

Funerary Practice in Roman Crete during the First to Third Centuries C.E.: Three Case Studies

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The Roman period of Crete is a promising area of archaeological enquiry which offers a unique perspective from which to view the transformative processes of an expanding empire. Much is to be gained from the vast amounts of data that have been collected by the Cretan archaeological service in the form of rescue excavations and large-scale investigations into areas of dense archaeological remains. Focusing on the mortuary evidence from three case studies located on the eastern half of the island, this paper presents primary data on funerary trends that were practiced during the early Roman period. This paper further seeks to place this data into the social and economic contexts of three very different communities interacting with and reacting to contact with Rome. By examining the mortuary landscapes of Hierapytna, Lato pros Kamara, and the Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus, discourse is created concerning the interaction of incoming and local customs following the absorption of the island into Rome's 'globalizing' empire.

Introduction

The Roman period of Crete has long been overshadowed by its Minoan big brother, and we have seen generations of archaeologists focus their research on that prominent civilization. Meanwhile, the Greek archaeological authorities have brought to light copious evidence for Roman-period activity, primarily through rescue excavations. These endeavors have produced a body of evidence that promises to enlighten the motivated researcher as to the intricacies of life and death during the Roman period. This material is under-represented in our current understanding of Roman Crete, and demands greater attention. Although Roman activity on Crete extends well into the seventh century C.E., the majority of evidence considered here will be confined to the first through third centuries C.E., a period of island-wide prosperity.¹

The aim of this paper is to examine the original excavation data and primary evidence of funerary activity during the early Roman period, and to provide a sample of burial trends that took hold in the eastern half of the island. While a panoptic geographical synthesis of burial sites across the entire island is most desirable, for the sake of brevity

the mortuary evidence from the eastern half Crete will be the focus of this analysis.²

This paper further proposes to isolate mortuary trends in three case studies from the ancient cities of Hierapytna, Lato pros Kamara, and the colony of *Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus*, supplemented by the economic and settlement contexts (Fig. 1). Finally, the impact of Roman influence on these disparate cities as reflected in the funerary record will be considered within the theoretical framework of globalization. The theory of globalization suggests that, as new peoples are incorporated into the empire, they begin to participate – consciously or unconsciously – in the networks which connect their social, political, and economic activities with those of other participants. The concept allows for a more gradual interaction with and adoption of Roman practices, and promotes a sense of ‘revitalization’³ of regional culture in combination with imported customs. As will be seen, globalization theory can be most profitably applied to the mortuary record of Roman Crete.

While this analysis will by no means be comprehensive, it will nevertheless take steps to offer fresh insight into what may be considered a hotbed of social and economic

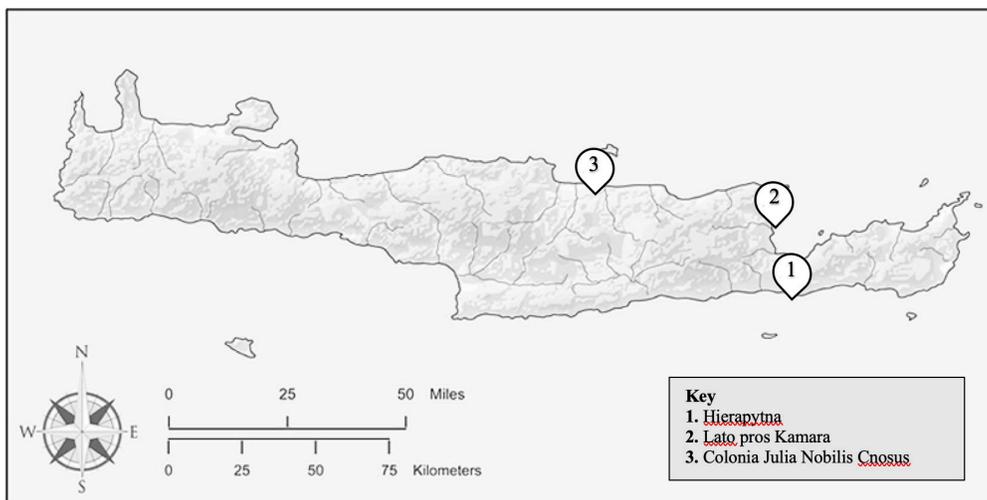


Fig. 1: Eastern half of Crete, location of case studies.

transformations that accompanied Crete's inclusion in the Roman Empire.

