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SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN, 4°, XXXV  
ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE, SERIES IN 4°, XXXV

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# The Function of the Minoan Palaces

*Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium  
at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10—16 June, 1984*

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STOCKHOLM 1987

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Distributor: Paul Åströms Förlag  
Västra Hamngatan 3, S-411 17 GÖTEBORG, Sweden

# Palace and Peak: The Political and Religious Relationship between Palaces and Peak Sanctuaries

by  
Alan Peatfield

## Abstract

In Prepalatial Crete the Early Minoan burial places were also shrines for their small communities, where rituals were performed to reaffirm the identity and spirit of the group. The rise of the palaces reflects a growth from small communities to a society based on towns and palaces. Peak sanctuaries, sited on prominent mountains, are a phenomenon of the palatial periods; they provided a topographic focus for the sense of extended community identity, and were particularly relevant for communities dependent on agriculture and pastoralism in a mountainous landscape. The cultic continuity from burial places to peak sanctuaries is demonstrated by the similarity of the cult objects.

The relationship between palaces and peak sanctuaries is not simply the chronological coincidence. As proofs of direct connections, Cherry (1978) had pointed out that 1) iconographic representations of peak sanctuaries are found only in the palaces; 2) palaces and peak sanctuaries have the same cult apparatus; 3) Linear A is common to palaces and peak sanctuaries. These features are essentially Neopalatial in character and contradict the previously accepted opinion that peak sanctuaries are limited to the Protopalatial period. This paper illustrates the transformation of the relationship between palaces and peak sanctuaries from the Protopalatial to the Neopalatial period.

The character of the palace/peak sanctuary relationship is expressed by the Neopalatial features. With the erection of shrine buildings and the disposal of luxury goods, increased manpower was directed towards the adornment of the peak sanctuaries. While most urban and domestic shrines have revealed only cult equipment, i.e. the permanent apparatus of the rituals, evidence of religious activity exists on the peak sanctuaries with the vast quantity of *disposed* objects.

Belief in the sanctity of mountains is a religious phenomenon known throughout the world. Usually it is associated with the oldest of folk beliefs: i.e. spirits who dwell in the mountains are responsible for the fertility of crops, and in particular for the benefits of water, as both rain and springs come from the mountains. Furthermore, in Japan and Korea mountains are often connected with shamanistic practices;<sup>1</sup> by shamanistic, I mean an interaction between the human and spirit worlds through the medium of a specially gifted person. Closer to Crete, the "high places", or *bamah*, of ancient Palestine were associated with Canaanite fertility rituals. They were most often sacred to Baal, who has been interpreted via the Ugaritic texts as being "the principle by

which fertility is given to the earth and all living things", usually achieved by rain and running water.<sup>2</sup>

In relation to this extremely brief phenomenological introduction, Minoan holy mountains, that is peak sanctuaries, present, or seem to present an anomaly—peak sanctuaries are linked to a cultural advancement, the political and economic system of the palaces. In strictly chronological terms peak sanctuaries are limited to the palace period—no palaces, no peak sanctuaries. This coincident existence has not gone unremarked. Most recently J.F. Cherry interpreted the use of peak sanctuaries at the start of the MM period as an integral part of the formation of the palace state: in that, as a general principle of state formation, he argued that religion is needed more to establish the social hierarchy than to maintain it.<sup>3</sup> This model was held to explain the generally accepted theory that peak sanctuaries are a phenomenon only of MM I–II, the First Palace Period, and go out of use in the Second Palace Period.<sup>4</sup> Cherry's explanation was, however, belied by his own proofs of the "direct connexion" between palaces and peak sanctuaries. The proofs, in themselves perfectly acceptable, are: 1) iconographic representa-

*Acknowledgements:* I must, first of all, express my thanks to Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos for the invitation to present this paper. Their advice and support, together with that of Prof. Rukowski, and especially of my supervisor, Prof. J.N. Coldstream, is a constant source of encouragement for my work. I also owe debts of gratitude: first, to members of the Greek Archaeological Service who have facilitated my fieldwork and museum study; and secondly, to the British School at Athens for the award of the Macmillan Studentship, during the tenure of which this paper was researched and written. Subsequent to the oral presentation of this paper I have benefited from discussions with Mark Cameron and Jennifer Moody. My greatest thanks, however, are due to Christine Morris, who has patiently and critically overseen the various drafts of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> C. Blacker, *The Catalpa bow*, London 1975.

