NIKI TSATSAKI

RESIDENCES, WORKSHOPS OR BOTH? A STUDY OF HELLENISTIC HOUSES AT NISSI-ELEUTHERNA (CRETE)*

Especially in the last two decades, archaeological research has focused on the study of the architectural remains of houses in conjunction with the associated artefacts, in order to shed light on the daily activities carried out and to determine the function of different rooms, as well as to investigate social and economic issues related to the use of residential buildings¹. Such a study has however not yet been carried out for Hellenistic Crete². Moreover, the houses that have been published are few in number³. With regard to workshops, ceramic workshops in particular, the sole known remains dated to the Hellenistic period are those found at Knossos, located in an area of the excavated town that has been characterised as industrial⁴. To this single case we can now add another, namely the houses of Eleutherna that constitute the subject of this study. We can also add these houses to the known cases of house-workshops from elsewhere in Greece and from different periods, for example those from the Classical period found at Olynthos⁵ and in the Athenian Agora⁶. As will become evident through the examination of the architectural remains together with the artifact assemblages belonging to these contexts, these houses are not simply workshops but a combination of residential house and ceramic workshop.

Remains from the ancient city of Eleutherna have been excavated on two hills, the hill of Nissi and further to the east the hill of Pyrgi. They testify to the continuous occupation of the area from the early Iron Age up until Byzantine times. The Hellenistic period appears to be a flourishing time for the city, as we can deduce from the evidence derived from philological sources and inscriptions, as well as from the archaeological remains. On Pyrgi hill, the Hellenistic period is represented by the remains of houses, massive walls sustaining the terraces on which the buildings stood, and sections of streets and public buildings. In addition, the remains of a Hellenistic settlement extend around the top of the hill of Nissi (plan 1). The existence of this particular settlement can be traced back to the Geometric period, which to date is represented by part of a wall and three floors in one of the Hellenistic houses. The settlement was abandoned around the mid-1st c. BC, while the settlement on the second hill – Pyrgi – was long-lived and continued to be occupied well into the Byzantine times. Back to Nissi hill, the visible traces of cisterns, each of them

^{*} Excavations at Eleutherna are being conducted by the University of Crete, Department of History and Archaeology. I owe many thanks to Prof. A. Kalpaxis, director of sector II of the excavations, for allowing me to study the finds from the site on Nissi hill.

¹ see S. Kent (ed.), Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study (Cambridge 1990); AULT – NEVETT 2005, where further literature is cited.

² Such an approach is attempted by Vogeikoff-Brogan - Papadakis 2003 for Hellenistic houses at Trypitos. However, their study is very fragmentary since their discussion of artefacts is limited to pottery, which in turn is only presented in rough terms.

From the very few publications, a detailed one concerns House A at Eleutherna (Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994), which includes references to the other Hellenistic houses in Crete known to that date. Cf. Kalpaxis 1994, 68–70. For reports on other Hellenistic houses discovered in Crete see M. Skordou, Ελληνιστική αεραμική από το Καστέλι Κισάμου, in: Ε΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστική αεραμική, Chania 1997 (Athens 2000) 25–36 (Kastelli in Kissamos); Vogeikoff-Brogan – Papadakis 2003, 66–69 (Trypitos in Siteia).

J. Eiring, KS178 – An Industrial Area in the Greek City of Knossos, in: Πεπραγμένα Η΄ διεθνούς Κρητολογικού συνεδρίου, 1A, Ηράκλειο, 1996 (Heraklio 2000) 443–449. For the earlier excavation and publication of kilns dating to the Classical and Hellenistic periods see B. Homann-Wedeking, A Kiln Site at Knossos, BSA 45, 1950, 165–192.

⁵ Cahill 2005, 54-60.

⁶ B. TSAKIRGIS, Living and Working around the Athenian Agora: A Preliminary Case Study of Three Houses, in: AULT – NEVETT 2005, 67–82.

