

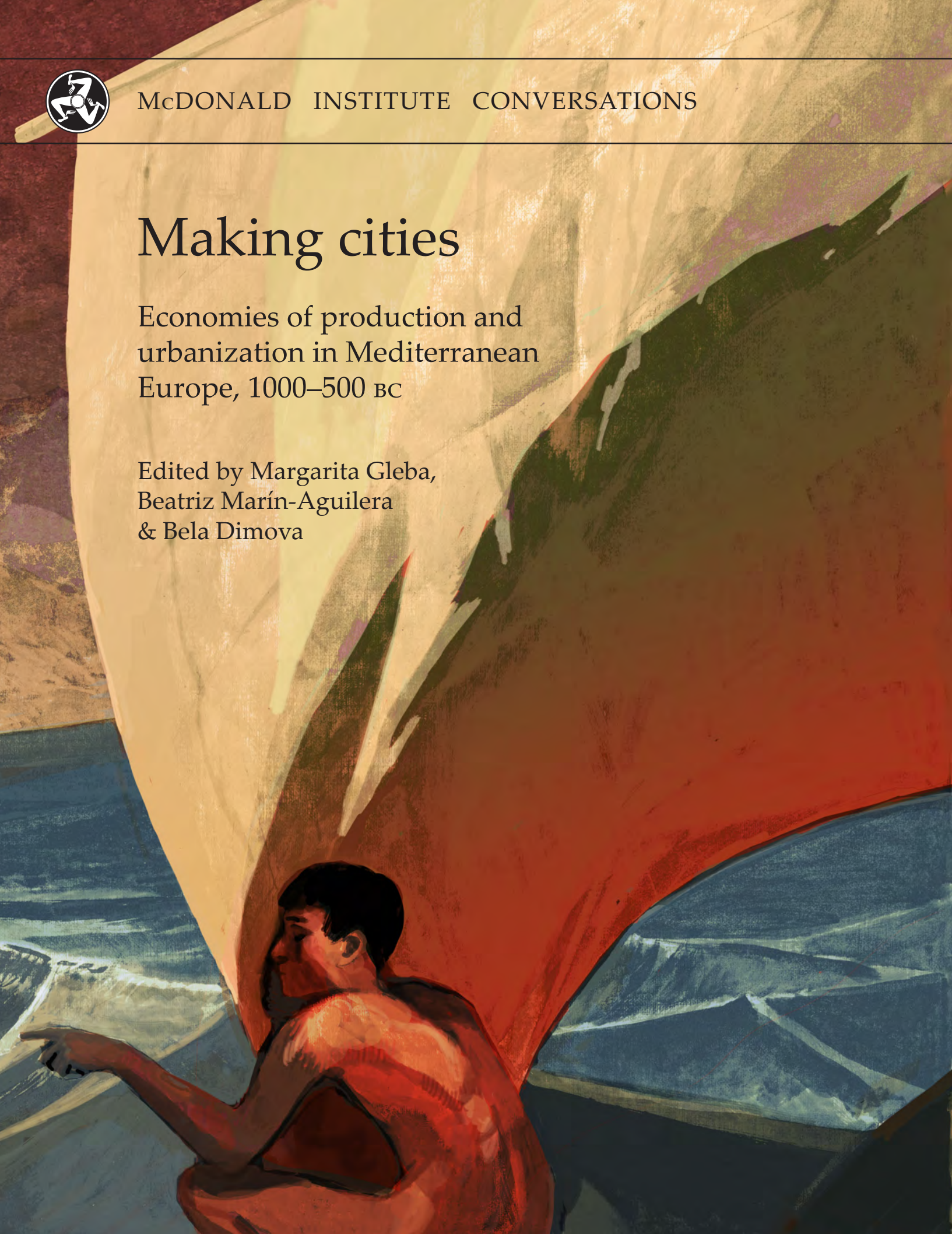


McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Making cities

Economies of production and
urbanization in Mediterranean
Europe, 1000–500 BC

Edited by Margarita Gleba,
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera
& Bela Dimova



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with contributions from

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Chapter 5

Productive economy and society at Zagora

Lesley A. Beaumont

The Early Iron Age settlement site of Zagora is located some 160 m above sea level atop a rocky promontory on the central-west coast of the Cycladic island of Andros. A fortification wall stretching across the narrow neck of the headland encloses an area of 6.49 ha (64,860 sq. m), while steep cliffs protect the site on its other three sides (Fig. 5.1).¹

The earliest systematic archaeological excavation of the site was carried out by Nicolas Zapheiropoulos in 1960 (Zapheiropoulos 1960). He located and initiated excavation of a temple at the centre of the site, which proved to have been constructed in the second quarter of the sixth century BC, following the abandonment of the settlement by its residents c. 700 BC. He also excavated a number of Geometric-period domestic units to northwest of the temple, and a further two units built against the inner face of the fortification wall (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, 44, fig. 2).

