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From antiquity to postmodernity

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CHAPTER 3. CONSUMPTION OF CRETAN EIA AND ARCHAIC PITHOI AS AN INDEX OF SOCIO-POLITICAL COMPLEXITY

In Pirandello's *Giara*, analyzed in the preface of this thesis, Zirafa is the personification of the oppressive landlord and the master of farmhands. He is the man who is above orders and the one who commands all those below him: *'Chi e sopra comanda... e chi e sotto si danna*'. His gigantic oil jar, around which the story is built, represents Zirafa's wealth. It is the newest and most impressive jar in a collection of six, all made to store the olive oil from the trees his workers had been knocking the olives off for days. The new jar is expensive, costing four *onze* in hard cash (*pagata quattr'onze ballanti e sonanti)*; it is spectacular, almost tall as a man, beautifully round-bellied and majestic *(alta a petto d'uomo, bella panciuta e maestosa);* it is something no else has ever seen before (*una giara così non s'era mai veduta*). Ultimately, the Jar acquires an emblematic value. From the minute it breaks, Zirafa's hold over the villagers starts to break down as well. From an authoritarian slave driver he slowly becomes powerless. His defeat is portrayed close to the end of the story. His pot, instead of the container of his wealth, becomes the stage for a feast held by those he had been oppressing for years: 'Zirafa leaned over the balcony of the farmhouse and saw, on the threshing yard, under the moonlight, a bunch of devils: the drunken farmhands, holding hands, were dancing around the jar...'

Via the philosophical and literature concept of 'the Absurd', Pirandello's story intersects several interconnected themes of Cretan EIA-Archaic archaeology and aspects of the consumption of pithoi: their size, their decoration, their cost, as well as their symbolic value as the manifestation of wealth and of higher socio-political status. In this Chapter, I draw upon La Giara to elaborate on past and recent scholarship on Cretan EIA-Archaic pithoi and to further examine these aspects of their consumption. Specifically, I focus on the changes in morphology and decoration, on the iconography and on the context of pithoi to suggest that these served as a means to denote a class of citizens during a phase of rising urbanism on Crete from the 8th to the early 5th c. BC.

3.1. Storage and storage jars in EIA-Archaic Crete

In Crete, the link between storage, pithoi and the development of social complexity has long been traced and remarked upon for as early as the Bronze Age period. This has been most exceptionally demonstrated in the works of Halstead (1981a; 1981b; 1988; 1999; Halstead and O'Shea 1989) and Christakis (2004; 2008; 2011b) (see review in Chapter 1). However, when it comes to the EIA and Archaic periods, the evidence on the relationship between storage, the production and use of pithoi and the rise of socio-political complexity, is really much harder to trace. This difficulty stems from three different but ultimately related elements of Cretan archaeology and studies on Greek pithoi: firstly, there is almost a complete lack of detailed and assemblage-based research on Greek EIA and Archaic pithoi and storage patterns. Secondly, the prevalence of Minoan archaeology overshadows the study of the island's less glorious historic past and, with the exception of Azoria and Prinias (discussed below), not a single Archaic settlement on Crete has ever been excavated extensively. Thirdly, scholars have widely relied upon a variety of epigraphic and literary sources to infer aspects of the socio-political organization and the economy of EIA-Archaic Crete; however, as I discuss below, the epigraphic evidence is fragmentary, whilst the literary sources come from considerably later periods as they occur after the 5th c. BC. As a result, studies on Cretan EIA-Archaic pithoi – like most Greek pithos studies of this period – have heavily focused on motifs and decorative techniques, leaving certain aspects of pithos consumption largely unexplored.

In addition to lack of focused research, or rather because of it, there has been a scholarly tendency to differentiate Crete from other parts of the ancient Greek world as a separate cultural and socio-political region governed by idiosyncrasies. Defined by Whitley (2004) as aspects of 'Cretan exceptionalism'[67], assumptions made about Archaic Crete as a politically, socially and culturally distinct area have been based on two main features of the island's archaeology: on the one hand, Crete is known to have established early and long-lasting bonds with the Near East and it is considered as the hub for the development of a flourishing Orientalizing art. On the other hand, in the period that followed the Orientalizing, during the late 7th - early 5th c., the island

[67] On the distinction of Crete as a politically, socially and culturally separate area and for problems in identifying these aspects in the archaeology of Crete, see discussions in Perlman 1992; 2005; Sjögren 2008, 82-86, Whitley 2009, 290.

presents a particularly low archaeological profile which has been taken to indicate material, economic and socio-political decline. These elements are recurrent themes in studies of EIA and Archaic Crete and they have ultimately affected interpretations regarding the use of pithoi dated in these periods.

With respect to the artistic renaissance on Crete, the island has been traditionally considered as home of Oriental influences from at least the 10th/9th up to the early 7th c. BC. A large corpus of material testifies to this enduring relationship[68], but the most prevalent element of Cretan connections with the East has been ascribed to the development of the Daedalic style, reflected also on pithoi. Coined after the legendary skilful craftsman and builder of the labyrinth for king Minos of Crete, the term 'Daedalic' was mostly employed to describe Cretan and other Greek sculpture of late 8th-7th c. BC (Morris 1992a). In addition to Daedalus, Crete is considered 'home of the legendary builders' (ibid. 158) and a centre for the production of some of the finest examples of Daedalic art which have been associated with some Near Eastern prototypes. This includes the famous lintel from the main entrance to Temple A at Prinias (Pernier 1914; 1934), the three bronze votive statuettes (*sphyrelata*) from the temple of Apollo in Dreros (Marinatos 1936, 261-262), as well as numerous votives of relief terracotta plaques and figurines (Pilz 2014 and Rizza and Scrinari 1968 respectively). Amongst all this, Cretan pithoi in relief are singled out in the literature 'as one of the finest products of the Cretan potters' art in the seventh century BC' (Weinberg 1973, 101), and are often identified as evidence for wider Near-Eastern cultural affiliations which extended to ideas and ideologies, histories and myths[69].

Against the backdrop of this Orientalizing efflorescence, Crete of the period from the last quarter of the 7th c. and throughout the 6th and early 5th c. BC has often been portrayed as an isolated region, completely disassociated from the new socio-political spirit of Mainland Greece which gave rise to the city-states or *poleis*. The cultural development of the 8th and early 7th c. appears to abruptly stop and to exhibit

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[68] Indicatively, see the catalogue of the exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion devoted to the long-lasting connections of Crete with Egypt (Karetsou et al. 2001), and the symposion – exhibition at the Museum of Cycladic Art dedicated to international trade network, sea routes, and materials exchanged from the 16th to the 6th c. BC (Stampolidis 2003). For lists of objects of Near Eastern origin found in Crete, see Hoffman 1997, Jones 2000; Pappalardo 2012. A comprehensive update of Oriental finds and their interpretation is available in Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006.

[69] See also discussions in Hornbostel 1970 and Demargne 1972; commentaries in the use of the term 'Daedalic' in archaeological literature and its connection to Crete and relief pithoi in particular are provided in Chapter 6.

signs of what has been interpreted as artistic, demographic and cultural decline. During this period, the island is very poorly represented in the archaeological record and shows a 'stubborn determination to take a different line, in politics, literacy, culture and art, from the main axis of developments on the mainland' (Whitley 2004, 433). It is, as others have previously put it, as if 'history turned its back on Crete' (Morris 1992, 172) or as if 'the Cretans turned their backs to the outside world' (Morris 1997, 34). This sudden material and cultural deterioration has been regarded as the result of an internal economic collapse which brought the decline of fine decorated pottery and arts in general as well as the abandonment of settlements, cemeteries and sanctuaries, and confined Crete in economic and artistic isolation. Until recently, this phenomenon has been called a 'mysterious chronological lacuna', as a 'period of silence', or more generally as the Cretan 'Archaic gap' (Coldstream and Huxley 1999)[70]. This perceived decline affected studies on Cretan pithoi of this period. Fascinated by their once distinctly Daedalic character, several early scholars such as Pendlebury (1939), Demargne (1948, 185-187) and Dunbabin (1952a; 1952b), lamented the end of Orientalizing art in the dying art of relief pithoi and they identified the end of the 7th c. and the entire 6th c. as a period of profound inter-regional artistic decadence and isolation[71]. Consequently, in contrast to the extensive attention paid on the art Cretan 7th c. pithoi, other aspects of their use during the EIA-Archaic period have been largely neglected.

In the last two decades scholars have made serious efforts towards lifting the veil of this 'mysterious lacuna'. As Cretan archaeology of the historic period has slowly begun to compete with Minoan archaeology's centenarian popularity, our knowledge for this period is continuously being enhanced through the latest excavations and survey projects as well as by the latest synthetic studies. The culmination of these efforts has resulted in a better understanding of the Cretan EIA-

[70] For an overview of the 'gap' in the archaeology of Crete, see Whitley 2001, 244-250; for the terminology and the historiography on the 6th c. gap, see Kotsonas 2002; Erickson 2010a, 1-11, fn. 1; 2014, 67.

[71] More specifically, Pendlebury (1939, 335) saw the art of 7th c. pithoi as 'the last Cretan ware which is of a distinctive local type', for in the 6th century 'Cretan art declined sadly' (ibid. 339). Dunbabin (1952a, 157) recognized the continuous use of moulds in Cretan pithoi as one aspect of this artistic isolation and as the Cretan potter's failure to 'move with the times'. Doro Levi, while praising Orientalizing pithoi as the leaders of a 'vigorous stream of the innovating art of the East' (Levi 1945, 13), saw the second half of the 7th c. as 'the last flight of imagination of the old civilization of Crete before it settles into the darkness of its exhausted, lethargic sleep' (ibid. 18).

Archaic period in general, including aspects of the economic mechanisms which fostered the re-emergence of socio-political complexity.

In very broad terms, the efforts to elucidate the development of socio-political complexity in Crete can be categorized into two basic lines of discourse: the first represents studies with a *longue durée* approach, starting from the first centuries of the first millennium until about the 6th or the early 5th c. BC, and the second represents those specifically focused in the period of the 'Archaic gap'. At times, these lines of research have seemed partly contradictory but their common denominator is the ranging degrees of importance attributed to the production and manipulation of agricultural wealth and surplus. By extension, these studies have touched upon the politics of storage as indexes for the re-emergence of socio-political complexity in EIA-Archaic Crete. For example, scholars such as Mieke Prent (2005), Saro Wallace (2003; 2010a; 2010b), Krzysztof Nowicki (1999; 2000; 2002) and Lena Sjögren (2003; 2007; 2008) have proposed wider historical and archaeological sequences and argue for greater EIA-Archaic continuities on Crete which favour a long and gradual process towards the formation of some Archaic Cretan city-states. Although not focal issues in these studies, matters of land-exploitation, the management of surplus or pottery assemblages with pithoi have been variously linked with a transition from kinship-based communities to more unified forms of socio-political organization. Prent, for instance, was the first to recognize that Cretan EIA hearth-temples or possible *andreia* (for which, see discussion below) have almost always yielded assemblages which include complete or numerous fragments of plain or decorated pithoi. She further associated the occurrence of storage jars in these contexts as evidence for the archaeological identification of banqueting halls and as the material remains of the economic organization of contemporary Cretan communities (Prent 2005, 463, 466, fn. 1313, see also this Chapter fn. 86-91). Similarly, in Wallace's view the Protogeometric period was the beginning of a large urbanization process that was fuelled by emerging kinship-based political groups (loosely defined as 'clans' or 'extended kin groups'). According to this framework, in the course of the 7th c. these groups developed more complex social structures and institutions, amongst which was the establishment of community cults in temples and dining halls which hosted communal feastings. In this transformation process, Wallace saw the defining factor for the relationship between urban nuclei and rural agricultural areas in the production and exchange of surplus: the emergence of early

kin groups was an adaptation to newly formed authority structures which transformed the direct, localized and traditional lineage connection to land into to class-division between the rural population and the citizens of urban centres. In this shift, she wrote, 'urban living may increasingly have been considered a restricted privilege, mainly for full citizens' (Wallace 2010a, 336). In other words, economic growth was a driving force for the rise of complex socio-political groups, particularly in the case of central Crete, but not the 'engine by which any single group came to prominence' (Wallace 2010b, 78); instead, it was the negotiation of power between groups with access to accumulated wealth and trade goods which formed the foundations of early city-states.

Concurrent with these overarching models, some archaeologists and epigraphists have specifically focused on the period between the end of the 7th and the early 5th c. BC to argue for a dynamic transformation of the Cretan socio-political landscape. Instead of the assumed 'gap', these scholars argue that archaeologists and historians are victims of a phenomenon of an 'archaeological mirage', coupled with problems in the visibility of finds rooted to research biases (Kotsonas 2002, 2; Erickson 2010a, 1). This argument underlines that Cretan sites of the Archaic period remain largely neglected or under-studied; what is more, the popularity of studies to do with Knossos has severely affected archaeological perception and thus the assumed role of Knossos as a prototype of Cretan city-states has distorted interpretations for other sites of Archaic and Classical Crete (Erickson 2014, 67). Secondly, this mirage originates from the discipline's failure to identify some existing evidence in the archaeological record of this period: a number of scholars have argued that the subtlety, or, in any case, the less noticeable character of this evidence, may in fact be informative for a specific type of Cretan culture. Because storage behaviours have long been connected with the formation of complex hierarchical societies, this shifting trend in Cretan Archaic studies has brought Cretan pithoi and various storage practices to a position of increasing importance.

The seeds for challenging interpretations of Archaic Crete's material record can be traced in a groundbreaking approach proposed by Kotsonas (2002) almost twenty years ago. By de-constructing and re-synthesising a wide variety of evidence from central Crete, Kotsonas proposed that the 'archaic gap' is in fact the transformative period for the rise of the Cretan *polis*. He argued for settlement mobility and spatial re-organization during this period, with highland sites and hilltop

communities relocated to lower and more fertile lands, the most evident economic reflections of which are mirrored in the production of large pithoi and in the establishment of storage facilities. More specifically, he highlighted that the late 7th c. pithoi from Phaistos occur in large sizes right around the time when settlement spreads in the fertile plains of Mesara, and the growing capacity of storage facilities is manifested in settlements such as those at Onythe Gouledianа in Rethymnon.

The most recent excavation and pottery analyses support Kotsonas' main argument. Brice Erickson undertook the difficult task of forming Archaic and Classical Cretan ceramic sequences from a variety of sites[72], and his pottery analyses affirm that indeed, much was missed or misinterpreted from Crete's archaeological record because although activity at some sites did decrease, the consumption of fine pottery did not altogether stop. Particularly Erickson's typology and absolute chronology for Cretan black-gloss wares (Erickson 2010a) was a major breakthrough for ceramists, and one which enabled him to propose that some Cretan sites do not display a lacuna in evidence but rather a decrease of archaeological visibility. This, according to him, points to a certain Cretan culture of austerity and to political or cultural affiliations with Sparta (ibid. 334-345). Another indication of this 'austerity model' is pottery related to Cretan banqueting and the institution of the *andreion*, where a club of elite governing citizens hosted communal meals and decided about various public affairs of the city. Through his analysis Erickson proposed that contrary to the Athenian repertoire, which included black-figured pottery, pottery from contexts associated with Cretan commensality is restricted to the type of the basic, high-necked cup, whose overwhelming majority is neither inscribed nor decorated, indicating an austere Cretan style (ibid. 325-326).

Proposals such as those offered by Erickson and Kotsonas called for a cultural explanation of the late-7th – early 5th c. phenomenon where, in addition to research bias, the low archaeological visibility on Crete of this period may derive from a specifically Cretan culture that was founded upon ideas and the ideologies that are pertinent to austerity and moderation. This leads us to reflect on the hypothesis that within a culture of moderation, some less ornate or even plain storage jars from

[72] Erickson's ceramic analyses for the periods between 6th - 4th c. BC include deposits from the Odeion of Gortyn (Erickson 2001), Aphrati and Kato Syme (Erickson 2002), Eleutherna (Erickson 2004), Eleutherna, Knossos, Gortyn, Vrokastro, Gournia and Praisos (Erickson 2010a), and Priniatikos Pyrgos (Erickson 2010b).

the Archaic period may require deeper, cultural considerations. In part, this aspect of pithoi has been treated by Whitley who touched upon the cultural aspects of the Cretan pithos and advocated their social and cultural significance as objects laden with a cumulative ancestral agency (Whitley 2017, 94; 2018a, 78; see detailed discussion in Chapter 4). Whitley also based his opinions on inscriptional evidence (some of which is also discussed below) and on pottery from assumed communal ritual/dining contexts to propose that this ideology of austerity may well have been under way already from the 8th c. BC, but that especially during the late-7th the 6th and the early 5th c., Cretan societies demonstrate a 'deliberate suppression of expression of aristocratic individuality' (Whitley 2005, 45) based on what he called elsewhere a pervasive pattern of an 'ostentatiously plain' pottery production (Whitley 2004, 434).

The most contextual studies regarding the consumption of Archaic Cretan pithoi and the emergence of socio-political complexity have emerged during the last two decades. The first assemblage-based examination was that by Brisart (2009), who collected evidence on the production, distribution and function of relief pithoi from the assumed *andreion* of Aphrati (dated to the 7th c. BC) and argued that the vessels stored resources used for communal consumption, thus serving as the materialized expression of their owners' high-status. In doing so, he underlined the symbolic use of pithoi and addressed their contextual value, particularly when in communal and public buildings. Currently, Brisart's proposal finds the most favourable grounds for discussion in the well-excavated Archaic site of Azoria in east Crete (late 7th - early 5th c. BC), where both public and domestic structures have yielded rich assemblages of pithoi. Two buildings identified as places of public venues, the Communal Dining Complex and the Monumental Civic Building, included special storage areas and some large decorated pithoi, as well as great amounts of food remains and food processing equipment (Haggis et al. 2004; 2007a). This, according to the excavators, indicates that the buildings hosted venues for communal feastings in ways which recall the custom of the Cretan *andreion;* in this context, the communal consumption of pithoi can be viewed as part of a structured civic experience reflecting the simultaneous formation of an urban identity during the so-called Cretan 'Archaic gap'. At the same time, the pithoi from the houses which are close to these public buildings at Azoria were estimated to have a capacity that seems to exceed the assumed immediate needs of individual families (Haggis 2013, 76). This may mean that houses, possibly consisting of kin, dependents, serfs and slaves, functioned as

some sort of estate managers and that the pithoi from these houses contained agricultural produce used both for personal consumption and for redistribution via the feasting venues at the public buildings (ibid. 77). Alternatively, as Erickson (2011, 387) pointed out, surplus food stored in the pithoi of certain houses may have served towards provisioning private feasts, perhaps similar to those of a *symposion*. Whatever the actual ritual concerning the consumption of food in domestic contexts, the morphology and the placement of pithoi in specific areas within houses may suggest elite status of their inhabitants. The political role of the houses' residents cannot be accurately defined, mostly because if these 'clans' or extended *oikoi*, as Haggis called them, held an authority beyond or above the state, they are not included in the historical record of the Archaic and Classical periods (Haggis 2013, 77); we may, therefore, be missing some important evidence for the authority and status of Cretan citizenry during this period. With this cautionary note, Haggis touched upon a wider scholarly discussion which concerns the socio-economic and political organization of ancient Cretan communities as this is portrayed in various ancient literary sources. Because these sources provide indirect evidence on issues of publicly owned agricultural wealth and the state management of surplus, and because they have been often used in order to interpret the archaeological evidence and storage politics in general, the following section discusses some of this key literary evidence and the various interpretations proposed by epigraphists, archaeologists and historians.

3.1.2. Epigraphic and literary sources on economy and socio-political organization

As frequently mentioned in the literature outlined above, scholarship on Archaic Crete has relied to various degrees on some epigraphic and literary sources relative to the consumption and the management of surplus. Much of this scholarship focuses on the custom of the *andreia* and involves occasional discussions on matters of storage and the mobilization of food. For example, theorizing from the written evidence as well as on other epigraphic, ethnological and other documentary sources, Chaniotis (1999) argued that subsistence was an adequate economic strategy to sustain the conservative and traditionalist character of Cretan societies: aristocratic citizenship practised in the *andreia* was maintained by the contribution of citizens and

depended on populations who worked on private or communal lands. As it was geared towards funding the Cretan *syssitia*, the economy was largely supported by the exploitation of the uplands, which occasionally permitted specialized pastoralism in the mountainous areas of some *poleis*, but again, the economy was primarily aimed at satisfying local and not inter- or intra-*poleis* needs. Others such as Didier Viviers (1999) and Paula Perlman (2004a) considered the role of regional diversity and challenged the dichotomy between subsistence and surplus-based economy. Drawing from case-studies and literary sources from Hellenistic and Roman Crete, Viviers widened the Cretan subsistence economy model to include a network of inter-*poleis* trade activities that had already been set up by Cretans or other traders from the Archaic period. This network involved the taxation of trade and was linked to the territorial dynamics of some *poleis* and their politico-economic conditions such as the scarcity of land or practices of expansionism. Under this economic model, some Cretan *poleis* 'depending on their history and their geographical position, showed an interest in increasing the volume of their commercial exchanges' (Viviers 1999, 230). Based on epigraphic evidence from 6th c. Eleutherna, Perlman (2004a) elaborated on the possibility of extended economic strategies and on diversification amongst Cretan *poleis*. In addition to mentioning land cultivation by dependent populations or serfs and land privileges held by citizens, texts from Eleutherna indicate the presence of another class of specialists who worked on animal hides or as artists and musicians. This led her to hypothesise for the existence of a combined traditional economy (based on land, agriculture and pastoralism) and a market economy operated by specialist craftsmen and maintained by the production of surplus.

