

# Petras, Siteia

## 25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



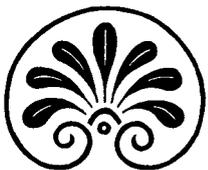
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– 25 years of excavations and studies

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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.



# Size does matter: the significance of obsidian microliths and querns at the Petras cemetery\*

Heidi M.C. Dierckx

## Abstract

House Tomb 2 and the Rock Shelter at the Petras cemetery yielded numerous obsidian blades and microliths, as a result of the intensive collection of finds through sieving and flotation. The significance of such a complete assemblage from the EM I-MM IB/IIA tombs is paramount in understanding the mortuary practices of this period. Preliminary analysis points to the importance of microliths, such as *trapezes*, lunates and scrapers, as well as blades, in burial rituals in Early to Middle Minoan tombs. Broken querns also suggest some kind of killing ritual of artifacts at the time of burial.

This article focuses on the presence of the smallest tools (i.e., obsidian microliths), as well as the largest ground stone implements, i.e., querns, excavated from the burials at the Petras cemetery, hence the title. It discusses some preliminary observations on the chipped and ground stone implements from House Tomb 2 and the Rock Shelter, which are dated to EM I-MM IB/MM IIA. As a result of the intensive collection of finds by careful excavation procedures such as sieving and water flotation, the assemblage of chipped and ground stone implements associated with Early and Middle Minoan burials from the Petras cemetery is significant for elucidating the role of stone implements in the mortuary practices of this period.

Past excavations of Minoan tombs rarely used methods that maximized the complete retrieval of artifacts, especially concerning the smallest of artifacts or those artifacts not deemed important or recognizable as objects or tools. The recently excavated burial cave of Hagios Charalambos is a notable exception and serves as a major parallel for the Petras stone tool assemblage<sup>1</sup>

In total, 490 pieces of obsidian and 26 pieces of ground stone tools were recovered from the two Petras tombs (Table 1). The main category of chipped stone consists of obsidian prismatic blades,

retouched blades, worked flakes or microliths and a large number of *débitage* material. Of interest is the occurrence of microliths, which consist of *trapezes*, lunates, tiny scrapers and some denticulated or serrated pieces, and even a few projectile points (Fig. 1b-d, 1f-g).

Most of these were associated with the burials in both tombs. One must note, however, that even with more precise study of the context, it remains difficult to determine to what extent the amount of tools and *débitage* was directly associated with the burials or was part of the preparation rituals before burial. Most burials from House Tomb 2, as well as those from the Rock Shelter, are considered to have been deposited in a secondary context and thus were moved from their original burial site.

The prismatic blades were mostly broken, and either the proximal, distal or medial sections were

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\* I want to express my thanks to Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou for the opportunity to study the chipped and ground stone tool assemblage from the Petras cemetery. I am grateful to INSTAP for funding. My thanks extend to Garifalia Kostopoulou and Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou for providing me with contextual information. Lastly, I acknowledge Jennifer Davis for her assistance in cataloguing many of the obsidian pieces.

<sup>1</sup> Dierckx 2008.

Petras House Tomb 2

	Blades	Microliths	Débitage	Other	Querns
Rm 1	8	7	33	3	
Rm 2	3	2	9	1	2
Rm 3	13	19	56	5	5
Rm 4	2	6	22	5	1
Rm 5	4	1	9	2	
Rm 7	3		18	2	1
Rm 8	4	5	10	5	
Total	37	40	157	23	9

Table 1. Number of obsidian and querns from House Tomb 2 and Rock Shelter.

Rock Shelter

	Blades	Microliths	Débitage	Other	Querns
A 1	8	6	12	6	2
A 2			2	1	
A 3	6	3	11	2	
A 4/5		1	3		
A 4	5	1	3	2	
A 5	1	2	12	1	
A B	11	8	117	9	1
Total	31	21	160	21	3

preserved (Fig. 1a & 1e). The longest complete blade was 5.44 cm in length, which is comparable to the blades found in Minoan tombs in Crete, measuring on average 5–6 cm. Secondary burial, post-burial activity, and disturbance probably account for the breakage of these blades. The large number of microliths in the tombs is the largest yet known from any Early to Middle Minoan context. From House Tomb 2 come 40 examples, consisting of nine geometrics (both *trapezes* and *lunates*), 21 scrapers and nine points or drills/borers (Fig. 1b–c). Of interest is the occurrence of two projectile points in the assemblage (Fig. 1d). Of the nine rooms which comprise House Tomb 2, the most significant assemblage comes from Rooms 1 and 3 (Table 1).

