

ORGANIZATION OF DWELLING SPACE IN ROMAN CRETE:
THE *DISIECTA MEMBRA* OF CITIES

The relationship of private buildings to civic ones within the physical setting of a city has the potential to reveal much about political and religious relationships within a city, and the relationship of different kinds and classes of private structures can be as revelatory of societal organization within that same city or settlement¹. Urbanization in Crete, as elsewhere, could take many forms, but two seem most compelling to investigate, that is, the relationship of individual dwellings within an *insula* or other tightly bounded area, and the relationship of buildings clustering around a manorial building or bath complex. A corollary to the urban mansion worth noting and investigating is the proliferation of settlements around rural villas, particularly in late antiquity. The phenomena is not unconnected as bastion villa sites, as opposed to pleasure villas in the countryside or working farms, are well recorded in the western half of the Empire², and seem to increase significantly in tandem with the decline of cities.

The thoroughness of the excavations at Gortyn, Kastelli Kissamos, Eleutherna, and Knossos, among other sites featured in the international congress *Creta romana e protobizantina*, make it possible to trace what a Roman apartment complex or private house in Crete looked like, and thus to begin the discussion of what constituted a 'neighborhood', if such a term can be applied to all of the material so far collected³. The nature of neighborhoods has great consequences for the interpretation of the degree and ways in which Crete might have 'Romanized' and so it is crucial to learn whether buildings in Knossos and Gortyn,

¹ This is the appropriate place to record my gratitude for having been privileged to have had the friendship of Antonino Di Vita for over twenty years. I still can recall fondly the Spring of 1980 when as new Director of the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene he invited me to a glendy. Only twenty-eight years old, I demurred that I did not have a summer suit. Antonino immediately dropped what he was doing and personally walked me to his favorite tailor, who made a wonderful suit which still occasionally fits.

I should like to acknowledge my very great thanks to the organizers of this conference for inviting me to speak, and for all of their many courtesies before, during and after the

conference. Many of the observations and conclusions in this paper come from a seminar I taught on 'The End of Antiquity' at Northeast Normal University (Changchun, China) in Spring, 2000. A further debt is owed to my student assistants, Mr. Peter Brodnik and Ms. Rebecca Muich.

² See, especially, JAVIER ARCE, *Otium et negotium: the great estates, 4th-7th century*, in L. WEBSTER, M. BROWN (edd.), *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900*, Berkeley, 1997, pp. 19-32.

³ A first attempt to relate proximate private structures was made by Warren in his write up of the results of the Stratigraphical Museum explorations *AR 34* (1987-88), pp. 88 - 104.

one a Roman *colonia* and the other capital of the joint province of *Creta et Cyrene*, were similar in size and style to structures known from Rome and Ostia⁴ and whether urbanization in other Cretan locales was more closely parallel to traditional Hellenic private architecture on the other Greek islands, the Greek mainland, and Anatolia⁵. If the architecture is similar throughout the island, one can begin to think in terms of an imperial *koimon* in building and decoration styles, such as might be argued from the House of Diamond Frescoes⁶; if Knossos and Gortyn⁷ are similar to each other but different from other Cretan centers, as James Whitley has observed in regard to pottery⁸, then a case can be begun to be made for differentiation in architectural style based upon prestige of the center and place of origin of its significant⁹ citizens.

As often the evidence is not as clear and decisive as one might wish: Gortyn clearly adopted Roman styles perhaps to advertize its status as provincial capital and home of Roman merchants, yet the orientation and limits of the city remained decidedly Greek¹⁰. Concomitantly, in its last centuries, the decisive factor in architectural style and location could possibly have been religious self-separation of communities within Gortyn. One neighborhood dating from the late fifth century has been found in upper levels between the Pythion and the Gymnasium (= Praetorium) while a clearly Christian community developed among the early basilicas excavated along Mitropolis Road¹¹. Similarly material from the Unexplored Mansion in Knossos presented by Sara Paton¹² is clarifying not just that structure but its relationship to surrounding structures, most interestingly some of those identified in reports of the continuing work of the Knossos Geophysical Study¹³ and the Knossos Roman City project under the direction of Ken Wardle¹⁴. The work of Hugh

⁴ I deliberately exclude Pompeii since it is too early for most of the remains of private buildings which have come to light in Crete.