⁷ ΤΗ. ΚΑΙΡΑΧΙS, Οι ακροπόλεις. Κεντρικός ανασκαφικός τομέας ΙΙ, in: Stambolidis 2004a, 104–115 esp. 111–113; P. Themelis, Η πόλη. Ανατολικός ανασκαφικός τομέας Ι, in: Stambolidis 2004a, 46–80 esp. 50–57; Stambolidis 2004b, 90–95.

corresponding to a house and serving its water needs, point to the existence of up to forty houses, a number that is expected to rise as the continuing excavations bring to light more cisterns and further house remains. The houses that have been excavated so far are very few, to be exact barely three, and they have been named House A, House B and House C. Only House A has been published, while the study of Houses B and C is still in progress⁸. The settlement is built on terraces created by cutting into the bedrock. The state of preservation of the architectural remains is relatively poor.

House A is bordered to the north and to the south by two other houses, as well as by a street to the west that has been formed by cutting into the bedrock. It consists of an internal courtyard, two main habitation rooms (sleeping rooms), without excluding the use of one of them as an *andron*, the *oikos* (space of habitation and work) which incorporates the main cistern of the house, a kitchen, a storeroom and some auxiliary rooms (plan 2)⁹. Two phases of occupation can be discerned with the first dating to the 3rd c. BC and the second to the late 2nd – early 1st c. BC. During the second phase of its use, this house was used as a pottery workshop, as can be proved by evidence found in two of its rooms pointing to an industrial function, as well as by the associated ceramic and metal artefacts, most of which came from stratified assemblages¹⁰. This workshop, however, cannot be related to any of the finds that belong to the first phase of occupation.

A kiln has not been preserved. However, some findings imply the existence of a kiln, they comprise: part of a perforated floor that maintains the fragment of an irregular circular aperture and bears traces of burning¹¹, pieces of compact masses of clay with straw and small limestone gravel inclusions which most likely belonged to the perforated floor or to the destroyed upper part of the kiln, and numerous supports that were used for the firing of ceramic products. These supports are represented by five different types. They include i) the type of stand that is mainly known from Athens and has been suggested to have been used for the production of Megarian bowls¹², ii) tripod supports of a size that would be ideal for the support of small vessels, of which four were found, iii) a support of semi-elliptical shape with a vertical ledge on its one straight side, iv) seventeen supports of a pyramidal shape, and v) twelve brick-shaped supports, whose size points to their probable use with *pithoi* and other large-sized vessels, perhaps with tiles as well¹³. The ceramic waste includes a flaring rim bowl that is malformed, caused during the firing¹⁴. As for the location of the kiln, it is reasonable to expect that is was situated outside of the house, most probably on its northern side, where a lot of black earth has been observed.

Apart from these finds, we also encountered a mould for the manufacture of terracotta dressed female figurines¹⁵. A parallel for this find is given by another mould for terracotta figurines, found in a Hellenistic house at Lato, which we also consider to have functioned as a workshop¹⁶. The finding of the mould gives us grounds to suggest that in this particular ceramic workshop at Eleutherna they did not manufacture only vessels but figurines as well. The vessels, the kiln waste and the different types of ceramic supports suggest a production oriented to both large and small-sized vessels, for example *pithoi*, flaring rim bowls and *skyphoi*.

Other finds, such as three lead clamps, a fragment of a *lekanis* with part of such a lead clamp, a square lead plaque that can be interpreted as the craftsman's raw material and not necessarily as a weight; iron nippers¹⁷ and small pieces of slag show that vessels were not only crafted in this particular workshop, but that they were also repaired here, with the clamps being manufactured at the same place.

⁸ For the publication of House A see Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994. Only a small number of finds from House B, more precisely a kiln and a pottery group from one of the rooms, have been published in two articles, cf. Th. Kalpaxis, Ελληνιστικός αλίβανος περαμικής στην αρχαία Ελεύθερνα, in: I. Gabrilaki (ed.), Κεραμικά εργαστήρια στην Κρήτη από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα, Μαργαρίτες, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995 (Rethymno 1996) 41–45; Τsatsaki 2000.

On the function of particular spaces see Th. Kalpaxis, Ο αρχιτεπτονικός τύπος παι η χρήση των χώρων του σπιτιού A, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 67–74 esp. 71–74.

¹⁰ On the existence of a pottery workshop in House A see Karamaliki 1994, 178–182.

