

EXCAVATIONS AT KOMMOS (CRETE) DURING 1979

(PLATES 53–67)

During this fourth season of our excavations at Kommos we completed all major excavation of the Late Minoan (LM) houses on the hilltop as well as the LM house discovered earlier on the hillside. Soundings in the Middle Minoan (MM) levels in both these areas proved to be profitable, especially on the hillside where an intact MM storeroom was found within most informative stratigraphic contexts. In the Greek sanctuary to the south two more, relatively large altars were found within the deep sand. West of them we discovered a Greek temple of which the outer walls are destroyed but the interior is intact. Below the floor of the temple is an unusual shrine of Late Geometric/Early Archaic date. Further west, along the shore, lies a group of Minoan buildings of a monumental character not hitherto encountered on the Kommos site.

EXCAVATION in 1979¹ (24 June through 24 August) extended within contexts already partially explored as well as within a fairly small area to the south, pres-

¹ The excavation is being carried out by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with the cooperation of the Greek Antiquities Service. Financial support was provided in 1979 by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, formerly the Canada Council (Grants 410-78-0590-X1 [for the excavation] and 410-77-0565-X2 [for the survey]), the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum. The SCM Corporation of New York once again helped with the financing, and we were honored as well by a visit from its president, Mr. Paul Elicker, to the excavation. Kodak Canada, Ltd., Keuffel and Esser of Canada, and the Polaroid Corporation of America once again contributed certain items of equipment.

The staff during this fourth season consisted of the director, representing the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum; Professor R. Hope Simpson, Queen's University; Professor Philip Betancourt, Temple University; Professor L. Vance Watrous, the State University of New York at Buffalo; Professor Maria C. Shaw, Scarborough College, The University of Toronto; and the following former or present students at the University of Toronto: Giuliana Bianco, excavation architect and artist; Dr. John McEnroe, Lucia Nixon, and Douglas Orr, who worked as trenchmasters, McEnroe and Nixon also helping before actual excavation began with the foot survey of the Kommos area.

Other important contributions were made by Mary K. Dabney, Columbia University and Professor James C. Wright, Bryn Mawr College (cataloguing); Harriet Blitzer Watrous, Indiana University (cataloguing and study of bone and stone tools); Robert B. Koehl, University of Pennsylvania (pottery, with Professors Betancourt and Watrous); Robert K. Vincent, Jr., assisted by Frances Vincent (object photography); and David N. Lewis (pottery profiles). During the previous winter Carole Munro rendered valuable help as Research Assistant.

Scholars visiting during the summer for short periods of time but whose contributions were basic were David Reese, University of Cambridge (study of bones and shells and most of the water-sieving); Peter Callaghan, British School of Archaeology at Athens, and Dr. John Hayes, Royal Ontario Museum (Greek pottery from the sanctuary); Professor J. Nicholas Coldstream, University of London (material from the early Greek shrine); Professor John Gifford, University of Minnesota (geological studies of the Kommos region); Michael Parsons, Queen's University (study of ancient and modern land use); Professor Peter Warren, University of Bristol (stone vases). We are also obliged to Catherine McEnroe, who once again helped to mend pottery, as did Frances Vincent, and to Mary Betancourt for her invaluable help with shopping. Barbara Hayden and Susan Maltby also helped for brief periods.

I should also acknowledge our indebtedness to the personnel of the Herakleion Museum, especially for their help in cleaning our bronzes; to George Beladakis of Pitsidia, who once more was foreman in

ently in the process of expropriation. As a result of this work² it appears now that the MM habitation represents a high point of the Minoan town's growth and that monumental, perhaps "public" buildings do exist at Kommos. Much of the plan of the Greek sanctuary has now been outlined, although further refinement is necessary, and with the discovery of the early shrine below the temple we now realize that the area was devoted to worship long before the Classical period.

THE AREA SURVEY

From 22 May to 12 July, the archaeological foot survey of the Kommos area, formally initiated in 1978, was carried to completion.³ The aims of this work have been to identify sites of all ancient periods (including mediaeval), to determine site distribution, and also to examine aspects of the recent geological history of the area.⁴ A careful study of the current land use was undertaken,⁵ both for its own sake and with a view towards the construction of hypotheses concerning the ancient environment.

The field work entailed in the survey is now essentially complete. Of course, much study and consolidation of data remain to be done; but it is already clear from the

charge of some twenty workmen from Pitsidia, and to the Manousoudakis family (Andreas, Iannis, and George), whose care when using the front-loader for sand removal resembled that of surgeons.

To all of the above, and many more, I am very pleased to acknowledge my indebtedness for their hard work and most pleasant cooperation.

The plans and drawings for this report were made faithfully by Giuliana Bianco, with object photographs and Plates 53:a and 61:a by Robert K. Vincent, Jr.; the remaining site photographs were taken by the author.

² For previous preliminary reports see *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 199–240 (= *Kommos*, 1976); *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 111–170 (= *Kommos*, 1977); *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 145–173 (= *Kommos*, 1978). See also R. F. Willetts, "What's in a Name?" p. 240, in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium*, "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C.," Nicosia 1979.

Errata and corrigenda:

Hesperia 46, 1977

- p. 200, note 1, line 3: for *Kepetanakos* read *Kapetanakos*
- p. 203, note 10, line 15: for *Willets* read *Willetts*
- p. 218, last line: for *stamnostatics* read *stamnostatis*
- p. 221, note 38, line 6: for *0.06 m.* read *0.60 m.*
- p. 230, line 7: for *C 108* read *C 106*
- Plates, *passim*: for *49–52* read *49bis–52bis*

Hesperia 47, 1978

- p. 125, line 18: for *LC III* read *LC II*
- p. 136, line 28: for *0.08 m.* read *0.48 m.*
- p. 151, line 8: for *supported by* read *allied against*

Hesperia 48, 1979

- p. 153, note 12 should read: A kylix (C 1279) from within the same room had joining fragments found when fallen stone . . .

³ The archaeological field work was again carried out by R. Hope Simpson, J. McEnroe and L. Nixon. The artifacts were studied by P. Betancourt, R. Koehl, L. V. Watrous, J. W. Hayes, P. Callaghan, and J. Wright. Selected material was photographed by R. K. Vincent, Jr. and drawn by D. N. Lewis.

⁴ J. A. Gifford continued his geological investigations and will serve as co-ordinator of the geographical aspects of the survey.

⁵ This was carried out by M. Parsons, who also provided the base map of the area.

relative frequency of the pottery "scatters" that the periods of most intensive settlement in the area were the Minoan (especially Middle Minoan) and Classical to Roman. Finds of the Geometric to Archaic and of the Byzantine periods were much fewer. No Neolithic site has yet been found here, although such sites are known in the Messara region further inland (e.g. at Phaistos, Mitropolis, and Miamou). It is also clear that the largest ancient settlements within the area of the survey and south of Hagia Triada are indeed those at Kommos in Minoan times and at Matala (ancient Metellum) during the Classical to Roman periods. From all periods a total of over 120 sherd "scatters" or other significant ancient finds have been identified and studied. Of these at least 45 represent separate ancient sites; several more give good indications of probable sites in the immediate vicinity. The distribution pattern strongly suggests "clusters" of sites, especially in the Minoan period, located mainly on the upper parts of hills where adequate building materials (principally limestones and marls) occur. Further study of the survey results will lead, we hope, to a broader understanding of the particular features of the area and of its relation to contiguous districts, especially the Messara.

THE HILLTOP (Trenches 27A–27A1, 30A–30A2, 31A; Fig. 1, Pls. 53:a, 54)

During the years 1976–1979 we concentrated almost half of our excavation effort at Kommos on the gradual clearing and detailed examination of this extension of the Minoan settlement on the hilltop. Here were a number of houses, most of them built in LM I and abandoned sometime during the LM IIIB period, with no appreciable settlement at any time afterwards. Prior to LM I a group of MM houses had stood on the same site, the lower part of their walls being re-used for some of the later structures.

Since our aim here has never been to expose the entire ancient area, the fortunate discovery of a north-south road in 1978⁶ provided us with a reasonable boundary for excavation limits on the east (that on the north being our property line, that on the west the edge of the cliff, that on the south the southern border of a house [Court 2]). In 1979, therefore, our chief aim here was to clear the area west of the road in order to define the plans of the already partially excavated houses. A subsidiary goal was to make a sounding to bedrock within one of the houses. It was hoped that the large area (over 800 sq. m.) thus exposed would give us a sufficient sampling of house type and distribution, as well as the history of domestic use on the hilltop. Fortunately, much of this work was completed (only a few minor investigations remain) so that final study of the houses can begin shortly.

The North House (House N: Trenches 30A–30A2, 31A; Pl. 54)

With the discovery of the eastern road mentioned above, as well as road O 1–O 2 on the south side in 1978, it was evident that our major task in 1979 was to clear the southeastern part of a house already largely defined in terms of both general type and

⁶ *Kommos, 1978*, p. 149.

KOMMOS

legend
 ■ middle minoan
 ▨ late minoan or earlier
 ▩ classical or hellenistic
 --- contours of present ground
 level at meter intervals

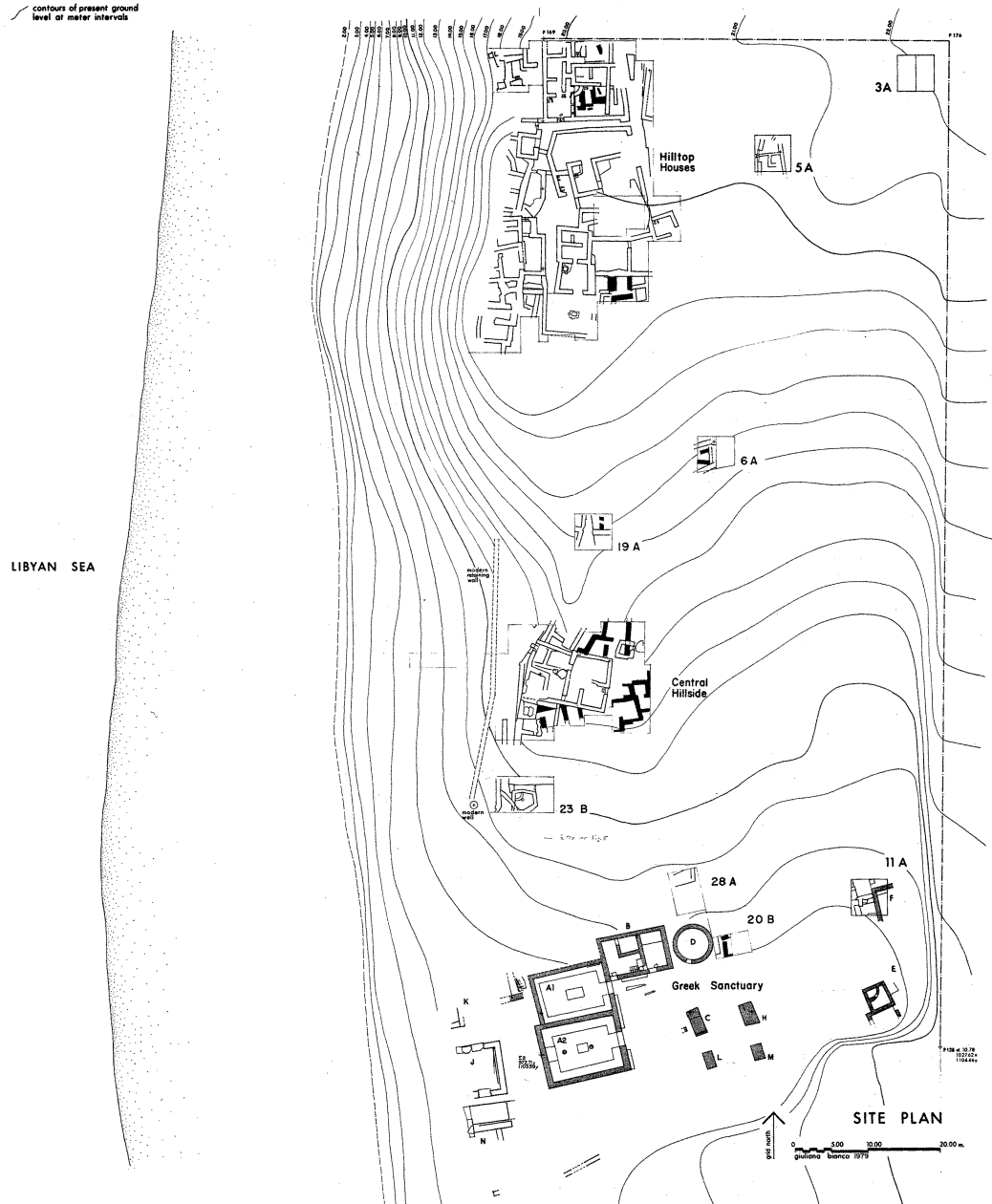


FIG. 1 General site plan after Season IV (1979)

