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W.-D. NIEMEIER – O. PILZ – I. KAISER (HRSG.)  
● KRETA IN DER GEOMETRISCHEN  
UND ARCHAISCHEN ZEIT

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums  
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen  
27.–29. Januar 2006

MARGARET S. MOOK – DONALD C. HAGGIS  
Excavation of an Archaic city at Azoria  
in eastern Crete

PDF-Dokument des gedruckten Beitrags

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# ATHENAIA

Band 2



W.-D. Niemeier – O. Pilz – I. Kaiser (Hrsg.)

# Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums  
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen  
27.–29. Januar 2006

*To the memory of John Nicholas Coldstream*

Umschlagbilder

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*Rückseite:* Figurine aus Vrokastro (Εγγλέζου – Ρεθεμιωτάκης S. 166 Abb. 27).

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# VORWORT UND EINLEITENDE BEMERKUNGEN

## Vorwort

Die Idee zu dem Kolloquium, dessen Akten hier vorgelegt werden, ist entstanden, als wir feststellen mussten, dass in den letzten Jahrzehnten zwar viel neue Literatur zur frühen Eisenzeit Kretas, in der die Insel eine führende Rolle in der griechischen Welt spielte, erschienen ist, aber gerade jüngeren Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit diesem Themenbereich beschäftigen, nur wenige Möglichkeiten geboten wurden, ihre Ideen zu präsentieren und zur Diskussion zu stellen. Hier sollte das Kolloquium ansetzen und die Plattform für einen Dialog bieten, den es bis dahin in dieser Form nicht gegeben hatte. Obwohl die ursprüngliche Idee darin bestand, einen kleinen Workshop für Nachwuchswissenschaftler zu veranstalten, wurde auf Anraten von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier beschlossen, auch die renommierten Vertreter der archäologischen und historischen Forschung mit einzubeziehen. Dass dies die richtige Entscheidung war, zeigt, so hoffen wir, die vorliegende Publikation. Durch den Dialog verschiedener Forschergenerationen ist ein reflektiertes Bild entstanden, das den derzeitigen Forschungsstand in umfassender Weise widerspiegelt.

Wie der Titel besagt, zielte das Kolloquium nicht auf einen bestimmten thematischen Aspekt ab, sondern hat lediglich den zeitlichen Rahmen abgesteckt. Somit enthält der vorliegende Band einerseits neue Grabungsergebnisse, andererseits aber auch Beiträge, die sich mit der Rückbesinnung auf das minoische Erbe, den Beziehungen zum Orient, der Entstehung der Polis, dem Schriftgebrauch, der Religion und den Mythen sowie der Kunstproduktion beschäftigen. Die Vernetzung dieser einzelnen Aspekte sowohl im regionalen kretischen Zusammenhang als auch im innergriechischen bzw. mediterranen Kontext ist ein wichtiges Ergebnis des vorliegenden Bandes.

Herzlich danken wir allen Referenten für ihre in Athen vorgetragenen Beiträge und deren schriftliche Fassung für den Druck. Des Weiteren sei allen Teilnehmern für ihre unermüdliche Diskussionsbereitschaft gedankt, die ganz wesentlich zum Gelingen des Kolloquiums beigetragen hat. Allen Mitarbeitern an der Abteilung Athen, insbesondere Astrid Lindenlauf und Sascha Maul, danken wir für ihre tatkräftige Unterstützung bei der Organisation und Durchführung der Tagung. Der Gerda Henkel Stiftung schulden wir Dank für die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung, die das Kolloquium in dieser Form überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Darüber hinaus übernahm die Gerda Henkel Stiftung auch einen Teil der Druckkosten der vorliegenden Publikation. Die englischsprachigen Beiträge wurden von Caitlin D. Verfenstein in bewährter Weise redigiert. Kerstin Helf fertigte dankenswerterweise eine Abschrift des maschinenschriftlichen Manuskriptes des Beitrags von J. Nicolas Coldstream (+) an. Nicht zuletzt gilt unser Dank Peter Baumeister, der 2009 die redaktionelle Bearbeitung übernommen und zügig zum Abschluss gebracht hat.

Gewidmet sei der Band dem Andenken von J. Nicolas Coldstream. Nicht nur sein wegweisender Abendvortrag »Geometric and Archaic Crete: A Hunt for the Elusive Polis«, sondern auch seine äußerst kenntnisreichen Diskussionsbeiträge, die er seiner ruhigen Wesensart gemäß stets sachlich und ohne jede Polemik vortrug, haben uns – und hier glauben wir für alle Teilnehmer sprechen zu können – tief beeindruckt. Sein Tod hat uns schmerzlich berührt und hinterlässt in vieler Hinsicht eine nicht wieder zu schließende Lücke.

*Die Herausgeber, im Februar 2011*

## Einleitende Bemerkungen

Bei der archäologischen Erforschung der Kultur der Insel Kreta standen bis in die jüngere Zeit hinein die bronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen deutlich im Vordergrund. Eine der Hauptursachen hierfür bildete die frühe Entdeckung der ›minoischen‹ Palastkultur bei den von Arthur Evans im Jahr 1900 begonnenen Grabungen in Knossos. Nicht nur die eindrucksvolle architektonische Gestalt der Paläste, sondern auch die überaus reiche und vielfältige künstlerische Produktion der minoischen Kultur und deren Einfluss auf die mykenische Kultur des griechischen Festlandes hat zunächst ein nur begrenztes Interesse an der Kultur und Geschichte des nachbronzezeitlichen Kreta aufkommen lassen.

Wie die Forschung gerade in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend erkannt hat, spielte die Insel aber auch im 10. bis 7. Jh. v. Chr. im Entstehungsprozess der griechischen Kultur der historischen Zeit eine bedeutende Rolle. Eine wichtige Voraussetzung hierfür bildete zweifelsohne die strategisch günstige Position der Insel am Schnittpunkt zahlreicher Handels- und Kommunikationswege im östlichen Mittelmeer, der es zu verdanken ist, dass sich die auswärtigen Kontakte der Insel nach dem Zusammenbruch der bronzezeitlichen Palastkultur bereits in der protogeometrischen Zeit erneut intensiviert haben. Dadurch wurde vielfältigen Einflüssen insbesondere aus der Levante und dem Vorderen Orient deutlich früher als auf dem griechischen Festland der Weg bereitet. Später, im 7. Jh. v. Chr., gingen beispielsweise die Impulse zur Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik und zur Ausstattung von Tempeln mit Skulpturenschmuck von Kreta aus. Auch in politischer Hinsicht ist die Entwicklung auf Kreta im frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr. hoch bedeutsam, bilden sich doch in diesem Zeitraum soziale Strukturen und Institutionen heraus, die zumindest teilweise bereits auf die im 8. Jh. v. Chr. entstehende Polis vorausweisen.

Das internationale Kolloquium ›Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit‹, das vom 27. bis 29. Januar 2006 an der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts stattfand und dessen Akten in diesem Band vorgelegt sind, war die bisher erste Tagung überhaupt, die sich so umfassend mit diesem für die Insel so wichtigen Zeitraum auseinandergesetzt hat. Aufgrund der inhaltlich weitgehend offenen Konzeption des Kolloquiums deckt auch die Publikation der Beiträge ein breites Themenspektrum ab, ohne deswegen an Fokussierung auf die Kernproblematik einzubüßen: den komplexen Übergangsprozess von den soziopolitischen Strukturen der ausgehenden Bronzezeit zur griechischen Polisgesellschaft. Die insgesamt 32 Beiträge beleuchten diese Entwicklung zwar in erster Linie aus archäologischer Perspektive, jedoch kommt beispielsweise in den Beiträgen von A. Chaniotis und F. Guizzi durchaus auch die althistorische Sicht zur Geltung.

Innerhalb des Bandes sind die einzelnen Beiträge zu thematischen Gruppen zusammengefasst. Mit zehn Beiträgen nimmt die Präsentation neuer archäologischer und topographischer Forschungen sowie die Publikation von Funden und Befunden aus älteren Grabungen einen wichtigen Platz ein. Hervorzuheben sind hier insbesondere der konzise Überblick über die Ergebnisse der 2006 abgeschlossenen amerikanischen Grabung in der Siedlung von Azoria sowie die Publikation der geometrischen Nekropole von Eltynia. Mit dem Erscheinen des Kolloquiumsbandes verbreitert sich die Materialbasis für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit dem geometrischen und archaischen Kreta somit entscheidend.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Beiträge, die sich gezielt mit einzelnen Gattungen der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion Kretas im fraglichen Zeitraum auseinandersetzen. Naturgemäß nimmt hier besonders die Keramik breiten Raum ein. Dass der Erschließungsaspekt wiederum eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird u. a. am Beitrag über die Keramikfunde aus dem Haus Γ auf dem Hügel Nisi in Eleutherna deutlich, einer möglichen Töpferwerkstatt der geometrischen Zeit.

Eine weitere Gruppe von vier Aufsätzen, die einen stärker synthetischen Ansatz verfolgen, widmet sich dem Problem der Entstehung der Polis auf Kreta, so u. a. der möglichen Rolle von Synoikismen im Prozess der Siedlungsverdichtung, der mit der Genese der Polis einhergeht. Daran schließen



sich je zwei Beiträge an, die Heiligtümer und Kulte auf Kreta bzw. Darstellungen von Mythen in der kretischen Kunst in den Blick nehmen. Die folgenden drei Aufsätze stellen verschiedene Teilaspekte der kretischen Kultur, beispielsweise den Schriftgebrauch und die Hausarchitektur, in den gesamtgriechischen Kontext. Den Abschluss des Bandes bilden zwei Beiträge, die thematisch über den griechischen Bereich hinausgreifen, indem sie die Beziehungen Kretas zum Vorderen Orient untersuchen. Hierbei ist der wegweisende Beitrag zum Bronzegürtel und -köcher aus Fortetsa hervorzuheben.

