

ΣΤΕΓΑ

The Archaeology of Houses and
Households in Ancient Crete

EDITED BY
KEVIN T. GLOWACKI AND
NATALIA VOGEIKOFF-BROGAN

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STUDYING THE CHARACTER OF THE MINOAN “HOUSEHOLD” WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE NEOPALATIAL SETTLEMENT OF ZAKROS

by Lefteris Platon

A whole century of multifaceted research into the prehistory of Crete has needed to pass for scholars to realize how little they actually know of the nature, extent, and structure of Minoan society. It might be suggested that this state is due to misdirected research aims, whereby the presence of the megastructure compounds (commonly called “palaces”) played a decisive role. Nevertheless, a different reason for this wrong turn can be found in more practical matters, as will be demonstrated below.

The first—and probably the main—difficulty in approaching such a complicated matter arises from the absence of new publications of habitation units apart from the palaces. It is noteworthy that the systematic publication of the Early Minoan settlement of Myrtyos in 1972¹ offered the ground for one of the first, and at the time, innovative approaches on the matter of composition, structure, and extent of Prepalatial societies.² Research later turned to secondary questions, however, such as the demographic development of Crete during the Bronze Age or the socioeconomic hierarchy of settlements, the latter considered independent units.³

Common to all these studies was an attempt to estimate the population of Minoan settlements based on theories borrowed from ethnographic models.⁴ Such approaches, however, often underestimated differences between various cultures and different behaviors of specific subgroups within them. More appropriate is the analytical approach suggested by T. Whitelaw,⁵ in which he proposes that a small number of identifiable selected “houses” should be examined at each site, and that this, using multiplication factors, could be used as a basis for estimating the total average population for the whole settlement.⁶ Nevertheless, this mathematical method faces several

1. Warren 1972.

2. Warren 1983; Whitelaw 1983, 1989; Tenwolde 1992. For an earlier attempt to discuss the matter of the Minoan household, see Sariyannis 1978.

3. Branigan 2001b; Driessen 2001b; Whitelaw 2001, 2004.

4. The first of these studies proposes

for the preindustrial communities, regardless of cultural background, an unchanging logarithmic relationship between roofed dwelling space and the number of inhabitants (Naroll 1962). A second method bases its estimate on the relationship, again considered constant, between one inhabitant and the volume of oil consumed annually

(Warren 1972, p. 145; 1983, p. 252, n. 5).

5. Whitelaw 2001, pp. 17–21. See also Whitelaw 2004, pp. 152–153.

6. Where, first of all, one value for the residential density in the selected area of the site is defined, and then this value is multiplied in each case by a rough estimate of the area occupied by the whole settlement.

difficulties in the case of the Neopalatial settlements.⁷ First, in most cases, settlements occupied a much larger area than the parts that have been preserved and/or investigated archaeologically. As a result, the existing sample, although reasonably representative, is not necessarily absolutely objective. Second, because of the relatively large number of excavated Neopalatial structures and the great amount and variety of their finds, the relevant systematic publications remain incomplete and uneven, thus offering a far from complete picture of the total structure of the settlements or of the location and significance of the structural units that constituted them. Third, the complex construction of the buildings—especially the probability that most had a second floor—often creates some uncertainties regarding the significance of their location inside the settlement and the extent of the socioeconomic independency of some architectural units. And finally, that these buildings experienced long periods of use, with repeated structural transformations undertaken according to changing social conditions, means that we have been left with a confused picture as regards the specific use of the occupied area.⁸

One of the more completely investigated Neopalatial settlements—somewhat overlooked in the relevant bibliography on ancient urbanism and household archaeology in Minoan Crete⁹—is that of Zakros. This site has the advantage of presenting an extended destruction horizon belonging to the Late Minoan (LM) IB period, which can yield enough evidence to map the use of roofed areas inside the settlement. For the purposes of the present paper, we decided to present detailed evidence from two buildings that appear to be representative of two of the more significant quarters of the “town”; the first spreads over the slopes of the southwest hill, while the second occupies the terraces immediately to the north of the LM I palace. The buildings under discussion are the large Building B and the so-called Strong Building.

