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MUSEUM & EXCAVATION

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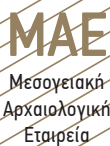


Πρακτικά Διεθνούς
Αρχαιολογικού Συνεδρίου
Proceedings of the International
Archaeological Conference n Symposium

Η Ελεύθερνα, η Κρήτη
και ο Έξω Κόσμος
Eleutherna, Crete
and the Outside World

ΑΘΗΝΑ - ΡΕΘΥΜΝΟ
ATHENS - RETHYMNO

2020



NIKOS DASKALANTONAKIS
NDf

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ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ-ΑΓΓΛΙΚΑ: Δρ Μιμικά Γιαννοπούλου – Δρ Αθανασία Σοφού

ΙΤΑΛΙΚΑ: Dr Valentina Di Napoli

ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΧΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ-ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟΘΕΣΙΑ

Κεντρωτής Χρήστος, Grecotel

ΕΚΤΥΠΩΣΗ | ΒΙΒΛΙΟΔΕΣΙΑ

Γραφοτεχνική Κρήτης Α.Ε.Ε.

ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΕΞΩΦΥΛΛΟΥ

Θεά Μέλισσα, 7ος αιώνας π.Χ., χρυσό κόσμημα από τη Νεκρόπολη της Ορθής Πέτρας

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Η Ελεύθερνα, η Κρήτη και ο Έξω Κόσμος

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ:

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΧΡ. ΣΤΑΜΠΟΛΙΔΗΣ – ΜΙΜΙΚΑ ΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ

31 Μαΐου - 2 Ιουνίου 2018
Grecotel Creta Palace Ρέθυμνο και
3 Ιουνίου 2018 Μουσείο αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας



ΑΘΗΝΑ - ΡΕΘΥΜΝΟ 2020

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Queen bee. Gold ornament from the Orthi Petra Necropolis. 7th century BC.

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Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference n Symposium

Eleutherna, Crete and the Outside World

EDITORS:

NICHOLAS CHR. STAMPOLIDIS – MIMIKA GIANNOPOULOU

Thursday, 31 May - 2 June 2018
Greotel Creta Palace, Rethymno and
Sunday, 3 June Museum of ancient Eleutherna



ATHENS - RETHYMNO 2020

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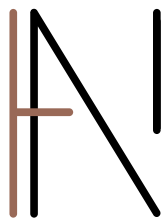
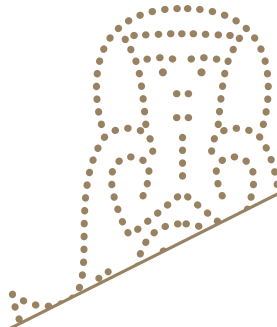
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Δρ Αρχαιολόγος
Mimika Giannopoulou, Dr Archaeologist



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FOUNDATION**

Το Συνέδριο με τίτλο «Η Ελεύθερνα, η Κρήτη και ο Έξω Κόσμος» διοργανώθηκε από το Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, το Κέντρο Έρευνας και Μελέτης του Μουσείου αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας και την Μεσογειακή Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, με την υποστήριξη του Ιδρύματος Νίκος Δασκαλαντωνάκης

The Conference entitled "Eleutherna, Crete and the Outside World" was organized by the University of Crete, the Research and Study Center of the Museum of ancient Eleutherna and the Mediterranean Archaeological Society, with the support of the Nikos Daskalantonakis Foundation

Πρόγραμμα Συνεδρίου Conference Program

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 31 ΜΑΪΟΥ 2018 / THURSDAY 31 MAY 2018

17.30	Προσέλευση / Arrival Εγγραφή Συνέδρων / Registration
18.00	Έναρξη του Συνεδρίου / Opening of the Conference
18.00 - 18.30	Χαιρετισμοί / Welcome Speeches
18.30	Καθηγητής Ν. Χρ. Σταμπολίδης, Η Ελεύθερνα και ο Έξω Κόσμος Professor N. Chr. Stampolidis, Eleutherna and the Outside World
20.00	Δεξίωση / Welcome Reception

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 1 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2018 / FRIDAY 1 JUNE 2018

Η Ελεύθερνα και ο Έξω Κόσμος I / Eleutherna and the Outside World I

1η Συνεδρία / Session 1

Προεδρείο / Chair : Πέτρος Θέμελης – Dario Palermo

9.00	Προσέλευση / Arrival
9.30 - 9.50	Θεμιστοκλής Λιανός, Ένας μίτος από πηλό: σχέσεις Ελεύθερνας-Κυκλάδων-Αττικής μέσα από την κεραμική της Πρώιμης Εποχής του Σιδήρου
9.50 - 10.10	Antonio Bianco, Pithos burials in the necropolis of Orthi Petra at Eleutherna: some preliminary aspects
10.10 - 10.30	Giacomo Fadelli, Cypriot influences in Early Iron Age Cretan panoply: the evidences of Orthi Petra at Eleutherna
10.30 - 10.50	Κώστας Μάρκος, Μισθοφόροι τοξότες από την Ελεύθερνα – προσεγγίσεις μέσα από τη μελέτη των βελών
10.50 - 11.10	Συζήτηση / Διάλειμμα Discussion / Break

11.10 - 11.30	Βικτώρια Κουντούρη, Εισηγμένη εύθραυστη πολυτέλεια: υάλινα αγγεία από τη νεκρόπολη της Ορθής Πέτρας στην Ελεύθερνα
11.30 - 11.50	Δημήτρης Λογοθέτης, Ένα Λιοντάρι εγκλωβισμένο στη χρονοκάψουλα: Το περίαπτο της θεάς Sekhmet από την Ελεύθερνα και η Ανατολή στις ταφικές τελετουργίες της Κρήτης του 8ου αιώνα π.Χ.
11.50 - 12.10	Καθηγητής Νικόλαος Χρ. Σταμπολίδης, Από το εργαστήριο του Ηφαίστου: Χάλκινες φιάλες με λατρευτική σκηνή από την Ελεύθερνα
12.10 - 12.30	Φίλιππος-Μιχαήλ Ρούσσος, Non Omne Quod Nitet (Solum) Aurum Est. Κρατήρες από Εναγική Πυρά από τη Νεκρόπολη της Ελεύθερνας
12.30 - 12.50	Κωνσταντίνος Κορακιανίτης, Imported black-figure sherds from Eleutherna
12.50 - 13.10	Μανόλης Στεφανάκης, Ελεύθερνα: νομισματική κυκλοφορία και εικονογραφικές επιρροές
13.10 - 13.30	Βάννα Νινιού-Κινδελή – Κατερίνα Τζανακάκη, Το ταφικό μνημείο του Ελευθερναίου Σωτηρίου στην Απτέρα: ανασκαφικά δεδομένα και κτερίσματα
13.30 - 13.50	Νίκη Οικονομάκη, Eleutherna beyond its territory: The epigraphic evidence
13.50 - 14.10	Παυλίνα Καραναστάση, Η Ελεύθερνα στους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους. Μια κρητική πόλη σε μια «παγκοσμιοποιημένη» κοινωνία
14.10 - 14.20	Agamemnon G. Pantel – Beatriz del Cueto, Παρουσίαση της αρχιτεκτονικής αποτύπωσης της ελληνιστικής γέφυρας της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας
14.20 - 15.40	Συζήτηση / Γεύμα Discussion / Lunch Break

