

ΣΤΕΓΑ

The Archaeology of Houses and
Households in Ancient Crete

EDITED BY
KEVIN T. GLOWACKI AND
NATALIA VOGEIKOFF-BROGAN

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DOMUS, VILLA, AND FARMSTEAD: THE GLOBALIZATION OF CRETE

by *Rebecca J. Sweetman*

From the 1st century B.C. onward, the Romans began a concerted process of consolidating the provinces of the eastern part of the empire, which had been expanding as a result of both forceful land grabs and peaceful bequests.¹ Once established, the Romans were inclined to take a *laissez-faire* attitude toward governance of the provinces. Unless there were circumstances that proved to be detrimental to the peaceful collection of taxes, or if provinces were generally being obstreperous or creating disruptions for other provinces, the Romans favored a noninterventionist approach. In the case of Crete, the island eventually submitted to Roman rule in 69 B.C., when Metellus crossed over with three legions. The first part of the island to be taken was Kydonia (Chania) in the west; Metellus was then quick to take Knossos, Central Crete, and the southeast. With the fall of Lappa in 67 B.C., the three-year-long battle was over. Gortyn, the one city that had surrendered, was made capital of the joint praetorian province of Crete and Cyrene.² Even though the island had initially resisted inclusion in the empire, there were mixed reactions when Crete began to fall, ranging from the Gortynians welcoming the Romans to the Knossians giving refuge to the head of the Cretan resistance.³ For archaeologists, the challenge is to identify and explain the material correlates of such diverse societal responses at both the local and regional levels.

VIEWS OF CRETE IN TRANSITION

Until recently, the nature of the continuity and change of Cretan society when the island became part of the Roman empire was rarely explored. This situation is now changing, as evidenced by the papers in the proceedings of the recent international congress *Creta romana e protobizantina*.⁴ In addition to the range of Roman material culture (e.g., ceramics, numismatics, architecture, and sculpture) covered in that volume, other areas of recent

1. This paper develops a theoretical approach to the study of Roman Crete that has been explored in detail and applied to a study of Roman

Knossos in Sweetman 2007. I would like to thank the editors and the anonymous referees for their valuable comments.

2. Gortyn would later become a senatorial province.

3. Sanders 1982, pp. 2–12.

4. Livadiotti and Simiakaki 2004.

erudition (e.g., imported marbles) have been producing fresh evidence for additional aspects of Roman Cretan society.⁵ Furthermore, epigraphic evidence continues to generate thought-provoking prosopographical results.⁶ This new work on many different elements of Roman material culture affords the opportunity to produce studies that encompass the entire island rather than examining small areas in isolation. Such an approach is in part stimulated by the increase in the availability of archaeological evidence, notably through recent survey project publications.⁷

In spite of these laudable developments in the study of Roman Crete, a traditional view of the transitional period of the late 1st century B.C./early 1st century A.D. persists. Interpretations of continuity and change are applied liberally to the whole island rather than allowing for different social developments in distinct geographic areas and among discrete social groups. Part of the reason for the lack of progress, even in light of new interpretations, is the nature of the approach. Scholars commonly have an expectation of intentional and total cultural change when an area becomes “Roman”; they anticipate the results even before the material culture is examined. The processes that lead to this apparent cultural change are known by some as “romanization.”

The concept of romanization implies an enforced, unilateral, and complete cultural change, a view that has negative connotations and does not allow for variations. In this light, the diversity of choice and the potentially positive benefits of being part of the Roman empire are often ignored. Although romanization can be described in many different ways, Millet’s definition of the concept as “a process of dialectical change, rather than the influence of one ‘pure’ culture upon others,” is common to many applications and explanations.⁸ While terms such as “creolization” resolve some of the issues of the application of romanization, at least as far as Knossos is concerned, this theory cannot be used to explain the inconsistencies within and between cities and the countryside of Crete from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.⁹ Most importantly, an understanding of Cretan society in terms of romanization does not allow for the prospect that settlements and populations, even within an island, made choices about the extent to which they wanted to become involved in the empire, nor does it allow differences to be obvious between people of diverse locations and status.