From the Rock Shelter came 21 microliths, including five geometrics, 11 scrapers, two denticulated or serrated flakes, and three points, of which two are projectile points (Fig. 1f–g). The most sig-

nificant finds come from the area designated B (Table 1).

It also has to be noted that a large number of *débitage* pieces form part of the assemblage in both tombs. It is noteworthy that both funerary assemblages also contained some chert and quartz tools—scrapers and drill/borers.

It has been proposed that the “geometrics” may have been used as drill bits or engraving points for the working of stone, bone and ivory.<sup>2</sup> But their use as projectile points, based on examples from Egypt, seems plausible. Arrows with *lunate* heads, with or without barbs, of the same microlith type, were transversely mounted into mastic (Type A). A variation of a *trapeze*, consisting of a bladelet snapped at both ends and mounted with the chisel end upwards, also functioned as a projectile point

<sup>2</sup> D’Annibale 2006, 338; 2008, 195.

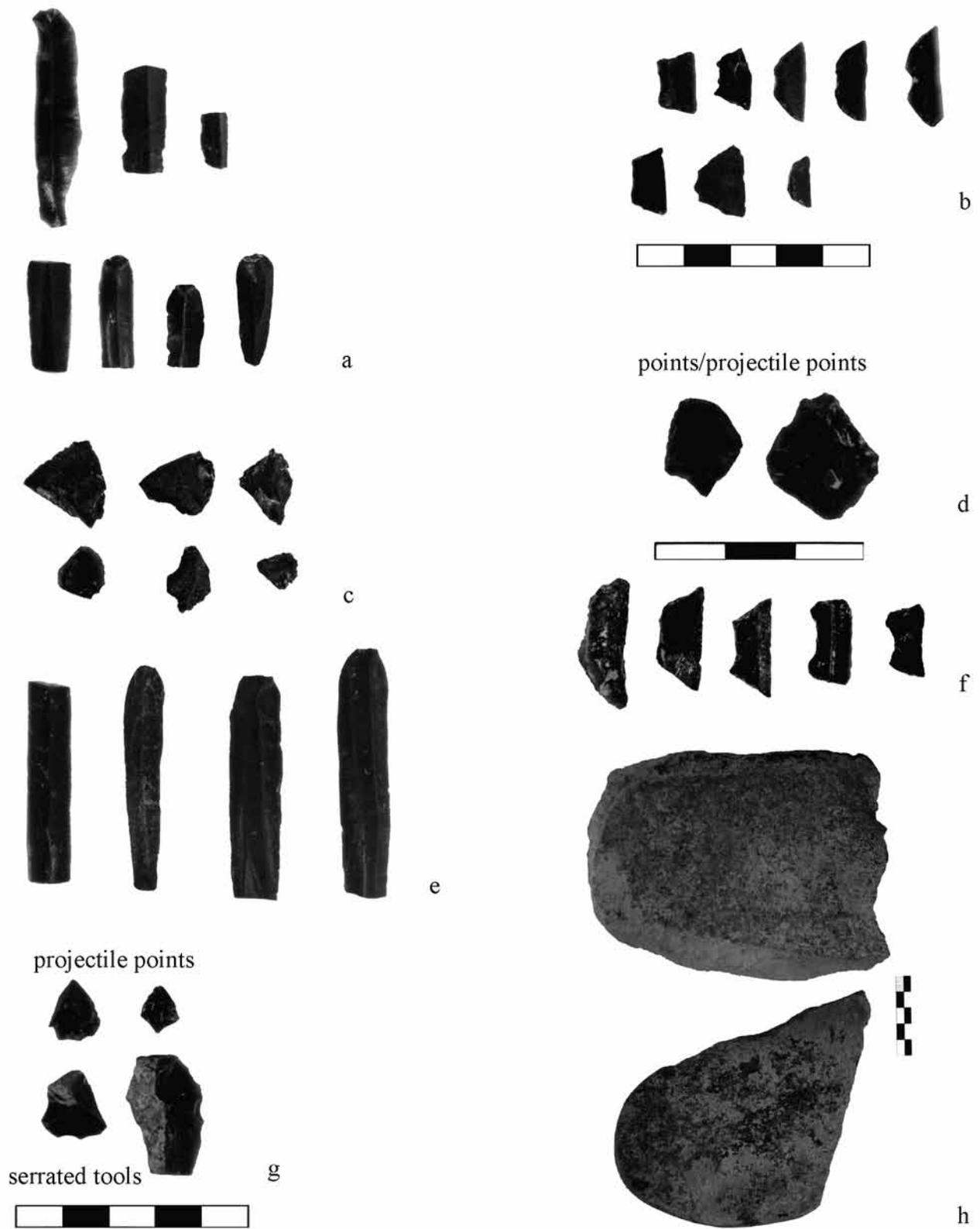


Fig. 1. a) Prismatic blades from House Tomb 2; b) Geometrics from House Tomb 2; c) Scrapers from House Tomb 2; d) Projectile points from House Tomb 2; e) Prismatic blades from the Rock Shelter; f) Geometrics from the Rock Shelter; g) Obsidian from the Rock Shelter; h) Broken querns from House Tomb 2.

(Type A2, variant 2). All types have been proven to have had cutting potential and penetrating ability for hunting or in war.<sup>3</sup> The suggested identification as projectile points seems to fit well with the recently studied geometrics found at Aphrodite's Kephali (of EM I date), which is interpreted as a fortified settlement.<sup>4</sup>

Prismatic blades have been commonly found in Minoan burials of the same time period. In fact, in most cases, prismatic blades were virtually the only chipped stone tools recorded from the burials. An extensive study of the chipped stone from burial contexts of the Early and Middle Bronze Age Aegean has been carried out.