Η Ελεύθερνα και ο Έξω Κόσμος II / Eleutherna and the Outside World II

2η Συνεδρία / Session 2

Προεδρείο / Chair : **Παυλίνα Καραναστάση – Louis A. Ruprecht Jr.**

15.40 - 16.00	Πέτρος Θέμελης, οι αστικές επαύλεις της Ελεύθερνας και τα πρότυπά τους
16.00 - 16.20	Σταυρούλα Μαρκουλάκη, Κίσαμος-Ελεύθερνα: η διαμόρφωση της κατοικίας και το περιβάλλον της κατά την περίοδο της ρωμαιοκρατίας
16.20 - 16.40	Δημήτριος Σχοινοχωρίτης, Διόνυσος και Σάτυρος: Ένα Αττικό (;) Τραπεζοφόρο στην Ελεύθερνα
16.40 - 17.00	Νταλαπέρας Σωτήριος, Λίθοι επί παραγγελία; Εισηγμένα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη από την Βασιλική της Αγίας Ειρήνης στην Ελεύθερνα
17.00 - 17.20	Αναστασία Γιαγκάκη, Οι σχέσεις της Ελεύθερνας με τον μεσογειακό χώρο κατά την πρώτη Βυζαντινή περίοδο της Κρήτης μέσα από τη μελέτη της κεραμικής
17.20 - 17.40	Ναταλία Πούλου, Η Ελεύθερνα και η Κρήτη στα θαλάσσια δίκτυα της ανατολικής Μεσογείου κατά την Βυζαντινή περίοδο
17.40 - 18.00	Διάλειμμα / Break

- | | |
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| 18.00 - 18.20 | Τσιγωνάκη Χριστίνα, Η Ελεύθερνα και οι Άραβες: με αφορμή ένα νομισματικό εύρημα από τις ανασκαφές του Τομέα ΙΙ στο Πυργί |
| 18.20 - 18.40 | Anagnostis P. Agelarakis, Bioarchaeological evidence reflective of the use of the kick-wheel by a female ceramicist in Archaic Eleutherna is juxtaposed to a projected counterpart from the Late Classical period in Thasos island |
| 18.40 - 19.00 | Agelarakis Argiro – Anagnostis P. Agelarakis, Investigation on the nature, availability, and medical effectiveness of Hippocratic cataplasms potentially used in the treatment of head trauma of Eleuthernian warriors and elsewhere in ancient Greece |

Ο Πρινιάς και ο Έξω Κόσμος / Prinias and the Outside World

3η Συνεδρία / Session 3

Προεδρείο / Chair : **Αθανασία Κάντα – Maria Intrieri**

- | | |
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| 19.00 - 19.20 | Salvatore Rizza, Tipologie tombali ed organizzazione spaziale nella necropolis di Siderospilia a Priniàs |
| 19.20 - 19.40 | Katia Perna, La necropoli di Siderospilia a Priniàs nell'ambito delle relazioni tra Creta e l'Egeo |
| 19.40 - 20.00 | Giacomo Biondi, La ceramica protogeometrica della necropoli di Siderospilia di Priniàs e i contatti esterni dell'anonima città sulla Patela agli inizi del I millennio a.C. |
| 20.00 - 20.20 | Antonella Pautasso, Il "Signore dei leoni" a Priniàs. Recezione delle immagini e processi identitari a Creta nell'età del Ferro |
| 20.20 - 20.40 | Rossella Gigli Patanè, Gli ori di Priniàs |
| 20.40 - 21.00 | Συζήτηση / Discussion |

ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 2 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2018 / SATURDAY 2 JUNE 2018

Κρήτη, Κύπρος, Αιγαίο και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος /
Crete, Cyprus, the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean

4η Συνεδρία / Session 4

Προεδρείο / Chair : **Αναγνώστης Π. Αγελαράκης – Antonella Pautasso**

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| 9.00 | Προσέλευση / Arrival |
| 9.30 - 9.50 | Μιμικά Κρίγκα, Η διακίνηση προϊόντων και αντικειμένων κύρους στο Αιγαίο και την Ανατολική Μεσόγειο λίγο πριν την ηφαιστειακή έκρηξη της Θήρας |
| 9.50 - 10.10 | Ελευθέριος Πλάτων, Χαυλιοφόρα σκαραβοειδή στα ανατολικοκρητικά μινωικά ιερά: μία θρησκευτική ιδέα αιγυπτιακής προέλευσης αναμορφωμένη στην Κρήτη; |
| 10.10 - 10.30 | Αναστασία Τζιγκουνάκη – Άρτεμις Καρναβά, Εγχάρακτα και εμπίεστα αντικείμενα από τη μινωική θέση Καλό Χωράφι Μυλοποτάμου |

10.30 - 10.50		A. Κάντα, Ν. Χρ. Σταμπολίδης – Α. Τζιγκουνάκη – Μ. Στεφανάκης, Movements of people from Mainland Greece to Crete and Cyprus. The case of the fortified citadel of Orne in the framework of historical developments in the SE Mediterranean
10.50 - 11.10		Isabella Bossolino, Crete and Dodecanese Islands in the Early Iron Age: Contacts, Exchanges, Influxes
11.10 - 11.30		Συζήτηση / Διάλειμμα Discussion / Break
11.30 - 11.50		Louis A. Ruprecht Jr., Cosmopolitan Crete in the Homeric Age: How a Place of Mixing Became a Place for Monsters
11.50 - 12.10		Eleonora Pappalardo, The art of the exchange
12.10 - 12.30		Maria Intrieri, Crete and Athens
12.30 - 12.50		Κατερίνα Τζανακάκη, Η λατρεία του Ηρακλή στην Κυδωνία στο πλαίσιο των πανελλήνιων πολεμικών γεγονότων του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.
12.50 - 13.10		Χρύσα Σοφιανού – Κατερίνα Μονιάκη, Επιρροές από την Ανατολή: Πρόσφατες ανασκαφές στην Πραισό
13.10 - 15.30		Συζήτηση / Διάλειμμα για γεύμα Discussion / Lunch break

Κρήτη, Κύπρος, Αιγαίο και Ανατολική Μεσόγειος II / Crete, Cyprus, the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean II

5η Συνεδρία / Session 5

Προεδρείο / Chair : **Αναστασία Τζιγκουνάκη – Eleonora Pappalardo**

15.30 - 15.50		Ελπίδα Χατζηδάκη, «...Κατά Θάλασσαν οι Φαλασάρνιοι...»
15.50 - 16.10		Απόστολος Κ. Παπιομίτογλου, Πέρα από την Αλεξάνδρεια: οι σχέσεις των κρητικών πόλεων με τους Πτολεμαίους μονάρχες μέσα από την εξέταση των επιγραφικών μαρτυριών.
16.10 - 16.30		Αθανασία Κάντα, A «thalassa» at Knossos
16.30 - 16.50		Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, Klio's Clay II: More Inscribed Instrumenta Domestica from Lappa (Crete)
16.50 - 17.10		Νίκος Βασιλάκης, «Λύττου δε επίνειον ἐστίν η λεγόμενη Χερρόνησος» Χερσόνησος εμπορικό κέντρο και σταθμός θαλάσσιων δρόμων από την ρωμαϊκή περίοδο έως την εγκατάλειψη της πόλης
17.10 - 17.30		Μαριάτζελα Ιέλο, Ένας επιτυχημένος μετανάστης: Ανδρόμαχος ο Κρης, αρχίατρος του αυτοκράτορα Νέρωνα στη Ρώμη

Κρήτη και Σικελία / Crete and Sicily

6η Συνεδρία / Session 6

Προεδρείο / Chair : Έλευθέριος Πλάτων – Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky

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| 17.30 - 17.50 | | Lou de Barbarin, Stylistic links between Crete and Sicily: on some late geometric and orientalisng tableware from Megara Hyblaea |
| 17.50 - 18.10 | | Dario Palermo, Creta e la Sicilia da Gela alla fondazione di Akragas |
| 18.10 - 18.30 | | Paolo Daniele Scirpo, Tracce di culti cretesi in Sicilia |
| 19.00 | | Εορτασμός 40 χρόνων λειτουργίας του Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης
- Φορτέτσα Ρεθύμνου
Celebration of 40 years of University of Crete - Fortetsa Rethymnon |

ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 3 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2018 / SUNDAY 3 JUNE 2018

