Petras, Siteia
– 25 years of excavations and studies

Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 9–10 October 2010

Edited by
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
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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 discussions. Also my warmest thanks to Melissa Eaby for the final proof reading and significant improvements. The specialized text of Konstantinos Togias, 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 Togias.

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

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>EBA</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>P.TSK</td>
<td>Petras cemetery</td>
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<td>EH</td>
<td>Early Helladic</td>
<td>P.TSU</td>
<td>Petras-Rock Shelter</td>
</tr>
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<td>Early Minoan</td>
<td>Σ-palace</td>
<td>Stratigraphical trenches of the palace</td>
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<td>PPN</td>
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Other

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Gram</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NISP</td>
<td>Number of Identifiable Specimens</td>
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<td>MNI</td>
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<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Archaeological Museum, Siteia</td>
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<td>vol.</td>
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Petras Area

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<td>House Tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lakkos</td>
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<td>P</td>
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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.
The Petras intramural infant jar burial: context, symbolism, eschatology*

Photini J.P. McGeorge

Abstract
A LM IA intramural infant pot burial was discovered at Petras in 1989, found in an inverted position and interred in the courtyard of House I.1. This paper briefly presents the results of the anthropological study, discusses evidence for the dangers of childbirth at that period and reviews the cultural practice of intramural burials of infants not only in Greece, but also in Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt. This age-old and widespread practice began with the earliest settled communities in the Near East and continued down to the Iron Age. It seems to suggest an underlying koine of belief, though given the complexity of human nature and the infinite variety in the expression of human culture and beliefs there need not necessarily be a single explanation for its use at all times and in all places. Inverted pithos burials have been reported in tombs and at numerous formal cemeteries on Crete, for instance at Sphoungaros (Hall 1912) and at Pacheia Ammos, where all 213 pithos burials were inverted (Seager 1916). This curious phenomenon has never been satisfactorily explained. At Petras, the purposeful placement of the infant in the pithos in an inverted position conveys a funerary symbolism, which is possibly the clearest and most unambiguous articulation of the Minoans’ religious belief in rebirth and hope for an afterlife.

In 1989 the remains of an infant buried in a small pithos were recovered in the west courtyard of House I.1 (Fig. 1), close to a wall and enclosed by a circle of stones. The jar is Neopalatial and its stratigraphic context dates the burial to LM IA; the child’s head (Fig. 2a) was near the opening of the jar. The mystery was why had the jar been placed in an inverted position (Fig. 2b). The infant’s bones, though fragile, were in a reasonably sound state of

* I sincerely thank Metaxia Tsipopoulou for her invitation to study this find and for generously providing the plan and photos from the excavation archive and Garifalia Kostopoulou for locating and sending them to me.

Fig. 1. Location of pithos burial marked on excavation plan.
preservation. They consist of fragments of the cranium: the frontal bones, the zygomatic, the parietal bones, and squamous part of the occipital bone. Vertebral elements, ribs, even tiny fingers and toes were also found. Upper and lower limb bones included: humeri, radii, a right ulna, right femur, tibia and fibula.

The mandible (right horizontal ramus) retained a deciduous first molar in the crypt (Fig. 3a). The development of the first molar tooth germ begins at five months in utero. The maxilla must have melted in the process of decomposition but loose teeth (Fig. 3b) were found, including the deciduous upper right central incisor, which begins to calcify at 3–4 months in utero. The occlusal surface of the distal half of the crown of the deciduous 2nd molar was formed. Initial calcification of this tooth begins at 6 months in utero. The state of mineralization of the milk teeth indicates that this was a pre-term infant.

This is verified by the measurements of the petrous bones (25.3 & 26.7 mm) (Table 1, Fig. 3c) and the pars lateralis (16.3 mm), which correspond to an age of about 32 weeks gestation. This pre-term infant must have been either stillborn or died soon after birth, as its survival would have been seriously compromised by the immaturity of its vital organs.

The preservation of this 32-week fetus’s remains is exceptional thanks to the pithos. Very immature fetal remains are rarely found in excavations due to their fragility. Cemetery data for the LM I period are virtually non-existent, but studies of skeletal material from LM III cemetery populations show a high perinatal and neonatal mortality. At Arme-

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Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Fetal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pars Petrosa Length</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>27.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pars Petrosa Width</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pars Lateralis Length</td>
<td>[16.3]</td>
<td>17.0*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Square brackets denote preserved length


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1 Scheuer & Black 2000, 83.
noi, in a sample of 114 sub-adults including fetal, neonatal, infant and children’s remains up to the age of sixteen, 22–25% had died either at or not long after birth. At Palama St., one teenage mother had died with a fetus still in her womb, illustrating that childbirth was an event with a very uncertain outcome. These dangers gave rise to the cult of Eileithyia, guardian of women in childbirth. Common causes of mortality around birth are associated with poor maternal health during pregnancy, genetic or developmental abnormalities and birth trauma.

