



n. 1 | 2020

Roma 2020
Edizioni Quasar



Pelargòs

RIVISTA DI STUDI SUL MONDO CLASSICO

pubblicata per le cure della Fondazione Paestum

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Pelargòs è la cicogna, nome che, a ragione del continuo vagare del pennuto, fu utilizzato per indicare i Pelargi, il mitico popolo antico, celebre per le sue migrazioni: ad Atene essi avrebbero costruito quelle mura, perciò dette pelargiche, che cingevano l'Acropoli e parte della città bassa, prima del circuito realizzato da Temistocle. Straordinaria è la raffigurazione della cicogna appollaiata su un muro nella stele di Telemachos di Acarne, il costruttore dell'*Asklepieion* di Atene, a riprova dell'identificazione di quel muro, da parte degli Ateniesi del V secolo, con il pelargico, come apprendiamo da Tucidide. A dir il vero, quel popolo si chiamava Pelasgi, ma con un piccolo artificio retorico, per il quale venne chiamato in causa il rotacismo, diventò i Pelargi, in modo da farlo derivare dal nome della cicogna. Il mito ci è stato consegnato in varie versioni che vanno dalla migrazione dei Pelasgi nell'Attica e da qui a Lemno, fino ad identificarsi con i popoli primitivi dell'Italia antica secondo un'altra celebre versione. Abbiamo scelto questo nome per una Rivista di Studi sul Mondo Classico, in virtù della forte identificazione del *pelargòs* con la migrazione, argomento che vogliamo considerare uno degli aspetti principali della nostra riflessione, ma non solo, perché per noi la migrazione sarà quella degli antichi ma anche una metafora degli studiosi che osservano il mondo greco in ogni angolo del Mediterraneo dalla Grecia propria alla Magna Grecia ed alla Sicilia fino all'incontro con le componenti locali ed a quello con le culture fenicio-puniche, dalla penisola iberica alla Sardegna al Nord Africa ed al Vicino Oriente antico, osservatori di inestimabile valore documentario. Ma non perderemo di vista il forte senso umanitario che ha oggi la migrazione, effetto di espulsioni, persecuzioni, mentre popoli del Mediterraneo si spostano solo perché vanno alla ricerca di un luogo dove vivere in pace.

Pelargòs means stork. This name is derived from the bird's long voyages and could also invoke the Pelargi, a mythical ancient people who were famous for their migrations. In Athens it was said that the Pelargi built a circuit of walls, called *pelargic*, to encircle the Arcopolis and part of the lower city. These supposedly were the city's walls before the circuit built by Themistocles. In the 5th century, the walls which were thought to be the work of the Pelargi were identified with a sculpture of a stork perched on a wall. This sculpture was carved into the Stele of Telemachos of Acarne, the builder of the Athenian Asklepieion. That this carving identified these walls with the work of the mythical Pelargi is supported by Thucydides. The symbol of the stork was itself the product of a linguistic transformation and a false etymology. In truth, the people who were invoked as the builders of these walls had been called *Pelasgi*, which with a rhotacism became *Pelargi*. The name *Pelargi* was associated with the stork. This myth has reached us in various versions. One account describes the migration of the Pelasgians to Attica and from Attica to Lemnos, up until their presumptive identification with Italic peoples. We chose this name for a Journal of Studies of the Classical World because of the link between *Pelargòs* and one of our main areas of concern, migration. Here, migration will also serve as a paradigm which will encompass scholars of the Greek world in every Mediterranean shore from Greece, to Magna Graecia and Sicily as well as in all those places where we find interactions between Greeks and local populations, including the Phoenician-Punic cultures of the Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, North Africa and the Ancient Near East. But we must not lose sight of the urgent humanitarian resonance which the word migration evokes today at a time when people are forced to move across the Mediterranean in search of places where they might live in peace.



n. 1 | 2020

Roma 2020
Edizioni Quasar

La rivista adotta il sistema di *double blind peer review*

Per maggiori informazioni: www.fondazionepaestum.com/pelargos

Per le recensioni, si prega di inviare i volumi da recensire all'indirizzo:

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Per le proposte di contributi, si prega di inviare i manoscritti all'indirizzo e-mail:

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ISSN 2723-9551

ISBN 978-88-5491-085-0

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Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon srl

via Ajaccio 41-43 – I-00198 Roma

tel. (39)0685358444, fax (39)0685833591

per informazioni e ordini: www.edizioniquasar.it

Finito di stampare nel mese di ottobre 2020 presso GlobalPrint – Gorgonzola (MI)

INDICE

Miscellanea

- 11 Il passaggio dall'Età del Bronzo all'Età del Ferro nelle Cicladi. La testimonianza della ceramica e delle pratiche funerarie
Nota Kourou
- 25 Civic Architecture and the Social Dimensions of the Built Environment in Archaic Crete. The Case of Azoria in the 6th Century B.C.
Donald C. Haggis, Rodney D. Fitzsimons
- 53 Griegos y Fenicios en el *emporion* de Huelva
Adolfo J. Domínguez Monedero
- 77 L'émergence de Zeus Olympien, la deuxième naissance d'Athéna et le nouveau Dionysos
Patrick Marchetti
- 91 Quattro riflessioni sulla museruola quale insegna del potere
Raimon Graells i Fabregat
- 99 Artemide cerca Kasas
Emanuele Greco
- 107 Eracle e i bagni di acque calde: tra strumentalizzazione del mito e relativismo etico
Carmelo Di Nicuolo

Il mondo greco: scoperte e studi

- 129 Τα Έργα στην Αχαΐα: le ricerche degli ultimi dieci anni nella moderna regione nel nord del Peloponneso
Federica Iannone

- 153 Metaponto e il Metapontino
Calogero Ivan Tornese
- 165 Per una rassegna su pozzi, cisterne e non solo: prospettive di ricerca sulla gestione dell'acqua nella Sicilia greca
Marcella Pisani
- 183 Recenti ricerche sul versante calabrese del golfo di Policastro: gli scavi della missione archeologica dell'Università di Messina (2016-2019)
Fabrizio Mollo
- 203 A proposito della nuova guida di Corinto. Considerazioni sullo stato della ricerca archeologica
Alexia Giglio

Rassegne e discussioni

- 219 Ritorno all'agora di Atene
Michele Scafuro
- 223 Nuove proposte di ricerca negli studi dell'archeologia portuale
Anna Salzano
- 233 Continuità, discontinuità, trasformazione di una comunità epirota
Angela Pontrandolfo
- 239 ¿Reconstruir la guerra Antigua a partir de los textos?
Raimon Graells i Fabregat
- 245 Partenone e dintorni
Emanuele Greco

In memoriam

- 251 L'altra Acropoli. Un ricordo di Manólis Glézos
Vincenzo Franciosi

ABBREVIAZIONI

Le abbreviazioni delle riviste seguono il sistema dell' *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Le fonti greche e latine sono abbreviate rispettivamente secondo i sistemi del *Liddell-Scott-Jones* e del *Lewis-Short*.

ad es.	= ad esempio
ca.	= circa
cd.	= cosiddetto/a
cds	= in corso di stampa
cfr.	= confronta
cm	= centimetri
elab.	= elaborazione
fig./figg.	= figura/e
km	= chilometri
in part.	= in particolare
m	= metri
max.	= massimo
n./nn.	= nota/e
n°/nn°	= numero/i
p./pp.	= pagina/e
riel.	= rielaborazione
s./ss.	= seguente/i
s.l.m.	= sul livello del mare
s.v./s.vv.	= sotto voce/i
suppl.	= supplemento
tav./tavv.	= tavola/e
trad.	= traduzione
vd.	= vedi

Donald C. Haggis
Rodney D. Fitzsimons

CIVIC ARCHITECTURE AND
THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS
OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT
IN ARCHAIC CRETE.
THE CASE OF AZORIA
IN THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

Abstract. Early Greek urbanization has been linked to processes evidently underway during the 8th-6th centuries B.C.: the demarcation of an *agora*; the formalization of sanctuaries and monumentalization of temples; the relocation and marginalization of cemeteries; and eventually, the structuring of political, residential, industrial, and mercantile spaces. While these developments are neither coterminous nor consistently in evidence throughout the Aegean, Crete remains a significant outlier. The island is known historically for its early cities, but we know remarkably little about their archaeology until the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., when sites such as Lato and Dreros may provide material evidence for features such as putative *agoras*, places for civic assemblies, sanctuaries, and residential zones. This paper examines public or civic architecture at the Archaic site of Azoria, arguing that the sociopolitical organization of early Crete may have generated distinctive forms of urban architecture, differing remarkably from those typically associated with cities in the Classical Aegean.

THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY OF THE CRETAN URBAN LANDSCAPE

Material evidence for urban landscapes of Crete in the 6th and early 5th centuries is generally sparse because of entrenched research agendas and traditional field practices, as well as formation processes. There is no question that the early 20th century interest in Crete's prehistory created an enduring Bronze Age research emphasis and sampling bias, and thus a remarkable imbalance with work on the archaeology of historical periods. At the same time, the island's unusually well-preserved epigraphic *corpus* for Archaic and Classical periods stimulated the documentation of inscriptions and a robust discourse on social and political history and historical topography with little regard for archaeological context¹. This methodological bifurcation should not imply a particular disinterest in the archaeology of documented *polis* sites, but it has led to a dearth of well-documented material at our disposal, as well as a scholarly disconnect between archaeology and history, effectively limiting the potential of both fields to understand Archaic Crete². One casualty of this separation of fields is the perception of culture change in the late 7th and 6th centuries, leading archaeologists to interpret apparent stratigraphic discontinuities and the lack of robust material evidence - a product of their own sampling biases - as the result of sociopolitical collapse, economic decline, cultural isolation, and significant demographic change, conditions incongruous with the contemporary

1 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, vii-viii; WHITLEY 2017, 90; see KOTSONAS 2019b, for an illuminating research history of Lyktos, including discussion of the epigraphical significance of the site, recognized in the early 20th century, as well as the question of Guarducci's interest in archaeological context (p. 417).

2 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 6.

inscriptions. Thus, our picture of Archaic and Classical Crete has always been drawn from disparate epigraphical sources and later historical and literary traditions, combined with limited excavation data - the latter belonging to either earlier (8th to 7th centuries) or later (4th to 2nd centuries) periods.

In short, most Archaic and early Classical Cretan cities remain unexcavated, if not completely unexplored, while at many sites, continuous occupation into Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and indeed modern periods presents obvious technical problems of recovery, preservation, and archaeological visibility of earlier phases of occupation. The truth is that our reconstruction of the topography of pre-Hellenistic cities in the Aegean generally depends on a few sites whose centers have been extensively and deeply excavated³, supplemented with an aggregate of diverse data derived from topographical survey and historical and literary texts - and the latter are rarely contemporary with the narrow excavation samples of early periods. That is, until the 4th century, our picture of the physical topography and archaeology of cities is skeletal if not peripheral, and our narratives remain largely conceptual and abstract: a hypothetical and largely anachronistic retrojection derived from chronologically and geographically diverse material forms of ancient Greek urbanism⁴.

For Crete, the situation may be slightly worse than in mainland Greece. Paula Perlman has recently compiled 100 settlements of Archaic and Classical date known from archaeological evidence and/or written sources, of which 64 have documented toponyms or city-ethnics⁵. Forty-nine of these comprise Perlman's list of certain, probable, and possible *poleis*, conforming to criteria of the Copenhagen Polis Centre's *Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* - that is, cities either named in a contemporary written source or reasonably indicating functions of a *polis*. The remaining 51 sites are either unidentified or not formally attested or qualified as *poleis* in Archaic or Classical sources. The archaeology of these settlements - both attested and unattested *polis* sites - is poorly understood with few exceptions.

So, while traditional scholarly practices may account for our lack of archaeological material, there are also two fundamental problems with excavating and studying urban sites, which should caution against uncritical generalization, skeptical disregard of unique samples, and of course negative argumentation (mostly *ex silentio*) in considering the topography of Archaic Cretan *poleis*. The first is that cities as archaeological contexts are dynamic temporal and cultural phenomena, constituting continuous processes of physical development through time. So, whatever constituted a city at any point in its history should present material evidence and architectural forms relevant to specific historical and archaeological contexts, and of course, particular cultural, sociopolitical, and economic conditions. The second problem is that while a city's material characteristics in any period may reflect its contemporary and perhaps idiosyncratic form of civic institutionalization, they may also conform to a stratigraphic aggregate of earlier remains of urbanization, affecting their form and appearance⁶. Ultimately, the historical longevity of urban centers as well as the conditions of their abandonment should have affected both the survivability and archaeological visibility of each period of their life-history. In systemic terms then, the durational processes of aggregation, nucleation, building, rebuilding, preservation, destruction, abandonment, and reoccupation, and potentially variable physical and agropastoral environments and modes of social, political and economic organization, will have shaped the urban topography available for us to discover and examine.

Thus, from an archaeological perspective, it is difficult to say what Archaic Cretan cities actually looked like, and written sources, the normal basis for our attribution of urban status, provide few direct clues. It is important

3 GRECO 2009, 115.

4 POLIGNAC 2005, 46, 52-63.

5 PERLMAN 2004a, 1144-1145.

6 GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN 2014, 17-18; see also GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 6.

however to note that those same sources do imply that the city center itself (as a *polis* town) was perceived as a physical geographic entity if not definable zone of occupation, while the common use of city-ethnics suggests a collective community of place⁷. This general picture, that is, the physical form and spatial definition of the city, is significant and seems to match archaeological evidence of regional nucleation and coalescence of occupation. These are of course processes beginning perhaps as early as the 10th century and continuing through the 8th century, reaching a critical threshold in the Protoarchaic period - probably in the latter half of the 7th century⁸. The actual details of settlement form are, however, for the most part unknown. We know next to nothing of their internal structure, that is, the specific details of their plans, spatial organization, or architectural forms, though surveyed and partially excavated late 7th and 6th century sites do seem to be settlement aggregates physically separate from the countryside and fitting a general picture of urbanization as nucleation. But what did the Archaic city look like within its urban core?

According to M. Gagarin and P. Perlman's comprehensive study of Cretan legal inscriptions from Archaic and Classical periods, we may conclude that the city could have had an *agora* (a public gathering place of some sort); an *andreion* (men's hall); a gymnasium; a *synbolētra* (a possible place for a council); and a *koros*, a place for dancing⁹. We are not provided indications of functions or descriptions of architectural forms, and some of these are likely to have been simply places defined through customary local practices, perhaps as demarcated open areas rather than architecturally elaborated spaces. Only the *andreion* can reasonably be thought of as a building *per se*, though its particular form (if it had one) and physical integration within the city remain unknown. There are however sufficient indications of some form of communal dining and drinking in the *andreion*, as well as public allocations of food, and ritual installations¹⁰. Urban houses or town houses are also mentioned in the inscriptions, as are urban temples¹¹. The definition (and function) of early Cretan temples is of course still a matter of considerable debate, and archaeological remains of buildings with such attributions from Dreros, Prinias, Axos, and perhaps Gortyn, suggest that they were relatively small in size, internalized in ritual functions, and closely integrated into the architectural fabric of the city center¹². Finally, Gagarin and Perlman's study identifies various civic collective bodies in the early Cretan city, though offers no information on their venues for meeting. There is some evidence of the existence of councils, and the use of city-ethnics and the term *polis* may suggest political collectives analogous to an assembly¹³, but there are no references to the specific form of buildings, and few details of practices that could predict meaningful or recognizable archaeological correlates. Attributions of an *andreion* at Apherati and Dreros, and a *prytaneion* at Ayia Pelagia are not unconvincing in their use of architectural analogy and contextual evidence, though the use of the term *prytaneion* is not attested in Archaic and early Classical inscriptions¹⁴. The epigraphical and archaeological evidence of a *prytaneion* at Lato, and the so-called "theater" and "exedra" in the same city - stepped structures that have been called by archaeologists an *ekkesiasterion* and *bouleterion* - are probably very late in date (4th-3rd centuries) and even if accurately attributed, should not necessarily predict the form of 6th or 5th century formal predecessors or institutions in a Cretan context¹⁵.

7 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 38-40, 58.

8 KOTSONAS 2002; HAGGIS 2013; 2014b, 119-121; GAIGNEROT-DRIESSEN 2017.

9 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 39.

10 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 93-95.

11 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 38-39, 87, 128.

12 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 13, 29; Gagarin and Perlman recognize that most buildings archaeologically identifiable as temples belong to the 8th and 7th centuries, suggesting a decrease in temple building by the 6th century. See also PAPPALARDO 2018, 158-160.

13 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 56, 60-64.

14 ALEXIOU 1972; VIVIERS 1994.

15 HANSEN - HANSEN 1994, 35, 63-65; HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 299-300; 2011a, 39-41, 61.

As the foregoing suggests, we have little in the way of predictive or a priori models of Cretan cityscapes. By the 6th century B.C., many *polis* towns were probably nucleated centers¹⁶. Certainly, sites such as Prinias and Axos reflect this structure¹⁷, as do later classical cities such as Dreros, Lato, and Eleutherna, which probably followed earlier patterns of centralization, expansion, and spatial organization. The picture is much less clear at Phaistos and Gortyn, which are perhaps too often represented as typical Archaic nuclei. At Gortyn recent work has demonstrated a concentration of settlement and industrial activity at Profitis Ilias, continuing into the 6th century and largely contradicting a simplistic model of a shift in settlement to the plain at the end of the 7th century¹⁸. Sites such as Lyktos and Oleros may have had dispersed settlement structures at least early in their history¹⁹; and recent results of the Knossos survey present a significant late 7th to early 6th century expansion of a possible Early Iron Age aggregate, though its Archaic configuration is uncertain²⁰. It should suffice to say, however, that in each case extensive excavation would be needed to understand the details and differences in the physical and cultural topography and intra-settlement organization. As we stated above, there could have been temples, town houses, an *agora* of some type, and an *andreion*, but places for large-scale public meeting, assemblies or councils will be harder to locate. Indeed, in the broader Aegean sphere, the places for civic collective bodies appear to have been regionally and chronologically variable, and the gymnasium does not appear to have any meaningful architectural visibility until the 4th century or later.

