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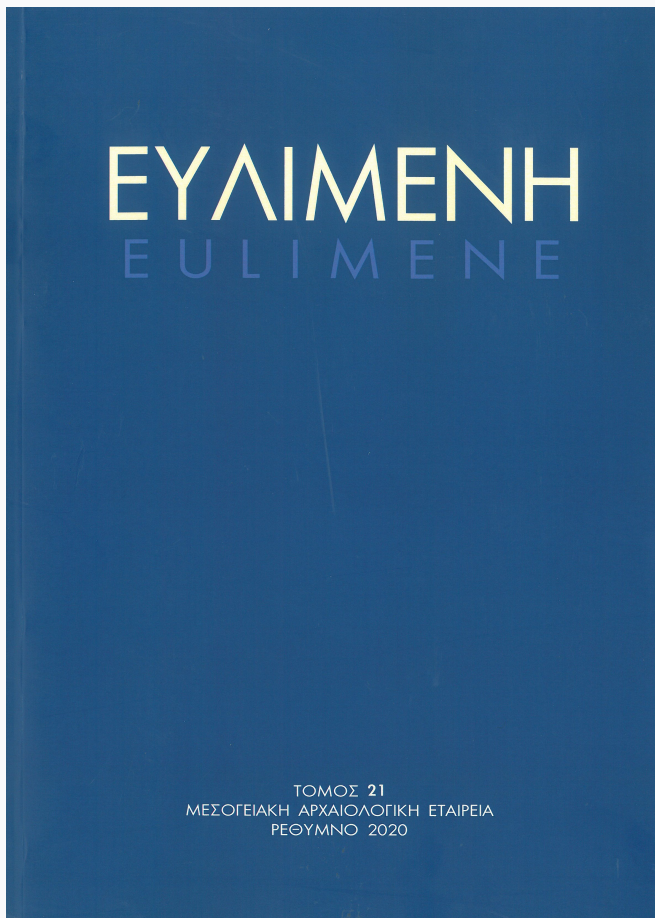
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### The lamps from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou

*Natalia Vogeikoff-Brogan*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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## Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen /

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**Στέλλα Σπαντιδάκη – Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης – Ιωάννης Π. Μπαρδάνης**, Ο πολεμικός ροδιακός στόλος και τα υφάσματα του τυπικού εξοπλισμού του ναυτικού της ελληνιστικής Ρόδου, *EYAIMENH* 21 (2020), 1-64.

*The Rhodian military fleet and the textiles of the standard equipment of the navy of Hellenistic Rhodes.* The island of Rhodes is one of the Greek islands with the longest naval tradition and the Rhodian navy of the Hellenistic period was the most powerful Greek navy after the Athenian one. This paper presents the results of a research project, entitled HISTIA, studying the production, maintenance, and administration of a neglected area of research, namely the sails, rope and any textile equipment needed for the military ships of Rhodes. By focusing on this previously unstudied field of naval studies, this project, not only aims at breaching a significant research gap, but also establishes a new field of textile archaeology that studies textiles intended for the ships, bringing together the fields of ancient history, naval history, and textile archaeology.

Based on similar studies carried out for the Athenian navy, as well as research on the naval power of Rhodes, HISTIA project investigates evidence and research questions related to the types of ships used in Classical and Hellenistic Rhodes, the facilities of the Rhodian harbors, the maritime networks of Rhodes and the navy stations, and the ship's equipment in textiles and rope; the basic type of ship being the trireme, a significant source of information for the establishment of the requirements in textiles and rope were the naval catalogues of Piraeus listing the triremes and their equipment. The project also studies the materials required for this production, the possibility of local cultivation, as well as the trade of raw materials and finished products; similarly, the production process, information about workshops, workforce, as well as different trades necessary to meet the constant requirements of the navy in textiles and rope. Moreover, as was also the case in Athens, in Rhodes too this material required constant and specific maintenance in storehouses with special conditions in order to be safely stored and be useful for a long period of time.

**Ioannis N. Bellas**, Arrowheads from ancient Pella: A weapon as a tool or a tool as a weapon?, *EYAIMENH* 21 (2020), 65-100.

*Αιχμές βελών από την αρχαία Πέλλα: ένα όπλο ως εργαλείο ή ένα εργαλείο ως όπλο;* Οι αιχμές βελών τόξου αποτελούν ένα θέμα από το οποίο μπορεί κανείς να αντλήσει ενδιαφέροντα στοιχεία που αφορούν τη χρήση του τόξου γενικότερα. Από την πρωτεύουσα των αρχαίων Μακεδόνων, την Πέλλα, προέρχεται ένα σύνολο 50 αιχμών, το οποίο είναι ικανό για την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων που αφορούν σε όψεις της δημόσιας και ιδιωτικής ζωής των κατοίκων της. Στη συγκεκριμένη εργασία, αφού πρώτα παρουσιάζεται η τυπολογία και η κατανομή των αιχμών σε κατηγορίες, οι οποίες ερευνώνται ως προς την προέλευση και το χρονικό εύρος της χρήσης τους, στη συνέχεια γίνονται προσπάθειες ερμηνείας της παρουσίας τους. Σε μια περιοχή όπως η αρχαία Πέλλα, η οποία δεν πολιορκήθηκε και δεν λεηλατήθηκε κατά τη διάρκεια της ιστορίας της, οι ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις της χρήσης των αιχμών οδηγούν στην αναζήτηση

πτυχών της ιδιωτικής ζωής των κατοίκων της: από το κυνήγι, την ασφάλεια και την προστασία τους και από την παρουσία μισθοφόρων, μέχρι την άσκηση των νέων στην τοξευτική στα γυμνάσια.

**N. Vogeikoff-Brogan**, The lamps from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou, Crete, *EYAIMENH* 21 (2020), 101-150.

*Οι λύχνοι από το ιερό του Ερμή και της Αφροδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου, Κρήτη.* Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει το σύνολο των λύχνων που βρέθηκαν στο Κτήριο C-D του Ιερού του Ερμή και της Αφροδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου. Εκτός από λίγους λύχνους των ύστερων ελληνιστικών χρόνων, η πλειοψηφία των λύχνων χρονολογείται από τον 1<sup>ο</sup> έως τον 3<sup>ο</sup> αι. μ.Χ. Από τη μελέτη της εικονογραφίας δεν προκύπτει άμεση σύνδεση των διακοσμητικών θεμάτων τους με τη λατρεία των δύο θεοτήτων. Ελάχιστοι λύχνοι που χρονολογούνται στον 6<sup>ο</sup>-7<sup>ο</sup> αι. μ.Χ., βρέθηκαν κοντά στη πηγή στα ανατολικά του ανασκαφικού χώρου, συνδέονται με την κατασκευή σύγχρονου βυζαντινού ναϊδρίου, αλλά και με τη συνεχή ιερότητα του χώρου κατά τη χριστιανική περίοδο.

**Angelos Chaniotis**, Too shameless, even for the gutters! Prostitutes in Tralleis, *EYAIMENH* 21 (2020), 151-154.

*Εξαιρετικά άσεμνο, ακόμη και για τους οχετούς! Πορνεία στις Τράλλεις.* Μια νέα επιγραφή από τις Τράλλεις, σπάνιο δείγμα ρυθμίσεων για την προστασία της ηθικής, αναφέρει μέτρα κατά των εκπορνευομένων ανδρών και γυναικών. Σύμφωνα με τη συμπλήρωση που προτείνεται για ένα αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο χωρίο, οι νόμοι των Τράλλεων απαγόρευαν την παρουσία πορνών στις παρυφές των δρόμων, «ώστε η σεμνότητα της πόλης να μην ενοχλείται ούτε καν μέχρι τους οχετούς». Η συμπλήρωση αυτή στηρίζεται σε αρχαία κείμενα που συσχετίζουν τους οχετούς με ανηθικότητα. Αυτό το έντονα ρητορικό κείμενο χρησιμοποιεί το αίσθημα της αηδίας ως όπλο ηθικής καταδίκης.

**Κωνσταντίνος Ι. Χαλκιαδάκης**, Σχόλια σε τιμητική επιγραφή από τη Λύττο, *EYAIMENH* 21 (2020), 155-158.

*Comments on an honorary inscription from Lyttos.* This article reexamines an honorary inscription from Lyttos (*I.Cret.* I xviii 50), first published by the Italian archaeologist and epigraphist Federico Halbherr, without further comments. However, based on some stereotypical expressions and the drawing of the inscription, we could date it to the reign of Trajan and make some assumptions concerning the identity of the *protokosmos* mentioned in the inscription.





## THE LAMPS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF HERMES AND APHRODITE AT SYME VIANNOU, CRETE

This study concerns the lamps that were found in Building C-D at the north-east side of the Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme Viannou. It occupied trenches M47, L48, M48, L49 and M49 (**Plate A**).<sup>1</sup> Planned as an oikos-temple, Hellenistic Building C preserves its north and west walls only. Its dating is based on two inscriptions carved on the same slab, which was found embedded on the east wall of Building D, Building C's Roman successor. Recording two successive remodelings, the inscriptions have been dated on the basis of their letter forms to the first and second half of the 2nd century BC respectively. According to the second inscription, which refers to the tribe of *Λασηθίων*, Kritzas has suggested that the city of Lyktos was responsible for the care and maintenance of the Syme sanctuary in the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>2</sup> Several votive offerings, such as figurines of Hermes and Aphrodite, and four hermaic stelai have been associated with Building C. The name of Aphrodite is also inscribed on the handle of a Hellenistic hydria.<sup>3</sup>

During the Roman period the building underwent two more remodelings during which its size was limited to a small trapezoidal room (Building D) occupying the north-west corner of Building C. A low bench was built against the north wall of the building. In addition, a smaller room (pantry?) was added to the south-west end of Building D. Finally, Building C-D was encased within a strong-walled peribolos. The first of the two Roman remodelings dates to sometime after 40-30 BC, on the basis of three coins, two of which were found within the fabric of the east wall of Building D and below the latest floor.<sup>4</sup> The second remodeling dates to the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century AD, on the basis of an inscription which was found on the surface of Building C-D. According to it, Nikanor, who underwrote the expenses of the new remodeling, dedicated the

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<sup>1</sup> See also Zarifis 2008, pl. 38.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Hellenistic Building C, see Zarifis 2008, 249-260, pl. 38; Zarifis 2020, 4-6, pl. 2; and for the inscription, Kritzas 2000, 85-97.

<sup>3</sup> Lebessi 1972, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Lebessi and Stefanakis 2004.

small oikos-temple to Ερμή κεδρίτα.<sup>5</sup> The absence of Aphrodite from the inscription suggests that the cult was focused on Hermes only, after the Roman conquest of Crete.

The typological study of the rooftiles found within and outside Building C-D, in relation to their findspots, has also confirmed that there were four major architectural remodelings in the history of Building C-D.<sup>6</sup> The tiles of the second remodeling (type IIIc) in the Hellenistic period were inscribed before firing. The three letters ONA most likely refer to the workshop that produced them. Their style dates this second remodeling of the roof at the end of the 2nd/early 1st century BC, which agrees with the second of the two Hellenistic inscriptions mentioned above.<sup>7</sup> Graffiti on the tiles indicate the ethnic origin of the worshippers, who came from cities, such as Knossos, Arkades, Lyttos and Hierapytna, thus suggesting that the sanctuary attracted people primarily from central and east Crete.<sup>8</sup>

### I. LATE HELLENISTIC

The excavation of Building C-D yielded very few Hellenistic lamps (**1-8**), of which only two preserve a full profile (**1-2**). **1** made of red clay and featuring a recessed discus and a prolonged nozzle recalls examples from the North Cemetery of Knossos (Tomb 187.1) and the Unexplored Mansion (Pit 65) from contexts of the second half of the 2nd and early 1st centuries BC.<sup>9</sup> **2** belongs to a new type of a lamp with a collared rim and prolonged nozzle, made of soft pale brown clay, which was introduced in the late 2nd century BC and lasted through most of the 1st century BC.<sup>10</sup> **1**, and fragments **6-7** were found in Trench Mu 48 on the east part (and in the open area) of Building C-D, while **2** and **5** come from Trench Mu 49 to the southeast (and outside) of C-D. Lamps **3** and **39** were found under the floor of Room D in Building C-D.<sup>11</sup>

**1.** (HM 20958; Trench Mu 48, levels 10+11; Fig. 1; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Two joining pieces preserving complete profile. Missing part of filling hole, shoulder, base, and handle. Recessed discus; pointed nozzle. Flat base. TF: fine with inclusions, 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Black slip, except for base. H. 0.028; max. d. 0.065; base d. 0.04; PL. 0.097.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of Roman Building C-D, see Zarifis 2008, 260-262, pl. 38; and Lebessi 1973, 198, pl. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Zarifis 2020.

<sup>7</sup> Zarifis 2020, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Chaniotis 2009, 61-62.

<sup>9</sup> Coldstream, Eiring, and Forster 2001, 127, plate 36 f-g; and Catling & Catling 1992, 261, L18, pl. 246.

<sup>10</sup> Coldstream, Eiring, and Forster 2001, 127, fig. 3.17t; and Catling & Catling 1992, 261, L24-27, pl. 224, 247.

<sup>11</sup> Abbreviations: TF: Type of Fabric; H: Height; L: Length; PL: preserved length; PH: preserved height; d: diameter; est: estimated; max: maximum. For the Munsell readings of the clay I used *Munsell: Soil Color Charts*, Baltimore 1988. All measurements refer to meters.

2. (HM 20959; Trench Mu 49, level 2; Fig. 1; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Collared filling hole. Almost complete, except for missing nozzle. Flat base. Horizontal handle at steep angle. TF: fine with white and red inclusions, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Light brown slip. H. 0.04; max. d. 0.063; PL. 0.075.

3. (Uncatalogued # 045; Trench Lamda 48, layer 15β; from room D of Building C-D). Wheelmade. Part of nozzle. Long nozzle, blackened. TF: soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.049.

4. (Uncatalogued # 81; Trench Lamda 48, level 13; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Nozzle. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.054.

5. (Uncatalogued # 89; Trench Mu 49, level 3; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Nozzle. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.05.

6. (Uncatalogued #105; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Nozzle. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. PL. 0.05.

7. (Uncatalogued #122; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Nozzle. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.059.

8. (Uncatalogued #140; Trench Iota 51, level 1; Pl. 1). Wheelmade. Nozzle. TF: gray. PL. 0.045.