Hierapytna

The ancient city of Hierapytna is located on the south coast of east Crete, both underneath and to the west of the modern city of Ierapetra. Hierapytna grew exponentially during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods in terms of both settlement and economic potential, and thanks to the excavation of several of its cemetery areas, represents a prime case study of the mortuary record.

In the 1990s, a total of 95 burials of primarily pit and tile type were uncovered in the northern district of *Paramythas*,⁴ adding to the previous discovery of six pit and tile graves in the western district of *Viglia*.⁵ These cemeteries both date to the first through third centuries C.E. It was believed that these burials constituted only a fraction of the early Roman necropolis, and thus, beginning in 2001 under the authority of the ΚΔ⁷ Ephoria of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, intensive archaeological excavation was begun in the Dialektaki field slightly west of the city center, in an area known as *Loutres*, with remarkable results.

To date 48 burials have been uncovered in the Dialektaki field, of which 23 were the common type of tile burial, many of which had been greatly disturbed due to both looting and agricultural activity. A *pithos* burial and a cist, and the remains of a *larnax* (limestone sarcophagus) were soon added to the count. The remainder of the tombs were of the subterranean vaulted roof type, and it is these tombs with which we are here concerned (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, all of the tombs appear to have been looted in antiquity, and in most cases the entry point of the grave robbers can be immediately detected through the roof of the chamber. Once the looters had removed the valuable offerings, the chambers silted up over time, helping to preserve the walls to the full height of the arch.

Of the 11 single-chamber tombs, seven (Tombs 3, 9, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 28) were built in the pseudo-ashlar style, with their semi-circular arches carefully constructed of five to seven series of carved limestone or gypsum blocks. Three of the tombs included paved floors, some of which had been removed by looters looking for crypts below. The orientation of the tombs was N-S, with an entrance to the north, except for Tomb 27 (T.27), which had its entrance to the south.



Fig. 2: Vaulted tombs T.24 and 25 from the Dialektaki field, Ierapetra. © Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities, Lasithi. Photograph by C. Papanikolopoulos.



Fig. 3: Internal niche of T.31, Dialektaki field, Ierapetra. © Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities, Lasithi. Photograph by C. Papanikolopoulos.

All entrances had been blocked up with large horizontal or upright slabs. Recesses in the interior walls of the tombs suggest the use of timber frameworks to help with the careful construction of the arch.⁶

The interior dimensions of the tombs range from 2.1 to 3.5 m long by 1.09 to 1.75 m in width. The height of the tombs was recorded as 1.35 to 1.85 m.⁷ The remaining four vaulted tombs (T.7, 8, 30, and 31) were constructed of field stones or semi-worked blocks, with arches comprised of an overlapping series of small blocks or cobblestones. The arches were covered on the external surface with a thick layer of cobbles and mortar, forming an upper floor at surface level. This method of construction was perfected in T.30, where the builders used mortar and stones of equal size and included an internal decorative beveled cornice.

Internal niches for the placement of grave goods were identified in T.30, T.31, and T.7 (Fig. 3), while the entrance to each chamber appears to have been through a ‘window’ feature which was closed from the outside with stone slabs.

The orientation of these last four vaulted chambers was not fixed, and neither was the position of the entry point. Two of the tombs are N-S with entrance from the south, and

the remaining two are oriented E-W, with entrance from the east in one and west in the other. The internal dimensions of this tomb type are as follows: 2.65 to 3.75 m in length by 2.08 to 2.3 m in width, and 1.81 to 2.3 m in height.⁸

Although the vaulted tombs of Ierapetra have been looted, enough evidence remained to suggest relatively wealthy patronage of the cemetery. Firstly, worked gypsum blocks of ‘exceptional whiteness and shine’⁹ were used as marble substitutes, and possibly came from quarries at Myrtos and Tertsa, 15 and 20 km respectively to the west of Ierapetra on the south coast.¹⁰ Secondly, we may infer a general level of wealth and prosperity from the grave offerings that were missed by the looters. These included terracotta masks, items of jewelry (including an engraved ring found in T.9 (Fig. 4) some minor gold objects, bronze vessels, mirrors, and strigils.¹¹

Although the chronology of ceramic and glass evidence has not been published in detail, Apostolakou dates the majority of lamps to the late second through early third century C.E.¹² Finally, coins from the reigns of Hadrian (117-138 C.E.), Antonius Pius (138-161 C.E.), and Septimius Severus (193-211 C.E.) enabled the investigators to refine the chronology of the vaulted tombs to the early second through early third centuries C.E.