In the archaeological record, dwellings represent part of the most personal elements of society, and this is universal across a range of different geographical and social contexts. As often noted, their study can allow access to the cognitive elements of human choice in the past.¹⁰ Consequently, dwellings can provide a crucial starting point from which to determine levels of alterations in population and culture. By using an approach different from the normal application of romanization, the study of dwellings can allow multiple perspectives on social continuity and change. This paper applies a new methodological theory—“globalization”—to the study of Cretan houses and their interior decor in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods. This approach will highlight the differing extents of willingness for, and diversity of, cultural change on the island at the time when Crete became part of the Roman empire.

5. Paton and Schneider 1999.

6. Baldwin Bowsky 1995b, 2001a, 2004b, this volume (Chap. 37).

7. E.g., the Vrokastro survey (*Vrokastro* 3) and the Sphakia survey (Nixon et al. 2000).

8. Millett 1990, p. 1. That there is no single definition of “romanization” is just one of the many problems with applying the term to discuss the processes involved with the expansion of the empire. For more discussion, see Hingley 2005; Barrett 1997.

9. See Webster (2001) for the “creolization” of the Roman provinces. Both Hingley (1996, 2005) and Webster (2001) have addressed in detail the multitude of problems concerning the application of romanization. See Sweetman 2007 for the application of globalization theory for explaining the lack of change in Knossos following the foundation of the colony there.

10. See, in particular, Parker Pearson and Richards 1994.

NORTH AND SOUTH: SETTLEMENT EVIDENCE OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

In the late 1st century B.C., there are clear differences in the nature of the settlement between the south and north of Crete and between urban and rural areas. In the north, areas such as Knossos, Chersonisos, and Kisamos appear to experience a delayed cultural change,¹¹ whereas other areas, such as Gortyn, Lissos, and Myrtos see immediate effects of becoming a Roman province. In the north, for example, Knossos provides little evidence for new material culture in the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., despite its colonial status. Conversely, a marked change in the material culture of Gortyn (e.g., new civic buildings) attests an immediate alteration in the city. The mountains of Crete naturally divide the northern and the southern coasts of the island, and in the Roman period the southern cities begin to display elements of “Roman-ness” a century before those of the north. By the time changes are visible in the archaeological record of the north in the late 1st century A.D., they could be considered part of the overall developments in the Roman East rather than specific results of becoming part of the empire.

The lack of historical sources and poor chronologies for the transitional period have hampered detailed interpretation of the phase,¹² and scholars have generally accepted an incorrect notion of a significant change in the entire population of the island with its incorporation into the empire. Conversely, the great variety in domestic evidence, as only one aspect of material culture, shows that it is no longer possible to consider the island as undergoing a homogenous process of romanization, and therefore suggests that alternative explanations should be sought to explain this diversity.

A method of examining this discrepancy, with a view to achieving a more viable understanding and abandoning the connotations of romanization, is through an analysis of the primary domestic contexts of *domus*, villa, and farmstead, and the application of globalization theory. As part of a slow process of globalization, different areas of the island—urban, rural, and cities of different status—are affected in different ways. Prior to an analysis of the evidence in detail, it is worth presenting a brief synopsis of the concepts of globalization.¹³ Subsequently the archaeological domestic data for Crete will be outlined and contextualized to demonstrate how these perceptions of globalization can be applied to reach a better understanding of the nature and change of Crete in the Roman empire.

The inclusion of Crete within the Roman empire led to numerous changes, which are ultimately visible in the material culture but not, however, as a homogenous change affecting the whole island and not always within the time frame that we would expect to find them.¹⁴ To what extent there was a conscious systematic cultural change is highly debatable, and significant issues still remain, such as the extent of cultural impact on the island, whether there was a conscious process of change, and, finally, where and why such developments took place.

11. Sweetman 2007.

12. Sweetman 2007, p. 61.

13. Sweetman 2007.

14. Sweetman 2006.

GLOBALIZATION

As used in this study, globalization can be defined as “a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.”¹⁵ Current research is expanding the application of globalization theories to the understanding of the development of the Roman empire.¹⁶ The concept of globalization itself has been widely accepted by a range of disciplines since the 1990s, and, in light of current theoretical archaeological approaches, it is one that seems particularly applicable now.¹⁷ For Roman studies, the theory allows a range of cognitive approaches, such as distinguishing aspects of intentional and nonintentional processes, which are crucial for a study of the nature of the Roman provinces.¹⁸ This approach allows multiple perspectives, both from the point of view of the Romans and of the provinces, and therefore makes the element of choice apparent. Furthermore, the globalization theory allows explanations of a progressive change in material culture rather than a swift cultural impact as implied by the processes of romanization.¹⁹ Consequently, and perhaps most importantly, analyzing the transitional period of Crete in the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. according to theories of globalization allows different areas on the island to be affected in different ways at different times.

