Petras, Siteia
25 years of excavations and studies
Edited by Metaxia Tsipopoulou

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Edited by
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
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It is indeed hard and dull to lead a life, both personal and professional, without celebrations, anniversaries, gatherings of friends and colleagues, symposia of any type. The 25th anniversary of the Petras excavations offered a wonderful opportunity for me to organize a Symposium, and for an international group of scholars, known for many things, including being members of the Petras team, to work hard, and then gather in Athens and present the results of their studies.

It was an exciting experience organizing and conducting this two-day Conference, and also editing the Proceedings and preparing the present book. I was very happy to be able to work during the multiple tasks of the preparation, the coordination of the contributors, the two days of the event itself, the collection of the papers and the editing of the present volume, with two hard working, creative, and very patient colleagues, Ms Garifalia Kostopoulou and Dr Maria Psallida. They are responsible before the event for the invitations, the preparation of the catering, the reservation of the restaurant for the speakers’ dinner, and the printed material of the Conference. During the Symposium they made sure that everything went smoothly. After the Conference they worked for many months to do the pagination, the bibliography and the list of contributors, and they helped significantly with the proof reading and the index (Psallida), and the plates and the cover design (Kostopoulou). The editing of the volume was a very interesting task for me, and having no day job at the Ministry after the end of November 2011, a victim of the crisis that struck Greece, I was able to dedicate myself entirely to it. Furthermore, I am responsible for the transcription of the discussions, an interesting first-time experience. Many thanks go to David Rupp who patiently corrected all the English manuscripts of the 11 non-native speakers, as well as the discussions. Also my warmest thanks to Melissa Eaby for the final proof reading and significant improvements. The specialized text of Konstantinos Togias, the developer of the Petras website, was translated from Greek by Ms Effie Patsatzi, Museologist, a specialist in the Management of Digital Heritage.

Dr Erik Hallager is responsible for the final pagination and the insertion of the figures into the text.

I wish also to thank the creators of the four posters presented at the Conference: two posters, one of which was in collaboration with the director of the excavation, were by Ms Clio Zervaki, the Petras Conservator, MA in Museology and MA in Cultural Management, and another two were by Garifalia Kostopoulou.

The Danish Institute at Athens, and its two consecutive Directors, Erik Hallager, a dear old friend and member of the Petras team, and Rune Frederiksen, have my gratitude for hosting the Symposium and for including the publication in the series of monographs of the Institute.

The Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), which has been supporting the excavations at Petras, the conservation of the finds and the studies since 1987, also funded the Symposium and the publication of the present volume. My deep gratitude goes to INSTAP and its Executive Director, Philip Betancourt, also a good friend and member of the Petras team.

The success of the Symposium, which was really a wonderful and very stimulating experience, is due to all the participants, the speakers, and the chairpersons. More than 100 colleagues, Greeks and foreigners, from the Hellenic Archaeological Service, the Universities and the Foreign Schools of Archaeology in Greece, including senior members and graduate students, were present at the Danish Institute, and were very active during the discussions. They contributed to the creation of a very
friendly and positive atmosphere throughout the Symposium. A very special thanks goes to the chairpersons, Philip Betancourt, Michael Wedde, David Rupp, Erik Hallager, Colin Macdonald, Lefteris Platon, Thomas Brogan, Olga Krzyszowska 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 Krzyszowska, Sevasti Triantaphyllou, Heidi M.C. Dierckx, Donald C. Haggis, Maria Emanuela Alberti, Kostis S. Christakis, Nektaria Mavroudi, Erik Hallager, David W. Rupp, Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw, Photini J.P. McGeorge, Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Chrysa Sofianou, Thomas M. Brogan and Konstantinos Togias.

The 25 years of the Petras excavations and studies coincided with a period of crisis for Greece that worsened significantly between October 2010, the time of the Symposium, and spring 2012, the time these lines are written. From the beginning my idea for the organization of this event and its publication was an idea of resistance to the crisis. I am very happy that we succeeded and very grateful to all who worked hard and made this success happen.

