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# HESPERIA

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# EXCAVATIONS AT AZORIA, 2003–2004, PART 1

## THE ARCHAIC CIVIC COMPLEX

### ABSTRACT

This article constitutes the first of two reports on fieldwork conducted at Azoria in eastern Crete during the 2003 and 2004 excavation seasons. The focus of excavation was on the South Acropolis, where buildings of Archaic date (7th–early 5th century B.C.) suggesting public or civic functions have come to light. The complex includes a possible *andreion* on the west slope, a cult building on the terrace south of the peak, and storerooms and kitchens associated with a monumental public building on the southwest terrace. A 3rd-century B.C. dump on the southeast slope provides important information about the limited reoccupation of the site in the Hellenistic period.

### INTRODUCTION

Azoria is a double-peaked hill southeast of the village of Kavousi in north-eastern Crete, where excavations have been conducted annually since 2002.<sup>1</sup> Recent work has exposed a number of public buildings of a small Archaic city dating from the 7th to the early 5th century B.C. (Fig. 1). We call Azoria a city, despite the lack of specific epigraphical corroboration for the attribution, on the basis of inferences drawn from various archaeological contexts on the site and in the wider region.<sup>2</sup> The large size of the site relative to that of other Early Iron Age settlements in the region, coupled with changes in settlement patterns suggesting nucleation and centralization of population, supports a hypothesis of urbanization in the 7th and early 6th centuries. Stratigraphic evidence indicating both the expansion of building and the physical transformation of the site, the establishment of a new settlement structure, and the appearance of buildings with public functions on the peak of the South Acropolis contribute to the interpretation. Moreover, by implementing intensive sampling procedures, we have been able to recover botanical and faunal assemblages that allow us to reconstruct large-scale storage, processing, and consumption of food in distinctly public contexts that have no viable parallels in either Archaic domestic assemblages or in the Early Iron Age record. Such evidence permits us to consider the political

1. For the earliest description of the site, see Boyd 1901, pp. 150–154; for a detailed discussion of the topography of the site, field techniques, methodology, and goals of the Azoria Project, see Haggis et al. 2004.

2. See Haggis et al. 2004, esp. pp. 340–346, 390–392.

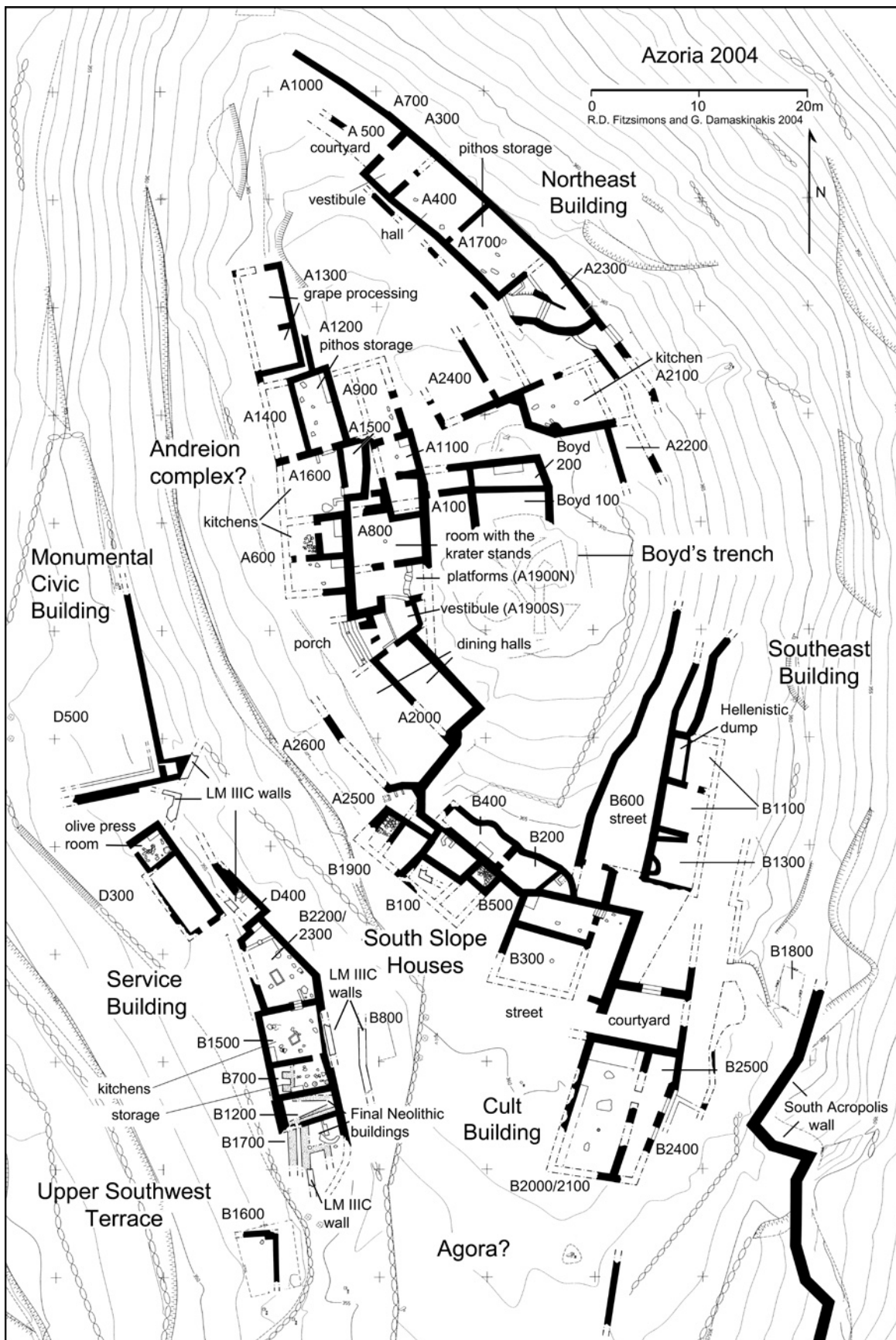


Figure 1 (*opposite*). Azoria, state plan of the South Acropolis. R. D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskinakis

economy of an early city, and assess sociopolitical and economic changes in the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period.

In 2003 and 2004, excavation was carried out at Azoria for a period of six weeks (May–July), followed by four weeks (July–August) at the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete in Pacheia Ammos, processing, conserving, and analyzing the finds. The target areas of excavation were the slopes of the South Acropolis in areas A, B, and D (Fig. 1). In 2003, 18 trenches were opened across a total surface area of ca. 0.11 ha, while in 2004, excavation was conducted in 22 trenches, 18 of which were new sample units. Our primary objectives in 2003 and 2004 were to complete the excavation of the Northeast Building, establishing its domestic function and relationship to structures on the peak, and to continue exposing rooms of the putative *andreion* complex on the west slope, a process that has proven to be arduous because of the instability of the slope and the presence of deep layers of boulders resulting from the collapse of the eastern walls of dining areas and adjacent rooms.

Another aim of the work during 2003 and 2004 was to understand the physical organization of the city center and patterns of communication around the South Acropolis by examining the orientation of roads, courtyards, and spine walls. Following the direction of preserved roads around the South Acropolis, we found that communication routes converge on the expansive terrace south of the south slope houses, a wide, open, and fairly flat area bounded by spine walls and fortifications, which appeared suitable for the city's agora. Finally, we began investigating the upper southwest terrace, where we had hoped to recover houses. What came to light in this area, however, proved to be public buildings.

## PROJECT GOALS

The broad goals of excavation are to document parts of a nascent Greek city center that will enable the reconstruction of its development and to analyze evidence for subsistence and surplus production and distribution that relate to the restructuring of economic relationships and the emergence of corporate groups ca. 600 B.C. A recent paper by Paula Perlman on the political economy of Archaic Eleutherna calls into question traditional views of Cretan isolation and material austerity in the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C., presenting a nuanced picture of economic structure in the Archaic polis.<sup>3</sup> What emerges from Perlman's epigraphic study is evidence for specialized wage earners, craftsmen and laborers with diverse social positions and relationships to civic institutions. Such evidence poses a challenge to monolithic assumptions of a simple staple-based economy—narrowly organized around elite control of agropastoral land, resources, and the civic structure—that discouraged the development of complexly stratified social and economic roles in the community.<sup>4</sup> Perlman's work presents a vivid backdrop against which to begin interpreting the evidence for economic complexity at Azoria. The late 7th and early 6th centuries represent an important period of transition in the development of civic life and the sociopolitical structure of Cretan settlements.

3. Perlman 2004a.

4. Cf. Morris 1997.

Changes in burial practices, mortuary display, and allocation of material wealth, stratigraphic discontinuities and architectural changes within settlements, and fundamental shifts in regional settlement patterns all point to some kind of radical reorganization of the Cretan landscape around 600 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Fieldwork at Azoria addresses questions that emerge from these material patterns and associated economic and political developments in the 7th and early 6th centuries. There are three primary aims of excavation: (1) to understand the economics of food provisioning in what might be called a civic sphere;<sup>6</sup> (2) to recover and interpret evidence for differentiation of processing and consumption patterns in various domestic and civic contexts; and (3) to explore stratigraphically earlier levels of Early Iron Age (EIA) and Early Orientalizing (EO) date in order to assess changes in the formal structure and socioeconomic systems of the site from the 12th to the 8th century and during the establishment of the city in the 7th century B.C. The overall purpose is to investigate the process of small-scale city-state<sup>7</sup> formation by examining how changes in agricultural and pastoral activities relate to emerging social and political organization.

### THE NORTHEAST BUILDING (A300–400, A1700, A2100, A2300)

Work northeast of the peak of the South Acropolis completed the excavation of the Northeast Building that was begun in 2002 (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>8</sup> The aim was to finish trench A400, exposing the southeast quarter of the room, and then to continue excavation southeastward, following the line of the spine wall that forms the north–northeastern limit of the rooms along this terrace. As was the case in neighboring A300, the floors of rooms are severely eroded at the northern edge of the terrace, about a meter from the inner face of the spine wall. The spine wall is preserved up to the level of the floor surface, and it is possible that the north wall of the building used the spine wall for its foundations. The full extent of the room in A400 was defined in 2003: it is about 6 m long running northwest–southeast and 4.50 m wide, suggesting a total area of over 27 m<sup>2</sup>.

The doorway connecting A300 and A400 is on the central east–west axis, in line with the western door of A300, evidently the main access into the building.<sup>9</sup> A stone paver was found in the southwest corner of the room in A400. Against the east wall just north of the east doorway

Figure 2 (*opposite*). A1700, A2100, A2300: detail of the Northeast Building. R. D. Fitzsimons

5. Hayden 1997, pp. 112–114, 133–134; 2004, pp. 179–180, 188; Erickson 2000, pp. 230–232; 2004, pp. 200–201; Perlman 2000, pp. 74–76; 2004a, pp. 120–121; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, pp. 314–317; 2004b, p. 343.

6. We use the term civic throughout because we think that the contexts of public activities at Azoria—new building practices, reorganization of public

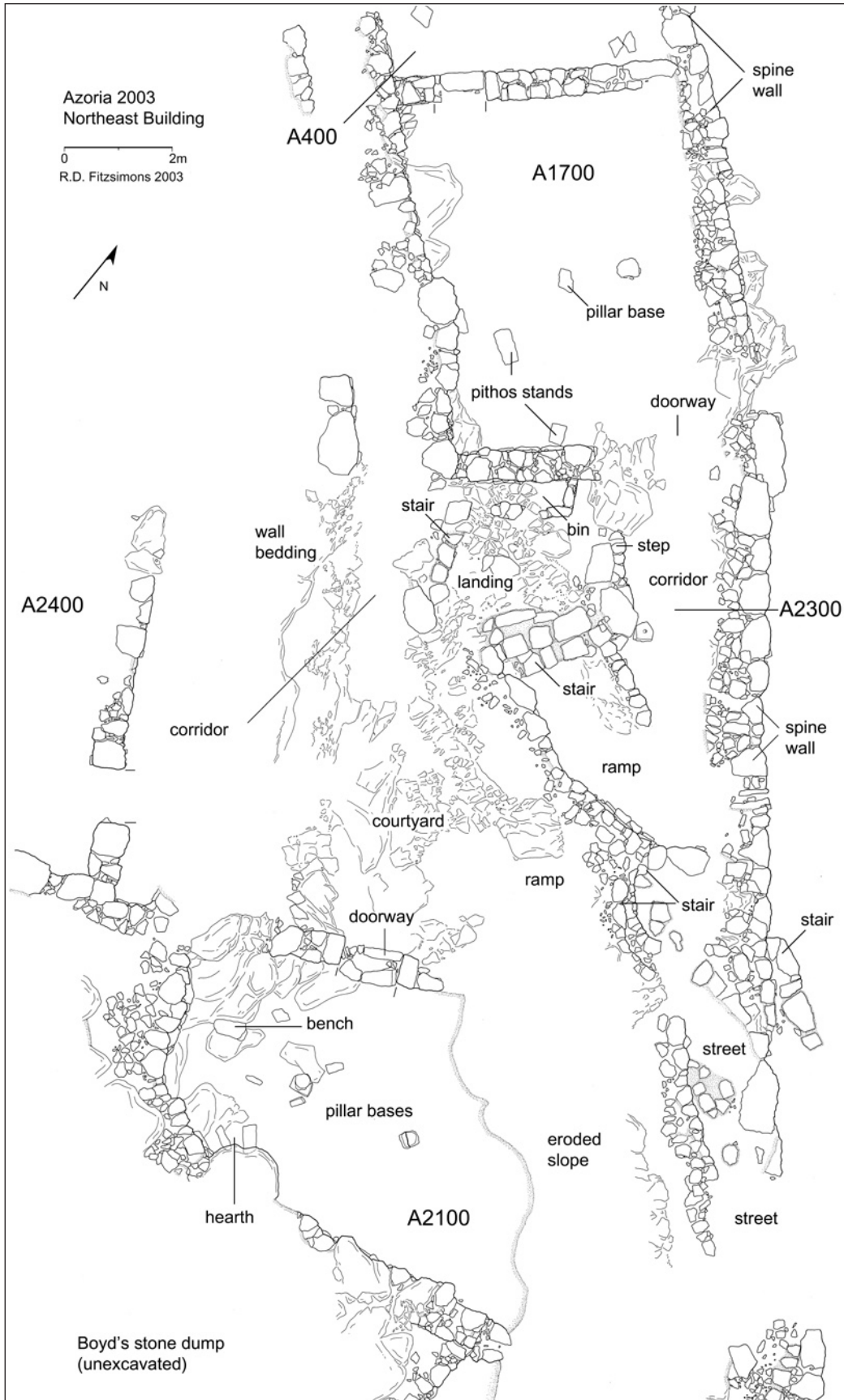
and private space, and changes in the agropastoral economy and suprahousehold activities—suggest social configurations in keeping with an Archaic urban environment and administered organizational structure.

7. The term city-state implies an urban center and its surrounding territory, a broader regional community based on preexisting EIA village clusters that had by the 6th century

relocated social, political, and economic consciousness and practices from the wider region to the South Acropolis; see Haggis 2005, pp. 84–85, 150–151.

8. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 364–367.

9. The west doorway into A300 has well-built jambs and a door pivot, and is wider than its eastern doorway; Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 364–367.



was the neck and rim of a fragmentary pithos, probably fallen from the adjoining storeroom in A1700. Flotation samples from the floor of A400 produced fragments of cereal grains and olive pits. Two agrimi horns were also recovered from the southeast side of the room.

The doorway in the east wall of the room was placed off the central axis of the building. It leads into yet another large room (A1700), slightly larger than A400, almost 32 m<sup>2</sup> in area, about equal in size to the room with abundant terracotta stands uncovered in 2002 in A800. This room in A1700 has a pillar base in situ and two pithos stands in the southeast corner (Fig. 2). The eastern wall has a poorly preserved doorway, also off axis, at the north end where the dolomite bedrock foundations have been worked to accommodate a doorjamb; the door provides a passage into A2300 on the southeast.

Finds from A1700 included sparse fragments of cereal grains and olive pits, agrimi horns, a silver pin, an iron arrowhead,<sup>10</sup> and two well-preserved substantial pithoi, as well as the poorly preserved remains of four other pithoi, found smashed in the southwestern corner and quadrant of the room. The rest of the pottery found in this room was fragmentary, but represented among the sherds were monochrome black cups, matt-coated high-necked cups, a black-gloss cup skyphos, a small krater, a table amphora, a hydria, a lekane, a cookpot, a transport amphora, and a coarse jar.<sup>11</sup> The agrimi horn cores are of particular interest. Paired sets were found in both A400 and A1700, in positions relatively close to the doorway connecting these two rooms. In both instances, the horn cores had been separated from the skull itself, but they were held in original anatomical position by a portion of the frontal bone, much as modern trophy antlers. The general paucity of other bones in these rooms, particularly primary butchering debris such as skulls, lower legs, and feet, suggests that these specimens were deliberately retained objects perhaps used as hunting trophies, ritual expressions of power, or votive objects.<sup>12</sup>

The silver pin has a squat tapered central projection on the top, much shorter than the usual Cretan type,<sup>13</sup> a thick flat disk with a fascia visible on the top edge. The shank is plain while the head decoration consists of a bobbin and three rings, which form the transition to the main element, two sets of five plain rings separated by three plain globes (Fig. 3). The central globe is the largest of the three and the lower set of rings is more compressed than the upper set. The pin is plainer than most 7th- or 6th-century examples, which customarily have vertical grooves on the rings and globules or complex surface decoration such as horizontal ribs, zigzags,

10. The iron arrowhead has a tang with a round section and triangular head, similar to type A examples from the North Cemetery at Knossos, dated Late Geometric (LG)–EO; see Snodgrass 1964, pp. 154–155; 1996, p. 584.

11. Study of the pottery from Azoria is still in the preliminary stages. Stylistic analyses based on stratified deposits will not be conducted until the study seasons; at that time, typologies

for recurring shapes will also be established.

12. For the use of agrimi horns in *andreion* and cult contexts, see Prent 2005, pp. 453, 647. For the ritual display of cattle skulls and agrimi horns in LM IIIC building B at Vronda, see Day and Snyder 2004, esp. pp. 70–71, 73, 77–78. Marinatos (1936, p. 279, fig. 44) illustrates a stone from the northeast corner of the Delphinion



Figure 3. A1700: silver dress pin.

Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

at Dreros, among a group he dates to the early 6th century B.C., which is inscribed with a scene of an agrimi hunt. On representations and symbols (animal bones and artifacts) of hunting as part of a social discourse defining and strengthening elite male ideologies of power, see Hamilakis 2003, pp. 243–244; cf. Prent 2005, p. 453.

13. Jacobsthal 1956, pp. 24–25.



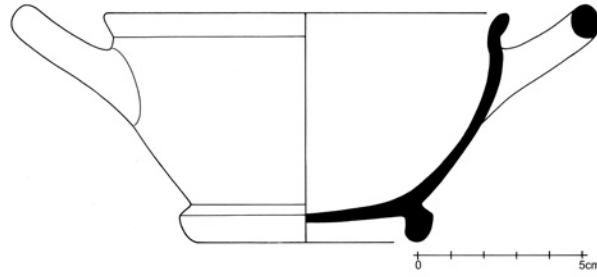


Figure 4. A2300: cup skyphos.  
Drawing R. Docsan

fluting, and fully developed bead and reel. The morphology, consisting of the tapered knob, thick disk, and three globes separated by moldings (rings or bobbins), resembles a Peloponnesian or Sicilian design. The example from Azoria is most likely to be a Peloponnesian import.<sup>14</sup>

The doorway in the corner of A1700 leads into a narrow corridor in A2300 (Fig. 2), 1.20 m wide, formed by the spine wall on the northeast and a small stair on the south. The stair is a single course of stones about 1.10 m wide, ascending southwest directly into a small triangular room (ca. 2.00 m north–south by 1.50 m east–west) that utilizes the eastern wall of A1700 as its western limit. Within this triangular closet is a stone-built bin. The corridor continues east, past the stair, and then turns a sharp corner up a ramp cut into bedrock, bordered neatly on the southwest by a curving wall.

Finds in this corridor, ramp, and bin room consisted of terracotta loom-weights, a spindle whorl, a strip of bronze, a large saddle quern, modest quantities of grape pips, traces of cereal grain, and considerable amounts of animal bones and marine shells. Pottery included a black-gloss cup skyphos (Fig. 4), apparently an imitation of an Attic type.<sup>15</sup>

At the top of the ramp above the small triangular closet is a stairway that leads to a landing, originally paved, and further to the west another stair, framed by doorjamb, that leads directly up to a street or corridor. The corridor runs southeast–northwest along the contour of the hill and alongside the outer, northeastern wall of a building in A2400. The path leads southeast to a small bedrock courtyard in front of the doorway to A2100. The doorway has a pivot, a common indicator of access between interior and exterior space. From the courtyard one could descend the steep slope of the hill in a northeasterly direction down to a curved stair that leads to a landing and street. The street is preserved for a distance of ca. 7 m to the south.

A2100 is a well-preserved kitchen (Figs. 1, 2), exhibiting evidence of the ubiquitous burned destruction and early-5th-century abandonment phase. The room conforms to the contours of the slope, utilizing bedrock extensively in the west and south walls. The south wall is unusual, curving with the natural bedrock terrain to form a distinctive apse-like western end. Two limestone pillar bases were found in situ down the central axis of the room, which is perpendicular to the room's access, the doorway on the northwest providing passage to the courtyard or vestibule. A small open hearth was recovered in the southwestern corner of the room, constructed of limestone blocks and built up against a large outcrop of bedrock that is incorporated into the construction of the south wall. The base of a small

14. Jacobsthal (1956, pp. 23–25) suggests that the Orientalizing 2 silver pins found in Sicily and Crete represent Peloponnesian types, either imported to or imitated in outlying Dorian districts. See also Boardman and Hayes 1966, pp. 157–161, fig. 73, for the Peloponnesian type at Tocra; cf. Dawkins 1929, p. 200, pl. 86.

15. For similar cup skyphoi from the Athenian Agora, dated from 500 to 480 B.C., see *Agora* XII, p. 276, nos. 567–578, fig. 6, pl. 25.



Figure 5. A2100: selected pottery from floor. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

pithos (Fig. 5, center back), the upper parts of which were recovered from the area southeast of the hearth, was found in the hearth along with a handstone. A single worked limestone block forms a small bench or work platform in the northwest corner of the room, utilizing a rise in the bedrock at this location for its foundation.

The pottery in the room was a combination of vessels for storage, food preparation and cooking, and dining, including three matt-coated high-necked cups (Figs. 5, center front; 6:1–3),<sup>16</sup> the shoulder of an Attic black-figure lekythos (Fig. 6:4),<sup>17</sup> a fine monochrome-coated lid (Fig. 6:5), a large plain flask, two coarseware bowls (Figs. 5, front right; 6:6), a coarseware skyphos, a mortar with a spout (Fig. 6:8), a large strainer (found against the western post base; Fig. 5, back right),<sup>18</sup> a large deep lekane with reflex

16. Coldstream (1973, p. 48; Coldstream and Eiring 2001, p. 78) has observed that this type of Late Archaic, fine matt-coated high-necked cup with thin walls is a Cretan tradition that continued at Knossos from Late Orientalizing down into the Late Archaic period. Coldstream's observation also applies to the Kavousi region, where Late Archaic cups found at Azoria find antecedents in the LG and Orientalizing cups found on the nearby Kastro; see Mook 2004, p. 173, fig. 12:11, 12;

*contra* Erickson (2005, p. 634, n. 114), who suggests a Peloponnesian connection with the form of these cups. Erickson's attribution is based upon a misreading of Boardman and Hayes (1966, p. 79), who posit Lakonian or Corinthian influence only for the linear decoration in red and white found on some of the pieces from Tocra attributed to Crete, but not for the high-necked cups (there called small glazed mugs, nos. 927–928).

17. Preserved decoration includes a

branch or vine and a leaf or fruit with a red stripe. On the shoulder are rays above dots and a tongue pattern. This fragment appears to belong to the Class of Athens 581, ii, dated to the early 5th century B.C. See *Agora XXIII*, pp. 46–47, esp. nos. 938, 1027, and 1029.

18. Another terracotta strainer of this type was found in B1500 and preserves a complete profile; see below, Figs. 27, center back; and 29:7.

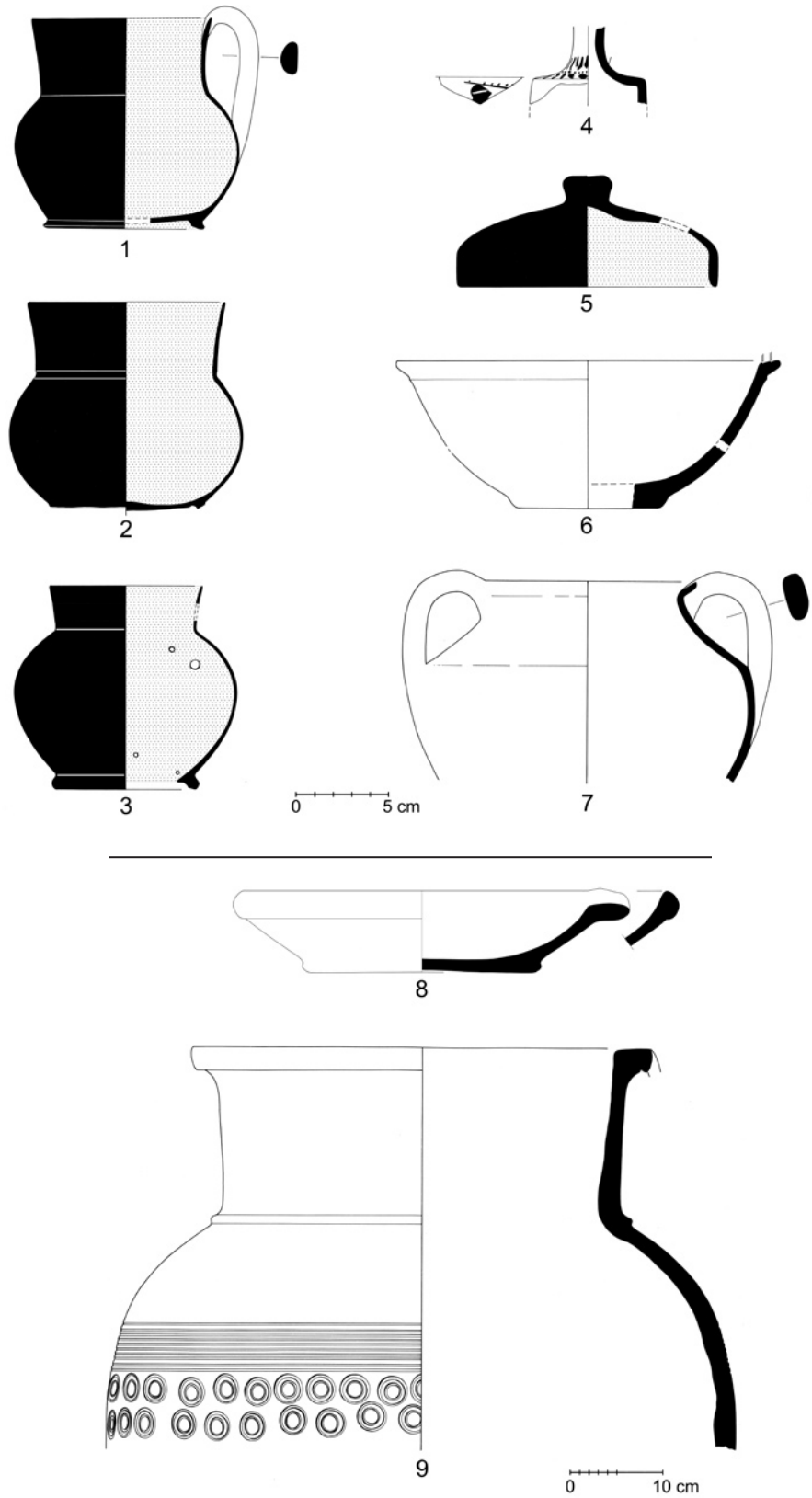


Figure 6. A2100: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing R. Docsan

handles decorated with incised bands (Fig. 5, left),<sup>19</sup> a two-handled chytra or stew pot (Fig. 6:7), and the remains of two fragmentary pithoi (Fig. 6:9). In addition, there was a set of five ground stone tools, including a small quern, a large terracotta loomweight, three pieces of iron, and a piece of lead. Botanical remains from the room, after preliminary analysis, include abundant grape pips and olive pits, modest quantities of grains including both wheat and barley, modest quantities of pulses (including chickpea), and several as yet unidentified seeds.

In summary, the rooms of the Northeast Building (from north to south, A300, A400, A1700, A2300, and A2100) form a single house, although one very different in plan from the corridor houses recovered on the south slope in 2002 (Fig. 1).<sup>20</sup> The house is also much larger and more complex in design. A300 seems to have been a vestibule and perhaps also a general-purpose work area, while the adjoining rooms A400 and A1700 were a hall and storeroom, respectively. The building had front and back doors, suggesting a division of functions: a public entrance through the courtyard (A500) and vestibule (A300) on the west, and a private entrance in the east (A2300), connecting the main building to the courtyard and kitchen (A2100).

