

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



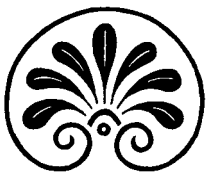
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– 25 years of excavations and studies

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Edited by

Metaxia Tsipopoulou



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Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

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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.



Petras in context: localism, regionalism, internationalism

Peter M. Warren

The achievement of the Petras Project, under the direction of Metaxia Tsipopoulou, has been remarkable even by the exceptional standards of discovery and interpretation in other parts of Crete in recent decades. From a very modest beginning on Hill I in 1985 – but in the belief that this could not be a site simply of a Neopalatial settlement but one with a major central building – Tsipopoulou has constructed a large-scale operation of fieldwork and study across the plateau and slopes of the hill and the adjacent higher hill, Kephala. The major characteristic of this project is its internationalism. With the crucial support of INSTAP and its intellectual and practical Study Center a stream of international specialists, particularly in the biological and material sciences, has been given by her the responsibility and privilege of studying and publishing specific areas of excavation and categories of finds. The main team has also generated a sub-team, with Yiannis Papadatos having been given responsibility for the FN and EM I settlement on Kephala. The present volume, with its twenty-four papers, reports progress on all these fronts and thus contributes much to increased understanding of Bronze Age Cretan social, political, economic and aesthetic practices.

This overview, written at the invitation of Metaxia Tsipopoulou, comments on Petras at three levels, the uses of the two sites themselves, their regional and their off-island or international dimensions. We do so not by (superfluous) summary of the papers' contents but by offering at these different levels some observations and questions promoted by the contributions to the volume and by the current position in Petrasian discovery. We deliberately focus on points of change, *histoire événementielle*, in the sequence.

The sites and their occupation

Settlement began, on Kephala, in FN IV and continued through EM IA.¹ Though Nodarou notes technological and typological differences between the pottery of the two assemblages, neither she nor Papadatos see any significant cultural shift, but rather essential continuity. While grog-tempered pottery is so dominant in both assemblages, as it continues to be in the earliest pottery (EM IB), from the Rock Shelter burial material, that it must represent continuous local production, albeit with many Cycladic typological links, there are nevertheless changes among the minor fabrics. Imported Cycladic white mica-schist fabric is almost exclusive to the FN IV settlement. The origin of the calcite-tempered fabric is less clear. Nodarou finds it at all sites along the north coast of Crete in EM I but attributes its relatively rare presence at Petras itself in FN IV and even rarer presence in EM IA to imports. In the Rock Shelter burial material, the quantity is significantly greater and the pottery is EM IB, closely analogous to the Kampos Group material of the huge Hagia Photia cemetery not far to the northeast (and other Cretan sites). She points out that calcite tempering is very common in the Cyclades (marble ware in the Cycladic bibliography) in the EBA.

So how may the demographic position at Kephala be understood? There are three distinct issues. First, while Papadatos considers, on the grounds that the ceramic technological changes are not so deep as to indicate a cultural shift, that theories of population movement “and large-scale coloniza-

¹ Papadatos this volume.

tion of Crete in the FN or the EM IA” cannot be substantiated on the basis of the Kephala pottery, this leaves to be addressed the important matter of the origin of the FN IV settlers. The settlement was new, so the occupants must have come from elsewhere. They would naturally use local clays (grog-tempered fabric) for their pottery, but that tells us nothing about their origin(s), nor does their institution of copper metallurgy, technologically significant though that was. They could have come from elsewhere in Crete, given ceramic parallels, or from the Cyclades, given the mica-schist pottery, or from the Dodecanese/southern Anatolia, given the strong case made by Nowicki for movement from there to hilltop settlements on the coasts of Crete, especially East Crete, in FN.² It seems less likely that they came from the coastal cave of Kouphota to the northeast. Although this apparently had “Neolithic” use, it continued, on a larger scale, in EM;³ a move up to Kephala would surely have meant there was no need to continue less attractive cave occupation in the EBA.