<sup>2</sup> A. Caquot and M. Snycey, *Ugaritic religion* (Iconography of religions XV/8), Leiden 1980.

<sup>3</sup> J.F. Cherry, 'Generalisation and the archaeology of the state', in D. Green, C. Haselgrove, and M. Spriggs, *Social organisation and settlement* (BAR International Series 47), Oxford 1978, 411–437.

<sup>4</sup> Cherry (supra n. 3), 429 f.

tions of peak sanctuaries are found only in the palaces; 2) palaces and peak sanctuaries have the same cult apparatus; 3) Linear A is common to both palaces and peak sanctuaries. It should be noted that proofs 1 and 3 involve material that is essentially Neopalatial in character (not Protopalatial, as Cherry assumes).<sup>16</sup> Davaras' excavations during the early 1970's, and Karetsou's continuing excavation of Juktas have produced increased evidence of Neopalatial use of the peak sanctuaries—in the case of Juktas, up to LM IIIB.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, a change is indicated between the Proto- and Neopalatial material; it is this change, and the relationship of the peak sanctuaries to the "history" of the Minoan palatial system that this paper examines.

The cult of the peak sanctuaries has its origin in EM religious practices. Though a domestic shrine was discovered at Phournou Koriphi,<sup>18</sup> the main cult places appear to have been the tombs. The Mesara tholoi, with their complexes of rooms, outside paved areas, finds indicative of shrines (such as kernoi, double-axes, sacral horns, figurines, etc.), and the continuity of their offerings, provide the clearest evidence of extended ritual use beyond immediate funerary rites. The evidence from East Crete is less clear, though Soles' work suggests similar cult practices there too.<sup>19</sup> Warren's analysis of the anthropomorphic vessels identified as goddess figurines, further argues for an overall unity of EM religion.<sup>20</sup> Many scholars, notably Branigan,<sup>21</sup> and recently Blasingham,<sup>22</sup> have suggested that these tombs were used by kinship groups. Within any culture, funerary rituals perform an important function in reaffirming group solidarity when faced with the crisis of death, irrespective of beliefs in an afterlife. Malinowski's argument was that death leaves a small group or community "mutilated", and that funerary rites become a communal activity to ensure the cohesion of the group.<sup>23</sup> Cohesion and solidarity can also extend to the spirits of the dead, the ancestral spirits. The significance of post-funerary rituals is not contradicted by a disregard for the physical remains of the dead, evident from tomb-robbing and the careless sweeping aside of bones. For example, in Japanese folk religion the dead require offerings and prayers for a fixed period (up to forty years), in order to pacify them, and to ensure their peaceful transition from this world. Afterwards they become subsumed into the general Ancestor spirit, and are content with generalised rather than personalised offerings.<sup>24</sup> The principle here of particularised offerings for the newly dead and collective rituals for the ancestral spirits is a common religious phenomenon, and fits the evidence from the Mesara tombs. The collective tombs should therefore be seen as the most important EM cult places, where all the main communal rituals were performed, including those "concerned with the fertility of the soil and the seasonal cycle",<sup>25</sup> in order to define and maintain the solidarity and continuity of the group.

Between the peak sanctuaries and tombs there was a chronological overlap. The MM finds from the tombs are, however, predominantly pottery,<sup>26</sup> which, given the gradual change of burial customs, suggests that the offerings were only vestiges of the earlier religious traditions. There is evidence too of some conceptual overlap—for example, a figurine from the Ayios Kyrillos tholos makes the same ritual