⁵ It would be significant if some Cretan centers became highly romanized while others adhered to pre-Roman architectural and social traditions. Dyson has recently made the case for the failure of romanization in Sardinia as has Downs for Roma Baetica as shown by her attempts at a redefinition of terms; see S.L. DYSON, *The limited nature of Roman urbanism in Sardinia*, in *Romanization and the City*, *JRA* suppl. 38, 2000, pp. 189-196; M. DOWNS, *Refiguring colonial categories on the Roman frontier in southern Spain*, *ibidem*, pp.197-210.

⁶ This is based on the similarity of decoration to that known from places as far apart as Britain and Austria; *Knossos*, p. 46.

⁷ Unfortunately, investigation of Roman Corinth has centered exclusively on public architecture, and thus cannot furnish *comparanda* for domestic architecture; see, e.g., *inter alia*, D. ROMANO in S. WALKER, Av. CAMERON (edd.), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, *BICS*Suppl. 55, 1989; T. GREGORY (ed.), *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*, *JRA* Suppl. 8, 1993, and K.W. SLANE, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*, in *Corinth XVIII* pt. II, Princeton, ASCSA, 1990.

⁸ So his remark "It is at least clear that the East Cretan

sequence has few points of similarity with the Knossian (*AR* 43, 1996-97, p. 117)".

⁹ 'Significant' is an essential but unfortunate word choice for even in the cases of Knossos and Gortyn the overwhelming number of residents must have been from families resident on Crete for centuries; it is crucial to discover, however, whether the character of these two *poleis* was determined by its Roman superstratum.

¹⁰ A. DI VITA, *Gortyn in Crete*, Athens 2000. The Italian text appears in *RAI* 10, 2000, pp. 9-24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13. The religious conviction of residents in the former area, however, remains undetermined. One need not even envision a self-separation of pagans from Christians, since groups on the opposite divides of the Monophysite and Christological debates, among others, might also have segregated themselves; see A. CAMERON, *The Later Roman Empire*, Harvard, 1993.

¹² Her contribution (*The Villa Dionysus at Knossos and its predecessors*, presented at the I Conference on Post-Minoan Crete, *BSA Studies* 2, 1998, pp. 123-128) has been amplified by her contribution to this volume.

¹³ Directed by C.A. Shell, R.E. Jones, and S. Papamarinopoulos; *AR* 38, 1991-92, pp. 59-60, and *AR* 39, 1992-93, p. 68.

¹⁴ Reported in *AR* (see appendix to this article) and

Sackett in excavating and cataloguing houses of Julio-Claudian and Hadrianic date, with later phases, in what was clearly an industrial quarter has produced material which could have comfortably been part of apartments in Greece and North Africa during the first century A.D.¹⁵ The Roman remains in levels above the Unexplored Mansion make it possible to investigate the character and possible inter-relationship of contemporaneous adjacent houses¹⁶. Since the purpose of the excavation, however, was the recovery of a Minoan structure, the information is compromised as the Roman dwellings may well continue outside the perimeter of the underlying Minoan occupation and were thus not excavated. Later phases of structures in this excavation, however, are contemporaneous with the earliest phases of the nearby Villa Dionysus¹⁷ and one can clearly determine the comparative opulence of this neighborhood which fronted on the religious and governmental center. Habitations discovered on the flanks of Kephala would seem to conform to the character of an industrial quarter.

It is not always possible to distinguish at first glance whether a bath site is private or public, which is of great importance to determining the social and economic standing of its location. It would be glib to state that bath sites, following what is known of Rome, are public if near to other public structures and private if in the midst of other private buildings. The argument too easily becomes circular and the three bath complexes reported at Knossos¹⁸ in fact straddle or are in between public and private sectors of the city which further complicates identification and interpretation. But public or private, perhaps the larger question is what happened to the brown water afterwards, that is, whether it was used in industry for which pure water was not always necessary. Bath structures thus have intersecting covalences: first, as presumably the point of first use of water, aqueducts should be routed past baths and *nymphaea* and thence from them to secondary sites; secondly, following literary notices from writers, one suspects that private baths are an indicator of either a wealthy neighborhood or the primary residence within a mixed neighborhood¹⁹ and can perhaps be differentiated from public baths since their water feed should tap into the main aqueduct line or a side trunk off the main line.

An investigation of expensive private structures leads to an examination of who owned and lived in them. To say they were men of wealth and local prestige is obvious and insufficient. For scholars interested in the social polarities during the Roman Empire it is much more informative that the inhabitants of these urban mansions and rural villas during

also discussed in his contribution to this volume.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.* n. 6.