On axis with the vestibule and main entrance to the house is the hall (A400), which we might assume, given its size and the direct and central passage from the vestibule, served as the main living room, accommodating both public and private domestic activities.<sup>21</sup> The room had few finds. On and above the floor were, however, fragments of pottery (a black-gloss cup skyphos, a number of high-necked cups, kraters, a table amphora, hydria, lekane, and cookpot) indicating primarily drinking and dining activities, while the presence of a quern and loomweight may point to other possible domestic functions.<sup>22</sup>

While the main visual axis of the building leads a visitor through the vestibule and directly into the hall, the off-center doorway leading into the adjoining room in A1700 provides convenient, but perhaps restricted, access to the house's private stores, pantry, and rear entrance (A2300) (Fig. 2). A1700 is certainly a spacious storage facility, as is indicated by the pithos stands and sherd scatter, including fragments of six different pithoi. The cooking area of the house (A2100) is separate from the main building and accessible only from A2300, which functioned effectively as a service entrance. The courtyard and corridor linking A2300 and A2100, although not well preserved, could well have been used as exterior work space accommodating food preparation as well as other domestic activities.

19. A similar lekane, but with more elaborate decoration, was found in B300; Haggis et al. 2004, p. 356, figs. 9, 10.

20. For variations in design, see Lang 2005 and, for the formal and functional complexity of Archaic houses, esp. pp. 29–30.

21. For the transitional space of the hall in both linear and radial plans, see

Lang 2005, pp. 26–27 (cf. Lang 1996, pp. 87–103). While the radial pattern is typical of complex plans of the Archaic period, the components of the northeast building suggest a “walk-through” linear arrangement similar to the large multiroom Protogeometric and Late Geometric houses on the Kastro (Coulson et al. 1997, pp. 340–353). The separate kitchen and courtyard, and dual

entrances to the main building, however, suggest the complex communication patterns of a radial design.

22. *Contra* Lang (2005, p. 27), who suggests that Archaic houses lacked adequate space to accommodate banqueting activities. The ceramic assemblage and size of the hall in A400 suggest that it could easily have accommodated a private banquet.

## THE WEST SLOPE

Excavation along the west slope clarified the plan of the putative *andreion* complex, permitting an interpretation of communication patterns and use contexts in the building (Figs. 1, 7). In 2003 and 2004, work focused on two separate terraces. On the upper terrace, we examined the transitional space, A1900, lying between A800 (the room with the terracotta stands) and a large dining hall in A2000, establishing the connection between these upper rooms and the storerooms and kitchens on the lower terrace (A600, A1200, A1400–A1500). On the lower terrace, excavation was restricted to A1600, a room that had been left largely unexcavated in 2002, pending conservation of the room's eastern wall, which had been found precariously tipped to the west.

Excavation across the upper west slope in 2003 revealed on the peak the western edge of a large Archaic building of uncertain plan and function, which evidently had been excavated by Harriet Boyd in 1900. On the west, directly in front of a massive retaining wall supporting this building, was a deep fill of gravel, cobbles, and small boulders that formed the packing behind the megalithic east wall of a spacious room in A2000 (Fig. 7). Like the east wall, the southern wall of the room was constructed of large dolomite boulders on a bedding of smaller boulders and cobbles. The north wall has an off-center doorway, providing direct access to a porch in A1900. The room measures 9.0 m long and ca. 3.0 m wide, and has no built features that would indicate its function.

Late Archaic finds from the A2000 hall, including a small pithos decorated with eight-petal rosettes, shield bosses, incised bands, and an outlined guilloche pattern, fragments of several fine cups (Fig. 8:1–4), both short and high-necked varieties,<sup>23</sup> the base of a kotyle (Fig. 8:5), small kraters (Fig. 8:6, 7),<sup>24</sup> an exaleiptron (Fig. 8:8),<sup>25</sup> table amphoras (e.g., Fig. 8:9), and an elaborately decorated fenestrated stand (Fig. 9:9),<sup>26</sup> indicate drinking activities. Other finds include an iron fibula and an iron nail.

While the floor was well preserved across most of the room, the western edge was severely eroded. In the debris of the eroded floor and falling western wall was found a fragment of a large limestone oval-shaped socket, perhaps a base for a stone or wooden monument. The uppermost courses of the west wall of A2000 had slipped out of their original position, tipping precariously into another room of similar size and shape on the terrace below (Fig. 7). Only the southern half of this lower room was excavated in 2004, and neither the western nor the northern limits could be determined. Fragments of two fenestrated stands were recovered from the debris above the floor (Fig. 9:5, 6); given their position and the disturbed condition of the west wall of the A2000 hall, it is not yet clear whether these stands originally belonged in the upper or lower room.

Excavation in A1900 revealed two rooms situated between A800 and A2000 on the upper terrace (Figs. 1, 7). The northernmost of these rooms (A1900N), connected to A800 by means of a wide doorway, is about 15 m<sup>2</sup>. The full extent of the room on its eastern side could not be determined because a scarp needed to be left in place during excavation to buttress the remains of the collapsed eastern wall of the room and the fill supporting the

23. For the lower-necked cup (Fig. 8:1), see Coldstream and Eiring 2001, pp. 78–79, fig. 2:1a, f. Both cups are dated ca. 500–475 B.C.; our cup has the overall profile of low-necked cup “a” and a more articulated foot similar to high-necked cup “f.” For these same cups, see also the original publication as L63 and L53, respectively, in Coldstream 1973, pp. 48, 55–56, fig. 10:L53, L63. The cup with a high, everted neck (Fig. 8:2) finds parallels in Coldstream 1973, pp. 55–56, fig. 10:L63, pl. 21:63.

24. Cf. Callaghan's “Household Krater Type I,” which he suggests may have functioned as serving vessels at the dining table for the stews prepared in chytrai (Callaghan 1978, pp. 11–13, fig. 8:1974 [KRS 1974 P6]). Callaghan concludes that these types of vessels were not well suited for wine. See also Catling and Waywell 1977, pp. 99–102, fig. 6:P5, P6.

25. See Coldstream 1973, p. 48, no. L1, fig. 4; Coldstream and Eiring 2001, p. 87.

26. On other stands from the *andreion* complex and a general discussion of their importance, see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 373–382.

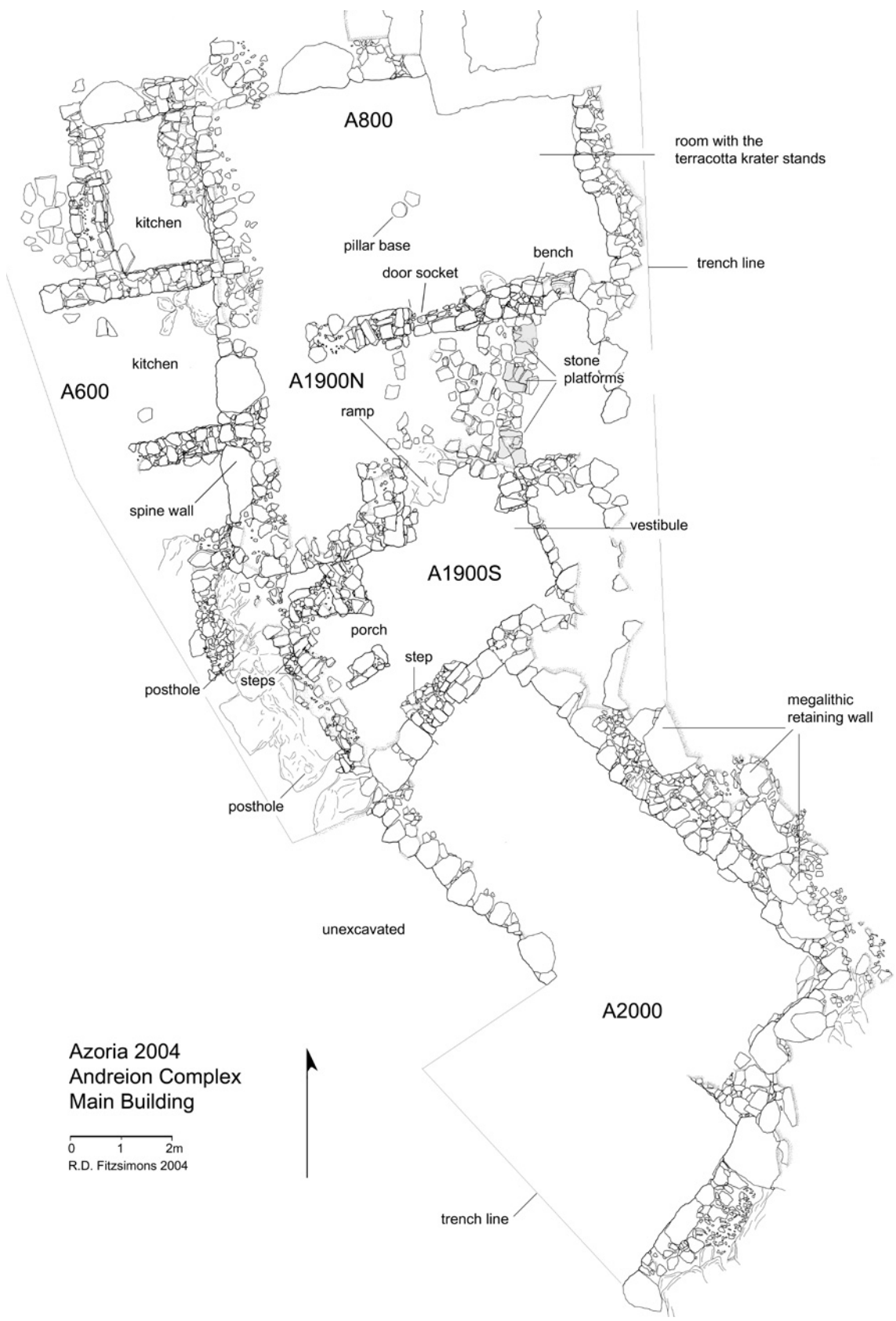


Figure 7. *Andreion* complex: main building. R. D. Fitzsimons

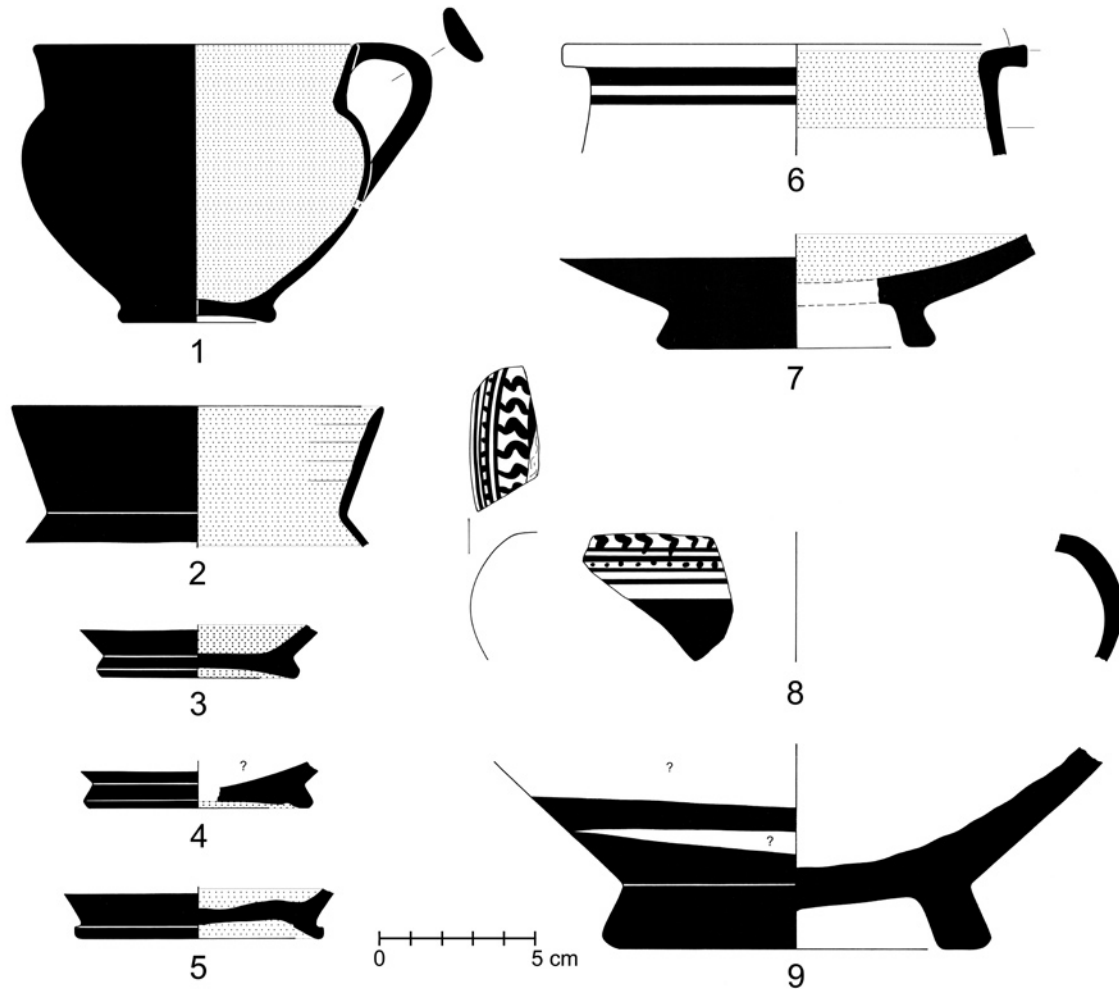


Figure 8. A2000: selected pottery from the dining room. Drawing R. Docsan and D. Faulmann

building on the peak excavated by Boyd. On the eastern side of the room is a series of three square built platforms (ca.  $0.50 \times 0.60$  m), rising above the floor surface (which was not reached in 2003–2004) and separated from each other by low benches.

The platforms are one course high, built of limestone cobbles, small boulders, and phyllite clay. The few finds from the rooms fail to indicate the platforms' specific function, whether low altars used for offerings, supports for the terracotta stands found in adjacent rooms (A800 [Fig. 9:1, 2], A1900S [Fig. 9:3, 4], A2000 [Fig. 9:9]), or wooden installations such as tables, seats, or benches. A small pithos, decorated with registers of opposing meander hooks and stylized cables, was recovered inside the doorway on the western side of the room, and an array of fine cup fragments were scattered amid the wall collapse. Abundant olive pits and grape pips, as well as smaller quantities of pulses, cereal grains, pistachio shells, and fig and poppy seeds recovered from the northern edge of the room, suggest consumption of a diverse array of foodstuffs. Similarly, fragments of iron obeloi (Fig. 10:1, 5), found in the debris along the western side of the room, are perhaps evidence of the consumption of cooked meat brought up from one of the kitchens on the terrace below (A600/A1600).

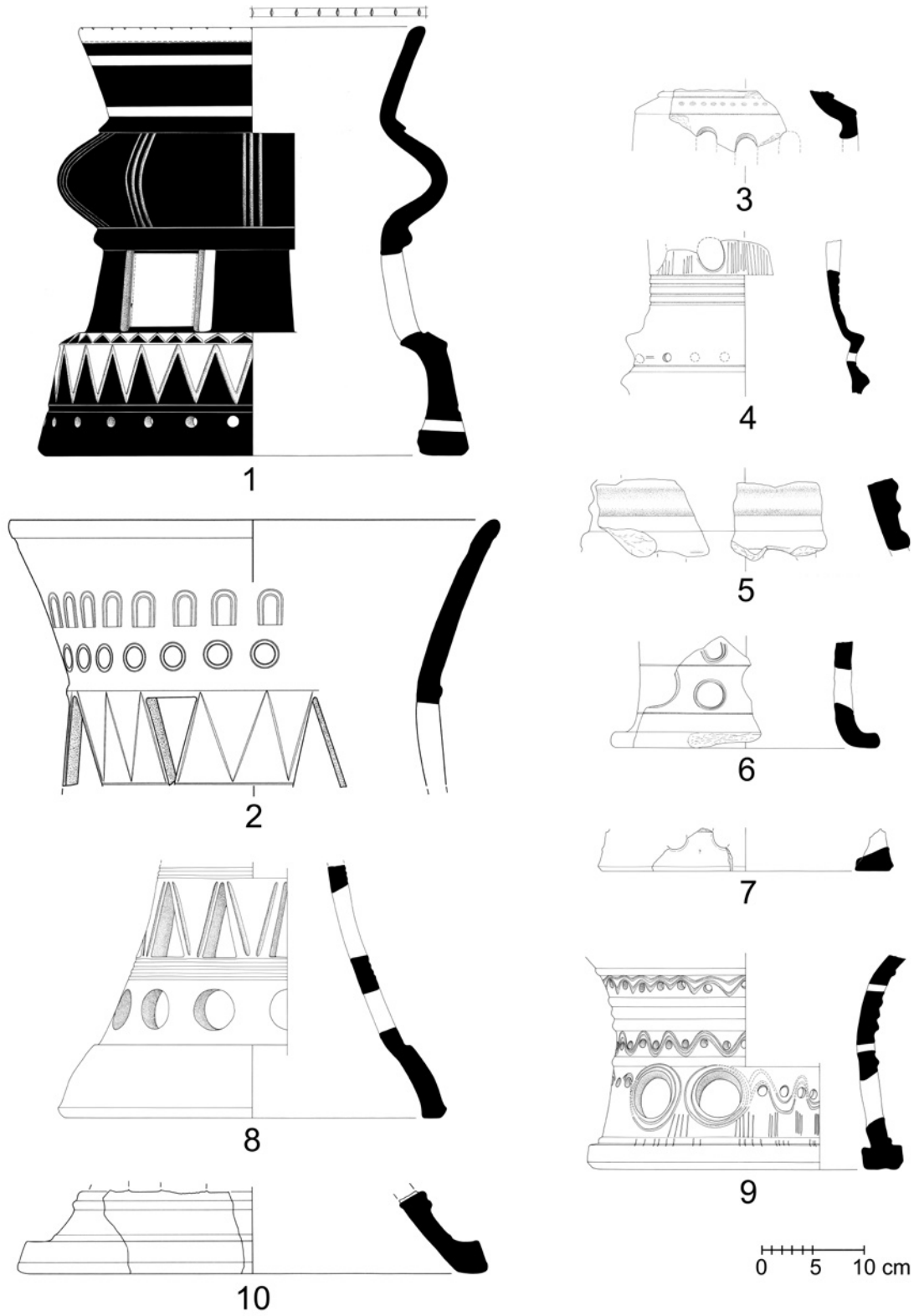


Figure 9. Selected fenestrated stands from the *andreion* complex. Drawing R. Docsan



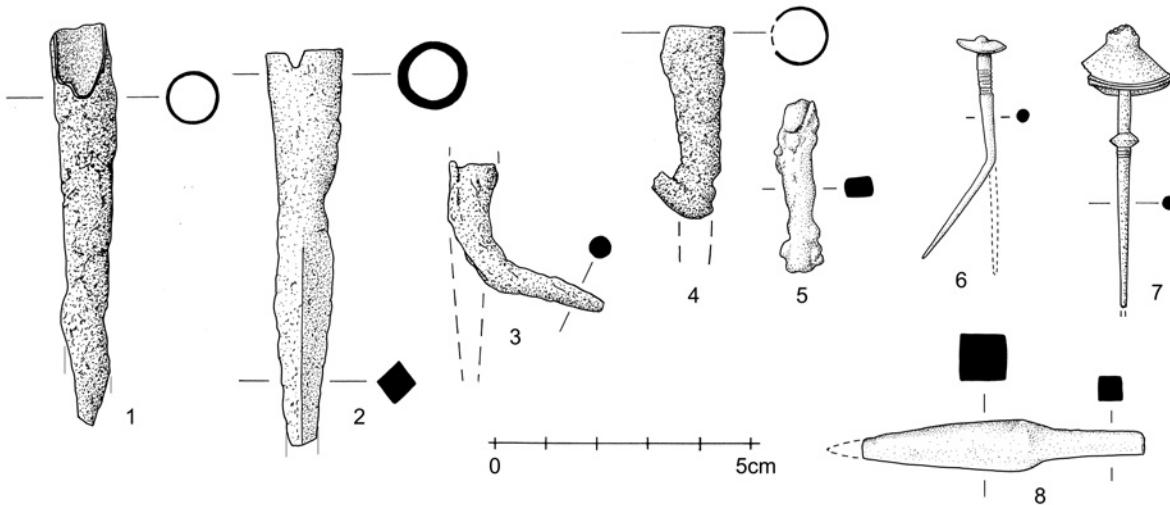


Figure 10. Iron obeloi, bronze pins, and iron arrowhead from the South Acropolis. Drawing R. Docsan and D. Faulmann

One of the iron obeloi (Fig. 10:1) is the socketed variety typical of equipment found in mortuary assemblages of warrior's graves of EIA and Orientalizing date on Crete and Cyprus.<sup>27</sup> Although examples have been recovered in votive contexts of 6th-century date,<sup>28</sup> the form is ostensibly unusual for the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>29</sup> An iron arrowhead (Fig. 10:8), similar to the one found in A1700, was also recovered from the room. It is badly corroded but the broken tang is square in section and the head has four sides, corresponding to Snodgrass's types B and C from the North Cemetery at Knossos, which he dates no earlier than LG–EO.<sup>30</sup>

A ramp cut into bedrock descends into a smaller room to the south (A1900S), a vestibule that is accessible from a porch and stairway on the west. The floor slopes down to the porch, which is divided by a stone-built pier. From the porch, a doorway on the south side leads into the large hall in A2000. This doorway was evidently blocked with boulders and cobbles in a second phase, probably coinciding with the narrowing of the east end of the vestibule. A clay ramp descends sharply on both sides of the pier toward the west where two risers are preserved, running the full width of the porch (Figs. 1, 7). A bedrock shelf extends farther to the west where the bedding for more stairs is preserved. Two postholes cut into the bedrock indicate the location of supports for an overhanging roof.

The western end of the porch yielded considerable dining debris—marine shells, animal bones, and seeds, including olive, grape, pulse, cereal, almond, and fig—as well as a lamp (Fig. 11:1),<sup>31</sup> fragments of drinking

27. For socketed obeloi, see Karageorghis 1970, pp. 38–42; 1974, pp. 170–171 (type d); Snodgrass 1996, pp. 590–591; Hoffman 1997, pp. 141–146. The authors thank Peter Haarer, Maria Kostoglou, and Nick Cahill for much useful discussion of iron obeloi.

28. Karageorghis 1974, p. 171.

29. Boardman 1967, pp. 230–231;

Shaw and Harlan 2000, pp. 368–369.

30. Snodgrass 1996, pp. 584–585; the example in A1900 is likely to be the Cypriot type (Snodgrass 1964, pp. 154–155), which is also known as type E from 4th-century deposits on the north hill at Olynthos (Robinson 1941, pp. 392–397). See also an example from Vronda: Day, Coulson, and

Gesell 1986, p. 382, pl. 80:j.

31. This lamp, although it has the edge of a back strap-handle preserved, compares most closely in shape with Howland's type 12A, dated to the second and third quarters of the 6th century; see *Agora IV*, pp. 25–26, nos. 71–75, pls. 3, 31.

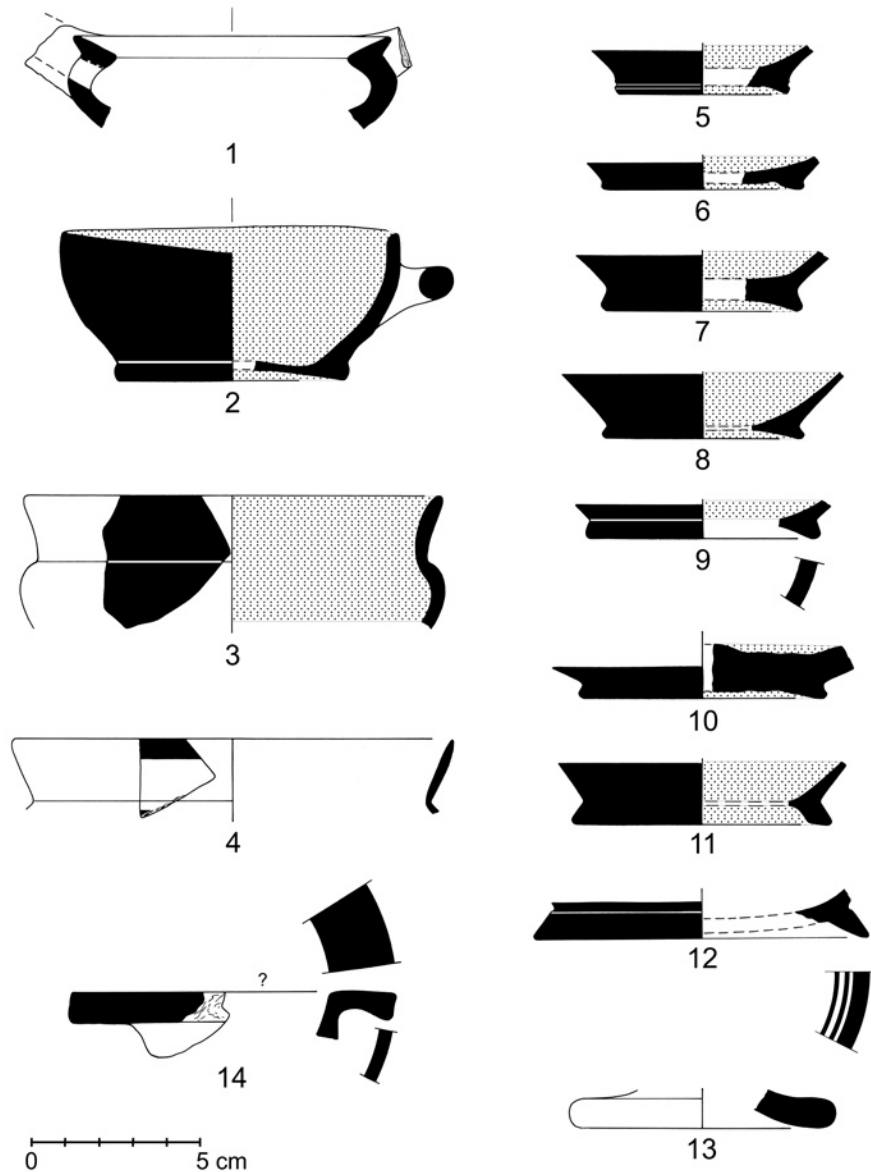


Figure 11. A1900S: selected pottery from the vestibule and porch. Drawing R. Docsan

cups (Fig. 11:2–11, 13), including a one-handled cup (Fig. 11:2),<sup>32</sup> a rim of what appears to be an Ionian cup (Fig. 11:4),<sup>33</sup> the foot of a kylix (Fig. 11:13), a krater (Fig. 11:14) similar to the one in A2000, a jug base (Fig. 11:12),<sup>34</sup> and two fenestrated stands (Fig. 9:3, 4). These finds are most likely to represent discarded material swept out of the building from the adjacent rooms, A2000 to the south and A1900N, the room with the built platforms to the north.

32. This cup is coated with a matt monochrome slip and has a slightly concave disc foot and a small handle. It is similar to *Agora XII*, pp. 126, 289, no. 745, pl. 30:745, an early example of the monochrome type, dated 490–480 B.C.

33. This very fine example appears to be plain on the interior, an exceptional feature. It is difficult to suggest a provenience for such a small fragment, but for the range of the two-handled, mostly stemmed, so-called Ionian cup,

see Boardman and Hayes 1966, pp. 111–134.

34. For jug bases with a similar profile from Kato Syme, see Erickson 2002, p. 56, fig. 8:32, 33, dated ca. 500–475 B.C.

Figure 12. A1600: floor deposit in the kitchen (southern area). Photo D. C. Haggis



On the lower terrace, excavation continued in A1600 (Fig. 1). This trench was opened at the end of the season in 2002, but discontinued because the extant part of the room's east wall (the west wall of the storeroom in A1500) was discovered to have tilted precariously to the west during the initial destruction of the building or during the post-abandonment earthquake. Wall conservation, conducted in 2004, permitted the safe excavation of this space, allowing us to document the connection between the storerooms in A1200, A1400, and A1500 and the kitchen areas to the south in A600.

While only the eastern half of the floor is preserved, the finds and features indicate that food processing was conducted in the room. A built bin containing a pithos was discovered in the southeast corner of the room, and next to it, embedded in the floor, a smoothed limestone work platform, ca. 0.70 m in diameter, with a polished surface (Fig. 12). Around the work platform were two medium-sized querns, a large handstone, and a triton's trumpet shell. A second triton's trumpet was recovered north of the work platform (Fig. 12). The north side of the room had a scatter of food debris and an array of objects, including three more querns, several handstones, a piece of embossed bronze sheet, a bronze finger ring, an iron ring, spindle whorls and loomweights, an iron blade, and a bronze pin.