Between 1967 and 1974, Alexander Cambitoglou and a team from the University of Sydney, in collaboration with the Archaeological Society of Athens, further investigated the sanctuary area and extended the excavations to uncover additional Geometric-period houses to northwest and southeast of the temple. They also revealed parts of the fortification wall, including the gate at its south end, and further buildings constructed against the west face of the wall (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1971; 1981; 1988). By 1974 some seven per cent of the total settlement area had been excavated (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1981, 22, fig. 3).

Between 2012 and 2014, the award of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project Grant (DP120102257) and the issuing of a fieldwork permit by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture enabled the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens (AAIA) and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Sydney to re-open field research at the site after a hiatus of almost 40 years. The fieldwork undertaken

by the Zagora Archaeological Project during this three-year period focused on site reconnaissance, surface survey, geological and geophysical analysis, satellite imaging analysis, and excavation of six selected areas that aimed to investigate potential domestic, communal, industrial and commercial spaces (Beaumont *et al.* 2012; 2014; Miller *et al.* 2013; 2019/20; Paspalas *et al.* 2014; 2015; 2016; Sarris 2014). By the end of the 2014 field season, some eight per cent of the total site had been uncovered (Fig. 5.2). Analysis and full publication of the results by the Zagora Archaeological Project team is ongoing.

Using the results of the above fieldwork that spans the years from 1960–2014, this chapter aims to present a synthetic overview of what we can so far say about Zagora's productive economy and the social context within which it operated in the settlement. It begins with some comments on the site's available resources, the chronology of its occupation and its likely population size. It then goes on to discuss the range of economic activities that can be identified in the settlement's archaeological record – agricultural production, animal husbandry, maritime exploitation, metalworking, pottery manufacture, flaked and ground stone tool production, textile making, and trade and exchange. Finally, an attempt is made to situate these economic activities within their social context by considering the evidence for wealth distribution and status differentiation across the settlement, the question of craft specialization, and indications of communal organization and activities.

First let us consider the available natural resources which shaped the productive economy at Zagora. As previously noted, Zagora occupies a secure location high above the sea and, situated on the west coast of Andros, was positioned on major maritime routes leading northwest to Euboea, west to the Greek mainland, and south to the Cycladic archipelago. It was



Figure 5.1. View of Zagora promontory from the northeast, with the islet of Gyaros visible in the background (B. Miller, © Zagora Archaeological Project).

connected to these routes via its access to two small harbours directly adjacent to north and south of the rocky promontory. Thanks also to its topographical position, this was an exposed spot that bore the brunt of fierce northeasterly prevailing winds.

While our evidence for habitation at Zagora is confined to the protected area inside the fortification wall, its hinterland is amply provided with good agricultural and grazing land. Excellent building stone in the form of schist is also available in the hinterland, while the Zagora promontory itself is topped with low-grade grey marble.

Though the fortified settlement itself contains no natural running water source, nine springs are located within a short walking distance to north, east and south (Knight & Beaumont 2018, 61, fig. 2). These springs would have already been in existence during the Early Iron Age since they were created by the process of erosion that was earlier responsible for producing the Zagora peninsula. Thanks to the work of Michael Knight, Emeritus Professor of Hydrogeology at the University of Technology Sydney, we are now able to identify Spring 5 as the most likely main

running water source for the Zagora inhabitants, since it has the largest groundwater catchment area of 155,000 sq. m (Knight & Beaumont 2018). In addition to making daily water collection visits to this spring, which lies some 370 m uphill to the northeast of the settlement, the Zagora residents would almost certainly have in some way utilized the flat roofs of their houses to harvest rainfall (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1981, 19), and probably also had access to additional rain water that collected at least temporarily in still visible dolines or sink holes in the bedrock (Bassiakos in Beaumont *et al.* 2012, 48–52; Knight & Beaumont 2018, 67–8).

Climate was, of course, a critical factor in the availability of water at Zagora and, in this context, it is important for us to note that a major global climate change took place during precisely the period of Zagora's occupation and abandonment. Known as the Homeric Grand Solar Minimum, this was caused by shifts in the orbital position of the earth and sun and caused a reduction in the amount of heat energy reaching the earth (Speranza *et al.* 2002; Mauquoy *et al.* 2004; Vieira *et al.* 2011; Neugebauer *et al.* 2015). This impacted atmospheric pressure, temperature, wind and

rainfall, with effects varying across the globe: Europe became wetter and colder, while the Middle East and Africa became drier and hotter. Climate modelling suggests that Zagora was located on the boundary of these two weather systems and indicates that it is likely that, between about 850 and 700 BC, Zagora received a mean rainfall increase of about 30 mm per month, providing the Zagora inhabitants with plentiful water and climatic conditions favourable to repeated good harvests (Knight & Beaumont 2018).