¹⁶ Such as, for example, the shared street and abutting aqueduct wall which defined the vicinity and possibly even some shared amenities, such as a cistern (*ibid.*, pp. 26-27).

¹⁷ See H.W. CATLING, *AR* 18, 1972, pp. 3-26, HAYES 1983, pp. 97-170, and S. PATON, *op. cit.* n. 12, pp. 123-128.

¹⁸ *AR* 40 and 42; see appendix to this article. Because *ADelt.*, *ASAtene*, *Arkaiologikhe Ephemeris*, and *Archaeological Reports* publish notes of work in progress, it is not always

clear whether the discovery of a bath installation will turn out to be attached to a private dwelling or if it is a public structure. Since so many reports are those of rescue excavations, it will never be possible to determine which is correct in a majority of the instances. I have chosen to make the mistake of potentially including too many sites rather than too few.

¹⁹ Through his connection of coastal baths with light industry G. Altamore in his contribution to this collection opens up the possibility that there might be a distinction in use between littoral villas and inland ones.

their principal phase must have been *decuriones*. It would seem fair to postulate that there was a difference in access to political-*cum*-religious office between owners of modest private dwellings and tenants of apartments on the one hand and villa/mansion²⁰ sites on the other which might be causal in the varying degree of Romanization of its inhabitants. It would further seem tenable that villa/mansion sites produce a higher proportion of western import goods in their remains, which have decorative schemes comparable to those of contemporary cities in Italy²¹, not primarily because of the ability of the own to afford such goods, but because such goods were a visual symbol of the decurial status of the owner of the villa/mansion.

The sum of the material and epigraphical evidence would seem to argue strongly that for the Roman empire in the provinces, and this may be more true the further one moves from Rome, such words as ‘oligarchs’, ‘aristocracy’, and ‘local potentates’ are anachronistic and in fact mask the most important social distinction. The residents of the urban mansions and rural villas were people who perceived personal advantage in Romanization, and thus through local office gained Roman citizenship as a way of obtaining and maintaining a social and legal superiority over their fellow townsmen²².

The splendid villa at Makrialos is emblematic of the process. Anyone and everyone who has been there can see immediately why a sumptuous villa might have been placed on such a spot of unsurpassing beauty. The point of the beauty of the view and the opulence of the decoration is to impress local residents and intimidate them by intimating the preferential legal status of its owner. The proliferation of litoral villas in Crete during the apogee of the Roman Empire²³ speaks not so much to Romanization as to the expansion of the decurion class, which are related but distinct phenomena. One might surmise that the business of the

²⁰ In addition to limitations caused by preservation and excavation, villa and mansion sites are bedevilled by difficulties of definition. It may not be possible to resolve what exactly is a mansion or villa, and so perhaps the way to approach the evidence is to categorize the group by the kind of person who probably inhabited such large private structures. For purposes of classification, one might suggest that a villa or mansion was a structure likely to have been built or remodeled in its principal or most prosperous phase by a decurion, that is a leader of the community who had by service gained access to Roman citizenship.

I note but leave aside Sara Paton's (128) reservations about whether the Villa Dionysos should properly be considered a private or public structure. Any monumental home because of Roman social practices would have had some public, or open, functions. The morning *salutatio* and other similar customs do not, however, make a home a civic institution. The source of the income which paid for construction and location, in the case of the Villa Dionysos, far from the Roman *forum*, make this a private dwelling. One can reasonably compare modern businesses run out of a private home. The presence of a home office does not require business zoning and tax laws strictly delimit what kinds and amounts of deductions apply; in the case of U.S.

and Canadian law, the tax status is that of a private dwelling.

²¹ This does not ignore the potential danger of circular argument implicit in this definition. A statistically significant data base would serve as a corrective and indicate what kinds of patterns emerge which would differentiate the character of smaller urban dwellings from sumptuous ones.

²² ‘Aristocrat’ and ‘oligarch’ imply fellow citizens living under the same law code, even if wealth and position afforded opportunities to ignore those laws; decurions had an entire set of legal remedies and economic opportunities not available to the rest of the community.

I would think that the legal distinction between *decuriones* (*ius civile*) and *cives* (*ius gentium*) would implicitly also raise the question of whether the gap between the richest and poorest citizens on Crete was greater during the Roman Empire than at earlier periods. Although the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212 formally ended the distinction, I would suggest that the division which had become traditional remained.

