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to the memory of David Ridgway

11 May, 1938–20 May, 2012

ABBREVIATIONS

The reference system adopted by *Meditarch* is modelled on that of the German Archaeological Institute, and the bibliographical abbreviations are those listed in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 612–24, with the addition of the following:

ABNGV	Annual Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
ABVic	Art Bulletin of Victoria, Melbourne
AION ArchStAnt	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale de Napoli, Archeologia e storia antica
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies
Atti I CMGr	Atti del primo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia
AWE	Ancient West and East
Beazley, ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Black-figure Vase-painters (1956)
Beazley, Addenda	Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV (2nd ed.) & Paralipomena, compiled by L. Burn & R. Glynn (1982)
Beazley, Addenda²	Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV (2nd ed.) & Paralipomena, ed. by T. H. Carpenter (1989)
Beazley, ARV	J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-painters (2nd ed., 1963)
Beazley, EVP	J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase Painting (1947)
Beazley, Paralipomena	J. D. Beazley, Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters (1971)
BTCGI	G. Nenci–G. Vallet (eds.), Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione Greca in Italia, Iff. (1977ff.)
CBJ	Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
OEANE	E. M. Meyers (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East (1997)
ProcBritAc	Proceedings of the British Academy
QBNGV	Quarterly Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
RGVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SHAJ	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan (Department of Antiquities, Amman)

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works, and transliterations of Greek names conform to those listed in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

ZAGORA IN CONTEXT

Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700 BC)

Proceedings of the conference held by
The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens
and
The Archaeological Society at Athens

Athens, 20–22 May, 2012

Edited by Jean-Paul Descœudres and Stavros A. Paspalas

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PROLOGUE

The excavations by an Australian team at the site of Zagora on the island of Andros under the sponsorship of the Archaeological Society at Athens and the University of Sydney were carried out between the years 1967 and 1977 in alternating digging and study seasons. The expedition was financed to some extent by the Archaeological Society, but mainly by the Australian Research Grants Committee, the University of Sydney, and funds generously provided by the Association for Classical Archaeology founded in Sydney in 1967 under the chairmanship of the late Sir Arthur T. George.

My attention had been drawn to the site in 1965 by the late Professor Nicolas Kontoleon following a first digging campaign that had been carried out in 1960 by the then Ephor of Antiquities of the Cyclades, the late Nicolas Zapheiropoulos. He generously yielded the rights of further research on the Geometric town to me. Archaeological fieldwork is by definition collaborative, and the excavations at Zagora owe a lot to the participation of two very distinguished scholars, Dr J. J. Coulton and Professor J. R. Green. It also owes a lot to Dr Ann Birchall who proved to be an outstanding excavator.

The work carried out at Zagora owes a debt of gratitude for the assistance of the following former Vice Chancellors of the University of Sydney, Sir Stephen Roberts, Sir Bruce Williams, Professor John Ward, and Professor Don McNicol. At the Greek end it owes a lot to the late Inspectors General of Antiquities Professors Spyridon Marinatos and Nicolas Yalouris, and to Professor Nicolas Kontoleon.

One of the sad facts related to archaeological fieldwork is that more often than not the objects unearthed are not properly displayed in museums, but put away in storerooms. In this respect the finds from the excavations at Zagora in the late sixties and early seventies received better treatment thanks to the generosity of the late Basil and Elise Goulandris, who had built and donated to the island the Archaeological Museum in Chora.

The excavations at the site proved to be very important, and the great specialist of Greece during the Geometric Period, the late Professor J. N. Coldstream, who visited the site more than once during the excavation seasons commented on Zagora as follows:

> At Zagora, on the south-west coast of Andros, a stone-built Geometric town of 6.4 hectares has been partly explored. Since occupation is virtually limited to the eighth century, the architecture is extremely well preserved, and no other place in the Greek world offers a clearer picture of domestic life during this period (*Geometric Greece, 900-700 B.C.* [2003] 210).

Yet, although this first Australian expedition to Zagora had yielded important results, only part of the Geometric town had been explored. Thirty years later it occurred to me that a resumption of its exploration using up-to-date technology was highly desirable.

The conference 'Zagora in Context. Settlements and Intercommunal Links in the Geometric Period (900–700 BC)' was organized with the revival of research at the site in mind. The papers read at the conference aimed at summarizing the knowledge acquired about the Geometric period in the Aegean and beyond as a guide to the renewed exploration of the site.

The Institute is deeply grateful to its Deputy Director, Dr Stavros Paspalas, for the impeccable organization of the conference. It is hoped that its proceedings will be a valuable resource to all those interested in the Mediterranean Early Iron Age, particularly the Aegean, and in early Greek history and archaeology in general.

<div align="right">

Alexander Cambitoglou
Director of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens
Athens, March 2015

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EDITORS' NOTE

The Proceedings are dedicated to the memory of David Ridgway. No one who attended the conference will ever forget the moment when Alexander Cambitoglou opened the first working session on Monday morning with the announcement that David had left us the night before, on his way to his hotel after a joyous gathering with a number of friends and colleagues.

Following the keynote lecture on 'Setting Zagora in Context' by Catherine Morgan on Sunday evening, the two-day conference was subdivided into seven sessions (see Appendix) and closed with Susan Langdon's paper on 'Social Life in the Early Iron Age Cyclades'. Starting the discussion with an assessment of the impact the work carried out at Zagora has had on our vision of the Geometric period before examining, in ever wider circles, other settlements of the Geometric period and their interrelationship within the Aegean and beyond, clearly revealed the importance of the planned resumption of its exploration. It is thus in keeping with the conference's original concept that we agreed to replace the papers in which Lesley Beaumont, Matthew McCallum, and Margaret Miller had outlined the aim of future investigations at Zagora with the report on the first campaign, carried out in September 2012 by a team from the University of Sydney under the direction of Professor Miller and her colleagues.

Two other papers which had not been part of the conference programme have been included in this volume. Both Vicky Vlachou's presentation of the figured pottery from Oropos and Zagora and Barbara Leone's discussion of the links between Euboea and the northern Aegean fit in so neatly that our decision to take them on board surely needs no explanation.

Our thanks go to all contributors and especially to those who submitted their manuscripts on time. We are also grateful to Derek Harrison, Kristen Mann, and Valeria Pratolongo for their assistance in the proof-reading process and, as always, to Camilla Norman for the final production of the volume.

APPENDIX: THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS

1. The Cyclades

Christina A. Televantou, 'Ὑψηλή Ἄνδρου. Η Γεωμετρική Φάση'

Karl Reber and Photini Zapheiropoulou, 'Plithos on Naxos. An Early Iron Age Cemetery'

Demetrius Schilardi, 'Zagora and Koukounaries of Paros: Two Parallel Cases'

2. Euboea and Oropos

Irene S. Lemos, 'The Missing Dead: Late Geometric Burials at Xeropolis, Lefkandi'

Samuel Verdan, 'What is New in Old Eretria? A (Re)assessment of the Geometric Period and Prospects'

Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, 'The Domestic Space of Zagora in the Light of the Excavations at Oropos'

Jan Paul Crielaard, 'The Iron Age Sanctuary and Settlement at Karystos-Plakari'

3. Crete and Cyprus

Nota Kourou, 'Across the Sea. Cypriots and Levantines en route for the Euboian Gulf'

Donald C. Haggis, 'The Structuring of Urban Space in Archaic Crete: an Example of Settlement Development from the Early Iron Age to Archaic Periods'

4. The northern Aegean

Antonis Kotsonas, 'Zagora in the Cyclades and Methone in Macedonia. Rethinking trade and colonization within the Aegean of the 8th century BC'

Jacques Y. Perreault and Zisi Bonias, 'After Zagora: Andrian Colonization in the Northern Aegean: the Case of Argilos'

Michalis Tiverios, 'Η Ἄνδρος και οι αποικίες της'

5. Ionia and the central Mediterranean

Michael Kerschner, 'Settlements in Ionia During the 8th and Early 7th Century BC: Expansion into the Landscape'

Jean-Paul Descœudres, 'Orikos—A Euboian Colony in the Adriatic?'