gesture as do peak sanctuary votive figurines.<sup>16</sup>

Peak sanctuaries appear to have started simultaneously in both Central and East Crete. Petsophas has white-on-black painted sherds of EM III, and Warren has suggested that some of the figurines are painted in the same technique.<sup>17</sup> Given that EM III in East Crete overlaps with MM IA at Knossos, the presence of the latter pottery on Juktas does suggest a more or less contemporaneous foundation.<sup>18</sup> The important point is that peak sanctuaries started to be used in this transitional period, as part of the move towards urbanisation and the centralisation of economy and power which led to the palaces. Elsewhere I have observed that the siting of peak sanctuaries reflects a close relationship between these shrines and the settlements they served.<sup>19</sup> They were topographic and religious focal points for groups of settlements. It seems that this impulse towards the sense of larger community identity, which resulted in Minoan palatial society, earlier led to the foundation of the peak sanctuaries. Of 50 claimed sites only 23 have been excavated or recorded with sufficient evidence for identification as peak sanctuaries to be accepted with confidence (see map 1).<sup>20</sup> Recovered material varies both in quantity and quality. Even so the commonest finds are the clay figurines: 1) human, male and female; 2) animals; 3) votive limbs.<sup>21</sup> The relative dating of

Cherry's model may well be of relevance to the Mesoamerican cultures to which it was originally applied. Analysis of the Minoan evidence, however, proves that it cannot be used to explain the role of the peak sanctuaries in the formation of the Minoan palatial state. The generalising nature of Cherry's hypothesis is unfounded in this case. Elsewhere I shall present a theoretical analysis of the social function of Minoan religion, based primarily on the evidence from the shrines, with particular reference to modes of political manipulation.

<sup>16</sup> A. Karetsou, 'The peak sanctuary of Mt. Juktas', in SCABA, 137–153. I thank Dr. Davaras and Mrs. Karetsou for permission to study material from their excavations, and for discussing their sites with me.

<sup>17</sup> P. M. Warren, *Myrtos*, London 1972, 85–87.

<sup>18</sup> J. S. Soles, 'The early Gournia town', *AJA* 83, 1979, 149–167.

<sup>19</sup> P. M. Warren, 'The beginnings of Minoan religion', in *Archaeologia Classica: Studi in onore di Doro Levi* 1, Catania 1973, 137–147.

<sup>20</sup> K. Branigan, *The tombs of Mesara*, London 1970, 128–130.

<sup>21</sup> A. C. Blasingham, 'The seals from the tombs of the Mesara: inferences as to kinship and social organisation', in *Minoan society* (1983), 11–21.

<sup>22</sup> B. Malinowski, *Magic, science, and religion*, New York 1948.

<sup>23</sup> Blacker (supra n. 1), 43–48. It is significant too that Japanese Ancestor spirits are thought to be the originators of the *kami*, spirits who reside in the mountains, and are responsible for rain, and fertility of crops, *ibid.*, 79–85.

<sup>24</sup> K. Branigan, *The foundations of palatial Crete*, London 1970, 94.

<sup>25</sup> Branigan (supra n. 14), 116–169.