## II. CRETAN LAMPS

The majority of the 52 Cretan lamps included in this catalogue (9-59) were found in a fragmentary condition; only a few were found complete (27, 32). A few others, such as 39, 40, 42, and 49 yielded enough fragments to merit restoration. (Note, however, that the restoration of the nozzle of lamp 49 is incorrect.) In cataloguing them I followed the typology introduced by H.W and E.A. Catling in their publication of the Hellenistic and Roman lamps from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, since it remains the largest body of published Cretan lamps found in context.<sup>12</sup>

The term “Cretan lamp” describes a moldmade lamp with a biconical profile, a vertical ring handle with a deep groove, and a nozzle with a round, carefully modelled, opening. The filling hole is large and placed centrally on the discus. A thick molding defines the outer edge of the discus. The shoulder and the bridge of the nozzle carry relief decoration. The most common type of Cretan lamp is decorated with an ivy leaf or a chevron on the nozzle bridge and two ivy leaves, placed at right angles, on the shoulder. Other decorative motifs include warts and vertical grooves, molded tongues, crossed lines, circlets, and spirals in a variety of combinations, thus creating a rich and non-repetitive typology. Outside Crete, the Cretan lamp was thought to be rare with the exception of Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (with about 34 examples) but recent excavations at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, at Marina el-Alamein in Egypt, and at Caesarea Maritima in Palestine have shown

<sup>12</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 309-313.

that the ivy leaf lamp had a wider distribution.<sup>13</sup> It has been suggested that the so-called Cretan lamps were also produced in Cyrenaica but this cannot be confirmed without petrographic studies.<sup>14</sup> Cyrenaica and Crete were administered jointly by the Romans starting from the 1st century BC onwards.<sup>15</sup> The lamps from Marina el-Alamein were found in both domestic and burial contexts, the date of which ranges from the second half of the 1st century through the middle of the 2nd century AD.<sup>16</sup>

Almost all the main types are represented at Syme, except for the outsize and the double ivy-leaf (*dilychnoi*) lamps:

- The Standard Ivy Leaf Types 1 and 2 with 22 examples (**9-30**). Because of their fragmentary preservation, it was not possible in many cases to distinguish between Types 1 and 2; for this reason, all fragments preserving just an ivy leaf were arbitrarily catalogued under Type 1.

- Type 3 (with prominent nozzle flanges) with only one example (**31**).

- Type 4 with its characteristic circlets and crosses with eight examples (**32-39**).

- Type 5 and a variant of this type (tongues and circlets or simple tongues) with six examples (**40-45**), of which one complete (**40**).

- Type 6, which is decorated with tongues on the shoulder like Type 5, but with the circlets inside the tongues, is represented with three examples (**46-48**).

- Type 7, where simple grooves have replaced all other decoration on the shoulder, is represented with only two examples (**49-50**).

- A variant of Type 8, a distinctive type with false volutes, hatched flanges, and spirals on the shoulder, is represented with two fragments (**52-53**).

- There are a few examples of Type 12 (**54-58**), with spirals and circlets on the shoulder, of which only **54** is well preserved.

**59** with its elongated body adds a new type to the typology of the Cretan lamps established by Catling & Catling (1992). **60** has been catalogued as an import because of its clay (hard, pale brown), shape, decoration, as well as for lack of published parallels on Crete. The absence of oversize lamps as well as of *dilychnoi* from a cultic area, such as Building C-D, is somewhat puzzling especially when these types are encountered in other sanctuaries.<sup>17</sup> The nozzle flange on **31** could belong to a *dilychnos* or an elaborate lamp. Such flanges usually, but not always, constitute features of elaborate lamps.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Bailey 1985; Jaworska 2018; Majcherek and Zych 2011; Sussman 1995.

<sup>14</sup> Bailey has identified some local imitations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi; 1985, 22.

<sup>15</sup> For a review of the issue, see Chevrollier 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Majcherek and Zych 2011, 369.

<sup>17</sup> For example, the temple on the acropolis of Eleutherna, Spanou 2012. Lebessi (pers. comm.) has suggested that the lack of *dilychnoi* lamps at Kato Syme may be due to the fact that the sanctuary did not receive visitors from West Crete during the first millennium BC, thus associating the production of *dilychnoi* with western workshops.

<sup>18</sup> Spanou 2012, 452, figs 3-4; and Apostolakou 1987, fig. 37.

Despite their rich typology, there is no obvious chronological development in the Cretan lamps.<sup>19</sup> For about two centuries, from the early 1st until the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD, they maintain the same shape, with the same range of types occurring in both early and late deposits. And to complicate matters further, the molds remain crisp throughout the centuries owing “to the repeated use of an original series of archetypes for the production of new plaster molds”.<sup>20</sup> A brief but useful review by the Catlings of other Knossian deposits outside the Unexplored Mansion points to the same conclusion. At Monasteriaki Kephala, for example, standard Type 2 coexists with Types 4 (crosses and circlets) and 7 (grooves) in a context of the second half of the 1st century AD.<sup>21</sup> Although not included in their publication, Catling and Catling refer twice in passing to a small number of unpublished fragments found in Augustan deposits (but not represented in the Unexplored Mansion), which may suggest that the Cretan lamp might have gone into production soon after the establishment of the Colonia Iulia Nobilis in 25 BC.<sup>22</sup>

Most of the Cretan lamps listed below were found in Trench Mu 48 on the east part (and in the open area) of Building C-D (**9-11, 16-17, 21, 24-25, 28-30, 34-38, 40, 42-44, 46, 48, 50-51, 54, 57**), some outside of the Building, in Trench Mu 49, (**14-15, 22, 26**), and about a dozen from Trench Lamda 48, which contains Room D (**13, 18-20, 47, 49, 52-53, 55-56, 58-59**). The highly disturbed stratigraphy of Building C-D precludes us from using the lamps to date the various architectural phases of the building.

**Type 1: Standard Ivy Leaf (warts, grooves, leaves)**

**9.** (Uncatalogued #065; Trench Mu 48, level 8; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment from shoulder. Ivy leaf with small concentric circle on one side. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 [pink]. Dimensions: 0.01 x 0.01.

**10.** (Uncatalogued #030; Trench Mu 48, levels 3, 7, 8; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Four joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body, and complete handle. Concave discus with part of filling hole. Thick ridge separates discus from shoulder. Deep groove on ring handle. Ivy leaves at right angles to nozzle and handle, two nipples at either side of root handle, and one nipple on one side of nozzle root. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Brown slip. PH. 0.045; PL. 0.076.

**11.** (Uncatalogued #028; Trench Mu 48, level 6; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Cretan, ivy leaf. Six joining fragments preserving part of nozzle, half of shoulder and part of lower body, and complete handle. Long nozzle with bridge. Deep groove on

<sup>19</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 311.

<sup>20</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 309.

<sup>21</sup> Carington Smith 1982, 290-291, nos. L133-135.

<sup>22</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 312, 316.

ring handle. Tongues on shoulder; ivy leaf and chevrons on bridge of nozzle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. PH. 0.036. PL. 0.119.

**12.** (Uncatalogued #072; Corridor Lamda 48 and Lamda 49, level 3; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving small part of shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf and wart. TF: 7.5YR 6/4 [pink]. Traces of brown slip. PL. 0.042.

**13.** (Uncatalogued #082; Trench Lamda 48, level 13; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf, pair of grooves and nipple. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). PL. 0.038.

**14.** (Uncatalogued #088; Trench M 49, level 3; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Part of ivy leaf, groove, and wart. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.03.

**15.** (Uncatalogued #096; Trench M 49, level 3; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Pair of ivy leaves interrupted by wart. Panels separated by pairs of ridges. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.046.

**16.** (Uncatalogued #099; Trench Mu 48, level 10; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Ivy leaf and pair of grooves. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). Traces of brown slip. PL. 0.042.

**17.** (Uncatalogued #109; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of disk. Ivy leaf. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.32.

**18.** (Uncatalogued #111; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , from room D of Building C-D; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving nozzle. Tip of ivy leaf. 10YR 7/6 yellow. Black slip. PL. 0.052.

**19.** (Uncatalogued #113; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , from Room D of Building C-D; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of disk. Ivy leaf, wart. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.04.

**20.** (Uncatalogued #114; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , from room of Building C-D; Pl. 1). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of disk. Ivy leaf and wart. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Black slip. PL. 0.042.

**21.** (Uncatalogued #125; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf and chevrons. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.04.

**22.** (Uncatalogued #129; Trench M 49, level 2; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Ivy leaf between pairs of grooves. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Brown slip. PL. 0.032.

**23.** (Uncatalogued #130; Trench M 48, entrance to Room D of Building C-D; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf, grooves, and wart. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Brown slip. PH. 0.015; PL. 0.047.

**24.** (Uncatalogued #135; Trench Mu 48, level 7; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.03.

**25.** (Uncatalogued #137; Trench Mu 48, level 7; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving handle, part of shoulder and lower body. Ivy leaf and warts. TF: gray. PH. 0.038 (with handle).

**26.** (Uncatalogued #138; Trench M 49, level 3; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Trench Mu 48 [minus Beta] level 7; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part shoulder and discus. Ivy leaf, wart flanked by panels with pairs of grooves. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. PL. 0.045.

**Type 2: Standard Ivy Leaf (warts, grooves, leaves), but chevrons on the nozzle**

**27.** (HM 20962; Baulk Lamda 48 and Lamda 49, level 3; Fig. 1; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Almost complete. Missing part of handle. Concentric grooves on discus. Ring base. Ivy leaves on shoulder at right angle to handle and nozzle. Chevrons on bridge of nozzle, instead of ivy leaf. Nipples at either side of nozzle root and at either side of handle root. Groove count 2-3-1. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip, black at places. H. 0.03; max. d. 0.052; discus d. 0.032; base d. 0.03; L. 0.11.

**28.** (Uncatalogued #098; Trench Mu 48, level 10; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of nozzle, shoulder, and disk. Chevrons on nozzle and wart. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). Red slip. PL. 0.04.

**29.** (Uncatalogued #124; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Chevrons on root of nozzle, wart, and ivy leaf. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Brown slip. PL. 0.045.

**30.** (Uncatalogued #126; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Ivy leaf. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of red slip. PL. 0.026.

**Type 3: Standard type with prominent nozzle flanges**

**31.** (Uncatalogued #037; without provenance, 1973; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Cretan, ivy leaf. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus, filing-hole, shoulder, and root of nozzle. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Ivy leaf between two nipples on one side of shoulder. Prominent nozzle flange with three dotted circlets between lateral flange and ridge. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Brown slip. PL. 0.069.

**Type 4: Circlets and crosses**

**32.** (HM 32386; collected from NW corner of Building C-D; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Cretan, ivy leaf. Intact, except for small hole below nozzle. Concave



discus with large hole at center. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Deep groove on handle. Flat base. Ivy leaf on bridge with two nipples at either side. On shoulder, between pairs of grooves, ivy leaf and “circlets and crosses” group. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. H. 0.045; max d. 0.055; discus d. 0.032; base d. 0.035; L. 0.115.

**33.** (Uncatalogued #003; baulk between Lamda 48 and Lamda 49, level 3; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Four joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body, and root of handle. Panels of “noughts and crosses”. Four grooves near handle. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. PH. 0.025; discus d. 0.037.

**34.** (Uncatalogued #061; Trench Mu 48, level 8; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of lower body, shoulder and discus. Stump of handle. On shoulder, circlets and crosses between pairs of grooves. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 [pink]. PH. 0.03.

**35.** (Uncatalogued #103; Trench Mu 48, level 10; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of disk. Circlets and crosses. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.025.

**36.** (Uncatalogued #110; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of disk. Circlets and crosses. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.035.

**37.** (Uncatalogued #134; Trench Mu 48, level 7; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and lower body, beginning of discus, and stump of handle. Circlets and crosses flanked by panels of three grooves. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Slip: red. H. 0.027.

**38.** (Uncatalogued #136; Trench Mu 48, level 7; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and discus. Chevron, circlets and crosses. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.05.

**39.** (Uncatalogued; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\beta$ , from room D of Building C-D; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving nozzle, part of shoulder, grooves of discus, and part of filing-hole. Chevron, circlets and crosses. TF: not examined.

#### **Type 5: Tongues and circlets, chevron or leaf on the nozzle**

**40.** (HM 20961; Trench Mu 48, levels 8+9; Fig. 1; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Restored. Complete profile. Missing part of discus and largest part of bridge to nozzle. Concentric grooves on discus. Deep groove on handle. Oval-shaped, ring base. Tongues on shoulder with circlets between them; beginning of chevrons on bridge, nipples at either side of nozzle root. Crisp mold. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Reddish brown slip. H. 0.042 (with handle); max. d. 0.065; discus d. 0.04; base d. 0.039-0.043 (oval); L. 0.134.

**Type 5 Variant: Tongues on shoulder**

**41.** (Uncatalogued #038; without provenance, 1973; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving small part of discus, part of shoulder and lower body, and complete handle. Thick ridge separates discus from shoulder. Deep groove on ring handle. Long tongues on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. PH. 0.042; PL. 0.083.

**42.** (HM 20964; Trench Mu 48, level 7; Fig. 2; Pl. 2). Moldmade. Restored. Missing large part of rim, shoulder and base. Long tongues on shoulder, incised chevrons on the nozzle. Worn mold. TF: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Slip: 2.5YR 6/8. H: 0.037; est. base d. 0.035; PL. 0.135.

**43.** (Uncatalogued #107; Trench Mu 48, level 12). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and disk. Long tongues on shoulder. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). PL. 0.048.

**44.** (Uncatalogued #127; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving 2/3 of shoulder, part of disc, and stump of handle. Long tongues on shoulder. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of red slip. PH. 0.031.

**45.** (Uncatalogued #139; Trench Lamda 49, level 7). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder, lower body, and stump of handle. Tongues. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. PH. 0.027.

**Type 6: Circlets in the tongues, chevrons on nozzle**

**46.** (Uncatalogued #101; Trench Mu 48, level 10; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and bridge of nozzle. Remains of chevron, wart and tongue with circlet in it. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of brown slip. PL. 0.06.

**47.** (Uncatalogued #121; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 3). Three joining fragments preserving beginning of discus, part of shoulder and lower body. Tongues with small circles inside. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Traces of brown slip. PH. 0.028; PL. 0.055.

**48.** (Uncatalogued #133; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Ivy leaf and tongues with circles inside. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of brown slip. PL. 0.038.

**Type 7: Grooves on shoulder**

**49.** (HM 20963; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ ; Fig. 2; Pl. 3). Moldmade, Restored with wrong type of nozzle. Several joining fragments preserving largest part of discus, three quarters of shoulder and lower body, and entire base. Missing nozzle and handle. Concave discus with filling hole in the middle, ridge between discus and shoulder. Disc base slightly concave underneath. Grooves on shoulder, pair of warts on either side of nozzle root. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Slip: black and red at places. H. 0.033; discus d. 0.042; base d. 0.043; PL. 0.082.

**50.** (Uncatalogued #106; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 3). Two joining fragments preserving part of shoulder, body and beginning of disk. Stump of handle. Grooves and wart. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.085.

**51.** (Uncatalogued #049; Trench Mu 48, level 7). Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and base. Small knob on shoulder. Grooves on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. PH. 0.037; PL. 0.053.

**Type 8, variant: False volute with hatched flanges and spirals on shoulder**

**52.** (Uncatalogued #017; Lamda 48-49, level 3; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus and shoulder. Concave discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Row of spirals and circlets on shoulder. Volute at root of nozzle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6. Red slip. Discus d. 0.046; PL. 0.075.

**53.** (Uncatalogued #115; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , from Room D of Building C-D; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving nozzle. False volute with hatched flanges. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. PL. 0.034.

**Type 12: Spirals and circlets**

**54.** (HM 20975; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Fig. 2; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving discus, largest part of shoulder, part of lower body and base, and entire handle. Concave discus with large hole at center. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Deep groove on handle. Base concave underneath. Plain discus. Two rows of circlets on shoulder, with row of spirals in between. Remains of chevrons on nozzle bridge. TF: fine, 7.5YR 8/4 pink. Black slip, dipped. PH. 0.045; discus d. 0.035; PL. 0.085.

**55.** (Uncatalogued #083; Trench Lamda 48, level 13; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and beginning of discus. Spirals and circlets. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.028.