The bronze pin, although badly corroded, is not a traditional Cretan type, although it has Cretan features (Fig. 10:6). The decoration consists of a thin bowl-shaped disk and two double cones, between which are sets of moldings; this arrangement is perhaps a 6th-century variation on the typical Cretan Orientalizing type.<sup>35</sup> The bronze sheet fragment (Fig. 13) has a central boss with three perforations preserved at its base. Another partial hole appears at the outer edge, which is sufficiently preserved to indicate that the object had a disk shape. Thought to represent miniature shields or to be shield bosses,<sup>36</sup> embossed bronze disks are probably clothing ornaments and are regularly found in Orientalizing and Archaic mortuary

35. Jacobsthal 1956, pp. 24–25.

36. Benton 1939–1940, p. 54.

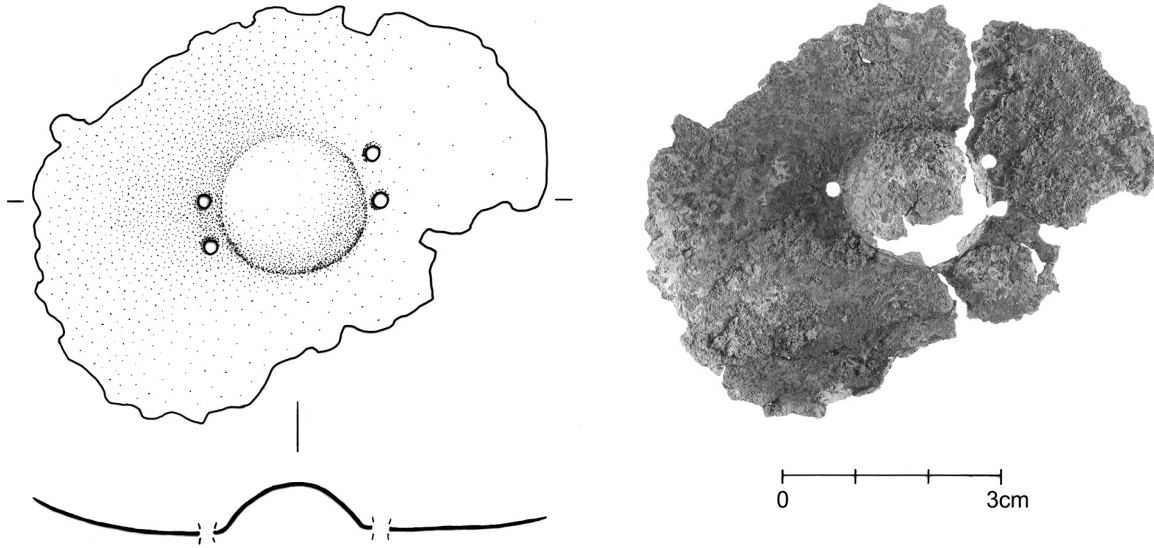


Figure 13 (above). A1600: bronze disk (shield boss). Drawing D. Faulmann; photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Figure 14 (opposite). A1600: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing R. Docsan and D. Faulmann

and votive assemblages throughout the Aegean.<sup>37</sup> Disks comparable to the piece from Azoria are found in the Argive Heraion, Emporio, Dreros, Vrokastro, Palaikastro, and Kommos, with the closest parallels on Crete coming from the Dictaeon Cave.<sup>38</sup>

Numerous pots were recovered from the floor deposit in A1600: several high-necked cups (Fig. 14:1); skyphoi, including a matt-black example (Fig. 14:2), four with tall ringed feet and similar profile, one of which is monochrome red-gloss (Fig. 14:3), two of which are monochrome black-gloss (Fig. 14:4), while a fourth is decorated with metopal panels of vertical strokes framing concentric circles (Fig. 14:5); a skyphoid krater (Fig. 14:6); two fine jugs (e.g., Fig. 14:7), at least one fine hydria and a coarse hydria; a transport amphora; a scuttle (Fig. 14:8); an unusual lekane with vertical open bar-shaped handles (Fig. 14:9);<sup>39</sup> three chytrai (e.g., Fig. 14:10, 11) similar to those found in adjacent kitchens in A600;<sup>40</sup> and the small pithos in the bin. The decorated skyphos (Fig. 14:5) has extremely close parallels for shape, decoration, and fabric from the workshop at Phari on Thasos,<sup>41</sup> and may be a Thasian import. A particularly noteworthy find is an early-5th-century lekythos with a painted scene framed in red bands (Fig. 15). This Attic import, decorated in Six's technique, may be from

37. For Cretan examples and discussion of the sociopolitical function of armor display in early Greek aristocracies, see Snodgrass 1999, p. 44; Prent 2005, pp. 368–377.

38. Waldstein 1905, pp. 267–268 (Argive Heraion); Boardman 1967, p. 229 (Emporio); Marinatos 1936, pp. 276–277 (Dreros); Hall 1914, p. 102 (Vrokastro); Benton 1939–1940, p. 54, pl. 27:17 (Palaikastro); Dabney 2000a, pp. 342–346 (Kommos); Boardman 1961, pp. 49–53, fig. 25:D, G, and

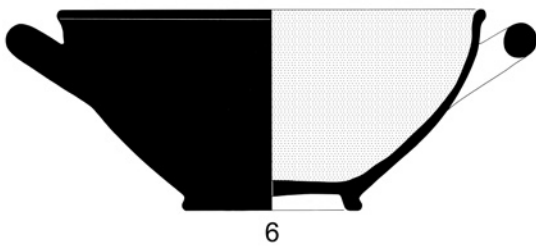
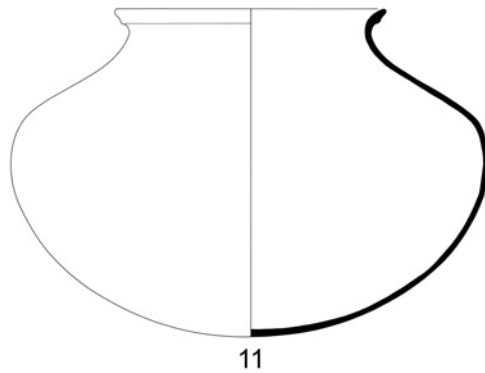
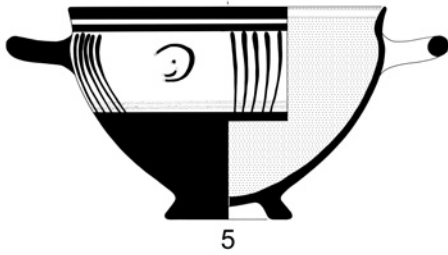
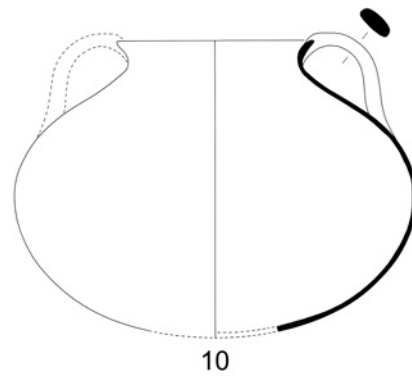
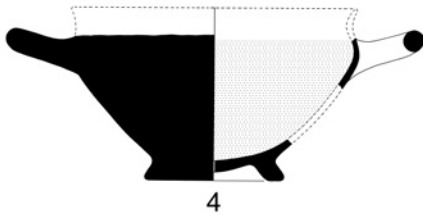
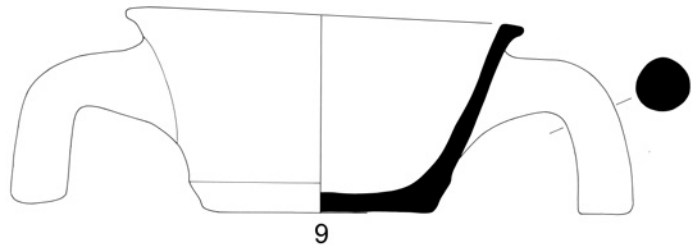
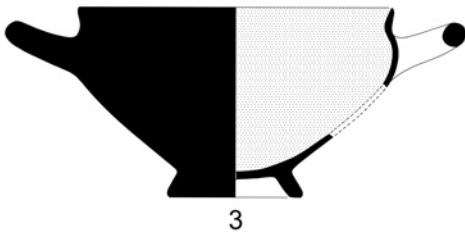
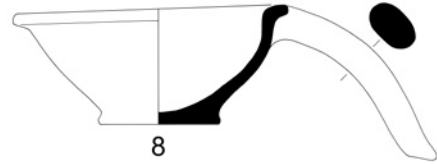
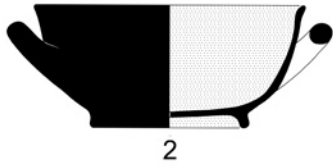
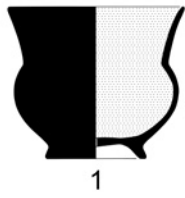
F (Dictaeon Cave). For other Cretan findspots, see Prent 2005, pp. 368–377.

39. A lekane with similar open vertical handles was found in B2200/2300 (see below, Fig. 34:1).

40. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 383–385.

41. For the skyphoi from the kiln site at Phari, see Blondé, Perreault, and Péristeri 1992, pp. 25–29, 39, figs. 11:11, 13:11, 12, 14:12a, b. They emphasize that the skyphoi are part of a deposit dated to 525–480 b.c. and that this evidence demonstrates that

such vases, inspired by earlier Cycladic Subgeometric vessels, continued to be produced until the end of the Archaic period. For the Thasian workshop, see also Perreault 1999, pp. 292–293. Erickson (2005, p. 636) notes that similar skyphoi were also found at Olous and Itanos. Boardman and Hayes (1966, pp. 74–78, nos. 918–920, pl. 54) publish cups of this sort found at Tocra in Libya, which they attribute to Parian and an unidentified workshop.



the workshop of the Diosphos Painter.<sup>42</sup> The figures, a satyr pursuing a maenad, are executed in added white over a black-slip background; the interior details are incised.

While more stratigraphic excavation is needed to reconstruct the building's phases and its history of use, work so far on the west slope has now established its essential form: the lower terrace consists of three storerooms—A1200, A1400, and A1500—that are connected directly by doorways to a central kitchen in A1600, a spacious food-preparation area that served also as a passageway to two more smaller kitchens and a courtyard in A600. A corridor led south from the kitchens to a wide and partially roofed staircase that ascended to the porch and vestibule (A1900S) of the upper terrace. The vestibule connects the large dining hall on the south (A2000) with the room with stone platforms (A1900N) to the north, and beyond it to the room with the terracotta stands (A800).

We can therefore distinguish three main functional components of the building: storage and processing on the lower level, and food consumption on the upper level. The porch and vestibule not only link the terraces, connecting the service and dining areas of the complex, but they also appear to separate and differentiate areas of consumption. The large hall in A2000, accessible directly from the porch rather than from the vestibule, evidently had a more public function: capable of seating over 20 people, the room could easily have served as a banquet hall.<sup>43</sup> Of similar dimensions, date, and perhaps function is the Geometric–Archaic so-called megaron at Eleutherna, which had an earthen floor, fragmentary pottery and bone, and, according to the excavator, wooden benches.<sup>44</sup>

The rooms on the north side of the vestibule, on the other hand, have more limited access; their special role is indicated by the stone platforms in A1900N, and the assemblage of stands in A800. The restricted access to the northern rooms of the upper terrace could mean that the porch and vestibule not only served as an entrance to the dining complex from the kitchens and storerooms, but also separated and segregated activities and participants within the building. The room with the platforms in A1900N remains a mystery, although we might speculate that it had a special role, given its location and features.<sup>45</sup> The long hall parallel to and immediately below A2000 is poorly preserved and excavation has not yet clarified its relationship with the service areas to the north. This room may have been yet another dining room, similar in size and orientation to A2000. Given

42. On Six's technique and the Diosphos Painter, see Haspels 1936, pp. 94–95, 106–107, 235–236, pl. 38:6. The Azoria lekythos follows Diosphos's bold style, as identified by Haspels, with a pair of red lines above the figures and a red ground line. Like the other smaller Six lekythoi by the Sappho and Diosphos painters, our example has the typical white petals between black buds on the lower shoulder. Depiction of a satyr pursuing a maenad using Six's

technique can be seen on a lekythos now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (98.885), attributed to the Diosphos Painter and dated to ca. 490 B.C. (online catalogue, <http://www.mfa.org/collections>). See Appendix 2 for the inscription on the base.

43. For dining in the *andreion*, see *IC II* v 1 and *SEG XXVII* 631; for the *sysition*, see Aristotle (*Pol.* 2.1272a) and Ephoros (Strabo 10.482); cf. Guizzi 1997.



Figure 15. A1600: lekythos. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

44. Themelis 2003, pp. 25–29.

45. We cannot be certain of the functions of A800 and A1900N, although the contexts and assemblages suggest ritual use. Cf. Pyrgion's mention of a "third table on the right as one enters the *andreia*" dedicated to Zeus Xenios (Ath. 4.143); for contemporary reference to ritual activities within *andreia*, see the Spensithios Decree (*SEG XXVII* 631); cf. Prent 2005, pp. 454–455.

the room's accessibility, directly from the lower terrace, we suggest that it was the most public area of the building.

Arguments for identifying this building as an *andreion* were put forward in the 2002 excavation report.<sup>46</sup> While the *andreion* is the only epigraphically attested civic dining building in Archaic and Early Classical Crete, the designation here must remain tentative. The concept of the *andreion* allows us to visualize contexts of public commensality, which admittedly could have been accommodated within a variety of venues that do not yet have consistent formal correlates in the archaeological record and do not survive in the extant Archaic epigraphical record.<sup>47</sup> The reduplication of rooms for storage, food preparation, and dining, as well as the presence of architecturally separate and distinct service and consumption areas, indicates a level of architectural complexity suggestive of communal and ceremonial activities unlike those in purely cultic or domestic contexts. A conspicuous concentration of food debris on the upper terrace<sup>48</sup> indicates dining, while the ceramic finds are signs of regular drinking activities: fine cups, jugs, and kraters dominate the assemblage, while terracotta stands, probably for kraters, bowls, or mortars, were found in nearly all of the rooms, with the highest concentration in A800.

The stands show remarkable variation in size, shape, design, surface treatment, and decoration (Fig. 9). While no two are alike in form, we think that they were used for the same function, to support kraters, dinoi, or some other bowl-like vessel. Although comparanda for the stands from Azoria are rare in Archaic contexts,<sup>49</sup> their function is probably related to that of earlier terracotta Geometric and Orientalizing tankard, dinos, and krater stands, and bronze conical stands and tripods: ceremonial equipment used for ritual libations at the grave site, sanctuary, and, by the 6th century, the prytaneion.<sup>50</sup>

The spine wall (Figs. 1, 7, 16), extending for some 50 m along the 366 m contour, anchors the building to the west slope. It divides the upper and lower terraces, effectively separating service and banqueting areas.

46. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 380–382, 387–390. Epigraphical sources and the albeit later literary traditions suggest that *andreia* had multiple functions that we might well expect to be reflected in a complex architectural design: compartmentalized and specialized functional areas, such as rooms for sleeping, storage, cooking, dining, and perhaps offering.

47. Perlman (2005) argues in extenso against a unitary view of Cretan sociopolitical organization and practice, which she sees as derived from a later literary tradition.

48. The scarcity of food debris in A2000 is probably the result of regular cleaning of the space in antiquity. Evidence was found in the secondary

deposits in neighboring rooms: large quantities of bones and marine shells were recovered in the adjacent vestibule, porch (A1900S), and kitchen (A600). Cf. Bookidis (1993, p. 54), who notes the “almost total absence of bones” in the dining rooms at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. While only some 70 marine shells were recovered from some 30 rooms in the Demeter and Kore sanctuary from all periods, over 1,400 top shells, limpets, and fragments were found in the A600 dump alone (Haggis et al. 2004, p. 384).

49. For a similar terracotta stand from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta, see Droop 1929, p. 84.

50. See the bibliography cited in

Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 373, 375, nn. 71–73, and recent discussion in Prent 2005, pp. 377–383. *Contra* Erickson (2005, p. 634, n. 115), Cross (1974, pp. 180–184) has presented detailed evidence for the Near Eastern models for terracotta stands in Greece and Italy from the 8th to the 6th centuries. The distinctive elements are the sharply biconical profile, torus molding, and narrow rectangular or triangular decorations or fenestrations; for Cretan examples and the history of the form, see Sirano 1995, pp. 19, 45. For contemporary stands in Etruscan and Archaic Roman contexts, see also Sirano 1995; Benedettini 1999; Ruggiu 2003, p. 471, pl. 7.

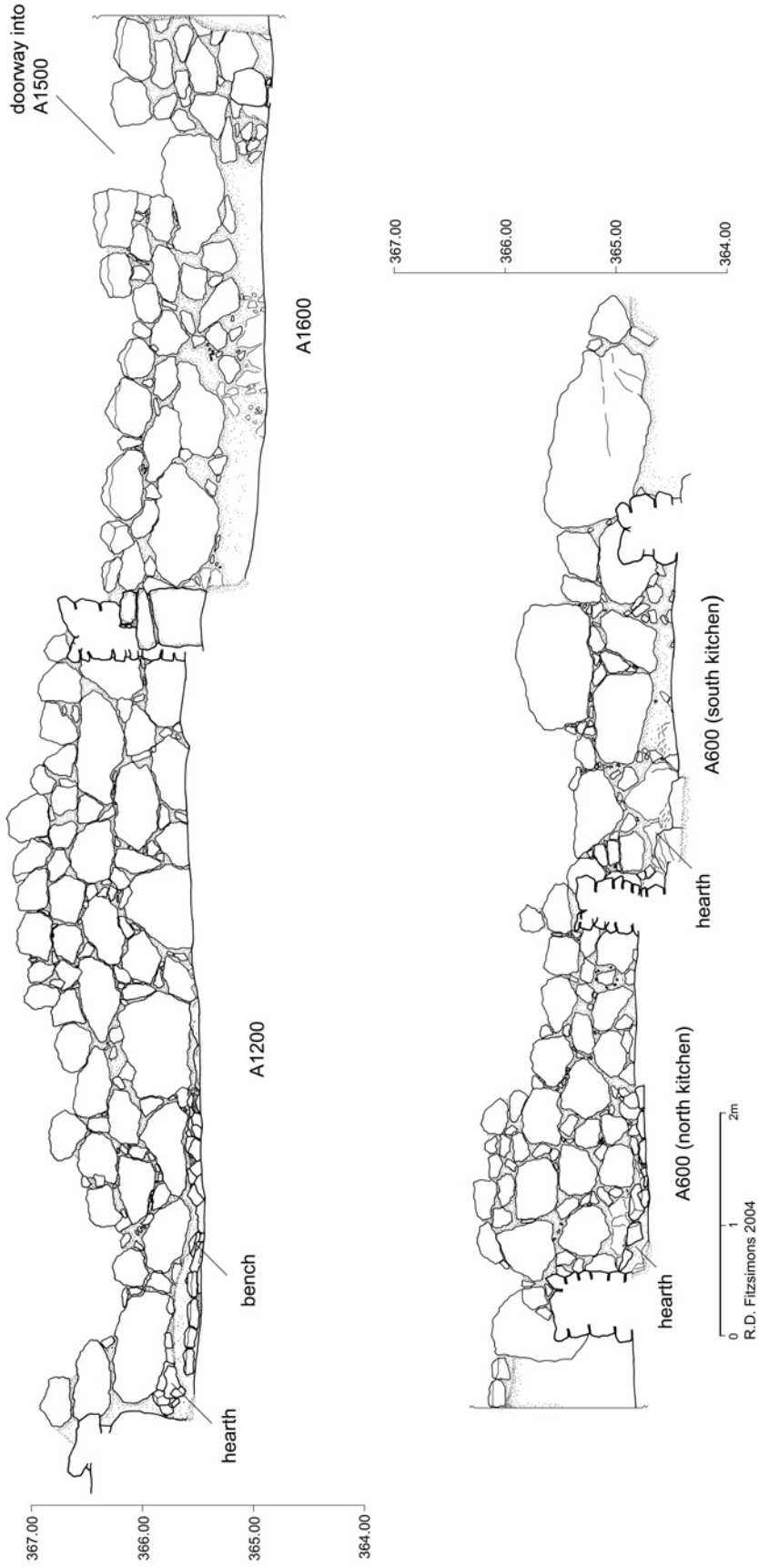


Figure 16. *Andreion* complex: north-south architectural section through A1200, A1600, and A600. R. D. Fitzsimons



The only access to the upper terrace is through the stairs and porch in A1900S (Fig. 7). A break in the wall in A1600 with a doorway and step provides passage into the small closetlike storeroom in A1500 (Fig. 16). For its foundation, the spine wall uses large dolomite boulders, some exceeding a meter in length, resting on a bedding of clay and cobbles. The facets of individual stones were worked or roughly dressed to conform to the irregularities of adjacent blocks, while smaller boulders and cobbles filled interstices. Regular courses of smaller dolomite (and occasionally *sideropetra*) boulders and cobbles were used for the upper reaches of the wall (Fig. 16: A1200), no doubt fitted to accommodate the irregularities of the roofline and to facilitate rebuilding and repairs.

The complex is thus an integral part of the redesign of the South Acropolis at the end of the 7th century, evidently involving the rebuilding of the settlement and the establishment of new structures to accommodate new institutions.<sup>51</sup> The ambitious modification of the slope, the complexity of the design, and the monumental character of the structure itself suggest a considerable public investment and skilled labor. Perlman has recently argued that wage earners residing in the cities of Gortyn and Axos were paid by the state for their role on public works projects. She speculates that the worker mentioned in the Axos inscription (*IC II v 1*), who was given the privilege of dining in the *andreion*, may have been a builder or architect.<sup>52</sup> The architecture of the South Acropolis reflects this public investment in the organization of both skilled and unskilled labor, and the planning needed to accommodate the functional requirements and symbolic expression of new civic institutions.

### THE SOUTHEAST BUILDING (B1100, B1300)

A street extends southward from the entrance to the Northeast Building, along the east side of the South Acropolis at the 355 m contour, terminating in a small courtyard at the back of the east corridor house in B300 (Fig. 1). Even though we have not exposed its full extent across the east side of the peak, the road apparently connected the south slope houses and the Northeast Building. Excavation conducted in B600 recovered a 10 m segment of a megalithic terrace wall that runs north–south along the west side of the street, which is ca. 3–4 m wide at this juncture. The road surface is supported partially by bedrock and in part by the eastern extension of the spine wall, which functions here as both a retaining wall and the back of the rooms of the Southeast Building on the terrace below (B1100 and B1300).

Finds from the street were few and badly preserved, but they included a loomweight and spindle whorl, a terracotta lid, a silver finger ring, and a bronze dress pin. The pin is a Cretan type with a tall tapered (phallic) knob and a very thin bowl-shaped disk with upturned collar, common in 7th- and 6th-century votive and burial contexts (Fig. 10:7).<sup>53</sup>

Excavation on the terrace below and east of the street in B600 revealed a series of three connected rooms, two in trench B1100 and one in B1300 (Fig. 1). The spine wall retains the fill supporting the eastern edge of the

51. For the importance of spine-wall construction in 7th- and 6th-century urban design, see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 349–352; cf. Fagerström 1988, pp. 113–114; Hayden 1997, pp. 130–131.

52. Perlman 2004a, pp. 116–117.

53. Jacobsthal 1956, p. 25, figs. 96, 97.

street and serves as the back wall of the building. The three-room building was constructed in the Archaic period, but was reused and partially rebuilt in the 3rd century B.C. Although 6th-century floors were recovered in patches across the full extent of the building, the reuse in the Hellenistic period prevents certain attribution of its Archaic function, although it was likely to have been a house.

The north room of B1100 was apparently reused in the 3rd century as a refuse pit. A small single-faced screen wall or retaining wall was constructed on top of Archaic roofing material, evidently to help retain the fill of the dump. It extends north–south across the full width of the room, perpendicular to and abutting the cross wall separating the rooms in B1100. This retaining wall is composed of a single course of boulders in the south and three roughly built courses of cobbles in the north. While the original wall probably stood much higher, given the volume and depth of the fill, it had apparently collapsed under the weight of a large boulder that had fallen from the spine wall.

The retaining wall contained a deep layer of Hellenistic fill that extended across the west side of the room and apparently spilled out over the edge of the wall itself on the east. The doorway separating the rooms in B1100 was probably blocked as part of the 3rd-century use of the room as a refuse pit. The matrix of the fill is loose, dark-brown, rocky soil with dense animal bone, pottery, and other objects. The preserved depth of the dump is about a meter on the west against the spine wall, sloping to ca. 0.50 m on the east where the upper part of the building has eroded away. The state of preservation of the animal bones suggests that they were deliberately deposited as primary refuse in the building rather than as occasional discard or slope-wash debris.

A variety of cups were found among the pottery recovered from the fill, with the monochrome-coated cylindrical type by far the most prevalent (Fig. 17:1–12). The profiles of the better-preserved cylindrical cup fragments have a slightly everted rim and flaring profile (Fig. 17:1–4), with parallels from Knossos dated to the 3rd century B.C.<sup>54</sup> Bases on the cups from Azoria include both Callaghan's ring base (Fig. 17:5–9) and pseudo-ring base types (Fig. 17:10–12), although the former is more frequent.<sup>55</sup> The treatment of the underside of these cups is varied and does not fit well into the Knossos typology; some are completely hollowed out (Fig. 17:5, 6, 8), others have a convex profile so that the center of the curving underside forms part of the resting surface (Fig. 17:7, 9), while still others have a central disk on which the cup also rests (Fig. 17:10). It is not yet clear whether these traits represent chronological distinctions, differences among workshops, or both.

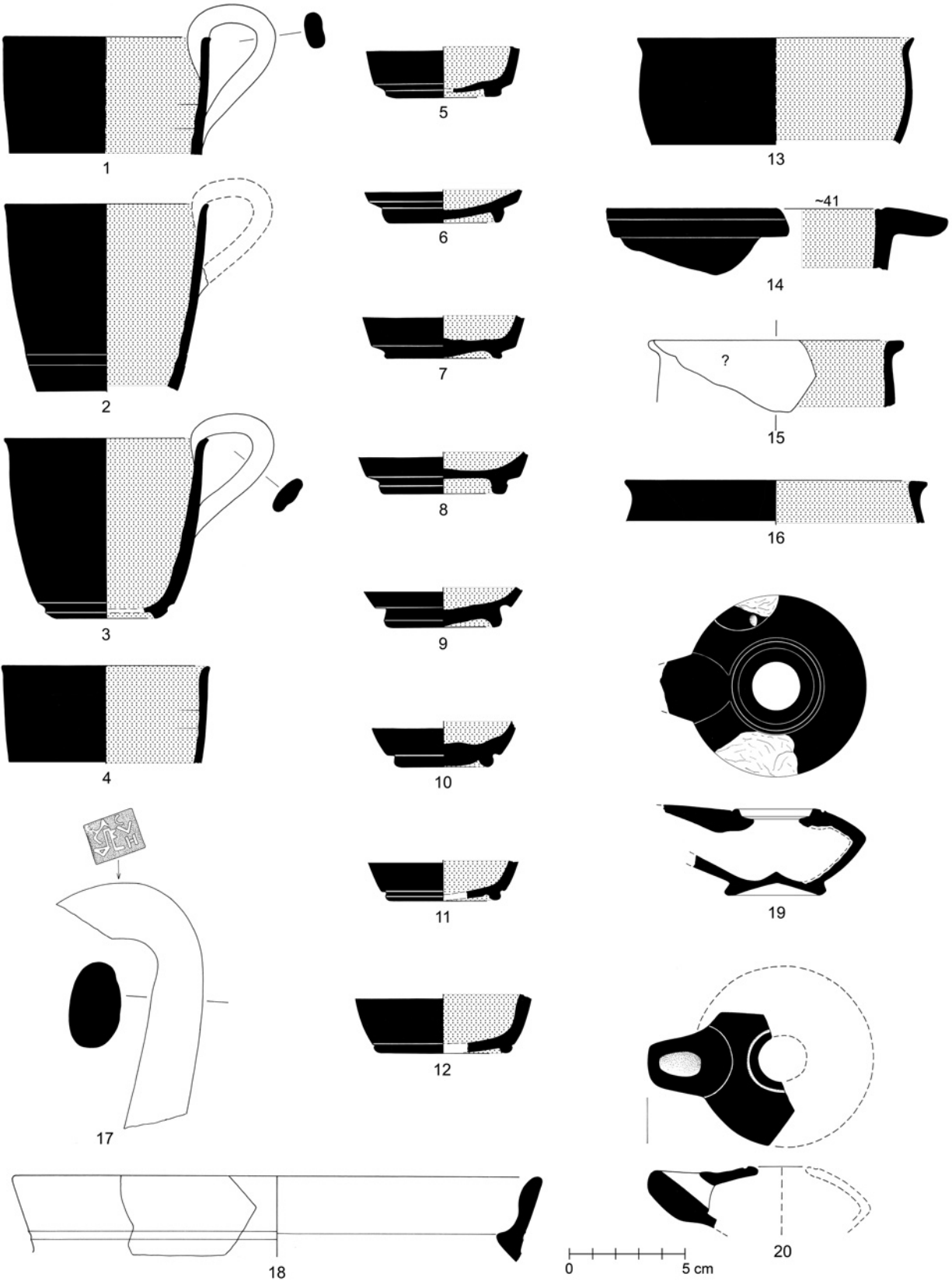
Other drinking vessels found in the refuse pit include everted-rim cups (Fig. 17:13), carinated S-shaped cups, and high-necked cups. Fragments of large lekane, some apparently fully coated (Fig. 17:14),<sup>56</sup> were also present. Pouring vessels are represented by tulip (Fig. 17:15, 16) and other types of jugs. Fragments from several transport amphoras are also present. One of the stamped handles (Fig. 17:17) preserves the name of the fabricant Ἀγησικλῆς, known from early Rhodian examples and now

Figure 17 (*opposite*). B1100: selected pottery from the refuse pit. Drawing R. Docsan

54. Callaghan 1978, pp. 16–17, fig. 10:49; 1992, p. 105, no. H13.1–2, pl. 87; Eiring 2001, p. 93.

55. Callaghan 1978, pp. 15–17.

56. For an array of similar examples from 3rd-century contexts at Knossos, most of which are coated only on the interior, see Eiring 2001, pp. 106–107, fig. 3.7.



dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. on the basis of an associated eponym.<sup>57</sup> Cooking pottery mainly consists of lopas (Fig. 17:18) and probably chytra fragments.