¹¹ Karamaliki 1994, 180 fig. 40 K334.

¹² Tsatsaki 1994, 106 fig. 31 K256.

¹³ See some examples in Karamaliki 1994, 178 f. fig. 40 K335–K338.

¹⁴ Tstsaki 1994, 98 fig. 24 K165.

¹⁵ Th. Kalpaxis, Πήλινα ειδώλια, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 177–183 esp. 177 pl. 39 E23.

¹⁶ V. Hadjimichali, Recherches à Latô. III. Maisons, BCH 95, 1971, 167–222 esp. 208 f. fig. 43.

¹⁷ Karamaliki 1994, 180 fig. 40 M1–M3.

Many of the artefacts related to the function of a workshop were found in the storeroom of the house. Thus, it is thought that this room was used to store food, as well as the tools of the house-owner.

The industrial activities, that is to say the manufacture and repair of clay vessels as well as the making of figurines, probably took place in the *oikos* of the house, together with the rest of the daily activities that were necessary in order to meet the needs of the household. Evidence for this can be seen in the two cuttings into the bedrock of that room, which can be interpreted respectively as a cavity to accommodate the ceramic wheel and as the point where lead was melted for making the clamps.

The other part of the house that can also be interpreted as a workplace is situated on its eastern side. The small cistern found here and the existence of quite a thick layer of relatively clean clay, different to the clay used for making the floors, leads us to interpret that part of the house as the area where clay was stored and prepared for its final processing. The cistern could have been used for the mixing of different sorts of clay. This part of the house is relatively humid, due to the adjacent vertically carved rock, a condition which is especially suitable for the storage of clay. For this reason the use of this space for habitation seems rather improbable.

Apart from the finds related to the pottery workshop, a number of other finds from the same second phase of occupation give some clues to the other activities that took place in the house. These artefacts include a grindstone, a fragment of a grinder¹⁸, as well as many loomweights that were concentrated mostly in the *oikos* and in one of the auxiliary spaces¹⁹ (approx. 160 loomweights were found in the habitation deposits of the two phases of the house). The analysis of a soil sample from the storeroom of the house, dating to the second phase of its occupation, has demonstrated that cereals were stored there²⁰.

The remaining finds include a bronze blade and a decorated bronze plate²¹. As for the pottery finds, they consist of vessels relating to dining and to food preparation. More precisely, these vessels comprise Megarian bowls, bowls with rouletted decoration, cups, flaring rim bowls and bowls with incurved rim, plates, fishplates, *lekanides*, coarse ware *lekanai*, and cooking vessels that bear traces of burning, such as *chytrai*, lids and a frying pan²².

Not far from House A, a paved road was excavated on a terrace to the east of the house. It appears to constitute the central street of the settlement (fig. 4). Of the group of five houses that have been traced along that street, only two have been investigated, House B and House C (fig. 3).

House B is located on the south side of the road. It is difficult to determine its internal layout due to the relatively bad condition of the architectural remains (fig. 5). In any case, we can distinguish at least five distinct areas in the house. It is however not possible to establish the functions of all of these spaces. Four rooms could be identified, one of which contains a cistern, similar to that found in the *oikos* of House A. In two other rooms a beaten earth floor is preserved (fig. 6). To the south of these rooms lies the internal courtyard, which retains the remains of a pottery kiln (fig. 7). The kiln is built on the inner side of the external wall of the house and incorporates part of it in its structure, which leads us to regard the construction of the kiln as contemporary with the whole house. Therefore, this house must have functioned as a ceramic workshop from the beginning. Coins, lamps and Megarian bowls found on the floor of one of the rooms suggest the house was abandoned in the last 3rd, or at any rate by the end of the 2nd c. BC²³.

Only the lower part of the kiln is preserved in House B. It has a pear-shaped form and according to Hasaki's typology, belongs to type Ib, thus constituting a subclass of circular kilns. In terms of their size, Hasaki distinguishes two groups of Hellenistic kilns, those with a diameter of 1.00–1.50 m. and those with 1.50–3.00 m²⁴.