Der Tatsache, dass die Tagung bewusst als Kolloquium konzipiert war, trägt die Publikation insofern Rechnung, als die teilweise ausführliche Diskussion zu den einzelnen Beiträgen in den Band aufgenommen wurde. Die Diskussion vertieft nicht nur einzelne Aspekte, sondern eröffnet vielfach neue Perspektiven auf die jeweiligen Sachverhalte. Dass das Athener Kolloquium einen entscheidenden Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit den bisher stark vernachlässigten nachbronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen Kretas geliefert hat, wird daran deutlich, dass sich die Forschungsdiskussion seither intensiviert hat. Die Akten des Kolloquiums spiegeln den derzeitigen Forschungsstand zu Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit in umfassender Weise wider. Aufgrund dieser thematischen Breite steht zu hoffen, dass sich der Band als Referenzwerk für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Kultur und soziopolitischen Entwicklung im geometrisch-archaischen Kreta etablieren und der Forschung weitere wichtige Impulse geben wird.

*W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, I. Kaiser*



## EXCAVATION OF AN ARCHAIC CITY AT AZORIA IN EASTERN CRETE

Azoria is the modern toponym for an Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–700 B.C.) and Archaic (7<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.) settlement one kilometer southeast of the modern village of Kavousi on the northeast coast of Crete, where the American School of Classical Studies at Athens has recently completed an initial five-year excavation<sup>1</sup>. The goal of the project has been to examine the form of a small-scale Archaic Cretan city, looking at changes in socio-economic systems in the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period. The 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries are periods on Crete which have traditionally elicited historical paradigms of economic recession, large-scale abandonment of sites, social and political upheaval, and isolation from the wider Greek and Mediterranean worlds. The excavations at Azoria examine the archaeological implications of this critical gap or discontinuity, exploring a site established in the Early Iron Age and occupied during the full extent of the Archaic period. One hypothesis is that the economic growth apparent in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries on Crete culminates in urbanization at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and involves a radical restructuring of settlement and physical rebuilding and reorganization of emergent centers.

By the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the site of Azoria had expanded to its maximum size, which we estimate to have been as large as 15 hectares (*fig. 1*). The stratigraphic evidence suggests that the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century was a period of critical changes in sociopolitical systems on the island, in which a new social order took material form in a new settlement plan and house types, the definition of public space and an increased expenditure on public building, and the formalization of what can be called ›civic architecture‹. Even though Azoria cannot be reliably linked to a name of a known city-state, we use the term ›civic‹ because we think that the evidence – new building practices, reorganization of public and private

space, and changes in the agropastoral and supra-household economy – suggests social configurations in keeping with an Archaic urban environment. We use the term ›city-state‹ to mean a physical urban center and its surrounding territory, a regional community of place based on preexisting Early Iron Age village-clusters that had, by the Archaic period, relocated political and economic practices to the site of Azoria<sup>2</sup>.

Concentrating excavation on the southernmost of two distinct *acropoleis* (*fig. 1. 2*), we have recovered evidence for an Archaic urban center, that is, distinctly civic buildings that were used for large-scale and centralized food storage and processing, and public banqueting and cult activities. The construction of this civic space included the rebuilding of the site to accommodate new architectural forms from which we infer the existence of formal institutions controlling resources in public venues of social and political interaction.

An evidently important aspect of the formation of the city was the allocation of space for streets that converge in an open space – the putative agora – on the south side of the South Acropolis (*fig. 2*). An additional indication of urbanization is the construction of ›spine walls‹ – massive retaining and dividing walls that are generally oriented to the contours of the hill. These walls served to structure the topography, and to organize and delineate the use of space, and patterns of access and communication (*fig. 2*). Public places in the Archaic phase include: (1) a possible *andreion* complex, consisting of three store-rooms and three kitchens connected via a porch and vestibule to a dining hall and internal rooms used for libations and offerings; (2) the Monumental Civic Building, which was evidently an early ceremonial or banquet hall with stepped seats, and an adjoining Service Complex equipped for large scale food storage and preparation; (3) a small shrine north of the

Excavations at Azoria were conducted with the permission of the Greek Ministry of Culture under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Funding for the 2002–2006 excavation seasons was provided by grants from the National Science Foundation (B.C.S-0438073); National Endowment for the Humanities (RZ-20812; RZ-50334), the National Geographic Society (7193-02; 7614-04), the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (GR 6875), the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the College of Arts and Sciences, the Vice Chancellor for Research, and the Department of Classics of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, and the Azoria Project Fund.

<sup>1</sup> Haggis et al. 2004; Haggis et al. 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Haggis et al. 2004, 341. 390; Haggis 2005, 81–85.



Fig. 1 View of Azoria from south

Monumental Civic Building; and (4) a cult building on the southern edge of the South Acropolis in the area of the putative agora.

While the site was inhabited early the Final Neolithic and at some stage of the late Prepalatial period (Early Minoan III – Middle Minoan I A), it reached a size of three to six hectares by the Early Iron Age, and was occupied continuously into the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. After some two centuries of disuse it was partially reoccupied in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>3</sup> The destruction and condition of Early Iron Age buildings at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century demonstrate a major reorganization of the settlement, which suggests significant changes in the economy and social structure of the town.

#### Urbanization in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

Work over the past five years has recovered interesting stratigraphic indications of the 7<sup>th</sup> century changes in the form of the settlement. The most common evidence consists of substantial foundation deposits for new buildings: the regular and systematic deposition of cobble-stone and debris as a fill level across the site, in order to establish foundations for new buildings. In most cases the slopes of the site had been deeply excavated by the early Archaic builders,

apparently in an effort to regularize the uneven terrain and to provide space for new buildings. Early Iron Age constructions were either destroyed – their material remains simply dumped or re-deposited into the fill layer – or they were completely buried. The purpose of the Archaic renovation was to redesign the plan of the town, while obliterating or concealing the remains of the earlier settlement. Even though the Early Iron Age foundations are occasionally incorporated into later Archaic constructions, the intention was neither to retain the plan nor to recognize the existence of these earlier buildings. Early Iron Age structures survive today as dissociated segments of wall and occasional occupation surfaces recovered in stratigraphic soundings below the Archaic floor levels.

The site's late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup>-century rebuilding also included the construction of monumental spine walls that served to reorganize the settlement plan and communication patterns<sup>4</sup>. Spine walls generally conform to the contours of the South Acropolis, creating a series of roughly concentric ring walls around the hill (*fig. 2*). The walls are constructed of large dolomite boulders – some exceeding a meter in length – that rest on a bedding of clay and cobbles directly on the bedrock (*fig. 3*). The facets of stones were worked to conform to the irregularities of adjacent blocks, while smaller boulders and cobbles filled interstices. In some cases the spine walls

<sup>3</sup> Haggis et al. 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Fagerström 1988, 113–114; Hayden 1997, 130–131; Haggis et al. 2004, 349–352.

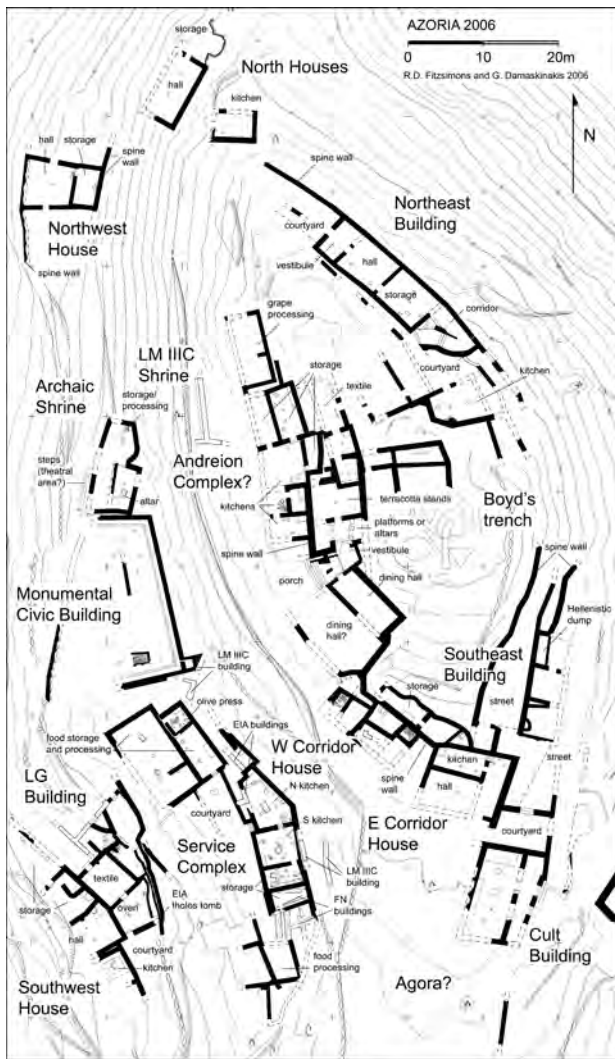


Fig. 2 State plan of South Acropolis

serve to support terraces for streets and buildings up-slope from the walls, but in most instances they appear to anchor constructions to the slope, allowing different rooms of the same building to be placed on both sides of the wall. Spine walls are customarily constructed directly on the bedrock, which has been modified to accommodate the foundation of the wall. The space behind the wall – in between the bedrock shelf and the back of the spine wall – was filled-in with Final Neolithic, Prepalatial, and Early Iron Age occupation debris.