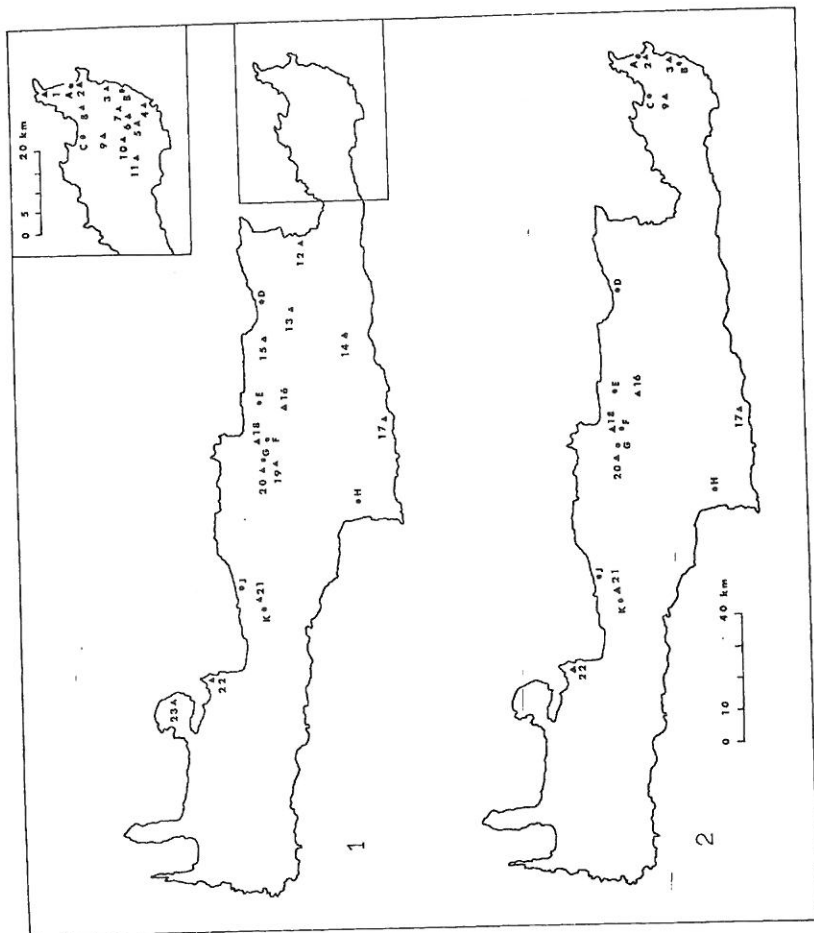
<sup>26</sup> *Praktika* 1967, pl. 195a (Ayios Kyrillos). Cf. BSA 9, 1902–03, of Petsophas.

<sup>27</sup> Warren (supra n. 9), 144. Also J. L. Myers, 'The sanctuary-site of Petsophas', BSA 9, 1902–03, 356–387, pls. VII–XIII.

<sup>28</sup> A. A. D. Peatfield, 'The topography of Minoan peak sanctuaries', BSA 78, 1983, 273–280.

<sup>29</sup> The material will be presented in my forthcoming doctoral thesis.

<sup>30</sup> For examples, see Myers (supra n. 17), pls. X–XIII.



Map 1: Protopalatial peak sanctuaries.

## Key:

## Numerical index of sites

- |                    |                    |                  |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1: Kalamaki        | 18: Pyrgos         | A: Palaikastro   |
| 2: Petsophas       | 19: Keri           | B: Zakros        |
| 3: Traostalos      | 20: Gortys         | C: Sitia         |
| 4: Ambelos         | 21: Vrysinas       | D: Epano Kephala |
| 5: Plagia          | 22: Drapanokephalo | E: Knossos       |
| 6: Korphi tou Mare | 23: Sklokas        | F: Thylakos      |
| 7: Vigla Zakrou    |                    | G: Sklavokampos  |
| 8: Modhi           |                    | H: Phaistos      |
| 9: Zou Prinias     |                    | I: Rethymnon     |
| 10: Kykephalo      |                    | K: Armenoi       |
| 11: Epano Kephala  |                    |                  |
| 12: Thylakos       |                    |                  |
| 13: Korphi         |                    |                  |
| 14: Roussos Dhitis |                    |                  |
| 15: Maza           |                    |                  |
| 16: Juktas         |                    |                  |
| 17: Kophinas       |                    |                  |

## Alphabetical index of sites

- |                 |      |                |      |
|-----------------|------|----------------|------|
| Ambelos         | : 4  | Phaistos       | : H  |
| Armenoi         | : K  | Plagia         | : 5  |
| Drapanokephalo  | : 22 | Pyrgos         | : 18 |
| Epano Kephala   | : 11 | Rethymnon      | : J  |
| Gortys          | : 20 | Roussos Dhitis | : 14 |
| Knossos         | : 16 | Sitia          | : C  |
| Juktas          | : 1  | Sklavokampos   | : G  |
| Kalamaki        | : 13 | Sklokas        | : 23 |
| Kerai           | : 19 | Thylakos       | : 12 |
| Knossos         | : E  | Traostalos     | : 3  |
| Kophinas        | : 17 | Tylosos        | : F  |
| Korphi tou Mare | : 6  | Vigla Zakrou   | : 7  |
| Mallia          | : D  | Vrysinas       | : 21 |
| Maza            | : 15 | Xykephalo      | : 10 |
| Modhi           | : 8  | Zakros         | : B  |
| Palaikastro     | : A  | Zou Prinias    | : 9  |
| Petsophas       | : 2  |                |      |

