

KLIO'S CLAY: INSCRIBED INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA FROM LAPPA (CRETE)*

This article explores the possible historical interpretations for a collection of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, largely found in stratified contexts during systematic excavations at modern Argyroupoli (ancient Lappa, Crete) between 1986 and 1990 (see Appendix I, pp. 231-242). It constitutes a response to the calls of Harris and Chaniotis for (1) detailed regional studies, (2) research in western and eastern Crete, (3) investigation of the post-Minoan period of the island's history, (4) attention to secular sources of evidence, and (5) a detailed checklist of the island's *instrumenta domestica*¹. It entails a detailed sub-regional study, devoted to one polis in western Crete in the Hellenistic-Roman period, with inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from the Agora area and a house near a public bath (*fig. 1*).

I. Transit, communication, and inscribed *instrumenta domestica*

I. 1. *Routes of transit and communication* (*fig. 1*)

Hellenistic-Roman Lappa had access to both east-west and north-south transit corridors that could bring imported inscribed *instrumenta domestica* to the city, as a result of her strategic location atop a hill between the Petres River to her east and the Mousselas to her west². The city was perched on a summit so narrow that it could overlook both river valleys, with a good view of the territory of Aptaera in the Apokoronas plain³. The Delphic *theoroi*, in fact, travelled to Lappa from Aptaera and went on to Rithymna⁴. Modern Lake Kourna appears to have been within the western reaches of Lappa's territory⁵. On the east side of Lappa a bridge formed of large blocks of stone of ancient workmanship spanned the deep fissure through which the Petres River ran⁶. The west-east orientation of this route was encouraged by the coastal plain of Rithymna, one of the island's principal arteries of communication well before the Hellenistic period⁷. In the imperial period the main Roman road connecting western Crete with Gortyn passed through Aptaera, Lappa, and Eleutherna via Stavromenos⁸. From Eleutherna the ancient route emerged through the Arkadi plateau to reach Sybritos and Apodoulou, before turning east toward the Mesara⁹.

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¹ HARRIS 1999, p. 354; CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 92-93. See, for example, La Rosa's study of the lamp signatures and inscribed loomweights of Roman imperial period from the area of Phaistos (LA ROSA-

PORTALE 2004, pp. 479-484).

² Mouselas River (ancient Mesapos?): TALBERT 2000, map 60.

³ SPRATT 1865 II, p. 117.

⁴ PLASSART 1921, p. 19 col. III, lines 113-116.

⁵ ICR II, xvi *praef. hist.*, p. 192.

⁶ FALKENER 1852, p. 294.

⁷ SCAFA 1994, pp. 173-174; ERICKSON 2004, p. 206.

⁸ BALDWIN BOWSKY-NINIYOU KINDELI 2006, p. 406 *fig. 1* and pp. 426-428.

⁹ KANTA 1994, p. 67.

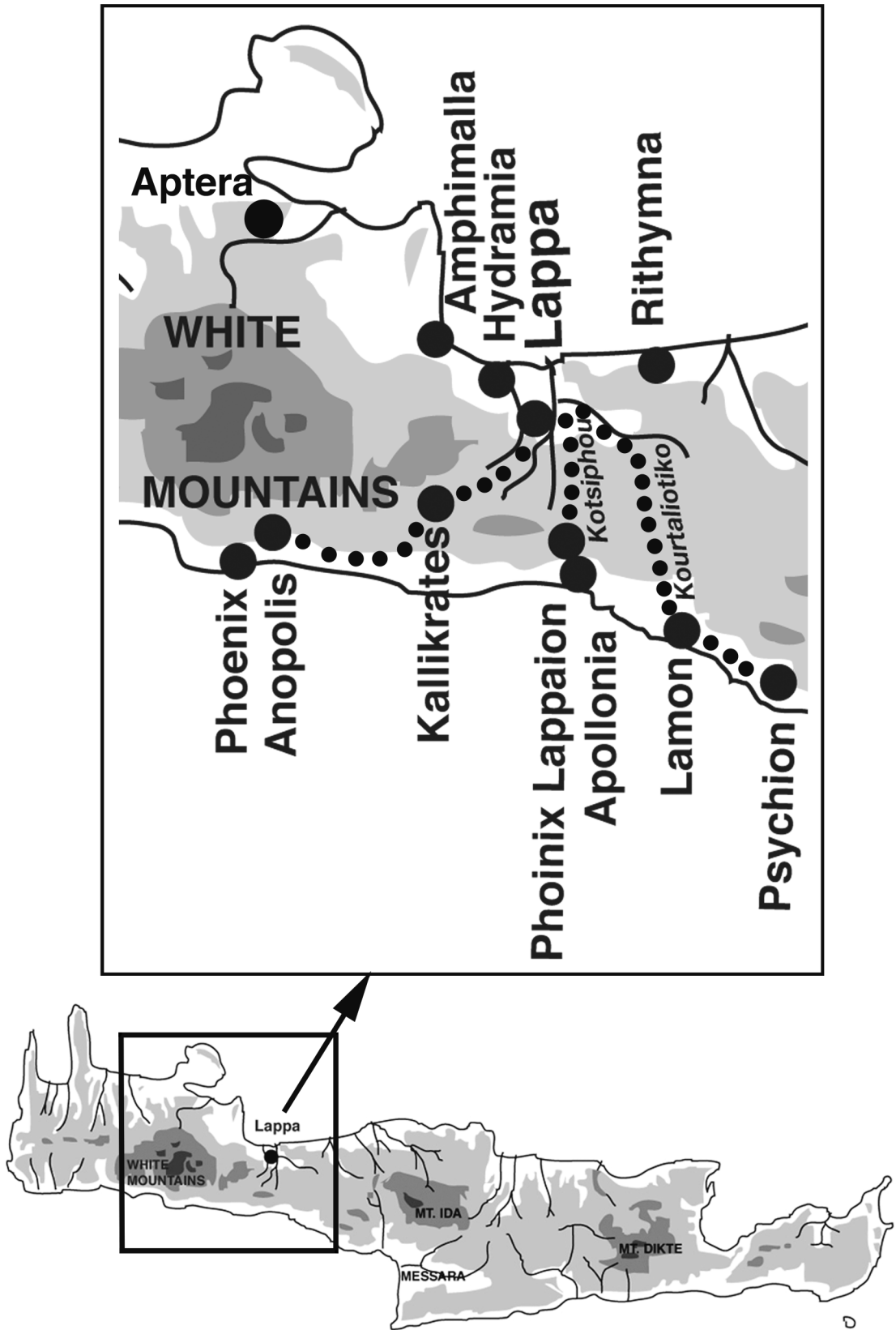


FIG. 1 – CRETE. INSET FOR LAPPA, HER TERRITORY AND ROUTES OF TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATION.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Lappa also had a territory that extended from north to south, albeit with substantially easier access to the north coast than the south¹⁰. Poised slightly more than halfway across the island's second-narrowest isthmus – 12 km from the north coast in an isthmus some 20 km wide – Lappa had access to two river valleys that penetrate deeply into the mountains that rise south of the village¹¹. The Mouselas River flows from Lappa to Hydramia – one of her northern ports, together with Amphimala – while a southern port and settlements lay along the south coast from Phoinix Lappaion to Lamon, Apollonia, and Psychion. The location of Phoinix Lappaion remains a subject of debate, given the name Phoinix – which refers to the Cretan palm, *Phoenix theophrasti* – borne by both the port of Lappa and that of Anopolis and Aradena (modern Loutro in the eparchy of Sphakia). Guarducci and Spanakis place Phoinix Lappaion at modern Finikias in the eparchy of Ag. Vasileios¹². Hood and Warren and the *Barrington Atlas* put it high in the valley at the Finikias site of Selia¹³. The location of Lamon is less controversial, as it is placed high in the Kotsiphou gorge near Myrtos, on the coast at Plakias, or in the area of Plakias¹⁴. Consensus likewise places Apollonia near Finikias, on the shore near Selia, or in the area of Plakias¹⁵. Psychion is generally located at Cape Melissa or else at a site overlooking the modern Akoumaianos River at Saktouria if not Triopetra¹⁶.

Most recently Gavrilaki discussed the old opinion that placed Phoenix Lappaion as far west as modern Loutro (ancient Phoenix) in the Sphakia eparchy, given the physical access of Lappa to the south coast and the recent discovery of a Lappaian proxeny inscription in honor of a citizen of Anopolis¹⁷. Rackham and Moody note that the Cretan date palm – to which the ancient place name Phoinix and the modern toponym Finikias refer – still grows at Phoinix in Ag. Vasileios as well as Phoinix in Sphakia¹⁸. The recent discovery of a proxeny decree – in honor of Kartias of Anopolis and now built into the chapel of the «Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple» located in Ag. Dynamis at Lappa – can suggest that Lappa's contacts extended farther to the west than her own southern ports¹⁹. A southern coastal road could have taken Kartias from Anopolis and Phoenix eastwards to Phoinix Lappaion, while a south-north road could have led him from Phoinix to Lappa, probably via Kallikrates, which lies in a saddle between the heights of Krioneritis and Angathes²⁰.

The Roman renaissance at Lappa can be connected with extensive constructions along both the north and south coasts of Crete²¹. On the south coast, a cluster of six Roman sites at the mouth of the Kotsiphou gorge includes Apollonia, four different sites around Selia,

¹⁰ Ps.-Skylax, *Peripl.* XLVII; Strabo X 475; LE RIDER 1966, p. 261.

¹¹ SPRATT 1865 II, p. 117.

¹² *ICr* II, xvi *praef. geogr.*, *vicina Lappae*, pp. 191-192; SPANAKIS 1993, p. 798 s.v. Φοινικιάς.

¹³ HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 184; TALBERT 2000, map 60; Directory II, p. 927.

¹⁴ Near Myrtos: *ICr* II, xvi *praef. geogr.*, p. 192. At Plakias: HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 183; SANDERS 1982, p. 164; TALBERT 2000, map 60 and Directory II, p. 925. In the area of Plakias: GAVRILAKI forthcoming.

¹⁵ Near Finikias: *ICr* II, xvi *praef. geogr.*, p. 192. On the shore near Selia: HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 184; SANDERS 1982, p. 164; TALBERT 2000 map 60 and

Directory II, p. 921. In the area of Plakias: GAVRILAKI forthcoming.

¹⁶ Cape Melissa: *ICr* II, endmap; HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 170; SANDERS 1982, p. 164; GAVRILAKI forthcoming. Cape Melissa or else Saktouria if not Triopetra: HOOD-WARREN 1966, pp. 171-172.

¹⁷ GAVRILAKI forthcoming; TZIFOPOULOS 2007A, pp. 1462-1464 n. 1.

¹⁸ SPANAKIS 1993, p. 798 s.v. Φοινικιάς; RACKHAM-MOODY 1996, p. 68.

¹⁹ TZIFOPOULOS 2007A, pp. 1462-1464 n. 1.

²⁰ SCAFA 1994, pp. 175-176.

²¹ *ArchDelt* 50, 1995, pp. 739 and 741-742.

and Plakias²². It would be most economical to locate Phoenix Lappaion – together with Lamon and Apollonia – around the Plaka bay in the southwestern Ag. Vasileios valley, which lay between the Kotsiphou and Kourtaliotiko gorges²³. Lappa communicated with her harbors on the south coast by way of the Kotsiphou gorge that runs from the south side of the Ag. Vasileios valley, below Myrtos²⁴. Spratt noted that in the eparchy of Ag. Vasileios or Lampe – which bears a variant of the name of Lappa – a single small bay indents the coast nearly in its center at Plakias and offers a summer-only anchorage where the gorge opens into the bay²⁵.

I.2. *Inscribed Instrumenta Domestica*

Despite Lappa's strategic location along routes of transit and communications, only four examples of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from the Hellenistic-Roman city have been published to date²⁶. A sling bullet in the Rethymno Museum bears the letters ME in ligature, and might be a relic of Metellus' siege of Lappa, or else Eleutherna, also besieged by Metellus and no farther from Rethymno than Lappa²⁷. A lead water pipe bears the inscription ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝ and probably belonged to the water delivery system of Roman Lappa²⁸. A lamp produced by the Cretan workshop of Troilus has been found there as well as an incised gem²⁹.

The collection of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* presented here raises the total for Lappa from 4 to 56, a dramatic increase to say the least. The time span it covers, from the early Hellenistic period to the early Roman, is one that can illustrate changes in the use and distribution of *instrumenta domestica* as a result of multiple phenomena³⁰. Careful study of the stratigraphical information provided by coins and non-inscribed ceramics add precision to our interpretation of this collection as one that may illustrate historical events. Future studies will be devoted to the coins, the Hellenistic ceramics, and the uninscribed fragments of Italian sigillata of the Vougioukalakis plot.

The catalog of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* on which this study relies is arranged according to pottery type, beginning with an Attic echinus bowl (1), and proceeding to tiles (2-4), loomweights (5-16), parts of vessels (17-23), stamped amphora handles (24-29), and stamped pottery (30-52). The majority of these inscribed *instrumenta domestica* were found in the Vougioukalakis plot, a phenomenon that can serve as a case study of the importance of cataloging and publishing them³¹. Of the eleven plots thus far excavated at

²² See SANDERS 1982, p. 164 and site location map for sites 15/1-6: Apollonia; Sellia Finikias, Sellia Ag. Marina, Sellia Kambos, and Sellia Voukelari; Plakias.

²³ MOODY-PEATFIELD-MARKOULAKI 2000, p. 360.

²⁴ HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 165, where the gorge is named after the River Kotsiphos; cf. Spratt's route to the interior, where the gorge is called the Myrto from the name of the village MYRTOS (SPRATT 1865 II, p. 270); MOODY-PEATFIELD-MARKOULAKI 2000, p. 360.

²⁵ SPRATT 1865 II, pp. 268-269.

²⁶ See CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 107 for the importance of distinguishing between transit trade and the export of local products, especially in the Hellenistic period.

²⁷ *ICr* II, xxiv 24. Eleutherna is 24 km from Rethymno, while Argyroupoli is 27 km away (SPANAKIS 1991, pp. 134 and 262).

²⁸ *ArchEph* 1948-49, p. 11 n. 5 and fig. 21; see

CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 103 for the advent of clay and metal drain pipes for the first time in the Roman period.

²⁹ Lamp: *ICr* II, xvi 31; CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 103 and 105, esp. for the advent of identifiable lamp workshops in the Roman period. Incised gem: *ICr* II, xvi 32.

³⁰ See CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94 for such phenomena as socio-political and economic developments, familiarity with writing, contacts with other regions, resultant patterns of uniformity or heterogeneity within the island, and the integration or isolation of the island as a whole.

³¹ Cfr. CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 93 on the methodological problems that result from a state of research in which most *instrumenta domestica* from Crete are not only unpublished but uncatalogued, with the result that relatively little progress has been made since the publication of *Inscriptiones Creticae*.

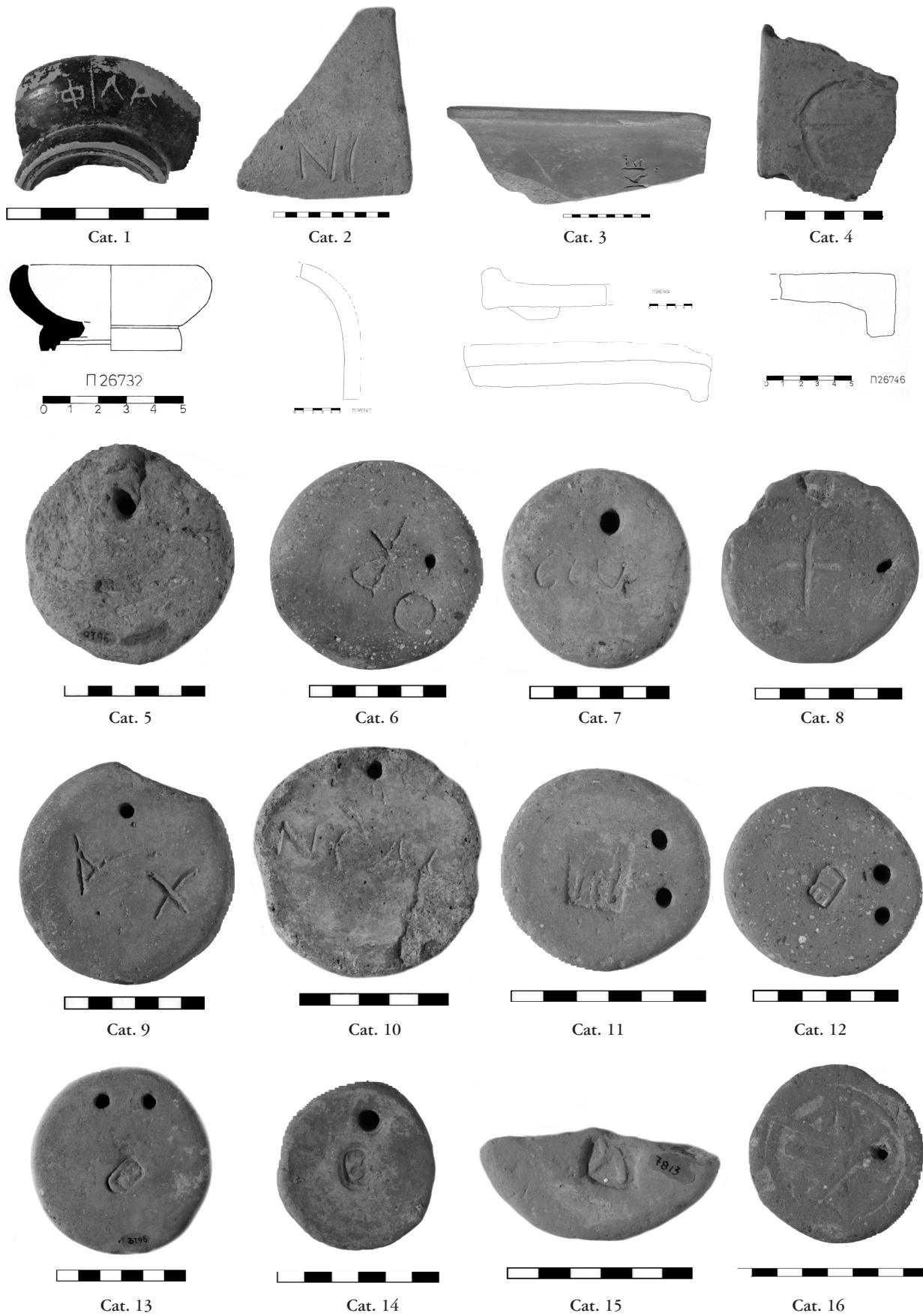


FIG. 2 – INSCRIBED *INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA*: SALT CELLAR, TILES, AND LOOMWEIGHTS (CAT. NN. 1-16).

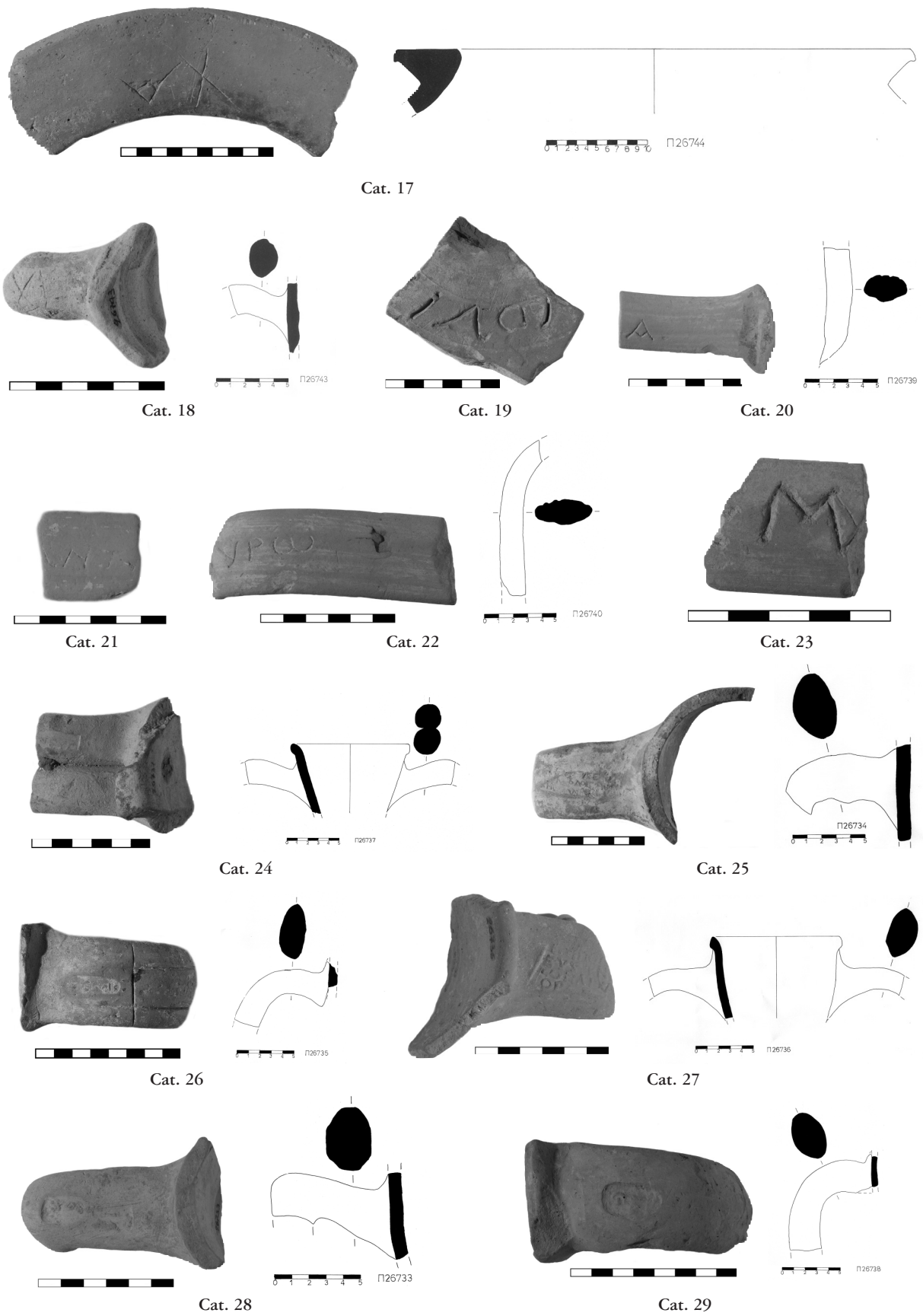


FIG. 3 – INSCRIBED *INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA*: LOCALLY PRODUCED VESSELS AND STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES (CAT. NN. 17-29).

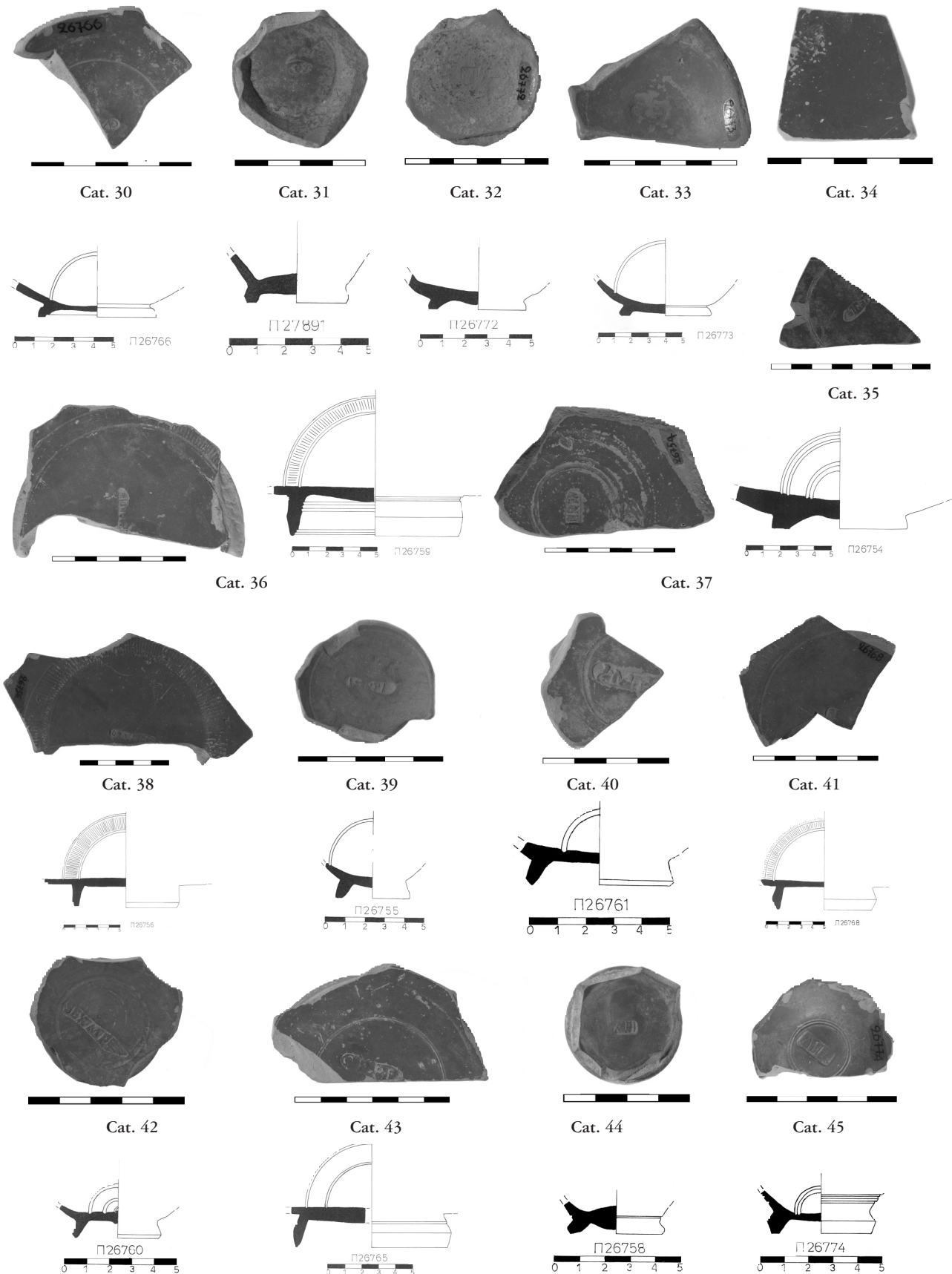


FIG. 4 – INSCRIBED *INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA*: ITALIAN SIGILLATA STAMPS (CAT. NN. 30-45).