duration of habitation.⁷ This was completed, revealing three additional rooms on the east, bordered by the road (Pl. 54:a). We also cleared the remainder of Room N 17a, which proved to be 4.20 m. north-south by 4.40 m. east-west. It was the major room in the south-central part of the house and was entered from the south over a once very large threshold of which, however, only a fragment was found in place. Upon the room's floor was a slab enclosure with traces of burning, as well as a cooking pot (C 2607) upon a slab. It was within this room that a major sounding was made to bedrock (not shown in Plate 54:a), revealing an intermediate floor with a roughly square hearth and two stone "gournes" set into the very hard floor of packed white earth. Below this floor was revealed a series of MM walls, set on bedrock and with an orientation differing somewhat from that of the upper house. The walls (and, by implication, the house to which they belonged) were in use somewhat beyond the MM period, apparently until the major LM I house could be constructed.

Bordering 17a on the east was a stairway leading to the second storey. Within the *sottoscala* here was found the first generous pottery deposit of this house (Pl. 54:b), along with a number of stone tools, which are otherwise found only out of context in the upper levels of the North House. Stylistically, this deposit and others in the eastern half of the building are earlier than those on the west; this may indicate that in the last days of the settlement, during LM IIIB, the eastern part of the building was actually uninhabited, perhaps even in ruins.

The Oblique Building (Trenches 27A–27A1, chiefly)

In 1978 this building, separated from the North House by the east-west road O 1–O 2, was found to have a large court to its north.⁸ During the past season the remainder of the court was cleared to the east, the major room south of it proving to be a very large one, *ca.* 4.70 m. north-south by 5.20 m. east-west, and apparently without interior supports. Its floor, surfaced with small sea pebbles, was last used during LM IIIB. In its northwest corner is a large limestone slab set on a low platform. Next to it, a hole pierces the northern wall. Outside at this point, within the court, is a series of parallel slabs. The ensemble of slab, hole, and slabs suggests that liquids, probably water from washing, drained out through the hole, between the slabs, and into the court. This facility could have been used for a number of purposes, including bathing.⁹ Aside from the usual domestic wares, there were few other small finds of note in the area save for a sherd of Cypriote White Slip II ware (C 2141) and a partly broken, painted Minoan female figurine (C 1954).

THE CENTRAL HILLSIDE (Trench 28B; Figs. 2–4, Pls. 53:a, 55, 56)

During the years 1976–1978 we succeeded in clearing the entire LM Building found here and in penetrating the underlying MM remains to the northeast and south of it,

⁷ The description of activities on the hilltop will be treated here in a very summary way. See *Kommos*, 1978, figs. 2a, 2b for the plan of the North House.

⁸ Cf. *Kommos*, 1978, fig. 2b.

⁹ A very similar facility was found in Space 11 on the hillside to the south (see below).

finding rooms which turned out to be remarkably well preserved and worth further investigation.¹⁰ Moreover, the stratigraphy recovered, with architectural and ceramic phases clearly associated, was of the type originally hoped for when the excavation began.

Continuing work here in 1979, we first consolidated our knowledge of the upper LM building (Fig. 2). A few very flimsy, late walls were removed in order to ascertain the nature of those known to lie below. In addition, certain floors were further investigated to learn more about their relative dating. As a result, the development of this upper building can now be followed with some accuracy, and it is essentially ready to be studied with a view to a more definitive presentation.

Although a few new walls were exposed here, perhaps the most interesting discovery was in Space 11, a small room projecting outside the main line of the southern façade of the house (Fig. 2, lower left), where a large slab set at a high level against a wall had previously been interpreted as a possible bench. Its true function was learned this summer, however, for next to it in the eastern wall is a block with a channel that continues through the wall; this can only have served as a drain which emptied outside the house on the east. The arrangement could well have been for industrial purposes, but was more likely for household activities and for bathing. A similar arrangement has been found in connection with the Oblique Building to the north (see above).

Excavation in Trench 22A3, only partially dug in 1978,¹¹ was now pursued, leading to the discovery of a well-preserved north-south wall, of which only the top had been exposed previously. In Space 25, west of the wall, were found several tilted limestone slabs (Pl. 55:a) which, to judge from their high position in the fill and the fact that one of their two surfaces was quite smooth, as if from foot wear, were clearly from an upper floor. The tops of pithoi soon appeared, and shortly it became clear that we were within a storeroom, of which we had, up to that point, traced the eastern and part of the northern and southern walls, but nothing of the west wall. At this point the trench was expanded on the east, and we were able as a result to excavate much of the room at one time.¹²

Once removed, the canted slabs were laid out together on a flat surface and found to occupy an area of 7.5 sq. m., close enough to that of the excavated room below (9.9 sq. m.)¹³ to confirm further an earlier suspicion: since there is little evidence that the Minoans paved their flat roofs with slabs,¹⁴ these are likely to have been the floor surfaces of an upper storey.

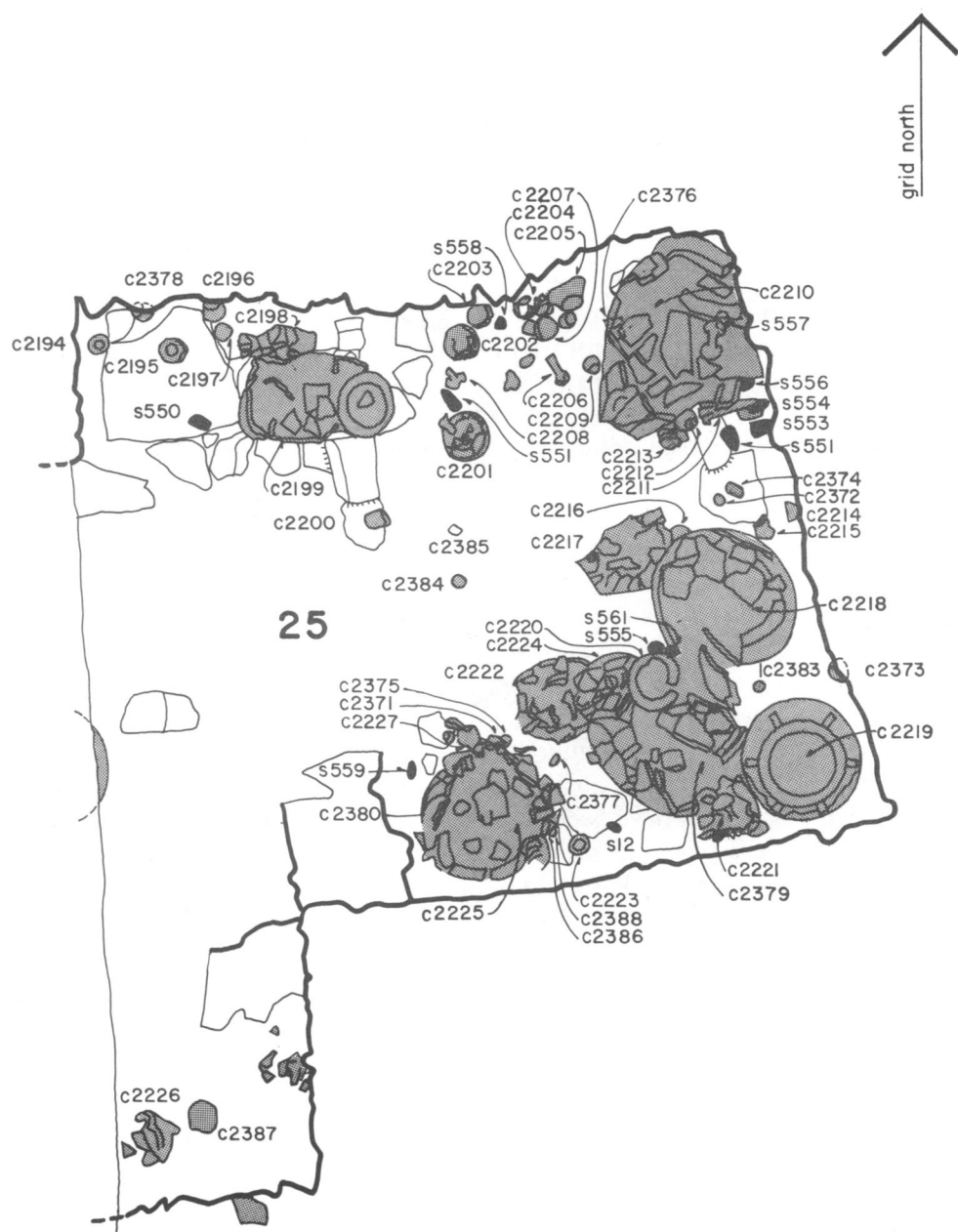
¹⁰ *Kommos*, 1976, pp. 222–235; *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 120–129; *Kommos*, 1978, pp. 155–160.

¹¹ *Kommos*, 1978, fig. 3, far bottom right (in plan). For section, see Fig. 3 in the present report (pails 100, 102, 115, 122, 126, 120 and 127).

¹² As is visible in Figs. 2 and 4, the room (with its pottery) continues on the west, most likely below the LM building set at the higher level.

¹³ A similar technique had been employed in 1976 in connection with a house on the hilltop (*Kommos*, 1976, p. 220).

¹⁴ The best evidence for roof and ceiling construction is to be found at Thera (see J. W. Shaw, "New Evidence for Aegean Roof Construction from Bronze Age Thera," *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 229–333, *passim*). For the original appearance of the type of slab floor now assumed to have been over Space 25 at Kommos, see S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera II*, Athens 1969, pl. C:1, 2 (floor in B 1 at Akrotiri).



KOMMOS

FLOOR DEPOSIT

CENTRAL HILLSIDE, 28B

0 0.50 1.00 m.
giuliana bianco 1979

FIG. 4 Plan of floor deposit in Middle Minoan storeroom (Space 25)

When the room was completely excavated (Fig. 4, Pl. 55:b,c), it proved to contain over fifty complete MM III vases, certainly the largest single deposit of its kind discovered at Kommos. The biggest vessels were the pithoi, all six having been set around the walls of the room and most of them crushed by the collapse of its ceiling. One in the northwest corner was set into a slab-paved cubicle (Pl. 55:d). Other vessels, including some of the pithoi, had been set on slabs along the eastern wall of the room. One pithos in the southeastern corner was essentially intact, and, when the earth within it was water-sieved, was found to contain the bones of many shrews (Pl. 56:f) which had apparently fallen into it accidentally; no doubt the pithos had once held something that appealed to them. Since fire was not involved in the destruction, this was the only type of organic remains recovered from the room.