**56.** (Uncatalogued #118; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder, beginning of disk, and root of nozzle. Rows of circles and spirals. Chevrons on nozzle. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Traces of black slip. PL. 0.045.

**57.** (Uncatalogued #108; Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder. Circlets and spirals with long stem. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PL. 0.032.

**58.** (Uncatalogued #112; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , from Room D of Building C-D; Pl. 3). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder, root of nozzle, and beginning of disk. Rows of circlets and concentric circles. Chevrons on nozzle. TF: 10YR 7/6 yellow. Brown slip. PL. 0.048.

**New Type**

**59.** (HM 20967; Trench Lamda 48, level 15a; Fig. 2; Pl. 3). Five joining fragments preserving part of discus, filling hole, shoulder, lower body, small part of base, and entire handle. Elongated body. Groove separates discus from shoulder. Flat base. Deep groove on handle. Elliptical design surrounded by circlets and raised “bump” below handle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). Black and red slip, fully coated. PH. 0.05; max. d. 0.06; PL. 0.095.

**Import (?)**

**60.** (AMH 20966; Trench Lamda 48 [minus Gamma] level 13; Fig.3; Pl. 3). Import? Intact. Deep and concave discus with large hole in the middle. Concentric circles separate discus from shoulder. Long nozzle with oval shape wick hole. Flat base slightly recessed. Deep groove on handle. Pair of volutes with long stem originating from wick hole. TF: fine, hard, 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. Dark brown slip, fully coated. H. 0.044 (with handle); max d. 0.067; discus d. 0.046; base d. 0.042; L. 0.13.

**III. ROMAN LAMPS**

While during the 1st century AD the production and consumption of Ivy Leaf lamps and their variants dominated the Cretan market, there is also evidence for a small number of imported Roman lamps (Broneer types XXI-XXIV) in the pre-Trajanic deposits of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos.<sup>23</sup> By the end of the 1st century AD, however, there is a noticeable decrease in the numbers of the Cretan lamps in the Knossian deposits. Although they continue to appear until the end of the 2nd century AD, they are outnumbered by locally produced Roman lamps (mostly Broneer type XXV). The deposits associated with the Claudian destruction in the Unexplored Mansion yielded 12% Hellenistic moldmade lamps, 71% Cretan, and only 12.5% of the Roman type. By the early 2nd century AD, the percentages had changed at the expense of the Cretan lamps. In the Trajanic deposits, the Roman lamps occupied 58% of the total population leaving the Cretan lamps behind at 37%. By Hadrian's time, the percentages were roughly 20% Cretan and 80% Roman.<sup>24</sup> Because Cretan and Roman lamps concur in Roman burials, they cannot be used for narrow dating-- other than to say that their context is dated within a wide margin: from the late 1st to the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Following Catling & Catling's example in their study of the Roman lamps from the Unexplored Mansion, I have also opted to adhere to the Broneer typology (as established by Oscar Broneer in *Corinth* IV:2).

<sup>24</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 308.

<sup>25</sup> See chamber tomb at Matala in Lebessi 1969, 248; Tomb I in Wardle 1972; and Roman burial at Herakleion in Sakellarakis 1968, 562, pl. 708d.

The majority of the Roman lamps found in Building C-D belong to Broneer type XXV with a few exceptions, such as **62**, fragments **92, 128** (Broneer XXII?) and **101** (Broneer XXVII). Type XXV describes a round, moldmade lamp with a small, rounded nozzle without volutes, occasionally heart-shaped (**88, 90, 99**), and a small vertical pierced handle; the shoulder is usually decorated with tongues; and the discus carries a host of subjects in relief: from mythical and erotic scenes to animals and birds. The clay is soft, reddish yellow in color (7.5YR 7/4-7/6). Finally, the majority carry traces of brown slip that has rubbed off.

The lamps were primarily used as sources of light in the sanctuaries by the worshippers, as the blackened nozzles on many of them indicate (**3, 62, 71, 75, 85, 90, 99, 109, 116, 123, 128, 135, 137, 138, 140, 143-144**). Aside from their practical scope, they must have been left behind as tokens of gratitude in the same way we light candles in a sacred place today. As to whether their iconography was connected with a specific cult or ritual practices, in the case of the Syme lamps, there are some cases worth exploring.

A variety of decorative motifs appears on the discus of the Roman lamps. Eros is depicted with certainty on lamps **61-62**, while his presence is surmised on **63**, which depicts a capricorn probably carrying Eros on a wagon, very similar to the image of a lamp found in the Idaean Cave.<sup>26</sup> It is tempting to connect the iconography of **61** which shows an Eros crowning a Hermaic stele with the cult of  $\psi\theta\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  Hermes, Eros, and Aphrodite, attested in Athens through the literary sources. According to the Byzantine lexicon of Suda, the cult was introduced by Theseus after Phaedra whispered bad things about Hippolytus to Theseus's ear.<sup>27</sup> The cult of Hermes  $\psi\theta\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  is also attested in Demosthenes (*Against Neaira*, 39), while other, later lexicographers refer to the cult of  $\text{Αφροδίτης ψιθύρου}$  in Athens. Although the sources mentioned above do not make a direct connection of the "murmuring" with oracular activities, the oracular nature of the cult is confirmed by a passage in Pausanias.

Pausanias, when describing the market-place of the city of Pharai in Achaia, connects the cult of Hermes with a Hermaic stele, bronze lamps, and oracular whispering: "The market-place of Pharae is of wide extent after the ancient fashion, and in the middle of it is an image of Hermes, made of stone and bearded. It is called Hermes of the Market, and by it is established an oracle. In front of the image is placed a hearth, which also is of stone, and to the hearth bronze lamps are fastened with lead. Coming at eventide, the inquirer of the god, having burnt incense upon the hearth, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them, puts on the altar on the right of the image a local coin, called a 'copper,' and asks in the ear of the god the particular question he wishes to put to him. After that he stops his ears

<sup>26</sup> Sapouna 1998, p. 27, no. 51, pl. 5 and p. 180, no. 51, pl. 31:2.

<sup>27</sup> Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 46, note 173.

and leaves the market-place. On coming outside he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever utterance he hears he considers oracular".<sup>28</sup>

The image of Eros crowning a Hermaic stele is rare. I am aware of two other examples only, both preserved very fragmentarily: one from the Idaean cave; and another, without provenance, at the Chania Museum.<sup>29</sup> When studying the iconography of lamps, it is important to keep in mind that their imagery is connected more with the workshops where they were made and less with the location they were found. The fact that the same decorative subjects are found in a variety of contexts (religious, domestic, and funerary) reinforces the idea that there is very little, if any, connection between the iconography of the lamps and specific cults. Most of the iconographic subjects on the Syme lamps are also encountered in the lamps of the Idaean Cave, in the Knossian deposits, as well as on lamps found at Benghazi. However, when a motif is rare, such as that of **61**, we may entertain the idea that it was made at a workshop not far from Syme, inspired by the cult of Hermes. To strengthen further the possible connection of **61** with the cult of Hermes, I will also mention the discovery of four miniature clay Hermaic stelae at Syme.<sup>30</sup>

Lamp **62** belongs to Broneer type XXIII, which is considered by Catling & Catling to be an import, and its iconography is unusual. While the image of Eros standing by a tree or a column is not uncommon on Roman lamps in Cretan sanctuaries (e.g. Idaean Cave and Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos), he is usually depicted carrying Heracles' club.<sup>31</sup> **62** is exceptional because Eros is carrying a torch (λαμπραδηφόρος). Scanlon has explored the connection of Eros as a runner in torch races of ephebic contests, both as an agonistic divinity and an advocate of ephebic friendship.<sup>32</sup> Note that the Eros of **62** is depicted with his torch down, probably resting at the end of such a contest. **62**, a moldmade product made in numerous copies, was not custom-made following some worshippers' order; however, the fact that its imagery is not popular in other Cretan sanctuaries may highlight the active participation of the worshipper in his/her choice of offerings.

In the same line of thought, I suggest that lamp **72**, which shows a frontal female holding a sistrum, was chosen because its imagery resonated with specific rituals at the sanctuary. The female could represent a priestess or a deity, perhaps Isis, although she is not wearing the knotted, fringed garment.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence that Isis was worshipped at the Syme sanctuary, although the cult of Isis and Sarapis had been introduced to Crete already from the 2nd century BC (for a

<sup>28</sup> Pausanias 7. 22. 2-3; Loeb translation by W.H.S. Jones, reprint 1988; also Jaillard 2007, 233; and Petropoulos 1999, 135-136.

<sup>29</sup> Sapouna 1998, 24, no. 23, pl. 2 and pl. 40:1.

<sup>30</sup> Lebessi 1973, 197, pl. 193: d.

<sup>31</sup> Sapouna 1998, 25-26, nos. 33-35; pl. 3; Coldstream 1973, 52, no. 50, pl. 30.

<sup>32</sup> Scanlon 1992.

<sup>33</sup> On Isis holding the sistrum, see Walters 1988, 20-21.

recent review of Egyptianizing cults on Crete, Vogeikoff-Brogan 2016). What is significant in the iconography of **72** is the sistrum itself which calls to mind a bronze sistrum of the Geometric-early Archaic period found at Syme in 1972.<sup>34</sup> Since I have not found any parallels for the imagery of **L72**, it is not unlikely that it reached the Sanctuary at Syme because it connected to local cultic activities.

The iconography of **69**, which depicts a naked figure sitting on an elaborate chair and playing the lyre, is also unclear. Its poor state of preservation does not lend to a secure identification of the sex of the seated figure; one could argue that she is a woman on the basis of its hairstyle (I discern a bun). The closest parallels are two fragments from the Idaean cave showing a male, seated figure dressed in a long chiton playing the lyre; and two more from the Roman Mausoleum at Gortyn.<sup>35</sup> The lyre player on these lamps has been identified with Orpheus. Because of the many differences in the iconography of **69** and that of the examples from the Idaean Cave and Gortyn, the identity of the lyre player on **69** remains uncertain.

The imagery of **68** could also be connected with cultic activities, although not necessarily specific to the cult(s) of the Syme sanctuary. It depicts a female flutist heading toward an altar; it has been suggested that the tree behind her could connect the scene with the cult of Hermes κεδρίτης.<sup>36</sup> The continuation of the cult of Hermes κεδρίτης in Roman times is attested on the Nikanor inscription (see above) found on the surface of Buidling C-D.<sup>37</sup> However, the imagery is not unique to the Syme sanctuary: three lamps with the same scene have been found at the Idaean Cave, four others are part of the museum collections at Herakleion, Rethymnon, and Chania, and a few more have been found outside Crete.<sup>38</sup>

Other lamps displaying cultic imagery include: a frontal female figure with a short himation (**65**) resting her bow on an altar should be identified with Artemis; and the running stag of **64** was most likely chased by dogs, alluding to the myth of Actaeon.<sup>39</sup> The subject of Artemis Κυνηγέτις was popular on Crete with parallels in the deposits of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, the Idaean Cave, the Roman Mausoleum at Gortyn, Eleutherna, Kavousi, and other sites.<sup>40</sup> The examples from Kavousi and Gortyn carry inscriptions that indicate that they are products of the prolific ΓΑΜΟΥ workshop.<sup>41</sup> It must be noted, however, that the imagery of **65**

<sup>34</sup> Lambropoulou 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Sapouna 1998, 34, 141, nos. 107-108, pl. 10; 183, nos. 107-108, pl. 41:3.

<sup>36</sup> Lebessi 1973, 198, pl. 205.

<sup>37</sup> Zarifis 2008, 260-262, pl. 38; and Lebessi and Stefanakis 2004, 187.

<sup>38</sup> Sapouna 1998, 38, nos. 134-137, pl. 12; and 186, nos. 134-136, pl. 35: 3; for parallels on Delos, Ephesos, and Benghazi, Sapouna 1998, 38, no. 136.

<sup>39</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 279, nos. L303-309, esp. 308, pl. 260.

<sup>40</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 279, nos. L300-303, esp. comments under no. L302, pl. 235; Sapouna 1998, 21-22, nos. 4-6, pl. 1; 175-176, nos. 4-6, fig. 14, pl. 33:2; Mercado 1974, 236, pl. 35: 11-12.

<sup>41</sup> Sapouna 1998, 175; more on the ΓΑΜΟΥ workshop, Sapouna 1998, 95-102.

shows some differences from the other examples: flowing himation, and right hand bend up probably reaching for the quiver.

Lamps decorated with frontal sphinxes (**73-74**) or heads of Medusa (**75-78**) are popular in Cretan contexts and their motifs must have had an apotropaic function.<sup>42</sup> The Medusa heads on the Syme lamps are very worn and could also be identified as heads of Dionysos.<sup>43</sup> We could probably attribute an apotropaic function to **101** which preserves a wreath on the discus. Many of these lamps also carry a mask on the center top of the wreath. The wreath-on-mask type of lamp is represented with many examples in the Hadrianic and post-Hadrianic deposits of the Unexplored Mansion.<sup>44</sup>

The iconography on several lamps from Syme (**79-89**) could be associated with circus scenes which were part of every Roman amphitheater's repertoire.<sup>45</sup> Scenes with gladiators, single or engaged in combat, are common at Syme (**79-85**), as well as in other Cretan contexts, such as the Idaean Cave and the Unexplored Mansion.<sup>46</sup> I have included **82** here which depicts a male, corpulent figure fighting a standing animal, although this image could also be interpreted as mythological.

Overall, the number of lamps decorated with erotic scenes is very small (**87-88**); in contrast, erotic iconography is popular among the Roman lamps of the Idaean cave.<sup>47</sup> Other iconographic motifs include animals such as the head of a bull (**92**) or an agrimi (**93**); a few eagles (**95-98**), as well as roosters on the discus of two other lamps (**99-100**).

The eagle (with or without wreath) as a decorative motif is common in the deposits of the Unexplored Mansion.<sup>48</sup> One example from Knossos (HM 1586) found during road construction merits special mention for it is a product of the ΓΑΜΟΥ workshop, as indicated by the inscription underneath its base.<sup>49</sup> Another Knossian example comes from the Sanctuary of Demeter.<sup>50</sup> Several lamps from the Idaean Cave carried eagles (with or without wreath) on the discus.<sup>51</sup> Other Roman lamps with eagles have been found at Lyttos and in a Roman grave in Kavousi.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 282, no. L335, pl. 237; Coldstream 1973, 52, no. 51, pl. 30; Sapouna 1998, p. 37, nos. 126-127, pl. 11; Mercado 1974, 237, no. 15, pl. 36.

<sup>43</sup> For Medusa parallels, Sapouna 1998, 36, no. 118, pl. 11; 183-184, no. 118, pl. 22; Ioannidou-Karetsou 1979, pl. 667e; for an example signed by the ΓΑΜΟΥ workshop, see lamp from Elounda in Davaras 1980, 38, no. 47, pl. 11b-c.

<sup>44</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 291-292, nos. L454-471, pls. 242, 265; an example from Matala in Lebessi 1969, 246-248, pl. 279d.

<sup>45</sup> Sapouna 1998, 145-146.

<sup>46</sup> Sapouna 1998, 42-44, nos. 170-189, pls. 15-16; 188-189, pl. 16; Catling & Catling 1992, 282-283, esp. no. L341, pl. 238.

<sup>47</sup> Sapouna 1998, 147.

<sup>48</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 288-289, nos. L414-427, pl. 241.

