

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



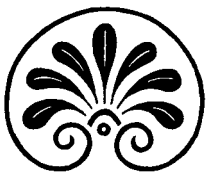
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Petras, Siteia
– 25 years of excavations and studies

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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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.



Affluence in eastern Crete: metal objects from the cemetery of Petras^{*}

Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly & Philip P. Betancourt

Abstract

The metal objects from this Early to Middle Minoan cemetery, which is located on the eastern side of the Siteia Bay in eastern Crete, belong to various categories and types of metals. The gold pieces consist of small delicate bosses, sheets, and strips that probably once surrounded wooden buttons and were attached to other organic materials. A gold “Tree of Life” pendant was probably once the centerpiece of a necklace. Gold pierced beads probably once belonged to larger bracelets and/or necklaces; one of them is shaped like a flower and contains remnants of *lapis lazuli*. Several of the copper or bronze objects are miniature tools such as cosmetic scrapers that were equipped with holes in order to be worn as pendants. At least one of these small tools has part of the ivory handle still attached. Other copper/bronze objects include a chisel, awls, tweezers, knife blades, fish hooks, pendants, bracelets, rivets, beads, and strips. The metal objects from the Petras cemetery range in type and style and date from late EM I to MM IIB. They provide important information about the people who were buried in the Rock Shelter and the house tombs. The jewelry and other items of personal adornment, together with the other tools, display a relative level of affluence that was enjoyed by the local population, a level of prosperity that is further supported by the quality of the other categories of objects that came from the tombs.

The metal objects from the Early to Middle Minoan cemetery of Petras belong to various categories of use and types of metals. Since 2004, Metaxia Tsi-popoulou has directed excavations at the cemetery, which consists of a rock shelter and several house tombs (Fig. 1). They were used as ossuaries from EM I to MM IIA. All of the tombs are located on Kephala Hill to the northeast of the palace of Petras in eastern Crete.¹ Due to the secondary nature of most of the burials,² dating for the metal objects must be based on stylistic grounds within this wide time period. Many of the metal artifacts that have been excavated from the cemetery were used for personal adornment and cosmetic purposes, while other objects had utilitarian functions. The types of metal involved were gold, silver, copper alloys, and lead.

Gold jewelry

The gold artifacts from the cemetery consist of jewelry pieces such as pendants, diadems, strips, and beads. Of particular note is the gold pendant (Fig. 2a: P.TSU06/230) which came from the Rock Shelter. It appears to be in the shape of a tree and

^{*} We are grateful to the director of the excavations at Petras, Metaxia Tsi-popoulou, for permission to study the metal objects from the cemetery. We thank Temple University and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), both in Philadelphia, PA, for funding and support.

¹ For the topography of the area surrounding the palace, Papadatos 2007, 156–7, figs. 10.1–10.2; also Tsi-popoulou this volume, Introduction, Fig. 10b.

² Human bones rarely were found articulated. They were mixed with pottery and other classes of objects within the Rock Shelter and rooms of the house tombs.

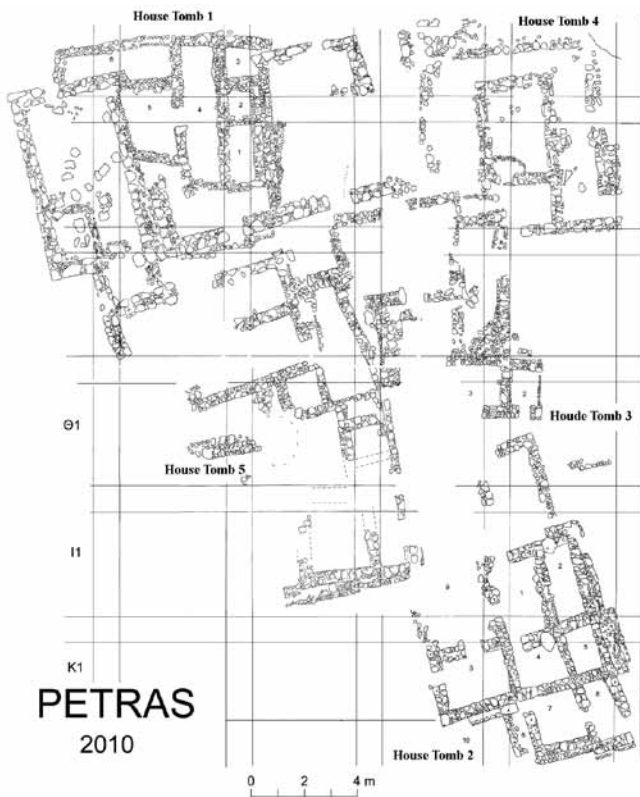


Fig. 1. Plan of House Tombs 1–5 on Kephala Hill, northeast of the palace of Petras in eastern Crete.

was probably once the centerpiece of a necklace. Under 50x magnification, it can be discerned that the pendant was cast as one piece by using the lost-wax method. A remnant of the pouring channel is evident on top of the cylinder where the rope or chain would have extended through the hole for suspension. Furthermore, no seams or joins are visible to indicate fusing of individual pieces. Magnification also confirms the difference between the front and back sides. The front has a branch that extends forward, while the back does not have a branch to impede its ability to lie flat against the chest. The iconography of this pendant is reminiscent of the leaf or branch motif, which appears on a sealing that was excavated in the archives of the Petras palace.³ This gold piece also is evocative of the Cretan hieroglyphic symbol number 31,⁴ which emphasizes the spherical ends of the appendages, much like the gold pendant. Furthermore, the sign is repeated on two sides of a four-sided prism seal⁵ that was found in Room 3 of House Tomb 2 in the cemetery. The symbol appears as a logogram in

Linear A and B, but the meaning is unknown.⁶ In the case of Petras, we suggest that it might represent the “Tree of Life,” which is a common iconographic motif in Minoan art.⁷ Many times a tree is associated with a deity in a religious scene, much like the boating scene on the gold signet ring from Mochlos.⁸ In that image, the tree is rendered with spherical ends to the branches much like the gold pendant from Petras.