Fig. 4: Detail of gold engraved ring from T.9, Dialektaki field, Ierapetra. © Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities, Lasithi. Photograph by C. Papanikolopoulos.

Putting this mortuary evidence into the context of ancient Hierapytna, the largest port city on Crete's southern coast, we may be seeing a new form of status display following the incorporation of Crete into the Roman Empire. Moreover, the burial customs represented in the Dialektaki field are a hybrid mixture of 'Greek' and 'Roman' practices. The dead were inhumed according to the usual custom in Greece,¹³ in a type of tomb that seems to have first appeared during the Roman period on the island. Multiple interments in each tomb are indicated in both the looted and in situ graves, which was practiced more often in Italy at the time, albeit not exclusively. The dead are, however, accompanied by grave goods familiar from previous periods on Crete. Champion has suggested that "local elites above all embraced Roman culture as a means to power and privilege."¹⁴ Perhaps the situation in Hierapytna may be more moderately conceived of as one in which the economic benefits of participation in the empire were increasingly embraced by successive generations.

Additional forms of archaeological evidence discovered in southeastern Crete support this image of a rising entrepreneurial community following the Roman conquest. Architectural remains of theatres,¹⁵ elaborate building complexes,¹⁶ baths,¹⁷ and villas¹⁸ provide a glimpse of the means by which local elites in and around Hierapytna interpreted, and even embraced, the cultural influence of Rome.

Meanwhile, Roman Hierapytna and its surrounds have produced evidence of 'intensive exploitation'¹⁹ of the landscape and increased production which demonstrate the means by which an enterprising community may have gained an advantage within the economic framework of the empire. Amphora production,²⁰ warehouses,²¹ possible murex dye production,²² fish-tanks,²³ farmsteads,²⁴ and the remains of aqueducts²⁵ may be cited as indicative of the increased economic capacity of the region's inhabitants during the first two centuries C.E. Finally,



Fig. 5: Tomb 18, Stavros cemetery, Agios Nikolaos. © Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports, Ephorate of Antiquities, Lasithi. Photography courtesy of Vili Apostolakou.

settlement nucleation around coastal sites in the early Roman period is suggested by survey evidence,²⁶ and saw the ancient city of Hierapytna swell to approximately 150 ha, a size roughly equivalent to the new Roman capital at Gortyn.²⁷ Hierapytna had undoubtedly become a force to be reckoned with in the vast network of the Roman Empire in the East. Perhaps more than any other case here discussed, Hierapytna may be said to have become a truly 'globalized city',²⁸ actively participating in and benefiting from its position in the economic network of the empire.

As for the vaulted tombs themselves, their careful and elaborate construction, their stature in comparison to the simple pit and tile graves excavated elsewhere around the city, and the wealth of their contents - even looted - denote a level of prestige hitherto unseen in the mortuary record of ancient Hierapytna. Through their burial practices, the families of those interred in the vaulted tombs were essentially choosing to conspicuously display their enhanced position in the prospering city.

Lato pros Kamara

The ancient harbor city of Lato pros Kamara lies under modern Agios Nikolaos on the western end of the Mirabello Bay and has to date undergone limited archaeological investigation. We know that here was the harbor town of the Hellenistic city of Lato (located approximately 9 km inland to the east of the harbor town), and that it rose in prominence at the expense of its mother city after the second century B.C.E.²⁹ Apart from a limited sector of Hellenistic and Roman structures excavated in the center of the modern city in the 1990s,³⁰ the primary evidence for the prosperous harbor city comes from her *necropoleis*.

A cemetery excavated between 1988 and 1990 in the *Stavros* region to the south and west of the modern city contained a variety of mortuary forms including simple pit graves, tile burials, cists and a single 'plaka'-built burial.³¹ The latter is typified by Tomb 18, which was constructed of one to two series of roughly shaped stones arranged in a rectangular outline, and featured large covering 'plaka' stones. (Fig. 5) This grave, along with the 66 others discovered in the *Stavros* cemetery had suffered from various erosive processes which left only five whole skeletons, 33 burials with just a few remaining bones, and 28 that did not contain any bone.³² The cemetery had also been looted in an extensive and organized manner.