David Ridgway and Francesca Mermati, 'New Thoughts on Pithekoussai and the Aegean'

Maria Costanza Lentini, 'Recent Investigation of the Early Settlement Levels at Sicilian Naxos'

6. Architecture

Matthew McCallum, 'Zagora and its Heurist Database: the Architectural Perspective'

Alexandros P. Gounaris, 'Ζαγορά Ἄνδρου: Ο θερισμός (Η συμβολή της στην έρευνα και τη μελέτη του δομημένου χώρου της Γεωμετρικής Περιόδου)'

Margaret Miller and Lesley Beaumont, 'Zagora: the Perils and Potential of Archaeological Positivism'

7. Pottery

Stavros A. Paspalas, 'How Coarse Can Fine Wares Be? Some local (?) pottery from Zagora'

Beatrice McLoughlin, 'Kitchen Equipment at Zagora. A comparative analysis of the domestic ceramic assemblages from four unpublished houses'

Jean-Sébastien Gros, 'The Pithoi from the Early Iron Age Settlement at Oropos'

Ian K. Whitbread and Antonia Livieratou, 'Early Iron Age Coarse-ware Pottery in Context. New finds from the settlement of Xeropolis at Lefkandi'

THE STRUCTURING OF URBAN SPACE IN ARCHAIC CRETE: AN EXAMPLE OF SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT FROM THE EARLY IRON AGE TO ARCHAIC PERIODS

Donald C. Haggis

Zagora has become something of a historiographic artefact in the archaeological record. Formalist and evolutionary perspectives have tended to emphasize the unremarkable cultural conditions of the early part of the Early Iron Age, with Zagora appearing at the end of the period demonstrating both house types and a settlement structure distinctly different from predominant forms in mainland Greece. While the organization of the settlement may not have been unusual for the period, probably reflecting developments in the wider Aegean sphere, the elegant order and clarity of the site's plan and architectural phasing provided a kind of material manifestation and confirmation of our preconceptions of the linear development and orthogenesis of Greek society. Because of the rapid and detailed publication of the site by Alexander Cambitoglou and his colleagues, the data were quickly integrated into the mainstream discourse and have appeared in nearly every textbook on Greek archaeology published since the 1980s.

Although Zagora may have provided a material justification of models of an 8th-century renaissance—various narratives on the nascent Greek household, city, and state—problems of sampling, scale, and perhaps cultural geography remained.[1] That said, several features of the site—its large size, its fortification wall, an ordered orthogonal grid-like structure, rectilinear house plans suggesting multi-roomed residences, a qualitative and spatial hierarchy of households, and the delineation of private, public, and cultic places—demonstrated a degree of order and clarity amidst the diverse, functionally seamless mixing of contexts and features that constituted our picture of the Early Iron Age cultural landscape. It was, and remains, an important piece of the archaeology of *polis* formation and urbanization of the 1980s and 1990s.[2] Zagora had become in a way a conceptual site—it was the critical stage or missing link between the variable, dispersed, and seemingly disordered conditions of the Early Iron Age, and the structured landscape of the Archaic Greek city, with its spatially separate and distinct sanctuaries, cemeteries, and habitation areas. It seemed to foreshadow planned organization of space such as at Prinias, Vroulia, or Megara Hyblaea, and houses with differentiation of functional spaces if not social spheres that we normally associate with the Classical courtyard house.[3] Zagora has been as important to archaeologists of the Early Iron Age and the classical Greek household as to historians of Archaic Greece.[4]

The island of Andros is located sufficiently close to the mainland to be part of a south-central Greek cultural or conceptual orbit. That said, we had yet to reconcile Zagora's form

[1] For critical examples, see M. H. Hansen, Polis. An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City State (2006) 43–4; A. Coucouzeli, 'From megaron to oikos at Zagora', in: R. Westgate–N. Fisher–J. Whitley (eds.), Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond. Proceedings of a Conference held at Cardiff University 17–21 April 2001. BSA Studies 15 (2007) 169.

[2] I. Morris, 'Archaeology and Archaic Greek history', in: N. Fisher–H. van Wees (eds.), Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence (1998) 28; id., Archaeology as Cultural History (2000) 282–6; J. M. Hall, A History of the Archaic Greek World ca. 1200-479 BCE (2007) 73–4.

[3] e.g., F. Lang, 'Structural Change in Archaic Greek Housing', in: B. A. Ault–L. C. Nevett (eds.), Ancient Greek Houses and Households: Chronological, Regional, and Social Diversity (2005) 19.

[4] e.g., L. V. Nevett, House and Society in the Ancient Greek World (1999) 159–60; J. Whitley, The Archaeology of Ancient Greece (2001) 171; F. Lang, 'House—Community—Settlement: The New Concept of Living in Archaic Greece', in Westgate–Fisher–Whitley (eds.) op. cit. 188.

with normative patterns of settlement structure in Early Iron Age Greece—work not too far away at Eretria, Mitrou, Oropos, and Lefkandi continued to show very different formal configurations of settlement structure. Was Zagora unique, one of many diverse forms and scales of settlement throughout the Aegean? Was it a cultural artefact, a consequence of its function, location, or economy? That is, do its form, physical characteristics, and contexts constitute a local, regional, insular, or even Cycladic pattern? Or should we take it as a late stage of socio-political development that we can relate to the emergence of urban or state-level societies of the Archaic period in the Aegean, and thus satisfy our preoccupation with the earliest formal features of Greek cities—the formation of fortification walls, sanctuary, extramural cemetery, and the Greek *oikos* or courtyard house?

In this paper I examine some aspects of 8th-century Zagora through the filter of contemporary and later Crete, looking specifically at aspects of settlement structure that have become commonplace in the discussions of the Late Geometric and Archaic Aegean. In particular, I present some evidence derived from recent excavations at the Archaic site of Azoria in eastern Crete, looking back as it were from an early proto-urban centre of the 7th and 6th centuries and its material and cultural contexts.[5] The aim is not to present a detailed comparative formal analysis of the two sites, but rather to consider briefly the implications of similar material patterns that might inform the way that we look at settlement structure in the Aegean in Early Iron Age and Archaic periods, and to present a series of problems or hypotheses that might be relevant to the research design of continuing excavation at Zagora.