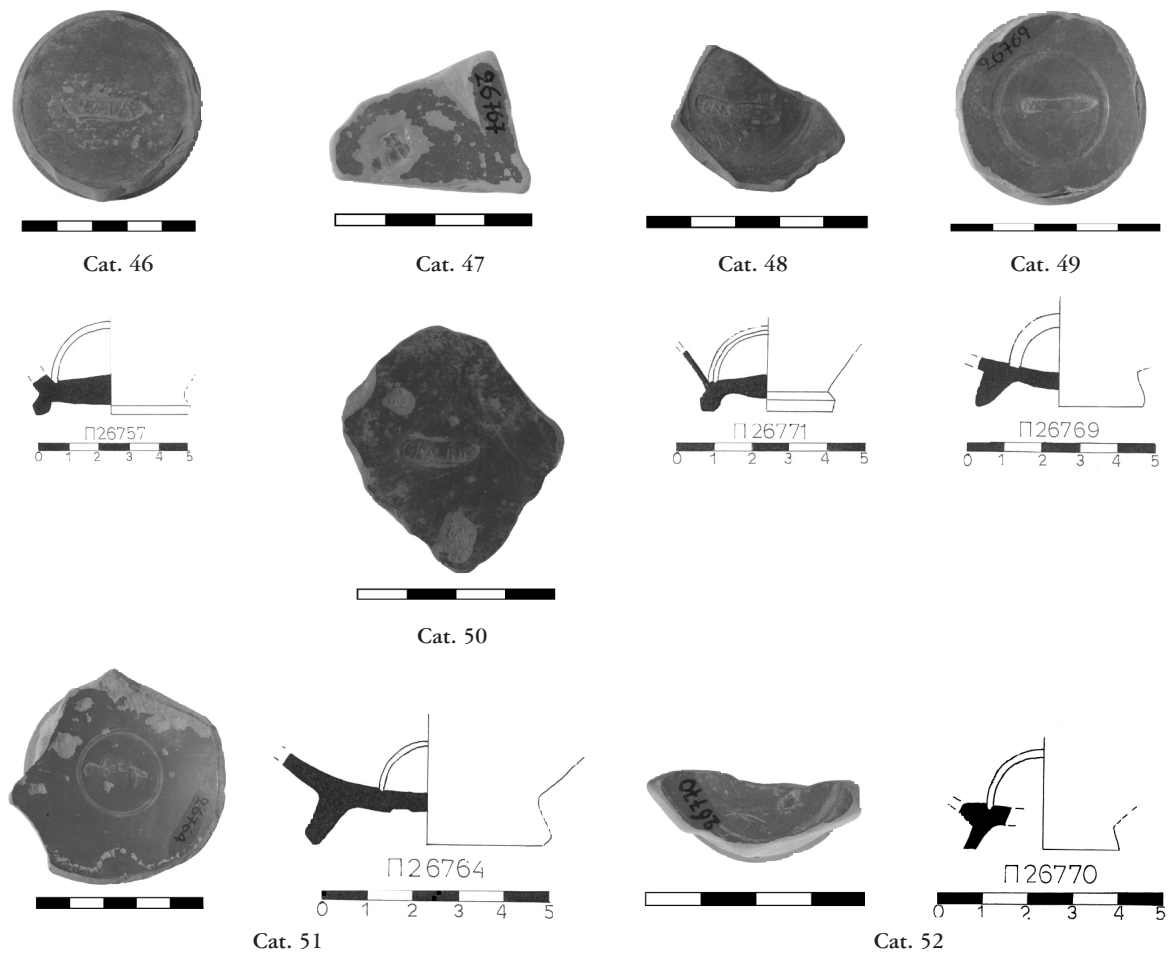


FIG. 5 – INSCRIBED *INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA*: ITALIAN SIGILLATA STAMPS (CAT. NN. 46-52).

Argyroupoli³², the Vougioukalakis plot has produced the lion's share of the inscribed *instrumenta domestica* examined here, 45 objects encompassing the full range of types presented in this study. We cannot stress too strongly the significance of finding such a high number of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* in one plot that revealed a Hellenistic-Roman house. This only underlines the need for more investigation of private buildings, particularly domestic ones. Three of the plots excavated to date at Argyroupoli have produced

³² For excavation reports, see *ArchDelt* 42 B'2, 1987, pp. 572-573 (OTE plot); *CretEst* 3, 1989-1990, p. 265 (Ecclesiastical Council plot); *ArchDelt* 45, 1990, p. 445 and *CretEst* 4, 1989-1991, pp. 237-239 (Vougioukalakis plot); *ArchDelt* 48, 1993, pp. 479-481 and *CretEst* 5, 1994-1996, pp. 246-247 (Zographakis-Glekas plot); *ArchDelt* 48, 1993, p. 481 (cleaning of a channel of Roman times); *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, pp. 721-722 and *CretEst* 5, 1994-1996, pp. 213-214 (Suggelakis plot at Giorgioupo-

lis); *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, pp. 729-730 and *CretEst* 5, 1994-1996, pp. 248-249 (Katritzidakis plot); *ArchDelt* 50 B'2, 1995, pp. 741-742 and *CretEst* 8, 2000-2001, pp. 282-286 (Manolopoulos plot); *CretEst* 8, 2000-2001, p. 286 (Roman necropolis). Forthcoming excavation reports will concern the Athanasoulas-Kiagiadakis plot (2000), the Petraki plot (2000), the Loukogiorgakis plot (2001), and the Tzanoudakis plot at Stavromenos (1986).

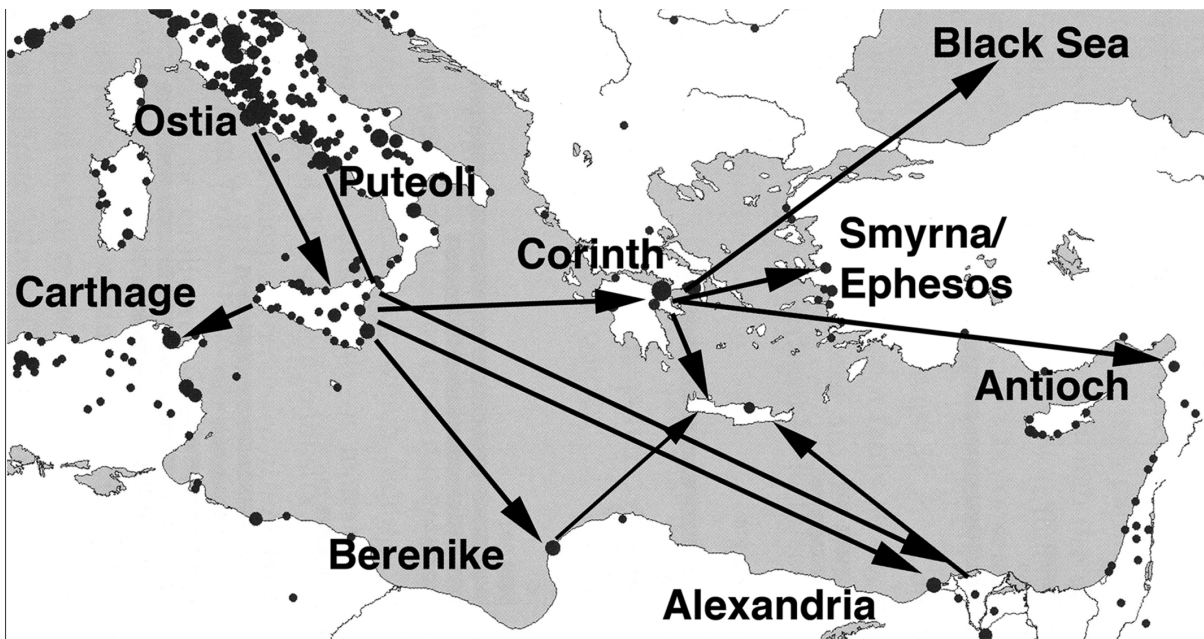


FIG. 6 – ROUTES OF TRANSIT AND COMMUNICATION (BASED ON *OCK*, p. 4, FIG. 4).

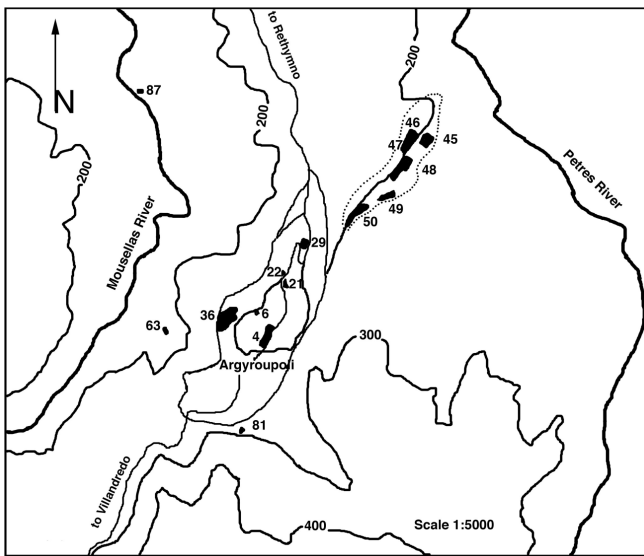


FIG. 7A – A. ARGYROUPOLI: EXCAVATION PLOTS [4: PUBLIC PLOT WITH MOSAICS; 6: MANOLOPOULOS PLOT; 21: VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT; 22: KIAGIADAKIS PLOT (BELLI); 29: PHILIAS SOCHORO; 36: LEFOU PLOT; 45-50: PENTE PARTHENES; 63: PIGES (GEROLA); 81: CISTERN; 87: AG. KYRIAKI].

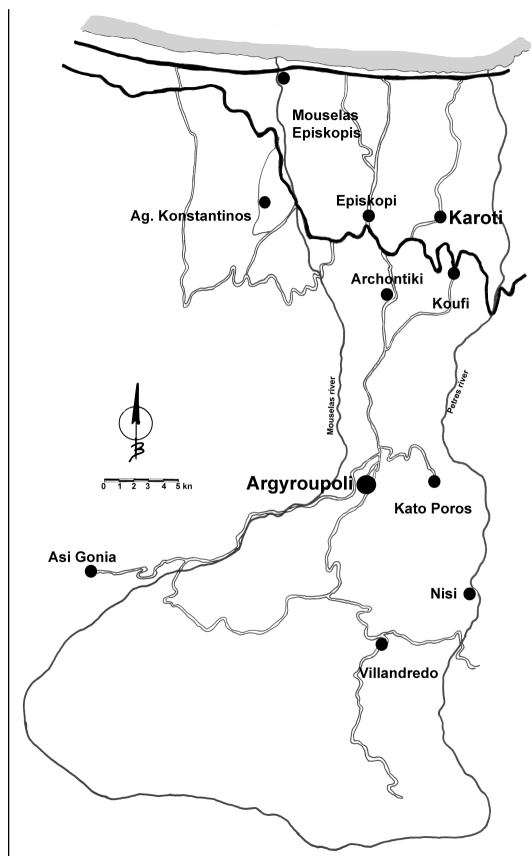


FIG. 7B – DEMOS LAPPAION.



FIG. 8 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: OVERVIEW OF EXCAVATED AREA.

52 examples of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, but that does not mean that such objects were present only in these three plots. The apparent spatial distribution – in the Lefou and Manolopoulos plots on the west side of the hill and the Vougioukalakis plot on the east side – is more likely an artefact of the history of archaeology, as these excavations have taken place over a span of 26 years, under a variety of archaeologists, and have been largely rescue excavations undertaken in preparation for construction as the modern town develops.

We can examine this collection of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* in such a way as to address a series of fundamental questions about continuity and change in the material record of Lappa, beginning with (1) where inscribed *instrumenta domestica* have been found in the archaeological landscape of Lappa. The discussion then considers various categories of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, and for imported goods – an Attic echinus bowl, amphora handles, and *terrae sigillatae* – asks (2) when these objects were produced or imported; (3) whence the imported objects made their way to the island; (4) how these imported goods came to Lappa and what that contributes to our knowledge of transit and trade patterns; and (5) why Lappaians imported fine wares and amphoras to supplement their own local production³³. Study of the inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from the Lefou, Vougioukalakis, and Manolopoulos plots will shed light on the commercial connections and contacts of the ancient city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

II. Where: the archaeological landscape of Lappa

Within the archaeological landscape of Lappa (Appendix I) three of the more than twenty systematic rescue excavations have produced inscribed *instrumenta domestica*: the Lefou, Vougioukalakis, and Manolopoulos plots.

II. 1. *Lefou plot*

The Lefou plot preserves architectural and sculptural remains, as well as inscribed pottery from the area of the Agora of ancient Lappa (Appendix I, p. 236). The inscribed *instrumenta domestica* published here were found at depths that range from just above floor level (11, fig. 2) to below floor level (8, fig. 2; 6, fig. 2; 17, fig. 3), or at an unrecorded depth (12, fig. 2). The three found below floor level showed traces of burning, perhaps to be associated with the destruction of a Hellenistic building below the Roman bath.

II. 2. *Vougioukalakis plot* (fig. 8)

The Vougioukalakis plot preserves the remains of a domestic unit, arranged on two levels (Appendix I, pp. 236-242). The earlier phase of this complex is dated from the fourth quarter of the second to the mid-first century BC, and a later one from the end of the first century BC until the first half of the first to beginning of the second century AD (Appendix I, p. 242). In preparation for systematic excavation, surface cleaning of the plot produced an inscribed vessel handle (Appendix I, p. 236; 18, fig. 3). The plot – whose eastern part is on a level lower than the western – was divided into eight rectangular

³³ Cfr. POBLOME 2004, p. 17 for where, when, and how in a discussion of Italian sigillata.

trenches, 1-4 in the lower, eastern part and 5-8 in the upper, western. The lower part of the plot was in much worse condition than the upper but did reveal destruction layers in Trenches 1 and 2. In the higher part of the plot, as remains increased in height from north to south, destruction layers and traces of burning appeared in various strata (fig. 7: Trench 5, strata 2 and 3; Trench 6, stratum 1; Trench 7, strata 2 and 3; Extension A, stratum 3; Extension B, stratum 2; Area Alpha, strata 3-4; South Room, stratum 5; North Room, stratum 9).

The inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from this domestic unit all come from the upper, better preserved level of the plot (fig. 8: trenches 5-8, Extensions A and B, Area Alpha). In the northern part of the upper level, trench 5 yielded part of a small Attic echinus bowl with an graffito, at an unrecorded level (1, fig. 2). The Martyras between trenches 6 and 7 produced a stamped fragment of Italian sigillata, again at an unrecorded level (37, fig. 4). Layer 2 of Extension A – above a destruction layer – brought to light nine Italian sigillata and Eastern Sigillata B stamps (47, fig. 5; 35, fig. 4; 40, fig. 4; 30, fig. 4; 36, fig. 4; 34, fig. 4; 49, fig. 5; 43, fig. 4; 33, fig. 4). The destruction layer of Extension A (layer 3) yielded another Italian sigillata stamp that was apparently on the surface when the building was destroyed (52, fig. 5). Extension B contained two destruction layers, one of which (2) which produced a loomweight (14, fig. 2). What came to be called Area Alpha was in the same area as the original trenches 6 and Extension B (Appendix I, p. 241). In Area Alpha one destruction layer (3) produced an Italian sigillata stamp, a stamped amphora handle, and a loomweight (31, fig. 4; 29, fig. 3; and 5, fig. 2). Another destruction layer (4) yielded an Italian sigillata stamp, a Campanian Orange Sigillata stamp, and another Italian sigillata stamp (41, fig. 4; 32, fig. 4; and 48, fig. 5). Five trenches were subsequently laid out in and around Area Alpha, of which trench 1 brought to light the North Room (Appendix I, p. 241), as well as an Italian sigillata stamp and a loomweight (39, fig. 4; 10, fig. 2). Trench 2 to the north of the North Room yielded an amphora handle and a loomweight (26, fig. 3; 7, fig. 2). Trenches 3 and 4 revealed the South Room (Appendix I, p. 241), where layer 3 of Trench 3 – above a destruction layer – produced a loomweight and pithos cover (13, fig. 2; 19, fig. 3). The destruction layer (5) yielded a vessel handle and a tile (21, fig. 3; 3, fig. 2). Trench 4 produced a stamped amphora handle (28, fig. 3). The so-called Lithosoros, a modern retaining wall, is a disturbed context that produced a loom weight and four Italian sigillata stamps (16, fig. 2; 38, fig. 4; 44, fig. 4; 46, fig. 5; and 50, fig. 5). Specific archaeological findspots are not preserved for four more pieces of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from the Vougioukalakis plot: two inscribed vessel handles (22, fig. 3; 23, fig. 3), a stamped amphora handle (27, fig. 3), and an Italian sigillata stamp (42, fig. 4).

The Vougioukalakis plot appears to contain the remains of the domestic quarter of an important Hellenistic-Roman house, to judge from the abundance of roof tiles, loom weights, coarse and fine wares, as well as other objects indicative of women's activities and a number of coins. The presence of loom weights bearing the same stamp in the Vougioukalakis and Lefou plots may be indicative of economic activity outside the house where the loomweights were produced. Within the house it will be the total number and weight of loomweights that can indicate the scale of production within its walls. In the North Room of the house, the range of ceramics found there may suggest that workshop activities took place, or that the room was filled with other objects specific to domestic activities. We can note, however cautiously, that a total of 34 Hellenistic coins were found in the Vougioukalakis plot, in an area of 54 m² that contained the North and South rooms and two additional areas to their north and east.

To assess the significance of the range of finds discovered in Lappa's Vougioukalakis plot we can look to the the third century BC remains of New Halos in Thessaly and fourth century BC remains of the Athenian colony of Olynthus in the Chalcidice. Although they are far removed from Lappa or Crete and significantly earlier, they are the only large groups of *instrumenta domestica* that have been published and so can provide invaluable evidence for domestic assemblages. New Halos in Thessaly accommodated an urban society with little luxury³⁴. Six houses have been excavated in three different housing blocks that contained houses of more or less the same depth but different widths³⁵. If six houses can be representative of the original 1,440-1,500, the canonical layout featured a large central living area flanked on either side by two small rooms³⁶. The artefacts found in these houses include pottery, figurines, loomweights, metal objects and coins, each category studied by one or more scholars. Within categories, finds are not often assigned to a particular house, much less a particular room within a house³⁷. Coins were found in all six houses, which averaged 20-36 coins per house³⁸.

Olynthus, by contrast, was a very large and prosperous town, one where the North Room of one house was used for weaving, but also contained the remains for a cooking assemblage and a variety of women's objects including mirrors and jewellery³⁹. In the House of Many Colors weaving objects – loomweights, epinetra, and spindle whorls – were found together with table vases and miniature cups⁴⁰. In another house terracottas were found together with loomweights, vases, and coins⁴¹. Yet another house had a multi-purpose space used for weaving, storage of household goods and other functions⁴². The distribution of coins in houses at Olynthus averages about 20, but can be up to four times that in a house around the Agora or a public building⁴³.

II.3. *Manolopoulos plot and somewhere in Argyroupoli (fig. 20)*

The two architectural phrases of the structure found in the Manolopoulos plot correspond to late Hellenistic times and then to the third century, when the complex was destroyed. This plot – particularly Area 1 – revealed a room with loomweights and *karpoi* – associated with weaving by Tzachili – together with fallen building material ceramics fragments with traces of burning, and a stone belonging to an inscription as well as one Italian *sigillata* stamp (45, fig. 4)⁴⁴. One more Italian *sigillata* stamp (51, fig. 5) was found in Argyroupoli, but no further information is available, not even the date of discovery.

The inscribed *instrumenta domestica* found at Argyroupoli should now be examined by category, beginning with mid-late fourth-century BC Attic echinus bowl. Hellenistic finds include tiles, loomweights, and inscribed vessels of local production. The stamped ampho-

³⁴ REINDERS 2003B, p. 244.

³⁵ REINDERS 2003B, p. 243.

³⁶ HAAGSMA 2003, p. 77.

³⁷ Findspots are given, however, for figurines from the House of the Coroplast – where they were found in the courtyard and a cooking area but particularly in the workshop – and in a storage area of the House of Agathon (C. BEESTMAN-KRUYSHAAR, Pottery, in REINDERS-PRUMMEL 2003, pp. 106-107). Two metal ritual objects were found near the hearth of the central living of the House of the Snakes, and in one of

the three rooms preserved from the House of the Geometric Krater (S. HIJSMANS, The metal finds, in REINDERS-PRUMMEL 2003, p. 131; HAAGSMA 2003, pp. 51-53).

³⁸ REINDERS 2003A, p. 138.

³⁹ CAHILL 2002, pp. 110-112: House A iv 9.

⁴⁰ CAHILL 2002, pp. 91-93.

⁴¹ CAHILL 2002, p. 124: House A v 1.

⁴² CAHILL 2002, p. 106: House A vii 4.

⁴³ CAHILL 2002, p. 266.

⁴⁴ TZACHILI 2006, pp. 228-229.

ra handles can be dated to the second to early first centuries BC, and the sigillata stamps to the late first century BC to first-second centuries of our era.

III. Part of a small echinus bowl with a name scratched into the glaze, mid-late 4th century BC (*Fig. 2. cat. n. 1*)

The inscription incised into the body of the bowl, after firing, preserves a woman's name, in the nominative or vocative (1). Phila is a Greek personal name attested on Crete at Pylorus in the second-first century BC and elsewhere in the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica⁴⁵.

III.1. *When*

The smallest form of the echinus bowl was a vessel used for food service, most popular in the fourth century BC⁴⁶. Echinus bowls can have a concave wall, be spool-shaped, or footed as in our example⁴⁷. Fourth-century specimens have a grooved resting surface, the wall thickened near the top and a very sharp lip, while earlier profiles are curved as here⁴⁸. The type with a groove on the resting surface has a date concentrated in the second and third quarters of the fourth century BC⁴⁹. The groove began to be omitted from the resting surface around 300 BC and the shape did not apparently survive beyond around 250 BC⁵⁰.

III.2. *Whence*

This type of echinus bowl, with a groove on the resting surface, should be an Attic import rather than a local imitation⁵¹. The Unexplored Mansion at Knossos has yielded two examples of fourth century BC Attic black glaze with letters incised on them: A on a kantharos handle and EPMA under the notched standing ring of a bowl⁵². Graffiti also appear at Knossos on black-glazed body sherds, the floor of an open vase, and a cup base⁵³. The examples from Knossos and Lappa are not unusual, except in being studied and published.

III.3. *How*

Crete lay in a strategic position along Hellenistic north-south routes that linked Egypt and Athens, routes that brought Attic or Atticizing grave reliefs and vases to the island⁵⁴. With increasing Cretan involvement in the larger politics of Hellenistic times, after the battle of Issos in 333 BC, the island came to be fully integrated into the Hellenistic world of trade as well as politics⁵⁵. Classical-Hellenistic pottery found in the Cave of the Nymphs in Lera, Kydonia, reflect Athenian influence if not an Athenian pres-

⁴⁵ *ICr* I, xxv 5; FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 458.

⁴⁶ ROTROFF 1997, pp. 165-166 and nn. 1075-1089.

⁴⁷ ROTROFF 1997, pp. 165-166.

⁴⁸ ROTROFF 1997, p. 265, nn. 1075-1077.

⁴⁹ SPARKES-TALCOTT 1970, p. 137.

⁵⁰ ROTROFF 1997, p. 167.

⁵¹ N. Vogeikoff, pers. comm.

⁵² SACKETT 1992, p. 142 nn. X42 and X46; *SEG* LII 868.

⁵³ SACKETT 1992, p. 142 nn. X39-41 and 43; *SEG* LII 868.

⁵⁴ BALDWIN BOWSKY 1997, p. 203.

⁵⁵ BALDWIN BOWSKY 1997, pp. 204-205.

ence⁵⁶. Classical-Hellenistic ceramics from Phalasarna's necropolis, for example, include vessels imported from Athens and Corinth as well as vessels fabricated in local workshops that ranged from excellent copies of mainland types to imitations of Attic types that were modified for local tastes⁵⁷. In the transitional period 350-320 BC, Athenian influence at Phalasarna was particularly strong, especially in the manufacture of red-glazed *pelikes*⁵⁸.

III.4. *Why*

Phila's name could be the name of the echinus bowl's owner (in the nominative) or honorand/recipient (in the vocative). Written in the Dorian dialect, it should have been inscribed on Crete or at least by a Cretan. Other inscribed vases – usually bearing graffiti engraved after firing – are known from central Crete or an unknown location in Crete. A Hellenistic graffito from Phaistos shows a name in the nominative⁵⁹. Two more utilize the genitive case to designate a cup of friendship or the name of either the owner or a satyr represented on the vessel⁶⁰. The dative appears on vessels dedicated in the Idaean Cave and Lebena⁶¹. An unknown case is utilized on a jug found in Building B at Kommos, on first century BC cups from Pyrgos (near Myrtos), and on a contemporary lamp from Knossos⁶². Phila's Attic black-glazed echinus bowl is likely to have come to Lappa as a result of Cretan contacts with mainland Greece in the early hellenistic period, due to the movement of men rather than goods⁶³.

IV. Tiles (*fig. 2, cat. nn. 2-4*)

Tiles comprise one of the larger groups of Cretan inscribed *instrumenta domestica* discussed by Chaniotis⁶⁴. His survey of the published evidence shows that tiles are dominantly found in sanctuaries, where they bear ethnics, personal names, names of divinities, or monograms⁶⁵. Most of the inscribed tiles of Hellenistic Crete refer to public projects, even when they were privately sponsored⁶⁶. From other contexts we should take note of a Gortynian tile that comes from an unknown context and bears the letter N, as well as two tiles from the hellenistic Potamos necropolis at Lato pros Kamara that bear the letters NIK⁶⁷. None of the tiles found in excavations of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos can be associated with Hellenistic rather than Roman construction⁶⁸.

The three tiles found in the Vougioukalakis plot come not from a sanctuary or other public building or necropolis, but from a private dwelling. They were, moreover, found not in a mixed hellenistic deposit like Pit 1 in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, but in the late hellenistic destruction layer in Trenches 2-4 of Area Alpha, where the North and

⁵⁶ SEG XXIII 579a-c; SEG XXXI 815 N1, N3, IN3-24, and R52; compare *ArchDelt* 22 B'2, 1967, p. 497 and pl. 369a.

⁵⁷ HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, pp. 56 and 59.

⁵⁸ HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 58.

⁵⁹ SEG XXIII 558c.

⁶⁰ SEG XXX 1115, from an unknown Cretan location; SEG XLIX 1240 from Knossos.

⁶¹ *ICr* 1, xii 3; SEG XLII 809.

⁶² *Kommos* IV, p. 129 n. 84. SEG LIV 867 and 859, respectively.

⁶³ For this argument in the case of coins, cfr. LE RIDER 1966, pp. 191-193 and 267; PANAGOPOULOU 2007, pp. 331-332.

⁶⁴ CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁵ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95; cfr., e.g., SEG LIII 960 for a first century BC tile, inscribed with two letters (AM) before firing and found in the sanctuary at Kommos.

⁶⁶ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95.

⁶⁷ SEG XXXVIII 904; SEG XXXI 989.

⁶⁸ SACKETT 1992, p. 407.

South Rooms were identified. This house was apparently roofed in a mixed system of flat-tiles and (semi)cylindrical cover-tiles. Tile n. 2 is a cover tile that bears two letters (NI) incised before firing, along the length of the tile. Tile n. 3 is a flat tile on which two letters (KE) were deeply incised before firing, parallel to the bottom edge. Tile n. 4 is another flat tile, with one letter (lunate E) moderately incised in broad strokes along the tile's left edge.

It is important to know whether the inscription was stamped or engraved before firing – e.g., by a producer – or engraved after firing, by a dedicator⁶⁹. All three Lappaian tiles bear letters that were engraved or incised before firing. The letters on the two Lappaian flat-tiles (3, 4) could be numbers (E = 5, KE = 25), indicating where the individual tile lay in sequence on the roof, but they need not be⁷⁰. The cover-tile should bear part of the name of a producer (2), despite the fact that no names that begin with NI are currently attested at Lappa. Until a pottery production site is identified, or inscribed tiles are found elsewhere at Lappa, it remains difficult to speculate about the organization of ceramic production there⁷¹. In the Roman period we can take note of the location of a possible third century pottery workshop at Lappa, given the architectural remains of a kiln in the C. Manoussakis plot⁷².

V. Loomweights (*fig. 2, cat. nn. 5-16*)

Loomweights are the second large group of Cretan inscribed *instrumenta domestica* studied by Chaniotis⁷³. Unlike tiles, loomweights are to be found in private houses, as well as in graves and sanctuaries⁷⁴. Weaving activity tended to cover the needs of a given household, and was not (or not primarily) for sale export⁷⁵. Only in the case of evidence for a large number of looms might one suggest larger-scale production⁷⁶.

Individual letters on loomweights are traditionally interpreted as representing numerals or abbreviated names⁷⁷. Portale suggests, however, that the inscribed loomweights found in hellenistic houses at Phaistos, were marked – with one or two letters or else a stamp – so as to distinguish groups of threads from each other⁷⁸. At Lappa letters incised on loomweights before firing include Λ (5), PK (or KP) (6), ΣΩ (7, both lunate), X (8), and XA (9). The letters XA are also found on a vessel rim from the Lefou plot (17). Personal names are usually those of women who were the owners of the looms⁷⁹. The name Νέα (in the genitive, Νέας) is preserved on n. 10⁸⁰.

⁶⁹ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

⁷⁰ SACKETT 1992, p. 410.

⁷¹ See CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95 for Hellenistic Crete in general.

⁷² Argyroupoli plot no. 3 on our fig. 7A.