<sup>49</sup> Sapouna 1998, 195, no. 312a, pl. 39: 2-3.

<sup>50</sup> Coldstream 1973, 51, J. 44, pl. 30; deposit J dated to the late 1st-mid 2nd century AD.

<sup>51</sup> Sapouna 1998, 58-59, nos. 312-320.

<sup>52</sup> Sapouna 1998, 195, nos. 312b, 314a.



The Syme corpus also included three lamps (**102-104**) with aniconic decoration (rosettes); the color of the fabric and the firing of **102** may indicate a non-Cretan origin. One fragment of a lamp from Syme carried the beginning (initial letter) of a fabricant's or workshop's signature underneath its base (**119**). Finally, five lamps (**120-124**) belong to the globule type, of which only one had its discus decorated (**123**). Globule lamps are represented with many examples in the Unexplored Mansion in contexts dating as early as the 1st century and as late as the early 3rd century AD.<sup>53</sup> Coldstream, in addition to publishing a complete example from the Sanctuary of Demeter found in a context of the late 1st/early 2nd century AD, also refers to a chance find from the Knossos area inscribed ΓΑΜΟΥ, which confirms that the globule lamp was also produced on Crete and was not imported from Athens or Corinth.<sup>54</sup> Globule lamps were also found in Roman burials in the area of Knossos.<sup>55</sup> In Cyrenaica, Bailey reported twenty-two globule lamps from the excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi, of which only one, as in our case, is decorated with an eagle. Interestingly enough, globule lamp **123** could also be preserving the feet of an eagle.

Fragment **125** recalls Broneer type XXII and is likely an import. Although very little is preserved of the discus, its iconography may be close to that of a lamp from Corinth with Pegasus as its main motif.<sup>56</sup> **126** is unusual because it carries floral decoration (acanthus?) on the shoulder; it recalls Broneer type XXVII B.<sup>57</sup> Since it does not have any parallels in the Knossian contexts or elsewhere on Crete, it should probably be considered as an import. Finally, the function of **127-128**, which could be either molds or wastes, is unclear.

### 1. With Decorated Discus (arranged by subject)

#### Cultic Imagery

**61.** (HM 20970; Trench Lamda 48, level 11; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Five joining fragments preserving discus and beginning of shoulder. Concave discus. Ridge and pair of grooves separate discus from shoulder. Filling hole at middle of discus (although largely restored), air hole at 6.30. Naked winged figure (Eros) crowning a bearded Hermaic stele. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Slip: reddish brown. Discus d. 0.063.

**62.** (HM 20965; Trench Lamda 48, level 11; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Almost complete, missing small part from nozzle on the underside. Broneer XXIII. Concave discus. Filling hole at 8 o'clock. Unpierced air-hole at 6 o'clock. Nozzle blackened. Small tongues on shoulder. Pair of volutes above nozzle. Flat base,

<sup>53</sup> Catling & Catling 1992, 300-301, nos. L613-635.

<sup>54</sup> Coldstream 1973, 50, J48, pl. 30.

<sup>55</sup> Wardle 1972, 277, no. 101, fig. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Broneer 1930, 173, no. 428, fig. 100.

<sup>57</sup> *Isthmia* III, pl. 30; *Corinth* IV:2, 80, fig. 38.

outlined. Ring handle with grooves. Frontal, naked, winged, male figure (Eros) leaning with left arm against column, and holding torch with right hand. Unclear pair of horizontal objects next to his left hand. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of dark red slip. Max. d.: 0.067; discus d.: 0.05; base d.: 0.036; L: 0.107.

**63.** (HM 20976; Lamda 48-49, level 3; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Several fragments, some joining, preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body, base, and root of handle. Pair of grooves separate discus from shoulder. Lugs on shoulder at cross axis? Flat base defined by groove. Running capricorn looking back on discus (Possibly Eros on a wagon pulled by a capricorn.) Base decorated with pairs of volutes in relief. TF: fine, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. Brownish black slip. PH. 0.035.

**64.** (Uncatalogued #002; Trench Mu 48, level 15; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus, shoulder, and root of handle. Concave discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Tongues on shoulder. Part of running stag. Scene on discus related to the death of Actaeon? Crisp mold. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). Dimensions: 0.034 x 0.066.

**65.** (HM 20969; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Four joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body, and nozzle. Concave discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Blackened nozzle. Part of frontal female figure (Artemis?), in a short himation flowing to her right, and right arm bent near her face. Resting her bow (?) on altar to her left. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.022; max d. 0.068; PL. 0.067.

**66.** (Uncatalogued #006; Trench Lamda 48, level 11; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Two non-joining fragments preserving part of discus. Part of naked male (?) figure wearing a chiton crosswise on one fragment; fern on the other fragment. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions (a): 0.025 x 0.015; (b): 0.02 x 0.01.

**67.** (HM 20979; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal female figure carrying an indistinguishable object (tree?). TF: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. Dimensions: 0.026 x 0.029.

**68.** (HM 20968; Trench Lamda 48, level 9; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Five joining fragments preserving largest part of discus and shoulder. Concave discus. Small tongues around discus. Filling hole at 2 o'clock. Female dressed figure, in profile, turning left and blowing a pipe; a tree behind her, round altar in front. TF: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. White wash? Max. d.: 0.079.

**69.** (HM 20977; Trench M 49, level 2; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Pair of grooves separates discus from shoulder. Seated, naked, male figure playing the lyre. Fairly crisp mold. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip. Dimensions: 0.048 x 0.041.

**70.** (HM 20953; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving complete profile. Missing part of discus, small part of shoulder and nozzle, and part of lower body. Traces of burning at nozzle. Concave

discus with raised edge. Flat, recessed base. Tongues on shoulder. Remains of enthroned male figure (?) on discus. TF: Fine with inclusions, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). H. 0.053 (with handle); max. d. 0.079; discus d. 0.058; base d. 0.026; L. 0.104.

**71.** (HM 20951; Baulk Iota 52 and Kappa 52; Fig. 3; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Several joining fragments preserving largest part of discus, nozzle, large part of lower body, small part of base, and part of handle. Recessed discus with two filling holes at 5 and 6 o'clock. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Flat base, recessed. Pair of incisions on handle. Blackened nozzle. Tongues on shoulder. Remains of winged figure (?) on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine and soft, 7.5YR 7/4 to 7/6. Traces of red slip. H. 0.074 (w/handle); max. d. 0.053; discus d. 0.05; L. 0.093.

**72.** (HM 20978; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 4). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal female figure holding a sistrum with her left hand. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4. Traces of red slip. Dimensions: 0.027 x 0.026.

### **Apotropaic**

**73.** (Uncatalogued #007; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 5). Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal winged sphinx. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.038 x 0.035.

**74.** (Uncatalogued #120; Trench Lamda 48, level 15). Single fragment preserving part of discus. Upper part of frontal winged sphinx. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow.

**75.** (HM 20942; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Fig. 3; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Full profile. Missing part of discus, half of shoulder and nozzle, part of lower body and base. Concave discus with hole at 4 o'clock. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Small nozzle without bridge. Very low ring base. Blackened nozzle. Foliate shoulder. Medusa on discus. Traces of light brown slip. H. 0.046 (w/handle); max d. 0.075; discus d. (restored) 0.058; base d. 0.038; L. 0.10. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink).

**76.** (HM 20685a; Trench Lamda 48, entrance to the shrine; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal face (Medusa?). TF: fine, 5YR 7/8 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.037 x 0.02.

**77.** (HM 20685b; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal face (Medusa?). TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Dimensions: 0.039 x 0.027.

**78.** (HM 20685c; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Frontal face (Medusa?). TF: fine, 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.031 x 0.033.

**Circus Life**

**79.** (Uncatalogued #008a; Trench Lamda 48, level 5; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Helmeted head and upper body of gladiator. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Brownish black slip. Dimensions: 0.027 x 0.025.

**80.** (Uncatalogued #008b; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Part of torso and right hand of gladiator with sword. TF: fine, 7.5YR 8/4 pink (buff pink). Black slip. Dimensions: 0.039 x 0.026.

**81.** (Uncatalogued #008c; no provenance; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Right arm of gladiator. Dimensions: 0.022x0.012.

**82.** (Uncatalogued #011; Trench Trench Mu 48, level 8; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus. Naked (?) body of male figure striding left and fighting animal? Another animal biting his left thigh? TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Dimensions: 0.03 x 0.02.

**83.** (Uncatalogued #012; Trench Trench Mu 48; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus and shoulder. Right arm and folds of himation of gladiator? Floral decoration on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.025 x 0.022.

**84.** (Uncatalogued #021; Lamda 48-49, level 4; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus and shoulder. Groove and ridge separate discus from shoulder. Right side of gladiator? Tongues on shoulder. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.052 x 0.035.

**85.** (HM 20949; no provenance; Fig. 3; Pl. 5). Almost complete, except for handle (restored). Concave discus. Two filling holes at 4 and 6 o'clock. Pair of ridges separates discus from shoulder. Small nozzle. Low ring base with nipple underneath. Blackened nozzle. Tongues on shoulder. Gladiator with animal (?) on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). H: 0.029 w/out handle; max d. 0.07; discus diam. 0.048; base d. 0.036; L. 0.09.

**86.** (HM 20971; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving small part of discus, 1/4 of shoulder, part of lower body and root of handle. Concave discus with traces of filling hole. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Tongues on shoulder. Two figures in action, facing each other. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PH. 0.028; max. d. 0.065; PL. 0.05.

**87.** (Uncatalogued #004; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 5). Single fragment preserving part of discus. Head of helmeted figure facing right (?). Worn mold. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.041 x 0.035.

### **Erotic Scenes**

**88.** (HM 20941; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Fig. 4; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Complete profile. Missing small part of nozzle, part of lower body and base, and upper part of handle. Concave discus with hole at 3 o'clock. Raised panels on shoulder at cross axis. Pair of grooves and ridge separate discus from shoulder. Flat base defined with incised circle. Tongues on shoulder. Erotic scene between dressed male figure and naked female figure. TF: fine, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. Black slip on upper part. H. 0.035 (without handle); max d. 0.08; discus d. 0.058; base d. 0.038; L. 0.10.

**89.** (HM 20972; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body, and small part of base. Concave discus with filling hole and part of air-hole. Groove and ridge separate discus from shoulder. Beginning of heart-shaped nozzle. Flat base defined with incised circle. Tongues on shoulder. Largest part of ithyphallic figure. Crisp mold. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Black slip. PH. 0.325; max d. 0.04; L. 0.059.

### **Animals**

**90.** (HM 20948; Trench Lamda 48, associated with the reconstruction of the NW corner of Building C; Fig. 4; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Complete profile. Missing small part of shoulder, lower body and base. Concave discus. Filling hole at 6 o'clock. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Small nozzle without bridge. Pair of incisions on handle. Flat base. Blackened nozzle. Tongues on shoulder. Crouching animal on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red and black slip. H. 0.046; max d. 0.079; discus d. 0.05; L. 0.107.

**91.** (HM 20947; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Fig. 4; Pl. 5). Moldmade. Intact. Concave discus. Filling hole at 8 o'clock and air hole at 6 o'clock. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Heart shaped nozzle. Pair of incisions on handle. Low ring base. Tongues on shoulder. Hounds on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Brown slip, dipped. H. 0.052 (with handle); max d. 0.03; discus diam. 0.049; base diam. 0.035; L. 0.012.

**92.** (Uncatalogued #001; from cleaning the baulk outside Trench Lamda 48; Pl. 6). Broneer XII. Single fragment preserving part of discus, lower body, base, and root of handle. Concave discus. Pair of ridges separate discus with shoulder. Flat base, defined with incised circle. Head of bull in relief on discus. TF: fine, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. Remains of brown slip. Dimensions: 0.063 x 0.068.

**93.** (Uncatalogued #005; Trench Mu 48, level 1 and baulk; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Roman. Single fragment preserving part of discus and shoulder. Tongues on shoulder. Head of an "agrimi" (?) facing left. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.031x0.026.

**94.** (Uncatalogued #020; Trench Lamda 48, level 10). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus and shoulder. Tongues on shoulder. Hind legs of animal on discus. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6. Dimensions: 0.026 x 0.025.

### **Birds**

**95.** (HM 20943; Trench Lamda 48, level 13; Fig.4; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Full profile. Handle and part of shoulder, body, and base restored. Tongue (?) pattern around rim of discus. Concave discus with two filling holes at 3 and 8 o'clock. Part of eagle on discus. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6. H. 0.03; max. d. 0.06; PL. 0.075.

**96.** (Uncatalogued #041; without provenance, 1973). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus and shoulder. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Part of eagle on discus. Tongues on shoulder. TF: soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of red slip. Dimensions: 0.045 x 0.02.

**97.** (Uncatalogued #044; without provenance, 1973). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus, shoulder, and small part of lower body. Pair of incisions separate discus from shoulder. Feet of eagle (?) on discus. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.041 x 0.02.

**98.** (Uncatalogued #051; Trench Trench Mu 48, level 12; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Two fragments from discus. Floral decoration on one fragment, feet of eagle on the other. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Dimensions: 0.033 x 0.022; 0.025 x 0.023.

**99.** (HM 20946; Trench Lamda 48, level 13; Fig. 5; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Intact. Concave discus. Filling hole at 12 o'clock and air hole at 8 o'clock. Pair of grooves and ridge separates discus from shoulder. Short heart-shaped nozzle. Three incisions on handle. Flat base. Blackened nozzle. Leaves on shoulder. Rooster facing left on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine, soft, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. H. 0.047 (with handle); max d.0.074; discus diam. 0.048; L. 0.098.

**100.** (HM 20944; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Fig.5; Pl. 6). Complete profile. Missing part of shoulder and largest part of nozzle. Concave discus. Filling hole at 7 o'clock and air hole at 6 o'clock. Small nozzle. Three incisions on handle. Flat base. Leaves on shoulder. Rooster facing left on discus. Very worn mold. TF: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. H (with handle): 0.052; L. 0.091.

### **Wreath-and-mask**

**101.** (Uncatalogued #009; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ , 1973; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Broneer XXVII. Three joining fragments preserving part of discus and shoulder. Ridge and groove separate shoulder and discus. [Part of] wreath around discus. Egg-and-dart (?) on shoulder. Raised panel on shoulder at cross axis. TF: fine, 10YR 8/3 very pale brown. Traces of black slip. Dimensions: 0.08 x 0.035.

### Rosettes

**102.** (Uncatalogued #047; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving large part of discus and shoulder, part of nozzle and lower body. Concave discus with filling hole at center. Beginning of some raised relief at junction of shoulder with lower body. Short nozzle. Rosettes on discus. TF: hard, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Brown slip, dipped. PH. 0.018; PL. 0.071.

**103.** (HM 20957; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Six joining fragments preserving shoulder, small part of discus, beginning of nozzle, small part of base, and handle. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Tongues on shoulder. Traces of rosette petals on discus? Worn mold. TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink. White wash. Flat base with incised line. PH. 0.043; max. d. 0.078; L. 0.10 (after restoration).

**104.** (HM 20956; Trench Mu 49, level 2; Fig. 5; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Five joining fragments preserving largest part of shoulder, beginning of discus, and handle. Nozzle, lower body, and base restored. Concave discus. Ridge and groove separate discus from shoulder. Deep groove on handle. Remains of eight rosettes petals on discus. TF: Fine medium with small inclusions, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown. Traces of red slip. PH. 0.05; max. d. 0.076; discus d.: 0.06; PL. 0.108.