In terms of size and specific architectural details, Building B, built on two successive terraces on the northern slope of the southwest hill, could be considered the most significant structure in the settlement of Zakros.¹⁰ With a total area of around 400 m², it has, among other things, two entrances, two staircases, one room designated for wine production, one polythyron (blocked in the last phase of the building and probably connected with a light-well), and a probable treasury with plastered cases made of brick.¹¹ The main question arising from the size and the interior arrangement of such a building is what kind of social group was housed here. Could it be exclusively that of the “nuclear family,” which Whitelaw has proposed mainly on the basis of the small size and the architectural

7. For similar and additional difficulties that arise from the variety in the formation processes of house floor assemblages, generally, see LaMotta and Schiffer 1999.

8. In spite of the above difficulties, some attempts to define the function of the rooms in Neopalatial buildings have slowly begun to appear (see Platon

1997b, pp. 193–194, 198–202). The fact, however, that these are limited to isolated building complexes does not help complete a more complex picture, which would be indispensable for evaluating and processing the primary data. For a good approach to the matter in a much later and less complex settlement, see Glowacki 2004, pp. 131–134.

9. Branigan 2001b, pp. 39–42; Cunningham 2001, pp. 74–76; Driessen 2001b, p. 55.

10. Platon 2000, pp. 61–62. For Building B, see also Platon 1961, pp. 219–222, fig. 2; 1962, pp. 146–147; 1963, pp. 167–168, fig. 2.

11. Platon 2000, pp. 61–62.

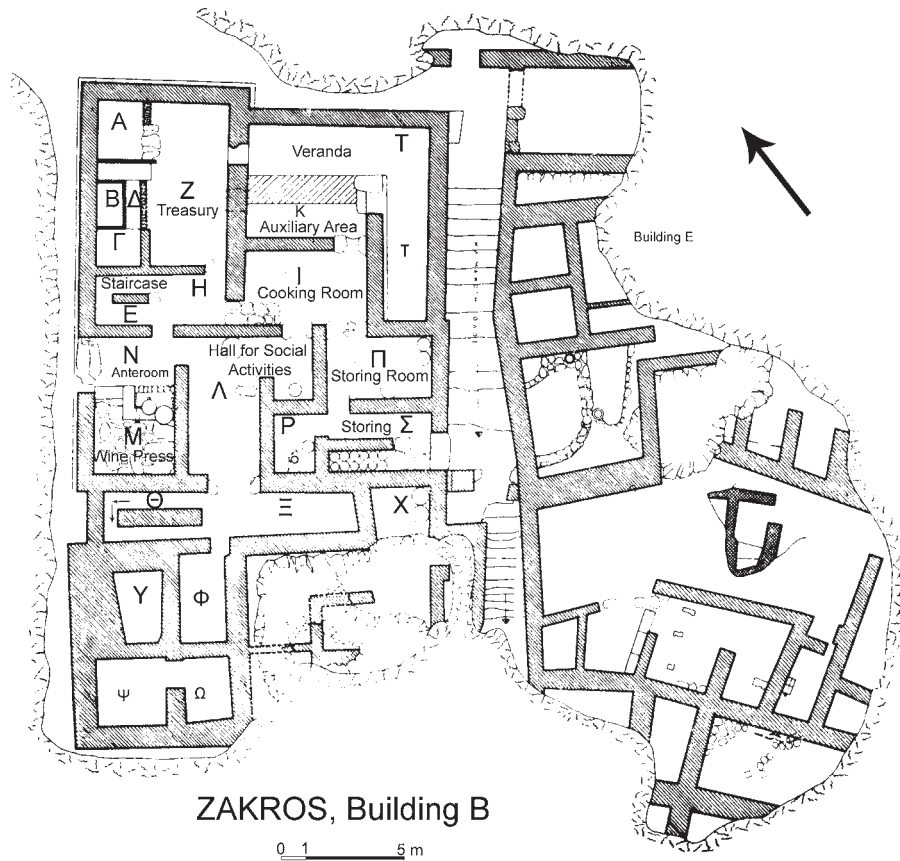


Figure 14.1. Zakros, plan of Building B showing architectural periods and room functions during the last Neopalatial phase (LM IB). After Platon 1963, p. 166, fig. 2

uniformity of the Gournia “houses”?¹² Such a hypothesis would mean that each inhabitant would correspond to 50–100 m² on the ground floor, without taking into account the upper-floor area that could well have been the same size. Despite the dubious nature of the generalized cross-cultural formula of a steady logarithmic relationship between the number of inhabitants and the roofed dwelling area, which allows 10 m² of living space per person, the proportional attribution of 50–100 m² to each person seems far too great.¹³ Given that, for now, we cannot estimate the quantities of various basic foodstuffs contained in the storage vessels found in the house, we are forced to turn to a different type of evidence stemming from the study of the architecture combined with the distribution of every category of find inside the building.¹⁴