Other objects in the fill include terracotta lamps, a fragmentary iron obelos, three iron arrowheads, a piece of copper, a terracotta bull figurine, three loomweights, four iron nails, a bronze nail, and a bronze pin. The numerous lamp fragments mostly belong to a group of monochrome-coated lamps with concave bases and, where preserved, pierced lugs (Fig. 17:19). They closely resemble Howland's type 32 from the Athenian Agora, now dated by Susan Rotroff to the late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.<sup>58</sup> Other types of lamps occur (Fig. 17:20), but they are not frequent.<sup>59</sup> The obelos is certainly an EIA–Archaic type with parallels from the *andreion* complex and the southwest terrace (Fig. 10:2).

The arrowheads, on the other hand, are more difficult to date. The form has a socket with a solid tang, straight sides, and two barbs; there is no obvious medial rib, but the surfaces are very badly corroded. While bronze examples of this type are found in Archaic contexts—indeed the earliest come from Crete—the type appears to have had a long history of use in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, so a date contemporary with the bulk of the ceramic material in the dump seems likely.<sup>60</sup>

The Southeast Building was abandoned with the rest of the site in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. By the 3rd century B.C., the ceiling and walls of the structure had evidently collapsed, and probably little of the eastern wall remained intact. The Hellenistic squatters cleared the rooms of debris, in some cases digging into the Archaic roofing material. While their purpose is not entirely clear, they hastily rebuilt the north wall of B1300 and put a makeshift bin or trough against the west wall. Blocking the doorway between the two rooms in B1100, they converted the north

57. For an example of the fabricant Αγησικλῆς associated with the Rhodian eponym Ἀγριος, see Grace 1963, pp. 323–333, no. 3. This eponym had been dated to the late 4th century on the basis of a handle in a deposit associated with the city wall of Athens on the Pnyx (Thompson and Scranton 1943, pp. 333–337, for the dating of the deposit; Grace 1963, p. 324). Grace (1963) suggested, based on controversially dated evidence from Koroni, that Agrios and his associates might be downdated somewhat into the first quarter of the 3rd century. Subsequently, she (Grace and Savvatiianou-Petropoulakou 1970, pp. 291–292) tentatively but unambiguously favored the earlier dating at the end of the 4th century. In 1974, however, Grace (1974, pp. 197, 200) published a revised chronology and placed the eponym Agrios within the period 280–270, perhaps

ca. 273–271 B.C. Most recently, Finkiel-sztejn (1995, 2004) has again lowered the chronology for Rhodian stamps and would lower the date of the relevant material at Koroni by another decade to ca. 268–259 B.C. The Rhodian amphora handle from Azoria provides additional evidence for Perlman's (1999) argument that Cretan cities, including those in the eastern part of the island, had foreign trading interests, ones that sometimes overlapped with those of Rhodes.

58. For Howland's type 32, see *Agora* IV, pp. 99–100, pls. 15:425–432, 41: type 32; no. 429 is especially similar and has the sort of concave base most frequently found on the examples at Azoria. Rotroff (*Agora* XXIX, p. 501) adjusted the chronology of the Hellenistic lamps from the Athenian Agora based upon her new context dates, and redates Howland's type 32 to 220–

180 B.C. This type of lamp has also been found at Trypetos in eastern Crete (Vogeikoff-Brogan and Apostolakou 2004, pp. 422–423, fig. 5a:MS 10271, MS 10272).

59. See *Agora* IV, pp. 93–94, pls. 14: 401–405, 41: type 28B, for similar lamps. The example from Azoria has a much shorter nozzle than the similar lamps from the Athenian Agora, which are now broadly dated by Rotroff (*Agora* XXIX, pp. 499–500) to 260–190 B.C.

60. For the Archaic form of arrowhead with a socket and tang, see Snodgrass (1999, p. 40), who emphasizes its early Cretan connection. The type is essentially Robinson's type D1 from Olynthos (1941, pp. 387–389, pl. CXXI: 1944–1949); cf. Payne 1940, pp. 181–182, pl. 82:20. The type does not appear at Emporio, where examples with the medial rib are most common (Boardman 1967, pp. 226–227).

room into the refuse pit discussed above, retaining the fill of the dump with a low wall that eventually collapsed under the weight of the debris. The source of the dump's Hellenistic debris is still to be located, as is the place where the people who created the makeshift shelters in adjacent rooms lived.

### THE CULT BUILDING AND AGORA (B2000/2100, B2400, B2500)

A segment of a long street runs south along the eastern edge of the south-east building, eventually branching in two directions (Fig. 1). One path leads southeast down a series of steps into a courtyard that opens onto the terrace of the south slope houses; an eastern branch of this road runs south of B1300 below and east of the courtyard onto the wide southern terrace of the South Acropolis. Its topography and features suggest that it might be the location of the city's agora. The wide and open space is bordered on the east and south by a fortification wall (Fig. 1: "South Acropolis wall"), and on the west by the spine wall of the southwest terrace.

The eastern branch of the street was explored in 2004. Two well-built steps are preserved in the middle of the road, where the path descends onto a landing (B2400) in front of a large building that we have called the Cult Building (Figs. 1, 18). The main access to the building (B2000/2100, B2500) was from the landing up steps that run along the eastern edge of the entrance, perpendicular to the steps in the street. On the street in front of the steps, two silver Argive triobols were recovered (Figs. 19, 20).<sup>61</sup> The coins are consistent with a date in the 3rd century B.C., and therefore contemporary with the Hellenistic dump in the Southeast Building.<sup>62</sup> The presence of the coins indicates that the road was left exposed after the early-5th-century abandonment of the site.

The building is, on the whole, very poorly preserved. Lying in an area that was subject to heavy plowing, its walls and floor surfaces suffered the same extreme damage as the southern edge of the south slope houses. Enough remains, however, to reconstruct the plan of the building (Figs. 1, 18). The entrance is evidently through a long narrow porch, or *pastas* (B2500), ca. 12 m long and 2 m wide, which runs along the entire east side of the main hall (B2000/2100). The eastern wall of the porch runs at an oblique angle, following the line of the street, making the room narrower in the south than in the north; the southern end is no longer preserved. While the eastern wall is preserved only in its foundations, two possible doorways can be reconstructed from the remains: one is at the top of the stair that leads from the landing; the other is farther south where a clay ramp ascends from the street through the wall onto a bedrock step with a cut door pivot.

The internal dimensions of the main hall of the building are ca. 12 m north-south by 5 m east-west (Figs. 1, 18). The north and west walls are the best preserved, using large boulders in their construction. At the northern end, a double megalithic wall supports the courtyard above. The hall consists of a single room with a large rectangular platform in the center (ca. 1.40 × 1.20 m), cut from bedrock, and a wide hard-packed phyllite

61. See Appendix 1, below.

62. *BMC Peloponnesus*, p. 142, 79 (= Gardner [1887] 1963, pp. lii–liii, 142, pl. 27:17–19); Le Rider 1966, p. 9; Brett 1974, pp. 160–161.

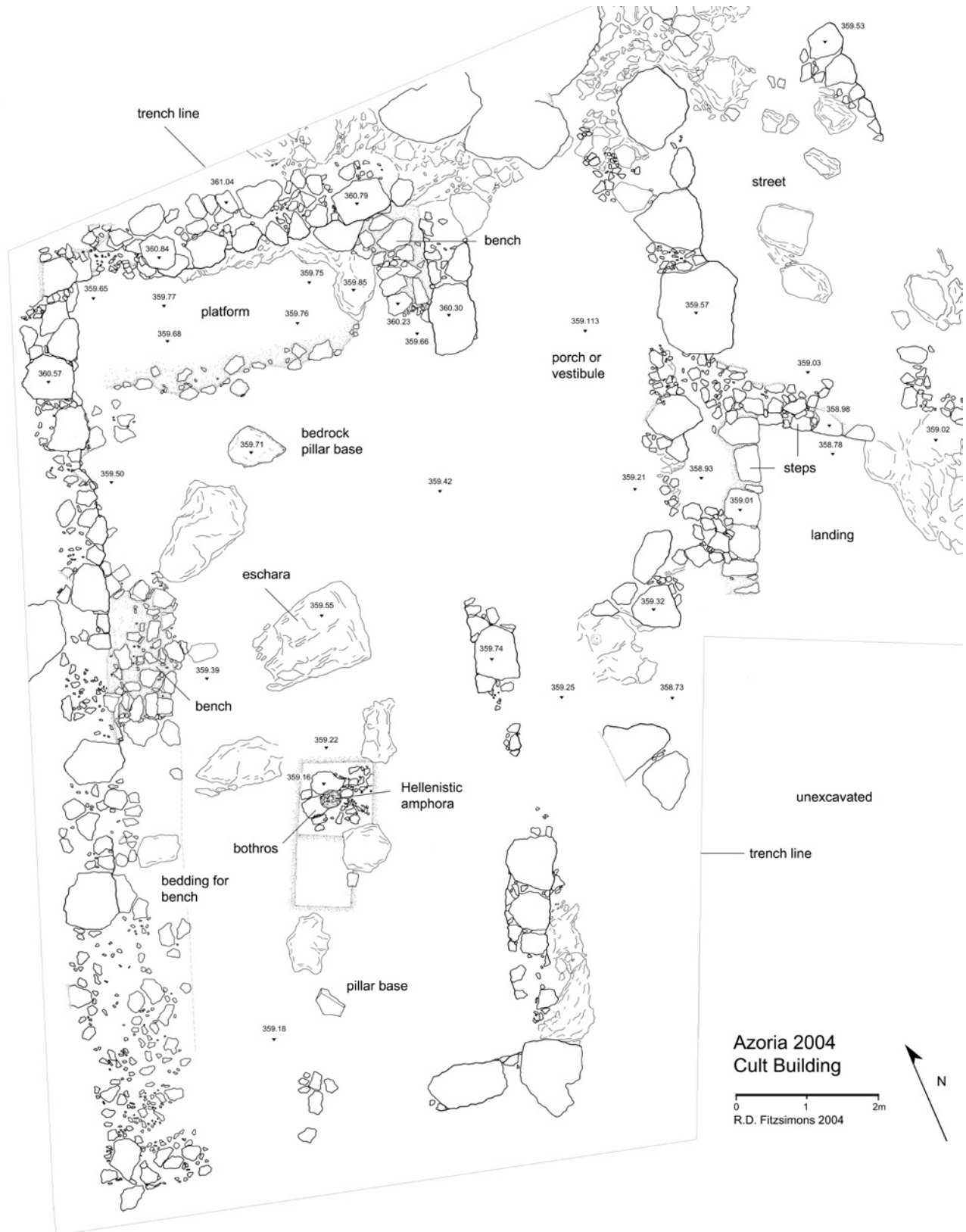


Figure 18. B2000/2100: Cult Building. R. D. Fitzsimons



Figure 19 (*above, left*). Argive triobol 04-1232 from the street near steps leading to the Cult Building. Scale 2:1. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Figure 20 (*above, right*). Argive triobol 04-1254 from the street near steps leading to the Cult Building. Scale 2:1. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

clay platform bordered by stones (ca. 4.0 × 1.50 m) against the north wall. A small part of a stone-built platform or bench is preserved in the north-east corner, while indications of another are preserved along the west side of the room, suggesting the possibility that both east and west walls had benches running along their interior faces. Two bedrock outcrops indicate the locations of post supports, north and south of the central bench.

South of the bedrock platform we uncovered a small stone-lined pit or bothros that supported an upright terracotta amphora (Figs. 18, 21). Even though the extant floor surface and pit can be dated to the Late Archaic period, the upright amphora is from a later period of reuse. It had been wedged carefully into the stone-lined pit after its base had been broken off, creating an aperture at the bottom (Fig. 21). Yellowish-gray phyllite clay was then packed around the amphora and over the pit, filling in the southern area of the room to raise the floor level. The vessel, preserved to its shoulder, protruded well above the floor and accumulated ceiling debris. While no Hellenistic pottery was recovered in the fill around the vessel itself or on the associated Archaic floor surface, the amphora is apparently a later addition. It is a tall, heavy, thick-walled vessel (preserved H. ca. 60 cm), with a tapering body, dark pink obsidian-tempered fabric, and thick yellow slip uncharacteristic of contemporary local Archaic or Hellenistic pottery from the site.<sup>63</sup>

Goat bones found in the fill within the vessel consist of three lower legs and feet, and cranial fragments of a single butchered animal of prime meat age. Even though there was no evidence of burning on the bones, the assemblage of non-meaty lower legs, feet, and cranial elements is not inconsistent with the remains of sacrifice.

Save for the modified amphora, an evidently late addition, a small hammered bronze bowl, and a lead weight, few finds could indicate the room's original 6th-century function. The exception is a fragmentary terracotta votive plaque (Fig. 22) that was recovered in the northwest area of the room, near the clay platform mentioned above. The plaque depicts a male figure holding a sword in his right hand, facing right toward a frontal figure, with his left arm extended behind the figure's back. The wide curved and splaying hilt of the sword is visible behind the figure's right

63. Such volcanic black-sand fabric is characteristic of products from the region of Campania, and the shape and surface treatment resemble those of Dressel type 1C amphoras (we thank Mark Lawall for assistance with this

identification). See Peacock and Williams 1986, pp. 91–92, where Dressel type 1C amphoras are dated to the late 2nd to early 1st century B.C., and pp. 87–88, for a description of the fabric.



Figure 21. B2000/2100: Hellenistic amphora within bothros. Photo M. S. Mook

hand. The style, stance of the figures, and the sword type are similar to that of votives from Lato and Siteia.<sup>64</sup> The plaques are characteristic features of assemblages in what Mieke Prent has recently called “suburban cult places,”<sup>65</sup> sanctuaries that regularly have deposits of terracottas (especially moldmade plaques) representing male figures, with emphasis on athletic, military, or divine characteristics.<sup>66</sup>

Cretan temples show remarkable variation in location, design, and range of ritual activities.<sup>67</sup> While simple one-room plans with or without porches clearly predominate, some have *pastades*, vestibules, or anterooms.<sup>68</sup> Built features such as internal and external benches, escharas, bothroi, low partition walls, and built containers for animal remains or offerings all contribute to our understanding of Cretan temple forms.<sup>69</sup> Rarely, however, are installations sufficiently preserved or consistently present to allow us to formulate viable formal or chronological typologies.<sup>70</sup> Simple designs and internal ritual functions seem to characterize the temple from the 8th to the 3rd century B.C.<sup>71</sup>

64. For this type of plaque, see Prent 2005, pp. 414–416, *passim*; Pilz, forthcoming. On Archaic terracotta votive plaques from Lato, a central male figure (*dompteur mâle*) has a stance similar to the protagonist in the Azoria fragment; see Dawkins 1929, p. 212, pl. 103:1; Demargne 1929, pp. 423–424, fig. 35. For the Siteia deposit, see Papadakis 1980; Prent 2005, pp. 300–301; Zografaki 2006.

65. Prent 2005, pp. 633–638; cf. Sjögren 2003, pp. 55–58. The category is, of course, vague at best, as in most cases the topographical or contextual information is incomplete. For the

difficulties in determining suburban status for a number of sanctuaries fitting her classification, see Prent 2005, pp. 476–477, 634; Sjögren’s (2003, pp. 55) “sub-urban” typology, which overlaps with Prent’s, is no less vague.

66. Prent 2005, pp. 414–416.

67. See, e.g., Sjögren 2003, pp. 53–65. Prent (2005) provides the most detailed formal and functional analysis to date.

68. For discussion and formal typologies of Cretan temples, see Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, pp. 207–233; Shaw 2000b, pp. 698–705; Sjögren 2003, pp. 53–65; Prent 2005. Cf. Guarducci 1937; Banti

1941–1943, pp. 40–50; Alexiou 1956; Drerup 1969, p. 8; Lebessi 1990, pp. 27–44; Viviers 1994, pp. 244–249; Carter 1997, pp. 87–96; Koehl 1997, pp. 140–143.

69. Sjögren 2003, pp. 50–54; Prent 2005.

70. Prent’s (2005, pp. 627–633) category of the urban hearth temple is perhaps the most consistent of the formal types.

71. Although Sjögren (2003, p. 55) emphasizes the evidence for externalization of cult activities at “sub-urban” sanctuaries.





Figure 22. B2000/2100: terracotta moldmade plaque. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

While there are no exact parallels for the Azoria building plan, in size and general form it is roughly similar to the Archaic phase of the temple at Sta Lenika Elounda, located opposite Azoria near the western shore of the Bay of Mirabello. The building at Sta Lenika may have had a porch, or *pastas*, with a wide eschara, similar in size and shape to the bedrock platform in the main hall at Azoria.<sup>72</sup> As at Azoria, the entrance to the temple was placed in the middle of the long side, a formal idiosyncrasy of contemporary temples at Gortyn and Aphrati.<sup>73</sup> Internal benches for seating or offering tables are known at a number of Cretan temples, including Dreros, Prinias (Temple A), Smari (Building A), Kommos (Temple B), and Aphrati, as well as the small temple at Pachlitzani Agriada, located at the southeastern edge of the Azoria settlement.

Bothroi are found at Gortyn in both the Geometric temple on the acropolis and the Archaic temple in the lower town, while caches of goat bones were recovered at the Delphinion at Dreros. Even though some Cretan temples are found in isolated or rural settings, others are integrated into the architectural fabric of the urban center.<sup>74</sup> The hearth temple at Dreros, for example, was positioned at the edge of the putative agora, as was the Pythion at Gortyn.<sup>75</sup> The entrance along the long eastern side of the building and the presence of an internal eschara and bothros might serve to link the building formally to both temples at Gortyn, which according to D'Acunto's recent study were large single-cella structures; both were entered through the long side and both apparently had bothroi, while the temple on the Ayios Ioannis hill may have had an eschara as well.<sup>76</sup>

72. Bousquet 1938; see most recently Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, pp. 215–216; Sjögren 2003, p. 162; Prent 2005, pp. 348–349.

73. D'Acunto's (2002, pp. 190–192) recent reconstruction of the second temple on the acropolis at Gortyn emphasizes its formal similarity to the

Archaic Pythian temple. For Afrati, see most recently Viviers 1994, pp. 245–248; Sjögren 2003, pp. 133–134; Prent 2005, pp. 279–280.

74. Shaw 2000b, pp. 705–706; Sjögren 2003, pp. 55–58; Prent 2005, pp. 627–654.

75. Perlman 2000, p. 72.

76. See the discussion in D'Acunto 2002. Prent (2005, pp. 476–502, 636) classifies the Ayios Ioannis building among her group of suburban cult places, communal sanctuaries in which moldmade plaques similar to the terracotta votive from Azoria (Fig. 22) dominate the assemblages.

## THE SOUTHWEST TERRACE

West of the putative agora is a wide flat terrace that extends along the contour of the western slope of the South Acropolis at an elevation about 5 m below the level of the south slope houses (Fig. 1). Here we began excavation of two separate structures in 2003–2004: the so-called Service Building, consisting of a series of seven rooms that served storage and food processing functions, and, at the northern edge of the terrace, a structure that we have called the Monumental Civic Building.

The stability of the slope and the excellent preservation of buildings on the southwest terrace presented an opportunity to investigate the complex stratigraphy of the site, while assessing the transition between the EIA and Archaic settlements. Across the site, EIA–Orientalizing remains have been recovered in the wall and floor packing that forms foundations of buildings,<sup>77</sup> but soundings conducted on the southwest terrace offered an occasion to evaluate the extent and details of rebuilding on the South Acropolis in the 7th and early 6th centuries. On the southwest terrace, the evidence to date points to an EO terminus post quem for construction, with Late Orientalizing occupational levels preserved in B1200, B1500, and D400. Based on our understanding of the stratigraphy so far, a date in the mid-7th century is the most likely horizon for the first phase of urban renovation.

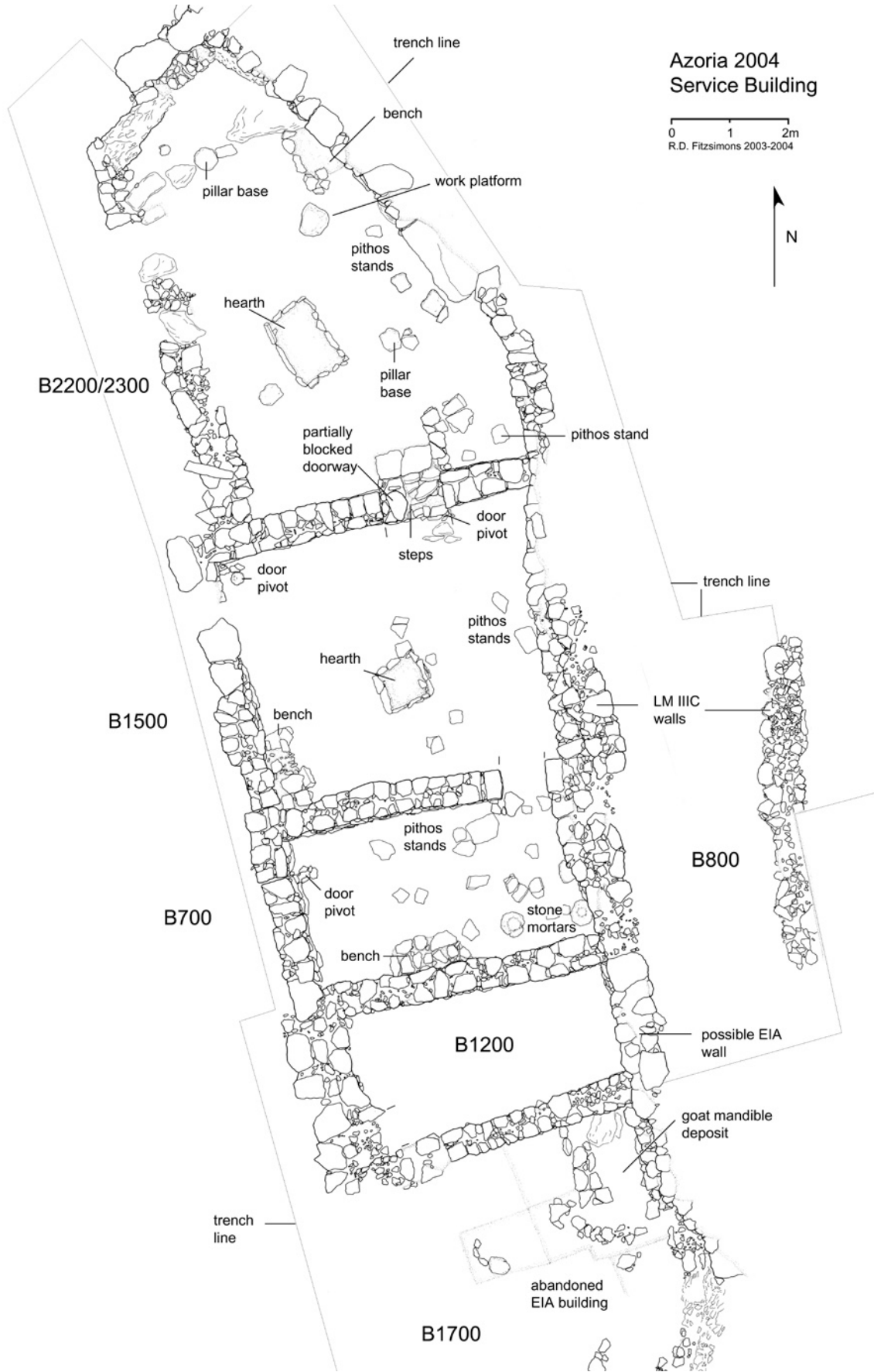
### THE SERVICE BUILDING: SOUTHERN EXTENSION (B700, B1200, B1500, B1700, B2200/2300, D400)

A segment of a spine wall was found to extend for a distance of ca. 30 m along the 355 m contour at the southern edge of the southwest terrace (Fig. 23). This wall forms the eastern limit of five rooms, built in a row and comprising a single building with entrances discernible along the west side. Three rooms on the north—B700, B1500, and B2200/2300—evidently suffered a catastrophic destruction at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. Ashy deposits of burned debris consisting of carbonized wood and burned plant material are found scattered throughout the layers of roofing clay and habitation material. During excavation, accumulations of roofing clay and the yellow-green phyllite clay floor surfaces were found to be burned light to dark red, while substantial patches of ash and charcoal were visible throughout the matrices. In marked contrast, B1200 and D400 were evidently abandoned before the 6th century and therefore exhibit none of the evidence of this Late Archaic destruction.

The southernmost preserved room, B1200, is the smallest by far (2.20 × 4.50 m). Its purpose remains uncertain because it contained few artifacts or other distinguishing features, but given its narrow dimensions, a storage function seems likely (Fig. 23). Moderate quantities of grape pips and traces of cereal grain lend support to this suggestion. Two successive clay floors, dating to the 7th century B.C., were exposed across the full extent of the room. While the pottery from these levels is poorly preserved, scattered on and above the earlier clay surface were remains of an EO dinos (Fig. 24). These types of vessels, having a biconical shape and quadruple-rolled lug

Figure 23 (*opposite*). Southwest terrace: Service Building, southern extension. R. D. Fitzsimons

77. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 364–366.



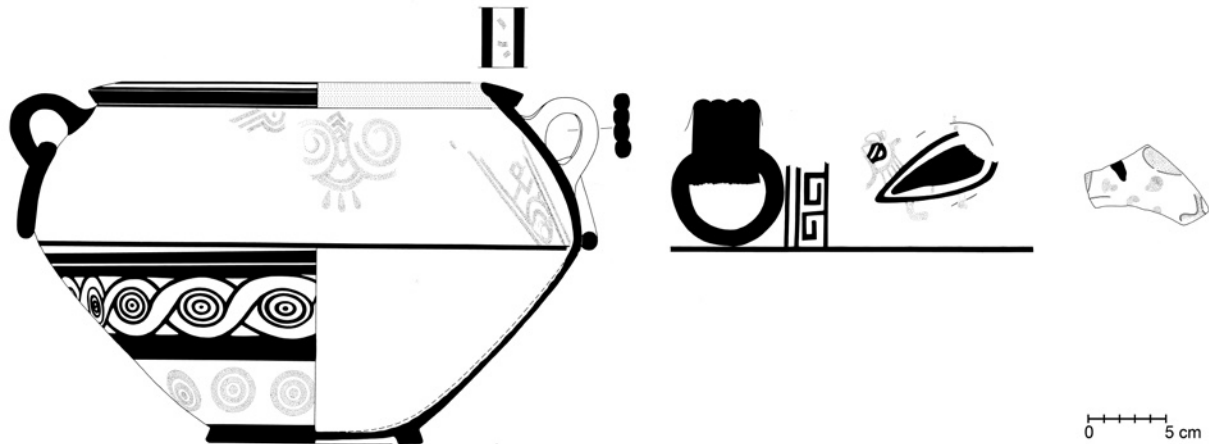


Figure 24. B1200: dinos. Drawing R. Docsan

handles with a pendent ring in relief, are reminiscent of metallic shapes.<sup>78</sup> Polychrome examples are found in great numbers within the pithos burials from the necropolis at Arkades.<sup>79</sup> This dinos is decorated on one side of the shoulder with a motif having a central palmette and linked volutes, and on the other side perhaps with antithetical birds. A vertical panel with meander hooks is preserved next to one handle, while the lower body is decorated with a guilloche enclosing concentric circles and, below, a register of concentric circles.<sup>80</sup>

The later clay surface belongs to the Late Orientalizing period, suggesting that the room had gone out of use before 600 B.C., when it began to collect debris from adjacent habitation and building activities.<sup>81</sup> Although the southwest corner of the room is not well preserved, an entrance at the southern end of the west wall is suggested by an even break in the courses; the boulders of the top extant course of a massive Final Neolithic/Late Minoan (LM) IIIC wall form a threshold for the 7th-century doorway.