The dates of the Homeric Grand Solar Minimum not surprisingly coincide with the chronological development of the Zagora settlement. While human occupation at the site is first attested archaeologically in the Late Protogeometric period (925–900 BC) in the area of the later fortification wall and a spot (indicated as Trench 9 on Fig. 5.2) located some 25 m to southwest of the later gate through the fortification

wall (Cambitoglou 1981, 103; Paspalas 2016; Miller *et al.* 2019/20), it is only in the Middle Geometric period (850–750 BC) that the archaeological evidence recovered to date bears witness to human settlement spreading across the Zagora promontory, and only in the Late Geometric I (750–735 BC) and Late Geometric II (735–700 BC) periods that population density intensifies (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 158–61). Favourable climatic change and resulting increased crop yields doubtless made a major contribution to the growth not only of the Zagora settlement but also to the well-noted marked population increases across the Greek world at this time (Morris 2007). Climate change alone cannot, however, account for the massive growth in Zagora's population that occurred in the last 20 or 30 years of the eighth century BC. By this stage, the archaeological evidence suggests that the whole extent of the space inside the fortification wall was intensively occupied,

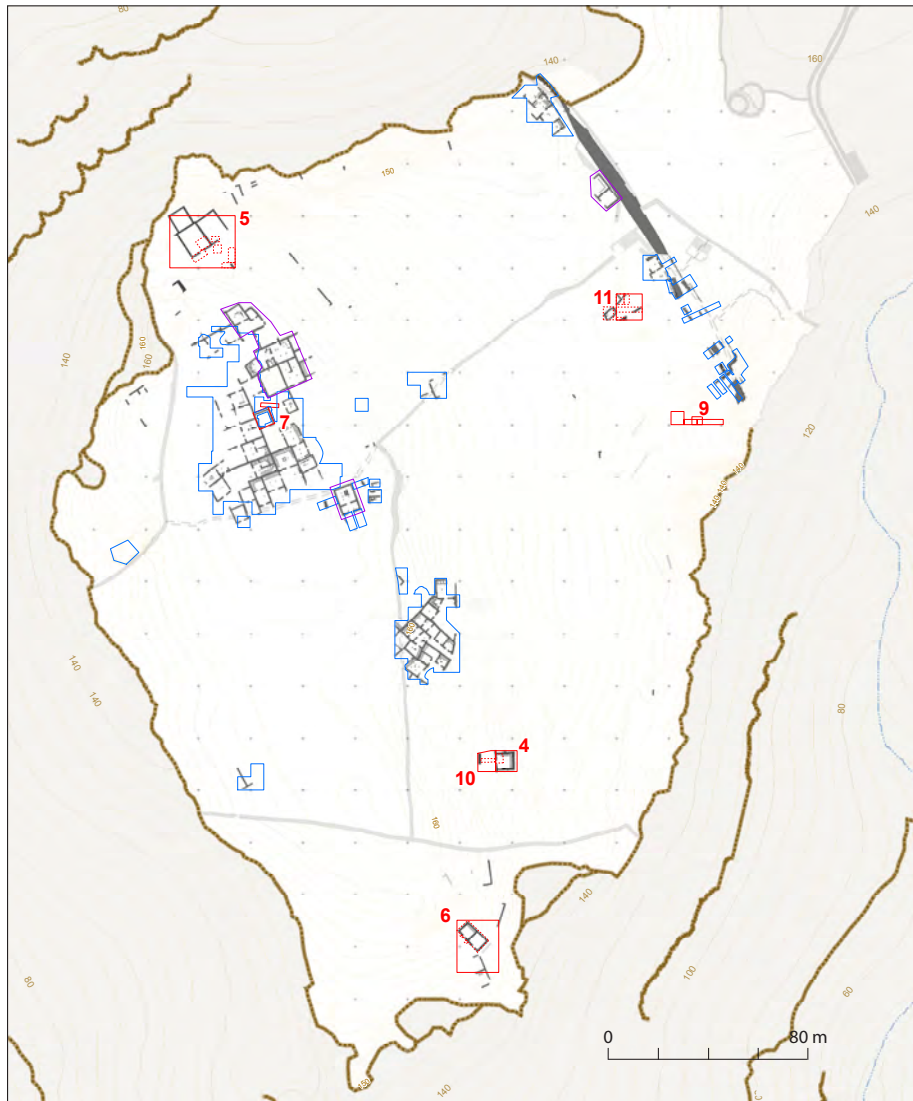


Figure 5.2. Plan of Zagora showing all areas excavated between 1960–2014, with the 2014 trenches numbered (R.C. Anderson, J.J. Coulton, M. McCallum & A. Wilson, © Zagora Archaeological Project).

with previously one or two room houses also now being expanded and/or remodelled to create multi-room complexes (Green 1990; Beaumont *et al.* 2012; Mann 2014).

