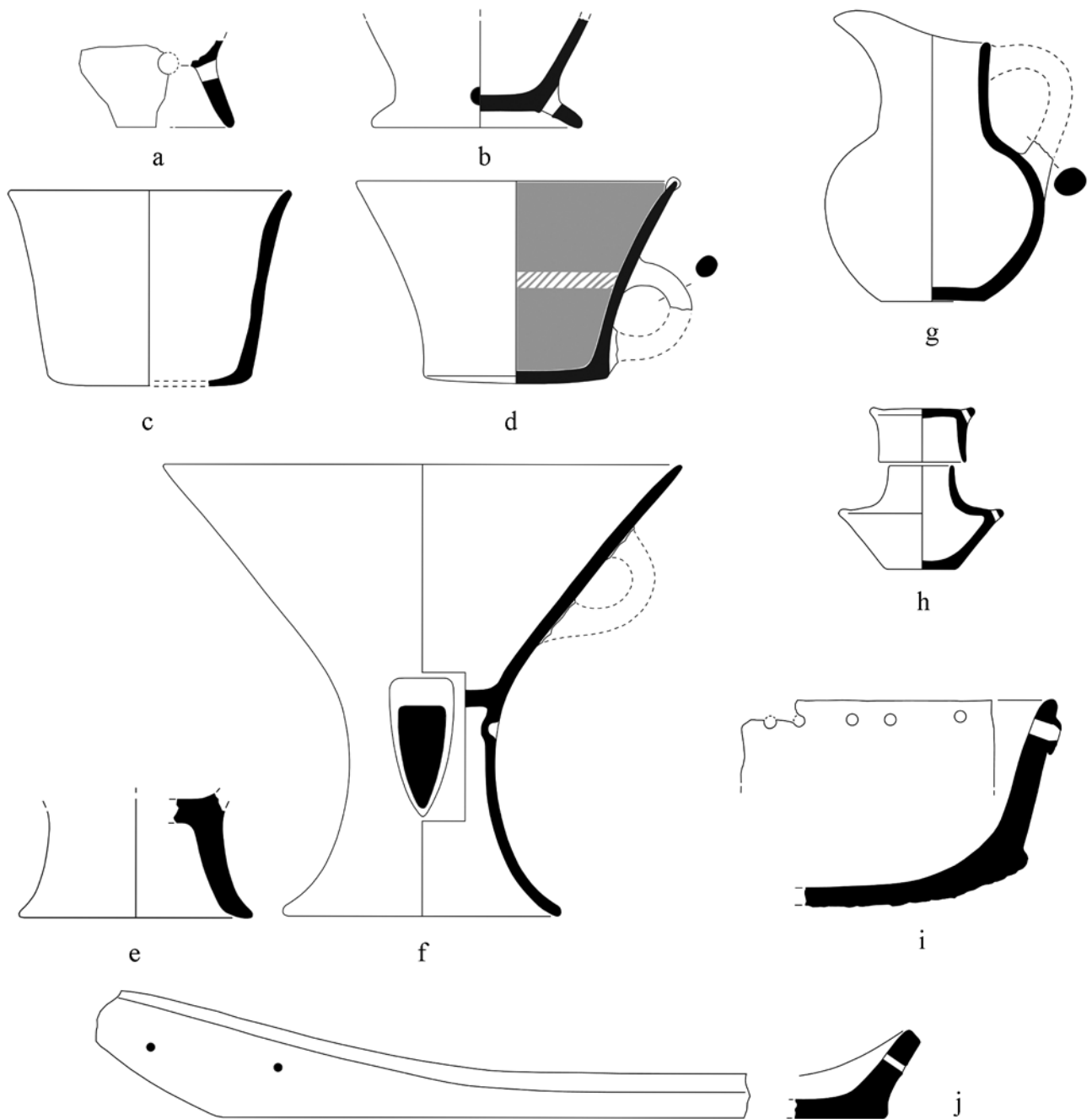


Fig. 2. Pottery of the FN IV and EM IA periods.

lar-necked jars, cooking trays and pithoi. Moreover, there is a connection between certain wares and the function of the vessels. Burnished or slipped vessels are used as table wares, whereas wiped and washed vessels are used for cooking and small-scale storage.<sup>17</sup>

The transition from the FN to the EM IA period is marked with both continuities and disconti-

nities.<sup>18</sup> The predominance of bowls is a common trait in both periods. Some Neolithic shapes, such as the ring-based (Fig. 2a) and the carinated bowl (Fig. 2c), continue in the EM period (Fig. 2b and

<sup>17</sup> Papadatos 2008; Papadatos *et al.* in press.