Athens, Exarcheia, Easter 2012
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
# Abbreviations

### Archaeological periods

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<tr>
<td>EBA</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
<td>P.TSK</td>
<td>Petras cemetery</td>
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<td>EH</td>
<td>Early Helladic</td>
<td>P.TSU</td>
<td>Petras-Rock Shelter</td>
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<td>EM</td>
<td>Early Minoan</td>
<td>Σ-palace</td>
<td>Stratigraphical trenches of the palace</td>
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<td>FN</td>
<td>Final Neolithic</td>
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<td>PPN</td>
<td>Pre-Pottery Neolithic</td>
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### 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.
Pottery of the Middle Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Venetian occupation from Petras, Siteia*

Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou

Abstract

The burial complex which came to light on Hill I at Petras, on top of the Minoan palace, is particularly important; its study will offer significant new evidence both for Siteia in the Middle Byzantine period, as well as for burial customs in general during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine eras. In this paper, the preliminary conclusions from the study of the pottery and the small finds, including both grave goods and objects found in immediate connection with the burial context (on or around the graves), are presented. The study and the chronological attribution of the finds offer important new evidence for the existence of the Byzantine cemetery, already in the Second Byzantine period, as well as for the continuing use of the site for burials by people who lived in the vicinity until the 14th/15th century. Finally, a few preliminary suggestions are presented relating to the history of the town of Siteia and its region in Byzantine times.

Introduction

Excavation carried out on the hilltop of Petras and more specifically in the area of the Minoan palatial building, brought to light a cemetery dated to the Second Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Venetian occupation.¹ It is one of the very few Middle Byzantine/early Venetian cemeteries in Crete that has been fully excavated and studied.²

The 33 graves revealed are mainly rock-cut or built cists, and there are also some simple pits (Figs. 1–2). An ossuary 1.70 m deep has also been uncovered containing consecutive layers of bones with intermittent layers of stones (among the stones there are querns and other Minoan stone tools). Byzantine, Venetian and sherds of the Ottoman period have been found across the plateau of Petras Hill, but they were not connected to the graves.³

Some graves were cut into the compact LM IB destruction layer, while in other cases, parts of the Minoan walls had been used. Their orientation was east–west, with very few exceptions oriented north–south due to difficulty in cutting the bedrock. Each grave contained one skeleton in an extended position with the arms usually folded across the chest or the abdomen. A unique case is that of an infant burial in the “area of the conical cups” (a destruction deposit on top of the monumental staircase leading to the central court of the palace), as it has been called by the excavators (Fig. 3). The graves were covered by schist playing stones or tiles. In some cases, Minoan stone querns were used as head rests for the dead. The grave offerings consisted of clay

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* I would like to kindly thank Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou, Director of the Petras excavations, for entrusting me with the Byzantine material from the site for study and publication.
¹ For the excavation at Petras, Tsipopoulou 2002, 133–44.
² The cemetery of Kastella in Herakleion has been only partially published; for the excavation, see Starida 2003, 717. Some of the finds are published by Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008a, 170–2, figs. 24–6. The grave finds from the Middle Byzantine cemetery excavated around the church of Hagios Ioannis Theologos in Stylos Apokoronou (Khania) were published in detail by Albani 2004, 53–60.
³ The final publication of the Byzantine cemetery of Petras is in preparation.
and glass vessels; fasteners for the garments of the dead have also been found, namely belt buckles. In five instances the dead held in their right hands or had close to their mouths sherds bearing an incised cross and the inscription IC XP NI KA.

In what follows, I will refer only briefly to the pottery recovered from the plateau where the Minoan palace lies on the Petras Hill, while I will present more extensively the finds deriving from the graves. Finally, I will discuss burial
customs, as inferred from the study of the cemetery finds.

The pottery from the plateau

Along with the plethora of Minoan finds, pottery of the Early and Middle Byzantine and the first centuries of the Venetian and Ottoman occupations extending in date from the 6th/7th to the 18th/19th centuries, though with many gaps in between, was found across the plateau of the hill. Among the rare finds of the Early Byzantine period are a few sherds of terra sigillata dishes belonging to Hayes Type 10C, and more specifically, to the later variations of the middle/late 7th centuries.