The elements of choice, range of perspectives, and gradual processes encouraged by this definition of globalization²⁰ mean that it is possible to see the provinces as relative to Rome, not just as becoming a version of Rome.²¹ It is clear from sources such as Pliny²² that many of the Eastern provinces themselves maintained their own levels of power and that many benefited from the economic advantages of being part of the empire. Whereas concepts of romanization tend to account only for the view of what Rome could gain from the provinces, theories of globalization allow the provincial perspective of what they could choose to gain from Rome. The rate at which this globalization occurs is a consequence of different processes both on the part of the Romans and on the part of the indigenous population. In this sense, one of the most appropriate elements of globalization theory is that it allows for the intentional and nonintentional influence and adoption of cultural elements on both sides, as well as geographical diversity in adoption.²³ Thus Rome and the provinces—and areas within the provinces—can be viewed as having different aspects of a globalized condition that allow for the diversity of continuity and change in discrete areas: being global, operating as global, and dealing with the consequences of globalization.²⁴

The application of the concept of globalization to the transitional period of the late 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. allows a perspective different from the norm—that Rome would benefit from Crete’s key position in terms of trade in the Mediterranean, and that the different areas of the island could choose to adopt or facilitate or ignore whatever elements of Roman culture they felt did or did not suit them.²⁵ Since the Romans had a largely nonautocratic approach to the eastern provinces, it is arguable that cultural developments on Crete can be viewed as relative

15. Waters 1995, p. 3.

16. Hingley 2005; Sweetman 2007.

17. Waters 1995, p. 1.

18. Sweetman 2007, p. 65.

19. Sweetman 2007, p. 65.

20. Economic processes are a factor in globalization theory, but this definition does not rely on them. For detailed discussion, see Sweetman 2007, p. 65.

21. Waters 1995, p. 3.

22. Plin. *Ep.* 10.37–40.

23. Sweetman 2007, p. 65.

24. This is a commonly accepted textbook definition. See, e.g., Mintzberg et al. 2003, p. 273.

25. In her discussion of the development of Roman Greece in the context of its geographical location within the empire, Alcock (1993, pp. 3–6) has offered comparative material on world systems analysis from other imperial states.

to Rome and the empire rather than falling under a subsuming process of Roman acculturation. This situation is particularly highlighted by the case of Knossos, where the Roman colony shows little archaeological evidence to attest a significant change in the nature of the city from the Hellenistic period. Conversely, Gortyn becomes an identifiably Roman city very quickly, as evidenced by its buildings, administration, and language. This situation is likely to have resulted because the Gortynians actively intended this change. The concept of globalization accepts the imposition of certain elements of Roman culture for administrative or economic purposes (e.g., language) and the ability of the Cretans to maintain their own, while at the same time making choices about aspects that appeal to them (e.g., economic benefits). By considering the transitional period of Crete in terms of globalization, we are now able to reexamine the assumptions of Roman influx and influence in more detail.

HELLENISTIC TO ROMAN HOUSES: ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS

R. Westgate has recently emphasized the diversity of housing on Crete in the Hellenistic period, and she notes the significant impediment that the lack of excavation has posed to an understanding of Hellenistic houses—a point that also applies to the Roman-period remains.²⁶ Westgate notes the austerity of Hellenistic houses, which she suggests may be connected to political instability.²⁷ Furthermore, it can be noted that there are no domestic Hellenistic mosaics.²⁸ This trend clearly changes in some areas of the south coast by the early 1st century A.D. with the introduction of houses displaying conspicuous consumption in the form of mosaics (Kouphonisi) and rich architectural features (the *impluvium*-style house at Makrygialos). On the other hand, few changes in architecture or mosaics are notable in the north until the late 1st century A.D. By this time, a range of different house styles and mosaics begins to appear, primarily along the north and south coasts with variations on the *domus*, such as peristyle houses (the Villa Dionysos at Knossos), houses with T-shaped or apsed *triclina* (the House of Dionysos at Chania and the Kisamos Health Center complex), and even a 3rd-century *impluvium* type (Kisamos), a style that went out of fashion some two centuries before.²⁹ As will be shown below, there is speculative evidence for rural villas before the 4th century A.D.,³⁰ and while some farmsteads have been identified through survey work, not enough of their superstructures or plans are visible to allow definition of their architectural styles.³¹