Estimating the likely population size of Zagora in this late eighth century BC phase is a useful exercise in shedding light on the scale of the settlement's resource needs and economy. To date, some 25–30 dwellings have been fully or partially excavated at the site: a more precise count is impossible due to the agglutinative nature of most of the structures that sometimes results in difficulties in identifying discrete household units. Since only some eight per cent of this 64,860 sq. m site has so far been excavated, the total number of houses within the Late Geometric II settlement can therefore be estimated to have numbered between about 300–360. Working with a likely mean household size of four to six individuals, as suggested by admittedly later ancient evidence and pre-industrial era ethnographic data (Laslett 1972; Gallant 1991, 22–27; Knight & Beaumont 2018), we can consequently calculate a population for late eighth century Zagora that lies within the range of 1200–2160 persons. This does not, however, factor in any open or empty spaces that existed within the settlement, meaning that the number of inhabitants is unlikely to have ever reached the range maximum.

Supplied with plentiful water until the ending of the Homeric Grand Solar Minimum about 700 BC, the expanding and thriving settlement of Zagora would consequently have been very seriously affected by reduced rainfall with the local springs no longer able to satisfy many of the demands placed upon it by the now sizeable population. Zagora's agricultural economy would also have suffered badly from the drier climate as crop yields decreased. As a result, we are now able to offer an explanation for why the inhabitants gradually at the end of the eighth and beginning of the seventh century BC packed up their households and left, presumably in search of a better-watered home (Knight & Beaumont 2018, 68).

That core staples of the Zagoran agricultural economy were cereals and olives is evidenced by Evi Margariti's ongoing archaeobotanical study of flotation samples from the 2012–2014 excavations. Architectural and ceramic evidence recovered from the Late Geometric houses at Zagora strongly suggests that each household was self-sufficient in these foodstuffs. Each house was equipped with storage facilities in the form of a stone bench built against one or more of its internal walls, and provided with shallow pot emplacements into which vessels of different sizes were set (Cambitoglou 1988, 147; McLoughlin 2011). Such raised benches were necessary because, with very few exceptions across the site, there was insufficient depth

of soil into which to bed the storage vessels in order to ensure their stability and insulation.

Hamish Forbes has estimated on the basis of twentieth-century ethnographic evidence from the small agrarian community of Methana in the Peloponnese that an individual requires at least 150 kg of grain per year. At Methana, households aimed to store enough grain to last them for two years to protect them against crop failure, and enough oil to last them for four years (Forbes 2017). We can usefully assume similar statistics for Zagora.

Beatrice McLoughlin has made a detailed study of the storage *pithoi* from Zagora, identifying three major types according to their fabric, method of manufacture, decoration and capacity (McLoughlin 2011). The type with the largest maximum capacity, ranging from 200–700 l is the relief-band *pithos*: its dense low-fired fabric has low porosity and maintains a constant temperature for its contents. McLoughlin convincingly argues that these qualities made the relief-band *pithos* suitable for grain storage, with two medium-size *pithoi* able to hold a supply that would feed a family of six for one year. The applied-relief *pithos*, with a capacity ranging from 200–550 l, has a taller and narrower neck, suggestive of liquid storage. McLoughlin proposes that the liquid in question was wine rather than oil, arguing that since the largest applied-relief *pithoi* would hold enough oil to maintain a family of six for six years, this would be problematic given that oil has a shelf life of only four years. However, Catherine Morgan has pointed out that this supposes a subsistence economy: if instead some of the oil was being utilized for trade and exchange, then the objection to applied-relief *pithoi* being used for oil disappears (Morgan 2012). It is hoped that residue analysis of Zagora *pithos* samples currently being undertaken by Maria Rompou will shed light on this matter. The smallest type of *pithos* is the rope-band variety with a capacity of 40–110 l: equipped with a flaring rim suited to pouring, it may have held wine or water, though only in the short term due to its porosity (McLoughlin 2011).