The humble pit and tile graves of the *Potamos* area to the west of the modern city center represent the most common burial type for Hellenistic and Roman Crete. Beginning with excavations by K. Davaras in 1978, and continuing sporadically under the auspices of the 24th Ephoria of Antiquities, by 2004 over 300 such burials had been identified.³³ A cluster of 20 inhumations ranging in date from the third century B.C.E to the second century C.E. excavated in 1978 will be the focus of the following discussion.

A recent geoarchaeological study of the *Potamos* area identified a change in the

course of the nearby Xeropotamos stream that occurred during the 'Medieval Warm Period', which lasted from 850 C.E. to 1250 C.E.³⁴ The river then deposited a thick layer of fluvial sediment over the area of the cemetery, protecting the burials beneath from the rigors of construction and agricultural activity.³⁵

Over 20 tombs were excavated, many of them strikingly well-preserved, with their grave goods in situ. All cases except three were oriented from E-W with the head of the deceased towards the east. Four of these tombs were tile graves (T.6, 7, 8, and 17) in which large flat tiles (0.52 by 0.48 m) of the Corinthian type were placed over the body forming an arch, sometimes including a covering tile. (Fig. 6) The remainder of the graves were of the simple pit type, dug into the soil at a shallow depth and with almost no distinguishable borders.³⁶

Trends that can be isolated in the cemetery include the position of the hands over the pelvis and the placing of finger rings on the left hand, a custom that has been identified as beginning in the early Roman period on Crete.³⁷ Another practice observed at the cemetery was the placing of coins in the mouth of the deceased or elsewhere in the



Fig. 6: Tile burial T.6, Potamos cemetery, Agios Nikolaos, courtesy of Dr Costis Davaras.



Fig. 7: Burial Monument T.34, Herakleio, after anastylosis, courtesy of Eva Grammatikáki.

grave. Coins were found in eight different graves, ranging in date from the reign of Caligula, 37-41 C.E. (T.3, 8, and 12), to the second half of the first century C.E.,³⁸ with a coin of Vespasian (69-79 C.E.) being identified in T.2.

The grave goods gathered during the excavation included gold rings and earrings, bronze mirrors (one found still in the hand of the female interred in T.1),³⁹ theatre masks, figurines, bronze vessels, and strigils. Undoubtedly the most striking find was that of a crown of 24 intricately decorated gold-foil olive leaves found plastered by the pressure of the river sediment to the skull of the juvenile male buried in T.8.⁴⁰

The general impression presented by the *Potamos* cemetery is one of stability and continuity. Into the early Roman period, the city's dead continued to be interred in known cemeteries to the west of the ancient city, in simple pit or tile inhumations amongst their Hellenistic fellows, re-enacting burial practices that had been in place for generations.⁴¹ Moreover, the dead continued to be buried in single internments,⁴² even

once the Romans, with their penchant for multiple burials, had solidified their hold on the island and proclaimed it the joint province of *Creta et Cyrenaica*, sometime between 67 and 24 B.C.E.

The influence of Roman funerary practice is thus not readily apparent in the cemeteries of Lato pros Kamara. Significantly, we also find a lack of Roman markers in the town's known road networks, and in the epigraphical record. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* is an important cartographic record of the road network across the Roman Empire, thought to be a medieval copy of a fourth century C.E. map. A recent study on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* has demonstrated that neither Lato nor her harbor city were connected to the other important centers of Crete by a main road.⁴³ In fact, they are not indicated on the map at all.

According to Martha Baldwin Bowsky, the territory of Lato and her harbor remained 'remarkably fixed' after the Hellenistic period, and the seaside city saw a period of relative stability following the tribulations of the Hellenistic period.⁴⁴ Indeed, the epigraphic evidence suggests a clear shift of attention towards the prospering city of Hierapytna, where 24 occurrences of Roman *nomina* had been recorded by 1989, in comparison with the single incidence of a Roman name at Lato.⁴⁵ Although Baldwin Bowsky stops short of demoting Lato and her harbor city to 'peaceful oblivion'⁴⁶ during the Roman period, this relative dearth of inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that Lato pros Kamara did not house a significant Roman presence.⁴⁷

Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus

The context of the final case study out of modern Herakleio is of particular interest due to its connection with the only Roman colony established on Crete, the *Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus*. Founded under Augustus around 27 B.C.E.,⁴⁸ the colony was settled from the Campanian city of Capua and thus allows for a tangible transference of funerary