26. E.g., Westgate (2007) notes the evidence for linear houses at Lato and Trypitos (a type peculiar to Crete) and clusters of hearth rooms (e.g., Lyttos) and courtyard houses (Phaistos). She also notes that the courtyard-type houses, while typical elsewhere in Greece, are uncommon in Crete.

27. Westgate 2007, p. 452.

28. Sweetman 1999.

29. Sweetman 1999.

30. Sanders (1982, p. 32) notes the possibility of one at Koleni Kamara and Pacheia Ammos, although details are lacking.

31. Sanders 1982, p. 32.

EVIDENCE OF NEW CONSTRUCTIONS

The early diversity in the occupation of the north and south coasts is attributable to differing levels of communication that had existed prior to the creation of the Roman province. The south coast had long traditions of trade with the Near East³² and North Africa, and even before Crete became a province it seems that many of the southern towns had built up good trade contacts with the Romans. At some sites, such as the sanctuary at Lebena, provisions and other amenities would have facilitated trade with Romans and others.³³ Evidence at towns such as Kisamos, Chersonisos, and Pacheia Ammos shows that once Crete was well established as part of the empire, north coast trade really began to expand. In addition, at Tholos, near Kavousi, the 52.5 × 5 m concrete building, most likely dating to the early 2nd century A.D., is convincing evidence for provision of a storage facility on the Egyptian corn route.³⁴

In terms of domestic evidence, new houses and embellishments in the south of the island indicate a clear alteration in the mid- to late 1st century B.C. This situation would be expected given the high levels of contact, but even in the south such changes are not necessarily universal. For example, G. Altamore notes the continued use and reuse of Hellenistic houses in the early Roman period at places such as Kouphonisi and the contemporaneous construction of new houses at sites such as Makrygialos and Myrtos.³⁵ These new constructions, combined with the introduction of black-and-white mosaics to all of these areas,³⁶ can be seen either as Romans taking up residence on the southern coast or a willingness on the part of the elite Cretans to quickly adopt Roman fashions. Furthermore, the introduction of mosaics indicates a diversion from the traditional austerity of Hellenistic Cretan houses. As yet, however, there is little evidence for a cultural change that affects all levels of the population in both rural and urban areas.

Of all the cities on the island, Gortyn could perhaps be considered the most "Roman." As the administrative capital, and with a south coast location, she would have held particular attractions for visitors and residents, both Roman and Cretan. At Gortyn, the immediate effects of becoming a Roman province are clearly visible in the architecture, pottery, mosaics, and other aspects of material culture.³⁷ Although Gortyn is the obvious place in which to seek evidence for new, identifiably Roman constructions, the focus of research in this important city has been on the large-scale public buildings and not on domestic establishments.³⁸ It is more profitable, therefore, to look at other sites on the south coast, such as Makrygialos,³⁹ where an *impluvium*-style house—a clearly identifiable Roman type—was constructed during the early period of the foundation of the new province. New Roman houses (or significantly modified Hellenistic houses) can be found in other areas of the south coast (e.g., Kouphonisi and Ierapetra).⁴⁰ Mosaics from domestic contexts such as that from Myrtos, with its black-and-white geometric design, show early contact with Italian styles uncommon in the East at this time.⁴¹ The Myrtos mosaic is from what is likely to have been a room in a bathhouse; the style of the mosaic dates it to the early 1st century A.D., making it one of the earliest bathhouses on Crete. At other south coast sites, such as Matala, the architectural evidence is increasing and includes workshops, shipsheds, and a possible temple.⁴² The

32. There is, e.g., good evidence for Phoenician traders from the sanctuary at Kommos (*Kommos* IV).

33. The hostel and fountain house would have provided necessary amenities for travelers; see Hadzi-Vallianou 1989.

34. Haggis 1996b.

35. Altamore 2004.

36. Black-and-white mosaics are very much a Western style of mosaic, and they are not found in the East in significant quantities except with the initial expansion of the eastern part of the empire.