Immediately to the south of B1200, in B1700, part of an EIA building was revealed, including a complex and well-stratified series of levels spanning a number of occupational phases (Fig. 23). Subsequent Archaic-period activity is indicated by a series of surfaces forming a mound of debris in the northeast corner of the trench, evidently layered against the south wall of B1200. At some stage in the buildup of debris, a single-course semicircular wall was constructed to contain the fill, which appears to have been a

78. See Stampolidis and Karetsov 1998, pp. 131 (for the shape of the dinos) and 243 (for similar handles on a metallic prototype).

79. The decoration on the vessel from Azoria is too poorly preserved to determine whether or not the decoration was polychrome. For numerous examples of this shape found at Arkades, see Levi 1931, esp. pp. 84, 141, 142, 165, 172, 192, figs. 60, 134, 137, 176:a–c, 192, 212. Also Levi 1945, p. 22, pl. XI.1, where they are referred to as “basin-shaped cinerary urns.”

These vessels and their decorative motifs are dated to the EO period, probably the first quarter of the 7th century. Later local imitations of the same class of dinoi, dated to the mid-6th century by associated pottery, are found in the cemetery at Morgantina in Sicily (see Lyons 1996, pp. 82, 194, no. 18–10, pl. 54:18–10).

80. Parallels to the central palmette and volutes are found on dinoi from Arkades (Levi 1931, pp. 163–164, fig. 176:a–c, and 192, fig. 212). The birds belong to Brock’s motif 17, subgroup

“body with reserved border” (1957, p. 184, motif 17k–q). Similar birds as well as the vertical meander hooks are also present on another dinos found at Arkades (Levi 1931, p. 84, fig. 60), as is the guilloche enclosing concentric circles (Levi 1931, p. 141, fig. 134).

81. Excavation in a sondage through the floor of B1200 revealed that it was constructed on top of a surface of Late Minoan IIIC date, and below this level, a sequence of four Final Neolithic surfaces associated with at least two architectural phases.

bone dump. The mandibles of at least 20 goats (prime meat-age animals) were found discarded in a small, restricted area bordered by the rough two-course retaining wall built on a dirt surface (Fig. 23). This deposit is unusual in that it consisted only of disarticulated, unmodified left and right mandibles. No other goat bones, cranial or postcranial, or other remains of food debris were found in the area, so a context of primary butchering seems to be an unlikely source for the deposit. In addition, the mandibles lay in the same horizontal plane, clustered in a small area on the ground surface, indicating that they had been deposited in a single event. They had been carefully removed from their carcasses and then systematically collected and deposited. A possible explanation is that these body parts were used to prove the age, number, and condition of animals supplied for dining in nearby public buildings.

In the neighboring room, B700, two floor surfaces were discernible, suggesting continuous use of the building throughout the 6th century until its destruction in the first quarter of the 5th. Similar in size and dimensions (2.50 × 4.50 m) to B1200, the room was clearly used for storage (Fig. 23). A shallow stone bench or platform (one or two courses high) is located against the south wall. Other features in the room consist of two post supports on the east–west axis, a number of flat stones along the north, east, and south walls, evidently used as pithos stands, and two large stone mortars in the southeast corner. One of the mortars had a pithos base wedged into it, indicating that it may have been used as a stand. The catastrophic destruction of this room preserved abundant grape pips and olive pits as well as smaller quantities of cereal grains, pulses (including chickpea and lentil), almonds, figs, and pistachios.

In its last phase, the room contained a large number of objects: a bronze finger ring, a handstone, stone and terracotta lids, and a terracotta loomweight. The loomweight is a truncated pyramidal type typical of Late Archaic deposits at the site.<sup>82</sup> Unlike the usual phyllite/quartz-tempered loomweights that were probably produced locally, this example is an import. The granodiorite inclusions are evidence for a production locale west of the Isthmus of Ierapetra in the area of Kalo Chorio, probably a workshop in the area of ancient Istron and Oleros, or even as far west as Lato.<sup>83</sup> Pottery from this room included the remains of seven pithoi, three transport amphoras (Fig. 25:1–3), an oil-separation jar (Fig. 26:1),<sup>84</sup> a cookpot, three lekane (e.g., Fig. 26:2), two bowls (e.g., Fig. 26:3), an unusual scuttle (Fig. 26:4) with a shield projecting up from the rim in front of the handle, perhaps to protect the hand from flames, four hydrias (e.g., Fig. 25:4), an atypical lamp (Fig. 26:5), two high-necked cups (Fig. 26:6, 7), and a plate (Fig. 26:8). Figure 27 illustrates selected examples of the assemblage.

82. For a discussion of Archaic loomweights, see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 371–372.

83. For the distribution of Archaic granodiorite-tempered pottery, see Hayden 2004, pp. 227, 234, n. 86. Several pots illustrated here are also made with a fabric rich in granodiorite and

were almost certainly produced in the vicinity of Kalo Chorio. These include the scuttle from B700 (Fig. 26:4), the lekane decorated with stamped rosettes found in B1500 (Fig. 29:4), and, from B2200/2300, the small bowl or lekane with open handles and the mortar with foliate band (Fig. 34:1, 2). Lekanes and

mortars in this fabric typically have stamped or incised decoration on the rim.

84. A similar type of oil-separation jar with a spout near the base was found in Cyprus at Kition (Hadjisavvas 1992, p. 75, fig. 144, from the Cyprian Classical period).

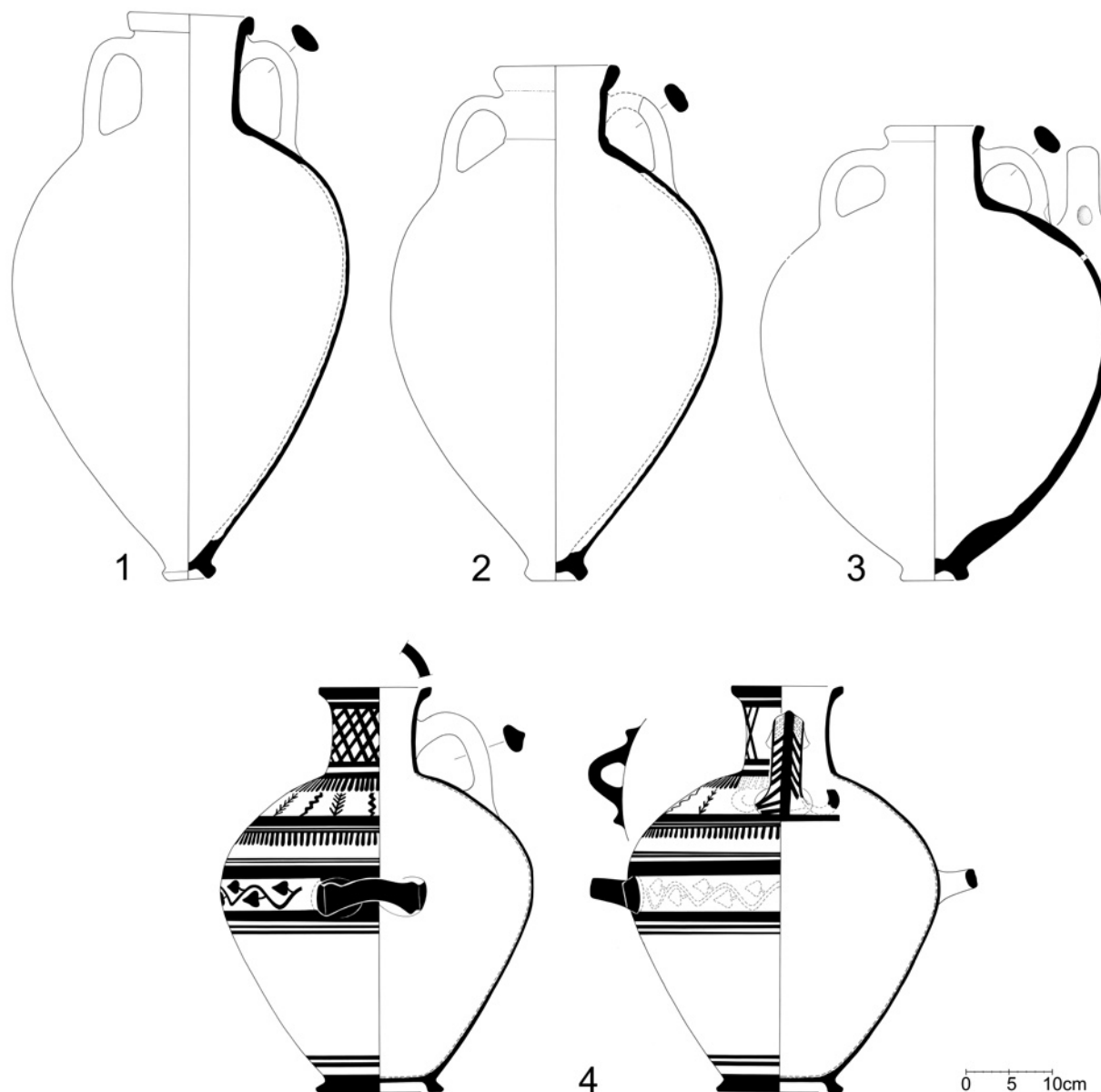


Figure 25. B700: selected pottery from the storeroom. Drawing D. Faulmann and R. Docsan

Plates, while apparent in Archaic deposits on the mainland, are not found in significant quantities until the late 5th century<sup>85</sup> and seem to be even rarer on Archaic Crete.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps skyphoi, which are numerous at Azoria and found side by side with cups (especially the high-necked variety),<sup>87</sup> did not serve exclusively or even primarily as drinking vessels, but rather were used for food.<sup>88</sup> The hydria illustrated here (Fig. 25:4) is elaborately decorated with several registers between the rim and handle

85. Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora XII*, p. 144) suggest that prior to the late 5th century B.C. plates must have largely been made of wood.

86. Plates are essentially absent from Erickson's extensive studies (2000, 2002, 2004, 2005) of pottery from Late

Archaic and Classical Crete. At Knossos they do not appear until the late 5th century B.C. (Coldstream and Eiring 2001, p. 82).

87. See Fig. 14, above, for an illustration of several skyphoi from A1600 in the *andreion* complex.

88. A skyphos would be a particularly appropriate receptacle for the sorts of stewed food likely to have been prepared in chytrai, the most common cooking vessels at Archaic Azoria.

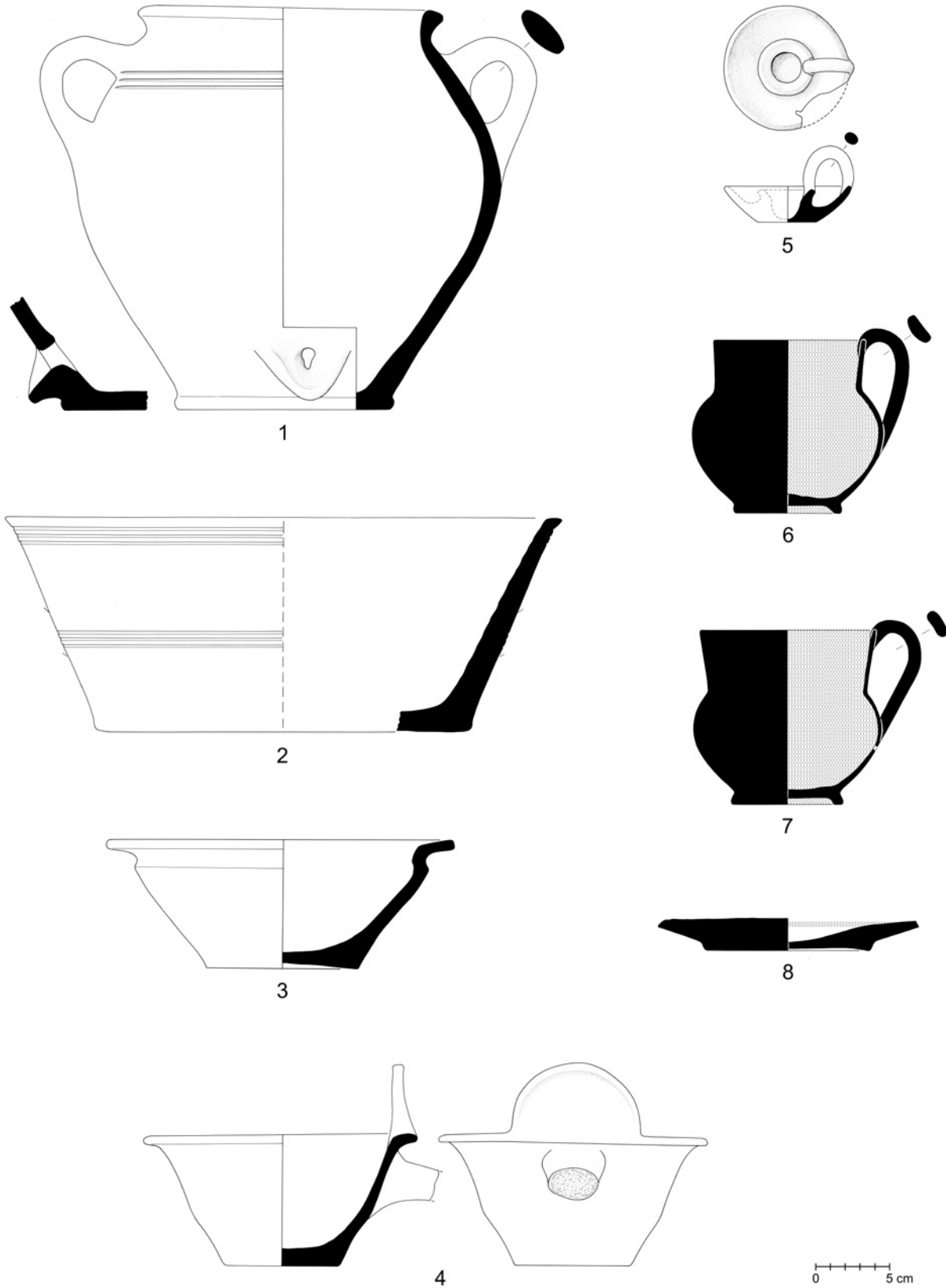


Figure 26. B700: Selected pottery from the storeroom. Drawing D. Faulmann



Figure 27. B700 and B1500: selected pottery. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

zone, each separated by bands; the handle is decorated with chevrons. Painted designs include crosshatching on the neck,<sup>89</sup> pendent tongues on the shoulder at the juncture with the neck, above alternating vertical wavy lines and schematic trees, followed by a register of pendent tongues, and an ivy chain in the zone of the belly handles. The transport amphorae appear to be imported from southern Ionia, with some links to those produced in Samos and Miletos.<sup>90</sup> Concentrations of pithos fragments were found along the north and east walls, in some cases with their bases in situ, sitting directly on the stone stands or slightly askew.

Given the size of the room, the relatively abundant plant food remains, and the large number of pithoi and pithos stands, we can surmise that the space served primarily as a storeroom supplying the neighboring kitchen in B1500, which is accessible through a doorway in the northeast corner of the room. A door pivot, constructed of three stones, is located in B700 at the east end of the north wall (Figs. 23, 28).

89. A fragmentary hydria from well H by the Royal Road at Knossos has a similarly decorated neck and comes from a deposit dated to ca. 500–480 B.C. (Coldstream 1973, pp. 48–49, no. 8, pl. 18:8).

90. We thank Alan Johnston for this identification (pers. comm.). He does not think that these are mainstream Samian or Milesian amphorae.

All have a micaceous fabric. Parallels for the shape shown in Fig. 25:1 can be found in Zeest's Samian type, dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C., and Protothasian type, dated from the end of the 6th century through the first quarter of the 5th (Cook and Dupont 2003, p. 178, fig. 23:10–12a–g). The amphora illustrated in Fig. 25:2, with its offset ridge at the neck, appears to

fall within Lawall's Samos-Miletos group, probably the S/1 type dated down to 480 B.C. (Lawall 1995, pp. 176–191, fig. 77). The third amphora (Fig. 25:3) falls within Zeest's Thasian Circle group, type A, current during the first quarter of the 5th century (Cook and Dupont 2003, pp. 186–190, fig. 23:13a).





Figure 28. B1500: kitchen with hearth and pithos stands. Photo D. C. Haggis

The room in B1500 is ca. 22 m<sup>2</sup> in area (ca. 4.30 × 5.00 m) and has a stone bench in the southwest corner and a well-built hearth off-center in the middle of the room (Figs. 23, 28). The hearth is square in shape, constructed of schist stones, and lined with phyllite clay on the bottom; a small opening in the northeast corner is supported by a flat limestone paver that extends outside the hearth. This stone probably facilitated sweeping the ash and debris from the hearth during periodic cleanings. Flat stones functioning as pithos stands were found lying around the room, especially near the north and east walls. Two pavers immediately north and south of the hearth probably served as post supports.

The floor deposit produced a number of interesting finds (Fig. 27). During excavation several pithos scatters were identified, representing about nine vessels: one along the south wall, one in the center of the room north of the hearth, and two concentrations of sherds along the east wall. These pithoi are decorated with an array of motifs, many of which continue an Orientalizing tradition. On the two pithoi illustrated (Fig. 29:9, 10), motifs include eight-petal rosettes, elaborate horizontal guilloche patterns, stylized cables, and centaurs. The stylized cable is also found on a low cylindrical stand (Fig. 29:8). In addition to the pithoi, the remains of over 80 vessels for storage, food preparation, cooking, and dining were found in this room. Standing upright in the hearth itself was a terracotta strainer (Figs. 27, center; 29:7), similar to the vessel found in A2100, and, next to it, outside the hearth, a flat-bottom cooking pot (Fig. 29:6). Fragments from several chytrai were found scattered across the room. Other food preparation vessels include at least 10 lekanes in a vast array of sizes (Figs. 27, center; 29:2–5), a vat with a spout near the base, several mortars (Fig. 29:1), some rather small, a scoop, a bowl, and a strainer. Jars and jugs were present, along with six transport amphoras and a plain, large lekythos of the so-called Samian type (Fig. 30:2).<sup>91</sup>

91. We thank Alan Johnston for the identification of the lekythos. For a smaller example, see Cook and Dupont 2003, pp. 132–134, fig. 19:1a. For similar lekythoi and discussion of the type, see Gómez Bellard 1986, pp. 44–45, 51–54, esp. figs. 1, 4:3, 4; Costa Ribas and Gómez Bellard 1987, pp. 36–39; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, pp. 81–82, fig. 79:1. Gómez Bellard (1986) suggests that the so-called Samian lekythos was derived from the Levantine decanter and was quickly adopted in East Greece.

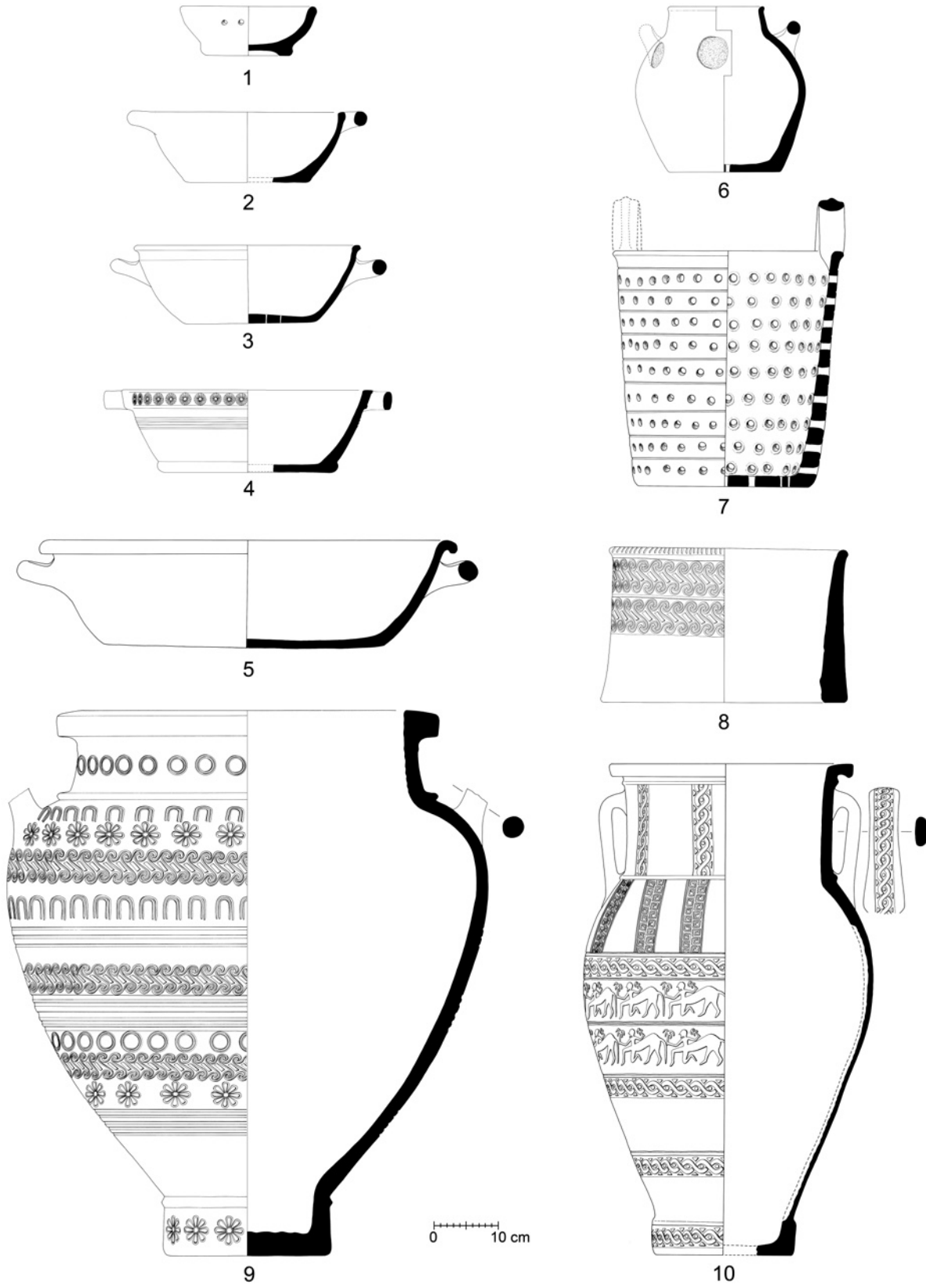


Figure 29 (*opposite*). B1500: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing D. Faulmann and R. Docsan

Numerous fine closed vessels were also recovered, including an exaleiptron that is monochrome-coated, except for a foliate band around the rim (Fig. 30:4). An Attic black-figure cylinder lekythos is decorated with a scene that includes a horse(?), a branch, and two male(?) figures, one of whom is draped and standing (Fig. 30:1). This lekythos appears to belong to the early-5th-century Class of Athens 581 workshop.<sup>92</sup> Other pouring vessels include several matt-black footless olpes (Fig. 30:3), two juglets (Fig. 30:5), and at least eight hydrias. Among the fine open vessels are numerous high-necked cups, a kantharos, a skyphos with metopal panels of vertical strokes and concentric circles, and an Attic-type black-gloss skyphos (Fig. 31:4). The Atticizing skyphos is coated inside and out and has two fine lines in added red placed immediately below the handles, and another red line on the lower wall. It belongs to the Attic type A class and should date to ca. 500 B.C.<sup>93</sup>

Three Attic-type black-figure skyphoi were recovered in varying degrees of preservation (Fig. 31:1–3). The most complete is decorated on both sides with a central maenad who moves to the right but looks back to the left, a palmette with a solid heart near each handle, branches in the field, and a broad ground line on which the figures stand (Figs. 27, lower left; 31:1).<sup>94</sup> Skyphoi of this type are numerous in the Athenian Agora and date to the first quarter of the 5th century.<sup>95</sup> The other two black-figure skyphoi belong to the same general class and are also Attic imports, but they preserve only the rim with parts of two upright palmettes in one case (Fig. 31:2) and part of one upright palmette and a branch in the other (Fig. 31:3). The former is inscribed with the letters KOTO on the rim.<sup>96</sup> This could be a personal name or reference to a kothon, the term for a drinking cup, which Sparkes and Talcott, relying on references in Athenaeus and others, suggest is used for a wide range of shapes from the Lakonian cup with incurving rim (most appropriate for an active soldier) to more general varieties in Athens.<sup>97</sup> Our inscribed skyphos may be a cup or mug of a soldier, but is not particularly of the Lakonian type. Additionally, there were four kraters here, including a nearly complete monochrome-coated vessel with vertical double-roll handles (Fig. 31:5).

Other finds included 23 stone tools, a number of stone and terracotta lids, a terracotta bull figurine, a bronze balance pan (Fig. 32:1), an iron ring, beads of clay and calcite, an iron obelos fragment (Fig. 10:3),<sup>98</sup>

92. See *Agora* XXIII, pp. 46–47, nos. 887–1124, pls. 80–85.

93. The red lines below the handles are a feature that was abandoned by 480; *Agora* XII, p. 84. For a close parallel, see p. 259, no. 336, fig. 4, pl. 16.

94. There are two small holes drilled after firing into the rim on one side and a third preserved on the opposite side of the rim (adjacent to a missing section, so a pair may have existed). Their purpose is enigmatic, as they are too few to have functioned as effective holes for mending.

95. See *Agora* XXIII, pp. 60–61, where discussion suggests that this skyphos belongs to the Haemonian Group (probably Ure's Class K 2), mostly dated ca. 490–480 (see pp. 282–283, nos. 1504–1516, pls. 102, 103).

96. For discussion of the fragmentary inscription, see Appendix 2, below.

97. *Agora* XII, p. 70.

98. The obelos is a socketed type similar to examples from A1100, A1900, and B2200/2300; for iron obeloi in a mid-6th-century kitchen context at Sardis, see Cahill 2002, p. 180.