<sup>18</sup> Papadatos *et al.* in press.

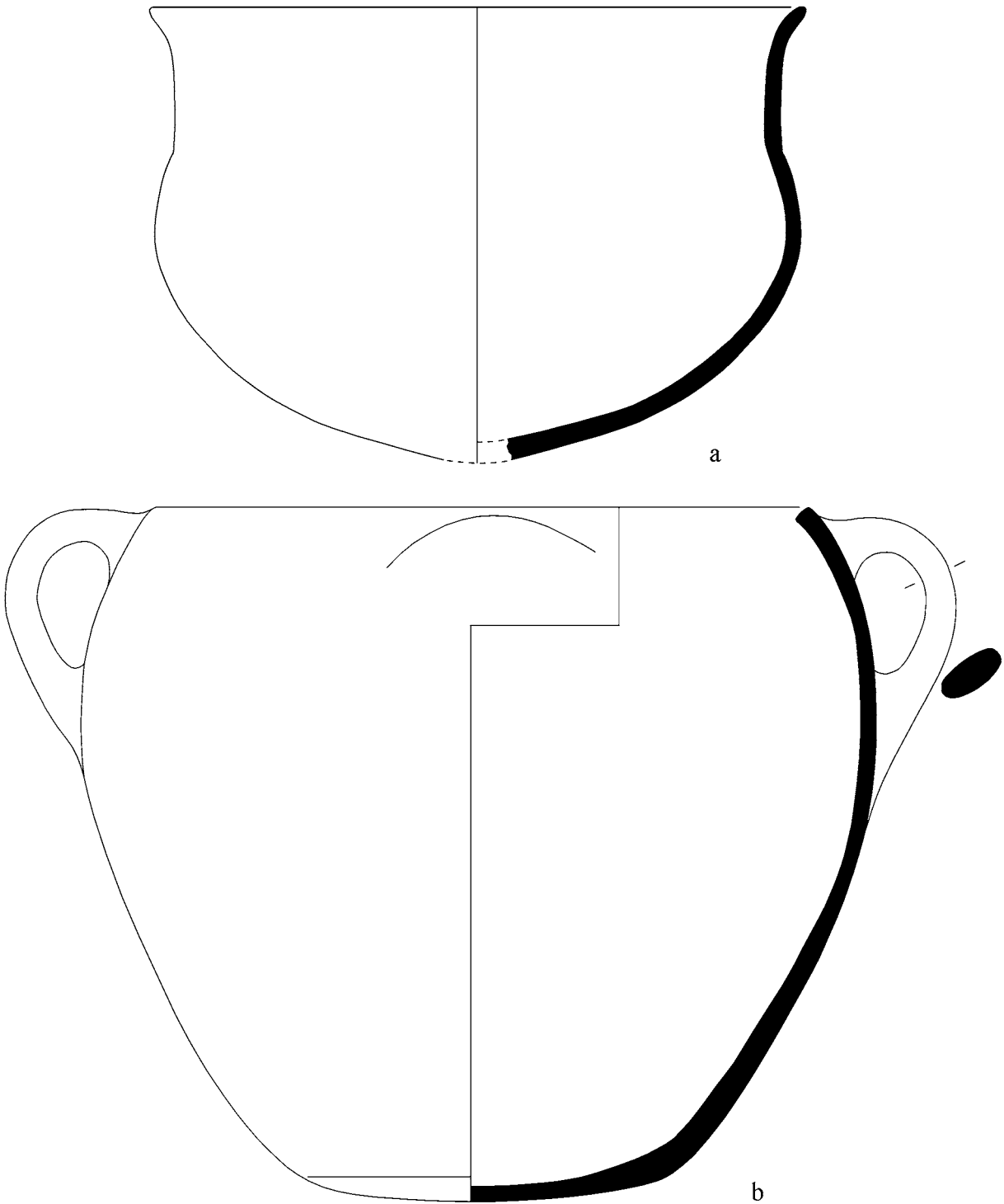


Fig. 3. Cooking shapes of the FN IV and EM IA periods.