⁷³ CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 95-96; *SEG* LIII 975 and 976, 3 loomweights from Hellenistic or late Hellenistic to early Roman Lato.

⁷⁴ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95.

⁷⁵ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 96.

⁷⁶ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 96; TZACHILI 2006, p. 228; TZACHILI forthcoming.

⁷⁷ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95.

⁷⁸ LA ROSA-PORTALE 1996-97, p. 345.

⁷⁹ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 95; *SEG* LIII 975-976 (in Ag. Nikolaos Museum, from Lato); *SEG* LII 863, citing SPORN 2002, p. 95 (from the cave of Eileithyia); *ICr* I, xvi 13 (in the Herakleion Museum); *SEG* XXXII 899 (a chance find); *ICr* v 56 (context unrecorded); *ICr* II, ix 2 (from the Cranaean Cave).

⁸⁰ See FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 324 for this name on and from Crete; *ICr* I, xxiii 25 for this name on a loomweight from the area of Phaistos; MAGNELLI 2001, p. 627, n. 2 for this name on a loomweight from Gortyn.

Of particular interest here are the stamped loomweights⁸¹. Four loomweights (11-12 from the Lefou plot and 13-14 from the Vougioukalakis plot) bear a stamp with the two letters ΠΕ in ligature, in weights that vary with the size of the loomweight (75 to 200 grams). No personal name – feminine or masculine – that begins with these two letters is thus far attested at Hellenistic Lappa. Other stamps show the letter Λ or a monogram (15) and PKA (or APK or KPA) in a monogram (16). Such stamped loomweights should be indicative of rather industrialized production of the loomweights themselves⁸².

V.1. *Shape and Weight*

In order to assess the significance of the loomweights at Lappa – with or without lettering – we should take into account their shape and weight as well as their sheer number. Different shapes with comparable weights could be used for the same fabric, while the sheer number of loomweights can reveal the presence of more than one loom in the same room. Differentiation in shape and weight is indicative of non-standardized production, for household purposes, while standardization in shape and weight suggests a corresponding standardization of production⁸³.

On Crete, we should take note of the shape and weight of loomweights from Eleutherna, Axos, Panormo, and Phaistos in the central part of the island, and Trypitos in the eastern. At Eleutherna and Axos loomweights were differentiated in shape (discoid and amphiconical) and weight⁸⁴. No specific information is available for the loomweights from Axos, as they do not come from an excavation and have not been published⁸⁵. House A at Nisi in Eleutherna yielded loomweights of four different types – 61.5% pyramidal, 34.4% discoid, 2.2% amphiconical, and 0.5% pear-shaped⁸⁶. Weights ranged from 25-200 grams for pyramidal weights, to 35-400 grams for discoid weights, 20-60 grams for amphiconical, and 45-60 grams for pear-shaped weights⁸⁷. At Panormo by contrast one room in a large, well-to-do home yielded a substantial set of loomweights, identical in shape (pyramidal), size, and weight (around 20 grams)⁸⁸. At Chalara Phaistou, Levi found loomweights that were predominantly discoid but also pyramidal or conical and occasionally biconical or semidiscoid⁸⁹. Their weights varied from 90 to 120 gr., with an average weight of 100 gr⁹⁰. In the hellenistic houses found at Phaistos, a set of weights that showed a certain degree of conformity in their diameters was composed mostly of discoid loomweights, together with a few truncated pyramidal, biconical, conical and semidiscoidal, lenticular, and cap-shaped weights⁹¹. The loomweights discovered at Trypitos can now be placed in the context of differentiation at Eleutherna and Axos, and standardization at Panormo. One domestic block near the fortification wall of the Hellenistic city yielded 219 loomweights

⁸¹Cfr. *ICr* II, ix 2 dedicated at the Cranaean Cave; *ICr* I, ii 3 from Amnisos; and *ICr* I, xvi 13 from Lato; SACKETT 1992, pp. 402-404 nn. W37, 47, 51, 53-55 from Knossos; SOPHIANOU forthcoming from Trypitos.

⁸²I. Tzachili, pers. comm.

⁸³TZACHILI 2006, 223, 228, 231; TZACHILI forthcoming.

⁸⁴TSIGONAKI 1994, pp. 162-165; TZACHILI 2006, pp. 225-226; TZACHILI forthcoming.

⁸⁵TZACHILI 2006, p. 225.

⁸⁶TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 162.

⁸⁷TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 163.

⁸⁸TZACHILI 2006, p. 231; GAVRILAKI 2006, pp. 192-193; TZACHILI forthcoming. The modern town name has been used due to continuing controversy over the ancient place name: see ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI 2004, p. 36; ALEXIOU 2006.

⁸⁹LEVI 1965-66, pp. 580 and 583.

⁹⁰PORTALE 2000, p. 82.

⁹¹LA ROSA-PORTALE 1996-97, p. 345: 6.5-7 cm in diameter; discoid 34, truncated pyramidal 5, biconical 4, lenticular 1, cap-shaped 1; numbers not given for conical and rare semi-discoidal loomweights.

– predominantly pyramidal (210) but a few discoid (8) or amphiconical (1)⁹². Weights ranged from 25-160 grams for the pyramidal loomweights – with most between 45 and 60 grams – and 125-330 grams for the limited number of discoid loomweights⁹³. The Trypitos loomweights are not standardized in weight like those of Panormo, and it is possible that at Trypitos a greater number of pyramidal loomweights were used – in place of a smaller number of discoid loomweights – to produce materials of a given width⁹⁴.

Outside Crete at Thessalian New Halos six houses together yielded 239 loomweights, 137 of which (57.3%) came from one house, that of Agathon⁹⁵. Pyramidal loomweights dominate this total (68%)⁹⁶. Discoid loomweights appear to have been significantly less popular (22%), while trapezoid and conical loomweights were found in insignificant numbers (8% and less than 2%, respectively)⁹⁷. The total weight range was 35-258 grams, of which the normal range was 35-175 grams⁹⁸. What proved more important than shape or weight was the number of holes in each loomweight: single-holed loomweights of any shape were used to produce fabrics with relatively thick, widely-spaced warp threads, while double-holed loomweights were more often discoid, and used for fine, closely-spaced warp threads, two hanks of which could be attached to each loomweight⁹⁹.

At Olynthus in the Chalcidice pyramidal and conical loomweights predominated, and sets unmatched in shape were apparently characteristic of domestic contexts¹⁰⁰. Loomweights for a single loom need not be a matched set, and weight was more important than shape¹⁰¹. Variations in weight could be balanced by attaching more warp threads to heavier weights¹⁰². In a number of Olynthian houses where there was enough weaving done to sell on the market, loomweights were more uniform in weight if not also in shape¹⁰³.

With these parameters in mind we can examine the shape and weight of the loomweights found in two plots at hellenistic Lappa, particularly the Vougioukalakis plot.

⁹² SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

⁹³ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

⁹⁴ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

⁹⁵ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 122.

⁹⁶ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 122. At the House of Agathon 29.9% were discoid (BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 122; calculations for the House of Agathon ours).

⁹⁷ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 119.

⁹⁸ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 121. Within that range, however, 80% of loomweights were mid-weight (80-120 grams), with lighter loomweights (35-80 grams) and heavier loomweights (120-175 grams) evenly distributed (BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 121).

⁹⁹ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 122.

¹⁰⁰ CAHILL 2002, p. 179.

¹⁰¹ CAHILL 2002, p. 179.

¹⁰² CAHILL 2002, p. 179. In the «Villa Section» – located in a plain to the East of the North and South Hills that was built to accommodate an expanding population but not necessarily richer than the North Hill – loomweights found *in situ* in Villa CC were a mixture of conical, pyramidal and rectangular (CAHILL 2002, pp. 29, 45, 179, 287). In House ESH4 in the same section of Olynthus loomweights includ-

ed pyramidal, conical, and squat round shapes (CAHILL 2002, pp. 160, 179). On the North Hill loomweights probably stored in a bag in the kitchen of House A xi 10 were mostly conical and otherwise pyramidal and truncated pyramidal (CAHILL 2002, pp. 174, 239, 248). House A viii 1 on the North Hill – like most other houses at Olynthus – yielded a mixture of pyramidal and conical loomweights (CAHILL 2002, pp. 176-77, 179).

¹⁰³ In a suite of two north rooms in the House of Many Colors, loomweights were mostly conical, while only a very few were pyramidal (CAHILL 2002, pp. 85, 90-91, 179). On the North Hill loomweights from House A 10 were also mostly conical, with a few pyramidal exceptions (CAHILL 2002, pp. 27-28, 179). House A v 9, not far from the Agora, produced loomweights that were 94% conical and the remaining few pyramidal or squat (CAHILL 2002, pp. 118-19, 179). House A iv 9, in the center of downtown Olynthus near the Agora, yielded a mixture of conical and pyramidal weights (CAHILL 2002, pp. 108, 179). The loomweights from the double house A viii 7/9 on the North Hill were both conical and pyramidal but closely matched in their unusually light weight so as to produce finer textiles (CAHILL 2002, pp. 250-252).

The loomweights from the Lefou and Vougioukalakis plots at Lappa are differentiated in shape though predominantly discoid, as is the case elsewhere in Hellenistic Crete except at Panormo¹⁰⁴. The eight inscribed loomweights found in these two plots (6, 8, 11-12; 5, 7, 9-10, 13-16) are all discoid¹⁰⁵.

The weight of these loomweights is more differentiated than their shape, a phenomenon that suggests wool-working at the house on the Vougioukalakis plot primarily covered the needs of the individual household yet may also have been aimed at the production of coarser fabrics. The weight of Lappaian loomweights – with or without lettering – ranges from 20 to 400 grams¹⁰⁶. The inscribed loomweights from these two plots fall into four weight categories: 75-100 grams (11, 14, 16), 125 grams (8, 10, 15), 175-200 grams (12-13), 250-300 grams (5-7) and up to 350 grams (9). Within this overall range, the stamped loomweights belong to three weight categories, from light- to mid-weight: 75-100 grams (11, 14, 16), 125 grams (15), and 175-200 grams (12-13). The incised loomweights are of three weight categories, from light to heavy weight: 125 grams (8, 10), 250-300 grams (5-7), and 350 grams (9).

V. 2. *Number and Location*

In order to assess the number and location of loomweights found in the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa, we can again examine the evidence available from Cretan sites and then outside Crete. On Crete numbers of loomweights and their location in houses or other structures have been documented in workshop contexts from center to east, at Lyttos, from the Lasithi Plain, and at Lato. At Lyttos 81 loomweights were found in one of a series of storage rooms, while 109 were found elsewhere in the same room and excavated area¹⁰⁷. At Kolonna in the Lasithi Plain, 66 loomweights were found in a building that served as a workshop for dyeing and weaving¹⁰⁸. In the so-called House of the Shrine at Lato, 30 loomweights were found in room C, which might have been a workshop within the residence¹⁰⁹.

In Cretan domestic contexts, we can take account of the number and location of loomweights at Nisi in Eleutherna, Panormo, Phaistos, and Trypitos. A single house at Nisi in Eleutherna produced 345 examples, of which 46.7% came from two phases of the house's habitation¹¹⁰. Loomweights were found in several areas of the house, but more concentrated in areas K and Θ¹¹¹. Area K was the largest room in the house, identified as the *oikos* by Kalpaxis¹¹². The exact location of the loomweights found in area K is noted neither in discussions of the function of rooms nor in the discussion of the loomweights and weaving¹¹³. Area Θ was an auxiliary room, possibly no more than a passage way between a roofed

¹⁰⁴TSIGONAKI 1994, pp. 164-165 for dominance of discoid weights at Lappa; CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 110 notes 10-12, giving 49 examples, of which 33 (67.3%) are discoid and 16 (32.7%) pyramidal; SPORN 2002, p. 95 and pl. 24.9 is also discoid; TZACHILI 2006, p. 225 where 61% pyramidal.

¹⁰⁵ Compare the inscribed discoid loomweights from Trypitos (SOPHIANOU forthcoming).

¹⁰⁶I. Tzachili, pers. comm.

¹⁰⁷TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 160: 130 discoid, 20 pyramidal, and 7 or 8 diconical.

¹⁰⁸TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 160: 56 of the loomweights

were stored in the alcove of the wall of one room.

¹⁰⁹TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 160; HADJIMICHALI 1971, pp. 195 and 211.

¹¹⁰TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 162: 255 unbroken and 90 broken loomweights; 36% of the loomweights came from fill layers and the filling of a cistern, and 17.3% from the surface layer

¹¹¹TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 182.

¹¹²KALPAXIS 1994, pp. 71-72.

¹¹³KALPAXIS 1994, pp. 71-73; TSIGONAKI 1994, pp. 158-166.

entrance that provided access to the courtyard (*prothyron*) and area K¹¹⁴. At Panormo, by contrast, a set of 106 loomweights was found *in situ* in Building B, Room VII, on the southern side of excavated plot¹¹⁵. At Chalara Phaistou at least 130 loomweights of three different shapes were found in a private habitation¹¹⁶. Some 50 of them were together in the north-west corner of trench a, while the rest were scattered on the pavement or else found in destruction material or re-use¹¹⁷. At Trypitos Siteias in eastern Crete, in the southwest part of room A8, which was possibly the *oikos* of the house, a loom had probably been set on the south wall or else on an upper floor above room A8, from which it fell during destruction¹¹⁸.

The six houses excavated at New Halos yielded enough loomweights for a single loom per house if one again excludes the special case of the House of Agathon¹¹⁹. The number of loomweights ranges from 13 for the House of the Coroplast and the House of the Geometric Krater, to 34 for the House of the Ptolemaic Coins¹²⁰. Locations within each house are not provided, except for the House of Agathon, where 137 loomweights – enough for two looms – were found¹²¹.

The excavations at Olynthus provide the most detailed information about the rooms in which loomweights are found, the number of looms that might be suggested by a quantity of loomweights, and how that suggests purely domestic weaving or the presence of a household industry. In general the North Rooms of Olynthian houses were living areas with a wide range of uses, while south rooms were more often shops and work areas that also showed a great deal of variation¹²². Weaving should have taken place in a sheltered space with access to light, but could also take place in smaller, more enclosed rooms¹²³. Loomweights in domestic contexts tend to be found in a *pastas* – a porch in front of a house – or courtyard, in rooms adjoining courtyards, or in rooms adjoining lightwells/flues¹²⁴. Numbers and groups that suggest the presence of multiple looms – from two to as many as 6-12 – have likewise been found in rooms adjoining lightwells/flues, in northern or southern rooms, and in a *pastas*¹²⁵. Fewer than 14-20 loomweights in a given room or space

¹¹⁴ KALPAXIS 1994, p. 72.

¹¹⁵ TZACHILI 2006, pp. 210-220, 231; GAVRILAKI 2006, pp. 192-193; TZACHILI forthcoming.

¹¹⁶ TSGONAKI 1994, p. 164; LEVI 1965-66, p. 584; LA ROSA-PORTALE 2005, p. 482; LA ROSA-PORTALE 1996-97, p. 345; PORTALE 2000, pp. 81, 87-92.

¹¹⁷ PORTALE 2000, pp. 81-82.

¹¹⁸ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

¹¹⁹ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 121.

¹²⁰ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, p. 122. Within this range there were 18 loomweights for the House of the Snakes, and 24 for the House of the Amphorai. Only three rooms, including the central living area, of the House of the Geometric Krater are preserved.

¹²¹ BURNIER-HIJMANS 2003, pp. 121-122: a large quantity of loomweights in room 5, a storage area flanking the central living area.

¹²² CAHILL 2002, p. 79.

¹²³ CAHILL 2002, p. 175-178.

¹²⁴ CAHILL 2002, p. 172 fig. 38. Those in Villa CC were found *in situ* in the southeast of the courtyard (CAHILL 2002, p. 172). The 39 loomweights in ESH 4 were found probably where they had fallen from a loom in a southern room just in front of the bathtub

(CAHILL 2002, p. 159). An «exedra» off the courtyard of one house yielded 32 loom weights, found along the east wall thereof (CAHILL 2002, p. 172: House A viii 1). A bag probably stored 57 loomweights found in the kitchen of House A xi 10, next to a lightwell/flue (CAHILL 2002, pp. 172, 174: 41 loomweights plus an epinetron and a spindlewhorl in room a, and 34 loomweights in the light well [room b]).

¹²⁵ In the House of Many Colors 76 loomweights were discovered in a suite of two north rooms (CAHILL 2002, pp. 90-91, 93). Two or more looms should have been contained in House A10 (CAHILL 2002, pp. 130-131: a north room yielded 24 loomweights together with a netting needle, while 40 more loomweights are recorded from this house). There is evidence of three looms in two rooms of House A iv 9 (CAHILL 2002, pp. 110-112, 251: 31 loomweights in a northern room next to a lightwell/flue and 102 in two groups plus scattered examples in a central room). Four looms with a total of 85 loomweights were apparently set up in four different southern rooms of House A v 9, in or adjoining the courtyard (CAHILL 2002, pp. 118-119, 250: 19 loomweights at the floor level of a roofed area south of the courtyard;

suggests the presence of trash rather than a loom; 10-40 loomweights might suggest the presence of a loom; and more than 40-45 loomweights might suggest the presence of more than one loom¹²⁶.

At Lappa loomweights – with or without lettering – were found in the upper part of the Vougioukalakis plot, in Area Alpha and the trenches north and east of Area Alpha. The excavation diaries of Gavrilaki and Karamaliki contain references to the discovery in the Vougioukalakis plot of 202 loomweights in all: small, insignificant numbers in the North Room (3) and even farther to the north (7); numbers that may indicate the presence of a loom in the South Room (26) and in an area east of the South Room (37); and larger numbers that may suggest the presence of more than one loom or else storage in an area north of the North Room (77) and in an area between the upper and lower parts of the plot (52).

V.3. *Scale of Production*

In order to estimate the scale of production suggested by the loomweights found in the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa, we can again examine the evidence available from Cretan sites and from outside Crete. Textiles appear to have been produced mostly in households for the needs of the family while «extra-household» weaving activities – constituting more specialised activity and suggestive of trade – could also take place in houses or close to them¹²⁷.

On Crete in House A of Nisi in Eleutherna, pyramidal and discoid weights were used to produce different types of cloth for the household¹²⁸. Portale has reassessed Levi's conclusion that the loomweights found at Chalara Phaistou constituted evidence for a number of modest local industries, little influenced by each other and each with its own predilection for one shape or another¹²⁹. Instead her systematic study of the Hellenistic ceramics of Phaistos has revealed evidence of a domestic rather than workshop context¹³⁰. One group of loomweights Levi discovered contained unfired and badly fired discoid loom weights, which Portale now identifies as a «set» of loom weights, made in different ways and in varied shapes with an eye to meeting multiple needs in producing textiles for the household¹³¹. The loom weights have been found in a house organized for a traditional, even aristocratic way of life based on agricultural activities (cereals and olive oil) and domestic ones (spinning and weaving)¹³². Similarly, at Trypitos the presence of many loomweights of different weights not in a weaving workshop but in a residence, is not necessarily indicative of a number of looms – given the limited space within a house – but of storage as well as weaving¹³³. There is, however, also explicit evidence at Trypitos for the production of the

22 in room h, together with an inscribed lead weight; 18 in room j, and 24 in room e, which was the *pastas*). The most productive household was the double house A viii 7/9, the western portion of which was dedicated to weaving, as there were enough loomweights for 6-12 looms though they probably were in storage at the time of destruction (CAHILL 2002, pp. 250-251, 263: House A viii 7/9, with 247 loomweights in the *pastas* and 50 in a northern room).

¹²⁶ CAHILL 2002, p. 173.

¹²⁷ TZACHILI forthcoming.

¹²⁸ TSIGONAKI 1994, p. 164.

¹²⁹ LEVI 1965-66, pp. 580-582.

¹³⁰ PORTALE 2000, p. 81; PORTALE 2001, pp. 377-379.

¹³¹ LEVI 1965, p. 584 and fig. 2; PORTALE 2000, p. 82.

¹³² PORTALE 2000, pp. 88 and 91.

¹³³ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

loomweights themselves, pyramidal or discoid, as well as colored material within the house, to supply the needs of the household¹³⁴. The presence of a small domestic workshop at Trypitos is suggestive of a domestic industry with economic consequences¹³⁵. In a town like Panormo – where loomweights were exclusively pyramidal – there was apparently household production and also production for a small, local market, in a small household workshop or industry that met and exceeded the needs of the individual household for fine material¹³⁶. At Olynthus large quantities of loomweights in a house make it likely they were used for household industry rather than purely domestic weaving¹³⁷.

Within the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa, there is some evidence for weaving as a household industry rather than for purely domestic production, despite the fact that the location of the looms cannot be identified. Amphiconical flywheels were collected in Extension 3B and in Trench 5, while two *karpoi* – associated with weaving activity – were found in Trench 6¹³⁸. As in houses at fourth century BC Olynthus, statuettes, lamps, and other vessels including saltcellars – the smallest of the echinus bowls – were found in the same rooms and areas as loomweights¹³⁹.

VI. Locally-produced vessels (*fig. 3, cat. nn. 18-23*)

This category of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* is not explicitly discussed by Chaniotis, but his study includes references to several examples of hellenistic vessels inscribed before or after firing¹⁴⁰. Like tiles, most come from sanctuaries: the Idaean Cave, Amnisos, Phaistos, Lebena, and the peak sanctuary of Kofinas near Rhytion¹⁴¹. All these examples were inscribed after firing, as part of the dedication process. A *patera* with an inscription clearly impressed before firing has been found at Prinias¹⁴². Roman House I at Eleutherna (Sector I) yielded a pithos rim – inscribed with two letters of what may be the owner's name – that Tzifopoulos dates to the late fourth-early third century BC¹⁴³. A Hellenistic *lekane* discovered at Phaistos bears two letters, incised just below the rim¹⁴⁴. Inscribed vessels have been found in other, unidentified contexts at Gortyn and Priansos¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁴ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

¹³⁵ SOPHIANOU forthcoming.

¹³⁶ TZACHILI 2006, p. 230; GAVRILAKI 2006, p. 192; TZACHILI forthcoming.

¹³⁷ CAHILL 2002, pp. 174, 250-251. The House of Many Colors preserves a high number of loomweights in a part of the house that was a locus for female work, be it weaving or ritual (CAHILL 2002, p. 93). The presence of four different looms in four different rooms of House A v 9 suggests that the house produced textiles on a rather large scale (CAHILL 2002, p. 119). House A 10, where there were enough loomweights to equip two or more looms, had a shop in its southeastern corner (CAHILL 2002, p. 131; House A 10, engaged not in textile manufacture but in stone-cutting and sculpting). House A iv 9 with its three looms may have been the residence and workshop of a shopkeeper who dealt in terracottas as well as cloth (CAHILL 2002, pp. 12-13). The double

house A viii 7/9, with its 6-12 looms, could even have employed slave labor (CAHILL 2002, p. 263).

¹³⁸ TZACHILI 2006, pp. 228-229.

¹³⁹ CAHILL 2002, pp. 87, 91, 112.

¹⁴⁰ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 110, note 1.

¹⁴¹ CHANIOTIS forthcoming, nn. 16-18; *ICr* I, ii 1; *ICr* I, xxiii 24; *ICr* I, xvii 22; *SEG* XLV 1338.

¹⁴² *ICr* I, xxvii 21.

¹⁴³ TZIFOPOULOS 2009a, p. 137, n. 36, with no indication of whether the letters were incised before or after firing.

¹⁴⁴ LA ROSA-PORTALE 1996-97, p. 287 n. 36, with no indication of whether the letters were incised before or after firing.

¹⁴⁵ GASPERINI 1988, p. 328 n. 341; p. 329 nn. 343-344; MAGNELLI 2001, p. 653 no. 31 – all inscribed before firing – and MAGNELLI 2001, p. 654 no. 34, inscribed after firing; *ICr* III,vi 25 and 34, the former inscribed before firing, and latter at an unknown time.

The seven examples of hellenistic inscribed vessel fragments that have been found at Lappa come not from a sanctuary but from a room near the Agora in the Lefou plot and from the Greco-Roman house found in the Vougioukalakis plot. Two of these were inscribed after firing: a vessel rim from the Lefou plot (17) and a vessel handle from the Vougioukalakis plot (18). The vessel rim from the Lefou plot bears the same two letters as loomweight n. 9 from the Vougioukalakis plot. In apparently domestic contexts, these two inscriptions might bear the abbreviated names of one or two owners: X(-) and XA(-).

The remainder of the inscribed vessel fragments were incised before firing: a possible pithos cover (19) and four handles (20-23)¹⁴⁶. In a domestic context like this Greco-Roman house, these inscriptions should represent abbreviations or part of the personal names of producers or their clients: [-?]IAOΛ[-], [-]A, ANTI(-), [-]AYPΩ (or [-]AYPΩ), and [-]E³M[-]. As with the personal names that appear on loomweights, our incomplete knowledge of the Greek personal names borne by Lappaian renders it impossible to do more than note comparanda for the possible names of these producers. An Antiochos is known from Lappa in second-first century BC¹⁴⁷. The Greek personal name Antigenes is born by a Lappaian *hymnodos* who went to Klaros in AD 183¹⁴⁸. Anti- is, however, a very popular name element, on Crete as elsewhere in the Aegean¹⁴⁹.

VII. Stamped amphora handles (*fig.3, cat. nn. 24-29*)

Amphora stamps are the third large group of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* discussed by Chaniotis, whose particular purpose was to call attention to non-Rhodian stamps¹⁵⁰. Even when we add and compare the six amphora stamps found in the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa, the number of amphora stamps published from Crete remains statistically insignificant¹⁵¹. The Lappaian group does not constitute a contribution on the scale of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos – to which we can add a Parian amphora stamp found in a Knossian kiln – or at Trypitos¹⁵². But we can take note of the fact that Lappa is in western Crete rather than central or eastern, and that the mix of production centers attested at Lappa can be compared with those attested at eastern Trypitos, central Gortyn, and western Phalasarna¹⁵³.

VII.1. *When*

Amphora stamps are datable by internal evidence, and can also be set into the context of other datable finds to arrive at a suggested date for the late Hellenistic destruction of the Greco-Roman house found in the Vougioukalakis plot, perhaps in the early first century BC. Two stamps – one Koan and one Knidian – can be dated to the second or second-

¹⁴⁶ Pithos cover: cfr. GASPERINI 1988, p. 329 n. 343 from Gortyn.

¹⁴⁷ FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 46, citing *ICr* IV 186B from Gortyn.

¹⁴⁸ FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 43, citing MACRIDY 1912, p. 46 n. 2.

¹⁴⁹ FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, pp. 43-49, with no fewer than 18 names – masculine and feminine – from Crete.

¹⁵⁰ CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 97-98.

¹⁵¹ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 97.

¹⁵² Knossos: SACKETT 1992, pp. 138-141 nn. X1-31; *SEG* LII 868; *SEG* LII 870. Trypitos: PAPADAKIS 2000.

¹⁵³ PAPADAKIS 2000, pp. 115-124 nn. 1-62: Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Hierapytna, and unidentified; PORTALE-ROMEIO, pp. 268-269: Knidian and Rhodian; HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 55: Chios, Kos, Mende, Peparethos, Rhodes, Knidos.

first century BC (24) or specifically to the period 146-108 BC (25). A second Koan stamp should be dated to the second-first centuries BC (26). Another Knidian stamp can be dated to the period 108-88 BC but no stratigraphical information is available (27), while the Rhodian stamp can be dated as late as the period 107-88 BC (28). A stamp of unknown provenance cannot be dated by internal rather than stratigraphical evidence (29).

VII.2. *Whence*

The amphora stamps found at Lappa are from Kos, Knidos, Rhodes, and an unknown production center. The two Koan amphora stamps found at Lappa are the first to be published from western Crete. Georgopoulou notes that Kos prospered mostly in the second-first centuries BC, and had acquired a large wine market in Alexandria, in the eastern and western Mediterranean¹⁵⁴. The amphora with stamp n. 24 has a depression on the inside of the neck, where the handle was attached, a characteristic feature on Koan amphoras in the second to early first century BC, while n. 26 is broken in such a way as to eliminate this feature¹⁵⁵. Georgopoulou's fig. 1 shows a Koan amphora on Crete only at Phaistos¹⁵⁶. Koan amphora handles have been found at Phalasarna, and Koan stamps have been published from Trypitos and Ampelos in eastern Crete¹⁵⁷.