Map 2: Neopalatial peak sanctuaries.

these figurines is, however, a major problem. The lack of stratigraphy on the sites necessitates the use of stylistic criteria. The most easily datable figurines are those from Petsophas, painted white- or polychrome-on-black, the colour scheme of Kamares pottery. It was assumed (wrongly) that all figurines found with the painted ones were of the same date: i.e. MM I-II. The characteristic dress of the polychrome female figures includes the high, pointed collar, and a hat with a high, forward curving brim. These two features are usually found together, and one or other always on the Kamares style figurines.<sup>21</sup> Comparisons with human representations on Protopalatial seals supports the hypothesis that the hat and collar are features exclusively of the First Palace Period.<sup>22</sup> Other figurines can be identified as Neopalatial—for example, another group of female figures have long hair tied up in a bun, and long side-locks.<sup>23</sup> None of them are painted in the polychrome style, and the best parallels for this hairstyle are found on Neopalatial seals and frescoes. The figurines from poorer peak sanctuaries display only the Protopalatial features.<sup>24</sup> Moreover their poverty is further expressed by a lack of the luxury Neopalatial artefacts that distinguish the richer peak sanctuaries—no stone vessels, no Linear A inscriptions, no jewellery, seals, or metal figurines.

The poorer peak sanctuaries are also the more isolated sites. Away from the major population areas, no important settlements have yet been found in their religious "catchment" areas. The proposed situation is that throughout the Protopalatial period there were many peak sanctuaries (see map 1). Each shrine attracted worshippers from a defined area. The quality and quantity of the offerings were entirely dependent on the relative prosperity of that area. An additional reason for the growth of the peak sanctuary cult may have been the expansion of the farming, particularly pastoral, economy. There are indications that pastoralism was of increased importance in this period,<sup>25</sup> as large flocks are commemorated in MM I bowls from Palaikastro,<sup>26</sup> and Pori.<sup>27</sup> On the peak sanctuaries figurines of domestic animals vastly outnumber those of human figures. Furthermore many peak sanctuary sites are close to high upland pastures, still used today.<sup>28</sup> In Rutkowski's words: "peak sanctuaries came into being mainly to relieve the cares and fears of the shepherds and cattle-breeders".<sup>29</sup> Overall this evidence suggests that the foundation of the peak sanctuaries was a natural development of EM religion—a religious dimension to the economic and political expansion of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods.

Rutkowski's analysis also suggested that the peak sanctuaries became institutionalised from MM III.<sup>31</sup> This should be associated with the first shrine buildings. The excavators of Petsophas stated explicitly that the buildings were a later construction.<sup>32</sup> The same claim has been made for the other relevant sites, and the Joutkas structures in particular, are dated to MM III.<sup>33</sup> The best substantiated shrine buildings are found on only 7 of the 23 sites: Joutkas (associated with Knossos and Archanes), Petsophas (above Palaikastro), Kophinas (in the Asterousia, associated with Phaistos and Mesara sites), Pyrgos (above Tylissos), Gonies (above Skiavokampos), Traostalos (above Zakros), Vrysinas (above

Rethymon<sup>34</sup>). These are precisely the sites where excavations have revealed luxury Neopalatial material: Linear A, stone vessels, jewellery, and metal figurines, as well as clay figurines with Neopalatial features. It appears that increased manpower and resources were directed towards selected sites, while others went out of use. This process may have been gradual. The selected sites are those associated with what may be termed "palatial centres"—if not palaces themselves, then major population areas distinguished by Neopalatial villas (see map 2).<sup>35</sup>