Regarding the architectural form and interior arrangement of the building, we are today in a position to make some essential observations (Fig. 14.1). The initial structure had undergone some radical alterations to its exterior shell, as well as to its interior arrangement. The presence of a visible protruding ledge, which runs around the facade in the northern

12. Whitelaw suggests that Neopalatial buildings that surpass others in size represent simply the dwellings of more prosperous inhabitants, who in any case also formed “nuclear families”

(Whitelaw 2001, p. 19; 2004, p. 152).

13. Whitelaw 2001, pp. 15–17.

14. This is because neither their initial number nor their contents can be easily identified in most of the cases.

A mathematical method for measuring the capacity of storage vessels is described in Darcque 1996, pp. 96–98.

part of the structure but is absent from the southern part (south of areas Σ, Π, Λ, and Μ), shows that we are dealing with two originally separate buildings.¹⁵ It seems that the two structures were united in a later phase through the addition of small parts of the facade, which are lightly recessed on the west side. A further later addition is the “dog’s leg” area, comprising two long, narrow legs, which has been identified as a “veranda” (Τ), and a similar long corridor inside the southern part of the east facade.¹⁶ Inside the building, one could observe small-scale changes such as the probable addition of a second staircase (area Θ)—likely due to changes made to the building’s exterior, the opening of a south entrance in central area Λ, and the replacement of the polythyron of room Ι with a solid wall.¹⁷

The building was undoubtedly two-storied, with an upper floor framed by solid walls that occupied an area similar to that of the ground floor.¹⁸ The existence of an upper floor in the south part of the building is certain, since the ground-floor rooms in this section are obviously of a secondary use, unsuited to living—two of them (rooms Ω and Ψ) appear to be approached by trapdoors only—but suitable for storage, since parts of them were built into the bedrock.¹⁹ Additional wholly or partially roofed areas in the north and south parts of the structure would seem a sensible interpretation, provided that they were forms of exit for the residents from the main part of the building. Finally, the presence of two staircases (areas Ε and Θ) in the same side of the building confirms that the upper-floor area was divided into two separate apartments.²⁰

Most of our information for the movable equipment within the building comes from the central sector of the structure, because the limited use of the area after the main destruction allowed a thick layer of earth to cover and preserve the area (Fig. 14.2). Room Σ, immediately inside the east entrance, was equipped with a narrow partition in which 12 two-handled storage jars and four amphoras were found. Numerous serving and drinking vessels (Fig. 14.3), including 16 jugs, approximately 30 ogival cups, and more than 90 conical cups (several of which were placed one inside the other), appear to have been stored in cupboards or on shelves in the ground-floor area, since they were found exclusively within the partition and not dispersed throughout the rest of the room.²¹ The spacious neighboring room ΙΙ was identified as the main storage magazine for agricultural produce on account of its plastered walls and contents, which included nine pithamphoras, nine two-handled storage jars, five small pithoid jars, and six amphoras (Fig. 14.4). Nevertheless, the character of room ΙΙ’s contents, combined with the way the finds were dispersed, suggests that two different contexts were mixed. Several examples of tableware or specialized vases, some decorated, were

15. Platon 2000, p. 61.

16. Platon 1962, p. 150; 1963, p. 168.

17. It should be noted that all of these changes should have taken place during the LM I period, since finds belonging to the LM IB period were found everywhere at the level of the remodeling.

18. The existence of an upper floor enclosed by solid perimeter walls in the Neopalatial buildings of the settlement

at Kastelli Chania is doubted by E. Hallager (Hallager 1990). Nevertheless, the houses pictured in the famous “Town Mosaic” from Knossos do not support his hypothesis, at least as regards Minoan houses in general. At Zakros, in particular, climatic factors would make the daily use of open-air terraces or apartments that were not fully enclosed difficult since the site is battered by very strong winds much of the time.

19. Platon 1963, p. 168.

20. Or, alternatively, that this arrangement aimed to serve two quarters of the house that had completely different functions; see Michailidou 1990, p. 297; 2001, p. 397.

