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This volume

This volume brings together a series of papers reflecting a number of lectures given at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) in 2010–2012 in the frame of a seminar entitled *La naissance des cités crétoises*. Eight Cretan sites (Axos, Phaistos, Prinias, Karphi, Dreros, Azoria, Praisos, and Itanos), recently excavated or re-excavated, are considered in their regional and historical context in order to explore the origin and early development of the Greek city-state on the island.

The editors

Florence Gaignerot-Driessen's work focuses on the formation process of the *polis* on Crete and the definition of social groups in Aegean protohistory. She is involved in archaeological projects at Sissi, Dreros, and Anavlochos and currently teaches ancient history and archaeology at the University of Picardie (Amiens). Jan Driessen is Professor of Greek Archaeology at UCL and is a specialist of Minoan Crete. He co-directed excavations at Palaikastro and Malia, and since 2007 he has directed excavations at the Minoan site of Sissi. Together they collected and edited contributions by Eva Tegou (25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities), Daniela Lefèvre-Novaro (University of Strasbourg), Antonella Pautasso (Institute of Archeological Heritage, Monuments and Sites/National Research Council), Saro Wallace (British School at Athens), Vasiliki Zographaki (24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities) and Alexandre Farnoux (French School in Athens), Donald Haggis (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), James Whitley (University of Cardiff), Didier Viviers and Athéna Tsingarida (Free University of Brussels).

The series AEGIS (Aegean Interdisciplinary Studies) attempts to make the results of new archaeological research on Aegean and especially Minoan societies available to the scientific and wider public at a rapid pace. Monographs, PhD dissertations, proceedings of scientific meetings and excavation reports complete each other to offer a general view of this time frame which is of primary importance to understand the ancient world and its historical, political, symbolical and social sequences.

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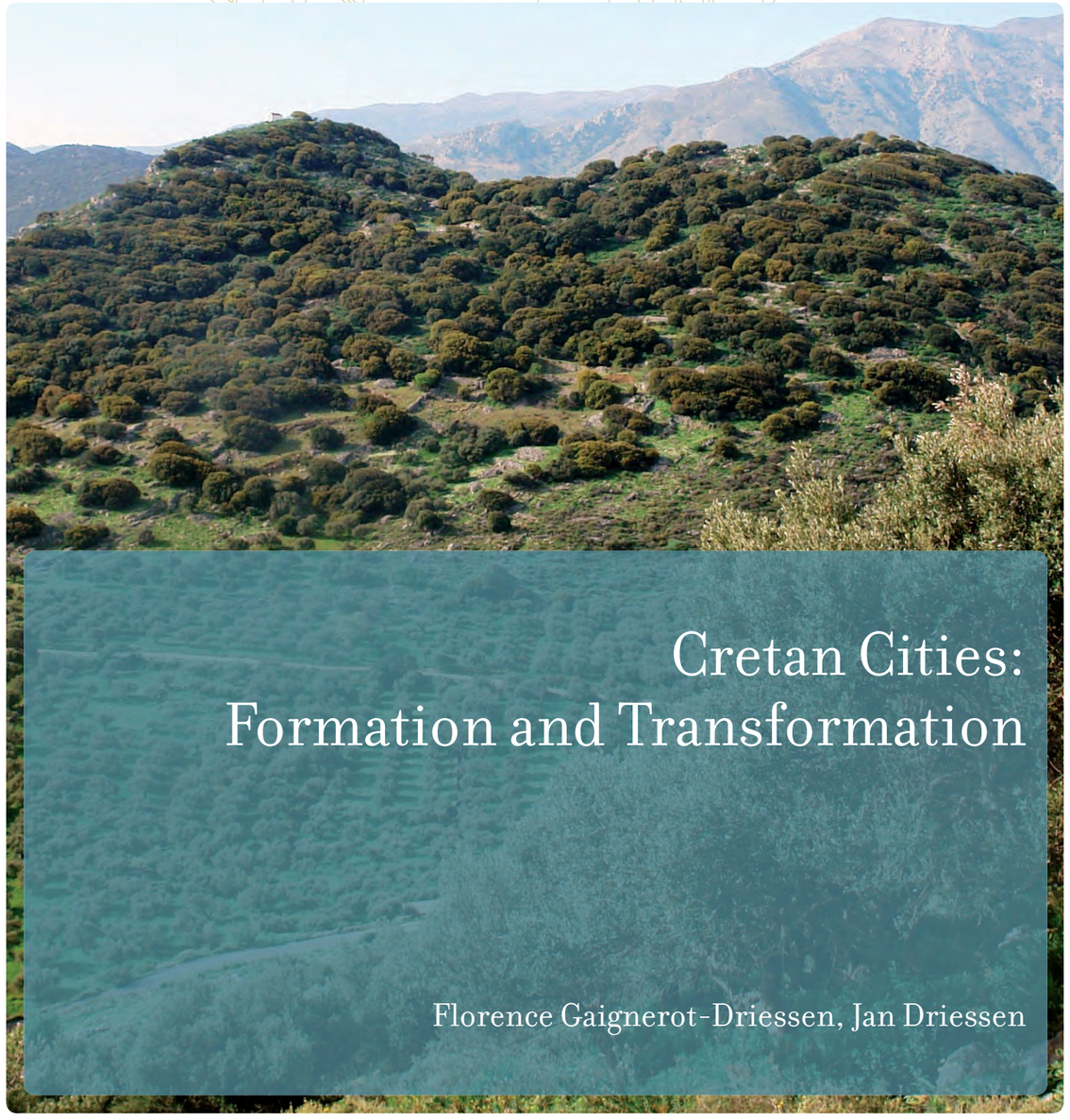

Cretan Cities: Formation and Transformation

Florence Gaignerot-Driessen, Jan Driessen

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Edited by Florence Gaignerot-Driessen & Jan Driessen

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6. Azoria and Archaic Urbanization

Donald C. Haggis

We began digging at Azoria in 2002, with the goal of studying the development of an Early Iron Age (EIA) and Archaic settlement on Crete. We shaped our research design to fit the language of culture-history narratives of urbanization, *polis* formation, and Archaic political economies, along the way, engaging questions of the early Greek household, the development of political architecture, and the relationship between sociopolitical organization and resource mobilization (Haggis *et alii* 2011a; 2011b). This paper reflects on the results of the past decade of fieldwork while integrating results of recent excavation at the site[1].

1. Methodological problems and discontinuous structures

My primary interest in digging this site was to explore the potential of excavation to address basic questions of culture change through the examination of settlement structure. By this I mean not the synchronic arrangement of rooms or buildings on the site, but the close examination of patterns, rates, and conditions of physical change through time; that is, the study of stratigraphic transitions and the transformation of topography as cultural behavior or processes – the result of deliberate practices and human activities that ultimately shaped archaeological contexts. Although in archaeology we are accustomed to defining isolated stratigraphic events as chronological or historical phases, my aim has been to reexamine notions of continuity, discontinuity, or what I see as static and dynamic conditions of settlement structure – not a progression of events *per se*, but durations and transitions in between phases that indicate active engagement with the physical structure of the site itself. My goal is to try to understand the meanings of the transitions or changes as an active process of structuring the settlement, and how it may have been motivated, experienced and understood by its occupants (cf. Haggis 2013a).

Relevant to these questions is ultimately the problem of discontinuity and discontinuous developments that have normally indicated emergence, growth, and collapse of complex societies in the Aegean. It is particularly relevant to the study of Archaic Crete, and the broader context of excavations at Azoria, where we are faced with a puzzling hiatus in the 6th c., characterized rather dramatically in the literature as a "gap" in the archaeological record; a "period of silence", or a "second Dark Age" – encompassing abrupt changes in settlements, cult practices, and above all, a widespread abandonment of settlement sites and cemeteries.

This 6th c. discontinuity is commonly described as a sociopolitical or economic collapse in various historical narratives – with little explanation of what it was, precisely, that had collapsed. In a way, the idea is predicated on two things: first there is a telescoped view of the EIA, a kind of artifact, conceptual book chapter, or a preconception of cultural uniformity. And second, there is a prevalent preconception of emerging complexity in the 8th and 7th c. that anticipates Greek city-state formation. That is to say there is an implicit expectation of continuity embedded in our historical narratives of early Greece that obliges us to seek historical and often exogenous explanations for discontinuities, rather than to interrogate conditions of perceived continuity, which may be a bigger problem. On Crete, our traditional reflection on the 6th c. problem has led us away from considering discontinuous patterns of cultural development as normative societal structure. These, I think, are relevant if not critical to visualizing the periods in question.