AZORIA AS A CASE STUDY

The Archaic settlement at Azoria (fig. 1), in eastern Crete, was established at the end of the 7th century, occupied for the entirety of the 6th century and then abandoned in the early 5th century, thus presenting a case of a settlement constructed and inhabited over the entire span of the Archaic period. It takes the form of a large-scale aggregate with monumental non-residential buildings, or what we call public architecture. While the site lacks a known Archaic toponym or associated city-ethnic, it should be emphasized that the early and ritually destructive abandonment of the site as well as the subsequent growth and expansion of a number of nearby Greek cities in the region such as Oleros, Istron, Lato, Praisos, Profitis Ilias (Kato Chorio), and eventually Hierapytna, may have effectively diluted if not intentionally erased its historical memory by the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

That said, our own excavations have so far failed to yield any monumental stone inscriptions, the decisive signature or definitive attribution of city status. Their absence may seem surprising to historians, given the other indications of urbanization and writing at the site, but the conditions of the Late Archaic abandonment, the limits of our excavation sample, and problems of preservation were likely to have been contributing factors. And it is important to remember that inscriptions are artifacts, subject to the same effects of formation processes, vagaries of recovery, and conditions of physical environment as any archaeological entity. In this sense, a study of the transtemporal mobility and formation processes of stone inscriptions, and the effects of a city's building history and epi-

16 HAGGIS 2014a, 19-20; 2014b, 121; GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 22-29.

17 TEGOU 2014, 23; see PAUTASSO 2014 and GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 29, on Prinias as a model nucleated settlement with public buildings.

18 WATROUS - HADZI-VALLIANOU 2004a, 314-317; 2004b, 342-344; SANTANIELLO 2015, 226; cfr. GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 23-24.

19 HAYDEN 1997, 112-114, 133-134; 2004, 179-180, 188; for Lyktos see KOTSONAS 2019b, 432-435.

20 WHITELAW *ET ALII* 2019; KOTSONAS 2019a.



graphic culture on their archaeological survival would be useful²¹. The contexts of inscriptions at Gortyn, Dreros, and Axos, for examples, involved the incorporation - or reincorporation - of Archaic and Classical inscriptions into buildings or structures that were built or survived into Hellenistic and Roman periods²²; or the intentional preservation of Archaic buildings and preservation of inscriptions into later periods. This could suggest that a city's long-term evolution and the durational maintenance of inscriptions may increase their archaeological obtrusiveness. Along these same lines, a site's stratigraphy and post-depositional history, as well as the reoccupation or continued use of urban settlements into Medieval and recent periods, might further influence the perceived abundance of recoverable inscriptions. Unlike most attested classical cities of Crete, Azoria was completely abandoned in the first quarter of the 5th century, with its buildings purposely buried until the circumscribed reuse of the peak of the South Acropolis ca. 200 B.C. by the cities of Praisos and Hierapytna. This short-lived Hellenistic reoccupation - a garrison tower, signal tower, and adjacent service buildings - was restricted in area and caused minimal disturbance to most of the Archaic structures, though evidence for subsequent seismic disturbance, sheet erosion, and later agricultural use is widespread.

In lieu of epigraphical or historical attestation of Azoria's city status we present archaeological evidence that might reasonably indicate architectural forms and functions of an urban nucleus, and thus an example of what a *polis* town center might have looked like in Archaic Crete. We make no claims, though, that all Cretan cities should have had uniform sociopolitical systems or identical types of civic buildings to accommodate them, especially at such an early date. But given the lack of physical evidence or comparable extensive samples from other attested Archaic *polis* towns, we think that Azoria should provide a useful starting point; a contextual model for beginning to examine the structure, architecture, and essential functions of an urban center in the period.

We acknowledge, however, that we are embarking on entirely new ground, discussing building forms and perhaps architectural types that, simply stated, have no cultural predecessors or contemporary parallels on the island, and few similar contexts anywhere in the Archaic Aegean. And as John Camp said in his seminal article *Walls and the Polis*, "there is, of course, nothing sadder than an archaeologist without a parallel"²³. We therefore face two entrenched conceptual problems in traditional approaches to classical urban topography. One is the reliance on written sources, mentioned above: inscriptions that are often only loosely contextualized within a site or region; and historical and literary texts normally belonging to much later cultural contexts. Even though privileging written sources over archaeological evidence is commonly accepted in classical scholarship, the practice tends to normalize epigraphical and historical perspectives, codify attributions, and uncritically challenge or disregard the nuances (and obvious ambiguities) presented by archaeological contexts. The other problem is archaeological rather than historical, but also an entrenched research practice: the need of a formal "parallel" alluded to above. Reliance on parallels is the use of archaeological analogy, which depends of course on reductive typologies of buildings and architectural forms, or what Franziska Lang has called the "two-dimensional" (as opposed to the contextual) approach to Archaic buildings²⁴; this practice tends to consider as analogous or typical architectural forms that are actually very different phenomena, that is, in matters of scale, materials, construction, style, topography, context, and even function. Such comparative analyses also often use anachronistic 5th and 4th century models from across

21 See WHITLEY 2017, 94-95, on the "agency of inscriptions". GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 2-3, comment on the regional diversity of epigraphic habits on Crete, in which the central region appears to have produced the only legal inscriptions of Archaic and Classical date. The appearance of Eteocretan on several inscribed vessels at Azoria could reflect a cultural as well as sociopolitical difference with central Crete, perhaps accounting for the lack of early inscribed legislation.

22 PERLMAN 2004b; TEGOU 2014, 35-36.

23 CAMP 2000, 45.

24 LANG 2005, 13.

the Aegean, thus implying a general and interregional standardization and durational constancy of building types, as well as a vague uniformity of civic functions if not institutions through space and time. In short, the absence of both formal parallels and written sources for buildings at Azoria may be cause for caution, though it requires us to shift the emphasis of the discourse and to examine archaeological evidence of building practices as economic and sociopolitical processes, and to study the urban topography itself as a form of archaeological context.

AZORIA AS AN URBAN LANDSCAPE

There are three categories of evidence that have led us to attribute city status to the site of Azoria. One is urban planning - the deliberate organization of space and the use of architecture to shape a unified and integrated built environment²⁵. This aspect of settlement structure can be observed on a number of levels, three of which we mention here. First, the excavated remains display a conspicuous and intentional division of functional areas, with a concentration of monumental complexes devoted to public or communal functions dominating the uppermost terraces of the western and southern slopes of the peak of the South Acropolis; and a zone of residential structures of similar size and configuration at the periphery, most likely representing individual citizen groups, who may represent the most important political actors of the city (fig. 1). This particular arrangement is unlikely to have arisen haphazardly or organically over an extended period of time, but rather was more probably the result of the predetermined design - the imposition of a conceptual framework onto the nascent urban center by a centralized authority²⁶. Both the scale and temporal duration of the Archaic building project - some decades at the end of the 7th century - suggest a unified plan and administered implementation.

Second, despite the fact that the overall plan of the settlement was non-contiguous in form - that is, that the discrete buildings that comprised the built environment were arranged as separate units across the site - the individual components of the urban landscape nevertheless formed a unified whole through the presence of an elaborate system of streets, terraces, and spine walls that served to amalgamate the elements into a single, integrated network²⁷. As is the case with the distribution of specific functional activities across the site, and replication of house forms, it seems more than likely that such an arrangement could only have been the product of top-down planning on the part of a centralized authority. And third, while it is true that many of the buildings reveal traces of minor renovations implemented over the course of the 6th century, the overall architectural and functional template established at the beginning of the Archaic period appears to have been adhered to through to the final abandonment of the settlement in the first quarter of the 5th century. The longevity of this conceptual design over more than a century again demonstrates the existence of a centralized planning or collective decision-making body operating above the level of the individual household or kinship group.

The second material correlate of urbanism is scale - the size of the settlement and magnitude of construction, consumption of local resources, modification of the terrain; minimum labor input, and organizational requirements for the implementation of building practices. The magnitude of construction may be visualized in terms of the nature and quantity of building materials employed; the degree to which the pre-existing terrain had to be modified in order for construction to take place; and the minimum pool of labor required for such a building program to be successfully implemented, together with the logistical system necessary for its control and direction.