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| 10.00 π.μ. | | Αναχώρηση για την Ελεύθερνα από το ξενοδοχείο Grecotel Creta Palace /
Departure for Eleutherna from Grecotel Creta Palace |
| 10.30 - 12.30 | | Ξενάγηση στην Ελεύθερνα και το Μουσείο της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας /
Guided tour of ancient Eleutherna by Professor N. Chr. Stampolidis |
| 12.30 - 13.30 | | «Από το εργαστήριο του Ηφαίστου». Κατασκευή χάλκινων αντικειμένων
στο Μουσείο αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας από τον Δημήτρη Αλεξάνδρου, στο πλαίσιο
πειραματικού Αρχαιολογικού Προγράμματος του Ν. Σταμπολίδη /
"From the Workshop of Hephaestus". Construction of bronze utensils at the
Museum of Ancient Eleutherna by Dimitris Alexandros, part of the
experimental Archaeological Program directed by Prof. N. Stampolidis |
| 14.00 - 16.00 | | Γεύμα στην Ελεύθερνα / Lunch in Eleutherna |
| 16.00 | | Αναχώρηση για το Ρέθυμνο / Departure for Rethymno |

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΡΑ

MUSEUM & EXCAVATION

Περιεχόμενα

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The study of pottery from Eleutherna as a source of information on the region and its relations with the Mediterranean during Crete's first Byzantine period

Anastasia G. Yangaki

Introduction

A large amount of pottery dating from the 4th to the 8th c. and deriving from excavation sectors I and II at Eleutherna¹ has been the subject of research by several scholars either in the form of short articles or more detailed studies or in the form of a monograph². Through these studies all the various pottery classes have been presented in detail with reference to their archaeological context and without the selection that is often made to present specific pottery categories and/or specific contexts.

The study of the pottery of the first Byzantine period from Eleutherna

The pottery that has already been studied derives from contexts in areas flanking the excavated basilica (Table 1) in sector I (Fig. 1), which were part of residential facilities, parts of which were used for waste disposal, and from the rubble layers of spaces in the wider area and the area around the basilica and the graves³. Regarding the material from sector II (Fig. 2), pottery deriving from the architectural structures of the central plateau, located to the south of the so-called "Tetraconch" has also already been studied⁴. A study of ceramic material from sector II, derived either from the oldest excavation in the area of the "Tetraconch"/early Byzantine church and the cisterns or from the current investigations in the area of the central plateau of the fortified acropolis, is also actually ongoing⁵. This study is being carried out with the participation of students in the framework of a Byzantine pottery workshop organized by the post-graduate Programme in Byzantine and Medieval Studies at the University of Crete⁶. The combination of the already undertaken aforementioned research with the incorporation of the latter additional assemblages seems to confirm the division of the ceramic material, proposed some years ago, into six distinct chronological horizons consisting of assemblages of ceramics which share common traits and derive from destruction and/or abandonment layers or by deposits of rubble dated to the last use of specific spaces:

1. It is a great pleasure and honour for me to have participated in this conference dedicated to ancient Eleutherna and in the volume of the Proceedings a few decades after my first acquaintance with the archaeological site as a student in the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Crete and later, in the context of a Ph.D. thesis (Yangaki 2005). I would therefore like to offer my sincere thanks to Professor Nikolaos Stampolidis and the other members of the Organizing Committee for the invitation to participate.

I would like to thank professors Petros Themelis and Thanassis Kalpaxis, who entrusted to me some years ago the study of the material from sectors I and II, respectively, that is being discussed here, assistant professor Christina Tsigonaki, who is directing the new cycle of primary investigation in sector II along with the recording and study of earlier findings, for the opportunity to continue studying the pottery from this sector, and also everyone else who have contributed to the effort from time to time.

For a detailed presentation of the excavations in sectors I and II and of the respective monuments, with an emphasis on those dating from the first Byzantine period, see: Themelis 2000; Themelis 2002, 12, 20-25, 35, 49-56, 75-77, 80-111; Themelis 2004a, 42-44; Themelis 2004b, 46-63; Themelis 2004c, 64-66; Themelis 2004d, 67-69; Themelis 2009, 63-79; Kalpaxis 1989-1990, 271; Kalpaxis 1991-1993, 257-258; Kalpaxis 1994-1996, 284-285, fig. 9; Kalpaxis 2004, 110-115; Tsigonaki 2012, 90-98; Tsigonaki 2015, 391-405, respectively.

2. See, according to the date of publication: Gouin – Vogt 1998, 287-298; Aloupi et al. 2000, 209-222; Gouin – Vogt 2000, 201-205; Joyner 2000, 223-235; Vogt 2000, 39-199; Vogt 2004, 922-944; Yangaki 2004a, 909-922; Yangaki 2004b, 145-183; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 207-226; Yangaki 2004-2005, 503-523; Yangaki 2005; Yangaki 2007, 767-774; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, 25-187; Yangaki 2008, 189-307; Baldwin Bowsky 2009, 155-196; Kelly 2012, 453-463; Spanou 2012, 444-452; Tsigonaki – Yangaki 2015, 429-448.

3. Vogt 2000, 39-199. Yangaki 2005, 43-87, 103-372.

4. Yangaki 2005, 87-100, 103-313.

5. For the presentation of the pottery from Cistern A, see recently: Tsigonaki – Yangaki 2015, 434-445. The detailed publication of the material from the early Byzantine church and its surroundings, which is in preparation, will add further details to the above remarks.

6. The workshop was held, by invitation of the University of Crete's Department of History and Archaeology, in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2017 and continues to be organized by Ch. Tsigonaki and conducted by the writer.



Fig. 1 Plan of sector I (Themelis 2009, 56 fig. 10).

1) from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th c., 2) from the first half of the 4th c., until 365 AD, 3) from the end of the first half until the second half of the 7th c., 4) from the last decades of the 7th c., 5) from the 8th c., 6) from the latter part of the 8th c.⁷ Pottery from the assemblages in question was compared with other dating findings, as in the cases of the excavated areas of sector I (Table 1) where each area / unit was placed within a chronological horizon after taking into consideration various finds. Of particular interest is the assemblage which, on the basis of the archaeological data, obviously reflects the consequences of a catastrophic event attributed to the earthquake of 365 AD⁸. The published pottery from the respective excavated units from Eleutherna forms an additional assemblage alongside those whose date is linked to the same event⁹.



Fig. 2 Aerial photograph of the central plateau of sector II (© University of Crete, excavation at Eleutherna, sector II; photo: G. Cantoro).

7. The characteristics of the pottery from the chronological horizons have already been discussed in detail and the pottery from horizons 2 to 6 have been compared with contemporary assemblages from other sites, cf. Yangaki 2005, 256-277.
 8. Themelis 2004a, 43 and Yangaki 2005, 43-62, 253-258 (on the pottery).
 9. For a representative example, the assemblage from Kourion of Cyprus can be noted: Costello 2014, 17-21, 54-140 (for earlier references, see: Williams 1987, 235-238; Ferreir Dias et al. 1988, 179-184; Soren 1988, 30-53). For other related contexts: Yangaki 2005, 253-267 (with bibliography).