James Whitley (1991) was perhaps the first to point out stratigraphic discontinuities in visualizing temporal and cultural variability in the EIA, though his model was skeletal, and remained essentially historical and predictive.

1 This paper was originally presented in 2010 in the "*La naissance de cités crétoises*" series at UCL. Since that date it has benefitted from perspectives drawn from a number of recent studies such as Florence Gaignerot-Driessen's dissertation (2013) as well as the work of Saro Wallace (2010a; 2010b) and Brice Erickson (2010), whose monographic studies were not available to me at the time. Some of the ideas were further developed for papers originally presented at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz (2011), the Corbett Lecture at Cambridge (2013), and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (2013).

Sites showing discontinuity were called unstable and did not become cities; those that showed continuity were stable and did. The model of course lacked scalar and stratigraphic precision and flexibility – that is, the effective analytical unit was the site (and normally narrow samples of it), rather than the region. Nevertheless, the emphasis on settlement structure, stability, and details of social organization were extremely important developments for studies of EIA Crete and the Aegean.

More recently Saro Wallace (2010a; 2010b) argued for a widespread discontinuity in the 10th c. on Crete, visualizing the emergence of polities of various sizes. To Wallace, these nucleated Protogeometric (PG) sites reflect a major phase change and restructuring of settlement, the emergence of the first formalized territories, regional-scale identity structures, and negotiated power-sharing among peer elites, essentially clan-based groups (2010a: 78). The main problem here was only that very few PG settlement sites have actually been excavated, and not with nearly the horizontal sample that we should need to be able to address questions of settlement structure.

In Wallace's narrative, like in Whitley's model, the PG aggregates seem to be a critical starting point of a progressive development, foreshadowing if not predicting the historical phenomenon of the later Archaic Cretan city. The abandonment of sites at the end of the 7th c. (that is, the Cretan gap) reflects only one late phase of an on-going process that reinforced preexisting structures or intensified preexisting conditions: territorial expansion; inter-polity conflict; expanding political and economic alliances; extra-island trade; and elite-controlled exchange and surplus mobilization (2010b: 346-347; 374-375). For Wallace, the *polis* was a foregone conclusion: the late 7th and 6th c. constitute the formalization of preexisting structures encouraged by territorialization and inter-site interaction. This may be in essence a more detailed and compelling restatement of the idea in Ian Morris's 1991 paper, "The Early *Polis* as City and State", that the EIA was indeed complex, and the city was a late development, and rather incidental to the sociopolitical structure or constitution of the city-state.

There is a lot that is useful in the foregoing analyses. The models challenged a uniform picture of the EIA that had been overly generalized and conceptualized by an uncritical reduction of difference. That is to say, notwithstanding our complex datasets, our picture was not of what the period was, but mostly what it was not, that is, palatial or *polis*; a result of palatial collapse or a vague precursor of *polis* emergence. The archaeology still clings to dominant historical frameworks, while historians remain skeptical of the ability of archaeology to address questions of sociopolitical organization, beyond the equation of hierarchy with complexity – the formal differentiation of contexts or assemblages – or culture change, beyond the documentation of stratigraphic horizons. Skeptical of the ability of archaeology to help us understand the rise of the *polis*, in the paper "Homer to Solon", Kurt Raaflaub (1993: 43) asserted, "…the rise of the *polis* entails more than this: it is the history of a relationship between peoples and their communities. To understand this, we need the help of written sources".

The archaeology of Archaic Crete has, in general, remained firmly in the hands of the historians. A rich and early epigraphic corpus and later historians and philosophers' fascination with the island's institutions have had something to do with the state of the field. That said, in spite of endlessly creative historical explanations for uniform causes and global events that might have caused discontinuity in Archaic Crete, we have rejected the idea of development as a non-linear or discontinuous process of culture change, or, to use James McGlade's terminology, "the long-term evolution of societal structure as a history of discontinuity in social space" (McGlade 1999:152). It was in fact only in 2002, actually the year we began excavating at Azoria, that Antonis Kotsonas published his paper, "The Rise of the *Polis* in Central Crete", that anyone had even implied that the discontinuities of the Archaic period could be related to *polis* formation. A gradualist perspective is so deeply entrenched in our view of culture history and our archaeological methods, that we needed a plausible event, series of events, or contingent historical circumstances, to explain what had happened. Even Brice Erickson's 2010 book mapping Archaic contexts across the island, shaped his discourse in historical terms of the destruction of some sites, and a pervasive condition of economic change and material restraint. His picture of the Archaic gap at Knossos – and indeed Knossos may be the root of the problem – is typical: "Settlement history and burial customs follow an unbroken pattern during an otherwise tumultuous period of transition following the collapse of the Bronze Age palace, and for more than 300 years these cemeteries served as the known repositories of the Knossian dead" (Erickson 2010: 249).

Though it evidently had little effect on Erickson or Wallace, it was with Kotsonas's article that the late 7th c. could be seen as a significant threshold, a phase transition, or discontinuous process of city-state formation. Again, McGlade's non-linear approach to long-term dynamics is perhaps relevant here: history is viewed not "as a finely spun homogeneous fabric, but as being punctuated by a sequence of phase changes as the result of both conscious

and unintended actions. Such discontinuities are in fact thresholds of change, where the role of human agency and/or idiosyncratic behaviors assume paramount significance in the production and reproduction of societal structures" (McGlade 1999: 152). In this paper, I examine continuous and discontinuous settlement structures, using recent excavations at Azoria to explain their relevance to city-state formation, or in material terms in a Cretan context, the idea of urbanization.

2. Azoria and settlements patterns in the Mirabello region

Azoria is located in northeastern Crete, on the eastern edge of the coastal zone of the Bay of Mirabello. This area of the island was densely populated throughout the EIA, with settlements established in Late Minoan (LM) IIIC, and continuously occupied in various zones surrounding these primate centers. The map (fig. 6.1) shows that there are about 20 sites, and we are reasonably certain that these are the main settlement nuclei by the 12th c. The area presents a remarkably effective analytical context and scale for looking at changing settlement structure.

Discontinuous structuring in this region can be visualized in three maps from Florence Gaignerot-Driessen's 2013 Sorbonne dissertation, which in part uses aggregate datasets to model settlement development in Mirabello in the EIA. The data have been assembled from intensive surveys in Kavousi, Gournia, and Vrokastro, as well as countless excavations over the past century, extensive surveys, and recent excavation at sites such as Dreros and Anavlochos. I overlay Gaignerot's study with some basic tenets of van der Leeuw and McGlade's (1997) model of non-linear evolution of cities to emphasize the dynamics represented by discontinuous structures.

LM IIIC sites (fig. 6.2) are evidently new foundations, lacking clear hierarchical distinctions, and they are located in distinct topographical zones, but in limited if not marginal agricultural environments. In the past I have called these primary groups site clusters (Haggis 1993; 1996). The important contribution here is Gaignerot-Driessen's identification of axes of communication, which accord remarkably well with van der Leeuw and McGlade's (1997: 338-341) description of heterarchical communication corridors: these are widely distributed and multiple, perhaps replicated, small-scale settlement systems, adaptable to local environments and communicating with each other over fairly long distances. I consider these, on a regional scale, stable and static in structure.

A change, however, had evidently occurred by the Geometric period (fig. 6.3), possibly as early as the 10th c., with a tendency toward nucleation and a visible shift in settlement locations – these are Gaignerot-Driessen's 'acropolis' sites centered in expanding catchment areas. In her analysis, there is also a polarization of sites, suggesting more hierarchical interconnections and interdependencies. This abandonment, followed by the expansion of single settlements and contiguous territories, is probably a common phenomenon across much of the island, marking a discontinuity or phase change – not instability on a regional scale (*contra* Whitley 1991), but a form of socio-ecological adaptation.