<sup>5</sup> As regards the obsidian assemblages from Minoan burial contexts, Carter's study reveals that the most common type of obsidian artifact was the prismatic blade. There also were blades belonging to the initial stages of blade manufacture, such as crested blades and blades of the primary series of blade production. Rarely has the occurrence of flakes, cores or microliths been reported. These have been recorded only at Hagia Photia and in a few tombs in the Mesara.<sup>6</sup> Of the microliths, Carter reports the presence only of "geometrics", specifically the *trapeze*. Thirteen were found in the EM tombs of Platanos and Lebena in the Mesara and three other pieces from Tholos Tomb Γ and the Area of the Rocks at Phourni at Archanes.<sup>7</sup> Two further examples are mentioned as coming from the Moni Odigitria tomb in the Mesara,<sup>8</sup> and one from Tholos E at Archanes.<sup>9</sup> Carter's statement that "It is tempting to see a localized variant in the construction of funerary assemblages, shared by the communities in South and Central Crete,"<sup>10</sup> no longer holds true based on the new evidence from Petras.

A recently excavated EM-MM I burial at Hagios Charalambos provides another comparison for the obsidian from the Petras tombs.<sup>11</sup> This cave also contained burials from a secondary context. The chipped stone consists of prismatic blades, blades from the initial stages of manufacture, some *débitage* pieces, as well as 21 geometrics and two scrapers, one of which is made from quartzite. Of the geometrics, the cave produced 16 lunates, which can be considered in the same category of tools as the *trapezes*. It is interesting to note that lunates have

so far been recorded from tombs in East and East-Central Crete. This may indicate a localized variant of the geometric type of tool.

From the evidence found in Minoan burial contexts, it appears that, of the chipped stone tools, prismatic blades were not the only goods buried with the dead. At least in the Petras tombs, as well as at Hagios Charalambos, microliths appear to have represented a major portion of the EM-MM chipped stone assemblage, in the form of geometrics, tiny scrapers, points or drills/borers, and some projectile points. The large amount of *débitage* from the Petras tombs suggests that the obsidian was manufactured on the spot for burial and deposited with the dead. The prismatic blades and geometrics did not show any signs of use, indicating that they functioned purely as burial goods.