Area / Section or Excavation Unit	Pottery	Chronological Horizon
Residential unit / 58B	- Çandarlı 4 - ARSW 61A - ARSW67 - "Aegean Cooking Wares" - MRC2A - MRC2B - Keay XXV - LRA3 - Agora M273	2
Residential unit / 65	- ARSW50B - ARSW59A - ARSW58B variant - "Aegean Cooking Wares" MRC2A - LRA3	2
Residential unit / 71	- Çandarlı 4 - ARC1C - MRC2A - MRC2B - MRC4 - Keay XXV - LRA8b	2
"NE House" (Baptistry?) / Cistern D	- Imitation of ARSW73 - ARSW87 - LRCW3 - Wheel-made lamp - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée" - MRC2B	3
"NE House" / 31	- ARSW74 - ARSW87B - ARSW104A - ARSW105 - LRCW3 - LRCW3F - LRCW3H - LRCW5 - LRCW10C - LRA1 - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée" - Wheel-made lamp	3
"NE House" / 31a	- ARSW99B - ARSW104B - LRCW3F - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée"	3
"NE House" / 34	- LRCW10C - LRA1	3
"NE House" / 36	- ARSW104B - ARSW106 - LRCW3, 3E, 3F, 3H - LRCW10C - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée" - Wheel-made lamp	3
"NE House" / 102, 103, 104	- LRCW3F - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée"	3
Small Bath / 73	- ARSW104A - TRC2a - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée"	3
Small Bath / 74	- Painted pottery (white slip) - Wheel-made lamp	3
Small Bath / 77	- ARSW105 - ARSW104C - LRCW3, 3F - LRCW10C - Painted pottery (white slip) - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée" - TRC4	3
Small Bath / 70D	- ARSW99C - ARSW104C - ARSW105 - ARSW106 - Imitation of LRCW3F - LRCW10C - Painted pottery (white slip) - "Marmite à bord carré et lèvre carrée" - Wheel-made lamp	3
Small Bath / 53	- ARSW61 - ARSW105 - LRCW10B - LRA5	3

Table 1 A selection of excavated units from sector I, listing the most representative imported or local categories of pottery; the selection is based on the occurrence within the same area / unit of small finds, that offer additional information regarding the chronological horizon (compilation of data draws from: Yangaki 2005, with additional data regarding pottery from unit 31 from: Vogt 2000, 104-109, 112-113, 118-119, 122-123).

The relations between Eleutherna and the Mediterranean

Information on the areas with which the site was in communication was derived from a compilation of the evidence from the ceramic assemblages belonging to the chronological horizons detailed above. From the data in the 4th-century horizons, it appears that the site's communication with North Africa was already well developed from the start of that century. This is indicated above all by African Red Slip Ware (thereafter, ARSW) forms 50, 50B, 58B, 59A and B, 61B and 67

(Fig. 3a-d), but also by the limited data on imported North African 8b amphorae¹⁰. Although fine pottery is characterized by imports, transport and storage pottery is generally represented by numerous Cretan amphorae, especially the MRC2 type, with A (Fig. 4) and B variants, which account for 65.62%, followed by amphorae from the Aegean such as LRA3 and Agora M273¹¹. Thus, alongside a thriving local production, already known from Hellenistic and Roman times in particular, there are products imported from the Aegean, while imported North African or Italian amphorae are far less common. Furthermore, as far as cooking wares are concerned, in addition to the high percentage of products attributed to local production, the site's contacts with the Aegean as a whole is evidenced both directly, by the few examples of imported cooking wares attributed to so-called "Aegean Cooking Wares"¹², and indirectly by the dominant presence among the 4th-century cooking wares of local production with shapes inspired by the aforementioned pots which have been imported since the 3rd c. On the basis of the above, Eleutherna was part of the Aegean exchange and communication flows through the import of products mainly from the Aegean regions; in the case of fine pottery, the dominance of products from North African workshops is notable.

If the study of ceramics from the 4th c. indicates that the city enjoyed an economic boom, manifested both in an important local production and in the site's commercial ties to other regions, a quite different image emerges in the centuries that follow. For the 5th and 6th c., the data are limited and derive from indirect information mainly from sector's I deposits of rubble¹³, where the presence of the relevant pottery is considered to be residual. Nevertheless, based on the data from sector I, it is clear that during the 5th c. there was close communication between the area and Phocaea in Asia Minor, since there are several examples of LRC ware form 3, especially sub-forms 3C and 3E. There must also have been limited communication with North Africa, as North African production of red-slipped pottery is represented with few examples of forms 67, 68, 73-74, 87, not exceeding 2% of the total of the fine wares of the site, and there is no information on imported North African amphorae. During the 6th c., however, imports of red-slipped wares from North Africa increased, with forms such as 87B, 91B and C, 93B, 99A-B, 97, 103B and 104A-B (Fig. 3f), but again they cannot compete with the much more numerous examples of Asia Minor ceramics represented by forms such as 3E, F, H and

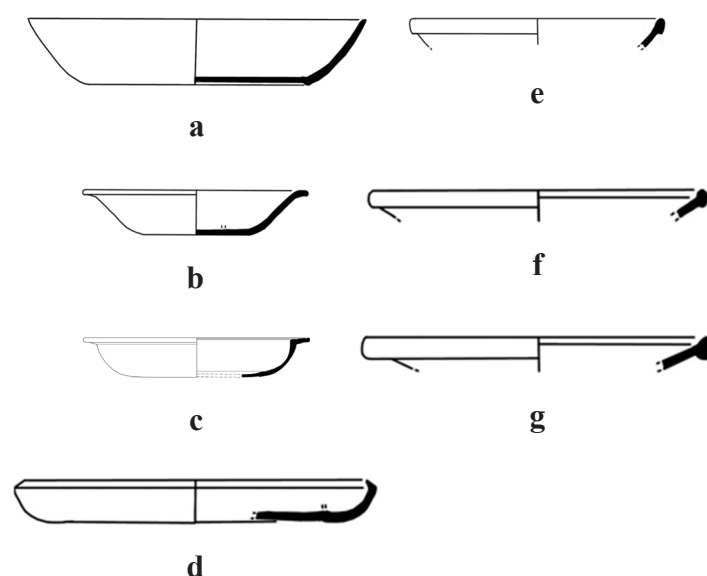


Fig. 3 Examples of ARSW 50 (a), 58B (b), 59 (c), 61A (d), 99 (e), 104 (f), 105 (g) from Eleutherna (a, b, d-f from sector I; Yangaki 2005, 394 fig. 5a, c, e, 397 fig. 8a, d, f; c from sector II; unpublished; drawing: A. Ladianou) (scale 1:6).

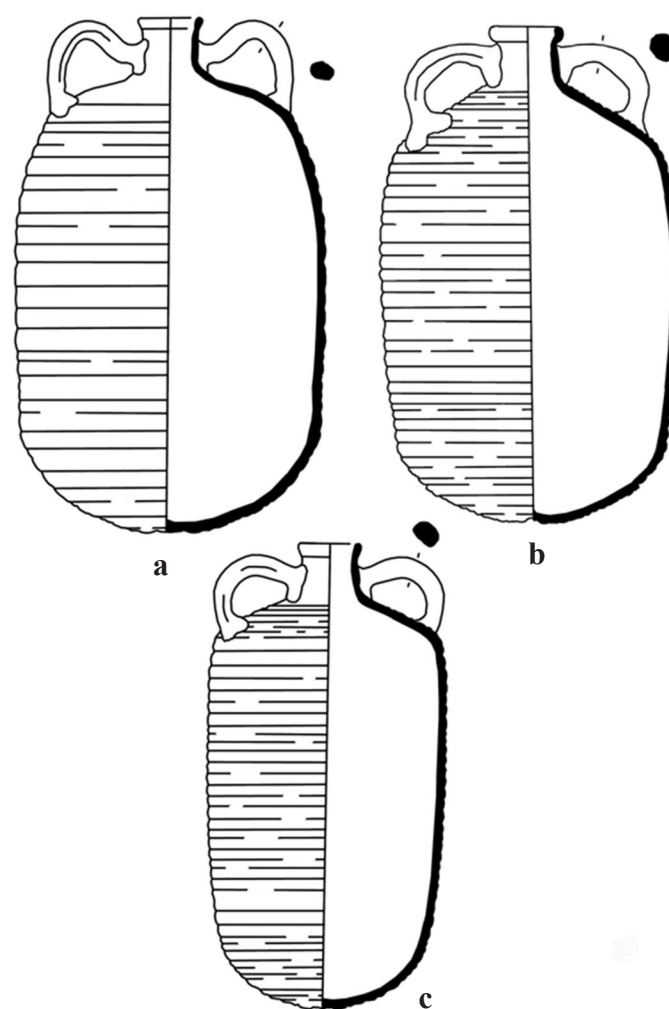


Fig. 4 Examples of Cretan amphorae MRC2A from sector I (Yangaki 2005, 436 fig. 47a-c) (scale 1:6).