Excavation on the southwest slope of the South Acropolis has brought to light a particularly well-preserved stratigraphic example of the Early Iron Age-Archaic transition (fig. 2: LG Building). Late in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, a large well-built structure of Late Geometric to Late Orientalizing date was abandoned and early in the 6<sup>th</sup> century it was covered over with a street running in a north-south direction with the contour along the southwest slope. While we have

uncovered only the southern edge and exterior surfaces of this building, it was evidently very large and well constructed (fig. 4). The internal width is about 6.00 m and a centrally-placed doorway is 1.20 m wide. The structure's southeast corner is best preserved, with 11 courses extant (ca. 1.30–1.40 m high). Stones project from the corner, beyond the wall's southern face, at intervals of 0.20–0.30 m. During the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the ground surface on the south side of the building was elevated and a series of three risers were built into the doorway. Subsequently a retaining wall was constructed perpendicular to the building, about 1.0 m west of the southeast corner. This retaining wall contained a deep layer of fill that supported a corridor and courtyard on the east. The courtyard provided access to another room that was evidently added onto the east side of the building. A well-fashioned doorway and threshold are preserved indicating direct access to the east room from the courtyard (fig. 4).

The interiors of both the Late Geometric building and the Orientalizing addition remain unexcavated and the use of the building is unknown. At the time of abandonment, however, a deep layer of burned soil, fine-ware pottery, and animal bone was deposited in the courtyard. The pottery from this deposit consists primarily of fine drinking and dining wares of Late Geometric to Late Orientalizing date, along with sherds of Late Minoan III C – Geometric date; approximately 60 percent of the pottery is burned. The animal bones, consisting of both burned and unburned fragments, are consistent with both food and sacrificial debris. The deposit is distinctly non-domestic in character, perhaps indicating a cultic function. The building's external width of 7.00 m approximates the size of the temple at Dreros.

South of this Late Geometric building, the Archaic inhabitants constructed a street directly on top of an intact Early Iron Age tholos tomb (fig. 5), incorporating the cap stone and stomion into the east wall of a later Archaic building, that abuts the street on the west. The tholos is a typical LM III C – PG type (fig. 6): it has a roughly elliptical plan and the walls are corbelled in eight courses, using both dolomite and limestone (*sideropetra*) field stones. The floor is partially paved and the burials seem to be intact; on preliminary analysis, it appears that there were at least six inhumations, the earliest burials pushed to the back of the tomb, the latest extending into the stomion. The finds are mostly Protogeometric in date: a hand-built juglet, a flask, a stirrup jar fragment, a skyphos, a juglet, a bowl, two conical ceramic beads, and a bronze fragment.

The systematic destruction and burial of Early Iron Age architecture dramatically illustrates the character of the Archaic transition at the site. In order



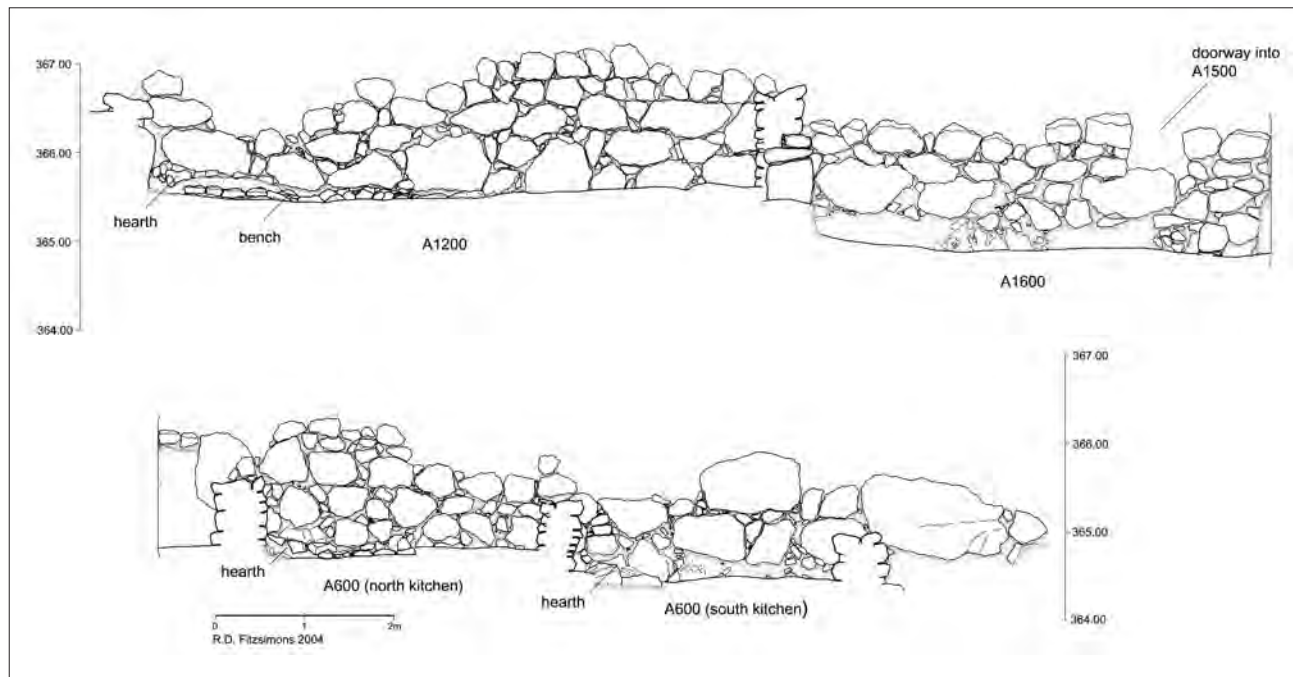


Fig. 3 Elevation of spine wall in the Andreion Complex



Fig. 4 Late Geometric Building with Orientalizing additions from east

to accommodate a new street – probably connected to the construction of the civic buildings to the west and north (*fig. 2*) – the Archaic builders modified the southwest slope by deliberately concealing the

Late Geometric-Orientalizing building and the Late Minoan III C – Protogeometric tomb. This effective erasure of Early Iron Age buildings and ancestral cemetery is characteristic of a broader process of renovation and reorganization of private and public space. Along with cobble-fill deposits and megalithic spine walls, which effectively displaced Early Iron Age occupation debris, the physical transformation of the settlement involved the alteration, obliteration or concealment of the Early Iron Age topography. This process could also reflect changing social attitudes and identities, and a new political consciousness. It appears that the construction of a new urban environment required a deliberate disengagement from the Early Iron Age past.

### The houses

Archaic houses have been recovered in seven areas of the site, suggesting a close and concentric placement of domestic buildings contiguous to the civic structures on the peak of the South Acropolis, as well as extending onto the North Acropolis. The houses at Azoria show interesting variations in plan but on the whole they are large in size and complex in formal arrangement of rooms (*fig. 2*)<sup>5</sup>. Corridor houses are found along with axially-aligned linear arrangements. In most examples the storeroom directly adjoins the main hall of the house (*fig. 7*), while the kitchen is a separate structure, sometimes of irregu-

<sup>5</sup> Haggis – Mook (in press).