37. For a broader discussion of the processes at work in Crete during the early period of the Roman province, see Sweetman 2007.

38. Few Hellenistic houses have been fully excavated here, either; see Westgate 2007, p. 445.

39. Papadakis 1979, 1980.

40. Papadakis 1983, 1986.

41. Sweetman 1999.

42. Sanders 1982, p. 161.

extensive remains at Lissos offer a tantalizing possibility for understanding the changes in a harbor town from Hellenistic to Roman times, but, as of yet, only the Hellenistic temple (with its 1st-century-A.D. Roman mosaic) has been investigated through excavation.⁴³

Varieties of continuity and change on the island are not only seen in preexisting sites such as Gortyn or Makrygialos; a number of new sites are occupied or reoccupied, especially in rural regions.⁴⁴ The contrast seen between the north and south coasts is further reflected in differences between urban and rural areas. In rural regions, I. Sanders points out that there is little evidence for Hellenistic farmsteads, but that by the “early Roman period” there is “an expansion of small rural sites.”⁴⁵ His evidence for these sites is primarily based on his survey work, which identified pottery scatters and standing remains. Little excavation has been undertaken on these rural sites, and therefore it is difficult to discuss the nature of the architecture in any detail. Sanders notes that there are few patterns that can be applied to the diversity of Cretan rural settlement other than the evidence for villages and smaller settlements in areas near good water supplies and fertile land, as at Tylissos and Vizari (in the Amari Valley).⁴⁶ Farmsteads are a key dwelling type that make an appearance in the early years of the new province, and these were identified by Sanders in areas around Phaistos and in the valley behind Siteia. Although evidence for the nature of rural sites is notoriously difficult to define using only survey data, it is likely that Sanders is correct in his proposal that the Roman occupation of the island established a new period of peace that allowed people to move in greater numbers from the safety of the city to the newly secured rural areas.⁴⁷ Examples include sites such as Tourtouloi and Piskokephalo in the east, and Galatas Pediada and Stalos in the west, with the greatest concentration (predictably) around the Mesara plain.⁴⁸ As in some other areas of the empire (e.g., North Africa and Dalmatia), large-scale villa sites are not in evidence on Crete until the 5th century A.D.⁴⁹

EVIDENCE OF CONTINUATION

The occupation evidence from the north of the island indicates little or no change in habitation in the 1st century B.C., particularly at sites such as Chersonisos, Chania, and Knossos.⁵⁰ Domestic data can be drawn from the large urban area of Knossos, where, for example, the Unexplored Mansion excavations have shown a continuation of unaltered occupation from the Hellenistic period to the Roman.⁵¹ Furthermore, at the same site, new and original buildings do not appear to be constructed until much later in the mid-1st century A.D.⁵² Further analysis of the material culture of the Roman colony suggests that in the domestic and religious sphere, life continued without great alteration from the Hellenistic period.⁵³ Additionally, there are no great public buildings that can be dated as contemporary with or within a century of the establishment of the colony. Evidence of Roman presence includes 1st-century A.D. inscriptions in Latin, which mention Italian *duumviri* and the post of *augur* and suggest a formal administration of the colony.⁵⁴ M. Baldwin Bowsky has observed that there are fewer Latin inscriptions than Greek inscriptions, and she points out that more

43. Sanders 1982, p. 172.

44. Sanders 1982, p. 30.

45. Sanders 1982, p. 30.

46. Sanders 1982, p. 30.

47. Sanders 1982, p. 30.

48. Sanders 1982, pp. 16–23.

49. Sanders 1982, p. 30.

50. Sweetman 2007.

51. Sackett 1992. See also Forster 2004; Sweetman 2004, 2006.

52. For the Unexplored Mansion, see Sackett 1992.

53. Sweetman 2006.

54. Sanders 1982, pp. 14–15.

epigraphic evidence should be expected for a Roman colony.⁵⁵ She also notes that there was no great linguistic change at Knossos from Greek to Latin and that even in terms of onomastics, there was little permanent change. The persistence of private inscriptions in Greek (and the absence of any private inscriptions in Latin) suggests that the official administration of the colony did not impact greatly the lives of the existing population of Knossos.⁵⁶ This is certainly supported by the fact that burial customs (rock-cut tombs and tile graves) continue seemingly without interruption until the 5th century, emphasizing the lack of abrupt cultural change during the Roman period.⁵⁷