Azoria is located near the north-east coast of Crete, about a kilometre south-east of the modern village of Kavousi. It lies within the orbit of a number of sites on the southern and eastern edge of the Bay of Mirabello which have been explored since the early 20th century by the American School of Classical Studies and the 24th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and which date from the Early Iron Age to the Orientalizing and Archaic periods (**fig. 1**).[6] The neighbouring sites of Kastro and Vronda, Vrokastro, Chalasmenos, Katalimata, and Vasiliki, are the best known from excavations and surveys.[7] Across the Mirabello Bay to the west are several other sites demonstrating a similar chronological range, such as Dreros and Anavlochos—currently being re-explored—which should provide useful stratigraphic evidence for the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic and Classical periods.[8] In general, the Mirabello and North Isthmus regions of eastern Crete comprise a complex archaeological landscape and constitute a rich source of

[5]   D. C. Haggis *et al.*, 'Excavations in the Archaic Civic Buildings at Azoria in 2005-2006', Hesperia 80, 2011, 1–70; id., 'The Excavation of Archaic Houses at Azoria in 2005-2006', ibid. 431–89.

[6]   H. A. Boyd, 'Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900', AJA 5, 1901, 154; D. C. Haggis *et al.*, 'Excavations at Azoria, 2002', Hesperia 73, 2004, 339–400; id., 'Excavations at Azoria , 2003-2004, Part 1, The Archaic Civic Complex', Hesperia 76, 2007, 243–321; id., 'Excavations at Azoria, 2003-2004, Part 2, The Early Iron Age, Late Prepalatial and Final Neolithic Occupation', ibid. 665–716.

[7]   B. J. Hayden, Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete, Vol. 2. The Settlement History of the Vrokastro Area and Related Studies. University Museum Monograph 119 (2004); T. Eliopoulos, 'Gournia, Vronda Kavousi, Kephala Vasilikis: A Triad of Interrelated Shrines of the Expiring Minoan Age on the Isthmus of Ierapetra', in: L. P. Day–M. S. Mook–J. D. Muhly (eds.), Crete Beyond the Palaces:

Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference. Prehistory Monographs 10 (2004) 81–90; D. C. Haggis, Kavousi I. The Results of the Excavations at Kavousi in Eastern Crete. The Archaeological Survey of the Kavousi Region. Prehistory Monographs 16 (2005); K. Nowicki, Monastiraki Katalimata: Excavation of a Cretan Refuge Site, 1993-2000. Prehistory Monographs 24 (2008); L. P. Day–N. L. Klein–L. A. Turner, Kavousi IIA: The Late Minoan IIIC Settlement at Vronda. The Buildings on the Summit. Prehistory Monographs 26 (2009); M. Tsipopoulou, 'Chalasmenos, Ierapetra: "Mycenaeanizing" or not at the end of the Bronze Age', in: K. T. Glowacki–N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), Στέγα: The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete. Hesperia Suppl. 44 (2011) 333–47.

[8]   V. Zographaki–A. Farnoux, 'Mission franco-hellénique de Dréros', BCH 134.2, 2010, 594–600; V. Zographaki–F. Gaignerot-Driessen–M. Devolder, 'Nouvelles recherches sur l'Anavlochos', BCH 137.2 (forthcoming).
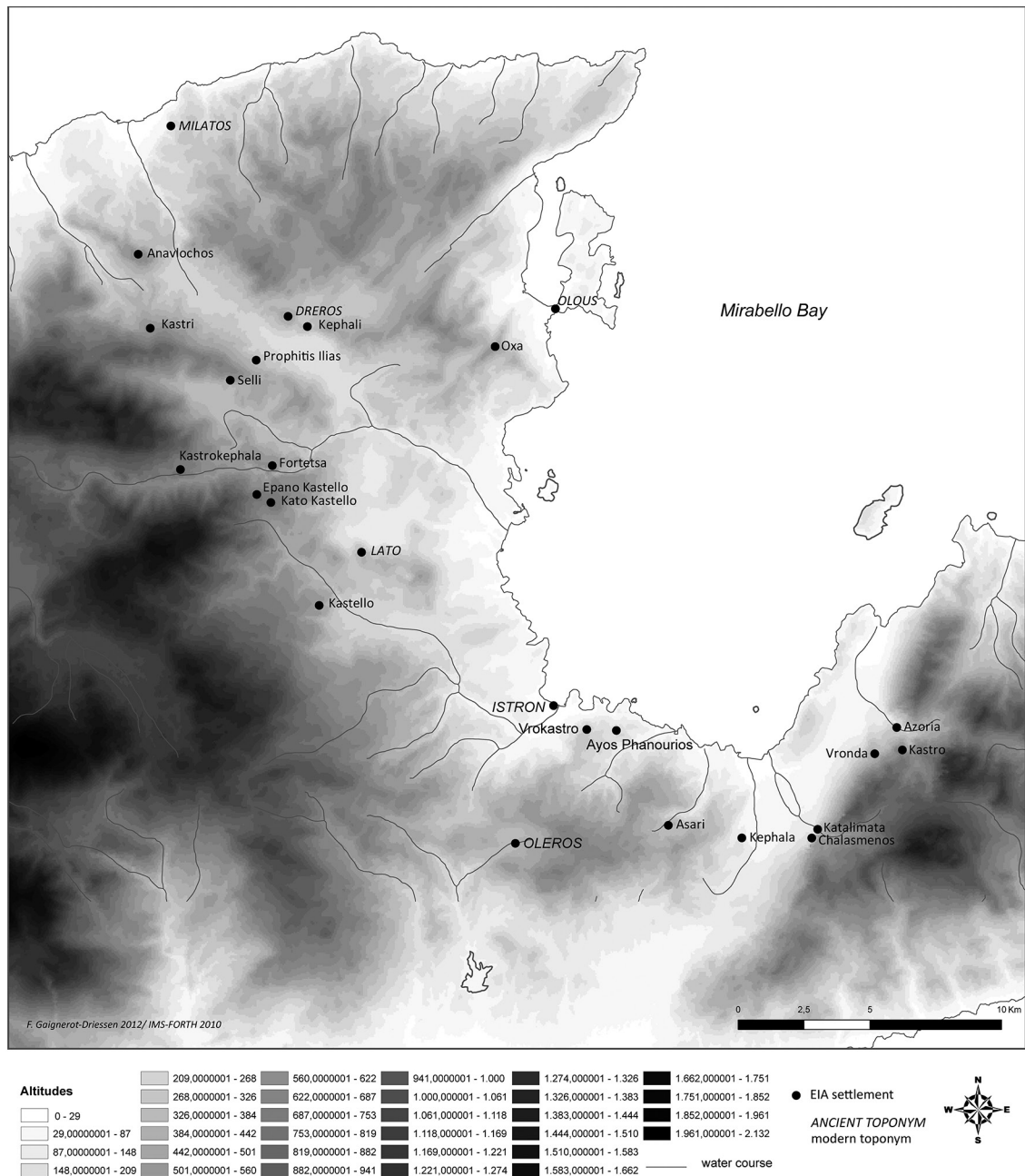
Figure 1. Map of the main Early Iron Age and Archaic settlements in the Mirabello region, eastern Crete (F. Gaignerot-Driessen/IMS-FORTH).

data to begin developing synthetic narratives of settlement development, urbanization, and *polis* formation in the Archaic Aegean (**fig. 1**).[9]

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[9] For recent examples, see L. Sjögren, Fragments of Archaic Crete: Archaeological Studies on Time and Space. Boreas 31 (2008); S. Wallace, Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC (2010); F. Gaignerot-Driessen, De l'occupation postpalatiale à la cité grecque: le cas du Mirambello (Crète). Unpub. PhD thesis, Univ. of Paris-Sorbonne (2013).