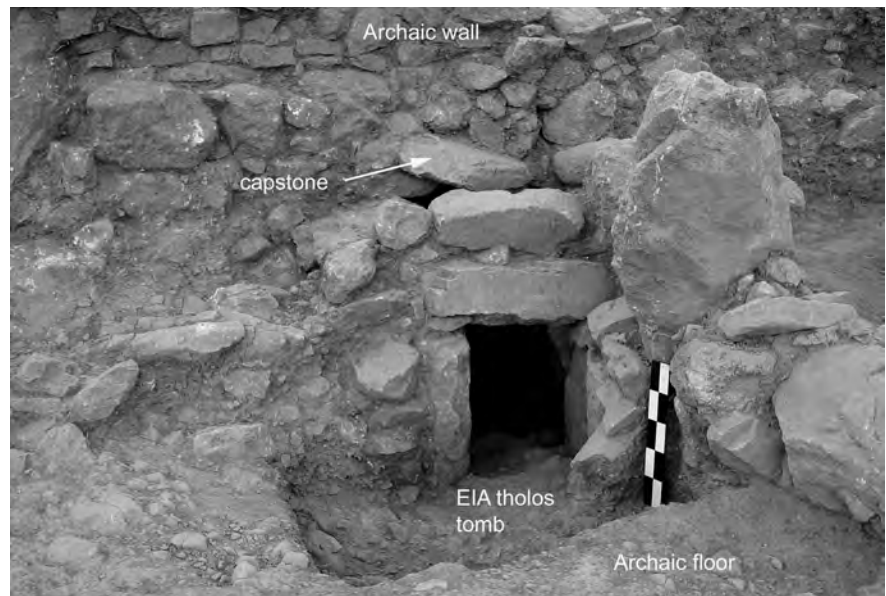


Fig. 5 Early Iron Age tholos tomb and Archaic wall from west



Fig. 6 Tholos tomb interior



Fig. 7 Northwest House: view of storeroom from southwest



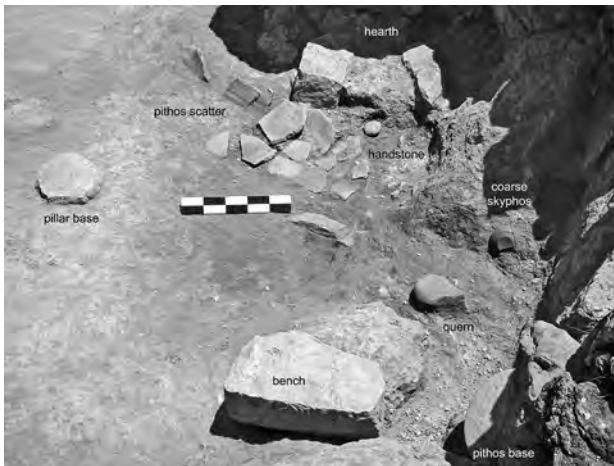


Fig. 8 Northeast Building: kitchen floor assemblage



Fig. 9 North Acropolis House: kitchen floor assemblage on north side

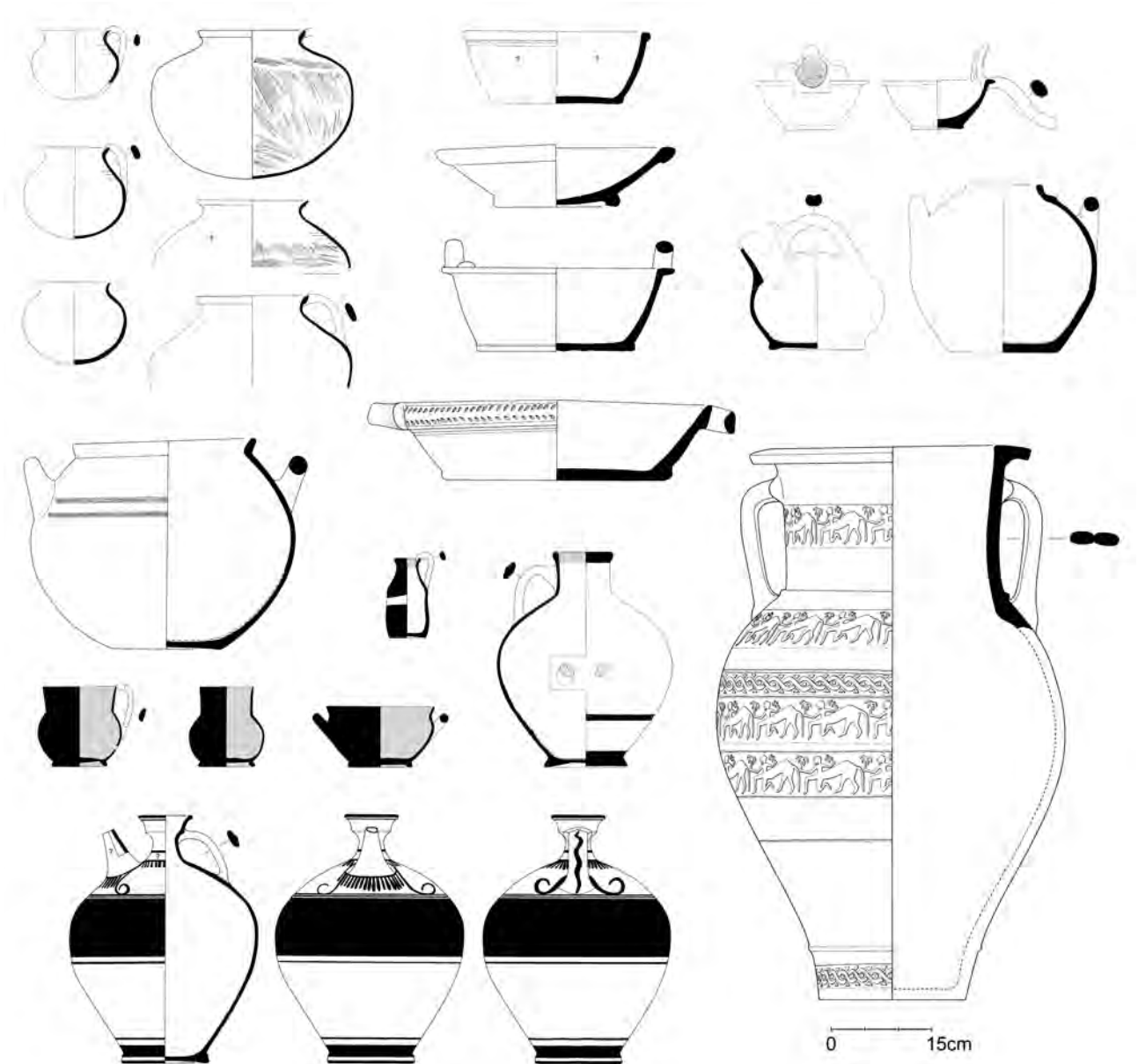


Fig. 10 North Acropolis House: selected pottery from the kitchen floor





Fig. 11 North Acropolis House: terracotta votive plaque

lar shape, and accessible to the main building via a courtyard.

Typically, the main halls have cups, skyphoi, kraters, hydriae and amphoras as well as small decorated pithoi. The main feature of storerooms is food storage in pithoi, but they also functioned as general pantries containing drinking and dining vessels. In the kitchens (fig. 8), there are work platforms, distinguishable sets of stone tools and other equipment such as strainers, cheese graters, and mortars, and a large array of pottery for storage, cooking, serving, and consumption. Food remains are diverse, including olives, grapes, almonds, grains and pulses, while animal remains consist primarily of pig, sheep, goat, and fish.

The kitchen of the North Acropolis House incorporated the modified bedrock to create high socles on the north and south. It contained a rectangular hearth, work platform, and the full complement of food preparation equipment (fig. 9). The assemblage of the room was extraordinarily well preserved, consisting of chytrai and other cookpots, lekane, mortars, kalathoi, bowls, a dish, cups, scuttles, olpes, an askos, hydriae, spouted jugs, amphoras, jars, and a small pithos (fig. 10). Other finds include a bronze cheese grater, an iron hoe, and a fragment of a painted terracotta votive plaque (fig. 11). The plaque is typical of the mould made types found in Archaic sanctuaries, particularly the suburban classification

used by M. Prent in her recent book on Cretan cults<sup>6</sup>. Among other finds there were an iron arrow head, several loom weights, and spindle whorls. Emerging from the household assemblages at Azoria are discernable tool kits for food production – a very close contextual association between small querns, hand-stones, and worked pumice, the latter perhaps used for cleaning or dressing the querns. Preliminary analysis of the botanical remains indicates that there were olive and fig, as well as grape, almond, and pulse. An animal bone dump in the southern edge of the room includes pig, sheep, goat, and significant amounts of fish. The animal bone from the kitchen is extremely significant as it represents primary butchering, activities that are not readily attested in the faunal assemblages from the civic complexes on the South Acropolis – where the condition of the material so far suggests dressed cuts of meat and dining debris.

The house forms at Azoria emphasize the delineation of room functions and the compartmentalization of space, reflecting a clear separation of living, service and storage areas (fig. 2). Kitchens are often separated from the main living areas of the house by corridors or courtyards, while the storeroom is directly connected to the main hall. As a mediating component, the hall could well have been used to control, account for, and organize the use of produce, while the adjoining storeroom was planned to enhance the accessibility and perhaps even the visibility of the material and agricultural wealth of the household – including the pithoi themselves, as well as their contents.

### The putative *andreion*

Among the public buildings on the South Acropolis there is a multi-room structure we have tentatively identified as an *andreion* (fig. 2)<sup>7</sup>. It is now possible to distinguish two main components of the complex: storage and food processing on the lower level, and ceremonial consumption on the upper level. A porch and vestibule link areas for food processing and feasting, and also appear to separate and differentiate areas of dining and drinking. The porch was littered with food and pottery debris, including fragments of terracotta stands (fig. 12, 1. 2) and various types of drinking vessels and kraters, which were probably swept from the adjacent dining rooms during periodic cleaning.

The large hall on the southern end of the complex is accessible directly from the porch (fig. 13). The

<sup>6</sup> Prent 2005, 478–479.

<sup>7</sup> Haggis et al. 2004, 387–393.