²³ It is significant that such villas seem on the whole to be new foundations. There is some evidence for the abandonment and destruction of some sites, such as Eleutherna and Mokhlos, during the period of the Roman conquest; see *AR* 41, 1994-95.

villa even in the absence of harbors²⁴ and nearby industrial installations was the collection and export of principally (but not necessarily exclusively) agricultural produce and secondary products derived from agriculture.

Correlating data about farmsteads²⁵ is a necessary corrective to ensure that the examination of grand private houses is not over-interpreted. Information about farmsteads from different parts of the island which seem to be associated with villages or towns, such as at Itanos and Knossos, seems to be similar as does information about farmsteads which is the result of surveys, such as those at Vrokastro, Gournia²⁶, Kavousi²⁷, Malia, and Sphakia. The picture which is emerging confirms what is known from literary notices, primarily from Pliny the Elder, on what were the best known foodstuffs and other products in Crete²⁸. Perhaps the most intriguing of the interim results are the number of potential seasonal habitations or other agricultural facility remote from a possible main farmstead based on the evidence of fine wares found in association with fragments of water pipes and roof tiles²⁹.

As one of the least densely populated and most remote areas in Crete the discoveries of the Vrokastro Survey region³⁰, are most informative, especially the high per centage of fine import wares recorded in upland sites. A normal model for agricultural activity in upland areas would posit the prevalence of seasonal habitation or diurnal working sites (rather than habitation ones) from which workers returned nightly to homes at or near sea level. The material from the Vrokastro Survey, however, challenges this model, particularly since the presence of fine wares in higher elevations is characteristic of several ceramic sub-periods within the Roman Empire. Comparable discoveries at other principally rural sites on Crete would seem to argue that farm organization during the settled times of the Roman Empire might have been different from earlier periods, and thus land holding patterns were horizontal, with farms specializing in a limited range of products according to zone, rather than vertical, in which every family or clan tried to ensure that it held some of each type of agricultural land. The distribution of fine wares would further seem to argue in such a hypothesis that the holders of land at higher elevations were as economically successful as holders of bottom

²⁴ That a port does not need a harbor was demonstrated poignantly by the exhibition of the photographs by Βασίλη Μαχμιάκη of Αη Στρατήγης (1940-1970) which took place in the public pinakothekē in Heraklion at the time of the conference. Several of the pictures showed shallow-hulled local fishing boats going out to coastal traders anchored in deeper waters.

²⁵ See Appendix.

²⁶ L. VANCE WATROUS, *A Survey of the Mesara Plain, Hesperia* 62, 1993, pp. 229-233.

²⁷ D.C. HAGGIS, *Archaeological Survey at Kavousi: Preliminary Report, Hesperia* 65, 1996, pp. 416-425.

²⁸ See *The Romans and Crete*, Hakkert 1993, pp. 39-120 for mention of Cretan produce in literature. There are, however, serious limitations to extrapolating back from the citations to make a surmise about what kinds of agricultural establishments must have been on Crete since

the greatest and best evidence for foodstuffs in Crete are the numerous fish tanks which have been identified all along the coast but which are not mentioned once in the literary and historical record.

²⁹ An objection that fine wares are over-represented because they are more recognizable does not carry weight because of the number of highly qualified ceramic experts working on Roman material at Cretan sites, such as Hayes, Xanthopoulou, Sapouna, Portale, Romeo, Kalpaxis, Yangaki, Vogt, Rendini, Albertocchi, Vitale Magnelli, and especially Natalia Poulou. A normal expectation for upland seasonal habitation would be the presence of only local coarse wares and thus any fine ware is significant.

³⁰ B. HAYDEN, J. MOODY (forthcoming), *Vrokastro Survey Project*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, and also B. Hayden's contribution to this congress. The Roman pottery was studied by G.W.M. Harrison.

land, again a reversal of normal expectations³¹. This model of what seems to have happened in Crete is of wide importance to understanding the agricultural history of the Roman Empire particularly at the time when the Roman Empire transformed itself into Byzantium³².

There is much the archaeology of Roman Crete is adding to pan-Mediterranean investigations of urbanization and organization of agricultural communities, and publications on private structures for Roman Crete and on the material remains, such as have appeared in the multiple volumes of the excavations at Gortyn, have begun to have an impact³³. There is now information generated from Crete which can be compared and contrasted, for example, to Pat Morris³⁴ study on agricultural buildings in Roman Britain, or Todd's³⁵ on villas in Roman Britain, or Perring's work on the buildings of Roman London³⁶. This is only just for the possession of Crete was more important to the overall objectives and security of the Empire, most particularly from the second century A.D. when the Empire adopted an 'eastern strategy'³⁷ which dominated military and economic policy until the fall of the western empire, dominated initially by the kingdom of Theodoric³⁸, and beyond to the Saracen strategy of controlling the three main islands of the Mediterranean as a preliminary to an assault on Europe³⁹.