AZORIA IN THE 6TH CENTURY AND STATIC AND DYNAMIC SETTLEMENT STRUCTURES

By the end of the 7th century, the settlement structure at Azoria exhibits interesting similarities with that of Zagora (**fig. 3**). While the topography of the former, which consists of a rather irregular mountainous terrain, was not conducive to the construction of a rectilinear layout or regular orthogonal placement of buildings, the essential organizing principle is similar. A uniform and preconceived design and settlement plan was governed by the construction of segments of long walls—what we have called spine walls—that structured the terrain, organized space, and established the communication patterns. The walls formed an armature for houses and civic buildings, and the plan largely inhibited the intergenerational contiguous expansion of individual households outside this rigid framework (**fig. 2**). The construction took place over a relatively short period of time at the end of the 7th century, and shaped a constrained and static structure that was to remain fundamentally unchanged for more than a century of use until the site's abandonment in the early 5th century.

While the scale, materials, and methods of construction at Azoria represent an order of magnitude significantly greater than that of Zagora, the basic structuring of space is similar. From a temporal perspective—that is, through the duration of Archaic occupation—Azoria appears to lack significant formal and spatial modifications or rebuilding. That is to say, the basic layout of the settlement and structuring of space appear to have been established in the later part of the 7th century, with buildings continuously reused and internally modified over some four or five generations through the 6th and early 5th century. Two temporal processes deserve comment. One is the abrupt and widespread rebuilding of the settlement and reconstitution of the site at the end of the 7th century; the other, the static form and long duration of the resultant settlement structure, which was imprinted on the landscape in a horizon of rebuilding that completely transformed the Early Iron Age topography.