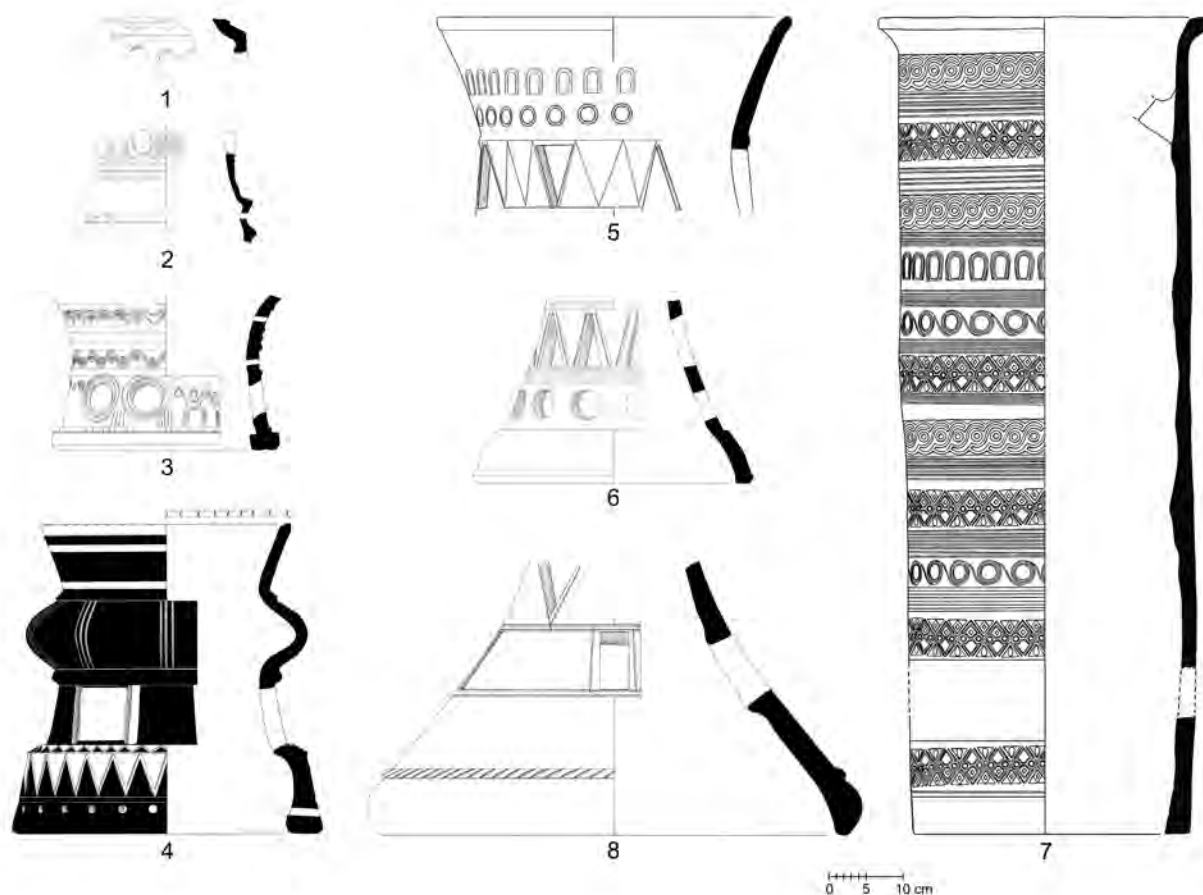


Fig. 12 Selected terracotta stands from the Andreion Complex and Service Complex

contents of the room included food debris, a relief pithos, fragments of low and high-necked cups, a kotyle, small kraters, table amphoras, an exaleipteron, and an elaborately-decorated fenestrated stand (fig. 12, 3). While the function of the hall is uncertain, the spacious interior area (over 25 square meters), easily capable of seating over 20 people, and the assemblage of drinking vessels and dining debris suggest that it could have served routines of public feasting<sup>8</sup>. Of similar dimensions, date, and perhaps function, is the Geometric-Archaic ›megaron‹ at Eleutherna, which had an earthen floor, fragmentary pottery and animal bone, and according to the excavator, wooden benches<sup>9</sup>.

The rooms to the north of the porch are accessible only through the vestibule and have features indicating special functions. The first room is fitted with stone-built platforms, around which were found considerable amounts of ashy soil and calcined bone. It is possible but not conclusive that the platforms served as offering tables or altars. The northernmost room contained numerous fragments of terracotta

stands designed to support large kraters or dinoi, and probably formed the centerpieces in drinking and dining ceremonies (fig. 12, 4, 5).

On the lower terrace there are three adjoining storerooms (fig. 2) – one room had a number of pithoi, containing more than a 1000 fragments of grape pips and skins, hundreds of fragments of olive stones, as well as pieces of almond, fig, pulse, cereal grain, and poppy seeds. Terracotta stands decorated with elaborate fenestrations or stamped motifs were also stored in these rooms (fig. 12, 6, 7). The storerooms are connected directly to a series of three kitchens, which contained small pithoi, work platforms, hearths, and food processing equipment, such as handstones and querns, as well as an interesting array of pottery, including skyphoi and cooking pots. There was also a considerable amount of food debris in the southernmost kitchen – not evidence for food preparation, but remains of meals dumped from the upper dining and ceremonial rooms. The assemblage included over 1400 sea shells, as well as various marine fauna and bones from domestic meat,

<sup>8</sup> IC II v 1; SEG 27, 631; Aristotle, pol. 2, 1272a; Strab. 10, 482; cf. Guizzi 1997.

<sup>9</sup> Themelis 2003, 25–29.



Fig. 13 Andreion Complex: dining hall from northwest

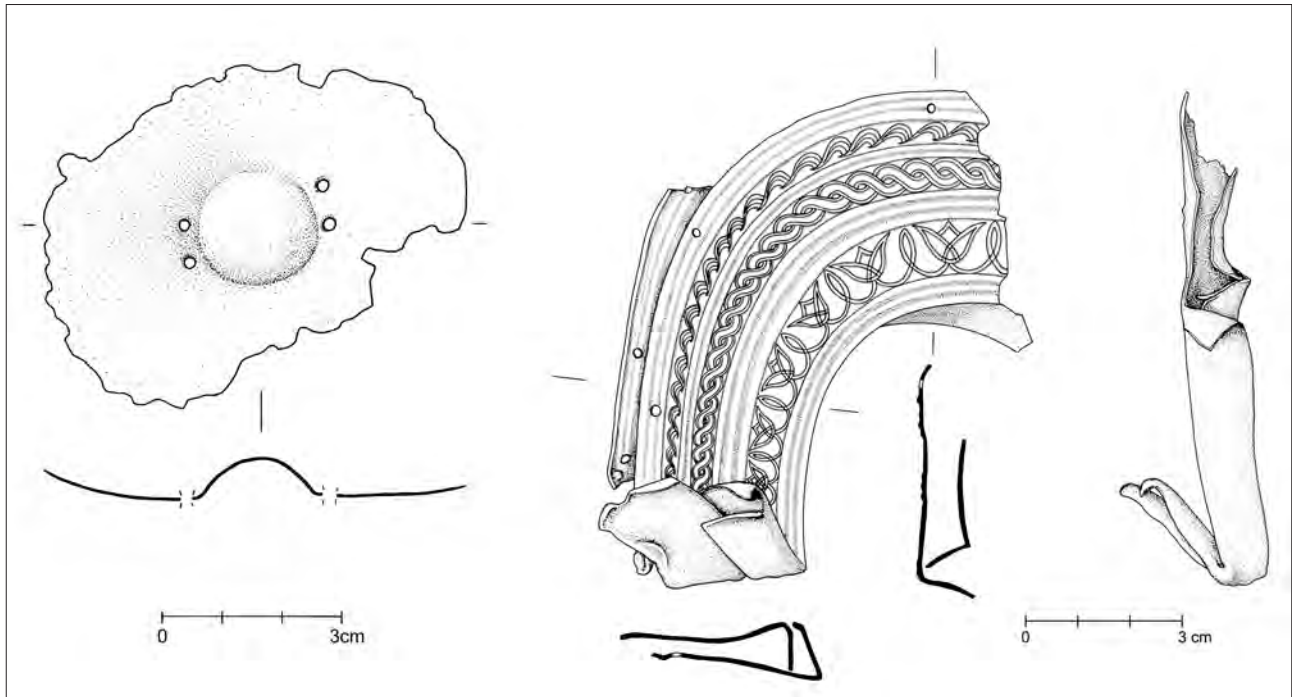


Fig. 14 Andreion Complex: bronze shield boss and helmet crest

especially sheep, goat, pig and cattle. This discarded food debris lacks indications of primary butchering, meaning that complete animal carcasses were probably not being processed there, but brought in as dressed portions for cooking and consumption.

Other finds from the complex include obeloi, fragments of iron weapons, a bronze shield boss, and

part of a bronze helmet (*fig. 14*) – a fragment of the distinctly high crest that belongs to an open-faced Cretan type, known from Aphrati and more recently from Prinias<sup>10</sup>. As Marinatos has argued for the putative andreion at Dreros, and Vivier for the Aphrati hoard, armor is a particularly appropriate item of display within the *andreion*<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Hoffmann 1972, 5–6; Gigli Patanè 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Marinatos 1936, 254; Vivier 1994, 244–249.





Fig. 15 Service Complex: south kitchen from northwest

### The Monumental Civic Building

Down slope and west of the *andreion* is the Monumental Civic Building with its adjoining Service Complex – a series of connected and centralized food preparation and storage areas extending along the terrace to the south of the main building (fig. 2). The Service Complex consists of two large rooms on the north with multiple storage and processing functions, connected via a courtyard to two large kitchens and two adjoining storerooms. The kitchens (fig. 15) contain benches and bins, and each has a central rectangular hearth. The assemblages consist of food processing, serving, and drinking equipment with amphorae and pithoi present in almost every room – over 80 vessels were recovered from the south kitchen (fig. 16). Interesting finds include cheese graters, iron obeloi, fish hooks, balance pans and figurines. On the north side of the north kitchen there was an enormous fenestrated krater stand (fig. 12, 8) and on the west, part of a bronze *podanipter* probably of Corinthian manufacture (fig. 17), used for lustration before a sacrifice or banquet – an accoutrement of the banquet hall as well as an element of elite display<sup>12</sup>.

The adjoining Monumental Civic building is over 20 m long (north–south) on the interior (fig. 18, 19). The north and south walls are preserved to a length of about 8.0 m to the edge of the terrace, which descends sharply onto the eroded western slope. The western limits of the building are not preserved, but the extant remains of the north and south walls and the presence of a monumental retaining wall exposed on the edge of the terrace below the building, suggest an internal width of about 10 meters.