The two Knidian amphora stamps found at Lappa (25, 27) are again the first thus far published from western Crete. Knidian wine, transported in recognizable amphoras of red clay with a ring around the pointed toe, was popular to judge from Cretan imitations possibly produced at Lato pros Kamara in eastern Crete¹⁵⁸. Groups of Knidian stamps have been published from Knossos in central Crete and Trypitos in eastern Crete¹⁵⁹. Single examples of Knidian stamps have been found at Phaistos, Priansos, and Praisos¹⁶⁰.

Our one Rhodian amphora stamp (28) makes Lappa the third western site where such a stamp has been found and published. Two Rhodian amphora stamps from Phalanna and Sybrita have already been published¹⁶¹, while Rhodian amphora handles have been found at Phalasarna¹⁶². Chaniotis attributes the large number of Rhodian amphora stamps found in Crete to Rhodes' strategy to claim a hegemonic position in the southeastern Aegean, to Crete's geographical position along trade routes, and to the activities of Cretan pirates¹⁶³. Georgopoulou attributes Rhodes' later losing her monopoly in the wine market to her loss of power over Carian cities and the fall of her economy as a result of Delos becoming a free port in 167 BC¹⁶⁴. Perlman cataloged a total of 44 Rhodian amphora stamps found across the island, particularly in the east (Praisos, Xerokambos, Kouphonisi), in the center (Apollonia, Knossos, Gortyn, Phaistos, Kommos), but also in the west (Phalanna and Sybrita, as noted above)¹⁶⁵. We can further note that at Knossos in central Crete Rhodian

¹⁵⁴ GEORGOPOULOU 2005, p. 182.

¹⁵⁵ EIRING-BOILEAU-WHITBREAD 2002, p. 61.

¹⁵⁶ GEORGOPOULOU 2005, p. 180; LEVI 1965-66, p. 576 n. 10.

¹⁵⁷ Phalasarna: HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 55. The identification of any Koan stamps must await study of the pottery from these excavations. Trypitos and Ampelos: PAPADAKIS 2000, pp. 122-123 nn. 48-50; *ICr* III, I 4-5; FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, pp. 34 and 461.

¹⁵⁸ Knidian amphoras: ROTROFF 2006, p. 142. Cretan imitations: PORTALE-ROMEIO 2001, pp. 268-269, citing MARANGOU-LERAT 1995, pp. 89-91, AC6.

¹⁵⁹ SACKETT 1992, p. 140 nn. 20-24; PAPADAKIS 2000, pp. 121-122 nn. 44-47.

¹⁶⁰ LEVI 1965-66, p. 577 n. 11; *ICr* III, vi 28; *ICr* III, vi 28; cfr. BÖRKER-BUROW 1998, p. 148.

¹⁶¹ *ICr* II, xviii 1 and xxvi 30.

¹⁶² HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 55. The identification of any Rhodian stamps must await study of the pottery from these excavations.

¹⁶³ CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 97-98 and 107-108, v. PERLMAN 1999.

¹⁶⁴ GEORGOPOULOU 2005, p. 182.

¹⁶⁵ PERLMAN 1999, pp. 154-157.

amphora stamps dominate, even while there are also Thasian, Corinthian B, and Knidian stamps¹⁶⁶. At Kommos three more Rhodian stamped amphora handles of first century BC date were found in the sanctuary¹⁶⁷. At eastern Trypitos, Rhodian amphora stamps are highly dominant, but they are joined by Knidian, Koan, Hierapytnan, and unidentified stamps¹⁶⁸. It would in fact be surprising not to find Rhodian amphora stamps at Trypitos, as it was occupied until ca. 150 BC, to judge from Rhodian amphoras dating to the period 162-55¹⁶⁹.

One amphora stamp of unidentified provenance has been found at Lappa (29), a situation that is not surprising as several stamps of unknown origin are to be found in eastern and central Crete. The letters ΣΙ on the Lappaian stamp might be part of the name Σιμίος but the *sigma* is not lunate as at Thasos¹⁷⁰.

VII.3. *How*

Lappa now joins other Cretan cities as one where a variety of amphoras of the later Hellenistic period have been found, amphoras brought to the island along known trade routes, whether or not they contained wine from their place of production. Classical trade routes had linked the north coast of Crete with Rhodes, Knidos, and Kos – the three sources of the identifiable amphora stamps at Lappa¹⁷¹. In the transitional period between 350 and 320 BC the wine amphora sherds found at Phalasarna demonstrate the city's trade relations with the islands of northern Greece and the western Mediterranean instead¹⁷². In the last quarter of the second century BC, a large increase in the volume of commercial traffic between the eastern and western Mediterranean brought imported amphoras to Mochlos, including fine wares from the west coast of Asia Minor – e.g., an Ionian mold-made bowl from the workshop of Philon – and from the Syro-Palestine region and Italy, as well as transport amphoras from Kos and Rhodes¹⁷³. Roman routes – which tended to follow their Hellenistic predecessors – ran west from Rhodes, Knidos and Kos to northwest Crete in particular¹⁷⁴. Until the first half of the first century BC, a southern shipping route ran westward from Antioch to Cyprus, Lycia, Rhodes, Crete, Cythera, and the Peloponnese¹⁷⁵. Late Hellenistic Knidos lay on sea trading routes that ran from the eastern Mediterranean to Egypt and Greece, Italy, the Aegean and Black Seas¹⁷⁶.

In the Hellenistic period as in modern times, Lappa lay on the north coast of Crete, along a west-bound trade route that has left Knidian amphora stamps – more abundant at Athens and on Delos, particularly after around 150 BC – at eastern Tripytos and Praisos as well as central Knossos, while Cretan imitations of Knidian amphoras were likely produced at Lato pros Kamara. Koan amphora stamps – found at Alexandria and in both the eastern and western Mediterranean in the second-first centuries BC¹⁷⁷ – have been found at Trypitos and Koan amphora handles at Phalasarna. Rhodian amphora stamps have been found at eastern Trypitos, central Knossos and Apollonia, western Sybrita and Phalanna,

¹⁶⁶ SACKETT 1992, pp. 138-140 nn. X1-24.

¹⁶⁷ SEG LIII 958.

¹⁶⁸ PAPADAKIS 2000, pp. 115-124 nn. 1-62.

¹⁶⁹ SEG LIV 869, citing SEG L 952.

¹⁷⁰ BON-BON 1957, p. 515 n. 2269; cf. V.R. Grace archives, Thasos card n. 1373.

¹⁷¹ TALBERT 1985, p. 53.

¹⁷² HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 57.

¹⁷³ VOGELKOFF 2000, p. 72.

¹⁷⁴ PANELLA 1986, p. 629, fig. 28.

¹⁷⁵ ABADIE-REYNAL 2005, p. 41.

¹⁷⁶ KÖGLER 2005, p. 50.

¹⁷⁷ ROTROFF 2006, pp. 142-143.

and Rhodian amphora handles at Phalasarna. The Rhodian amphora found in the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa is dated within a period when Rhodian handles are to be found at Alexandria rather than Athens or Delos¹⁷⁸. Lappaian participation in such a trade route is also suggested by the distribution of the city's Hellenistic coins: from Lappa and nearby Asi Gonia eastward to the Rethymnon Museum, Stavromenos and Eleutherna, the Herakleion Museum and its Giamalakis Collection, as far as east as Lyttian Chersonesos¹⁷⁹. The area served by the autonomous coinage of the polis should not have been so large, as the next independent *poleis* to the east were Rithymna and Eleutherna. Lappaian coins found farther to the east, and in central Crete, reflect movement along the north coast of the island.

VII.4. *Why*

The reason for this distribution of amphora stamps is not only a matter of access, due to Crete's strategic position along east-west trade routes. It also signals Crete's integration into one of the economic networks of the Hellenistic Mediterranean, heralded by the importation of foreign wine in amphoras. The economy of the Greek world as a whole grew more complex in the Hellenistic period, as a result of conquests and therefore capital as well as cities that could serve as markets for such products as wine¹⁸⁰. Cretan wine production in the Hellenistic period essentially responded to local needs, but Cretans might also import wine, be it the famous wines of Rhodes and Knidos or the affordable vintages of Kos¹⁸¹.

The capital with which to purchase foreign wines may just be visible in the form of non-Cretan coinage brought to Crete and particularly to Lappa¹⁸². Chaniotis accounts for the presence of foreign coins on Crete through phenomena attested in abundant sources: booty, piracy, the ransom of captives, and mercenaries¹⁸³. Brulé suggested that Lappa in particular was part of the «Crete of pirates», to judge from the number of decrees preserved at Lappa and for Lappaians¹⁸⁴. In the period between the death of Alexander the Great and ca. 100 BC, Cretans are attested in nearly all the armies of Hellenistic kings and cities, especially in the period between 280 and 150 BC¹⁸⁵. Lappa was not one of the cities that furnished relatively large numbers of mercenaries, but among the more than 1,000 Cretan mercenaries enfranchised at Miletos in 223/22 BC, three are Lappaians, and two more Lappaians received proxeny at Miletos in 216/15 BC¹⁸⁶. Cretan immigration was essentially temporary, however, undertaken with an intent to return home and in the process bring foreign coinage to Crete¹⁸⁷. The Vougioukalakis plot produced foreign coins from Argos, Macedonia, Knidos, Crete under Rhodian occupation, Sicyon, and Sparta, coins that span the period from the fourth-third centuries BC to around 146 BC, and even as late as 48-35 BC¹⁸⁸.

¹⁷⁸ ROTROFF 2006, pp. 142-143.

¹⁷⁹ LE RIDER 1966, pp. 261, 240, 253 and 255, 227 and 230, 235.

¹⁸⁰ HARRIS 1999, p. 355.

¹⁸¹ Cretan wine production: CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 99-100. New markets in the Hellenistic world, e.g., for wine: HARRIS 1999, p. 355. Famous and affordable vintages: GEORGOPOULOU 2005, p. 181.

¹⁸² LE RIDER 1966, pp. 191-193.

¹⁸³ CHANIOTIS 1999B, pp. 183-185.

¹⁸⁴ BRULÉ 1978, pp. 103-104.

¹⁸⁵ LAUNEY 1987 I, p. 275.

¹⁸⁶ LAUNEY 1987 I, p. 276; II, p. 1155; *ICr* II, xvi *praef.ist.*, p. 193.

¹⁸⁷ LAUNEY 1987 I, pp. 277-279.

¹⁸⁸ Argive tetraobol, fourth-third century BC (N18). Bronze coin of Antigonos Gonatas, 277-39 BC (N17). Knidian silver drachm, third century BC (N30). Pseudo-Rhodian hemidrachm, 205-200 BC (N21). Silver obol from Sicyon, ca. 146 BC (N7). Bronze coin of Sparta, 48-35 BC (N43). Identification and dating of coins kindly provided by Mr. Kleantis Sideropoulos, who is responsible for the full publication of these coins.

VIII. Stamped pottery: Italian, Campanian Orange, and Eastern Sigillata B1 (Figs. 4-5, cat. nn. 30-52)

Chaniotis considers pottery stamped with signatures – including Italian sigillata, lamps, and other vessels – one of the larger variety of items in the corpus of inscribed *instrumenta domestica* of Roman Crete¹⁸⁹. He attributes this larger variety to a change in the economic behavior of Cretans, and to the stronger integration of the island into the trade networks of the Mediterranean¹⁹⁰. While Italian sigillata was imported to the island, lamps bear signatures from workshops outside and within the island, tiles began to be produced in identifiable workshops, water pipes began to be produced, and wine amphoras were produced for the export of Cretan wine¹⁹¹.

In discussing the *terrae sigillatae* found at Lappa, we will ask the same series of fundamental questions as before: when these finewares were produced or imported; whence they made their way to the island; how they travelled to Lappa and what that contributes to our knowledge of transit and trade patterns; and why Lappaians imported this distinctive tableware. Adopting such an approach to this material enables us to show one way in which Lappa was one type of city in the socio-political map of Roman Crete, a *civitas libera* rather than a colony like Knossos, a *caput provinciae* like Gortyn, or a renaissance city like Eleutherna or Apta¹⁹². Lappa was a polity whose strategic position and exploitable resources might predict successful integration into the Roman world for the city and its hinterland. We can also document the role the city played in the regional context, situated as it was between the free city of Kydonia and the polity of Eleutherna, in the realigned civic landscape of the island. Identification of the production centers of Italian sigillata imported to Lappa and Crete, and the multiple routes by which these wares might have made their way to the island, give concrete expression to the symbiotic relationship between the Empire and its half-province.

Kenrick's new edition of the *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* includes 34 Cretan stamps¹⁹³, to which another 43 should be added for a total of 77 stamps: 11 from Knossian and 7 from Gortynian publications not taken into account in his edition¹⁹⁴; 20 from Eleutherna¹⁹⁵; one each from Kommos, the area of Viannos, and Chamalevri in the territory of Eleutherna¹⁹⁶; and two from unknown locations in Crete¹⁹⁷. From Lappa we can now add another 21 for a total of 98 stamps, or a 29.9% increase in the number of stamps published from Cretan cities (Tables 1a-d). Given the small corpus of Italian sigillata stamps from Crete, each and every increase will be admittedly high.

¹⁸⁹ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 101.

¹⁹⁰ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 101.

¹⁹¹ CHANIOTIS 2005, pp. 103-107 on lamps; 102-103 on tiles; 103 on water pipes; 101-102 on wine amphoras.

¹⁹² Gortyn identified as the provincial capital by Guarducci, *ICr IV, praef. hist.*, p. 27.

¹⁹³ *OCK CD-ROM*, Summary of Potters Supplying Crete.

¹⁹⁴ Knossian stamps: HAYES 1983, pp. 137-138 nn. 203-107; AR 1987-88, pp. 90-91; BANOU 2004,

p. 897 n. 22. Gortynian stamps: *ICr IV* 542 and CHANIOTIS-PREUSS 1990, p. 195 n. 8; RIZZO 2001, p. 38 nn.1-2; MAGNELLI 2001, p. 631 n. 6; RIZZO 2004, p. 186 n. 292 and pp. 188-189 n. 323; A. Di Vita, pers. comm. Cfr. BALDWIN BOWSKY forthcoming.

¹⁹⁵ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009.

¹⁹⁶ *Kommos IV*, p. 132 n. 99; HOOD-WARREN-CADOGAN 1964, p. 87 and note 42; HOOD-WARREN-CADOGAN 1964, p. 62 and note 15.

¹⁹⁷ HOLWERDA 1936, p. 40 n. 511; *ICr II*, xxx 18.

Name (40 potters)	Provenance	Reference (45 stamps)	OCK Type	Date	Production
Amar(antus)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y17	83	1+ AD	Pisa?
Sex. Annius	SEast House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y19	183	20 BC – 10 AD	Arezzo
C. Arvius	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y16	254	15 BC – 15+ AD	Arezzo
Ateius (5)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y10	270	15 BC – 30 AD	Arezzo/Pisa/ Lyon
Cn. Ateius (1)	StratMuseum	AR1987-88, p. 91	274	Augustan?	Arezzo/Pisa
Cn. Ateius Euhodus	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y14	292	5 BC – 25	Pisa
Avillius	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y8	371	20 BC – 40 AD	unknown
Bassus (1)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y23	435	10 BC – 10 AD	Po Valley
Calidius (Strigo)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y24	487	15 BC – 5 AD	Arezzo
Camurius	North House StratMuseum	SACKETT 1992, p. 146, n. Y50 AR 1987-88, p. 91	514	30-70 AD	Arezzo
Chrestus (2)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y1	553	15 BC – 15+ AD	unknown
Cornelius (2)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y7	612	10-50+ AD	Arezzo
P. Cornelius (1)	StratMuseum	AR 1987-88, p. 90	623	5 BC – 40 AD	Arezzo
P. Cornelius (2)	SEast House (?)	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y3	624	5 BC – 40 AD	Arezzo
Crestus (1)	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y4 and p. 145, n. Y30	698	10 BC – 30 AD	Pisa/Lyon
Ennius	VDionysos	HAYES 1983, p. 132, n. 203	761	1+ AD	Pozzuoli
C. Gavius Symmacus	Sanatorium Well	HAYES, BSA 66, 1971, p. 264, n. 16	875	10 BC – 10 AD	Arezzo?
Gellius	HD Frescoes Bougada Metochi	SACKETT 1992, p. 144 n. Y5; BANOU 2004, p. 897, n. 22	878	10-50 AD	Arezzo?
L. Gellius	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y36	879	15 BC – 50 AD	Arezzo?
M. Iulius	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y28	998	10 BC – 10 AD	Pozzuoli
Manneius	East House SEast House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y2, and p. 145, n. Y32	1099	30-70 AD	Arezzo
C. Murrius	StratMuseum	AR 1987-88, p. 91	1203	1-30+ AD	Arezzo
N. Naevius Hilarus	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 198, n. C1.1	1250	1+? AD	Pozzuoli
(M. Perennius) Bargathes (1)	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y39	1404	1-30 AD	Arezzo
(M. Perennius) Tigranus (2)	VDionysos	HAYES 1983, p. 138, n. 206	1412	10 BC – 10 AD	Arezzo
L. Ple. Amar.	VDionysos	HAYES 1983, p. 132, n. 205	1477	1 st half of 1 st century AD	Pisa?
Rasinius (2)	HD Frescoes	SACKETT 1992, pp. 145-146, n. Y46	1623	15 BC – 40 AD	Arezzo
C. Rasinius	HD Frescoes	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y33	1686	15+ AD	unknown
L. Rasinius Pisanus	SWest House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y25	1690	50-120 AD	Pisa
T. Rufrenus sl. Rufio	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y31	1732	15-5 BC	Arezzo?
M.S. Pu(dens?)	East House North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, nn. Y9, Y18	1760	50-70 AD	Po Valley
C. Sentius	StratMuseum	AR 1987-88, p. 91	1861	20 BC – 20 AD	Etruria?
Serenus (2)	VDionysos	HAYES 1983, p. 132, n. 204	1878	10 BC – 10 AD	Pozzuoli
Sertorius	Sanatorium Well	HAYES, BSA 66, 1971, p. 264, n. 11	1909	1-30 AD	Arezzo
A. Sestius Dama	StratMuseum	AR 1987-88, p. 91	1947	20-1 BC	Arezzo?
Statilia sl. Canopus	HD Frescoes	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y21	1991	20-1 BC	unknown
L. Su.M.	SEast House	SACKETT 1992, p. 145, n. Y27	1999	2 nd half of 1 st cent AD	Pisa
L. Umbricius sl. Felix	North House	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y20	2457	20-1 BC	unknown
L. Umbricius H	HD Frescoes	SACKETT 1992, p. 144, n. Y4	2470	50+ AD	Torrita di Siena
Zoilus (1)	VDionysos	HAYES 1983, p.138, n. 207	2543	5 BC+	Pisa

Table 1a. Italian Sigillata stamps at Knossos

Name (12 potters)	Provenance	Reference (12 stamps)	OCK Type	Date	Production
C. An(nius)	Gortyn (Chandax 1979)	RIZZO 2004, p. 186, n. 292	128 if plain ware	15 BC – 5 AD	Arezzo
Ate(i)us	Crete	HOLWERDA 1936, p. 40, n. 511	268	5 BC – 25 AD	Pisa
P. Clodius Proculus	Gortyn (Odeion)	ICr IV 542; CHANIOTIS-Preuss 1990, p. 195, n. 8	592	40-100 AD	Arezzo
Camurius	Khamalevri	HOOD-WARREN-CADOGAN 1964, p. 62 and note 15	514	30-70 AD	Arezzo
Crestus	Viannos	HOOD-WARREN-CADOGAN 1964, p. 87 and note 42	698	10 BC – 30 AD	Pisa/Lyon
C. Gavi Homullus	unknown location in western Crete	ICr. II,xxx 18	872	uncertain	uncertain
Sex. Murrius Festus	Gortyn (Odeion)	Di Vita, pers. comm.	1212	60-150 AD	Pisa
Sex. M(urrius) P(isanus)	Gortyn (Praetorium)	RIZZO 2001, p. 38, n. 1; MAGNELLI 2001, p. 631, n. 6	1213	60-150 AD	Pisa
C.P. P(isanus)	Gortyn (Odeion)	Di Vita, pers. comm.	1342	50-100+ AD	Pisa
L. Pomponius? P(isanus)	Gortyn (Praetorium)	RIZZO 2001, p. 38, n. 2, citing OC 1365	1503	15+ AD	Arezzo
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Kommos, Temple C	Kommos IV, p. 132, n. 99	1690	50-120 AD	Pisa
L. Rast(icanus) Pre..?	Gortyn (Chandax 1979)	RIZZO 2004, pp. 188-89, n. 323	1694	Flavian?	central Italy?

Table 1b. Italian Sigillata stamps at Gortyn and Other Locations in Crete

Name (19 potters)	Provenance	Reference (20 stamps)	OCK Type	Date	Production
Arvius	Large Bath, cistern	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 183-184, n. 19	252.6-7	15 BC-15+ AD	Arezzo
C. Arvius	Large Bath, 91	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 183, n. 18	254.20	15 BC-15+ AD	Arezzo
Ateius	Roman House I, 6	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 177-178, n. 3	267.24	15-5BC	Arezzo
Cn. Ateius Rufus	Roman House I, 7	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 178, n. 5	310.5	15+ AD	Pisa?
Avillius	Roman House I, 7	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 178, n. 4	371.37	20 BC-40 AD	uncertain
Camurius	Roman House II, 23	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 180, n. 9	514.2	30-70 AD	Arezzo
Clodius Proculus	Basilica, surface	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 181, n. 13	576.7-9	40-100 AD	Arezzo
Crestus	Roman House I, impluvium	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 177, n. 1	698.59	10 BC-30 AD	Pisa/Lyon
L. Gellius	Roman House II, between 78/82 and 83	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 179-180, n. 8	879.86	ca. 15 BC-50 AD	Arezzo?
Maecius sl. Vale(n)s	Roman House II, 26	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 180, n. 10	1081.2	10 BC+	Pozzuoli
C.M.A.R.	Public Building, 80	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 182, n. 15	1113	mid-1 st century AD	uncertain
L. Militius	Roman House I, impluvium	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 177, n. 2	1183.2	15+ AD	uncertain
S.M.F.	Public Building, 80	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 182-183, n. 16	1212.8	60-150 AD	Pisa
Sex. Murrius	Public Building, 76	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 182, n. 14	1212.15-30	60-150 AD	Pisa
C.N.	Roman House II, 78	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 181, n. 12	1222.3	1-30+ AD	central Italy
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Roman House I, peristyle	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 179, n. 7	1690.34	50-120 AD	Pisa
Sa[-]	Roman House II, 79	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 180-81, n. 11	unidentifiable	undatable	unlocatable
L. Titius sl. C(h)ryses	Roman House I, 7	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, pp. 178-179, n. 6	2212.1	uncertain	Arezzo?
L.	Public Building, 80	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 183, n. 17	unidentifiable	undatable	unlocatable
L.	Large Bath, 90	BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 184, n. 20	unidentifiable	undatable	unlocatable

Table 1c. Italian Sigillata stamps at Eleutherna

Name (16 potters)	Provenance (21 stamps)	Reference	OCK Type	Date	Production
Ateius	Area Alpha, Lithosoros 2-2	n. 44	268.49	5BC-25 AD	Pisa
Ateius	Manolopoulos plot	n. 45	268	5BC-25 AD	Pisa
Cn. Ateius Ar.	Area Alpha, Lithosoros 2-2	n. 46	282.1	30-80 AD	Pisa
Camurius (?)	Extension A, 2-10	n. 34	514.53	30-70 (?) AD	Arezzo (?)
Gellius	Extension A, 2-2	n. 35	878.32	10-50 AD	Arezzo?
Hilarus	Extension A, 2 group 1	n. 47	953.15	20BC-10 AD	uncertain
C. Marcius	Area Alpha, 4-2	n. 48	1118.4	15+ AD	uncertain
Metilius	Extension A, 2-10	n. 49	1176.1	30+ AD	Arezzo?
C. Murius	Area Alpha, small wall 6, 3-7	n. 50	1200.1	15+ AD	uncertain
Sex. Murrius Pisanus	Extension A, 2-2	n. 40	1213.22-34	60-150 AD	Pisa
Se[x. Murrius -?]	Area Alpha, 4-1	n. 41	1212 or 1213	60-150? AD	Pisa?
Sex. Murrius Pisanus	Vougioukalakis plot	n. 42	1213.16	60-150 AD	Pisa
C.P.P.	Extension A, 2-12	n. 43	1342.15	50-100+ AD	Pisa
C. Pom. Fe(lix?)	Argyroupoli	n. 51	1498.1	late 1 st -1 st half of 2 nd cent.	central Italy
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Area Alpha, Trench 1, 3-8	n. 39	1690.3	50-120 AD	Pisa
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Extension A, 2-4	n. 36	1690.32 or 33	50-120 AD	Pisa
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Area Alpha, Martyras between Trenches 6 and 7	n. 37	1690.3	50-120 AD	Pisa
L. Rasinius Pisanus	Area Alpha, Lithosoros 2-2 (ostraka)	n. 38	1690.15	50-120 AD	Pisa
C. Sa[trius?]	Extension A, 3-1	n. 52	1797?	Augustan?	Po Valley?
C.V[-]	Extension A, 2-4	n. 30	2293.2 a loose parallel	15+ AD	central Italy?
CV	Area Alpha, 3-2	n. 31	unidentifiable	undatable	unlocatable

Table 1d. Italian Sigillata stamps at Lappa (synopsis)

We should first ask how the Lappaian stamps compare with those already known from Crete. Of the 23 stamps presented here, two are too incomplete for definitive comparison even though tentative identifications can be suggested (30-31). Two more are not Italian sigillata, but Campanian Orange Sigillata (32) and Eastern Sigillata B (33), which should not be included in a tabulation of Italian sigillata but can be taken into account in the following discussion. The sheer quantity of Italian sigillata stamps published from Knossos ensures that Knossian comparanda will continue to outweigh those from Eleutherna, Gortyn, or elsewhere, which are all the more noteworthy as a result.

The nineteen identifiable Italian stamps found at Lappa can be divided between stamps comparable with the ten already known elsewhere on Crete and nine thus far unique to Lappa. Of these nineteen, six stamps name three potters whose wares are attested at Knossos: Camurius (34), Gellius (35), and L. Rasinius Pisanus (36-39). Two of the potters attested at Knossos are also known from Eleutherna and her territory: Camurius (34) and L. Rasinius Pisanus (36-39), potters attested nearly everywhere in the Greek East¹⁹⁸. Three or

¹⁹⁸ Eleutherna: BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009, p. 180 n.9 and p.179 n. 7, respectively. Camurius and L. Rasinius Pisanus stamps: MALFITANA 2004A, p. 111.

possibly four stamps name two potters whose wares are documented at Gortyn: Sex. Murrius Pisanus (40-42) and C.P.P. (43). Nine stamps naming eight different potters remain attested only at Lappa to date: Ateius (44-45)¹⁹⁹; Cn. Ateius Ar. (46), Hilarus (47), C. Marcius (48), Metilius (49), C. Murius (50), C. Pom. Fe(lix?) (51), and C. Sa[trius] (52). Given the thinness of the record we can only take note of them, until we see whether they belong to different chronological or distribution patterns.

VIII.1. *When: comparing Lappa with Knossos, Gortyn, and Eleutherna*

The stamped pottery preserved at Lappa ranges from the mid-late Augustan phase of Italian sigillata production to Campanian Orange sigillata, Eastern Sigillata B1, and late Italian series. The rectangular stamps used by L. Rasinius Pisanus (37), Ateius (45), Cn. Ateius Ar. (46), Hilarus (47), C. Marcius (48), and C. Sa[trius] (52) were more characteristic of the Augustan than other periods but in use until the mid-first century²⁰⁰. The majority of the stamps found at Lappa are *in planta pedis*, a type assumed to provide a terminus *post quem* of AD 15 but used for at least a century thereafter²⁰¹.