On the whole, Azoria, like Zagora a century earlier, looks very different from Early Iron Age settlements of mainland Greece, which demonstrate a dynamic structure: a repetitive and constantly shifting pattern of constructive and destructive events or episodes, such as continual or successive phases of building, destruction, rebuilding, expansion and contraction,
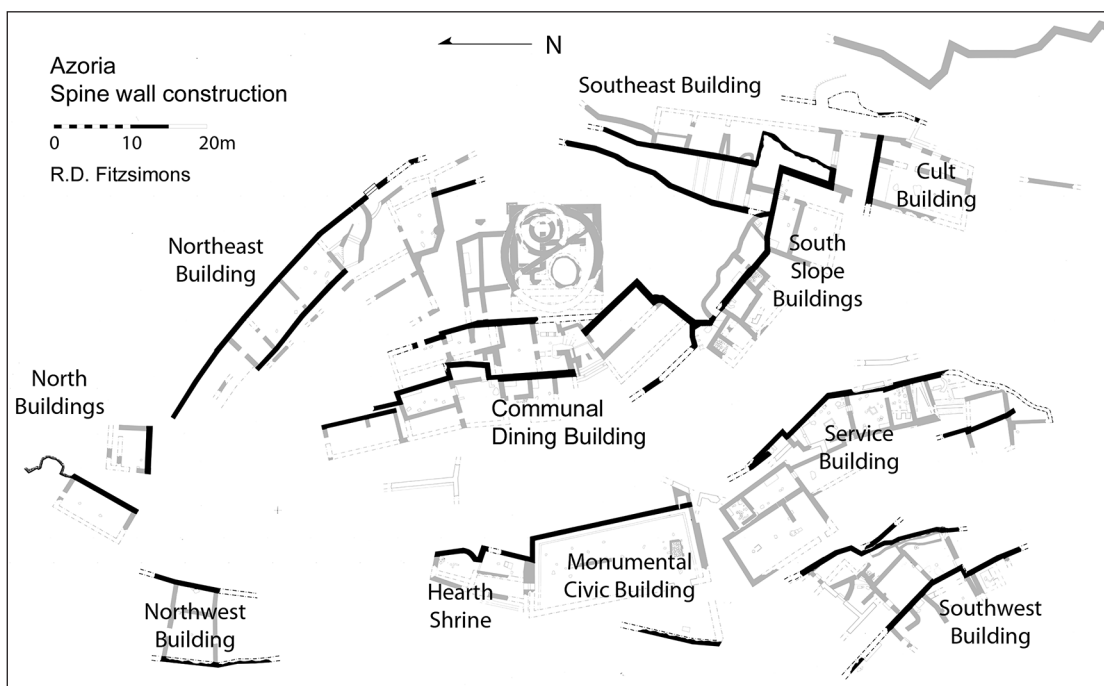
Figure 2. Spine walls at Azoria (R. D. Fitzszimons).
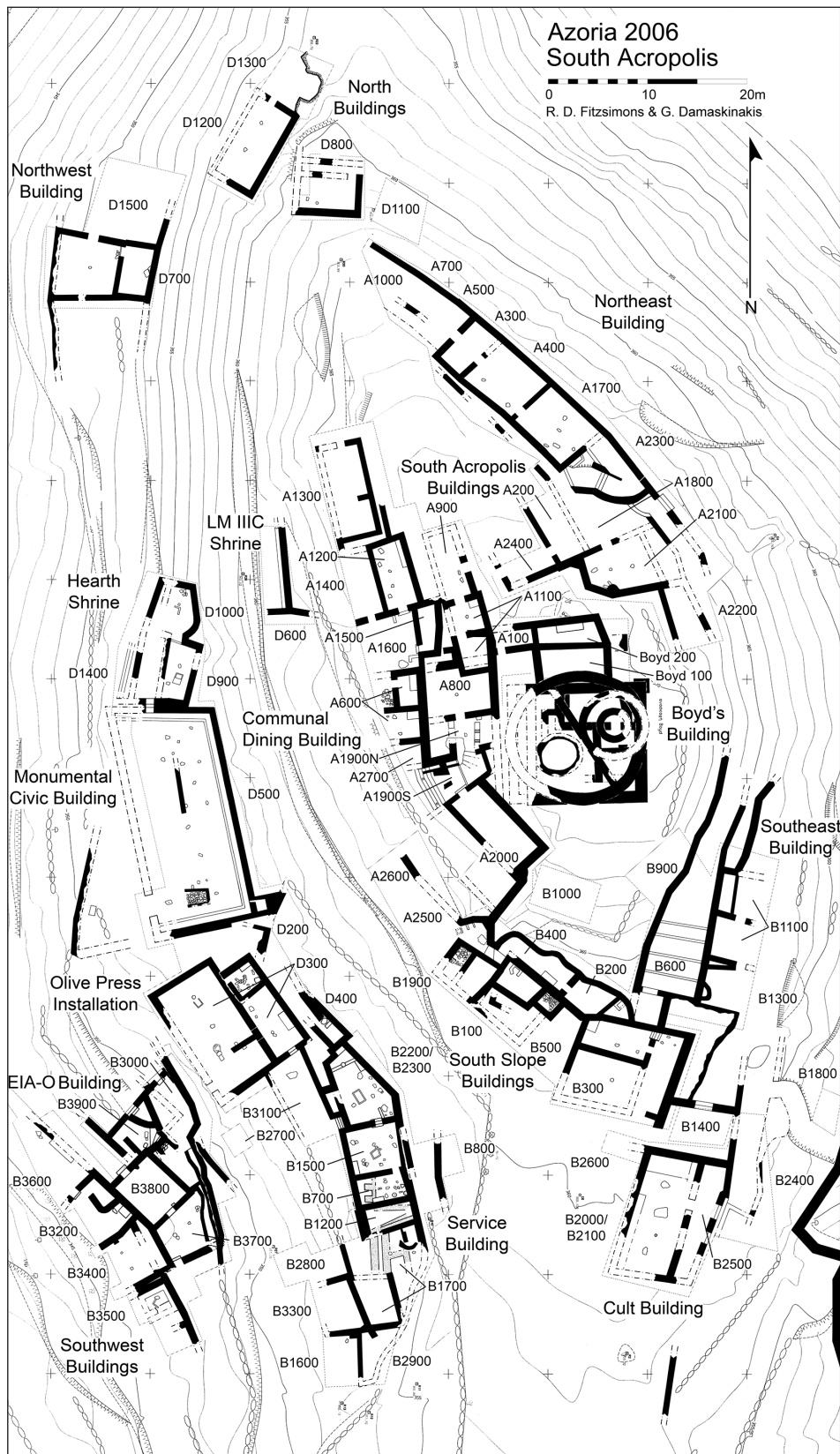
Figure 3. Plan of Azoria (R. D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskinakis).
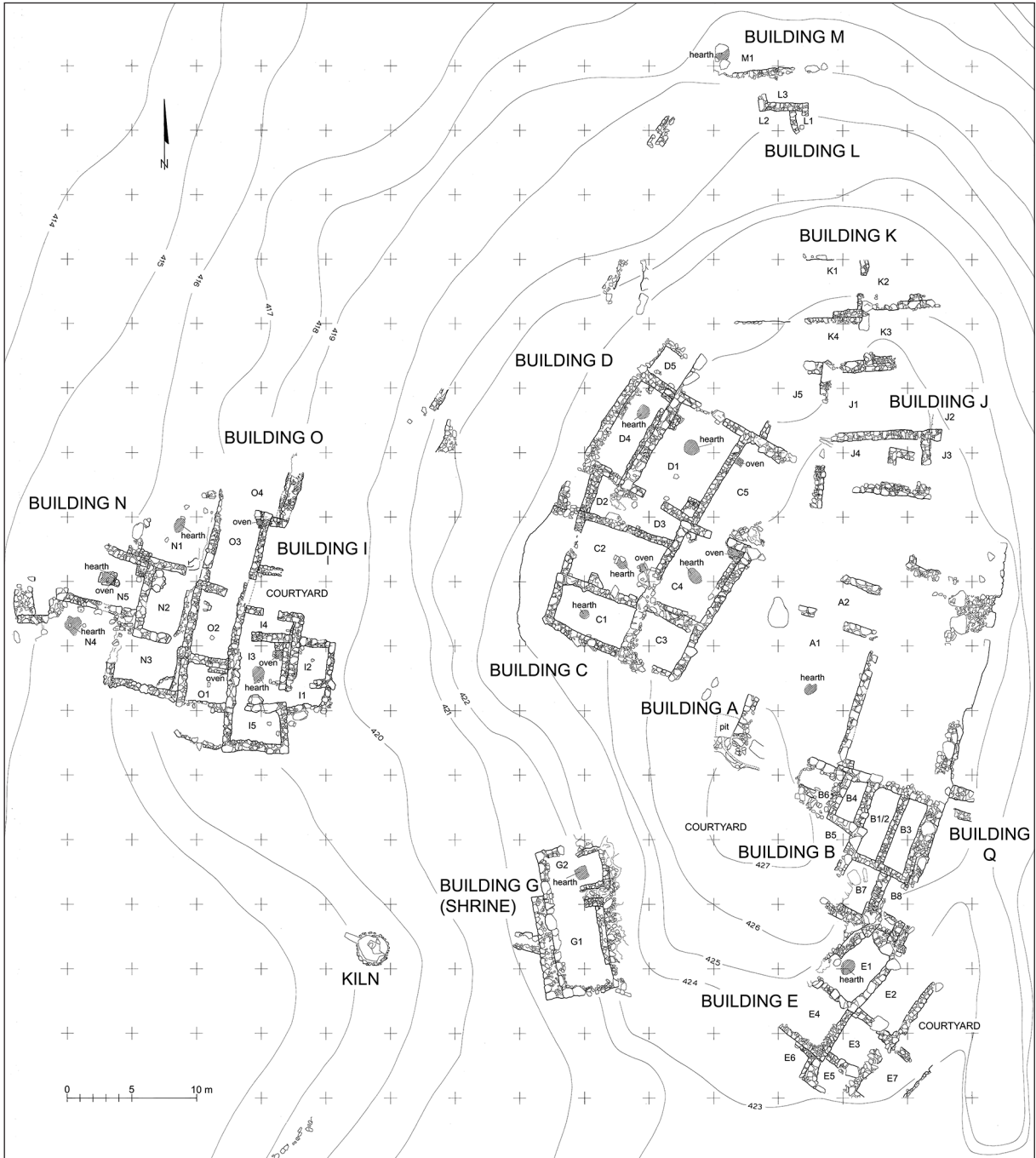
Figure 4. Plan of Vronda, Kavousi, showing building clusters (after Glowacki–Klein 2011 fig. 1).

Figure 5. Plan of the Kastro, Kavousi, showing building clusters (after Mook 2011 fig. 4).

and inter-nesting of free-standing houses, house clusters, and often intramural burials. This kind of regular or generational alteration of the topography is absent at Azoria. That said, both sites also differ markedly from the essentially static structure typical of Early Iron Age Cretan aggregated settlements, which show the gradual generational expansion and physical extension of households groups into the shape of clusters or neighbourhoods (**figs. 4–5**).[10] While the scale of building at Zagora is smaller, and temporal framework shorter, the essential pattern of construction is similar to that at Azoria.

