

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



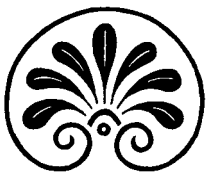
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Volume 16

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.



Death in Petras: two men fighting on a LM IA lentoid seal*

David W. Rupp

Abstract

In the floor deposit of a LM IA building in the Neopalatial settlement at Petras was found a soft stone, possibly serpentine, lentoid seal, P05/941. The scene engraved on the convex surface is that of two men fighting with daggers (*Kampfszenen*). 16 Minoan and Mycenaean seals and seal impressions, a Mycenaean fresco and a *dubitandum* are given as parallels and *comparanda*. The Petras seal is the earliest securely-dated example with this theme. As a postscript, two seals depicting men carrying a spear or a stick are provided as additional *comparanda* for a previously published EM III steatite seal from the Lakkos deposit in Sector III of Petras settlement (Rupp 2006).

Introduction

In the course of excavating the test trenches along the proposed line of the paths for those visiting the excavations at Petras (Fig. 1), a number of interesting architectural remains were encountered.¹ Near the entrance gate to the site, in Test Trench 49 (Fig. 2), a small section of a simple LM IA building with its associated floor was uncovered in 2005. In Locus 8, the packed earth floor just above the prepared bedrock surface, at an elevation of 16.52 m A.S.L.,

* This paper would not have been possible without the constant support and encouragement of Dr Metaxia Tsiopoulou. She gave me permission to study and to publish the seal. Dr Yiannis Papadatos (then 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) excavated the trench and supplied the notes and images. Douglas Faulmann (INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, Pacheia Ammos, Crete) executed the drawing, Chronis Papanikolopoulos (INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, Pacheia Ammos, Crete) took the images, and Garifalia Kostopoulou provided logistic assistance for the excavation notes and imagery.

¹ Tsiopoulou this volume, Introduction.

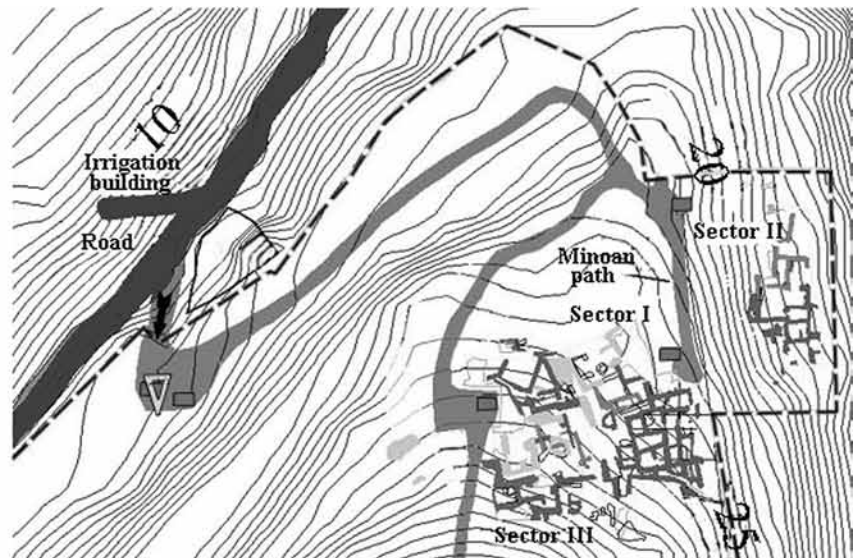
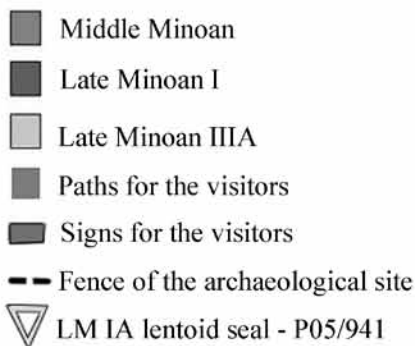


Fig. 1. Topographical plan of Petras-Siteia, indicating the location of Test Trench 49.

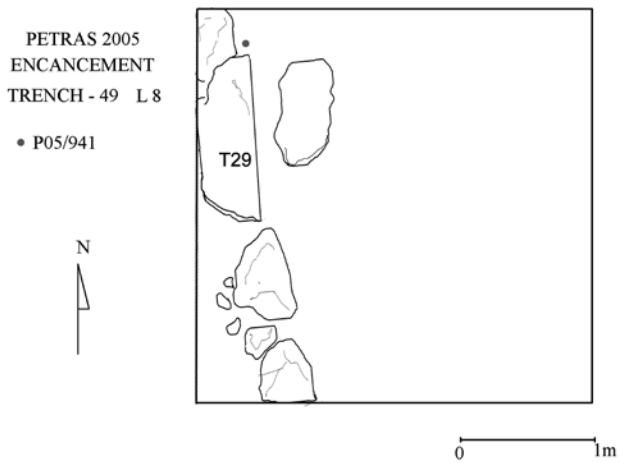


Fig. 2. Plan of Test Trench 49 at Petras (drawn by Garifalia Kostopoulou).

a lentoid seal² was found next to the interior face of the wall. Other test trenches excavated in this area demonstrate that the Neopalatial settlement extended down to this level of the hill.

Archaeological context and chronology

Unfortunately the sherds on the floor surface were not particularly well preserved. While the majority could be securely dated to the LM IA phase, there were also some MM II sherds.³ The number

of sherds recovered was 63, with a total weight of 2.05 kg. Only 25 of them were diagnostic (Figs. 3–4). Shapes included three pithoi (body and base), the base of a pithoid jar, two amphora handles (P05/368/6), three handles from bridge-spouted jars (P05/368/8), six sherds from cooking pots – base (P05/368/4), legs (P05/368/3) and handles – three bowls (P05/368/2, 5), two handleless conical cups (P05/368/1), two straight-sided cups and the spout of a side-spouted jug (P05/368/7). As for the decoration, the three pithos sherds have relief decoration; there are four monochrome sherds; five with dark-on-light decoration (mostly bands), one with ripple pattern (on a bowl), and one light-on-dark.

The description of the lentoid seal

The lentoid seal (Fig. 5a-b) is carved from a soft stone, mottled blackish brown with lighter patches, probably serpentine. It is 1.61 cm in diameter and 0.6 cm thick at its widest point with convex faces. The string hole is on the vertical axis of the composition and has a diameter of 0.25–0.30 cm.