10. The relevant information is summarized, combining the already published data (see Vogt 2000, 39-199; Vogt 2004, 922-944; Yangaki 2004-2005, 503-523; Yangaki 2004a, 909-922; Yangaki 2004b, 145-183; Yangaki 2005) with data that have emerged from the ongoing study of the pottery from excavation units of sector II, especially those in the central part of the central plateau of the acropolis of Eleutherna. On the main typology of African Red Slip Ware (ARSW) and Late Roman C Ware (LRCW), see: Hayes 1972.

11. Yangaki 2005, 257.

12. On this group of cooking wares and their Aegean or Asia Minor provenance, see: Hayes 1992, 53-54, 93, deposit 8, no. 2; Istenič – Schneider 2000, 341-348; Doksanalti 2010, 770, 775, fig. 9; Waksman – Lemaître 2010, 783, fig. 5.

13. For these data, see mostly: Vogt 2000, 45-72, 81-93.

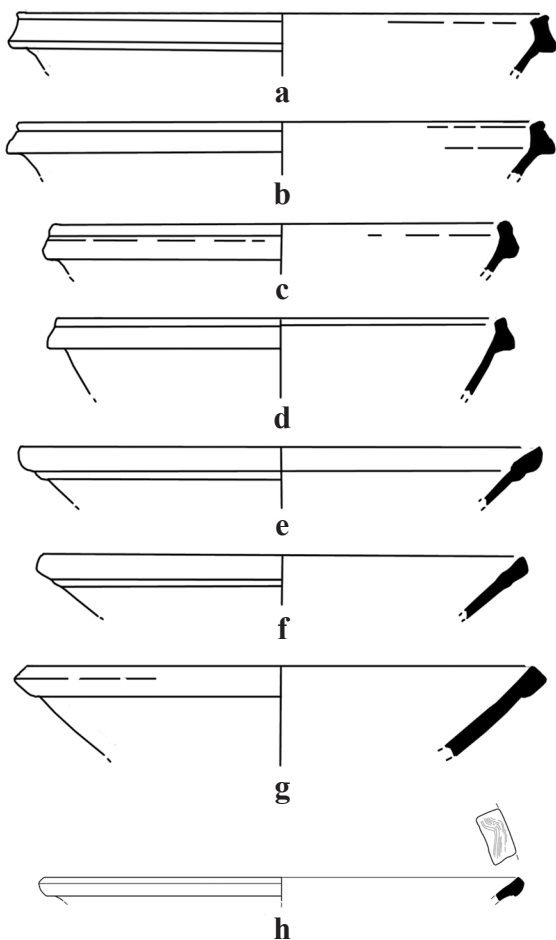


Fig. 5 Examples of LRCW form 3 (a-d), 10 (e-f), imitation of LRCW form 10 (g-h) (a-g: Yangaki 2005, 400 fig. 11; h: Tsigonaki - Yangaki 2015, 437 fig. 9, a) (scale 1:4).

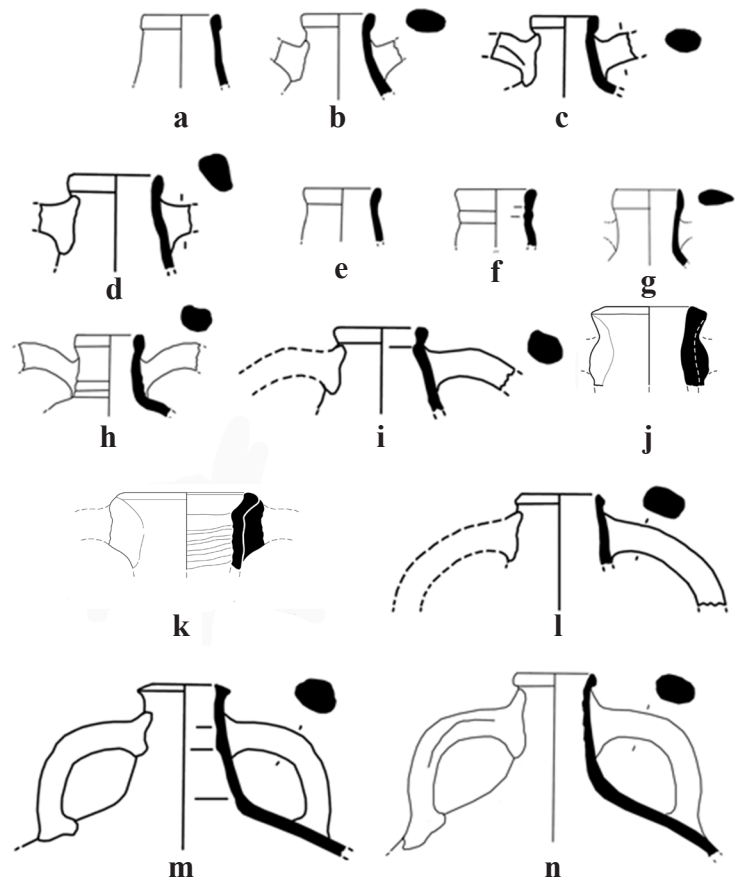


Fig. 6 Examples of Cretan amphora types TRC1 (a), TRC2 (b-c), TRC2/4 (d-e), TRC3 (f), TRC4 (g), TRC6 (h), TRC10 (i), TRC12 (j, l-m), TRC13 (n) from sector I (a-i, l-n) and II (j) (a-i, l-n: Yangaki 2005, 437 fig. 48, l-n, 441 fig. 52, a-f, h-k; j: Tsigonaki-Yangaki 2015, 437 fig. 10, b); example of an amphora from sector II that recalls Hayes type 38 (k; unpublished; drawing: A. Ladianou) (scale: 1:6).

10 A-B (Fig. 5) (the latter two from the late 6th and early 7th c.). During the same period, very limited examples of LRA2 amphorae from the Aegean region, LRA4 and 5 from Palestine and North African *spatheia* (LRA8a) were identified, while Ch. Vogt has already dated to the 6th c. examples of LRA1 amphorae which continued to circulate until the early 7th c.¹⁴ However, on the basis of the studied material, although the evidence indicates that the site maintained some contacts with the eastern Mediterranean as well as with the Aegean, these do not appear to have been systematic and amphorae which can be dated to the 5th and 6th c. are mainly samples of Cretan production, such as the amphorae TRC1 and 2 (Fig. 6a-c), the presence of which becomes intensified in the 7th c. with types such as TRC2, 2/4, 3, 6, 9 and 10 (Fig. 6d, f-i). Based on material from the third and fourth horizons from both sectors, which correspond to the 7th c., fine red-slipped wares from North Africa and Asia Minor continued to be imported to the site at least until the second half of the 7th c., as evidenced by several samples of types 104C, 105 and 10C (Fig. 3g, Fig. 5e-f), respectively, but in decreasing numbers. The settlement's inland location and clear agro-pastoral character define its character throughout the period under consideration. Thus open vessels which constitute local imitations of the imported fine wares appear from the third ceramic horizon on, but especially during the fourth, along with closed vessels with linear decoration painted using a white slip and additional traces of yellowish, not well-preserved, glaze. Given our still limited data on the use of glaze in Byzantium during the early Byzantine period, the examples from Eleutherna are distinct¹⁵. They reveal, respectively, the ability of this community to meet its ceramic needs through the continuous development of a local production and its organized form even in the advanced 7th c. in an area of the Cretan hinterland, which apparently went beyond copying well-diffused products and adapted its production to introduce innovations. From the fourth horizon, however, on which the excavation in sector II provides relevant data, the changes observed in the fifth horizon (that of the 8th c.) are already becoming clear.