It has been suggested that the obsidian blades deposited in EBA Cycladic tombs, as well as in tombs in South-Central Crete, were especially manufactured for deposition in burials as part of a ritual action and that these blades functioned as "razors" to control body hair, with the cores functioning as pestles, and thus all were related to body modification.<sup>12</sup>

I suggest rather, in the case of Petras, that the combination of blades, projectile points, geometrics, if interpreted as projectile points, and scrapers (potentially used in the processing of animals), may suggest that the tools were part of hunting equipment. It would be interesting to see whether these tools are associated with male burials. Study of the skeletal material might bring some light to this issue.<sup>13</sup>

Ground stone implements from the tombs consisted of a variety of tool types, including pound-

<sup>3</sup> Staley *et al.* 1974, 323, 334, 350, 367, 374–5, fig. 9, pls. IV, V, XII–XIII, XIX.

<sup>4</sup> The chipped stone from Aphrodite's Kephali was studied by the author and publication is forthcoming.

<sup>5</sup> Carter 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Carter 1999, Appendix 4; Xanthoudides 1924, 21, 105, pl. XXII.

<sup>7</sup> Carter 1999, 298–9; Papadatos 2005, figs. 27–8.

<sup>8</sup> Carter 2010, 154, fig. 62, nos. CS 82–3.

<sup>9</sup> Panagiotopoulos 2002, pl. 51, no. I42.

<sup>10</sup> Carter 1999, 307.

<sup>11</sup> Dierckx 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Carter 1998, 73; 2010, 165–6.

<sup>13</sup> Triantaphyllou this volume.

ers, abraders and grinders, whetstones, polishers and querns. Of the 26 ground stone implements, 12 were querns. All the querns were broken, which would suggest that these objects were “ritually killed” before deposition into the grave (Fig. 1h). This ritual of rendering artifacts useless has been suggested for bronze weapons and pottery from several Minoan tombs, for example at Pseira, Mochlos and Hagia Photia.<sup>14</sup> It is also interesting to note that the assemblage of ground stone tools from the Petras cemetery is somewhat different from the assemblages found in the other known Minoan tombs, especially from the Mesara. In fact, the ground stone artifacts recorded were primarily pommels, pestles, whetstones with suspension holes, stone axes and palettes.<sup>15</sup> None of these implements were part of the Petras cemetery ground stone assemblage, which consisted instead of types of hand tools common in Minoan domestic settlements. It is also significant that most of the hand tools were not broken but exhibited wear from use. A similar assemblage has been excavated from the tholos tomb at Hagia Kyriaki. A lack of these tools in the Mesara tombs may reflect, to some extent, a lack of recognition of these tools during excavation. Their presence, however, indicates that they were used before the tomb was built based on their context prior to the building of the tomb.<sup>16</sup> Very few querns have been reported from other Minoan burials, including one example from Kaminospelio in southern Crete and one from Hagia Kyriaki, and they may have been buried with the dead as symbols of their role in life.<sup>17</sup> One “grinding stone” is reported from Hagia Photia Tomb 10, though no details are available.<sup>18</sup> From Mochlos, stone implements including fragmentary querns “were scattered around the South Slope tombs. Although none is

reported by Seager and only one other stone tool was found *in situ* during the cleaning, it is likely that all these implements were originally among the contents of the surrounding tombs”.<sup>19</sup> Querns were also found at Archanes Building 4, along with other hand tools, and were used in the preparation of the dead.<sup>20</sup> Thus, with the lack of detailed study and exact contexts of ground stone implements from tombs, it is difficult to speculate on the reason for the differences between the ground stone assemblage from Petras and other Minoan tombs. Although one may postulate that, at least in the case of Petras, some of the hand tools may have been used in food preparation as part of the burial rituals, whereas the querns served as burial goods for the dead.