Th. Kalpaxis, Λίθινια αντιπείμενα παι εργαλεία, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 187–189 esp. 187 f. pl. 45 Λ4; pl. 47 Λ20.

¹⁹ Ch. Tsigonaki, Πήλινα υφαντικά βάρη και σφονδύλια, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 158–167 esp. 161–166.

²⁰ Α. Sarpaki, Παλαιοεθνοβοτανικό δείγμα από το σπίτι Α, in: Kalpaxis –Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 210 f.

²¹ B. Sahm, Zu den Metallfunden, in: Kalpaxis –Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 183 f. pl. 42 M40; pl. 43 M48. In the publication of House A some of the finds are cited in terms of the total number found without any distinction as to the occupational phase to which they belong.

For >Megarian bowls
see P. Ioannidou, «Μεγαρικοί» σκύφοι, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 87–94. For examples of the rest of the pottery from the second phase of House A see Tsatsaki 1994, 86 pl. 29 fig. 20 K64. K65; 95 fig. 22 K136. K138; 96 pl. 32, fig. 23 K 152; 98 fig. 24 K 163; 100 fig. 25 K185–K187; 101 fig. 26 K189; 103 fig. 27 K217; 104 fig. 28 K224. K225; 105 fig. 30 K 243; 106 f. fig. 31 K258; fig. 32 K261. K265. K268.

²³ See Tsatsaki 2000, 50.

²⁴ Hasaki 2002, 236–238. 417 no. 241.

The kiln from Eleutherna belongs to the first group with a diameter of 1.30 m. The small diameter of the supports for the perforated floor points to a possible height of the pot-firing chamber not exceeding 1.00 m.

Many finds related to ceramic production have been collected from around the kiln as well as from other areas in the house. They include a fragment from the kiln's partition wall, seven fragments from its perforated floor, twenty six kiln supports, many pieces of clay masses from the perforated floor or from the destroyed upper part of the kiln (around 200 pieces) and ceramic waste. The supports are classified into three types which were also encountered in House A, tripodal, semi-elliptical and brick-shaped. The ceramic waste includes many fragments of vertical handles from small-sized vessels, most probably from juglets that became stuck together during firing, as well as a deformed base probably belonging to a cup.

The fragments of a pithoid amphora were discovered *in situ* within the kiln (fig. 8). In addition, a misfired loomweight and a spindle whorl were found by the kiln and a number of *lekanai* lay within the kiln's entrance, one of which bore horizontal handles on its rim. All of the above, together with the recognizable vessel shapes from among the kiln waste and the shapes of the supports, indicate that this particular workshop specialized in the manufacture of both large-sized vessels, such as pithoid amphorae and lekanai, and small-sized vessels, such as cups and juglets. Furthermore, it is very probable that this kiln was not only used for vessels but also for the firing of loomweights.

The stratified assemblages from certain rooms reveal the types of domestic activities that were carried out, such as grinding and weaving. These finds comprise a grindstone, a grinder, forty-five loomweights, eighteen of which came from a single room, and nine spindle whorls. Many other loomweights were found in the surface layers. Other finds include a ribbed marble *lekanis*, a stone *lekane*, two more stone vessels and lamps (fig. 12). The pottery comprised all forms of vessels that are related to household needs, that is to say vessels for storage and those associated with dining and the preparation of meals. More precisely, they consisted of a pithoid amphora with a discoid lid, *pithoi*, amphorae – some have a pointed toe, others have twisted handles, another one has double handles and one a stamped handle – stands, *chytrai*, frying pans and other cooking vessels with traces of burning, conical lids from cooking vessels with traces of burning, cups, bowls with rouletted decoration, Megarian bowls, jugs and juglets, an *olpe*, *lagynos*, flaring rim bowls and bowls with incurved rim, *lekanides*, plates, fishplates, and *lekanae* (figs. 6–8). It should be mentioned that we did not only encounter locally-made vessels, but some distinct examples of imported ones too, such as an amphora and some Megarian bowls (figs. 10. 11).