21. Comparable contents were found in the small room 18 in Block N at Palaikastro (Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965, p. 266).

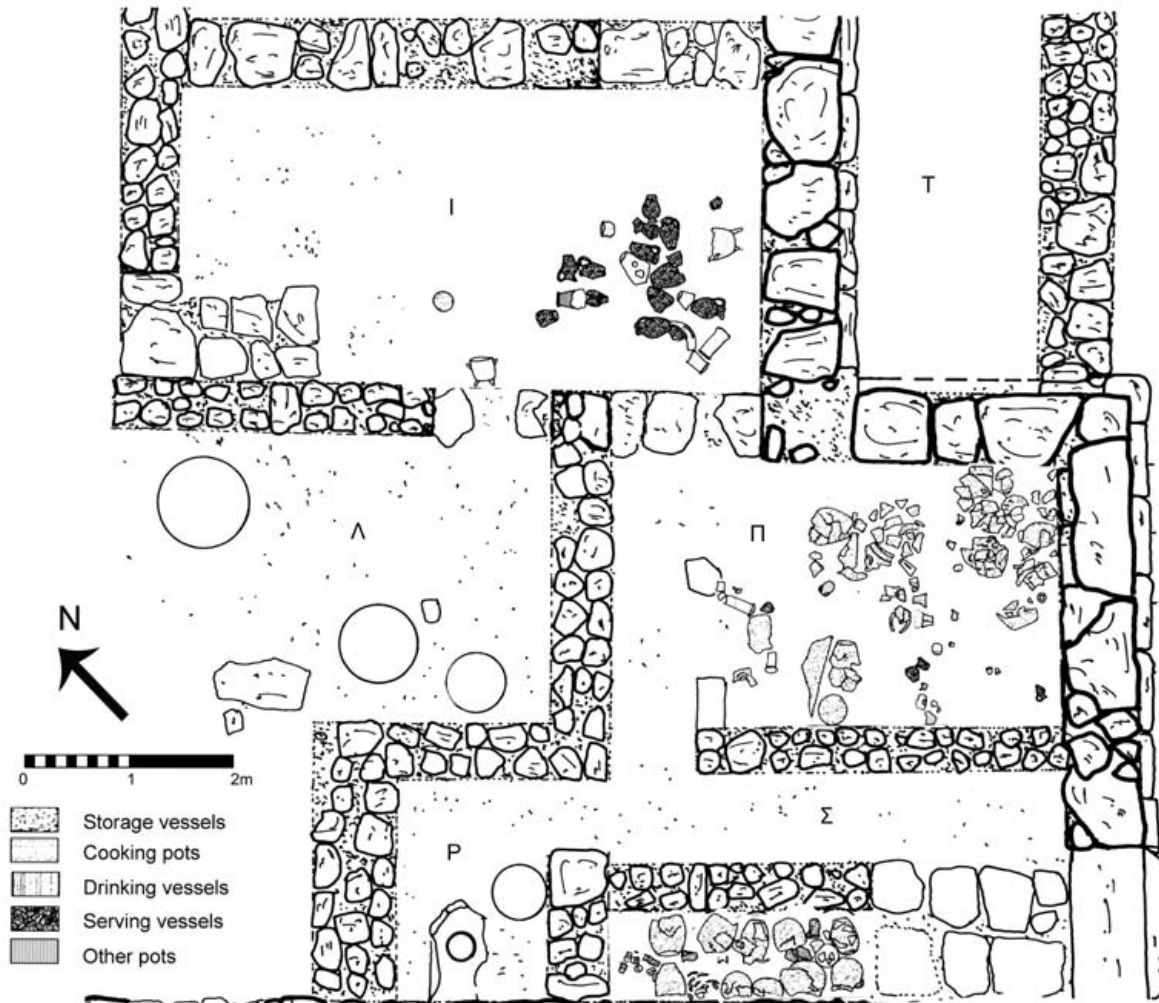


Figure 14.2. Plan of the central sector of Building B showing the distribution of pottery finds, classified according to their probable function. L. Platon

found in small numbers scattered on different parts of the floor. Some of them, however—such as a group of fruitstands found in the northern part of the room (Fig. 14.2)—show typological similarities to the contents of adjacent room I to the north, the movable equipment of which appears to come largely from a room on an upper floor.