The second issue is that of the ceramic continuities and discontinuities between the FN IV and EM IA settlements, noted above. These seem to the writer to leave open the question whether or not the EM IA settlement consisted of a new population. The Kephala obsidian is not discussed in this volume – Dierckx studies that from subsequent burials – but D’Annibale’s study of it elsewhere shows internal development of the newly introduced blade production and is indeed an argument for no new population in EM IA.⁴

The third matter is that of the ending of the settlement. For reasons unknown, the Kephala site was apparently abandoned in or at the end of EM IA (with no further inhabitation of the hill yet documented until a return there in LM IIIC). There may then have been a gap, if settlement on the lower Hill I did not begin until EM IIA. However, Kephala was not without use, since its long and highly interesting burial usage started in EM IB, to judge by the burial material later placed in the Rock Shelter. On which hill, or where else, was the settlement which provided these earliest burials? The matter is all the more interesting since the earliest burials were accompanied, as noted above,

by Kampos Group pottery akin to that of the huge cemetery at Hagia Photia.⁵ Was, therefore, the as yet undetermined settlement that of a new (EM IB) population group related to the newcomers at Hagia Photia?

The sites and the region

Settlement occupation on Hill I continued after EM II apparently without interruption through EM III, MM IA and MM IB. The MM IB contents of the Lakkos (see below) demonstrate increasing ceramic sophistication and perhaps wealth. But already before MM IB, the Hill I settlement must have had relationships with two important but very different new happenings in the region.

One of these was the construction in MM IA a few kilometres to the northeast on the coastal hill (25 m above sea level) of Kouphota, near Hagia Photia, of one of the most functionally mysterious buildings in Bronze Age Crete. It was excavated in 1984–1985 by Metaxia Tsipopoulou herself, with a summary but detailed report.⁶ West–east in orientation, rectangular in plan, 27.5 m x 18.0 m, it had some 37 rooms or areas surrounding a rectangular central court measuring 21.0 m x 3.5 m, with a main entrance on the west reminiscent of the (south) entrance of the palace at Malia. Thus purely in terms of plan, rectangular with units grouped around a rectangular court, the building has distinct similarities to the subsequent palaces. Although its purpose remains unclear – the large numbers of stone tools suggest, as does Tsipopoulou, food preparation and consumption, but with very little evidence for storage – and even though the sites are not intervisible, it is inconceivable that the people of Hill I were ignorant of its existence. Could it even have been built by them? Moreover the building was protected by a surrounding wall (preserved on three sides). One might think that

² Nowicki 2002; Warren 2011, 138

³ Platon 1959, 218 and pl. 175β; Tsipopoulou 1989, 33.

⁴ D’Annibale 2008.

⁵ Nodarou this volume.

⁶ Tsipopoulou 1988.

this was for added protection against the prevailing north winds – the gap of several metres between wall and building gave ample space for sheltered circulation and activities – but the strengthening of the wall with solid bastions clearly points to a defensive function. That can only mean protection of the building’s occupants and contents, either by Petrasians from off-islanders, other Cretans⁷ or locals other than Petrasians, or, less likely, by locals or non-locals in opposition to Petrasians. Whatever the building’s function(s) we see already in MM IA either a collective, communal decision or an authoritarian decision behind a construction in this form.

The second major new happening in MM I had even greater regional significance, namely the founding of the peak sanctuary of Prinias, on the highest hill (803 m) south of Petras⁸ and of the sanctuary on the hill of Piskokephalo, even nearer to Petras.⁹ Peak sanctuaries were the spiritual focus for their surrounding lowland communities and they offer the best evidence for the emergence of regional concepts, identities and beliefs. It is again inconceivable that a major centre such as Petras was unconnected with the Prinias and Piskokephalo sanctuaries.¹⁰

After the abandonment or destruction of the rectangular building at Hagia Photia-Kouphota, two small circular buildings were constructed, one of them directly on top of it, thus suggesting little interval between them. An MM IB or MM II carinated cup dates these constructions.¹¹ Notwithstanding the absence of skeletal material, their shape, with the entrance on the east, strongly suggests circular tombs. The absence of parallels in easternmost Crete at the time of excavation has since been somewhat mitigated by the Livari tholos. But who built these apparent tombs? Was it construction to “cancel” the immediately underlying rectangular building, or the opposite, to preserve ancestral memory? And, at about the start of MM II, was it related to a major change at Petras?