In conclusion, the evidence presented above suggests that: 1) Microliths were not merely a Neolithic phenomenon, but continued in use throughout the EM and early MM period; 2) Microliths appear to be an important part of EM and early MM burial goods and may be indicative of a hunting kit; 3) Ground stone tools were also an integral part of burial rituals, especially querns, which were “ritually killed” before deposition in EM and early MM burials.

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<sup>14</sup> Davaras & Betancourt 2004, 240; Betancourt & Davaras 2003, 136–7; Soles 1999; 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Xanthoudides 1924, 15–21, 45, 64–6, 79–80, 104–6; Davaras & Betancourt 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Blackman & Branigan 1982, 14–6, fig. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Blackman & Branigan 1973, 202, 206.

<sup>18</sup> Davaras & Betancourt 2004, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Soles 1992, 71.

<sup>20</sup> Sakellarakis 1974.

# Discussion

**Macdonald** Are the obsidian tools manufactured on the site? Why would one be producing a hunting kit for secondary burials? And you did not suggest one thing that is, I am sure, in everybody's mind, that some of the obsidian tools were used to chop up the body a bit more for a secondary burial and get rid of excess flesh and bits and pieces.

**Dierckx** First of all I would have to see what the bones tell us, because I do not know that as of yet, to be sure if that is a possibility, but most of the obsidian was actually found, because I looked at all the contexts, very low, in the deepest levels, so definitely associated with most of the cranial and other bone material. They were not on the surface. So, I assume at this point that they were part of the burials.

**Triantaphyllou** As regards the Rock Shelter, from where I have looked at the bones, there are no cut marks, and I am positive about that. So the obsidian has nothing to do with the defleshing.

**Dierckx** And also there were no use wear marks on the obsidian blades, nor on the little points.

**Papadatos** To continue on that, it was equally possible that they were made for the primary burials and then ended up in the deposit together with the secondary burials. Something else about burial B 19: There has been no osteological study as of yet, so the skeleton has not been sexed, and I think to associate obsidian blades with male burials is a little bit of a circular argument in the sense that the person who has obsidian blades is a male, so a male has to have obsidian blades. It is better to be able to support this with evidence from the bones.

**Dierckx** I agree. It was just a thought that came to me. The idea for the uses of those, primarily because of the *trapezes* and the lunates is based on Near Eastern and Egyptian examples. There is an article where they show that these were actually used as projectile points. So, I am basing it more on the use of the tools, and I hope that eventually some bone material will support that.

**Haggis** I just have a couple of questions. First of all I find the kit very convincing so I very much liked the presentation.

**Dierckx** Thank you.

**Haggis** The small things, the retouched blades, the microliths, did you say, are they common in the Cyclades, have they been found in cemeteries?

- Dierckx** No, not even in the Cyclades. There are a couple of *trapezes* in one of the tombs and that is it. So, most of it is in the Mesara and I believe Tristan Carter was studying them and he found 11 pieces from Lebena and Platanos together.
- Haggis** The *trapezes* look back at an earlier Neolithic tradition?
- Dierckx** Not that I know of.
- MacGillivray** I am just kind of mystified about killing quern stones. If you killed them in a tomb would you not get both sides?
- Dierckx** Not necessarily if you are killing, and examples from the literature on the pottery show that only part of the pot is buried. And I have the same with the querns. I have all examples of part of a quern and not the other half. So I am thinking, why would you put half a quern into a tomb?
- Stamos** Going along with the ritual killing of the querns, is it always the same half of the quern that is in the tomb, or both sides?
- Dierckx** Hard to tell. It looks pretty much to be from the same side. It was a good observation. I never thought of that.

*Greek abstract*

Το μέγεθος μετράει: η σημασία των μικρολιθικών εργαλείων οψιανού και των τριβείων στο νεκροταφείο του Πετρά.