The character of the contents of this last room (room I) is very different (Fig. 14.5). It is most notable that jugs and large handleless ogival cups predominate. Most of this deposit—mainly tableware, including some fruitstands similar to those from the northern part of room II—appears to have come from the upper-floor room, since it was found in the fill at a level some 0.30 m above the floor.²² Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to indicate that the ground floor of room I was used as a kitchen, at least during the last phase of the building. This is supported by the presence of a kind of “baking dish”²³ (a clay installation partly set into the ground and

22. For criteria relating to the attribution of an assemblage to equipment fallen from the upper story, see Michailidou 2001, pp. 97, 101–102.

23. Yerontakou 2000. The recognition of areas devoted to the preparation

of food in the interior of Neopalatial buildings is a difficult task, but the identification of some permanent clay troughlike installations in a very large number of roofed areas provides a probable means of identification (Sackett,

Popham, and Warren 1965, p. 268, n. 46; Shaw 1990, p. 251). For a catalogue of identifiable cooking areas in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, see Birtacha et al. 2008.

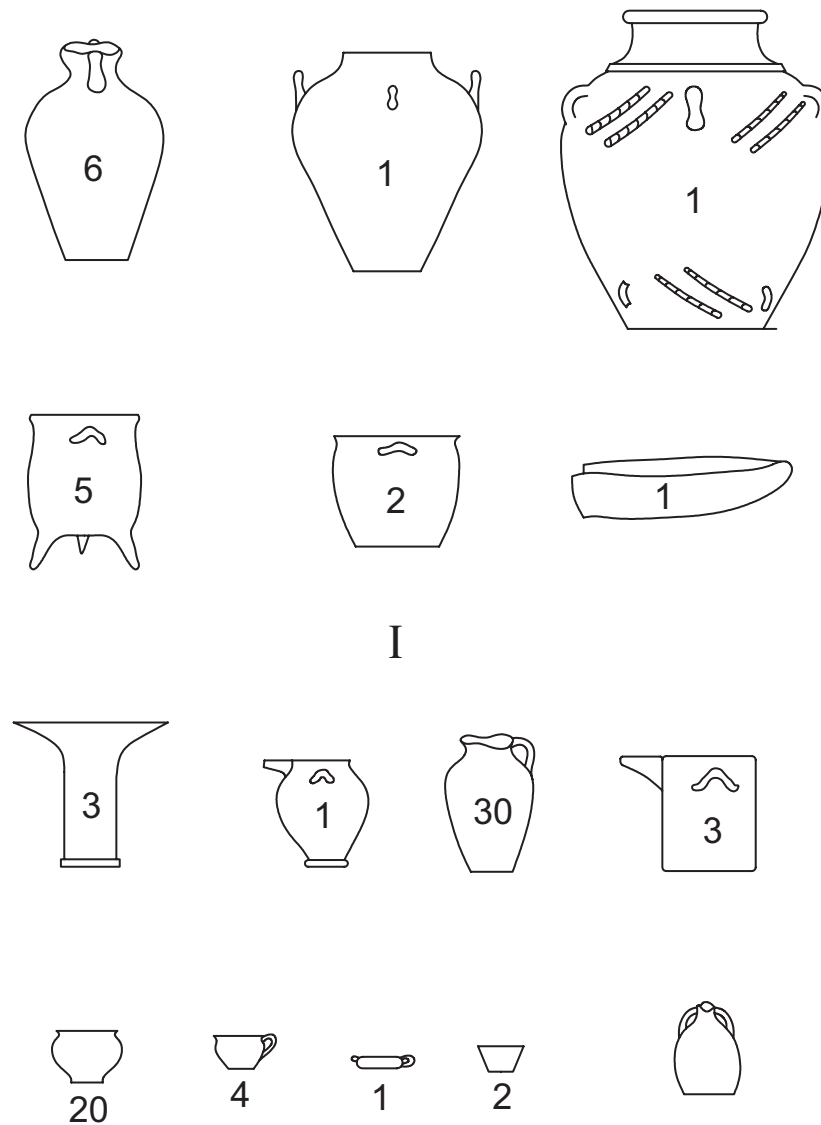


Figure 14.5. Quantitative analysis of the pottery finds from Building B, room I, indicating the minimum number of each type of vessel.