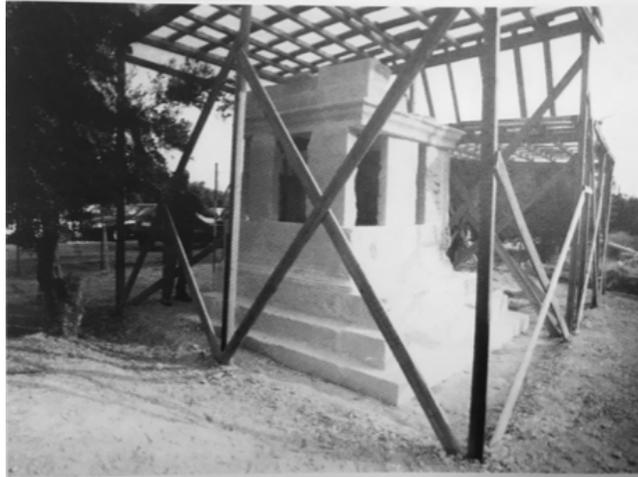


Fig. 8: Altar tomb T.52, Herakleio, courtesy of Eva Grammatikáki.

traditions onto the local landscape. Located between the Monasteriaki Kephala hill and the Kairatos valley, excavations have thus far revealed such elements of the Roman colony as roads, bridges, a theatre, public and private buildings, and also its cemeteries.⁴⁹

A rescue excavation conducted in the 1990s has produced a category of funerary monument of the stepped-platform and altar type which is rare for Crete in the early Roman period. Beginning in 1994, trial trenches dug on the north side of Building A of the Venizeleio General Hospital quickly produced mortuary evidence of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A diverse array of graves was excavated between 1994 and 1997, including simple tile and pit burials, cists, and rectangular tile-built pits. Of particular interest were the stone-built funerary monuments, here designated as T.34, T.36, and T.52, where presumably members of the wealthier families of Roman Knossos were interred.⁵⁰

Monument T.34 is a stepped platform type, constructed of elongated limestone blocks and measuring 3.4 by 2.1 m at its base. (Fig. 7) Although only three platform steps survive today, Grammatikáki postulates the addition of an upper level and a grave stele or marker such as that which might be seen on the Via

Laurentina in Ostia or along the cemetery roads of Pompeii.⁵¹ More specifically, we may be able to reconstruct the missing element as a house-like altar structure similar to those found at Pompeii (discussed below).

A rectangular cavity was discovered inside the monument, and contained a bronze coin of the Roman colony at Knossos, minted during the reign of Claudius (41-48 C.E.). Below the stepped structure were found one cist and one pit burial, both looted. Despite the disturbance, finds have survived to attest to the wealth of those interred. These include a fragment of bronze *fibula*, pieces of gold foil, and a gold ring with an engraved cornelian stone. This type of conspicuous funerary monument is attested to in Greece from the Hellenistic period,⁵² though unknown until this find on Crete.⁵³

The second funerary monument (T.36) has proven difficult to interpret, due to later disturbance of the monument and looting of the burials on which it rests. The structure is composed of large limestone blocks and takes the form of a large (3.2 by 3.2 m) square cell resting on a stepped platform (3.8 by 3.8 m). The monument is preserved to a maximum height of 1.95 m. A door in the west side of the 'room' was blocked by a rectangular slab and the interior of the

monument contained a bench-like feature on three sides and a rectangular crypt sunk into the middle of the paved floor. As with the previous monument discussed (T.34), the burials belonging to this tomb were dug into the earth below the structure, and consist of two cist graves with an E-W orientation. Although the northernmost cist had been looted, a few gold foil leaves were recovered, as well as two first century C.E. unguentaria. The most remarkable find from this cist was a six-sided steatite curse tablet, engraved on all sides with text pertaining to the separation of one Preimogeni from his wife Daphne.⁵⁴

The second, unlooted cist yielded a wealth of material, including multiple interments, gold foil leaves, five ceramic unguentaria, 23 glass unguentaria, and four lamps dating from the middle of the first century C.E. into the first decades of the second century C.E. Finally, five bronze coins were recovered from the second cist, the earliest belonging to the Roman colony at Knossos under Augustus (27 B.C.E to 2 C.E) and the latest minted during the reign of Nero (55-60 C.E.).