Το Ταφικό Κτίριο 2 και η Βραχοσκεπή του νεκροταφείου του Πετρά απέδωσαν πλήθος λεπίδων οψιανού και μικρολιθικών εργαλείων, ως αποτέλεσμα της εντατικής συλλογής των ευρημάτων, μέσω στεγνού και υγρού κοσινίσματος. Το πλήρες αυτό σύνολο ΠΜ Ι–ΜΜ ΙΒ τάφων είναι πολύτιμο για την κατανόηση των ταφικών πρακτικών της περιόδου. Η προκαταρκτική ανάλυση δείχνει τη σημασία της τοποθέτησης στους τάφους μικρολιθικών εργαλείων, όπως τραπεζιόσχημα, μηνοειδή και ξέστρα, καθώς και λεπίδες, ως τμήμα των ταφικών πρακτικών κατά την Πρώιμη και τη Μέση Μινωική περίοδο. Σπασμένα τριβεία, εξάλλου, υποδηλώνουν ένα είδος θανάτωσης των τέχνηργων τη στιγμή της ταφής.



## Final discussion

chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

**MacGillivray** I do not know about you, but I feel dizzy after two days full time; Petras information overload in some ways. I think like with all excavations and all research projects you come away with more questions than you do answers, but I guess that is why we do it. Like many people yesterday, I should probably start by asking why Metaxia Tsipopoulou asked me. That is possibly because we are such good neighbors, and we have been good neighbors – I worked at Palaikastro since the very beginning. Hugh Sackett and I went in 1983 to Palaikastro though we did not start digging until 1986. We were both younger then, it was a really long time ago. So I have been associated with Petras, and with Metaxia, for all of those 25 years. One thing that does come through is the sheer amount of hard work that is involved, I do not just mean the digging, that is the easy part, it is the bureaucracy, the fund raising, and she had to deal with land owners. That part does not really show in the Symposium. We sit back now and we marvel at these results, but there is a whole back story to this, that perhaps should never be told, or nobody would ever go into archaeology. In Metaxia's case, it was very complicated, very difficult, and she showed amazing staying power, and we are very grateful that she did. When I first went to eastern Crete in 1983, you would drive by Petras, and there was nothing there, now 25 years later, what Metaxia has done is that she has given us this amazing site, she has put Petras on the map. Bosanquet went through there for a couple of days in 1901, and wrote about it, but Metaxia has effectively put Petras on the map. It has now become a fairly big dot in the discussions of Bronze Age Crete. One of the things she has shown us, and Costas Paschalidis was reminding me that, from the very beginning, from the Final Neolithic IV to the Byzantine period, Petras, I suppose by virtually being by the sea, has an international spirit and it has international connections. We are even talking about connections with Egypt in MM IB, and it functions very well as a harbor town.

What I thought I might do, in order to lead this discussion, and you may want to talk more with the speakers, was really think about what these 25 years at Petras have given us. Being an old school archaeologist I still tend to think chronologically, instead of thematically. I thought it would be simpler really to run through what these excavations have given us in terms of the broader picture of Bronze Age Crete, and then Bronze Age Aegean, and then in the later periods, in Byzantium. Obviously the place to start is FN IV, when we have the first settlers, and we have strong Cycladic influence. What do you think that means? Are the people of Petras like people from Hagia Photia in the next period? I suppose Petras was looking for metals and lithics. The thing that still amazes me is that these people who we see trading abroad, which means that either they are going by the sea, or somebody is coming to them by sea, were not eating fish; there is a problem sailing over all this wonderful food, and not eating it, although we did see the fish hooks.

So, you can look at EM I and EM II and see what that gives us, in terms of the overall picture, what happens in EM III–MM IA, when we have the wonderful ossuaries with their pots, especially that collection of whole vases, at the end of that period. MM IB is a very interesting period when you had very expensive well painted ceramics that were put down in the Lakkos. And there is the wonderful tempting reconstruction that the hill was used, certainly in that period, if not earlier, for social gatherings, people coming together; feasting, if we want to use that trendy term, it is a focal point, for perhaps more than one community going there. What they are consuming is, certainly, when we are looking at the pottery, material locally made, but also imported, and therefore, slightly more expensive. Who are these people, where do they live, are they coming from further afield, to gather at this place? This was obviously important, and then this was replaced by the first palace, which if I am not mistaken, could be fortified; you think that the terrace wall could work as a fortification wall?