A few amphora sherds dating to the transitional period of Byzantium (7th to 9th centuries) belong to the broader family of Byzantine globular amphorae, which were being produced in various Cretan workshops and elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire since the mid-7th century. The pottery of this period is not easily identified, and the few published assemblages provide invaluable information on trade and exchange activities on both a small and large scale. Cretan examples derive from Gortyn, Eleutherna, Knossos, Herakleion, the islets of Pseira and Mochlos, and fairly recently from the excavations of Priniatikos Pyrgos.

A very few amphora sherds of the 10th/11th century belong to Hayes Type 54/Sarcaşane typology (Günsenin Type I). Investigations in Ganos and the Marmara Island brought to light centers of production for this amphora type. A few sherds of incised sgraffito ware with pale green glaze belong to the 12th century. The 13th century is represented by a few painted incised vessels (Fig. 4a), the shape and decoration of which point to the glazed ware produced in Cyprus during this period.

There is plethora of Venetian pottery ranging in date from the 14th to the 15th centuries (Fig. 4b). It consists of sherds from imported vessels, mainly dishes in a yellowish red fabric covered with a pink slip. The decorative motifs are incised and occasionally enhanced with a yellowish-brown or green color and covered with a transparent lead glaze. They belong to the early phase of the ceramics produced in the Po valley of northern Italy from the

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4 All dates mentioned in the text are AD.
5 Hayes 1972, 343–6, fig. 71.13; Rizzo 2001, 57 (Gortyn); Vogt 2000, 122–3, fig. 11.11 (Eleutherna); Xanthopoulos 2004, 1016, pl. 5.11, 6.2 (Itanos); Poulou-Papadimitriou 1995, 1121, fig. 1 (Pseira); Boardman 1989, 92–6, nos. 95–7, figs. 28–29 (Chios).
6 Portale & Romeo 2001, 302–12, 354–9, 387–93, 395–6 (Gortyn); Vogt 2000, fig. 41.1, 2; Yangaki 2005, 194–7, 216–9, figs. 51–2, 56, pl. XXIII (Eleutherna); Hayes 2001, 442–3, fig. 5.A58; 449–51, fig. 9.B59; fig. 10.B65 (Knossos); Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008b, 154, fig. 2 (Herakleion); Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 245–6, figs. 24–5 (Pseira); unpublished material from the island of Mochlos and the excavation of Priniatikos Pyrgos.
7 Some sherds of this type of amphora have been found in late 9th/10th century layers on Pseira, see Poulou-Papadimitriou 1990, 6, pl. 8, 14. For the type, see Hayes 1992, 73–4, fig. 24.1–9; Günsenin 1989, 267–76.
8 Günsenin 2009, 145–53 with previous bibliography.
9 For the same decoration, see Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999, 46, no. 32.
The pottery from the graves

Twelve of the 33 graves excavated at Petras contained grave offerings. More specifically:

Grave 8 contained one (female?) burial. A two-handled cup had been placed close to the arm of the dead. It was manufactured in a reddish fine clay, and its internal and external surfaces were covered in a whitish slip, which bore decoration of brown and green stripes running down from the rim. On top of the slip was a fine layer of transparent, colourless glaze, which had been applied internally and externally (green and brown painted ware) (Fig. 6). Close parallels for this vessel are reported from

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11 For this type of pottery, François 1994, 376–80.
12 The same pottery was found in Herakleion (Hagios Petros), Bouboudakis 1968, 427–9; Khania, Hahn 1997, 180; Malia, François 1994, 376–80; Pseira, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2005, 67, fig. 20, H2.3, H2.4; Mochlos, Soles & Davaras 1992, 445–6, pl. 104.
13 Hayes 1992, 276–7; François 1994, 381–7, figs. 5a, 6; François 1998, 324–5, pl. 1d, e; for the same type of pottery from Herakleion, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008a, 193, fig. 76. For examples from Khania, Hahn 1997, 176–7.
14 For Byzantine flasks in general, Bakirtzis 1989, 100–5, pl. 27–8, fig. 43; for flasks found in the eastern Mediterranean dated to the 8th century, Reynolds 2003, 732, figs. 3.12, 13.
15 Bakirtzis 1989, 103, pl. 27.6; 28.4; 43a, for examples from Argos and Italy.
16 Poulou-Papadimitriou 2003, 220–1, figs. 30–1.
Corinth, where they are considered to be of local manufacture. Although Morgan had dated them to the end of the 10th/beginning of the 11th century, Sanders placed them in the 11th century on the basis of new excavation data. The dating of the vessel from Grave 8 at Petras to the 11th century allows us to consider that particular grave one of the earliest in the cemetery. Future archaeometric analysis might provide evidence on whether this vessel was imported from Corinth where similar ceramics were being locally produced.18