² P05/941.

³ Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Melissa Eaby read and dated the pottery.

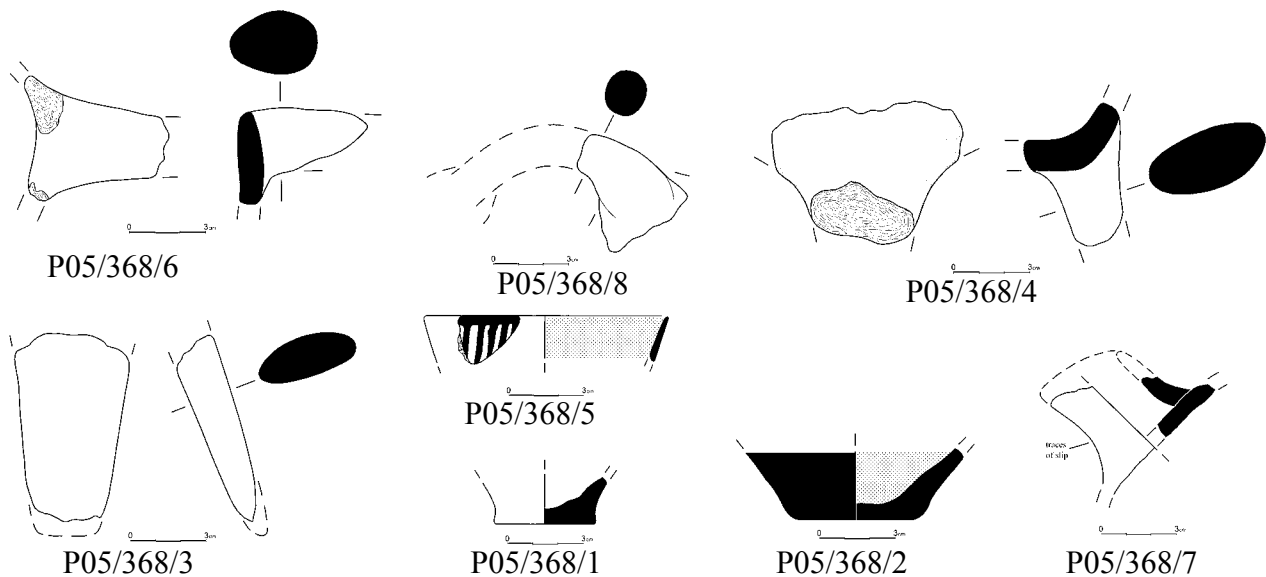


Fig. 3. Profile drawings of diagnostic sherds in Locus 8 of Test Trench 49 (scale 1:3; drawn by Kostas Chalikias).

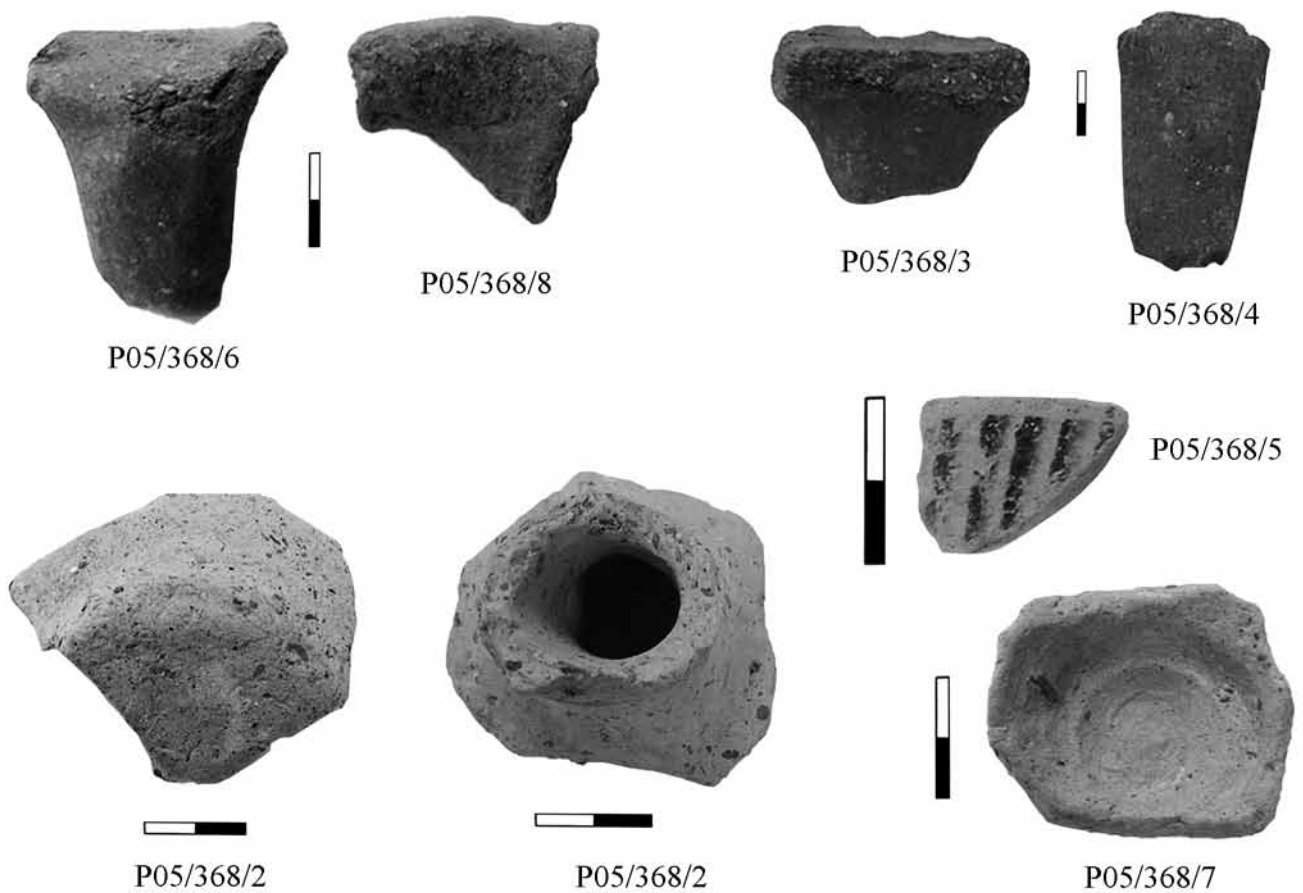


Fig. 4. Photographs of diagnostic sherds in Locus 8 of Test Trench 49 (taken by Clio Zervaki).