Stepped seats run continuously along all three interior wall faces (fig. 19). The upper step is about

0.55 m deep, while the lower is 0.25 m. The height of each step is a uniform 0.25 m, a standard tread for theatral seating. Both steps employ single dressed blocks as well as leveling courses to achieve an even step height. Several blocks show considerable signs of tread ware, especially in the outer edges of the stones. The top step is inscribed with two kernoi: the one in the southeast corner has ten cupules forming rows or an irregular oval. The second kernos is centrally placed. It is more regular in shape, consisting of 10 cupules in a neat circle about 31 cm in diameter. The cupules are spaced at regular intervals along the circumference of the circle, and each cupule is about 3 cm in diameter. A reused schist kernos, surely of Minoan date, was found face down on top of one of the eastern steps (fig. 20). The schist slab has ten regular cupules arranged in a circle, separated by a carved groove and enclosed by an outer circle.

The floor of the building is made of packed yellow-green phyllite clay, utilizing the bedrock to form a level surface across the extent of the interior space (figs. 18, 19). While the floor is severely eroded in parts, the impressions of burned roof beams – bands of charcoal and burnt-red clay – are found in regular patterns perpendicular to the north and south walls in the north and southeast corners. One beam pattern is apparent perpendicular to the east wall in the southeast corner. The intervals between burned patches are about 2.0 m. Burned roofing material was found across the excavated area, with the highest concentrations and deepest deposits in the north and southeast corners.

Among the finds recovered from inside the building there was a situla, lekane, hydria, a black gloss skyphos, and a number of fragmentary cups. Burned and unburned animal bones were recovered from across the excavated area, and while the botanical remains from the building have not been studied yet, remains of wheat and chick pea have been identified.

### The shrine

North of the Monumental Civic Building and abutting its northern wall there is a two-room shrine of Late Archaic date (fig. 2). It is constructed on a bedrock platform and is accessible via a stepped entrance on the west. The southernmost room (ca. 2.40–2.80 m wide and 5.40 m long) has a clay floor and a rectangular bench or altar in the southern half of the room (fig. 21). The altar is about 0.40 m high (0.80 × 0.60 m) and built of regular courses of schist and occasionally limestone (*sideropetra*) blocks or slabs. Built against the north face of the altar is

<sup>12</sup> Gauer 1991, 79; Tarditi 1996, 23–39.



Fig. 16 Service Complex: selected pottery from the south kitchen and connected storeroom

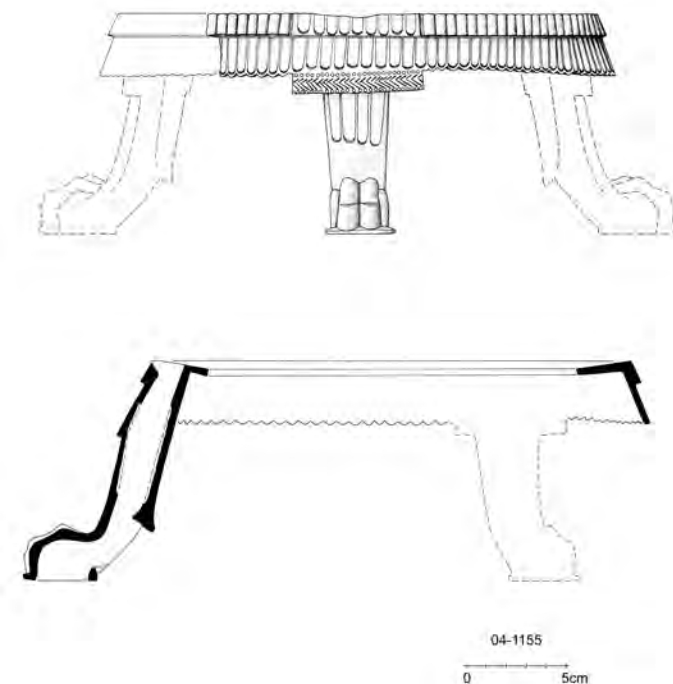


Fig. 17 Service Complex, north kitchen:  
bronze podanipter

a square stone-lined hearth constructed of three stones set at right angles.

A number of objects were found directly on the top of the altar and around it on the west and south sides – since objects were found within the roofing material and above the floor level, it is assumed that many of them may have originally been placed on the platform itself (*fig. 22*). The objects include two miniature skyphoi, a miniature bronze bowl, three ribbed stands, and 14 terracotta figurine and plaque fragments. Among the terracottas there are two hollow cylindrical wheel made types; two combined wheel and mould made figurines in the daidalic style; one daidalic mould-made plaque; one zoomorphic figurine (bovine hind quarters); and four coarse anthropomorphic Geometric types. All of the anthropomorphic figurines are female. Additional finds from the room include a glass bead, a spindle whorl, a piece of folded bronze and a number of marine shells – triton's trumpet, clam, limpet, and murex. A boar's tusk and cranial fragment were also recovered.

North of the hearth, on the central north-south axis of the room, is a limestone block, probably a base to support a post near the likely position of a





Fig. 18 Monumental Civic Building: view from south



Fig. 21 Archaic Shrine: altar and hearth from northwest



Fig. 19 Monumental Civic Building: view from north



Fig. 20 Monumental Civic Building: schist kernos

chimney pot or opening in the roof. A doorway in the northwest corner of the room has a step up to a small irregularly shaped kitchen, ca. 4.50 m long and preserved to only about 2.50 m wide (*fig. 2*). Given that the western wall is no longer extant and a substantial part of the western edge of the terrace is severely eroded, the position of a central hearth in the room suggests an original width of about 3.0 meters. In the northeast corner of the room are three limestone boulders – perhaps work platforms – surrounding a small quern. Burning on the floor and a fallen roof beam in the south half of the room are indications of the Late Archaic destruction, which left a well-preserved assemblage: a pithos, a Geometric krater, three transport amphorae, a lamp, an Attic exaleiptron, a bronze awl, an iron knife blade, an iron nail or obelos fragment, a loom weight, and a schist lid.

The terrace is bordered on the west by a long fragmentary terrace wall, evidently constructed to retain the leveling fill used to support the building and perhaps a narrow porch. There are three rows of well-cut schist and limestone steps extending along the west face of the terrace wall for about four to five meters – perhaps the remains of an exterior ›theatral area‹ of sorts (*fig. 2*). The west slope of the terrace is extremely eroded at the southern end, so it is impossible to reconstruct with certainty the access to the building. It is likely to have included a series of steps at the southern end of the terrace.

The form of the shrine is not easily comparable to known contemporary cult places in Crete. Nor can we attribute with certainty a specific deity to the votive pattern or shrine type. The presence of the hearth, the dominant female aspect of the votive assemblage, and the proximity to the Monumental Civic Building might allow us to speculate that it functioned to receive regular offerings associated



Fig. 22 Archaic Shrine: assemblage of terracotta objects and marine shells

with a particularly civic cult – perhaps to Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, the traditional personification of the city's communal hearth. The character of the offerings, however, fits Prent's ›suburban community sanctuary‹ classification, such as that at the Gortyn acropolis, Siteia, Roussa Ekklesia, and Vaveloi Praisos, although her suburban classification might need to be revised given the clearly urban location of the Azoria shrine, which has an assemblage nearly identical to that of Alexiou's clearly suburban temple at Pachlizani Agriada (which belongs to the Azoria settlement)<sup>13</sup>. In her analysis of the finds, Prent concludes that these shrines demonstrate a new kind of ritual behavior emerging in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, one that emphasized both gender distinctions and social roles that were critical in customs of ritual initiation within the community. One wonders if the Monumental Civic Building, with its kernoi and evidence of feasting, might have functioned along with the shrine in more inclusive, distinctly public, rites of social integration, in Prent's words the »articulation of socio-political institutions associated with the Cretan poleis«<sup>14</sup>.

### The Cult Building

Located in the southeast of the South Acropolis, on the northeastern edge of the putative agora, is a large building, possibly a temple (fig. 2: Cult Building). The main access to the building is indicated by a series of steps that ascend from a landing that runs along the east side of the structure. The building is very poorly preserved. Lying directly in the plough-zone, its walls and floor surfaces have suffered extreme damage from agricultural use of the area and subsequent erosion. A sufficient amount of the architecture survives, however, to allow a reconstruction of the plan of the building. The entrance was evidently through a long irregular and narrow porch or *pastas*, ca. 12 m long and 2.0 m wide, which runs along the entire east side of the main hall. Two possible doorways can be reconstructed from the remains of the eastern wall: one is at the top of the stair that leads from the landing in the street; the other is to the south where a clay ramp ascends from the street through the wall on to a bedrock step with a bedrock-cut door pivot.

<sup>13</sup> Prent 2005, 633–638; cf. Sjögren 2003, 55–58.

<sup>14</sup> Prent 2005, 476–502, 636.