25 HAGGIS 2014a; FITZSIMONS 2014, 231-237.

26 See HAGGIS 2014a, 24-27; 2014b, 135; 2015, 243, for discussion of the structuring of residential and civic space.

27 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 349-352; 2011a, 2-4; 2011b, 432-434, 477-478; FITZSIMONS 2014, 237-239.

There are, of course, numerous ways in which to describe and evaluate scale, but perhaps the most productive analytical technique, and one that reflects the long-recognized correlation between monumentality, labor investment, and socio-political complexity, is that offered by architectural energetics²⁸. Essentially, this technique calculates the total time necessary for the completion of any particular building project by multiplying the total volume of each material used with the rate of work for each task involved in its execution²⁹. The resulting figures, converted into standard units of energy (usually expressed as person-hours or person-days of labor), function as quantified representations of the time and manpower required to complete the construction project. Such calculations permit objective comparisons of the minimum labor investment necessary for the execution of building programs by various constituents of the community, and thus serve as a quantitative measure of the relative level of socio-political complexity achieved by those groups.

With this scaling-up of architecture suggested by the energetics, the landscape itself was consumed and transformed. At Azoria, the sense we get is not conformity or adaptation, or the gradual integration of buildings into the physical terrain, but the radical and invasive transformation of the topography. The local dolomite bedrock was cut back to create not only building platforms and floor surfaces, but also regular socles, in some cases exceeding a meter in height. An equally ambitious consumption of labor and materials is the infilling of the landscape with cobble fill. The material consists of angular and sub-angular fist-size stones, forming wall and floor bedding, and fill for ramps and streets. The most common application of the fill is to level uneven terrain, and as packing behind the spine walls. It is well-sorted - that is intentionally produced and selected - and in some cases, it looks like debris from quarrying local bedrock and dressing dolomite wall blocks. And it is ubiquitous, forming a mantle that helped to shape the Archaic terrain.

Conducting energetics analyses of the built environment at Azoria is a work in progress, but a recent study of one of the complete residential structures, the Northwest Building, clearly demonstrated that the level of labor investment required for its construction far exceeded capabilities of corresponding households of Early Iron Age date³⁰. A similar study of the civic buildings at Azoria has yet to be completed, but it is clear that given the scale of operations necessary for their construction, the creation of the urban landscape could only have been realized through the participation of work gangs of significant size, derived from a large local population, far exceeding estimates of the Early Iron Age and Protoarchaic settlements in the region, and suggesting a densely inhabited urban zone at Azoria lying beyond our excavation sample. The implementation of the project would have involved not only the quarrying, transporting, laying, and finishing of massive amounts of stone, wood, and clay, but also extensive modifications to the natural bedrock contours, and the production, mobilization, and deposition of cobble fill to create the artificial terraces on which buildings were constructed. Moreover, the logistics necessary for the organization and direction of such labor, together with the resources necessary for their sustenance or compensation, provides further evidence for the existence of a central governing authority operating above the level of the individual family or kinship group.

The third correlate of an urban environment is contextual - the differentiation of residential and public space, including buildings that were dedicated to large-scale and therefore supra-household or communal assembly, feasting, and ritual; as well as the centralized mobilization, storage, redistribution, and processing of foodstuff. While each of these characteristics, in the abstract, may not be determinative or definitive of city status, we think together they may reflect the materialization and reification of the *polis* town, a significant phase change occurring

28 TRIGGER 1990; WEBSTER 1990; ABRAMS 1994; MARKUS 2006.

29 ABRAMS 1994; ABRAMS - BOLLAND 1999.

30 FITZSIMONS 2017.

over a short period at the end of the 7th and early 6th centuries, and present clear differences from settlement forms of Protoarchaic date in the region and on the island. The material patterns and formal characteristics are to some extent contextual, interpretative, and qualitative - and therefore not strictly probative of a city - but they do evince the use of architecture to structure assemblies; to organize and mediate new social configurations and economic interactions within the community; and to create through monumentality, design, and the practice of building, a highly visible social-symbolic expression of community identity in the landscape³¹.

As we understand the topography of Azoria at this stage of our work, the area of communal or public space includes contiguous buildings covering about 0.6 hectares on the peak and upper west slope of the South Acropolis (fig. 1). The main components recovered to date are 1) the Monumental Civic Building, a spacious hall with finely-built benches and adjoining shrine; 2) the Communal Dining Building, a large complex made up of suites of dining halls and juxtaposed food storage and processing rooms; 3) the West Building, a nine-room structure functioning as a storage magazine; and 4) the Service Building, which consists of a series of food processing and storage rooms, including an olive-oil press facility. Additionally, in the southwest corner of the excavated area there is a series of structures called the Southwest Buildings. Although they have only been partially explored as of our last season of excavation in 2017, it appears that these rooms also functioned for food storage and processing and were likely an extension of the Service Building.

In general, contextual evidence and archaeological inference suggest that these buildings were meant to be facilities for the mobilization, storage, organization, and processing of foodstuff; and as venues for public consumption in the context of formal assemblies, communal feasting, and sacrifices³². An important part of our current work is now to begin to model how they would have operated in the civic sphere; the scale and temporalities of their activities; and the composition and potential size of participating groups and their sociopolitical and economic roles in the community. At the outer edges of this core of public buildings are structures that we have identified as residential: the Northwest Building; the Northeast Building; South Building 2; and the North Buildings (fig. 1)³³. These residential buildings, or town houses, are distinctive in their sizes, locations at the periphery of the civic zone, and patterns of internal organization, though the interpretation of domestic activities remains problematic and open to interpretation, as is the social composition, scale, and economic organization of the household³⁴.

The focus of our discussion here is a group of contiguous buildings on the peak and upper west slope of the South Acropolis, an area that we think formed the urban nucleus of a *polis* town, or what we have called the civic complex. We have selected for discussion three of these buildings, the Monumental Civic Building, the Communal Dining Building and the West Building, representing a sample of the urban landscape and archaeological contexts that are reasonably well documented, though still under study in preparation for publication. The Service Building, which could have supplied both the Monumental Civic Building and Communal Dining Building, we have presented in some detail in earlier reports so omit it from discussion here³⁵. The other components of the civic complex, such as the Southwest Buildings, South Building 1, and the Archaic Rectangular Building excavated by Harriet Boyd in 1900, remain incompletely excavated or studied. It is also important to emphasize that the total area of the site that has been explored to date is only about 1.6 ha, or about a tenth of the estimated minimum size of the settlement in the Archaic period, and we have yet to determine the full spatial extent of the civic complex

31 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 265, 301-302; FITZSIMONS 2014.

32 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2011a.

33 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 246-252; 2011b, 434-444; HAGGIS 2015, 231-244.

34 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2011b, 484; HAGGIS 2013, 72-77; 2014a, 24-36; 2014b, 136-138; 2015, 243.

35 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 274-295; 2011a, 42-63.

or indeed if other similar structures existed on the peak or lower east or west slopes. That is to say, what we have recovered so far should neither be taken to represent with certainty all of the public buildings in use at the site in the 6th century nor the full extent of the civic zone, but rather simply what has survived erosion and post-depositional processes, and what has been found in our limited excavation sample of the South Acropolis. The presumption that archaeology produces a total record, and thus can be used to quantify components of the population and economy, has also steered erroneous negative interpretations of civic space, and indeed our data from Azoria. In general, our understanding of the function and attribution of the civic complex was formed from inferences derived from specific archaeological contexts.

THE MONUMENTAL CIVIC BUILDING

The Monumental Civic Building occupies a broad terrace in the middle of the upper west slope of the South Acropolis. The building consists of a large main hall (D500) and an adjoining two-room shrine (D900-D1000, Hearth Shrine) that was fronted by a retaining wall and stepped façade (D1400) (figg. 2-3)³⁶. The main access was from a long north-south street, running directly below the building, and traceable across the entire excavated area of the west slope. This street, which lies between the Monumental Civic Building and the West Building, joins a landing and *propylon* at the southern end of the residential Northwest Building (figg. 1-3). The *propylon* (D1700) was a partially covered porch that opened on the south into a narrow gate and stepped ramp. The ramp ascends from the *propylon* for a distance of some 46 m to the west side of the Monumental Civic Building, where it terminates in a 5 m wide platform in front of the main hall (D500). To the south, the platform opens onto an intersection of streets that lead southward to the Service Building, and westward up a ramped passage to the Communal Dining Building (fig. 3).

The ramp and platform were ambitious installations, requiring massive retaining walls that supported stepped terraces composed of dense cobble fill. The uppermost terrace provided the foundation for the ramp and platform, while the lower terrace functioned as a kind of buttress providing added support against the precipitous bedrock slope below the building (fig. 4). The difference in elevation between the top of the platform and the level of the north-south street is between four and six meters, requiring the construction of the massive cobble-fill terraces. The ambitious modification and engineering of the hillside at this juncture emphasizes a considerable investment of labor and resources. We can only speculate on the visual impact or experiential dynamics of the architecture, though it seems that that goal was to monumentalize the entrance and façade of the civic complex. The elaboration of the *propylon* and ramped access would have formalized the entrance to the public buildings, while the stepped façade below the terrace of the Hearth Shrine (D1400) could well have been a staging area for rituals, or even seating during processions to the main hall (D500).