The imagery and composition of the seal

The seal's engraved image (Fig. 6), most likely two men duelling with daggers, while schematic and crudely executed, is rendered in dynamic, centrifu-

gal fashion. The right, dominant figure is striding to the left. His head, looking right, is little more than a pointed dot, facing right, with a linear projection at the back. The neck and the torso are a series of linear and curvilinear gouges. The figure's right arm reaches to the left behind or over the left



Fig. 5. a) Photographs of the lentoid seal P05/941 (taken by Chronis Papanikolopoulos); b) Drawing of lentoid seal (scale 2:1).



Fig. 6. The impression of the lentoid seal P05/941.

figure's head. The left arm's disposition is difficult to discern. The figure appears to be holding a linear object pointed downward in his left hand. The pelvic girdle is depicted as an irregular shape filled with six horizontal, parallel lines. This might be a kilt. The legs are straight with a right foot and a possible left knee indicated.

The left-hand figure is shown as collapsing towards the left. His head, facing to the right, is rendered as a circle with a large dot for an eye and a slight incision on the right to indicate the nose/mouth. Three short lines project backward from the head. The neck and torso are rendered as a slightly curving line that tapers downward. There is a short linear gouge at the neck. The outstretched right arm is bent at the elbow. The hand/end appears not to hold anything. The left arm reaches downward behind the other figure's right leg. The hand appears to be holding a short linear object, possibly a schematic dagger. The amygdaloidal-shaped pelvic girdle is depicted with four horizontal parallel lines above three short gouges radiating from the crouch. The long legs curve to the right with each foot indicated.

Stylistic comparisons for the imagery and the rendering of the figures

The closest comparison for the overall theme of warriors fighting (*Kampfszenen*),⁴ the composition, the schematic rendering of the figures and the date is found on a lead string seal impression from an amygdaloid soft stone seal found at Hagia Triada (Fig. 7a) in an unknown context.⁵ It is dated to LM I. The composition shows two warriors fighting in the same manner as depicted on the Petras seal. The major differences are, first, the possible sword in the right hand of the right figure, in addition to the up-raised weapon in his left hand, as well as his thrusting stance. Second, the left figure's left arm is raised and appears not to hold a weapon. The general rendering of the heads and the bodies is more life-like and better executed on the Hagia Triada sealing. The decoration of the pelvic girdles with a series of horizontal parallel lines has similarities. When the two seals are compared, the Petras seal carver appears either to have misunderstood the details of the composition of the prototype and/or was artistically incapable of copying it in a competent fashion.

A reddish brown carnelian lentoid seal from the Schliemann Collection (without number) at the Numismatic Museum in Athens⁶ takes the basic composition and modifies it by transforming the right-hand figure into a upright warrior carrying a figure-8 shield in his left hand and a sword in his right (Fig. 7b). The style of this LM I seal is very impressionistic in different manner from that seen on the Petras seal. A red jasper lentoid seal from the collection of Richard B. Seager (probably from Crete),⁷ classified as one of the *gemmae dubitandae*, has the same composition (Fig. 7c). The warrior with the figure-8 shield has a short sword in his

⁴ Pini 1989, 203.

⁵ CMS II.6, no. 16, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1653 (with bibliography); Pini 1989, 205, no. 7, fig. 2.

⁶ CMS V.1, no. 180.

⁷ CMS XII, no. 13D, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Pini 1989, 204, no. 5.

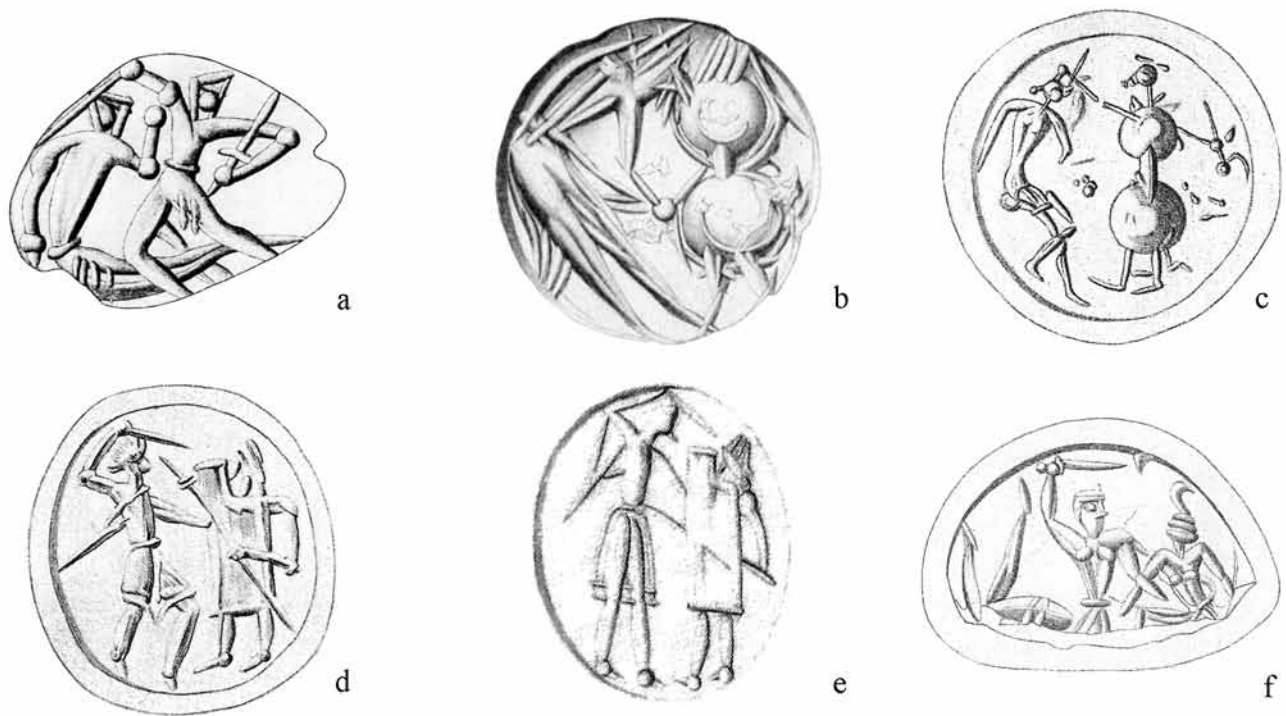


Fig. 7. a) *CMS* II.6, no. 16, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1653; b) *CMS* V.1, no. 180, Schliemann Collection (without number), Numismatic Museum, Athens; c) *CMS* XII, no. 13D, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; d) *CMS* VII, no. 129, London, British Museum, inv. no. (GR/R) 1874.4–5.5; e) *CMS* XII, no. 292, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 26.31.262; f) *CMS* IX, no. 158, Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, inv. no. 3377.