Intramural infant and child burials at other Minoan sites

Interments inside a house, or outside a house in an open area such as a courtyard, are designated intramural, in contrast to extramural burials in cemeteries. The Minoans normally buried their dead extramurally. The intramural burial of infants or children is not common at Minoan sites, but there are a score of examples now known from sites throughout the island (Fig. 4).

The earliest Minoan intramural jar burial is the one dated to EM II found at Nopigeia, Kissamos. At the corner of a building in an open area paved with pebbles, a pithos (<0.5 m tall) lay on its side in a shallow pit, the mouth of the jar pointing westwards. The child, less than three years old, was buried with two obsidian blades. This burial is of course many centuries earlier than the one at Petras. Two intramural burials, contemporary with the burial at Petras, were discovered in 2009–2010 in

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Fig. 3. a) Mandible with encrypted molar; b) Loose teeth; c) Petrous bones.

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3 The sacred caves at Amnisos and Inatos were dedicated to her worship. Offerings of honey to e-re-u-ti-ja are recorded in the Linear B tablets. Eileithyia was later incorporated into Greek mythology as daughter of Hera and is portrayed on a pictorial vase assisting Leto at the birth of Apollo (Kakrides 1987, 142).
4 Karantzali 1997, 66–81.
the excavations at Sissi, in different rooms of the same House BC. One was a newborn infant, the other a child of three to four years old. Both were interred in pyxis-type vessels, and date to LM IA. Moreover, an LM IB sub-floor burial was reported in the Artisans’ Quarter at Mochlos.5

There are more intramural burials at Knossos than at any other site: several date to LM IA/IB; one is dated to LM II, but the majority date to LM IIIC and the Subminoan period. Popham found four sub-floor intramural burials in the Unexplored Mansion (three fetuses: 33, 35 and 38 weeks and a newborn) in Rooms C, M and L. He had some doubts about the date of the one found in the fill of Corridor L, but the other three were securely dated to LM IA: a 38-week fetus had been buried in a shallow pit close to the west wall in Room C; a 35-week fetus was buried under the floor of Room M, and a newborn, which had survived a few days, lay crouched on its side in a stone-lined cist below the west end of Corridor L. There were no finds with these burials.6

Hogarth found the grave of a newborn infant under “the flooring of a room” in one of the houses excavated on Gypsades Hill. There were no finds with the burial, which may be dated to LM IA or possibly to within the LM IB period. A stemmed cup with a banded adder pattern was found in the room.7

Theoretically, one might add to this list the interment of multiple children excavated by Warren in the basement of the LM IB North House at Knossos. Two small rooms were accessed through a corridor leading off the north courtyard. In the first and smaller of the two rooms (1.85 x 1.10 m) were the remains of four children, aged 12, 8 and younger. Many bones bore cut marks, which created an enigma.8 A collection of drinking vessels and bowls were stored in the adjacent room (2.18 x 1.60 m). In another much larger room accessed from the courtyard, there were similar vessels, tripod cooking pots and a jug inside a large pithos which contained nine more human bones (one a vertebra with a cut mark), besides other items characterized as cult equipment. The excavator estimated that the cut marks on the bones in the small room, in conjunction with the finds in the other rooms, were evidence of ritual. These, albeit unusual, inhumations are also intramural.9

In the same excavation, Warren discovered an infant burial in a building, which he called the Gypsum House (impressive for the liberal use of gypsum for floors, thresholds, staircases and cupboards). Next to the central room which was adorned with frescoes, there was a room with a simple earthen floor and kitchenware. On the floor were several vases: a tripod cooking pot, a stirrup jar, a decorated jug and a plain kylix. The baby had been laid in a pit below this floor. The find is dated to LM II.10

At Phaistos there are two intramural pithos burials of full-term low birth weight or near-term newborn infants. The infant in Room 5 was buried in a double-handled globular cooking jar and covered with the bottom of another coarse ware vessel near the north wall of the room. On the LM IIIC floor, a stone cupboard located directly above the burial contained another cooking jar with burnt seeds. The “cupboard” actually appeared to be constructed around the jar to keep it stable. It is believed that the seeds might have been an offering.11 A few metres to the east of this burial, another infant was buried in a tubular vase below the floor of Room 4. Both burials date to LM IIIB.