2d respectively), while others disappear, such as the S-shaped bowl (Fig. 3a). The shape that emerges and dominates in the EM I period is the chalice (Fig. 2f), which has a precedent in the Neolithic period, the low-footed bowl (Fig. 2e). The main

cooking shape of the Neolithic period is the deep S-shaped bowl (Fig. 3a) which is replaced by the two-handled hole-mouthed jar in EM I (Fig. 3b). Moreover, the cheese pot (Fig. 2i), particularly common in FN, does not disappear but gets transformed

into the cooking tray with holes under the rim (Fig. 2j). There are very few new shapes, namely the jug and the pyxis (Fig. 2g and 2h). All these changes, although typologically important, do not constitute a groundbreaking change in the local pottery of the site, since they do not represent a substitution of the old repertoire by a radically new one.

To summarize, the locally made FN pottery of Kephala Petras has strong parallels with other Cretan sites. Furthermore, the changes of EM IA concern primarily the appearance, rather than the technology of manufacture and the function of the vessels, while typological changes are not so extensive as to suggest a cultural shift. Therefore, theories about major population movements and large-scale colonization of Crete in FN or EM IA cannot be substantiated, at least on the basis of the pottery record from Kephala Petras.

## Off-Cretan relations

The last issue concerns the off-island relations of the settlement. Although recent excavations at Aegean sites, such as Strophilas on Andros,<sup>19</sup> have shown that some FN settlements clearly exceed the size and organization of simple hamlets, in Crete the situation remains problematic. The few archaeological remains available are not sufficient to suggest any significant level of social complexity before the end of the Neolithic period, with the possible exceptions of Knossos and Phaistos,<sup>20</sup> though this is based on highly fragmentary evidence. Moreover, the lack for evidence of off-island contacts, particularly in the above major centers of Neolithic habitation, has created a picture of isolation from the rest of the Aegean world<sup>21</sup> contrasting with that of late EM I-EM II, which is characterized by the circulation of large quantities of raw materials and finished artifacts from the Cyclades to Crete,<sup>22</sup> a phenomenon often called “International Spirit”.<sup>23</sup>

The evidence from FN Kephala provides significant new information on this issue, since stylistic and petrographic analysis clearly suggest that about 10% of the pottery is imported from off-Cretan areas.<sup>24</sup> The vessels of this category have been manufactured with a base clay rich in muscovite mica,<sup>25</sup>

which is undoubtedly off-Cretan, possibly of Cycladic origin. Moreover, this ceramic group comprises vases with strong parallels from sites in the Cyclades (Hagia Eirene and Kephala on Keos, and Akrotiri on Thera) and the Dodecanese (Partheni on Leros, Archangelos on Rhodes, Gyalı and Alimnıa). The most common of these shapes is the cheesepot (Fig. 4a), the exotic character of which is accentuated by the fact that it is absent in the type-sites of the Cretan Neolithic, Knossos and Phaistos. Other off-island shapes comprise the biconical jar with pointed base (Fig. 4b), the bowl with horizontal tubular handle and low foot (Fig. 4c), vases with matt-impressed base, and vases with plastic decoration, particularly impressed pellets and cordons (Fig. 4d and 4e). In the same micaceous fabric have also been manufactured a few spindle whorls and four pendants of the FN period, suggesting that finished artifacts must have been imported to Kephala Petras alongside the micaceous pottery, possibly from the Cyclades. On the other hand, it is of particular interest that most of these off-Cretan shapes were also manufactured according to the local grog-tempering tradition. This indicates that foreign ceramic types were not only imported but also adopted and produced locally at Kephala.