Figure 30. B1500: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing R. Docsan and D. Faulmann

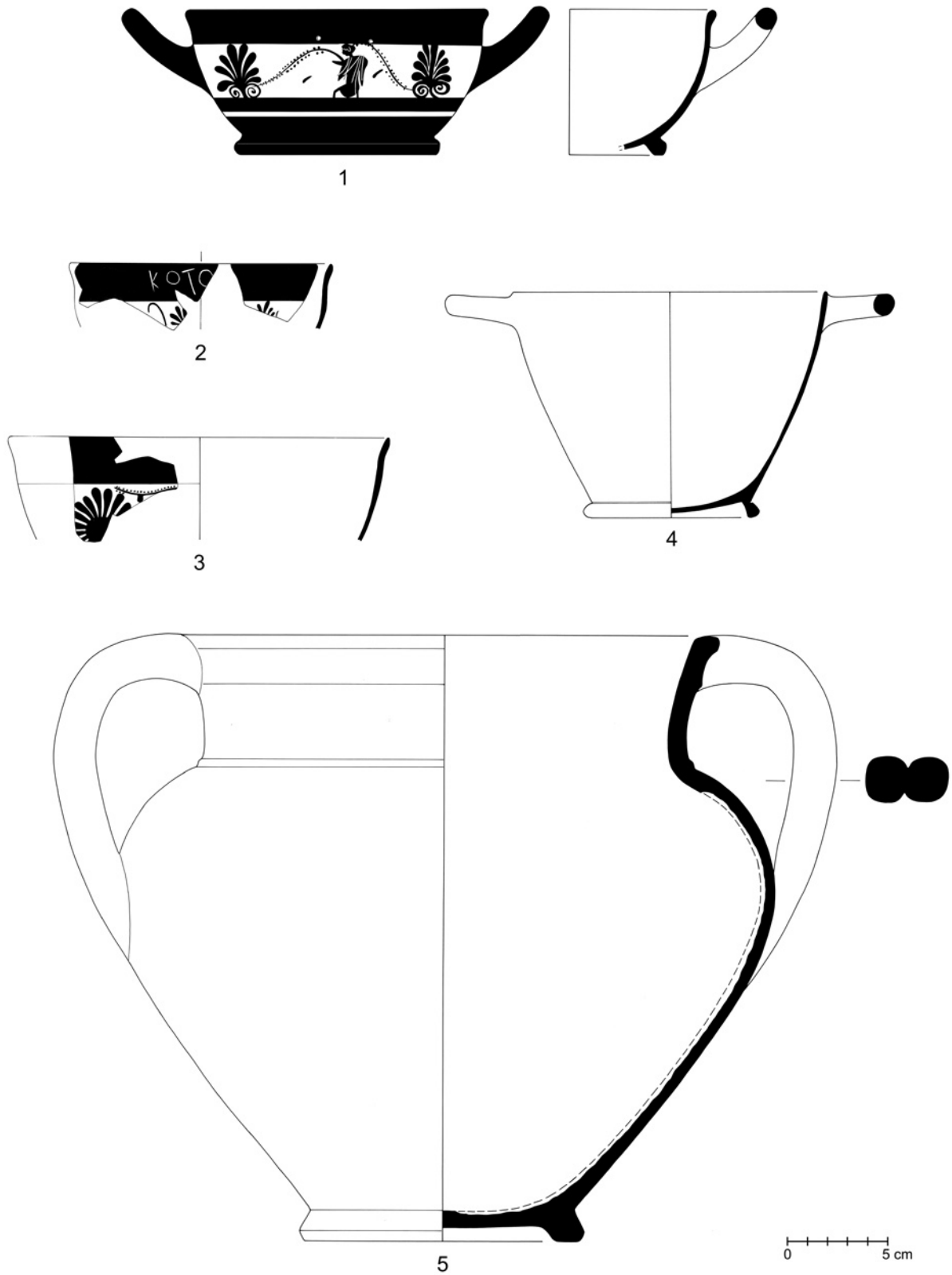


Figure 31. B1500: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing R. Docsan and D. Faulmann

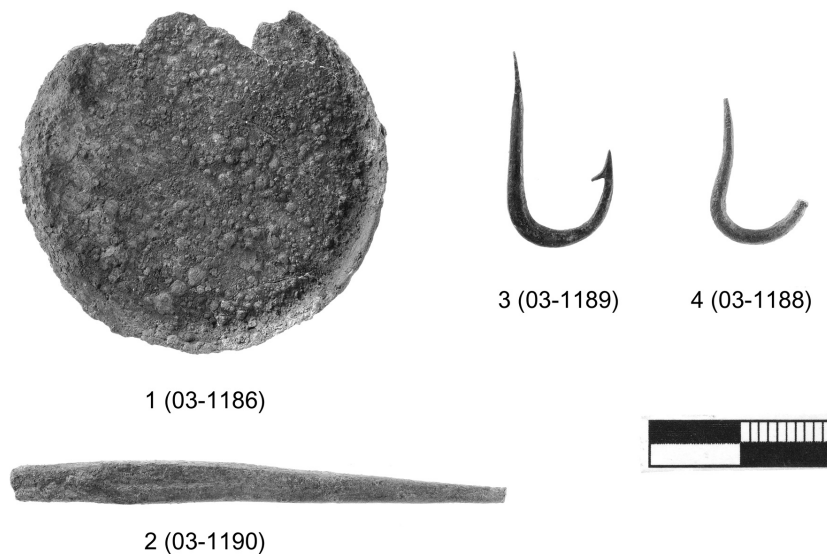


Figure 32. B1500: bronze objects.  
Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

and bronze and iron nails.<sup>99</sup> Two bronze fish hooks were also recovered (Fig. 32:3, 4).<sup>100</sup> The better-preserved example has a single barb, and the shaft is flattened and notched for fastening fishing line. While contemporary parallels are known from Emporio and Perachora, the variety is typical for the Classical period.<sup>101</sup> Among the objects associated with textile production is a fragment of a bronze awl or bodkin (Fig. 32:2) that has a flattened square section near the eye, becoming round at the point.<sup>102</sup> Loomweights from the floor deposit are truncated pyramidal types (Fig. 33:1, 2) similar to those found earlier on the west slope.<sup>103</sup> Spindle whorls are biconical (or lentoid) (Fig. 33:3–5), spherical (Fig. 33:6–8), and discoid (Fig. 33:9). The decorated varieties have single incisions, or sets of two, three, or four vertical grooves.<sup>104</sup>

The room's primary function as a kitchen is indicated by the large central hearth as well as the full complement of processing, storage, and serving vessels in the floor deposit. A wide variety of stone tools, mortars, and cooking pots as well as basins, bowls, and lekanes suggest the final

99. For bronze and iron nails from Kommos, see Shaw 2000a, pp. 373–380.

100. Iron fragments and implements comprise the majority of metals at Azoria (72%), while bronze finds are nevertheless plentiful, making up about 26% of total metals recovered; silver and gold are significantly rarer (2%). Erickson's (2005, pp. 627, 646) reiteration of the now codified argument of Cretan isolation from copper sources ca. 600 B.C. finds traditional support in the apparent disappearance of elaborate Orientalizing bronzework in sanctuaries and burials. His assumption (2005, p. 627, n. 79) that the reliance on local sources of iron at Azoria reflects an

economic response to a paucity of available bronze, however, amounts to negative argumentation based on contexts that are not wholly comparable. Given the extensive and ever-increasing use of iron technology throughout the Early Iron Age, indeed in the very classes of objects (primarily weapons and tools) recovered at Azoria, the argument needs revision; see examples in Gesell, Day and Coulson 1995, pp. 74–91; Snodgrass 1996. While the relative paucity of bronze objects at the site may in fact have more to do with abandonment-phase formation processes, Erickson's argument conflates the economic processes of production and distribution with the social

processes of consumption.

101. Boardman 1967, p. 226, fig. 147:395–396, pl. 93 (Emporio); Payne 1940, p. 182, pl. 80:6 (Perachora); Robinson 1941, pp. 365–374 (Classical period examples).

102. Although few examples of similar date have been found (cf. Boardman 1961, p. 35, fig. 15:153), such tools are common in domestic contexts at Olynthos; see Robinson 1941, pp. 361–364.

103. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 371–372, fig. 24.

104. For Orientalizing and Archaic whorls, see Boardman 1967, pp. 234–235; Callaghan 1978, p. 1; Dabney 2000b.

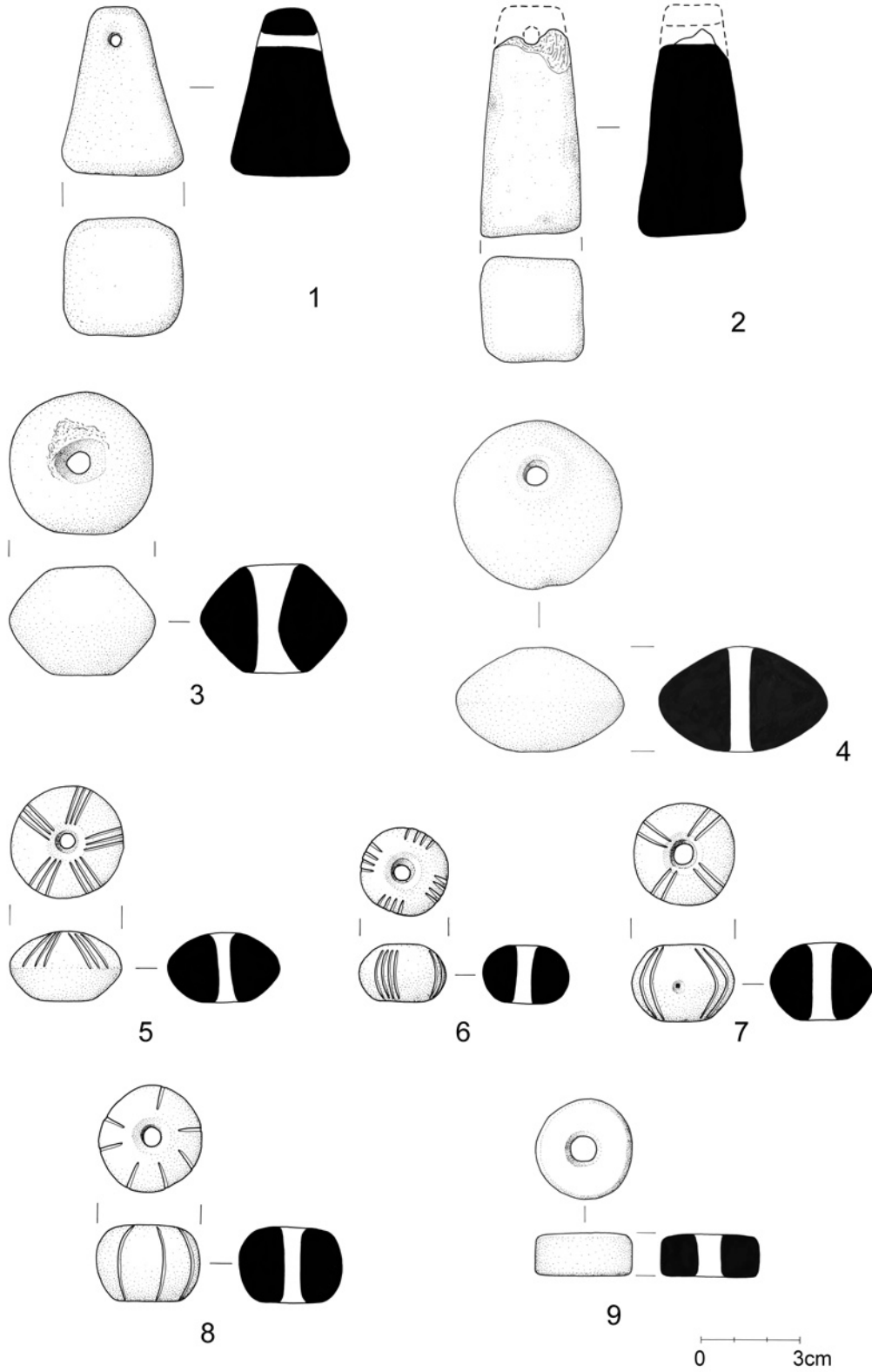


Figure 33. B1500: terracotta loom-weights and spindle whorls. Drawing D. Faulmann

stages of preparation and serving of food. Botanical remains from the room include abundant grape pips and skins, olive pits, grain (wheat and barley), pulses (including broad beans), almonds, figs, and pistachios. The presence of other objects such as the spouted vat, strainer, and implements for textile production could indicate temporary storage of equipment for use in nearby or adjoining buildings, lateral cycling or caching of objects before abandonment, or simply multifunctional space.

A doorway through the north wall of B1500 (narrowed in its final phase) leads up a well-built staircase of three risers onto a paved landing in B2200/2300 (Fig. 23). This is an oddly shaped room ca. 7.30 m long, 5 m wide on the south, narrowing to 2.5 m on the north. The room's east wall curves northwest with the contours of the hill and spine wall, creating the narrowed northern end. Like its neighboring room to the south, B2200/2300 appears to be another food-processing area, a kitchen with a large rectangular stone-lined hearth in the center (1.20 × 0.70 m, internal dimensions). A bin built of stone is situated in the southeast corner, just east of the doorway, and a series of pithos stands and a low clay and stone bench (ca. 1.00 × 0.50 m) were positioned along the east wall. On the northeast side of the room next to the bench is a small stump of bedrock, hewn on the sides and worked on the top to form a flat surface, perhaps forming a work platform. Along the north side of the room, where the space narrows with the curved wall, a line of worked bedrock forms a step, retaining the floor packing and clay surface of a raised floor, ca. 1.30 m wide on the east and 0.70 m on the west. In the center of the line of bedrock that forms the riser to the elevated floor is a well-worked round stone pillar support.

A fragmentary pithos and part of a transport amphora were in the bin in the southeast corner of the room, immediately east of the doorway to B1500. A pithos base was found in situ on a stand near the east wall. The amphora fragments consist of the neck, handles, and shoulder, while the lower body and base were recovered in the adjoining room B1500 to the south. Other pottery from the room included a chytra, two lekane, one an unusual shape with hornlike projections on the rim and open vertical handles (Fig. 34:1),<sup>105</sup> a mortar with an impressed foliate band on the rim (Fig. 34:2),<sup>106</sup> and at least four high-necked cups. Food remains from the room include almond, grape, olive, cereal, and pulse. Among the other finds are an iron ring, an iron obelos socket (Fig. 10:4), a quern, two whetstones, two schist pot lids, a large lekane, a bar-handled kalathos, and a number of pitted and abraded pebbles and pieces of pumice.

As in B1500, B2200/2300 yielded a number of implements used in textile production, including loomweights, spindle whorls, and 16 perforated metacarpals and metatarsals from the lower leg bones of sheep or goat, which may have functioned as bobbins (not unlike traditional Cretan *gaitania*), implements probably used in braiding straps or decorations for textiles (Fig. 35).<sup>107</sup> The whorls, weights, and bobbins were found clustered along the south side of the room, several very near the south wall both east and west of the doorway into B1500. This concentration of weaving implements suggests the presence of a loom (either stored or used), north of the doorway where fragments of burned wood were found as well.

105. This lekane is similar in its open handles to the one from A1600 (Fig. 14:9). These types of handles are unusual. Perhaps they reflect a special serving function that would necessitate the use of such handles for presentation.

106. Both the mortar and the handled lekane are made of fabrics rich in granodiorite inclusions; for discussion of this fabric, see above and n. 83.

107. The authors thank Maria Kyriakaki for this attribution, derived from an ethnographic example from the village of Kroustas.



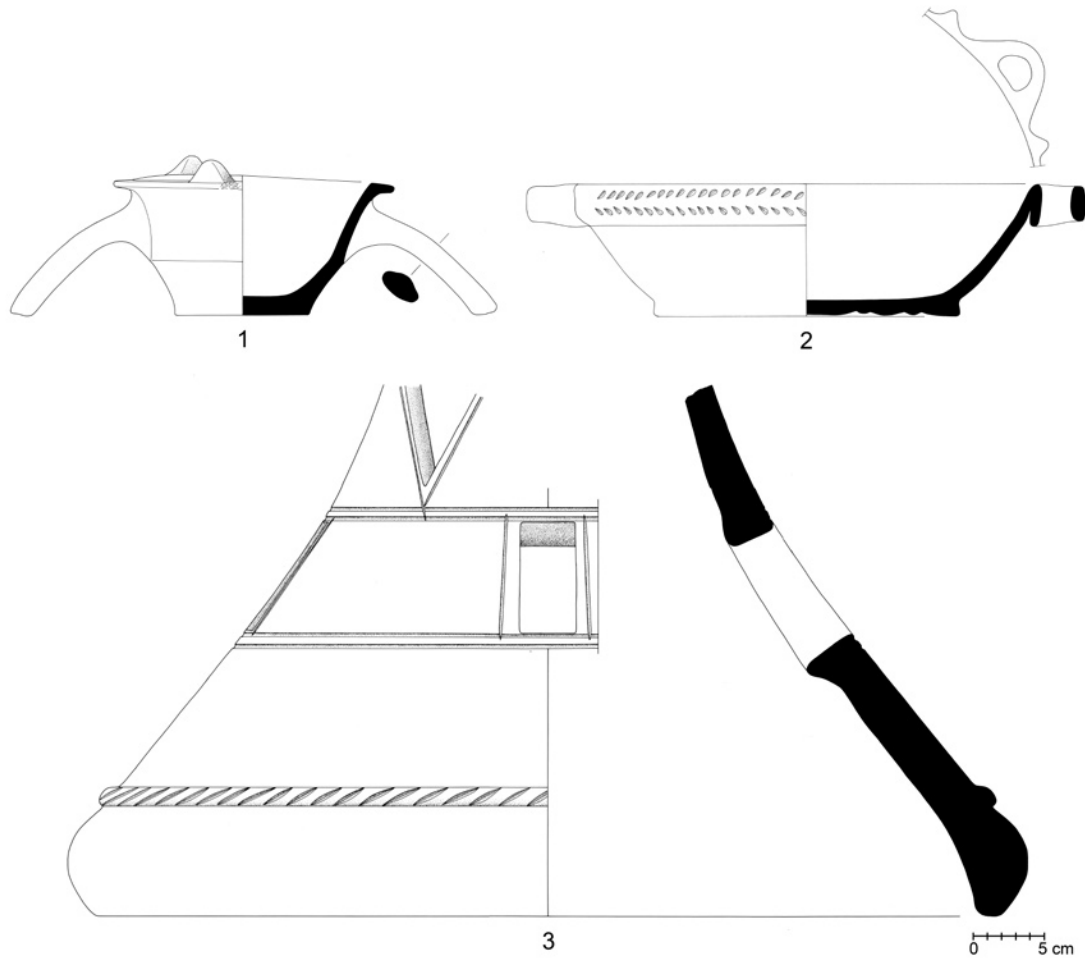


Figure 34. B2200/2300: selected pottery from the kitchen. Drawing R. Docsan

108. While an iron “cheese grater” was recovered in a kitchen assemblage of the mid-6th-century Southern House at Sardis (Cahill 2002, p. 180), published examples come from primarily 5th- and 4th-century B.C. contexts; see Payne 1940, p. 182, pl. 81:11; Robinson 1941, pp. 191–193, pls. XLVIII:600–604, XLIX:605–608.

109. Ridgway 1997, p. 326; West 1998, p. 191; Curtis 2001, pp. 315–316.

110. Ridgway 1997; Curtis 2001, p. 315; Antonaccio 2002, p. 22.

Other modified bone included a goat horn core that had been abraded or intentionally beveled at the end, and a cow metatarsal with a vertical hole drilled through the entire length of the bone, a socket at the proximal end, and a hollow at the distal end.

Lying above the central hearth were fragments of an iron grater and a bronze nail. The grater has regular punch marks on the surface resulting in rows of jagged-edged protrusions on the opposite side (Fig. 36). Like Early Iron Age, Archaic, and Classical examples made out of both bronze and iron, the piece from Azoria seems to have been created using a square punch.<sup>108</sup> The grater is, of course, not an unusual piece of kitchen equipment, with potentially diverse functions,<sup>109</sup> but the normal identification as a cheese grater, or *tyroknestin* (Ath. 4.169), might allow us to associate the implement with the social rituals of feasting. Driven as much by the Homeric reference to the bronze *knestin* used to add goat’s cheese to the *kykeon* (*Il.* 11.638–640) as by the archaeological evidence from elite burials at both 9th-century Lefkandi and 7th-century Italy,<sup>110</sup> the cheese grater is usually thought to be an important item among the Iron Age warrior’s personal property, and, by extension, at aristocratic banquets of the 7th century B.C.



Figure 35. B2200/2300: bone bobbins.  
Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

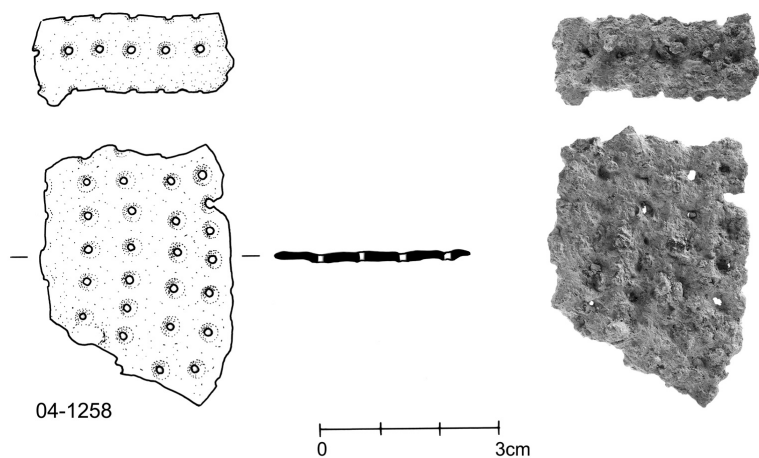


Figure 36. B2200/2300: iron grater.  
Drawing D. Faulmann; photo C. Papanikolopoulos

Next to the table cut into bedrock on the north side of the room were several joining fragments of an enormous fenestrated terracotta stand (Fig. 34:3). Pieces of the stand were also found in the southwest corner of the trench, fallen over the southern end of the west wall of the room. The stand, probably for a krater or dinos, has a larger base diameter than the examples from the *andreion* (Fig. 9); indeed, it is the largest fenestrated stand so far recovered at the site.

Another interesting find from an Archaic deposit just outside the kitchen's northwest corner is a fragment of the rim of a large lekane with a thickened square rim and horizontal rib on the exterior (Fig. 37). The top of the rim is inscribed with a complete graffito ΤΙΜΑΣ evidently in

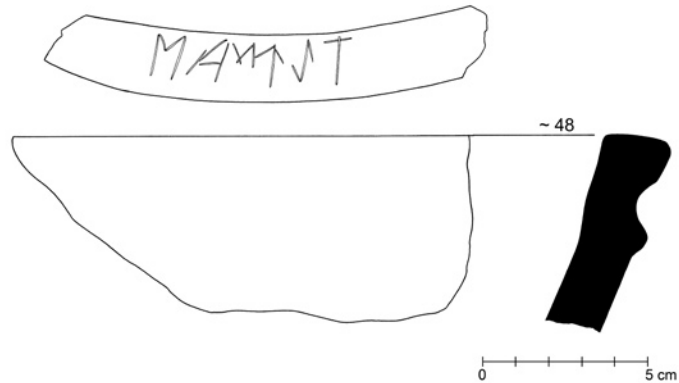


Figure 37. B2200/2300: inscribed lekane rim. Drawing R. Docsan



Figure 38. B2300: *podanipter* base. Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

sinistrograde, facing outward on the pot.<sup>111</sup> The word is conceivably a proper name, or perhaps the genitive either giving an owner's name or literally meaning "of honor."<sup>112</sup>

On the west side of the room, a fragment of a bronze tripod stand was recovered (Fig. 38), preserving part of an L-shaped base ring and one leg in the form of a lion's paw. An aperture in the ring above the leg may have been a fitting or socket for an attached bowl. The exterior of the base ring (ca. 30 cm in diameter) has a row of incised pendent arcaded tongues below a band of convex moldings. These moldings flank a pattern of incised pendent tongues decorating a zone on the top register of the ring, above the leg. Below the ring and above the leg is a narrow transitional element, consisting of a register with a row of incised chevrons between two bands of circles, bordered by shallow horizontal incised lines. On the top of the leg is a series of four incised arcaded tongues. The leg is hollow, terminating on its underside in a prominent dew claw. The foot, which rests on a low plinth, has four toes, the two in the center with modeled toe-joints

111. For a discussion of the inscription, see Appendix 2. On the question of public literacy in Archaic Crete, see Whitley 1997; 1998; Perlman 2004b.

112. While the genitive could indicate an owner's name, the graffito might also be taken literally to mean "of honor," i.e., the portion of whatever

the lekane was meant to contain, set aside for or assigned to an individual or individuals to be honored at the feast (A. Chaniotis, pers. comm.).

and hints of the claws, the two on the sides schematically delineated and fused with the leg.

Fragments of such low bronze tripod stands with lion's-paw feet are found in sanctuaries such as Perachora, the Argive Heraion, and Olympia,<sup>113</sup> but on the whole they seem to be rare in Greece outside of the Peloponnese.<sup>114</sup> Comparable examples, closest in size and form to the Azoria stand, come from Olympia, where Gauer's large "Dreifußringuntersätze" category (20–35 cm in diameter) includes pieces with a similar treatment of the foot and patterns of molding and incision on the base ring.<sup>115</sup>

While there has been considerable speculation on the kind of vessel supported by such stands (e.g., *dinoi*, *thymiateria*, *kothons*, trays, and dishes) and their potentially diverse functions,<sup>116</sup> the Azoria type is generally thought to have supported a wide, shallow, two-handled bowl, or *podanipter* (a so-called footbath). The examples from Olympia, cited above, have been nominally classified by Gauer as "die Becken und Untersätze der Trebenishte-Klasse,"<sup>117</sup> a term that emphasizes the findspot of the best-preserved examples of the type, the wealthy late-6th-century B.C. necropolis near Trebenishte in the modern Republic of Macedonia.<sup>118</sup> All seven of the elite warrior graves from the original excavation contained assemblages of imported prestige goods—weapons and banqueting equipment—from Athenian, Corinthian, and Lakonian workshops, including bronze bowls supported by tripods, the so-called *podanipter*. Indeed the best parallel for the Azoria stand is from Tomb I at Trebenishte.<sup>119</sup> Even though the Trebenishte piece has an added element of a band of circles separating the two rows of incised tongues on the base ring above the leg (an embellishment omitted on the Azoria example), the two stands are identical in size and surface treatment: the stand in Trebenishte Tomb I has the same register with bands of circles and chevrons, incised pendent tongues on the upper leg, and a paw with simplified claws on a shallow plinth. Along with the examples from Olympia, Trebenishte, and various sites in Magna Graecia, the Azoria stand is presumably a late-6th or early-5th-century B.C. Corinthian import.<sup>120</sup> The presence of the Corinthian vessel at Azoria

113. Payne 1940, pp. 165–166, pls. 70–71 (Perachora); Waldstein 1905, p. 296 (Argive Heraion); Furtwängler 1890, p. 136, pl. 51:853; Gauer 1991, pp. 76–79 (Olympia); Conrad Stibbe (pers. comm.) mentions two unpublished examples from the Apollo Hyperteleatas sanctuary at Phoiniki.

114. Examples are known from Athens and Dodona; see the discussion in Payne 1940, p. 166; Milne 1944, pp. 40–49. Only one example, from the Idaean cave, is known on Crete (Halbherr 1888), but this is a much smaller and different class of vessel than the Azoria piece.

115. Gauer 1991, pp. 76–77.

116. See the discussion in Furtwän-

gler 1890, p. 136; Payne 1940, pp. 165–166, pls. 70, 71.

117. Gauer 1991, p. 79.

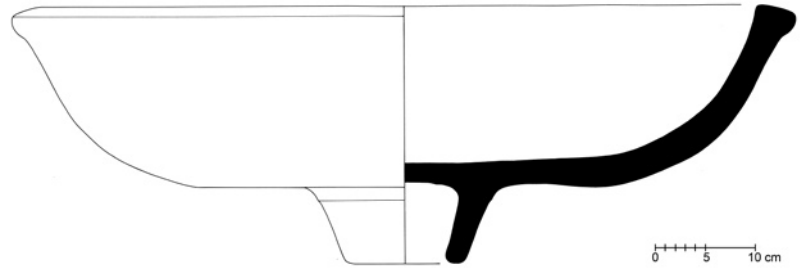
118. Filow 1927, esp. pp. 68–76; recently Stibbe (2003) has provided a detailed critical summary of the Trebenishte excavations and tomb contents, as well as a discussion of imports; he also illustrates an example of a bronze tripod *podanipter* from Novi Pazar (pp. 128–132, fig. 92), north of Trebenishte.

119. Filow 1927, pp. 70, 72, figs. 83, 84.

120. For the Corinthian attribution, see Gauer 1991, p. 79. For *bacini-podanipteres* from Magna Graecia, see also Tarditi 1996, pp. 23–39, and 127

for a discussion of origin. Stibbe (2000, pp. 57–102; 2003, pp. 71–72) does not include the footbaths in his detailed stylistic analysis of Corinthian imports at Trebenishte, considering the metopal panels separated by bands of circles on stands 83–85 (Filow 1927, pp. 70–72) to be a variant of the Lakonian "metopes between diagonally hatched bands" (cf. Stibbe 2000, pp. 78–81); this pattern is also, however, an archaizing characteristic of late-6th-century Corinthian products (C. Stibbe, pers. comm.). On problems in defining Corinthian products in the second half of the 6th century B.C., see Stibbe 2000, pp. 99–101.

Figure 39. D400: mortar or basin.  
Drawing R. Docsan



might help to support Erickson's recent argument for a Late Archaic Crete-Peloponnesian connection, although the site is situated outside of his West Cretan trade network.<sup>121</sup>

Archaic *podanipteres* were used for bathing or lustration before a sacrifice or banquet.<sup>122</sup> Commonly found in sanctuaries, the vessels could have been offered at the conclusion of a ritual or as a personal item or prestige object appropriate as a votive. The attributed function is for washing before occasions of private, public, or ritual dining. This makes the *podanipter* an accoutrement of the banquet hall as well as an element of elite display within the sanctuary. Ultimately it formed part of the necessary sympotic equipment of aristocratic burials in the Balkans and Magna Graecia. To consider the meaning of its context at Azoria, we need to turn to the buildings further north on the southwest terrace.

Immediately north of the kitchen in B2200/2300 is a small narrow room of uncertain size and access (Fig. 1, D400). The clay floor surface is preserved across an area of ca. 2.5 m north-south × 2.0 m east-west. The surface is intact along the east wall for a distance of 2.5 m until a wall running parallel to the spine wall intrudes into the room on the northeast, forming the northern edge of a stone-built bin. The western and northern edges of the floor are eroded, leaving the floor packing underneath as well as the top extant course of a LM IIIC wall exposed. The room's northern and western walls were likely to have been removed or displaced during a renovation of the slope in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C. when the northern extension of the so-called Service Building (the industrial building in D300) was established. The construction of D300 involved cutting into the terrace, intruding on the space of D400, and filling in the slope to the east with a deep deposit of cobbles and gravel. D400 was probably abandoned during this operation, and the northern and western walls of the room were pulled down into the terrace fill. Furthermore, in a contemporary or later phase of renovation in B2200/2300, the size of the kitchen was expanded, resetting the north wall into the space of D400.

This small room in D400 contained a number of interesting finds, including two querns and other ground stone tools, a coarseware jar, a large coarseware basin or mortar with a conical base or pivot (Fig. 39), a fine Late Orientalizing skyphos, and a large Geometric krater. The large basin or mortar with conical base must have been used while placed on a support or stand, since its base is not broad enough to provide a stable resting surface for such a wide vessel. Representations on Archaic and Classical vase paintings, as well as terracotta figurines, of mortars used for hulling grain

121. Erickson (2005, esp. pp. 634–636) discusses the evidence for Peloponnesian influence, including bronze working; cf. Boardman 1961, p. 148.