Grave 5 contained one (male?) burial. A glazed bowl had been placed next to the mouth of the dead. It has a ring base and carination under the rim (Fig. 7). The inner surface and the exterior of the rim are covered by a pinkish slip below the green glaze. The shape indicates a date within the 13th century,19 and the clay and quality of the green glaze point towards local production.

Grave 17 also contained a single burial. The grave offerings consist of a clay bowl and a few pieces of a glass vessel. The clay bowl has a flat base, a vertical rim with three horizontal grooves on its outer surface and a carination at the join with the body (Fig. 8). The clay is semi-coarse with abundant small inclusions. There is no glaze. The shape has affinities with imported glazed ceramics of the 13th/14th century but the clay and the manufacture point towards local production. A similar glazed vessel from Isthmia is dated to the late 13th/early 14th century.20 Moreover, an unglazed vessel from Eleutherna presents a similar form but has a dif-

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17 Morgan 1942, 72–5, no. 406, pl. XIXb; Sanders 2000, 166.
18 Morgan 1942, 72–5; Sanders 2000, 166.
19 For glazed bowls with the same type rim and body from Sarachane/Istanbul, Hayes 1992, 148, fig. 90.3. For similar glazed bowls from Eleutherna, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008b, 52–3, pl. 11.38, 39.
20 Gregory 1989, 206, fig. 5.
different decoration on the outer surface of the rim. It is considered a local product and is dated to the 13th/14th century.\textsuperscript{21}

Grave 20 contained a single burial (Fig. 9a), and the grave offerings consist of a glazed bowl (Fig. 9b) and two circular belt buckles which belonged to the garment of the dead (Fig. 9c). The vessel has strong inclination to one side as the result of unsuccessful manufacture and firing. The rim is straight, and there is a carination at the join with the body. It has a ring base. The clay is semi-coarse with a few small dark inclusions. The outer and inner surfaces are covered with a thin layer of reddish slip, in the same color as the clay. The inner surface is also covered with a brown transparent glaze which has dripped in some areas onto the outer surface of the rim. On the bottom there are imprints of the tripod stilts used during the firing. Similar bowls with more elaborate decoration have been encountered in Thessaloniki and in Cyprus. The former date to the late 13th/14th century, the latter to the 14th century.\textsuperscript{22} The careless manufac-

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig9.jpg}
\caption{a) Grave 20 (photo by M. Tsipopoulou); b) Glazed bowl, 14th century, Grave 20 (photo by N. Poulou-Papadimitriou); c) Circular belt buckles, 14th century, Grave 20 (photo by N. Poulou-Papadimitriou).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{21} Yangaki 2004, 200, no. 133.
\textsuperscript{22} For glazed vessels with the same profile deriving from graves in Thessaloniki and dated to the late 13th/early 14th century, Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1989, 212, figs. 8, 13, 30; for one more example from Thessaloniki, dated to the 13th/14th century, Papanikola-Bakirtzi \textit{et al.} 1999, 126, 135, 197, no. 276.
ttrace of the vessel from Grave 20 might be indicative of local production.

The two circular belt buckles from the garment of the dead are of interest (Fig. 9c). The fact that they were found in the same burial as the clay vessel, which is dated to the late 13th/14th century, is an important chronological indicator that these items remained typologically unchanged over a long period of time. Similar buckles, dating to the late 10th/11th century, were found during the excavation in the plot of the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion. The bronze belt found in Herakleion in a burial dating to the end of the 10th/beginning of the 11th century bears similar circular buckles connected with bronze trefoil-shaped elements. Similar circular belt buckles were found in Corinth, where Davidson dated them to “in the Byzantine period”, and in Rhodes dating to the 14th/15th century. The belt buckles from Petras provide significant information about the use of this simple type of object during the 14th century.