In the EM IA period the amount of imported micaceous vessels falls significantly. However, there is another imported group comprising vessels made in calcite-tempered fabrics.<sup>26</sup> Their provenance remains unknown, but the parallels for these vessels are to be found in the Cyclades, such as the deep bowl with vertical tubular lugs (Fig. 4f), the serving plate (Fig. 4g), and the hole-mouthed jar (Fig. 4i), often with crescent-shaped, non-perforated lugs (Fig. 4h). It seems, therefore, that in EM IA Kephala continued to import pottery from the Cyclades.

Furthermore, the contacts of Kephala with the Aegean world are not limited to artifacts but extend

<sup>19</sup> Televantou 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Tomkins 2008; 2010; Todaro & Di Tonto 2008.

<sup>21</sup> Vagnetti 1996.

<sup>22</sup> Papadatos 2007; Wilson *et al.* 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Renfrew 1972, 444, 451; Broodbank 2000, 256–8.

<sup>24</sup> Papadatos *et al.* in press.

<sup>25</sup> Nodarou this volume.

<sup>26</sup> Papadatos *et al.* in press.



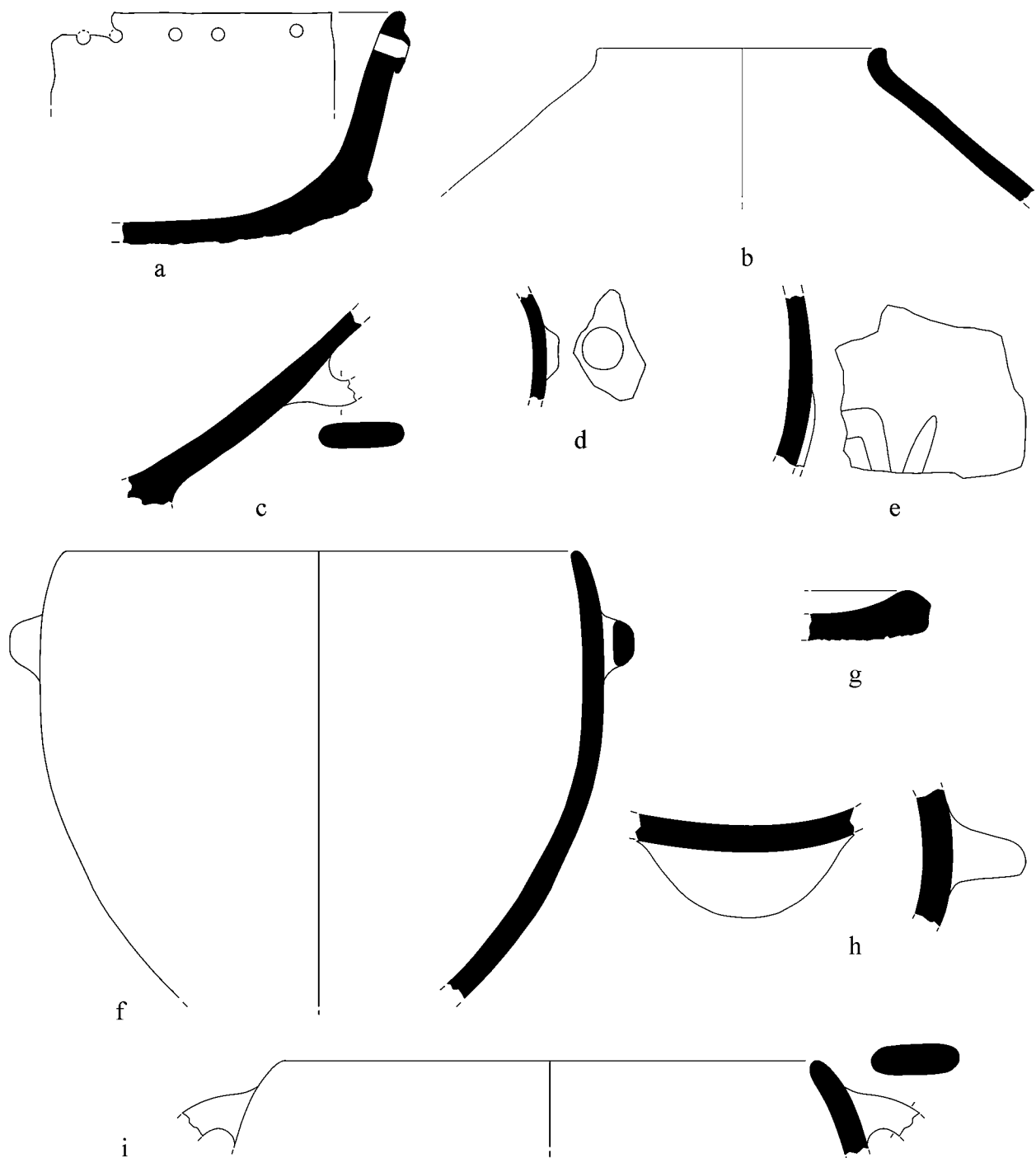


Fig. 4. Imported pottery of the FN IV and EM IA periods.

to raw materials. The entire chipped stone assemblage is made of Melian obsidian and includes all stages of production, namely blades, cores, flakes and chips.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the excavation revealed direct evidence for copper smelting in the form of copper ores and slag.<sup>28</sup> The source of the raw material remains unknown, but the absence of copper

ores in Crete suggests import from other Aegean areas, possibly the Cyclades, as indicated by the pottery and the obsidian.

<sup>27</sup> Papadatos *et al.* in press.

<sup>28</sup> Papadatos 2007; Catapotis *et al.* 2011.

The above evidence demonstrates that Kephala Petras constituted a settlement that was well embedded in the Neolithic and Early Minoan cultural tradition of Crete but had also strong contacts with the rest of the Aegean as early as the FN period. The character of the material culture is obviously Cretan but the people of Kephala had access to off-Cretan networks of exchange and interaction, which also involved the movement of raw materials and finished artifacts. They imported pottery from off-island areas, probably the Cyclades, and manufactured similar vessels in local clays and with local manufacturing traditions. They also imported obsidian *nodules* and metal ores from the western Cyclades and transformed them into finished artifacts. Finally, they imported finished artifacts such as spindle whorls and pendants.