The main hall of the building (D500) has a trapezoidal shape - there are approximate right angles at both northwest and southeast corners - with an estimated interior area of 205 m² (figg. 4-5). The interior width is ca. 7.5 m on the north, widening to ca. 12 m on the south, with a maximum interior length of about 23 m on the west. Against the north, south, and east walls there is a two-step bench, constructed of regular slabs and well-worked blocks of *sideropetra* and schist. While most of the west wall of the building is no longer extant, the presence of displaced step blocks in the southwest and northwest corners suggests the possibility of the con-

36 For the excavation of the Monumental Civic Building see HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 295-301; 2011a, 16-41.



Fig. 2 - State plan of the Monumental Civic Building, West Building and streets (R.D. Fitzsimons)

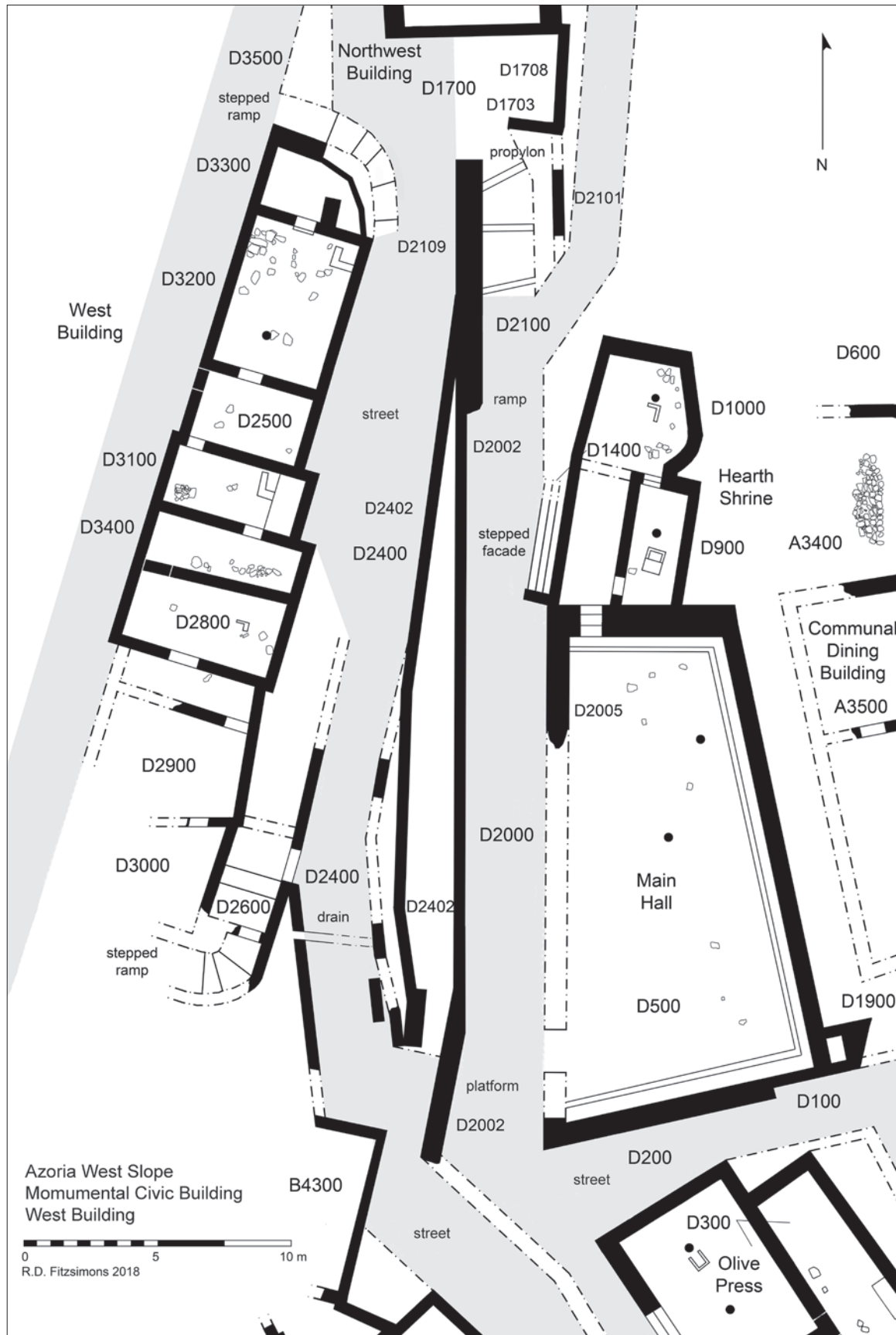


Fig. 3 - Reconstructed plan of the Monumental Civic Building, West Building and street system (R.D. Fitzsimons)

Fig. 4 - Aerial view of the main hall (D500) of the Monumental Civic Building (D. Faulmann)



tinuation of the bench along the interior west wall as well (fig. 4). The presence of deposits of ceiling clay, stone post supports, and traces of wooden beam elements on the floor of the building confirms that the entire hall was originally roofed space.

Near the northwest corner of the hall, a stair leads up to the Hearth Shrine, two interconnected rooms (D900-D1000) occupying a bedrock terrace about a meter higher than the floor level of the main hall, and overlooking the access ramp to the building (figg. 3-4). The southernmost room of the shrine (D900) has a built altar and adjoining curbed hearth (fig. 4). On and around the altar was an assemblage of votive objects, including Late Geometric and Daidalic female figurines; a Daidalic plaque; a terracotta bovine figurine; miniature *skyphoi*; a miniature bronze cup; miniature ribbed offering stands; and various marine shells as well as sheep, goat, pig, and cattle bones (fig. 6). The adjoining north room of the shrine (D1000), apparently used as a kitchen and pantry, had a stone quern *in situ* on the floor near the north wall, and a curbed hearth in the center of the space. Butchering debris and meat elements of at least two goats, as well as marine shells, and traces of olive, grape, barley, pulse, and almond are residues of foods stored and prepared in the space. Two small *pithoi*, three imported transport amphorae, *chytrai*, and a bowl, a tray, and a *lekane* confirm the function of the space, though other vessels, such as Protogeometric B-style krater, high-necked cups, and an Attic lamp and *exaleiptron* may have been stored for ritual use within the adjacent altar room or main hall.

The terrace in front of the altar room (D1400) had a stepped façade at its outer edge, which was probably more decorative than functional (figg. 2-4). Although the steps are not well preserved today - only parts of three rows of regular *sideropetra* blocks are extant - the façade would have provided a visual focal point along the ramp leading from the north and passing below the Hearth Shrine onto the platform in front of the main hall.

The hall in D500 is an impressive space, certainly one of the largest roofed public buildings of the Archaic period documented in the Greek Aegean (figg. 4-5). The floor deposit at the time of abandonment consisted of feasting debris. Fragments of drinking and serving vessels and a scatter of olives and almonds were recovered from the floor surface, and two whole vessels, a *lekane* and *situla*, were found near the south bench. Both pots contained the remains of stews - the *lekane* had wheat, broad bean, and grapes, while the *situla* held a mixture of chickpeas, grapes, onions, and sheep or goat. Among the faunal remains there were bones of pig, sheep, and goat, in some cases whole leg segments which may have been brought into the space already roasted and then apportioned for consumption. Ritual use is indicated by the adjoining Hearth Shrine, and by the presence in the hall of three *kernoi* - one *kernos* stone was found face down, and two others were inscribed on the top step of the eastern bench in the



Fig. 5 - Interior (from north) of the main hall (D500) of the Monumental Civic Building (D. Haggis)

sotto:

Fig. 6 - Artifacts from the Hearth Shrine: figurine, offering stands, miniature *skyphoi*, and bronze cup (C. Papanikolopoulos)

hall itself³⁷. The well-built benches, preserved on three sides of the room, indicate a minimum seating capacity of about 80 to 100 people, though much larger groups could easily have been accommodated within the space of the hall and if the west wall was equipped with the bench. The number and configuration of participants probably varied depending on protocols of movement, sitting, and standing within the hall, and the specific occasion of use or activity.

THE COMMUNAL DINING BUILDING

Adjacent and upslope from the Monumental Civic Building is the Communal Dining Building, a complex of at least 30 rooms, extending across four contiguous terraces of the west and south slopes (figg. 1, 7)³⁸. On the west, where the building is the best preserved, the rooms are positioned in regular rows along the north-south contours, turning with the terrain in the southwest onto the south slope of the peak (figg. 8-9). The total extant and excavated area is 1200 m² - about 60 m long (north-south), and ca. 20 m wide. The building evidently continued somewhat beyond the current



37 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2011a, 19-21.