There are, nevertheless, some serious handicaps in the interpretation of the epigraphic and the literary sources. This is mostly because the ancient texts are from the later periods and because the two bodies of evidence often appear in contradiction to each other[73]. In addition, we do not know when exactly the institution of the

[73] Problems with the interpretation of the literary and inscriptional evidence are manifold. The literary portrayals of Cretan practices in general and the *andreia* in particular may not be fully accurate or even applicable to all Cretan city-states of the EIA, the Archaic and the Classical period. In her comparative review and analysis of the literary and inscriptional evidence, Perlman (1992, 195-196) showed that there are substantial disagreements between the two, especially with regards to the political components of the Cretan *politeia*; for example, the name and number of Cretan magistrates (called *kosmoi*) and the processes of their selection remain unknown and likewise, the number of male citizens who participated in the *andreion* and the number of *andreia* per *polis* are speculative.

andreion was established[74]. Likewise, the physical remains of the building(s) where these venues took place remain elusive, with a variety of EIA, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic buildings tentatively identified as *andreia* or *prytaneia*, or, more generally as places associated with communal dining[75]. At the same time, because written evidence mostly revolves around the public custom of the *andreion*, we do not quite know how this venue was interwoven with other institutions or political groups and so it is possible, as Haggis noted, that the socio-economic structure and complexity of certain elite household groups 'may not have been the direct purview of the state and thus escape the inscribed historical record of the Archaic and Classical periods' (Haggis 2013, 77).

With these precautions in mind, what can be said about the literary and epigraphic testimonies is that they offer a glimpse into ancient Crete's socio-political organization, or, as Chaniotis has put it, they present us with a uniformity of or homogeneity in some fundamental features (Chaniotis 2005, 189, 177). For example, both kinds of sources sketch a picture of the social, political and economic organization of the Cretan communities as one composed by a body of elite military-trained governing citizens who ruled over dependent populations of various statuses (primarily serfs or slaves), who participated in the common meals that were largely supplied from land produce and organized by larger citizen corporate groups (commonly called the *kosmoi)*. Although the word *syssitia* does not itself appear in Cretan inscriptions, the practice of communal dining is attested by remarks on the

[74] *Andreia* are known by epigraphic finds which occur from at least the late 7th c. BC and throughout the Classical and Hellenistic period, as well as from some late Classical and Hellenistic texts. The earliest inscription with the word *andreion* is from the Temple of Apollo Pythios in Gortyn, dated to the end of 7th c. BC (*IC* IV4; Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 270), but it is unclear whether it refers to the institution of the *andreion* or to the actual building. The word *andreion* continues to appear (in plural or in singular) across Crete and throughout the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period; for example, it appears in other inscriptions from Gortyn (*IC* IV 42; 72), from Axos (*IC* II, 5.1, 25A), from the area mentioned as 'Datalla' (*SEG* XXVI, 631) from Eltynia (*IC* I 10.2) and from Ierapetra and Priansos (*IC* I, 10.2). For an exhaustive compilation of epigraphic and literary references to the Cretan *syssitia* and a detailed discussion on their various interpretations, see Mandalaki 2004, 189-220; see ibid. 115-130 for a comprehensive overview of the institutional bodies and the political organization of Crete during the Archaic and Classical period. On the written sources specifically, see Perlman 2005, 309-311; on the main political and social institutions of Archaic and Classical Crete as attested by inscriptions, see Chaniotis 2005, esp. 183-184.

[75] For an overview of the archaeological evidence on the *andreion*, see Whitley 2018b, 235-234.

andreion and/or on affiliated political entities, such as the *hetairiai*[76] or the *agelai* (literally meaning the herd or the pack) which were the troops of youth who also participated in the *syssitia*[77]. In addition, one inscription from Gortyn dated to the 5th c. BC mentions the existence of higher state-officers called the *karpodaistai* (*καρποδαισται*) (*IC* 4.77B) and, although it is unknown if their duties were within the context of the *andreion*, they are described as official 'produce-distributors' charged with the duty to take away any hidden or undivided produce they find. The most informative inscription on the *andreion* remains the so-called 'Spensithios decree', a contract of the scribe Spensithios inscribed on a bronze plate resembling a mitra, which is tentatively dated to 500 BC[78]. The text is inscribed on both sides of the bronze plaque and it describes the obligations and privileges of Spensithios as a participant in the *andreion* and as a scribe of the '*Dataleis'*, the ancient city provisionally identified with Aphrati[79]. On the one side of the inscription Spensithios is granted the right to be the scribe and the recorder of sacred and secular public affairs of the Dataleis (...*κα πόλι τὰ δαμόσια τά τε θιήια καὶ τἀνθρώπινα ποινικάζεν τε καὶ μναμονευϝην)* and on other side his further duties are outlined alongside his privilege of belonging and contributing to the *andreion*. We learn from this segment that Spensithios, as a member of the club and an employer of the city, is obliged to contribute to the custom by offering certain amount of food (10 axes' weight of meat)[80].

Because the epigraphic evidence is for the most part fragmentary, scholars have used it *in tandem* with related literary sources in order to better understand the organization of the *andreia* and their system of supply. These ancient texts, which however occur after the 5th c. BC, articulate a close interdependence between land and the state and attest to the existence of groups of elite, military-trained men which

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[76] The *hetairiai* are directly or indirectly attested in the Law Code and other inscriptions from Gortyn (5th c.) (*IC* IV 42, 72), as well as in some later inscriptions from Dreros (*IC* I 9.1, *SEG* XXIII 530), from Axos (*SEG* XXIII 566. 17), from Malla (*IC* I 19.3A.41), and from another anonymous city near Rethymnon (SEG XXVIII 753).

[77] The *agelai* are found in inscriptions from Dreros (*IC* I 9.1), Eleutherna (*IC* II 12.26) and Eltynia (*IC* I 10. 2).

[78] SEG 27:631; Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies, 1970; 1971; see also discussions by Raubitschek 1972; Van Effenterre 1973, n. 22; Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 181-196.

[79] On the identification of the site Dattala, see Palermo 1994 and Viviers 1994, 229-234.

[80] *SEG* 27.631, B11: '...δίκαια ἐς ἀνδρήιον δώσει δ-έκα πέλερυς κρέων, αἴ κα ϙὼι ἄλϙ[ι] [ἀπ(?)]άρϙωνται, καὶ τὸ ἐπενιαύτιον, τὸ δὲ λάκσιον συνϝαλεῖ*....' [as lawful dues to the andreion he shall give ten axes' (weight) of dressed meat, if the ?others also make offerings, and the yearly offering also...']*.

emerged from and revolved around the ritualized act of communal eating. In addition, these texts commonly make note of the socio-political affiliation of the Cretan custom of the *andreion* with the Spartan *syssitia*. The earliest relevant reference is in Plato's 'Laws', written at the second half of the 4th c. BC (Plat. *Laws* 8.842b-c). Plato's historical narrative suggests that by his time, Cretan and Spartan common messes were a well-established institutional affair that was supplied exclusively from land produce[81]. Then comes the reference by Aristotle that is mentioned in his treatise on politics (*Pol*. 1272a12-21). Aristotle compared the governments of Crete and Sparta and the organization and funding of the messes by the magistrates (the *kosmoi*). In each Cretan city, he noted, there were ten magistrates and the funding of Cretan messes was achieved by the redistribution of publicly owned crops and cattle and tithes paid by the serfs (the *perioikoi)*[82]. Another commonly referenced source on *andreia* is that by Ephorus, a near contemporary of Plato, as cited in Strabo's *Geographica* written sometime during the 1st c. BC (Strabo 10.4.16, 18, 20-21). His passage is focused on the connections of *syssitia* with the military education of the youth (the *agelai*) and it gives clues for the Cretan *andreia* as a venue intrinsically connected to the political and social life of Cretan communities[83]. According to Ephorus, the role of the *syssitia* was to introduce and educate the participants to a simple, disciplined way of life, to the best service of the state. The custom was based upon freedom and equality amongst the free men and it was conducted at the public expense of the state through the redistribution of produce from state-owned land (Strab. 10.4.16).

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[81] Plat. Laws 8.842c: '*τούτοις δ' ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθον ἡ τοῦ βίου κατασκευή, τίν' αὐτοῖς ἂν τρόπον ἕποιτο. βίος δὴ ἄλλαις μὲν πόλεσιν παντοδαπῶς ἂν καὶ πολλαχόθεν εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ διπλασίων ἢ τούτοις: ἐκ γῆς γὰρ καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένα τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν, τούτοις δὲ μόνον ἐκ γῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο ῥᾷον'* (*Next to this comes the question of organizing the food-supply, and how to make this fit in with the meals. In other States this supply would include all kinds of food and come from many sources, certainly from twice as many sources as it will in our State; for most of the Greeks arrange for their food to be derived from both land and sea, but our people will derive it only from the land. This makes the lawgiver's task easier; for in this case half the number of laws')*

[82] Aristot. *Pol*. 2.1272a15-21: '*ἐν δὲ Κρήτῃ κοινοτέρως: ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι, τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοινὰς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ὥστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ τρέφεσθαι πάντας...'* (*but in Crete the system is more communal, for out of all the crops and cattle produced from the public lands, and the tributes paid by the serfs, one part is assigned for the worship of the gods and the maintenance of the public services, and the other for the public mess-tables, so that all the citizens are maintained from the common funds*).

[83] On interpretations of Ephorus' segment, see Davidson 2007, 301-311 (with emphasis on rituals of homoeroticism) and Fisher 2018, esp. 204 (for connection of the *andreia* to athletics performance as a socialization process).

Our most detailed account of the Cretan *syssitia* comes from the early 3rd c. Cited by Athenaeus, Dosiadas gave detailed information on the *syssitia* specifically for ancient Lyktos (Ath. *Deipnosophistai* 4.143b-c). According to his testimony, the funding of the *andreia* came by groups of men (divided in clubs called the *hetaireiai* or *andreia)*, by the *oikos* (the magistrates of the city) from the tithe given by the state, and by a contribution (one Aeginetan stater) paid by the slaves. Dosiadas attests to the public and political character of the *andreia* as an institution maintained via collective memory and ancestry, where after dinner the male citizens discussed public affairs and recollected past acts of bravery whilst encouraging the youth to follow their forefathers' example. In recalling Athenaeus, Strabo also writes that the *andreia* were made at a public expense (so that the poorer could be equal with the well-to do), and that property only belonged to the free men – the ruler-citizens – who commanded the slaves. Lastly, it is worth noting one of the few texts of a more personal character that has also been preserved by Athenaeus. This regards the so-called 'drinking-song of Hybrias' which describes the association of land cultivation with a class of citizen-warriors ruling over serfs (Ath. 15.695-696). In this *skolion* (drinking song) attributed to a 6th c Cretan mercenary and lyric poet named Hybrias, the writer proclaims himself to be a great warrior and a lord of slaves. He is set apart from his subordinates by his weapons, the spear, the sword and the shield, by which he commands ploughing and reaping[84].

Although we can get a glimpse of Crete's socio-political structure during this period by written evidence on the common messes, the identification of the physical *andreion* in the archaeological record has been quite problematic. As mentioned, many EIA, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic buildings have been identified as places where formal commensality took place. Most of these edifices have produced numerous fragments of plain and decorated pithoi and this has often taken to indicate their use for storing goods consumed during communal meals; alternatively, their concentrated presence has been used as potential evidence for the centralization of storage and surplus in a state-controlled regime. The earliest of these buildings are the so-called EIA hearth-temples, commonly considered also as *andreia* or as their

[84] Ath. 15.695-696: *'my great wealth is my spear and sword, and the fine shield (?), which guards my skin. With this I plough, with this I reap, with this I tread the sweet wine from the vine, with this I am called master of the serfs'.*

predecessors (Prent 2005, 443, esp. fn.1203; 2007, esp. 148)[85]; amongst other candidates, examples include Temple C and the associated Building Q of Kommos[86], the Temple of Apollo Delphinios in Dreros[87], the building complex at the acropolis of Smari (Buildings or Megara A, B and C)[88], Temples B[89] and A[90] at Prinias, and of course, the complex at Aphrati[91]. Currently, the best candidates for the *andreion* of the Archaic-Classical and Hellenistic periods are considered two or three buildings

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[85] Hearth-temples (which take their name from the stone-built hearths placed in a central point) are typically characterized by the axial arrangement of one to three rooms with the hearth placed in the centre of a main room. In general, they have been associated with the emergence of the Greek *poleis* as representatives of an architectural transitional stage towards the establishment of public buildings such as the *prytaneion* (e.g. Miller 1978, 34-35). However, like the *andreion*, their physical identification in the archaeological record has been particularly problematic since similar stone-built hearths have been found at the central part of many EIA houses or in other buildings with an assumed pubic character. The architectural and functional correspondence between ritual, domestic and public buildings has triggered discussions regarding their origins from the earlier Mycenaean *megara* (e.g. Werner 1993) as much as their development into what Mazarakis Ainian (1997) called '*rulers' dwellings'*, namely dwellings of emerging elite which were occasionally used as feasting halls for some sort of ritual dining or for communal gatherings (ibid. 270-271). In Crete, hearth-temples have been proposed for Kommos (Temple B, end of 9th - beginning of the 8th c. BC), Dreros [Temple of Apollo, 8th (?)c], Prinias (Temples A and B, both dated to the 7th c. BC), a large building at the West Hill of Dreros, and possibly the large building at Sta Lenika in the gulf of Mirabello (Prent 2005, 441; 2007). For a comparative overview of early Cretan cult buildings from 1200 to 700 BC, see also Klein and Glowacki 2009. For a list of cult buildings identified as *ruler's dwelling* in Crete, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 207-231.

[86] On the various interpretations of the Temples A, B, and C, and altar A1 and A2 of Kommos as *prytaneia* or *andreia*, see discussion in Shaw 2000, 727, esp. fn. 52; *contra* Viviers 1994, 245-246. For the interpretation of Building Q as a storehouse related to the activities of the *andreion*, see Koehl 1997, 143; Sjögren 2003, 63, 127.

[87] On the identification of the temple as *prytaneio* or *andreion* specifically, see Marinatos 1936, 232-233; Prent 2005, 456, 460-461, and Zographaki and Farnoux 2014.

[88] The excavator, Despina Hadzi-Vallianou (1980, 49-52; 1984, 12-21; 1989, 442,446) identified the complex at Smari as a *ruler's dwelling*. However, the static layout of the buildings (small entrance, central and rear room), the presence of a hearth and a bench, and the numerous animal bones found together with many pithos fragments and other small undecorated pots, have been considered suggestive for the use of the complex as a space for the preparation and consumption of communal meals, or as an *andreion* (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 221-222; Sjögren 2003, 69; 2007, 153-154).

[89] Without excluding the possibility that the structure was in fact a Temple (at least in its earliest phases), Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 226) suggested the identification of Temple B as a place for communal gatherings, perhaps an early *prytaneion*. Prent (2005, 464) also entertained this possibility and more recently, Antonella Pautasso (2014, 70) argued that the many pithoi which Pernier (1914, 29) unearthed from the rear room were the remains of a larger complex that occupies the west side of the hill, which might have constituted the public and worship centre of the city before the construction of the adjacent (and probably later) Temple A. On pithoi from Temple A, see discussion in the according section of this Chapter.

[90] The identification of Temple A as an *andreion* is a suggestion most convincingly proposed by Carter (1997, 89) and Koehl (1997, 142). Based on an analysis of the rich iconography depicted on the architectural sculptures and the overall assemblage recovered from within the Temple, they suggested that it functioned as a dining hall for the male aristocrats where feasts in honour of heroic ancestors were held.

[91] Lebessi (1969a, 417) identified the complex as a sanctuary; however, Viviers (1994, 244-249) suggested that the building at Aphrati was an *andreion* based on findings of a few horns of agrimi and bones of other animals (i.e. remains of feasting practices), as well as by the impressively large number of elaborate pithos fragments assumed to derive from within the building.

from two sites in east Crete, namely the Communal Dining Building and the Monumental Civic Building at Azoria (late 7th – early 5th c. BC) (Haggis et al. 2004; 2011a), and the area around the Almond Tree House at Praisos (ca. 4th to 3rd or 2nd c. BC) (Whitley 2014b).

In sum, various scholars have often connected the size, the art and the contexts of pithoi with the emergence of an elite citizenship in Archaic Crete. Based on epigraphic and literary evidence as well as some archaeological data, these elites are considered to have emerged through the appropriation of land surplus and other economic resources, as well as through the exploitation of labour from dependant populations. Places identified as communal have yielded substantial numbers of pithoi which have been interpreted as the evidence for central accumulation and management or redistribution of agricultural produce. In addition, some pithoi found in domestic contexts have also been associated with formal or semi-formal dining and the conspicuous consumption of stored goods and of storage jars *per se*. In the following sections I elaborate on this scholarship and I focus on some select pithoi and pithos assemblages from central and east Crete in order to further explore the consumption of storage jars as reflections of the re-emergence of socio-political complexity from the late 8th c. onwards. More specifically, I argue that the development of urbanism and accompanying socio-political changes such as the appropriation of land produce by a rising elite became materialized in the changes in the morphology, in the decoration and in the context of Archaic pithoi.

3.2. Morphological, chronological and socio-economic considerations

When it comes to the dating of the Cretan pithos and its typological development, excavators and pottery specialists face considerable hurdles pertaining to the shape of the Greek pithos in general and to problems in the current state of research on Cretan pithoi in particular. To start with, compared to fine pottery, Greek storage jars are particularly resistant to pronounced typological changes through time and they have a considerably longer life-use. Without well-defined context and/or stratigraphy, these features render the absolute chronology and strict typology of pithoi exceptionally difficult to deduce. Additional confusion arises due to problems in the definition of a pithos in the various excavation reports: these generally refer to

pithoi as large or small bulky pots made of coarse fabric but which may also include a wide array of vessels with different morphological attributes[92]. Attempts to understand developments in morphology (shape of the vessel, rim, base, arrangement of handles, surface treatment and decorative patterns) of the Cretan pithos of the historic period are important, but the efforts require extreme caution. Very few excavated or published pithoi from the Protogeometric-Geometric and the Archaic period have been found in well-defined stratigraphy or contexts. Also, whilst there are numerous complete 7th c. pithoi, there are only a few excavated or published 9th or 8th c. pithoi. In addition, contrary to their Bronze Age predecessors (Christakis 2005; 2008), there are no volumetric analyses on Geometric or Archaic Cretan pithoi or on the relationship between the size of storage vessels and the fluctuating nutritional requirements for individuals and mixed farming/semi-subsistence families[93].

These sorts of restrictions make assessments on the relationship between the development of the functional properties of pithoi and the rise of social complexity an exceptionally challenging task. However, some early scholars had pinpointed a transitional typological phase of the Cretan pithos between the 8th and the 7th c., when storage jars gradually obtain more plasticity in decoration and become larger, or they may acquire some augmenting features such as a wider diameter, wider handles and a taller neck (Schäfer 1957, 10; Marinatos 1936, 261; Levi 1969a, 163-168; Anderson 1975, 43)[94]. Indeed, although the variability in the shape of Protogeometric-Geometric and Archaic pithoi is much more restricted than that seen in their Bronze Age counterparts, we can trace some morphological changes in the transition from the 9th or 8th c. to the 7th and early 6th c. BC. As I argue below for the case of pithoi produced at Phaistos, these changes are connected to shifting storage behaviours and they are indicative of new socio-political configurations in the Archaic period.

The few restored and/or published Protogeometric-Geometric pithoi seem to retain some basic forms of Bronze Age pithoi, such as the basic globular type of pithos or the ovoid type of pithoi with narrow mouth and low/lacking collar (Christakis 2005, 9-13). However, in the Geometric period, the arrangement of the

[92] For problems in nomenclature of Cretan storage jars see Christakis 2005, 2; Kotsonas 2008, 80, and Gigli Patanè, 2015, 178-179.
[93] As for example, in the case of the pithoi from EIA Zagora (McLoughlin 2011)
[94] For some general observations on the development of the Greek pithos typology during the Protogeometric-Geometric and the Archaic period, see also Giannopoulou 2010, 40-41.

handles changes and the extant multiple series of horizontal or vertical handles of a round section are substituted by two, usually vertical, handles, of round or oval section which are attached on the neck and shoulders. In addition, pithoi of the 9th - 8th c. BC have a narrow rim with a squared/rounded section, short neck and handles, and a tapered base. These elements result in the diminished height and capacity of the pot. When decoration is preserved, we also encounter some Minoan decorative patterns on pithoi from central Crete (Aphrati, Lyktos and Prinias), such as incised or impressed designs, which may be rendered directly on the surface or applied on raised bands, and also the knob and button-like appliqué decoration.