Burial customs

The study of the graves provided interesting evidence about burial customs at the cemetery of Petras:

a) The first observation relates to the grave offerings. They consist of glass vessels and bronze implements from the garments, but also of open clay vessels. The latter characterize the period from the 11th century onwards, in contrast to the Early Byzantine period during which the majority of grave offerings consisted mainly of closed vessels (jugs).

b) An interesting custom encountered in five of the burials is the placement close to the right arm or near the mouth of the dead of sherds bearing an incised cross and the inscription IC XP NI KA (Fig. 10). This type of offering which is very rare in the Middle Byzantine period, becomes more common in the Late Byzantine period and continues until the 16th century.

c) Finally, there is a post-burial custom. Large sherds of cooking pots were piled on top of the graves, and in the cases of destroyed graves, concentrations of broken pots were found inside the tombs. This practice most likely relates to funerary common meals and ritual breakage of the cooking pots following the burial, as is known also from the modern Greek tradition. This custom, which was common in the early Christian centuries, is not encountered in the early middle ages of Byzantium and appears again at the end of the Middle Byzantine period (12th century).

Conclusions

The cemetery at Petras was established in the area of the abandoned Minoan palatial building. Research has shown that during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, cemeteries were organized within or

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23 Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008a, 170, fig. 23a.
24 Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008a, 171–2, fig. 26.
25 Davidson 1952, no. 2222, 269; for similar belt buckles from Rhodes dated to the 14th/15th century, Kollias 2004, 64, fig. 74, nos. 36–7, 39.
26 The Middle Byzantine cemetery of Ierissos in the Chalkidiki Peninsula provides the earliest examples of this interesting feature; Papaggelos 1988, 78–9; Papaggelos & Doukas 2008; Tsanana & Dogkas in press.
27 The same custom is attested in post-Byzantine graves in Three Churches on the island of Paros, Orlandos 1960, 256, fig. 1; Laskaris 2000, 114, no. 200; for incised sherds in 15th/16th centuries tombs (three coins 1476–1503) excavated on the island of Cos, Didioumi 1995, 828–9. I thank the archaeologist Mrs S. Didioumi for this information.
outside the town, on an acropolis, inside or around the parish church, or in the vicinity of a monastery church. During this period cemeteries could also be placed on top of abandoned ancient sites, as is the case at Petras. The investigations carried out so far have not provided any evidence for a medieval settlement in the broader area. However, the existence of a cemetery presupposes the presence of a settlement and its identification will be confirmed or disproved only by future research. Human activity in the area over a long period of time is clearly attested through the presence of pottery across the plateau on the hilltop of Petras.

There are two groups of grave offerings, chronologically distant: the bowl of Grave 8, dated to the 11th century, belongs to the first phase of occupation of the cemetery during the Middle Byzantine period (Second Byzantine period in Crete: 961–1204). Unfortunately, the typological similarity of the graves and the absence of grave offerings in some of them do not allow certainty about the number of graves belonging to this first phase. The second group comprises the offerings from Graves 5, 17, and 20, dating to the 13th and 14th centuries. It is important to note that there are also finds not mentioned in this contribution that belong to the 15th century. This (i.e., 13th–15th centuries) is the second and most extensive phase of occupation of the cemetery.

The grave offerings of the second phase are simple pots with or without a glaze coating most likely reflecting local production. Thus far there is no evidence for pottery production in the broader area of the city of Siteia during the second Byzantine period and the period of the Venetian occupation. Taking into account, however, that in other areas of Crete (Herakleion, Eleutherna, Mylopotamos area, Khania) there is such evidence, the presence of local pottery workshops in the area of Siteia cannot be excluded. The tripod stilt (Fig. 11) constitutes an indication of a local workshop, but its date is uncertain because it was a surface find.