The gold beads that come from the cemetery, such as bead P.TSK09/689 (House Tomb 1, Room 1) (Fig. 2b), most likely belonged to larger bracelets and necklaces, such as three examples from House Tomb VI at Mochlos.⁹ One of the Petras beads probably was a covering for a wooden interior (Fig. 2c: P.TSU09/109). It is decorated with impressed dots and lines. Objects like this also come from the cave of Hagios Charalambos in the Lasithi Plain of eastern Crete.¹⁰ Other parallels exist from Mochlos in eastern Crete¹¹ and Platanos in South-Central Crete.¹²

One of the gold beads (Fig. 2d: P.TSK04/280) from Petras (House Tomb 1, Room 7) is shaped like a flower and contains *lapis lazuli* inlay. No solder is evident, so the five pieces of gold that make up the bead were most likely fused together using the copper-diffusion bonding technique.¹³ Both sides of the bead would have contained inlay, although it is missing from one side. The six-lobed rosettes on each side of the bead were formed by attaching thin gold strips to the surface of the bead.

Minoan parallels for any kind of inlay jewelry production, including enamel, are extremely

³ Hallager 2010, 84, no. Cr1 PE 001.

⁴ *CHIC*, 396–7.

⁵ P.TSK05/259; Krzyszkowska this volume.

⁶ Hooker 1980, 39; *CHIC*, 19.

⁷ Marinatos 1989; 1990.

⁸ Davaras 2004, 6–7.

⁹ Seager 1912, 55, fig. 25; Karetsou *et al.* 2000, 128, no. 109.

¹⁰ Hagios Nikolaos Museum number 11,901α and β; see Muhly forthcoming.

¹¹ Seager 1912, fig. 9, no. II.12, color pl. 10; also Hickman 2008a, 65, pl. 21B, C.

¹² Xanthoudides 1924, pl. 57, no. 503.

¹³ Betancourt 2006, 92–3 with additional bibliography.

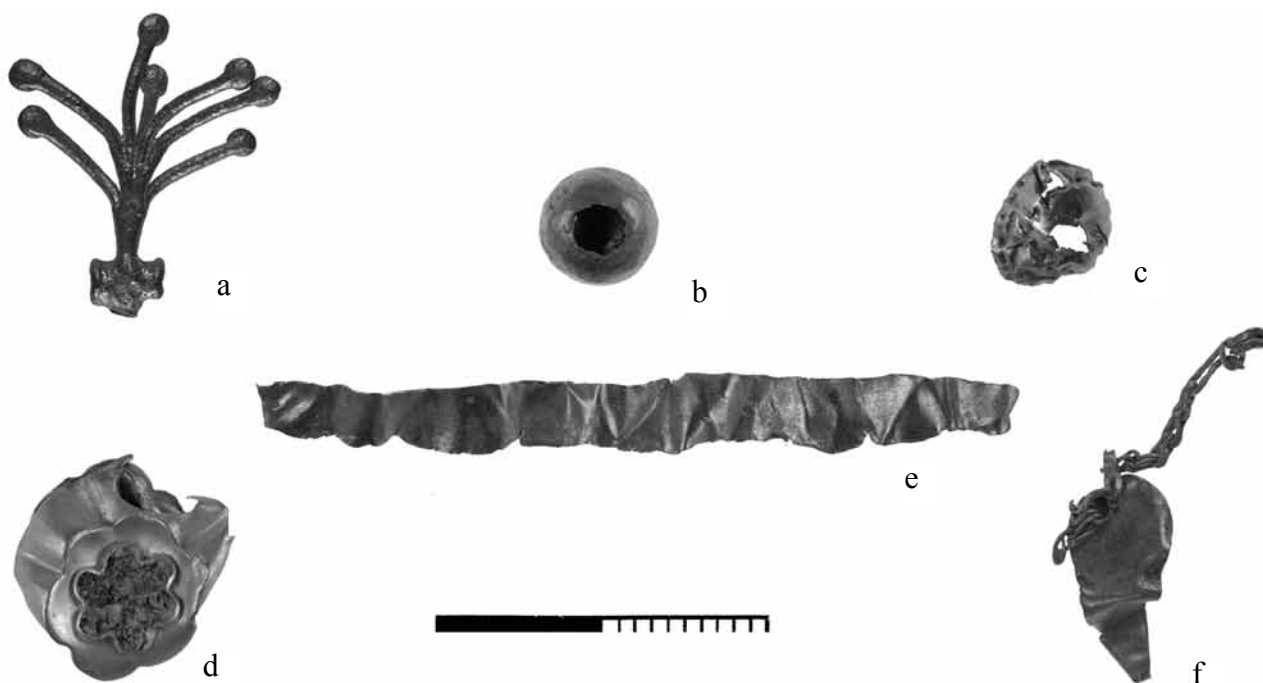


Fig. 2. a) Gold pendant (P.TSU06/230) from the Rock Shelter; b) Gold spherical bead (P.TSK09/689) from House Tomb 1; c) Gold covering for a bead (P.TSU09/109) from the Rock Shelter; d) Gold flower-shaped bead with *lapis lazuli* inlay (P.TSK04/280) from House Tomb 1; e) Gold foil strip (P.TSK05/263) from House Tomb 2; f) Leaf-shaped sheet of gold attached to part of a loop-in-loop chain (P.TSK06/150) from Trench A46, in the area of the southeastern part of House Tomb 5 and the western part of House Tomb 3.