The final funerary monument to be discussed is T.52, a house-shaped tomb standing to an impressive height of 3.3 m and measuring 3.3 by 3.15 m at the base of its stepped platform. (Fig. 8) Above the three-stepped platform a series of rectangular upright stones supported a carved cornice, on which



Fig. 9: The altar tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus, Porta di Ercolano, Pompeii.

were preserved traces of painted decoration. A carved inscription on the south side of the monument declares its erection to have been made in honor of CLUATIUS and CLUATIUS CONINUS.

Once again, the primary burials were found sunk beneath the floor of the stepped platform. Internment took place in an impressive crypt, oriented E-W, and entered from the east with two large horizontal slabs stepping down into the crypt. The walls of the crypt were constructed of unusual convex limestone blocks which corbelled towards the upper height of 1.5 m. The west side included a rectangular niche for offerings. Looters have also visited this entombment, leaving only a few fragments of bone and cranium, bone pins, and two ceramic unguentaria which were dated to the first century C.E. The chronology of the monument was confirmed by the discovery of a bronze coin of Caligula (38-41 C.E.) found between the layers of stones which filled the interior of the platform. Above the crypt in the interior of the altar monument was found a much-disturbed secondary burial which included only a few fragments of bone and three ceramic vessels (two hydrias and a jug) dating to the age of Hadrian (117-138 C.E.). Grammatikáki speculates that the later burial may be evidence of later use of the monument by the descendants of the original honored dead.⁵⁵

These stone-built funerary monuments are unusual for the area and period in several ways. First, they are ostentatious in a manner at odds with the more conservative Hellenistic burial traditions that preceded them.⁵⁶ Second, the erection of the monuments over subterranean burials was previously unknown on Crete,⁵⁷ further confirmation of the long-held notion of Cretan exceptionalism against social and cultural trends in the rest of the Hellenic world.

Although this sample of funerary monuments does by no means constitute a significant body of evidence,⁵⁸ it is tempting to describe a

direct connection to Roman practices present in the Knossian mortuary record. We may be naming actual Roman colonists, such as the Cluatii entombed in T.52, or perhaps be documenting a piecemeal adoption of Roman culture and language by local elites seeking to enhance their position through display. The connection to Roman burial practices must be considered ‘piecemeal’ due to the fact that unlike the cremation burials of Ostia or Pompeii, inhumation was the primary rite in all cases here considered, and the number of dead interred in each monument was limited.

A useful comparison may here be made with the monumental altar tombs on raised bases found in the Campanian city of Pompeii.⁵⁹ T.52 for example has two particularly close parallels to be found in Pompeii’s Porta di Ercolano: the Tomb of Naevoleia Tyche (40-60 C.E.) and the Tomb of Gaius Calventius Quietus (30-62 C.E.).⁶⁰ Both of these tombs have a three-stepped platform leading to a house-like altar, and are comparable in dimensions⁶¹ (Fig. 9). Interestingly, based on the numismatic evidence, these monuments all date from the early to mid-first century C.E., which suggests the presence of Roman funerary customs at an earlier phase in the life of the colony than has been noted in other forms of material culture. The earliest mosaic evidence at Knossos for example, comes in the form of the black and white ‘Western-type’ mosaics that have been dated to the late first century C.E.⁶² Combined with the Latin inscription and *nomina*, and the documented presence of Campanian pottery at multiple excavations,⁶³ the existence of these altar tombs at Roman Knossos may represent a very real connection to the Campanian roots of the colonists themselves.

Analysis

Roman Crete flourished in the first and second centuries C.E., and benefited directly from its inclusion in the economic sphere of the empire. The island communities ventured out into maritime trade ever more frequently, protected by the *Pax Romana*, which offered

greater security at sea. Crete became a ‘critical nexus’⁶⁴ along trade routes between the eastern and western halves of the empire, allowing for increasing import and export from the island.

The mortuary data synthesized above describes a complex system of regional diversity, as well as mingling of cultural influences from both East and West. The funerary evidence also suggests a direct correlation between Roman interference in particular regions and the development of funerary practices over the course of the first through third centuries C.E.