14. Vogt 2000, 84-89.

15. The question of the use of glaze in Byzantium has been a matter of interest in recent years, especially in regard of the emergence of its use. Cf. Hayes 1992, 12-15; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2001, 238-240; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 210-213; Trivyzadaki 2008, 21-37; Pétridis 2013, 16, 187 fig. 3. In more detail on the glazed pottery of the first Byzantine period from Eleutherna: Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 207-226; Yangaki 2005, 131-133; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, 390; Yangaki 2016, 208-209.

The Cretan form conventionally named "TRC12" (Fig. 6j, l-m) appears in the late 7th c. with the material from Cistern A demonstrating several of the characteristics associated with it¹⁶. The form, in terms of shape, is part of the broad group of "globular amphorae" and finds parallels in many areas of the eastern Mediterranean. The ongoing Cretan production adopts the spherical/ovoid shape for transport vessels that can be dated to the 8th c. Other globular amphorae are also found (Fig. 6n, Fig. 7e), as these shapes had already been adopted by the Cretan production in the 7th c.¹⁷ Fine pottery is only rarely found in this horizon; based on dating types, it often has a residual character. However, the use of the aforementioned imitations of red-slipped wares continues. Cooking wares of different forms and fabrics appear during this period: some imported and bearing numerous mica inclusions, others attributed to the local production in coarse clay, some even exemplifying changes in the manufacturing technique. Organized trade contacts with the eastern Mediterranean or North Africa seem not to have continued. Although the local production continued, it was obviously, judging from the objects, aimed at meeting immediate daily needs and does not recall the organized, large-scale production of the previous period. The latest information on the use of the central plateau comes from a few cooking wares from excavated spaces to the south of the early Byzantine church¹⁸, to which we can add the rim of an amphora which originated from disturbed surface layers in the early Byzantine church and, in terms of shape, finds analogies with examples of Hayes' type 38 amphora¹⁹ (Fig. 6k), dating to the 8th c. It also presents some analogies with a type that has been found in Gortyn and is believed to date to the 7th-8th c.²⁰ This evidence obviously bears witness to the limited habitation of the area in the latter part of the 8th c. and suggests a small and more introverted population.

Information about the habitation in the area

The current systematic research provides useful information on the phases of habitation at the two excavation sectors (I and II), as it offers some supplementary observations to those that had already been formulated since 2005 based on the study of ceramics²¹. An interpretative scheme may be proposed, whereby, during the first three quarters of the 4th c. in addition to the prosperous residential area in sector I, the central plateau in Pyrgi (sector II) continued to be a vital and important part of the city, in continuation of its importance during Roman times²². After the catastrophic event in the 4th c., life in the city obviously changed and in the 5th c., apart from the basilica in sector I, part of the settlement developed westwards; however, based on the limited number of ceramic finds from the 5th and 6th c. in those sectors, the city centre should be sought elsewhere, probably on the east slope of the hill²³. The habitation areas found in the terrace of the sector I (in the so-called "Small Bath", for example), however, show intense activity throughout the 7th c., though they cease to be used after the end of the third quarter of the 7th c. In contrast, after the second half – and especially during the final decades of – the 7th c., the occupation intensified in the central plateau of sector II, where a community developed which probably constituted the nucleus of the settlement around the church ("Tetraconch"); this area remained inhabited until the first half of the 8th c. at least²⁴. Sherds from this era that were published from a cistern and a neighboring habitation area up on the same hill, in the area of the church of Agia Anna, indicate that this more elevated area also may have been inhabited at this time²⁵. It has been argued by Ch. Tsigonaki that the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the city must have been transferred to the central plateau from the 7th c. on²⁶. The connecting element between the two habitation areas of both sectors is the pottery from the south of the narthex of the basilica in sector I, which reveals, along with the use of the southeast corner of the nave as a small chapel, that some part of the population continued to frequent this religious centre during the fourth and fifth horizons²⁷. The ceramic data thus illustrates in a particularly vivid way the shift in habitation from the lower valley to a neighbouring location which, due to its higher altitude and geophysical relief, offered better protection. In this respect, Eleutherna can be seen to have a dynamic role to play in the ongoing debate on settlements and transformations experienced during the so-called "transitional period" in the history of the Byzantine empire²⁸.

16. Tsigonaki – Yangaki 2015, 436, 437 fig. 10b, 438.

17. On these amphorae: Yangaki 2005, 193-197; Yangaki 2007, 768-771; Tsigonaki – Yangaki 2015, 436-439.

18. Yangaki 2005, 177-178, 271, 301-302, 432 fig. 43a-d, f.

19. Hayes 1992, 68 fig. 23, 5, 112 no. 36, 113 no. 43, 177 fig. 57, 36, 43. For the detailed study of the bulk of this ceramic material, see previously, fn. 6.

20. Portale – Romeo 2001, 359 no. 100, pl. LXXIII, d.

21. For a similar effort to highlight the use of the areas of the two sectors based on the study of ceramics, see analytically: Yangaki 2005, 310-313.

22. Karanastasi 2015, 419-422, 425; Tsigonaki 2015, 391-395.

23. The view, already expressed in Yangaki 2005, 310-311; Tsigonaki 2012, 93, is enhanced by the sculptures deriving from this area (see S. Ntalapera's paper in the same volume pp. 206-212).

24. See above, fn. 8.

25. For these sherds and their date, see: Yangaki 2008, 227-228, 271 nos 206-208; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, 60-62, 84, 102, 148 pl. 24.

26. Tsigonaki 2015, 398.

27. For this pottery, see: Yangaki 2005, 176, 311. For this small chapel: Themelis 2002, 83; Themelis 2009, 91.

28. Since the relevant bibliography is particularly rich, there is no space here for detailed enumeration and comments. For representative examples, some of which focus on the problem of the transformation of the settlements of Crete during the aforementioned centuries: Ostrogorsky 1959, 47-66; Spieser 1984, 322-324, 334-338; Spieser 1989, 97-100, 105-106; Hodges – Whitehouse 1996, 50, 74-77; Christie – Loseby 1998 (with several related studies); Haldon 1999, 1-23; Di Vita 2000, 29; Haldon 2000, 229 and fn. 6 (with bibliography); Penna 2001, 400, 406-410; Saradi 2006, 13-45 (with annotated bibliography); Tsigonaki 2007, 263-297; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2008, 84-85; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, 383-387; Tsigonaki 2012, 73-98; Tsivikis 2012, 47-73.



Fig. 7 Few examples of utilitarian pottery and amphorae from sector II (©: University of Crete, excavation at Eleutherna, sector II).

Snapshots of everyday life at the site

Apart from the information it provides on the settlement's contacts with other areas in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, the study of the pottery from Eleutherna also sheds light to the everyday life of the inhabitants, which, as will be shown through specific case-studies, reflects common preferences and practices around the eastern Mediterranean during the same period. Among the various everyday objects belonging to every functional category (tablewares, cooking-wares, transport and storage vessels, utilitarian wares, lamps, special purpose clay objects) and which have been associated with local production in the greater Mylopotamos area, some follow "prototypes" from areas inside or outside Crete, the most notable being plain tableware vessels that imitate imported fine red-slipped wares, Cretan amphorae of the so-called "TRC12" type, wheel-made lamps, and beehives (Fig. 7). Others have particular characteristics which do not find exact parallels in other places: the white-painted and glazed pottery and the vessels known as "baskets"²⁹. This is not the place for a detailed commentary on the above, which has, in any case, been attempted elsewhere³⁰. The focus is placed on some examples which offer the possibility of additional information linked to the specific use of the objects, and thus of enriching our interpretations relating to the inhabitants of the area by offering us glimpses of their life in an agro-pastoral settlement (i.e. their users, their everyday life in this place through time). These can be divided between those resulting from the shape of the objects and those in which the combination of the form of each vessel with the interpretation of the archaeological context plays important role.