Lying upon the floor, mostly where they had been placed between the pithoi, was a variety of smaller vessels, ranging in size from miniature to large (Pl. 56:a,c).¹⁵ There was also a selection of stone tools (Pl. 56:e) which merit special study since they represent a kind of "kit" coming from a closed deposit.¹⁶ Among the pots were some fine rhyta, 24 cups (16 conical and 8 straight sided), 5 bridge-spouted jars, a jar with tube spout, a pitharaki, 6 jugs, an oval-mouthed amphora, a small amphoriskos, an open-mouthed jar, and a straight-sided jar. There was only one cooking pot, and none of the usual cooking trays, dishes, and bowls known to have been used then: perhaps they were stored in another part of the house. To light the room, which may have been windowless, were two lamps, one of the pedestal type. Some of the conical cups were also probably used as lamps, for their interiors have burn marks on one side.

The presence of five rhyta (Pl. 56:b-d) in the assemblage is rather surprising considering that they are often assumed to have been reserved for ritual use. In the case of the rhyta discovered here, in what otherwise would seem to be a strictly domestic context, we are tempted to think that some of them were used as filters, funnels, or even dippers.¹⁷ There is quite a variety of them, including an alabastron-shaped example,¹⁸ and one of the ostrich-egg type decorated with running spirals, as well as two "peg-top" types.¹⁹ The conical rhyton (C 2211; Pl. 56:d) has the most unusual decoration, with white paint on a dark ground and red for certain details. The general theme is that of palms blowing in the wind, with incision defining the separate fronds of the tree. There are also flowers and other plants. The same painter probably decorated a large

¹⁵ The following account of the storeroom's contents is based primarily upon a special report prepared by Professor Philip Betancourt.

¹⁶ Along the southern side of the room, its lowest part reaching down just to the top of the pithos preserved in the corner there, was an LM III pit; only a single sherd from the pit was found in the general pottery pails of the room.

¹⁷ Rhyta have been found in somewhat similar domestic contexts elsewhere, e.g., in Crete at Gournia (H. B. Hawes *et al.*, *Gournia, Vasiliki and other Prehistoric Sites*, Philadelphia 1908, p. 39, pl. VII) where there were pithoi and other vessels in a basement room, and at LM IA Akrotiri on the island of Thera to the north of Crete (S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera V*, Athens 1972, e.g. pl. 48 [in Building D, 9]). Robert Koehl is presently writing a dissertation on the subject of rhyta.

¹⁸ Rhyta of similar shapes have been found in nearby, certainly related rooms in the past (*Kommos*, 1976, pl. 53:d; *Kommos*, 1977, pl. 37:a,b).

¹⁹ Cf. A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, London 1921-1936 (= *PM*), II, fig. 129 for the varieties.

pitharaki (C 2376, not illustrated here), the motifs on both being paralleled as far as we know only by decoration on a fragmentary rhyton from Knossos.²⁰

All of the complete vases are in a homogeneous style, the handsome post-Kamares phase called MM III at Knossos and Protopalatial Phase III by the recent excavators at Phaistos, a period characterized chiefly by decorations of white spirals and other simple ornaments on a dark ground, by the use of a poor, gritty clay for fine ware, and by the disappearance of carinated cups, fine Kamares-ware decoration, and other characteristics of MM II. A fragment of tortoise-shell ripple ware (C 2578) helps to correlate the phase with the other MM III deposits at Kommos²¹ as well as the contemporary Middle Minoan contexts at Phaistos²² and Knossos.²³

This pottery deposit is of great interest in itself and deserves detailed study in the future. From the stratigraphic point of view, however, it is only one of a very rich sequence in the area, for both earlier and later remains are unusually well represented near by.

Earlier levels occur to the east, for the eastern wall of the storeroom just described was set on an older wall (at +10.43 m., Fig. 3) that probably dates, in its earliest phase, to MM I; it is among the few walls neatly plastered (using a reddish clay) that have been discovered at Kommos. There are two rooms here (Spaces 26, 27; Pl. 56:g), the rough slab floor of which at *ca.* +9.50 m. is almost three meters below the present ground level; they exhibit quite impressively the depth of stratification at this point on the hillside, where the bedrock slopes down sharply to the east rather than, as at many seaside sites, toward the shore.

Upon the slab floor, and sealed by a thick layer of red clay above (Pails 64 and 65, Fig. 3) was a fill, some 0.60 m. thick, of earth and pottery which seems to have been dumped here but which is nevertheless of a homogeneous character. Although most of the pottery is in a rather fragmentary state, several vessels are in a restorable condition. Both barbotine and impressed decoration appear, as do both wheelmade and handmade vessels similar in type to those in deposits discovered elsewhere at Kommos.²⁴ Here, however, the clear stratigraphy of the deposit above the slab floor and below the upper clay layer leaves no doubt that the pottery represents a definite ceramic phase and a chronological period for the site probably equivalent to Levi's Phase IA at Phaistos and Evans' MM IA at Knossos.

Briefly, the ceramic and architectural phases in this area, which constitute the clearest LM/MM architectural/ceramic sequence discovered up to this point at Kommos appear to be as follows:

1. Walls were constructed creating Spaces 26 and 27, belonging to a building (probably a house) that continues off to the east. Its slab floor was at *ca.* +9.51 m. These rooms were later filled in (Pails 68–69, 77–79, Fig. 3) and sealed with a layer of clay (top at *ca.* +10.50 m.). MM I–II.

²⁰ *PM* I, pp. 594–595, fig. 436C.

²¹ *Kommos*, 1977, p. 163, C 681, C 682.

²² D. Levi, *Festòs e civiltà minoica* I, Rome 1976, pl. 212:r.

²³ *PM* I, p. 592, where, however, it first appears as early as the end of MM IIB.

²⁴ *Kommos*, 1977, p. 148 (Trench 11A); *Kommos*, 1978, p. 169 (Trench 20B).

2. Another building was constructed, using the earlier walls as a base. Its eastern wall (i.e., the eastern wall of 25, the Minoan storeroom) was built up against earth brought in from elsewhere, the outside surface when the house was used being about level with Pails 11 and 12 (Fig. 3). At about the same time another building was constructed on the east, the lower part of its wall resting on the eastern wall of 26 (see Fig. 3, Architectural Section). The western building then went out of use (Spaces 23, 25, and perhaps 7b/8 and 9 on the west), probably as a result of an earthquake. MM II (late)–MM III (end).
3. The area was leveled off at *ca.* +12.00 m., about 1.60 m. above the floor of the storeroom, and a building was constructed on a higher level on the west. LM I.²⁵

THE LOWER HILLSIDE: THE GREEK SANCTUARY (Trenches 28A, 29A, 29A1–29A2; Figs. 5–11, Pls. 53:b, 57–65)

During the two previous seasons, in 1977 and 1978, sufficient area had been cleared and excavated on the south to show that we had discovered part of a Greek sanctuary overlying deep Minoan levels. The latter had been hoped for, even expected, judging from the Minoan houses discovered just to the north. The former had come as a felicitous surprise, for the Greek structures are restricted to the lower hillside and their existence was completely masked by deep accumulations of drifted sand. As the work progressed, however, it became evident that an important part of the sanctuary lay south of our property line, and so it was with some relief that we learned in the spring of 1979 that expropriation of two additional stremmata on the south had been approved by the Greek authorities.²⁶ Moreover, thanks to the generosity of the owner, Mr. Emmanuel Daskalakis, we were able to begin clearing this new area even before the expropriation had been formally completed.²⁷

The Altars (Trench 29A; Fig. 5, Pls. 53:b, 57)

Once more, making use of the invaluable front-loader with which we had begun clearing the deep sand on the hillside in 1977, we removed an additional 5000 cu. m. of sand, a large amount, but even then only part of the sand overlying the ancient levels within the new section. East of Building A we began by dismantling the high walls we had built to retain the sand scarp in earlier years, and soon after came upon two more altars set symmetrically to the south of Altars C and H (Fig. 5; Pl. 57:a). These were dubbed “L” and “M”. Altar L, on the east, is built of roughly cut ashlar slabs (Pl. 57:b), unlike C and H, but not unlike parts of Buildings A (Room 1), B and D. This altar is 2.30–2.35 m. long (north-south) and 1.26–1.29 m. wide, including what appears to be a small addition on the south. Upon it were found some fragments of burnt bone, as on Altar C, but here in smaller quantities and with fewer traces of burning. The sec-

²⁵ For a continuation of the later sequence in connection with the LM building, see *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 124–125.

²⁶ The addition to the south continues our property lines south by 36.57 m., over a width of 54.49 m., for a total of *ca.* 2000 sq. m. The shore, which is public land, adjoins it on the west.

²⁷ I am also grateful to our lawyer, Mr. Harry Bikakis, for his energy and tact in pursuing the matter, as well as to Dr. Henry Immerwahr, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, for furthering the process.

ond altar, M, east of Altar L (Pl. 57:c), is rather similar in size, being 2.15–2.17 m. long (north-south) and 1.40–1.43 m. wide, also of slab construction and with a few burnt bones on its top surface. A few slabs are missing (or is this an intentional gap?) on its western face. Both altars appear to be about 0.60 m. high.

Unfortunately, although we managed to clear a large area here, at no point did we have time to excavate down to ground level, and there still remain some 0.10–0.20 m. of sand above the latest court level. Thus, we must postpone a discussion of the dating of the altars and a description of any subsidiary features that may be connected with them.

The Temple (Trenches 29A, 29A1–29A2; Figs. 5–9, Pls. 53:b, 58–62:c)

In 1977 we discovered Building A as well as a structure to its south, dubbed “G” at the time. Subsequently, when A was excavated in 1978, G was found to be the southern room of A, and so the “G” label was dropped, and in 1979 we renamed the rooms A 1 and A 2. A 1 is a large room with a central hearth, apparently without internal supports and with a wide bench running around its interior (Pl. 58:a). In our report for the 1978 season this was interpreted as a room where banquets would have taken place;²⁸ it might also have served as a kind of dormitory.

It was also suggested then, and implied in the report for the previous year,²⁹ that A 2, on an axis west of the two (now four) altars, might well be the center for worship in the sanctuary. During 1979 these suspicions proved to be justified, for there is clear evidence that the room served as a sacred place and is in fact a temple.

Despite its complex structural history spanning some five hundred years, as one looks at it now (Pl. 58:b) the temple plan is rather simple. Its interior is of moderate size (7.45 m. north-south and 10.23 m. east-west), somewhat larger than that of A 1 to the north. Although they share a common eastern façade, that of A 2 jogs out on the west. Outside along the eastern wall there is a bench of three rough courses, *ca.* 2.67 m. long, 0.43 m. wide and 0.40 m. high, just south of the doorway and analogous to another bench on the wall north of the doorway. One entered A 2 from the east through the court, for although the exterior walls of the building have generally been robbed out, the block with the cutting for the pivot socket is still *in situ* in line with the inner face of the wall (Fig. 7, Pl. 58:a, left foreground).³⁰ The door, presumably wooden, most likely swung in and to the left as one entered. The floor was paved with medium-sized limestone slabs, much worn by traffic. On axis were two columns, each set on rounded limestone bases which are at the same height (+5.91 m.) and project some 0.24–0.28 m. above floor level.³¹ Also on axis, and set between the column bases

²⁸ *Kommos, 1978*, pp. 164–168, 171–173.