L. Platon

growth in the number of family members.²⁵ This growth would be in accordance with the architectural expansion of the structure—including the probable addition of the south part, which initially constituted part of a different building²⁶—as well as with the creation of some semi-open areas on the borders of the upper-floor apartments. Since such growth does not appear to be connected with a radical change in the basic unit of Minoan society from a nuclear to a polygamous family,²⁷ it could be attributed to the gradual formation of extended families created through

25. Michailidou has suggested that an upper floor was added to some Neopalatial houses at Palaikastro for economic or demographic reasons (Michailidou 1984, p. 43). For a possible similar case, see Platon 1997b, pp. 192–193.

26. A similar phenomenon has also been observed at complex Δβ at Malia (see Bradfer-Burdet and Pomadère, this volume, Chap. 9).

27. The size, the interior arrangement, and the standardization of the

small Gournia houses argue against this (Whitelaw 2001, pp. 17–19), as does the almost certain preservation of the nuclear family as the basic social unit into the LM IIIC period (see Glowacki 2004, p. 134).

the intermarriage of the members of the original family living in the house with members of other families.²⁸

This is a good place to propose a new method for estimating the number of residents housed in architecturally independent structures. It concerns the number of serving vessels, either in storage or in the place of their use, found in a specific architectural area. Although we must admit that drinking vessels could well exceed the true needs of a household, the same is not true for serving vessels, since this would be both illogical and unprofitable at the same time. The presence of 15–20 trefoil-mouthed jugs with identical decoration from the same upper-floor “dining room” leads us to assume a “table” with at least an equivalent number of participants. Consequently, one could propose for Building B a family, extended to incorporate new cells by intermarriage, of at least 15–20 members. Although the new cells would have used separate upper-floor apartments for living, they would have met each other in areas designated for familial social activities. It seems likely that the ground floor would have been used for working, as well as a place of residence for some service staff charged with the upkeep and running of the whole building.²⁹

Similar analysis of the architecture and find distribution of the large Strong Building located on the opposite hill (Figs. 14.6, 14.7) allows the following conclusions.³⁰ Like Building B, the Strong Building exhibits some architectural remodeling of both the interior and exterior “shell.” Of note are the opening of an additional entrance (in a second phase) in the east facade of the structure and the secondary construction of upper-floor apartments, indicated by the installation of brick roof supports in rooms K, K α , I, and Y in combination with the probable addition of a wooden staircase. The interior arrangement of the ground floor indicates that it was separated into three independent apartments, approached through different entrances, that contained evidence for the same functions being repeated in each set of rooms.³¹

The existence of an upper floor—at least for the central part of the building—was confirmed by the dispersal of the ground-floor finds, especially in room Y, where pieces of storage vessels were found scattered over an area of 4 m² (Fig. 14.8).³² The identification of storage quarters in each of the three sets of rooms and the confirmed existence of only one area devoted to the preparation of food again support the hypothesis that an extended family was housed in the building; the members of

28. In Mesopotamia, based on the evidence of the tablets, such growth is often related to the need to divide the area so that it could roof two houses instead of one (Michailidou 2001, p. 420).

29. Despite the fact that we do not yet have clear archaeological evidence for the existence of a class of servants or slaves in Minoan Crete (Whitelaw 2001, pp. 31–32, n. 1), the presence of such large buildings appears to support it.

30. Platon 1968, pp. 150–160; 1969, pp. 209–218; 1970, pp. 218–219; 1971a, pp. 244–247; 1972, pp. 179–183; 1974, p. 215; 2000, pp. 60–61.

31. Platon 2000, p. 60. Each set of rooms included a storage complex, and two of the three sectors had spacious pillared rooms for social activities. Such repetition of function in the interior of the same over-arching architectural unit leads to the conclusion that two or more households were housed under the same roof; see Whitelaw 1983,

p. 333; 2001, p. 19; 2004, p. 152; Glowacki 2004, pp. 131–133.

32. For Mycenaean houses, it has been suggested that the upper-floor apartments did not always cover the same area as that of the ground floor (Mylonas Shear 1986, p. 90). This may be the case with the Strong Building, since the north and northeast parts did not yield finds that could be attributed to the upper floors with any degree of certainty. See also Michailidou 2001, p. 97.