One of the advantages of Kenrick's edition of the *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum* is the suggestion of dates of activity for the potters, however tentative²⁰². Kenrick dates the earliest period of production to the years between 40 and 20/15 BC²⁰³. Period A overlaps with the early Augustan period of Italian sigillata, dated 30-15²⁰⁴. Kenrick's second period covers the thirty-five years between 20 BC and AD 15²⁰⁵. Period B can be subdivided into the mid-Augustan period 15-1 BC and the late Augustan AD 1-15²⁰⁶. Kenrick's third period essentially covers the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, AD 15-50, while his fourth covers the years after AD 50²⁰⁷.

The Lappaian assemblage examined here also includes one example of Campanian Orange Sigillata (32) and one of Eastern Sigillata B (33). Hayes had called Campanian Orange Sigillata – a previously unclassified red-slip ware – «imitation terra sigillata», and considered it of unknown provenance though possibly north African in origin²⁰⁸. Kenrick had initially labelled this ware «Tripolitanian Sigillata», and had suggested that it might have been produced within modern Libya²⁰⁹. Soricelli then identified Italian Naples as the probable production site – to judge from the frequency of these wares at Pompeii and Naples and the discovery of possible kiln wasters at Naples – and preferred the label «Production A»²¹⁰. Hedinger noted both labels, «Tripolitanian» Sigillata/Production A from Campania²¹¹. Finally, Kenrick accepted Soricelli's identification and coined the label «Campanian Orange Sigillata»²¹².

Eastern Sigillata B (ESB) was produced in the last decades of the first century BC and the first half of the first century, probably at Tralles or one of a small number of centers in Asia Minor²¹³. Production began as an eastern offshoot of one or more genuine Arretine

¹⁹⁹ Other Ateii are attested at Knossos and Eleutherna: see Tables 1a and 1c.

²⁰⁰ OCK, p. 9.

²⁰¹ OCK, p. 9.

²⁰² OCK, pp. 8-9.

²⁰³ Period A: OCK, p. 36.

²⁰⁴ POBLOME 2004, p. 24 and fig. 5.

²⁰⁵ Period B: OCK, p. 36.

²⁰⁶ POBLOME 2004, p. 24 and fig. 5; cf. EIRING 2000, p. 199.

²⁰⁷ Periods C and D, respectively: OCK, p. 36.

²⁰⁸ HAYES 1976, p.75, citing BARADEZ 1961, p. 114 for «imitation Arretine» ceramics at Tipasa, with pastel clay and a bright red glaze, perhaps an African imitation.

²⁰⁹ KENRICK 1985 III.1, p. 284.

²¹⁰ SORICELLI 1987, pp. 74 and 85.

²¹¹ HEDINGER 1999, p. 34.

²¹² KENRICK 1996, p. 43; OCK, p. 8.

²¹³ HAYES 1985, p. 49; ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004b, p. 223; POBLOME-BRULET 2005, p. 34.

	Knossos #	Eleutherna #	Gortyn #	other location in Crete	Subtotal #	subtotal %	Lappa #	Lappa %	all #	all %
mid-Augustan	20	7	2	1	30	39.0	1	4.8	31	31.6
late Augustan	10	1		1	12	15.6	2	9.5	14	14.3
Augustan?	1				1	1.3	0		1	1.0
Tiberian-Claudian	9	5	1	1	16	20.8	7	33.3	23	23.5
after AD 50	5	3	4	1	13	16.9	8	38.1	21	21.4
uncertain	0	4		1	5	6.5	3	14.3	8	8.2
total	45	20	7	5	77		21		98	

Table 2. Chronology of Italian Sigillata stamps on Crete

Period	Crete # of stamps	Crete % of stamps	Cyrenaica # of stamps (OCK Potters Supplying Cyrene)	Cyrenaica % of stamps	Cyrenaica %
early Augustan			2	1.7	2.6
mid-Augustan	31	31.6	45	37.8	34.2
late Augustan	14	14.3	17	14.3	17.1
Augustan?	1	1.0	1	0.8	1.3
Tiberian-Claudian	23	23.5	34	28.6	34.2
after AD 50	21	21.4	21	17.6	7.9
uncertain	8	8.2	2	1.7	2.6
total	98		119		

Table 3. Chronology of Italian Sigillata stamps in Crete and Cyrenaica

Production center	Knossos #	Eleutherna #	Gortyn #	other loc. in Crete	subtotal #	subtotal %	Lappa #	Lappa %	all #	All %
Arezzo	15	5	3	1	24	31.2			24	24.5
Arezzo?	6	2	0	0	8	10.4	3	14.3	11	11.2
Arezzo / Pisa	1		0	0	1	1.3			1	1.0
Arezzo / Pisa / Lyon	1		0	0	1	1.3			1	1.0
Pisa / Lyon	2	1	0	1	4	5.2			4	4.1
Po Valley	3		0	0	3	3.9	1	4.8	4	4.1
Arezzo or Arezzo / Pisa / Lyon / Po Valley	13	3	0	1	17	22.1	4	19.0	21	21.4
Puteoli	4	1	0	0	5	6.5			5	5.1
central Italy		1			1	1.3	1	4.8	2	2.0
central Italy?	0		1	0	1	1.3			1	1.0
Pisa	4	3	3	2	12	15.6	11	52.4	23	23.5
Pisa?	2	1	0	0	3	3.9			3	3.1
Puteoli / central Italy / Pisa	10	6	4	2	22	28.6	12	57.1	34	34.7
Torrta di Siena	1		0	0	1	1.3			1	1.0
Etruria?	1		0	0	1	1.3			1	1.0
Etruria	2		0	0	2	2.6			2	2.0
uncertain	5	6	0	1	12	15.6	5	23.8	17	17.3
TOTAL	45	20	7	5	77		21		98	

Table 4. Provenance of Italian Sigillata Stamps on Crete

factories²¹⁴. Shapes followed Italian models but can be distinguished by low foot rings and exaggeration of projecting moldings and sharp angles²¹⁵. In Eastern Sigillata B1 – the finer, earlier class – shapes with elaborate moldings yielded to simple shapes like ours²¹⁶. The clay is splintery or flaky, the gloss has the characteristic rather waxy or soapy appearance and tends to flake away in countless minute patches²¹⁷. The glaze was applied by double-dipping, which produced a continuous streak of thicker glaze that runs over the exterior and interior²¹⁸. Stamps – on earlier pieces, in imitation of Italian sigillata – are generally small and rectangular with small but good letters in one or two lines²¹⁹. Greek was mostly used, but there were also Latin and bilingual stamps as well as ornamental stamps²²⁰.

Eastern Sigillata B was present at Knossos in the early first century²²¹. At Knossos small, neat stamps record potters' names in both Latin and Greek²²². Knossos was not the only place on Crete to which ESB was exported, but the Unexplored Mansion excavations have resulted in systematic publication²²³. Malfitana includes finds from Knossos, Gortyn, Lasaia and Afrati in her quantitative analysis of Eastern *terra sigillata* wares in the Eastern Mediterranean²²⁴. Between 50 BC and the mid-second century, Italian sigillata rose alongside Eastern Sigillata, which was exported throughout the Aegean area, including Crete²²⁵.

We are now in a position to compare the chronology of the Lappa assemblage with that attested for Knossos, Eleutherna, Gortyn, and other scattered locations in Crete (Table 2). The mid-Augustan period is less well documented at Lappa than elsewhere on Crete but does attest the activity of a potter hitherto unknown on Crete: Hilarus (47). The Bay of Naples, where Amphio signed Campanian Orange Sigillata (32), was active in the mid-Augustan to Tiberian period, between 10 BC and AD 40²²⁶. In the late Augustan period two stamps name the potter Ateius (44-45). C. Sa[trius] has been dated possibly to the Augustan period, on the basis of his using a rectangular stamp (52). The Tiberian-Claudian period is better documented at Lappa: C. V[-] (30), Camurius (34), Gellius (35), Cn. Ateius Ar. (46), C. Marcius (48), Metilius (49), and C. Murius (50). The period after AD 50 is likewise better documented at Lappa than at Knossos, Gortyn, or Eleutherna: L. Rasinius Pisanus (36-39), Sex. Murrius Pisanus (40-42), C.P.P. (43), and C. Pom. Fe(lix?) (51). The type of cup signed by an eastern potter whose name cannot be read or restored belongs to the period AD 25-50 or at least before 70 (33)²²⁷.

If we now compare the chronology of Italian Sigillata on Crete – including Lappa – with the other half of the double province, Cyrenaica, we can see how Lappa contributes to

²¹⁴ ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, pp. 222 and 227.

²¹⁵ ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, pp. 222-223.

²¹⁶ FORSTER 2001, p. 143; HAYES 1973, p. 455.

²¹⁷ FORSTER 2001, p. 143; ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, pp. 221-222.

²¹⁸ HELLSTRÖM 1965, p. 32.

²¹⁹ HAYES 1985, p. 51.

²²⁰ HAYES 1985, p. 51; ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, p. 224.

²²¹ FORSTER 2001, p. 143.

²²² FORSTER 2001, p. 132.

²²³ SACKETT 1992, pp. 143-246; *SEG* LII 868, which also mentions a lamp of Menemachos (SACKETT 1992, p. 306 n. L6888).

²²⁴ MALFITANA 2002, pp. 136 and 140, where Knos-

sos is dominant as a result of the publication of the Unexplored Mansion excavations.

²²⁵ MALFITANA 2002, pp. 154 and 140-141, again a result of publication of the the Unexplored Mansion excavations.

²²⁶ SORICELLI 1987, p. 73.

²²⁷ P. Kenrick, pers. comm.; J. Hayes, pers. comm.; Hayes 1985, p. 51 for Forms 1-21 of the Tiberian-Claudian period; p. 58 Form 24 or 59 Form 29, as suggested by Kenrick for our Lappaian example; Hayes 1973, p. 455 for the pre-Flavian date of ESB1 in general and p. 456 for rectangular stamps which appear to be the rule and survived longer in this ware than in Arretine ware.

the island- and province-wide profile (Table 3). By converting numbers of stamps to percentages we can more accurately compare the Cretan and Cyrenaican markets, without the distorting effect of the history of excavation, which might favor Cyrenaica. The Cyrenaican corpus is, in fact, nearly that of Berenike, just as the Cretan corpus has until recently been that of Knossos²²⁸. Increasing the Cretan corpus to 98 stamps rather than 34 gives the island nearly 82.4% (rather than 28.6%) as many stamps as Cyrenaica²²⁹.

Comparison with the number of stamps published from Cyrenaica would suggest that slightly more Italian sigillata stamps are preserved in Cyrenaica than on Crete in the mid-Augustan period, despite the presence of a Roman colony at Knossos and the presumed provincial capital at Gortyn as well as the resurgent cities of Eleutherna and Lappa. In the late Augustan period, however, Cyrenaica came to be more like Crete. In the Tiberian-Claudian period Italian Sigillata stamps are again more commonly preserved in Cyrenaica than on Crete, but after AD 50 Crete preserves more stamps than Cyrenaica.

VIII.2. *Whence: Adding Lappa to the profile of production sites supplying Crete*

In her study of the Italian sigillata from Ephesos Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger estimated that the typical profile for the Greek East – in Achaia, Egypt, and Asia – consists of about 30% from Arezzo, 10% from Arezzo or Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon/Po Valley, and larger quantities from Puteoli, central Italy, and Pisa²³⁰. These figures are based on a range of percentages, presented in Table 4 together with the profiles of production sites supplying various other provinces in the Greek East. Table 4 is arranged according to the development of the Italian sigillata industry, and not in alphabetical order like the search results available from the *OCK* CD-ROM²³¹.

The current profile for Lappa includes no stamps from Arezzo, a phenomenon that is remarkable when set into the context of the rest of Crete or the eastern Mediterranean²³². The Italian sigillata industry began at Arezzo and continued throughout the period in which these wares were produced²³³. The three stamps that could be from Arezzo may make up for the absence of stamps that are certainly Arretine. The percentage of Lappaian stamps possibly from Arezzo or from Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon/Po Valley is significant but still slightly lower than in the rest of the island. This group includes one from the Po Valley but none from Lyon. The Po Valley has been identified as an area to which Arretine potters expanded in the mid-late Augustan period, to take advantage of northern and eastern markets in Noricum, Panonia, Dalmatia and Moesia²³⁴. Lyon – attested at Knossos but nowhere else on the island – has been traditionally identified as a subsidiary production center, and more recently as a center to which potters trained at Arezzo or Pisa migrated, in order to take advantage of northern and western markets²³⁵.

What is most remarkable at Lappa is the high percentage of stamps from central Italy and Pisa but not Puteoli. Central Italy became a dominant production area only in the

²²⁸ *OCK* CD-ROM: Summary of Potters Supplying Cyrene, cfr. Stamps Listed from Berenice, Cyrenaica, Cyrene: 72 potters named on 112 stamps from Berenike (95.7% of the Cyrenaican corpus); 4 potters named on 5 stamps from Cyrene, including the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone (4.3% of the corpus); and 1 potter named on 1 stamp from an unknown location in Cyrenaica (0.9% of the corpus).

²²⁹ *OCK* CD-ROM, Summary of Potters Supplying Crete.

²³⁰ ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004A, p. 78.

²³¹ Compare the arrangement in ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004A, p. 79.

²³² Future study may still reveal the presence of unstamped fragments of vessels from Arezzo.

²³³ FORSTER 2001, p. 141; *OCK*, pp. 25-26.

²³⁴ *OCK*, pp. 37-38; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, pp. 220-221.

²³⁵ FORSTER 2001, p. 141; *OCK*, p. 50.

Provenience	Crete (Table 4)	Cyrene	Egypt	Achaia	Macedonia	Asia	Cyprus	Cilicia	Syria- Phoenike	Judaea	Arabia
Arezzo	24.5	14.8	30.0	30.8	28.6	32.1	15.9	26.3	37.8	63.0	14.3
Arezzo?	11.2	4.7	6.9	9.7	35.7	13.2	4.5	15.8	11.1	3.7	9.5
Arezzo/Pisa	1.0	0.8	0.3								
Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon	1.0	1.6	6.6	0.8		1.9	2.3		2.2	3.7	9.5
Arezzo/Lyon					7.1						
Pisa/Lyon	4.1	5.0	1.6						4.4		
Lyon?				0.2							
Arezzo/Po Valley				0.5		1.9			4.4		
Lyon/Po Valley										3.7	
Po Valley	4.1		0.9	1.5		0.9					
Faenza				0.1							
Arezzo or Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon/Po Valley	21.4	12.1	16.3	12.8	42.8	17.9	6.8	15.8	22.1	11.1	19.0
Puteoli	5.1	4.7	12.8	1.7		6.6			2.2	7.4	42.9
Puteoli?		0.8	2.8	0.1							
Campania?									4.4		
central Italy	2.0	2.3	3.4	23.3		2.8	2.3	5.4	8.9		
central Italy?	1.0	1.6	4.4	4.4		1.9			2.2		
Pisa	23.5	32.0	8.8	5.2		12.3	63.6	21.1	2.2	11.1	9.5
Pisa?	3.1	6.3	3.8	0.8		0.9	2.3				4.8
Puteoli/central Italy/Pisa	34.7	47.7	33.0	35.7		24.5	68.2	26.5	19.9	18.5	57.2
Torrta di Siena	1.0			0.3		0.9		5.3			
Vasanello				0.1							
Etruria?	1.0		1.6	0.6		2.8	2.3				9.5
Etruria/Lyon			0.3	0.5							
Etruria	2.0		1.9	1.5		3.7	2.3	5.3			9.5
uncertain	17.3	25.0	15.9	19.2	28.6	21.7	6.8	26.3	20.0	7.4	

Table 5. Provenience of Italian Sigillata stamps in the Greek East

period after AD 50²³⁶. Pisa has also long been identified as a subsidiary production center, and more recently as one to which potters from Arezzo migrated in order to take advantage of access to the sea and maritime resources, with the result that Pisa was second only to Arezzo in vessel distribution²³⁷.

The Italian sigillata stamps discovered at Lappa add no new production sites to the profile of those supplying Crete. There is moreover less variety in the production centers supplying Lappa, which raises the possibility that another city was a redistribution point from which Italian sigillata came to Lappa²³⁸. Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon and the Po Valley are all attested at Knossos, while Pisa/Lyon is also attested at Eleutherna and Viannos but not at Lappa. Stamps possibly from Pisa and certainly from Puteoli – an early first century Campanian production center – are attested at Knossos and Eleutherna, while one possibly from central Italy is attested at Gortyn. No Puteolan or Etrurian stamps are attested at Lappa, unlike Knossos²³⁹.

If we compare the provenance of Italian Sigillata on Crete – including Lappa – with the other half of the double province, Cyrenaica, we can see once again the contribution Lappa makes to the island-, province- and Mediterranean-wide profile (Table 5). Comparison reveals a small but still notably larger proportion of stamps from Arezzo on Crete than in Cyrenaica. The share of the Cretan market held by stamps from Arezzo, Pisa, Lyon, and the Po Valley is still significantly larger than that in the Cyrenaican market, given Lappa's importation of sigillata possibly from Arezzo and from the Po Valley. Pisa dominated the Lappaian market, with the result that Crete's percentage of Puteolan/central Italian/Pisan sigillata stamps is closer but not yet up to the level of the Cyrenaica.

At first sight, these comparisons suggest that Crete might have participated in a different current of trade than that which supplied Cyrene. Comparisons with other parts of the Greek East encourage us to look for trade routes that would bring pottery to the north coast of Crete (Macedonia, Achaia), south of Crete (Cyrenaica, Egypt), and east of Crete (Asia, Cilicia, Syria, Cyprus). Crete's higher percentage of stamps from Arezzo, for example, can be compared to that in Cilicia and Macedonia. In the higher percentage of potters' stamps from Arezzo/Pisa/Lyon/Po Valley, Crete can also be compared with Syria and Asia. In the lower percentage of stamps from Puteoli/central Italy/Pisa, Crete is more in line with Egypt and Achaia. With a small but distinctive percentage of stamps from Etruria, Crete is again comparable with Egypt and Achaia.

Crete appears to have been more typical of the Greek East than Cyrenaica, to judge from the profile of potters who supplied the two halves of the province. Poblome argues that Knossos participated in an Aegean pattern of importing Eastern Sigillatae more than Italian sigillata, while Gortyn may have imported more Italian sigillata than Eastern Sigillatae because it lay along the route of the *annona*²⁴⁰. Eiring suggested that the trade pattern bringing Italian sigillata to Berenice was quite different from that which supplied Crete, the other half of the province²⁴¹. It would be tempting to conclude that Crete lay along one west-east shipping route between Italy and the East, while Cyrenaica lay along another, but the situation need not be so simple.

²³⁶ OCK, p. 38.

²³⁷ FORSTER 2001, p. 141; OCK, pp. 37 and 46.

²³⁸ POBLOME-TALLOEN 2004, pp. xiii-xiv; SLANE 2004, p. 32.

²³⁹ Compare SLANE 1989, p. 222 for Etrurian and

Campanian wares at first-century Corinth.

²⁴⁰ POBLOME 2004, p. 23. This argument is difficult to document, given the low number of Italian sigillata stamps discovered at Gortyn and published.

²⁴¹ EIRING 2000, p. 199.

VIII.3. *How*

Goods such as Italian sigillata should have been collected at regional and intermediary ports like Puteoli and Ostia, then passed on to similar ones such as Corinth or Alexandria²⁴². Corinth, Antioch, Alexandria, and probably Ephesos served as the main eastern markets for workshops that primarily targetted the Mediterranean²⁴³. Sicily was a major intermediary port, from which one route ran east to Corinth, another southeast to Alexandria, and a third south to Carthage. Potters attested on Sicily will therefore not be counted in the calculations below, as they could participate in overlapping distribution patterns. While the evidence of comparable stamps is too scanty to be statistically significant, it can still permit some historical conclusions about trends and probabilities. Table 6 has been constructed so as to tabulate the number of comparable stamps attested at Italian ports, on Sicily, along southern routes that led to Carthage and Berenike as well as Egypt, and along a northern route that led to mainland Greece and beyond.

To begin with Lappa before we consider Crete as a whole, the city appears to have been supplied by some of the same potters who shipped Arretine, Pisan, and central Italian sigillata from Ostia to Patras, and Corinth, if not also Ephesos and Antioch or the Black Sea²⁴⁴. If we compare the stamps preserved at Lappa with those not on Sicily – a hub for multiple routes – but at Ostia, Corinth, in the region of Smyrna and Ephesos, and in Antioch or the Black Sea (Table 6a-b) we can account for 76.2% of the Lappaian stamps. We should, moreover take particular note of two stamps specifically attested at Lappa and Corinth: Metilius (49) and C. Pom. Fe(lix?) (51).

The distribution of Eastern Sigillata B westward from Ephesos – including an example at Lappa (33) – could reinforce this pattern. The nearest great distribution center to Tralles and southwest Asia Minor was Ephesos, from which these wares were exported mainly in the Aegean and as far afield as the Black Sea, mainland Greece, north Africa, Italy, and Dalmatia²⁴⁵. Malfitana – following Hayes – distinguishes «marketing areas» from «areas of secondary distribution» and «sporadic finds in distant lands», which Eastern Sigillata might reach as the result of long-distance trade contacts or the movement of individuals²⁴⁶. «Marketing areas» or areas of primary distribution included the Anatolian inland, west coast of Asia Minor, mainland Greece, Libya and Egypt, at the halfway point from east to west²⁴⁷. The cities that provided the principal markets for Eastern Sigillata included Athens, Corinth, Kenchreai, Isthmia, and Knossos, while the Aegean-Cyclades area consisted of stopping points between the west coast of Asia Minor and Greece proper²⁴⁸. Commercial flows that affected eastern Mediterranean coasts and adjacent areas linked production centers and market centers in a complex nexus of pottery production and trade development in the eastern Mediterranean from the mid-second century BC (Eastern Sigillata A) to the second-third centuries AD (Eastern Sigillata B and C)²⁴⁹.

At the same time Lappa appears to have been supplied by many of the same potters who took advantage of routes that ran from Sicily to Carthage and Berenice²⁵⁰. Another

²⁴² SLANE 1989, p. 224.

²⁴³ SLANE 2004, pp. 35-36.

²⁴⁴ SLANE 2004, p. 41; ABADIE-REYNAL 2004, p. 63 for Ostia-Patras-Corinth; MENCHELLI 2004, p. 271 for Ostia to Ephesos; MENCHELLI 2004, p. 274 for a grain route that ran from Corinth to Smyrna and Ephesos before the Black Sea; MALFITANA 2004B, p. 315 for Ostia carrying Arretine, Pisan and central Italian sigillata.

²⁴⁵ HELLSTRÖM 1965, p. 32; FORSTER 2001, p. 139; ZAHBELICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004B, pp. 222 and 228.

²⁴⁶ MALFITANA 2002, p. 134.

²⁴⁷ MALFITANA 2002, p. 155.

²⁴⁸ MALFITANA 2002, p. 141.

²⁴⁹ MALFITANA 2002, p. 154.

²⁵⁰ MENCHELLI 2004, p. 274.

Lappa	Ostia (8)	Puteoli (1)	Sicily (9)	Carthage (10)	Cyrenaica (5)	Egypt (5)	Corinth (10)	Smyrna, Ephesos region (4)	Antioch (2)	Black Sea (2)
Ateius 268 (twice)	Ateius 268		Ateius 268	Ateius 268	Ateius 268	Ateius 268	Ateius 268			
Cn. Ateius Ar. 282	Cn. Ateius Ar. 282		Cn. Ateius Ar. 282	Cn. Ateius Ar. 282						
Camurius 514	Camurius 514		Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514	Camurius 514
Gellius 878	Gellius 878		Gellius 878	Gellius 878		Gellius 878	Gellius 878	Gellius 878	Gellius 878	Gellius 878
Hilarus 953			Hilarus 953	Hilarus 953		Hilarus 953	Hilarus 953			
C. Marc 1118			C. Marc 1118	C. Marc 1118			C. Marc 1118			
Metilius 1176							Metilius 1176			
C. Murius 1200	C. Murius 1200		C. Murius 1200	C. Murius 1200		C. Murius 1200				
Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213 (twice)	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213 (Cyrene)		Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213	Sex. Murrus Pisanus 1213		
C.P.P. 1342	C.P.P. 1342		C.P.P. 1342	C.P.P. 1342	C.P.P. 1342		C.P.P. 1342			
C. Pom. Fe(lix?) 1498							C. Pom. Fe(lix?) 1498			
L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690 (four times)	L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690		L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690	L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690	L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690		L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690	L. Rasinus Pisanus 1690		

Table 6a. Distribution Patterns for stamps Attested at Lappa

Crete	Ostia-Corinth-Smyrna/Ephesos-Antioch-Black Sea	Puteoli-Egypt	Carthage, Cyrenaica
Knossos	33/45	32/45	38/45
Gortyn and elsewhere	11/12	7/12	9/12
Eleutherna	9/20	9/20	14/20
Lappa	16/21	8/21	15/21
total	69/98 (70.4%)	56/98 (57.1%)	76/98 (77.6%)

Table 6b. Distribution Patterns for stamps Attested on Crete

north-south route linked Cyrenaica with western Crete, and an administrative route should have linked Cyrenaica with Gortyn²⁵¹. If we compare the stamps attested at Lappa with those at Carthage and in Cyrenaica (see Table 6a-b), we can account for 71.4% of the stamps from Lappa. Again, we should take particular note of six potters specifically attested at Carthage or Berenike: L. Rasinius Pisanus (36-39), Sex. Murrius Pisanus (40-42), C.P.P. (43), Cn. Ateius Ar. (46), C. Marcius (48), and C. Murius (50).

Lappa could also have been supplied by some of the same potters who took advantage of the major grain route which ran from Puteoli to Sicily and on to Alexandria, and carried Puteolan as well as Campanian and the so-called «Campanian Orange» sigillata²⁵². A specific north-south route linked Alexandria with eastern Crete²⁵³. If we compare the stamps preserved at Lappa with those at Puteoli and in Egypt (see Table 6a-b), we can account for 33.3% of the stamps known at Lappa.

The distribution of Campanian Orange Sigillata eastward – including an example at Lappa (32) – suggests that we take seriously the possibility that this was a route that brought sigillata to Crete. Campanian Orange Sigillata has been recognized and published in southern Italy, to some degree the coast of North Africa and Spain²⁵⁴. The potter Amphio is particularly attested at Italian Velia, Sicilian Catania, Numidian Tiddis, Carthage, and Berenike²⁵⁵.

Of the thirteen identifiable potters named on stamps at Lappa, only one is unattested along any of these routes: C. Sa[trius] (52). If the identification is correct, this stamp can be compared with just one other, from Tortona in Liguria²⁵⁶. *Colonia Iulia Augusta Dertona* was one of the major centers of the Po Valley under Augustus, a road center from which the *via Iulia Augusta* – constructed in 13 BC – ran westwards to Cemelum in the Alpes Maritimae²⁵⁷. The *viae Postumia* and *Aemilia* led eastwards from Dertona to Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The late-second BC colony was probably reinforced by an infusion of colonists, presumably veterans, in the later first BC²⁵⁸. A date of 14 BC for the colonial reinforcement coincides very nicely with the date of Lappaian honors for M. Vipsanus Agrippa, who may have brought settlers to the free city²⁵⁹.

The cumulative evidence for the island of Crete – not just the city of Lappa – appears to favor (1) potters whose goods travelled along a route that ran via Sicily to Carthage and Cyrenaica, over (2) those who used a supply route that ran via Ostia to Patras, Corinth, and on to Ephesos as well as points east, or (3) potters whose wares travelled more directly from Puteoli to Alexandria. Knossos, Eleutherna, and Lappa all lay on the north coast of Crete and so should have been accessible via the west-east route passing north of the island. Gortyn, Kommos, and Viannos – where Italian sigillata has been found and published – lay along the south coast and should have been accessible by the west-east route that ran south of the island. Lappa is, in fact, as close to the south coast as to the north, and might have access to routes running north and south of the island. Such obvious routes were, how-

²⁵¹ Cyrenaica-western Crete route: Pliny *NH* iv 4; Strabo X 4.5; cf. ROQUES 1999.