McLoughlin's valuable work on the *pithoi* and other coarsewares from Zagora is also shining light on the question of local ceramic production. While all three *pithos* types are made from local clay, differences in the construction techniques and firing of the rope-band and relief-band *pithoi* on one hand and the applied-relief *pithoi* on the other, have led McLoughlin to conclude that two distinct groups of potters were at work: local potters manufacturing the rope-band and relief-band *pithoi*, while itinerant potters produced the applied-relief *pithoi*. The latter exhibit close similarities to *pithoi* of the same type found at Xobourgo on Tenos and at Eretria on Euboea (McLoughlin 2011).

McLoughlin and Paspalas have also pointed to the use of local clay in the production of Zagora's plain and incised kitchen coarsewares, as well as coarseware painted vessels (Paspalas 2012). Though fieldwork at Zagora to date has not located any ceramic kilns either within the Zagora settlement or in the area surveyed immediately to the east of the fortification wall, it must nevertheless remain a real possibility that kilns remain to be located in close proximity to the site.²

Work on the faunal remains from Zagora by Lin Barnetson and Melanie Fillios illuminates the animal husbandry practices of the settlement's inhabitants (Cambitoglou 1981, 81–2).³ Ovicaprids predominate and while they would certainly have been used for their milk and wool, the fact that they were often being killed between one to three years of age indicates their use also as a source of meat and hides. Pigs similarly were typically slaughtered before reaching full maturity (less than one year). That all parts of goat, sheep and pig skeletons are regularly present in excavated deposits across the settlement suggests that these animals were being butchered in the vicinity of the houses. Osteological evidence of cattle, though not as plentiful, is nevertheless well distributed. Given that most of the bones belonged to mature cattle, they were probably used primarily for their milk and as draught animals, which makes sense in view of the rarity of equid bones at Zagora. Hare, deer and birds are the only game animals faunally recovered at the site. Finds of fish bones, limpet shells and remnants of sea urchins bear witness to the Zagorans' taste for seafood, and these are now under study by Tatiana Theodoropoulou. The presence of dogs at Zagora is also attested by canid bones. The animal bones from Zagora still have much more to tell us: Rudolph Alagich, a University of Sydney doctoral candidate, is now using them to undertake the first stable isotopic examination of animal management conducted for the Greek Early Iron Age. His work promises to reveal spatial and chronological patterns in animal management practices at Zagora, and to shed light on any variance in social dynamics across different parts of the site and between households.

Evidence of metalworking in the form of slag is distributed remarkably widely across the settlement (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, pl. 8.2), while smithing hearth bottoms have been excavated. That metalworking was occurring at Zagora during the earliest phases of the site's occupation is shown by the discovery in Trench 9 of slag dumped together with other metallurgical debris into the lowest levels of a deep cavity in the bedrock located some 25 m to southwest of where the settlement's entrance gate would later be constructed (Miller *et al.* 2019/20) (see Fig. 5.1 for Trench 9 location).

Doctoral research undertaken by Ivana Vetta in collaboration with work conducted by Yannis Bassiakos of the National Centre for Scientific Research Demokritos, has however found no evidence for smelting activity at the site (Bassiakos in Beaumont *et al.* 2012, 50–1; Vetta 2020). Smithing however, to judge by the widespread distribution of the metal slags, seems to have been a practice commonly engaged in across the settlement, with only three deposits indicating a concentration of metalworking activities that might suggest the existence of one or more specialized workshops. Two of these deposits, in Trench FW6 and Trench FG3e, are associated with the fortification wall (Cambitoglou 1974; Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 55–6). The third deposit comes from the previously mentioned Trench 9.

In the closing days of the 2014 excavation season, an *in situ* industrial installation of uncertain function was partially uncovered in Trench 11, located some 8 m west of the fortification wall (Miller *et al.* 2019/20) (see Fig. 5.1 for Trench 11 location). Geophysical testing of this area in 2012 by a team led by Apostolos Sarris suggested the existence here of a wide road running northeast–southwest and flanked by parallel walls (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, 47 and pl. 3d). The geophysical results proved remarkably accurate, with our excavations revealing a road-like surface some 6–7 m wide with cobble underpacking. At the westernmost end of Trench 11, the road gave access to a small, poorly constructed stone structure, with a maximum internal width of c. 2.3 m. In its northwest corner was found a feature constructed from schist slabs set vertically against the structure's walls, which in turn had been thickly lined with clay (Fig. 5.3). Directly adjacent to this on the east was an extensive area of burning, comprising layers of thick grey ash containing both industrial ceramics and fine wares. Ceramic finds retrieved from this space date activity here to the Late Geometric II period, though Middle Geometric pottery was found both below this structure and beneath the road surface. With our excavation season drawing frustratingly to a close, we gathered samples from the clay-lined feature for residue analysis, and regretfully carefully backfilled Trench 11 to await continued investigation in a future excavation campaign. In the meantime, we hope that residue analysis of the samples being undertaken by Maria Rompou at the Harokopio University in Athens will assist in identifying what substance was undergoing processing or preparation in this location. However, the fact that a clay-lined installation was required suggests that the process involved liquids, as well as heat as indicated by the ash layers. It is probably therefore no coincidence that a little further to east we found that the road was cut by a stone-lined channel, presumably used for water supply or drainage.