It is within this period that we might be able to see examples of what van der Leeuw and McGlade (1997: 342) call 'pre-urban smouldering', that is, the appearance of variable short-term structuring events, with proto-urban sites growing up in areas, reaching a significant level of formal elaboration, nucleation, and size, and then being abandoned. A good example of this in Mirabello is the site of Anavlochos, between Dreros and Milatos. Recent re-exploration of the site by Zographaki, Gaignerot-Driessen & Devolder (forthcoming 2015) for the KD' Ephoreia demonstrates clearly an acropolis site, established in LM IIIC, and with well dated evidence for a wide-spread rebuilding by the 8th c. – a scaling-up and even monumentalization of its architecture – and then abandonment before the end of the 7th c. I wonder if the establishment of Papoura in Lasithi (Wallace 2010a) is not part of a similar process, and if many PG and Geometric towns are not similar phenomena of acropolis-settlement formation.

Even though clustering, relocation and replication in the Geometric pattern probably indicates stable land-use and multilateral interactions between sites and clusters, over time, and with growth and expansion of communication corridors, settlements may have become less adaptable and stable in this generally weak environmental context. The result may have been increased spatial differentiation, a tendency toward sociopolitical independence of some sites, and the formation of hierarchical islands, what Gaignerot-Driessen (2013; forthcoming) calls polarizing sites – in van der Leeuw and McGlade's (1997) model, the gradual integration of hierarchical and heterarchical communication networks would encourage single towns to emerge as dominant centers and trading nodes forming territorial boundaries, unilateral communication patterns, and eventually city-states showing clear patterns of peer-polity interaction.

For the Archaic period (fig. 6.4), Gaignerot-Driessen's map demonstrates the existence of miniature state territories. Now what is interesting here is that she observes not only continuing consolidation, but also another remarkable discontinuity: what she describes as the relocation of polarizing sites. In the language of van der Leeuw and McGlade's (1997) model of urbanization, this would be a shift of local hierarchies to centers of long-distance trade and directional communication. The locations of coastal sites, probably ports, at Milatos, Olous, and Istron are obvious enough, but further inland, sites such as Dreros, Lato, Oleros and Azoria, are placed on important corridors of interregional interaction and exchange. Lato between Lasithi and Mirabello, Dreros between Mirabello and the north coast, Oleros with the south coast, and Azoria with the Isthmus of Ierapetra and the Siteia Mountains.

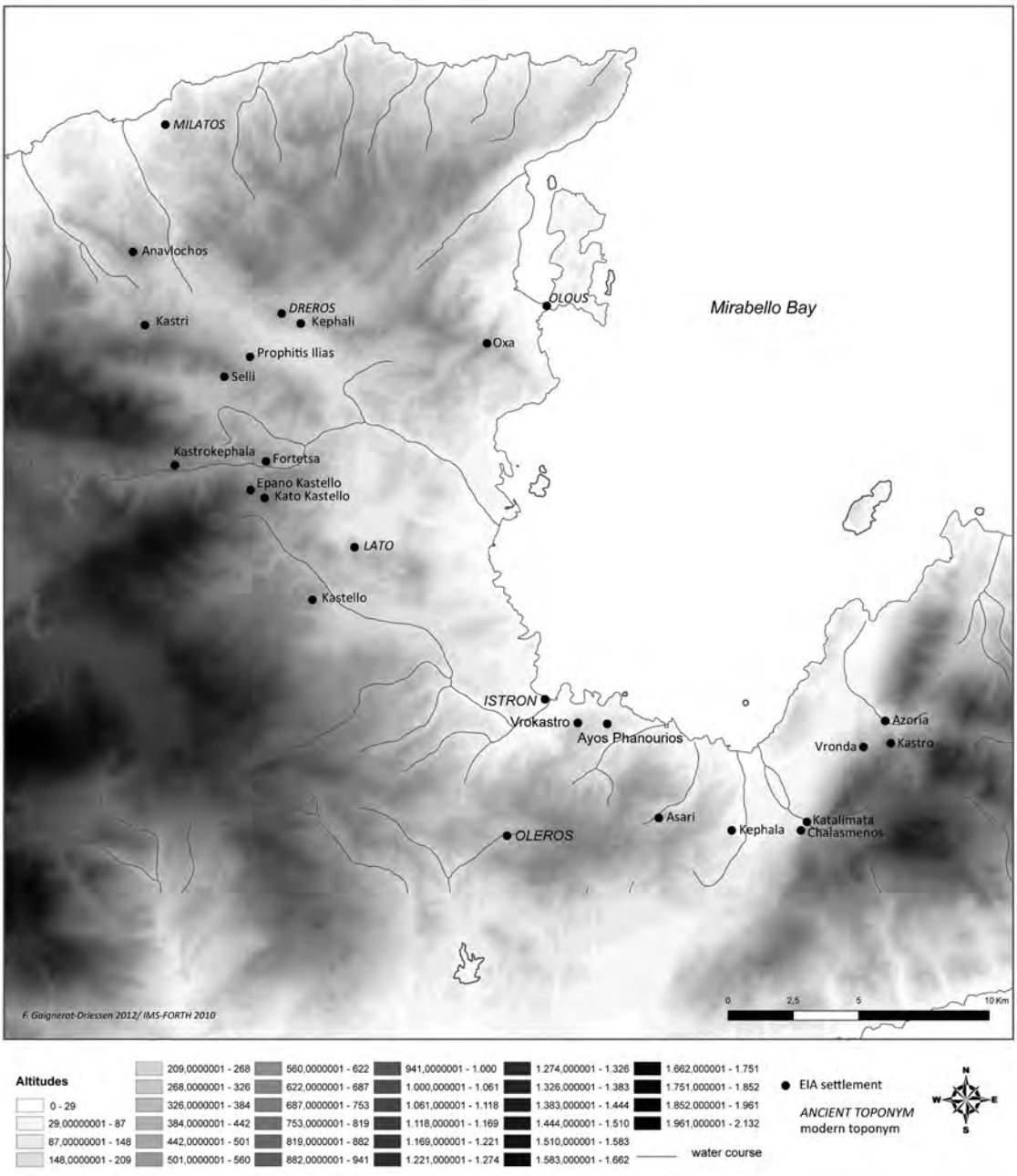


Fig. 6.1. Map of the main EIA and Archaic settlements in the Mirabello region, Eastern Crete (drawing by F. Gaignerot-Driessen/IMS-FORTH)