[10] D. C. Haggis, 'Destruction and the formation of static and dynamic settlement structures', in: J. Driessen (ed.), Destruction. Archaeological, Philological and Historical Perspectives (2013) 61–84; K. Glowacki, 'House, household and community at LM IIIC Vronda, Kavousi', in Westgate–Fisher–Whitley (eds.) op. cit. (n. 1) 129–39; K. Glowacki– N. Klein, 'The Analysis of "Dark Age" Domestic Architecture: The LM IIIC Settlement at Kavousi Vronda', in: A. Mazarakis Ainian (ed.), The "Dark Ages" Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14–17 June 2007 (2011) 407–18; M. S. Mook, 'Early Iron Age Domestic Architecture: The Northwest Building on the Kastro at Kavousi', in: W. G. Cavanagh *et al.* (eds.), Post–Minoan Crete. Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete Held by the British School at Athens and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 10–11 November 1995. BSA Studies 2 (1998) 45–57; id., 'The Settlement on the Kastro at Kavousi in the Late Geometric Period', in Mazarakis Ainian (ed.) op. cit. 477–88.
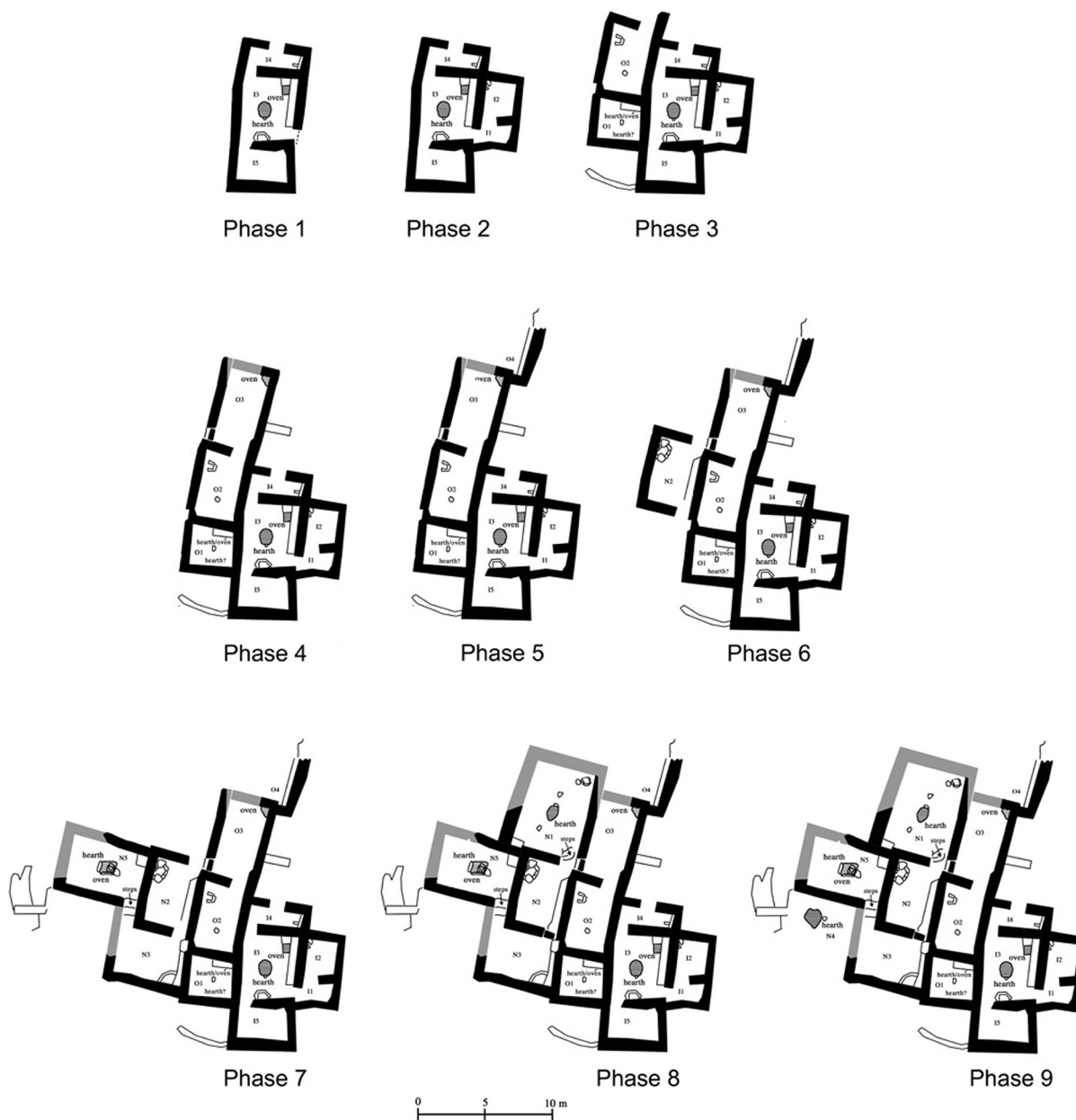
Figure 6. Development of Building I-O-N at Vronda (after Glowacki 2007 fig. 14: 4).

In Crete from Late Minoan IIIC to periods contemporary with Zagora, the structure of settlement appears generally stable, long-lived, and essentially static. Houses and settlements form discernable blocks of contiguous buildings that expanded independently and exponentially, forming proximate or co-residential compounds or clusters.[11] I call this structure 'static' because even though the house units evidently grew with additive constructions over generations, as at Vronda in Late Minoan IIIC (**fig. 4**), or in the case of the Kastro, over centuries spanning the 12th to the 7th centuries (**fig. 5**), this additive process augmented and formally replicated rather than replaced or destroyed the pre-existing forms

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[11] Glowacki–Klein art. cit.; Mook art. cit.

Figure 7. Development of the 'Northwest Building' on the Kastro (M. S. Mook).

of the building. Change is indicated by architecture being added directly onto existing core houses, creating agglomerative or agglutinative arrangements that do little to alter the overall experience of the form or visual appearance of the original structure (**figs. 6–7**). The formal change is assimilative and centripetal, accruing layers of similar or identical architectural forms. The visual appearance and organizational pattern articulates permanence, constancy, and conservativeness; the perennial restoration if not the conceptual immutability of the built environment. This form of building may have served to express a visual memory and idea of original or ancestral foundations. In essence, Early Iron Age Cretan houses were the physical extension of domestic space, a periodically expanding architectural landscape that necessitated the negotiation of space, with neighbouring households and common spaces, and an active assimilation of identity and continuity with every generational change and addition to the house unit.

At the end of the 7th century at Azoria there was a radical break with this Early Iron Age pattern, constituting a dynamic phase transition with remarkable changes in settlement structure.[12] In contrast to what we see in the neighbouring Late Minoan IIIC or Late

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[12] D. C. Haggis, 'Social Organization and Aggregated Settlement Structure in an Archaic Greek City on Crete', in: J. Birch (ed.), From Prehistoric Villages to Cities: Settlement Aggregation and Community Transformation (2013) 63–86.

Geometric settlements, in which the gradual and continuous growth of individual kinship groups determined the structure, the Archaic-period houses of the South Acropolis at Azoria were new constructions and planned components of the design of the city centre, remaining as far as we can tell formally and functionally unchanged for several generations of use until their abandonment early in the 5th century (**figs. 3, 8**). The Archaic houses were tied directly into the overall renovation of the site, locked into the original rebuilding and reorganization of space by the early 6th century, and display no evidence for subsequent modular or incremental expansion or development.

Even though we do not know precisely what the pre-Archaic settlement of Azoria looked like—remains going back from LM IIIC to Early Orientalizing are found throughout the excavated areas—we can say that the change itself was a widespread, destructive, and transformative process. Early Iron Age houses, burials, and a temple were buried rather than reused or reintegrated into the Archaic settlement plan.[13] While the transition itself was a dynamic process of destruction and rebuilding on an unprecedented scale, the effort was clearly to create a new series of static installations—what we think of as a number of separate established houses, perhaps best visualized as élite residences or centres of large *oikoi*. The evidence suggests that these new houses were essentially centres of multi-local or dispersed households whose dependents were located elsewhere in the settlement or on rural estates.