²⁹ *Kommos, 1977*, p. 150.

³⁰ Compare this socket, 0.20 by 0.14 m. and 0.07 m. deep, with that of A 1 to the north (*Kommos, 1978*, p. 167, visible in fig. 6 on p. 165). This seems to have been the normal way to set the doors of the sanctuary, for it is also found in Building B north of here.

³¹ The bases taper slightly, but their upper surfaces are 0.59 m. (the eastern) and 0.63 m. (the western) in diameter. To judge from the base on the west, exposed during a sounding (Pl. 64:a), they were set deeply in the floor, to prevent shifting, and become wider just below floor level.

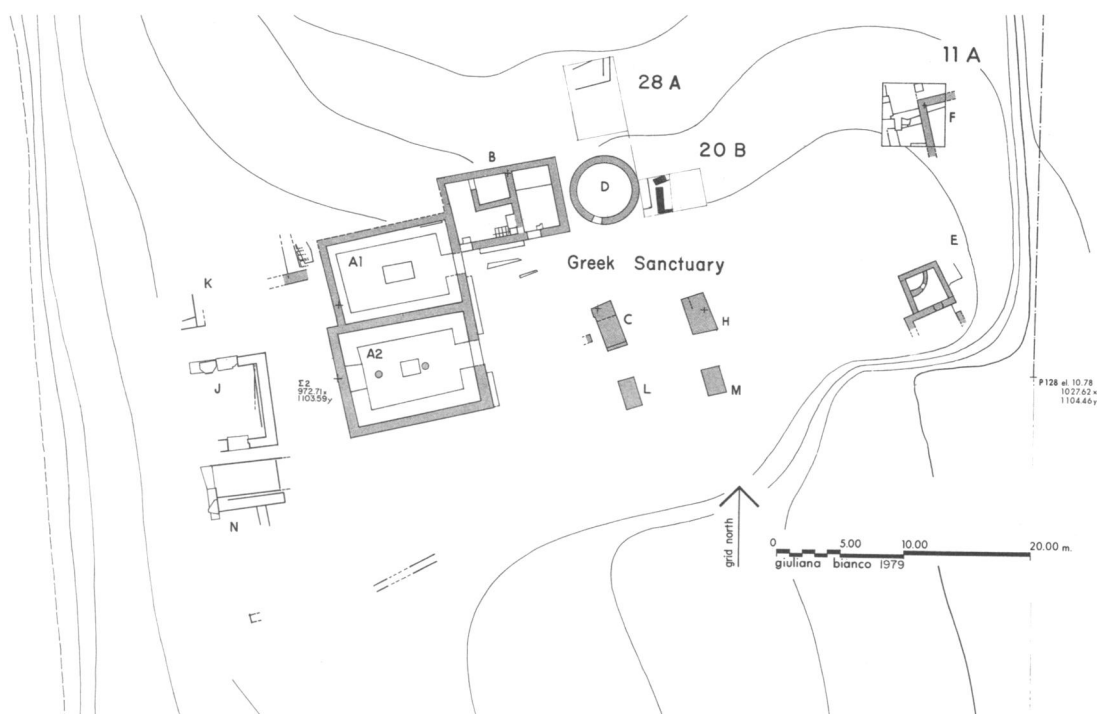


FIG. 5 General restored plan of Greek Sanctuary area

in the middle of the room, is a hearth, 1.07 m. north-south by 1.46 m. east-west, found thickly filled with dark ash when excavated (Pl. 59:b,c). Around the room's interior is a wide, raised platform rather like a bench. On the west most of this platform is done in fine ashlar technique, but along the other sides uneven slabs were used to build up the interior face. Soundings below the floor, as well as other evidence cited below (see footnote 45), suggest that the temple was originally built *ca.* 350 B.C., probably earlier than the adjacent room A 1 to the north.

The first task in the excavation of the room, once sand-clearing (especially on the west) had determined its perimeter, was to trace the robbers' trenches by removing the sand accumulated within them. It soon became clear that many of the wall blocks had been removed in fairly recent times, for the sand here was light and unconsolidated, easily differentiated from the earth levels below and from the sand that lay on either side.³² As work went on, we found that almost all of the walls, aside from a few blocks on the west, had been removed. Except where the stone-robbers had been exceptionally determined, however, the subfoundation with its broader base was generally undisturbed. It is difficult not to admire the vandals, or at least acknowledge their greed,

³² For the story of the removal of the blocks in modern times, see *Kommos*, 1977, p. 141. It should be noted here that although excavation has not progressed to the south of A 2, there is no indication at present from within the robbers' trench that walls of another room adjoined A 2 on the south.

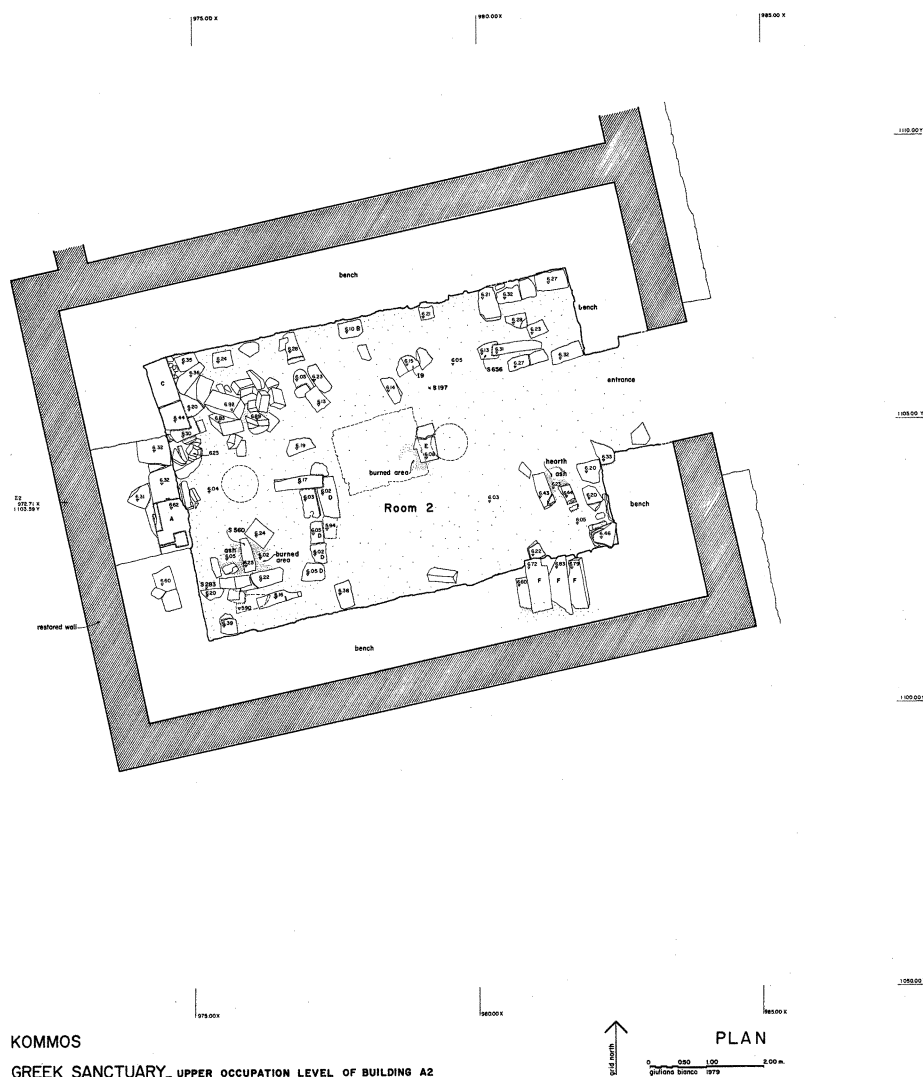


FIG. 6 Plan of Room A 2, upper level

when one imagines the maelstrom of shifting sand within which they must have been desperately shoveling.

The interior of the room was cleared gradually in a series of partly arbitrary horizontal layers that eventually clarified the two real floor levels. The upper "floor", at *ca.* +6.23 m., was defined by a small hearth composed of two upright blocks (Fig. 6, right, Pl. 59:a) and a number of re-used slabs arranged together at a somewhat lower level (+6.05 m.; Fig. 6 at D). These slabs lay just east of a very burnt surface that can probably be considered part of a hearth. In general, the room's floor must have been extremely uneven during this, its final phase.

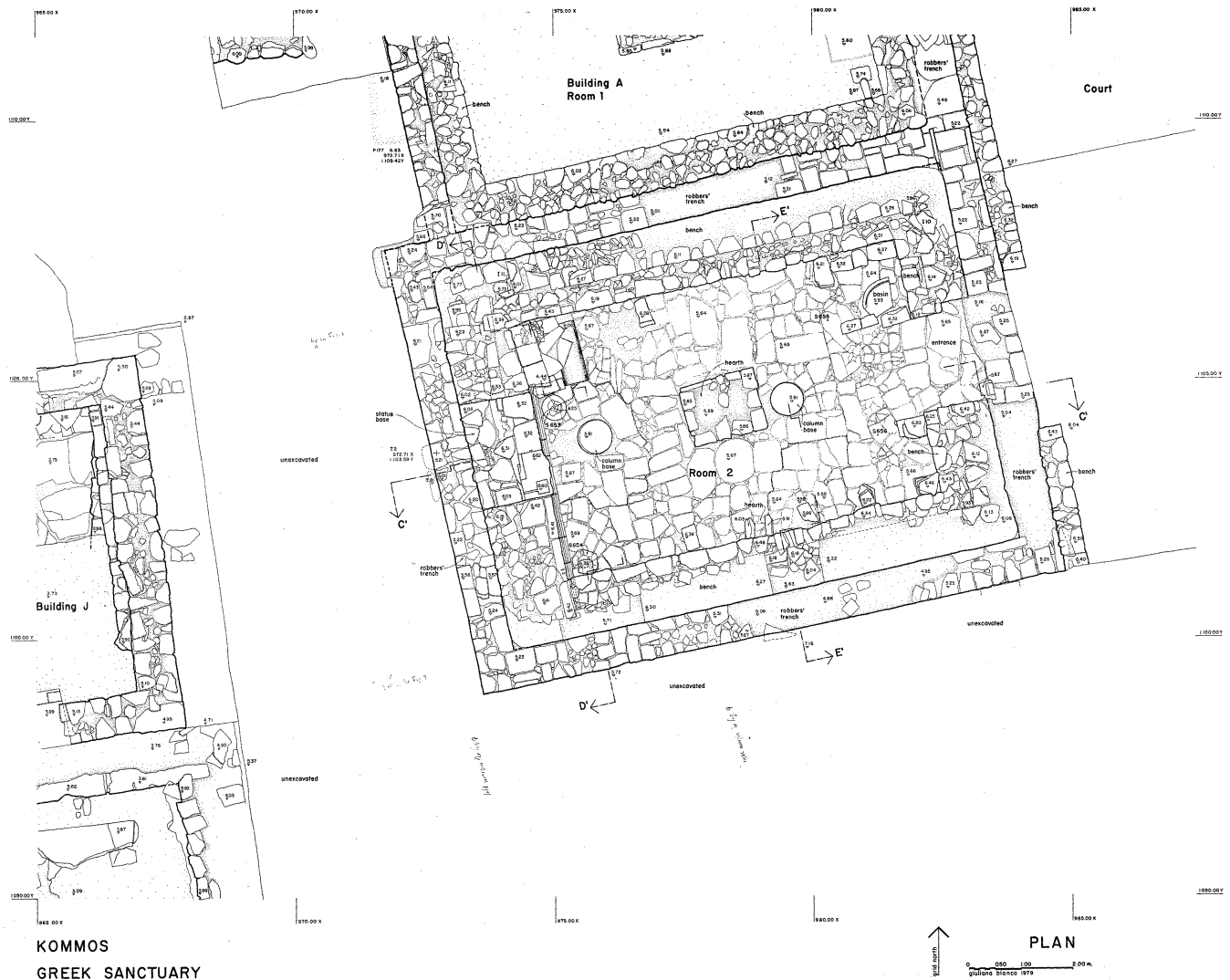


FIG. 7 Plan of Room A 2, at level of slab floor

On what proved to be the southern bench of the room three large wall blocks had been laid out crosswise (Fig. 6 at F), suggesting that a certain amount of stone robbing occurred in antiquity, when the building was finally abandoned. Many tile fragments from the roof were also found in the fill, but the number of pan and cover tiles below the upper floor also suggests that the building may have been without a roof in its latest stage; this exposure could account for the surprising amount of weathering on the western platform (see p. 225 below).³³ Scattered in the fill above the floor were a number of