In ancient Hierapytna an impression of dynamic economic activity following prolonged involvement with the Roman Empire is particularly vivid in the mortuary and settlement evidence. One is able to detect new-found wealth and display in the burials of an enterprising community, one willing to take advantage of the economic opportunities afforded by participation in expanding trade networks. The vaulted graves however, must be kept in their context of cemeteries also containing tile, pit, and cist graves to the first through third centuries C.E.

In Agios Nikolaos a continuation into the Roman period of earlier mortuary practices is noted, such as the addition of coins in graves, and the use of ceramic types that had been offered as grave goods for centuries past.⁶⁵ The mortuary evidence does not reflect the heavy-handedness of Rome at Lato pros Kamara, but rather suggests that the seaside town lay outside of the direct attention of the Romans, who were focusing their influence on regions of greater economic potential, such as Hierapytna.

Finally, the monumental graves at the Knossian colony suggest a sense of ostentatious memorialization of the dead and may demonstrate exposure to Roman traditions transported to Crete along with the colonists themselves. The tombs however, are a rarity amongst the many pit, tile and cist graves that have thus far been excavated

in and around the city, dating from the Hellenistic period through to the seventh century C.E.⁶⁶

The picture thus painted by the mortuary evidence is one of continuity, diversity, and cultural adaptability in the cities of Roman Crete. This conclusion can come as no surprise when the archaeological record of the Greek East indicates a great deal of diversity under the empire. Provinces, cities, rural, and urban sites all adapted differently to contact with Rome, and Crete was no exception.

Significantly, the funerary data for Hierapytna and Lato pros Kamara does *not* suggest a rapid process of Romanization, but rather adaptation to changing conditions over time. In the case of Hierapytna for example, it may have taken several generations of exposure to Roman culture and participation in economic networks for locals to seek status and benefit within the empire. In contrast, the evidence from Herakleio suggests an accelerated transference of Roman customs onto the Knossian landscape, undoubtedly related to the founding of Crete's only Roman colony.

The funerary evidence presented here certainly seems to meet the requirements of globalization theory, demonstrating an intermingling of Roman and local practices. We do not see a "conscious systematic cultural change"⁶⁷ but rather a piecemeal adoption of Roman funerary trends over time, mixed with a retention of deeply entrenched local customs.

The case studies discussed represent three different communities and three different reactions to the influence of Rome. The mortuary evidence portrays direct contact at the *Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus*, local opportunism and adoption of incoming practices at the developing economic powerhouse of Hierapytna, and continuation of the old ways at the relatively untouched harbor town of Lato pros Kamara. The 'micro-regionalism'⁶⁸ evident in the settlement activity of early Roman Crete is thus also reflected in the mortuary record. As

the incorporation of Crete into the Roman Empire became ever more complete, each settlement would come to be transformed by its participation in a 'globalizing' empire.

Endnotes:

- 1 Gallimore 2015, 295.
- 2 A study of the evidence from western Crete is forthcoming.
- 3 Gallimore 2019, 600.
- 4 *AA* 52, 1997 ; Xpov. B3, 1047-49.
- 5 *AA* 50, 1995, Xpov. B2, 753.
- 6 Apostolákou 2011, 342.
- 7 Apostolákou 2011, 342.
- 8 Apostolákou 2011, 344.
- 9 Apostolákou 2011, 348. My translation.
- 10 Chlouveraki 2002, 25.
- 11 Apostolákou 2011, 350.
- 12 Apostolákou 2011, 350.
- 13 Cremation was the predominant Roman custom in the provinces until the middle of the third century C.E. Toynbee 1971, 40.
- 14 Champion 2004, 214.
- 15 Chalikias 2013, 37. One of the theatres of Hierapytna is currently being excavated by the Ephoreia of Lasithi in the Viglia district of Ierapetra (personal observation).
- 16 An "exceptional and elaborate building program" is mentioned by Chalikias (2013, 39) on the island of Kouphonisi to the east of Ierapetra. See also Sanders 1982, 138.
- 17 Apostolákou 1990, 455-6.
- 18 Apostolákou 1990, 453-455. On the villa at Makrygialos see Papadakis 1979, 406-9; Papadakis 1980, 524-5.
- 19 Chalikias 2013, 38.
- 20 Marangou 1999, 273.
- 21 Haggis 1996, 183-209.
- 22 Although there is rich evidence for murex dye production on Chryssi island (located 7 nautical miles south of modern Ierapetra) during the Bronze Age, its production during the Roman period is as yet unconfirmed by archaeological evidence. See Chalikias 2013, 40.
- 23 Davaras 1974, 87-93.
- 24 Apostolákou 1990, 453-455; Gallimore 2011, 365-72.
- 25 Watrous et al. 2012, 112.
- 26 Chalikias 2013, 37.
- 27 Gallimore 2015a, 17.
- 28 Terminology recommended by Sweetman 2007, 61-