29. For the imitations of fine, red-slipped pottery: Yangaki 2005, 119-125 and Yangaki 2016, 206-208. For the Cretan amphorae attributed to the local production, and more particularly to the so-called "TRC12": Yangaki 2005, 194-196, 441 fig. 52g, h, i, j, l; Yangaki 2007, 768-769, 774 fig. 2c; Tsigonaki - Yangaki 2015, 436, 437 fig. 10b, 438; Yangaki 2016, 218-219, 224. For the wheel-made lamps: Yangaki 2005, 232-241; Yangaki 2019, 121-131. For the beehives: Vogt 2000, 194-197, fig. 47, 3-5, fig. 48, 1-2, 5; Yangaki 2005, 162-163, 449 fig. 60c, 450 fig. 61a-c; Yangaki 2016, 211-213. For the white-painted and/or glazed pottery: Poulou-Papadimitriou 2004, 213-219; Yangaki 2005, 127-133; Poulou-Papadimitriou 2011, 390; Yangaki 2016, 208-209. For the so-called "baskets": Vogt 2000, 75, 156-157 fig. 28, 1-8; Yangaki 2005, 161; Yangaki 2016, 213.

30. Yangaki 2005, 288-309; Yangaki 2007, 768-770; Yangaki 2016, 207-224.

Apart from the examples of the clay grill³¹ or the Cretan globular amphorae that were used to carry water from Cistern A³², which have already been analyzed in detail in the past, some of the clay vessels from Eleutherna are quite distinct in shape, with slightly tapering sides which produce a cylindrical appearance, either one solid handle on their upper part overhanging above the rim or up to three semi-ellipsoid "lugs" fixed on the upper part of the rim with holes for receiving a rod (Fig. 8). Similar vessels have not yet been published in other regions of Crete, but in Eleutherna this form was found in three spaces in the "Small Bath" of sector I, whose latest findings date back to the end of the third quarter of the 7th c.³³. The objects were classified as "baskets". They are small-medium in size, with a rim diameter of 12 to 22 cm. Thanks to the positioning of their handles, they would be suitable for carrying a variety of products; given the rural character of the settlement, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that they were used for transporting and consuming food stuffs on the daily routes taken by the inhabitants to their flocks and holdings. An example of a vessel with a more complex handle but presenting the same form of junction with the main body, although the vessel does not have the same shape, has been found in Delphi, in a workshop of dyers or tanners³⁴, while an additional vessel with a similar handle, but again not of the same body form, has been found in the rural settlement of Berbati (Argolis)³⁵. In search of comparative material, in terms of shape, dimensions, the particular formation of the handles, which often end in protruding, compact protuberances, and the particular details of the decoration, there are similarities with metal buckets (*situlae*), which often bear inscriptions, date from the 6th c. and have been studied as a whole with great dispersal³⁶ (Fig. 9), or in later examples, such as the rare ivory *situla* of the 10th c.³⁷. The semi-ellipsoid protuberances visible on the handle's junction with the rim recall in a condensed form similar semi-ellipsoid "lugs" in metal vessels which rise above the rim and combine with the ends of the metal rod that bent back to form hooks. Furthermore, their particular form of decoration – simple circles rendered in finely-incised rows either on the handle or on the top of the body – is another feature that links them to the metal buckets mentioned above. Such decoration is not found in other clay objects from Eleutherna, unlike dense incisions, which are found not only on buckets but also on tubs and basins dating from the same period³⁸. However, this form of decoration finds a direct and similar counterpart in the decoration on metal buckets, whose dominant decoration consists of ring-punching³⁹. Based on the above features, the metal buckets have in the majority of cases been interpreted as personal utility items, possibly as bath utensils⁴⁰. The combination of all these elements with the archaeological context of the vessels from Eleutherna actually allows us to connect the clay buckets with their special use in the bath, where they were obviously used by bathers to pour water over their bodies from time to time. This is further corroborated by artistic evidence, as for example the depictions on a detail

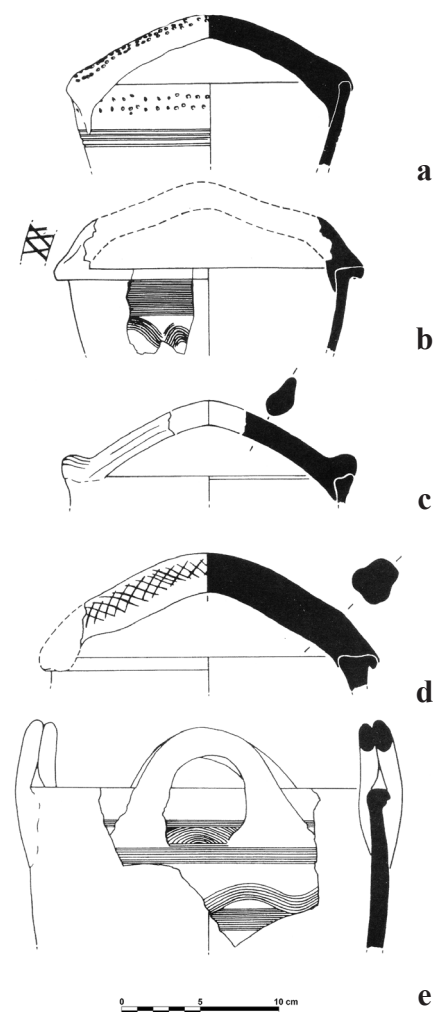


Fig. 8 Buckets from sector I: a-d: type a (Vogt 2000, 157 fig. 28, 1-2, 6-7, respectively); e: type b (Vogt 2000, 157 fig. 28, 8) (processing of figure: D. Tagmatarchi).



Fig. 9 Brass inscribed *situla* (bucket) from the region of Antioch, with an engraved and punched representation of a hunt; early 6th c.; height: 21 cm. (published in: Drandaki 2002, 37-53, fig. 1 at p. 38 (32553); © 2018 The Benaki Museum, Athens; photographer: Leonidas Kourgiantakis).

31. Gouin – Vogt 1998, 287-298; Vogt 2000, 80, fig. 38, 5.

32. Tsigonaki – Yangaki 2015, 439-440.

33. Vogt 2000, 80; Yangaki 2005, 76, 161.

34. Pétridis 2010, 83 no. CT 40 (with details on this vessel), pl. 28, no. CT 40.

35. Hjhholman 2002, 78 no. 252, 81 no. 252, 177 no. 252.

36. See, characteristically: Mundell-Mango et al. 1989, 295-311; Drandaki 2002, 37-53, where numerous respective examples are collected and commented, with the additional bibliography.

37. Referred to in the bibliography as *The Basilewsky situla*. See in detail: Crivello – Grazzini 1999, 199-220; Williamson 2010, 212-219, no. 53, as well as <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93850/the-basilewsky-situla-situla-unknown/> (accessed: 17.09.2018).

38. For the decoration of tubs or basins from Eleutherna with incisions, see representative examples in: Vogt 2000, 146-147 fig. 23, 3-4, 148-149 fig. 24, 1, 150-151 fig. 25, 3-4, 152-153 fig. 26, 1-3, 154-155 fig. 5, 8-9; Yangaki 2005, 448 fig. 59, d, 449 fig. 60, d.

39. Drandaki 2002, 42.

40. Mundell-Mango et al. 1989, 304-305 and, additionally, Drandaki 2002, 42, 46-49, 53. On their use in relation to the baths, see also: Nenova-Merdjanova 1999, 131-134; Nenova-Merdjanova 2002, 200-204.

from the mosaic found in a house in Daphne and showing the Baths of Ardaburius, constructed in the middle of the 5th c. AD⁴¹. And we can also add that in the Roman World among the attendants of the bathers one could note the *perfusores*, who helped them pour water while they were bathing⁴². It is noteworthy that the Eleutherna clay buckets represent both an abbreviation of the basic metallic type, in which the curved rod passes through the “hole” of the main semi-ellipsoid “lug” (Fig. 8a-d), and another version in which the double handles (Fig. 8e) are to be interpreted as mimicking the two main “lugs” of the metal buckets to which a rod of some material was fastened.