Figure 5.3. Aerial view of Trench 11, partially excavated. To left can be seen a structure enclosed by walls on three sides containing a clay-lined feature bounded by schist slabs. Extending to right is a wide, road-like surface flanked by walls and cut by a stone-lined channel (H. Thomas, © Zagora Archaeological Project).

The use of ground and flaked stone tools was clearly a feature of the Zagoran economy. Ground stone equipment includes querns, mortars, pestles, pounders, whetstones (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1991, 76) and great numbers of flat schist discs of varying diameters, which were presumably used as lids for *pithoi* and other storage vessels (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1991, 231; Miller *et al.* 2019/20, plate 48.1-3). Flaked stone tools, manufactured almost entirely in Melian obsidian, have also been found and take the form of blades, bladelets, points and scrapers, and would have been used for cutting, piercing and scraping (Runnels 1988, 245–9; Cambitoglou *et al.* 1991, 78–80).⁴ Given the proximity of the adjacent Neolithic site of Strofilas located on a headland just northwest of Zagora (Televantou 2008), it is likely that these obsidian tools were acquired there by the Zagorans (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, 56). Such recycling of earlier lithic artefacts has previously been suggested by Runnels to have occurred at Geometric to Classical Halieis in the Peloponnese (Runnels 1982).

However, the identification of a limited number of obsidian cores and debitage at Zagora suggests that, at times, the inhabitants practiced flaking some lithic tools and retouched those they had previously acquired from the locale (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1991, 78–80).

In October 2014, we had the pleasure of welcoming to Zagora Joanne Cutler of the University of Cambridge PROCON project, who studied the textile tools from the site. One-hundred-and-thirty textile tools were identified among the finds excavated at Zagora between 1967–2014. These textile tools comprised loom weights, spindle whorls (including beads that may have been used as spindle whorls) and a few pierced sherds. The loom weights, usually fashioned from clay but sometimes from stone, are pyramidal and discoid in shape, and range in weight from 50 g or less to 443 g, leading Cutler to conclude that they would have been used with a variety of thick and thin threads to produce a range of fabric types. By far the greatest proportion of the textile tools studied were,

however, spindle whorls, mostly biconical.⁵ The preponderance of spindle whorls compared to a much lower incidence of loom weights may suggest that while the warp-weighted loom was clearly in use in the settlement, other types of horizontal and/or vertical looms which require no loom weights may have been preferred. While most of the textile tools studied could be identified as being made of local clay, Cutler was able to identify a small number that were of non-local fabric. One of these has been identified by Stavros Paspalas as a spindle whorl that has parallels at Lefkandi, and leads us to wonder whether it might suggest migration to Andros from Euboea, perhaps in the form of intermarriage between a Zagoran man and a woman from Lefkandi (Paspalas 2017, 233).

That Zagora was connected to the outside world and engaged in maritime trade and exchange is demonstrated by the many imported fineware ceramics, transport *amphorae* and other foreign goods excavated at the site. As Paspalas's work on the Zagora finewares has demonstrated, these imports date from the late ninth century through to the end of the eighth (Attic Middle Geometric/Euboean Sub-Protogeometric to Late Geometric II) and are dominated by Euboean vessels and, to a lesser degree, by Attic wares and also some Parian imports (Paspalas 2015, 2017). Excavation has also produced evidence of transport *amphorae* from Corinth and the northeastern Aegean and also of vessels closely related to Attic SOS *amphorae* (Paspalas 2017). Interestingly, Paspalas and McLoughlin have identified a concentration of transport *amphorae* coming from at least four different proveniences in Unit D34, located in Trench 5 at the extreme north of the site and which, measuring 11.5 × 9 m, is one of the largest architecturally defined spaces yet recorded at Zagora (Miller *et al.* 2019/20) (see Fig. 5.2 for location of Trench 5). Imported exotica include among other things a glass eye bead from Unit M3, originally from east Greece or even the Levant (Beaumont *et al.* 2014, fig. 4), and a scarab of late eighth century date from Unit H25 that may be 'an East Mediterranean imitation of an earlier Egyptian model' (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 235 and pl. 293).