scarce. Inlays, however, were surely more common in Crete than have survived. A good example is the MM II bee pendant from Malia in which the inlay has vanished from the three suspended circles.¹⁴ The next earliest Cretan parallel for the use of inlay in gold jewelry is a ring with inlaid blue vitreous material from a tomb at Poros, Herakleion.¹⁵ It probably dates to LM IA based on the pottery that was found with it. Four similar rings come from the Aigina Treasure, and they are inlaid with *lapis lazuli*.¹⁶ Recent archival and scientific research – including the use of laser Raman microscopy, X-ray diffraction (XRD), scanning electron microscopy (SEM), and X-ray microanalysis (EDX) – by Lesley Fitton and her collaborators suggests that the hoard was made in a workshop on the island of Aigina, and it was buried in a Middle Helladic tomb.¹⁷ Two more inlaid rings come from Tomb 4 at Sellopoulo near Knossos and date to LM IIIA1.¹⁸

Outside of the Aegean sphere, comparable pieces of jewelry from the Middle Bronze Age come from

tombs at Tell el-‘Ajjul and Ras Shamra in the Levant, the Ahhotep Treasure from Egypt, and the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla in northern Syria.¹⁹ All of these pieces show the use of inlaid gold that was filled with a vitreous material at one time, possibly enamel. The bee pendant from Malia and inlaid rosette bead from Petras were fashioned

¹⁴ Demargne 1930, pl. 19; 1945, pl. 165, no. 565.

¹⁵ Muhly 1992, 90, 123–5, no. 240, pl. 26; also Effinger 1996, 189, no. HP 1a; Pini 2010c, 20, no. 8. For a good discussion of the problems involved in identifying the materials used in the bezels of these types of rings, see Evely 2000, 451–6, 564–5.

¹⁶ Higgins 1980, 36, fig. 35; Fitton 2009, 22–3, nos. 17–20, figs. 85–93; Pini 2010c, 20–2, nos. 10–13.

¹⁷ Fitton 2009, 30.

¹⁸ Popham & Catling 1974, 222, no. J6, fig. 14H, pl. 37:e, g; also Effinger 1996, 218, nos. KnS 3a, KnS 3c; Pini 2010c, 38, no. 60.

¹⁹ See Lilyquist 1993 for extensive bibliography and figs. 17d, 18, 19, 20e, 22b, 25a–c; McGovern 1985, 131, 135, nos. 301–304, 352, pls. 20, 24; Matthiae *et al.* 1995, 467, 479, no. 387; Matthiae 2008, 41, no. 16.

during the early second millennium, a time in the eastern Mediterranean when jewelry production was known for its “mix of styles and iconographies.”²⁰ The style and manufacturing technique used to create the gold jewelry from Tell el-‘Ajjul are also evident in the bee pendant. These inlaid gold jewels demonstrate the close ties that existed among Egypt, the Near East, and Crete during the Middle Bronze Age. The high level of Minoan craftsmanship may have resulted from strong connections to Egypt and the Near East.

Other gold items that have been excavated from the cemetery of Petras include over 30 gold pieces and fragments of delicate diadems, strips, sheets, and foil (Fig. 2e: P.TSK05/263, House Tomb 2, Room 3). Magnification revealed that one strip of gold foil, in particular, was punched with seven tiny manmade holes. This is evidence for the attachment of these pieces of gold to other organic materials such as cloth, leather, or wooden buttons. Furthermore, Hickman noted a tradition of attaching gold strips to the fingers of the deceased in Early Bronze Age burials of Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.²¹ The holes in the strips from Petras are so small that thread must have been the agent of choice. All of these organic materials have degraded and vanished over the millennia since the gold objects were buried with the dead. Many fragments of this type of elite ornamentation have been recovered from several other Minoan burials, such as the caves of Trapeza²² and Hagios Charalambos²³ in the Lasithi Plain and the Kalathiana and Platanos tholoi among others in the Mesara Plain.²⁴ Diadems and strips also come from Mochlos Tombs II and VI²⁵ and burials at Malia.²⁶ The Chrysolakkos deposit has objects that date from MM IB to MM II.²⁷ These gold pieces are probably of the same chronological horizon as those from the Petras cemetery. The examples from the Hagios Charalambos and Trapeza caves could also be of the same date.

The final piece of gold jewelry is a leaf-shaped sheet of gold from Trench A46, Level 7 (in the area of the southeastern part of House Tomb 5 and the western part of House Tomb 3) (Fig. 2f: P.TSK06/150) that still has part of a loop-in-loop chain attached to it. The leaf-shaped sheet of gold

and chain would be classified as pendant Type IXa in Branigan’s system. This example from Petras is reminiscent of two from Tombs II, IV, and VI at Mochlos (EM II).²⁸ Another variation comes from Platanos Tholos A.²⁹ A. Vasilakis has suggested that pendants like this could have hung from diadems because an example exists from the Prepalatial cemetery at Moni Odigitria.³⁰

Silver jewelry and lead objects

The silver jewelry from the cemetery consists of several pendants that came from the Rock Shelter, one of which is in the shape of a shovel (Fig. 3a: P.TSU06/240). Furthermore, a few silver rivets were pierced for use as pendants such as P.TSU06/140 (Fig. 3b). Visual examination with a microscope confirms that these examples were formed by casting metal. Only one silver disk bead has been recovered so far.