A second snapshot brings us into contact with beekeeping, which has long been particularly developed on Crete. The most characteristic archaeological finds in this respect are the fragments of ceramic beehives of the horizontal type, characterized by a long, tubular body (Fig. 7f) with simple rims and one almost completely closed end, and of their cylindrical extension rings that were added to the tubular hives in order to increase their size and thus the production of honey and wax⁴³. Until recently, examples of ceramic beehives originated either from surface layers in sector II or from deposits in sector I, while in the few cases where the fragments came from residential layers, they could not provide precise information on the way these were being placed⁴⁴. It is clear that beekeeping intensified during the third and fourth horizons, judging from the number of examples found in contexts belonging to the respective assemblages.

Recent findings from the 2017 excavation in sector II have enriched our knowledge; almost complete examples of beehives of the above-mentioned type have been identified in two opposite sides of a paved open space that has been partially uncovered and communicates directly with covered spaces. The preliminary study of the excavated data shows that the beehives of the horizontal type were placed in rectangular built cases (Fig. 10), with the surrounding wall forming one of their sides and with the other two walls built especially in stone⁴⁵. The upper part of each side may have been covered with bricks, judging from the large accumulation of the latter observed in the upper layer before the beehives were revealed. The form of their arrangement greatly recalls that of the apiary excavated at the site of Kastraki in Agathonisi and dated from the late 4th c. BC until the second half of the 2nd c. AD⁴⁶. Furthermore, its placement and protection is not far removed from similar examples on Crete, Cyprus and, especially, the Cyclades⁴⁷ (Andros, Tinos, Sifnos) (Fig. 11) in the modern era, where they are usually placed in a row in the dry stone walls, though several centuries separate the four cases from the Cretan examples. According to the evidence of the 20th c. on the island, beehives of the horizontal type, but open at both ends, were usually in use in eastern Crete, where they could be placed in a row on low walls⁴⁸. It is worth mentioning that,



Fig. 10 Two views of the built-in cases containing the fragmentary ceramic beehives, found in the central plateau of sector II (© University of Crete, excavation at Eleutherna, sector II).

41. For the mosaic and more detail on the representation: Kondoleon 2000, 148 fig. 2 A-B. For the order of bathing and the various utensils accompanying bathing or the function of baths: Fikret 2010, 12-21, 42-50 and see as well fig. 12 at p. 47.

42. G. G. Fagan comments on this and the varied role of slaves in public baths: Fagan 2002, 199-206 and more particularly 201. For the representation of a bucket on a mosaic from Piazza Armerina depicting a slave: Fagan 2002, 199, fig. 30.

43. In detail, on beekeeping in Byzantium: Germanidou 2016. On clay beehives of the Roman and the first Byzantine period on Crete: Vogt 2000, 194-197, fig. 47, 3-5, fig. 48, 1-2, 5; Yangaki 2005, 162-163, 449 fig. 60c, 450 fig. 61a-c; Francis 2006, 379-390; Francis 2012, 143-159; Francis 2016, 83-100 (with details on the various forms); Yangaki 2016, 211-213.

44. For these sherds, see: Yangaki 2005, 162-163.

45. The excavation at this particular section is not yet complete. Thus, additional evidence could be derived in the near future.

46. Giannas 2018, 79-83 and particularly fig. 2 at p. 80.

47. For a related example from Boutsounaria in Crete: Francis 2012, 154 fig. 2. For examples from eastern Crete: Mavrofridis 2019, 6-8 fig. 15. On Cypriot examples: Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2000, fig. at p. 394, fig. on top to the right at p. 395. On examples from Andros and Sifnos: Rammou – Bikos 2000, 417 fig. below to the right (from Sifnos), 420 fig. on top to the left (from Andros). Examples from Tinos derive from personal observation (Fig. 11).

48. Mavrofridis 2019, 2, 6-8 fig. 14, fig. 15.



Fig. 11 Built-in hives of the modern era in a row in a dry stone wall, Kato Meri, Tinos island (photo by the author).

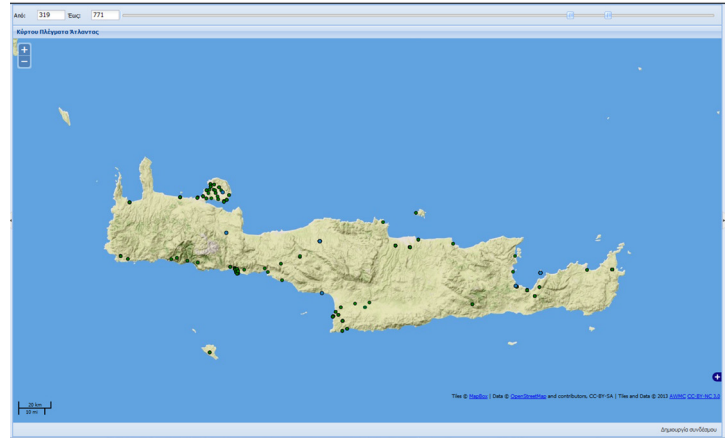


Fig. 12 Digital map of Crete showing the sites from where pottery of the period from the 4th up to the 8th c. has so far been published (research project: "Kyrtau plegmata"; for more details on this map, see fn. 53).

while at first glance the existence of beehives in a small open space framed by residential areas seems peculiar, similar evidence from Greek traditional settlements would suggest that there was nothing unusual about it, especially in rural contexts. There were even lockers that were built into outer walls, usually high up in stables or barns, as in Charakas near the village of Gavrio on Andros or in Messokampo, Florina⁴⁹, while hives built close together into the exterior walls of rural houses also occur in traditional settlements of Cyprus (Filani)⁵⁰. It is possible that the covering of the top of the beehives in these Eleutherna examples with bricks may, in addition to serving some basic objectives such as protecting the swarm from cold, heat and rain, have also facilitated the care and maintenance of the hive as well as its removal and replacement.

Examples such as the above serve as case studies highlighting the interaction between objects and humans in a complex nexus of people - artefact relationships. The ceramic material from Eleutherna is an eloquent example of evolution in the research being conducted into the everyday objects of the Byzantine era within the broader and ever-growing research field of the material culture of societies from the past⁵¹.

Concluding remarks

To sum up, research into pottery of the Roman and the first Byzantine period in Crete has seen significant progress since the initial studies of the 1980s⁵², as is also shown by the evidence on the map⁵³ (Fig. 12) which illustrates the numerous locations around the island where information on pottery from the aforementioned period has come to light. However, the existence of analytical published data for each of these sites is still limited, particularly in what concerns those which are based on a detailed study of individual archaeological contexts and cover most of the period under review. That said, the most relevant case is Gortyn⁵⁴. Within this framework, which was briefly outlined, and based on the above, the ceramic material that came to light from the excavations in sectors I and II of Eleutherna is an important source of information on the production, circulation and use of ceramics in an inland Cretan city.

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49. Anagnostopoulos 2000, 297 fig. 2.

50. Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2000, fig. at p. 395.

51. For related comments: Yangaki 2018b, 157-159.

52. To mention only the more representative examples, reference is made to those by J. W. Hayes (Hayes 1983, 97-169), P. Rendini (Rendini 1988a, 221-228; Rendini 1988b, 229-251; Rendini 1988c, 253-261; Rendini 1988d, 263-277) and I. Sanders (Sanders 1982, sporadically). See in total for the researches to date into the pottery of Crete and the evidence deriving from them: Yangaki 2016, 199-233.

53. For a synthetic presentation of the data: Yangaki 2016, 199-233. For more details on the project from which derived the digital map of fig. 12, cf. Yangaki 2018a, 1103-1110.

54. See relatively: Yangaki 2016, 200.

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