³³ The total number of pan tiles recovered was about 60% (81 sq. m.) of the amount that would actually have been needed to roof the room. No doubt a small percentage still lies outside the building along its southern, still unexcavated side.

interesting objects, including a fragmentary relief of Pan playing his pipes (Pl. 59:f), a rather fine and possibly significant piece of sculpture. Terracotta lamps, probably offerings, were particularly numerous, especially on the bench in the southwestern corner of the room.³⁴ Many fragments of glass bowls were found, especially in the southeastern corner (Pl. 59:d). In the north-central section, parts of an inscription (I 9) on an elaborately finished, round altar(?), the original diameter of which was about 0.51 m., were also recovered (Pl. 59:e).³⁵ The altar's original position is unknown; its lower portion rested in the fill rather than on the lower, original floor of the building.

Once the scatter of slabs and blocks had been recorded, the upper "floor" was removed. Within the fill, which covered the slab floor below, were more terracotta lamps and fragmentary bowls of blown glass, many large and small amphora fragments as well as fine ware of early Roman date, multitudes of shells, animal bones, and a few coins (for the last, see Pl. 60:a and footnote 49 below). A number of bone needles (Pl. 60:b) also were recovered.

As we were approaching the lower, original floor, it became clear that there were a number of interesting floor features aside from the column bases and hearth already described. Around the room at intervals, for instance, were large blocks set on edge and small pillars of slabs, roughly built upon the original floor (Fig. 7); these were probably used to support wooden boards in order to increase the width of the wall benches to ca. 1.60–1.80 m. Along the western side of the room the supports had been more elaborate, consisting of two stone stands at least one of which was originally used to carry a wide, circular basin. The stand in the southwestern corner (S 654), much worn, has tripod-like legs carved on its sides (Pl. 60:e).³⁶ Whatever it originally supported is now missing, and to raise its height a bit in order to support the later bench a small slab was added on top. Found next to its base, on its side, and next to a number of late 1st–early 2nd century Roman lamps (C 2132 and C 2119), was a Minoan lamp (S 283; Pl. 60:c) of hard stone and with a flaring base, here re-used in a much later context.³⁷ Lying below its bowl, perhaps an offering tipped out when it was overturned, was a series of fine shells (Pl. 60:d), of types rare in any context at Kommos.³⁸

North of here is a finely cut, rounded base with a tapering, columnar pedestal (S 653; Pls. 60:f,g) which, to judge from its slightly concave top and broken edges, once

³⁴ C 2151–C 2154.

³⁵ It is to be hoped that more fragments of this altar(?) may be recovered outside the temple in the future, perhaps in the unexcavated area to the south. ΠΙΟΤΕ (Pl. 59:e) could possibly refer to Poseidon, but not enough of the inscription is preserved to state this with confidence.

³⁶ An empolion-like cutting on its base suggests that it may have been fastened to a plinth.

³⁷ I am grateful to Professor Peter Warren for the identification. For similar re-use of Bronze Age material in later contexts, see G. S. Korres, "Survivals and Revivals" (in Greek), in the *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Rethymnon 1971), Vol. A', Athens 1973, esp. pp. 472–474 where the appearance of Minoan vessels and other stone objects in post-Minoan contexts is discussed. In this connection note especially the offering table of LM I date from Palaikastro found in similar use in the church of Hagios Nikolaos there.

³⁸ David Reese, University of Cambridge, is studying the many varieties of shells recovered from this and other contexts on the site.

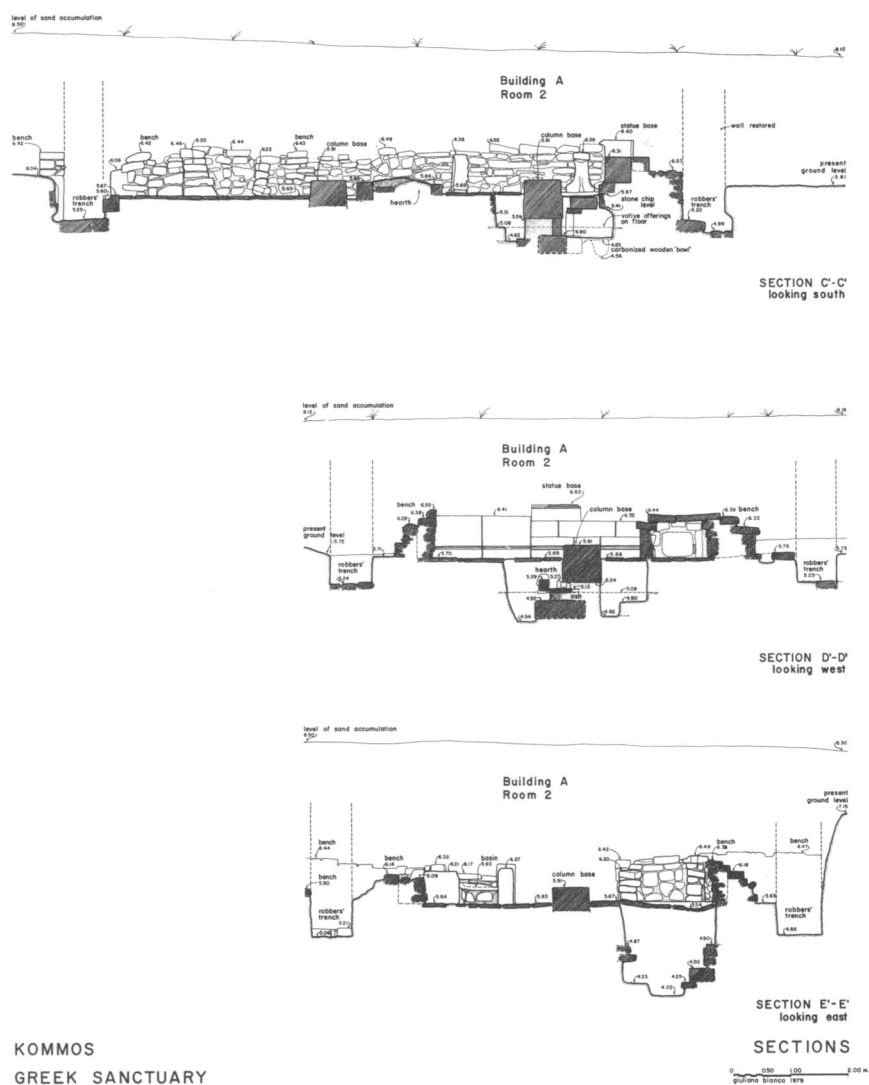


FIG. 8 Sections, Room A 2

formed a basin stand, or perirrhanterion, a type of dedication known from other sanctuaries in Greece and often used as holy-water vessels.³⁹ It, too, may have formed a

³⁹ For similar stone basins from the Athenian Akropolis and elsewhere see A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1949, pp. 370–413. Although the bowl fragments belonging to S 653 have not yet been found, a number of bowl fragments have nevertheless been recovered. One, I 10, found in 1977 within Building B, joined a bowl fragment (estimated diameter 1.10 m.) found in 1979 lying upside down on the northeastern bench within A 2 (Fig. 6). Upon its outer edge is a barely legible inscription, probably of a dedicatory nature, that according to Professor John S. Traill may go back to the time when the sanctuary was founded in the 5th–4th centuries B.C. There is also a quarter of a large bowl set just above floor level in the northeast corner of A 2 (Pl. 61:a).

support for a widened bench. Given the rather careless nature of the final occupation of the building, it seems curious that the fragments of the broken bowl were not found near by. It is possible, therefore, that the bowl was broken off elsewhere before the heavy stand was brought into the room for re-use.

In the northwestern corner was found what appeared at first to be a small enclosure, which contained a number of late 1st–early 2nd century terracotta lamps,⁴⁰ some glass bowls, and some coarse ware. The space was partially blocked on the east by a weathered column drum originally with a diameter of *ca.* 0.48 m. (Pl. 60:f). In reality, the stacked slabs and blocks here probably constitute no more than supports for the inward extension of the benches already referred to above. Some confirmation of this can be gained from the long limestone slab found spanning the gap between the two supports (C in Fig. 6). The space below it had probably been filled with earth and rubble after the slab broke in antiquity.

The western platform, almost a meter high, and some 0.20 m. higher than the surrounding benches, is particularly significant, for it incorporates a platform (*ca.* 2.10 m. long and 1.50 m. wide) that once projected by itself from the back wall of the room.⁴¹ Though now much weathered on the east, the base molding still survives, as does part of the cornice (Fig. 8, sections C'–C', D'–D'; Pl. 61:c,d). When the additions were made north and south of the platform, the cornice was chiseled off, at least on the south (Pl. 61:d).⁴²

The block with the weathered cornice (Fig. 9, Fig. 6 at A, Pl. 61:b,d,e) originally formed part of the top of the platform. This is partially confirmed by its position as well as by the pry-hole along its northern edge on the course below. As such, it is the only block still *in situ*, and we are most fortunate that it is there. On it are several somewhat enigmatic cuttings that still await a more exact interpretation based on comparative evidence, but for the moment they seem to have to do with a cult statue, perhaps one to which a bone eye (Pl. 61:f) found in the temple fill may be attributed. The one complete cutting on the block is rectangular, 0.255 × 0.22 m. and now (the top of the block is much weathered) 0.023 m. deep (at the southeast corner; Pl. 61:e). A narrow channel (pour channel?) meets it at right angles on the west. The other cutting, on the western face of the block, and now about 0.06 m. deep, may be the corner of a much larger socket that continued onto the other platform blocks. Into this socket, most likely rectangular, could have been set the plinth for the main cult statue(s). If symmetrical, the plinth would have been about 1.20 m. long and perhaps 0.70 m. wide. If this were the

⁴⁰ The lamps in the enclosure were C 2324, C 2326, C 2327, and C 2328, the last from below the column drum. I am much obliged to Dr. John Hayes for his identification of these and other lamps mentioned in this report.

⁴¹ That the platform does belong to the primary stage is strongly supported by its fine construction and the fact that the floor slabs stop next to it. On the other hand, the platform might (though at present I doubt it) be a replacement for an earlier one that was entirely removed.

⁴² While it is clear that the upper cornice was chiseled off on the south (Pl. 61:d), only further excavation will show what may have happened to the base moldings, if they existed, along the northern and southern sides of the platform.