At Palaikastro there is a parallel to the Phaistos infant also buried below a cupboard. Two rooms, designated Areas 25 and 26, were excavated in 1987

5 Thanks to J. Driessen for information about the Sissi burials; Soles 2003, on Mochlos.
6 Popham 1984, 309.
7 Hogarth 1899–1900, 70–84, fig. 23.
8 There were two skulls. A tooth and a skull fragment which could not be attributed to child A or B represented a third individual, whilst leg bones proved that there were four children. 40% of the bones bore cut marks suggesting that they had been de-fleshed (Wall et al. 1986, 81, 341, table 2.374, 377). Nine adult bones were found, one outside the corridor and eight in the courtyard, but none of these had cut marks (Wall et al. 1986, 346).
9 A discussion of the stratigraphic sequence, Wall et al. (1986, 344–5) debated whether or not the bones had fallen from an upper floor; and whether they preceded or were part of the destruction layer. The interpretation of the find as evidence of human sacrifice or cannibalism (Wall et al. 1986, 386–8) is one possible explanation; another is preparation for secondary burial (Tumasonis 1983, 306–7); also Hughes 1991, 18–26.
11 See E. Borgna: Casa a ovest del piazzale I, and my contribution McGeorge forthcoming, “Due sepolture a enchytrismos”.

IV. Neopalatial Petras
at the southeast corner of Building 3. The larger, Area 25, gave access through a 50 cm wide doorway to Area 26, which had an unusual rhomboidal plan, interpreted as a “small cupboard or storage compartment” (1.60 x 0.80 x 1.40 m). Set in the trodden earth surface of the southwest corner, to the right of the entrance, was a gourna. Below the floor was a 50 cm dense deposit of pottery, which included a decorated amphoroid krater with “the almost complete, articulated skeleton of a child”, placed in a crouching position with a small kalathos over its head. The skeleton, which is illustrated, appears to be a newborn. The suggested date of the deposit is LM IIIA2/B.

A slightly later intramural burial was found at Khania, in the Hagia Aikaterini Square excavations. This pre-term infant, about 37 weeks’ gestation, had not been buried in any kind of vessel. Nevertheless, the two surviving iliac bones were excellently preserved, buried under the LM IIIB2 floor. There was a hearth in the centre of the sizeable Room E (6.5 x 4.5 m). On the clay floor there were two bowls found in different corners, a small tripod cooking pot and a cooking dish. The infant had been laid in a shallow pit less than a metre distant from the hearth.

In the archaeological reports on the Stratigraphical Museum excavation at Knossos, Warren mentions that sub-floor “infant burials were found over the whole site”. The majority were provisionally dated to LM IIIC. One burial, found under the floor of a room with a clay bench, had been covered by a large lekane; a revised LM IIIB date is given in a later publication. A large krater was found in the fill of the room. Warren’s report is provisional and does not give details or the precise number of burials, which are attributed to Mycenaean influence. Two more intramural infant burials were dated to the Subminoan period.

This brings the current total to a minimum of 21 intramural burials of infants or children at several sites spread over the length and breadth of the island, though concentrated more in East and Central Crete, with the majority at Knossos. Six cases were full-term newborn infants; five were pre-term, born prematurely. Two older children were buried at Nopigeia (< three years old) and at Sissi (a three to four year old), not to mention the older children from the basement of the North House. The other LM IIIC and Subminoan cases from Knossos were reported as “infants”. In Crete the EM II burial at Nopigeia coincides with the simultaneous appearance in EH II–III of intramural infant burials at numerous sites on the Mainland and the islands, attributed to a westward movement of populations from Anatolia. In LM IA the custom re-appears in East Crete at Petras and Sissi, and in the centre of the island at Knossos, where the majority of cases have been found and where the population was probably densest and the social landscape most cosmopolitan, perhaps already including Mainlanders. In LM III intramural burial appears at Phaistos, Khania and Palaikastro, urban centres whose populations probably also included foreigners. At Knossos, the custom may have persisted from LM IA to Subminoan, or elsewhere been re-introduced by later incursions of foreigners, probably predominantly Mycenaean. Extramural cemeteries of the LM I period are virtually unknown, so it is difficult to appraise this