We can trace features of the development of the Geometric pithos in some complete specimens from Dreros. From the triangular area west of the temple came a series of at least nine pithoi dated between the 9th and the early 7th c. BC (Marinatos 1936, 257, 260-263). Two of these, one Protogeometric and one Geometric pithos, have been fully restored and they constitute the most representative examples of an intermediate typological stage between the Minoan and the Archaic period (ibid. 261; Tsipopoulou 2015, 351) (fig. 41). The earliest pithos (fig. 41, left) was dated by Schäfer (1957, 10) between 850-750 BC. It is 1.30m high and has a fishbone incision on the upper handle. The body is ovoid but with a very short neck, the rim is slightly down-turned and four short lug-style handles are attached on the shoulder and belly. This pithos seems to draw some of its features from Bronze Age pithoi, particularly from the ovoid type of pithoi with narrow mouth and low/lacking collar (Christakis 2005, 9-10, forms 19-25), as well as the four handles with cylindrical section. The other restored pithos from Dreros (fig. 41, right), which should be dated to a slightly later period, has minimal decoration of incised horizontal bands and from the rim hangs a tongue-shaped appendage. The rim is now vertical and the two strap handles are attached on the neck and the shoulder, whilst the body abruptly tapers towards a flaring base. We encounter features similar to this type of pithos in at least one complete specimen from the pottery factory of Mandra di Gipari in Prinias (Palermo 1992a, 51, 86-87, figs. 7, tav.x1) (fig. 42). The neck is longer and narrower than those from Dreros and the base is vertical, but the vessel remains relatively short (1.175m), as do the two strap handles which are attached on the neck and shoulder.

Whilst retaining this basic form, Cretan pithoi of the 7th and the 6th c. acquire an elongated and wider profile and their decoration is rendered almost exclusively in relief. Although decoration varies depending on the artistic production of specific

ateliers, some basic typological changes can be observed in the majority of Cretan Archaic pithoi. For example, the rim acquires a thick rectangular section, the neck is often elongated and/or wider, the handles become wider and they usually possess an oval or looped section, the diameter of the belly is widened, and the flat base becomes accentuated by the addition of a vertical ringed foot. These augmenting features affect the functional characteristics of the pithoi: capacity and accessibility enlarges, but, because the pot becomes heavier, transportability decreases.

The transition to the larger type pithos is expressed more clearly when we compare some Geometric and Archaic pithoi from Phaistos. The most well-known assemblage of complete 9th/8th c. storage jars comes from the large residential quarter known as the 'Geometric Quarter', on the southeast slopes of the Acropoli Mediana west and over the Minoan Palace of Phaistos (Levi 1961-1962, 397-418; Rocchetti 1974-1975)[95]. The exact character of the rooms and indeed of the entire Geometric Quarter is not entirely clear and several hypotheses have been forward regarding its functions. Speculations primarily revolve around acts of commensality that took place in assumed communal areas of the complex (rooms AA, P and R1), which are considered indicative either of a kinship-based EIA society that resided in what Mazarakis Ainian called a *ruler's dwelling* (Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 228-229, cf. Sjögren 2007, 157), or of larger corporate groups of people associated with an early Cretan *andreion* (Cucuzza 1998, 65-67; Borgna 2004, 271). Notwithstanding the unclear identification, the Geometric Quarter yielded numerous storage jars, most of which were found concentrated in the central room AA and in Rooms P and R1 (Levi 1969a, 169-172; Rocchetti 1974-1975, 124, *Anfora* AA. 13-15, 17-20). With the

[95] In addition to the largely or completely preserved storage jars from the Geometric Quarter, there are a number of 9th or 8th and 7th c. storage vessels from the patchily excavated Geometric settlement at Phaistos. However, their fragmentary state, the absence of characteristic decoration or the retention of some Bronze Age typological and decorative characteristics coupled with problems in stratigraphy, make the dating of the individual vessels particularly problematic. Unavoidably, these have been categorized by the excavators under very broad time-periods which extend from the Protogeometric to the Archaic period. Indicatively, some largely preserved specimens include: fragments of a large 'Sub-Geometric' or Archaic pithos from Aghios Georgios of Falandra which was found together with an Archaic pithos and several other fragments of Orientalizing or Archaic pithoi (Levi 1961-1962, 466-467). A 'Sub-Geometric' or Archaic pithos which partly preserved decoration of a bull figure rendered in relief was found at the Geometric quarters at Aghia Photini (ibid. 475); from a well west of the pottery kilns of the same site Levi recorded the remains of a large Geometric or Orientalizing pithos with stamped decoration on the rim, amongst numerous other fragments of Geometric pottery (ibid. 476). Another small fragment of an originally large pithos with stamped decoration has also been recovered from Aghia Photini, dated by Privitera to the Geometric period (Privitera 1979-1980, 197-180, n. 2, fig. 3, 209).

exception of two large ovoid pithoi from rooms AA and P, whose height is over 1.42m with a wide diameter of ca. 1.14m, the rest of the pottery associated with storage has a relatively wide variation in form somewhat like that of an amphora (hence their name as 'pithoid amphorae'[96]) (plate 2). Storage jars from the Geometric Quarter have a globular or an ovoid body, a narrow or a wide neck, two handles set on the neck and shoulders, and a flat base with a flaring or a short ringed foot. Their size remained considerably smaller than some of their Archaic successors (see below), ranging between 0.68m to 1.075m high. To the Geometric pithoi from Phaistos we can add the complete inscribed pithos found at the Hellenistic destruction layer close to the Theatral area northeast of the Minoan Palace (Levi 1969a; for the inscription see discussion in the next Chapter) (fig. 43). Typologically, the pithos is quite similar to the second pithos from Dreros mentioned above; for example, the neck is short and the body tapers sharply towards the bottom, however the pithos from Phaistos is quite a bit smaller (max. height 0.85m, max. diam. 0.465m) and the base is vertical-sided (Levi 1969a, 174, fn. 73; for a comparison with the pithoi from Dreros, see ibid. 170).

In the transition to the Archaic period, and after a short habitation break in Geometric Phaistos which times with the abandonment of the Geometric Quarter[97], Phaistos was served by a local pithos workshop dedicated to the production of large and decorated pithoi. Although the actual workshop has not been found, we know that by the end of the 7th - beginning of the 6th c. BC it produced a very characteristic type of pithoi collectively known as pithoi of the Phaistos workshop, with relief representations of single figures of animals placed prominently in a metope on the neck (Palermo 1992b) (plate 3). Today, six vessels comprise the hitherto published body of material, but it is most certain that many more pithoi of this type were produced during the same period. These six pithoi have been recovered on and around the Minoan palace area[98]. However, the precise context of their consumption remains

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[96] Levi 1969a, 169: '*anfore pithoidi'*.

[97] It has been previously hypothesized that the break in Geometric activity at Phaistos was partly the consequence of a catastrophic earthquake that hit the Mesara during the late-8th or early-7th c. BC (Levi 1961-1962, 399; Coldstream 1977, 278). For the Protogeometric-Geometric settlement at Phaistos and destruction/abandonment in the late 8th or early 7th c. BC, see Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, 311-314; see also Longo 2015, 466-469, for a recent succinct topographical overview of the area during this period. A more detailed description including cemeteries, habitation sites, fortification and epigraphic evidence for Phaistos can be found in Cucuzza 2015.

[98] The individual specimens and their findspots have been documented by Levi, Marinatos and La Rosa and were later summarized by Palermo (1992b) as part of his stylistic grouping. For the original reports of the Italian mission, see Levi 1927-1929, 75 (for pithos from the plain south of the Palace); Levi

problematic. This is mainly due to unclear stratigraphy and the lack of systematic excavations in their immediate surroundings, as well as from the reuse of some vessels for long periods of time, which was evidently a fairly common practice especially in Phaistos[99]. However, since it is unlikely that these pithoi were moved far from their original context (because of their low transportability), it has been hypothesized that they all originally belonged to the assumed – but unexcavated – urban area of Archaic Phaistos, perhaps to some context on the Acropolis Mediana (Palermo 1992b, 51; followed by La Rosa 1996, 83), or to an early Cretan *andreion* built within the temple area of the same Acropolis (Lefèvre-Novaro 2009, 569).

Studies on the group of pithoi from the Phaistos workshop have resulted in a more detailed assessment of their morphological features which place them to the period between 610-590 BC (Marinatos 1935, 58; Dunbabin 1952a, 157; Schäfer 1957, 21-22, Group IV; Palermo 1992b; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 40-43, Group 4). These vessels were significantly larger than most of their Geometric counterparts, ranging in height from 1.46 to 1.52m, and they acquired a very standardized profile, formed by a high cylindrical neck and an ovoid body that sharply tapers towards the bottom with a flat base and an elongated vertical foot. The wide and long handles, which are attached on the neck and shoulders, are in the shape of double-corded loops with a curled appendix hanging from the upper attachment. Their typological features are comparable to some known specimens from Aphrati, Lyktos[100], and to the pithos from Mandra di Gipari mentioned previously. However, in addition to their large size and their standardized profile, the decorative characteristics of the pieces from Phaistos make them particularly distinctive and immediately recognizable. So much so that some can be even assigned as the work of one potter or of closely related craftsmen (Schäfer 1957, 21; Palermo 1992b, 35): pithoi of the Phaistos workshop have traces of red paint and figurative decoration set in metopes on the neck, with secondary decorative motifs, such as wavy, zig-zag lines and running spirals, being

1952-1954, 468-469 (pithos from the so-called Casa Greca west of the Palace); Levi 1967-1968, 61, 65, 75, 94-95, 112- 113 (for pithoi from Chalara).

[99] Three of these pithoi, two at the Hellenistic floor levels of Chalara and one west of the Palace, were found in secondary use (Levi 1969b; see detailed discussion in Chapter 5); for the individual specimens see reports in Marinatos 1935, 57-58, fig. 14-18 (for a preliminary documentation of three Archaic pithoi from a Hellenistic house of Phaistos); La Rosa 1996, 83-84, 83-84, fn. 49, fig. 25 (for pithoi from the Acropoli Mediana).

[100] As compared by Palermo (1992b, 41, fn. 17-21): from Aphrati/Arkades, the pithos found by Levi (1927-1929, 383) and the two pithoi today in Louvre and Basel (Demargne 1972 and Weinberg 1973 respectively); from Lyktos, Lebessi 1971b, 495.

reserved for the lower body. The figures on the metopes on the neck are exclusively of animals: a rooster (the only known case of this animal figure in pottery of this period from Crete), grazing or standing bulls (a theme exclusive to the island), standing horses and running dogs or other unidentified quadrupeds. Both the animal-figured decoration on the neck and the secondary motifs on the rest of the body were placed only on the one side of the vessels (presumably on the front, visible side) while the opposite side remained entirely empty.

As Christakis (2005, 2) has underlined, it is self-evident that the size of a pithos affects important functional and performance properties (i.e. capacity, accessibility, transportability), indicative of different socio-political, economic and functional needs. Also, Andrew Bevan recently suggested that changes in the size and the capacity of storage jars are a form of evidence which can be used as proxies for significant macro-economic developments (Bevan 2019, 135-137). In this respect, changes in the typology and decoration of the pithoi from Phaistos should be suggestive of shifting functional properties and, by extension, of shifting economic and social needs. Given the general lack of systematic excavations specifically targeted in Archaic Crete, and the lack of research on the functional performance characteristics of Archaic pithoi specifically, the connection between the development of pithoi and social complexity has not been fully explored. That said, Kotsonas (2002, 52) argued that such structural and decorative modifications should be related to the rise of socio-political complexity in central Crete during the last quarter of the 7th c. BC. Moreover, both distinctive features of the pithoi from the Phaistos workshop, namely their size and their decoration, have been connected with increasing storage needs and with the establishment of a civic storage facility as part of a large-scale late-7th c. urbanization process at Phaistos (Palermo 1992b, 50-53; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004b, 342). This process involved the abandonment of hilltop settlements, followed by settlement aggregation in the valley, the establishment of rural settlements and farmlands, and the erection of new urban and sub-urban temples. All these developments are considered elements of the rising Phaistian *polis* and its citizens (ibid. 341)[101].

[101] Cf. Lefèvre-Novaro (2007, esp. 417), who places the development of agriculture and 'les débuts de la *polis*' in 9th or 8th c. Phaistos, on account of the storage jars from the Geometric Quarter.

Although the Archaic settlement of Phaistos has not been yet traced, the process of this re-organization and aggregation has been inferred in the synthetic publications mostly based on Levi's excavations on and around the Palace (Cucuzza 1998; 2000, 2005; Lefèvre-Novaro 2007; 2009; 2014; 2018), as well as on the two large-scale interdisciplinary survey projects, namely the extensive survey of the Western Mesara Project (Watrous et al. 1993; 2004) and the intensive survey of the Phaistos Survey Project (Bredaki et al. 2009; 2012; Longo et al. 2010; Longo 2015; Longo and Bredaki 2015). Moreover, the existence of an urban and political centre is suggested by a late 6th c. legal inscription which mentions the existence of an *agora*[102]. The directors of the extensive survey of the Western Mesara Project trace the economic dimensions of urbanization in the concurrent establishment of at least eleven rural settlements in a close circumference of 1-2km around Phaistos, comprising of a ring of farms and a hamlet. By associating these sites with the family estates and the *klaroi* (or *kleroi*), mentioned in the Gortyn Law Code (*IC* 72. 26-28), they identify them as the country estates allotted to Cretan citizens from which the ruling class drew its tribute and contributed to the produce of the *polis*. Finds from these sites suggest a sharp increase in pottery between 625 to 550 BC (Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, 313-314), which in turn supports the rapid establishment of farmsteads in the peripheries of an urban centre; it is, therefore, possible that these farmsteads were geared towards supplying the needs of an enlarged agricultural and political base of the city-state and its citizens (ibid. 343; Watrous and Hadzi-Vallianou 2004b, 321). From this survey evidence, we may hypothesize that the socio-political changes at Phaistos revolved around the accumulation and the management of agricultural surplus. Ultimately, this could have resulted in the emergence of an elite who appropriated and controlled the wealth collected from the land.

These changes at the Mesara could had a visible effect in the morphology and the decoration of the pithoi of Phaistos workshop, so bearing witness to the rise of agricultural wealth and to the economic foundations of the Phaistian *polis* during the late 7th - early 6th c. Craft specialization has been characterized as the 'workhorse of

[102] SEG 32.908 line 1: ... *F]εῖπαι ἐν ἀγορ[ᾶ.. 'The law is proposed for approval by the agora'*). The inscription was accidently found in the bed of an irrigation channel east of Chalara and it is considered indicative of the topography of Archaic Phaistos (La Rosa 1992, 235).

archaeological investigations into complex society' (Arnold 1991, 1). It is widely considered as an integral component of increasing socio-political complexity which involves elements of a state-level organization (Childe 1950; Wright 1986, esp. 323-324; Brumfield and Earle 1987; Costin and Hagstrum 1995), with significant implications for the relationship between consumers and producers in general, and the existence of elite consumers in particular. Indeed, the large size of the pithoi from the Phaistos workshop and their consistent form is suggestive of morphological and technological standardization and indicative of high specialization and considerable labour investment by pithos makers, employed for the production of storage vessels with standard values. Moreover, their iconography, which is exclusively themed after animals raised in agricultural settings to produce commodities (e.g. meat), labour or military services, and the arrangement of their ornamental features only on the one, presumably front, side suggests that these pithoi were meant to be displayed and thus immediately recognized either as individual vessels/properties and/or as the containers of agricultural and pastoral wealth. As such, both their decoration and their morphology denote the symbolic value of pithoi in the context of an elite consumption and their use as the means to negotiate and to establish collective and personal identity and authority. Collectively, these features of the pithoi of the Phaistos workshop can be understood as possible indications for their original destination in a public, or at least in a visible setting and for their function as the containers of an ideology associated with access to agricultural produce and surplus.

As part of an economic and political, possibly state-organized- mechanism, the estates or farmsteads around Phaistos indicate the dynamics between the evolving *polis* (the *asty*) and its dependencies on the peripheries (the *chora*). This sort of organization would have produced the supplies towards funding the institution of Cretan *syssitia;* any surplus produced in the immediate outskirts by a dependent population could have been channelled into the urban centre to be accessed and managed by an elite class of citizens who stored goods in the large pithoi of the Phaistos workshop. In this respect, both aspects of the life-cycle of pithoi (production – consumption) were dictated by the economic circumstances and the socio-political relationships that were formed amongst the inhabitants of an a newly emerging social hierarchy which controlled, consumed and boasted about the accumulation of agricultural wealth produced from the exploitation of farmlands.

In sum, whilst it is important to acknowledge the absence of direct excavation data and the need for future studies concerning the volume and the contents of Archaic pithoi in general[103], the case of Phaistos opens a window towards building a speculative structural model for the development of the *polis.* Also, the case of Phaistos and its pithoi assist in visualizing the material remains of this process in the morphology and decoration of storage jars, such as elements which suggest standardization, specialization and labour investment, enlarged size and capacity, and/or the arrangement of the decorative motifs on a single side of the vessel which indicate their placement in visible, perhaps public settings. The next section focuses more on one such aspect, namely certain themes in the iconography of pithoi, as elements of elite display.

3.3. Ideology and status on display

Contrary to the typology of the Greek pithos, the imagery of Archaic pithoi has received extensive attention since the 19th and throughout the 20th c. AD (de Ridder 1898; Courby 1922; Schäfer 1957; Anderson 1975; Caskey 1976; Simantoni-Bournia 2004) (see the literature review in Chapter 2.3.1). In the 1950s-1970s, these and other art-historical approaches have also been concerned with the art of Cretan relief pithoi (e.g. Schäfer 1957, 26-42; Matz 1970, 56-73; Anderson 1975, 41-61). In their majority, such studies were basically centred on the stylistic characteristics and decorative techniques of relief pithoi, particularly with respect to pottery traditions of certain ateliers. However, since the 2010s, attention has shifted from strict art-historical approaches to more contextual understandings on the iconography of the Greek pithos and to its symbolic cultural and socio-political meanings. The impetus to these sorts of understandings can be traced to the study by Ebbinghaus (2005) which focuses on the scenes depicted on the '*Mykonos pithos*'. The pithos is dated to the 8th and 7th c. and it generally belongs to the 'Tenian-Boeotian group' of pithoi. It has the decoration of a Trojan horse on the neck and scenes of *Ilioupersis* – including

[103] Similar need for systematic excavation and research on pithoi in particular applies for the case of Lyktos which has a well-attested production of some very large and elaborate Archaic pithoi. Thanks to the generous permission of A. Lebessi, I had the opportunity to examine some of these pithoi in the storerooms of the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion, and to witness their exceptionally large size and standardized production. The Archaic settlement of Lyktos has never been systematically excavated. It is hoped that future research, combined with petrographic analysis provided in Chapter 3, will shed more light on the connection between pithoi and the rise of socio-political complexity in Crete during the EIA-Archaic period.

supplication and slaughter – on the shoulder and the upper body, while another body fragment has the representation of a fallen warrior, probably Hector. Today, this figure has been identified with Hector defending Troy during its fall. By meticulously analyzing these representations, Ebbinghaus argued that not only did the pithos depict the fall of Troy, but also that the specific decoration was an ideological statement vested with symbolisms, wherein Hector was the personification of the protector and the guardian of a city and a role model for the aristocracy of the 7th c. BC. In effect, the author proposed that because storage jars relate to economic prosperity, their imagery can be used to signal wealth and power derived from the control of surplus and to indicate status attained by a specific class of warriors-protectors of a city. At the same time, she underlined the context of pithoi in specific places within houses, such as at the back or along the sides of a room, which could have acted 'as a direct measure of a person's wealth and standing in the community…protected from intruders but on display for guests and retainers enjoying the wine or feeding on the food contained within them' (ibid. 57).

Ebbinghaus' work inspired the most holistic approach yet for the iconography of Cretan pithoi as offered by Brisart through a series of publications (2007; 2009; 2011). Largely influenced by Ian Morris' socioeconomic model of the Greek *polis* (Morris 1987; 1991; 2000), Brisart explored the ideological and cultural reasons behind the different modes of consumption of Oriental and Orientalizing art, including relief pithoi in the Greek world and Crete in particular. His comprehensive analysis on the use of various orientalizing artefacts in cemeteries, sanctuaries and in presumed communal dining contexts from Argos, Attica and Crete, concluded that the artistic innovation of the Orientalizing phenomenon was, above all else, the materialized expression of emerging citizenship in the *polis*. Similarly to Ebbinghaus, he postulated that the decorative embellishment and the grand size of 7th c. Cretan pithoi was the expression of an elite ideology which was most typically expressed in the pithoi from Aphrati, a site commonly associated with commensality and the institution of the Cretan *andreion* (Brisart 2009, 156). Brisart suggested that these vessels were conspicuously consumed by the elite of the *polis* (because they were intended for storing food shared by its citizens) and so the art of Cretan orientalizing pithoi is evidence that the elite and the citizens of Crete were one and the same body whose status was maintained via feasting events such as those practised at the Cretan *syssitia* (ibid. 157-158).

In short, Brisart and Ebbinghaus brought to light aspects of the iconography of pithoi as expressions of an elite male citizenship while highlighting the placement of pithoi in specific communal or domestic settings. In what follows, I suggest that we find similar examples of this ideology in the iconography of some Archaic Cretan pithoi from Prinias but also from Aphrati, Lyktos and Phaistos. Specifically, I argue that the art of 7th -early 6th c. relief pithoi with representations of horses were the materialized expression of a specific class of Cretan landowners-citizens who appropriated produce and labour.