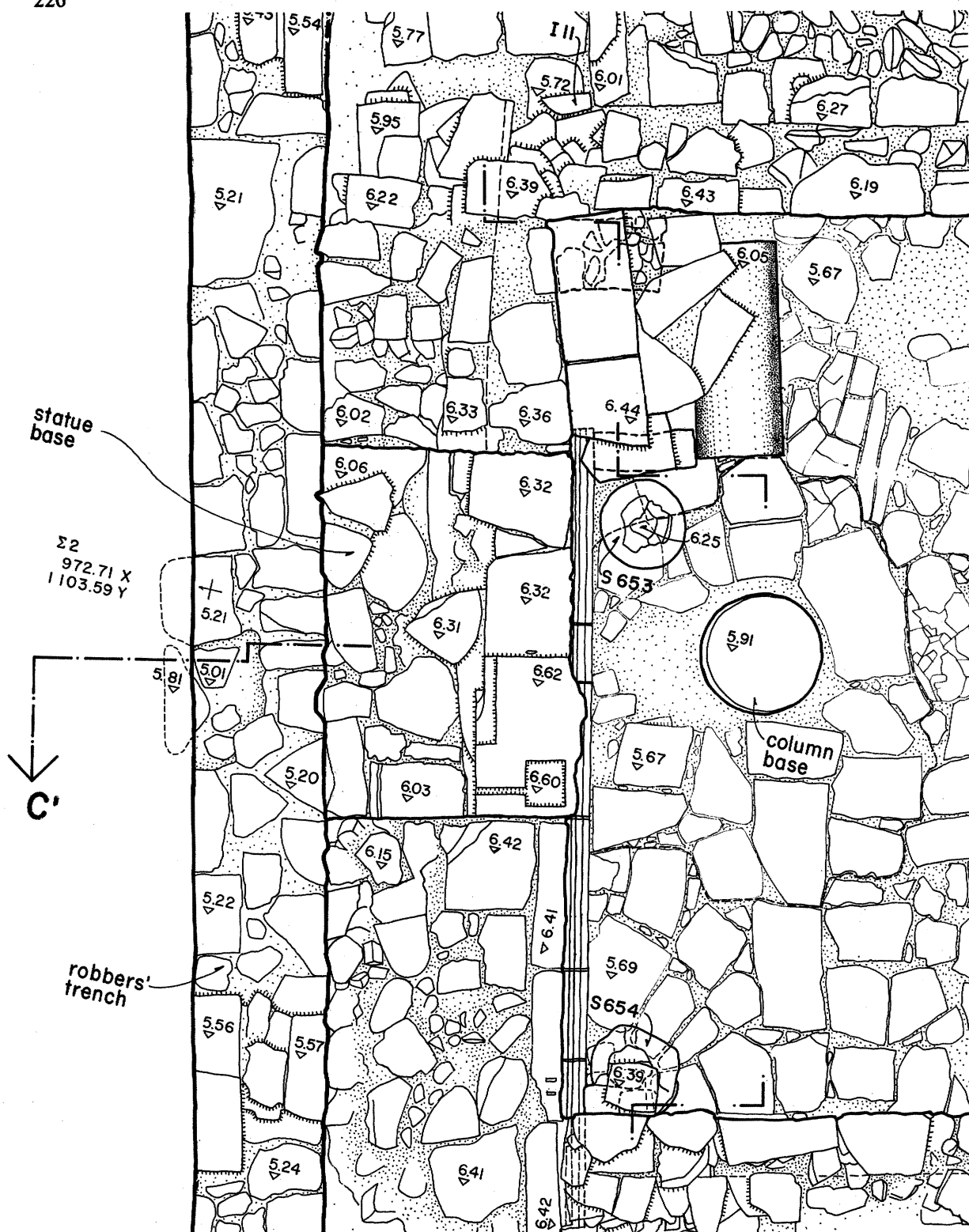


FIG. 9 Detail plan of western platform and surrounding area in Room A 2

case, then the rectangular cutting on the southwestern corner of the block might well have been for cast metal or carved wooden posts forming part of a railing, or perhaps even supports for a canopy of some type over the figure(s). If so, then there would probably have been another, similar cutting in the block, now missing, at the north-eastern corner of the original platform.

At a later time a major addition was made south of the original platform. The base molding was extended with a new section on the south, but not as far as the southern wall (see p. 228 below). Above it were set three large orthostates most probably once capped by a cornice, now missing. Perhaps this addition was made to accommodate accumulated offerings.

We must now deal with the benches along the other walls, which have three distinct phases easily traceable on the actual-state plan (Fig. 7). The first bench (Phase 1) was rather narrow (the faces of this bench either are visible on its upper surface or have been found by excavating within it), about 0.80 m. wide, similar to that in A 1 to the north. At a later date the bench was broadened to a width of about 1.20 m. (Phase 2). Then, rather than building new masonry faces and filling in behind with earth, the supports already described were added in front of benches of Phases 1 and 2, probably topped with wooden boards, all together about 0.40–0.60 m. wide, bringing the total bench width to 1.60–1.80 m. (Phase 3).⁴³

One of the still unsolved problems, however, is whether there were benches along the north, south, or even eastern walls during the primary stage of the temple, contemporary with the platform for the cult statue(s) on the west. In order to resolve this more investigation is necessary, especially behind the benches. At present the evidence is somewhat conflicting. On the one hand, where we cleared behind the bench in the northwestern corner (Pl. 62:a) we found that the slab floor did abut the exterior wall, suggesting that there was no bench here in the first stage. It is possible, on the other hand, that the northwestern corner was essentially vacant north of the statue base until a rather late stage in the interior arrangement, even after the original platform was extended to the south of the statue base.⁴⁴

Another area worth further investigation is the southwestern corner of the room, where some features noted in connection with the separate base molding on the west

⁴³ Before this occurred, an auxiliary hearth was constructed with two slabs set vertically next to the southern wall (Fig. 7).

⁴⁴ That the northwestern corner was vacant until a late date seems to be confirmed by both epigraphic and ceramic evidence. Concerning the first, a portion of I 11 (Pl. 62:b) was found in the bench's packing there (the remaining two pieces were found outside the eastern façade of A 2) and, from its letter forms, according to Professor Traill, may be dated to *ca.* A.D. 100. The inscription, which seems to be complete as pieced together, reads

THAEMNAS|TOΣ KAAAIΣ|TOΣ NIKIA

referring to a Telemnastos who possibly was honored by this dedication in the sanctuary area. The coloring of the inscription's border and its letters was quite well preserved when found. In the somewhat later "enclosure" just to the southeast (of the northwest corner) were found a number of lamps datable, according to Dr. Hayes, to the 1st or early 2nd century after Christ.

have a bearing on the construction phases. There, upon investigation, the molding was found to have stopped short *ca.* 0.50 m. north of the line of the now pillaged south wall of the room. That section of molding, where now visible next to the southernmost bench (Bench Phase 1), was also left unfinished. Clearly, the benches and the adjacent orthostate with the unfinished molding are no earlier than the fully finished orthostates beyond them to the north. A similar situation may have prevailed in the still uninvestigated northwestern corner of the room.

Other observations relate to the construction of the benches. Excavation in a few areas behind the southernmost bench (Bench Phase 1) showed that the floor slabs of the room did not extend under it. This bench was clearly placed there at (or, less likely, before) the time of the laying of the slab pavement. It is even possible, because of the very poor masonry of this bench in comparison with that of the orthostates, that there may have been here a predecessor in wood, just as wooden planks seem to have been used in Bench Phase 3. Further examination here and in the northwestern corner of the room may help clarify this complex situation.

While there are certain problems concerning the relative development within this important room, it is nevertheless useful to consider the following provisional sequence suggested by the architectural stratigraphy and other related evidence for dating:

1. The original room (A 2), including the slab floor, hearth column bases, and probably the cult-statue base on the west, was constructed *ca.* 350 B.C.⁴⁵
2. During the Hellenistic period⁴⁶ the major addition to the western platform was made on its south. Since the base molding along this addition was not completed to the wall, it is most likely contemporary with the first known stage of the benches here and, by inference, with the analogous bench stage around the other sides of the room. At a somewhat later phase, the second addition was made to the benches. During this time the northern room of A (A 1) was constructed.⁴⁷ 300–100 B.C.

⁴⁵ The date of the building's primary stage is suggested on the basis of the latest sherds (C 2421, 5th century, C 2407, 5th–4th centuries, and C 2365, mid-4th century) found below the floor during the soundings made in 1979. The first two sherds are from the southern sounding, Pail 68, the last from the western sounding. It is possible, however, that the room's construction date will be adjusted somewhat as excavation continues. The date (1st–2nd centuries after Christ) for the lamps and pottery found within the room represents the final phase of use. Of the permanent features within the room, however, the base molding of the statue base (Pl. 61:c) corresponds fairly closely with a molding from the altar of the Ekklesiasterion at Priene, dated *ca.* 200 B.C. (see L. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass. 1936, p. 144 and pl. LXIII, 15). On the other hand, there is a hawksbeak molding on a corner or anta block (S 656: 0.80 m. long by 0.575 m. wide by 0.345 m. high; Figs. 6, 7, Pl. 62:c) found in the fill of the temple in two pieces that were later joined. It finds its closest parallels, as Dr. James Wright has pointed out to me, in the 4th century B.C. (*ibid.*, Hawksbeak III, Anta cap, pl. LIX). There are two rectangular lewis holes on its upper surface. If this block does belong to the temple (probably to the doorway, if so) then the earlier date is to be preferred; but then it is difficult at this time to estimate to what extent molding designs from Crete can be expected to parallel in date those from the Mainland or Asia Minor.

⁴⁶ This date is based on the sherds recovered from behind the various benches, especially from the two soundings made in the southern bench (Pails 23, 39, 41, 43, and C 2134, late 3rd–early 2nd centuries, and C 2485, late Classical–Hellenistic).

⁴⁷ Hellenistic sherds (3rd to mid-2nd centuries B.C.) found alongside the western foundations of A 1 suggest the date (*Kommos*, 1977, p. 142). Moreover, it is clear from an examination of the subfoundations where A 1 and A 2 meet that A 1 could well be later.

3. A 2 continued in use for a long time, the general lack of remains from the early part of this period suggesting that it was kept very clean or, for a time, was in disuse. Toward the end of the period a small hearth was built up against the southern bench (Phase 2) and, later, the bench was widened by means of intermediate supports bearing planks.⁴⁸ After this time care definitely lessened. The ashes from the central hearth, for instance, were allowed to overflow onto the floor. To avoid singeing the column on the east a slab was placed next to it (Fig. 6 at E, Pl. 59:b). Gradually the floor level built up. Part of the roof then collapsed or had collapsed by this time. *Ca.* 100 B.C.–A.D. 150.⁴⁹
4. A new but only partial floor, with two temporary hearths, was created. By this time the room may have been roofless; not long afterward parts of the upper walls were quarried away. *Ca.* A.D. 100–150.
5. Sand accumulated over the remains of the building. Enough of the walls remained for quarrying to take place during the present century. *Ca.* A.D. 150 to present.

Soundings within the Temple: The Shrine (Figs. 8, 10, 11, Pls. 62:d–65:e)

When the slab floor of A 2 had been completely cleared of earth, we decided to make some soundings below the floor in order to find material that might help determine the founding date of the room, as well as to investigate any earlier levels. The first sounding was to be along the southern side of the room (see dotted line along floor slabs in Fig. 7) where the floor sagged, providing us with an opportunity to resupport the floor when the slabs, temporarily removed, were returned to their original positions. This sounding was made, but its significance can best be described in terms of a second sounding which yielded much more interesting and informative results.