right hand and appears to be grasping or hitting the head of the left-hand figure. The left-hand figure appears to be starting to fall with his legs crossed as seen on the previous seals. A similar composition, with a tower shield replacing the figure-8 shield is seen on a carnelian lentoid seal from Crete (Fig. 7d).⁸ The rendering is less schematic with the left-hand attacker brandishing a sword in his right hand over his head. Pini dates this seal to LM I/II.⁹ A very similar composition is depicted on a cloudy chalcedony lentoid seal of the same general date (Fig. 7e).¹⁰ The shorter right-hand warrior with a boar's tusk helmet and a tower shield thrusts a spear upwards toward the midriff of his opponent. The taller left-hand figure, possibly wearing a kilt, has his right arm over his head with a sword ready to strike. His left arm extends towards the other warrior.

The general theme of two warriors fighting alone is sometimes incorporated into depictions of a larger battle and/or a siege in the LM I imagery repertoire.¹¹ A fragmentary mottled blue chalcedo-

ny LM/LH I-II lentoid seal depicts a combat scene with three figures (Fig. 7f).¹² The central warrior faces to the right with a sword raised over his head in his right hand. His opponent to the right wears a boars' tusk helmet with a plume and appears weaponless. The composition of these two figures is the same as Fig. 7c and Fig. 7d. The left-hand figure is shown upside down with his legs bent. In the confined space of the lentoid, this pose probably indicated the figure as dead, as there is no room for his body to be depicted horizontally. A *nodulus* seal impression made from a LM I convex oval

⁸ *CMS* VII, no. 129, London, British Museum, inv. no. (GR/R) 1874.4–5.5; Pini 1989, 206–7, no. 10.

⁹ Pini 1989, 206–7, no. 10.

¹⁰ *CMS* XII, no. 292, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 26.31.262; Pini 1989, 207, no. 11.

¹¹ Hiller 1999.

¹² *CMS* IX, no. 158, Paris, Cabinet des Medailles, inv. no. 3377; Pini 1989, 207, no. 12.

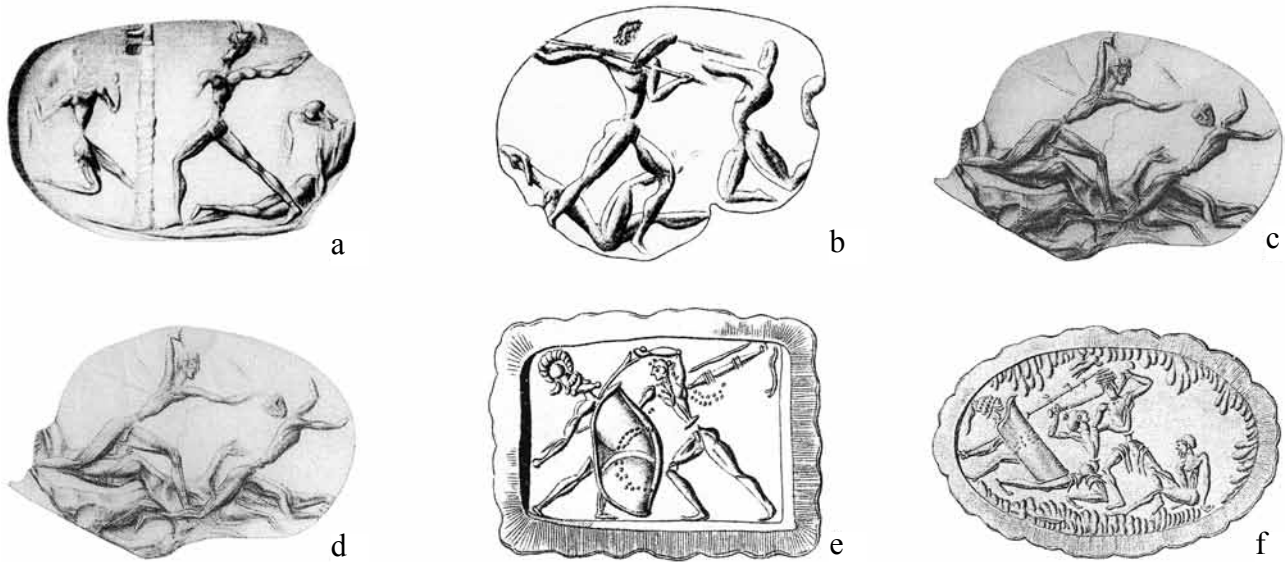


Fig. 8. a) *CMS* II.6, no. 17, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 483; b) *CMS* II.7, no. 20, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 7/1–3, 8/1–2, 61/1–2, 69; c) *CMS* II.6, no. 15, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 526/1–3, 595, 596 (5 pieces); d) *CMS* II.8, no. 279, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 369 (KN Wc 51) and 1275; e) *CMS* I, no. 11, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 35; f) *CMS* I, no. 16, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 483.

seal ring was found at Hagia Triada (Fig. 8a).¹³ It displays a variation of the composition seen on the Petras seal. Here the dominant nude figure with a crested helmet is on the right and is about to throw a spear to the left at the probably unarmed opponent dressed in a loincloth and moving to the right. A column-like element separates them and there is a fallen warrior wearing a helmet with a tassel lying at the right edge. The rendering of the bodies and the poses is more naturalistic.

Four lead string seal impressions made from a slightly convex oval metallic seal ring, were found in an LM IB context in Room VII of House A at Kato Zakros (Fig. 8b).¹⁴ These display another variation of the composition, where the right-hand warrior faces left to confront the dominant attacking warrior. Both have spears in their right hands posed for throwing. On the left lies a fallen warrior. The artistic execution of the scene has many close similarities to the previous seal impression.