3.3.1. Pithoi from Temple A in Prinias: horses and the elite

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, pithoi of Prinias have been found in three key-areas of the site: in the main settlement at the hill of the Patela, in the necropolis of Siderospilia to the northwest, and in the pottery workshop of Mandra di Gipari. From the first explorations at Prinias, some Archaic fragments of pithoi attracted archaeological interest. When Halbherr took his first reconnaissance at the site, in 1893-1894, he proposed that that the area enclosed a kind of public building which was evidently related to the *andreion*. He traced 'the walls of prehistoric and of archaic-Hellenic constructions' and found fragments of Archaic inscriptions which he believed 'bear a character similar to those of the Pythion of Gortyna and evidently belonged, as those did, to a public building the walls of which were covered with official inscriptions (Halbherr 1896, 531). Although he kept his focus on Cretan inscriptions throughout his explorations, Halbherr paid attention to some Archaic pithoi he found at Prinias and recognized them as the most remarkable finds which 'form a group of more original character than any of the other Cretan terracottas which have been brought to light by the exploration of the Institute' (ibid 531).

Ultimately, however, Prinias became famous for its architectural sculpture found in one of the two 7th c. buildings which Pernier (1914; 1934) identified as Temples A and B, a terminology which largely persists to this day. Both buildings share some common architectural elements, but their function and their interrelationship are not clear. The temples are situated side by side but their orientation is not parallel as Temple A (the northernmost structure) is slightly tilted to the southwest. Both buildings consist of axially arranged rooms with a porch (a *pronaos*) and a cella, but Temple B differs in that it preserved an additional back

room (an *opisthodomos*)[104]. Although Temple A lacks the back room of the adjacent Temple B, it is considered as a much more monumental structure because of the impressive finds of architectural sculpture found within, which date the building to the last quarter of the 7th c. In the main room of Temple A, Pernier revealed a large rectangular hearth accompanied by animal bones, ash, and some fineware pottery, including fragments of clay cauldrons (Pernier 1914, 64-65). The hearth was flanked by columns and a door leading to the porch, and Pernier suggested a reconstruction of the Temple as a flat-roofed building with jambs and a *pronaos* which incorporated the architectural sculptures he found within the area (Pernier 1914; 1934): on the east side of the building he placed the impressive sculpted frieze of nine mounted spearmen (fig. 44), and on a lintel above the entrance he restored the two monumental limestone statues of seated goddesses that face each other. The figures, whose exact identification as to the deity worshiped remains unclear[105], rest on a smaller frieze with relief decoration with an antithetical row of panthers and deer. The underside of the lintel is carved with two opposite-facing, standing female figures, each wearing a *polos*. As a lintel arrangement over the inner doorway, he restored the two seated figures on top of a block decorated with lions and stags. The hooves of an unidentified animal have been later restored by Watrous (1998, 77) as the legs of two sphinxes placed at the doorway on an orthostat.

Since Pernier, the reconstruction of the temple remained a matter for discussion for several decades and it has been modified and emended numerous times, most notably by Stucchi (1978) and Beyer (1976), and most recently by D'Acunto (1995) and Watrous (1998)[106] (fig. 45). Similar uncertainly regards the function of Temple A. Because of the rectangular hearth, it has been identified as a Cretan hearth-temple. However, as Cretan hearth temples have often been identified as public dining halls, varying opinions been put forward as to the kinds of communal activities hosted within the building, with some suggesting that it held a strictly cultic function, others that it served as a public dining hall (an early *andreion),* and yet others that it

[104] For detailed overview of the temples, the findings and suggested reconstructions, see Prent 2005, 253-259.
[105] So far, the most favoured identification remains Pernier's first impression, namely that the figures represent the goddess Rhea (although he also considered a connection with Britomartys and Dictynna) (Pernier 1914, 111). See further discussion and bibliography in D'Acunto 1995, 44, fn. 205.
[106] Concerning the history of the restorations of Temple A, see also Marinatos 2000, 72-77; Lefèvre-Novaro et al.2013, 6-14.

combined cultic with civic purposes. For example, Vance Watrous (1998, 79) suggested that the nine warriors on the frieze were representations of the *Kouretes* (the mythical Cretan dancers and mountain daemons) as a reference to religious initiation ceremonies that were hosted within the temple. Koehl (1997, 142) and Carter (1997, 89), on the other hand, proposed that Temple A was a dining hall for the male aristocrats of an *andreion*, where feasts in honour of heroic ancestors were held. Their argument is built upon the fact that there was an absence of finds that could be interpreted as votive, in contrast to rich iconography of the temple and the wealth of animal bones and ash found within the main room. This evidence is taken to indicate that in the area below and adjacent to the hearth, activities associated with meals and libations took place, and as the current excavators of Prinias believe, the consumption of food was not occasional but rather a frequently repeated practice (Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 7). Adopting a more nuanced interpretation of the temple and its architectural iconography, Mieke Prent and Matteo D'Acunto maintain that it had a cultic function but with implicit or explicit references to the Cretan *andreion* that was associated with a class of elite warrior-citizens. Prent (2007, 148) suggested that associations with the aristocracy of Prinias is 'most clearly expressed through the seventh-century sculpture of the mounted warriors that decorated the exterior of the building'. Similarly, D'Acunto (1995, 47-50) proposed that the depiction of mounted warriors in the frieze of the facade represents a class of aristocratic warriors who participated in feasts that were held within the temple, in a warlike representation which matches descriptions of the Cretan *syssitia* according to which they promoted and enhanced the militaristic values of its participants. Most recently, Jérémy Lamaze (2019) reconsidered the architectural, stratigraphical, iconographic and artefactual evidence from Temples A and B (which, he calls 'pseudo-temples') and the surrounding areas, to propose that both buildings were in fact banqueting halls used by dominant aristocratic clans of varying authority. In stressing the iconographic association between the sculptural representations of the naked female figures/goddesses and the *Potnia Hippon* represented on the pithos from Temple A (discussed below), Lamaze suggested the building and its Orientalizing artefacts were means for marking the status and prestige of the elite-citizens in the community of Prinias (ibid. 364).

Whilst important, the original placement of the sculptural features or the identification of the temple is not a central issue of my study. Rather, I am here

interested in the meanings of the iconography of the mounted warriors on the frieze which finds parallels on many pithoi from Temple A and the surrounding area at Prinias, as well as on other pithos fragments from Aphrati and Lyktos.

The most well-preserved and elaborate representations of horses and riders are rendered on the large 7th c. pithos that Pernier found directly in front of Temple A, at the entrance of the *pronaos* (Pernier 1914, 70) (fig. 46). About two thirds of the front part of the pithos is preserved in addition to some fragments of the body. The pot has been restored to a height of ca. 1.10m, a max. diameter of 0.80m almost at the middle of vessel, and a rim diameter of ca. 0.60m. Two similar fragments from Prinias which are probably part of the same pithos are included in the preliminary publication of some pithos fragments by Savignoni (1901, 410) (fig. 47) and one more very similar fragment stored at the Museum Pigorini in Rome has been identified by Rosella Gigli Patané (2015, 183, fn. 25-26). The base and the handles of the pithos are not entirely preserved, but it is presumed that the vessel ended in a tall and narrow cylindrical foot which was separated from the belly by a raised strip; the attachment of two vertical handles on the neck and shoulder is suggested by two clay expansions which arch downwards from the neck. The body has an elongated ovoid form with a wide and tall straight-walled neck that is separated from the shoulder by a relief cord. Like in many cases on relief pithoi, the most elaborative decoration on the pithos from Temple A was set on the neck and only on the one (front?) side, whilst the secondary – albeit rich – decoration was reserved for the lower part. In the centre of the neck the decoration consists of a winged *Potnia Theron* (Mistress of Wild Animals) wearing an *epiblema*, with each hand holding the foreleg of a raging horse. On the rest of the body, the decoration is arranged on parallel raised bands. The lower part of the neck is circumvented by rounded clay strips and on the shoulder there are large bands of spirals. At the point of the widest diameter there is a raised band with a scene of riders and chariots racing towards tripods placed as prizes. Under the chariots, is a hare and another quadruped animal which resembles the figure of a dog. The lower part of the body towards the base is decorated with a frieze of spirals, a band with relief plant elements and palmettes, and two successive friezes with bands of horizontal zigzag and wavy lines.

Initially, Pernier (1914, 70) suggested this large pithos was an offering to the temple. He also mentioned similar types of pithoi found in the vicinity (Pernier 1934, 177) as well as two fragments with similar decoration of an armed rider on a chariot

carrying a shield and a spear which he paralleled to the armed riders on the frieze of the temple (Pernier, 1914, 93) (fig. 48). As later excavations by Rizza revealed, horses, horsemen and chariots are in fact exceptionally popular themes in the pithoi of Prinias, reproduced in at least 12 fragments from the area surrounding the temple and the wider vicinity (plate 5). Gigli Patané (2015, 183, 185-188, figs. 3-4), who provided a detailed catalogue of these fragments, believes that this iconography on pithoi relates to the existence of an aristocratic class of riders at Prinias. Although the relationship between the settlement and the necropolis of Siderospilia remains unclear, Gigli Patané proposed that the recurrent imagery of horse and chariot races on pithoi should be considered not only in the context of the frieze in Temple A but also in context of the burials of sacrificed horses, known as '*tombe dei cavalli'*, which were found on the western edge of the northeaster hill of the necropolis (Rizza 1979). Antonella Pautasso (2011) also called attention to the symbolism of this iconography and she identified scenes of armed horsemen as processions-initiation for young warriors who are being introduced to the life of aristocrats. Their class and ideology, says Pautasso, was denoted by the possession of the horse which acted as a symbol of the elite and warrior nobility (ibid. 103).

The athletic iconography of chariot racing and especially the presence of tripod as a prize on the pithos at Prinias, recalls comparable scenes in Greek Archaic art which have been identified as the funeral games of Patroklos, described in detail in books 23-24 of the Iliad (Roller 1981; Kefalidou 2007; Kavvadias 2010). In the archaeology of Crete, the possibility of a scene inspired by the funeral games for Patroklos has been recently explored by Kotsonas (2019b) for the iconography of 'Kommos cup A', a 7th c. incised coated or black cup found at the homonymous sanctuary, whose main frieze depicts two standing figures (an hoplite and another unidentified figure with long hair and a conical hat) flanking a prostate figure. Kotsonas draws attention to the epigraphic and iconographic evidence which suggests that athletic competitions were held in Cretan sanctuaries and to the occurrence of numerous Archaic pithoi with representations of horse and chariot racing (ibid. 617, fn. 170-171). The possibility that such funeral games were held at Prinias, and thus possibly represented in the pithos from Temple A, cannot be excluded. Still, in view of the suggestions made in interpreting the iconography of armed horse riders on the pithoi and the architecture from Prinias and taking into consideration the literature on the socio-political organization of Archaic Crete, it is worth focusing on and

exploring further the overwhelming imagery of horses (rearing, mounted, or powering chariots) depicted on pithoi from Prinias and on fragments from Aphrati and Lyktos. The aristocratic meanings attributed to equines allow us to review related themes on the iconography on pithoi from a socio-economic perspective. This perspective creates the framework for deeper considerations regarding the relationship between imagery (equines) and medium (pithoi) and the elements which tie them together.

3.3.2. Horses on pithoi as a metaphor for wealth and status

Horses frequently feature as an important element of ancient Greek life, being tied to myths, heroism and battle. Their association with mythical aristocratic heroes is well-reflected in early Greek literature and particularly in the Homeric epics where warriors and their charioteers belong exclusively to the aristocracy[107]. Possession of horses echoed ancient attitudes towards class and social hierarchy, for only the privileged and the wealthy could afford the expense of maintaining them (van Wees 2000, 87-88). The ability to own and to maintain such expensive animals conferred social dignity which in fact is known to have created a specific upper class in Athens, the *hippeis.* Aristotle specifically mentions the raising of horses and cavalry as a constituent of an oligarchy and an upper class[108]; specifically for the case of Crete, Ephorus refers to a Cretan board of '*hippeis'* who could afford '*ἱπποτροφεῖν'* (to feed/maintain horses). Contrary to the Lacedaemonians, who used the term *hippeis* euphemistically, Ephorus says that in Crete this public office was indeed run by those who actually possessed horses[109]. As Chaniotis (2005, 189-190) has also observed, the popularity of names composed with the word *-hippos* in Crete, indicates the

[107] For example, in the last lines of *Iliad* dedicated to Hector's funeral, the hero is referred to as the 'Breaker of Horses' (Hom. *Il*. 24.944). Similarly, in the Odyssey, when Telemachus and Nestor's son, Peisistratus, depart from Pylos to visit Menelaus at Sparta, Nestor sends them off in a horse-drawn chariot (Hom. *Od*. 3.475-85). In addition, epithets commonly attached to horses such as *ἐΰτριχας* (with beautiful mane) or *ἀερσίποδες* (swift), suggest that they were valued for their wild spirit and for their contribution to battle.

[108] Arist. *Pol*. 1289b 33-40, 1297b 16-22, 1321a 5-11.

[109] Strabo 10.4. 18; reference to Cretan cavalry is also made in Plato's *Laws* (1.625c-d, 8.834b-d)*;* initially, Clinias informs the Athenian Stranger that unlike Thessaly, Crete has a rugged terrain which is unsuitable for horse-riding and so Cretans are footmen rather than horsemen. Plato returns to the topic of Cretan horsemanship in the context of competition and military training, in a segment where the Athenian Stranger affirms that Crete is ill-suited for horse-racing and especially for chariots, nevertheless, he continues, lawmakers should establish contests and gymnastic sports of horse-racing, with *phylarchs* (the rulers of a tribe) and *hipparchs* (the commanders of cavalry) as the public judges of these contests.

symbolism of horse ownership for higher members of an elite military social class in Crete[110].

The appreciation of horses as moveable wealth lies primarily in their poor economic value and high-maintenance, which is substantially disproportionate to their practical value and contribution to subsistence. Unlike other domesticated animals, equines are neither effective nor essential for the production of food (i.e. milk and meat) or other necessities such as fur. On the contrary, they require substantial care, more expensive food, and access to extensive grazing lands with good-quality forage from hay or pasture reserved exclusively for their maintenance (Donaghy 2012, esp. 303-305). With respect to their practical value, horses are more useful for their manure, muscle power or ploughing which, however, can be more or just as effectively drawn from cattle as well. The most valuable contribution of horses is that they were particularly serviceable for cavalry, hunting and chariot racing. For this reason, throughout antiquity, they were associated with an upper class of the aristocratic elite with access to land (Gaebel 2002, 55-57; Campbell 2014, 47). Fighting, travelling and hunting by horse, like in the scene depicted on the large pithos from Prinias, were luxuries reserved for the wealthy and, as Timothy Howe's treatise on ancient pastoral politics demonstrated, they were 'quite rightly regarded as an obvious sign of wealth and nobility' throughout pre-Classical and Classical Greece (Howe 2008, 108).

Because of their connotations as possessions of the elite, the iconography of horses was vested with symbolisms of nobility, aristocracy, hereditary landownership and political power, in association with acts of bravery and aristocratic warriorship (Snodgrass 1971, 414-415). From at least the 8th c. and throughout the 4th c. BC, equines are represented with or without riders or yoked to chariots in various media, most notably on fine painted vases, in figurines, in sculpture and on coins[111]. In Cretan art, horses appear as early as the late 9th /early 8th c. BC, most tellingly as

[110] As collected elsewhere by Chaniotis (1991, 98, fn. 44), Cretan onomastics involving *(h)ippos* (*horse*) include: *Agesippos, Aristippos, Glaukippos, Euxippos, Zeuxippos, Heraippos, Hippaithos, Hippas, Hippokleidas, Kallippianos, Kalippos, Klesippos, Kratippos, Lysippos, Menippos, Mnasippos, Poseidippos, Phainippos, Philippos, and Chrysippos.*

[111] Most indicatively, this long-lasting tradition in the imagery of horses is represented in the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue and essays presented at the National Sporting Library and Museum in Middleburg, Virginia (Schertz and Stribling 2017). The collection includes no less than 75 horse-themed items from the Geometric to the Classical period.

votives in luxury media[112]. Next to the pithoi from Prinias (which may or may not be votives), examples include the group of seven ivory seals from the Idean Cave, all of which share a similar representation of a man with a helmet and a horse accompanied by a dog or a bird (Sakellarakis 1987a, 251-252 fig. 11; 1988, 174 n. 17), a handful of bronze and numerous clay figurines from the sanctuary of Kato Syme (Schürmann 1996, 165-170, n. 530-535; Muhly 2008, 142-152), two 7th c. handmade horse figures from the Sanctuary of Demeter close to Knossos (Higgins 1973, 90, n. 2.260-2.261), the group of 7th c. handmade and wheelmade terracotta votives from the area of the altar at the sanctuary of the Acropolis in Gortyn (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 188-190, n. 267- 304, tav. XXXVIII, XLI), figurines and a terracotta plaque from Lato (Demargne 1929, 415-416, n. 82-83 and 423, n. 98 respectively) and an urn from the necropolis at Aphrati (Levi 1927-1929, 130, n.50, fig. 114). Other well-known examples of horses appear on bronze in helmets of the late 7th - early 6th c. BC, including the helmet from Axos and the looted bronze helmets and the mitrai from Aphrati (Hoffmann 1972, 2-4, 41-46, pl. 1-10, 14-15)[113].

More than any on other medium of Archaic Crete, however, horses are routinely represented on Cretan Archaic pithoi[114]. Although equines – be they common or winged – also appear in Cycladic relief ware, they are illustrated much more rarely than on their Cretan counterparts and they are usually shown walking in files rather than mounted, powering chariots, or rearing (Simantoni-Bournia 2017, 183-184, n. 8-20). In contrast, horses on Cretan 7th and early 6th c. pithoi are not only exceptionally common, but they are also most often depicted rearing, mounted by armed riders, or in association with or tamed by the Mistress of Wild Animals (also known as *Potnia Hippon)*. Both aspects, namely the frequency and the particularity their imagery on Cretan pithoi, could be viewed as part of a link between the iconography, the function and the symbolism of Cretan storage jars, in association with an elite class of the Archaic Cretan communities. This association becomes more apparent when we consider the fact that, as well as in the pithoi from Prinias,

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[112] For zoomorphic figurines, including horses, in EIA sanctuaries see Prent 2005, 704, table 5. For a more recent analysis of zoomorphic figurines from Kato Syme, including a comparison with assemblages of horse figurines from Olympia, see Muhly 2008, esp. 214, table C.

[113] In a rare example, horses appear on an imported early 7th c. painted amphora found in tomb A1K1 at the cemetery of Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2008, 289-290).

[114] For a list of Cretan pithoi with similar decoration of horses and/or mounted warriors, see also Appendix II, entries 8, 14, 18, 33, 34-35, 57, 104, 106, 115, 117, 130, 134-135.

expressions of mounted or rearing versions of horses abound on complete or fragmentary pithoi, especially on some of those looted from Aphrati. Specifically, mounted horses disciplined by their riders by a horse-whip appear on a frieze on the shoulder of an Aphrati pithos (today at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem)[115], which, like the pithos from Prinias, also has a representation of a *Potnia Theron* on the neck (fig. 49). An unpublished fragment with horse and rider is also to be found at Tampa Museum of Art in Florida[116] (fig. 50a), a neck fragment with horse and rider in relief was acquired by an unknown art gallery in Switzerland (Hornbostel 1970, 71, C5), and one more similar fragment was acquired on behalf of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg (ibid, C4) (fig. 50b). From the looted Aphrati pithoi which stayed in Crete, we see a similar representation on a neck fragment from the Nikolaos Metaxas collection with a partly preserved figure of horse rider[117]. To the collection of pithoi with representations of horsemen, we can also add three more pithos fragments from Lyktos (Fabricius 1886, 45, pl. IV; Levi 1945, 31, pl.31.6; Schäfer 1952, 13, n. 9, pl. II.3) (fig. 51).

Pairs of opposed rearing horses are also frequently depicted on a number of Cretan pithoi, most prominently on those from Aphrati. For example, we find series of antithetic horses set in a frieze, on the shoulder of an otherwise plainly decorated pithoid jar, previously part of the private collection of N. Metaxas and today on display at the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion (fig. 52). Small or large fragments with a partly preserved decoration of opposed raised horses also include two pithos neck fragments exhibited in Hamburg, one acquired by an unknown private collector in Switzerland (Hornbostel 1970, 76, n. C14) and the other purchased by the private collector Dr. Günther Marschall in Hamburg (ibid. 75-76, n. C13), today on display in the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 53). Commonly, we encounter horses heraldically standing on either sides of a double palmette, as for example on the Cretan pithos fragment today in Tokyo, part of the Kojiro Ishiguro collection (ibid. C15, pl. 26a). The theme is reduplicated on a body fragment of a pithos from Aphrati acquired by the Museum of Pavlos and Alexandra Kanellopoulou at Athens (Brouskari 1975, 400, fig. 12), on a complete pithos neck and partly

[115] Inv. n. 71.19.112; Hornbostel 1970, 85, n. C30, pl. 32-33.
[116] Inv. n. 1991.023.001.
[117] Inv. n. 1452. Displayed at the Malevizi Archaeological Collection.

preserved body fragment which is today on display at the Benaki Museum, Athens (Brisart 2007, 116, Aphrati 15.1., pl. 13, fig. 5), as well as on a body fragment collected by Levi from his excavations at Aphrati (Levi 1927-1929, 65, fig. 45.48) (fig. 54a) and on one neck fragment, also probably from Aphrati, which was acquired by the Cretan private collector Stylianos Giamalakes in the first half of the 20th c. (today in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion) (Dunbabin 1952a, 153, n.2, 6-8) (fig. 54b)[118].