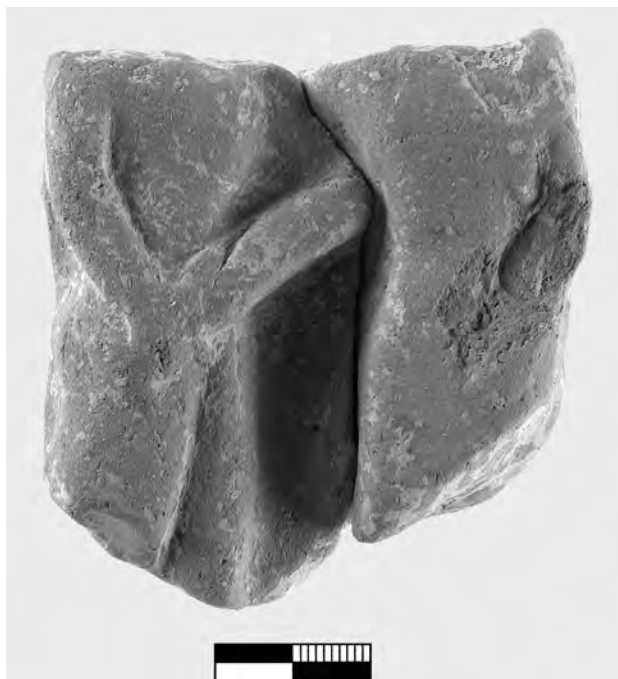


Fig. 23 Cult Building: terracotta votive plaque

The main hall is about 12 m north-south by 5.0 m east-west, internal dimensions. The north and west walls are constructed of large boulders and at the northern end of the building, a double megalithic wall supports a courtyard on the terrace above, to the southeast of the East Corridor House. The main hall was a single undivided room with a large rectangular cut-bedrock platform in the center (ca. 1.40 m × 1.20 m) and a wide hard-packed phyllite clay platform bordered by stones (ca. 4.0 m × 1.50 m) against the north wall. A stone-built bench is preserved in the northeast corner while indications of another are visible along the west side of the room, suggesting that both east and west walls had benches. Two bedrock outcrops indicate the locations of post supports, north and south of the central platform.

South of the bedrock platform we recovered a small stone-lined pit or *bothros* that supported an upright terracotta amphora. Even though the extant floor surface and pit can be dated to Late Archaic, the upright amphora is evidently from a Hellenistic reuse of the building.

There were few artifacts that could indicate the original 6<sup>th</sup> century function. Among the finds there was a small hammered bronze bowl, a lead weight, and a fragmentary terracotta votive plaque (fig. 23). The plaque, recovered in the northwest area of the main hall, near the clay bench, illustrates a male figure with a sword, turned toward another front-facing figure, with his left arm extending behind the figure's back. The wide curved and splaying hilt of the sword is visible behind the figure's right hand. The style, stance of the figures, and the sword type are similar to that of votives from Lato and Siteia<sup>15</sup>. The mould-made plaque is a type that is characteristic of sanctuaries which regularly have deposits of terracottas representing male figures, and emphasizing athletic, military, or divine features<sup>16</sup>.

In size and general form the Azoria Cult Building resembles the Archaic phase temple at Sta Lenika Elounda on the western shore of the Bay of Mirabello. The building at Sta Lenika had a porch, in which there was a wide *eschara*, similar in size and shape to the bedrock platform in the main hall at Azoria<sup>17</sup>. As at Azoria, the entrance to the temple was placed in the middle of the long side, a design followed in contemporary temples such as Gortyn and Aphrati<sup>18</sup>. The entrance on the long eastern side of the building, and the presence of an internal *eschara* and *bothros*, recall the temples at Gortyn, which according to D'Acunto's recent study were large single-cella structures, entered through the long side, and both apparently had *bothroi*; the temple on the Ayios Ioannis hill may have had an *eschara* as well<sup>19</sup>. Internal benches are known at Dreros, Prinias (Temple A), Smari (Building A), Kommos (Temple B), Aphrati, and Pachlitzani Agriada, while *bothroi* were found at Gortyn in both the Geometric temple on the acropolis and the Archaic temple in the lower town. Finally, Cretan temples such as the Pythion at Gortyn and the hearth temple at Dreros – the latter positioned at the edge of the putative agora – are understood to have been integrated into the architectural fabric of the city center<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Παπαδάκης 1980; Prent 2005, 300–301. 414–416.

<sup>16</sup> Prent 2005, 414–416.

<sup>17</sup> Bousquet 1938, 386–408; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 215–216; Sjögren 2003, 162; Prent 2005, 348–349.

<sup>18</sup> Viviers 1994, 245–248; D'Acunto 2002, 190–192; Sjögren 2003, 133–134; Prent 2005, 279–280.

<sup>19</sup> D'Acunto 2002; cf. Prent 2005, 476–502. 636.

<sup>20</sup> Shaw 2000, 705–706; Perlman 2000, 72; Sjögren 2003, 55–58; Prent 2005, 627–654.



## Conclusions

The evidence from excavations at Azoria permits us to begin visualizing the form and features of the Archaic Cretan civic center, particularly those aspects associated with centralized storage and production of food for public consumption. It remains to fill out the systemic context of this state-controlled mobilization, storage, and redistribution – that is, the political role of the public banquet. If related to the Archaic *prytaneion* (or *bouleuterion*) at Ayia Pelagia, or the 3<sup>rd</sup> century *prytaneion* and *bouleuterion* at Lato, the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria may have served as a kind of early civic assembly hall, housing various meetings that included the *kosmoi* or chief magistrates, and perhaps members of a council or assembly<sup>21</sup>. While the Lato and Ayia Pelagia examples are not convincing formal parallels for any building at Azoria, it is also admittedly difficult to reconstruct with certainty the character of civic administrative bodies for the Archaic period, or indeed the buildings that housed them. M. Prent recently proposed, however, that by the 7<sup>th</sup> century a functional differentiation should have developed between civic buildings on the island: one serving the functions of a *prytaneion* and the other as the dining hall for male citizens, the *andreion*<sup>22</sup>. Even though we have no archaeological evidence to make such attributions for the Archaic period, our recent finds at Azoria could echo Prent's point: as civic institutions took shape in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and found expression in the epigraphic record, they might also have materialized as clearly-delineated public buildings with definable archeological correlates. Although work at Azoria brings such formal distinctions into sharper focus, it is important to emphasize that both the putative *andreion* and Monumental Civic Building should not be considered isolated structures, but as parts of larger complexes for storage, food processing and various industries, as well as multiple ritual and ritualized activities.

The evidence from Azoria points to an abrupt increase in the investment in public architecture in the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. It is also interesting that types of prestige goods normally found in mortuary or cult contexts during the Early Iron

Age, were finding their way into the public sphere of the Archaic civic center. Bronze and iron objects (some of them traditional elements of aristocratic display in burials and sanctuaries) are found in the *andreion* and the Service Complex of the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria: armor, weapons, *obeloi*, embossed miniature shield, dress pins, and the Corinthian *podanipter*. Imported figural Attic pottery and objects with Orientalizing iconography, such as high-value pithoi and decorated terracotta stands, are also found in these civic contexts. The resilience of Orientalizing design elements on lekanes, relief pithoi, and krater stands, as well as skeuomorphic elements imitating the features of metalwork, strongly suggest their prestige value and social significance. The range of vessel types, the repertoire of design elements, and contexts of deposition could suggest the controlled and rationed use of stylistic elements within specific arenas of public display and consumption. The formal elaboration and use of such objects might be related not only to their intrinsic value<sup>23</sup>, but also to formal activities involving elite display as well as the control of staples and luxury food items. Prestige goods normally associated with symposia, the cemetery, and the sanctuary, were brought inside civic buildings to be used in activities played out in public spheres. Sometime before 600 B.C. new roles for lineage-based corporate groups may have required new venues for aristocratic interaction, competition and consumption beyond the level of the clan or household<sup>24</sup>.

Willetts' reading of Dosiadas' account of the *sysition* (Ath. 4, 143) leads him to differentiate Spartan and Cretan customs, suggesting that Cretan *hetaireiai* dined together in the *andreion*<sup>25</sup>. This is an interesting point which is followed in subsequent discussions by Link and most recently by Prent<sup>26</sup>. While a late (and thus problematic) source for reconstructing Archaic social practice, Dosiadas' account introduces a dimension that is important for visualizing the Archaic Cretan political context: the *andreion* was a civic institution<sup>27</sup> that both reaffirmed an individual's membership in the clan and *hetaireia* (therefore citizenship status) as well as cross-cut kinship boundaries by encouraging participation in communal sacrifice and the *sysition*. In marked con-

<sup>21</sup> Demargne 1903, 216–221; Ducrey – Picard 1972, 515–531. 567–592; Αλεξίου 1972; Αλεξίου 1973/1974; Miller 1978, 82; Hansen – Fischer-Hansen 1994, 42. 65.

<sup>22</sup> Prent 2005, 458, 467–476; cf. Hansen – Fischer-Hansen 1994, 30 f.; Miller 1978, 22. 52–54.

<sup>23</sup> Haggis et al. 2004, 377.

<sup>24</sup> Wallace 2003, 259–260. 275.

<sup>25</sup> Willetts 1955, 22–26; cf. Shaw 2000, 688.

<sup>26</sup> Link 1994, 18; Viviers 1994, 248–249; Haggis et al. 2004, 387–390; Prent 2005, 441–476; cf. Guizzi 1997; Beattie 1975 and Graf 1979.

<sup>27</sup> IC IV 75, B, I. 9; SEG 27, 631, B, I. 11

trast, the institution of the kosmate was, according to Aristotle (Pol. 1272a), restricted to certain clans, a single *genos* serving at any given time – the word for clan in Crete was probably but not certainly *startos*, since it is the epigraphically attested term for a tribal subdivision<sup>28</sup>. The rotation of the *kosmoi* evidently required political representation across various tribes and annual terms of office<sup>29</sup>. If we trust Aristotle, our only source suggesting that power would have been concentrated in the *genos*<sup>30</sup>, then it might follow that the roles and power relations of the kosmate could have been narrowly and hierarchically defined and played out in the civic sphere. Thus, while we know of the existence of the kosmate and the institution of the *andreion*, and can infer the existence of a council as a legislative body as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup>, what is perhaps important is that political power of the Archaic Cretan city was variably distributed and counterpoised, suggesting formal institutional divisions that might have taken on distinct material and architectural forms. The juxtaposition of civic buildings on the West Slope at Azoria could then reflect this bilateral and even heterarchical organizational structure – and the variable mobilization, allocation, and redistribution of resources by the aristocracy<sup>32</sup>. The *andreion* therefore emphasized *hetaireia* membership, while the kosmate and council (based on the patrimony of selected *startoi*), elevated the political status of the clan and its identity rooted in ancient elite kinship associations<sup>33</sup>.