This change was the decision to construct the first monumental building across the plateau on the upper part of Hill I at the start of MM IIA. Tsipopoulou suggested that the contents of the adjacent large Lakkos, mainly MM IB pottery,

much of it of very good quality (cf. above),¹² and stone vases, might be clearance from elite houses in levelling the ground for this first palace. Haggis is studying the pottery, has already produced publications¹³ and in collaboration with the excavator is preparing the monograph. The Lakkos itself destroyed a preceding EM III–MM IA building. Who took the decision to construct this monumental building, greatly changing the character of the settlement, is an interesting though perhaps unresolvable question. A new dominant group?¹⁴ A powerful family or, in Driessen’s terms, a House? Whether the immediately preceding MM IB elites were hierarchical or not, the writer’s view is that the foundation of such a building could have occurred only with the consent of all parties,¹⁵ as argued for the same event at Phaistos.¹⁶ As the presence of the hieroglyphic archive in its MM IIB fire destruction demonstrates, the building and its occupants must have had regional significance; the scribal records can hardly have been confined to recording materials and activities just for the building itself.

Like the Hagia Photia-Kouphota building the palace was protected by a defence wall. Even if the wall was, as Tsipopoulou believes, to some extent symbolic and with a retaining function, it does mark a degree of separation of the palace from the surrounding settlement. All the more interesting, therefore, that recent excavations outside it, 100 m from the palace, have revealed evidence of an important contemporary building furnished with three large column bases (and columns have not been found in the palace itself) and with contents

⁷ Tsipopoulou (2002, 136) suggests “interlopers” from South-Central Crete.

⁸ Davaras n.d., pls. 29, 32, 34, 39–40, 42, 44 and 46.

⁹ Cf. Tsipopoulou 2002, 135.

¹⁰ Furthermore, Tsipopoulou has noted (2002, 135, n. 11) that many of the Prinias figurines are made from local Petras clay.

¹¹ Tsipopoulou 1988, 45, fig. 10.

¹² Tsipopoulou this volume for an analysis of the internal links between and *comparanda* for the pottery of House Tomb 2 and the Lakkos.

¹³ Haggis 2007.

¹⁴ Cf. Tsipopoulou 2002, 137.

¹⁵ Tsipopoulou this volume.

¹⁶ Warren 1987, 54.

of a ritual character.¹⁷ The wealth of Petras was clearly substantial and spread through the settlement at this time. This wealth is demonstrated even more conspicuously in the contemporary house tombs on Kephala, with their accompanying (secondary) burial goods in a wide range of materials.¹⁸

The MM IIB destruction of the palace is accompanied, or perhaps slightly preceded (MM IIA?), by the cessation of the Kephala cemetery. This is curious, in that the palace itself was rebuilt, including now the substantial North Magazines, and remained the central place of its region to its end in LM IB. So too continued the surrounding settlement with its well studied, large LM I houses.¹⁹ After destruction in LM IA (Theran effects?) the contents of the LM IB palace, including 36 large pithoi (capacity around 20,000 litres),²⁰ show that, whatever the social situation, the regional agricultural economy in no way declined. Petras's territory may even have extended as far west as Papadiokampos. For this, the evidence is at present interestingly contradictory: against relatively few ceramic links between the sites is the possibility that a sanctuary on the Trachilos Peninsula, apparently MM II, may have linked the sites with its views to both.²¹ Christakis argues well that hierarchy (palace-controlled) and lower level heterarchies are not mutually exclusive; the Petras-Siteia Valley (that is regional) system was not based on adoption or emulation of ostentatious (Knossian) features.

We should recall that the existence of several so-called villas in the valley, substantial buildings within settlements or separate from them, had for years seemed to many,²² starting with their excavator, Nikolaos Platon, to suggest a possible major centre in relationship to them,²³ and this possibility had naturally played a part in Tsipopoulou's thinking in 1984 when deciding to investigate Petras.²⁴ It was therefore a pleasant but not completely unexpected surprise that the Neopalatial palace was found to be a centre with Linear A records from MM IIIB (in Sector III, some 50 m from the palace) to LM IB,²⁵ succeeding that of MM II with its hieroglyphic archive;²⁶ it was, however, a surprise that hieroglyphic was still being used in LM IB alongside Linear

A. The Linear A records, or at least some of them, surely continued to be related to the economy of the region.

References have been made above to the wealth and prosperity of the settlement and palace implied by the material remains, including that of the cemeteries, even if the breaks and major changes at various times could mean moments of insecurity or even, in the third millennium, the arrival(s) of newcomers. That burials were continuous over a very long period (from EM IB onwards) and on a single occasion secondarily placed in the Rock Shelter,²⁷ taken together with the secondary burials in the house tombs, is a clear argument in favour of continuity of population. But who or what caused the fire destruction of the MM IIB palace? Natural agency (earthquake) or human agency? The fact that it was immediately rebuilt, though with some changes in layout, is neutral in respect to the identity of the builders and controllers. An element of continuity in the written records, that is, apparent continued use of hieroglyphic in Linear A times, could argue for continuity of population. There is very clear evidence of insecurity in MM II; no one would have (re)inhabited the vertiginous ledge of Katalimata in the Ha Gorge other than for safety. The cause of the final, LM IB destruction likewise remains open, though the present writer does not find the suggested strong degree of *Angst* in the region at this time.