Between the western column base and the western platform, a missing floor slab prompted us to begin excavating without removing any slabs. This was done partly in order to examine any foundation on which the column base might be set. The result, after some difficult probing, was the surprising recovery of a number of small pieces of bronze. Shortly afterward we found, crammed in between two upright slabs where it had apparently been set (see below, p. 247), joining fragments of a fine faïence figurine: an Egyptian lion-headed goddess, probably Sekhmet (Pl. 62:d,e), damaged by the difficult and unexpected nature of the retrieval. She holds in her right hand the life-giving *ankh*, symbol of fortune and longevity. In her left hand she holds a staff crowned by the lotus, symbol of Lower Egypt and indirectly of her membership in the Memphite trinity along with Ptah and their son Nefertum, joined, at a later date, by Imhotep. By her right side squats a small cat, Bastet, with whom she was identified during the Late Period.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ An uninventoried lamp in Pail 69, found behind one of the supports of stacked slabs, may be as late as the 2nd century after Christ.

⁴⁹ A coin (B 13; Pl. 60:a) of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 137–161), of the Roman Province of Crete, was found in the fill below the final floor, suggesting a date, in agreement with the evidence supplied by the lamps and the glass, of *ca.* 150 after Christ. I am grateful to Alan Walker of the excavation staff of the Athenian Agora for the identification.

⁵⁰ This faïence figurine (F 5) and another found later near by (F 10) await expert mending and cleaning during the coming excavation season. That of Sekhmet is 0.15 m. long. For Sekhmet in Egypt see listing in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; G. Posner, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization*, London 1962, pp. 37, 256; *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 3rd ed., ed. J. Pritchard, Princeton 1969, esp. pp. 19, 253, 431; also the discussion at the end of the present article. Since the Egyptians were pluralistic with regard to their iconog-

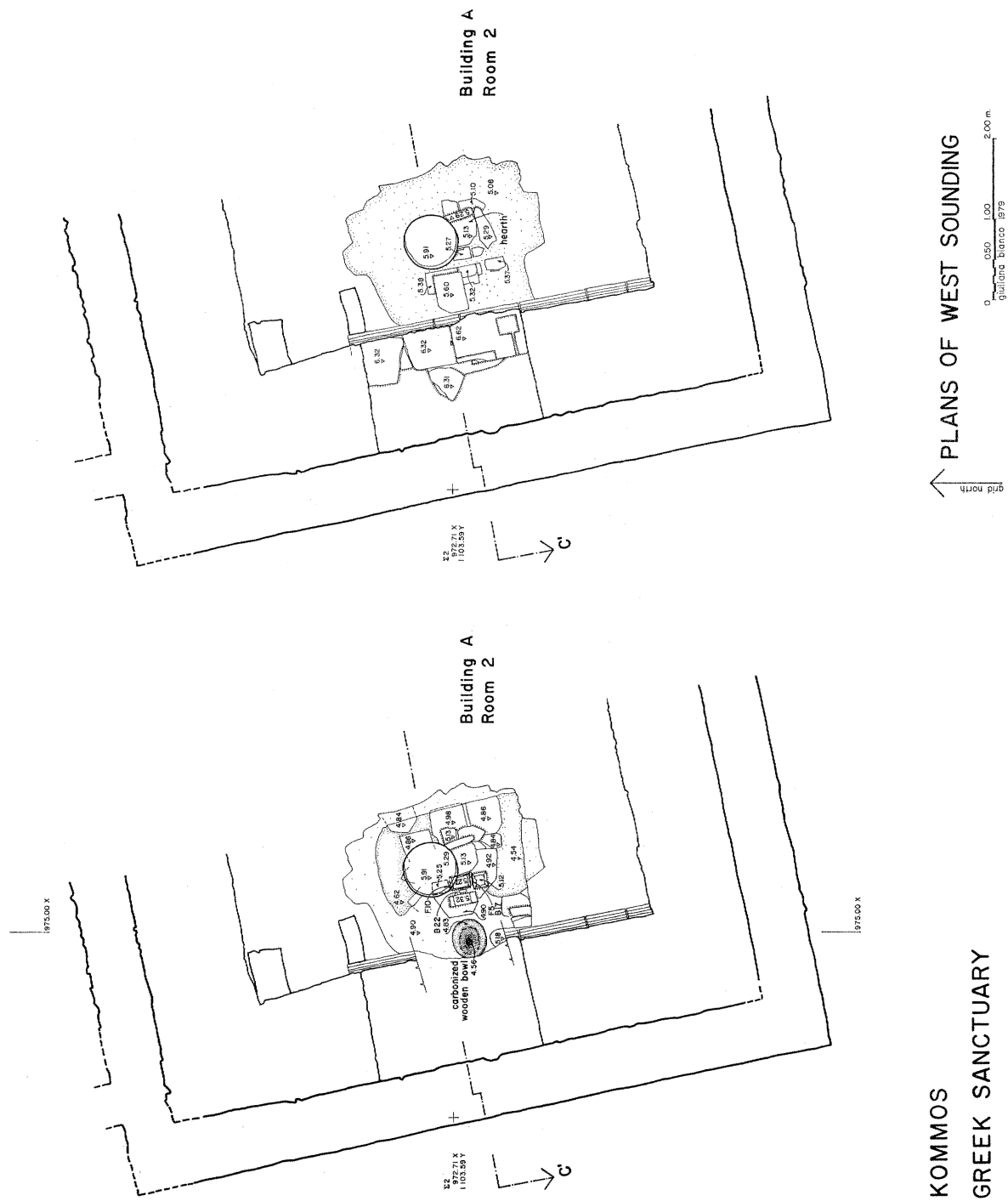


FIG. 10 Plans of early shrine discovered in western sounding within Room A 2 at levels of hearth or altar (above) and tripillar shrine (below)

As the sounding was expanded (Fig. 10), gradually the dense floor packing, of stone working chips and clay, was removed to reveal a small enclosure upon which the column base had been set. The foundation originally expected was simply not there. Rather, what we found appeared at first to be a foundation deposit, unusual for the Aegean area, upon which the column base had been directly and intentionally set by the builders of the temple. The enclosure proved, however, to be a hearth quite full of ashes and bone (Pls. 62:f, 64:a), no doubt the remains of sacrifices. Within the hearth was a long piece of incrustated iron, probably part of an obolos (Pl. 62:g); outside the hearth was another.⁵¹ The floor of the hearth was made with a single large slab. Along its southern and eastern faces, respectively, were set a long block and a vertical slab; along its western face appeared the tops of two stones set vertically.⁵² There were other slabs set on edge to the west, with a large block resting horizontally upon one of them. Around the base of the hearth was a floor of clay extending in all directions.

Just west of the hearth, in the clayish layer, was a ritual deposit of unusual nature, consisting of a small but significant amount of pottery, many seashells, a bronze and a silver ring, a few faïence beads, a fossilized oyster, and numerous fragments of a bronze shield (see below, p. 235),⁵³ the last most likely to be associated with the level immediately below. Of the pottery, fine ware, especially cups, makes up the majority of the material.⁵⁴ Most of the pottery is from the 7th century B.C. Subgeometric vases with concentric circles include a rim sherd from a krater, two complete globular aryballoi (Pl. 63:a), two sherds from similar vessels, and a section of a tray. A Corinthian or Corinthianizing aryballos, badly burned and without extant decoration (Pl. 62:h), dates from the second half of the 7th century.

The most notable vases in the deposit are fragments of two incised cups (C 2395; C 2396, Pl. 63:c,d). They are low-necked cups, covered with black glaze and then incised with figural compositions. On C 2395 (not illustrated here and only about one-third preserved) is a poorly

raphy, and since the Kommos figure (F 5) is not accompanied by an inscription, we cannot be sure that this is Sekh-met.

⁵¹ Misc. 63 for the former. Such "spits", often used in early Doric communities as a means for exchange, have been found in connection with sanctuaries. In some instances groups have been found, bound together and offered as tokens of esteem in graves. The most recent summary of the evidence from Greece, Crete and Cyprus is in V. Karageorghis, "Pikes or obeloi from Cyprus and Crete," *Antichità Cretesi. (Studi in Onore di Doro Levi)*, II, Catania 1974 (= *Chronache di Archeologia* 13, 1974), pp. 168-172. For groups of bound obeloi from early graves at Knossos, see *JHS-AR* 1978-79, No. 25, p. 47.

⁵² It was determined that there is a northern edge to the hearth, but since it was decided not to remove the superimposed column base from its original position, at least during 1979, the northernmost part of the hearth remains unexcavated.

⁵³ The deposit seems to extend to the west, but we did not want to undermine the statue platform any further.

⁵⁴ The description of pottery here, as well as that for the lower level (see below, p. 236), is based on a special report prepared by Philip Betancourt, with the help of Peter Callaghan. In the first deposit there were some 800 sherds (before mending). Of these some 20 clay objects were catalogued: the incised cups and aryballoi, as well as fragments of a cooking pot, krater, ladle, and hydria, and a loomweight. Also catalogued from here were two faïence beads, the bronze and silver rings, and the fragments of bronze.

rendered figure of a man who may be running. The second cup is more complete (the base, however, is missing) and has a series of perhaps connected scenes that merits a detailed study in the future. The vase is divided into two main zones, one with double-outlined tongues at the bottom and one a broad figured scene up to the beginning of the offset lip.⁵⁵ The focal point seems to be a man lying in a blank panel framed at the bottom by a net-lozenge border and by a narrower, guilloche floriated band on top. He is too worn for us to make out details, but seems to be wearing some sort of loincloth, with one hand against his chest and the other hanging down below his head.

He is flanked by two human figures: on the right a hoplite equipped with a plumed helmet, a round shield with rosette pattern, and a spear from which is suspended an object that looks very much like a bird cage. He faces the prostrate man. On the left, and just beyond the now missing strap handle, is a woman with long, streaming hair, a strange pointed headgear and a fleecy minidress. She faces right, her grotesquely large right hand extended forward and her left hand holding what may be a flower which she brings close to her face. Immediately to her right is a strange, richly patterned creature with bird-like body, head and feet, but also apparently a curving tail. It faces right. Between the "monster" and the woman is a band with lozenge network, rather like a backdrop, hovering in the field.

Besides these two figures there are remnants of two more. Immediately to the left of the woman, with his back to her, is a man whose head and part of whose torso, as well as part of whose heel, are preserved. He is low enough in the field to have been kneeling or, less likely, running. His short, curly hair is adorned with a flower over the forehead; his ear is rendered almost like a flower. Further left, after a gap with a remnant of a now missing motif, is another man, running to the left after a bird. He is wearing a short, checkered corselet tied at the waist and open at the front. His outstretched left arm adds to the animation of the scene. The bird in front of him, of which the head is now missing, is rendered in the familiar style of birds appearing on Geometric and Orientalizing vases. After another gap there is what may be the shoulder of another figure facing right, followed by floral motifs and birds, to the right of the hoplite already described. One bird, directly under the "bird cage", reaches up with its long neck and pecks at a flower. Next to its face appears the tail of another bird perched on a voluted, palmette-like plant whose stem may have reached down to the base of the zone. Above these two birds is a foliated, lozenge motif familiar as a filling ornament on pottery of the period.