That the peak sanctuaries were the main communal shrines cannot be doubted. Domestic/urban/palatial shrines are mostly small, and their finds make up Gesell's Type 2, that is ritual equipment,<sup>36</sup> particularly lacking are idols and votive offerings. The peak sanctuaries and domestic shrines thus seem to have operated in a complementary fashion. Domestic shrines were used for storage and display of the permanent apparatus of rituals, and possibly for expressions of personal devotion. By contrast material from the peak sanctuaries consists almost entirely of *disposed* objects. Davaras has noted that the fragmentary nature of the peak sanctuary finds indicates that they were deliberately broken,<sup>37</sup> pre-

<sup>21</sup> For published examples, see: Myres (supra n. 17), pls. VIII, XI (Petsophas); also: C. Davaras, *Guide to Hagios Nicolaos Museum*, figs. 41a–b (Petsophas), fig. 44 (Zou Priniias), fig. 45 (Ambelos Xerokambos); C. Davaras, *Guide to Cretan antiquities*, New Jersey 1976, fig. 138 (Traostalos); A. Karetsou, *Praktika* 1978, pl. 169e (Joutkas). A similar polychrome head was found at Phaistos: D. Levi, *Festò e la civiltà minoica*, tavole 1–4, Rome 1976, pl. LXIXc.

<sup>22</sup> Evans, *PM I* (1921), 271, fig. 207k.

<sup>23</sup> Davaras, *Guide to Hagios Nicolaos Museum*, figs. 28 and 37 (Petsophas).

<sup>24</sup> See supra, n. 22. Ambelos Xerokambos.

<sup>25</sup> Branigan (supra n. 14), 70 f.

<sup>26</sup> R.C. Bosanquet and R.M. Dawkins, *The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations*, London 1923, pl. VII.

<sup>27</sup> S. Xanthoudides, *The vaulted tombs of Mesara*, London 1924, pl. VI, no. 305d.

<sup>28</sup> B. Rutkowski, *Cult places in the Aegean world*, Warsaw 1972, 152–155, 184; Peatfield (supra n. 19), 274 f.

<sup>29</sup> Rutkowski (supra n. 29), 185.

<sup>30</sup> Rutkowski (supra n. 29), 186.

<sup>31</sup> Myres (supra n. 17), 357 and 360.

<sup>32</sup> Karetsou (supra n. 6), 145.

<sup>33</sup> Although no Minoan settlement has been discovered beneath modern Rethymon, Vrysinas would have been associated with nearby sites, such as at Stavromenos, or near Armeni.

<sup>34</sup> On map 2 I have also included two other sites: Zou Priniias, and Drapanokephala. Zou Priniias dominates the Sitia plain, the palace has been found here, but the area is studied with villas and other important Neopalatial remains. (See L. Nixon's paper in this volume, and N. Papadakis, *Sitia*, Sitia 1983.) Though no shrine building was discovered on the peak sanctuary, the large number of votives included figurines with Neopalatial features. It may thus qualify as a Neopalatial peak sanctuary.

<sup>35</sup> Drapanokephala is in West Crete, and marks the entrance to Souda Bay. It has Neopalatial material, though none of the characteristic figurines. For that material and for its dominating position in the Kydonia area I have tentatively included it on the maps, as Sklokas, equally tentatively, is shown on map 1. Indeed all the claimed peak sanctuary sites west of Vrysinas are doubtful; this is a problem which will receive consideration elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> G.C. Gesell, *Town, palace, and house cult in Minoan Crete* (SIMA 67), Göteborg 1985.

<sup>37</sup> C. Davaras, *Kadmos* 20, 1981, 3.

sumably at or after the completion of the ritual. Iconographic representations of rituals show them mostly in a rural setting. Unlike many domestic shrines, all peak sanctuaries reveal evidence of ritual activity. This is not to say that communal rituals were performed only at the peak sanctuaries, rather I propose that the primary rituals, those that maintained the community spirit and identity were performed on the peak sanctuaries, probably at the main seasonal events.<sup>38</sup>