38 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 367-370, 373-389, 391-393; 2007, 253-265, 301-302; 2011a, 4-16. See HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2011a, 6, for discussion of nomenclature and the use of terms “*andreion*” and “*andreion complex*”, in reference to the Communal Dining Building.



Fig. 7 - Aerial view of the Communal Dining Building (D. Faulmann)

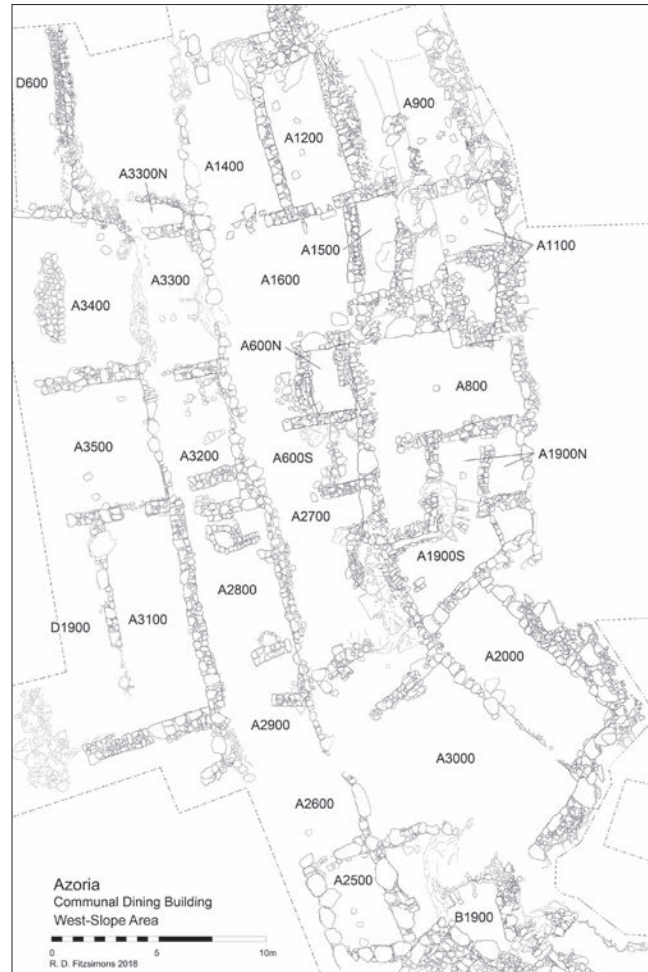


Fig. 8 - State plan of the west-slope rooms of the Communal Dining Building (R.D. Fitzsimons)

excavated area in the south and southwest, but these rooms have been lost to post-abandonment disturbance, or otherwise were obscured by later Hellenistic occupation.

The topography of the extant Archaic remains, the organization of spaces, and the repetition of depositional assemblages allow us to reconstruct the building's basic design principals and functions. The complex is made up of at least three groups of food processing, storage, and dining rooms, and while their interrelationships are not yet fully understood, it is reasonable to conclude that there were suites of dining halls, each apparently with access to principal food preparation and storage facilities. Storerooms are indicated by the presence of *pithoi* and remains of stored produce, such as the wine (wine lees or grape must), olive, fig, pulse, cereals, hackberry, and poppy in A1200, as well as stored serving and drinking vessels (cups, *skyphoi*, and vessel stands)³⁹. Food processing spaces, or kitchens, such as A1600, have a cooking installation (hearth), stone tools, cooking pots, and food debris, as well as an array of drinking and serving vessels⁴⁰. Dining rooms are open halls with residual drinking and dining debris often embedded in their clay floors⁴¹. In some cases, such as A800 and A2000, krater/vessel stands were found *in situ* on the floors; in other contexts, such as in A3100, A3400, and G600, prior to abandonment, the halls appear to have been

39 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 373-378 for the storeroom in A1200.

40 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 259-265 for the A1600 kitchen.

41 For the residual assemblages with halls see HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 381-382 (A800) and 2007, 253-255 (A2000).

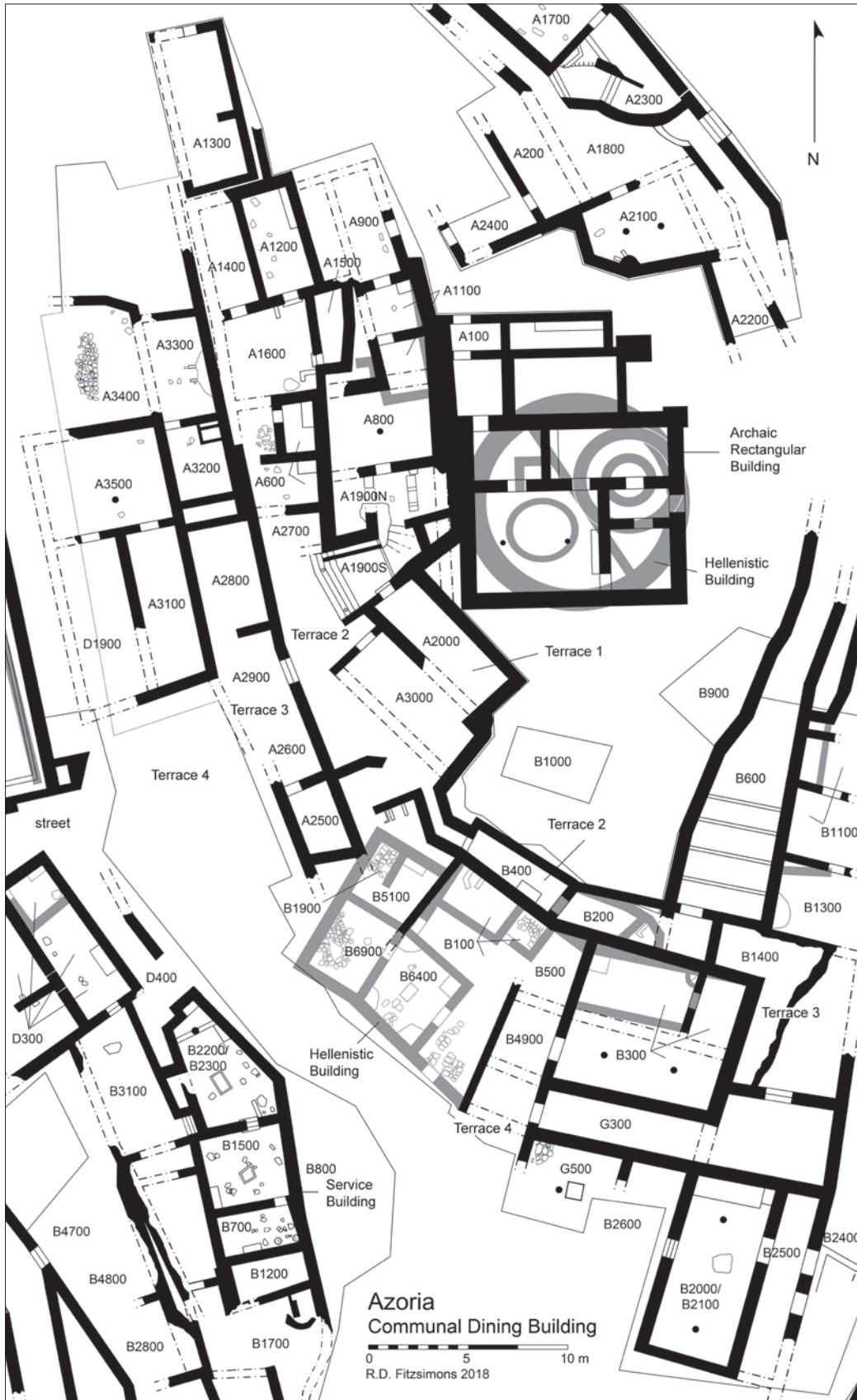


Fig. 9 - Reconstructed plan of the Communal Dining Building, gray shading indicates Hellenistic constructions (R.D. Fitzsimons)

filled with discarded dining debris, including drinking and serving vessels, vessel stands, food remains, and cooking equipment (fig. 10)⁴². The interconnections between kitchens and storerooms; the clustering of dining rooms; and the presence of multiple replicated assemblages suggest supra-household, or communal, rather than residential (or normative domestic) activities.

On the uppermost terrace (Terrace 1), the dining rooms in A800 and A2000 (and the altar room in A1900N) are accessible from the stair and vestibule (A1900S), and therefore separated but accessible from the storerooms (A1200, A1400, A1500) and kitchens (A600, A1600) on Terrace 2 (figg. 8-9). Another dining room, A3000, probably belongs to this cluster. It is adjacent and immediately below the dining hall in A2000, and while it may have had access to the main suite of kitchens and storerooms on Terrace 2 through a vestibule, it also had a connection to storage and processing rooms on the south slope (B400 and B200) by means of a corridor running along the southwest side of the room (figg. 8-9).