House C is situated on the north side of the same street and is the furthestmost residential house to the north-east to have been excavated on that particular terrace. It is a Hellenistic house that preserves remnants of a much earlier occupation, specifically from the late Geometric – early Orientalizing period. The remains from this early phase include part of a wall and evidence of three floors. The finds belonging to its Hellenistic occupational phase include lamps and pots (a jug, an amphora, a bowl) from the floor of the cistern, whose dating to the late Hellenistic period implies an occupation that is contemporary with the second phase of usage of House A and with the abandonment of House B.

The objects recovered from the closed contexts of the late Geometric – early Orientalizing period indicate that even at this early date a pottery workshop was in operation. The associated finds consist of two kiln supports, one is brick-shaped and the other semi-elliptical, shapeless masses of burnt clay bearing a greenish glaze in places caused by excessive firing, and ceramic waste that includes a belly-handled amphora, cups and kraters²⁵.

The walls of the Hellenistic house have survived in a very fragmented state on its east and west sides. It is possible, however, to distinguish certain spaces. Located by the side of the street is the beginning of a roofless internal corridor, as well as an adjoining sewer pipe that leads to the inner courtyard (fig. 15). The room on its eastern side can be identified as a kitchen, as is indicated by the traces of fire on the floor (fig. 16). There is also a rectangular construction on one side of the room and many cooking pot fragments. In addition, the room by the western side of the corridor is identified as the *oikos*. It is the biggest room of the house and incorporates a cistern on its eastern side. A rock-cut conduit leading to the cistern shows us

N. TSATSAKI, From a Geometric >Potter's Quarter at Eleutherna. Analysis of Finds from >House Γ at the Location of Nissi, in: Crete in the Geometric and Archaic Period, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, 27–29 january 2006 (forthcoming).

how the cistern was filled with water. Similar rock-cut conduits can be observed both on the western and the eastern sides of the house. The finds from this room comprise three grindstones and twenty-two loomweights. This particular room, therefore, seems to have been used for carrying out the daily activities necessary for meeting domestic needs. Four other rooms can be identified, two of which – those further to the east – appear to have been used for industrial or storing purposes, as is suggested by the existence of a small cistern (of 1.10 m side-length) and rock-cut cavities (figs. 14. 15).

Further evidence for the operation of a pottery workshop in this house, other than the finds in the aforementioned rooms, is provided by the fragment of a perforated floor found inside the sewer pipe, together with sherds from the Hellenistic period.

Regarding their architectural form, all three houses under investigation belong to the type of house that expands around an inner courtyard. The number of distinct spaces is roughly the same in all three of them (from five to seven spaces), although their rooms are not arranged around the courtyard in the same way. The differences in their structure can be explained by the topography, as well as by the different activities that were realized in each of the houses in relation to the needs of their owners. Domestic activities included the grinding of grain and weaving. All three houses preserve traces of manufacturing installations related to pottery production, as well as other finds associated with this activity. Therefore, these three houses served a double function, that of a residence and that of a ceramic workshop. There is no clear distinction within the houses of areas used solely for craft-based activities, nor do they appear to be segregated from the rest of the house. A characteristic example of this can be seen in House A where the oikos and the storeroom had an industrial use as well as a domestic one. The existence of only one kiln in House B indicates a small-scale and less intensive production, in contrast to the example of the Hellenistic ceramic workshop of Spata (Attica), where the workshop comprised a group of kilns, a storeroom of tools, moulds and products, as well as a roofless work-space, while the spacious residence of its owner was situated next to it²⁶. The combination of residence and ceramic workshop in the case of Eleutherna constitutes a case of "household industry", according to the term's conception by Cahill²⁷. The residential houses of the families of the craftsmen were at the same time their working place. Based on the various household equipment found, for example the imported pots, the decorated bronze utensils, and the marble vessel, we conclude that the residents of these houses were relatively well-off, very likely due to the marketing of their products.

The proximity of these dual residences—pottery workshops to each other, gives some clue as to the identity of that part of the settlement. Clearly, we must be looking at the Potters' Quarter (*kerameikos*), or one of the *kerameikoi* of the town, where a range of ceramic products were manufactured and also repaired. The diversity of production is apparent when compared to other Hellenistic *kerameikoi*, such as that at Pherrai (Thessaly), where the excavated ceramic workshops produced terracotta figurines, relief plaques, tiles, vessels, oil lamps and loomweights²⁸. In this instance, however, the workshop buildings were not used as residential houses.