The Roman period is of great interest because it is one of phenomenal and profound change. Although the evidence shows much continuity with the Classical and Hellenistic past, what stands out is a sense that there was a clear recognition that they were living in, and contributing to, a world in which the breaks with the past were significant and accelerating. Crete provides key evidence for the pace and direction of change. Change is not uniform: it occurs in different places at different times and in different ways⁴⁰. Understanding the precise nature of the interrelationship of different kinds of dwelling structures, for example, is a prerequisite to learning how far architectural styles were local, regional, or empire-wide.

³¹ It is possible to reconcile the two models if one posits a system comparable to nineteenth and twentieth century India in which different members of an extended family resided on family land scattered throughout agricultural zones with a main homestead on either the largest parcel or the most fertile parcel.

³² It is of especial importance because of the trend in the later Roman Empire (codified into law during the First Byzantine Empire) towards requiring families to stay on the land and mandating that sons follow fathers in their professions. It is encouraging that the model proposed here is similar in its main outlines with what P. Arthur proposes for Italy in *La città in Italia meridionale in età tardoantica: riflessioni intorno alle evidenze materiali*, in *L'Italia meridionale in età tardo antica*, Napoli 2000, pp. 167-200.

³³ I am much more sanguine than W.V. Harris that the five questions he poses for the Cretan economy are already being answered; see *Crete in the Hellenistic and Roman Economies: A Comment*, in CHANIOTIS 1999, pp. 357-358.

³⁴ P. MORRIS, *Agricultural Buildings in Roman Britain*, London: BAR British Series 70, 1979; now supplemented

and superceded by R. HINGLEY, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain*, London, Seaby 1989.

³⁵ M. TODD (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, Leicester, at the University, 1978. This remains true in spite of the fact that Britain had numerous fortified villas; see, e.g., H. HURST, *The fortress coloniae of Roman Britain: Colchester, Lincoln, and Gloucester*, in *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures*, *JRA Suppl.* 38, 2000, pp. 105-114.

³⁶ D. PERRING, *Roman London*, London, Seaby 1991.

³⁷ W. BALL, *Rome in the East: Transformation of an Empire*, London, Routledge 2000.

³⁸ J. MOORHEAD, *Theodoric in Italy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1992, and P. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1991.

³⁹ The loss of Crete and Cyprus is alluded to by St. Anastasius the Sinaite; cp. W. KÄEGLI, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992, p. 205.

⁴⁰ The discovery of electricity, for example, simultaneously produced AC and DC systems and the need to measure has meters and inches, quarts and liters.

Villas, and other manorial dwellings, through their ostentation are indicators of the accumulation of wealth and offer evidence to help track the degree to which the material elite during the Roman Empire cohered against ethnic and national groupings, and even their fellow townsmen. Agriculture remains the key to understanding how wide and how deep Roman prosperity penetrated, and must always be one essential standard against which urban prosperity is measured and evaluated. It is therefore appropriate and essential to join up the *disiecta membra* of cities, and of the countryside.⁴¹

GEORGE W.M. HARRISON
Xavier University and
Institute for the History of Ancient Civilizations
(Northeast Normal University, Changchun, China)

⁴¹ This paper is dedicated to my friend, Antonino Di Vita. When I decided to devote my scholarly life to investigations of Roman Crete, Judith Binder kindly offered to introduce me to Doro Levi. She informed me that he was under orders not to buy cigarettes any more.

Dutifully, I bought a pack of *Gallois* (*χολις φάπτο*, naturally), and after we had coffee and smoked most of the pack he walked me over and presented me to the young Antonino Di Vita.