**Tsipopoulou** Not entirely, one part yes.

**MacGillivray** So it gives an impression, like the façades of the other palaces, we then have this change. There is enough wealth, enough power and enough desire to build this larger center, and this coincides with the change, it seems, in the Kephala cemetery, where, instead of re-deposited burials, we have these two males, these two fairly interesting individuals, who are using, presumably, these wonderful seals, that we saw Olga Krzyszkowska present. As they coincide with the construction of the palace, it would be interesting to speculate who were these young men, and why they were buried differently, inhumations, as opposed to whatever their normal practice was.

Then there is the destruction of this first palace, at the end of MM IIB, and we have the archive, that is one of the main reasons why we can talk about it as a palace. How big a center is Petras, is it controlling a wide area, can we tell that from the goods in the archive? I am still not entirely convinced, we might be misleading ourselves with these big state maps that we draw for Middle Minoan Crete. They could be much smaller, like Hellenistic city-state areas, much smaller areas of control. I think we are reading back almost from the modern Greek church boundaries, which currently separate Crete, and so we trying to recreate something like that, but that may have not been the case. That is something we can discuss.

This palace then, like many other buildings throughout Crete, towards or at the end of MM IIB, gets trashed, fortunately for people like Erik Hallager, who then have all this wonderful material to work with, and allows him, or us, to reconstruct what is actually being recorded in this building. And does this palace, that is very well excavated now, much better excavated than Knossos, does this allow us to answer the question that Jan Driessen has posed most recently, is this, are these, social ritual centers, or are they really the palaces of a monarch? Are we meant to view kings, or queens, living here? Or is Crete the only place in the ancient world where you do not have some divinely inspired, or actually divinely stated ruler in charge? Can Petras help us to solve that question in this period?

We then go to MM III, and that is something that we will have to see what it gives us over time, but we have that rather amazing rod, with the Linear A inscription. So, certainly there is administration in that period. But where is the building that has

been used? It is probably the building in which they have the LM IA floor deposits afterwards.

The LM IA period is amazing, I thought that we would never go through a whole two-day conference about a site in the Aegean, talking about its Bronze Age history, without mentioning the Theraeruption. But it came through at Papadiokampos, and it is kind of interesting that it was not mentioned by any of the workers at Petras.

**Tsipopoulou** We do not have ash.

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

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

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

Then in the Byzantine period, with a time span of 150 years for the use of the cemetery, it would not have been simply serving just one family, one farmstead. And they were manufacturing stuff also, up on the hill, but it remains a sacred place.

The fun thing is that Hill I has now become a sacred place again. Metaxia has fought tooth and nail to keep it from becoming a suburb of Siteia, and instead she has turned it into a place that reminds people from Siteia, or at least should remind people from Siteia, like Giorgos Alexopoulos, that they do have a very long and rich history, with a lot of external communications.

These are some of the themes I am thinking of. Then there is the theme of burial practices. That would be very interesting, changes in burial practices, what happens in MM III–LM I. If anybody would like to start, attacking, commenting on ideas that have come up, please do.

**Hallager** I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, it has always been a very great mystery to me why you have no rubbish pits in the LM I settlement. As I travelled around the island I asked all our colleagues excavating LM I settlements “where are your rubbish pits?”, and they were not there. It was Phil Betancourt who gave me an answer, which I am going to suggest also for the missing fish bones. He said that during that period and probably

also in the earlier periods, such organic remains were very important and they were taken out into the fields to be used as manure. This might be one possible suggestion for the missing fish bones.

**MacGillivray** Interesting.

**Vallianou** I just want to point out that Metaxia must be a very happy Greek archaeologist. After 25 years of hard work, and having faced many difficult problems, she managed to complete an important work, to excavate a particularly important site, to establish its relations with other areas, to have very good collaborators, to publish a lot, to reach almost the end of her research, and to make the site accessible to the public, with modest but appropriate interventions. I would like to wish her luck in the future, and I believe that she deserved all she has achieved up to now.

**MacGillivray** Excellent. She has been very clever about getting the right sort of collaborators.

**Macdonald** Can I just ask about the end of LM IB, perhaps you did not go into detail, at least House II.1 is abandoned, not destroyed by fire?