### Fragmentary or Illegible

**105.** (Uncatalogued #023; Trench Lamda 48, level 14). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of discus, shoulder, and root of nozzle. Air hole on discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Heart-shaped nozzle? Illegible scene on discus. Tongues on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.04 x 0.037.

**106.** (Uncatalogued #018; Lamda 48-49, level 3). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving ring handle and part of shoulder and lower body. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). Black slip, red at spots. PH. 0.037.

**107.** (Uncatalogued #029; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Four joining fragments preserving part of discus, large part of shoulder, root of nozzle, large part of lower body, small part of base, and root of handle. Concave discus with part of filling hole. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Short nozzle. Flat base, defined by incised circle. Tongues(?) on shoulder. Illegible scene on discus. TF: soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PL. 0.084; est. discus d. 0.055.

**108.** (Uncatalogued #022; Trench Trench Mu 48, level 13). Moldmade. Four joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, nozzle, lower body, and small part of base. Short nozzle. Very low ring base. Illegible on discus. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). PH. 0.025.

**109.** (Uncatalogued #016; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving edge of discus, part of shoulder and lower body. Complete nozzle. Blackened nozzle. Tongues on shoulder. Worn mold. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. PH. 0.022; PL. 0.063.

**110.** (Uncatalogued #036; without provenance, 1973; Pl. 6). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder and complete handle. Tongues on shoulder. TF: fine, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.027 x 0.056.

**111.** (HM 20945; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Complete profile. Missing part of discus, shoulder, lower body and base. Almost flat discus with two holes at 9 and 3 o'clock. No distinction between discus and shoulder. Small nozzle. Flat base, incised. Hole on handle unpierced. Illegible relief on discus. Worn mold. TF: fine and soft, 10YR 7/3 very pale brown. Traces of black slip, dipped. H. 0.045; max. d. 0.069; base d. 0.035; L. 0.095.

**112.** (HM 20954; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Complete profile. Missing largest part of discus, small part of shoulder, and largest part of lower body and base. Concave discus. Tongues on shoulder? Unpierced air-hole at 6 o'clock. Small heart-shaped nozzle. Flat base incised. Pair of incisions on handle. Worn mold. TF: 10YR 7/4 very pale brown. Traces of black slip. H.: 0.047 (with handle); max d. 0.079; L. 0.105.

**113.** (HM 20955; Trench Mu 48, level 10; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Restored from several fragments. Missing largest part of discus, and upper part of handle. Deep, concave discus, narrow shoulder, small nozzle, flat base incised. Unclear whether there was any decoration on the shoulder. Worn mold? TF: 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Black slip preserved in places. H.: 0.0375; max. d.: 0.07; base d. 0.035; L. 0.10.

**114.** (HM 20950; no provenance; Fig. 5; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Complete profile. Missing small part of discus, largest part of nozzle, and largest part of base. Deep, concave discus. Filling hole in the middle of discus. Pair of grooves and ridge separates discus from shoulder. Restored nozzle. Pair of incisions on handle. Flat base slightly recessed. Tongues on shoulder. Worn mold. TF: fine and soft, 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown). H. 0.053 (with handle); max d. 0.077; discus diam. 0.055; base d. 0.04; PL. 0.085.

**115.** (HM 20952; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Several joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, nozzle, and lower body. Complete handle. Concave discus preserving air-hole at 6 o'clock. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Pair of incisions on handle. Remains of a roughly heart-shaped nozzle. Relief decoration on discus, illegible. Worn mold. TF: fine, 2.5Y 7/4 pale yellow (surface has some greenish hue). Dark brown slip on upper body. H. 0.05 (with handle); max. d. 0.08; L. 0.106.

**116.** (HM 20985; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Fig. 6; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Full profile. Missing small part of discus and shoulder, and upper part of handle. Deep, concave discus with hole at 6 o'clock. Light ridge separates discus from shoulder. Flat base defined by incised circle. Blackened nozzle. Foliate on shoulder? Very



worn mold. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PH. 0.041; max. d. 0.068; discus d. 0.037; base d. 0.023; L. 0.092.

**117.** (Uncatalogued #090; Trench Mu 49, level 3). Single fragment preserving part of base, lower body, and small part of shoulder with one volute. TF: 7.5YR 6/4 light brown. Traces of black slip. PH. 0.022; PL. 0.068.

**118.** (Uncatalogued #032; Trench Mu 48, level 11). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus and shoulder. On shoulder, uncertain syntax (nipples alternating with raised panels?). Illegible scene on discus. TF: fine, 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Black slip. Dimensions: 0.037 x 0.023.

### Signed

**119.** (Uncatalogued #078; Trench Lamda 48, level 11; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of base. On the underfoot, low relief preserving letter A (?). TF: 7.5YR 7/4 pink (buff pink). H. 0.014; PL. 0.05.

### Globule Lamps

**120.** (HM 20973; Trench Lamda 48, level 15 $\alpha$ ; Fig. 6; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Intact. Deep, concave discus with small hole at center. Pair of ridges separates discus from shoulder. Small nozzle without bridge. Flat base, defined by incised circle. Three cutting marks on back side of handle. Three rows of globules on shoulder. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Black slip, dipped (?). H. 0.046 (with handle); max d. 0.06; discus d. 0.032; base d. 0.03; L. 0.08.

**121.** (HM 20974; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Missing small part of rim, discus, shoulder, and nozzle. Pair of ridges separate discus from shoulder. Nozzle restored. Three rows of globules on shoulder. Fairly crisp mold. TF: 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. H. 0.045 (with handle); max. d. 0.064; PL. (without restored nozzle): 0.057.

**122.** (HM 20974a; Trench Lamda 48, level 15; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, and lower body. Complete handle. Concave discus with central filling hole and remains of air hole. Three rows of globules on shoulder. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Traces of brown slip. PH. 0.035; discus d. 0.035; PL. 0.07.

**123.** (Uncatalogued #019; Trench Lamda 48, level 10; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Two joining fragments preserving part of nozzle, shoulder and small part of discus. Blackened nozzle. Feet of eagle (?) on discus. Three rows of globules on shoulder. TF: fine, soft, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. PH. 0.02; PL. 0.054.

**124.** (Uncatalogued #046; Trench Lamda 48, level 13, E 430). Moldmade. Several fragments, some joining, preserving part of base, lower body, and shoulder. Globules (?) on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Red slip.

**Imports (?)**

**125.** (Uncatalogued #015; Trench Lamda 48, level 14; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Import? Close to Broneer XXII. Two joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, nozzle, lower body and base. Concave discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Flat base, defined by incised circle. Front legs of a horse on discus. Pair of volutes at nozzle root. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Black slip. PH. 0.027; PL. 0.062.

**126.** (Uncatalogued #010; Trench Mu 48, level 11; Pl. 7). Moldmade. Single fragment preserving part of shoulder and small part of discus. Concave discus. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Floral decoration (acanthus?) on shoulder. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 very pale brown. Dimensions: 0.045 x 0.023.

**Wastes or Molds**

**127.** (Uncatalogued #031; Trench Mu 48, level 9; Pl. 7). Two joining fragments preserving part of lower body, one “nozzle,” and beginning of second “nozzle”. Pair of volutes on the one “nozzle.” TF: fine, 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown). Dimensions: 0.083 x 0.056.

**128.** (HM 31424; from the fabric of the east wall of Building C’s Roman successor; Pl. 7). Part of lower mold (?). Blackened nozzle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6. PL. 0.065.

**IV. BYZANTINE LAMPS**

In 1992 the excavation uncovered near the spring, outside the northeast corner of Building C-D (Trench Mu 47), a deposit of eighteen Byzantine lamps of two types: wheelmade “teapot” lamps (**129-136**) and moldmade lamps of the North African type (**137-145**). Both types date within the 6th and 7th centuries, perhaps extending to the 8th century AD.

Furthermore, in 1997, the excavation brought into light a small single-spaced Christian church located at the north-west part of the site (**Plate A**).<sup>58</sup> The first phase of the church has been dated to the 4th century AD. Following its destruction probably from an earthquake, the church was rebuilt on a smaller scale, and continued to function until the 7th century AD and possibly later. Outside the north wall of the church, the grave of a woman was excavated. The pottery found within the grave (**Plates 8-9**), which included fragments of two flasks (ασκοδάβλες) and the upper part of a small, short-necked amphora (μαγαρικό), dates the burial to the 9th-11th century AD.<sup>59</sup>

The excavator has suggested that both the church and the presence of Byzantine lamps by the spring, several centuries after the end of the cult of Hermes at Syme, may suggest that the place was still recognized as sacred and could

<sup>58</sup> Zarifis 2008, 263-265, pls. 38, 253-257.

<sup>59</sup> Bakirtzis 1989, 76-77, pl. 17:4.

possibly be identified with the *ιερόν ὄρος* that Ptolemy, the geographer, placed between Inatos and Hierapytna.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, water sources were frequently associated with cult and magic in antiquity. A roughly contemporary example is the so-called “Fountain of the Lamps” at Corinth, where the excavators recovered 1,461 lamps dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries AD.<sup>61</sup>

### “Teapot” Lamps

The wheelmade “teapot” lamp, made of fine, soft, reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) clay with few, small inclusions, is characterized by a tall neck, an everted, disk shaped rim, an elongated nozzle, and a vertical handle. The shape shows a wide distribution on Crete and appears, in addition to Kato Syme, in several sites, such as Amnisos, Eleutherna, Gortyn, Itanos, Knossos, and Matala, to mention a few.<sup>62</sup>

At Eleutherna, the “teapot” lamp is encountered in small quantities in contexts of the 5th and 6th centuries AD; by the end of the 6th and throughout the 7th century AD it is in common use.<sup>63</sup> At Gortyn, the excavations at the Praetorium yielded many “teapot” lamps;<sup>64</sup> more recent excavations at the Byzantine Quarter of Gortyn (South Building) have uncovered “teapot” lamps together with transport amphoras and other pottery dating from the end of the 7th to the 8th centuries AD.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, it seems that the production of the “teapot” lamp spanned more than two centuries.

Several of the Syme “teapot” lamps carry incised decoration: a star with four rays (**130, 131**), a star with six rays (**129, 134**), which can be interpreted as a cross sign. Baldini and Parello have suggested that the incised star on the Gortyn lamps could be the “signature” of a local workshop with a wide distribution across Crete. Nevertheless, we cannot be certain about the origin of the teapot lamps until their fabric is analyzed petrographically.<sup>66</sup> In addition to marking a workshop, the star could also indicate membership to a group of people with shared beliefs. The “teapot” lamp is rare outside Crete with one example found at the port of Kenchreai and another at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica.<sup>67</sup>

**129.** (HM 32389; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 8). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Intact. Inscribed star with six rays on body between base of neck and nozzle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/4 pink (pink buff). Remains of black glaze near nozzle? H. 0.063; rim d. 0.037; base d. 0.052; L. 0.105.

<sup>60</sup> Lebesse 1972, 202; and 1985, 18, with bibliography.

<sup>61</sup> Wiseman 1972, 9, 26-28.

<sup>62</sup> For distribution, see Yangaki 2005, 233, note 1437; 239, notes 1507-1509; see also Yangaki 2016, 223.

<sup>63</sup> Vogt 2000, 94, 192-193, fig. 46:3-11; Yangaki 2002, 232-233.

<sup>64</sup> Baldini and Parello 2001, 169; Di Vita and Martin 1997, 281-290.

<sup>65</sup> Perna 2016 [2017] 125, 128.

<sup>66</sup> Baldini and Parello 2001, 169.

<sup>67</sup> Williams 1981, 87, no. 466, pl. 21; Fabbriotti 2001, 50, no. 209, pl. 18.

**130.** (HM 32390; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 8). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Complete profile. Missing part of shoulder and upper part of nozzle. Same as 32391. Incised star with six rays on shoulder. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.06; rim d. 0.032; base d. 0.046; L. 0.11.

**131.** (HM 32391; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 8). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Restored from many joining fragments. Everted rim, cylindrical neck tapering out at junction with shoulder, curved body with continuous profile from shoulder to base, flat base, long nozzle with large wick hole. Strap handle. Inscribed star with four rays between base of neck and nozzle. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.067; rim d. 0.035; base d. 0.053; L. 0.10.

**132.** (HM 32388; Mu 47, level 3). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Missing largest part of rim and part of neck. TF: fine, 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of black. H. 0.063; base d. 0.045; L. 0.107.

**133.** (HM 32387; Mu 47, level 3). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Restored from many fragments. Missing small part of rim, neck, and nozzle. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.065; rim d. 0.033; L. 0.115.

**134.** (HM 32392; Mu 47, level 3). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Restored from many fragments. Missing small part of rim, and parts of body. Same as 32391. Inscribed star with six rays. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.068; rim d. 0.035; base d. 0.06; L. 0.11.

**135.** (HM 32393; Mu 47, level 3). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Restored from many fragments. Missing part of body and base. Blackened nozzle. TF: fine, 10YR 8/4, very pale brown. H. 0.06; rim d. 0.03; base d. 0.05; L. 0.09.

**136.** (HM 32394; Mu 47, level 3). Wheelmade. “Teapot” lamp. Restored from many fragments. Missing part of rim, body, and nozzle. Inscribed star with six rays. TF: fine, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown. H. 0.06; rim d. 0.03; base d. 0.05; L. 0.09.

### North African Lamps

This type of wheelmade lamp belongs to the North African type (*Atlante X* type), which is easily identified by the broad, shallow channel that connects the discus with the wick-hole, and the lug handle. The recessed discus usually carries a christogram (**137**, **139**) or a jeweled cross with a Rho (**141**), or an elaborate cross inscribed into a square (**143**). Two of the largest lamps (**138-139**) share the same decorative pattern on the rim: concentric circles alternating with four-petal rosettes. **139** carries three rows of dots on the rim and the Rho of the christogram is reversed. What distinguishes **142** from the previous ones is the decoration on its discus which carries an unusual cross made of concentric circles and curved open-ended triangles, while on the rim heart-shaped motifs are alternating with concentric circles. Finally, two of the lamps (**144-145**) display animals on the discus. **145** carries a branch of leaves on the rim. **144** is worn but one can discern a pattern of rosettes made of concentric circlets (?) on its rim.

Almost all of the North African type lamps found at Syme are made of reddish clay which varies from reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) to light red (2.5YR 6/6). Whether made in Tunisia or copied locally, the Syme lamps compare well with North African lamps found in contexts of the 6th and 7th centuries AD in other parts of Greece, such as Kythera and Pieria.<sup>68</sup> It has been suggested that North African lamps formed part of “return” shiploads; that is, after unloading transport amphoras with wine, the Roman ships left North Africa loaded with grain, oil, and fine pottery, including lamps, which they distributed to various Mediterranean ports.<sup>69</sup>

**137.** (HM 32395; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many pieces. Concave discus with two air holes at 9 and 3 o’clock. Long nozzle with round hole. Lug handle. Low ring base. Blackened nozzle. Relief christogram on discus. Concentric circles at low end of christogram. Spirals alternating with four-petal rosettes on shoulder. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.042; rim d. 0.044; L. 0.145.

**138.** (HM 32396; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Same as 32395. Blackened nozzle. Figure or animal (?) on discus. Circles alternating with four-petal rosettes on shoulder. TF: fine, 2.5YR 6/6 light red. H. 0.047; base d. 0.043; L. 0.143.