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12 I am grateful to A.J. MacGillivray for kindly mentioning the Palaikastro burial to me; MacGillivray 1988, 259–73, fig. 7, pl. 47f.
13 Using the scale in the photograph, the femur appears to be 73.3 mm and the tibia 66.6 mm, corresponding well with the lengths of diaphyses at 10 lunar months. Scheuer & Black 2000, 393, table 11.1.
15 Warren (in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 169–72) has revised the date to LM IIIB.
17 Sissi, the Unexplored Mansion, Gypsades, Phaistos (2), and Palaikastro.
18 Petras, the Unexplored Mansion (3) and Khania.
19 An examination of 170 personal names on the Knossos As tablets, compared with tablets from Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes, concluded that: 1) there was a common stock of Greek names at Knossos and on the Mainland; 2) that non-Greek names found their way to the Mainland between the fall of Knossos and the destruction of the Mainland palaces, perhaps through intermarriage and migration; 3) at the time the tablets were written, Greek and non-Greek names were “inextricably mixed”, though non-Greek (= local) names outnumber Greek names at Knossos by 3:1; 4) there are a few names that show similarities to Near Eastern names, especially Hittite. Baumbach 1983, 3–10.
custom as an alternative to whatever methods of disposal were preferred for adults.20

Most intramural burials were made in places where daily household tasks, involving the preparation of food in particular, would have been undertaken, in an area where a child’s mother would probably have spent much of her day. At Khania the child was buried close to the household hearth; at Phaistos and Palaikastro infants were buried below cupboards probably used for the storage of grain. In the Gypsum House a child was buried below a room with a simple earthen floor on which vessels associated with eating and drinking were found. Courtyards, like the one at Petras, must have been places where people spent time on household or social activities. There is little uniformity in these intramural burials apart from a generic resemblance amongst coarse ware vessels used as receptacles21 and the absence of gifts. The unifying characteristic is that the burials were made under floors where there must have been constant domestic activity, possibly signifying a desire to keep newborn infants within the family circle.

Intramural burials of infants and children on the Greek Mainland and islands

Intramural burial occurs on the Greek Mainland and at Knossos from the Early Neolithic period, and on various Aegean islands from the Early Bronze Age. Intramural burials of newborn infants and babies were sometimes placed in simple pits below the floors of houses, in baskets or wrapped in cloth of which an impression occasionally survives, in cists or small clay storage jars, or sometimes placed on a layer of pebbles. Such burials are known at over 40 sites throughout Greece and the islands (Fig. 4); the majority date to EH II/III. Eight sites are Neolithic: the earliest is at Axos, where a newborn was placed in a pithos under the floor; at Sesklo there are possibly two infants buri-

20 An exception is the House Tomb at Myrtos Pyrgos, last used in LM I according to the excavator, G. Cadogan.
21 The decorated amphoroid krater at Palaikastro is the exception.
als; one at Argissa; Chaeronea and Hagios Petros (MN); Lerna, Nea Nikomedeia and Rachmani in Thessaly (LN).22 There are over 20 EH II/III sites, and a similar number of MBA/LBA sites,23 amongst which Asine stands out with a record number of 57 infant or child burials in pithoi, small vases or pits. An LH IIIA intramural child burial was re-reported from Mycenae, Petsas House Room T, with three vases and gold papyrus beads; but there are apparently numerous unpublished infant burials from this site.24 Lefkandi on Euboea is another site with an exceptional number of LH II and LH IIIC intramural burials: 15 fetuses, infants, children and five adults. A late LBA sub-floor child’s burial was reported at Karvounolakkoi on Naxos.25

Intramural burials of infants and children in the Near East, Anatolia, Cyprus & Egypt

The practice of burying infants and children in a domestic setting has an impressively long lineage in the Near East. The earliest settled communities practised intramural burial of children and adults at Natufian and PPN sites (Körtik Tepe, Ain Mallaha, Nahal Oren; Jericho and Ain Ghazal26 – where half of the burials were infants). The same custom occurs in Cyprus in the PPN and Aceramic Neolithic at Khirokitia and Kalavassos-Tenta,27 and it appears in Crete in the Aceramic at Knossos.28

In Syria (Fig. 5), during the tenth millennium

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25 Schallin 1993, 106.
27 Dikaios 1953; Peltenberg & Swiny 2001.
28 Evans 1964, 136.
adults, children and fetuses were buried in shallow pits, sometimes wrapped in matting coated with bitumen, below house floors or just outside houses, at many sites: Mureybet, Jerf el-Ahmar, Abu Hureyra, Tell Halula and Dja’de al-Mughara, Ain el-Kerkh. Then in the Ceramic Neolithic, vases were used to bury infants less than a year old, usually without grave gifts, at Ain el-Kerkh, Halula, Khazna II, and at Byblos. The pot was typically laid on its side with the infant’s head pointing towards the mouth of the jar. From the Chalcolithic period onwards, when burial was transferred from living sites to cemeteries outside the settlement, the custom of intramural jar burial for infants continued. The practice had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia.