APPENDIX

Catalogue of finds (Source: *AR* volumes 20-43)⁴²*Insulae/Private Dwellings*

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| Ag. Nikolaos | Kitroplateia, bldgs w. paved road, hearth; AD i | <i>AR</i> 37, 70 |
| | Mylos, 2 bldgs. | <i>AR</i> 37, 70 |
| | four areas with houses; ER-LR | <i>AR</i> 39, 72 |
| Ag. Photeini, Amariou | Kyriakis plot, 3 houses; i BC-AD iii | <i>AR</i> 43, 118 |
| Argyroupole | (prob) staircase w. 5 steps; LR | <i>AR</i> 37, 77 |
| Chania | Odos Patriarchou Kyrillou, wall + floor; R - LR/ECh | <i>AR</i> 37, 77 |
| | N of Odos Patriarchou Kyrillou, kitchen | <i>AR</i> 37, 77 |
| | Vardinoyanni-Anastasaki plot, large house, mosaics; AD iii | <i>AR</i> 24, 67 |
| | [also <i>AR</i> 32, 96] | |
| | Rm bldg, plastered walls; AD ii | <i>AR</i> 28, 59 |
| | Kapetanaki plot, 2/3 rooms, mosaic | <i>AR</i> 32, 96 |
| Chersonesos | Peridou, part of R bldg w. mosaics | <i>AR</i> 34, 75 |
| | Boniali, part of paved courtyard of R complex | <i>AR</i> 34, 75 |
| Chersonesos | bldgs, AD iv/v | <i>AR</i> 38, 59 |
| | LR complex, water system; abandoned AD vii | <i>AR</i> 39, 67 |
| | adjacent to complex, bldg, paved floors, col. | <i>AR</i> 39, 67 |
| Eleutherna | house; publ. plan | <i>AR</i> 36, 79 |
| | house; AD iii-iv | <i>AR</i> 41, 72 |
| Elounta | (poss) Exo Poros, complex of rooms, paved court, hearth; AD iv | <i>AR</i> 37, 70 |
| Gortyn | area of <i>nymphaea</i> , houses + potters kiln w. sherds; AD vii | <i>AR</i> 35, 99 |
| Hierapetra | Phronimaki plot, bldg, perhaps industrial | <i>AR</i> 35, 102 |
| | Petuchaki plot, bldg, marble revetment | <i>AR</i> 35, 102 |
| | Mantouraki plot, bldgs, 2 marble statues | <i>AR</i> 35, 102 |
| | Biglia, Chiotake plot, courtyard, 3 rooms | <i>AR</i> 37, 71 |
| | Biglia, across anc. road from house on Chiotake plot | <i>AR</i> 37, 71 |
| | Biglia, Lambrakes plot, bldg; AD iv | <i>AR</i> 37, 71 |
| | Biglia, Tzoubeleka plot, 6 rooms; AD iv/v | <i>AR</i> 37, 71 |
| | Biglia, Katsirma-Zygakei plot, 4 houses, water pipe system | <i>AR</i> 37, 71 |
| | Biglia, (prob) apsidal structure, plastered walls; ER | <i>AR</i> 39, 72 |
| | R house | <i>AR</i> 31, 64 |
| substantial R bldg | <i>AR</i> 32, 92 | |