A more complex composition, executed in a more artistically carved fashion, is seen in five well-known examples of LM IB clay hanging nodule seal impressions from an oval metallic seal ring from Hagia Triada¹⁵ (Fig. 8c) and impressions from the

Final Destruction Deposit at Knossos (two)¹⁶ (Fig. 8d).¹⁷ In these seal impressions, the dominant figure is on the left, accompanied by a dog,¹⁸ holding

¹³ *CMS* II.6, no. 17, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 483 (with bibliography); Pini 1989, 208, no. 14; Krzyszkowska (2005, 140, no. 248) sees this as a ritual combat due to the presence of the central pillar. Marinatos (1993, 215, fig. 222) interprets this scene slightly differently. She sees this as a contest, "...almost reminiscent of gladiatorial games", and possibly "...the setting is urban/architectural".

¹⁴ *CMS* II.7, no. 20, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 7/1–3, 8/1, 61/1,2, 69 (with bibliography).

¹⁵ *CMS* II.6, no. 15, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 526/1–3, 595, 596 (five pieces); Pini 1989, 203–4, no. 2, fig. 1; Hallager 1995, 14–5, fig. 11; Weingarten 2010, 407, fig. 4b.

¹⁶ *CMS* II.8, no. 279, Herakleion Museum, inv. nos. 369 (KN Wc 51) and 1275 (with bibliography); Hallager 1995, 14–5, fig. 11.

¹⁷ While Weingarten (2010, 410, fig. 7d) argues that these two impressions are from a monumental "replica" ring, Krzyszkowska (2005, 140, 189–90, n. 97, no. 371) dismisses the possibility of such a concept, believing that all of the impressions were made from the same ring. Hallager (1995, 15) appears to support her position.

¹⁸ Marinatos (2005, 156) notes the association of dogs with warriors in the context of war and the hunt, in the formation of "the prestige of manhood".

the hair of a frightened unarmed man to the right, who is attempting to flee over a pile of fallen warriors. The left-hand warrior is about to smite the right-hand one. The rendition of his face frontally “...is exceedingly rare in Aegean art and mainly the head only.”¹⁹ Lyvia Morgan believes that “...the frontal face is applied to one who is about to die.”²⁰ The weapon is in the attacker’s right hand. There is a dynamism in the composition lacking from the other attempts at this theme. The Knossian ring probably was made in late LM IA, or possibly early LM IB.²¹

Mycenaean parallels

From the Mainland come a number of seals that offer additional insights on the theme of duelling fighters and its artistic execution. A more sophisticated version of the two warriors in combat is seen on two gold rings from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. The first, from Shaft Grave III, is a rectangular cushion ring²² which depicts the right-hand figure, with a sword in his left hand, at the neck/upper torso of the warrior to the left (Fig. 8e). His right hand is hidden behind his opponent’s ovoid shield. The left-hand warrior is leaning backward, holding a very long spear in his right hand. He wears a large crested or plumed helmet. The bodies and legs of the two figures are aligned in a parallel fashion. On the second convex oval signet ring, from Shaft Grave IV,²³ the so-called “Battle in the Glen”, the right-hand combatant with a boars’ tusk helmet has the same stance and gestures as on the previous example (Fig. 8f). The left-hand figure has collapsed to his knees. He brandishes a sword in his upraised right hand and attempts to block the thrust of the attacker with his outstretched left hand. To the right of this central composition is a seated, wounded? man looking at them. To the left, facing them, is a warrior with a boars’ tusk helmet holding a tower shield and a very long spear. Around the edges of the ring are landscape elements rendered in a “bird’s eye view” perspective. The complexity of the poses and the rendering of the anatomy of the figures on these two LH I rings is on the same level as seen on the

Kato Zakros, Hagia Triada and Knossos seal impressions (see Fig. 8b–d above).

From Shaft Grave III there is another seal,²⁴ a carnelian amygdaloid, that combines the poses of the two seals with figure-8 shields (Fig. 7b, 7d) and the detailed rendering of the previous two examples (Fig. 9a). In this case, the figure-8 shield is behind the right-hand figure who wears a boars’ tusk helmet. It appears that the man grasps the sword with both hands over his head, ready to make a killing-thrust into the chest of the other warrior. This figure, also with a figure-8 shield behind him, displays the collapsing pose. His left hand is raised in an attempt to block the sword thrust. He too seems to wear a boars’ tusk helmet.

A LH I/II amethyst cushion-shaped seal (Fig. 9b) from Grave 1 of the Gouvalari Tholos Tomb, now in the Pylos Museum (inv. no. 13),²⁵ takes the stance and gestures of the right-hand dominant figure from the Hagia Triada seal impression (Fig. 8a) and duplicates it in a mirror image on the left to create a bisymmetrical composition. An important addition is the fact that both warriors have swords in each of their hands. The last example (Fig. 9c), a lentoid seal carved from *Lapis Lacedaemonius*, dated stylistically to LH II–IIIA1,²⁶ is a throwback to the manner of the depiction of the warriors’ heads on the Petras seal combined with the general composition of the Gouvalari seal. The quality of the renderings of the bodies, however, is in line with most of the examples given previously.

Finally, there are representations of two men fighting or duelling with daggers or short swords

¹⁹ Morgan 1995, 137.

²⁰ Morgan 1995, 137; Pini 2010a, 8, fig. 1.

²¹ Betts 1967, 15–20; Weingarten 2010, 410, fig. 7d.

²² CMS I, no. 11, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 35; Pini 1989, 204, no. 3; Hiller 1999, pl. XIX, 2a; Krzyszkowska 2005, 241–2, no. 461a and b.

²³ CMS I, no. 16, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 483; Pini 1989, 203, no. 1; Krzyszkowska 2005, 243, 250–1, no. 478.

²⁴ CMS I, no. 12, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 116; Hiller 1999, pl. XIX, 3a.

²⁵ CMS V, no. 643 (with bibliography); Pini 1989, 204–5, no. 6.

²⁶ CMS XI, no. 34: “from Athens”, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Abt. (inv. no. FG 6); Hiller 1999, pl. XIX, 4a.