Through the late sixth down to the first millennium BC, burial within the settlement beneath house floors, usually of infants and children without grave goods, appears to be the rule. Infants under one-year old were never given grave goods, but children above a year old had a range of offerings. Stone or shell pendants of animals are often found with them. Sub-floor burials in pits, jars, cooking pots, bowls and mudbrick or stone-lined cists are found at sites almost too numerous to name, for instance: at Hama Level K, Tell Banat, Selenkahiye, Raqa’i 2, Atij, Abu Hgaira, Beydar, Umm el-Marra, Chagar Bazar 2–3 and Tell Leilan at Barsip, Carchemish, Oylum, Lidar and Titris. In the second millennium BC they were found at Alalakh level VIII–V, Tell Hadidi, Umm el-

31 Dunham 1993.
Marra, Mohammed Diyab & Chagar Bazar; in first millennium BC at Tell Ajaja and Kneidig.33

From northern Mesopotamia (Fig. 5), in the late fifth/early fourth millennium there are 108 infant pot burials at Tepe Gawra.34 In the late fourth and third millennium BC infants are never buried in cemeteries. They are usually intramurally buried, though not always, in a cooking pot. At Tells Melebiya, Kutan and Karrana 3, infants inside cooking pots have been found in Ninevite V levels. At the latter, children were placed in pots horizontally sawn in half.35 At Tell Mohammed Arab one grave contained a horizontally sectioned urn with the body of an adult male and a child. At Tell Jessary there were some Late Uruk burials (3400–3000 BC). At Mohammed Arab and Kutan the infants were buried without grave goods.36

In southern Mesopotamia (Fig. 6), intramural burial for all age groups seems to be normal. The custom is strong in the cities of the Old Babylonian period (20th–16th centuries BC), such as at Ur, Larsa, Isin, Sippar-Amnanum, Nerebtum, Nippur, Kha-fajah, Tello, Tell Haddad, Tell Al-Zawayih, but also from Haradum and Tell Halawa in Upper Mesopotamia.37 At Ur, Woolley excavated 198 graves under houses in Areas AH and EM, and he identified ten variants of intramural burial, ranging from simple inhumations to those employing a variety of receptacles, including larnakes (unusual outside of Crete), bowls (5), “hutches” (4) and pots which are sometimes doubled, as well as several forms of built tombs. The dead were usually buried under the floors of the reception room or the chapel of the house, identifiable by niches and altars, but sometimes under a courtyard. Preferred gifts for infants were shells or beads, whereas older children were given toys or necklaces.38

In Israel (Fig. 6) in the Chalcolithic (late fifth millennium BC), intramural burials have been reported at: Tel Teo, Tel Dan, Qatif Y-3, Teluliot Batashi (level III), and Nahal Zehora II.39 At Nahal Zehora two pre-term infants were buried in the settlement: one in a jar and the other close to the wall of a structure, while a third child was buried in a stone cist. In the MBA at Tel Dan (ca. 2000 BC), interment was solely intramural under the floors of dwellings or courtyards. Jar burials were used for infants under two years of age and were often broken to insert the corpse. The head was almost always at the jar opening, which was sometimes covered with a potsherd, and in some cases the jar was set in a circle of stones. The jars were usually placed next to, or aligned with, walls.