Finally, the quality of the grave offerings indicates a society without officials or social elite. Although glazed vessels – not always of good quality – exist among the grave offerings, the graves at Petras did not yield jewelry as did those of Kastella in Herakleion and at Stylos Apokoronou. It can be deduced, therefore, that the cemetery of Petras belonged to a rather small community whose members did not have any special social or financial status. The officials and the elite might have resided elsewhere in the vicinity of Petras, probably in the city of Siteia, one of the cities of Crete during the Middle Byzantine period, which was mentioned as well as in the Venetian sources.

The study of the Byzantine material from Petras re-addresses the issue of human presence in the city and the broader area of Siteia. The published archaeological evidence for the Early and Middle Byzantine period is scarce. The remains of a large Early Byzantine basilica have been identified near the Roman rock-cut fish tanks, and the Venetian fortification is considered to have replaced the earlier one of the Middle Byzantine period. Recent archaeological research in the area north of the Venetian fortification (Casarma) revealed findings of the Early Byzantine period. Finally, recent excavations in the church of Hagioi Apostoloi (Holy

28 I thank Mrs Eleni Kanaki, archaeologist of the 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for the information concerning the unpublished material from excavations in Herakleion; for Eleutherna, Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008b, 30–3; for Khania, Hahn 1997, 42–3, 177, 193.
29 Tsougarakis 1988, 229, 232, 303–4; Malamut 1988, 263, 265.
30 Platon 1954b, 364; Sanders 1982, 89; Papadakis 1983, 103; Tsougarakis 1988, 304.
32 I thank Mrs Maria Mari, archaeologist of the 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for the information concerning the unpublished material from excavations in Siteia.
Apostles) in Kato Episkopi, revealed that this building was constructed in the 11th century as a Middle Byzantine bath structure. Its transformation into a church occurred later, during the Venetian period (16th century). This shows that contrary to the prevailing opinion prior to the discovery of the bath, and according to the evidence so far, there was no church of the 11th century in Kato Episkopi (Siteia).

The related references in the written sources are rare and at times unclear. In Notitia 3 dating to the late 8th century, we find the first reference to the bishopric of Siteia. There is another reference to the same bishopric in Notitia 13, dated to the Middle Byzantine period (12th century). It is thought that during this period the seat of the bishopric was transferred from the city of Siteia to the villages of Ano and Kato Episkopi, a few kilometers from the modern town. The medieval town depicted on Venetian maps of the 17th century is thought to have been re-settled during the Venetian period, after the 13th century. However, Siteia was mentioned in an important document dated to 1212 as one of the “tourmai” in the eastern part of the island, the others being those of Ierapetra and Lasithi. This perhaps lends support to the idea that the city with a Byzantine fortification existed during the Middle Byzantine period.

The surface survey and the excavation at Petras provided very little, but still clear, evidence for human activity during the Early and Middle Byzantine period (especially from the 6th/7th to 9th and 10th-12th centuries). The remains of the Venetian period are more numerous and reflect intense occupation of the area. It is likely that a community existed at Petras which was in contact with the nearby medieval city of Siteia.

A brief comment should be made on the hypothetical transfer of the bishopric from Siteia to Ano and Kato Episkopi. Even if such a transfer had occurred, this does not necessarily imply that the city was deserted. The ongoing archaeological research will reveal whether there was a change in the activities of the people of Siteia during the Middle Byzantine period. If this proves to be the case in a traditionally urban center like Siteia, it might signify quantitative or qualitative change but not abandonment of the city.

What if the transfer of the bishopric never happened? Very often the establishment of new settlements in the vicinity of older urban centers was dictated by changes in the economy or population increase necessitating more intensive agricultural production. It is possible that the villages of Ano and Kato Episkopi were created during the Middle Byzantine period in the area where great landowners – members of the provincial aristocracy, monasteries or even the bishopric of Siteia – owned large properties. It should also be stressed that if the bishopric is not mentioned by its new name in any Byzantine text, it is high likely that the specific place names (Ano and Kato Episkopi) reflect a later development.

The history of the city and the broader area of Siteia during the Byzantine period has just been touched upon. Continuing archaeological research in the area is expected to shed new light on this issue.