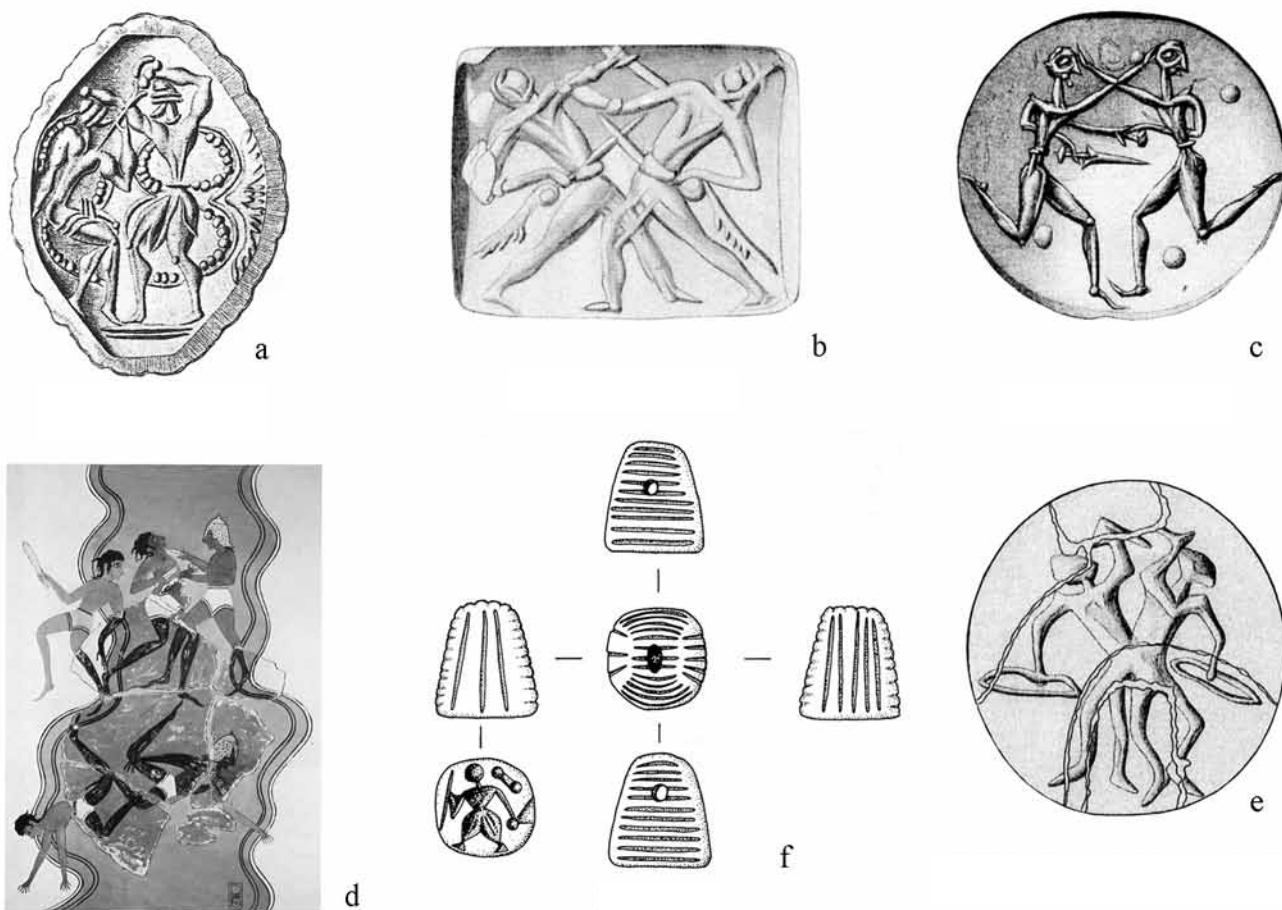


Fig. 9. a) CMS I, no. 12, Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 116; b) CMS V, no. 643, Pylos Museum, inv. no. 13; c) CMS XI, no. 34, “from Athens”, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Abt. (inv. no. FG 6); d) Battle scene from Hall 64, Pylos (after Immerwahr 1990, pl. 67); e) CMS V Suppl. 1A, no. 294, Mitsotakis Collection, inv. no. Σ8; f) P00/654.

(*duomachies*) in the LH IIIA2 “battle scenes” frescoes in Hall 64 at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos.²⁷ The poses in the *in situ* section 25 H 64 (Fig. 9d),²⁸ with right/left legs crossing, and the torsos leaning backward, are reminiscent of the LH I seal compositions, especially that of Gouvalari. The lead attacker, usually wearing a kilt and a boars’ tusk helmet, can appear on the left side as well as on the right. The daggers or short swords are thrust into the abdomen of the other fighters. In the so-called “Tarzans” fragment, 22 H 64,²⁹ two of the fighters have the same pose as at Pylos. Here the boar’s tusk helmet wearing attacker jabs his dagger into the throat of his opponent. In LH artistic renditions each weapon depicted is normally held in the right hand (see below).

Discussion

The sudden relative popularity of this general theme of duelling men and battles in LM I–II glyptic art has been noted by Olga Krzyszkowska.³⁰ These figural motifs are “...a very rare image in Minoan glyptic”.³¹ In fact, only 4.6% of Neopalatial figural images depict combat/fighting scenes.³² The Petras seal is one of the few Minoan examples that have a

²⁷ Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, 332, 336, pl. LXXIV, e; Hiller 1999, 322, 326, pl. LXXII, 15b.

²⁸ Lang 1969, 42–9, 214–5, pl. N.; Immerwahr 1990, pl. 66.

²⁹ Lang 1969, pl. M.

³⁰ Krzyszkowska 2005, 139.

³¹ Weingarten 2010, 404.

³² Tsangaraki 2010, fig. 7.

secure archaeological context and date. It is, in fact, the earliest securely dated example of this limited genre.³³ The close similarity in the compositions of the Petras seal and the Hagia Triada seal impression, spatially distant, suggest common knowledge of a widespread prototype in some medium. The use of a soft stone, perhaps serpentine, instead of one of the hard stones as was normally the practice for depicting imagery relating to masculine pursuits on seals, is noteworthy as well.³⁴

The men on the Petras seal are engaged in what Alan Peatfield describes as “dagger-to-dagger combat”³⁵ that includes the use of hands and arms but no shields. Injury was inflicted by slashing and stabbing at close range. Thus, Keith Branigan argued with the preference in Crete for daggers, “.... warfare, such as there was in the southern Aegean EBA, was either personalized and perhaps ritualized (in Crete)....”³⁶ This cultural tendency may have continued into the Neopalatial period.