In Anatolia (Figs. 4–5) intramural burial of adults and children, usually in jars, is found at many EBA sites: at Alişar, Kalinkaya, Kasura,40 Beycesultan, Hacilar II, Ovabayindir and at Troy, where six intramural burials were found in Troy I, all newborn or between two to three weeks old (four were buried in amphorae). At Kalinkaya, 13 burials in pithoi with flat stone lids were found under house floors. At Boğazköy (Hattusa), the intramural burials were mostly simple inhumations, with few gifts, sometimes covered by a stone slab. In the coastal region of the Aegean, a few intramural infant burials have been found at Bakla Tepe and at Çeşmeler Bağlararasi in level 2b, where the pottery is said to be of Central Anatolian character, with a small amount of imported pottery corresponding to the MM III period. At Çeşme one jar burial had a fragment of bronze, possibly a gift.41

In Cyprus (Fig. 6) in the Chalcolithic period, burials at Lemba-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mosphilia, in pits between houses, were mainly of children or infants (62–65%). At Kissonerga two of the burials were in urns. Intramural burials of infants, not in jars, were found at Enkomi. In the Iron Age, newborn and premature babies were buried in re-used Canaanite jars in the settlements at Salamis and Kition.42

34 Peasnall in Rothman 2002.
35 Exact parallels have been found at Boğazköy, see the paragraph below on Anatolia.
37 Battini-Villard 1999.
38 Woolley 1976, pl. 39b.
40 Here, as in northern Mesopotamia, pithos-halves, cut lengthwise (probably for economy) were used for burial.
41 Wheeler 1974; Blegen 1950; Angel & Bisel 1986, 12; Erkanal & Keskin 2009.
In Egypt (Fig. 6) intramural burial occurs sporadically at second millennium BC sites. At Elephantine there are only two early second millennium intramural burials, a newborn in rubbish, and another under the floor of a house, buried with a single bead. At Kahun, the pyramid builders’ town in the Faiyum, there were numerous burials of newborn infants under the floors of the workmen’s houses. They were buried in wooden boxes originally used for other purposes, sometimes two or three infants per box. Infants who were some months old had been buried with beads or amulets. At Deir el-Medina near Thebes (late 16th century BC), amphorae, baskets, boxes and coffins were all used for the intramural burial of children. Stillborn children were not usually given amulets or jewellery, just food in one or two vessels.

Conclusion

This concise review of intramural infant burials was intended to highlight the fact that the Petras burial is an expression of a millennia-old behaviour, which began amongst the earliest sedentary populations in a wide geographical area of the Near East. The practice had particularly strong roots in North Syria and Mesopotamia in the Ceramic Neolithic, continuing through the Bronze and Iron Ages. Burials were often in coarse ware cooking pots, and infants under a year old were only rarely given gifts. The custom radiated from this area along the Tigris and Euphrates and their tributaries, filtering westwards with the movement of people, goods and ideas through Anatolia and the Aegean and into Egypt, acquiring variations en route.

The 1989 discovery of the Petras intramural burial was bemusing since Minoan burial customs are predominantly extramural. However, current evidence shows that there are a fair number of intramural burials in Crete. Most are from Knossos where, as far as one can tell, with the exception of the inverted lekane, they were not buried in pots, whereas outside Knossos and Khania, all the intramural burials were in pots. This may mean that the people burying the infants, or their customs and beliefs, had different origins. The Petras infant was buried in a pithos without gifts possibly because it was stillborn. The burial of the infant, its head near the mouth of the jar, which was aligned with the courtyard walls and set in a circle of stones, seems a distant echo of burials at Tel Dan. Perhaps trade was the portal for the intangible ebb and flow of ideas, religious beliefs and customs.

Customs have value, meaning and symbolism, which we must try to interpret. Whatever the original idea behind a custom, transference to new cultural environments may have led to variations in the practice (such as the use of different receptacles) and shifts in meaning and symbolic significance according to the cultural context.

Death is regarded by all cultures, societies and religions as a serious matter. I doubt whether the fact that infant deaths were more frequent in ancient societies made the experience any less painful for the living. There are invariably rules, restrictions and procedures that have to be observed, and the observance of these rituals often provides solace to the bereaved. In modern Greece if a newborn child is likely to die it has to be “air-baptized”, to ensure its passage to heaven, otherwise there is a danger that an Orthodox priest might refuse to bury the

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44 Grajetzki 2003, 53.
45 Petrie 1890, 24.
46 At Deir el-Medina most houses had four rooms: an entrance hall with a birthing bed and chapel was adorned with Bes, god of childbirth. Infant burials were made in the second room under a low platform, which functioned as a seating area by day and a bed at night.
49 At Tel Dan there is a “Mycenaean” tomb dated to the 14th/13th century BC, with an assemblage of Mycenaean vessels, indicating trade between Dan and Mainland Greece.
child. Similar taboos probably existed in ancient times. This could explain why the youngest infants were buried intramurally in spite of the existence of extramural cemeteries. If a child died at birth or soon afterwards, it may not have been acknowledged as a member of the community. Having no social identity, it may have been excluded from the cemetery. Burial in the community cemetery ratifies membership of the community. Burial at home acknowledges membership of the family.