**139.** (HM 32397; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Intact. Concave discus with two holes. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Short nozzle. Lug handle. Ring base. Reversed christogram ending at wheat ear (?) on discus. Three rows of globules on shoulder. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. Red slip? H. 0.057; rim d. 0.03; base d. 0.027; L. 0.11.

**140.** (HM 32398; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Complete except for small part of base and lower body. Blackened nozzle. Discus carries jeweled cross ending in Rho on its upper antenna on discus; two rows of concentric circles on the rim. TF: fine, 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. Traces of black slip. H. 0.052; max d. 0.065; discus d. 0.035; base d. 0.025; L. 0.125.

**141.** (HM 32399; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Missing part of discus, shoulder, lower body, and entire nozzle. Concave discus with filling hole at 6 o’clock. Ridge separates discus from rim. Ring base. Lug handle. Row of circular ornaments on shoulder. Very worn mold. TF: fine, 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.045; base d. 0.028; L. 0.107.

**142.** (HM 32400; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Missing handle and small part of lower body. Same as 32397. On discus cross made of spirals. Between the legs of the cross, open triangles with curved sides. Alternating spirals with dotted triangles on rim. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.036; max d. 0.077; discus d. 0.045; base d. 0.038; L. 0.11.

<sup>68</sup> Poulou-Papademetriou 2013, 149-157; Marki, Aggelkou, and Cheimonopoulou 2010, 208-216.

<sup>69</sup> Motsianos 2010, 279-280; Clay 1992, 351.

**143.** (HM 32401; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Concave discus with two holes. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Lug handle. Ring base. Blackened nozzle. Remains of christogram on discus? Very worn. Decoration of shoulder illegible. TF: fine, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow. H. 0.045 (with handle); max d. 0.058; discus d. 0.03; base d. 0.028; L. 0.107.

**144.** (HM 32402; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Restored from many fragments. Complete except for small chips. Blackened nozzle. Remains of animal figure moving to the left (towards the handle). Row of relief spirals on shoulder. TF: fine, 2.5YR 6/8 light red. H. 0.025; max d. 0.061; discus d. 0.04; base d. 0.033; L. 0.11.

**145.** (HM 32403; Mu 47, level 3; Pl. 10). Moldmade. Three joining fragments preserving part of discus, shoulder, lower body and small part of base. Intact handle. Concave discus with filling hole. Ridge separates discus from shoulder. Ring base. Lug handle. Part of crouching lion in relief on discus. Branch with leaves on shoulder. TF: fine, 2.5YR 6/6 light red. PH. 0.042; PL. 0.042.

### CONCLUSIONS

In their study of the coins from the Sanctuary, Lebessi and Stefanakis suggested that there was considerable use of the Building C-D during the second half of the 1st century BC, based, first, on the discovery of a number of coins that date about this time; and second, on two coins, which were found within the fabric of the east wall of Building D and date ca. 40-30 BC.<sup>70</sup>

The numismatic evidence is not supported by the study of the lamps. The majority of the lamps, either Cretan (**9-59**) or Roman (**61-127**), found within and outside the building supports heavy use of the area from the 1st century to the 3rd century AD. However, the scarcity of the Hellenistic lamps (**1-9**) is most likely associated with periodic cleanings of the building, in anticipation of repairs or remodelings during which earlier objects were probably removed.

As to whether the imagery on the Roman lamps was related to the cults of Hermes and Aphrodite, the study of their iconography suggests that the majority of the iconographic motifs are not unique to it, for they are also encountered in other cults, as well as in funerary and domestic contexts. Only a limited number of lamps (e.g., **61**, **72**) might have been chosen by the worshippers because their subject might have resonated with rituals taking place in the sanctuary. In addition, there is no propaganda-related iconography on the lamps of Kato Syme, unlike the Idaean Sanctuary, where there are lamps depicting Hadrian, Nike on the globe, or Tyche-Fortuna at the helm.<sup>71</sup>

A large scale petrographic or chemical analysis of Roman lamps from a variety of contexts in Crete would help us understand how the lamp industry

<sup>70</sup> Lebessi and Stefanakis 2004, 190-191, 195, nos. 13 (HM 3323), 15 (HM 3324).

<sup>71</sup> Sapouna 1998, 161-162.

worked on the island and how it distributed or redistributed its products (e.g., through itinerant sellers?). We know from the donors' names inscribed on some of the roof tiles retrieved from near Building C-D that the sanctuary attracted devotees from places in central and east Crete, such as Lyttos, Arkades, Knossos, and Hierapytna.<sup>72</sup> At what stage of their journey did the pilgrims acquire their lamps? At the beginning or at the end? And who were they and how did they identify themselves by the 2nd century AD? As Romans (by nationality or acculturation) or *bona fide* Cretans descendants of local important families?

The cult of Hermes Kedrites came to an end sometime in the 3rd century AD. The latest lamps date from the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD. The rise of Christianity, as well as the terrible earthquake of 365 AD, must have contributed to the decline of the pagan sanctuaries. The only evidence for some cultic activity in the area are the eighteen lamps (129-145) which were found in Trench M47, outside Building C-D, by the spring, as well as the two little churches at the north-west side of the site. The lamps and the second church are dated to the 6th and 7th century, possibly extending to the 8th century AD. The burial to the north of the church dates even later (9th-11th century AD). By then, Christianity had become the primary religion on the island. Yet, the place was still considered sacred by the locals.

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<sup>72</sup> Lebesse 1973, 197; 1981, 4-5; Chaniotis 2009; and Zarifis 2020, ii.

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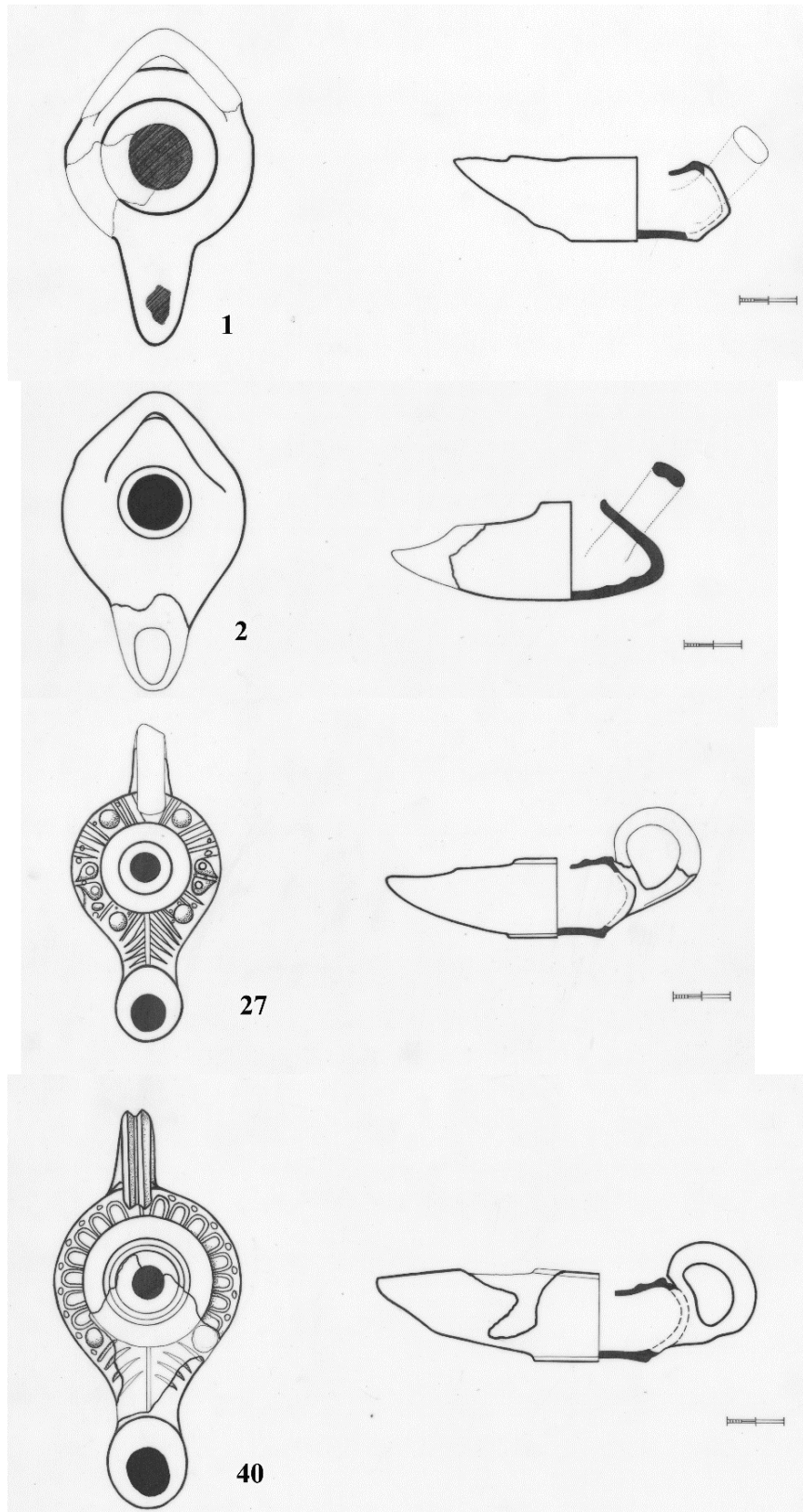


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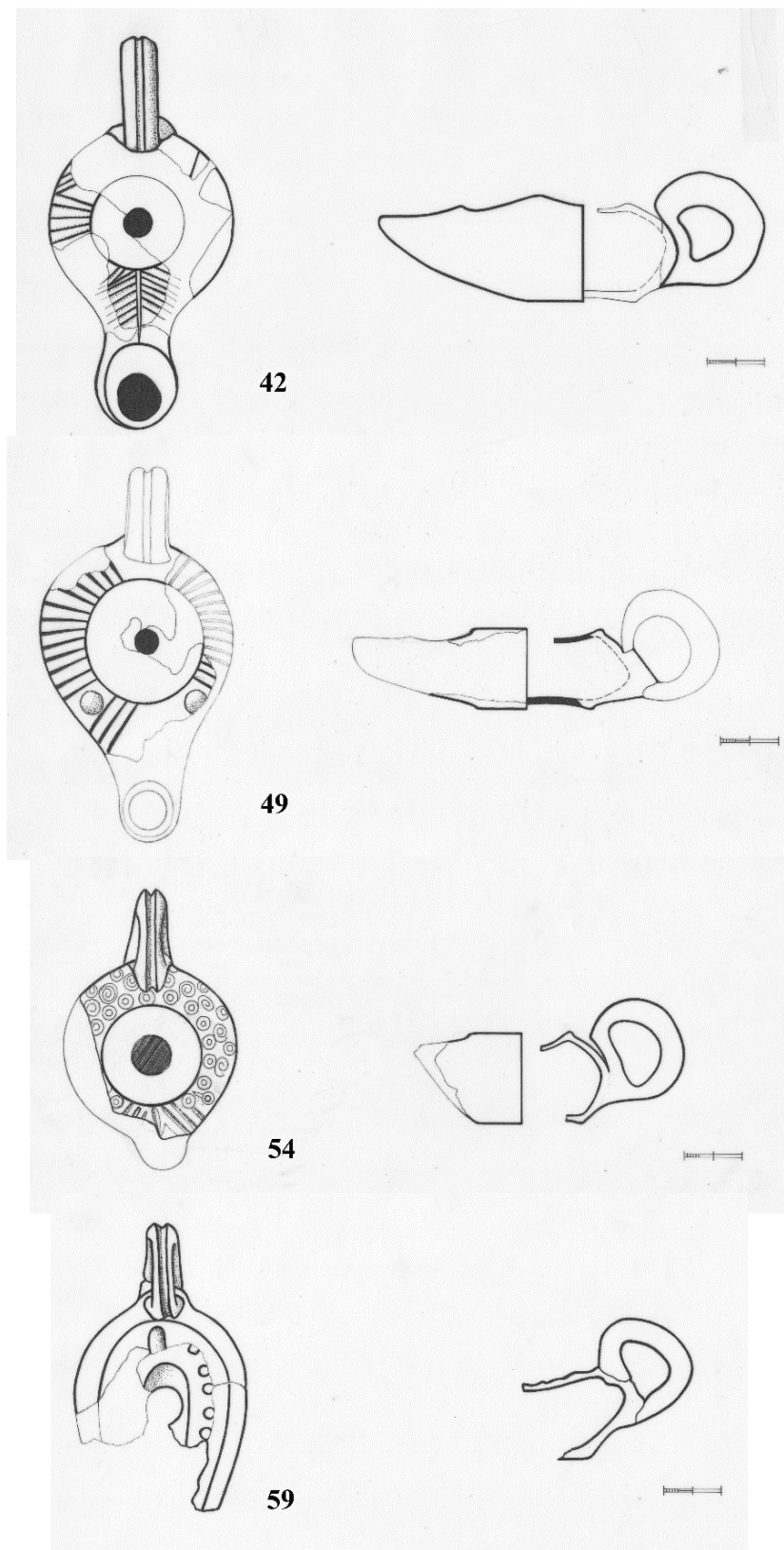


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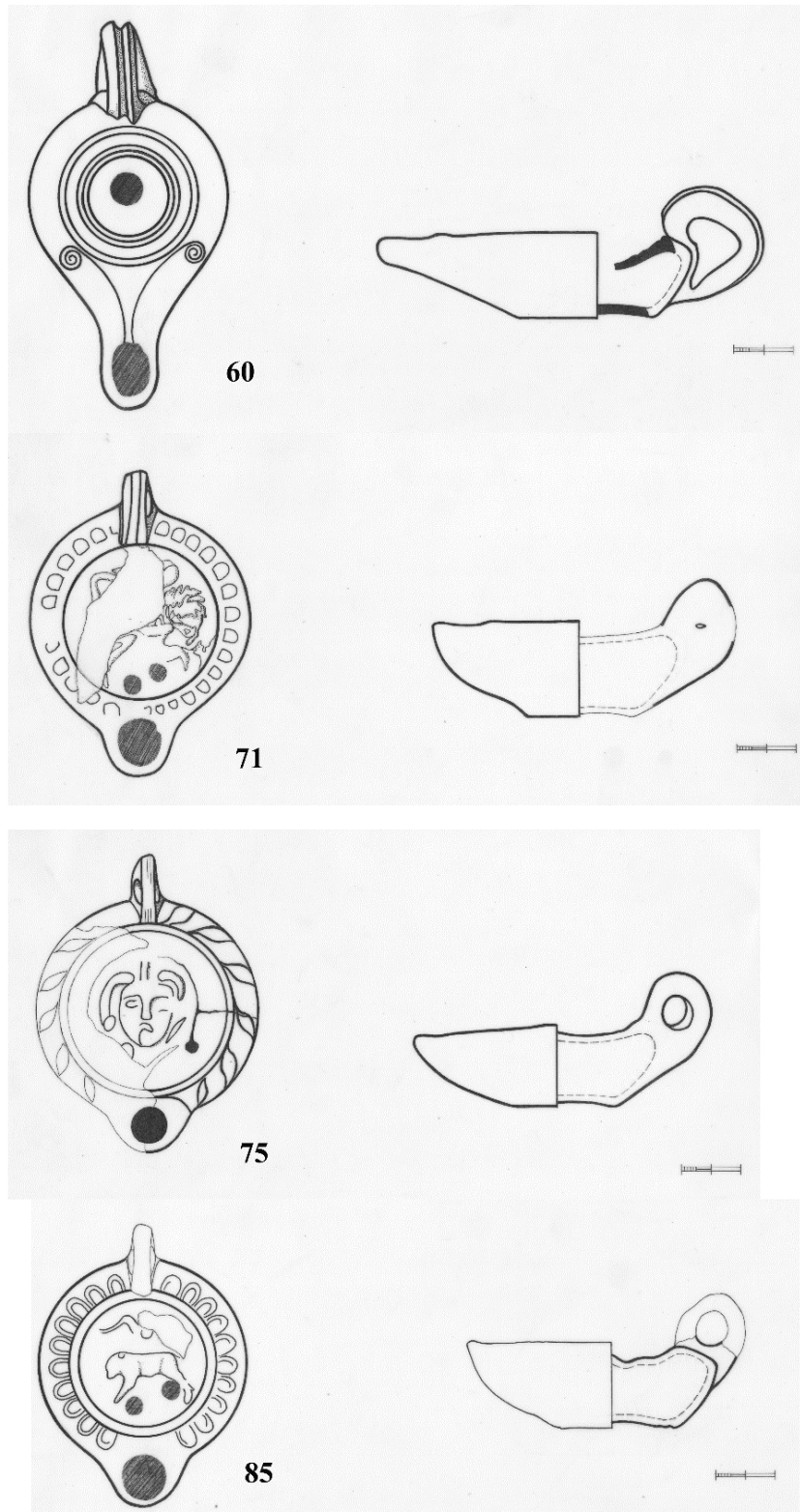