Pairs of winged horses are also represented on some 7th c. pithos fragments. Examples include one fragment from Lyktos, though here the wings are mutilated but Levi believed they should probably be inferred (Levi 1927-1929, 67-68, fig. 47b) (fig. 55a), as did Dunbabin for a horse depicted on an unprovenanced 6th c. (?) fragment in the Giamalakes' collection (Dunbabin 1952a, 155, pl. 28.6) (fig. 55b). Much more rarely, we encounter marching-walking, standing or browsing horses, for example, the pairs of (winged?) horses from Lyktos mentioned previously, the horses on a 6th c.(?) fragment form Astritsi in Pediada (Marinatos 1935, 60, fig. 18.1) (fig. 56), and the marching horses on an elaborate fragment from Aphrati (Levi 1927-1929, 66-67, fig. 45.47) (fig. 57). One 7th c. or 6th belly fragment from Aphrati has a unique combination of walking or marching horses alternating with browsing ones on the lower frieze, and on the upper frieze there are wild goats attacked by a lion (Lebessi 1971a, 499-500, pl. 515γ; Simantoni-Bournia 2017, 183, 15) (fig. 58). In the category of common horse figures, we should also include the single figure of a browsing horse on the metope of the complete late 7th-early 6th pithos from Phaistos (Marinatos 1935, 57-58, figs. 16-17; Palermo 1992b, 44, figs. 1d, 3d-g) (fig. 59), and an unprovenanced pithos neck fragment with applied figure of horse (hindquarters preserved) which is today in Nasher Museum of Art in North Carolina as part of the Kempner collection (Antonaccio and Dillon 2011, 24) (fig. 60).

Lastly, there are Cretan pithoi decorated with the theme of a horse-taming *Potnia Theron*. As Prent has pointed out, although there appears to be no special relationship of horses with a specific deity, 'certain cults and deities were more relevant to the articulation of an aristocratic ethos than others' (Prent 2005, 396). In Greek art, this association is found *Potnia Theron* or *Potnia Hippon*, who is

[118] The acquisition of Cretan Archaic pithoi by Greek and foreign private collectors and museums is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

commonly identified with Astarte. The deity merged with and assimilated various local goddesses thanks to the Phoenician expansion into the west, as a lady of chariotry and mistress of horses as well as deity of kinship and war[119]. In Crete, the concept of a female deity surrounded by different kinds of wild animals goes back to the Bronze Age as she was commonly depicted in Minoan religious art; the iconography must have been familiar to EIA Cretans (ibid. 374). But in the 7th c., the 'nature goddesses' are found in iconographic contexts which indicate aristocratic involvement particularly with connotations to horses and their taming. This is especially the case for Cretan Archaic pithoi, where such connotations are most expressively represented in the figure of *Potnia Theron*. The iconography matches that of the neck on the pithos from Prinias and the pithos in the Israel Museum mentioned earlier, and it is should be paired with the largely preserved upper part of a pithos said to be from Phaistos, today in New Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, which shows a partly preserved *Potnia Theron* holding winged horses (Gjødesen 1970, 151, fig. 7; Flemming 1994, 126, n. 65a) (fig. 61). A variation of this theme is also found on the Archaic plaque from Lato (Demargne 1929, 423, fig. 35).

This recurrent image of taming evokes a language of husbandry and of skilful riders, warriors or deities associated with aristocracy[120]. Therefore, Cretan pithoi, as the most popular choice of media for their representation, can be collectively read in association with aristocratic citizen-warriors or well-trained riders in the Archaic Cretan communities. This may or may not be a direct reference to the Cretan *hippeis*, however, what this theme in the iconography suggests is the existence of aristocratic citizens with access to large grazing lands or, in any case, the profound desire to belong to these elites. Cretan pithoi are the medium *par excellence* for the representation of such connotations for they incorporated all aspects of Cretan aristocracy: (the desire for) status, horse- and land-ownership and the ability to store land produce. The popularity of the theme of common, tamed or mounted horses on pithoi might have derived from their actual function as storage jars and from their appreciation as the highly-valued containers of wealth that was owned and managed

[119] In Ptolemaic Egypt, for example, the warrior aspect of Astarte as the 'Mistress of Horses' continues throughout the Hellenistic period; for the association of Astarte with horses, see Schmitt 2013 (with references to earlier bibliography).

[120] The perception of horses as a sign of nobility and as a wild natural force to be tamed by well-trained skilful warriors, heroes or deities, is also frequently mentioned in the epics, e.g. Agamemnon (Hom. *Il.* 2.24), Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* 5.781), and Castor (Hom. *Il.* 3.235).

by those with access to large plots of land. In this respect, it may not be coincidental that we find similar depictions on other luxury media, such as the bronzes from Axos and Aphrati, or on the ivory seals from the Idean Cave for which Chaniotis (2005, 189) maintains that they alluded to their owner's high social position. It may also not be coincidental that equines were a popular theme in the major pithos production centres of Central Crete (Aphrati, Lyktos, Prinias and more rarely in Phaistos), all of which are situated within or in close proximity to the two most fertile and extensive areas of Crete, the plain of the Mesara and the rolling terrain of the Pediada. Unlike the rest of the island which is mostly mountainous or with a rugged terrain, these areas offer ample fields of flat land, suitable for massive amounts of cultivation as well as for horse maintenance and riding. The actual use of horses in Archaic Crete remains to be further identified in skeletal assemblages of the archaeological record. However, the *tombe dei cavalli* at Siderospilia mentioned earlier and the group of horse burials at the North Cemetery at Knossos North Cemetery (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 7-8, fig. 195) are suggestive of horse ownership and riding in Crete of this period.

Equine-themed iconography might not have acted solely as the representation of ideal or desired aristocratic role-models. It is possible that a cautionary tale against arrogance and immodesty is reflected on the figure of a man falling off a winged horse, a theme unique on three Cretan pithoi from Aphrati (two complete pithoi and one fragment) (fig. 62a-b)[121]. The scene, which is set in metopes on the belly of the pithoi, has been interpreted by Hornbostel (1970, 74-75) as a possible illustration of the myth of Bellerophon falling off his horse. Readings relative to this imagery rely in part on the mythical connection of Bellerophon to the Corinthian 'royal' dynasty but, mostly, on his personification of hubris and arrogance that disturbed unity and a well-ordained socio-political structure. In mythology, Bellerophon is the son of Poseidon, but his natural father is Glaucus and his grandfather is the oedipal criminal Sisyphus. As well as the noble 'slayer of monsters' and a most skilful horseman, Bellerophon is predominantly portrayed in ancient

[121] One complete pithos is today in the Louvre (Demargne 1972), and the other, previously in the ownership of the private collector N. Metaxas, is now on display at the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (Alexiou 1964, 437). One more fragment with a similar motif is reported in the catalogue of the exhibition in Hamburg as part of the collection of an unknown Parisian art gallery (Hornbostel 1970, 74-75, C12; pl. 26).

literature as a negative signification of a hero tainted by hubris[122]. According to myth, the hero gained a divine favour by the gods who 'endowed him with the most surpassing comeliness and beauty' (Hom. *Il.* 6.155), and he was given as gift the winged horse Pegasus. As a master horseman, he was able to capture, tame and fly on Pegasus and his greatest accomplishment was to kill the Chimera. Driven by arrogance, Bellerophon decided that his victory over Chimera was enough to permit his access to Mount Olympus where he would reside together with the gods. He flew with Pegasus towards the sky and when he approached the gates of Olympus, Zeus punished him by sending a gadfly to sting Pegasus, who in turn unsaddled his master and made him fall back to earth. Having fallen into a bush on the plains, Bellerophon was crippled and blinded, left alone to live the rest of his life grieving in isolation. The theme of Bellerophon's death as the disgraceful repercussion of hubris is emphasized by Pindar: '*winged Pegasus threw his master Bellerophon, who wanted to go to the dwelling-places of heaven and the company of Zeus. A thing that is sweet beyond measure is awaited by a most bitter end'* (Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 44).

In the light of these considerations, and taking into account suggestions for Cretan ideologies of austerity and moderation, Bellerophon's fall could personify immodesty and the depiction on the pithoi could be taken to illustrate the negative impact of hubris of an individual vis-à-vis the ideology of the *polis.*

Horbostel's reading of the scene as the fall of Bellerophon has not been particularly welcomed by other scholars. This is mostly due to the general lack of visual narratives or scenes in Cretan Archaic art which has been taken to indicate that Crete was wholly divorced from associations to Homeric epics, myths or hero cults[123]. Whilst considering this as a possibility, Demargne (1972) and Brisart (2009, 146, fn. 6) remained sceptical as to whether the man's figure can be identified with Bellerophon, with the former suggesting that it is preferable to 'leave the episode in anonymity' (*mieux vaut laisser l'épisode à l'anonymat*) (Demargne 1972, 46). Lebessi (1987, 128) rejected this interpretation overall in arguing that the scene is more likely to depict an athletic competition, rather than a mythological episode. However, according to the most recent survey by Olivier Pilz (2014), a few figured scenes

[122] For Bellerophon in ancient literature, see typically: Hom. *Il.* 6.102, 6.155; Hes. *Th*. 325; Plin. *Nat*. 7.66; Apollod. 1.9.3; Pind. *O*. 84; Pind. *Isthm*. 7; Strab. 8.6.21.
[123] Whitley 1997, esp. 641-645; 2001, esp. 204-213, 251-252; 2013a, esp. 219-220, *contra* Pilz 2014; cf. Kotsonas 2018; 2019b.

related to narrative art are found in central and east Crete, mainly on some 7th c. bronze armour and possibly on metal vessels as well as in relief plaques, such as the three Late Daedalic plaques from the sanctuary at the Acropolis of Gortyn, two of which are taken to represent Bellerophon fighting the Chimera, and the other the murder of Agamemnon (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 262-264, n.210-211 and n. 212 respectively). The consumption of these luxury media and their pictorial content might be closely linked to aristocratic elite, therefore, as Pilz (2014, 258) concludes, we should not entirely reject or underestimate the importance of visual narratives on Cretan art of this period. With this in mind, we can at least consider the idea that Cretan pithoi were used as luxury media for hosting iconographic themes related to mythical heroes, such as that depicted on the pithoi under discussion[124].

To conclude, as we yet lack substantial contextual evidence for most of the pithoi mentioned in this section, the argument that they all represent conspicuous consumption amongst a class of aristocratic warriors-citizens ought to remain hypothetical. However, it is worth returning to the large pithos found at the entrance of Temple A at Prinias and to take into consideration its relationship with the frieze of mounted warriors. Similar to what Brisart has suggested for the pithoi from Aphrati, and along the lines of what Prent, D'Acunto, Gigli Patané and Lamaze have proposed, the context of its consumption as well as its imagery reflects what was, or what was perceived as, the aristocratic elite of the community at Prinias. In one way or another, therefore, both the architecture and the pithos bear civic connotations related to the social, political and economic organization of the community in Prinias, which could well be connected to the participants of the *andreia*, namely to those who had access to large plots of land and the ability to fund common meals. In addition to the architectural elements of the Temple A, the pithos with its elaborate decoration and grand size should be viewed as another monument placed at the entrance of temple so as to transmit a message of ideology[125]. In the case of the horse-themed decorated

[124] Interestingly, we find perhaps the rarest version of a narrative scene on another late 7th or early 6th c. relief pithos from Koupos in Kroussonas-Malevizi. The scene, probably inspired by Oresteia, is taken to depict the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes (Demopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1983, 355-356; 1992, 53-531).

[125] The function of pithoi as monuments is not an entirely new concept. Arthur Evans, for example, in discussing a Minoan pithos placed on the second landing of the main staircase of the Royal Villa at Knossos, said that 'the jar may be regarded as having been indented to fulfil an architectonic function' (Evans 1928, 400); for pithoi as monuments, see also discussion in Chapter 5.

pithoi from the area of Prinias, as well as from Lyktos and Aphrati, this message relates to the real, or the imagined, if idealized essence of an aristocratic identity.

3.4. Cretan Archaic pithoi in context: the case of Azoria

From the cases described so far, it becomes evident that the lack of excavations and other contextual information has seriously hampered our full understanding of the morphology and the iconography of Cretan Archaic pithoi. This restricted evidence has also affected our ability to explore the various dynamics of pithoi in specific contexts such as public and domestic structures: a number of Cretan EIA and Archaic buildings have been suggested as fulfilling public-civic purposes (see discussion in 4.1.2.), whilst very few contemporary residential areas have been excavated and much fewer have been securely identified as domestic edifices. The single exception in the archaeology of Archaic Crete is the well-excavated late 7th – early 5th c. site of Azoria, in northeast Crete, which is located on a rounded hill at the eastern coast of the Bay of Mirabello, about 1km southeast from the modern village of Kavousi. Excavations there produced rich assemblages of pithoi from both public and domestic contexts, whose well-preserved stratigraphy and the detailed publications allow us to explore issues of pithos capacity, decoration, contents, and the arrangement of storage jars in public and in domestic spaces, thus offering insights on their economic, symbolic and cultural values.

Long after Harriet Boyd's first explorations at the so-called South Acropolis of Azoria in the beginning of the 20th c. (Boyd 1901, 154), in 2002 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens initiated the 'Azoria Archaeological Project', a large interdisciplinary archaeological project directed by Donald Haggis[126]. Modern excavation methods and thorough processing of the finds have produced unparalleled archaeological evidence for the formative years during the transition from the EIA to the Archaic period, revealing substantial evidence for a large-scale urbanization during the so-called Cretan 'Archaic gap'. Overall, the site preserves sparse evidence for occupation from the Final Neolithic and the Late Prepalatial periods; it was continuously occupied from the LM IIIC through to the EIA. In the transition to the Archaic period, the dispersed LM IIIC villages and cemeteries around Kavousi were

[126] In this Chapter, I have made a selection of information from the publications of the Azoria Project. However, relevant literature is extensive. See Haggis 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2015; Haggis et al. 2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2011a;2011b; Haggis and Mook 2011a; 2011b; Fitzsimons 2014.

abandoned or destroyed and Azoria grew substantially. By the end of the 7th c. it was rebuilt on a much larger scale (covering approximately 15 hectares), merging into one large settlement before its destruction in the early-5th c. This Archaic remodelling of Azoria is believed to have been the result of a regional integration, or an urbanization process, where the population of the dispersed small settlements around Kavousi was absorbed by Azoria to gradually form what Haggis has called a 'protopolis' or a 'nascent city-state' (Haggis 2013, 65). Through this process, which culminated in the 6th c. BC, the site was transformed into an urban centre with houses, monumental constructions and a complex of civic buildings clustered on the upper-west slope of the South Acropolis (fig. 63).

The development of an urban and civic character at Azoria is readily observable in its architecture as this was formed during the late 7th – early 6th c., which involved the re-organization of separate public and domestic spaces. A massive central spine-wall system following the natural bedrock down the hill extended east-west along the Acropolis. The spine walls at Azoria held as much a practical as a symbolic function, serving both as a retaining wall (which permitted the building on terraces along the contour of hill) as well providing the artificial frontier for the development of an urban topography which defined the civic and domestic spaces (Haggis et al. 2004, 349-352; 2007b, 263-265; 2011b, 432). Domestic quarters were built in clusters across the south and north of the South Acropolis, at the periphery of a central civic zone which comprised of three main public units: the Communal Dining Complex (or the 'putative *andreion*') on the upper west slope of the hill, the Monumental Civic Building and the associated Service Building at the southwest side, and the Cult Building (or community temple) on the south; the latter is adjacent to a flat open area which is presumably the city's *agora.* Both the Monumental Civic Building and the Communal Dining Complex produced evidence for state-level, organized socio-economic activities which involved communal feasting events, and incorporated cult installations in the form of small shrines and altars which indicate that routine sacrifices also took place. In association with these feasting and ritual events, the storerooms with pithoi from the public areas, reveal centralized and institutionalized forms of storage, and the placement of large decorated pithoi in central settings seem to be tightly linked to this newly formed urban and civic culture at Azoria during the late 7th , 6th and early 5th c. At the same time, the use of some smaller and less ornate pithoi from the domestic units reveals aspects their socio-

political and symbolic value within the household unit. Because of the exceptionally good information coming from both kinds of structures (i.e. public and domestic), in the two subsections below I describe the most important evidence related to storage spaces and the pithoi from these structures. I then proceed in the final part of this Chapter to elaborate on some of the excavators' interpretations, focusing specifically on the consumption of the pithoi.

3.4.1. Storage and pithoi in public/communal buildings

As mentioned, there are two main civic areas at Azoria which have been identified as public: the Monumental Civic Building and the associated Service Building and the Communal Dining Complex (or 'putative *andreion*') (fig. 63). The Monumental Civic Building (D500, D900–D1000) was a large (ca 200 m^2), possibly roofed building, which utilized earlier LM IIIC foundations (Haggis et al. 2004, 387-390; 2007b, 295-301; 2011a, 4-16). What has been identified as the main hall (D500) was equipped with a stepped bench running along the base of its interior walls. The artefacts found in D500 were few and included some serving and pouring vessels, which is suggestive for its use as a dining room. The communal consumption of foodstuffs is indicated by concentrations of ash, pieces of charcoal and burned clay, as well as by the presence of burned and unburned plant and animal remains which included herbs, chickpeas, cereal grains, grapes, and animal bones. This hall was directly connected through a doorway to a two-room terraced building which has been identified as a hearth shrine. The exact function of D500 remains uncertain and the excavators are cautious in identifying it as an *andreion*; however the entire building incorporates architectural features of a formal function related to commensality and ritual animal sacrifice, especially since the size of the hall and the surface area of the bench could accommodate the seating of approximately 60 to 80 individuals (Haggis et al. 2007b, 300). Also, D500 shares certain architectural features with the contemporary assumed *andreion* of Aphrati and the later so-called *prytaneion* at Lato (4^{th} – 3^{rd} c. BC)[127].

Provisions for public dining and storage are confirmed by the construction and the finds from the adjoining Service Building Complex. This was a large and

[127] For a comparison between Aphrati-Lato and the Monumental Civic Building, see Haggis et al. 2007b, 299-300 and fn. 130.

architecturally composite structure, made up from a series of seven rooms composed of kitchen areas with permanent hearths and cooking equipment, food-processing or industrial spaces, and specifically designed storerooms; these rooms were all connected with each other via a long corridor that also linked them to two internal courtyards at the southern and northern ends of the complex (Haggis et al. 2011a, 43-62, fig. 26). The main storerooms of the complex were built on two successive level floors. The smallest and southernmost storeroom (B1200) (2.20 x 4.50m) did not produce any distinct artefacts but its narrow dimensions and traces of cereal grain suggest its use for storage purposes (Haggis et al. 2007b, 274-276, fig. 23). The adjoining storeroom to the north (B700) was equally narrow (2.50 x 4.50m) and the fire horizon, which also defines the early 5th c. destruction at Azoria, preserved numerous remains of grape, olive pits, cereal grains and pulses and pottery related to storage, including transport amphorae, lekanae, and fragments of seven different pithoi some of which still had their bases *in situ* (ibid. 277-280, figs. 25-27). In addition to the actual storage pots, there were post supports and a number of flat stones which are thought to have functioned as pithos stands. The abundant food remains, the pithoi and the pithos stands, and the limited space these were confined in, suggest that B700 was used for the storage and the processing of food facilitating the final stages of preparations which took place in the neighbouring kitchen-area.

Most storage jars, namely fragments of at least nine relief pithoi, were collected from what has been identified as the kitchen of the Service Building (room B1500), which was a wide room (4.30 x 5.00m) with a stone bench in the southwest corner and a squared stone hearth built in the middle (ibid. 281-288, figs. 28-33). According to Haggis, unlike some of the fine pottery from the room, relief motifs on the pithoi seem to preserve features of the Orientalizing tradition, for example eight-petal rosettes and guilloche patterns, stylized cables, and centaurs (ibid. 282, fig. 29.9 and 29.10) (fig. 64). The room also preserved abundant botanical remains similar to those found in the adjacent storeroom, and numerous stone tools and objects associated with textile production. Fewer but similar pottery and food remains came from the neighbouring room to the north, which was also a kitchen area furnished with a large rectangular hearth in the centre and a low clay and stone bench along the east wall. Specific arrangements were also made for storage, as indicated by the presence of a series of pithos stands, a stone bin which contained fragments of a

pithos and a transport amphora, and a pithos base which was found *in situ* on a stand near the east wall (ibid. 288-293).