The convention of burying an infant in an area of the house – the courtyard is an integral part – perhaps frequented most by women doing their daily tasks preparing and cooking food for a household, must have been invested with symbolic meaning, perhaps associated with nurturing and caring as Hodder has suggested.50 It could also have had associations with fertility. In ancient times, it was not obvious how children were conceived. Given the lengthy gestation of human babies there was no obvious cause and effect. In fact, it was not until the 1820’s that the respective roles of men and women in the process of reproduction were understood (Aristotle thought the direction of the wind had something to do with conception and the sex of a child). The choice of the burial in the courtyard might be related to primitive perceptions of the mechanism of human reproduction, fertility and customs that were believed to promote the generation/regeneration of new life. In Greek mythology, the story of Persephone illustrates the ancient belief that new life came out of death; so by keeping a dead infant in the vicinity of the mother, perhaps it was believed that it would somehow help promote fertility and help the mother to conceive again.

As for the significance of the pithos, in Levantine mythology, the jar burial’s connexion to the netherworld is alluded to in Ugaritic texts and in the Baal Epic.51 The entrance to the netherworld was Mt. Knkny, the name of which is a derivative of the Ugaritic, Akkadian, Aramaic and Canaanite (“knkn”) words for storage jar, and the use of storage jars for burial is mentioned specifically in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat (Fig. 7).52

In Crete and in the rest of Greece, when pottery vessels were used for burial they were sometimes placed in pits or on a pebble paved surface, horizontally or vertically, and sealed with a slab or another pot or potsherd. At Petras the purposeful inversion of the pithos appears unique. Was this just a practical solution for sealing the pot in the absence of a sherd or a slab, or is there some other eschatological explanation? Pithos inversion was seen in earlier Minoan tombs and cemeteries, at Vorou and Hagios Myron, at Galana Charakia, where 32 jars were inverted; at Sphounaras 150 and at Pacheia Ammos 213 burial pithoi were inverted.53

The Petras intramural pot burial could be interpreted as evidence of a foreign custom or person; however, the inversion of the pithos suggests fusion with local customs and ideas. What symbolism did placing the pithos in an inverted position convey? The interpretation of funerary symbolism can be very elusive, but undoubtedly a particular significance was attached to the inversion of the pithos. By inverting the pithos, the child’s head was placed in a downward position, which is the correct presentation for a fetus to be born, or in this case re-born and perhaps that was the point. Belief in the

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50 Hodder 1990.
52 Pritchard 1969, 154.
53 Marinatos 1930–31; Alexiou 1970; Platon 1954a; 1956; Hall 1912; Seager 1916; Platon 1957; Alexiou 1964.
afterlife is incorporated in most religions. Belief in regeneration and the hope that this infant would have another chance at life must have dictated the inversion of the pithos so that the fetus was in the appropriate position to facilitate its rebirth.
Discussion

Paschalidis: I would love to congratulate you, and I am enthusiastic about this presentation. I would wonder why there are no burial gifts at a time when we do not have burials in general.

McGeorge: Because the child is a newborn, it has absolutely no social identity.

Paschalidis: I started thinking that you have shown us the pot burials of newborn babies throughout the region of the Near East and throughout time. It looks like it is a very strong common belief for humankind, and what stimulates me very much is that it occurs in Neopalatial Crete, where generally we do not have burials, but we have that. I think this is amazing, as an exception. At Petras I do not know whether we have any mention of Neopalatial burials, apart from the offering of the two vases in the Rock Shelter. In Archanes, to my knowledge, there is a building dated to the Neopalatial period, which is not a burial building, and this period lacks tombs. Here you have shown on this map, at Knossos, the Unexplored Mansion, a contemporary case of a newborn infant burial, and then at Sissi, and then at Petras, Phaistos and Khania (LM IIIB), and at Nopigeia in EM II. So you have three cases in the Neopalatial period, not very far from each other, all with newborn infants in pots.

McGeorge: Yes, this is open for you to interpret.

Haggis: I liked your closing comments about the inverted pithos. I think certainly in Pacheia Ammos and maybe in Spoungaras too, this connection with rebirth might also explain this insistence in the reuse of the pithoi, in tearing off the bottoms and putting in the bodies through the bottom, instead of building a new pithos or re-inverting it, and re-filling it and then putting it back in position. They seem to be forcing them down through the bottom.

McGeorge: Yes, I remember reading something.