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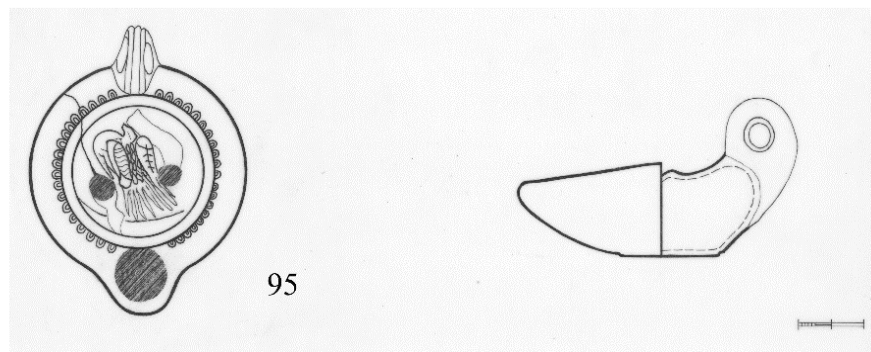
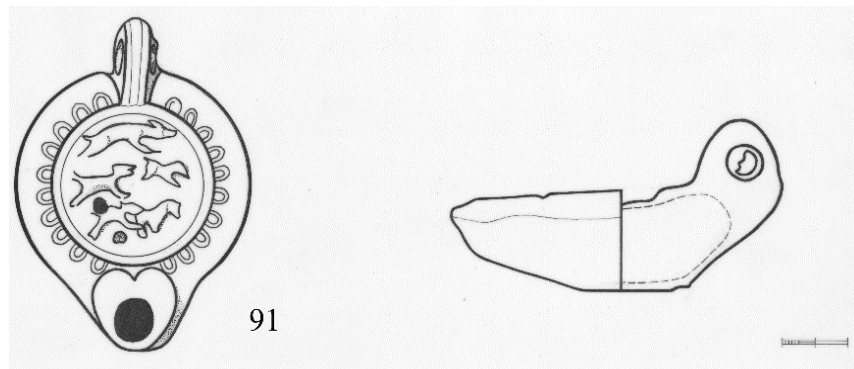
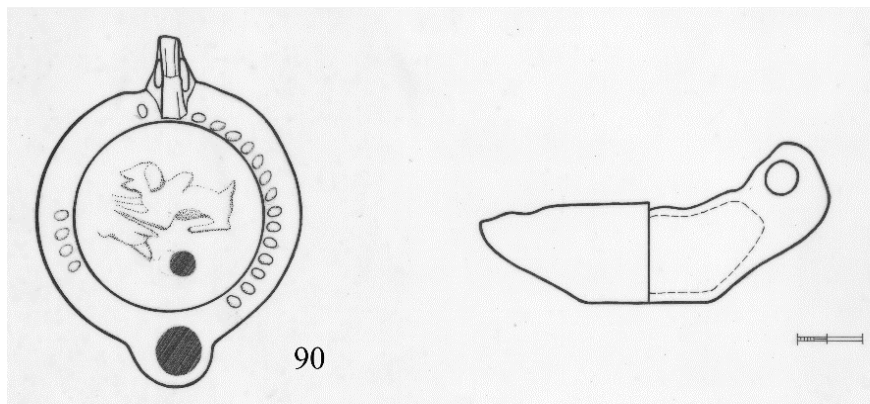
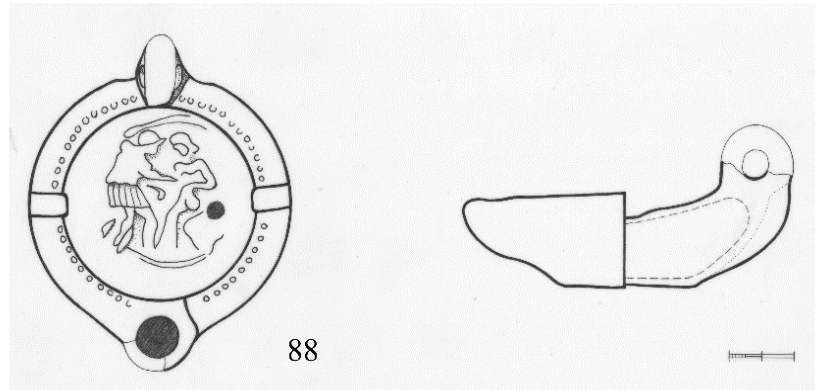


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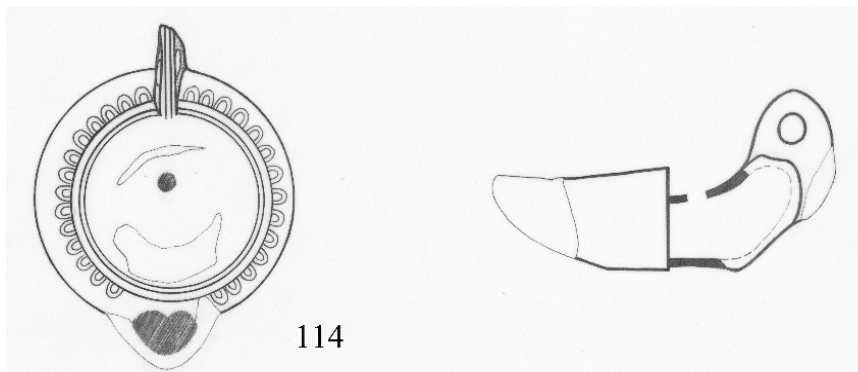
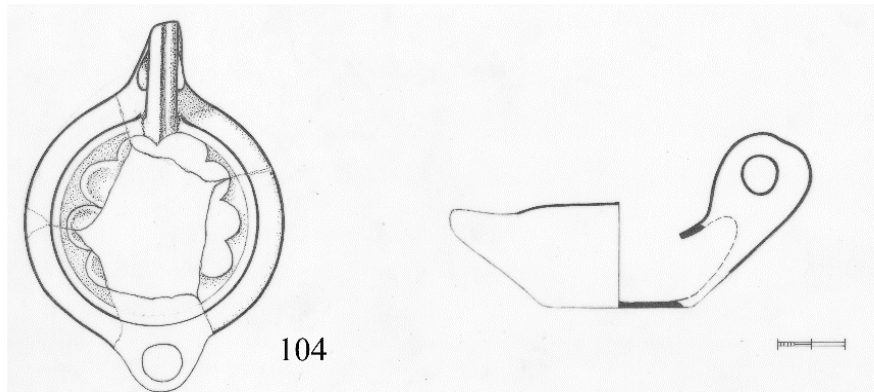
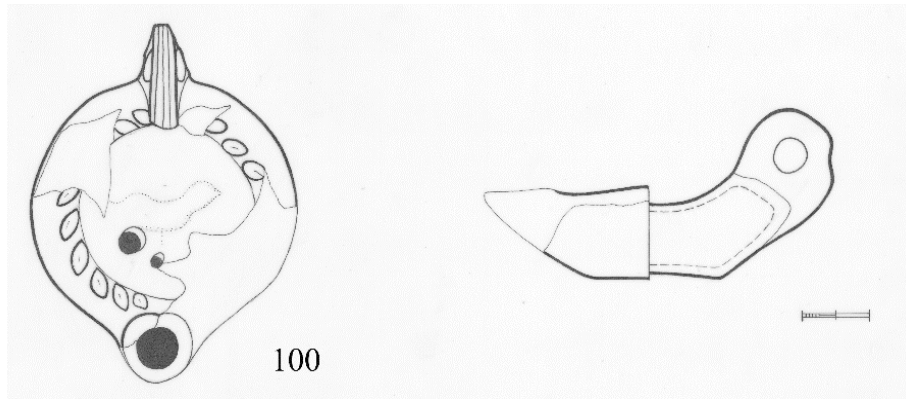
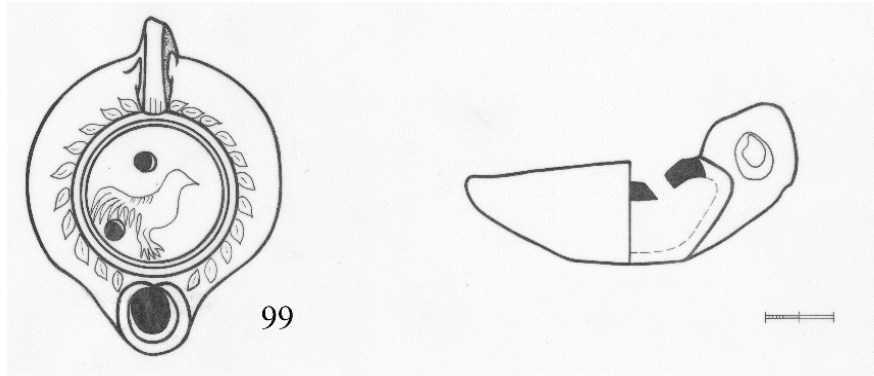


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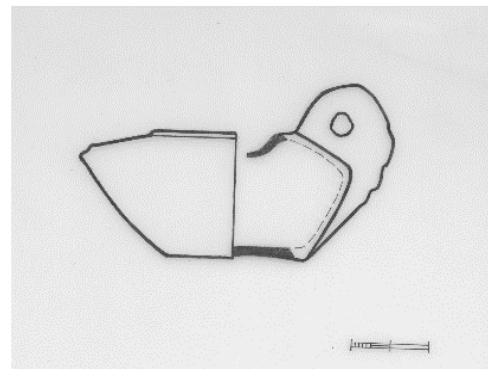
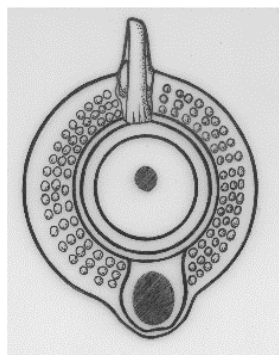
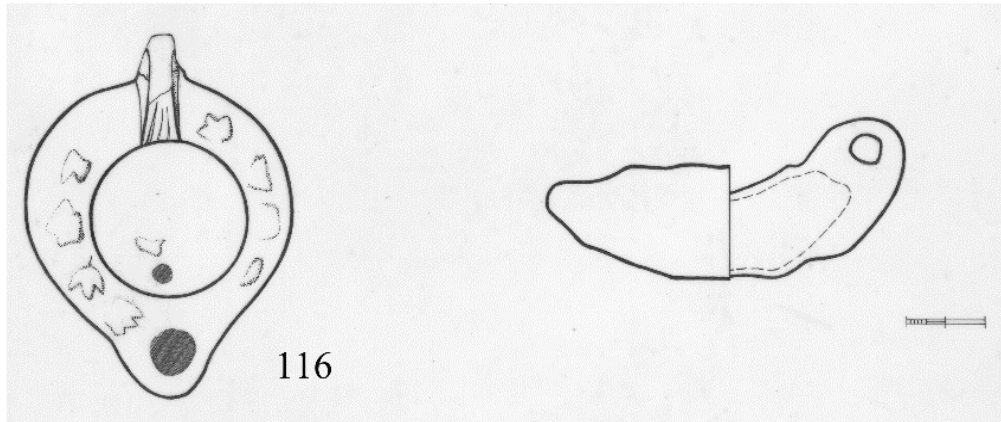


Figure 6. (1:2)



PLATE 1



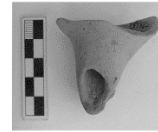
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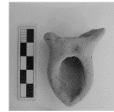
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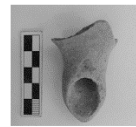
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PLATE 2

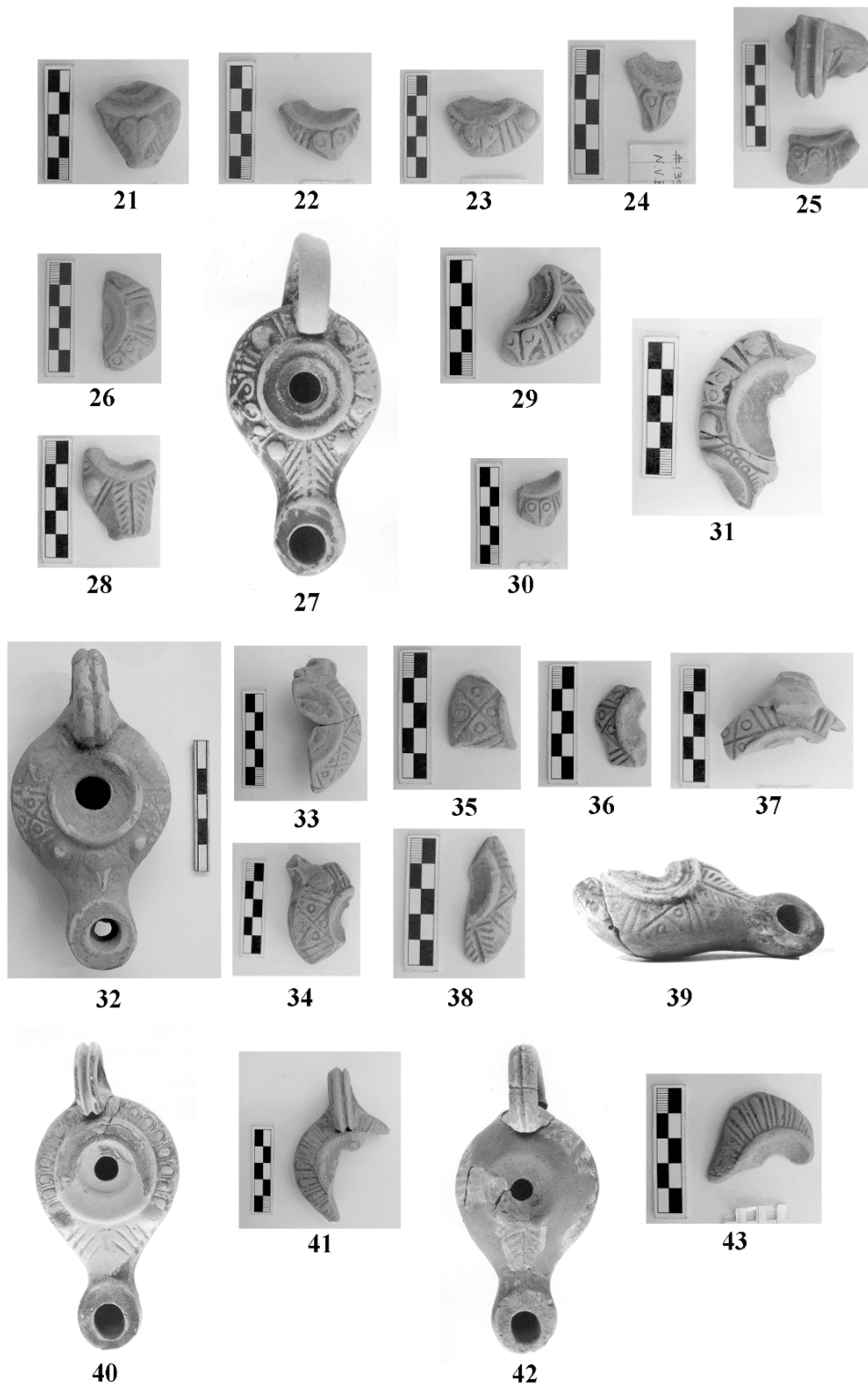


PLATE 3



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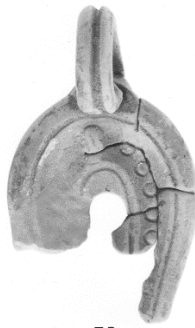
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PLATE 4