Morgan’s³⁷ identification of the depiction of a frontal face as symbolizing that the individual will die momentarily creates a symbolic hierarchy of mortal states of being in Minoan glyptic art featuring fighting. That is: active fighting, dying and dead. The Petras seal and four others discussed above (Fig. 9a-9c and Fig. 8f) display a warrior collapsing/falling while in the midst of hand-to-hand combat. This could be an artistic shorthand for showing a seriously wounded combatant. Thus, the artistic stop-action sequence to depict the stages of a duel between two men would be: active fighting (standing with weapon), wounded/collapsing (crossed legs, falling backwards or kneeling), dying (frontal face) and dead (lying horizontal or upside down).

There is, however, one glyptic example that possibly predates the Neopalatial floruit of men fighting. That is an ivory ring seal with a round bezel in the Mitsotakis Collection³⁸ (Fig. 9e) which has been dated to EM III-MM II by Ingo Pini.³⁹ The composition depicts two men fighting, each armed with a dagger in his left hand and a bow in the other. They are arranged so that they face each other with the right-hand figure having his back turned toward the viewer. Their pelvic girdles overlap and their legs and their torsos, their arms and their heads go off at an angle towards the field’s edge.

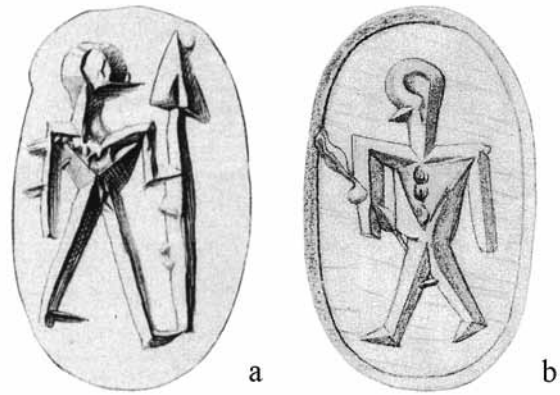


Fig. 10. a) *CMS* VI.1, no. 68, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1938.744; b) *CMS* II.2, no.104, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1774.

It should be noted here that Metaxia Tsiopoulou has doubts as to the authenticity of this seal, the imagery of which is unique for its supposed date.⁴⁰

There is one final observation. When viewing the Minoan seal impression, more often than not, daggers and swords are held in the warrior’s left hand and the right hand is empty for grasping and/or hitting his opponent.

Postscript

While the corpus of Minoan seals and seal impressions from Petras and its immediate hinterland is not very extensive, it is quite interesting and often unique, nevertheless. It provides insights into the range of iconography and how seals were used on the island of Crete. These seals and seal impressions stretch chronologically from bone seals in the burial Rock Shelter on Petras Kephala, dated to EM III, to a LM IIIA surface find also from the same hill.

For a most unusual EM III steatite seal (P00/654) (Fig. 9f) from the edge of the Lakkos in Sector III (Trench A3: Test 3 – Locus 2), which I have pub-

³³ O. Krzyszkowska, pers. comm.

³⁴ O. Krzyszkowska, pers. comm.

³⁵ Peatfield 1999, 68.

³⁶ Branigan 1999, 92.

³⁷ Morgan 1995, 135–7, fig. 5.

³⁸ *CMS* V Suppl. 1A, no. 294, inv. no. Σ8.

³⁹ Pini 1992, 215, no. 276.

⁴⁰ Pers. comm.

lished previously,⁴¹ I now offer two new parallels. Arthur Evans bought a steatite three-sided prism (Fig. 10a) in Candia in 1894.⁴² Ingo Pini has suggested a date in MM II for this probable product of the Malia workshop. On side “a” is depicted a man striding to the right holding upright in his left hand a long shaft with a large triangular element at the upper end. The object could be a spear or possibly a weft-beater, according to Lucy Goodison.⁴³ The second possible parallel is also a product of the Malia workshop, this time from Malia itself.⁴⁴ The steatite three-sided prism (Fig. 10b) depicts a man striding to the left holding a short stick-like shaft in his right hand. In either case, the representation of a man holding a shaft or a stick is very rare in the late Prepalatial and early Protopalatial periods. If the man on the Ashmolean seal is holding a spear and the man on the Malia seal is holding a *skeptron* then these could be other attempts, like that seen on the Petras seal, to represent a “big man” grasping one of the foundations of his claim to authority, that is, coercive power.

I offer a concluding question for discussion and speculation concerning the “Petras phenomenon”. Charles Gates has argued that the lack of images of warfare in Minoan art goes hand-in-hand with the lack of images of a ruler.⁴⁵ The two seals at Petras from non-burial contexts, dating to MM IA/B and LM IA, presented previously, display a possible ruler image and two men duelling.⁴⁶ Why does Petras, on the eastern periphery of Minoan political power and culture, display such unusual iconography? Why is it different? Is it different?

⁴¹ Rupp 2006.

⁴² CMS VI.1, no. 68, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 1938.744 (with bibliography).

⁴³ Goodison 1989, 52–4.

⁴⁴ CMS II. 2, no. 104, Herakleion Museum, inv. no. 1774.

⁴⁵ Gates 1999, 281.

⁴⁶ Weingarten 1999.

Discussion

- Hallager** I may have missed something you said. This item up here on the drawing. Did you explain what it is?
- Rupp** If I could, I would. It is a series of lines, and it is also around the neck. I believe this represents an attempt to show the dagger in his hand.
- Hallager** It is the way it is drawn, the lines going up from the bottom to the face; to me it looks more like a lyre.
- Rupp** A warrior duelling with a lyre player! The other problem is what the curve around the neck is. The quality of the rendering of the figures leaves something to be desired, so my thought, after having seen the comparisons, was that this was an attempt at an upraised weapon, as opposed to a lyre.
- Krzyszowska** Thank you. I think it is on the very first slide where you have the impression of it, rather than working from the drawing. It is actually clear here. Here is his arm and he is holding something.
- Rupp** I would interpret that as a dagger.
- Krzyszowska** Yes, I think that is quite reasonable. Unless that is an attempt to render his shoulder. Somehow you have to render the torso, one arm going up this way, one arm coming down, and something to attach the arm to.
- Blackman** It is interesting how much better the impression is. The right-hand figure seems very clear. It is obviously a body builder with a hefty chest. He spent enough time holding his weapon in his right hand. He is clearly a man with a weapon in his hand.
- Rupp** It does not appear that there is a joint. It seems that there is a continuous flow of the arm. It seems that there is just an arm. There is no indication of articulation that would suggest the presence of something else from this point on.
- Blackman** In that case the right-hand figure has got a lot of right arm.
- Rupp** But if you look at the left-figure, he has a lot of legs.
- Haggis** First of all I liked the paper and I think you made some provocative points. On the surface I think it is clear that the figure on the right is Petras and the figure on the left is Papadiokampos!