Moreover, three silver bracelets that came from the Rock Shelter were formed by bending a rod into a circle to create a bangle. Under magnification, one can see the effects of hammering on one of the bracelets (Fig. 3c: P.TSU09/83). It is surmised that a square-sectioned rod was cast and then hammered into the round cross-section. This is probably the case with the other two bangles. Variations on the simple form of this bangle have been classified by Branigan as Types I–III.³¹ Over 30

²⁰ Benzel 2008, 101.

²¹ Hickman 2008b, 561.

²² Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1935–36, pl. 15, nos. 11–14.

²³ Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 557, fig. 11, nos. 26–7.

²⁴ Xanthoudides 1924, 82, pl. 43.

²⁵ Seager 1912, 30, figs. 8, nos. 17a and b, 10, 43.

²⁶ Demargne 1930, pl. 18; 1945, pl. 165, no. 565; also Hickman 2008b, 561 for additional bibliography.

²⁷ Stürmer 1993.

²⁸ Seager 1912, figs. 20, no. IV.14, 25, no. VI.31; Branigan 1974, 42, 186, nos. 2390, 2400, pl. 21; also Hickman 2008a, 62, 65, pl. 21:A.

²⁹ Xanthoudides 1924, pl. LVII, no. 484; Branigan 1974, 186, no. 2348, pl. 21; also Hickman 2008a, pl. 5:A.

³⁰ Vasilakis 1996, 104–5, 108, fig. 11, no. 37; Vasilakis & Branigan 2010, 193–4, fig. 79, no. J54, pl. 52, no. J54.

³¹ Branigan 1974, 187, pl. 23.

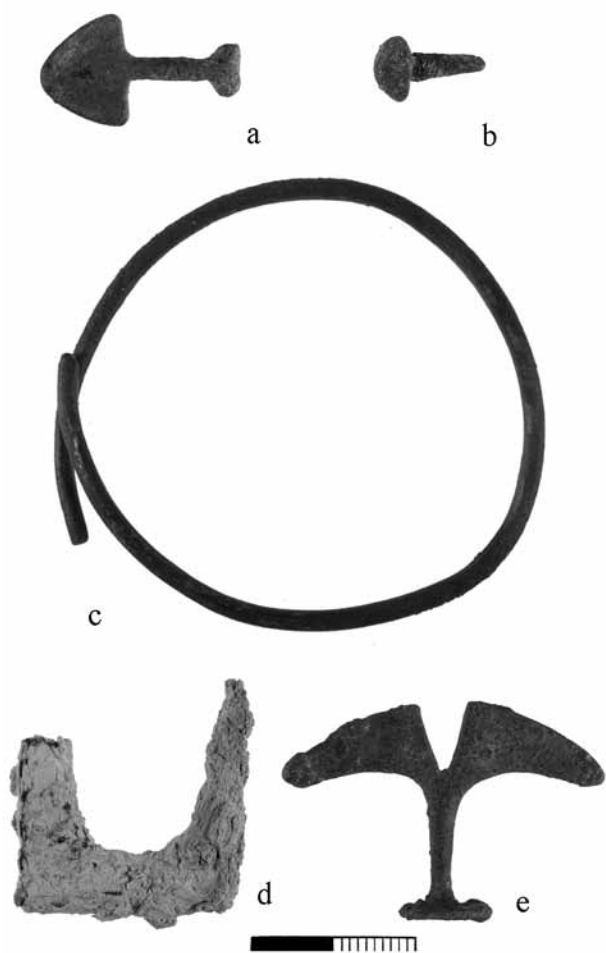


Fig. 3. a) Silver pendant in the shape of a shovel (P.TSU06/240) from the Rock Shelter; b) Silver pendant in the shape of a rivet (P.TSU06/140) from the Rock Shelter; c) Silver bracelet (P.TSU09/83) from the Rock Shelter; d) Lead clamp (P.TSK05/609) from House Tomb 2, Room 5; e) Copper alloy pendant in the shape of a pair of wings (P.TSU06/217) from the Rock Shelter.

examples³² come from sites on islands throughout the Aegean (Amorgos-Dokathismata, Lemnos-Poliochni, Lesbos-Thermi, Antiparos, Pholegandros), along the western coast of Asia Minor (Troy and Iasos), and within the Mesara Plain (Platanos, Kalthiana, Kamilari I, and Koumasa A), in addition to burials at Sesklo on the Mainland and Malia and Hagia Photia in Crete. They also vary in the type of metal that was used from silver to gold, lead, and even tin.³³ On Crete, only the tholos at Krasi in the Pediada has two silver bracelets, but the type is not the same as those from Petras.³⁴

The cemetery at Petras has yielded over 10 silver objects plus several fragments of lead clamps, such as clamp P.TSK05/609 from House Tomb 2, Room 5 (Fig. 3d), which probably were used for repairing ceramic vessels. Branigan noted the complete lack of lead clamps in Crete as opposed to the Cyclades where they were a popular tool.³⁵

Xanthoudides noted the scarcity of silver objects in Early to Middle Minoan burials. In the countless objects that he published from eight tholos cemeteries, only five artifacts were made of silver – three daggers from Koumasa and two pins from Porti and Platanos.³⁶ He mentioned that the use of silver was more common in the Cyclades.³⁷ Branigan reiterated this idea decades later, and even though Prepalatial silver and lead objects are relatively rare on Crete (they come from only about 16 sites and number approximately 60 objects),³⁸ the ones that have been identified are prevalent at sites located in central and northeastern Crete, such as Krasi (10 objects),³⁹ Trapeza (two objects),⁴⁰ Hagios Charalambos (5–10 objects),⁴¹ Archanes Phourni (nine objects),⁴² Amnisos (three objects),⁴³ Mochlos (four objects),⁴⁴ and Hagia Photia.⁴⁵ Krasi, in particular, has been highlighted in the past for possible relations with the Cyclades,⁴⁶ but this hypothesis is no longer accepted.⁴⁷ In light of the newly excavated silver and lead finds from the cemetery of Petras, together

³² Branigan 1974, 187.