²⁵² SLANE 2004, p. 36 on Alexandria as a major market; MALFITANA 2004b, p. 315 on Puteoli carrying Puteolan, Campanian, and Campanian Orange sigillatae.

²⁵³ Strabo X.4.5.

²⁵⁴ SORICELLI 1987, p. 83.

²⁵⁵ KENRICK 1985 III.1, p. 300 n. X 152-153; HEDINGER 1999, pp. 352, 355, 356 nn. B1-2.

²⁵⁶ OCK CD-ROM, distribution list for potter n. 1787.

²⁵⁷ C. CARDUCCI, Julia Dertona, in *PECS*, p. 427; KEPPIE 1983, p. 205.

²⁵⁸ KEPPIE 1983, pp. 85, 90-91, 205.

²⁵⁹ KEPPIE 1983, p. 85; TZIFOPOULOS 2007a, pp.

ever, transected by the north-south (or south-north) routes that connected Knossos and Gortyn, Eleutherna and the Bay of Mesara, and Lappa with her southern territory. Along one of the routes that ran south of Crete, 77.6% of the stamps known on Crete are paralleled at Carthage and Berenike (Table 6a-b). Along the route that passed north of Crete, 70.4% of the stamps found on the island can be documented (Table 6a-b). The more direct southerly route from Puteoli to Alexandria might be suggested by the fact that 57.1% of the stamps attested on Crete are also known at Puteoli and in Egypt (Table 6a-b). Five of these potters were active at Puteoli itself, however, with the result that their wares would be found there even without any connection with the Puteoli-Alexandria grain route.

It is not in fact necessary to choose one route over the other. Rather, the distribution of potters shows that in the Roman period Crete was well-situated within a larger, more complex trade pattern (*Fig. 6*). Italian and Campanian Orange Sigillata could travel east along grain routes that passed south of Crete, then around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Eastern Sigillata could travel west along routes that passed north of Crete. The distribution of Cretan wine amphoras illustrates the other side of the commercial circuit, as Cretan goods travelled west to the Italian peninsula and farther. In the period during which Italian sigillata was produced and imported to Crete, amphora production facilities were concentrated along the north coast of Crete more than the south. At Herakleion an amphora production facility was active from the mid-first to mid-second century AD²⁶⁰. Another amphora production facility of first-second century AD date was located at Nopigia, on the north-west coast²⁶¹. To the east of Herakleion, at Chersonesos, a rare assemblage of ostraka attest to the presence of businessmen with Roman names in the second century²⁶². On the south coast – east of Gortyn and her ports – the amphora production facility at Keratokambos West was active from the first century BC to the first century of our era²⁶³.

VIII.4. *Why*

Poblome and Talloen argue that the presence of Italian sigillata in the Greek East is the result not of cultural diffusion or colonial domination but of «self-Romanization», as local elite tastes converged with Roman ones and local elites negotiated their own integration into the Roman world²⁶⁴. The diffusion of Italian sigillata in the Greek East is cited as one manifestation of such a hybrid culture, and at the same time a way for individuals and communities to express, communicate, and demonstrate their position in the provincial landscape²⁶⁵. Among Romanists in the post-colonial era this phenomenon is no longer read as straightforward evidence of the mass adoption of one material element of Roman civilization²⁶⁶. Ceramic evidence, traditionally a standard index for tracing «Romanization», can now be located in the context of involvement in a wider economic system, heralded by the presence of imported pottery and other goods²⁶⁷.

In the context of a pre-industrial agricultural economy and society like that of the Greek East – including Crete – it is important to evaluate local production and patterns in order to understand why a tableware landscape should change in a community or

1465-1466 n. 4; BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007, pp. 198-199.

²⁶⁰ MARANGOU-LERAT 1995, p. 44.

²⁶¹ MARANGOU-LERAT 1995, p. 39.

²⁶² LITINAS 1999, esp. p. 350; LITINAS 2008.

²⁶³ MARANGOU-LERAT 1995, p. 53.

²⁶⁴ POBLOME-TALLOEN 2004, pp. xii-xiii; cf.

MATTINGLY 1997b, pp. 9-10; HANSON 1997, p. 67 for self-Romanization by negotiation/convergence.

²⁶⁵ POBLOME-TALLOEN 2004, p. xiii.

²⁶⁶ MATTINGLY 1997b, p. 18.

²⁶⁷ ALCOCK 1997, pp. 2 and 4.

region²⁶⁸. The Greco-Roman house in the Vougioukalakis plot has yielded not only inscribed coarse wares of Hellenistic date but so-called «Megarian» bowls (*skyphoi*). Oswald and Pryce see a developmental connection between the «Megarian» bowls of Greece and Asia Minor and the decorated hemispherical vessels of Arretium²⁶⁹. The «Megarian» bowl was popular throughout the Mediterranean in Hellenistic times, after its invention by Athenian potters by the middle of the third century BC²⁷⁰. It spawned local imitations, e.g., at Sparta, Pergamon, Olbia and Antioch, and in the second century BC was the drinking bowl of preference all over the Mediterranean²⁷¹. Production ceased in the first half of the first century BC, except at Antioch, and came to an end somewhere around the mid-first century BC²⁷².

The importation of Italian Sigillata into the eastern Mediterranean basin allows us to better understand and define the degree and force of its infiltration within a commercial circuit well-supplied by «local» production²⁷³. Eastern Sigillata A was an unstamped ware that developed in the Syro-Palestinian region in the second half of the second century BC and continued to be common in the first century AD²⁷⁴. From the mid-first century BC to the mid-second century AD, Italian Sigillata developed and rose alongside Eastern Sigillata²⁷⁵. Campanian Orange Sigillata was produced during part of this period, from 10 BC to AD 40²⁷⁶. These two wares together launched standardized and complete table ware services, with the result that high quality products were readily appreciated²⁷⁷. Eastern Sigillata B workshops were founded or at least supported by Italian potters, in the same period that they extended their activities to the west, e.g., to Lyon²⁷⁸. The Italian models for ESB are Augustan but eastern factories produced shapes not identical to Italian ones, perhaps out of respect for the eastern fashion of shaping vessels²⁷⁹. In the early empire Italian sigillata and Eastern Sigillata B were both imported, with Italian sigillata enjoying a market share three times as large as ESB²⁸⁰.

In the context of the Greek East – with its own respectable ceramic tradition – the advent of Italian sigillata has been credited to a number of phenomena. At the colony and administrative center of Corinth Slane sees the earliest wares – particularly large platters – as personal possessions, a mark of Roman status, and then as a sign of recovery from the disastrous impact of the civil wars on the East²⁸¹. In the context of recovery imported ceramics could fill the gap between local production – which might not increase in productivity – and growing demand as Roman status became increasingly desirable or accessible²⁸². Members of Italian communities – e.g., *mercatores*, *coloni* and other settlers, and a rising sub-elite class in *civitates* along the Mediterranean coasts – responded to social pressure and a desire for Italian-style artefacts, coupled with sheer availability and affordability by buying Italian as well as Eastern sigillatae²⁸³. The phenomenon is documented from Sicily to Achaia to Cyprus and beyond²⁸⁴.

²⁶⁸ POBLOME-TALLOEN 2004, p. xiii.

²⁶⁹ OSWALD-PRYCE 1966, p. 237.

²⁷⁰ HELLSTRÖM 1965, pp. 19-20.

²⁷¹ HELLSTRÖM 1965, pp. 19-20.

²⁷² HELLSTRÖM 1965, pp. 19-20.

²⁷³ MALFITANA 2002, p. 137.

²⁷⁴ LUND 2005, pp. 237-39.

²⁷⁵ MALFITANA 2002, p. 154.

²⁷⁶ SORICELLI 1987, p. 73.

²⁷⁷ MALFITANA 2002, p. 154.

²⁷⁸ ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004b, p. 222.

²⁷⁹ ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 2004b, pp. 225 and 227-228.

²⁸⁰ MALFITANA 2002, p. 141: Italian Sigillata 57.28%, ESB 17.94%, ESA 14.87%, Candarli or ESC 5.6%, Cypriot 4.25%.

²⁸¹ SLANE 2004, pp. 40-41.

²⁸² SLANE 2004, p. 41; POBLOME 2004, p. 29.

²⁸³ MENCHELLI 2004, p. 276.

²⁸⁴ MENCHELLI 2004, for Sicily; ABADIE-REYNAL 2004,

In the particular case of Lappa we should consider why Italian and Campanian sigillatae were imported by residents of the city, as a result of Roman manipulation of the Cretan landscape of cities and realignment of a transit and communication corridor in the western part of the island²⁸⁵. Changes in the civic landscape of Crete might in fact be investigated by the distribution of Italian sigillata as much as the route of the Roman road that connected Lappa with Gortyn, Eleutherna, Aptera, and Kydonia²⁸⁶. Once Italian sigillata reached the island, it would have been hawked from port to port and inland via rivers and road systems²⁸⁷. The apparent concentration of Italian sigillata at Knossos – and its relative scarcity at Gortyn – is, however, an artefact of the history of excavation and publication, not an ancient preference for different civic types. In order to document the importation of Italian sigillata to Crete, what is needed is the excavation and publication of small finds from domestic contexts like the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos and the Hellenistic Roman house presented here²⁸⁸. Italian sigillata has also been discovered in domestic and public contexts at Eleutherna²⁸⁹, in scattered public contexts at Aptera²⁹⁰, and in a domestic context at the Knossian port of Herakleion²⁹¹.

Italian sigillata would have come to Lappa even if it had not become a free city, but what distinguishes Lappa from other cities in Roman Crete is its position and role within a western zone of the island that was reorganized and realigned from Augustus onward²⁹². Lappa is not a systematically excavated site like Eleutherna, but the social organization of urban space included the house found in the Vougioukalakis plot – where space might be privately controlled – as well as public facilities such as the baths, where administration and entertainment might be more publicly controlled²⁹³. The free city was inserted into and moved within regional patterns, and was part of a Roman program that changed the sociopolitical map of the island²⁹⁴. Western Crete was effectively aligned along a west-east axis, from the territory of Polyrrhenia to that of Eleutherna, with north-south routes leading from the territory of Polyrrhenia south to Lissos and from that of Eleutherna south to Sybrita and the Bay of the Mesara, whence another west-east route led to Gortyn²⁹⁵.

In order to set Lappa into her regional context, we should consider the evidence provided by field surveys in the zone of Crete west of Mt. Ida and east of the White Mountains. The cumulative evidence to date suggests that Italian and other types of *terrae sigillatae* should be expected at urban centers along the Roman road that linked western Crete with the Messara – not only Lappa but Eleutherna and Sybritos – or at coastal sites such as the Gorge of Preveli (Kourtaliotiko) and Stavromenos. The presence of Mt. Kedros in the midst of this zone of Crete determined not only routes of transit and communication but survey efforts, which came to focus on the Ag. Vasileios and Amari valleys.

In 1965 Hood and Warren visited the Ag. Vasileios valley south of Mt. Kedros in search of ancient sites, particularly Minoan ones. At Koxare above the entrance to the Gorge of Preveli, they nevertheless took note of a «scrap of fine Roman red-glazed ware»,

esp. p. 64, for Argos; MARTIN 2004, esp. p. 68, for Olympia; MALFITANA 2004A, esp. p. 112 for Cyprus.

²⁸⁵ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2006; BALDWIN BOWSKY-NINIΟΥ KINDELI 2006, esp. pp. 428-431; BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007.

²⁸⁶ DE GEORGI forthcoming.

²⁸⁷ MENCHELLI 2004, p. 276.

²⁸⁸ SACKETT 1992. Cfr. BALDWIN BOWSKY forthcoming.

²⁸⁹ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009.

²⁹⁰ BALDWIN BOWSKY in preparation A.

²⁹¹ BALDWIN BOWSKY in preparation B.

²⁹² BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007; PURCELL 2007.

²⁹³ SANDERS 1982, p. 163; HINGELY 1997, p. 90.

²⁹⁴ PURCELL 2007.

²⁹⁵ TZIFOPOULOS 2004; BALDWIN BOWSKY-NINIΟΥ KINDELI 2006, esp. pp. 428-431.

some distance outside the main area of settlement on a natural acropolis²⁹⁶. Ten years later Schiering, together with Bouzakis and Neimeier, surveyed the prefecture of Rethymno, in an effort to supplement the results of the British tour, but they make no mention of seeing *terrae sigillatae* at any of the sites they visited²⁹⁷. In the 1990s Peatfield, Moody, and Markoulaki focussed on Atsipadhes and the Ag. Vasileios valley, where they saw nothing of note between the beginning of the Iron Age and the late Roman period, a gap that would appear to preclude the discovery of *terrae sigillatae*²⁹⁸.

After surveying the prefecture of Rethymno Schiering, together with Müller and Niemeier, surveyed the environs of Rethymno, particularly the area east of the city around Stavromenos and Chamalevri²⁹⁹. *Terrae sigillatae* were noted in the cliff of Palaiokastro, where the Arkadianos (modern Stavromenos) River meets the sea, and in the Chatzametis and Sochora plots, 1.1-1.4 km up the river on its west bank³⁰⁰. This river, and the principal Roman road, led to Eleutherna, where systematic excavations have brought to light quantities of Italian sigillata, including a number of stamped fragments³⁰¹. The Amari valley is and was approached easily from Eleutherna via the Arkadi plateau³⁰². Italian and Greek survey and excavations at Sybritos have focussed on Minoan and Iron Age material, but evidence for the Roman period has been found on Kephala hill and in the modern villages of Ag. Photini and Thronos, which were included in the ancient city's walls³⁰³. Italian sigillata has been found at Sybritos but awaits study³⁰⁴.

IX. Possible historical contexts

It is tempting to identify the second-first century BC destruction at the Vougioukalakis and Manolopoulos plots as the first physical evidence of the Metellan siege of Lappa, during his conquest of Crete³⁰⁵. The evidence of burning at both plots is particularly suggestive. Traces of carbon and burning have in fact been seen in all three plots: below floor level in the Lefou plot (above, p. 183); in the Vougioukalakis plot, Trench 7 strata 2 and 3, and Extension B stratum 2 (above, p. 184); and in the Manolopoulos plot, stratum 4 of Area I (above, p. 185). Three of our inscribed *instrumenta domestica* bear traces of burning: a loom weight and a rim fragment both found in the Lefou plot, Area II (6, Fig. 2; 17, Fig. 3), and a pithos cover found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 3, stratum 3 (19, Fig. 3). Otherwise Lappa appears to have enjoyed a period of relative security and prosperity between the Knossos-Lyttos war of 221/20 BC and the Metellan conquest. Chaniotis considers the transitional period 110-67 BC a distinct time, between the strife of the third-second centuries BC and the Metellan conquest³⁰⁶. Phalasarina – where Rhodian and Koan amphora handles have been noted – was Metellus' first stop as he swept from the west of the island to the east³⁰⁷. In the first phase of this campaign Metellus' tar-

²⁹⁶ HOOD-WARREN 1966, p. 180.

²⁹⁷ SCHIERING 1981, pp. 544-558.

²⁹⁸ MARKOULAKI-MOODY-PEATFIELD 1995, p. 1028; see also PEATFIELD 1992; MARKOULAKI-MOODY-PEATFIELD 1991-1993, pp. 279-281; MOODY-PEATFIELD-MARKOULAKI 2000, pp. 359-371; MARKOULAKI-MOODY-PEATFIELD 1998, p. 968.

²⁹⁹ SCHIERING 1982.

³⁰⁰ SCHIERING 1982, pp. 18 and 47.

³⁰¹ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2009.

³⁰² DUNBABIN 1947, p. 184.

³⁰³ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2001, p. 271.

³⁰⁴ N. Karamaliki, pers. comm.

³⁰⁵ *CretEst* 8, 2000-2001, esp. pp. 282-286.

³⁰⁶ CHANIOTIS 1996, p. 56; CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 109.

³⁰⁷ HADJIDAKI 1988, p. 476; FROST 1989, pp. 16-17; FROST-HADJIDAKI 1990, pp. 513 and 525; FROST 1997, p. 110; HADJIDAKI-INIOTAKIS 2000, p. 54.

get was actually Kydonia, where M. Antonius had been defeated in 72 or 71 BC and where the Kydonian Panares was one of the three Cretan leaders³⁰⁸. After Panares surrendered Kydonia Metellus' principal target was Knossos, the home city of Lasthenes, another of the three leaders of the Cretan freedom party³⁰⁹. Rather than proceed directly to Hierapytna – his third and final target, where the third Cretan leader Aristion defeated Metellus' legate and was finally defeated by Metellus himself – Metellus proceeded west again, to Eleutherna and then Lappa³¹⁰. The Metellan siege of Lappa might be interpreted as a strategy meant to secure the narrow segment of Crete between the White Mountains and Mt. Ida – from pirates, Cretan freedom fighters, and his Roman rival Pompey – as Metellus swept from Kydonia in the west to Knossos, before a final assault on Hierapytna.

The *terrae sigillatae* presented here should be set into the context of Augustus' grant of free status to Lappa and reinforcement of the city's population with Italian settlers. Under a victorious Octavian-Augustus Lappa became a free city, that is, one exempt in principle from visits or the jurisdiction of the provincial governor³¹¹. Free cities were, like colonies, a type of provincial city that had a special status in relationship to the Roman administration³¹². Lappa was also rebuilt and its population increased by settlers, not only in reward for Julian loyalties but because the city had been afflicted with great destruction in the time of Metellus³¹³. Augustus rewarded, rebuilt and repopulated Lappa for three specific reasons: to restore an area severely disrupted by military activity, to realign a zone important to communications and trade, and to settle dispossessed Italians, possibly Antonian supporters³¹⁴. The epigraphic record allows us to suggest the nature and identity of some of the settler-citizens of Lappa who imported Italian sigillata: Romans who bear family names attested elsewhere on Crete – Gortyn, Knossos, and the Diktynnaion – and possible Antonian sympathizers or veterans³¹⁵. Both Augustus and Agrippa received honorary dedications at Lappa, Augustus at an early date to judge from the minimalist titulare employed (Σεβασ[τὸς / Καῖσα[ρ]])³¹⁶. Agrippa was honored as a patron between 18 and 12 BC to judge from his possession of the tribunician power³¹⁷. Lappa might be productively compared with Buthrotum, as a city that was selected for local advancement and promoted through the patronage of Agrippa³¹⁸. A free city like Lappa could come to serve as a social and economic anchor in its region, a position that might be expressed, communicated and demonstrated by the importation of Italian and Campanian as well as Eastern Sigillatae³¹⁹.

The first-second century AD destruction visible in the Vougioukalakis plot just might be the result of the same earthquake that was so destructive at Gortyn in AD 66. At the provincial capital Trajan restored the Odeion in AD 100, 34 years after the earthquake³²⁰. At Lappa Vespasian had been honored with a monumental inscription connected with the bath complex near the Vougioukalakis house, and Trajan was responsible for

³⁰⁸ BROUGHTON 1952, p. 123; CHANIOTIS 1992, p. 301.

³⁰⁹ CHANIOTIS 1992, p. 301.

³¹⁰ SANDERS 1982, p. 4 fig. 1; CANCIK-SCHNEIDER 1999, pp. 831-832.

³¹¹ MILLAR 1999.

³¹² RIZAKIS 2004.

³¹³ *ICr* II, xvi *praef.hist.* 194, again citing Dio li 2, 3.

³¹⁴ Dio li 2, 3; *ICr* II, xvi *praef.hist.*, p. 194;

BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007, pp. 200-201; ALCOCK 1993, pp. 141-143.

³¹⁵ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007.

³¹⁶ *ICr* II, xvi 12.

³¹⁷ TZIFPOPOULOS 2007A, pp. 1465-1466 n. 4.

³¹⁸ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007; HANSEN forthcoming.

³¹⁹ BALDWIN BOWSKY 2007, p. 200.

³²⁰ *ICr* IV 331.

unidentifiable building activity, through the proconsul T. Vibius Varus³²¹. A Lappaian dedication to Hadrian might be the final civic expression of gratitude for assistance in the city's ultimate recovery³²².

X. Changes in the inscribed *instrumenta domestica* of Lappa

The inscribed *instrumenta domestica* of Lappa – both those few already published and the assemblage presented here – range from a mid-late fourth-century BC Attic echinus bowl to locally-made tiles, loomweights and other vessels, stamped handles from imported amphorae of the late hellenistic period, a sling bullet of the first century BC, and *terrae sigillatae* of the early Roman period, a lamp, a lead water pipe, and an incised gem. This assemblage is well suited to illustrating changes in the use and distribution of these artefacts, which Chaniotis attributes to multiple, overlapping phenomena³²³. We have already attempted to set these changes into the context of such socio-political and developments as transit trade and piracy, the Metellan siege at Lappa, and Augustus' rewarding, rebuilding, and repopulating the city. Familiarity with writing is suggested not only by the name of Phila, scratched onto an Attic salt-cellar, but by the numbers and abbreviations of names incised into or stamped onto tiles, loomweights, and other locally-produced vessels³²⁴. This assemblage further illustrates Lappaian contacts with other regions³²⁵, beginning with Attica and widening to Rhodes, Knidos, and Kos – as well as an unidentified amphora production center – in the second-first centuries BC and culminating in a Roman sling bullet possibly from the Metellan conquest of Lappa. The *terrae sigillatae* presented here further widen Lappa's network of contacts to the Italian peninsula, including Campania, and Roman Asia Minor. Uniformity and heterogeneity within the island can be illustrated by the distribution of Attic vessels and Hellenistic amphora handles and stamps, as well as the distribution of Italian sigillata stamps and an inscribed lamp, waterpipe, and incised gem³²⁶. Lappa and the island as a whole were not isolated but integrated, into the political, military, and economic network of the eastern Mediterranean and then the Roman Mediterranean³²⁷. Crete – hellenistic as well as Roman – was not an island unto itself but one at the crossroads of the evolving Mediterranean.

³²¹ *SEG* XXXVIII 915; *ICr* II, xvi 33.

³²² *ICr* II, xvi 13.

³²³ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

³²⁴ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

³²⁵ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

³²⁶ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

³²⁷ CHANIOTIS 2005, p. 94.

Catalog of Inscribed *Instrumenta Domestica*

1. **Part of the body and ring base of a small Attic echinus bowl, with a name scratched through the glaze on the body.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, trench 5.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26732; Fig. 2.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4); glaze black (M 5YR 2.5/1); glaze worn off from grooved ring base and incurve.
 H. 2.6 cm.; est. Diam. of rim 8.0 cm.; est. Diam. of base 4.0 cm. Profile preserved; 23.6% of rim diameter and 36.1% of base diameter preserved. Grooved resting surface, concave underside, dull black glaze glaze on exterior and inside incurve. Inscription incised into body of bowl, between incurve and ring base; 5.0 cm. above base at left to 7.0 cm. above base at right. LH. 0.07 – 1.5 cm. (Φ 0.08 cm.; I 1.5 cm.; Λ and A 0.07 cm.); I much longer than other letters, and narrower; A with broken bar.
 ΦΙΑΑ.
 Comparanda: ROTROFF 1997, pp. 165-167 nn. 1075-1089. SPARKES-ALCOTT 1970, pp. 137-138 nn. 939-950.
 Date: 375-325 BC.

2. **Fragment of a cover tile, with two incised letters.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 6, level 1 (Π 117).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26747; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); slip pink (M 7.5YR 8/3).
 Right edge intact, top edge intact, bottom and left broken.
 PH. 4.4 cm.; W. 14.3 cm. (at edge); Th. 1.4-1.8 cm. (at edge).
 LH. N 3.5-4.0 cm.; I 4.2 cm.; gently curved.
 NI(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.

3. **Fragment of a flat tile with two letters deeply incised.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 3, stratum 5 level 7 (Π 189).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26749; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); slip light red (M 10R 6/6). Part of right and bottom edge intact, left and top edge broken; top surface shows lip on right edge, none on bottom; bottom surface shows lip below bottom edge, none on right.
 PH. 28.5 cm. (right edge); max. W. 15.2 cm., bottom edge 8.5 cm.; Th. 4.8 cm. (right edge), 2.3 cm. (interior).
 LH. K 2.8-2.3 cm., E 2.6-1.9 cm. high; verticals taller than diagonals/horizontals; strokes curving outward.
 [-]KE.

4. **Fragment of a flat tile, with one letter moderately incised.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 4, stratum 3 level 12 (Π 151).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26746; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with no inclusions; slip red (M 2.5YR 4/6). Left edge intact and squared; top, bottom, right broken; back shows a lip under the left edge. Red paint on upper surface, including lower part of letter.
 H. 3.2 cm. (preserved edge); W. 5-6.6 cm.; Th. 1.5-3.3 cm.(at edge).

LH. 4.2 cm.; lunate *epsilon*.
E(-).

5. **Discoid loom weight with one hole, one lightly incised letter.**
Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 3, level 6 (II 50).
Rethymno Museum, inv. n. II 9610; Fig. 2.
Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6); slip reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6).
Diam. 8.4-8.9 cm.; Th. 2.5 cm.; We. 250 gr.
LH. 3.4 cm.
Λ(-).
Date: Hellenistic.
6. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and one incised letter, as well as traces of burning.**
Found in Lefou Area II at a depth of 2.20 m.
Rethymno Museum inv. n. II 26752; Fig. 2.
Clay pale red (M 10R 6/4) with inclusions of mica; slip light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/3).
Diam. 8.2-8.4 cm.; Th. 2.8 cm.; We. 300 gr.
LH. 3.5 cm. (vertical stroke); 2.3 cm. (rounded portion of one letter, lower diagonal of another). On the upper surface an impressed circle and letters in ligature, slightly attenuated and cursive; on the lower surface two parallel lines, one line perpendicular to these.
PK(-) or KP(-).
Date: Hellenistic.
7. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and two incised letters.**
Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 3 level 9.
Rethymno Museum inv. no. II 9565; Fig. 2.
Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with inclusions; slip reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6).
Diam 7.6-8.1 cm.; Th. 2.6 cm.; We. 250 gr.
ΛH. Σ 1.2 cm., Ω 1.0 cm.; both letters lunate.
ΣΩ(-).
Date: Hellenistic.
8. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and one incised letter.**
Found in Lefou Area II at a depth of 2.0 m.
Rethymno Museum inv. n. II 26753; Fig. 2.
Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with inclusions of mica; slip pink (M 5YR 7/4).
Diam. 7.2-7.8 cm.; Th. 1.5 cm.; We. 125 gr.
LH. 2.3 cm.; one diagonal gently curved, the other broken where diagonals cross.
X(-).
Date: Hellenistic.
9. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and two incised letters.**
Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 4, stratum 3 level 16 (II 193).
Rethymno Museum inv. n. II 9597; Fig. 2.
Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4) with inclusions; slip pink (M 5YR 7/3).
Diam. 8.6-8.7 cm.; Th. 1.4-1.5 cm.; We. 350 gr.

LH. X 1.4-1.5 cm.; A 2.1-2.0; slightly cursive, A with diagonal bar.
 XA(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.

10. Discoid loom weight with one hole and four incised letters.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 1, stratum 7, level 2.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 7698; Fig. 2.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/6) with mica inclusions; slip pink (M 7.5YR 8/2).
 Diam. 7.5-7.6 cm.; Th. 1.5 cm.; We. 125 gr.
 LH. 0.9-1.4 cm. (N1.0, E 1.4, A 1.2, Σ 0.9 cm.); lunate E, Σ; A with broken bar.
 NEΑΣ.
 Date: Hellenistic.

11. Discoid loom weight with two holes and a rectangular stamp with two raised letters.

Found in Lefou Area II at a depth of 0.80 m.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26750; fig. 2.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/3) with some inclusions; slip pink (M 5YR 8/3).
 Diam. 5.8-6.1 cm.; Th. 1.1 cm.; We. 75 gr.
 Stamp W. 2.2 cm., H. 1.8 cm. LH. 1.1-1.2 cm., becoming slightly larger from left to right; letters in ligature.
 ΠΕ(-).
 Comparanda: nn. 5, 19, 42.
 Date: Hellenistic.