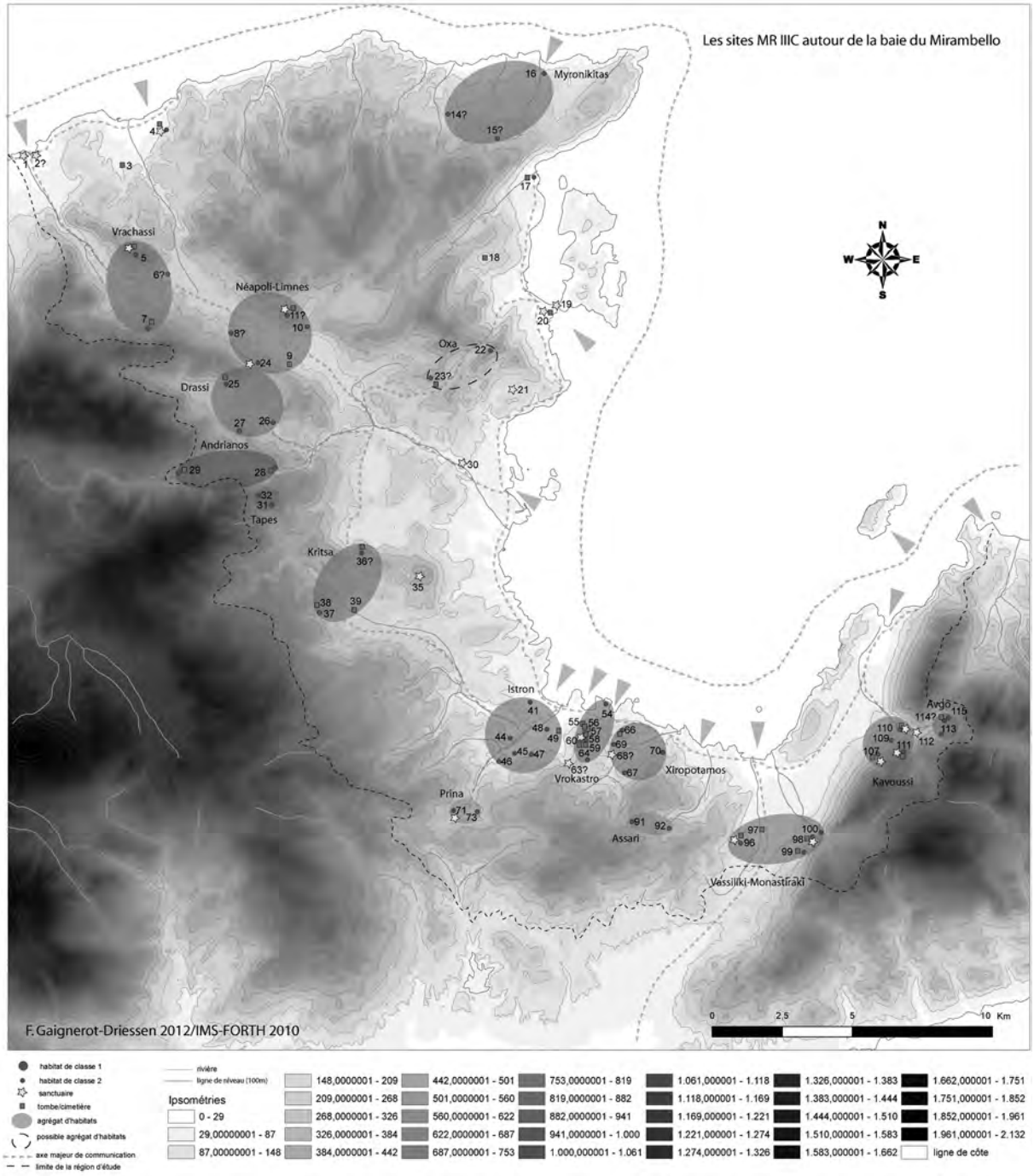


Fig. 6.2. MAP OF MIRABELLO LM IIIC SITES (AFTER GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN FORTHCOMING)

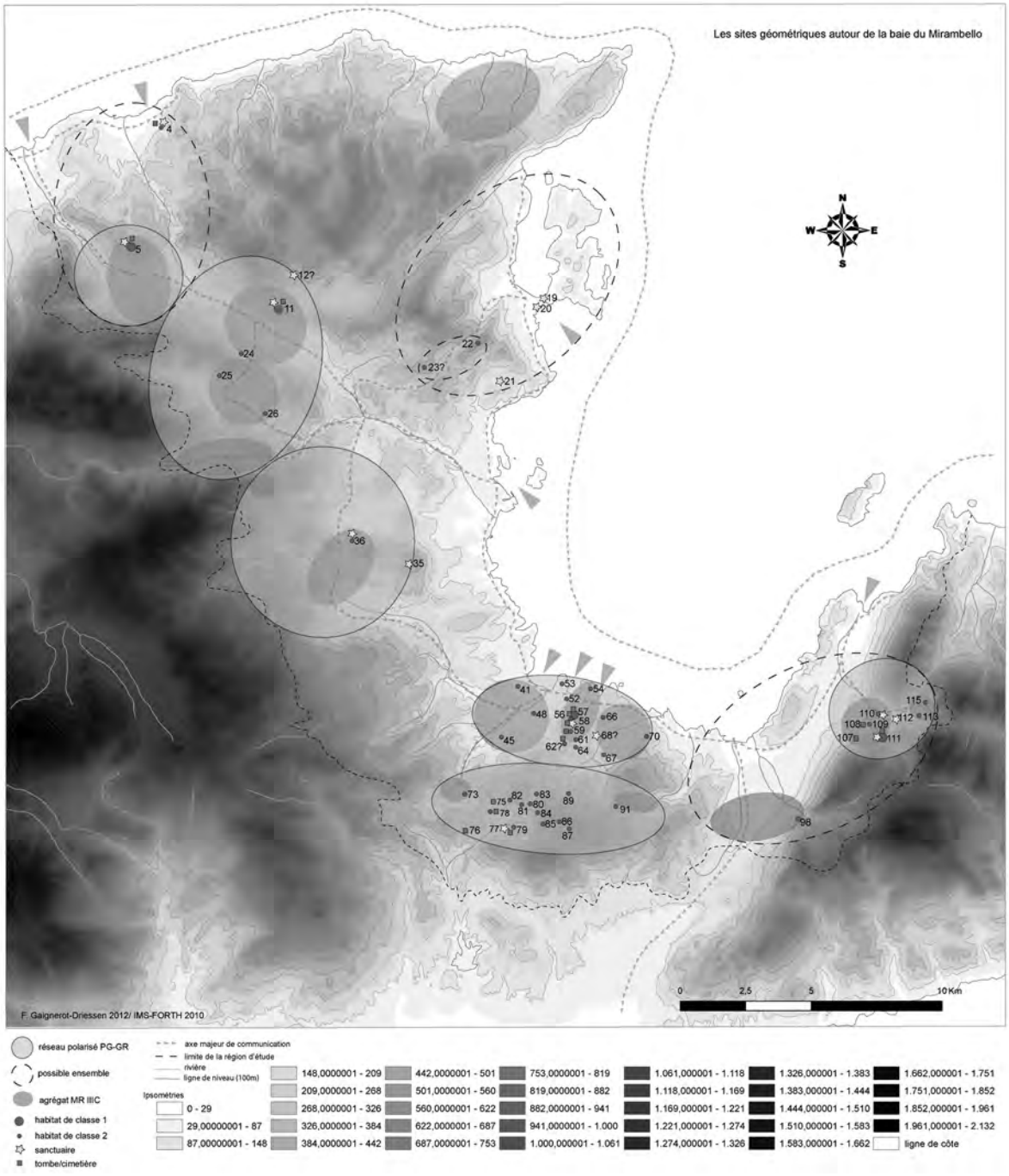


Fig. 6.3. Map of Mirabello Geometric sites (after Gaignerot-Driessen forthcoming)