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33 For the Middle Byzantine bath, Katifori 2010, 211–22. For a Byzantine bath of the same type and date in Episkopi of Ierapetra, Mylopotamitaki 1986, 441–52.
34 For the 11th century church of Hagioi Apostoloi in Kato Episkopi, Tsougarakis 1988, 304.
36 Gerola 1908, 60–4; Tsougarakis 1988, 229, 232, 303–4. For the opposite opinion, Malamut 1988, 263, 265. It is important to note that Siteia is mentioned as one of the Latin bishoprics of Crete as early as 1220, Fedalto 1973, 317.
37 For the same opinion, Malamut 1988, 206, 265, 333.
38 About this subject, Brandes 1999, 41–4.
39 Brandes 1999, 44; Russell 1986, 137–84.
40 Malamut 1988, 206, 265, 333, is also in favor of this opinion.
41 During the Middle Byzantine period there was a population increase and economic development in many regions of the Empire, Lefort 2002, 270–1, 275; Laiou 2005, 40–6; Lefort 2006, 432–3, 438. On population increase in Crete after the 10th century, Malamut 1988, 145–6.
42 According Lefort 2002, 290–3, “the great landowners belonged to the... provincial aristocracy... The same applied to many monasteries and bishoprics.”
Discussion

**Blackman**  The small tripod stilt is very interesting. Yet it was a surface find. Are you sure about the dating? Does it preserve any traces of firing?

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**  Yes.

**Blackman**  About the graffiti, I would like to see the drawings, so the letters can be more clear.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**  We have no drawings as yet.

**Blackman**  I study graffiti, it is very important to have both the picture and the drawing.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**  We are preparing the drawings. About the surface find, the tripod stilt. It is sure that such stilts were used during the Ottoman occupation. Its presence anyway suggests pottery production. Also, I must say that based on the size of the stilt, we can find the dating, because we know the type of vessel that it was used for. If it is dated to the Late Byzantine period, the stilt is smaller; if it is dated to the Ottoman occupation the stilts are very large. This particular one is dated to the Late Byzantine period, I believe, or in Cretan terms, to the early Venetian occupation.

**Vallianou**  We hear about these Byzantine finds with much interest. The tradition looks uninterrupted. I would like to ask whether the incised cross and the other symbols could have been earlier? Because we know that they were used at an earlier period, for decoration on vessels.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**  No, this was not the case. Also we have them on Minoan sherds. They are incised on broken sherds, especially from amphorae. They do not come from earlier vases with incised decoration.

**Vallianou**  Anyway, incisions are common on earlier vases, at least up to the 7th century AD. As I know from Matala, there are many incised crosses and stars, especially on lamps.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**  Yes, on vases there are incised motifs like crosses, stars, etc. but no inscriptions like Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Νικᾶ, or even Βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου. This is a special case first encountered in the 9th century at Ierissos, and later over a wide area.

**Tsipopoulou**  I understand that many would wonder where the church connected with this cemetery was. I need to say here that there was no church on top of the Minoan palace, fortunately for us, Minoan archaeologists, as the building suffered much because of
the Byzantine cemetery, as I showed to you in my introductory paper. I would like to ask Natalia to comment about the lack of a church, and also to point out, that there is a local tradition in Siteia about a church on the plateau. Bosanquet also reports that in his 1901–1902 publication. There was never a church because we investigated the whole plateau very thoroughly. Maybe the inhabitants of Siteia in later times knew that there was a cemetery, and they thought that it was connected with a church.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**

It is very common in Middle and Late Byzantine times to have cemeteries without churches, especially if they are located on deserted areas and ancient sites. Metaxia’s observation gives me the chance to point out this fact. One should not exclude the possibility, however, of the existence of a small church somewhere on the hill, which was abandoned and is no longer preserved, even though the sacred place remains sacred, and they used to build new churches in the place of older ones. It is possible, as was the case on the island of Pseira, which I am studying, that the church was preserved only to a height of less than 1 m. The one at Petras, if it ever existed, could be even less preserved, and so it is not visible anymore, especially if it was situated on a slope of the hill that has not been investigated.

**Vasilakis**

I would like to ask both Metaxia and you, whether you have located any traces of the settlement.