A cluster of interconnected dining rooms (A3500, A3100, and possibly D1900) on the lowest terrace (Terrace 4) also constitutes another suite, in this case accessible from the south - most likely through D1900 - from an ascending street or ramp along the south side of the rooms (fig. 9). While we cannot reconstruct the transitions between terraces with certainty because of the extreme erosion of the slope at this juncture, it is certain that the interconnected kitchens (A3300, A3200) and storeroom (A2800) on Terrace 3 also opened to the same street which must have provided a link to the dining rooms on terrace below.

The organization of space on the south slope is more difficult to discern because of conditions of preservation and disturbances from Hellenistic reoccupation (fig. 9). But we can say that a well-preserved dining room, G300, communicated with a room in B300-1, probably another hall, by means of a transitional corridor in B4900. These rooms most likely formed another suite similar to the group on Terrace 4 of the west slope. It is unfortunate that neither B4900 nor B300-1 is well preserved - their floor levels were mostly eroded to bedrock. The adjacent rooms in B300-2 and B300-3, however, were certainly used for food storage and processing, and were probably connected along the contour with a kitchen in B1900-2.

The architectural form and spatial syntax of the building are thus complex. Megalithic boulder construction is used throughout, with some walls - e.g., the north and east walls of A800, and east walls of rooms A2000, A600, A3500, and A3100 - displaying impressive interior faces. The layout is also distinctive in the close grouping or clustering of different kinds of spaces for storage, food processing, and consumption⁴³. Halls containing residual dining debris, and fill and dump deposits of discarded drinking and dining wares and food remains evince the building's basic general functions (fig. 10)⁴⁴. The multiplicity of contiguous and interconnected architectural units and the clustering of activity areas are distinctive: the plan overall is unusually segmented and compartmentalized, suggesting the accommodation of different groups of people - perhaps also different occasions of formal gatherings - and the allocation of spaces for various forms and scales of food and drink storage and preparation. The ground altar in the middle of uppermost terrace tells us that routine sacrificial activities accompanied the feasting activities⁴⁵.

The clustering of activity areas, and the alternation of blocks of dining and food processing rooms on parallel terraces, are noteworthy features of the building's design. In general, the space is organized to contain core areas of produce storage and food preparation on Terraces 2 and 3, while groups of dining rooms cluster on Terraces 1 and 4.

42 HAGGIS 2015, 251-253 for secondary deposits within dining rooms. Dumps of drinking and dining debris were also recovered from the vestibule on Terrace 1 (A1900S) and in the adjacent kitchen in A600S (HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 383-386; 2007, 257-258).

43 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 263.

44 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2004, 383-386; 2007, 257-258; 2011a, 7-9, 13-16.

45 HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2011a, 10-13.



Fig. 10 - Examples of drinking, dining, and serving vessels from the Communal Dining Building (A800, A2000, and A1600) (R. Docsan)

Erosion and the construction of the Hellenistic Building have made it more difficult to see the spatial syntax in the southwest area of the building, though it is possible that one or perhaps two suites of dining rooms once occupied the area of Terrace 4 between A3100 in the west and G300 in the south (fig. 9). That said, two small rooms in A2500 survive in this area and while their contents have not been studied, they appear to have been pantries for the storage of drinking and serving vessels. On the better-preserved west slope, the dining rooms on Terraces 1 and 2 (A800, A2000, and A3000) communicated conveniently if not exclusively with the storage and processing rooms on Terrace 2. Similarly, the suite of rooms on Terrace 4 (B3100, B3500, and D1900) were connected most closely to the kitchens and storerooms of Terrace 3.

Although these repeated spatial patterns and design principles are sufficiently clear to begin to model activities and functions, the composition of participants and personnel and the process of resource mobilization are harder to reconstruct. We are constrained to some extent by the sample of preserved rooms and depositional contexts within the building - and of course the possibility that elsewhere on the site other similar structures could exist. And more work is also needed to explore the functional relationship between the Communal Dining Building and the rest of the civic complex, such as the adjacent Monumental Civic Building on the terrace below. The building's principal internal storage facilities (A1200, A1400, A1500, B400, B300-3, and possibly A2800) evidently supplied ready produce for food preparation in adjacent kitchens (as well as supplies of oil and wine), though in amounts that would have accommodated periodic or regular meals and drinking activities, rather than long term staple surpluses. It is therefore likely that the building was supplied from larger centralized storage facilities on the west slope, such as the West Building, discussed below, and possibly the Service Building.

The organization of space and the distribution of depositional assemblages present a compelling case for the participation of a number of related but notionally equal groups of similar size and configuration - presumably social or political subdivisions of the *polis* community. The dining rooms are approximately 30 m² in area - A2000 and G300 are the smallest (ca. 24 m²), and A3000 and A3500 would have been the largest (ca. 35 m²) (figg. 8-9). If we imagine seating on wooden benches against the walls, each room could have accommodated about 20 individuals. In the extant sample, there are six preserved dining rooms, and evidence for at least two others, suggesting the participation of at least 150 people, if all the rooms were in use at the same time. As mentioned above, given the erosion on the southwest area and the Hellenistic rebuilding on the south slope, several other dining rooms may have been destroyed on Terrace 4, a condition of preservation that is clouding the picture. Thus, the number of participants should represent a minimum, though it may be relevant that it does approximate the seating capacity of the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building (ca. 100-200 people). In both structures we might reconstruct a representative subset of the city's male citizen population, individuals who were afforded specific formal statuses, institutional memberships, or functional roles within a civic body.

The arrangement of the suites suggests several discrete groups of diners within the same building; distinct social or political identities expressed through architectural segmentation and exclusion, but within shared civic space - that is, each group would have enjoyed the same or similar privileges of access and participation, but each would have had established if not designated rooms or suites within the larger communal space. What social units, civic subdivisions, or political collectives these groups of diners at Azoria could represent is unknown, though it is likely that each numbered between 20 and 60 individuals, depending on the occasion or event; the function of the participating group; the number of rooms occupied by a single group; and the ordering of the social divisions or activities by room or by suite. Contemporary inscriptions provide some evidence of the existence of such groups: they mention both the *startos* (presumably a tribal subdivision) and the *hetaireia* (fellowship or association), though

only the latter has been linked, albeit tenuously, to communal dining⁴⁶. Gagarin and Perlman are understandably skeptical of Dosiadas (ATH. 143b) who implies a connection between *betaireiai* and the *andreion* - an association absent in extant epigraphical sources - though they do understand the *andreion* to be a public building used for communal dining and ritual, and supplied at least in part by state resources and obligations of individuals⁴⁷.

THE WEST BUILDING

The West Building is located just below the Monumental Civic Building terraces. It is a freestanding architectural unit occupying a wide terrace, some 36 m long and seven meters wide, bordered on the north and south by stairways allowing passage up the bedrock slope to the wide north-south street that leads up to the *propylon* and ramp of the Monumental Civic Building, south to the Service Building, and north to the residential Northwest Building (figg. 2-3). The structure is composed of at least nine interconnected rooms arranged in a row, occupying over 250 m², with a total extant area exceeding 140 m² of interior floor space (figg. 2-3, 11). While there are indications of entrances to rooms from the west, in D2500, D3300, and D3400, the main entrance to the building was likely to have been from the south through a vestibule in D3000.

On preliminary analysis of the space, contexts, and assemblages, we can say that the building's primary function is consistent with that of a storehouse or storage magazines. *Pithoi*, jars, amphorae and other containers dominate the assemblages recovered in the Late Archaic destruction deposits, with concentrations of *pithoi* in rooms D2800, D3100, D3400, D2500, and D3200 (figg. 12-13). While these deposits still require study, and we do not yet have total counts of vessels or vessel volumes from each room, it is clear that the building was committed to large-scale produce storage, mostly in *pithoi* (fig. 14). The range of goods includes wheat, barley, chickpea, lentil, broad bean, grapes (wine lees or grape must), olive, fig, pomegranate, and almond. If most of the internal area of the building were committed to the storage of these goods, which seems likely, we estimate conservatively a *pithos*-stor-



Fig. 11 - Aerial view of the West Building (D. Faulmann)

⁴⁶ GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 65-67 for the *startos* and 2016, 92-95 for *betaireia*.

⁴⁷ GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 94.

Fig. 12 - Aerial view of rooms West Building (D2800, D3400, D3100, D2500) with deposits *in situ* (D. Faulmann)



Fig. 13 - Room D2500 of the West Building from south, with deposits *in situ* (D. Haggis)



age capacity at about 40,000 liters, or about five times the average storage normally accommodated by residential buildings on the site. It may be important to note that household or domestic storage at Azoria consistently exceeds annual subsistence needs of nuclear households⁴⁸.