The only possibility of new occupancy is found in the north of the Knossos valley, marked by the discrete location of three black-and-white mosaics.⁵⁸ A perceptible Western influence can be seen in the earliest mosaics from both public and domestic contexts and in the extent of ceramic imports from Italy in the 1st century A.D.—quite some time after the foundation of the colony (see below)—which might point toward a small group of Italian settlers, Roman officials, or Knossians adopting fashionable Western styles.⁵⁹ This evidence from the north of the valley is a consequence of rescue excavations, and therefore not enough of the superstructures or plans of the buildings have been recovered to discuss issues of architectural styles.⁶⁰ The plans of other houses at Knossos, such as the House of the Diamond Frescoes or the Southeast House, identified during the Unexplored Mansion excavations, show a series of rooms and few features that are identifiably Hellenistic or Roman.⁶¹

The case of Knossos is especially surprising because the city was given colonial status at the end of the 1st century B.C., probably as an Augustan initiative.⁶² With all the investment and administration involved, Roman colonies used to be viewed as particularly “Roman” cities within the provinces. The archaeology of Knossos has challenged this assumption, as there is little perceptible difference in the Greek city until a century after its foundation as a colony.⁶³ At this point (the late 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.), Knossos begins to flourish and benefit from its elevated Roman status.⁶⁴ By the end of the 1st century A.D. there were significant developments at Knossos, including the construction of new domestic buildings such as the peristyle *domus* of the Villa Dionysos and the North House (in the Unexplored Mansion area). A contextual study of the remains, with the new architectural types such as the so-called Civil Basilica (*KS* 112) and the theater (*KS* 110),⁶⁵ the appearance of luxury items such as mosaics,⁶⁶ and the change in imported pottery,⁶⁷ shows that perceptible developments toward Roman culture occurred some 100 years after the foundation of the colony.⁶⁸ In terms of dwellings, by the end of the 1st century A.D. a number of factors point to a stratified society, and some elements clearly display conspicuous consumption: the sumptuous Villa Dionysos with its mosaic floors;⁶⁹ the rich architecture of the Roman Corinthian Building;⁷⁰ and the evidence of the Roman everyday dwellings and industrial focus found in areas around the Unexplored Mansion⁷¹ and the Stratigraphical Museum excavations.⁷² Furthermore, the evidence for Knossos’s well-organized political, administrative, and social elements appears in the religious buildings (e.g., the Demeter Sanctuary)⁷³ and burial evidence (particularly in around the slopes of the valley: *KS* 55, 57, 58, 59, 61).

55. Baldwin Bowsky 2004b, p. 141.

56. The numbers of inscriptions recorded in Guarducci 1978 are also notable because from Knossos alone there are 47 Greek inscriptions and only 12 Latin inscriptions.

57. Paton 1994. Built tombs found in the north of the city are a new feature in the mortuary record in the late 1st century A.D.

58. Sweetman 2007.

59. Sackett 1992; Forster 2001. For the mosaics, see Sweetman 2003. See also Sweetman 2007.

60. See Sweetman 2003 for discussion of the mosaics and buildings in the north of the valley.

61. Sackett 1992, pls. 2–4.

62. The date of the foundation of the colony is contentious; however, both Paton (1994, p. 142) and Sanders (1982, p. 14) suggest that it must have been around 27 B.C.

63. Sweetman 2007, p. 62.

64. Sweetman 2007.

65. *KS* = Knossos Survey; see Hood and Smyth 1981.

66. Sweetman 2003.

67. Forster 2001.

68. Sweetman 2007.

69. Paton 1998; Sweetman 2003.

70. Paton 1991.

71. Sackett 1992.

72. Warren 1984–1985, 1987–1988.

73. Coldstream 1973b.

The example of Knossos alone indicates that there were different cultural processes involved in the incorporation of Crete into the Roman empire, and even a brief survey of the preserved domestic evidence further elucidates the diversity in the effects or responses across the island. Evidence of a similar pattern of continued occupation, as evidenced by houses and other aspects of material culture, can be seen in Kisamos, Chania, and Chersonisos, with the earliest indications for new constructions occurring in the mid-1st century A.D. It should be noted that the earliest "Roman" constructions at Knossos (marked by the Apollinaris mosaic) and Chania (Cathedral Square) are likely to be bathhouses rather than residential complexes; houses appear toward the end of the 1st century or in the early 2nd century A.D.⁷⁴ For all periods, particularly in urban areas, much of the evidence comes from rescue excavations, with the result that interpretations of the house style are limited, and that the identification of rooms is often suggested using the mosaic evidence.