Figure 14.6. Plan of the Zakros settlement indicating the locations of the Palace and the Strong Building. Drawing E. Kiel, after Myers, Myers, and Cadogan 1992, p. 294, fig. 44.3

the sub-units were economically independent but socially dependent on the original nucleus.³³

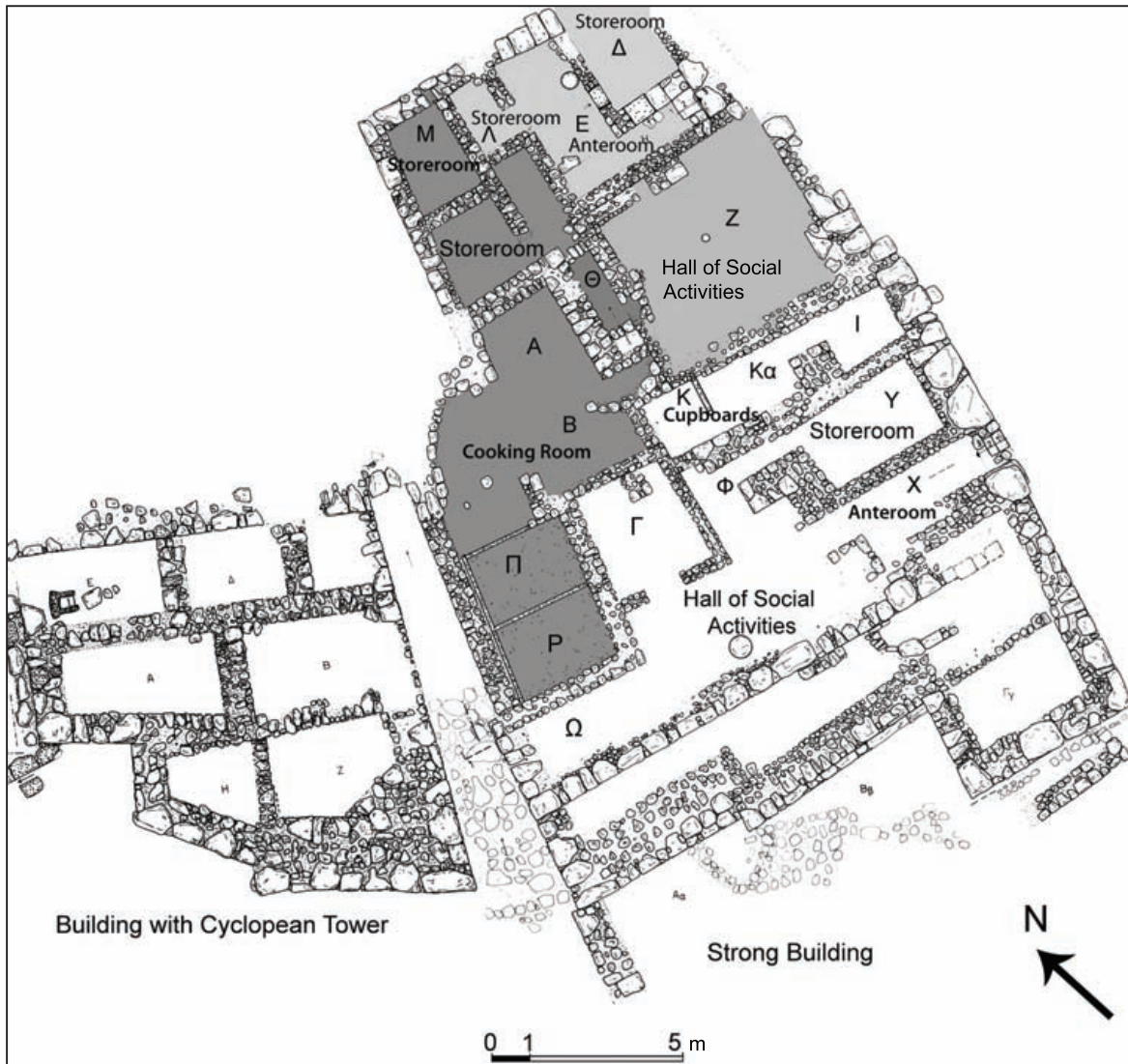
It would not be easy to support the hypothesis that all buildings of the Neopalatial Zakros settlement housed this kind of social faction, which we have called the "extended family." It has been suggested that some of the buildings, such as Building Z on the southwest hill or the East Building beside the Harbor Road, had at least a semipublic function, while the data for several others remain obscure.³⁴ The density and the pattern of distribution of the winepress installations among the buildings of the southwest hill suggest one more hypothesis.³⁵ Four winepress installations correspond to seven buildings investigated thus far, a fact that suggests that some of the complexes were probably economically dependent on other neighboring houses. Could we speak then of annexes of some kind, which, although architecturally independent, actually belonged to or were managed by the residents of other main structures?