122. The various possible functions of *podanipteres* have been explored at length by Milne (1944), who draws extensively on literary and iconographic sources, and discussed by Tarditi (1996, pp. 126–127).

and pounding other foodstuffs suggest that this vessel might be identified as such a mortar, the *holmos*.<sup>123</sup> While most illustrations show a distinctly deep bowl on a conical support or stand, some scenes depict a markedly shallower vessel not dissimilar to the one from D400.<sup>124</sup> Alternatively, the Azoria piece may have functioned as a kneading table of the sort represented as a broad basin atop a columnar support or stand in vase paintings and terracotta figurines.<sup>125</sup> Either function would be an appropriate activity to be undertaken in this area of the complex. The space appears to have been a storeroom related to the food processing areas to the south in B1500 and B2200/2300.

### THE SERVICE BUILDING: INDUSTRIAL AREA (D300)

Two rooms were recovered in D300 (Fig. 1) that suggest industrial functions. Even though these rooms represent a northern continuation of the complex forming the Service Building, determination of their formal relationship to the other buildings on the southwest terrace requires further excavation. The rooms are evidently related to the kitchens and storerooms to the south because of their orientation and proximity, but we have not yet completed excavation of the rooms nor excavated south of D300, which is necessary to establish the architectural transition to B2200/2300. One room is a small, square, paved area (ca. 2.50 m<sup>2</sup>) with a bench in the northeast corner and a small stone press bed, built into the southeast corner of the room and resting on a small platform ca. 0.50 m above the floor. The press bed is square (ca. 34 cm, internal length and width), built of a pinkish porous limestone with a worked square rim, and a pecked and smoothed interior bottom surface, 3 cm deep. There is a 1-cm-wide groove cut to form a spout in its northwest corner.

Embedded in the floor directly below the spout was a worn and fragmentary base of a small terracotta jar with a regular hole piercing the wall about 3 cm above the base, apparently the remains of a vessel used for oil separation. The pot is similar to the whole example found on the floor of the storeroom in B700 (Figs. 26:1; 27, middle left).<sup>126</sup> Although the press bed is somewhat smaller than contemporary Archaic examples of the type, given its form and the presence of separation vessels below the press and in the nearby B700, it is likely that it was used for olive-oil processing.<sup>127</sup> A small doorway (ca. 0.80 wide) with a door pivot was exposed in the north

123. The term *holmos* here indicates a trough or mortar, not a *krater* or *dinos* stand. See Sparkes 1962, pp. 125–126, 134–135. Although Sparkes suggests that these vessels were made of stone or wood with a deep hollow cut into the center of the interior, some imagery suggests that this was not always the case, especially in those examples that are less conical in form. Furthermore, Neils (2004, pp. 60–61, n. 7) notes that on the Attic *stelai* published by Amyx (1958,

pp. 235–239) there may be a reference to a terracotta *holmos*. Certainly the Azoria vessel appears to be sufficiently thick-walled that, when resting on a stable support, it would have withstood the sort of pounding necessary to hull grain with wooden pestles.

124. For deeper bowls, see Sparkes 1962, p. 122, pl. 7:2, center; and Neils 2004, pp. 54, 58, figs. 4:2, 3, 5. Broader, more rounded vessels, with a less conical shape, are illustrated in Sparkes 1965, p. 162, pl. 29:4 and

Neils 2004, p. 59, fig. 4:6.

125. Sparkes 1962, p. 135; 1965, p. 162, pl. 29:2, right, and possibly pl. 30:1.

126. Ceramic oil-separation vessels were used in Late Archaic and Classical contexts, with the best-published comparanda coming from Nicosia and Kition in Cyprus (Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 31–33, 75, fig. 144).

127. For the press-bed type, see Hadjisavvas 1992, pp. 57–59, figs. 100–102.

end of the west wall where presumably the room was entered from a street that ran along the west.

The room with an olive press contained Hellenistic pottery in its last phase of use, and it appears to have been constructed directly on top of the wall collapse and destruction debris of a larger rectangular room, only partially excavated in 2004. The southern exposed area of the room is at least 6.20 m long and 3.20 m wide, and has a well-built doorway, 1.0 m wide, set precisely in the center of the south wall. The door jambs are exactly 1.10 m from each corner. Stones from the collapsed walls were removed, exposing an uneven layer of ceiling debris mixed with tumble. Large pithos fragments recovered at the north end of the room indicate the function of the space as a storage area.

### THE MONUMENTAL CIVIC BUILDING (D500)

Excavation immediately north of the Service Building revealed the foundations of a monumental structure in D500 (Figs. 1, 40). While large boulders were visible before excavation, removal of the top soil and slope-wash debris allowed us to expose the broad outlines of the building. The south wall, which is built up against a deep layer of fill, was traced westward from the southeast corner of the building, where it survives to a maximum preserved height of ca. 2.20 m above the floor level. It continues for a distance of roughly 8 m before it disappears into the unexcavated western edge of the modern terrace. The absence of a wall end or corner on the west indicates that it may continue for some distance in this direction. Based on the evidence from the surface exposure, we estimate an east–west width of 9–10 m. A single test trench (ca. 2.0 × 8.0 m) was excavated at the southern end of the structure, exposing a section of the clay floor, part of the south and east walls, and a series of stone steps lining the interior wall faces (Figs. 40, 41). The northern and western limits of the building have yet to be established. At its eastern end, the south wall forms a neatly constructed corner with the east wall. Although only the southernmost 2 m of the east wall were completely exposed in the sondage, the removal of slope-wash debris and modern terrace fill along the terrace revealed that the wall is preserved for at least 20 m to the north.

The segments of south and east walls exposed in the sondage preserve three distinct types of masonry construction: dolomite boulders, dolomite cobbles, and dark bluish-gray crystalline limestone (*sideropetra*) blocks (Figs. 40, 41). The most impressive masonry dominates the western end of the south wall, which is composed of a series of dolomite boulders, the largest of which is approximately 2.20 m long, 1.3 m high, and 1.10 m wide. Three slightly smaller stones are also visible in the extant remains, while additional boulders can be detected in the unexcavated fill to the west. These boulders span the entire width of the wall (1.10 m), and considerable attention was paid to the interior-facing surfaces of these stones, which were hammer-dressed to present a uniform facade.

The sections of walling between the boulders are composed of well-packed, medium-sized dolomite cobbles (maximum dimension ca. 0.40 m) that were laid to form two faces creating a width of ca. 1.10 m. Smaller

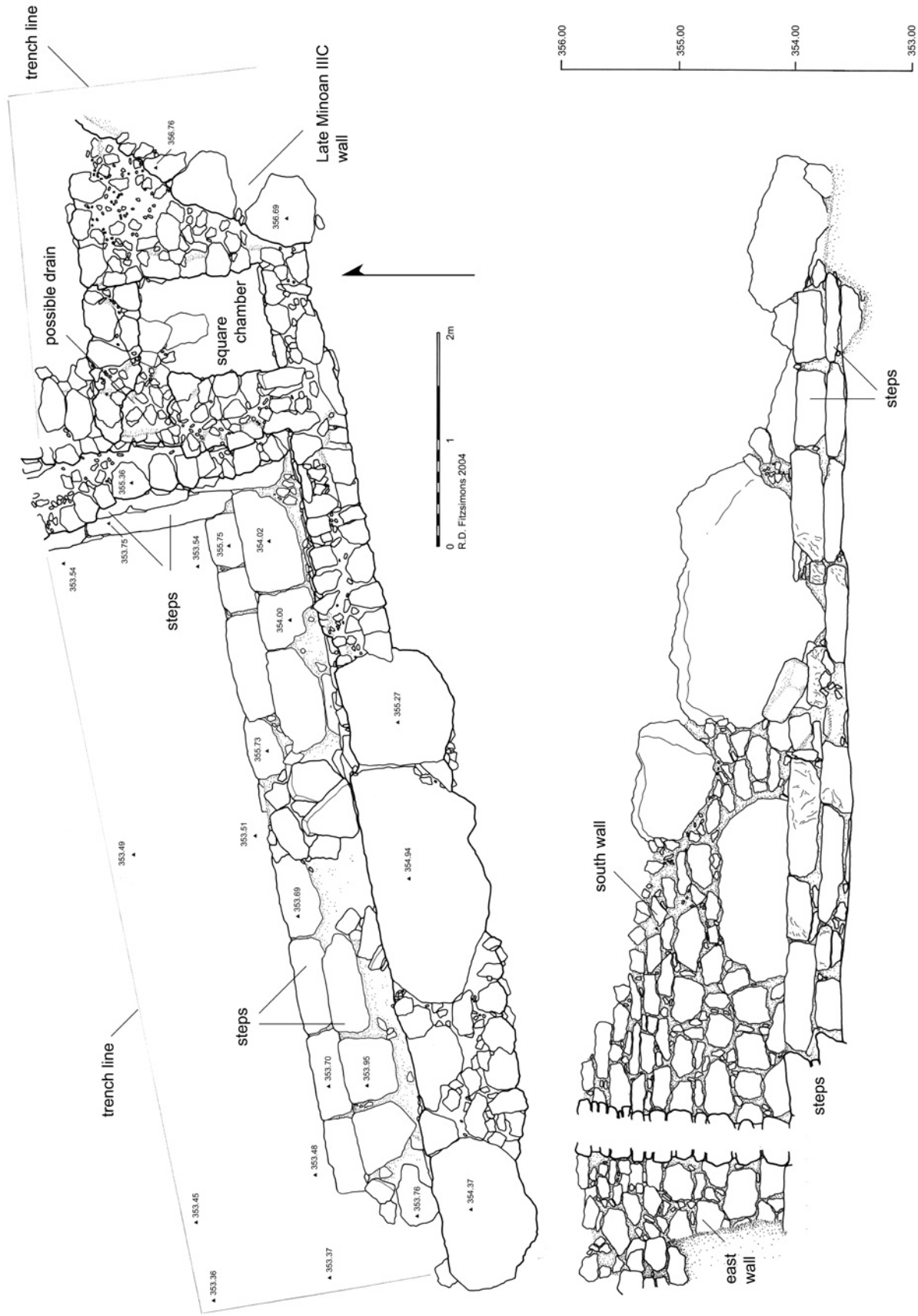


Figure 40. D500: Monumental Civic Building. Plan and section. R. D. Fitzsimons





Figure 41. Interior view of the Monumental Civic Building, from the northwest. Photo M. S. Mook

stones and earth were used both as packing within the wall fabric and to fill the interstices between stones on the faces. A similar style of masonry is evident in the lower reaches of both east and south walls in the southeast corner of the room, where boulders are noticeably absent. Here, medium-sized dolomite cobbles (maximum dimensions ca. 0.50 m in length and 0.30 m in height) are stacked in rough courses. Because the fill behind the walls to the east and south has not been excavated, the width at their foundations cannot yet be determined.

The upper reaches of the walls in the southeastern corner are composed of large *sideropetra* cobbles (maximum dimensions ca. 0.15–0.20 m in height and 0.35–0.50 m in length) of roughly rectangular shape, set to form two distinct faces and a wall width of roughly 0.60 m. Five courses are visible above the level of fill on the south face. The total preserved height of the wall in the southeast corner of the room is ca. 2.50 m. There are no indications of provisions for a roofing system at this level, suggesting that both walls originally rose much higher. This third masonry style, involving the extensive use of *sideropetra* blocks, might well represent a later addition to the original complex, one perhaps built in conjunction with a small rectangular room to the east.

The most interesting feature in the building is the stepped bench that runs along the interior at the base of the walls (Figs. 40, 41). This is composed of large hammer-dressed *sideropetra* blocks set in two superimposed tiers against the interior wall faces. Large schist blocks are sometimes used instead of limestone, but the effect of uniformity is maintained throughout. Individual step blocks measure 0.60–1.0 m in length and are 0.40–0.60 m deep. Each step is ca. 0.28 m high, with negligible variation, giving the bench a total height of ca. 0.55 m. The upper step along both east and south walls is 0.62 m deep, and on the south there is usually a space between the blocks and the wall face that was filled and leveled with smaller stones.<sup>128</sup> On the south, the lower step is 0.30 m deep, while on

128. This design feature is similar to the arrangement of the upper step of the court (room 36) of the prytaneion at Lato (Ducrey and Picard 1972, pp. 573–574, fig. 8).



Figure 42. D500: lekane and situla.  
Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

the east, the tread width is only about 0.21 m. A leveling course (usually of thin schist stones) is occasionally employed to maintain an even height for each step. The exterior vertical surfaces of the risers are heavily dressed and set tightly together, presenting in effect a continuous face along the entire length of the bench. Several blocks show signs of considerable tread wear.

A small square chamber situated directly on the terrace fill behind and above the southeastern corner of the building is likely to be a later addition (Fig. 40). Access to this small room would have been possible via a sloping street or ramp outside the building on the south side. The small room (1.19 × 1.03 m, internal dimensions) had a clay floor set directly on the rubble packing/fill and bedrock, and its northwest corner seems to have been fashioned roughly into an opening or drain. The back of the chamber was built up against an earlier (LM IIIC) wall that runs at an oblique northeast–southwest angle to the building.

The excavated floor area of the main building revealed a very uniform hard-packed clay surface under a deep layer of burned ceiling debris that had, especially in the eastern half, considerable amounts of ash and carbon, evidently the remains of fallen roof beams and other elements of the flat-roof superstructure. The ceiling debris, a mixture of silty clay (phyllite) with chips and flakes of schist, and pieces of charcoal, was found concentrated in mounds against the south and east walls. Patches of ash and burned-red clay on the floor surface form regular patterns of beam imprints: four extend at regular intervals perpendicular to the south wall, while a fifth extends from the east wall. Two clay serving vessels were lying directly on the floor in the southeast corner of the room. A plain bucket (situla) had been tipped upside down, and near it was a fine lekane coated in red slip (Fig. 42). While Late Archaic sherds were found in the floor deposit, no other artifacts were recovered in the sounding. A concentration of burned chickpeas was found near the situla. Other plant foods recovered nearby include cereal grains, broad bean, and grape. The faunal assemblage included top shells and meat bones of pigs, rabbit, sheep, goat, and cow (Fig. 43). The bones and marine shells were both burned and unburned; some show evidence of intensive or repeated exposure to fire, either as a result of the intense conflagration that consumed the building in the early 5th century B.C. or perhaps discard from a hearth or altar.



Figure 43. D500: Monumental Civic Building. Bones from floor deposit.  
Photo C. Papanikolopoulos

The construction in D500 was an ambitious undertaking. The builders excavated deeply into the hillside on the east, intruding on earlier LM IIIC foundations and significantly altering the topography of the slope. The modified slope in this area may help to explain the use of different masonry styles. The largest boulders were evidently reserved for those sections of wall that would have been actually visible to the viewer, i.e., the western half of the southern wall that was not obscured by the terrace fill and the ramp between D300 and D500 (Figs. 1, 40). Furthermore, the narrower width of the eastern section of the south wall might be explained by the fact that this portion of the facade would have been largely blocked from view by the buildings in D300, as one approached from the south. The monumentality of the building, evident in the imposing size of the structure and the boulders in its southern wall, is likely to have been further enhanced by its position on the hillside. It stood at the end of the street that ran along the west side of the Service Building. Visitors traveling north along this route would naturally have focused their attention on the southern facade; the visual dominance of the building was enhanced by the presence of the massive boulders. A similar visual dynamic has been proposed by Perlman for the temple at Dreros, where larger blocks were used in the building's east wall.<sup>129</sup>

The function of the building in D500 remains uncertain. While no contemporary architectural parallels are known to us,<sup>130</sup> the building shares certain formal features with the 4th–3rd-century B.C. prytaneion at Lato.<sup>131</sup> While the term prytaneion may be anachronistic for Crete in the 6th century B.C., the size of the Azoria building is nearly identical to that at Lato,

129. Perlman 2004b, p. 192.

130. The temple at Aφrati (Aï-Lia), while much smaller in scale, has an internal stone bench. See Lebessi 1970; 1973; Prent 2005, pp. 279–280. Viviers (1994, pp. 244–249) makes a

convincing case that the building is an *andreion*.

131. At Ayia Pelagia in northeastern Crete, Alexiou (1972) excavated a building with a hearth that he called the Archaic prytaneion of ancient

Apollonia. Only parts of the building were exposed beneath the foundations of a substantial Hellenistic structure with two hearths. Both structures are likely to be houses.

and architectural details such as the double row of limestone risers forming the stepped seats are similar to those in the east room (room 36: “la cour du prytanée”), which also was roofed.<sup>132</sup> While Miller argued that the risers at Lato were used for standing (to observe formal sacrifices) rather than for sitting (to dine),<sup>133</sup> the individual steps at Azoria are sufficiently high and deep to have easily accommodated either function. Indeed the height and tread of the steps in D500 fit the usual profile of auditorium seats common in Greek *bouleuteria* and theaters.<sup>134</sup> The risers also approximate the tread width and step height of those in the neighboring room 37 at Lato, although the depth of the top step (0.62 m) at Azoria is about half that of the wide platforms in room 37 (the *hestiatorion*).<sup>135</sup> The stepped seats are also reminiscent of the small exedra at Lato, both in the agora and in the orchestra of the so-called theater, which has been interpreted as a *bouleuterion* annex to the *ekklesiasterion*, although it is unlikely that either of these structures was a roofed space.<sup>136</sup>

The potential size, seating capacity, and scale of the structure at Azoria (ca. 180–200 m<sup>2</sup>), the refinements such as the interior rows of ashlar forming stepped seats, the use of megalithic construction in the south wall, the assemblage of burned seeds, animal bones, and marine shells, and the serving vessels recovered from the floor of the building itself all point to formal functions associated with public meetings, banqueting, and perhaps animal sacrifice. The building’s proximity to centralized food storage and processing areas on the southeast terrace is also a compelling argument that it was used for public meetings that included dining.<sup>137</sup> As with the service areas of the putative *andreion* on the west slope, the scale of storage and the reduplication of food preparation facilities, as well as the architectural complexity and refinements, suggest civic functions rather than regular household activities. Moreover, the plant and animal assemblages comprise remains from the final stages of food preparation and dining, with little or no chaff or primary butchering debris. Contrary to domestic assemblages, food seems to have entered the storage rooms and kitchens partially processed and ready for cooking. The inscribed lekane from B2200/2300 (Fig. 37), for example, was likely to have been used for preparing or serving large amounts of food;<sup>138</sup> furthermore, the spits and cheese grater from the kitchens (B1500 and B2200/2300) are equipment appropriate to some kind of public feasting, with connotations of elite behavior drawn from their ancient mortuary contexts.

The large terracotta fenestrated krater stand and the bronze *podanipter* (Figs. 34:3, 38) from B2200/2300 were equipment stored for formal cere-

132. Demargne 1903; Ducrey and Picard 1972. While we have not recovered the remains of a hearth, or *eschara*, the quantity, condition, and evident burning on the bones from the floor of D500 strongly suggest the presence of such an installation within or near the building.

133. Miller 1978, p. 82.

134. McDonald 1943, p. 217.

135. While Miller (1978, pp. 83–84) effectively fit couches onto the benches in the *hestiatorion* at Lato, room 37 is not a typical Greek-style dining room, nor should we necessarily expect to find evidence here for the custom of reclining during banquets in a prytaneion.

136. Comparison could also be made to the steps in the so-called agora at Dreros. See Ducrey and Picard 1971;

Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, p. 65.

137. For facilities provisioning the prytaneion, cf. Miller 1978, p. 33.

138. In Athens, barley cakes and wheat bread were consumed on various occasions (Ath. 4.137), while at Naukratis, feasts in honor of Hestia were supplied with wheat bread and barley gruel among other provisions (Ath. 4.149).

monial use and banqueting.<sup>139</sup> The concentration of artifacts associated with textile production (Figs. 33, 35) in rooms B1500 and B2200/2300 in the Service Building seems odd at first glance,<sup>140</sup> especially if we follow Chaniotis's argument for a largely household industry for local consumption rather than specialized market production.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, a loom and its products were evidently important personal possessions exempt from seizure at Gortyn (*IC IV 75*). What was their function, however, in the service rooms of a public building? Evidence for craft specialization (leather and hide workers) at Archaic Eleutherna and the possibility of state-directed or financed garment production allow us to speculate on the nature of textile processing for military or formal ceremonial purposes.<sup>142</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Excavations at Azoria in 2003 and 2004 have begun to clarify the political topography of the South Acropolis, identifying two separate locales of public activities: the putative *andreion* complex on the upper west slope and the Monumental Civic Building and its associated service and industrial areas on the southwest terrace. Both of these buildings have a prominent western aspect, looking out toward the Kampos plain and the main routes leading to the site from the valleys on the northern footslopes of the Kavousi Mountains. Their positions on the slope would have been visually obtrusive to one approaching the settlement from the west and southwest, but separate from the city's putative agora and Cult Building, suggesting a degree of exclusion or controlled access from the main route into the settlement, which is likely to have been directly from the south of the South Acropolis. Even though the buildings are very different in design and architectural elaboration, both are parts of larger complexes with reduplicated and large-scale food storage and late-stage processing facilities that mobilized and concentrated commodities presumably for formal public consumption.

The chosen locations could indicate different social-symbolic functions: the civic buildings, invisible from the east, face out onto the plain and the Bay of Mirabello, communicating visually with the outside world, including the distant territories of Early Archaic cities at Istron, Oleros, Olous, and Lato. The Cult Building, on the other hand, faces inland toward the area of the EIA–EO settlement cluster of Avgo and south to the dominant peak of the Kastro, also inhabited into the 7th century.<sup>143</sup> While clearly an urban temple, the Cult Building at Azoria could have served Prent's

139. For the use of krater stands in prytaneia and reference to the Sigeion stele, see Miller 1978, pp. 33, 210; Jeffery 1982, pp. 53–54; Stibbe 2000, p. 92; Haggis et al. 2004, p. 382. For the banqueting context of the *podanipter*, see Milne 1944, pp. 32–33; Tarditi 1996, pp. 126–127. For the use of perirhanteria in prytaneia at Lato

and Delos, see Miller 1978, pp. 84–85.

140. For textile production associated with the *andreion* complex, see Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 370–371, 391.

141. Chaniotis 1999b, pp. 206–207.

142. Chaniotis 1999b, p. 207; Perlman 2004a, p. 130. Prytanic robes were worn at the festival of Komean Apollo

in the prytaneion at Naukratis (Ath. 4.149), and the typically Cretan overcloak (*hemation aphphano*) were offered to the *kosmoi* at Lato and Olous before they entered the prytaneion (*IC I xvi 5*; cf. *IC IV 174 A55*).

143. For the EIA settlement clusters, see Haggis 1993; 2001.

distinctly “suburban” functions.<sup>144</sup> It faces east into the hinterland, a visible, if not obvious element in the landscape; on a local scale, it visually linked two traditional EIA settlement groups that show evidence of occupation continuing into the 7th century.

Saro Wallace has recently suggested that the lingering use of EIA sites in the territory of nascent Archaic centers emphasizes the longevity of certain lineage groups, which had become a fundamental part of the new community but still wished to maintain their links to ancestral land and to assert the identity of local kinship associations.<sup>145</sup> The persistent expression of such local identities well into the 7th century demonstrates the complex internal dynamics of city-state formation on Crete, which must have involved the incorporation of various elite social configurations into the regional structure of the emerging polis. Social integration probably consisted of a long-term negotiation between local interests, lingering kinship structures, and the needs of a new political community, reaching a critical point during the 7th century.<sup>146</sup> This process included conscious symbolic references to the EIA past, taking the form of new Archaic building programs both within areas of earlier EIA cult or in apposition or opposition to EIA settlements.<sup>147</sup>

Both processes may be apparent at Azoria, where the Cult Building was constructed on top of earlier (LM IIIC–LG) remains and positioned to relate visually and physically not only to the public areas of the city center, but also to the broader EIA cultural landscape. If the construction of the Cult Building helped to assert or reinforce the community identity of the city center, its position created a specific visual reference to the neighboring Avgo valley to the east and the Kastro to the south. Azoria may have originally belonged to the Kavousi EIA settlement cluster, while the neighboring community and settlement cluster in the Avgo valley, with its rural temple at Pachlitzani Agriada, would have been actively subsumed during a process of *synoikism*, involving the political unification of the two regions. The transformation of the 7th–6th-century settlement at Azoria resulted in a shift and abandonment of the Avgo valley’s EIA villages, a process of local dissociation that may have been facilitated or legitimized by the establishment of a new urban cult that was inclusive and socially integrating in its ritual functions.

The construction of public buildings involved drastic renovations to the South Acropolis, which we can now relate to evidence of broader sociopolitical changes taking place in the late 7th century across the island.<sup>148</sup> The two most recently published intensive archaeological surveys, at Vrokastro in eastern Crete and in the western Mesara in south central Crete, have demonstrated a radical restructuring of the cultural landscape in the 7th century. In the Vrokastro area, a rapid growth of new settlements in the Meseleroi valley represents a distinctively dispersed pattern, with a cluster of large sites at the eastern end of the Skinavria ridge forming the center of Archaic Oleros.<sup>149</sup> In the Mesara, the rural landscape around Phaistos is characterized by dispersed farms around the urban nucleus, while the Phaistos center was renovated with new public buildings at the expense of the Geometric town.<sup>150</sup> Even though the pattern in the western Mesara is decidedly nucleated in comparison to the hinterland of Oleros, the evident

144. On the visual obtrusiveness of suburban sanctuaries, see Prent 2005, p. 476.

145. Wallace 2003, pp. 259, 268.

146. For the process in mainland Greece, see Morris 1991, pp. 48–49; Morgan 1993, p. 26.

147. Perlman 2000, pp. 74–76; Wallace 2003, pp. 265–268; Perlman 2004a, p. 121.

148. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 341, 393.

149. For sites SK1, SK6, and SK11, see Hayden 1997, pp. 112–114, 133–134; 2004, pp. 179–180, 188.

150. Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, pp. 314–317; 2004b, p. 343. For changes in the urban landscape at Gortyn, see Perlman 2004a, p. 121; cf. Wallace 2003, pp. 263–266.

change in the settlement structure suggests parallel transformations of urban and rural spheres, land-use patterns, and sociopolitical organization. The material pattern in the hinterland of Azoria is evidence of nucleation of settlement, perhaps more like Phaistos than Oleros,<sup>151</sup> but in general the restructuring of settlement at the end of the 7th century suggests a similar dynamic of sociopolitical reorganization.

These regional changes are echoed on the site level, where shifts in settlement location and rebuilding and redefinition of public space seem to be the rule.<sup>152</sup> The emergence of a new urban landscape also coincides with changes in burial practices at the end of the 7th century. A likely change from communal to individual graves (such as pithos interments) accompanied other changes, such as new cemetery locations, less rich and ostentatious burials, and a tendency toward less elaborate and less individually aggrandizing mortuary display.<sup>153</sup> Perlman has argued that these changes in mortuary practices are related to sociopolitical and economic changes in the Archaic Cretan community, involving challenges to traditional EIA social practice and political structure, and an emerging state control or influence over elite mortuary behavior.<sup>154</sup>

While the apparent change in the pattern of burial and cemetery location is as striking as it is important, it may represent the result of longer-term processes of culture change beginning as early as 1000 B.C.<sup>155</sup> In the new city there is a conscious redirection of elite display from the private to the public sphere, including the elaboration of and investment in civic architecture. The lack of evidence for wealth distribution and prestige-good exchange in the late-7th and early-6th-century cemetery could therefore be symptomatic of complex economic and social changes.<sup>156</sup> Even though the historical model of a Cretan “artistic and economic recession” resulting from a cessation of trade (and shifting Phoenician commercial interests) is provocative, it fails to explicate the real sociopolitical changes occurring on the scale of the site or region, which might be better examined as social processes reflected in material patterns of consumption.<sup>157</sup> As a causal hypothesis, the scale of its application greatly limits its explanatory value for visualizing cultural change on the local level or understanding regional variations in material patterns.

What is perhaps important about the changes suggested by the commercial model is that they seem to be accompanied by the development of public venues for the consumption of wealth, new forms of expression of individual and community identity, and new contexts for elite competitive

151. Haggis et al. 2004, pp. 340–341.

152. Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004b, pp. 342–343; Perlman 2004a, p. 121.

153. Morris 1998, pp. 61–67; Erickson 2000, pp. 232–235; 2004, pp. 200–201; Perlman 2004a, pp. 120–121; cf. the discussion in Wallace 2003, p. 271.

154. Perlman (2000, pp. 74–76; 2004a, p. 121) has connected changes in mortuary practices and the emer-

gence of new forms of public architectural display—especially new temples—to demonstrate changes in elite consumption patterns and a symbolic challenge to the old EIA social organization and power relationships. Such a challenge to the old order finds concrete material expression at Azoria, where new buildings are constructed and civic space is defined at the end of the 7th century B.C.

155. Haggis et al. 2004, p. 393; see

Wallace’s (2003, esp. pp. 259–260, 275–277) vivid and long-term perspective on the dynamics of social structure, settlement patterns, and mortuary behavior in the EIA.