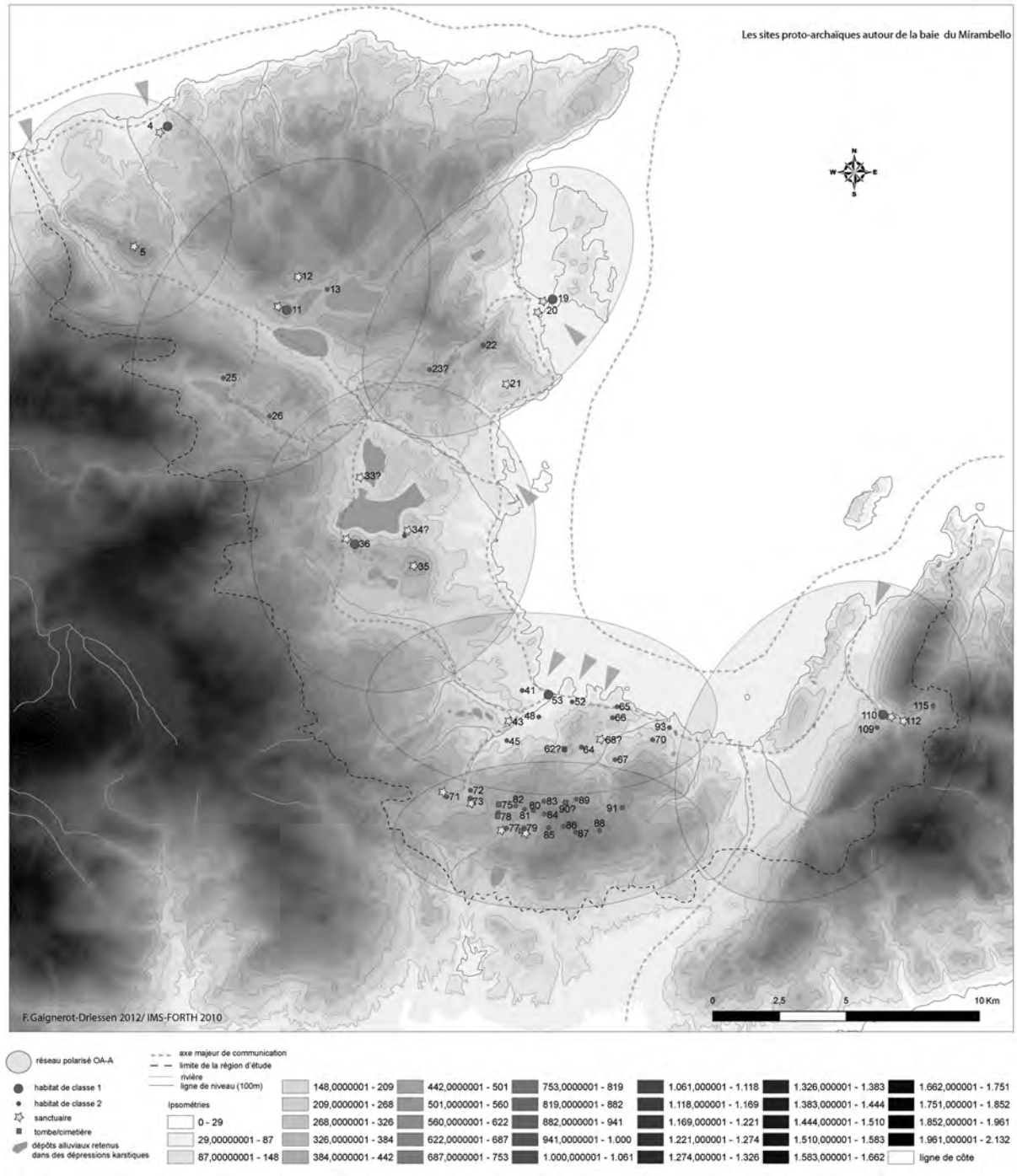


Fig. 6.4. MAP OF MIRABELLO ARCHAIC SITES (AFTER GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN FORTHCOMING)

3. Settlement structure at Azoria

To demonstrate discontinuous structuring of settlement on the site level, I want to consider how this plays out on the ground at Azoria (fig. 6.5), which I think represents a good example of an Archaic phase change, or phase transition, in a distinctly non-linear developmental process. Azoria became a large aggregated settlement by the 6th c. BC. The evidence derived from both survey and excavation indicates small, dispersed villages and cemeteries populating the valley linking the plain of Kavousi with the Siteia mountains – a settlement pattern constituting an axis of communication or heterarchical corridor between the mountains and the coastal plain. A change at the end of the 7th c. involved both the abandonment of most of these sites, and physical movement of people to Azoria. The site expanded to about 15 ha in size. What we see by 600 BC is a very different idea and configuration of what the settlement had been before, how it was structured physically, the nature of its economy, and its arenas for social interaction. The date of this event coincides with the abandonment of the Kastro, and associate collective tombs at Vronda, Skala, Skouriasmenos, Chondrovolakes. Sites in use for the better part of 500 years were abandoned, with population relocating to Azoria (Haggis & Mook 2011).

The radical rebuilding of Azoria at the end of the 7th c. presents a dramatic picture of reintegration, redefinition, and restructuring of domestic and communal spaces and activities; changes in the agricultural economy; a drastic increase in both the scale of building and the allocation of labor, and the organization required to implement it; and finally the introduction of new kinds of architecture for entirely new venues of supra-household interaction, that is the conceptualization and reification of a new physical form. These are the conditions that suggest the site's urban status. We began a second phase of excavation at Azoria in 2013, with the specific goal of exploring the foundations of Archaic buildings, and the character of the architectural and stratigraphic transition that marks the rebuilding of the settlement.

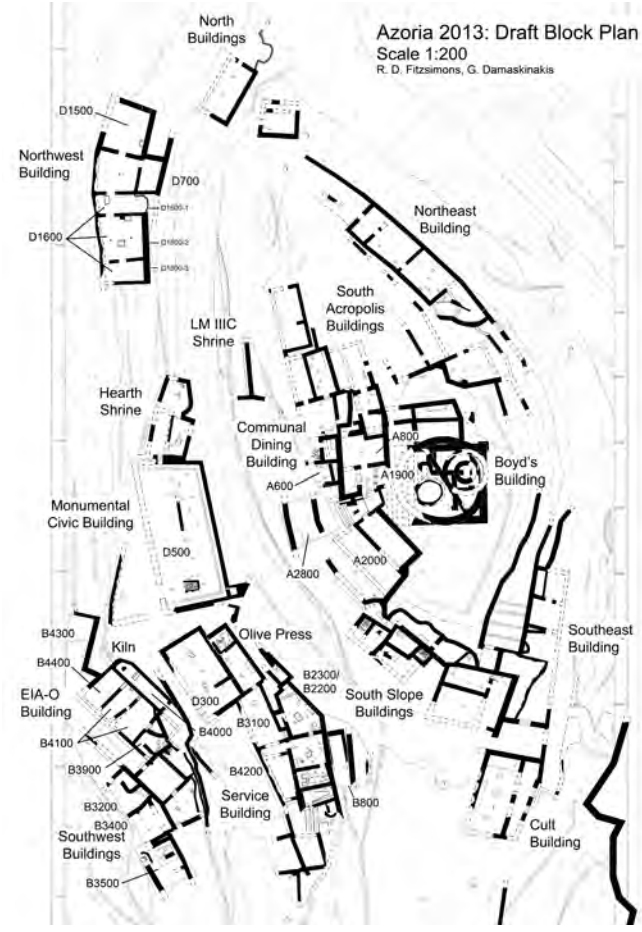


Fig. 6.5. State plan of Azoria (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskinakis, Azoria Project)

We are working in an area of only three hectares that comprises primarily the southern peak of the hill, constituting about a fifth of the total estimated occupied area of the urban nucleus. The Archaic building program required the extreme modification of the natural terrain, and the construction of long segments of parallel and roughly concentric walls, what we have called spine walls, which formed frameworks or armatures, containing the buildings and structuring the communication and use of space. There are a number of interesting things about these constructions: they are megalithic in form – that is they use large boulders, in some cases producing monumental facades – and the transformation of the terraces involved a radical modification of the hill slope.

The magnitude and scale of construction are unparalleled in earlier 8th- and 7th-c. contexts in the area, and the pattern of rebuilding is found across the site, representing a single phase of construction – that is, a planned, organized, and labor-intensive transformation of the physical topography, integrating both domestic architecture and public buildings into the overall plan. For one example, in 2013, we exposed segments of the foundations of an Archaic building on the upper west slope, in trench A2800, revealing the spine walls' foundations and between them, a deep layer of cobble fill (figs 6.5-6).

Fig. 6.6. A2800: Spine-wall foundations (photograph by author, Azoria Project)

On a stratigraphic level, the construction of these foundations is one of the most remarkable and materially consistent indications of the Archaic phase transition on the site. The "Archaic cobble fill" deposits are found consistently underneath Archaic floor surfaces, in spaces in between buildings, as bedding for streets and ramps, and behind the spine walls. The fill deposits mark a horizon of rebuilding and planned construction, suggesting a scalar shift in the Archaic period – a significant change in the supra-household organization and implementation of labor, and the perception of the built environment.

The material consists of angular and sub-angular dolomite pebble and cobble-size stones (most about 5-10 cm in dimensions) with deposits preserved in some cases over a meter in depth. The stones were intentionally deposited, in most cases, very tightly compacted, regular and well sorted – probably the debris of quarrying, dressing, or other stone-working. One of our goals for work in 2013 was to examine these cobble deposits to better understand their date and the technical aspects of spine wall construction. In this case, on the lowest terrace of the Southwest Buildings (fig. 6.5), we were able to dig beneath an Archaic floor exposing a deep deposit of the cobble fill contained by the westernmost spine wall of the building – in this case the material was over one and a half meters deep, concealing the eastern or interior face of the spine wall (fig. 6.7).

What is more interesting is that such foundation deposits also contain or encapsulate the remains of EIA buildings, building phases, and sequences of occupation. One such structure was exposed in a *sondage* on the upper southwest slope, in the space behind the east spine wall of the Archaic Service Building (fig. 6.5). The cobble fill had pottery with the expected range in dates from LM IIIC to the 7th c., but also a well-preserved LM IIIC building (fig. 6.8). The deep fill extended behind the walls on the north and east, effectively concealing but also preserving the integrity of the earlier foundations.