This rough calculation of storage in the West Building is a preliminary evaluation of potential capacity, based on patterns of *pithos* distribution in storerooms in the building and elsewhere on the site; it does not factor in the collective volume of smaller vessels such as small *pithoi*, jars, amphorae, hydrias, and perishable containers (fig. 14). While it is unlikely that the entire available floor space would have been occupied by *pithoi*, and perhaps not all rooms were in use for this purpose or at the same time, the rough estimate does foreground the significant storage capability of this single building, and the allocation of space for storage on an unprecedented scale at Azoria or elsewhere in the Archaic Aegean. Indeed, the dedication of a separate free-standing structure to centralize

⁴⁸ HAGGIS 2015, 235-241.



Fig. 14 - Examples of small *pithoi* from the West Building, rooms D2500 and D3200 (C. Papanikolopoulos)

the storage of agricultural goods should emphasize the economic and political importance of the management of produce in the operation of the city. The evidence from the West Building should reorient our perspective on the role of agricultural surplus in structuring sociopolitical interactions in the Cretan city. The range of foodstuffs in the West Building is on the whole diverse. Similar to other civic and residential contexts on the site, the extant remains reflect shorter-term storage for consumption, perhaps for preparation of periodic feasts or disbursements of payments to dependents or workers, rather than long-term effective staple surplus for household subsistence. The function of the building should therefore be evidence for the administered organization of produce by the city or other supra-household authority.

Storage was a primary concern within the civic complex. Several rooms were dedicated to this function and are linked to food processing areas in the Communal Dining Building, the Hearth Shrine, and the Service Building - the latter most likely supplied most of the food consumed in the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building⁴⁹. The West Building is therefore of some importance as a standalone structure committed exclusively to storage. The discovery introduces some interesting questions on the construction and function of civic space, informing our reconstruction of the spatial limits of the civic center and, in general, the importance of food mobilization at

49 See HAGGIS *ET ALII* 2007, 274-295; 2011a, 42-63 for the Service Building; HAGGIS 2015, 247-252, for discussion of storage and processing capacities of the Service Building and the Communal Dining Building.

Azoria. Moreover, residential storage, as we have mentioned, exceeds the per annum nutritional needs of individual nuclear or stem families, and includes few foods that constitute primary subsistence produce. Storage on the South Acropolis thus appears to be linked to systems of allocations for public stores and perhaps preparation of foods for venues of communal dining. The West Building could therefore constitute evidence for an important stage in the centralization and management of surplus, functioning as an intermediary facility between households and public dining buildings; a place where tithes or payments of foodstuffs could be collected, measured, monitored, and temporarily stored before being reallocated the storerooms and kitchens of the Communal Dining Building, the Service Building, and Hearth Shrine.

The archaeological evidence for scaled-up storage at Azoria might be reflected in civic inscriptions from sites such as Axos, Gortyn, and Datala, which refer to the city's management of agriculture surplus. Gagarin and Perlman have emphasized that *poleis* must have mobilized and stored produce, as expendable public revenue, on a significant scale⁵⁰. The relevant inscriptions include payments of produce as wages, for the sustenance of employees, for sacrifices, and to the *andreion*. We are not provided a detailed list or a complete inventory of products in the extant inscriptions, or for that matter, the specific procedures for collection or disbursement. But we do know that amounts of grape must, barley, figs, and other foodstuffs were collected and allocated for various forms of civic consumption or redistribution, and the Gortynian code tells us that produce paid into public stores was collected and managed by state officials called the *karpodaistai* (or the "distributors of produce")⁵¹.

The archaeology of storage at Azoria could thus provide some interesting perspectives on the use of civic space, and the extent of the state's involvement and investment in the management of agricultural goods - details of urban political economy that either do not survive or are left unrecorded in the sample of 6th and early 5th century inscriptions. Indeed, the structure of civic space at the site reflects a considerable expenditure of material and human resources, not only in food mobilization, storage, redistribution, and preparation, but in the creation of permanent architectural spaces to accommodate these activities - the formalization and monumentalization of civic practices and perhaps institutions governing the integration of agricultural resources into the city's venues of communal feasting⁵². The West Building adds significantly to the emerging picture of urban topography and resource management at the site. Its placement directly below the entrance to the Monumental Civic Building and the Communal Dining Building, and along a main north-south corridor connecting the Service Building to both residences and the civic complex, highlights communication between houses, food processing facilities, and the main centers of communal consumption on the site. The West Building thus occupies a significant transitional location on the west slope, perhaps highlighting its function to centralize the collection of produce and to facilitate the movement of goods from the community to the public venues of feasting and sacrifice.

COMMENTS

The evidence of urbanization at Azoria consists of material patterns that demonstrate the scaling-up of building practices, the formalization of social space, and the increased complexity of sociopolitical and economic interactions in the 6th century B.C. These are of course only inferences derived from archaeological contexts, but the study of the material remains may provide a means of interpreting various structures of behavior, encouraging

50 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 112-113, 119.

51 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 76, 94, 99, 112, 119.

52 HAGGIS 2015, 253-255.

a narrative of the early city that is not limited to a static or synchronic reflection of historical or normative institutions, but rather one that is methodologically fluid and materially expansive. Contextual analyses provide the basic tools to begin reframing a discussion of the urban landscape as social and political space and processes, while presenting material evidence that could also inform our understanding of written sources and perhaps later historical and literary traditions⁵³.

The examples of public architecture discussed here are only parts of the urban landscape at Azoria, that is, an archaeological sample, and have been presented in skeletal form pending complete study and detailed publication. And the intention is not to imply that the Communal Dining Building should define or confirm the form of an *andreion*; that the Monumental Civic Building attests to a specific type of architecture designed for a particular collective body (suggested by city ethnics or terms such as *polis*, *damioi*, *damos*, *bola* or *startos*)⁵⁴; or that the West Building could have housed the city's *karpodaistai*⁵⁵. These buildings and contexts can, however, allow us to identify patterns of activity and expand our interpretive framework for identifying modes of behavior, and constructing general models of urban organization. Ultimately, they may be relevant to our evaluation of terms for civic spaces, groups, roles, and institutions mentioned in inscriptions. History though is an uncomfortable and unforgiving handmaid to archaeology, and rarely does archaeological evidence, as it is normally produced, succeed in answering historical questions or providing unequivocal correlates to the richly detailed and complex systems suggested by historical sources. But what the archaeology can provide is context, which is composed not of an assemblage of buildings and objects, but of residues of human activities and interactions, suggesting structures of economic and social behaviors. Such material patterns may help us find analogs in the language of inscriptions, and more generally, to characterize the urban landscape and the meaning of cities as cultural phenomena and social and political institutions.

The Monumental Civic Building, Communal Dining Building, Service Building, and West Building can be understood as distinct nodes of social and economic interaction and exchange, in which the movement of produce and people defined the essential functions of urban space. For example, we might imagine the cyclical transference of agricultural products between rural farms and the West Building and adjacent town houses; and then the administered redistribution of these foods to diverse groups within the city as well as venues of public consumption⁵⁶. The principal destinations of large amounts of these foodstuffs were most likely the storage and processing facilities of the Service Building and, on a smaller scale, the Hearth Shrine, which must have supplied the banquets and sacrifices conducted within the Monumental Civic Building. The other recipients of this produce were the numerous kitchens of the Communal Dining Building which served their associated dining rooms on occasions of feasting.

The different venues of consumption - the single open hall in D500, and the closed suites of dining rooms in the Communal Dining Building - suggest different forms of public interaction and performance; occasions and temporalities of feasting; configurations of participants; and modes and scales of consumption. This picture is of course simplified and reductive in its spatial modeling and its emphasis on agricultural resources. There are of course numerous other forms of material, agricultural, pastoral, and symbolic wealth which we have omitted, as well as various modes of production, processing, and consumption that have archaeological correlates and that we would need to engage - such as the ceramic vessels themselves (storage, food-preparation, serving and drinking and

53 See discussion in GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 6.

54 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 58-67.

55 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 76, 94, 99, 112-113, 119.

56 GAGARIN - PERLMAN 2016, 112-113.

dining wares); animals and secondary products; textiles; metals (weapons, armor, tools, and implements); jewelry; and stone tools. But the basic patterns of interaction may provide a model or template of resource mobilization that helps us to begin assessing the complexity of the political economy.

The restructuring of the landscape at Azoria at the end of the 7th century was a radical transformation of both physical and architectural environments. The unusual degree of labor allocation, organization of space, and the formalization and material investment and elaboration evident in the design, furnishing, and resourcing of public and residential buildings serve to emphasize that the act of construction and the use of these spaces were significant sociopolitical processes. Indeed, the practice of building may have served to materialize and codify the social, economic, and political order of the emergent community, and to express both an identity of place as well as the cultural institutions that defined and were defined by the built environment. Our tendency to define the urban sphere as a static assemblage of certain kinds of spaces, buildings, and monuments - in terms of either formal typologies and their normative associated political institutions - limits the potential of the archaeology to help us to model durational structures of behavior that could serve as valuable indications of urban organization, and provide perhaps more nuanced narratives of culture change in the Archaic period.

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