THE ARCHAIC HOUSES AT AZORIA

The houses are large, with clearly definable and functionally differentiated areas such as halls, kitchens, and storerooms, sometimes with corridors (**fig. 8**).[14] Domestic units have courtyards and vestibules, in some cases tending toward radial rather than strictly linear plans, but the central mediating space is the hall, which communicates most readily with storerooms and exterior space, clearly controlling access to storage from areas outside the house. The functional differentiation of multiple rooms is not an innovation in Archaic Crete. Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing houses on the Kastro for example (**fig. 7**) show similar if slightly less developed forms, though the so-called multi-functional hearth room remains a dominant feature from Late Minoan IIIC onward (**figs. 5–6**). It is the dynamic transition in constructing the built environment in the 7th century, and the form of settlement structure throughout the duration of the Archaic period that are new.

Four characteristics of the houses at Azoria are relevant to our discussion here. First, they are integrated into the restructuring of the settlement along with communal buildings. That is to say, while their construction was a dynamic and transformative renovation of the Early Iron Age landscape, their establishment and history suggest the physical and symbolic codification of the household in the community, and its integration into the overall fabric of the built environment and civic architecture.

Second, the forms of the houses remain unchanged for over a century of use, reaffirming the historical memory and permanence of the social groups, as well as the essential social-symbolic roles, status, and identity of these families and their relationship to the adjacent civic buildings, by means of their architectural form and integration into a network of spine walls, their proximity to public buildings, and the communication patterns (**fig. 3**).

[13] D. C. Haggis–M. S. Mook, 'The Early Iron Age-Archaic Transition in Crete: the Evidence from Recent Excavations at Azoria, Eastern Crete', in Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.) op. cit. 515–27.

[14] D. C. Haggis–M. S. Mook, 'The Archaic Houses at Azoria', in Glowacki–Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.) op. cit. (n. 7) 367–80.
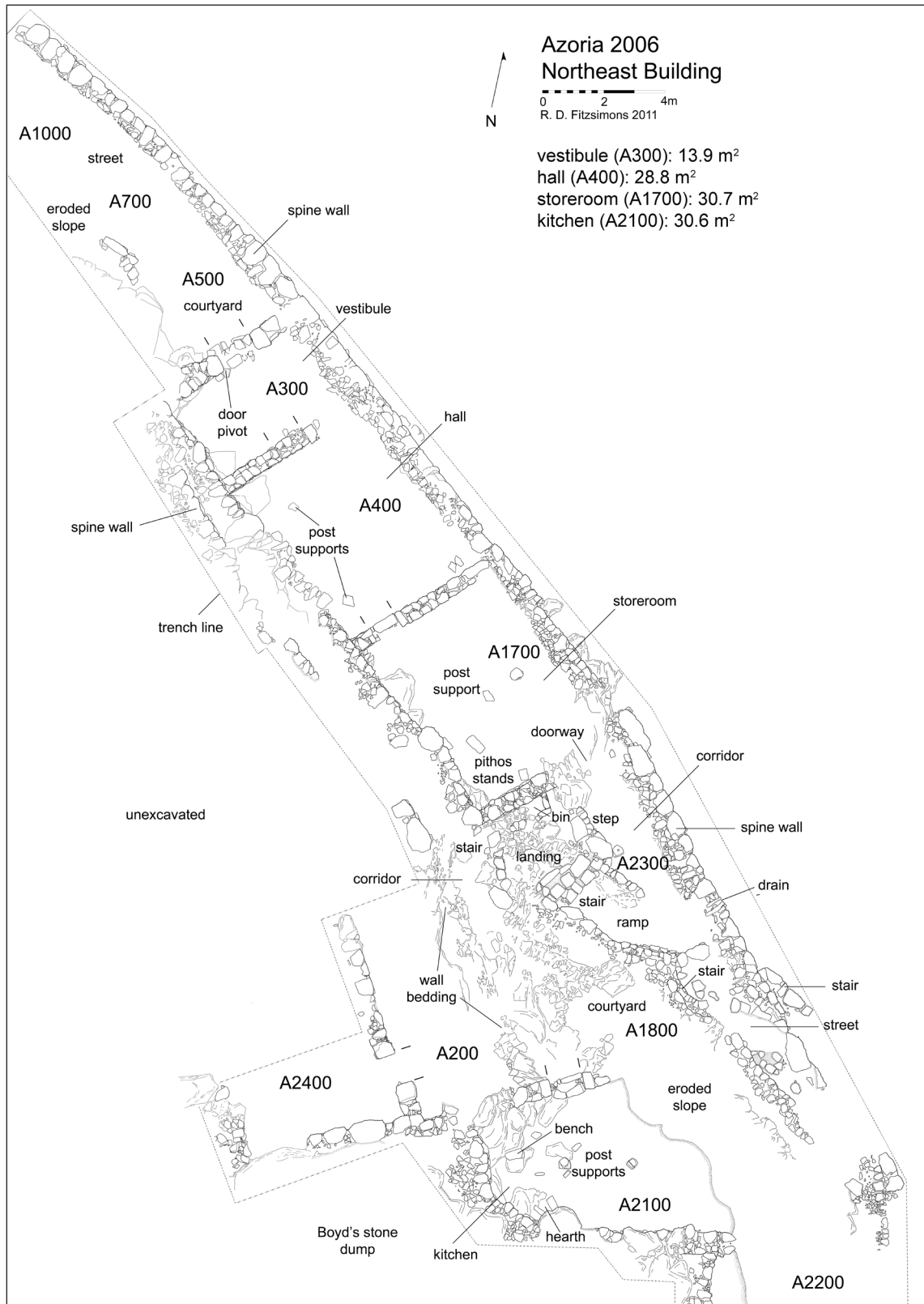
Figure 8. Archaic house at Azoria: 'Northeast Building' (R. D. Fitzsimons).

Third, the economy of the household is defined by evidence for final-stage food storage, processing, and consumption. The animal and plant remains, tool kits, and kitchen assemblages, in marked contrast to Early Iron Age predecessors at neighbouring sites, demonstrate components of final-stage food processing along with high-capacity storage facilities. Querns, handstones, and terracotta mortars, used for breaking up whole grains and pulses, were found along with graters, strainers, bowls, and a range of other vessels suggesting meal preparation and serving. While amphorae and pithoi were evidently used for storing clean grains, wine, oil, olives, and a variety of other fruit, the lack of evidence for extensive and large-scale primary processing of grain, wine, and olive oil within the houses, and the volume and character of primary butchering debris, suggest that residences so far recovered in the centre were primarily those of managers and consumers. The full range of drinking and dining equipment is also found preserved in the halls at the time of abandonment, indicating routine household activities as well as semi-public or formal supra-household drinking and dining.

Finally, the storage capacity and the material elaboration of the pithoi themselves far exceeds what we would expect for normal subsistence or household consumption needs of individual families or immediate kin, indicating that the houses served, in a sense, as managing centres of larger estates and corporate social or kinship groups. Domestic pithos storage capacity probably exceeded 4,500–5,000 litres per household storeroom, and the kind of foodstuff that survives—wine or must, oil, olives, and perishables such as fruit and clean grains and pulses—is evidence that the residents were moving and managing produce through their storerooms for personal daily consumption as well as redistribution, perhaps in the form of payments owed to public or civic dining halls, such as the Communal Dining Building and the Monumental Civic Building (**fig. 3**).