Centralized storage and increased agricultural production at Azoria is best attested by the construction of a separate 'industrial area' used mainly for the processing of olive oil (an olive press) that was located in Building D300 (fig. 65). This was built as a two-room northern extension to the Service Building, though essentially it constituted a separate unit that occupied ca 100m^2 of land (Haggis et al. 2011a, 46-61). In addition to numerous fragments of olive pits, a small stone press-bed and a small jar used for oil separation signify that the building housed the processing of olive oil. The large fragments of numerous pithoi found at the north end of the eastern room, bear witness to the mass and centralized storage of produced oil. In fact, one of the largest pithoi ever found at Azoria (reconstructed to 1.63m height) was found in the olive press. The grand jar was decorated with applied, incised and stamped motifs and, in a fashion comparable to the pithoi of the Phaistos workshop, most of the decoration was placed on one side indicating 'a conceptual front and back and an element of display' (ibid. 46) (fig. 66)[128]. In all, though acknowledging that the sizes of the largest pithoi or the storage potential of smaller containers has not been yet estimated, Haggis (2015, 247) calculated that the overall the minimum storage capacity of the Service Building is over 8000 litres.

Evidence for such centralized and massive storage capacities are also shown by the findings from the 'Communal Dining Complex' or, as it has become known, the '*Andreion* Complex' (fig. 67). There, storage is widely distributed and it has not been possible to quantify it in any relevant pattern (Haggis 2015, 248), however, the architecture and the finds indicate the connection between permanent storage installations and storage containers with dining. The Communal Dining building was an architecturally complex and compartmentalized building, which comprised of at least ten rooms erected on two parallel terraces (Haggis et al. 2004, 387-390; 2007b, 263). The lower level occupied a series of interconnected structures which included three storerooms (A1200, A1400, A1500) and two main kitchen areas (A1600,

[128] To my knowledge, this is also amongst the tallest known specimens from Archaic Crete. In terms of size, it can only be paralleled with the 1.91m high '*pithamphora*' from the Late Classical/Hellenistic settlement at Prophitis Elias in Arkalochori, tentatively dated to the last quarter of the 6th or to the transition from the 6th to the 5th c. (Galanaki et al. 2017, 218; on this specific pithos see discussion in Chapter 5). Some unpublished and unreconstructed pithoi from Lyktos stored at the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion are also quite tall, but not as much as the one from the Olive Press of Azoria.

A600N-A600S). Although connected with each other, these rooms were separated from those at the higher terrace (A2000, A800 and A1900N) which had only restricted access from the kitchens via a porch that opens up to a vestibule. On the north, the vestibule gave access to a cult space (or a ground altar), whilst the other two rooms have been identified as the main public dining halls of the complex, largely due to remains of food debris and dining equipment which included drinking, pouring and large dining vessels (Haggis et al. 2004, 383–386). Evidently, foodstuffs or liquids consumed in the dining rooms were processed and stored in the rooms of the lower level, since the kitchen areas produced abundant food remains, dining and serving equipment, one of which, the main kitchen area to the south, was filled with an unusual concentration of faunal food remains (comprising nearly 45% of the total animal remains from the site) as well as fragments of cooking, pouring vessels and storage vessels, including pithoi and a complete hydria (Haggis et al. 2007b, 259-263; 2004, 384). As mentioned, the main kitchen area provided access to the storerooms of the complex. The smallest storeroom (room A1500, ca 1.5 x 4.5m) included carbonized debris and a few tools such as a spindle whorl, an iron strip and a hand-stone; one hydria and one of the numerous kraters of the building were found there, and a flotation sample of the soil associated with the vessels yielded some grape pips, an olive stone and a poppy seed. Given its small size, the few artefacts and the traces of carbonized debris, this was probably a room reserved for special storage purposes, perhaps for the storing of kitchen utensils and pots (Haggis et al. 2004, 373–378). The adjoining storeroom A1400 to the west was not well-preserved; however, two notable types of objects found in this room have been associated with public dining. The first is a fragmented terracotta fenestrated stand which comprises one of at least 14 different stands found at the complex. These stands are assumed to have been supporting large kraters, thus suggesting the mass consumption of wine. The concentration of stands within the *andreion* has largely informed the excavators' decision to identify it as a public dining hall, mainly because of their connection with the earlier Geometric and Orientalizing terracotta kraters (or *dinoi*) which are argued to be ceremonial equipment and items of personal or familial wealth and status in residential or funerary contexts. In contrast to their previous usage during the earlier periods, however, the occurrence of stands used for kraters in public context at Archaic Azoria would indicate their renewed association away from cemeteries and into a civic and public environment, thus possibly linked to communal wealth and

identity[129]. The second object is part of a bronze helmet crest with incised decoration, which is comparable to the open-faced helmet from Aphrati, now in Hamburg, and to the crest fragment from Prinias found south of Temple B[130]. Following Viviers' suggestion that inscribed bronze armour were used as spolia at the so-called *andreion* of Aphrati (Viviers 1994, 248), Haggis proposed that perhaps the helmet from the storeroom of Azoria can be linked to its placement within a Cretan communal drinking context and to its use as memorabilia of warfare (Haggis et al 2004, 389 - 390).

Finds from the largest and best preserved storeroom of the complex (Room A1200) actively confirm provisions made for the consumption of foodstuff and an enlarged storage capacity. This room (6.5x3m, ca $20m^2$) had a long stone and clay bench running across its northeast corner whilst a separate entrance to the south lead to the kitchen area. At least seven different pithoi with a storage capacity of thousands of litres were found on the floor surface of A1200. The range and quantity of goods stored in them was preserved due to the room's destruction by fire which carbonized an exceptional number of botanical remains, including thousands of grape skin and pips and hundreds of olive stones, as well as traces of almond, fig, pulse, cereal grains and hackberry and poppy seeds. Pithoi from the storeroom occurred in two different sizes (1.14m and 1.43m. high) and they represent the largest type of storage vessels from Azoria (Haggis et al. 2004, 375-377) (fig. 68). They were decorated with relief, applied and stamped motifs, including guilloche patterns, antithetical bird figures, spirals and arcaded tongues, shield bosses, rosettes and foliate bands and, like the pithos from D300, the decoration of some pithoi was placed only on the front. Particularly, one elaborately decorated pithos with applied motifs of bosses and a bull's head protome on the rim, bosses and guilloche on the neck and running spirals on the shoulder, has all its decorative elements placed between the two handles on the front. As the evidence shows, storage activities were not limited to the storerooms of the Communal Dining Complex since pithoi and other smaller containers were widely distributed throughout the rooms of the building. Nevertheless, a conservative

[129] See detailed discussion and extensive bibliography in Haggis et al. 2004, 373, 375, fn. 71-73; Erickson (2010a, 319) remains unconvinced about the identification of the building as an *andreion* based on these stands, and argues that 'it seems strange that the site has not produced suitable clay kraters [...] Thus without specific parallels, it is difficult to say what function these stands served'.
[130] Aphrati: Hoffmann 1972, 5-6; Prinias: Gigli Patanè 2005, 205.

estimate of the total pithos storage capacity certainly exceeds 5000 litres (Haggis 2015, 249).

3.4.2. Storerooms and pithoi in domestic quarters

The economic implications of a civic institutional structure at Azoria can also be discerned in the architecture and the organization of households. Like the communal areas, houses belong to the same late-7th c. rebuilding phase of the site and they remained in use until the 5th. However, domestic residences were not as radically reorganized as the public buildings since many EIA structures were preserved or the newest were built on top of the earlier. In total, parts of nine Archaic domestic buildings have been excavated in five areas which spread across the south and the north of the South Acropolis: on the south slope of the South Acropolis (the 'South Slope Buildings'), on the northeast summit (the 'Northeast Building'), at the southern edge of the saddle connecting the North and the South Acropolis (the 'North' and 'Northwest Buildings' respectively), on the lower southwest terrace (the 'Southwest Buildings') and on the north Acropolis (the 'North Acropolis Building')[131] (fig. 63, 69). They were situated both at the extremities of the urban centre, as well as in close proximity to the civic buildings and they were designed so as to easily communicate with public spaces via access routes.

The domestic units on the south slope of the Acropolis comprise of two fully excavated houses, the East and the West Corridor Houses (buildings B300 and B100 respectively), and of a partially excavated house of which only two rooms survive (B200, B400). In their earliest phase, which is dated to the late 7th – early 6th c., the East and the West Corridor Houses were organized in similar fashion: separated by an alley, they both adjoined to a narrow rectangular room, or a corridor, and to a large main square room, identified as the main hall. Pithos fragments and botanical remains associated with their contents were found in the corridors. The similarity in the plans of these houses and of the finds from the corridors suggest that exterior storage and food-processing activities took place in these specifically designed narrower

[131] For detailed reports and interpretations of the excavations at the houses of Azoria in general, see Haggis and Mook 2011a and Haggis et al. 2011b. For excavation reports of houses at the 'South Slope Buildings' and the 'Northeast Building' of the South Acropolis, see Haggis et al. 2004, 352–367; 2007b, 246–252. For the 'North' and 'Northwest Buildings', the 'Southwest Buildings' and the 'North Acropolis Building', see Haggis et al. 2011b, 440-477.

courtyards which in turn were accessed by the main interior halls, thus providing some sort of controlled-access from the street (Haggis et al. 2004, 360).

To the northeast of the Corridor Houses, on the opposite side of the spine wall, rooms B200 and B400 were connected with each other and they seem to belong to another, third house (Haggis et al. 2004, 361-363; Haggis and Mook 2011a, 370-371). Based on the presence of querns and a collection of seeds from wheat, pulses, hackberry, olive, and grape, B200 was identified as the kitchen area, whilst B400 was probably used as a storeroom as suggested by the quantity of utilitarian pottery (i.e. high-necked cups, amphorae, hydriai) and two pithoi, as well as by a bench built along the south wall that was probably used as platform to support the storage vessels or to provide easier access to their contents. One of the pithoi from this room, which is plainly decorated with stamped and impressed decoration of shield bosses and guilloche band represents the smallest-sized type of storage jars at Azoria, measuring only 0.81m high (fig. 70).

In the largest house on the south slope of the Acropolis, named B300, the corridor gave access to the kitchen area with a hearth and to the hall. Two partly preserved pithoi, one Archaic and one LM IIIC, were collected from a layer of burned clay and ash in the corridor and samples of soil flotation in and around the pithos area produced remains of wheat grains and grapes. Originally, the pithoi probably stood onto some paving stones found underneath, but eventually they were smashed up against the northern wall of the eastern room to be later buried along with other destruction debris and to form the new surface for the restructuring of the house[132]. In addition, a large decorated fragment of a pithos neck and rim were found in the abandonment phase of the restructured northern room of B300 (fig. 71). Notably, the decoration on the pithos consists of Orientalizing motifs with impressed antithetical spirals on the neck and likewise, a large lekane from the same area was decorated with impressed relief motifs consisting of a guilloche band and alternating cranes and sphinxes. Like the pithoi from the communal area in B1500, the 6th c. context of the vessels in B300 suggests to the excavator that coarse vessels, and particularly the pithoi at Azoria, preserve features of an Orientalizing tradition and 'illustrate the

[132] Haggis et al. 2004, 354, fn. 47. The LM IIIC pithos from the East Corridor House of Azoria represents another case of the reuse of Cretan pithoi treated in Chapter 4.

conservative character of Archaic material culture at this site' (Haggis et al. 2004, 355).

Similar to B300, the corridor of B100 provided access to the main hall. Heavy ploughing and erosion disturbed a large part of the southeast corner, however the excavators identified three 6th c. floor levels, the earliest belonging to the early 6th and the latest representing the renovation phase of the late 6th – early 5th c. During this renovation, the hall was subdivided into three smaller rooms, the largest of which contained a small hearth and a bin. As well as numerous black-gloss tablewares, cups and cooking pots, a well-defined 6th c. pottery deposit from the room contained fragments of a reused pithos, decorated with guilloche and cranes, found neatly placed within the hearth (ibid. 358).

The best-preserved example of domestic storage is from the Northeast Building (trenches A300–400, A1700, A2100, A2300) on northeast peak of the South Acropolis (Haggis et al. 2004, 364-367, fig. 19; 2011b, 246-252; Haggis and Mook 2011a, 374-376) (fig. 63, 69). The building comprises of a series of rooms built side by side, forming parts of a single household unit that is larger and differently planned than the East and West Corridor houses. A courtyard with an entrance hall led to a main hall (ca. 27m^2), whilst a doorway at the northeast of the hall led to what has been identified as the main house's storeroom (room A1700, ca. 30m^2). The latter preserved fixed architectural elements related to storage, such four stone-slab stands which probably supported pithoi, and a platform cut into the bedrock against the west wall which probably served as the surface area for pithos stands. As well as various small vessels such as amphorae, cups and a small krater, the pottery from the storeroom was dominated by fragments of four or five different storage jars found across the floor and two well-preserved jars found in the southeast corner; moreover, the neck and rim of a fragmentary pithos against the east wall of the main hall had also probably fallen from the storeroom. Remains of cereal grains (including barley and wheat) olive pits, pulses and grapes, attest to its function as the primary storage facility of the house (Haggis et al. 2007b, 248; Haggis and Mook 2011a, 374). Given that storeroom A1700 was approximately two-thirds larger than storeroom B700 of the Service Building (which contained at least eight pithoi and numerous amphorae), it has been estimated that it could well accommodate at least twenty pithoi, giving an approximate storage capacity of about 6000 to 8000 litres (Haggis 2015, 235). From the back of this storeroom, in the southeast corner, an entrance led to a corridor with a

ramp which in turn gave access to another passage and an exterior courtyard. To the west this courtyard communicated with the main rooms of the house and to the south it was linked to a separate room which was the kitchen area (A2100). The latter room preserved built-in features related to food-processing such a permanent hearth and a fixed stone bench, and an array of artefacts related to cooking, dining and storage. Amongst other objects, finds included cooking pots, a black-figure lekythos, a spouted mortar, a strainer and an iron knife, as well as two partially preserved pithoi and fragments of a third large pithos (fig. 70). These were accompanied by a number of botanical remains from seeds like grain, pulse, grape and olive pits which came from the bench and the hearth area, and some animal skeletal remains of sheep, goat and pig found across the room (Haggis et al. 2007b, 249-252; 2011b, 436). The fact that pithoi were also found in the kitchen suggests that this was also partially used as a repository space, however the larger size and the concentration of pithoi in A1700 as well as built-in features facilitating storage, suggest that increased agricultural produce at a household level necessitated its own separate space, physically divided from the kitchen and the hall.

Parts of three separate houses excavated at the saddle connecting the South and North Acropolis reveal similar architectural adjustments for separate storerooms. Rooms of two different houses (D800 and D1200-D1300) were exposed at the north slope of the South Acropolis, the so-called 'The North Buildings', and two rooms of a third house (D700 and D1500) were found on the northwest slope (Haggis et al. 2011b, 440-450) (fig. 63, 69). D800 of the North Buildings was a rectangular room which was apparently the kitchen area of a single house, as suggested by a rectangular built hearth and artefacts related to cooking and serving, and fragments of grape pips and olive pits (ibid. 443, fig. 5). Because of severe erosion, the two rooms of the second house on a lower terrace northwest of D800 only partially survive, but the south room was likely the main hall (and the largest domestic space of Azoria, ca. 42.5m^2) and it was connected to the south to room D1300 which was likely the house's storeroom which contained pottery associated with storage and cooking, including, amongst others, fragments of at least two pithoi. In addition to the few finds, the identification of rooms D1200 and D1300 as the hall and the storeroom respectively was based on their direct connection, assumed to follow a pattern similar to the one hypothesized for the East and West rooms of the Northwest Building (ibid. 445-450). Pottery, although plentiful, is not particularly distinguishable in terms of

function since it consisted of various types of storage (fragments of at least two pithoi), serving and cooking pots. However, because of the size of the room and its connection to what was likely a storeroom, it has been identified as the main hall of the house. Like the rooms of the North Buildings, the storeroom was entered through a doorway from the west. It contained pottery fragments of at least four different pithoi, and parts of cooking and serving vessels; a variety of plant remains (e.g. olives, grape, barley, chickpea) further support its function as a storage space. As observed in other storerooms in both private and communal buildings at Azoria (e.g. A1700 of the Northeast Building, B700 of the Service Building), the room was equipped by two large stone slabs which served as pithos stands. The smallest storeroom excavated at Azoria is the east room of D700 in the Northwest Building (room D700E, ca 2.80m x 4.65-6.80m). Despite its relatively small dimensions, this roughly rectangular room contained at least four pithoi and one transport amphora. Moreover, there were two large schist slabs embedded on the floor, probably also used as pithos stands, close to which was recovered a wide variety of food plants similar to those found in the storerooms of the Communal Dining Building and the Service Building such as olive, grape and barley (Haggis et al. 2011b, 482, figs. 8-9).

A similar but slightly differentiated plan guided the construction of the three-roomed house of the North Acropolis Building, at the eastern slope of the homonymous Acropolis (fig. 63, 69). There, a rectangular hall and a storeroom (E300) at the northern half of the complex were directly connected, while the kitchen on the southwest was accessed through a courtyard which also provided access to the main hall (ibid. 463-477, fig. 22). The kitchen had some fixed architectural features (e.g. a stone-lined hearth, a large quern and two set stones which formed a work platform), and a concentration of plant and animal remains of meat and shellfish. The assemblage from there produced a diverse and well-preserved assemblage of more than 60 vessels related to the cooking, serving and storage of food. These included five pithoi and a wide range of small and large cooking pots, which suggests to the excavators ‘not only variations in quantity, but also perhaps the cooking of a diverse range of foodstuffs and different preparation techniques’ (ibid. 468). The storeroom, like the storerooms A1700 and D700 of the Northwest Building, contained a number of drinking and pouring vessels but it primarily composed of storage equipment which included fragments of at least five different pithoi, a pithos stand and two transport

amphorae. Similar to the main hall, it also produced faunal and animal remains of olives, grapes, sheep, goat, pig, and marine shells (ibid. 466).

Two more different houses built on parallel terraces comprise the so-called 'Southwest Buildings' (fig. 63, 69). Like the plans of the houses described so far, the house on the lowest terrace has a main hall with direct access to a two-roomed storage space and on the south it communicated to a room which may have been the kitchen (Haggis et al. 2011b, 451-463; Haggis and Mook 2011a, 376). A doorway to the north of the hall gave access to the storage area which was divided by a curving wall into two rooms, the main storeroom and an auxiliary inner pantry. They were both equipped with a work platform or benches made by large blocks or steps, and on the base of the bench in the main storeroom there were two flat stones serving as pithos stands. In addition to some cooking, serving, dining and drinking vessels, both rooms produced fragments of at least seven different pithoi and two decorated krater stands. In terms of capacity, one of the largest pithoi from Azoria was found in B3600, capable of holding up to 727 litres (fig. 70). Unlike the local pithoi whose applied motifs were usually placed only on one side, the pithos from the main storeroom of the Southwest Building was decorated all the way round (Haggis et al 2011b, 454).

The house on the upper terrace consisted of three interconnected axially arranged rooms (B3700 – B3900). It was built close to the east side of the Service Building from which it was divided by two north-south streets that run along the west side of the latter complex. Although its relationship with the house on the terrace below is not entirely clear, the structures do not appear to have been directly linked with each other (Haggis et al. 2011b, 458-463). An oven and a stone bench found in the Archaic levels of B3700 indicate that this was a food-processing area, which also produced fragments of coarse pottery including at least two pithoi. North of this room, was the single square room (B3800). Its size (5.40m x 5.00m) and some drinking and dining vessels found within (e.g. hydrias, kraters, cups and a skyphos) resemble the architectural planning and the assemblages from the other main halls found at Azoria, however, it also contained a number of artefacts and vessels associated with food-processing and storage. These included fragments of several pithoi, a transport amphora and a cooking pot, as well as a large assemblage of stone tools consisting of querns, pumice stones, stone hand tools, and an array of animal remains of pig, cow, sheep and goat. These finds indicate that the primary use of the room was for storage and food-processing (ibid. 460). The hall communicated via a doorway and a corridor

to what has been identified as the house's main storeroom (D3900). This was built entirely onto an earlier, Late Geometric-Orientalizing structure which is associated with an unexcavated EIA building to the north. Pottery from this room was similar to the assemblage typically found in other storerooms of the settlement, namely fragments of at least two pithoi, jars, five cooking pots, a lekane, a hydria, and several cups. There were also two pithos stands, one of which was placed near a stepped bench that was built on the eastern side of the room (as was the case in storeroom B3200 described earlier), as well as remains of grapes, olive pits, grain and pulse. Whilst the function of these rooms can be inferred by finds and architectural elements, the construction of this unit does not entirely follow the general pattern of three-roomed house with functionally distinct spaces (kitchen-storage-hall). Although rooms B7000 and B900 and their direct connection conforms to the general pattern of a storeroom and a kitchen area, the presence of another processing area in the middle room (B3800) is unparalleled and thus it may 'challenge our normative and reductive definition of a house' (ibid. 463). It is possible that these rooms comprise one common storage and food processing area shared by more than one household or that they formed part of the service area of house from the terrace below. In the latter case, this would suggest a wide scale domestic food production, consumption and storage.

3.4.3. Storage patterns, consumption of pithoi and socio-political complexity at Azoria

The rich architectural, artefactual and archaeobotanical evidence from Azoria helps us appreciate certain elements of the economic and socio-political structure of Archaic Crete, carrying significant implications for the trajectory of urbanization. Acknowledging that storage jars have social identities relative to ideologies and socio-economic strategies (Christakis 2005; 2008; Bevan 2019, 135-137) and in the spirit of Ebbinghaus and Brisart's works mentioned earlier, the pithos assemblages and the organization of storage in public and domestic contexts at Azoria enables us to trace the footprints of such social, economic and political transformations both from an actual specific site and from a broader theoretical perspective. By focusing on the pithoi and the various storing behaviours during this urbanization process at Azoria we can better conceptualize and further theorize on the relationship between storage and the use of pithoi with the rise of socio-political complexity.