- Brogan** Subjugation!
- Haggis** But we do not have a terribly large figural sample. The contrast is interesting but I do not necessarily accept that the figure from the Prepalatial seal is necessarily in a coercive pose.
- Rupp** It is not that the pose was coercive, it is the stick, and you often can see them as maces, a symbol of authority, in other words: “I have this, I can beat you with it”. If there is a stone at the end: “I can hit you with it”. So, most of the imagery of the rulers have some sort of simple staff, so coercive not necessarily physical, but at least symbolically: “I have the power that gives me the right to do this”.
- Haggis** Notwithstanding the Prepalatial figure, males will be significant here. Could you see two different ideas here, between Prepalatial and Protopalatial and Neopalatial, and then negotiation of power, sublimation of violence in the Neopalatial period?
- Rupp** Good point.
- Stamos** To go away from the whole violence issue and try to stay within the whole “Minoans are pacifist” view, why should we view these images as purely violent, and not as a kind of ritual, such as dance? There are sword dances, knife dances, why can this not be some kind of dance, rather than pure violence?
- Rupp** I think that if you look at what Keith Branigan was trying to get at – the ritualized nature – in fact, many of the Prepalatial daggers are not designed to actually be used, because they would break in half, for example the silver dagger (I believe from Koumasa). So this could be performance, except that certainly the sealings seem not to show such a benign, theatrical kind of presentation of the activities. Unless Olga Krzyszkowska knows more examples of the repertoire of duelling, of men doing something like this. This is what I found.
- Papadopoulos** Although I can go on for ages on different uses of the iconography and the motifs, I just think that in LM I Crete, and of course also later, duelling and boxing more or less have the same symbolic meaning. Just to give you some food for thought, have you thought that because boxing scenes are very rare also in this kind of iconography, but they do exist, and since we actually have the seal, not the sealing like at Hagia Triada, that this could actually be a boxing scene rather than a violent warrior scene? I am having some issues with the weapon existence. I think it is a very weird scene, with too many lines, but I cannot see any weapons, so how about referring to boxing? The meaning is similar again. I think we should differentiate it from warriors.
- Rupp** Admittedly this rendering of the composition, whatever its interpretation might be in the end, does not have the kind of clarity that would allow you to say one thing or the other. But if you look at the *comparanda* that exist, you will see that these individuals are not boxing. They have weapons, at least one of the figures has a weapon; often both have weapons in their hands. And I am not sure, I must admit I did not look for scenes with boxing or boxers in the corpus. There is a very limited number

of scenes like this, with two men doing something together. Maybe Olga Krzyszkowska knows other parallels.

Krzyszkowska No, there are no representations of boxing in glyptic. This is something you get on vases, or in frescoes, or on stone vases. This seal is a really important piece for several reasons: It is firmly dated to LM IA. That means that it predates the LM IB sealing deposits in Hagia Triada and Zakros. Those seals used in the sealing deposits may well have been engraved in LM IA, but they are used in LM IB. Now we know of a representation of duelling firmly dated in LM IA, and we can, I hope, finally reject, abandon, all this idea that duelling scenes, war-like scenes, and so on, all have to be first of all in nasty, barbaric Mycenae, before they come over to Crete. We have a tradition, admittedly, a relatively small corpus, of a group of seals, from Crete, depicting duelling, warfare, some kind of combat. Linked to that are hunting scenes. There is a kind of continuum and you also have scenes that represent boar's tusks helmets on Crete; these are attested again in Hagia Triada, in sealings. So, it exists in Crete, in LM IA already. That is a really important thing about this seal. Another important thing I would add, is that it is a soft stone seal. Most of our representations of males doing anything are on hard stone seals or on gold signet rings, or the impressions thereof. One exception to that is the series with the helmets, which are invariably soft stone seals here on Crete. This seal constitutes a very interesting addition, proving that they also, occasionally, were using soft stones, not high status hard stones, to depict what we might perceive as an elite pursuit. We have to be open minded about our evaluation of the appropriateness of a certain material, or a certain motif. This is important for the reason that it opens up a new perspective, and reinforces something that was there in the repertoire, but perhaps has not been really appreciated before. Thank you. Very good!

Greek abstract

Θάνατος στον Πετρά: Νεοανακτορικός φακοειδής σφραγιδόλιθος με παράσταση μονομαχίας

Σε απόθεση δαπέδου ενός ΥΜ ΙΑ κτιρίου του Νεοανακτορικού οικισμού του Πετρά βρέθηκε ο φακοειδής Ρ05/941 σφραγιδόλιθος, από μαλακό λίθο, μάλλον οφείτη. Η ανάγλυφη παράσταση της κυρτής επιφάνειας εικονίζει μονομαχία δύο ανδρών με εγχειρίδια (*Kampfszenen*). 16 Μινωικές και Μυκηναϊκές σφραγίδες και σφραγίσματα, μια Μυκηναϊκή τοιχογραφία και μια *dubitanda* αποτελούν παράλληλα και συγκρίσεις. Η σφραγίδα του Πετρά είναι το πρωιμότερο χρονολογημένο με βεβαιότητα παράδειγμα του θέματος. Σε επίμετρο παρουσιάζονται ως επιπλέον παράλληλα μιας ΠΜ ΙΙΙ σφραγίδας, προερχόμενης από την απόθεση του Λάικου του Τομέα ΙΙΙ του οικισμού, την οποία ο γράφων είχε δημοσιεύσει παλαιότερα (Rupp 2006), δύο σφραγίδες με απεικόνιση ανδρικών μορφών, οι οποίες φέρουν δόρυ ή ραβδί.



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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