Fig. 6.7. B3500: Spine-wall foundation and cobble-fill layer (photograph by author, Azoria Project)

Fig. 6.8. B800: LM IIIC building and cobble-fill (photographs by author, Azoria Project)

In these instances, the Archaic builders evidently intruded upon EIA and Orientalizing (O) occupation levels, usually destroying or effectively burying the earlier structures – the latest pottery recovered in the cobble fill is most often mid- to late-7th c., a *terminus ad quem* or *post quem* for the deposition of the cobble layer, and thus a tentative date for the initial urban building phase establishing the essential form of the Archaic settlement. While modifications and additions were evidently made throughout the 6th and early 5th c., the late-7th c. marks a significant period of urban growth, imprinting on the landscape a new settlement plan.

The results of this stratigraphic work are preliminary. We are still exploring the implications of this horizon, but one thing we can see is the summary transformation of the EIA and 7th c. topography – a process that

we find somewhat surprising given the trajectory of long-term settlement development on the neighboring site of the Kastro, which shows clearly a continuous stratigraphic layering, and the gradual accretion and expansion of rooms and buildings from the 12th to the end of the 7th c. BC (Coulson *et alii* 1997). In sharp contrast, the physical change to the settlement at Azoria was abrupt and transformative. The Archaic builders consciously chose to alter the EIA terrain by systematically concealing or erasing the remains of earlier buildings. Furthermore, the renovation does not appear to be merely a matter of the technical exigencies of town planning on uneven terrain. It was a comprehensive and dynamic reconstitution of the physical and cultural landscape.

One interesting example is the burial of an EIA Building on the lower southwest slope of the South Acropolis (EIA-O Building) (figs 6.5, 6.9-10). The construction date is probably the 10th c., with certain use in the Late Geometric (LG) period. It was evidently altered and expanded late in its history, ultimately subdivided into five rooms, and then abandoned before the end of the 7th c. At this point, a street and the typical cobble-fill layer, described above, covered the abandoned east room. When the Archaic street was constructed, the main rooms of the original LG building west of the street, were filled in with cobbles, but in this case, it seems that the area was avoided for constructing new buildings and left exposed throughout the 6th and early 5th c. In this phase, the building was used as a dump, accumulating discarded debris from the street and adjacent areas.

What this building was in its LG or Early O phases is not yet clear (figs 6.9-10). It is unusually large, carefully constructed, and enjoyed a long use life without significant modification until its 7th c. use phase. It is about 10 m long and 8 m wide internal dimensions, subdivided into three rooms in its earliest phase, and then five rooms in the 7th c. The south room of the central part of the building was an impressive space in the 8th c.; nearly square in shape, 6.50 m long and 6.0 m wide, with the hearth centered, slightly north of center on the north-south axis. Almost 40 square meters in area, the room was substantial, with a well-fashioned doorway leading south into the vestibule, or *prothalamos*, the front room of the building (fig. 6.10).

Fig. 6.9. EIA-O Building from north (photograph by author, Azoria Project)

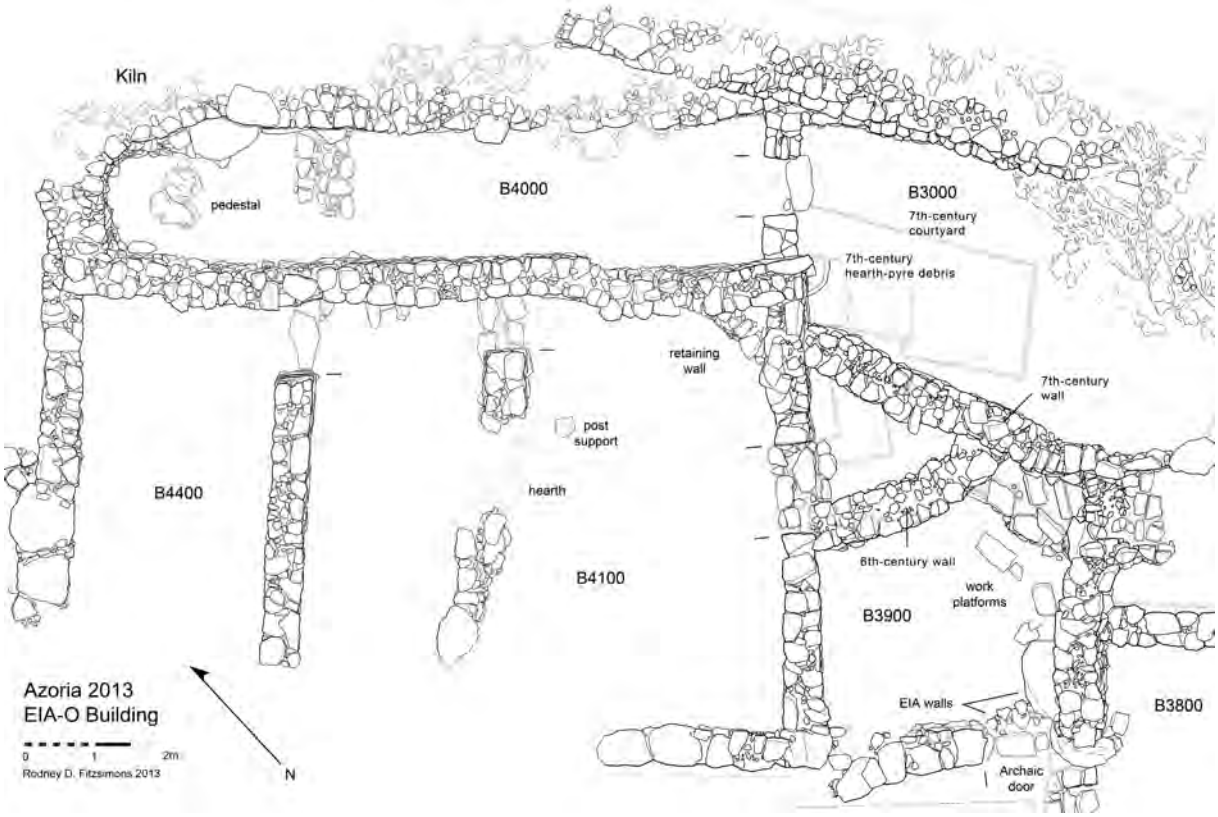


Fig. 6.10. State plan of EIA-O Building (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons, Azoria Project)

One clue to the building's function is a substantial deposit of burned animal bone and pottery, evidently discarded in the eastern courtyard (B3000) of the 7th c. phase, prior to the abandonment of the building. The burned deposit continued into the doorway of the eastern room, B4000 (fig. 6.10). The condition of the material, animal elements, pottery shapes and breakage are consistent with sacrificial (hearth pyre) and dining debris similar to that recovered from hearth temples at Dreros, Prinias, and Kommos.

The elongated eastern room (B4000), eventually filled in for the street in the Archaic period, is over nine meters long, narrowing at its northern end, where the space accommodated a potter's kiln (fig. 6.10). The kiln is marked on the south by an aperture to the stoking chamber and stepped access to the door of firing chamber, which is no longer preserved. Roofing material, occupation debris, and wall collapse, mixed with localized indications of burning, were found throughout the room. Outside the kiln a number of vessels were found on the floor – including a small cookpot and aryballos, two short necked cups, and a hydria. An interesting find was a locally made plain krater with an incomplete inscription in sinistrograde, inscribed before firing ([APON) (fig. 6.11).

The building clearly had a southward aspect or orientation, with the *prothalamos* opening out onto a courtyard, and beyond it, a tholos tomb (Haggis & Mook 2011). The tomb was built in LM IIIC and continuing in use until the PG period, but apparently known and visible throughout the use of the terrace in the 8th and 7th c. The tomb, like the adjacent building, was covered by a street in the Archaic period – when its *stomion* was blocked off, and the space to the west was a room, used for food processing.

What we are seeing at Azoria is evidently a series of palimpsests of earlier occupational levels, preserved in different ways in different contexts. So while there are clear indications of continuous occupation for several centuries until the obvious phase change in the late 7th c., what is important is the variability suggested by patterns of transformation of the EIA topography. For the most part, the

Archaic builders sought to bury the earlier settlement and cemeteries – the Archaic street constructed along the southwest slope is a remarkable example of this process: the east room of the EIA-O Building was completely filled in, preserving but also concealing its contents and architecture, as was the adjacent LM IIIC-PG tholos tomb.