The form of the houses, their assemblages, physical placement within the settlement, and their close relationship to communal buildings thus paint a picture of urban residences that were very likely centres of multi-local *oikoi*—larger corporate groups of interdependent kin, serfs, and slaves residing within but also presumably outside the city. In short, Azoria may have functioned as a kind of consumer city, in which urban élite residences, grouped in close proximity to public buildings, governed the production, mobilization, and redistribution of agricultural produce as wages, rations, and tithes. The latter would have supplied public feasts and paid for the construction and maintenance of civic buildings, though not on the scale of later Classical and Hellenistic cities which functioned as imperialistic administrative centres.[15]

ZAGORA IN CRETAN PERSPECTIVE

Turning to Zagora, especially the central area D/H, the plan of the settlement presents analogous developments, anticipating what we see at Azoria a century later. As mentioned at the outset of this paper, one important point of comparison is the overall structuring of space. The regular and unified grid-like plan consists of long wall segments, not unlike spine walls, that anchored and created a physical armature for new constructions in LG I. Even though there is extensive evidence for MG occupation across the site and identifiable floor surfaces underlying LG phases, it is clear that the essential form and structure of the settlement were established in LG I.[16] While satisfying our preconception of urban-like planning, the tidy regularity of the orthogonal and rectilinear arrangement may be less important than the

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[15] As in I. Morris, 'The growth of Greek cities in the first millennium BC', Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics 2010, 5–6.

[16] A. Cambitoglou *et al.*, Zagora 2. Excavation of a Geometric Town on the Island of Andros. Excavation Season 1969; Study Season 1969–1970 (1988) 150–4, 238.

temporal context of the foundation of the settlement—the preconceived design and new execution in LG I. The planned and synchronic structuring and delimiting of space predicated not only by the placement of houses (however we ultimately define them), but also by a static and permanent form that impeded intergenerational expansion. While there were internal changes in LG II, and a probable expansion of the settlement to the north in area D, the process of structural change was controlled—it either conformed to the spine-wall template, as in the addition of units D19 and D20, or it remained remarkably internalized as in H26-H27-H32. That is to say, while it is possible that H19-H22, H22-H23, and H28-H29, represent three separate households in LG I, their transformation into a unified court-centred suite in LG II was constrained by an established framework that remained essentially unchanged.

On contemporary Crete, as discussed above, the static structure of settlement encouraged the unrestrained agglomerative expansion of individual household units, creating simply a replication of units within integrated co-residential clusters rather than a more complex house plan. By contrast, at Zagora, the houses of D/H become internally more compartmentalized. I wonder if the primary units D9 and H17-H18-H20 which had become apparently larger and formalized in LG II with the addition of D26, might not have originally belonged to a larger established house that included D9, D20, and D16 with courtyard space in D15 and D17.[17] While phasing at the site needs to be re-examined irrespective of wall abutments and bonding,[18] the internalized dynamics of construction throughout LG represent a marked contrast with Cretan patterns. Furthermore, and even more surprisingly, settlement development at the site represents a departure from the prevalent dynamic structure in adjacent mainland Greece, which evidently required the regular periodic rebuilding, juxtaposition, and destruction of sequences of houses or house plots. This difference at Zagora is critical, and should tell us something of the social structure of the community.

COMMENTS

The changes in houses at Zagora in LG II involved an increase in the complexity of design or at least a tendency toward functional differentiation of space, with a shift from roughly *megaron* forms to courtyard-centred *oikos*-like plans, including separation of dining or reception areas and storerooms.[19] While much more contextual analysis is needed in understanding room functions at the site, what is significant is the constrained or contained development of space, i.e. the changes are mostly contained and internalized, statically adhering to the broader structure initially established in LG I. This suggests to me not so much the internalizing of the *oikos*, but rather the importance of the overall structure and design in maintaining the static form of houses, the physical articulation of households or household groups, and the materialization of élite residences as social units. In this sense, I would agree with A. Coucouzeli's model of the aristocratic basis, and social and ideological implications of the establishment of the new static grid-like plan and the formation of courtyard houses.[20] The initial change in settlement structure from MG to LG was a dynamic transitional phase marking the establishment of the plan, clearly at the expense of the earlier topography. This should be seen as a significant event and cultural or even political process, one that required the foundation of new houses, and thus an expression of new household identities within the community.

[17] Coucouzeli art. cit. (n. 1) 170–1.

[18] Cambitoglou *et al*. op. cit. 150–1.

[19] Ibid. 238; Morris loc. cit. (n. 15).

[20] Coucouzeli art. cit. (n. 1) esp. 177–9.

The houses in D/H are large in size, and overall form a series of exclusive courtyards that mediated interaction within or between residences. While there appears to be greater differentiation of functional areas and more complex house plans in LG II, we have yet to understand clearly the function of spaces in LG I and the interrelationships between units. Contiguous buildings of the first phase may have been proximate residences or compounds, and while we consider the subdivisions of space and tendencies toward complex plans in LG II to be a matter of practicality and the constraints of the pre-established grid-like structure, it is also possible that the inhabitants consciously strove to adhere as much as possible to the original form—that is, the social meaning of these established houses in LG I retained their associations through LG II and were deliberately maintained through the expansion of the settlement, perhaps even in response to increased social emulation and competition.[21]

The developmental typology of the courtyard house is a historicist's model, an intrinsically Greek and somehow *polis*-based cultural artefact that has become a conceptual benchmark for socio-political complexity. The culture-history approach and methodological preoccupation with the house type, however, may be distracting us from essential archaeological questions and ultimately limiting our ability to understanding the social and political dimensions of the Zagora community through time; these are perhaps even basic middle-range questions that might be answered with a careful contextual analysis of published data as well as future excavation at the site. Most important would be changes in systemic assemblages between LG I and LG II (or even earlier and later periods), which might allow us to disaggregate and isolate the basic social and economic units making up these buildings—and indeed to define the household in archaeological terms. Critical analyses would include resource mobilization, storage, and space allocation; a careful reconsideration of taphonomy; and the implications of abandonment-phase assemblages, suggesting patterns of food processing and consumption, and household industries.

As an artefact of an early Greek proto-urban community, Zagora provides a compelling analytical template for our work at Azoria. Although later in date, and clearly urban in character and function, both the transition marking the establishment of houses and public spaces at Azoria, and the structure of the settlement through time, present striking parallels with Zagora. I think that the similarity has more to do with parallel social structures and diachronic patterns of cultural production than with political developments or emerging complexity in the 8th-century Aegean. I would also say that houses at Zagora functioned in essentially the same way throughout LG, and that the principal problem we face is the formal definition of the house and the function of the household. For example, the emphasis on concentration and elaboration of storage in decorated pithoi, as visible indications of the household's agricultural wealth, might indicate a consumer culture and the mobilization and display of effective surpluses.[22] The complexity of houses, the static design and residual adherence to the plan, demonstrate the institutionalization of the household, probably extended or corporate *oikoi*, economically and physically differentiated from other residential and industrial sectors of the town (such as area J), and expressing the social and probably political role of a group of families, élites or *aristoi*, privileged segmented lineages, whose form of settlement signals an urban transformation in the middle of the 8th century.

[21] Ibid., esp. 177–9.

[22] S. Ebbinghaus, 'Protector of the City, or the Art of Storage in Early Greece', JHS 125, 2005, 55–6.