³³ Branigan 1974, 187.

³⁴ Marinatos 1929, fig. 14, no. 39 (one cat. no. for two bracelets).

³⁵ Branigan 1968b, 225.

³⁶ Xanthoudides 1924, 47, 67, 110, nos. 212–4, 239, 497.

³⁷ Xanthoudides 1924, 47.

³⁸ Branigan counted 29 in 1968b, but the number has doubled since then; also Vasilakis 1996; 2008; Muhly 2008a, 72.

³⁹ Branigan dates them to EM II: 1968b, 224.

⁴⁰ Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1935–36, 103

⁴¹ Ferrence 2008, 23; Hickman 2008a, 24.

⁴² Papadatos 2005, 34–5, 45, fig. 22, nos. C2–C7, pl. 17, no. C2.

⁴³ Marinatos 1930, 98, fig. 9; Vasilakis 1996, 90, 154, 187, pls. 8d, 69, 92e; Betancourt & Marinatos 2000, 213–4; also Hickman 2008a, 236, pl. 47F.

⁴⁴ Branigan 1968b, 219, 222.

⁴⁵ Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Muhly 2008a.

⁴⁶ Hickman 2008a, 22, for bibliography.

⁴⁷ Hickman 2008a, 22.

with those from sites in the Lasithi Plain like the Trapeza and Hagios Charalambos caves, perhaps this hypothesis should be reexamined. It is conceivable that the close proximity of the Cycladic colony at Hagia Photia enabled the exchange of silver and lead items with the people of Petras. The large size of the cemetery at Hagia Photia suggests that its associated settlement at Hagia Photia-Kouphota⁴⁸ would have had a considerable population, including people who might have reached farther afield for trading purposes. Krasi, located in the Pediada of East-Central Crete and neighbor to the Lasithi Plain, may have benefited from down-the-line commerce that originated somewhere in the Cyclades and was trans-shipped at Hagia Photia for extended trade throughout Crete.

Copper alloy jewelry

Three pieces of copper alloy jewelry come from the Rock Shelter and consist of a bead and two pendants. One of the pendants is shaped like a pair of wings (Fig. 3e: P.TSU06/217), which has a parallel from Krasi, but it is made of silver, not copper.⁴⁹ Hickman identified the trading or gifting of specific gold items between Mochlos and Platanos based upon stylistic similarities among a few pieces of jewelry that were found in both locations.⁵⁰ Perhaps the same situation existed between Petras and Krasi due to the number of silver pieces that have been excavated, and especially the parallel occurrence of the two winged pendants, one from each cemetery. Furthermore, Hickman suggests that competitive emulation may have been the result of witnessing personal adornment with gold at public ceremonies.⁵¹ Perhaps the acquisition of silver objects, which were rarer and which implied a relationship with the Cyclades, also had an exotic cachet.

Copper alloy weapons and tools

Over 25 copper or bronze weapons and tools have been excavated from the Rock Shelter and house tombs of Petras. They have been categorized into

eight classes of objects, including daggers, a knife, a chisel, awls, tweezers, scrapers, pins, and fish hooks. Only two daggers have been found in the Petras cemetery so far (House Tomb 1, Room 6). One is fragmentary (P.TSK10/167), and the other is complete except for the handle (Fig. 4a: P.TSU09/65). Its leaf-shaped blade preserves three small rivets. The rivets would have held the handle onto the hilt of the blade. A parallel comes from Platanos.⁵² Branigan classified this shape as Type IIIb of the long daggers,⁵³ although the example from Petras could also be categorized as Type XX, which has parallels from Kalathiana, Phaistos, and Psychro.⁵⁴ A similar dagger⁵⁵ also was found in Tomb XI at Mochlos.⁵⁶

A fragment of a knife or sickle blade (Fig. 4b: P.TSK05/91) from Petras (House Tomb 5, Room 3) preserves only the hilt, and most of the blade is missing. It has two rivet holes, and the cutting edge is dull from use. It could possibly be assigned to Branigan's Type IIa knives,⁵⁷ for which a parallel comes from Koumasa.⁵⁸

Three awls have been excavated from the Petras cemetery. A complete example from part of a possible votive deposit identified to the east of House Tomb 2 (Fig. 4c: P.TSK05/91) was cast with a square section and a tapered hilt, and then the pointed end was hammered into a round section. A handle probably was attached to the other end of the tool. The other two awls were also cast in square sections, which is one of the defining features of Branigan's category that he calls punches.⁵⁹ His borers, on the other hand, are round in section. Both types have

⁴⁸ At Hagia Photia-Kouphota, see Tsipopoulou 2007a, 136–7, figs. 8.2–8.8, for evidence of metallurgy in earlier levels with pottery that parallels many pieces from the cemeteries of Hagia Photia and Petras.

⁴⁹ Marinatos 1929, fig. 14, no. 41; Vasilakis 1996, pl. 65.

⁵⁰ Hickman 2008a, 320.

⁵¹ Hickman 2008a, 320.

⁵² Xanthoudides 1924, pl. LV, no. 1870.

⁵³ Branigan 1974, 9, 158, no. 169, pl. 4.

⁵⁴ Branigan 1974, 162, nos. 373–5, pl. 9.