Based on our current understanding of Zagora's productive economy, what can we say about social and economic complexity at this Early Iron Age settlement? Evidence for trade and exchange, resource acquisition and industrial activity bear witness on one hand to economic complexity, balanced and underpinned on the other by a thriving agricultural and pastoral economy that was carefully husbanded, so that each household was probably largely self-sufficient in at least staples such as grain and oil. While metalworking debris occurs mostly in the domestic context, the dumps of

clay hearth fragments and other metallurgical waste excavated in the vicinity of the fortification wall suggest that one or more smithing workshops are yet to be located. The presence of another likely workshop, though this time for production of something other than metals, is also indicated by our previously mentioned discoveries in Trench 11 some 8 m west of the fortification wall. Craft specialization is also detectable in the work of local potters who produced plain and incised kitchen coarsewares, coarseware painted vessels, and rope-band and relief-band *pithoi*, while itinerant potters produced the Zagorans' applied-relief *pithoi*. We might perhaps therefore best interpret the evidence currently available at Zagora as indicative of a community undergoing transition from a subsistence economy to an economy of productive surplus and the growth of craft specialization. Certainly, the Late Geometric II expansion, renovation and sub-division of individual domestic units placed a new emphasis on the concentration of bulk storage space in protected rear rooms within the now multi-room houses (Mann 2015; 2018), while in other cases the location of storage installations in well-lit central rooms equipped with hearths may suggest conspicuous display of surplus in contexts where social interaction is indicated (McLoughlin 2011; Mann 2015). The settlement's clear population growth of the second half of the eighth century BC would have been a necessary precursor to the emergence of local craft specialization that likely preceded, and continued alongside, the activities of itinerant craftspeople (Koniordos 2001, 8–14).

That the occupants of Zagora participated in some forms of communal activities and organization is further evidenced by their creation of roads, the fortification wall and a central open-air sanctuary. Adding to the Cambitoglou team's earlier identification of a road approaching and leading into the settlement through the fortified gateway (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 53–62), work at the site in 2014 uncovered in Trench 11 part of a wide road running northeast–southwest through the northeast sector of the settlement (Figs. 5.2 and 5.3). This road, measuring some 6–7 m wide, was constructed in the Late Geometric period and ran perpendicular to the pre-existing fortification wall, whose initial construction can probably be dated to the first half of the eighth century BC, if not slightly earlier (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 53–62).⁶ The building of both roads and fortification wall would have necessitated communal agreement, organization and labour. Further evidence of communal engagement is presented by an open-air Late Geometric period sanctuary located centrally and in the highest area of the settlement (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1981, 82–99; 1988, 175). Ritual practice here appears to have focused around an altar, which subsequently

in the second quarter of the sixth century BC was built over by an Archaic period temple (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 165–78). Late Geometric offerings recovered from this area include decorated finewares (both local and also Cycladic, Euboean and Corinthian), among which drinking vessels are well represented, terracotta and lead figurine fragments, a seal, bronze *fibulae* and a miniature ‘Macedonian bronze’ juglet (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1981, 82–99; Paspalas 2014, 527–39). Communal activities and organization are also illuminated by evidence of the Zagorans’ landscaping practices. Our excavation of Trench 9, located within the settlement some 25 m southwest of the gate through the fortification wall, revealed that the bedrock here drops sharply to a depth of about 2 m below present ground level before resurfacing some 10 m to east (see Fig. 5.2 for location of Trench 9). In response, the Zagorans threw into this natural cavity their refuse containing ceramics, animal bone and horn, shell, slag and obsidian, thus levelling the area for use. Two resulting surfaces have been identified, the earliest dating to the late ninth century BC and the latest to the mid-eighth century (Beaumont *et al.* 2014; Miller *et al.* 2019/20). What is notable is that this remained an open communal space throughout the life of the settlement and was not built upon even in the Late Geometric II period when space was at a premium. What, however, we must dismiss when considering communal organization is the long-held erroneous notion that Zagora provides evidence of a planned settlement: it is clear from close study of the architectural remains that it grew organically from a number of different loci across the promontory (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 150–4, 158–60, 237; Mann 2015, 52–3; 2018).