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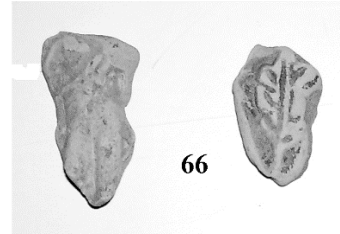
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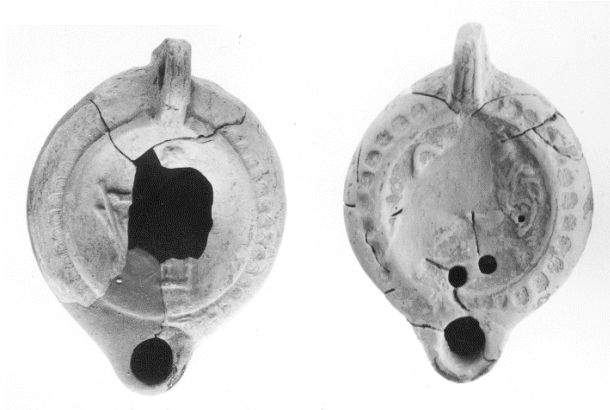
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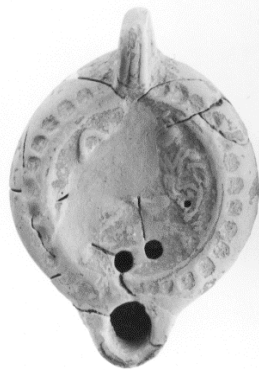
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PLATE 5

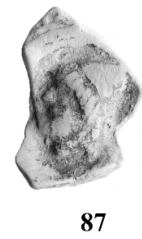
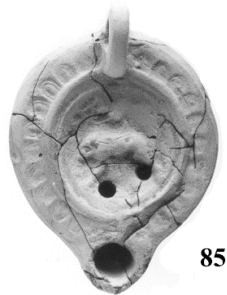
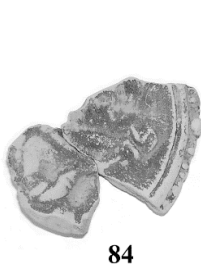


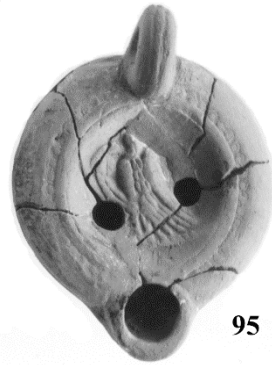
PLATE 6



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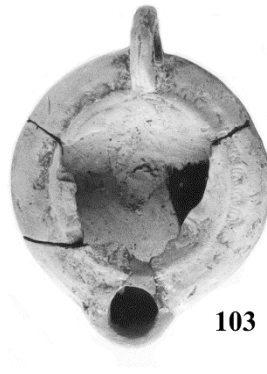
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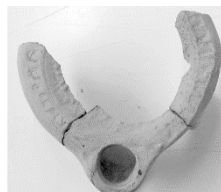
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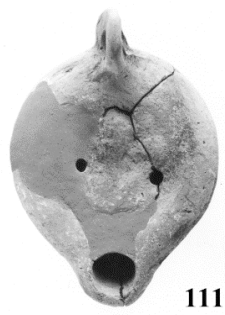


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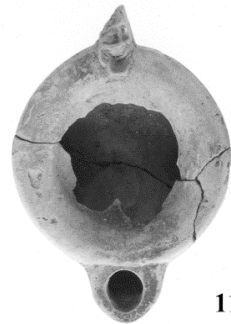
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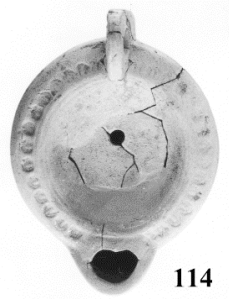
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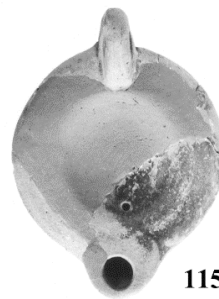
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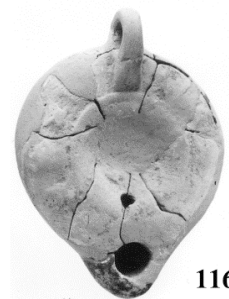
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114



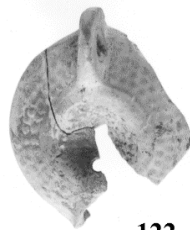
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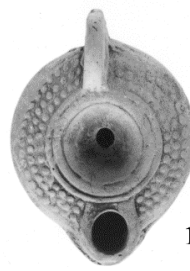
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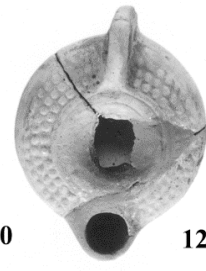
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**PLATE 8**



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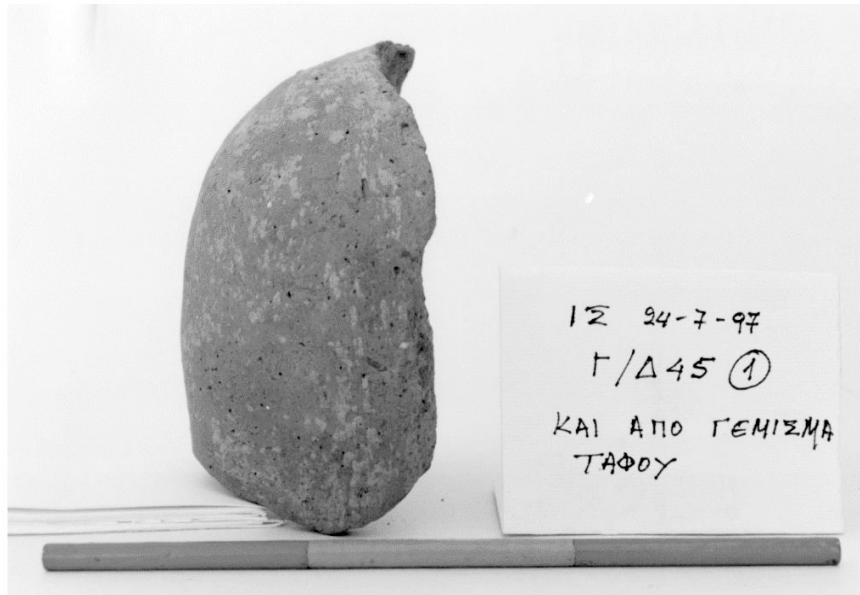
131



**Upper part of short-necked amphora found in the grave outside the church**

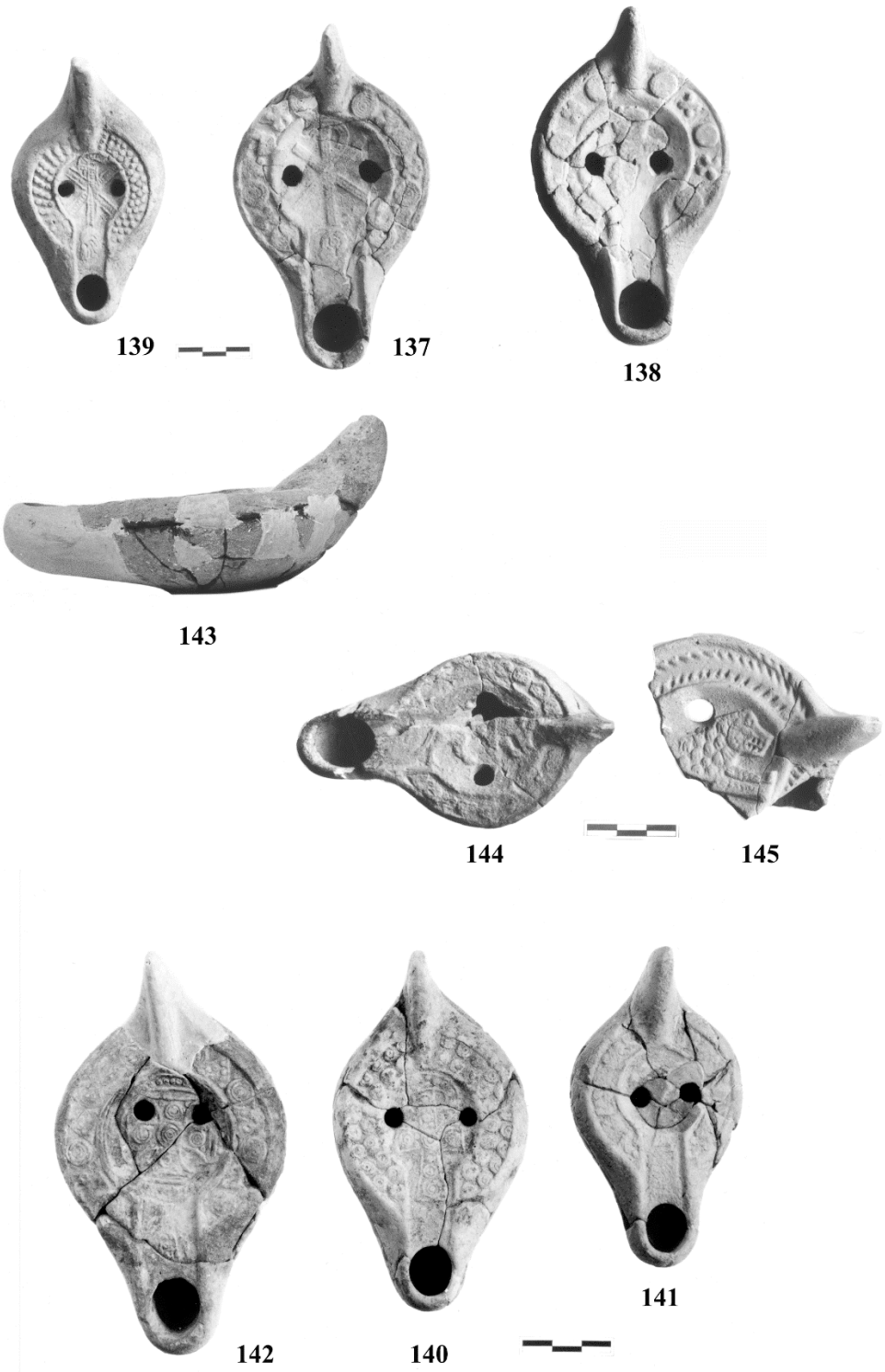


PLATE 9



Fragments of flasks found in the grave outside the church

PLATE 10



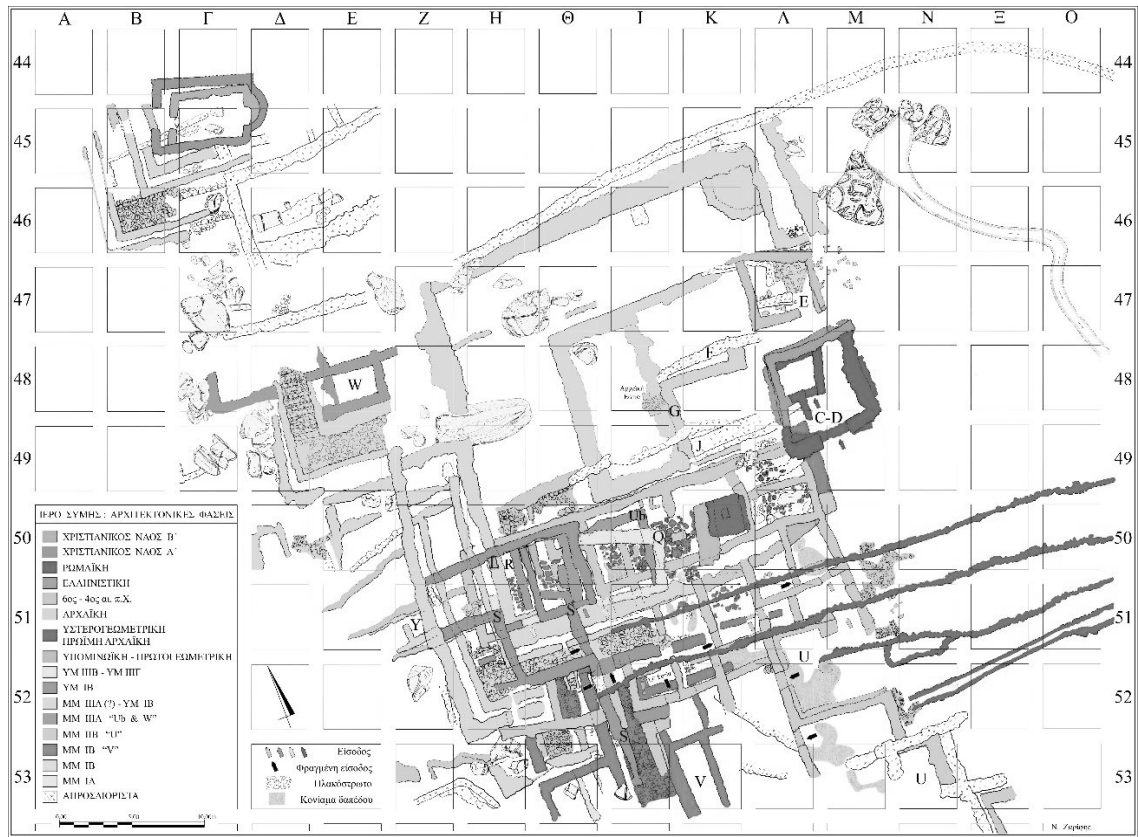


Plate A. Syme phases 2018.