⁵⁵ Type IIIc; Branigan 1974, 159, no. 188, pl. 4.

⁵⁶ Seager 1912, fig. 45, no. XI.22.

⁵⁷ Branigan 1974, 27, 167, pl. 13, no. 636.

⁵⁸ Branigan 1968a, 91.

⁵⁹ Branigan 1974, 26–7, 171–2.



Fig. 4. a) Copper alloy dagger (P.TSU09/65) from the Rock Shelter; b) Fragment of a copper alloy knife or sickle blade (P.TSK09/348) from House Tomb 5, Room 3; c) Copper alloy awl (P.TSK05/91) from House Tomb 3, Room 1.

one pointed end and one blunt end, which may have been furnished with a handle of perishable material. Branigan counted over 200 examples of both types throughout the Aegean.⁶⁰ They are not uncommon



Fig. 5. a) Tweezers with silver-capped rivets (P.TSK05/141) from House Tomb 2, Room 1; b) Copper alloy scraper with part of its tiny handle (P.TSK06/209) from House Tomb 4, Room 1.

on Crete (coming from at least 10 sites) and were used throughout the Bronze Age.

Several tweezers have been excavated at Petras, two of which have silver-capped rivets with wide heads still in place (Fig. 5a: P.TSK05/141, House Tomb 2, Room 1). They all seem to fall under Branigan's Type IV, in which the arms widen toward the blade end, while the butt end would have been inserted into a hinge of perishable material, such as wood, and the rivets would hold it in place.⁶¹ All of the examples from Petras were made of cast metal. Tweezers are ubiquitous in Prepalatial burials, since they have been found in upwards of 20 cemeteries on Crete, not to mention at least as many burial grounds around the Aegean region. Type IV in particular has been discovered at Hagia Triada, Mochlos,⁶² Malia, and Platanos among several other sites.⁶³

In addition to the tweezers, one other object belongs to the Prepalatial toilet kit. One small scraper (Fig. 5b: P.TSK06/209, House Tomb 4, Room 1) still preserves part of its tiny handle, as two minuscule rivets hold it in place. This cosmetic tool falls within Branigan's Type III, which is defined by concave sides, a convex cutting edge, and two rivets.⁶⁴ It is a popular instrument in Prepalatial

⁶⁰ Branigan 1974, 26–7.

⁶¹ Branigan 1974, 31–2, 175, pl. 17, nos. 1348–56.

⁶² Tomb XIX: Seager 1912, 73, fig. 44, nos. 25a, b.

⁶³ Branigan 1974, 174–5, nos. 1281–1360.

⁶⁴ Branigan 1974, 32, nos. 1402–25, pl. 17.



Fig. 6. a) Copper alloy scraper pendant (P.TSK05/771) from House Tomb 2, Room 3; b) Fragment of a copper alloy needle or pin (P.TSU09/99) from the Rock Shelter; c) Copper alloy barbless fishhook (P.TSK05/325) from House Tomb 2, Room 3.

burials, as over 30 examples have been found in at least 15 cemeteries on Crete including Hagios Charalambos,⁶⁵ Trapeza,⁶⁶ Marathokephalo,⁶⁷ and Mochlos.⁶⁸ Interestingly, enough of the shafts of the rivets are visible on one side of the Petras scraper to be able to examine them under 50x magnification. This revealed that the rivets were rolled into shape, not cast. Each rivet began as a sheet that was rolled into a piece of wire. They then would have been hammered to anneal the metal for strength.

Several unusual copper or bronze objects of the same type from Petras are not easily identifiable (Fig. 6a: P.TSK05/771, House Tomb 2, Room 3). They are scraper-like in that they have wide flat blades, but the blunt end is bent into a curl. This rolled end is off-center from the flat blade, so it could be used much like a spatula. Ergonomically, however, this type of artifact does not lend itself to being a hand tool. In any case, the blade itself is actually not sharp on any of the examples from Petras. They vary in the quality of their manufacture, but at least half of them were cast metal sheets that were rolled on one end and hammered on the other. Three parallels for this type come from Early Cycladic II tombs at Chalandriani on Syros. Within Branigan's group of scrapers, this class is Type VI, in which the defining feature is a basal loop designed for suspension.⁶⁹ The blade can take different forms. Even though Branigan calls them scrapers, functionally,

they are pendants purely meant for personal adornment.

A few fragmentary needles or pins (Fig. 6b: P.TSU09/99) have been recovered from the burials at Petras. Even though they are all broken, enough is preserved to determine under magnification that they were all cast with a square cross-section and then hammered into round sections whenever necessary. Due to their fragmentary nature, a type cannot be determined. Pins and needles in general are common in Early to Middle Bronze Age burials, mostly coming from Cycladic and northern Aegean sites.⁷⁰ On Crete, upwards of 30 pins have been recovered, typically from tholoi in the Mesara and burials at Malia.⁷¹

Two barbless fish hooks (Fig. 6c: P.TSK05/325) have been excavated from Petras (House Tomb 2, Room 3). They were cast as rods with square cross-sections and then hammered into round sections if desired. Finally, they were bent to form the hook.

Conclusions

The metal objects from the Petras cemetery range in type and style, and they date from late EM I to MM IIA. Some Cycladic influence appears during EM I-II with the prevalence of silver and lead objects and the rolled scraper pendants. Generally, however, most of the metal objects seem to be Cretan in origin because many parallels have been found at other cemeteries around Crete. Much of the gold jewelry fits well with the objects from the house tombs at Mochlos and Chrysolakkos among other cemeteries. The gold objects could be dated generally from EM II to MM IIA. Furthermore, Middle Bronze II parallels from the Near East exist for the inlaid bead. At Petras, the symbol of the "Tree of Life" occurs on a gold pendant and a seal-

⁶⁵ Muhly 2008b, 558, 560, fig. 11: no. 23.