The most obvious element of structural change at the site is reflected on the general architectural plan of the settlement which is suggestive of shifting economics and social hierarchies. The spatial configuration of discrete public and private quarters (civic, cultic, and living spaces) demonstrates the physical and symbolic partition between the household, the cult and the communal and public spaces. At the same time, as the excavator stresses, by the 6th c. household units at Azoria were fully integrated into a broader city plan, whose spine walls show 'direct formal and spatial relationships to the communal or civic buildings' (Haggis 2013, 72). The construction and sustainability of these complex and functionally separate – yet interrelated – units entails significant labour investment and implies a strong and extended economic base. These elements are expressions of a hierarchy which included the concentration of political and economic power beyond a family or a kinship unit; they show that population nucleation was accompanied by large-scale labour investment which should have involved specialization and/or the division of labour, possibly even the mobilization of dependent workforce from rural lands. In the words of Rodney Fitzsimons, it is reasonable to hypothesise that 'that the creation of this new urban landscape could only have been achieved through the participation and cooperation of gangs of workmen drawn from the expanded population base of the newly coalesced community' (Fitzsimons 2014, 238). This would be a clear indication of a communal authority and civic administration capable of pooling and managing human and material resources. Therefore, in contrast to the supposed family or extended 'kinship groups' which dominated Cretan communities in the EIA, the exploitation of labour and land-produced wealth during the Archaic period at Azoria appears to have been dictated by a social urban identity as this was formed during the transition to the Archaic period.

With respect to storage and the use of pithoi, structural and socio-political reorganisations are reflected in two interrelated aspects of pithoi and storage strategies, namely in patterns of the consumption of pithoi and general storage behaviours within specific spaces (public and domestic), and in potential morphological and decorative attributes of the storage vessels themselves. Before delving into the specifics of these aspects, it is important to contextualize them within the structure of the settlement at Azoria. To start with, the overall amount of pithoi recovered throughout the site and their varying (albeit generally large) capacities, as well the incorporation of storerooms as a necessary establishment within these

functionally discrete units, all point to the increase of agricultural wealth, possibly even to production of significant surplus. This, coupled with the array of archaeobotanical and animal remains and the significant input of labour used for the construction of a sophisticated urban planning and network of spine walls, implies that the increased production of land produce involved excessive communal labour. In a trajectory similar to what has been suggested for the rise of socio-political complexity at Archaic Phaistos (see discussion in 4.2.), both agricultural produce and labour input may have been drawn from populations who resided in related households or on rural estates outside the core of the main settlement. This hypothesis was put forward by the excavators of Azoria, who noted that both in public buildings and in the houses of the South Acropolis, the animal remains, the assemblages from the kitchens and the tools recovered are typical of the final-stage preparation of meals and, despite the wide range of foodstuffs, there is a lack of primary food-processing. Moreover, the majority of storage vessels found in both types of buildings evidently stored cleaned grains and fruit. Such stages of processing and storing and the architectural complexity of Azoria suggest, as Haggis put it, 'the existence of a dispersed and multi-focal structure of larger-scale kinship-corporate groups who under the direction of the urban residences, would have centralized certain food resources in the city center' (Haggis 2015, 254-255; see also Haggis et al 2011b, 483). In the following subsections, I evaluate this evidence based on pithoi and storage spaces of public and domestic buildings.

3.4.3.1. Storage and agricultural surplus management in public buildings

As discussed in 4.1.2., pithoi in central storage facilities and their association with the organization of what Erickson (2010a, 313) calls the 'elusive *andreion*' is a rising theme in studies on Archaic Crete. For this reason, the storage capacities of the buildings at Azoria is a future focal point of the Azoria Project, with the goal of building an interpretative framework for processes of urbanization and to reconstruct patterns of the mobilisation, storing, and processing of food surplus (Haggis 2015)[133].

[133] Specifically, Haggis (2015, 251) lays out future considerations regarding potential storage capacities in civic structures. Next to the total volume of pithoi which survive in the archaeological record, these considerations should include examinations on the specific kinds of foods stored, their storage requirements (long or short term) and the seasonality of crops, in association with the size of the site, the scales of production and the effectiveness of various storage equipment.

Though at the moment it has not been possible to reach conclusive interpretations, a working hypothesis is that the large storage capacities at the civic buildings (a minimum 5000 litres estimated for the Communal Dining Building and 8000 litres in the rooms of the Service Building), are relevant to discussions concerning urbanization and the existence of surplus in Archaic Cretan communities. In this respect, this hypothesis relates to suggestions about the urbanization process at Archaic Phaistos discussed earlier and its association with large pithoi in communal settings. It is assumed that these economies may have involved a state-organized system of taxation and the redistribution of surplus through public feasts, such as those held at the Cretan *andreia* (Haggis 2015, 251).

For as long as the Cretan *andreion* remains archaeologically elusive and for lack of relative epigraphic evidence from Azoria[134], the existence of significant surplus and its redistribution through public venues demands a cautionary approach. Also, it is peculiar that – at least as the current epigraphic evidence from Azoria shows – such storage mechanisms did not develop alongside some sort of an administrative record-keeping system for registering the inflow and outflow of goods. There is no evidence about how local officials may have mobilized commodities or labour for the fulfilment of obligatory services. On the other hand, it could be argued that the very lack of evidence suggests that this form of economic mechanism relied more on oral and/or widely established and agreed terms, rather than on written forms of control. Nevertheless, what can be said with fair certainty is that the use of many large (and therefore not easily transportable) decorated pithoi at Azoria and their architectural, artefactual and functional association with dining halls, with other kinds vessels suitable for transfer and storage, and with the consumption of a variety of processed foodstuffs, points to the accumulation and management of agricultural wealth by wider corporate groups of people. Moreover, the putative *andreion* of Azoria incorporates some fundamental architectural and artefact-related elements of the public and civic nature attributed to the institution of Cretan *syssitia*, which the excavators summarize in 'the suprahousehold centralized mobilization, storage, and processing of food and drink; the performance of sacrifices as part of feasting

[134] Overall, Azoria has yielded 17 short inscriptions (15 *graffiti* and 2 *dipinti*) dated from the late 6th or early 5th c. BC (West 2015; the inscribed pithos fragments from the site are discussed in Chapter 5). However, none of these inscriptions are particularly informative regarding administration or political organization at Azoria.

behavior; the display, storage, or use of armor; and the organization of segmented, if not segregated, communal dining and structured symposia' (Haggis et al. 2011a, 4). Despite objections about the name of the complex[135], or the lack of textual evidence about the mobilization of agricultural wealth and other commodities, the evidence of storage from the kitchen areas and the storerooms as well as the presence of the pithoi themselves shows that by the 6th c. BC the inhabitants of Azoria made provisions for high subsistence needs which included the organized and centralized storage of processed produce, substantial portions of which must have been consumed by and/or been redistributed to the members of the society during public meals.

Another interesting point regards the construction of these storerooms in relation to the overall architecture of the public buildings. Like the kitchen areas, the storerooms of public buildings are distinguished and physically separated from the main dining halls, either by being constructed on a lower level (as in the case of the putative *andreion*) or by being situated in a separate auxiliary building (the Service Building adjoined to the Communal Dining Complex). This sort of organization was probably dictated by the practicalities of both ordering massive amount of stored foodstuff and its consumption but, especially for the more complex and compartmentalized Communal Dining Building, it can also be linked to a 'formal, if not ceremonial, movement of food from kitchen areas on the lower level to the dining halls above' (Haggis et. al 2011a, 7). In such cases, it could be argued that through ritualistic processes, the routes from storage to consumption became part of a communal experience and the spatial and social arenas for the expression of the prosperity of the community.

Likewise, the construction of the communal olive press and the setting of the large pithos in D300 of the Service Building could point to a set of communal experiences. Given the cost and difficulty of transporting olives from distant estates, the excavators believe that the olive press is not likely to have served for the primary production of olive oil but rather a secondary processing and for its use in communal rituals (i.e. for the use of perhaps 'special' olive oil in formal meals, for personal adornment or as fuel for oil lamps), as an embedded social-symbolic process related

[135] See, for example, objections posed by Erickson (2010a, 319; 2011, 387-388), who however, agrees that the Communal Dining Building is 'the most compelling case we have for an *andreion*' (Erickson 2011, 388).

to formal activities and to the participants' status and socio-political identity (Haggis et al. 2011a, 59-60).

The construction of this centrally set installation somewhat contradicts the excavator's hypothesis and in fact points to the *ad hoc* primary production of olive oil, possibly linked to the public display of communally collected land-wealth which may have been subsequently consumed or redistributed in the adjacent Monumental Civic Building. Moreover, the formal prestigious consumption of olive oil both for food and non-food purposes is known to have often taken place in social situations where 'specialness was highlighted': formal dining and the symposium (oil for food, lighting and perfume), and the gymnasium (oil for cleansing and conditioning the athletic male body) (Foxhall 2007, 86). In this sense, the extraction and subsequent consumption of olive oil in a public setting may be related to the social status of its consumers and/or to prosperity of the community as a whole. Surely, there is not enough evidence to suggest that this constituted part of an ostentatious or symbolic semi-ritual ceremony, but investment in the elaboration of olive press technology has been linked to higher-quality olive oil as 'a cultural elaboration feeding into the symbolic and social value of olive oil' (ibid. 134) and there is no reason to exclude that such a process was also part of the ceremonies conducted on the west slope of the South Acropolis. Furthermore, since the outskirts or the lowlands of Azoria remain unexcavated, and thus remains of cattle or other hoofed animals remain absent, we cannot exclude the transportation of natural resources over large distances.

Still, Haggis poses a set of questions as to why and how oil production became centralized, and whether, for example, the cultivated olives belonged to publicly owned lands, but he ultimately concludes that whatever the case, this may have been a state-managed large-scale production which necessitated substantial investment in architecture, equipment and labour (ibid. 61). I believe that such labour investment is also manifested in the large pithos found in D300. Irrespective of the amount or quality of produced olive oil, such specialized equipment for its processing is absent in household contexts. Thus, the placement of the pithos in a public environment and the labour and skill input required for the making of this grand vessel, not only suggest the intensification and centralisation of olive oil processing (perhaps in the form of a communal press), but also testifies to the employment of pithos maker(s) for the making of a communal property, probably similar to the kind of labour required for the raising of the monumental structures at Azoria. Although

there are no grounds to assume the direct control of pithos makers by a governing elite, the existence of craftsmen working for the community of Azoria is not far distant from the model suggested by Perlman for 6th c. Eleutherna (Perlman 2004a): an extended economy is argued for, which included the production and maintenance of surplus by artisans (leather and hide workers)[136].

We can discern further connotations of communal values from the decorative elaboration on the pithoi from public buildings. Some of these vessels and pithos stands (i.e. the two pithoi from B1500 of the Service Building and the two pithoi from A1200 of the Communal Dining Building) preserve motifs of what the excavators define as the survival of an Orientalizing tradition (Haggis et al. 2007b, 281), which they elsewhere interpret as typical of the conservative character of Archaic material at Azoria or as the reflections of 'a continuing economic and cultural influence from the eastern Mediterranean on elite consumption patterns' (Haggis et al. 2004, 355). However, as Erickson points out, because these decorated pithoi were part of public complexes associated with communal meals 'it is hard to see how the prestige value of storage vessels would enhance the standing of any particular member of the group' (Erickson 2010a, 329) especially since, with the exception of coarse pottery, finewares are generally plain (either black or with simple decoration) with no similar Orientalizing characteristics. Erickson also attributes these motifs to the development of a local style, indicative of the fact that Orientalizing elements of display become far less common and significant in the first quarter of the 6th c. (ibid. 301). Following Erickson, I argue that as communal properties, these pithoi carried connotations about the prosperity of the urban centre and its residents as a whole rather than about individual members of the elite. Whether this restricted stylistic and decorative variability was the result of regulations for setting cultural and socio-political boundaries, remains open to question.

From a broader chronological and theoretical viewpoint, rising urbanism at Azoria and its association with large central storage facilities aligns with suggestions made for the connection between the rise of the Minoan elites and the accumulation,

[136] A similar hypothesis for the existence of specialized and state-employed craftsmen has been made by Haggis et al (2007b, 301); on the basis of artefacts associated with textile production (especially looms) found in rooms B1500 and 2200/2300 of the Service Building, excavators considered the possibility of craftsmen working for the processing of textile used in formal military or ceremonial rituals.

distribution, mobilization and generally centralized management of agricultural produce (Halstead 1981b; 1988; 1989; Christakis 2005; 2008; 2011). Also, it complies with some fundamental cross-cultural studies that acknowledge the existence of centralized storage systems as the result of extensive input of labour and the means for the management of staples connected to complex, stratified societies (e.g. Earle 1977; Smyth 1989; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; see also detailed discussion in Chapter 1). Given, therefore, that surplus, redistribution and central storage mechanisms have been repeatedly connected to the emergence of more complex societies, the association of the public storage installations at Azoria with *polis* formation in the Archaic period is not surprising; rather this should constitute a major focal point for future systematic excavations in Archaic Crete. What is perhaps more revealing in the case of Azoria are the various storage behaviours in domestic contexts, described immediately below, which show that different patterns of pithos consumption and use coexisted within the same site. This reveals the multi-faceted and complex dynamics of pithoi and storage spaces, with significant implications for the economy and the organization of Archaic Crete.

3.4.3.2. Pithoi and storage behaviour in domestic contexts

Christakis' work on some Cretan Bronze Age pithoi from domestic contexts demonstrated that because 'ordinary people' are intrinsically tied to their immediate social and physical environment, they are extremely sensitive to socio-economic and environmental changes (Christakis 2008; 2009; 2011). These changes can be ultimately manifested in the size and the number of storage containers and in the setting of permanent storage installations at households. Although Christakis' research is mostly focused on pithoi from the Neopalatial period in Crete, his assertion for the importance of household economics and storage mechanisms is substantiated by comprehensive and extensive cross-cultural studies (e.g. Halstead and O' Shea 1982; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Smyth 1989; Halperin 1994; Hendon 2000), all of which attest to the association between household storage patterns and complex societies. With this working hypothesis in mind, we assume that just as in public buildings, the economic and structural changes at Azoria should be reflected in the domestic consumption of pithoi and household provisions for storage.

In order to trace these aspects, it is important to first consider the organization of the domestic units including their layout, their spatial position within the settlement, and their architectural relationship to the public buildings. To start with, the 6th c. residential spaces at Azoria were sufficiently large and complex for single households to be completely interwoven with the public structures and the overall city plan. From the moment of their establishment, they did not undergo significant changes in their dimensions or in their internal planning. Haggis believes that this reflects the identity of the houses as units which were 'firmly established, and presumably remained unaltered throughout the life of the Archaic settlement' (Haggis et al. 2011b, 478). This is considered to demonstrate a shift from the continuously changing boundaries of domestic space observed in the neighbouring LM IIIC and EIA settlements at Vronda and Kastro[137] to the more clearly defined and permanents households at Azoria. This shift translates into a social transformation from continuous negotiations and fluid boundaries between mononuclear or kinship-based societies to more concrete and established relationships between the residents of the *polis* at Azoria (Haggis et al 2011b, 477-478; Fitzsimons 2014, 227-231)[138]. Moreover, some houses at Azoria seem to have been purposefully designed so as to have easy access to public spaces[139]. Like in public buildings, there is a lack of evidence for the primary processing of foodstuffs: pithoi in houses evidently stored pre-cleaned fruit and seeds (Haggis et al. 2011b, 483; Haggis 2013, 76). This would mean that the primary processing and storing of goods occurred elsewhere, perhaps drawn from household dependencies manned by serfs and slaves who resided in rural estates outside the immediate periphery of the urban unit, or in yet unexcavated houses further down the hill. According to Haggis, the existence of decentralized domestic edifices suggests that houses close to the centre were those of the estate managers of agricultural wealth accumulated by the appropriation of land and labour; this wealth was either drawn upon directly by the state, or though individual

[137] For EIA architecture at Kastro (Northwest Building) see Mook 1998; for LM IIC houses at Vronda, see Glowacki 2007, esp. 136.

[138] To some extent, this shift agrees with the proposed model for the development of Greek EIA-Archaic urban topographies, which generally favours the idea that from the 8th and 7th c. onwards, some Greek sites begin to display more sharply defined urban areas with public, communal, domestic and privatised spaces (e.g. Lang 2005; 2007; Mazarakis Ainian 2007).

[139] I.e. the Northeast Building with the structures on the peak of the South Acropolis, the South Slope houses with the putative *agora* and the Cult Building, and the Northwest Building with the Monumental Civic Building and the shrine.

household practice with any surplus given in the form of contributions, such as tithes to the communal feasts housed the public buildings (Haggis et al. 2011b, 481-483; Haggis 2013, 79). Whichever the case, it is clear that the houses at Azoria were architecturally, socially and ideologically established units with an important role in the economic and political life of the community, echoing the development of socio-political complexity in east Crete from the late 7th c. onwards (Haggis et al. 2011b, 478; Haggis 2015, 230)[140].

The enlarged but, once established, fixed layout of the houses at Azoria corresponds to increased wealth and subsistence autarky[141], indicating that the socio-political identity of their occupants revolved primarily around the management of agricultural goods. Next to the wide array of foodstuffs, increased wealth is demonstrated by extensive provisions for storage and the consumption of pithoi. As the evidence outlined earlier show, in addition to the multiple pithos stands and the amphorae, the storerooms, halls, kitchens and/or the corridors of houses had remains of at least 34 different vessels[142]. At this stage of research, it is impossible to have an overall estimate of the storage capacities, and by the pithos assemblages published so far, there does not seem to be a standardized typology specifically attributed to household pithoi[143]. However, it is obvious that pithoi found in domestic contexts were plain or much less elaborately decorated than those found in the public edifices, yet some were of high storage potential. This suggests that a large number of storage

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[140] Although there are very few contemporary domestic edifices, it has been suggested that house planning at Azoria finds good parallels in the group of buildings from Onythe Gouledianа in central-west Crete, which is the best-known – but not thoroughly excavated – example of late 7th – early 6th c. domestic architecture in Crete (Platon 1954a;1954b; 1955b; 1956; Morris 1998, 63-64; Lang 2007, 188; Sjögren 2003, 18-21; 2007, 153) For comparison with Azoria, see Haggis and Mook 2011a, 377; Haggis et al. 2011b, 478, 482). The houses have also yielded substantial evidence for increased domestic storage, which Kotsonas (2002, 52, fn. 196) links to the rise of the *polis* in Central Crete. A few decorated pithos fragments from Onythe, which basically dated the site, are included in Nancy Reed Eals' treatise on griffins in post-Minoan Cretan (Reed- Eals 1976, 370-371, pl. 84a, b, c).

[141] I here use the term *autarky* borrowing from Christakis (2008, 37) who defines it as 'the capability of the household to fulfil its nutritional requirements beyond the period of natural availability of basic staple commodities, to lessen the risk of famine in periods of poor yields, and to make investments by accumulating food surpluses'.

[142] This number only includes the pithoi mentioned in the publications as outlined earlier. Briefly summarized, complete or largely preserved pithoi in domestic units are: five pithoi from houses at South Slope Buildings (three from the East Corridor House and two from room B400), 11 or 12 from the Northeast Building (five or six from A1700, three from A2100 and four from D700E), at least two from The North Buildings (D1300), five from the North Acropolis Building (E100), and 11 from Southwest Building (seven from B3600, two from B3800, and two from D3900).

[143] As Haggis (2015, 235) acknowledges, it has been exceptionally difficult to estimate the total storage capacities of the houses due to a number of reasons which range from the fragmentary state of preservation to variation in the size and typology of storage containers.

containers were produced specifically for the needs of households and that substantial labour was also dedicated to the making of domestic pithoi. The foodstuffs associated with storage containers are also suggestive of extensive storage provisions (although we should take great caution in assuming that all storage jars contained only food, or that they remained averagely filled throughout the year[144]). Still, it is clear that some of the pithoi from domestic contexts were designed so as store significant amounts of expected produce. Such high storage potential can be traced in the large size and morphological attributes seen in the pithoi from B3600, A2100, E100 and B400 (i.e. tall ovoid body, high neck, wide shoulders or belly, tall foot), and for some of the specimens the excavators have estimated a minimum storage capacity of 500 litres (Haggis 2015, 239). The pithos from storeroom B3600 at the South Slope Buildings is estimated to have a volume of 727 litres (Haggis 2015, 239). Such capacities, which do not include the storage potentials of perishable containers, definitely label many of the pithoi as vessels with high storage potential, enough to satisfy the basic annual subsistence needs of a family[145]. These elements of production and use of pithoi, namely their morphology, their capacities and their association with a wide array of processed goods, indicate that part of the increased agricultural production was consumed by the households of Azoria, the residents of which may have also controlled part of this economic activity.