From this point of view the inhabitants of Kephala participated in maritime networks of interaction and exchange as early as the FN and EM IA phases, i.e. several centuries before other sites on the North Cretan coast such as Poros Katsambas,<sup>29</sup>

Gournes,<sup>30</sup> and Hagia Photia.<sup>31</sup> It is difficult at this point to evaluate the intensity, frequency and scale of this maritime activity, which is well illustrated by a small ceramic boat model found at the site and dated to the EM IA, being the earliest found in Crete.<sup>32</sup> Kephala Petras is the only site so far that has provided so ample and clear evidence, with the possible exception of Nerokourou in West Crete.<sup>33</sup> It seems, however, that the “International Spirit”, or at least some of its basic characteristics, appeared in the southern Aegean before the end of the Neolithic.

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<sup>29</sup> Wilson *et al.* 2008.

<sup>30</sup> Galanaki 2006.

<sup>31</sup> Davaras & Betancourt 2004.

<sup>32</sup> Papadatos 2012.

<sup>33</sup> Vagnetti *et al.* 1989; Vagnetti 1996.

# Discussion

**Muhly** It seems that there has been an increase in population in EM I. Would you agree?

**Papadatos** I think this increase in population starts already in the Final Neolithic. There are so many sites around, and Final Neolithic now seems a very long period. If we put dots on the map we will have many settlements of the FN in Crete. The problem is that it was a very long period, and it is very difficult to distinguish according to the surface pottery between FN I, II, III or IV, because now, according to Peter Tomkins we have four different phases. I think it is a very long period, and I do not know whether it is gradual, but we have population increase, so I do not think this increase in population is a sudden phenomenon, this is my feeling for the moment.

**MacGillivray** So, Yiannis, in that case you do not see this as a new population coming in. How do you comment on DNA studies that show Troadic population coming in around 3000 BC?