12. Discoid loom weight with two holes and a rectangular stamp with raised letters.

Found in Lefou Area II, depth not recorded.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26751; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6) with inclusions of mica; no slip.
 Diam. 7.1-7.6 cm.; Th. 1.8 cm.; We. ca. 200 gr.
 Stamp slightly rounded at corners; W. 1.7 cm.; H. 1.2 cm. LH. 0.7-0.9 cm., becoming slightly larger from left to right, letters in ligature.
 ΠΕ(-).
 Comparanda: nn. 1, 19, 42.
 Date: Hellenistic.

13. Discoid loom weight with 2 holes and a rectangular stamp with raised letters.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 3, stratum 3 level 3 (Π 68).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 9612; Fig. 2.
 Clay pink (M 7.5YR 7/4); slip pink (M 7.5YR 8/4).
 Diam. 8.1-8.3 cm.; Th. 1.7 cm.; We. 175 gr.
 Stamp L. 1.6 cm., H. 0.9 cm.; LH. 0.5-0.6 cm., getting smaller from left to right; letters in ligature.
 ΠΕ(-)
 Comparanda: nn. 1, 5, 19.
 Date: Hellenistic.

14. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and a rectangular stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension B, stratum 2, ceramic group 1.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 27888; Fig. 2.
 Clay light gray (M 7.5YR 7/0); slip light gray (M 10YR 7/1).
 D. 5.4-5.8 cm., max. Th. 1.9 cm.; We. 100 gr.
 Stamp L. 17 cm., W. 8.0-10.0 cm.; LH. 5.0-6.0 cm.; letters in ligature.
 ΠΕ(-).
 Comparanda: nn. 1, 5, 42.
 Date: Hellenistic.
15. **Part of a discoid loom weight with a rectangular stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 6 level 1.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 7813; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 7.5 YR 7/6); slip reddish yellow (M 5 YR 7/6).
 Est. Diam. 8 cm., 35.3% preserved.; Th. 1.5 cm.; PWe. 50 gr. (ca. 40%, for a total weight around 125 grams).
 Stamp L. 1.6 cm.; H. 1.2 cm. LH. 1.2-1.4 cm.; raised diagonal stroke left of Λ.
 Λ.
 Date: Hellenistic.
16. **Discoid loom weight with one hole and a stamped with a monogram.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Lithosoros; no stratigraphical information recorded.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 9587; Fig. 2.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6); slip light reddish brown (M 5YR 6/4).
 Diam. 6.6-6.7 cm.; Th. 1.6 cm.; We. 100 gr.
 Monogram with raised letters inside a raised circle 4.9 cm. in Diam.; LH. 4.0 cm. (Π), 2.6 cm. (K), 1.8 cm. (A); letters in ligature.
 PKA (-) or APK(-) or KPA(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.
17. **Part of a horizontal, flat rim with triangular section, from a pithos, with two letters incised/scratched after firing, as well as traces of burning.**
 Found in Lefou Area II at a depth of 2.30 m.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26744; Fig. 3.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with inclusions of mica; slip pink (M 7/5YR 7/4).
 PH. 6.2 cm.; inner Diam. of rim 26.0 cm.; outer Diam. of rim 37.0 cm., 23.6% preserved; Th. of rim 6.5 cm. LH. 3.5 cm. (X); 1.7-2.0 cm. (A), with broken bar.
 XA(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.
18. **Part of an elliptical handle attached to the neck of a vessel, with a letter incised after firing.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot during surface cleaning.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26743; Fig. 3.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 8/4) with no inclusions; slip pink (M 5YR 8/3).
 PH. 4.7 cm. at neck; W. 2.3-2.6 cm. at neck; Th. 1.9-2.2 cm. at neck.
 LH. 1.3 cm.; worn from exposure, with a single letter lightly incised/scratched on top.
 X(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.

19. **Fragment of a pithos cover, with four letters incised before firing, with traces of burning.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 3, stratum 3 level 1 (_ 126).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26745; Fig. 3.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4) with some inclusions; slip pink (M 5YR 8/3); poorly fired.
 Max. W. 10 cm.; H. 5-6.5 cm. (left to right); Th. 1.6 cm.
 Letters of the top surface between two curved guide lines; part of an incised circle and a diagonal, straight line on the bottom surface. LH. 1.2-1.7 cm. (I 1.2 cm.; O 1.2 cm.; Λ 1.5-1.7 cm.); final stroke slants like another Λ.
 [-?]IAOA[-].
 Date: Hellenistic.
20. **Part of the lower portion of a vertical handle with one letter incised before firing.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 5, level 1 (ostraka).
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26739; Fig. 3.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 7/5YR 7/6) with no inclusions; slip pink (M 7.5YR 8/3).
 Elliptical handle with rib inside; PH. 6.2 cm.; W. 2.7-2.9 cm.; Th. 1.5-1.6 cm.
 Final letter moderately incised at the top end, before firing. LH. 1.0 cm.; A with broken bar.
 [-]A.
 Date: Hellenistic.
21. **Part of a vertical, elliptical handle with four letters lightly incised or scratched before firing.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 3, stratum 5 level 4.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26742; Fig. 3.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 8/3); slip reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); slight rib on the interior surface.
 PH. 3.8 cm.; W. 3.3 cm.; Th. 1.2 cm.
 LH. N 0.8 cm.; T 0.7 cm.
 ANTI(-).
 Date: Hellenistic.
22. **Part of the upper portion of a vertical handle with four letters incised before firing.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot; no stratigraphical information recorded.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26740; Fig. 3.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); slip pink (M 5YR 7/4). Elliptical handle with a slight rib inside.
 PH. 10.7 cm.; W. 3.5 cm.; Th. 1.4 cm.
 Letters lightly incised from right end, before firing; LH. Y 1.0 cm.; P 0.9 cm.; Ω 0.8 cm.
 [-]AYPΩ (or [-]ΛYPΩ).
 Date: Hellenistic.
23. **Part of a vertical, elliptical handle with two letters deeply incised before firing.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot; no stratigraphical information recorded.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26741; Fig. 3.

Clay pink (M 7.5YR 7/4) with no inclusions; slip pink (M 5YR 8/3). Very slight rib on the interior surface.

PH. 3.5 cm.; W. 3 cm.; Th. 1.1 cm.

Letters incised on exterior surface, before firing; LH. (M) 1.5 cm.

E²M.

Date: Hellenistic.

24. Part of a Koan double-barreled amphora handle with a squared rectangular one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 5.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26737; Fig. 3.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with no inclusions; slip pink (M 2.5YR 8/3).

Two round sections and part of an open lip with a rectangular section; PH. 6.6 cm.; W. 4.5-4.8 cm. (at lip); Th. 2-2.1 cm. (at lip).

Stamp on one section, stamp impression deepens on right end; squared rectangular stamp in shoulder of handle L. 2.0 cm. (may be broken to left), H. .09 cm.; LH. 0.06-0.08 cm., gradually increasing toward the end.

[-]NEYΣ.

Comparanda and date: V. Grace Archives, ASCSA, Koan card file: only Διογ(ένης) and Μάνης show genitives ending in -νευς; Koan card n. 199 with reference to LEVI-PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1961-62, p. 617 n. 62: Διογ'ένευς / rametto di fogli; Koan card n. 425 with two examples from Alexandria and a note to see the same reading on Rhodian card n. 425 (Manes); FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 287 s.v. Μάνης, Kos*: second-first century BC Unpubl. (Ag. Inv.).

25. Horizontal part of a large Knidian amphora handle with a rectangular three-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 5.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26734; Fig. 3.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with no inclusions; slip pinkish white (M 2.5YR 8/2).

Elliptical section with PH. of 6.3 cm., where attached to middle of wide neck; W. 4.2-4.6 cm. (at neck); Th. 2.6-2.9 cm. (at neck).

Rectangular stamp with irregular upper left margin, L. 4.3 cm., H. 1.6 cm.; LH. 0.04 cm., letters outside the stamp's irregular impression at the upper left.

[Ἐπιφάν]ευς ἐπ[ί]

[Καρ]ν[ε]οδότου

Κνίδιον (bee).

Comparanda and date: V. Grace Archives, ASCSA, Knidian card file (s.n.) for Ἐπιφάνης; JEFREMOV 1995, p. 198 nn. 567-568 (Group VI, 146-115); GRACE 1985, p. 18, for ethnic Κνίδιον which did not begin much before second decade of second century, and pp. 31-33 for a dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps, including Καρνεόδοτος in period V (146-108 BC); SÄFLUND 1980, p. 9, following Grace's dating; FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, pp. 165 and 195; FINKIELSZTEJN 2004, p. 119 for period V, 145-108 BC.

26. Horizontal and part of the vertical part of a Koan amphora handle with a rectangular one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 2, stratum 3, level 8.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26735; Fig. 3.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/8); slip pink (M 7.5YR 8/3).

Elliptical section with PH. 6.5 cm. (whole handle, in profile); W. 4.3-4.5 cm; Th. 2.1-2.4 cm. Stamp on horizontal near shoulder, incuse markings with two parallel incised lines running down vertical part of handle, crossed by one incised line perpendicular to these just below stamp; rectangular stamp somewhat rounded on corners, L. 2.9 cm., H. 0.09 cm; LH. 0.08 cm. (Ξ), 0.07 cm. (Ι), 0.06 cm. (Σ); lunate *epi* and *sigma*. ΞΕΙΝΙΣ.

Comparanda and date: V. Grace Archives, ASCSA, Koan card file n. 494, with a note that the same stamp appears on a non-double Koan amphora handle (Agora inv. n. SS8373); CANARACHE 1957, p. 280 n. 718; RADULESCU-BARBULESCU-BUZOIANU 1990, p. 44 n. 402; p. 40 pl. 1 n. 3 (dr.); p. 45 pl. 3 n. 6 (ph.); SÄFLUND 1980, p. 19 n. 36; FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 341 s.v. Ξεῖνις of *Kos (2nd-1st BC).

27. Fragment of the lip and shoulder of a large Knidian amphora handle with a rectangular four-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot; no stratigraphical information recorded.

Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26736; Fig. 3.

Clay pink (M 5YR 7/3); slip reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6).

Handle attached to the middle of the neck; PH. 7.0 cm.; est. Diam. of lip 12.0 cm.; W. of handle 4-4.4 cm. (at neck); Th. 1.9-3.1 cm. (at neck).

Stamp impression deeper on left; stamp L. 2.9-4.3 cm. (broken diagonally at right), H. 2 cm.; LH. 0.09 cm.

ἐπὶ Πολ[ίτ-]

εὐς Κν[ίδ-]

ιον Ἀρχα[γ-]

όρα (herm, head right).

Comparanda and date: GRACE-SAVVATIANOU-PETROPOULAKOU 1970, nn. E111, 119*, 120, 127, 128, 171*, cf. nn. E 103, 106, 121, 125, 175, 179 (Πολίτης = eponym; p. 338 n. E119 for context of eponym Πολίτης in about the middle of the *duoviri* period [108-88 BC]); GRACE-SAVVATIANOU-PETROPOULAKOU 1970, nn. E106*, 108, 110, 111, cf. nn. E107, 109, 142 (Ἀρχαγόρας = Knidian fabricant; n. E106 for Ἀρχαγόρας, who uses the herm in his main types in years of Ἀρίσταινος and Πολίτης; cfr. GRACE 1934, p. 262 n. 174, where the eponym is spelled Πολίτα.

28. Horizontal section of a Rhodian amphora handle with a rectangular one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 4, stratum 3 level 4 (ostraka). Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26733; Fig. 3.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6) with no inclusions; slip very pale brown (M 10YR 8/3). Elliptical section with PH. 4.6 cm. where attaches to middle of amphora neck; W. 2.9-3.7 cm. (at neck); Th. 2-2.8 cm. (at neck).

Stamp on top, near turn of handle; rectangular stamp L. 3.8 cm., H. 1.0 cm.; LH. 0.07 (O), 0.08 cm. (P), 0.09 cm. (Y).

M[---]ΔΡΟΥ.

Comparanda and date: GRACE 1952, p. 527: two amphora stamps of Menandros found at Delos; BÖRKER-BUROW 1998, p. 155 for list of names of Rhodian fabricants that begin with M, including Μένανδρος; GRACE-SAVVATIANOU-PETROPOULAKOU 1970, p. 315 n. E40 and p. 353 n. E198: fabricant Menandros datable to Period VI, around 100

BC; cfr. FINKIELSZTEJN 2004, p. 119, on the need still to build the chronology for period VI (107-86 BC); see *SEG* L 815 for Habicht's confirmation of Finkielsztein's low chronology; FRASER-MATTHEWS 1987, p. 305 s.v. Μένανδρος of Rhodes*, (1) ca. 310-240 BC (Ag.Inv. R355); (2) 2nd-1st BC (GRACE 1965, 15 D-E; *EAD* XXVII sub E40; Ag.Inv. R355).

29. Part of the shoulder of a large amphora handle of unknown provenance with a rectangular one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 3, level 5.

Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26738; Fig. 3.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/8); slip light red (M 2.5YR 7/6).

Elliptical section, PH. 9.2 cm. (whole handle); W. 3.3-4.6 cm.; Th. 2.7 cm.

Rectangular stamp high on shoulder, rounded on corners, L. 2.5 cm., H. 1.4 cm.; device H. 0.3 cm, LH. 0.06 cm. (Σ and I).

(round device) ΣΙ(-).

Comparanda: V. Grace Archives, ASCSA, Unclassified card file s.n.; BON - BON 1957, p. 515 n. 2269.

Date: Hellenistic.

30. Part of the bottom and the low ring base of a bowl with a internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 4.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26766; Fig. 4.

Clay pink (M 5YR 8/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).

Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 6.0 cm., 25% preserved; H. 1.3 cm.

Stamp broken to the right, preserved L. 3 mm., H. 1 mm. LH. 0.6-0.8 cm.

C.V[-].

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 2293.2 a loose parallel according to Kenrick: C. Valerius of central Italy; AD 15+ to judge from stamp in *planta pedis*.

31. Part of the bottom and the low conical ring base of a cup with an incompletely impressed internal one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 3, level 2.

Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 27891; Fig. 4.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 6/6); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).

Knob not preserved on bottom; D. of base 3.6 cm., 100% preserved, despite chipping; max. PH. 1.6 cm.

Interior stamp, shape difficult to identify, L. 0.08 m., H. 0.04 m. as preserved. LH. 0.02 cm; possible punctuation mark between letters.

C V.

Comparanda and date: P. Kenrick (pers. comm.) found no convincing parallel, neither *OCK* type 718 (C. Curtius) nor 990 (Iucundus).

32. Bottom and conical ring base of a bowl with an internal rectangular two-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 4, level 2.

Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26772; Fig. 4.

Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); slip/glaze red (M 2.5YR 5/8).

Diam. of base 4.2 cm., complete despite chipping; H. 1.2 cm.

Stamp L. 0.4 cm., H. 0.3 cm. LH. 0.05 cm.

AMPIION.

Comparanda and date: KENRICK 1985, 300 nn. X152-153; SORICELLI 1987, p. 81; HEDINGER 1999, pp. 352, 355, 356 nn. B1-2; cfr. *OCK* type 88, 40-15 BC.

33. Part of the bottom and conical ring base of a bowl with an internal one-line stamp.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 5.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26773; Fig. 4.

Clay light red (M 2.5YR 6/8); slip/glaze red (M 2.5YR 5/8).

Knob preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 5.6 cm., 52.8% preserved; H. 1.5 cm., H. of base 0.5 cm.

Stamp L. 1.2 cm., H. 0.4 cm. LH. 0.04-0.06 cm.

ΕΘΙ--ΑΡΟΥ.

Commentary: Ε could be Ι or a line to the left, like the lines above and below the stamp; Θ has been identified by Hayes; otherwise the letter might be Ο; Ι may be the left vertical of a letter; Α has been identified by Hayes but it might be a Δ or a letter with a slightly rounded right stroke.

Comparanda and date: HAYES 1985, p. 56 Form 16: plate with two-line stamps including ΑΡΡΗ|ΤΙΝΑ, ΙΑΤ[Ρ]|ΟC|ΛΙ], ΔΩ|ΡΟΝ(?), ΕΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ; HAYES 1985, p. 58 Form 24, also signed by ΔΩ|ΡΟΝ, ΔΩΡ|ΟΝ, as well as ΚΑΛΑ, ΘΕΟΔ|ΩΡΟΥ, ΦΙΛΗ|ΤΟΥ, ΟΡΗ|ΟΥ, etc.; HAYES 1985, p. 59 Form 29 (no stamps listed).

Date: AD 25-50 or at least before 70.

34. Flat fragment, possibly of a plate, with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 10.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 27890; Fig. 4.

Clay pink (M 5YR 8/4); glaze red (M 10R 4/8).

Dimensions 4.6-5.2 cm.

Stamp broken at left, with toes right; PL. 3.6-5.7 cm., H. 1.0 cm. LH. 1.0 cm; bottom of a letter before initial M, raised dot after R; four ornamental dots under letters. MVR.

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 514.53: Camurius, Arezzo, AD 30-70.

35. Flat fragment from the bottom of a rather large plate, with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 2.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26762; Fig. 4.

Clay light red (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).

Triangular fragment max. H. 6.1 cm.; max. W. 4.6 cm.; tapering to a point; Th. 0.3 cm.

Stamp broken at left, PL. 1.4 cm.; H. 0.3 cm. LH. 0.6-1.0 cm.; punctuation between first and second L.

GELL(-).

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 878.32: Gellius, Arezzo? AD 10-50.

36. **Part of the floor and ribbed ring base of a flat plate with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 4.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26759; Fig. 4.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Knob preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 10.0 cm., 57.5% preserved; H. 2.5 cm.
 Stamp with preserved L. 1.6 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.05-.06 cm.
 R•PIS.
 Comparanda and date: OCK type 1690.32 or 33, depending on punctuation: L. Rasinius Pisanus, Pisa, AD 50-120.
 Compare nn. 37-39.
37. **Part of the bottom and ring base of a shallow plate with an internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Martyras between trenches 6 and 7 (Π 24).
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26754; Fig. 4.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 2.5YR 5/6).
 Knob preserved on bottom, D. of base 7.6 cm., 52.8% preserved; PH. 1.8 cm.
 Stamp L. 1.2 cm.; H. 0.4 cm. LH. 1.0 cm.; S slender and retrograde.
 L R PIS.
 Comparanda and date: OCK type 1690.3: L. Rasinius Pisanus, Pisa, AD 50-120.
 Compare nn. 36, 38-39.
38. **Part of the floor and the ribbed ring base of a flat plate with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Lithosoros, stratum 2, level 2 (ostraka).
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26756; Fig. 4.
 Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 6/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 10.0 cm., 59.7% preserved; H. 2.4 cm.
 Stamp L. 2.3 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.04 cm.
 L•RASIN PIS.
 Comparanda and date: OCK type 1690.15: L. Rasinius Pisanus, Pisa, AD 50-120.
 Compare nn. 36, 37, 39.
39. **Part of the bottom and conical ring base of a cup, with internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, Trench 1, stratum 3, level 8.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26755; Fig. 4.
 Clay pink (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze light red (M 2.5YR 6/6).
 Diam. of base 3.6 cm., completely preserved; PH. 1.5 cm.
 Stamp L. 1.5 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.08 cm.
 L•[R]•PI.
 Comparanda and date: OCK type 1690.35: L. Rasinius Pisanus, Pisa, ca. AD 50-120.
 Compare nn. 36, 38-39.
40. **Part of the bottom and the ring base of a cup with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 2.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26761; Fig. 4.

Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).

Knob preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 6 cm., 25% preserved; PH. 1.2 cm.

Stamp PL. 1.8 cm., H. 0.4 cm. LH. 0.7-1.4 cm; S retrograde, punctuation between letters.

S•M•P.

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1213.22-34 (but none with backward S cfr. 1213.9):

Sex. Murrius Pisanus (more likely than Priscus), Pisa, AD 60-150.

Compare nos. 41-42.

41. Part of the floor and ribbed ring base of a flat plate with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 4, level 1 (ostraka).

Rethymno Museum, inv n. Π 26768; Fig. 4.

Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze light red (M 10R 6/6).

Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 8.0 cm., 36.1% preserved; H. 2.2 cm.

Stamp broken at right; PL. 1.2 cm., H. 0.4 cm. LH. 0.06-0.07 cm.; triangular punctuation.

SE[-].

Comparanda and date: undoubtedly Sex. M.F. or Sex.M.P. (P. Kenrick, pers. comm.); *OCK* type 1212 or 1213: Sex. Murrius Festus or Sex. Murrius P(isanus), both Pisa, AD 60-150.

Compare nn. 40, 42.

42. Part of the bottom and conical ring base of a cup with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, find spot unrecorded.

Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26760; Fig. 4.

Clay pink (M 5YR 7/4); glaze light red (M 2.5YR 6/6).

Diam. of base 3.9 cm., completely preserved despite chipping; PH. 1.1 cm.

Stamp L. 2.3 cm., H. 0.3 cm.; LH. 0.08 cm.; triangular interpuncts between X and M, M and P.

SEX•M•P.

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1213.16: Sex. Murrius Pisanus (more likely than Priscus), Pisa, AD 60-150.

Compare nn. 40-41.

43. Part of the floor and the ribbed ring base of a flat plate, with an internal one-line stamp in *planta pedis*, toes right.

Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 12.

Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26765; Fig. 4.

Clay light red (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).

Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 9.0 cm., 36.1% preserved; H. 2.2 cm.

Stamp L. 2.2 cm., H. 0.4 cm. LH. 0.09-1.0 cm.; punctuation between letters triangular, as almost always in this signature.

C.P.P.

Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1342.15: C.P.Pi(sanus), Pisa, AD 50-100+.

44. **Part of the bottom of a cup and low ring base with a internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Lithosoros, stratum 2, level 2 (ostraka).
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26758; Fig. 4.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 7/3); glaze weak red (M 10R 5/4).
 Diam. of base 3.6 cm., completely preserved; PH. 1.0 cm.
 Stamp L. 0.5 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.08 cm.; TE in ligature, horizontal extends over A.
 ATEI.
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 268.49: Ateius (3), Pisa, 5 BC-AD 25.
 Compare n. 45.
45. **Part of the bottom and the ribbed ring base of a cup with an internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Manolopoulos plot, stratum 4.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26774; Fig. 4.
 Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 6/6). Rib all around the exterior of the base.
 Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 4.0 cm., 56.4% preserved; PH. 1.5 cm.
 Stamp L. 1.0 cm., H. 0.3 cm.; LH. 1.0 cm; AT in ligature, EI followed by palm branch and wreath.
 ATEI.
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 268 though no one example matches ligature and devices; Pisa, ca. 5 BC-AD 25.
 Compare n. 44.
46. **Bottom and ribbed ring base of a cup with an internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Lithosoros, stratum 2 level 2 (ostraka).
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26757; Fig. 5.
 Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze weak red (M 10R 5/4).
 Diam. of base 5.2 cm., completely preserved; PH. 0.9 cm.
 Stamp L. 2.2 cm., H. 0.4 cm. LH. 0.07 cm.; ATE, AR in ligature.
 CN ATEI AR.
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 282.1: Cn. Ateius Ar—, Pisa, AD 30-80.
47. **Flat fragment from the bottom of a plate with an internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, ceramic group 1.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26767; Fig. 5.
 Clay reddish yellow (M 5YR 7/6); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Triangular fragment with a max. H. 2.7 cm., min. H. 0.7 cm.; W. 3.5 cm.; Th. 0.4-0.6 cm.; knob preserved on the bottom surface.
 Stamp L. 6 mm.; H. 4 mm.; vertical stroke at right edge of stamp. LH 1.8 cm.
 HIL[?].
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 953.15: Hilarus (5), uncertain location, 20 BC -AD 10.

48. **Part of the bottom and the low ribbed ring base of a cup with an internal one-line stamp in planta pedis, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Area Alpha, stratum 4, level 2.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26771; Fig. 5.
 Clay light reddish brown (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 3.8 cm., 41.7% preserved; PH. 1.8 cm.
 Stamp L. 1.7 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.06-.08 cm.
 CMARC(-).
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1118.4: C. Marcius, location? ca. AD 15+.
49. **Bottom and ring base of a bowl with internal one-line stamp in planta pedis, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 2, level 10.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26769; Fig. 5.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 8/4); glaze weak red (M 10R 5/4).
 Diam. of base 4.5 cm., completely preserved despite chipping; PH. 0.9 cm.
 Stamp L. 1.6 cm., H. 0.2 cm. LH. 0.04-05 cm.
 METIL(-).
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1176.1: Metilius (2), Arezzo? AD 30+.
50. **Flat fragment from the bottom of a bowl or plate, with an internal one-line stamp in planta pedis, toes right.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Lithosoros, stratum 3, level 7.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26763; Fig. 5.
 Clay light red (M 10R 7/6); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Dimensions 4.5-5.0 cm.; Th. 0.5 cm.; knob preserved.
 Stamp L. 1.4 cm., H. 0.3 cm. LH. 0.06-.08 cm.; MV in ligature.
 C•MVRI.
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1200.1: C. Murius, location? ca. AD 15+ (to be distinguished with difficulty from Camurius, *OCK* type 514).
51. **Part of the bottom and conical ring base of a small bowl with an internal one-line stamp in planta pedis, toes right.**
 Found in Argyroupoli; findspot unrecorded.
 Rethymno Museum, inv. n. Π 26764; Fig. 5.
 Clay light red (M 2.5YR 7/4); glaze red (M 10R 5/6).
 Diam. of base 5.4 cm., completely preserved despite chipping; PH. 1.9 cm.
 Stamp length 1.6 cm., H. 0.2 cm., LH. 0.06 cm.
 CPO--FE.
 Comparanda and date: *OCK* type 1498.1: C. Pom. Fe(lix?), central Italy, late 1st century to 1st half of 2nd century AD.
52. **Part of the bottom and the low ring base of a bowl with a internal rectangular one-line stamp.**
 Found in the Vougioukalakis plot, Extension A, stratum 3, level 1.
 Rethymno Museum inv. n. Π 26770; Fig. 5.
 Clay pink (M 5YR 8/4); glaze red (M 2.5YR 5/6).
 Knob not preserved on bottom; est. Diam. of base 3.6 cm, 41.7% preserved; H. 0.7 cm.

Stamp broken at right, may be slightly *ansata*; stamp preserved L. 0.33 cm., H. 0.2 cm.; LH. 0.03 cm. (S); left diagonal of A just on line of breakage.

C? SA[-].

Comparanda and date: possibly *OCK* type 1797: C. Satrius, Po Valley, Augustan?

APPENDIX I

REDISCOVERING ROMAN LAPPA

I. Name and coinage

Ancient Lappa lies below and within the modern village of Argyroupoli, in the modern prefecture of Rethymno, 12 km from the north coast of the island. When the Arabs took Crete in 828 they destroyed Lappa and its ancient name was forgotten³²⁸. The ancient name Lappa may survive in the name Lampe, which Spratt records for the Ag. Vasileios eparchy on the south coast of Crete, where Lappa possessed a set of small ports³²⁹. Inscriptions and coins recommend the spelling Lappa and the corresponding ethnic Lappaian³³⁰. Inscriptions recording decrees of the Hellenistic and Roman city show the ethnic ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝ³³¹. Fourth century BCE coins of Lappa bear abbreviations of the city's name, while coins dated 200-67 BC bear the unabbreviated ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝ or the abbreviation ΛΑΠΠΑΙ³³². Under Augustus or Tiberius the free city of Lappa struck coins with the ethnic ΛΑΠ or ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝ; provincial coinage struck under Tiberius and Domitian bears the ΛΑΠ(ΠΑΙΩΝ)³³³.

Traditional etymology derives the name of the modern village of Argyroupoli from the silver – as well as gold and lead – nineteenth century travellers mentioned in its vicinity³³⁴. Thompson, however, sees no evidence that Lappaian silver mines were extensive or even worked in antiquity³³⁵. At Lappa as at other cities which lacked local silver, coins from outside Crete could be melted down for bullion or overstruck³³⁶. Nouchakis derives the name of Argyroupoli instead from the Argyropouloi (or Argyrostephanites) family, which

³²⁸ SPANAKIS 1993, p. 460, citing TSIVIS 1952, p. 19.