⁶⁶ Pendlebury, Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1935–36, pl. 15.

⁶⁷ Xanthoudides 1921, 20, fig. 6.

⁶⁸ Seager 1912, 55, 73, nos. VI.29, XIX.29–30, 32.

⁶⁹ Branigan 1974, 177, no. 1446, pl. 16, no. 1446.

⁷⁰ Branigan 1974, 173–4, 178–82, pls. 15, 17–9.

⁷¹ Branigan 1974, 173–4, 178–82, pls. 15, 17–9.

stone, which is dated to MM IIA. This is an interesting correlation between the cemetery and the palace of Petras that links an icon of the Minoan religion with the administration of the palace.

A long history of metallurgy existed in the immediate vicinity of the Petras house tombs. Evidence for metalworking at the neighboring FN-EM I site of Kephala-Petras⁷² and the Early Minoan settlement at Hagia Photia-Kouphota⁷³ supports the notion that nearby workshops supplied metal goods to the people who used the Petras cemetery. These workshops clearly had a relationship with the Cyclades, which would have been facilitated by the people who used the massive cemetery at Hagia Photia.⁷⁴ This Cycladic influence was eventually tempered by local Cretan customs, which placed gold at the forefront of burial accoutrement.

The study of the metal objects from the Petras cemetery provides important information about the people who were buried in the Rock Shelter and house tombs. The jewelry and other items of personal adornment, together with the other tools, display a relative level of affluence that was enjoyed by the local population, a level of prosperity that is further supported by the quality of the other categories of objects that came from the tombs.

⁷² Papadatos 2007.

⁷³ Tsiopoulou 2007a.

⁷⁴ Muhly 2008a, 73.

Discussion

- Alberti** Am I correct, did you mention a balance pan and could you give me the chronology?
- Ferrence** The chronology of the balance pan? It is from a mixed deposit, so anywhere up to MM II.
- Alberti** Is it from the house tombs or from the Rock Shelter?
- Ferrence** One of the house tombs.
- Alberti** Thank you.
- Macdonald** Sorry, I do not quite understand something here. It really has to do with the chronology of the cemetery. With the latest objects, in particular the bead decorated with *lapis*, that you showed, they cannot be really pushed any earlier than MM IIA and it cannot be pushed any later because of the chronology of the cemetery. The same is true obviously of the seals, although this is outside of your paper, they cannot be earlier than MM IIA, on anybody's chronology and they cannot be any later than MM IIA because of the chronology of the cemetery, so I am trying to push things here, and just say that it is quite clear here on chronology and the cemetery, and when reference is made to the palace, as it were, perhaps this is a question for Metaxia, is everything in the cemetery, does it predate the foundation of the palace, or is it just obviously an overlap of some kind?
- Tsipopoulou** As I said before, the problem is that we do not have pottery associated with the larnax and the pithos burials. This is a pity. Then we have these two areas, which were used for the storage of vessels for the ceremonies, with all these plates, they must have been used at the end of the life of this house tomb, and I do not think they are even MM II. To me they look earlier than MM IIA. Of course we have the seals, the seals cannot be Prepalatial. They must be dated in MM IIA, but the pottery looks earlier.
- Brogan** Would there be any distinct pattern in the distribution of these finds within the cemetery? Broadly Rock Shelter/House Tomb and more specifically within the house tombs?
- Ferrence** There are a lot of silver objects in the Rock Shelter.
- Tsipopoulou** The pendant with the "Tree of Life" comes from the Rock Shelter, so we do not know its original position. And if I remember correctly the bead with the *lapis lazuli* comes from HT 1. And the gold bands were in almost every house tomb. The same

is true for the bronze objects. As for the seals we had all these beautiful and important seals connected with HT 2, and very few seals came from the other house tombs. There were various seals in the Rock Shelter, most of them made of bone. HT 1, which is earlier than HT 2, contained gold bands but no seals. So, apparently things were changing towards the end of the use of the cemetery.

Greek abstract

Ευμάρεια στην Ανατολική Κρήτη: μεταλλικά αντικείμενα από το νεκροταφείο του Πετρά