What, finally, about wealth and status distribution across the settlement? By the Late Geometric II period, Zagora’s domestic architecture encompassed a mixture of multi-room complexes, often focused around an open-air yard, as well as one or two room houses such as those built against the inner side of the fortification wall (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 150–8; Mann 2014; 2018). Room and house sizes also varied, for example between the generally smaller rooms of the area J houses and more expansive units found in areas D, H and M (Cambitoglou *et al.* 1988, 157–61; Mann 2014; 2018). The excavations conducted between 2012–2014 further revealed that, in the southernmost sector of the site, the predominant model of schist-built agglutinative architecture seen elsewhere at Zagora gave way here to houses built largely from marble rubble and of apparently freestanding form (Beaumont *et al.* 2013; Miller *et al.* 2019/20). Regardless, however, of this variety in domestic architectural form and scale, each household appears to have controlled its own agricultural surplus:

storage benches and *pithoi* are commonly found in all house types across the settlement (McLoughlin 2011). Similarly, imported Euboean and Attic finewares have been documented in every domestic complex excavated to date, as also have kraters and drinking vessels, indicating that wine consumption was uniformly spread across the community (McLoughlin 2011). Area J does, however, manifest a notable difference in its almost complete absence of finds of excavated slag, which contrasts with the ubiquitous presence of metalworking debris across the rest of the excavated areas (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, pl. 8.2). Obsidian artefacts and debitage are similarly missing from area J (Beaumont *et al.* 2012, pl. 8.2). While this marked difference suggests that variation of at least some activities, and perhaps also resource access, did exist within the community, the findings at Zagora to date nevertheless generally point towards a remarkable degree of socio-economic equality across the settlement. Given that, by the Late Geometric II period, Zagora likely housed a populace not less than 1200 individuals (see above), the apparent largely socio-economic egalitarian profile of the settlement poses a challenge to Morris’s suggestion that a population size greater than 500 individuals inevitably leads to systems and organization that involve the emergence of ‘permanent social and economic inequality’ (Morris 1987, 145–6; Vink 1997). These preliminary observations from Zagora should therefore serve to challenge the notion that the development of socio-economic hierarchy in the Late Geometric period was a phenomenon that played out, and/or was expressed, uniformly across the Greek world.

We have much yet to learn about Zagora, and we hope that our future fieldwork at the site will enable us to further illuminate the economic profile and socio-political structure of the settlement. Since, to date, only eight per cent of the total site has been excavated, the picture I have presented here could very well change as a result of new discoveries.

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all-things Zagora possessed by the co-authors of the forthcoming *Zagora 3* publication of the 1971 and 1974 excavation seasons (Paspalas *et al.* forthcoming), and thank them for many hours of profitable discussion.

Notes

- 1 Andrew Wilson has recalculated 64,860 sq. m as being the settlement area enclosed by the fortification wall. This corrects the figure of 78,000 sq. m previously published in Knight & Beaumont 2018.
- 2 I thank Beatrice McLoughlin for discussing this matter with me.
- 3 The 1977 faunal report by Lin Barnetson is to be published in Paspalas *et al.* forthcoming. Melanie Fillios is currently studying and preparing for publication the faunal remains excavated between 2012–2014. Rudolph Alagich's 2012 University of Sydney Honours thesis on 'An Insight into Life at Geometric Zagora Provided by the Animal Bones' may be accessed at <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/8891>.
- 4 Lithics expert Thomas Hikade is currently preparing a report for publication on the stone tools found at Zagora up to, and including, the 2014 field season.
- 5 I am grateful to Joanne Cutler and her colleagues on the PROCON project for inviting me to give this paper at the 2017 conference they organized in Cambridge on 'Making Cities. Economies of Production and Urbanisation in Mediterranean Europe 1000–500 BCE'. Jo's subsequent untimely death robbed us of a fine scholar. I acknowledge with gratitude the provision to me by the PROCON project of Jo's preliminary report on the Zagora textile tools and the permission granted to incorporate into this paper information drawn from Jo's report.
- 6 I am grateful to my Zagora Archaeological Project Co-Director, Stavros Paspalas, for his advice on the ceramic evidence for the dating of the initial construction of the fortification wall. This evidence is to be published in Paspalas *et al.* forthcoming.

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Making cities

Large and complex settlements appeared across the north Mediterranean during the period 1000–500 BC, from the Aegean basin to Iberia, as well as north of the Alps. The region also became considerably more interconnected. Urban life and networks fostered new consumption practices, requiring different economic and social structures to sustain them. This book considers the emergence of cities in Mediterranean Europe, with a focus on the economy. What was distinctive about urban lifeways across the Mediterranean? How did different economic activities interact, and how did they transform power hierarchies? How was urbanism sustained by economic structures, social relations and mobility? The authors bring to the debate recently excavated sites and regions that may be unfamiliar to wider (especially Anglophone) scholarship, alongside fresh reappraisals of well-known cities. The variety of urban life, economy and local dynamics prompts us to reconsider ancient urbanism through a comparative perspective.

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