156. Erickson 2000, pp. 159–160, 230–232; Perlman 2004a, p. 121.

157. See Erickson (2005, p. 627, esp. n. 79), who follows Demargne (1947), Dunbabin (1952), Morris (1992), and Perlman (2004a) in restating the commercial explanation.

interaction. The model thus provides a vivid backdrop for changes apparent in the archaeological record at Azoria in the 7th century. The evidence points not only to increased investment in public architecture, but also to the use of types of prestige goods, normally associated with EIA–EO mortuary contexts, in the public sphere of the civic center.

The presence of prestige goods, possibly used as aristocratic symbols, in the civic buildings at Azoria—bronze armor, iron and bronze weapons, obeloi, personal ornamentation such as the embossed miniature shield and dress pins, inscribed pottery, imports such as the bronze Corinthian *podanipter* and figural Attic pottery, objects with Orientalizing iconography, and the array of decorated terracotta krater stands—marks a clear break from EIA and EO traditions with a shift in depositional practice from the private realm of the cemetery to the public buildings within the city center.<sup>158</sup> The continuing use of Orientalizing styles and motifs into the 6th and early 5th centuries at Azoria is an interesting pattern that deserves careful study within household and civic spheres. While we are still in the preliminary stages of our study of deposits from the site, we are beginning to see the regular use of motifs and design elements on lekane, small and large relief pithoi, and stands. In addition to the Orientalizing iconography, many of the vessels, especially stands and pithoi, have elements imitating the features of metalwork, a possible skeuomorphic reflection of their prestige value or social significance. The range of vessel types, repertoire of design elements, and contexts of deposition are particularly interesting variables that may be related to a careful, if not controlled or rationed, use of stylistic features within specific social contexts of public display and consumption. The formal elaboration and use of such objects may have to do not only with their intrinsic value,<sup>159</sup> but also with specialized functions connected to elite consumption patterns, as well as control of staples and luxury food items.<sup>160</sup>

The context and scale of elite consumption changed by 600 B.C. Prestige goods normally connected to household symposia, elite mortuary behavior, and even ritual practice in the sanctuary were brought inside civic buildings and used in activities played out in public spheres. Our tendency to characterize the Archaic Cretan polis by posing exaggerated extremes of civic austerity or weakened political economy (although both may be apparent in the archaeological evidence) might be clouding the picture of the societal complexities involved in urbanization on the island.<sup>161</sup> Such

158. For evidence from mainland Greece that seems to demonstrate a shift in elite wealth allocation from the cemetery to the sanctuary in the late 8th and early 7th century, a process that may have happened on Crete closer to 600 B.C., see Morgan 1993, p. 27; Osborne 1996, pp. 84–88; Morris 1997, pp. 101–102; Whitley 2001, pp. 140–146. For idiosyncratic Cretan developments, cf. Morris 1997, p. 102; Wallace 2003, pp. 251–256.

159. On the importance and monetary value of pithoi, see Haggis et al. 2004, p. 377.

160. *Contra* Erickson (2005, p. 634, esp. n. 115), who dismisses the significance of a latent Orientalizing tradition at Azoria, commenting on the simplification of iconographic elements. We think that the continued use of such motifs indicates a continuity of production traditions from the 7th century, but also very significant changes

in the range of vessels and their use context.

161. Economic changes in the Mediterranean in the late 7th century will have affected patterns of wealth exchange and the availability of certain resources, such as copper, but the extraordinary sociopolitical restructuring evident by the Late Archaic period suggests that patterns of wealth allocation and consumption had long been changing, irrespective of off-island interests.



discussion has led to a reductive polarization of social practices, i.e., a tension between private and public spheres: the household's symposium and cemetery versus the community's temple or sanctuary. What may have happened sometime before 600 B.C. is the crystallization of new roles for lineage-based and corporate groups, requiring new venues for aristocratic interaction and consumption.<sup>162</sup>

The juxtaposition of civic buildings on the west slope at Azoria, whatever the functions of those buildings might have been, strongly suggests a bilateral organizational structure, and the mobilization, allocation, and redistribution of resources by the aristocracy.<sup>163</sup> A new social order took material form in an increased expenditure on and formalization of civic architecture, and the monumentalization and reorganization of the city center.<sup>164</sup> The public buildings were communal, but each was also to some degree exclusionary, probably ordering the status of households, clans, and other corporate groups, and various modes of social interaction. The investment in public architecture was thus a material articulation of urban identity at the expense of the EIA and EO structures that had occupied the hilltop for some 600 years. The new civic buildings form new contexts for elite consumption, negotiating political power, and asserting or claiming social identity in the early city.

The abandonment of Azoria in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. remains to be explained within broader regional settlement histories and the context of interstate economics and political dynamics.<sup>165</sup> After about 200 years, Azoria was inhabited again for a time in the 3rd century B.C. The extent of this reoccupation appears to have been restricted to the peak of the South Acropolis, although there is some evidence of partial reuse of the standing Archaic remains of the Southeast Building for a refuse pit and impermanent structures, as well as continued ritual use of the Cult Building. The material recovered in 2003 and 2004 can only tell us that the Hellenistic occupiers had weapons, portable storage vessels in both local and imported amphoras, and the full range of cooking utensils.

The 3rd century is, however, a critical period of interstate rivalries, with the principal players in this region, Lato and Hierapytna, establishing claims to territories. The north isthmus of Ierapetra, the Kavousi plain, and the port at Tholos may have been of critical strategic importance for Hierapytna's expansionist claims against Lato, and its interests in controlling both pastoral land and port facilities along the mountainous hinterlands of Istron and Oleros.<sup>166</sup> A Hellenistic garrison at Azoria, located at a crucial crossroads between the isthmus and the west Siteia Mountains, and the north and south coasts, might have served to protect or control Hierapytna's northern coastal interests, the eastern edge of disputed territorial claims that were not resolved until the treaties of the 2nd century B.C.

162. Wallace 2003, pp. 259–260, 275.

163. Although Crete's clearly centralized political economy contrasts with that of mainland Greece, Small (1995; 1997, esp. pp. 112–115) has argued effectively for flexible ranking

and multiple hierarchies in the early Greek polis.

164. On the reorganization of civic space in the Archaic period, see the recent discussion by Lang 2005, p. 18.

165. Bennet 1990; Viviers 1994;

1999; Whitley 2001, p. 387; Haggis et al. 2004, p. 391.

166. Willetts 1955, p. 144; Bennet 1990, p. 200; Chaniotis 1995, pp. 59–75; Haggis 1996, p. 416; Guizzi 2001, pp. 310–317; Hayden 2004, p. 192.

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Interim reports and research proposals for the project are available at [www.azoria.org](http://www.azoria.org).

# APPENDIX 1

## TWO ARGIVE TRIOBOLS AND NOTES ON ARGIVE COINAGE IN CRETE

Two silver triobols from Argos were recovered at Azoria during the 2004 excavation season, on the road (B2400) east of the Cult Building (B2000/2100).<sup>167</sup>

1 (Inv. 04–1232) AR triobol, 2.44 gr, axis: 15 mm Fig. 19  
O: Forepart of wolf in flying gallop r.  
R: A, within incuse square; on field l., N; r., l.  
Cf. Le Rider 1966, p. 9, no. 8, pl. I, fig. 8.

2 (Inv. 04–1254) AR triobol, 2.54 gr, axis: 15 mm Fig. 20  
O: Forepart of wolf in flying gallop l.; on field, above head, Θ.  
R: A, within incuse square; on field l., Δ; r. E; below, eagle on harpa (sickle).  
Cf. Le Rider 1966, p. 19; *BMCPeloponnesus*, p. 142, 79; *SNGCop* 36.

Although there has been no detailed study of the coinage of Argos,<sup>168</sup> the coins from Azoria can be dated to the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. because their types are common in Peloponnesian hoards of the early 3rd century<sup>169</sup> and in contemporary Cretan contexts, discussed below. Minting is thought to have begun in the second half of the 4th century, with the series lasting until the second half of the 3rd century, possibly as late as 229 B.C., when Argos joined the Achaean League.<sup>170</sup> The finds are, therefore, contemporary with the Hellenistic dump in the Southeast Building and the reuse of the Cult Building. The presence of foreign coins on Crete is a subject that has been discussed in the past.<sup>171</sup> Argive coins have an eminent

167. See pp. 269–271, above. In spite of the erroneous assumption that Argive triobols and tetrobols can be distinguished on the basis of the form of the head and the forepart of the wolf, it is generally accepted that the coins are triobols. See Stefanaki 2005, p. 68, n. 296. The wolf was originally the

symbol of Danaos, king of Argos, and then of Lycian Apollo, whose cult was introduced by Danaos, according to myth. See Paus. 2.19.3–4; also, Kraay 1976, p. 96.

168. Mørkholm 1991, p. 88, n. 28. For the coinage of Argos in the 5th and 4th centuries, in general, see Kraay

1976, pp. 96, 101.

169. Hackens 1968, p. 92, n. 2; *IGCH* 130; Stefanakis 1997, p. 118.

170. Le Rider 1966, p. 42, n. 1; Mørkholm 1991, p. 154.

171. Le Rider 1966, pp. 41–49; Touratsoglou 1995, pp. 22–23; Stefanakis 1999, pp. 250–259, 262; 2006, p. 48.

presence on the island, and they are represented in Cretan assemblages in hoards, as straight finds (coins not included in hoards, which are recovered independently either in excavation or as accidental finds), overstrikes, and imitations.<sup>172</sup>

*Hoard and Straight Finds.* A considerable influx of Argive triobols on the island is observed toward the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., as indicated by their presence in the Cretan coin hoards of the first quarter of the 3rd century.<sup>173</sup> The “Mitropolis 1915” hoard contained five triobols,<sup>174</sup> the “Central Crete 1936” hoard, 27 triobols,<sup>175</sup> the “Phaistos 1953” hoard, 18 triobols,<sup>176</sup> and the hoard from the Keratokampos coast contained four triobols.<sup>177</sup> Three other triobols of the same period were included in the later “Chania 1922” hoard, buried around the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.,<sup>178</sup> while a find from Knossos, comprising 10 Argive triobols,<sup>179</sup> could cautiously be added to this list of Argive hoards.<sup>180</sup>

With the exception of the “Chania 1922” hoard, the Argive coins seem to be concentrated, thus far at least, in central Crete.<sup>181</sup> The two triobols from Azoria are, to the best of our knowledge, the sole published examples from a remote area on the far eastern side of the island.<sup>182</sup> Another notable find of the same period is an Argive triobol of the first half of the 3rd century, from the excavation of the northwest tower in the Hellenistic harbor of Phalasarna, on the west coast of Crete.<sup>183</sup>

*Overstrikes.* Apart from the coin hoards mentioned above, large quantities of Argive triobols evidently reached the major cities of western Crete. Since their weight was close to the weight of the Cretan hemidrachms,<sup>184</sup> they could easily have served as flans for Cretan coins.<sup>185</sup> Indeed, many such overstruck specimens are known, the vast majority of which originated in mints of Aptaera,<sup>186</sup> Kydonia,<sup>187</sup> Polyrrhenia,<sup>188</sup> and Phalasarna,<sup>189</sup> while one specimen is known to have been overstruck at Gortyn.<sup>190</sup>

Quite a few of these overstruck coins retain traces of their reverse undertypes, where, in many cases, a crescent is featured as a symbol beneath the alpha, types plentiful in the Peloponnesian hoards of the early

172. See Stefanakis 2006, pp. 48–49.

173. For the coins of Argos recovered in Cretan coin hoards, see Le Rider 1966, p. 9, nos. 8–12; Touratsoglou 1995, p. 50; Stefanakis 1997, p. 118; 2006, p. 49.

174. Le Rider 1966, p. 9, nos. 8–12; *IGCH* 151.

175. Le Rider 1966, p. 19; *IGCH* 154.

176. Le Rider 1966, p. 38; *IGCH* 152.

177. Touratsoglou 1995, p. 50.

178. See Seager 1924, p. 46, pl. VIII:67–69; *IGCH* 254; *CH* VII 104; Stefanakis 2002a.

179. Le Rider 1966, p. 222.

180. For the coins of Argos recov-

ered in Cretan coin-hoards, see Le Rider 1966, p. 9, nos. 8–12; Touratsoglou 1995, p. 50; Stefanakis 1997, p. 118; 2006, p. 49, n. 54.

181. On the contexts of the formation of hoards, see Touratsoglou 1995, pp. 20–21; Stefanakis 1999, p. 264.

182. Argive coins from eastern Crete are noticeably absent from Le Rider’s discussion (1966, pp. 236–239) and, more recently, Stefanaki’s discussion (2005) of the Hierapyntan mint.

183. Hadjidaki and Iniotakis 2000, p. 56, n. 12, fig. 12; Stefanakis 2006, p. 48.

184. For the Cretan weight standard at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd century B.C., see Stefanakis 1999, pp. 260–261.

185. On the practice of overstriking on Crete, see Stefanakis 1999, pp. 261–262, with earlier bibliography. For Argive coins overstruck in Crete, see Stefanakis 1997, p. 118; 2006, p. 47.

186. Le Rider 1966, p. 112 (three specimens: 2a, 2b, 3).

187. Stefanakis 1997, p. 120 (six specimens: nos. 178, 186–190).

188. Le Rider 1966, pp. 114–117, pls. XXVIII:19–XXIX:9 (22 specimens: nos. 3–7).

189. Le Rider 1966, pp. 118–119, pl. XXIX:28–40 (18 specimens: nos. 6–11).

190. Le Rider 1966, p. 82, no. 82b, pl. XX:7.

3rd century.<sup>191</sup> The pseudo-Aiginetan coins of Kydonia, overstruck on Argive triobols, date to shortly before or around 280 B.C., as do the overstruck hemidrachms at Polyrrhenia and Aptera.<sup>192</sup>

*Imitations.* At the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. in central Crete, Knossos and Tylissos minted staters that depicted the head of Argive Hera on the obverse,<sup>193</sup> imitating the staters and drachms of Argos already in circulation.<sup>194</sup> The imitation may be justified as a reference to or commemoration of some yet unknown interaction among the three cities, perhaps similar to that of the agreement of Argos, Knossos, and Tylissos to settle disputes between the two cities of central Crete around the middle of the 5th century.<sup>195</sup> A similar as yet unknown incident must be related to the later action of Tylissos and Lyttos to mint bronze denominations copying the reverse types of the Argive triobols of the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.<sup>196</sup>

## DISCUSSION

Commerce may have played a significant role in the importation of silver into Crete, and could explain the circulation of a large number of foreign coins on the island.<sup>197</sup> Although specific evidence for commercial activities between Crete and Argos is lacking, relations between the two regions are generally known.<sup>198</sup> Furthermore, if one considers the Argive, and generally Peloponnesian, artistic influences on Cretan coin iconography,<sup>199</sup> then we might surmise that commercial relations between Crete and the Argolid were likely to have existed. Therefore, the quantities of Argive coinage on Crete may be seen as the result of such commercial activity toward the turn of the 4th century B.C. While piratical activity could also have yielded

191. See above, n. 185.

192. Le Rider 1966, pp. 188, 198; Stefanakis 1997, p. 118.

193. Stefanakis 2002b, p. 51. On the coins of Knossos, see Svoronos 1890, pp. 73–74, nos. 67–72, figs. 6, 7, pl. VI; Le Rider 1966, p. 207, no. 7, pl. XXX: 11–13, p. 204, nos. 7–8, pl. XXXII:4, 5, p. 207, no. 2, pl. XXXIII:5. On the coins of Tylissos, see Svoronos 1890, p. 329, nos. 1–4, pl. XXX:29–32; Le Rider 1966, p. 200, nos. 15–16, pl. XXX: 14, 15. For the dating of the issues to the first decades of the 3rd century B.C., see Le Rider 1966, pp. 179–180, 197.

194. For the reproduction of the type of Argive Hera on the coins of Knossos and Tylissos, see Svoronos 1894; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 680, no. 182, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). For the minting of the Argive coins around or after 371 B.C., see Kraay 1976, p. 101. In their turn, the staters of Argos depict the head of the cult statue of Hera of Argos by Polykleitos. See *LIMC* IV,

1988, p. 673, no. 112, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

195. *IC I* viii *tit.* 4; Meiggs and Lewis 1969, pp. 99–105, no. 42. See also Willetts 1955, p. 233; Huxley 1994, pp. 124, 126, 131.

196. For the bronze denominations of Tylissos with Argive-type reverse, see Jenkins 1949, p. 51, no. 81, pl. VII; Le Rider 1966, pp. 178–179, n. 5. For the bronze denominations of Lyttos with Argive-type reverse, see Jenkins 1949, p. 49, nos. 70–71, pl. VII.

197. See van Effenterre 1948, pp. 112–113; Le Rider 1966, p. 267; Thompson 1973, p. 352; Chaniotis 1987, p. 267; Stefanakis 1997, p. 138; 1999, pp. 256–260.

198. Stefanakis 1997, p. 138. For the relations between Argos and Crete, see Mikrogiannakis 1967, pp. 9–10; Tomlinson 1972, p. 78; Harrison 1988, p. 130.

199. Stefanakis 2000, p. 87, n. 40; 2002b, pp. 46, 50.

such quantities of foreign coins, the fact that Argive coins served as flans for new coinage almost exclusively at Aptera, Kydonia, Polyrrhenia, and Phalasarna in western Crete, while significant quantities of Sikyonian coins were used as flans at Gortyn, Phaistos, and Praisos in central and eastern Crete,<sup>200</sup> renders the hypothesis of piratical loot a remote possibility.<sup>201</sup> Given the evidence, commercial contacts between specific regions of Crete and Peloponnesians are more probable.<sup>202</sup>

The payment of mercenary wages is another way in which Peloponnesian coins, and Argive coins in particular, are likely to have reached Crete.<sup>203</sup> Cretan mercenaries among those employed by Polyperchon during his activity in Peloponnesia in the late 4th century B.C. are thought to have been responsible for importing silver in general and, of course, coins from the northern Peloponnesians into Crete.<sup>204</sup>

In 303–302 B.C., when Kleonimos of Sparta responded to an appeal from Tarentum for help against the Lucanians, he probably sailed to Italy with 5,000 mercenaries that he had enlisted in Taenarum.<sup>205</sup> The existence of a treaty between Kleonimos and the Polyrrhenians and Falasarnians in the same period (303–275? B.C.)<sup>206</sup> suggests that he obtained mercenaries from western Crete.<sup>207</sup> Thus, these mercenaries may have brought Peloponnesian money back home to Crete.

200. Stefanakis 1997, p. 138.

201. Piratical loot may account for the import of a number of Rhodian hemidrachms into Kydonia, where they were all overstruck; see Stefanakis 1997, p. 215. On the economic aspects of Cretan piracy, see Petropoulou 1985, pp. 35–45; Stefanakis 2006, pp. 50–53. On piracy and the economy in general, see De Souza 1992, pp. 179–186; 1999, pp. 56–69. On views of Cretan piracy, see Brulé 1978; Hadjidaki 1992; De Souza 1999, pp. 15–16, 19; Perlman 1999; Viviers 1999.

202. During the first half of the 5th century B.C., western Crete and specifi-

cally Kydonia appear to have contacts with Aigina, with Aiginetan coinage circulating on the west half of the island, while south-central Crete was conducting market exchange in Samian silver. See Stefanakis 1999, pp. 250–259.

203. Le Rider 1966, p. 192.

204. Macdonald 1996, pp. 41, 43. On Polyperchon's notorious career, see Macdonald 1996, pp. 43–44, n. 6, with relevant bibliography.

205. Diod. Sic. 20.104.

206. *IC II xi 1*; Markoulaki 2000, esp. p. 249, n. 21, with previous bibliography.

207. Buxton 1995, p. 117.

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## APPENDIX 2

### INSCRIBED POTTERY

The Attic lekythos inv. 04-0174 (Fig. 15) is inscribed on its base with HE in ligature, representing an owner's mark or commercial mark, apparently incised before firing. The inscription has an open heta with slanting cross stroke. The vertical of the epsilon extends below the horizontal bars, which slant (ε2).<sup>208</sup> A similar graffito in ligature is found on a red-figure lekythos in Gela,<sup>209</sup> which is dated to 470 B.C.

The sherd inv. 04-0319 (Fig. 31:2) is a fragment from the rim of a skyphos, inscribed KOTΩ or KOTΟ, written dextrograde. The break falls across the final letter, and thus it is possible that the word, as preserved, is not complete. The letters appear to have been cut with a pointed instrument after firing, but the surface of the sherd is very worn, making the determination difficult. If inscribed before firing, the inscription is likely to be Attic. If inscribed after firing, it can be interpreted as Cretan. KOT is clear but the final letter, if read as Ω, requires further comment. The form of omega as two concentric circles in the Archaic Cretan alphabet occurs in the region of Lyttos/Aphrati.<sup>210</sup> The form appears exclusively on Crete, notably in the Spensithios decree, which is inscribed on a bronze mitra, and in the decrees from Lyttos inscribed opisthographically on stone.<sup>211</sup> The concentric circles are an alternate form of a circle with a dot in the center, possibly attested on Thera.<sup>212</sup> In the omega of our inscription, the inner circle is clear but the outer circle, at the edge of the fragment, appears to be oval in form. The left side of the arc of the inner circle crowds the arc of the outer circle.

What is the meaning of the inscription? If it is a complete word, it could be interpreted as a name. Names from epic poetry, whose nominative case

208. For a similar example of heta, see *Agora* XXV, p. 95, no. 637, pl. 2, (*Agora* P 14490). For other examples of owner's marks, see Johnston 1979, pp. 8–11. For the ligature, cf. Johnston 1979, p. 97, no. 23, figs. 4g, 4i. For the Attic letter forms, see Immerwahr 1990, pp. 137–142. For searching databases of ancient authors and inscrip-

tions, extensive use has been made of *TLG* 1999 and *PHI* 7.

209. Gela, Museo Archeologico, inv. 68: *CVA*, Gela 3.1 [Italia 54], pp. 4–5, pl. 27:3.

210. Jeffery 1990, pp. 308–309, Doric Islands (southern Aegean), ω3.

211. See Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies 1970; 1971; van Effenterre

1973; van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1985.

212. Jeffery 1990, p. 308, ω1. For the Thera examples of the letter form, Jeffery (1990, p. 309) states that “the examples are not at all certain, and it may possibly be merely *omicron*, but with a compass or not dotted at all.”



ends in omega, come to mind: Λήτω<sup>213</sup> or Κήτω.<sup>214</sup> Also possible, though unusual, is the genitive of a masculine ā-stem, in which an original ending –α + ο has contracted to –ω.<sup>215</sup> A genitive here, coming from a nominative Κότας or Κότης, both attested in Hellenistic Sicily,<sup>216</sup> is attractive because it suggests that we have an owner's inscription. This is a well-known type of early inscription, for which an example from Crete, of the 8th to 6th century, is the line inscribed on a pithos from Phaistos.<sup>217</sup>

The fourth letter, however, might simply be an omicron, making the inscription ΚΟΤΩ and presenting more possibilities for interpretation. If a complete word, it could be an Attic genitive singular. The name Κότολλος is attested for Crete in an inscription of 223/2 B.C.<sup>218</sup>

Another possibility is that both omicrons, in the second and fourth positions, stand for omega in the Cretan dialect, and that the tau stands for theta. The omicron is written for omega, for instance, on Melos.<sup>219</sup> Substitution of tau for theta is attested in Cretan dialect in the name Ἀπόλλω Πύτιος.<sup>220</sup> Our inscription could then be restored as κῶτῶ[ν (= κῶθῶ[ν]), a Lakonian drinking vessel.<sup>221</sup> But κῶθων may also mean a drinking bout<sup>222</sup> or banquet.<sup>223</sup>

The presence of a colony of traders at Kommos on Crete, possibly as early as 900 B.C., suggests that short inscriptions of the kind on the Azoria sherd may not have been written by a Cretan.<sup>224</sup> If the fourth letter of the inscription on Azoria 04-0319 is omega, the inscription is likely to be Cretan, for ω3 occurs nowhere else. But if the letter is omicron, other scripts are possible.

A rim fragment of a lekane, inv. 04-0154 (Fig. 37), bears the inscription ΤΙΜΑΣ on its rim, sinistrograde. The graffito may perhaps be a name in the genitive. Both Τίμαι or Τίμας are attested as names on gravestones from Epidauros. No date has been proposed for Τίμαι, but Τίμας is cited as possibly Hellenistic.<sup>225</sup> The name Τιμάς is attested at Sparta in the 2nd century A.D.<sup>226</sup> On Crete, Echetima, a woman's name, occurs in the genitive as Ἐχετίμας τᾶς γυναικός in a manumission.<sup>227</sup> The Azoria inscription might also be read as Τιμᾶς, a name in the genitive.

The second letter, a crooked iota, appears in a zigzag form, written dextrograde. Three examples of the letter written sinistrograde occur in

213. *Il.* 19.413, Hes. *Theog.* 918, Hes. *Op.* 771; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 5, and passim.

214. Hes. *Theog.* 270, 333.

215. Cf. Szemerényi 1956, esp. p. 207.

216. Cf. *LGPN* IIIA, p. 256. The name Ζώβιος Κώτου Μιλήσιος appears in a private sepulchral inscription, *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9620, of the 2nd century A.D. Cf. Osborne and Byrne 1996, p. 198, no. 4666.

217. Cf. Levi 1969a.

218. See *LGPN* I, p. 270.

219. The letter form is ω2 in Jeffery 1990, p. 308.

220. Cf. *IC* III iii 3 (Hierapytna),

e.g., lines 14, 20; cf. Buck 1955, p. 60, no. 66.

221. For the form of the kothon, see Stibbe 1994, pp. 43–47. A black-glazed cup fragment from Isthmia (IP 2047a), from the north temenos dump, is inscribed κῶθων on the bottom, possibly to be interpreted as the name of a common drinking cup. See Broneer 1959, p. 335, no. 9, pl. 70.i. Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora* XII, p. 70, n. 6) cite M. Milne's interpretation of this inscription as possibly an owner's name, perhaps a pun.

222. Ath. 13.583b.

223. Decree of the Sarapiastai on

Thasos, Seyrig 1927, pp. 220–221; *IG* XII Suppl. 365, line 17 (2nd century B.C.).

224. Cf. Csapo 1991; Csapo, Johnston, and Geagan 2000.

225. *LGPN* IIIA, p. 429. For Τίμαι, see *SEG* XXXIX 357a.

226. *LGPN* IIIA, p. 428.

227. *IC* I xxv 4, Pyloros(?), 1st century A.D. See De Sanctis 1907, cols. 343–348, no. 59; *LGPN* I, p. 192. The name is also found on Melos (*IG* XII.3 1133, 5th century B.C.) and Thera (*IG* XII.3 888, 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.).

the graffito on a pithos from Phaistos.<sup>228</sup> The mu, however, written with six strokes instead of the usual five in early Cretan,<sup>229</sup> is sinistrograde.<sup>230</sup> The alpha is probably form 5, in which the right oblique stroke is curved, said by Jeffery to occur “in Boiotian and occasionally elsewhere.”<sup>231</sup> The inscription is complete, as shown by the space before its beginning and after its end. If a name in the genitive, it may be interpreted as an owner’s inscription.<sup>232</sup>

228. Levi 1969a, pp. 156–162, pls. 12, 13; 1969b.

229. Jeffery (1990, p. 31) compares the mu with five strokes, from Phoenician *mēm*, to a crooked iota.

230. Since the crooked iota is written dextrograde and the mu is irregular (six-strokes), it is remotely possible that our inscription is dextrograde, as ΣΑΜΙΤ. In this case, it could be an abbreviation for σαμίθη, a kind of gruel cited by Hesychios, *Lexicon sigma* 148. Cf. Schmidt 1965, vol. 4: Σ–Ω.

231. Jeffery 1990, p. 23. Examples of alpha 5 occur in graffiti on armor from Aphrati: Hoffmann 1972, pp. 5, 10, 12–13 (H3, M1, M5, M12), armor dated (p. 46) from the “third quarter of the 7th century down into the early 6th century B.C.” Early examples of this type of alpha are found in graffiti, in non-Cretan script, of the colony of traders at Kommos, dated in the 8th–7th centuries B.C. See Csapo, Johnston, and Geagan 2000.

232. For examples of owner’s inscriptions prior to or in the time frame of our sherd, see the inscriptions on a pithos from Phaistos, 8th–6th century B.C. (Levi 1969a; 1969b); an aryballos from Knossos, North Cemetery, 650–625 B.C. (Johnston 1996); cup fragments from Kommos written in non-Cretan scripts, classified in a group dated to the 8th–7th century B.C. (Csapo, Johnston, and Geagan 2000, pp. 102–103, nos. 21, 22, 27). The inscription on the Phaistos pithos is compared in the *editio princeps* to inscriptions of the 8th century B.C., and the early date is supported by Guarducci (Levi 1969a, pp. 175–176; Guarducci 1974, p. 331) and said to be “eighth–sixth century” by Jeffery (1990, p. 468). A graffito on the bottom of a vase from a cemetery on Thera, ca. 540–500 B.C., has been interpreted as an owner’s inscription (Johnston 1984).

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