Until recently, it has been considered that ceramic workshops, especially their complexes – *kerameikoi* – lay outside of the residential areas and quite far from them, due to the unpleasant fumes that would have been created when being operated²⁹. This conclusion is based on the most commonly found cases of remains of ancient ceramic workshops, specifically of kilns, either isolated ones or complexes of kilns, or the combination of kilns and other spaces related to such activities. In the case of Eleutherna, however, the kilns were built either inside or in the adjoining external space of residential houses. Other examples that demonstrate the proximity or combination of residence and the operation of a ceramic workshop are those at Spata (Attica), where the residential house is built next to the workshop³⁰, and also at Kassope (Epirus) where one of the excavated houses in a residential area incorporates a kiln that was added to the house during a reconstruction

²⁶ Steinhauer 1982, 124 f.

²⁷ Cahill 2005, 55.

²⁸ Α. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, Φεραϊκά εργαστήρια «μεγαρικών» σκύφων, in: Β΄ επιστημονική συνάντηση για την ελληνιστκή κεραμική, Ρόδος, 22–25 Μαρτίου 1989 (Athens 1990) 121–134 esp. 122 f.

²⁹ Hasaki 2002, 286. 316.

³⁰ Steinhauer 1982, 124 f.

carried out in the 3^{rd} c. BC³¹. These examples show that the segregation of potters from the residential areas of the towns was not always the rule.

It is possible that in the Hellenistic settlement of Nissi at Eleutherna not only the combination of residence and ceramic workshop existed, but other combinations as well, such as that of residential houses and other sorts of workshops, as well as houses that only had a residential function and not an industrial one. This last case is shown by the example of House A, which during the first phase of its occupation seems to have been used exclusively as a residence. However, this theory needs to be further investigated. Moreover, we are not yet ready to reconstruct the structure or internal organization of the town for the Hellenistic years, as this also requires further research, excavation and analysis. Apart from the settlement at Nissi that has already been discussed above, there are still many known remains of sites dating to the Hellenistic period in the wider settled area of Eleutherna, which have not been excavated but which could certainly further our knowledge for this period.

List of Bibliographical Abbreviations

The citation follows guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute <www.dainst.org> (16.01.2009) and those of the Austrian Archaeological Institute <www.oeai.at/publik/autoren.html> (16.01.2009).

Ault – Nevett 2005	B. A. Ault – L. C. Nevett (eds.), Ancient Greek Houses and Households. Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity (Philadelphia 2005).
Cahill 2005	N. Cahill, Household Industry in Greece and Anatolia, in: Ault – Nevett 2005, 54–66.
Hasaki 2002	E. HASAKI, Ceramic Kilns in Ancient Greece: Technology and Organization of Ceramic Workshops
	(Ph. D. thesis University of Cincinnati 2002).
Kalpaxis – Furtwängler –	Th. Kalpaxis – A. Furtwängler – A. Schnapp, Ένα ελληνιστικό σπίτι (»Σπίτι Α«) στη θέση Νησί,
Schnapp 1994	Ελεύθεονα 2, 2 (Rethymno 1994).
Karamaliki 1994	N. Κακαμαλικί, Στοιχεία εργαστηρίου κεραμικής στο χώρο του σπιτιού A, in: Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 178–182.
Steinhauer 1982	G. Steinhauer, Έρευνα χώρου αεροδρομίου Σπάτων, Prakt 137, 1982, 123–126.
Stambolidis 2004a	N. Ch. Stambolidis (ed.), ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ. Πόλη – Ακρόπολη – Νεκρόπολη (Athens 2004).
Stambolidis 2004b	N. Ch. Stambolidis, Η πόλη. Δυτικός ανασκαφικός τομέας ΙΙΙ, in: Stambolidis 2004a, 82–103.
Tsatsaki 1994	Ν. Τςατςακι, Όστρακα και αγγεία. Κεραμική γεωμετρικής—αρχαϊκής περιόδου, κεραμική κλασικής περιόδου, κεραμική ελληνιστικής περιόδου, Κ1–Κ67, Κ69 και Κ134–Κ269, in: Καιραχίς – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, 79–86. 94–107.
Tsatsaki 2000	Ν. Τςατςακι, Ομάδα περαμικής από ένα ελληνιστικό σπίτι («Σπίτι Β») στην Ελεύθερνα, in: Ε΄
	Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική, Χανιά, 23 Απριλίου 1997 (Athens 2000)
	45–51.
Vogeikoff-Brogan –	N. Vogeikoff-Brogan – N. Papadakis, Hellenistic Houses and Households in East Crete: The Case
Papadakis 2003	of Trypetos, in: B. Schmaltz - M. Söldner (eds.), Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext.
	Akten des internationalen Vasen-Symposions in Kiel vom 24.–28. 9. 2001 veranstaltet durch das
	Archäologische Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel (Münster 2003) 66–69.