By the same standards, households at Azoria, or at least some of them, had a high degree of autarky. As well as from the capacities of pithoi, this can be estimated by additional converted capacities inferred from the contextual and archaeobotanical evidence. As mentioned, the variety of foodstuffs consumed and stored at Azoria was processed, meaning that the residents of the houses were primarily consumers and not

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[144] See, for example, ethnographic parallels from pre-industrial Crete, where *pitharia* could well be used for storing water, clothing and blankets, animal fur, tools, or various domestic implements such as agricultural equipment (Hampe and Winter 1962, 10; Blitzer 2014, 147; Christakis 2005, 66).

[145] According to Ebbinghaus' estimations, an averagely sized pithos is ca. 270 litres and it likely required four to six such pithoi per household to store a yearly supply of basic foodstuffs (Ebbinghaus 2005, 57). Yet, ethnographic research from pre-industrial Crete in the Mesara showed that on average, a family of five or six could subsist on an annual basis by storing basic goods estimated to 200-300 *okades* of olive oil (ca. 256-384kg), 900-1100 *okades* of barley (ca 1152-1408kg), 250-300 *okades* of wine (a minimum of 320kg), 100 or more *okades* of pickled eating olives (a minimum of 128kg), 20-30 *okades* of a variety of pulses, such as chickpeas, lentils, and peas (a minimum of 25kg); a similar number has been estimated for the storing of beans or larger amounts of fewer types of pulses. These annual subsidence needs required no more than five large pitharia (300-oka sized, otherwise known as *trakosioka*) with an approximate capacity of 450-550 litres each, as well as some smaller sized storage containers (called *kouroupes).* For the most prosperous families which produced wheat, roughly six hundred *okades* produce per year would fit into two large *trakosioka* (Blitzer 2004, 136-137).

producers. Because such a system would require access to labour, land and land produce, the excavators believe that this economic organization created surpluses primarily drawn from agricultural wealth (Haggis et al. 2011b, 481-482). Assuming this was the case, then these surpluses could have created the arenas for the conspicuous consumption of storage jars at a household level, in ways which, I believe, fit remarkably well with Christakis conventional definition for high domestic autarky: 'the subsistence potential of the stored products is sufficient for the nutritional requirements of a household for more than two productive seasons. There is evidence for the accumulation of large amounts of food surpluses. Surpluses were used as buffering mechanisms against long-term shortage, as well as the increase of the households' social status through such actions as conspicuous consumption of food, the acquisition/production of high status items, and "charitable" actions to indigent neighbors' (Christakis 2008, 38). For the case of Azoria, Haggis proposes that the elite display of stored surplus is attested by a) the establishment of purposefully built and functionally discrete storerooms, b) the visibility of storage spaces and their contents and c) the conspicuous consumption of agricultural goods within the halls of the houses (ibid. 481-482). In treating these elements as interconnected social expressions of storage behaviour, then high domestic autarky, elite display and conspicuous consumption of food become relevant not only to matters of household economics but also to matters of symbolisms pertaining to domestic storage behaviours.

The establishment of purposefully designed storage spaces as an important component of the houses is very straight-forward. Though storage activities also occurred in the kitchens or other areas, storage necessitated its own separate space. Archaeologically, storerooms are recognizable mostly by the presence of pithoi and pithos stands, the latter made from flat stone slabs which not only levelled out the floor but also elevated the pithoi some centimetres higher than the floor level itself. Pithoi and fixed storage elements like stands were usually accompanied by smaller storage containers (such as smaller pithoi and amphorae), by a variety of serving, drinking, and dining wares, and occasionally by stone tools. Also, evidence of burning is most intense and widespread in storerooms and in the kitchens, possibly due to flammable substances stored in these rooms (Haggis et al. 2011b, 478).

Visibility of storage spaces and the conspicuous consumption of food, on the other hand, can only be inferred, but it is suggested by a number of architectural

elements. For instance, visibility would not only be accentuated by the pithos stands, which were present in each storeroom, but it would also be underscored by the presence of the vessels themselves, some of which were decorated, noticeably placed onto stands, and/or along the corners of storerooms (e.g. the pithoi found at the corridor of the East Corridor house and the cluster of pithoi smashed in the southwest corner of the storeroom in the Northeast Building)[146]. In essence, this sort of arrangement adds to the perceptual effect of storage vessels as containers-emblems of accumulated wealth (Haggis 2013, 72; Fitzsimons 2014, 232). Elements of the conspicuous consumption of goods and the pithoi can also be discerned by the spatial association of the storerooms with the halls/living rooms. As the excavators believe, halls were multifunctional spaces which accommodated daily domestic routines but they also very likely hosted formal or semi-formal communal dining[147]. These feasting activities, which presumably relate to the mainland Greek *symposia*, are indicated by the unusual amounts of drinking and dining debris (Haggis 2013, 76)[148]. Indeed, although no house plan at Azoria is reduplicated in accuracy, they all follow a general pattern wherein storerooms were separated but adjoined to the main halls. For example, in the Northeast Building and North Acropolis Building, the storage rooms are directly connected to the main halls, whilst the kitchen is separate but accessed via corridors or courtyards. The storerooms of the Southwest building also have a direct access to the hall which in turn leads to the kitchen. In such house-planning, the main hall acts as a physical barrier between the food processing activities of the kitchen and the storage areas. This seems rather impracticable as it does not lend itself for an easy transportation of stored goods to the processing areas[149]; instead, it draws attention to

[146] The excavators of Azoria suggest the 'public visibility of storage facilities' (Haggis and Mook 2011a, 376) though elsewhere they point to the cluster of pithoi from the southwest corner of storeroom A1700 which 'would have been visible from A400 [i.e. the main hall] through the doorway' (ibid. 379). In any case, since storerooms were closed spaces, visibility of storage facilities and the pithoi –if any – would be from within the house and specifically from the perspective of the halls.

[147] Whilst recognizing the multifunctional role of halls in Archaic Greek houses, Haggis and Mook (2011a, 376, fn. 15) note that in the case of Azoria 'the ceramic assemblages strongly suggest drinking and dining activities rather than the full array of domestic industries.

[148] A similar claim for private dining at the houses of Azoria (in particular house B100) and elsewhere in Crete has been made by Erickson (2010a, 326-328; 2011, esp. 389-391). Also Perlman (2004a, 122) believes that sympotic pottery from Eleutherna in private (mortuary) contexts is indication for the organization of private *symposia* by the elite of the *polis*.

[149] See, however, ethnographic parallels in the organization of households in the early 20th c. Mesara. There, the *apothekes* (storerooms) were entirely separate units, purposefully constructed next to the living quarters or slightly away from them so as to keep the storage area clean (Blitzer 2004, 132-134).

the halls which hosted communal dining activities as well as to the controlled access to the storerooms. Whilst the hall was probably the central location for the visible display and the consumption of agricultural produce, Haggis and Mook (2011a, 379-380) argue that the storerooms and their pithoi were architectural and the materialized implicit statements of economic prosperity: the proximity of the storeroom to the hall was not only practical (i.e. planned so as to facilitate the accessibility to stored goods) but also symbolic because attention was drawn from the halls to the storerooms, to the pithoi and to their contents.

Considering the spatial attention paid to the storerooms, the potential visibility of pithoi and their association with conspicuous consumption of food, we can infer that the symbolic dynamics of storage vessels and the storerooms were not restricted to the public spaces but they also extended, perhaps in more implicit ways, into the private sphere. I have elsewhere mentioned the economic value of pithoi as precious possessions of the most labour-intensive and specialized vessels of the ceramic repertoire (Chapter 1.1.), and it is widely acknowledged that, diachronically, pithoi were tightly linked to households as indications of wealth (Cullen and Keller 1990, 193; Christakis 2005, 66; Giannopoulou 2011, 33; see also discussion in Chapter 4). Because they constituted valuable familial possessions in their own right, they were items of investment or a 'capital', affordable to the privileged members of the society. This, coupled with the fact that they were purposely manufactured so as to store wealth, highlights the powerful conscious and subconscious messages pithoi can convey, especially in domestic units.

The hypothesis that pithoi and storerooms at Archaic Azoria could become artefactual and architectural elements of household display aligns fully with similar arguments presented by Ebbinghaus and others. For example, that the specific placement of pithoi in certain parts of a house can be a statement of individual or familial wealth and status finds support in the hypothesis that pithoi placed at the back or along the sides of a room signified the residents' social status within the community (Ebbinghaus 2005, 57). Protected (i.e. allocated in separate room) from potential trespassers or uninvited individuals but perhaps visible to the guests of the halls who consumed the goods stored in them, pithoi and storage spaces at Azoria could have became entwined with social constructs and status which emerged from the ability to own and store landed wealth. Moreover, the case of Archaic Azoria finds parallels to the case of the pithoi in the Geometric houses at Zagora (fig. 72). Their

neat and prominent placement on Π-shaped benches has been taken to indicate their function as a means to project familial material wealth, in which case domestic storage space becomes 'the showroom of the *oikos'* (Hoepfner et al. 1999, 167-168). Also, whilst Ruth Westgate does not explicitly refer to Cretan pithoi, she has raised the possibility that archaeologists may have missed or failed to recognize media adopted for domestic display (2007, 448, fn. 125). She further observed that the Classical and Hellenistic Cretan household is different from the self-contained *oikos* of mainland Greece in that its structure was less nuclear and plain, thus indicating the intertwined kinship ties with community bonds and social complexity and an austere and egalitarian lifestyle which was fostered for the sake of stability and social cohesion. Such complex household structure is also observed in the houses at Azoria, yet, as Haggis and Mook (2011a, 377-378) conclude, 'in our examples, the distribution of finds and features points to greater segregation and designation of room functions−kitchens, storerooms, and halls are easily definable' and 'houses were designed to communicate easily with public space and access routes'.

The idea that domestic storage facilities were active spaces for structuring social interactions finds direct parallels in cross-cultural ethnoarchaeological studies. Most note-worthily, Hendon (2000) has demonstrated the spatial and social meaning of household storage through her ethnographical and archaeological assessment of storage practices from the Trobriand Islands, Neolithic Europe, and Mesoamerica (see the literature review in 1.2). She convincingly argues that variations in the visibility of storage spaces correspond to variations in the ethics of storage which echo social needs to define and to validate status and which ultimately guide storage behaviours. In this respect, the construction of such functionally discrete storage spaces at Azoria and the ownership of pithoi would be something that would be well known to the residents of the community, becoming part of what Giddens (1987, 65) called a 'mutual knowledge'. As later proposed by Hendon, formal storage features were a component of this mutual knowledge (i.e. 'people would know that other people have things stored up'), dictating the levels of social interaction in ways which enhance the status of their owners. More than that, Hendon (2000, 45) proposed that 'this knowledge would enter into their interactions with others, either overtly or as background knowledge'. Drawing from this, we can imagine that the storage spaces and storage vessels in the households of Azoria participated in an unspoken but

architecturally and artefactually articulated dialogue through which people constructed a social and ideological order as a means to express or to reaffirm power relationships. In Hendon's words, this order 'becomes a basis for power and authority and for validating or contesting differences between people' (ibid. 42).

In the light of these arguments, both the pithoi and the storage spaces in the houses at Azoria could constitute elements of domestic display which signify high autarky and which should be connected to the late 7th - 5th c. urbanization and the formation of socio-political complexity and cohesion. For the moment, we cannot entirely understand the exact socio-political role of the households' residents. However, the storerooms, the numerous storage containers and pithos stands, the archaeobotanical remains, and hypotheses for the high autarky of households at Azoria urge us to revisit a question put forward by Garnsey and Morris, that is, '[h]ow far did the emergence of the polis weaken the control exercised by noble houses over the distribution of the agricultural surplus, and how was this achieved?' (Garnsey and Morris 1989, 99). Whichever way and at whatever scale produce was channelled into the urban centre and the public buildings, houses at Azoria were integrated into the economics of the *polis*, yet most of them remained capable to meet and perhaps even to exceed their immediate subsistence needs. Processed valuable goods, including wine and olive oil, were not geared solely to the funding of the common meals in the public buildings, but they also supplied part of the formal drinking and dining activities which is assumed to have taken place at the halls of the houses (Haggis et al. 2011b, 484).

Moreover, although we do not know the exact distribution pattern of pithoi in public and in domestic contexts, it appears that the number of pithoi in the houses at Azoria were not significantly less than those of the communally accessed storage facilities (cf. Lang 2005, 27; 2007, 188); rather, domestic storage could have acquired a strong economic and symbolic function which was closely tied to the urban character of the site. By the 6th c. this character became solidified in a dynamic way which Haggis believes 'reinforced the equality, identity, and the economic roles of the citizenry' (Haggis 2014, 35). Westgate (2007) has also argued towards this line of thought for the case of later (Classical and Hellenistic) Cretan households, cautioning against assumptions that some basic domestic functions such as storage or the communal consumption of food were completely taken over by the community (ibid. 451, fn. 141); instead, she believes that the economic activities of Cretan households

may not have been exclusively geared towards supplying the *andreion*, but that family and the private domain just had a less central role in ancient Cretan communities. The evidence from Azoria points in this direction, indicating that socio-political complexity was accompanied by the development of conscious forms of citizenship identifiable in the prosperity and in socio-economic autarky of the households.

Bearing in mind that the restructuring of late 7th c. Azoria demanded significant labour investment (including the construction of spine walls, monumental civil structures and domestic structures, but also the making of large pithoi), we can confidently surmise that the renovations at Azoria where in fact structural reformations which revolved around, if were not entirely powered by, nucleation, intensified and extended land produce and successful storage mechanisms. These changes, point to the conceptual and the physical construction of a civic identity and, as Haggis (2013, 79) concludes, '[t]his unusual concentration of food storage and processing, and the evidence for the organization and mobilization of both produce and labor, suggest a state-level enterprise that, by the sixth century BC, must have been driven by a new civic institutional structure'. In this context, pithoi both from public and household environments of Azoria became just what Cullen and Keller described, namely the 'products of a specialized skill, a symbol of the existence of an organized settlement, a receptacle for the fruits of the earth...' (Cullen Keller 1990, 193). All in all, the archaeology of Azoria reveals multiple levels of interpretation regarding the rise and the establishment of socio-political complexity in the Archaic period.

3.4.3.3. The consumption of Cretan pithoi in post-7th c. Archaic period.

Viewed from a broader socio-political and economic perspective, the case of Archaic Azoria presents us with two distinct elements relative to the economy of Crete in general and to the consumption of pithoi in public and private contexts in particular. Firstly, contrary to the assumed decline of the late 7th – early 5th c., the evidence from Azoria shows that the settlement underwent a rather rapid and dynamic urbanization. The construction of spine walls, monumental public spaces and well-defined households, as well as the consumption and use of pithoi and the construction of storage facilities, indicates that during this period economy shifted to surplus which involved both *direct* and *indirect* (or *social)* storage (*sensu* O'Shea 1981). In view of

the evidence outlined above, storage behaviours at Azoria challenge past proposals for the ancient Cretan economy as one with no or minimal surplus production and reveal a substantial increase and/or redistribution of agricultural wealth, presumably produced by dependent populations and specialized workmen.

Secondly, the case of Azoria sheds light on the economic and symbolic importance of pithoi and storage strategies which simultaneously coexisted in different contexts and socio-political constructs. As Brisart (2007) proposed for the elite consumption of 7th c. relief pithoi from the so-called *andreion* of Afrati, the concentration of large pithoi in public contexts associated with commensality at Azoria suggests the existence of a group of citizens for whom pithoi signified collective wealth in the post-7th c. period. In the context of urbanization, this may mean that elite display or distinction amongst individuals became less important, or in any case, less ostentatious, perhaps for sake of social cohesion. This does not necessarily suggest that social distinctions became completely irrelevant or unimportant. Although less elaborate than their 7th c. predecessors from other Cretan sites or from their contemporaries in the public contexts at Azoria, pithoi in the houses of Azoria as well as in storerooms and halls retained attributes relevant to expressions of individual identity, status and autarky which derived from agricultural wealth and labour. These elements take us back to proposals set by Erickson and Whitley mentioned in the introduction of this Chapter, namely the existence of a Cretan culture of austerity or a culture of conservative character. At the same time, they show us ways to approach the material culture of storage and storage mechanisms during the post 7th c. period. Rather than lamenting the dying art of relief Cretan pithoi, future research should be targeted on how the consumption and use of pithoi (as reflected in context, morphology and decoration) shifted during the late 7th - 6th and early 5th c. BC to more implicit and modest expressions of social and political status.

Conclusion

Multiple socio-cultural, ethnographic and archaeological studies have long acknowledged successful storage mechanisms and formal storage features as an integral component of socio-political complexity. Likewise, scholarship on the Cretan EIA-Archaic period increasingly alludes to the significance of surplus management

and storage by drawing attention to the consumption of enlarged and/or decorated pithoi in public and domestic contexts as elements of rising urbanism. Integrating some of these fundamental cross-cultural studies into EIA-Archaic literature, this Chapter explored traces of emerging socio-political complexity in Crete of the EIA-Archaic period by examining the morphology, the iconography and the context of some select pithoi and pithos fragments from key-sites of central and east Crete.

Changes in the size and the morphology of pithoi are observed in the transition from the Geometric to the Archaic period, particularly in pithoi excavated from Phaistos. The late 7th c. BC marks the transition to a taller, more elaborate, and standardized type of pithos. This times with proposals for urbanization process at Phaistos which are taken to have involved the intensification of agricultural produce and surplus and the emergence of an elite class that managed land and accumulated goods. Drawing from these proposals, I argued that changes in the size and decoration of some Phaistian pithoi are reflections of this shift in economic and social needs and that the storage vessels themselves were the means to confer prestige, status and the ownership of property. Following on from this, I elaborated on art-historical approaches which bring attention to the symbolisms in the iconography of Greek EIA-Archaic pithoi and in their context in central settings. These symbolisms have been considered as expressions of an ideology that is most often associated with the economic prosperity and the status of an elite class of citizens. Taking into consideration aristocratic meanings of warriorship and landownership attributed to equines throughout EIA-Archaic Greece, I focused on representations of horses and armed riders rendered on the architecture and the pithoi from Prinias but also on similar depictions of rearing, mounted or horses yoked to chariots which are frequently encountered on pithos fragments from elsewhere in central Crete, including Aphrati and Lyktos. Based on the popularity of horse-themed scenes found on Cretan pithoi, I proposed that these vessels and their iconography came to symbolize the ideology of a wealthy, military trained class of horse- and landowners. Moreover, I considered representations which combine horses with a *Potnia Theron* (otherwise known as *Potnia Hippon* or the *Mistress of Wild Animals*), as connotations of taming further associated with husbandry and groups of aristocratic, skilful warriors and riders. I also drew attention to a very distinct imagery of a man in supine position under a winged horse, depicted on two pithoi from Aphrati, to hypothesize about implicit references to an ideology of moderation and restrain.

The final part of this Chapter covered a wider variety of aspects related to the consumption of pithoi by focusing on late 7th -early 5th c. BC pithoi and storage facilities from Azoria, east Crete. The site is believed to have undergone a radical process of urbanization in the transition to the EIA-Archaic period which resulted in the formation of an urban centre with houses and public/communal buildings, both of which were furnished with specifically designed storerooms and were accompanied by rich pithos assemblages and archaeobotanical evidence. Reflecting on traditional and novel approaches to storage behaviours but also building on the excavators' interpretation of the finds, I sought to infer aspects of the socio-political developments at Azoria by discussing matters of size and large capacities of pithoi, their morphology, decoration and context, as well as the spatial relationship of storerooms with places associated with the formal and semi-formal consumption of food. I proposed that the large-scale labour invested in the monumental architecture of public structures is also visible in the making of storage facilities and in the large, decorated pithoi specifically destined for the central storage and/or subsequent re-distribution of goods. I argued that the production and consumption of these pithoi in association with large amounts of archaeobotanical evidence and other kinds of drinking and serving pottery, suggest a shift in the economy from subsistence-oriented production to more specialized production of agricultural surplus. I also suggested that pithoi in communal places at Azoria could have acquired a symbolic meaning as shared properties which signified the prosperity of the community. Along the same lines, I addressed the economic, symbolic and cultural significance attributed to pithoi and to storage spaces in domestic structures. I paid particular attention to estimations for the large capacity of storage vessels and to the plethora of processed foodstuff found in the houses to suggest that many of the domestic units at Azoria enjoyed a high degree of autarky. Taking into consideration the many pithos stands but also the spatial association of storerooms with the halls which may have hosted formal or semi-formal dining, I argued that this high degree of autarky created the socio-cultural grounds for the conspicuous consumption of storage jars and fostered the development of a 'mutual knowledge', where both the pithoi and the storerooms became the means to manifest or to establish status relationships among residents of the community.

Overall, the case-studies treated in this Chapter demonstrate the powerful effect that socio-political transformations have over pithoi in particular and storage

behaviours in general. Despite some serious impediments in the studies of Cretan EIA-Archaic pithoi, such as the lack of extensive excavations, the difficulty in estimating pithos capacities and/or quantifying amounts of stored surplus, the cases presented here enable us to visualize the footprints of rising socio-political complexity in changes in the morphology and iconography of pithoi as well as in their archaeological context and their immediate architectural environments. The present discussion opens up new possibilities for the examination of Greek storage jars and studies on EIA-Archaic economics and politics overall by promoting a wider understanding of the Greek pithos as a vessel particularly reluctant to typological changes but otherwise uncommonly susceptible to economic, social and political developments.