Fig. 6.11. B4000: inscribed krater from the east room of the EIA-O Building (photograph by C. Papanikolopoulos, Azoria Project)

In general, Archaic builders avoided using EIA walls for the foundations of new structures, and rarely does the orientation of the earlier architecture seem to predict or guide the structuring of space. While early buildings were destroyed in the Archaic renovation phase, for the most part it appears as if the earlier structures and occupation debris were contained or reintegrated into the Archaic foundations, as if intentionally preserved but effectively concealed by the new urban plan.

This dynamic alteration of the landscape involved a deliberate manipulation of the artifacts and features of the EIA settlement – indeed buildings that had a long history of occupation, some apparently still in use at the time of the renovation phase. We have demonstrated elsewhere that this physical engagement with the earlier settlement involved recovering and removing earlier objects, such as pottery, figurines, iron slag, and other artifacts from their original context, and then relocating and reintegrating these things into the Archaic settlement (Haggis & Mook 2011). These are neither heirlooms nor exactly evidence of functional recycling; it is more a question of reinterpretation and reintegration. The construction of the city required a new settlement form, but also a form of dynamic engagement with the past – the places and buildings and things – which involved a series of conscious decisions to re-transcribe the deeply stratified settlement into the new Archaic landscape. The Archaic city was in a sense not just a process of superimposition, but its creation was an active negotiation with the past, in many ways, a recognition, reaffirmation, and recreation of EIA systemic contexts of households and communal places that find new forms in the Archaic city center.

4. The Archaic city

In the 6th c. at Azoria, public or communal spaces, the Communal Dining Building and the Monumental Civic Building, occupy much of the upper west slope of the peak (fig. 6.5). Each seems to have functioned primarily as a dining hall, and each integrated cult buildings or ritual installations into their architecture. The largest area of their use space was devoted to the storage, production and consumption of food and

drink (Haggis *et alii* 2011a).

In the case of the Monumental Civic Building, for example, a single large hall was used (fig. 6.12). The well-built permanent-seating arrangement emphasizes formal and communal participation, while probably intentionally deemphasizing group or sub group divisions and identities. Large pieces of spit-roasted meat were found scattered across the floor, and consist of mostly leg-joints of sheep and goat. These pieces suggest regular portioning of meat, large-scale spit-roasting on the hearths of the neighboring Service Building (fig. 6.5), and structured feasting within the building. There were also large serving vessels found on the floor, evidently used to ladle out stews of various kinds to numerous individual participants. South of the main hall was an adjoining service complex (Service Building), a series of storerooms and kitchens, and an olive press, that evidently provisioned the feasting activities. It is the replication of functions, and the scale of processing and storage, that has informed our interpretation of the public building complexes. The burnt 5th c. destruction and probably relatively rapid abandonment of the site preserved not only organic materials but reasonably detailed evidence of mobilization, storage, and processing of food.

Fig. 6.12. D500: Monumental Civic Building main hall from north (photograph by author, Azoria Project)

The Archaic houses, like the civic buildings, are new constructions at the end of the 7th c., and in use throughout the 6th c. They are large in size, complex in design, and are fully integrated into the plan of the settlement. They seem to represent individual households, with articulated room functions (Haggis *et alii* 2011b). Kitchens, normally separated from the main hall, have curbed hearths, small pithoi, and food storage, processing and serving equipment. Storerooms favor pithos storage, with accommodations, even in the smallest rooms, for eight or nine average sized jars, though larger vessels are found, as well as a range of transport and table amphorae and hydrias. The assemblages of the halls indicate serving, drinking and dining activities, but not food production or primary processing. The direct connection between storerooms and halls – often disconnected from kitchen space – suggests the importance of

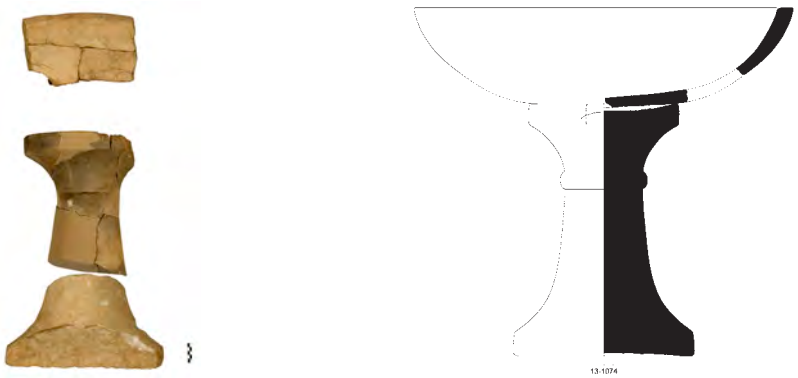
storage, that is the control if not the display of agricultural goods.

The Northwest Building that we completed excavating in 2013 is a good example of an urban house. It consists of six rooms extending along the terrace on the northwest slope of the peak (fig. 6.5). The inner and outer spine walls structure the organization of space, and the bedrock foundations were aggressively cut back and shaped to regularize the placement of rooms and floor levels. It is interesting that the houses at Azoria are spatially complex and lack multi-functional hearth-rooms – that is, the central and combined living, working, and food producing areas found in many EIA or Hellenistic houses on the island.

Fig. 6.13. D1600-2, D1600-1, D700 and D1500 from south: north end of the Northwest Building (photograph by author, Azoria Project)

The Northwest Building has two adjoining halls placed side by side at the northern end (D1500 and D700); one is connected directly to a storeroom (fig. 6.13). While the halls here had the usual range of drinking and serving equipment, an unusual find in the northernmost hall, D1500, was a fragmentary *louterion* or *perrirhanterion* of island marble (fig. 6.14). While the two halls probably indicate different degrees of public access, the better preserved room in D1500 contained the full range of sympotic equipment (*contra* Erickson 2010: 326 and Whitley 2001: 251-252), including a variety of kraters and drinking cups.

Instead of a courtyard separating food processing from consumption areas, this house had a vestibule or hallway, transitional space that mediated communication between the halls and kitchen. In the center of the vestibule, there was a single large terracotta krater stand (fig. 6.15). The adjoining kitchen itself is enormous – about 40 square meters in area (fig. 6.16). It contains a central hearth, 10 pithos stands concentrated in the north half of the room, a number of stone tools, a bronze shield boss and another krater stand. The connecting room to the south was a storeroom (fig. 6.17), with neat rows of pithos stands along the walls. The space could accommodate nine or more jars.



A B

Fig. 6.14. D1500: MARBLE LOUTERION (13-1074) FROM THE NORTH HALL OF THE NORTHWEST BUILDING (A. PHOTOGRAPH BY C. PAPANIKOLOPOULOS, AZORIA PROJECT; B. DRAWING BY D. FAULMANN, AZORIA PROJECT)

Fig. 6.15. D1600-1: TERRACOTTA KRATER STAND FROM HALLWAY OF THE NORTHWEST BUILDING (PHOTOGRAPH BY C. PAPANIKOLOPOULOS, AZORIA PROJECT)

Fig. 6.16. D1600-2: KITCHEN OF THE NORTHWEST BUILDING FROM NORTH (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR, AZORIA PROJECT)

Fig. 6.17. D1600-3: STOREROOM OF THE NORTHWEST BUILDING (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR, AZORIA PROJECT)

5. Comments on the Archaic patterns

The houses at Azoria were physically integrated into an armature of spine walls and incorporated into the overall plan and restructuring of the settlement, in presumably a relative short period – essentially an event or horizon of reconstruction in the late 7th c. Moreover, houses appear to be single residences, related both spatially and architecturally to the public buildings. The second observation is that both houses and public buildings show little evidence of modifications or expansion throughout the 6th c., that is to say, for more than a century of use they remain static installations in the topography of the site.

Domestic and public spaces (houses and civic buildings) are physically integrated and interconnected, but also show connections in their assemblages as well. The unusual allocation of space for storage in the Northwest Building is interesting – accommodating as many as 20 to 30 pithoi across two storerooms and the kitchen (fig. 6.18). The size of the kitchen, emphasis on storage, and the direct connection between the kitchen and storeroom are characteristics we normally ascribed to civic service buildings. This would probably indicate a formal control and supra-household redistribution of produce.