⁴²Issues of *AR* which were incorporated by Ian Sanders in his site gazette are not included here.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| Itanos | Zone 2, house; final occup AD v/vi [also <i>AR 43, 114</i> = phase IV] | <i>AR 42, 46</i> |
| Kastelli Kisamou | Kouphaki-Kalaphataki plot, bldgs. AD i-iii [also <i>AR 41, 73</i> for AD iii/iv phases] Faringitake plot, traces of bldg. Koutsounakes plot, 2 R bldgs. Skounakes plot, 2 rooms, 9 pithoi; EQ mid AD iii Marathakes plot, fndts 2 walls Stavroulake plot, bldg; AD i and LR Plateia Tzanakake, room w. earth and pebble floor; HL/R (poss) fine mosaic floor above working area of AD i Sophoulaki plot, 2 R houses Health Centre, mosaics, 3 rooms; phase 1 = AD i Kastelli, remains of houses along road; AD ii-iii Kastelli, E of road, worked and unworked stone houses; AD ii-iv Kastelli, E of road, area 2, unworked stone and cement; AD ii-iv Kastelli, E of road, E of area 2, small private bathhouse; AD ii-iii Farangitakis plot, 6 rooms, tiled floors, pipes; destr. AD iv Vestakis plot, 7 rooms, mosaic floors, marble slabs; AD iii well-appointed house, mosaics, painted plaster; AD ii Stephanoudaki plot, bldg. remains, mosaics Kakaournaki plot, badly damaged house, mosaic; LR | <i>AR 35, 108</i> <i>AR 37, 77</i> <i>AR 37, 77</i> <i>AR 37, 77</i> <i>AR 37, 77</i> <i>AR 41, 73</i> <i>AR 41, 73</i> <i>AR 41, 73</i> <i>AR 42, 47</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 43, 122</i> <i>AR 24, 67</i> <i>AR 30, 68</i> <i>AR 32, 96</i> |
| Knossos | concrete masonry bldgs in 3 areas; AD ii/iii bldgs. in ruins of grand private house; AD iii/iv (poss) Vlachakis plot, walls w. 17 domestic vessels Vlachakis plot, 2 bldgs; destr. AD iv Plaitis plot, domestic bldg of R date Over Hell. Shrine, secular imperial bldg Paterakis plot, limestone slab, mosaic; late AD i Venezelion, large bldg/complex, dressed limestone Monastiriaka, house of Roman period House of Diamond Frescoes Stratigraphical Mus., Rm houses, water channels; AD i Stratigraphical Mus., Rm houses, wine collecting tank; AD i Stratigraphical Mus., Rm bldg, ivory roundel AD iii | <i>AR 40, 75</i> <i>AR 40, 75</i> <i>AR 43, 106</i> <i>AR 21, 26</i> <i>AR 23, 19</i> <i>AR 23, 20</i> <i>AR 23, 21</i> <i>AR 23, 22</i> <i>AR 24, 60</i> <i>AR 24, 61</i> <i>AR 25, 36</i> <i>AR 26, 48</i> <i>AR 28, 51</i> |
| Kouphonisi | House 2, 15 rooms, fishing equipment [also <i>AR 37, 73</i> ; 16 rooms, murex industry; AD i-iii] House 1; ii BC - AD i 8 roomed house, pebble mosaics; destr. end AD iv 9 room house; destr. end AD iv | <i>AR 35, 103</i> <i>AR 37, 73</i> <i>AR 30, 67</i> <i>AR 30, 67</i> |
| Lyttos | bldg. painted plaster; AD ii | <i>AR 22, 30</i> |
| Maleme | (poss) Vorias, Part of ECh bldg | <i>AR 37, 77</i> |
| Malia Survey | settlement; LR | <i>AR 43, 110</i> |

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|--|
| Matala | 7 private houses; AD iii-iv and AD v-vii Kastro, R bldgs. Sphakaki plot, walls + 3 roofed areas, white plaster red bands; ER Christoudoulaki plot, 2 R bldgs w. painted plaster | <i>AR 39, 72</i> <i>AR 40, 79</i> <i>AR 41, 63</i> <i>AR 34, 70</i> |
| Mochlos | 3 houses; AD vii bldg. w. 6 rooms, industrial; EByz | <i>AR 37, 74</i> <i>AR 38, 66</i> |
| Mylos | (poss) Michaki plot, remains of houses; <i>no date given but R context</i> | <i>AR 42, 47</i> |
| Myrtos | plateia, house with 6 rooms; ER | <i>AR 39, 77</i> |
| Phaistos | Gria Saita (poss) installation w. pithoi, drains w. lett ER | <i>AR 41, 64</i> |
| Schisma Elountas | Methykaki plot, rect. str. w. Rm pottery | <i>AR 42, 47</i> |
| Sphakia survey | structures of R date | <i>AR 36, 81</i> |
| Stoloi | Rikikas, R country house | <i>AR 40, 80</i> |
| Vasilike | W court, (? poss M re-use), cement mortar outside fence, "linked to complex at Ierapetra" N of Red House, 56A, Rm bldg; no date | <i>AR 39, 80</i> <i>AR 39, 80</i> <i>AR 25, 40</i> |

Grand Private Houses/Bath Sites

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|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Ag. Nikolaos | Kastelli, R complex, 15 rooms, pithos; AD i-v | <i>AR 38, 64</i> |
| Chamalcurio/Stavromeno | R bath complex Daphnomele plot, R bath complex; final use AD v [also <i>AR 43, 124</i>] | <i>AR 40, 84</i> <i>AR 41, 72</i> |
| Chania | Lentare/Manolikake plot, LR hypocaust Municipal garage, hypocaust of large bath; aban. AD ii Roman bath, mosaic floors, Triton; ½ AD ii Souvari plot, R bath bldg | <i>AR 40, 84</i> <i>AR 42, 47</i> <i>AR 20, 40</i> <i>AR 32, 95</i> |
| Chersonisos | major bldg. W. colonnade, apse, mosaic floor; AD iv/v | <i>AR 38, 59</i> |
| Gortyn | Praetorium, baths, AD ii [also <i>AR 37, 68</i>] | <i>AR 36, 71</i> |
| Heraklion | (poss) Papadaki plot, stoa, mosaic floor; LR + ECh Heraklion Museum, villa w. 5 mosaic pavements; R | <i>AR 42, 39</i> <i>AR 42, 39</i> |
| Kastelli Kisamou | Pateraki plot, 5 rooms, 3 w. mosaics [mosaic floors w. <i>Horae AR 35, 108</i>] [cistern in same complex <i>AR 36, 79</i>] Faringitake plot, mosaic floor, drainage system; AD iii | <i>AR 34, 76</i> <i>AR 37, 77</i> |