Blackman: I found the last part very convincing. I wanted to go back to an earlier point. The intramural burials, you said that the family recognized the child, but that the community would not. I would wonder, whether if, in fact, it is so secret a burial, maybe the family did not want to recognize it in any way so that the community would not know, and, therefore, it was done within the building.

McGeorge: People have suggested things like that, because at the beginning of my conclusions I did mention the sacrifice at Knossos, and Venediktos Lanaras, who published the Middle Cycladic inverted bowl burial from Thera, mentioned such theories, and this would have been the product of an illegal relationship, but he preferred a ritual
explanation. I do not think there is a need for a ritual explanation, given that it is so common. I think it is more likely that we have a foreign wife and they just decided to incorporate this belief in their religion.

**Blackman** The reaction of our religions, whether orthodox or catholic to a stillborn child even today is that it is not clear whether life is there. Even now the reactions to this phenomenon are very disturbing and emotive for the families. I have personal experience myself.

**McGeorge** Yes, so have I.

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**Greek abstract**

Μια *intra muros* ταφή σε αγγείο στον Πετρά

Μια YM IA *intra muros* ταφή βρέφους ανακαλύφθηκε στον Πετρά το 1989, σε ανεστραμμένο πίθους και θαμμένο στην αυλή του Σπιτιού Ι.1. Η παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζει τα αποτελέσματα της ανθρωπολογικής μελέτης, συζητεί τα δεδομένα για τους περιγεννητικούς κινδύνους αυτής της εποχής και παρουσιάζει τις πολιτισμικές πρακτικές ταφών βρέφων όχι μόνον στην Ελλάδα, αλλά στην Ανατολία, στην Συροπαλαιστινιακή περιοχή και στην Αίγυπτο. Η πανάρχαια και διαδεδομένη πρακτική ξεκίνησε στις παλαιότερες κοινότητες, στην Εγγύς Ανατολή, και συνεχίστηκε αδιάλειπτα μέχρι την Εποχή του Σιδηρος τουλάχιστον. Φαίνεται να δηλώνει μια υποφώσκουσα κοινή δοξασιών, αν και, δεδομένης της πολυπλοκότητας της ανθρώπινης φύσης και της άπειρης ποικιλίας εκφράσεως του ανθρώπινου πολιτισμού και της πίστης, δεν είναι απαραίτητο να υπάρχει κοινή εξήγηση για αυτήν σε όλους τους χρόνους και όλες τις περιοχές. Ταφές σε ανεστραμμένους πίθους έχουν αναφερθεί σε τάφους και σε πολλά οργανωμένα νεκροταφεία της Κρήτης, για παράδειγμα στο Σφουγγαρά (Hall 1912) και στην Παχειά Άμμο, με τα 213 ανεστραμμένα ταφικά αγγεία (Seager 1916). Το περίεργο αυτό φαινόμενο δεν έχει ποτέ ερμηνευθεί επαρκώς. Στον Πετρά, η σκόπιμη τοποθέτηση του βρέφους στο πίθους και σε ανεστραμμένη στάση προσδίδει ένα ταφικό συμβολισμό, ο οποίος, πιθανώς, αποτελεί το σαφέστερο και αδιαμφισβήτητο δείγμα της Μινωικής θρησκευτικής πίστης στην αναγέννηση και την μετά θάνατον ζωή.
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 stilted in, as a result of the debris flows coming back? It is worth discussing.

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

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

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

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

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

**Hallager** I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, is 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.
That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.

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.

The Linear A tablets come from that?

Yes.

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.

I wonder if, maybe Kostas Christakis will talk about the notion of foreigners and locals that Tina McGeorge brought up quite clearly.

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.

Right.

So, in order to have a complete picture of the site we should need to include this important period as well.

Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?

And also LM IIIC, as we saw.

There was a cemetery, Metaxia, that you showed us yesterday.

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.

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.
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.

Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?

Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.

That is pretty old, anyway.

It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.

The Thera eruption? No the Mycenaean invasion. [Laughs from the audience!]

The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.

Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?

I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. We are studying with ΕΛΚΕΘΕ [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.

No, you have local tectonics.

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.

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!
Bibliographic abbreviations

AASOR – Annual of the American School of Oriental Research
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
CMS – Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Berlin 1964–2000; Mainz 2002–
CretChron – Kretika Chronika
CurrAnth – Current Anthropology
JAnthArch – Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science
JMA – Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JPR – Journal of Prehistoric Religion
Kenton – 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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