This scenario suits well the case of the Building to the NE of House A, the preserved part of which appears to be connected with various production

33. For the use of Area A as a kitchen, see Platon 1971a, pp. 245–246.

34. Platon 1977, p. 433; 2000, pp. 64–66.

35. Kopaka and Platon 1993, pp. 91–92.



and storage activities, mainly wine production and storing the final product with the appropriate equipment for its consumption.³⁶ This structure could cover the needs of neighboring Building Δα, where such installations are absent.³⁷ However, if this hypothesis is valid, how can we discern the basic residential units from their annexes in such densely constructed Neopalatial settlements? For example, could the Building of the Cyclopean Tower, which is limited in area and function when compared to the adjacent Strong Building, constitute the annex of the latter (Fig. 14.6)?³⁸ Or, could it even constitute the residence of a branch of the original family, upon which it still partly depended despite the fact that there was no room for it to be housed in the “maternal” building?

36. Platon 1963, pp. 164–165.

37. Complementary function has been also considered, mainly from an architectural point of view, by Preziosi and Hitchcock, for much larger complexes such as House B at Tylissos and

the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Hitchcock and Preziosi 1997). The existence of some secondary dwellings (houses of “leaseholders”), which would support the function of the main residential units, was suggested by Brani-

Figure 14.7. Plan of the Strong Building (right), with the three independent apartments indicated by shading. To the left, the Building of the Cyclopean Tower was probably used as a kind of annex for the Strong Building. L. Platon

gan within the context of the Neopalatial settlement at Palaikastro (Branigan 1972, p. 756).

38. Platon 1969, pp. 218–219; 1970, pp. 219–220; 1971a, pp. 248–251; 1974, p. 215.

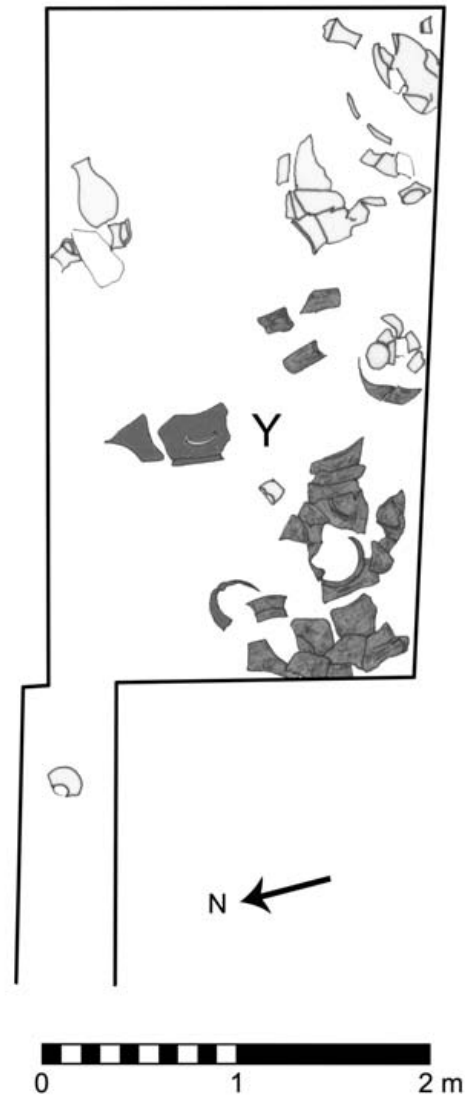


Figure 14.8. Plan of the Strong Building, room Y, showing the pattern of dispersal of pieces belonging to two different storage vessels.
L. Platon

Questions such as these are not easy to answer before undertaking an exhaustive study of the architecture, finds, and stratigraphy from all the building units at every settlement. The above discussion is simply a first attempt to approach the matter—an attempt that, nevertheless, gives hope that we will someday gain entrance to the seemingly impenetrable “shell” of Minoan society.

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