¹⁷ Tsipopoulou this volume, Introduction; Rupp & Tsipopoulou this volume for an LM IA seal providing a valuable addition to a group depicting women and animal sacrifice.

¹⁸ Tsipopoulou, Betancourt, Ferrence *et al.*, Dierckx, Krzyszkowska this volume; see also below.

¹⁹ Alberti; Mavroudi this volume.

²⁰ Tsipopoulou 2002, 140; Christakis this volume.

²¹ Sofianou & Brogan this volume.

²² Cf. Tsipopoulou 2002, 133.

²³ For the villas, Platon 1997; Tsipopoulou & Papacostopoulou 1997.

²⁴ Tsipopoulou this volume, Introduction.

²⁵ Hallager this volume.

²⁶ Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010.

²⁷ Triantaphyllou this volume.

The sites and the international dimension

The strong Cycladic connections over several centuries from FN IV to the end of EM I were noticed above. At the same time, it may be suggested that it is more appropriate to think of a single material culture zone, comprising parts of the southern Cyclades and the north coast of Crete, in strong interaction, i.e. *not* a Corrupting Sea, at this time.²⁸ Surface finds in the cemetery area show that these connections continued in EM II, Tsipopoulou drawing attention to the discovery of no fewer than four EC white marble figurine fragments, one figurine having been at least 58 cm in height!²⁹

More distant off-island connexions are implied by the fine range of foreign raw materials in the jewellery and sealstones; silver, lead and copper were probably Cycladic, but gold, ivory, *lapis lazuli*, blue chalcedony, carnelian and banded agate bespeak more distant Near Eastern sources. Whether the objects were themselves made at Petras, that is, whether the raw materials were imported to the site or whether they were made elsewhere and brought in as finished goods, remains unknown, though stylistic arguments might emerge. In its uniqueness, the remarkable EM III/MM I steatite seal suggests local production.³⁰ At the very least, the exotic, foreign nature of the materials must have been known and appreciated in the Petrasian community.

Several topics covered in this volume are wide-ranging rather than period-specific, and are varied among themselves. Thus Simandiraki on miniature vessels and the symbolic dimensions of miniaturiza-

tion, Theodoropoulou on marine exploitation, and McGeorge on the geographically wide practice of intramural infant burials. It is also well worth noting that Triantaphyllou shows that the population secondarily buried in the Rock Shelter enjoyed good health.

Finally, we must welcome the most fruitful study, unwelcome though the discovery may have seemed to a Bronze Age perspective in its destruction of much Bronze Age palatial evidence!, of the 11th and the 13th–15th centuries cemetery of 33 graves set into the palace area of Hill I.³¹ Biological as well as burial evidence for these periods in Crete is scarce and this well-referenced study, encompassing in addition, pottery of all periods up to the 18th/19th centuries from Hill I, is a valuable addition to knowledge.

For the wider presentation of all this work Tsipopoulou was able to proclaim as live the Petras website described here by Togias. So, from 1985 to today, a triumphant progress.

²⁸ In the discussion of a paper at the 11th Cretological Congress (Rethymnon 2011) James Muhly made the amusing and perceptive observation that when Photeine Zaphiropoulou was excavating the Kampos Group Kouphonesia tombs they had to live on *barbounia* – there was little else (i.e., how could such a place have been the point of departure for all the Kampos Group people in northern Crete?).

²⁹ Tsipopoulou this volume, Introduction.

³⁰ Rupp this volume, Postscript to paper.

³¹ Poulou-Papadimitriou this volume.



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 Thera eruption. But it came through at Papadiokampos, and it is kind of interesting that it was not mentioned by any of the workers at Petras.

Tsipopoulou We do not have ash.

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

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

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

Then in the Byzantine period, with a time span of 150 years for the use of the cemetery, it would not have been simply serving just one family, one farmstead. And they were manufacturing 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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Bibliographic abbreviations

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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*

BSA – *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSPF – *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*

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

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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*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

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