Sources of Illustrations

Fig. 1: after Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, drawing 1, slightly modified; Fig. 2: after Kalpaxis – Furtwängler – Schnapp 1994, drawing 5; Fig. 3: Excavation plan by St. Xezonakis – E. Papanikola; digitalized by the Institute of Mediterranean Studies, Rethymno; Fig. 4–8. 15–18: N. Tsatsaki; Fig. 9. 14: V. Mathioudakis; Fig. 10: after Tsatsaki 2000, pl. 24στ; Fig. 11: after Tsatsaki 2000, pl. 24ε; Fig. 12: after Tsatsaki 2000, pl. 25 ε; Fig. 13: after Tsatsaki 2000, pl. 26α;

Dr. Niki Tsatsaki
25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Rethymnon Archaeological Museum
GR-74100 Rethymnon
ntsatsaki@yahoo.gr

W. HOEPFNER – E.-L. Schwandner, Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland. Wohnen in der klassischen Polis I (Munich 1994) 156 f.

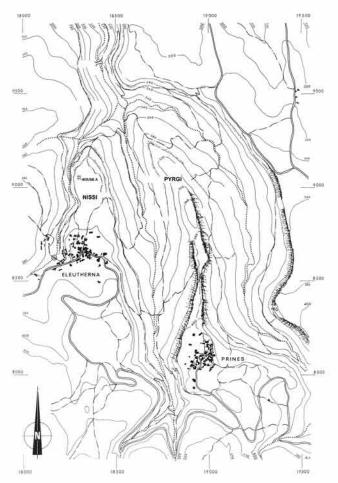


Fig. 1: Topographical plan of Eleutherna

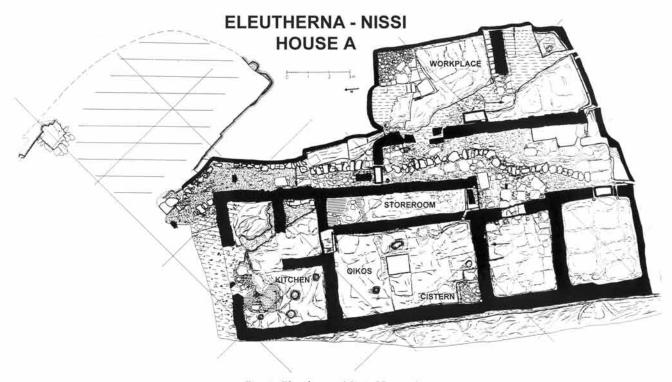