³²⁹ GAVRILAKI forthcoming; SPRATT 1865 II, pp. 268-269. Lappa or Lampanian: Ps.-Skylax *Peripl.* XLVII; Strabo X 475; Hierokles *Synecd.* 650, 10; Stephanus Byz., s.v. Λάμπη; *Notitiae Graecae episcop.* III 445, X 556, XII 406 with ὁ Λάμπης, VIII 236 and IX 145 with ὁ Λάμπων.

³³⁰ Lappa or Lappaian: Ptolemy *Geogr.* III,15, 7; *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

³³¹ *ICr* II, xvi 2-8, 13-14; TZIFOPOULOS 2007A, pp. 1462-1464 n. 1 and pp. 1465-1466 n. 4.

³³² Fourth century BCE coins with Λ: SVORONOS 1890, pp. 211-214, esp. n. 6; with ΛΑ: SVORONOS

1890, pp. 211-214, esp. nn. 7, 14, 17, 24. Coins 200-67 BCE: cfr. SVORONOS 1890, p. 212 n. 11, p. 213 nn. 20-23.

³³³ Augustus, Tiberius: *RPC I*, p. 241 nn. 1020-1021. Tiberius and Domitian: *RPC I*, p. 232 n. 959; *RPC II*, p. 54 nn. 53-57.

³³⁴ LE RIDER 1966, p. 261.

³³⁵ THOMPSON 1973, pp. 350-351.

³³⁶ THOMPSON 1973, p. 351, from the Vougioukalakis plot at Lappa cf. N40 which was overstruck and N11 with countermark (identification and dating of coins courtesy of Mr. Kleanthis Sideropoulos, who has undertaken the responsibility for publishing the

was given extensive holdings in the area and settled near the Monastery of Ag. Stephanos³³⁷. Detorakis identifies the Argyropouloi (or Agiostephanites) as one of the native aristocratic families who during the Comnenian period (1081-1182) were granted large areas of landed property and constituted a powerful landowning class³³⁸. The city was known simply as Poles, Polles, Polis, or Pollis to Barozzi, Kastrophylaka, and Basilicata³³⁹. Defner assigns the naming of Argyroupolis – called Gaidouropolis and Samaropolis under the Turks – to Michael Komninos Aphenoulis (or Aphenouliev), who was General Eparch and Commander-in-Chief of Crete 1821-22³⁴⁰. Spanakis credits not Aphenoulis but the Revolutionary Committee of Crete (1822) for calling the city Argyroupoli, after the silver found on the southeast peak of the village³⁴¹.

Ancient Lappa did mint silver coinage but Thompson's argument that the city lacked a local source of bullion is consistent with the number of bronze rather than silver coins that survive³⁴². The Venetians were able to establish a numismatic workshop at Ag. Konstantinos³⁴³. Buondelmonti – quoted by Cornelius – called the city «Apteriapolim», «Stimpolim», or simply «Polim» and near Ag. Konstantinos he described a *venam argenti auri stagnique per viam*, now exhausted and placed by van Spitael between Kato Poros and Argyroupoli³⁴⁴. Van Spitael's commentary on Buondelmonti notes that silver-bearing lead was found at the location Dryades, 400 m. east of Varsamonero and in two places in the commune of Argyroupolis³⁴⁵. On a hill one hour southeast of Argyroupoli Pashley – who also cited Buondelmonti – noted an ἀσημόκωμα (ἀργυρόκωμα) from which silver might be obtained³⁴⁶. Coin-striking machines were found in 1869 at the location Hellenika – where the Dikasteria were being built – and mounds of bronze coins were found at Paulis³⁴⁷. In 1885 around 800 Roman coins of bronze were found at Argyroupoli and part of this assemblage was given to the Rethymno Museum while the rest was sold at Herakleion and elsewhere³⁴⁸.

II. Archaeological landscape

The visible remains of ancient Lappa – in the lower and upper city – are mostly Roman in date, probably due to the continuous inhabitation of the site (*fig. 7A*). The Roman city appears to have had at least two and possibly three or even four bath complexes, as well as a cistern. In 1538 Belli was the first to draw a Roman building – later identified as a bath, not

coins of Lappa).

³³⁷ NOUCHAKIS 1903, p. 197.

³³⁸ DETORAKIS 1994, pp. 135-136.

³³⁹ SPANAKIS 1991, p. 134.

³⁴⁰ DEFNER s.d., p. 64.

³⁴¹ SPANAKIS 1991, p. 135; cfr. TSIVIS 1952, p. 20, for the date but a derivation from the name of the great Byzantine house of the Argyropouloi.

³⁴² SVORONOS 1890, pp. 211-214 nn. 1-3, 6, 22-23, 26 in silver; pp. 211-216 nn. 4-5, 7, 8-21, 24-25, 27-36 in bronze; LE RIDER 1966, p. 261 on a large quantity of bronze coins seen at Lappa and four more seen at Asi Gonia. See *RPC I*, p. 229 for the rarity of surviving silver specimens and our corre-

spondingly poor knowledge of this coinage.

³⁴³ CORNELIUS 1755, p. 17, reproducing Buondelmonti; VAN SPITAEEL 1981, p. 295.

³⁴⁴ Buondelmonti, as quoted by CORNELIUS 1755, pp. 18 and 108; VAN SPITAEEL 1981, pp. 192-193, 213, 295.

³⁴⁵ VAN SPITAEEL 1981, p. 295.

³⁴⁶ PASHLEY 1837 I, p. 87.

³⁴⁷ SPANAKIS 1993, pp. 58-60, citing NOUCHAKIS 1903, pp. 197-198.

³⁴⁸ NOUCHAKIS 1903, p. 200.

³⁴⁹ FALKENER 1852, p. 294; FALKENER 1854, p. 25; SPRATT 1865 II, p. 117; SANDERS 1982, pp. 83 and 163; Argyroupoli plot n. 22 on our *fig. 7A*.



FIG. 9 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: DIFFERENT CONSTRUCTION TECHNIQUES OF WALL 4 (LEFT, WITH MORTAR) AND WALL 2 (RIGHT, WITHOUT MORTAR).



FIG. 10 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: CONSTRUCTION DETAILS OF WALL 2 FROM THE NORTH (LATER PHASE).



FIG. 11 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: NORTH AND SOUTH ROOMS, FROM THE NORTHEAST.

a temple – apparently in the Kiagiadakis plot, to judge from the apses still visible³⁴⁹. The identification of the Kiagiadakis baths with that drawn by Belli remains uncertain, however, as the apses found in the former do not conform to Belli's plan. An Ionian column capital of Roman date survives west and above the location of this so-called bath³⁵⁰. At the beginning of the nineteenth century near the springs of Argyroupoli Gerola noted another bath, whose ruins are still visible³⁵¹. Recent excavations have brought to light the ruins of what may be a third bath, near Ag. Kyriaki, along the Mouselas River³⁵². An apse discovered at Philiass – where excavations of the late 1990s were never finished – could even be part of a fourth bath, or else a church³⁵³. A Roman water cistern on the south side of the lower city was seen and drawn by Pashley and has been restored in order to provide water for the modern village³⁵⁴. Despite reports that the city had an aqueduct, no traces of a Roman water-delivery system have been found except for the lead water pipe mentioned above³⁵⁵.

The first archaeological reports from Argyroupoli date to the initial decades of the 20th century. Mosaics were lifted from near the Agora in 1918 and taken to the Rethymno Museum³⁵⁶. During more recent work in Lappa these mosaics were rediscovered in a plot of public land, where walls plastered with hydraulic cement and veneered in marble suggest that they may have come from a Roman bath house³⁵⁷. In 1969 excavations began in the Lefou plot which contained the Agora area of the Hellenistic-Roman city, and is the source of two statues found before World War II – one of them an Antonine statue of Faustina Maior, the other an Artemis – and a fine Neronian statue of Aphrodite Genetrix³⁵⁸.

Intensive building activity in and around Argyroupoli in the 1980s resulted in the realization of more than twenty systematic rescue excavations, including those in the Vougioukalakis and Manopoloulos plots³⁵⁹. The Vougioukalakis plot lies directly across the road from the Kiagiadakis plot where the Roman bath complex apparently featured an inscription that honored Vespasian³⁶⁰. In 1997 another systematic excavation was undertaken in a Roman necropolis east of the city at Pente Parthenes, where a necropolis served the Hellenistic-Roman city³⁶¹. In 2000-2001, a systematic survey of surface finds was carried out, in the framework of a Program of Inventory of Archaeological Sites of the Demos of Lappa, under the auspices of the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rethymno³⁶².

In order to contextualize the Hellenistic-Roman inscribed *instrumenta domestica* presented above, we should also take note of Hellenistic and Roman finds within the modern Demos of Lappa, including Argyroupoli itself (*fig. 7B*). In 1944 a small altar with an inscription was handed over from Kato Poros³⁶³, while at Nisi residential remains were

³⁵⁰ SANDERS 1982, p. 163.

³⁵¹ GEROLA 1908, p. 53; SANDERS 1982, p. 163; Argyroupoli plot n. 63 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵² Argyroupoli plot n. 87 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵³ Argyroupoli plot n. 29 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵⁴ PASHLEY 1837 I, pp. 81 and 83; Argyroupoli plot n. 81 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵⁵ DEFNER s.d., p. 69; FALKENER 1852, p. 293; cfr. TSIVIS 1952, p. 19 for cisterns with built pipes (ἀγωγούς, ἀλάκια) that led to baths.

³⁵⁶ *ArchDelt* 4, 1918, Parartema 31; SANDERS 1982, pp. 120 and 163.

³⁵⁷ *CretEst* 5, 1994-1996, pp. 249-250; AR 1997-1998, p. 121; R. Sweetman, pers. comm.; Argyroupoli

plot n. 4 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵⁸ *ArchDelt* 15, 1933-1935, pp. 66-69; *ArchDelt* 25, 1970, p. 476; PAPASTAMOS-STAEHLER 1972, pp. 93-96; SANDERS 1982, p. 163; Argyroupoli plot n. 36 on our fig. 7A.

³⁵⁹ Argyroupoli plot nn. 21 and 6 on our fig. 7A.

³⁶⁰ SEG XXXVIII 915.

³⁶¹ GAVRILAKI 2004. Cfr. FALKENER, 1852, p. 294; PASHLEY 1837 I, pp. 88-89; GEROLA 1908, p. 53; Argyroupoli plot nn. 45-50 on our fig. 7A.

³⁶² Conducted under the supervision of N. Tsatsaki.

³⁶³ TZIFOPOULOS 2009A, pp. 527-529 n. 2.



FIG. 12 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: NORTH AND SOUTH ROOMS, FROM THE NORTH, SHOWING ENTRANCES IN WALLS 5 AND 9.



FIG. 13 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: FLOOR OF AREA EAST OF SOUTH ROOM, WITH HEARTH, FROM THE NORTH.

found, as well as architectural members built into abandoned churches or other private buildings. A rock-cut chamber tomb was located at Episkopi, but residential remains of Minoan and Roman times are in the coastal area, which has been the subject of rescue excavations. A Roman building and inscription come from Mousela Episkopis³⁶⁴. At Karoti Roman tombs have been located, in the context of the opening of a rural road, while a tomb and a cistern of Roman times were found at Koufi. At Archontiki residential remains have been discovered, and at Villandredo, tombs and pottery of Roman times have been located, in accordance with the reports of residents. The existence of antiquities in this region is reinforced by earlier donations to the Archaeological Museum of Rethymno. The epigraphical material from the area – ancient and modern – has been gathered in the Archive of the Inscriptions of the Prefecture of Rethymno³⁶⁵.

We can now turn our particular attention to three plots that have yielded inscribed *instrumenta domestica* of Hellenistic-Roman date: the Lefou, Vougioukalakis, and Manolopoulos plots.

II.1. Lefou plot

In 1969 Dr. Yannis Tzedakis – then Director of the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Chania – started a trial excavation in this location, in an effort to control the area, badly damaged as a result of agricultural activity and irregular excavations³⁶⁶. The trial revealed three rooms of a Roman building complex – apparently a bath – and the Aphrodite Genetrix statue mentioned above in one of the rooms³⁶⁷. Floor level was reached at 1-1.5 m., and parts of a drainage system were found³⁶⁸. This trial excavation yielded the first archaeological evidence for the topography and architecture of Roman Lappa. North of these three rooms two trial trenches revealed part of a pavement and walls – corresponding to what had already been found – as well as stairs cut into bedrock. The head of the Aphrodite statue was found in a nearby well³⁶⁹.

II.2. Vougioukalakis plot (figs. 8-19)

Cleaning of the Vougioukalakis plot began in 1985³⁷⁰, in preparation for systematic excavation of the plot, which began in November 1986 and was completed in 1990³⁷¹. The excavation area was limited to a proposed construction area in the plot³⁷².

As the general plan of the excavation shows (fig. 8), a total area of ca. 243 square meters was investigated. In the excavated area part of a domestic unit, arranged on two levels, came to light. The architectural remains of the upper level are better preserved than those of the lower level, which are preserved at a lower height and show distinct traces of disturbance. The walls, built from worked or carefully chosen stones, are oriented north-

³⁶⁴ *CretEst* 8, 2000-2001, pp. 279-282; TZIFOPOULOS 2007B, pp. 114-120 n. 2.

³⁶⁵ TZIFOPOULOS 2007A.

³⁶⁶ *ArchDelt* 25 B'2, 1970, p. 476.

³⁶⁷ *ArchDelt* 25 B'2, 1970, p. 476; PAPANASTASIOS - STAEBLER 1972, pp. 93-106.

³⁶⁸ *ArchDelt* 25 B'2, 1970, p. 476.

³⁶⁹ *ArchDelt* 25 B'2, 1970, p. 476.

³⁷⁰ The task of surface cleaning was carried out by N. Prokopiou of the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and

Classical Antiquities, Rethymno.

³⁷¹ The excavation was carried out by E. Gavrilaki, with the participation of N. Karamaliki, both in the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Rethymno. For the preliminary presentation of the results of the excavation evidence, see *CretEst* 4, 1991-1993, pp. 237-239, and *ArchDelt* 45 B'2, 1990, pp. 443-445.

³⁷² On the plan presented here in Fig. 8, an overview of the excavated area of the plot is provided.



FIG. 13 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: FLOOR OF AREA EAST OF SOUTH ROOM, WITH HEARTH, FROM THE NORTH.



FIG. 14 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: TRENCH 5, FROM THE SOUTH.



FIG. 15 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: TRENCH 5, LOCATION OF PIT WITH GEOMETRIC OSTRAKA, FROM EAST OF WALL 2.



FIG. 16 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: LITHOSOROS FROM THE NORTH, SHOWING DIFFERENCE IN HEIGHT BETWEEN 2 TERRACES; VERTICAL TO WALL 2 (RIGHT), IN DIRECTION OF WALL 5 (HELLENISTIC SURFACE).



FIG. 18 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: UPPER TERRACE WITH WALL 2 (RIGHT), NORTH WALL OF ROOM WITH PLATFORM, LITHOSOROS (LEFT), WALL 4 (TOP), ALL FROM THE NORTH.



FIG. 19 – VOUGIOUKALAKIS PLOT: LITHOSOROS DETAIL WITH WALL 4 (TOP), TRENCHES 3 AND 4 OF LOWER TERRACE.

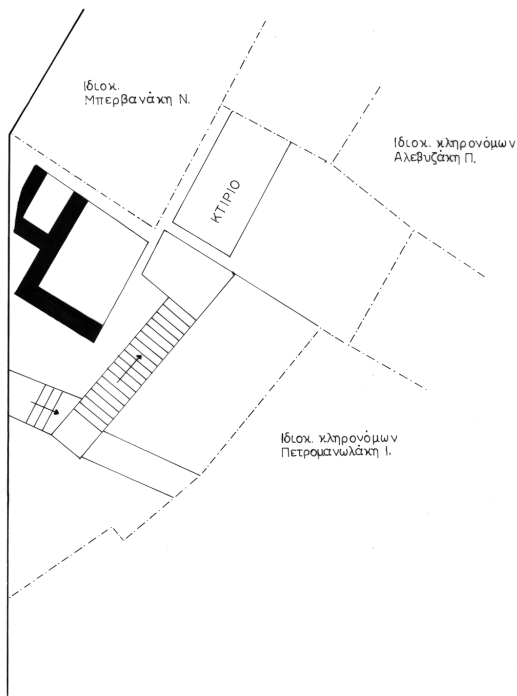


FIG. 20 – MANOLOPOULOS PLOT.

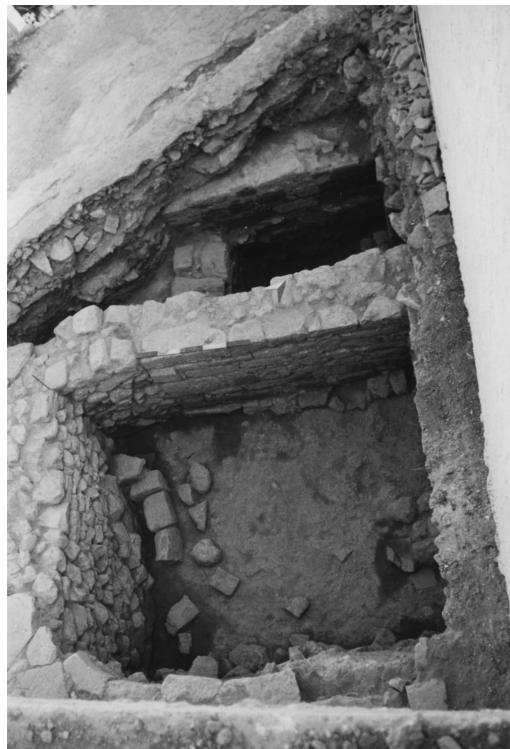


FIG. 21 – MANOLOPOULOS PLOT: OVERVIEW OF EXCAVATED AREA, FROM ABOVE, SHOWING THE MODERN ROAD IN THE UPPER RIGHT.



FIG. 22 – MANOLOPOULOS PLOT: WESTERN CORNER OF AREA I WITH THE ANCIENT WALL (RIGHT) AND LATER WALLS (LEFT).



FIG. 23 – MANOLOPOULOS PLOT: FOUNDATION OF THE ANCIENT WALL.

south and east-west, and stones are joined with soil, with the exception of the southernmost wall (wall 4, *fig. 9*). Mortar was used to build this wall, which appears to have belonged to an adjacent, independent and unexcavated building not constructed together with wall 2 (*fig. 10*).

Walls 1 and 2 are 0.80 m. thick and parallel to each other. The interior walls 3, 4, and 5 are nearly parallel to each other and are 0.50-0.55 m. thick. The westernmost wall (wall 2) appears more negligently built in its northern part which is disturbed, to judge from the small stones found there. The southern part of wall 2 is more carefully constructed, built from large rectangular blocks placed upon bedrock and comprising the foundation. The east wall (wall 1) preserves only its northern portion, due to a destruction which caused the building of the small retaining wall, part of which appears on the plan. Wall 1 is preserved to the height of the first course of blocks, and is based on natural bedrock.

In the southern part of the excavated area a complex of rooms was revealed (*fig. 11*). The eastern walls of this complex do not survive, even though building material located in initial trenches 3 and 4 of the lower level roughly suggests their orientation. Walls 2, 4, 5 – like wall 6, perpendicular to 4 – delimit Area Alpha which is divided into two rooms, the North and South Rooms, each 4.4 m. wide, with wall 9 partly preserved (*fig. 12*).

The North Room is trapezoidal, 4.40×1.05 m., and communicated with an area north of a small opening. Oblong and flat stones were used as a threshold and doorjambs of the entrance, while another flat stone was used as a step up, to accommodate the differences in floor height between the two areas. The floor of the room was composed of off-white, beaten, soft soil. The floor was revealed after the removal of stratum 9, which was of a soft and similarly yellow texture and contained tiles and stones, traces of carbon and much ceramic material. Fragments of stone bowl-shaped objects, a stone disk, cups and loomweights were collected from the North Room and hint at workshop activities or possibly domestic production that may have exceeded the needs of the household.

The South Room is larger than the North Room, 4.50×2.80 m. if measured where wall 9 survives. The South Room yielded loomweights as well as lamps, jugs (*πρόζους*), fragments of bowls with relief decoration a cup, and a figurine.

Wall 6 also comprises the western wall of another area which opens to the east of Area Alpha. This is bounded by the continuation of wall 4 to the south, wall 6 to the west, and the remains of wall 5 on the north. The middle of the room is taken up with a rectangular or elliptical hearth – measuring 1.30×1.00 m. on the outside, 0.80×0.70 m. on the inside – built from a simple series of stones (*fig. 13*). Thirteen shallow depressions full of ash trace asymmetrically the outline of the hearth, and probably betray the existence of an opening in a type of covered roof. The floor is of beaten white soil, atop an underlayer of small, densely placed stones. From the inside of this area came stone mortaria and bowls, and graters, as well as many loomweights.

The rest of the excavated area to the north does not appear to be divided into smaller rooms. A characteristic architectonic element of the area is a pit (*lakkos*) – 1.25×1.45 m. – found in its northern section (*figs. 14-15*).

In the eastern part of the plot, on the boundaries of the construction area, a small wall was located, very roughly built and belonging to a water channel that ran along the length of a paved street, part of which is preserved.

North of Area Alpha another area developed in the excavation, one bounded by walls 5 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 on the north. The wall which closed the area on the east was destroyed, apparently in the construction of a drystone retaining wall (*fig. 16*). A char-

Provenance	Inscribed <i>instrumenta domestica</i>	Date of inscribed <i>instrumenta domestica</i>	Vessels of the earlier stratum and floors; uninscribed <i>terrae sigillatae</i> *	Date of uninscribed <i>terrae sigillatae</i> , vessels of early strata and floors	Coins**	Date of coins
cleaning	vessel n. 18	hellenistic				
Trench 5	salt cellar n. 1	mid-late 4 th BC	<i>terrae sigillatae</i>	Augustus to Domitian		
Extension A	<i>terrae sigillatae</i> nn. 30, 33-36, 40, 43, 47, 49, 52	late 1 st BC - early 2 nd AD Roman?	<i>terrae sigillatae</i>	late 1 st c. BC - end 1 st c. AD (one before mid-2 nd c. AD)	N3-5, 8-9, 14, 16	late 3 rd BC - beginning of 4 th AD
Extension B	loomweight n. 14	hellenistic	<i>terrae sigillatae</i>	late 1 st c. BC - mid-1 st c. AD	N6-7, 10-13, 15	late 3 rd BC - 1 st AD
Area Alpha	loomweight n. 5	hellenistic	<i>terrae sigillatae</i>	late 1 st c. BC - end of 1 st c. AD	N17-21, 22-27, 28-32	mid-3 rd BC - 1 st -2 nd AD
	vessel n. 20	hellenistic				
	stamped amphora handle n. 29	hellenistic				
	<i>terrae sigillatae</i> nn. 31-32, 37-38, 41, 44, 46, 48, 50	2 nd half of 1 st BC - early 2 nd AD	<i>terrae sigillatae</i>	Tiberius to Domitian		
Area Alpha, Trench 1	loomweight n. 10	hellenistic	lamps cups bowls aryters	2 nd half of 2 nd c. BC late 2 nd -mid-1 st c. BC late 2 nd -mid-1 st c. BC late 2 nd c. BC	N35, 40-41, 42-42c, 43b, 44	mid - late 3 rd BC and hellenistic
	<i>terra sigillata</i> n. 39					
Area Alpha, Trench 2	tile n. 2	hellenistic	bowls	late 2 nd -mid-1 st c. BC	N33,39	mid - late 3 rd BC
	loomweights nn. 7, 15	hellenistic				
	stamped amphora handles n. 24, n. 25 n. 26	2 nd - 1 st BC 2 nd half of 2 nd BC 2 nd or 2 nd - 1 st BC				
Area Alpha, Trench 3	tile n. 3 loomweight n. 13 vessels nn. 19, 21	hellenistic hellenistic hellenistic			N38, 45-47	mid-3 rd BC and hellenistic
Area Alpha, Trench 4	tile n. 4 loomweight n. 9 stamped amphora handle n. 28	hellenistic hellenistic early 1 st BC			N34, 36-37	mid-3 rd BC and hellenistic

Table 7. Overview of Inscribed and Uninscribed *Instrumenta Domestica*, Vessels from the Earlier Stratum and Floors, and Coins Found in the Vougioukalaki plot

* Identification and dating of pottery provided by E. Gavrilaki, who is responsible for the full publication of this material.

** Identification and dating of coins kindly provided by K. Sideropoulos, who is responsible for the full publication of these coins.

acteristic architectonic element of the area is the bench located along the length of the west wall, 1.70×0.80 m³⁷³.

The rooms formed in the southern portion of the plot are connected with the earlier dwelling phase of the excavated complex (*figs. 17-19*). Wall 5 comprizes the north boundary of the North Room and the south boundary of the area developed to its north. It forms a corner with wall 2 at the height of its earlier phase, where it is 0.80 m. thick.

During excavation the following phases were ascertained, given the chronology of pottery and coins found in the excavated area. Table 7 provides an overview of the inscribed and uninscribed *instrumenta domestica*, and coins, as well as the dating evidence they provide.

1. Ostraka of geometric times, which come from the *lakkos* in the north of the excavated area, show that the area was used in that period³⁷⁴, before the construction of the domestic unit excavated there.
2. The earlier phase of the domestic unit is dated from the fourth quarter of the second to the mid-first century BC. From this phase came loomweights, stone bowl-shaped and stone bowls, as well as «Megarian» *skyphoi*.
3. A later architectonic phase is dated from the end of the first century BC until the first half of the first to beginning of the second century AD. Coins of Knossos dated 40/30 BC and coins of Lappa dated 30 BC come from the beginning of this architectonic phase. Lamps of Cretan type, *terrae sigillatae*, and loomweights come from the later period of this phase.
4. An even later phase is dated to the second and third centuries AD, to judge from coins that come from the upper layer, below the tillable soil.
5. Characteristic glazed ostraka of the nineteenth century, found on the surface, are connected with the recent use of the site.

II.3. *Manolopoulos plot and somewhere in Argyroupoli (figs. 20-23)*

The Manolopoulos plot, on the northern side of the ancient Agora, was excavated in 1995. Parts of three areas were excavated, the first and second of which revealed walls belonging to two architectural phases. Area 2 appears to have been tile-roofed, to judge from the tile fragments found in a destruction layer, while the floor was beaten earth atop the surface of bedrock. The third area again revealed two architectural phases, the first late Hellenistic and the second of third century AD date³⁷⁵.

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³⁷³ *ArchDelt* 45 B'2, 1990, pp. 443-445.

³⁷⁴ *ArchDelt* 45 B'2, 1990, p. 443.

³⁷⁵ Excavated by E. Gavrilaki: *CretEst* 8, 2000-2001, pp. 282-286.

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ABSTRACT

KLIO'S CLAY: INSCRIBED INSTRUMENTA DOMESTICA FROM LAPPA (CRETE)

This article explores a range of possible interpretations for a collection of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, largely found in stratified contexts during systematic excavations at modern Argyroupoli (ancient Lappa, Crete) between 1986 and 1990. These *instrumenta domestica* are examined in such a way as to address a series of fundamental questions about continuity and change in the material record of Lappa, beginning with (1) where inscribed *instrumenta domestica* have been found in the archaeological landscape of the city. The discussion then presents various categories of inscribed *instrumenta domestica*, and for imported goods analyzes (2) when these objects were produced or imported; (3) whence the imported objects made their way to the island; (4) how these imported goods came to Lappa and what that contributes to our knowledge of transit and trade patterns; and (5) why Lappaians imported fine wares and amphoras to supplement their own local production. Study of the inscribed *instrumenta domestica* from the Lappa sheds light on the commercial connections and contacts of the ancient city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. These inscribed *instrumenta domestica* are then placed into possible historical contexts and used to illustrate changes in the use and distribution of these artefacts, changes attributed to multiple and overlapping phenomena.