If by inference we can place members of *hetaireiai* within buildings called *andreia*, locating the *kosmoi* archaeologically in the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries presents a whole different set of problems, both historical and topographical. First, whereas we know that the *kosmoi* are associated with formal functions in the *andreion*, contemporary epigraphic sources do not name a separate locale for their activities; furthermore, it is not until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century that the term *prytaneion* is actually used<sup>34</sup>. And second, even if we look for a 6<sup>th</sup>-century *prytaneion*-type building, extrapolating from later archaeological contexts like

Lato, the archaeological evidence for such structures on Crete presents few formal similarities or fixed architectural forms, and no buildings sufficiently close in date to our *andreion* or Monumental Civic Building<sup>35</sup>. Prent, following Guarducci, has recently presented arguments for ascribing *prytaneion* functions to Cretan hearth temples, thus revitalizing an old debate, but also emphasizing the fluidity of functions and venues of elite commensality and its links to Early Iron Age practice<sup>36</sup>. In the subsequent 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, periods during which we might expect the actual institutions to take on definable forms, the identification of civic buildings may yet prove to be equally problematic in lieu of contemporary inscriptions. Based on the evidence to date, we cannot with certainty ascribe specific civic functions to the Monumental Civic Building or the putative *andreion*. What we can say is that the architecture, features and assemblages of both buildings indicate public activities and formal ceremonies. While the remains of banquets and sacrifice could also suggest cult activities, neither building is consistent with what we know of Cretan temples and sanctuaries of any period from Geometric to Hellenistic. The size of the Monumental Civic Building, however, suggests a degree of accessibility and scale of participation of an order larger than that of the *andreion*, perhaps accommodating functions more akin to a *bouleuterion* than an *andreion* or *prytaneion*.

In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, radical changes are apparent in the physical form of the Azoria settlement emphasizing a significant discontinuity – a veritable break – from the Early Iron Age pattern of settlement and burial. This urban renewal is also a political process of erasure: Early Iron Age structures that had occupied the hilltop for some 600 years are destroyed or buried to accommodate a different settlement plan and distinctly new kinds of houses and public spaces. New architectural forms and the tendency toward monumentalization and reorganization of architectural space suggest a changing sociopolitical structure<sup>37</sup>. Buildings such as the putative *andreion*,

<sup>28</sup> IC IV 72.

<sup>29</sup> Willetts 1955, 28; Perlman 2002, 206–212, esp. 206 n. 98.

<sup>30</sup> Willetts 1955, 28–29. 111–113.

<sup>31</sup> Perlman 2004, 1176.

<sup>32</sup> Small 1997, 112–115.

<sup>33</sup> Small 1997, 112; Wallace 2003, 275.

<sup>34</sup> Willetts 1955, 198–199; Beattie 1975, 44; Miller 1978, 184; Bile 1988, 340; Prent 2005, 455–457.

<sup>35</sup> Hansen – Fischer-Hansen 1994, 36; Miller 1978.

<sup>36</sup> Guarducci 1937, 162–163; Prent 2005, 458–467.

<sup>37</sup> Lang 2005, 18.

Cult Building, shrine, and the Monumental Civic Building had public functions, while associated service complexes were used to mobilize, centralize and reallocate agricultural and pastoral goods for public consumption, as well as to store and use prestige goods for purposes of ceremony and display. Probably serving various civic roles, each of these buildings was also to some degree exclusionary – segregating and integrating households, clans, and various modes of social interaction. The buildings were new contexts for elite consumption, negotiation of political power, and assertion of social identity in the early city.

Ames / Chapel Hill

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## Discussion

*Metaxia Tsipopoulou:* You have studied all the previous stratigraphical sequences of Kavousi Kastro. Is there a gap between the two sites, Kastro and Azorias?

*Margaret S. Mook:* No, there is not a gap between the abandonment of the Kastro and habitation at Azoria; Azoria is inhabited throughout the Early Iron Age and there also seems to be an overlap with habitation on the Kastro and the rebuilding at Azoria, when the Archaic city at Azoria is constructed and the Early Iron Age and Orientalizing buildings are buried or otherwise obscured. Some of the material from the Kastro can be dated to the very end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, indicating that the Kastro was not completely abandoned at the time when Azoria undergoes this process of urbanization and restructuring. I think there is a small overlap and what we see happening on the Kastro is a reduction in the number of rooms in use and gradual abandonment of that site; its people are moving down to Azoria.

*Alexander Mazarakis Ainian:* I did not really understand on what grounds you consider the ›Cult Building‹ near the Agora as such: do you base this identification mainly on the presence of the votive plaque?

*Margaret S. Mook:* This building is poorly preserved, but consists of a large rectangular room with a series of interior platforms and benches, a stone-lined bothros, and a porch. It is located in a prominent position on a wide expanse of level ground giving access to the hilltop and also adjacent to a major street. While the votive plaque is the clearest piece of contemporary cult paraphernalia associated with the building, its form and location indicate an important function and we hypothesize that it may have been a temple. I agree with you, the evidence is not as compelling as one would like, but this seems the most likely interpretation given what is preserved.

*Giorgos Rethemiotakis:* Thank you Ms Mook, it was a really very interesting paper and it seems that we have now a very clear picture of a civic center of an Archaic town in Crete. My question refers to the function of this large Hall, Civic Hall and what its relation may be with the nearby Andreion. It must be a concentration area; the Civic Hall and normally such areas, as we believe at least, are related to the function of the *andreion* or *prytaneion* as gathering places and perhaps for the consumption of food. Is there a possibility that this Hall might be related to

the Andreion which is close to it as I saw in your slide? And, it may be one, for example, larger civic center with this, the central hall of it?

*Margaret S. Mook:* This is definitely an area of the site that served both communal and public functions, although we do not yet have evidence for direct access, such as a street, between the two complexes. We think that the Andreion and the Monumental Civic Building with its Service Complex were separate and had similar but distinct functions. Both had their own dedicated storage rooms and kitchens for food processing, but their forms were distinct. The Andreion had several dining rooms, each significantly smaller than the single large-scale dining hall of the Monumental Civic Building. This suggests a different kind of feasting in the Andreion, one that required the segregation of participants or corporate groups, perhaps represented by the numerous terracotta krater stands that were concentrated in the dining deposits of this building. The Monumental Civic Building, however, was clearly designed to hold much larger groups of people in a more communal setting.

*James Whitley:* My question is short of peripheral to your talk because the first thing you showed was the size of the site as being about 15 ha. Two questions are related to that. First, on what basis are you estimating a size of 15 ha which would make it a large settlement for the period and secondly, does that and the proposed interpretation of the *andreion* and *prytaneion* make you confident that you have a *polis*?

*Margaret S. Mook:* The estimated size of the site is based on visible surface remains of pottery and architecture apparent all the way down the slopes of the site, well below the areas that have been excavated. We feel fairly comfortable with an estimated size of 15 ha. Although we did not use the term »polis« in the paper, given the nature and extent of the transformation of this settlement at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century or early in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, including an urban center with civic buildings, yes, we do think that it was a *polis*.

*Alan Johnston:* Going back more traditionally to art history, I don't know whether a certain object will come up later in the discussion. If it does, you may ignore it now. Your helmet reminded me of a piece very recently on sale at Sotheby's New York which allegedly is from a long-standing collection with re-

markable scenes of mythology on it (very poor photographs), which re-opens the question of the use of mythology in Cretan iconography in the Orientalizing period.

*Margaret S. Mook:* I don't have any comment. I'm not familiar with the piece for sale at Sotheby's.

*Maria Vlazaki:* Could the *kernos* be later and not Minoan? Why we are sure that they made such items only in Minoan times?

*Margaret S. Mook:* The fixed *kernoi* inscribed into the upper step of the bench in the Monumental Civic Building must be Archaic, however, like other scholars, we have accepted the separate *kernos* stone found overturned on the bench as a Minoan type recycled from an earlier context, Minoan or Early Iron Age. In fact, the closest parallel for this *kernos* was found on the nearby Kastro at Kavousi, in association with a Late Geometric-Orientalizing building. So, it may well be that this is an Early Iron Age type of *kernos* used into the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Leslie Day is here,

and we can ask her what she thinks about the one from Vronda. Is it a Minoan *kernos* that has been recycled on the site?

*Leslie Day:* Yes, it is.

*Katja Sporn:* What makes you confident about the cultic function of the *kernos* in Archaic times? I mean, it could have been reused, but it could have had another function because the other *kernos*-like structure you showed was probably a game board and maybe this was like those at the Parthenon and at the temple in Kea, used as a game.

*Margaret S. Mook:* We don't think that any of these *kernoi* were used for games. The evidence for communal feasting and assembly in the Monumental Civic Building suggest a ritual function, perhaps even with symbolic ties to the nearby Early Iron Age settlements at Kastro and Vronda, if not with the more distant Bronze Age. But thank you for this observation.