Τα μεταλλικά αντικείμενα αυτού του Πρωτομινωικού και Μεσομινωικού νεκροταφείου, το οποίο βρίσκεται στο ανατολικό άκρο του κόλπου της Σητείας στην Ανατολική Κρήτη, ανήκουν σε διάφορες κατηγορίες και τύπους μετάλλων. Τα χρυσά αντικείμενα συνίστανται σε μικρά, ευπαθή σφαιρίδια και ταινίες, οι οποίες, προφανώς, περιέβαλαν αρχικά ξύλινα κουμπιά και ήταν συνδεδεμένα με άλλα οργανικά υλικά. Ένα χρυσό περιάπτο που παριστά «Δένδρο της Ζωής» αποτελούσε, πιθανότατα αρχικά, κεντρικό τμήμα περιδεραίου. Χρυσές ψήφοι ανήκαν, προφανώς, σε ψέλλια και/ή περιδέραια. Μια από αυτές έχει σχήμα άνθους και περιέχει υπολείματα από ένθετο *lapis lazuli*. Πολλά από τα χάλκινα και ορειχάλκινα αντικείμενα είναι μικρογραφικά εργαλεία, όπως ξέστρα καλλωπισμού, εφοδιασμένα με οπές ανάρτησης για να φέρονται ως περιάπτα. Τουλάχιστον ένα από αυτά τα μικρά εργαλεία σώζει μικρό τμήμα ελεφάντινης λαβής. Άλλα χάλκινα/ορειχάλκινα αντικείμενα περιλαμβάνουν: ένα καλέμι, οπείς, τριχολαβίδες, λεπίδες μαχαιριών, αγκίστρια, περιδέραια, ψέλλια, ήλους, ψήφους και ταινίες. Τα μετάλλινα αντικείμενα του νεκροταφείου του Πετρά κυμαίνονται τυπολογικά και χρονολογικά από την ύστερη ΠΜ Ι ως την ΜΜ ΙΙΒ. Προσφέρουν ενδιαφέρουσες πληροφορίες σχετικά με τους ανθρώπους που είχαν ταφεί στην Βραχοσκεπή και στα ταφικά κτίρια. Τα κοσμήματα και τα άλλα αντικείμενα καλλωπισμού, μαζί με τα άλλα εργαλεία, παρουσιάζουν ένα σχετικό επίπεδο ευμάρειας, της οποίας έχαιρε ο τοπικός πληθυσμός, ένα επίπεδο ευημερίας, το οποίο δηλώνεται και από τις υπόλοιπες κατηγορίες κτερισμάτων.



Final discussion

chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

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

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

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

Tsipopoulou Not entirely, one part yes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tsipopoulou We do not have ash.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MacGillivray Interesting.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MacGillivray That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.

Tsipopoulou What always makes me wonder is why they kept this smaller, sort of symbolic, central court, and they did all the re-arrangement with the alternating columns and pillars. It has always been a palace with the memory of the earlier glory.

MacGillivray The Linear A tablets come from that?

Tsipopoulou Yes.

MacGillivray So there is administration.

Tsipopoulou Yes, but we do not know about the existence of an archive. There were two tablets, in the same trench, at the west part of the building, the same trench that contained the hieroglyphic archive in a deeper stratum. And in between there was also an LM IA destruction deposit, all that in the same trench, we excavated almost 3 m. Kostas Christakis excavated the LM IA destruction deposit.

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

Paschalidis I would like to change the subject, based on a comment we exchanged yesterday with Metaxia. In this Symposium, the LM III period was not adequately represented, not because it did not exist at Petras.

Tsipopoulou Right.

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

MacGillivray Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?

Tsipopoulou And also LM IIIC, as we saw.

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

Tsipopoulou Yes, there has been a cemetery; we had the larnakes, both chest-shaped and bathtub. The cemetery started in LM IIIB and continued into LM IIIC.

MacGillivray The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras, that was occupied for thousands of years, is that you can almost visualize populations coming and going. One of the best ways to see them is through their burial practices and to see how these change over time. Because you are dealing with the same spot, but obviously you are not dealing with the same people, you are watching populations come and go.

- Tsipopoulou** I would like to remind you about the Achladia tholos, which is Mycenaean in type and construction. This is very close to Petras, only 4 km from the coast, and it was also almost on top of an earlier settlement, a very small one, a *metochi* type, both Proto- and Neopalatial.
- MacGillivray** Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?
- Tsipopoulou** Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.
- MacGillivray** That is pretty old, anyway.
- Tsipopoulou** It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.
- MacGillivray** The Theraeruption? No the Mycenaean invasion.
[Laughs from the audience!]
- Tsipopoulou** The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.
- MacGillivray** Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?
- Blackman** I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *EAIKEΘE* [Hellenic Center of Marine Research] the problem of relative sea level change. Relative is the important word here, has the sea gone down and the land gone up, or both phenomena? The question goes back to Spratt and the whole question of what Crete has done, we know about elevation in the west, but something was happening in the east, and we have these submerged buildings at Palaikastro, which we wanted to survey. The whole issue of reconstructing the palaeoenvironment is very important. Now, at Siteia we have a *neoreion* that is classical, too late for our Prehistorian friends, but there you have something which functions with a precise sea level, not far from your site. First the geologists disagree about what has happened to the sea. Secondly the land is not one block, so what applies to Palaikastro will not necessarily apply to Siteia.
- MacGillivray** No, you have local tectonics.
- Blackman** But, nevertheless, a local study of the evidence for submerged beach lines would enable you to understand what has happened in the later periods, including eruptions, what has happened to the shoreline. Geologists can help with all that. Keep working with geologists, it is a challenge, they do not know how to apply for archaeological permits, and also the jealousies of geologists are far greater than the jealousies of archaeologists.
- MacGillivray** Impossible!
[Laughs in the audience!]

Blackman Nevertheless, it is very important for reconstructing communications by sea in the Minoan period, it is very important to try to reconstruct where the coastline was before you can understand the use of harbors, whatever harbors mean. It has been a wonderful conference. Congratulations to Dr Tsipopoulou.

MacGillivray I think this is probably the best time, to thank not only Metaxia but also her whole crew, for putting together the Symposium, and obviously these two days represent the end-result of 25 years of hard work, but you are probably less than half way there on the site, so we should probably meet every five years and get all the new information.
[Laughs in the audience]

And I hope you will all join me thanking Metaxia and her colleagues for this fantastic Symposium!

Bibliography

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*

CHIC – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1996. *Corpus hieroglyphicarum inscriptionum Cretae* (Études Crétoises 31), Athens and Rome.

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

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

CretChron – *Kretika Chronika*

CurrAnthr – *Current Anthropology*

JAnthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*

JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*

JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

JPR – *Journal of Prehistoric Religion*

Kentro – *Kentro: The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete*

OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*

Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias*

SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

SkrAth – *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

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