**Papadatos** I cannot comment on DNA analysis, of course, but I am not saying that people are not coming from elsewhere, what I am saying is that we do not have a sudden population movement at the end of the FN or in the EM I period, and that all these changes in pottery are connected to this population movement. I mean there are people living in Crete even before the FN, in many places, for example in Knossos, in the Middle Neolithic. I think, they identified imports from the Mirabello area, so there are Middle Neolithic settlements in the Mirabello area, but we need to search for them. So definitely people are coming to Crete, but I do not think there is a sudden increase of population at the very end of the FN or in EM I. What I see, at least based on the evidence from Kephala, is population that live by the sea and have very strong connections with the rest of the Aegean. So far I think only Kephala can provide this evidence, but definitely there are more sites of this type. Of course people are coming but not *en masse*.

**Vasilakis** The picture offered by Papadatos at Kephala, is further strengthened by what we have presented at the *First Ergon Kritis Symposium* in 2008 (*Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1, Πρακτικά της 1<sup>ης</sup> Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*) on Gazi. There the two phases are found together, and we are trying to understand what their relationship is. I believe we need to be patient, and not rush into conclusions about movements of populations, as the site itself is not abandoned, but continues its life.

**Papadatos** To continue on this, the first architectural phase is FN IV, but there is some surface pottery or some pottery that we found in the trenches which is earlier within FN, so we have population even before, but since we cannot establish a connection of this

pottery with architectural remains, it is better just to say that perhaps we have some population living up there already before FN IV, perhaps in FN II or III.

**Haggis** I was just surprised that you mentioned that the cheesepots are not common in other excavated contexts. It seems that cheesepots are kind of chronological artifacts, in surveys they are very common, they are all over the place. Is this a FN IV phenomenon then?

**Papadatos** Yes, what I mean is that in the two sites that are well known, Knossos and Phaistos, in previous periods, they are lacking. I am not saying that we do not have cheesepots in the rest of Crete, definitely not, there are in many sites, particularly around the coastline, but I find very striking that after so many years of excavations at Phaistos and Knossos, I think there are one or two sherds of cheesepots from Knossos, and no sherds from Phaistos. I find this very peculiar. It is like the sites that have a long history before the FN in Crete, are lacking cheesepots. They were something very strange, very foreign, for them, they do not even import them from elsewhere.

**Haggis** So, this only emphasizes how small and focused our samples are.

### *Greek abstract*

Επιστροφή στις ρίζες: η πρωιμότερη κατοίκηση στην περιοχή του Πετρά: τα στοιχεία από τον οικισμό της Κεφάλας

Η αποκάλυψη τμήματος ενός μεγάλου οικισμού της Τελικής Νεολιθικής IV–Πρωτομινωικής ΙΑ περιόδου στο λόφο της Κεφάλας, σε κοντινή απόσταση από τη μεταγενέστερη μινωική πόλη και το ανάκτορο του Πετρά, από τη μια προσφέρει μια σειρά από νέα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα μετατοπίζοντας προς τα πίσω τα χρονολογικά όρια της κατοίκησης στην περιοχή της Σητείας, από την άλλη όμως δημιουργεί μια σειρά από νέα αρχαιολογικά ερωτήματα και θέτει νέα προβλήματα στην έρευνα. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση δίδεται μια σύνοψη των νέων δεδομένων και εξετάζονται τα επιμέρους ζητήματα που εγείρονται από τη μελέτη αρχαιολογικού υλικού, με έμφαση στην οργάνωση και τη λειτουργία του οικισμού, τα χρονολογικά όρια της κατοίκησης, τη σχέση με γειτονικούς οικισμούς, αλλά και με τον εξωκρητικό κόσμο, με τον οποίο η Κεφάλα Πετρά φαίνεται να είχε στενές επαφές ήδη από την Νεολιθική περίοδο.



## 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 stilted 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 *EAIKEΘE* [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* – *Lov Acta archaeologica Lovanensia*

*AJA* – *American Journal of Archaeology*

*AJPA* – *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*

*AR* – *Archaeological Reports*

*ArchDelt* – *Archaeologikon Deltion*

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

*GORILA* – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1976–1985, *Recueil des inscriptions en linéaire A*, 1–5 (Études Crétoises 21, 1–5), Paris.

*CretChron* – *Kretika Chronika*

*CurrAnthr* – *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 Archaiologikes Etaireias*

*SIMA* – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

*SkrAth* – *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*

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