**Tsipopoulou** There is fire, especially since the industrial activity taking place there was connected with hearths, heating water, etc. The whole of Room E gave evidence for a fire. In the Shaw Festschrift, the *Krinoi kai Limenes* volume (Tsipopoulou 2007c), I published, for the first time, several pictures of the destruction deposit over the central court of the palace. There was a thick LM IB destruction deposit, full of blocks fallen from the upper floor, door jambs, from *polythyra*, many with mason's marks among them (we have identified 29 on fallen blocks, and some more are *in situ*). There was this very thick deposit with intense burning, all over the central court and to the east of it. In the central court we had 10 Byzantine graves and also the ossuary. Some of them, as Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou said, used one Minoan wall and then built another three walls, to have a cist built tomb. In other cases, they excavated in this very thick and compact destruction deposit, which was like the bedrock, and they put their dead in it.

**MacGillivray** So the LM IB fire destruction reached very high temperatures.

**Tsipopoulou** It is something very similar to the Phaistos "*astraki*". We do not have much LM IB pottery, because what we call the west wing of the palace, the parallel corridors on the plan, are all basement, or rather they are structural features to support the upper floors, so they were practically empty of any traces of the latest use. When we dug deeper, we found the walls of previous buildings. The latest phase of the palace is not well preserved, but we do have the destruction deposit.

Besides the central court, there was a room with an intense LM IB destruction deposit. This room is adjacent to the so-called "shrine" with the 4 m long plastered bench. This room with the bench was Protopalatial, and following the MM IIB destruction was sealed and never re-used. To the northeast of it, there was a long room with a flagstone floor, and in it even the slabs were burnt. It was also full of plaster and mudbricks both from the ground and from the upper floors.

- MacGillivray** That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.
- Tsipopoulou** What always makes me wonder is why they kept this smaller, sort of symbolic, central court, and they did all the re-arrangement with the alternating columns and pillars. It has always been a palace with the memory of the earlier glory.
- MacGillivray** The Linear A tablets come from that?
- Tsipopoulou** Yes.
- MacGillivray** So there is administration.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, but we do not know about the existence of an archive. There were two tablets, in the same trench, at the west part of the building, the same trench that contained the hieroglyphic archive in a deeper stratum. And in between there was also an LM IA destruction deposit, all that in the same trench, we excavated almost 3 m. Kostas Christakis excavated the LM IA destruction deposit.
- MacGillivray** I wonder if, maybe Kostas Christakis will talk about the notion of foreigners and locals that Tina McGeorge brought up quite clearly.
- Paschalidis** I would like to change the subject, based on a comment we exchanged yesterday with Metaxia. In this Symposium, the LM III period was not adequately represented, not because it did not exist at Petras.
- Tsipopoulou** Right.
- Paschalidis** So, in order to have a complete picture of the site we should need to include this important period as well.
- MacGillivray** Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?
- Tsipopoulou** And also LM IIIC, as we saw.
- Paschalidis** There was a cemetery, Metaxia, that you showed us yesterday.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, there has been a cemetery; we had the larnakes, both chest-shaped and bathtub. The cemetery started in LM IIIB and continued into LM IIIC.
- MacGillivray** The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras, that was occupied for thousands of years, is that you can almost visualize populations coming and going. One of the best ways to see them is through their burial practices and to see how these change over time. Because you are dealing with the same spot, but obviously you are not dealing with the same people, you are watching populations come and go.

- Tsipopoulou** I would like to remind you about the Achladia tholos, which is Mycenaean in type and construction. This is very close to Petras, only 4 km from the coast, and it was also almost on top of an earlier settlement, a very small one, a *metochi* type, both Proto- and Neopalatial.
- MacGillivray** Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?
- Tsipopoulou** Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.
- MacGillivray** That is pretty old, anyway.
- Tsipopoulou** It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.
- MacGillivray** The Theraeruption? No the Mycenaean invasion.  
[Laughs from the audience!]
- Tsipopoulou** The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.
- MacGillivray** Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?
- Blackman** I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *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*

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*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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