Certain artifact types are shared across these buildings as well. The fenestrated krater stand found in the vestibule (fig. 6.15) of the Northwest Building, mentioned above, is an interesting piece of communal sympotic equipment. While one or two such objects are normally found in houses at Azoria (Haggis *et alii* 2011b), they appear in considerable numbers, that is, a visible concentration, in the dining rooms of the Communal Dinning Building (Haggis *et alii* 2011a). The stands exhibit distinctly different styles which we think may relate to the differentiation of kinship or other corporate identities involved in feasting.

In general, the ceremonial areas of the Communal Dining Building are internally differentiated (fig. 6.19); separate rooms accommodated different groups, or different modes or occasions of rituals and drinking and dining. Foods suggest prepared meals, dressed cuts of meat, and individual servings. Individual drinking cups (the plain black-gloss high-neck cups) are generally of a standard size and shape, suggesting a tendency toward uniformity, though other vessel forms, such as imported lekythoi, jugs, and skyphoi are found as well. The organization of space and depositional patterns in the building thus present a picture of horizontal divisions of groups of participants. That said, the pattern emerging from the halls of houses and the clear emphasis on drinking and dining – indeed notional sympotic assemblages, including kraters, stands, and cups – might lead us eventually to abandon the

reductive and socially vague idea of the symposium as a contrast to Cretan austerity promoting an egalitarian *ethos* in public contexts of consumption (cf. Whitley 2001: 252; Erickson 2010: 326). A more subtle and detailed model is required to deal with the question of ritualized dining and drinking derived from archaeological contexts.

Fig. 6.18. D1600-3: STOREROOM WITH POTTERY DEPOSIT *IN SITU* (PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR, AZORIA PROJECT)

The main hall of the Monumental Civic Building (fig. 6.12), perhaps by way of contrast, presents a large space for open participation. This is not to say that social distinctions did not exist, or could not have been expressed through differentiated portioning of meat, such as the leg segments or other foods, or even by means of arranged seating within the building. But the open plan and fixed seating indicate a structured communal experience. The patterns that have been emerging from the excavation of both houses and public buildings are challenging our interpretations and even blurring the boundaries of public and private spaces – both contexts emphasize the storage and final stage processing of a variety of agricultural products for consumption, distinctive economic relationships between the household and its broader political and economic spheres.

We infer from the range of foods and food processing in the houses that a large part of primary production at Azoria must have been conducted away from these urban residences, in related or extended households (or perhaps dispersed or proximate households) down slope from the center. That is to say what we have found in houses and civic buildings are the final-stage processing of clean grains; cooked pulses, wine lees, and whole olives. From an economic perspective, residential storage and processing suggests decentralization of food procurement activities, with primary production, storage, and processing relegated to dependents at the periphery, turning the urban house into a consumer and estate manager, essentially the center of a dispersed household, which consumed the produce from the countryside and channelled its surplus into the storerooms and kitchens of the Service Building and Communal Dining Building.

Our working model at the moment is to see these large houses at Azoria as a form of social reintegration – the institutionalization of residential kinship-corporate groups, solidifying and codifying their social identities, economic roles, and political power, not only through participation in public rituals of assembly, feasting and sacrifice; but their physical presence, and formal integration into the physical architecture of the city, was, I think, an important part of the construction of the Archaic social community.

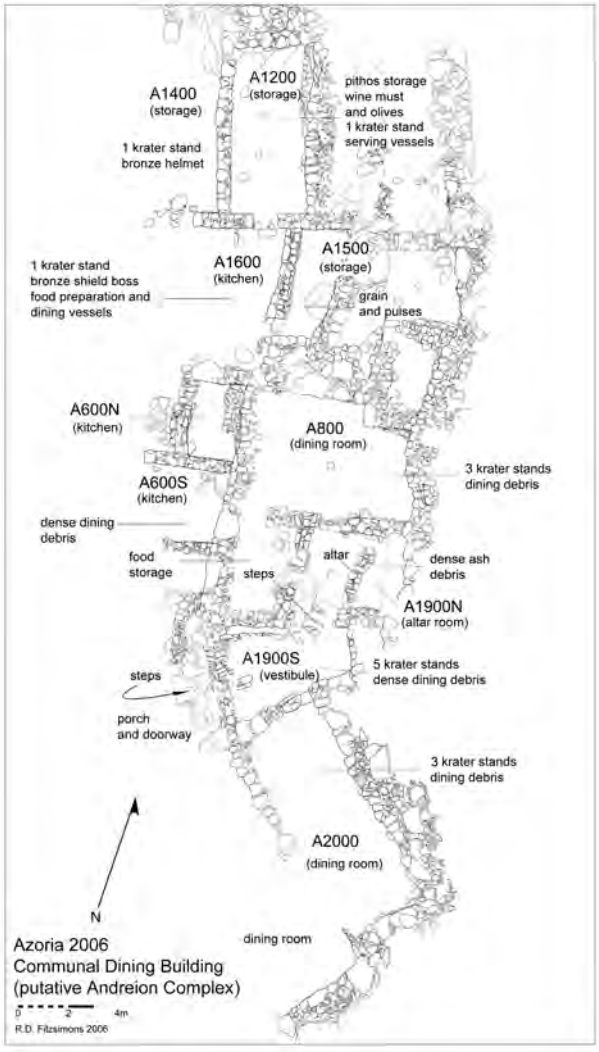


Fig. 6.19. State plan of Communal Dining Building (drawing by R.D. Fitzsimons, Azoria Project)

6. Conclusion

The form of aggregation in the Archaic period at Azoria presents archaeological correlates of nucleation as a form of coalescence (Haggis 2013b): such as collective defense, the physical movement of population to incorporate different regional populations; intensification and scaling up of mechanisms of production; and an increase in visible indicators of exchange. What is interesting at Azoria is the relatively rapid integration of houses and public buildings in the center, suggesting a deliberate decision to reconstruct and redefine the material framework for the social community in architectural terms – and to articulate relationships that served to maintain and reinforce the urban political economy, especially the reallocation of household surpluses to new domestic and civic contexts of consumption. Political intensification, changes in labor allocation, and social mechanisms for production and redistribution are strongly in evidence at Azoria, indicating a marked break from EIA patterns in the region.

The process of constructing the city in a sense created a new political community, and fundamentally changed earlier modes of behavior, and codified new kinds of interaction. The Archaic city presented new ways of living and fundamentally reshaped power relationships. In my view, the new city centers on Crete were essentially a

collection of institutionalized households. If the houses at Azoria are any indication of this structure, we might see kinship-corporate groups (essentially clans) interwoven into a new urban social fabric, making up a network of similar houses whose identity and stability were derived from communal institutions combining cult and feasting practices that reaffirmed and facilitated the social, political, and economic order of the Archaic community.

Recent studies of urbanization in the Greek Aegean tend to privilege broad diachronic and regional scales of analysis – the results primarily of intensive archaeological survey that seem to have dominated this discussion over the past two decades. One problem, as I see it, is that as a result, we have become less interested in the materiality, physicality or artifact of the city itself, the material forms that constituted what the city was at any point in time: both the synchronic view of the *polis* as a kind of town or even the diachronic view as a dynamic and continually changing context of social and political behavior. In a material sense, the question of what constitutes the emerging Archaic city is framed as being unanswerable, unimportant, or moot: the stratigraphic transitions and critical thresholds of urbanization appear hopelessly obscured by later superimposed strata, ambiguously configured or formally unremarkable. Furthermore, the physical development of towns as sociopolitical centers has been presented as being ultimately irrelevant to the conceptualization of the *polis* (Morris 1991). The thread of van de Leeuw and McGlade's 1997 paper echoes this idea: "The dominance of a simple cultural-evolutionist paradigm within archaeology and history has tended to cast the beginnings (or evolution) of urbanism as something of a non-problem – or has at least avoided confronting its real complexity…".

My argument here is that urbanization is not merely incidental to the process of state formation, but is a critical part of the social and political discourse that constitutes the formation of the city-state itself. That is to say, urbanization is not only symptomatic evidence of an emerging or preexisting community of place, or even particular political behaviors, but is, in itself, a form of political or social behavior. The building of houses and public spaces at Azoria was a political act, a deliberate and conscious negotiation, affiliation, and social reconstruction. In a sense, the discontinuity that marks formation of a new physical settlement structure at the end of the 7th c. was part of a process of actively shaping a regional community. The act of constructing the city, that is, the materialization of its form, is essential to the construction of the ideological underpinnings of the city itself.

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