**Tsipopoulou**

The traditional settlement of Petras, which still preserves several old houses, and is protected by the 13th Ephorate of Byzantine and Post Byzantine Monuments, is dated to the Ottoman occupation. I asked my colleagues and they never said anything about an earlier date.

**Poulou-Papadimitriou**

Maybe the settlement preserves some early Venetian occupation features?

**Tsipopoulou**

All I can say is that it was never excavated.

**Karetsou**

I would like to remind you, that the very rich Knossos cemetery, excavated in recent years by the British School and the 23rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, contained among the Minoan and Roman graves also many Byzantine graves. Near this very extensive cemetery, which is still under excavation, there must have been pottery kilns, because many tripod stilts have been found. Also here in Athens, during excavations for the Attiko Metro, close to the Evangelismos hospital, kilns were found. So, this practice was quite common. Ancient sites were nostalgic places for the Medieval population, and also they were used by them to serve various needs.

**Tsipopoulou**

The word *Petras* means an area from where the locals took stones, apparently cut stones used in ancient buildings, to build their own houses.

**Alexopoulos**

Ceramic workshops and kilns near a cemetery were found at the Kerameikos. The pottery produced served the cemetery.
Of course. Only in our case at Petras, the totality of the plateau has been investigated and no traces of a kiln or a ceramic workshop were found, except for this tripod stilt. It was a surface find, but significant as an indication.

Greek abstract

Κεραμική της Μεσοβυζαντινής και πρώιμης Ενετικής περιόδου από τον Πετρά Σητείας

Το ταφικό σύνολο, που αποκάλυψε η ανασκαφή στο λόφο του Πετρά, στη θέση του ανακτόρου, είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό και η μελέτη του θα μας δώσει πολύτιμα συμπεράσματα τόσο για την Μεσοβυζαντινή Σητεία, όσο και για τις ταφικές συνήθειες της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής περιόδου. Στην ανακοίνωση δίδονται τα πρώτα συμπεράσματα που συνάγονται από την μελέτη της κεραμικής και άλλων αντικειμένων, που βρέθηκαν ως κτερίσματα μέσα στις ταφές ή ήταν σε άμεση σχέση με αυτές, καθώς βρέθηκαν ακριβώς επάνω ή γύρω από τους τάφους. Η μελέτη και χρονολόγηση των ευρημάτων μας δίνουν σημαντικά στοιχεία για την ύπαρξη του Βυζαντινού νεκροταφείου ήδη από την β’ Βυζαντινή περίοδο καθώς και για τη συνέχιση της χρήσης του χώρου για την ταφή ατόμων από κάποια κοινωνία κοινότητα μέχρι και τον 14ο/15ο αι. Τέλος, παρατίθενται κάποιες πρώτες σχέσεις σχετικά με την ιστορία της ευρύτερης περιοχής και της πόλης της Σητείας κατά την Βυζαντινή περίοδο.
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.

Tsiropoulou  We do not have ash.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hallager  I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, 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.

Final discussion
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 Thera eruption? 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 Rannous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with ΕΛΚΕΘΕ [Hellenic Center of Marine Research] the problem of relative sea level change. Relative is the important word here, has the sea gone down and the land gone up, or both phenomena? The question goes back to Spratt and the whole question of what Crete has done, we know about elevation in the west, but something was happening in the east, and we have these submerged buildings at Palaikastro, which we wanted to survey. The whole issue of reconstructing the palaeoenvironment is very important. Now, at Siteia we have a *neoreion* that is classical, too late for our Prehistorian friends, but there you have something which functions with a precise sea level, not far from your site. First the geologists disagree about what has happened to the sea. Secondly the land is not one block, so what applies to Palaikastro will not necessarily apply to Siteia.

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!
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 la Société préhistorique française

BSPF – Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française


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


CretChron – Kretika Chronika

CurrAnth – Current Anthropology

JAnthArch – Journal of Anthropological Archaeology

JAS – Journal of Archaeological Science

JMA – Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

JPR – Journal of Prehistoric Religion

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

OpAth – Opuscula Atheniensia

Prakt – Praktika tes en Athenais Archaeologikes Etaireias

SIMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology

SkrAth – Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen

WorldArch – World Archaeology

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