81.
 29 Balwin Bowsky 1989a, 116.
 30 Apostolákou 2010, 56-7.
 31 Apostolákou 1995, 34.
 32 Apostolákou 1995, 36.
 33 Apostolákou 2004, 477-486.
 34 Theodorakopoulou and Bassiakos 2017, 802.
 35 Daváras 1985, 213.
 36 Daváras 1985, 130.
 37 Daváras 1985, 213.
 38 Daváras 1985, 210.
 39 Daváras 1985, 134.
 40 Daváras 1985, 171-190. Daváras notes: "The wreath was found fastened on the skull, owing to the particular circumstances of the action of the constantly humid earth of the river bed pressing around and above it during so many centuries." (1985, 215).
 41 Apostolákou notes that the placement of one or two amphorae and an oinochoe at the feet of the deceased is a custom beginning in the third century B.C.E. (typified by the Hellenistic cemetery at Nea Paphos, Cyprus), and continuing in East Crete into the first century C.E. Apostolákou 1995, 36.
 42 In the case of Roman Corinth, Kathleen Warner Slane discusses singular burials being a local, 'Greek' custom while multiple burials became the common practice in Corinth's North Cemetery over the course of the Roman period. Slane 2017, 224.
 43 Pazarli, Livieratos, and Boutoura 2007, 245-60.
 44 Baldwin Bowsky 1989b, 344.
 45 Baldwin Bowsky 1989b, 345.
 46 Baldwin Bowsky 1989b, 345.
 47 It is worth reiterating that the region of Agios Nikolaos has not been subject to intensive excavation or survey, and therefore the theory here presented - that Lato pros Kamara lay outside of the direct focus of Roman activity in East Crete - must remain conjecture.
 48 Paton 1994, 143.
 49 See Sweetman 2010, 339-79 for a useful catalogue of known sites.
 50 Grammatikáki 2004, 465.
 51 Grammatikáki 2004, 470.
 52 This type of monumental altar tombs has been noted in the Greek East at Rhodes and Halicarnassus as early as the second century B.C.E. Hagen 2016, 37.
 53 Although now out of date, it is significant that Sanders' gazetteer does not include another burial monument of the stepped platform and altar type. Sanders 1982, 135-75.
 54 Grammatikáki and Litinas 1999, 61-9.
 55 Grammatikáki 2004, 470.
 56 Chaniotis emphasizes the lack of evidence in Hellenistic Crete for "the display of private wealth which characterizes big and small Hellenistic poleis" including public and private dedications, as well as 'impressive funerary documents.' Chaniotis 2005, 109.
 57 Grammatikáki 2004, 471.
 58 The *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area* catalogue notes similar "monumental built tombs, including vaults below ground" (Hood and Smyth 1981, 24.), as well as "six tombs built of ashlar masonry – two of them with vaults intact and un plundered – were revealed in 1952" during construction at the Venizeleion hospital site. Hood and Smyth 1981, 39. Other instances of 'monumental' built tombs are recorded at *ASKA* catalogued sites 62, 72, 78, 202, 286, and 297.
 59 On altar tombs: "The most homogeneous group of Pompeiian funerary structures is that of the tombs that take the form of a monumental altar, generally raised on a base, which varies in height from tomb to tomb, and surrounded by low enclosure walls." Toynebee 1971, 123. It is worth noting that such an enclosure wall surrounding a 'well-built' tomb has been documented at catalogue site 62 according to the *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area*.
 60 Toynebee 1971, 124-5.
 61 The dimension of the Naevoleia Tyche platform at its base are 4.1 by 3.95 m, while the dimensions of the Gaius Calventius Quietus Platform are 3.83 by 3.53 m. Hagen 2016, 38-41.
 62 Sweetman 2013, 94.
 63 Paton 1994, 143.
 64 Gallimore 2019, 601.
 65 Apostolákou 1995, 37.
 66 Sweetman 2010, 356.
 67 Sweetman 2007, 65.
 68 Coutsinas 2018, 130.

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