In this paper it has been argued that the peak sanctuaries of the Protopalatial period were a natural development from the EM tombs as community cult places. Their spread over Crete was a manifestation of the rural population's religion, which extended to the urban centres. In the Neopalatial period the direction of increased manpower and resources towards selected shrines (those associated with the political and economic centres) to the exclusion of the isolated sites, suggests a religious centralisation. Recently Ernest Gellner propounded a model of a traditional, agrarian society, dominated by a religious hierarchy.<sup>39</sup> He included the following analysis: "Systems of this sort sometimes experience clerisy-led and inspired campaigns for religious unification. The clerisy wishes to affirm its monopoly of magic, ritual, and salvation, and eliminate free-lance shamanism, which tends to persist, especially amongst the rural population. Religious monopoly may be as dear to it as coercive and fiscal monopoly is to the political elite."<sup>40</sup> Gellner's model is clearly taken from the monastery system of mediaeval Europe. (Killen<sup>41</sup> and Bintliff<sup>42</sup> among others, have used the monastery system in relation to aspects of the Minoan

palatial system.) In the Second Palace Period palatial administrative control of the economy was extended by the use of the villa network. Concomitant with that extension of power was the increasing monopolisation of religious authority and apparatus, of which the centralisation of the peak sanctuaries was but a part.<sup>44</sup>

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Villa Ariadne  
Knossos  
GR-714 09 HERAKLEION (Crete)

<sup>38</sup> See M. Cameron's paper in this volume; also G.C. Gesell, 'The place of the goddess in Minoan society', in *Minoan Society*, 93–100.

<sup>39</sup> E. Gellner, 'Nationalism and two forms of cohesion in complex societies', *Proethnology* 68, 1982, 165–187 (Radcliffe-Brown Lecture on Social Anthropology, British Academy). I am grateful to Lucia Nixon for drawing my attention to this paper.

<sup>40</sup> That is, the religious hierarchy.

<sup>41</sup> Gellner (supra n. 39), 173 f.

<sup>42</sup> J. Killen, 'The wool industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age', *BSA* 59, 1964, 1–15.

<sup>43</sup> J. Bintliff, *Natural environment and human settlement in prehistoric Greece* (BAR Supplementary Series 28), Oxford 1977, 160–164.

<sup>44</sup> G. Gesell's paper in this volume gives a complementary example of the Neopalatial monopolisation of authority, this time directed to control of the access to urban/domestic/palatial shrines. Similarly Jennifer Moody's paper provides a strong theoretical analysis of the same socio-political phenomenon.

## Discussion

*M. Cameron:* From the Anatolian and Syrian areas there are images of the mountain goddess with definite associations of fertility.

*H. Tzavella-Eyjen:* The psychological impact of the visual impression created by the palace must not be underestimated as well as the visual contact between peak sanctuaries and palaces.

*A. Peatfield:* I agree and I have already made that point in an article, *BSA* 78, 1983, 273–279.

*A. Piliati-Papasteriou:* A difficult point is to associate peak sanctuaries with the old palaces, since the appearance of the former, according to MM IA pottery, is placed before the erecting of the palaces, and since the material of many peak sanctuaries remains unpublished. This last difficulty also concerns the use of peak sanctuaries in the Neopalatial period. Only few of them seem to have been frequented at that time and we can establish a connection with palatial centres in a limited number of cases only (e.g. Juktas, Traostalos; cf. Rutkowski, *Cult places*, 186). From the material available

their number, duration and significance are not easy to define with certainty for that period. As concerns the cult apparatus, I do not think the suggested similarity exists only between palaces and peak sanctuaries, but is common to all types of Minoan sanctuaries (e.g. house sanctuaries, sacred caves, etc.). Moreover, various forms of cult objects, the contents of which was often precious, were found in peak sanctuaries associated with palatial centres (e.g. Juktas).

*A. Peatfield:* These are precisely the points that my paper has tried to deal with. The Neopalatial material is limited to the peak sanctuaries associated with palatial or urban centres, which suggests centralisation of the peak sanctuary cult in the new palace period. The cult apparatus is indeed the same: double axes, sacred horns, kerno, rhyta, etc. occur in both palatial/urban shrines and peak sanctuaries, suggesting a cultic unity. Precious objects, cultic or not, seem to be limited to the Joutkas peak sanctuary, indicating its special status. Cave sanctuaries are more problematic, and do not seem to represent any one cult, let alone any particular relationship with the palaces.