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| | [also <i>AR 41, 73</i>] | |
| | Plateia E. Venizelou, kitchen, tiles; AD iii - iv/v+ | <i>AR 37, 77</i> |
| | (prob) HL./R city, mosaics, kitchen, 2 stories marble | <i>AR 40, 84</i> |
| | Sector II, bath installations, AD ii-iv | <i>AR 41, 73</i> |
| | Sector II, courtyard of large house | <i>AR 41, 73</i> |
| | Sector III, bath and drainage remains; AD ii-iii | <i>AR 41, 73</i> |
| | Bestake plot, rich house or villa, 7 rooms; AD iii | <i>AR 41, 73</i> |
| | imp. Rm house w. central court and well; 2/2 AD ii | <i>AR 20, 40</i> |
| | villa w. mosaics, marble col, marble revetment; AD iii | <i>AR 31, 67</i> |
| | villa w. Bacchic revel mosaic; no date | <i>AR 31, 67</i> |
| | Apostolaki plot, bath bldg w. water tanks; AD i-v | <i>AR 34, 76</i> |
| | [also <i>AR 35, 108</i>] | |
| | Hartzoulaki plot, bath; AD iv | <i>AR 34, 76</i> |
| Kisamos | mosaic pavements, AD iv; AD i lamp workshop | <i>AR 36, 80</i> |
| Knossos | Villa Dionysos | <i>AR 43, 106</i> |
| | 150m SW of public bldg., complex of 6 rooms, bath; pre AD iii | <i>AR 40, 75</i> |
| | [called <i>insula</i> , <i>AR 42, 41</i> ; 30 x 20 m., 6 rooms, courtyard, w. private use bath, hypocaust, <i>plunge bath</i> ; Area C] | |
| | (poss) complex of rooms 100 m N, plaster, marble facing | <i>AR 40, 75</i> |
| | [also <i>AR 42, 41-42</i> , 3 rooms AD ii-EC; Area E] | |
| | Area H (poss) bath complex, marble facing long 6m. high wall | <i>AR 42, 42</i> |
| Kouphonisi | N of house 2, bath complex; AD i-iii | <i>AR 39, 73</i> |
| | bath; AD i-v | <i>AR 32, 95</i> |
| Makrigialos | Katovigli, villa w. over 30 rooms | <i>AR 34, 72</i> |
| | [also, bath <i>AR 35, 103</i>] | |
| Myrtos | W of Myrtos, private bath of grand building; <i>late AD ii</i> | <i>AR 20, 39</i> |
| Plakias | 'R ? Bath'; no date | <i>AR 31, 67</i> |

Farmsteads

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|--------------------------|---|------------------|
| Agia Photeine | (poss) R settlement complex w. various phases | <i>AR 41, 71</i> |
| Astritsi Ellenika | LR farm w. storerooms | <i>AR 36, 71</i> |
| Brosnero | Daphnes, R settlement | <i>AR 40, 84</i> |
| Gournia Project | R farmsteads | <i>AR 41, 65</i> |
| Itanos | agricultural establishments; <i>date not yet determined</i> | <i>AR 42, 46</i> |
| Knossos | Staphylakis field, tests III and IV, suburban farm house | |
| Malia Survey | LR sites | <i>AR 42, 43</i> |

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| Smarion | Tou Bakalou to Horaphi, farmhouse w. wine press | <i>AR 31, 59</i> |
| Soure | (?) R walls and cisterns | <i>AR 40, 84</i> |
| Sphakia Survey | (? poss) Poikilasion, "no nucleated center" | <i>AR 39, 81</i> |
| | (? poss) Loutro/Phoinix, "standing R remains" | <i>AR 39, 81</i> |