The evidence for Crete therefore varies considerably. On the south coast new, identifiably Italian-style houses and mosaics are constructed in comparative concentration, while in the northern cities all evidence points to a significant continuation of occupation (certainly until the mid-1st century A.D.). Conversely, rural areas see the construction for the first time of new farmsteads. By the late 1st century A.D., a sense of homogeneity appears, with a significant number of new houses and luxury mosaics being found all over the island and a clearly eastern-Mediterranean style of house and mosaic.

APPLYING THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

The processes at work on Crete during the late 1st century B.C. into the 1st century A.D. can be explained in terms of globalization. This theoretical concept allows for the generation of social diversity, even between towns of the same province (e.g., Gortyn and Knossos) and between urban and rural space. Gortyn and other areas of the south coast had been loyal to Rome, which meant not only that officials, administrators, and new settlers would have been welcome, but also that there most likely was an active interest in accepting elements of Roman culture such as language and imperial cult. This pattern of early Roman occupation (or influence) is seen in the construction of Italian-style houses along the southeast coast (as noted above at Myrtos and Kouphonisi, for example). These areas underwent rapid Roman globalization in part because there were intentional desires on both sides to do so. To add more weight to this interpretation, it can be noted that the south coast was situated on the lucrative trade route between Egypt and Rome, thereby more readily exposing the area to cosmopolitan influences. With Gortyn as the focus, there was desire on both sides for the south and southeast to be successfully Roman, and there was regular contact with Rome itself. Thus, these areas became globalized soon after the foundation of the province. The effects of globalization, which bring about a peace and overall economic stability, allow for the renewed exploitation of the countryside, which is also marked by the rise in the newly established farmstead dwellings.

74. Sweetman 1999.

While different processes are at play at Knossos and in other areas on the northwest coast, it is possible for them also to be understood in terms of processes of globalization. Given this area's initial resistance to Rome, it is likely that some anti-Roman sentiment would have lingered for a considerable period of time. The establishment of the colony at Knossos does not appear to have made a marked impact on the built environment of the city, but under the processes of globalization this need not be problematic. The people of Knossos may not have intended it to be a "colony," but the Romans did. As long as Knossos was not causing trouble there was no need for the Romans to impose further cultural changes upon the city.

Moreover, by the end of the 1st century A.D., Crete as a whole had become part of the globalized empire. From this period onward both Eastern- and Western-style mosaics are common, as is the occasional Western-style *impluvium* house seen at Kisamos.⁷⁵ Luxury items, such as imported marbles, become common across the island, and they are not just limited to Gortyn and the south coast.⁷⁶ The extent to which this is a natural progression partly can be seen in the broader developments on Crete. In the 1st century B.C. Crete was under standard administration but with no great cultural colonization; there was no pressing need for such colonization, because the island did not have precious resources nor was it a rebellious flash point. Its main value and, indeed, potential threat rested in its geographic potential as an entrepôt of some strategic importance.⁷⁷ Thus, by the late 1st century Crete can be seen as being part of the globalized Roman Empire—a place where investments are made if the returns are viable (be they strategic or material), and where cultural diversity is allowed to prosper.

By the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., all areas of Crete share common traits such as substantial public buildings, industries, a successful economy, a range of dwellings from lavish to basic with the interior decor to match, and a higher instance of Greek over Latin inscriptions. The freedom to allow cultural diversity finally developed into cultural commonality.

In this light, it is arguable that the different changes that took place in Crete from the 1st century A.D. onward are a result of intentional (investment) and nonintentional (influence of eastern trends) factors, rather than the simple result of the influence of one culture upon another. For Crete and its cities, as evidenced by the domestic dwellings, it is more useful to conceive a relationship with Rome and the East as one that had the momentum to have cultural effects, especially when it was mutually beneficial.

75. Markoulaki, Christodoulakos, and Phrangonikolaki 2004.

76. Paton and Schneider 1999.

77. Sweetman 1999.

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