Fig. 2: Eleutherna, Nissi. House A

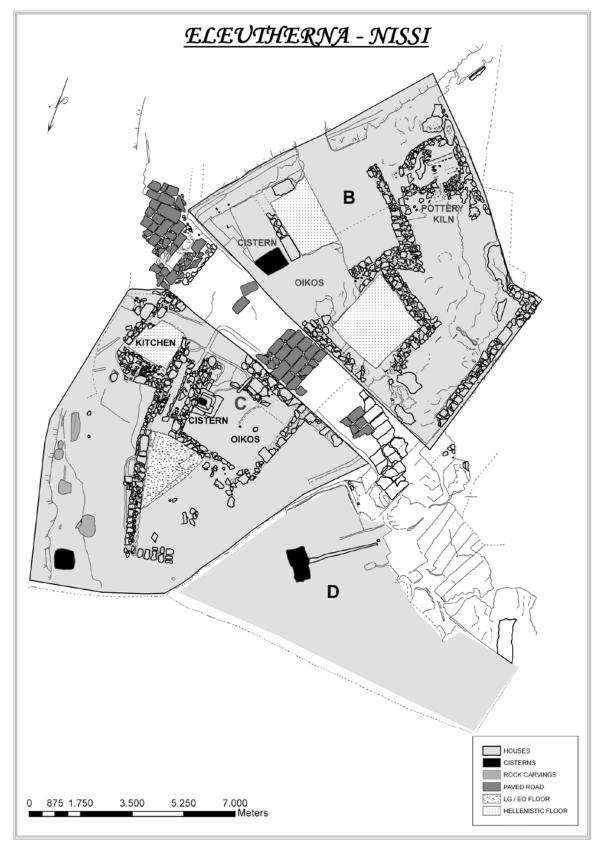


Fig. 3: Eleutherna, Nissi. Paved road and houses $B,\,C$ and D

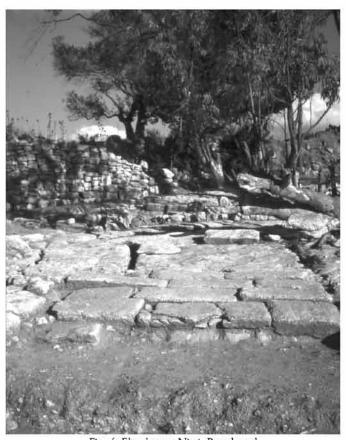


Fig. 4: Eleutherna, Nissi. Paved road



Fig. 5: Part of House B



Fig. 6: House B. One of the two rooms with beaten earth floor



Fig. 7: House B. Ceramic kiln

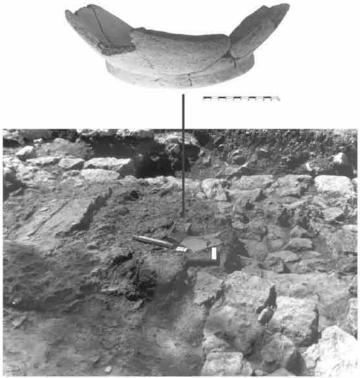


Fig. 8: House B. Fragments of a pithoid amphora in situ within the kiln



Fig. 9: House B. Bowl with incurved rim MR 22488





Fig. 11: House B. Lagynos MR 22481



Fig. 12: House B. Lamp MR 22491

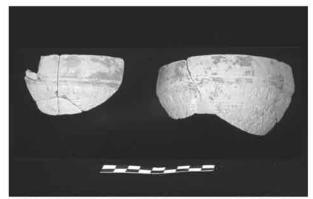


Fig. 13: House B. Imported Megarian bowl MR 22494



Fig. 14: House B. Imported Megarians bowl



Fig. 15: House C. Internal corridor



Fig. 16: House C. Kitchen

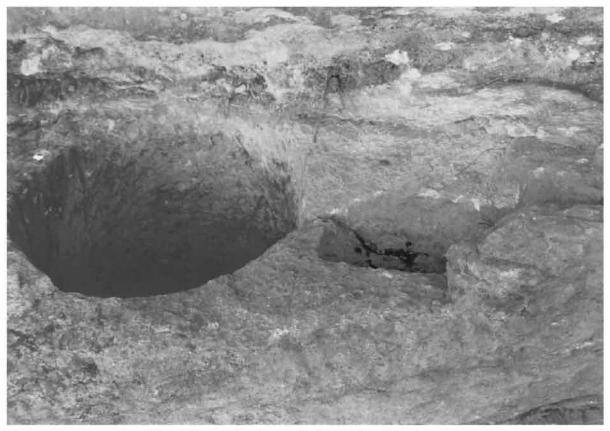


Fig. 17: House C. Rock-cut cavities in one of two industrial rooms



Fig. 18: House C. Small cistern in one of two industrial rooms