If the remnants of the composition have been "read" correctly, we might consider the prostrate man as the focal point, emphasized by the two figures facing him. His posture, the patterned bands above and below the panel containing him, and the processional character of the two figures approaching him, are highly reminiscent of the scenes depicting the laying out of the dead (*prothesis*), a theme well known from the Mainland during the 8th century, but highly unusual in Cretan pottery, especially in post-Geometric times.⁵⁶ Moreover, parallels for the technique and types of representations on these cups are extremely rare in Crete.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ I am much indebted to my wife, Maria C. Shaw, for her help and advice concerning the interpretation of this scene.

⁵⁶ For a recent study of prothesis scenes, see G. Åhlberg, *SIMA*, XXXII, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*, Göteborg 1971.

⁵⁷ The preserved sherds belong to at least two cups. Their mode of decoration, incised figurative and ornamental motifs on a black-glazed ground, is most unusual and distinct from the use of incision in Orientalizing pottery, where it is associated with silhouetted forms on a light ground. The closest parallel

While the majority of material from the level of the hearth dates to the 7th century B.C., the deposit may not have been closed then, for at least three sherds are later: a hydria sherd of probable 6th-century date, a base of a cup of the 5th century, and a rim from a cup of the 5th or 4th century B.C.⁵⁸ These suggest that although cult activity at this spot was most active during the 7th century, the area continued to be visited until, with full knowledge of the existence of the hearth (as proved by the positioning of the column base), they built the temple over it.

Once the hearth and deposit on the west had been cleared, we excavated more deeply, with attention to the two blocks bordering the hearth on the southwest. It was from between these, and at a level below the hearth floor, that the figure of Sekhmet, with her head to the west, had been removed during an early stage of the sounding. At this juncture, and much to our surprise, we discovered a bronze horse, facing east, set firmly between the same two blocks where Sekhmet had been found (she had actually been laid upon the horse).⁵⁹ The horse (Pl. 64:d) was so firmly wedged in (Pl. 64:b) that it was extremely difficult to extract, even after the slab forming the southern side of the hearth had been temporarily removed (Pl. 64:c). The hind legs of the horse had probably been bent somewhat in ancient times to make it fit there.

Shortly we discovered why the blocks did not budge. We proceeded to excavate alongside and below the hearth, to find that it had been set over and had incorporated part of an older, most curious and important structure. Eventually it became clear that the two blocks holding the horse belonged to a line of three upward-tapering blocks resembling pillars, set rather like the later Greek stelai into a lower slab, the slab being roughly triangular in this case (Figs. 8, 10, 11; Pl. 64:c,e,f.). Due to the confined space and the overlying column base, little excavation could be done on the east save to ascertain that a number of blocks are set there and that a layer of ash, 0.15 m. thick, covered the triangular slab and continued to the east.⁶⁰ On the north, for the same reason, we could only determine where the large triangular block stops (the line of little pillars does not continue here). To the west we discovered the carbonized remains (Fig. 10; Pl. 63:b) of what is either the base of a charred wooden pillar or tree, or, more likely,

known to us from Crete is a sherd with a representation of a woman holding a cup (from the acropolis at Gortyn, GO 55 490, in case 192 in the Herakleion Museum); but incised motifs of a simpler nature (tongues, guilloches, etc.) do occur occasionally on pottery at a number of sites in central Crete and at Knossos and vicinity, sometimes in connection with bucchero ware (J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge 1957, pl. 100, no. 1247). The ornamental motifs of the Kommos cups are familiar from Orientalizing vase painting in Crete, while the human figures come closest in rendering, although here in a more casual style, to incised figures on Cretan armor, the closest parallels being those dated to the late 7th century B.C. (H. Hoffman, *Early Cretan Armorers*, Mainz 1972, pl. 3). The above information has been provided by M. C. Shaw.

⁵⁸ C 2483, C 2421, and C 2407, respectively.

⁵⁹ The circumstances of the horse's discovery are described in the *Archaeological Newsletter of the Royal Ontario Museum*, n.s. 172, September 1979.

⁶⁰ Above, on a level with the lower part of the hearth, was found a well-molded fragment of a terracotta horse's head (C 2486).

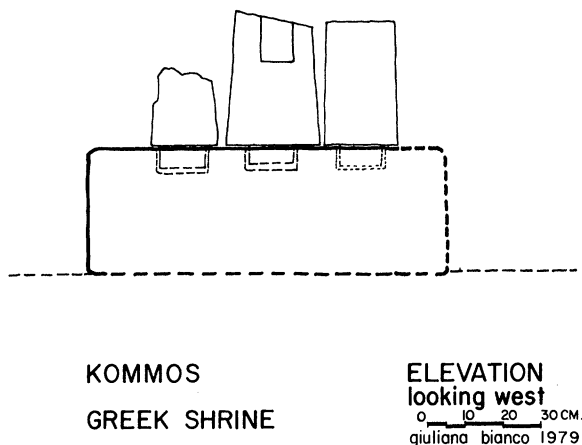


FIG. 11 Preliminary reconstruction of tripillar shrine, elevation from east

an oval wooden bowl (0.25–0.34 m. inner diameter, 0.26 m. deep on the interior) set into the floor, even with the top of the triangular slab.⁶¹

Although the whole surface of the triangular limestone slab has not yet been inspected (to do this would have required the removal of the column base and much of the hearth), it appears to be about 0.86 m. long (north-south) at a minimum with a maximum width of 0.76 m. at the center. It is 0.33 m. high. As shown in Plates 64:e,f, 65:a, at least two of the three pillars have been carefully shaped in a tapering form, with their lower ends cut to form tenons so that they would fit neatly into mortises (0.065–0.07 m. deep) prepared in the triangular slab (Pl. 64:e).⁶² Doubtless this was done to ensure stability. When found, none of the pillars preserved any trace of paint, the only possibly decorative feature being an enigmatic cutting 0.083 m. wide on the eastern face of the central pillar. Of course each of the pillars may have originally risen higher, but there is little trace of breakage visible on their present upper surfaces. Nor is there any evidence so far to suggest that the pillars served as supports, for instance, for a table, or as the side of an enclosure, although either of these might, improbably, prove to be the case.

The ritual role of this little shrine is suggested indirectly by the hearth and temple superimposed upon it. More direct evidence, of course, is furnished by the offering of

⁶¹ While this does appear to be a bowl, well rounded on the inside, other interpretations might be possible. How it functioned remains to be decided, for when discovered it contained nothing but the clay of the level above. It is completely carbonized and has been left *in situ* for the present.

⁶² Since the column base rests on it, the northern pillar of the earlier shrine was not removed, and so the mortise-tenon relationship here is only assumed.

the Sekhmet figurine and the bronze horse, both essentially incorporated into its structure. There is other evidence as well: another faïence figurine (Pl. 65:e), perhaps of Nefertum (the son of Sekhmet), was found between the two northern pillars.⁶³ Also, west of the central pillar was set a fine, small bronze bull (Pl. 65:b). North of the triangular slab was found a bronze disk (B 19), *ca.* 0.06 m. in diameter, probably a miniature bronze shield.⁶⁴

At a number of places west of the central pillar, especially between the three pillars and the rough slab set on edge just to their west, as well as to the south, were found numerous fragments of bronze, at least some of which belong to a shield, *ca.* 0.65 m. in diameter (Pl. 65:d), decorated with concentric grooves that form bands, the bands being decorated with small repoussé bosses. The rough slab near the three pillars rests on its lower, unworked edge, part of which is set into a rough cutting in the triangular block (Pl. 64:e). That the slab was an afterthought seems certain, for neither it nor the cutting into which it was set demonstrates the careful craftsmanship visible on the pillars with their neatly cut mortises and tenons. As one looks at the slab now, it makes little sense. The real explanation lies, I think, in its being used as a back support for the shield, now in fragments, that would have been set between it and the pillars.⁶⁵

Of course we do not know, with the small "window" that we have opened into this lower level, what its surroundings may have been like, although it is clear from other evidence that the floor level(s) here may have been extensive (see below, in connection with the southern sounding). One may conjecture that the little shrine, which might be called a "tripillar shrine" on the basis of present evidence, was intended to be approached from the east. This is suggested by the presence of the rough slab on the west, and by the alignment of the two visible mortises cut into the triangular block (Pl. 64:e), as well as by the fact that the better face of this triangular block is on the east. The shrine might have looked as one sees it in Figure 11, but with the shield being added later behind it, as an afterthought.⁶⁶

This tripillar shrine must have been built and used toward the end of the Geometric period, *ca.* 700 B.C., or a bit later. The bronze bull and horse, still retaining some of the tubular form characteristic of earlier work, would fit comfortably here.⁶⁷ Concerning the

⁶³ This faïence figurine is 0.0675 m. long.

⁶⁴ This disk, cleaned quite recently, can be compared with one from Gortyn in Hoffman, *op. cit.* (foot-note 57 above), pl. 41:4.

⁶⁵ When excavated, however, a few thin slabs filled part of the gap here, especially on the north. It is reasonable to assume that these were added above the bull figurine when the hearth was set or, more likely, when the base on which the column rested was being reinforced.

⁶⁶ It is quite possible that the shrine was originally to be seen with the side of the triangular block exposed on the east, for what may be a floor level was found at that spot. The blocks on the east, however, still remain to be explained.

⁶⁷ The bronze horse and bull found in the Kommos shrine may well continue a tradition of votive dedications of small images of animals in terracotta and bronze attested for the Dark Age in Crete and Greece and outlined by R. V. Nicholls ("Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, c.1200–700 B.C." in *Auckland Classical Essays Presented to E. M. Blaklock*, Dunedin 1970, pp. 1–37). The ceramic context of

pottery found (curiously, no obviously dedicatory terracotta vases were discovered), fine-ware black-glazed cups predominate, and none of the datable pieces seems earlier than the late 8th century B.C. or later than the early 7th.⁶⁸

The southern sounding, mentioned at the beginning of this section, hardly contained material as interesting as that on the west, just described. It penetrated some 1.5 m. below the slab floor until the trench became too constricted to be profitable. No structures were positively identified, although there is a series of stone blocks along the southern scarp (Pl. 65:c). Along the northern scarp was what looked for a while like the back of a rough retaining wall, but it is interrupted at intervals by stratified layers of earth and ash. Indeed, the sounding was characterized by a continuous series of at least 18 stratified layers of earth and ash with a significant amount of bone but very little pottery. Also, there were three clearly discernible levels of use: a clay-packed surface at +5.11 m.; a hard-packed surface at +4.88 m.; and, below that, one of plaster and slabs at +4.55 m. This lowest "floor" may well be connected with the "wall" in the southern scarp (the floor ran over the projecting block displaying the scale in Plate 65:c). It may be significant that although there were few small finds made here, a terracotta chariot wheel (C 2389) and a javelin or small spearpoint (B 15) were discovered above this floor. The lack of coarse ware and the presence of so much bone, unlike a domestic assemblage, can probably best be related to the shrine/altar levels on the west.

This suggested relationship is reinforced by comparing the relative floor levels concerned, for the topmost one corresponds with the floor level outside the hearth, the middle one with the top of the triangular block into which the pillars were set, and the lowest with the bottom of that same block. It would seem, then, that there is a good possibility of rather extended floor space around or within the shrine. That this space

the Kommos figurines spans the period from 725 to 675 B.C. (as evaluated by P. Betancourt), and this, at the moment, provides the most objective chronological bracket within which to date them.

The horse is a less common dedication than the bull, and the main comparisons will probably have to be sought outside Crete, in places like Olympia, where this animal occurs more frequently (F. Willemsen, *Dreifusskessel von Olympia*, Berlin 1957). The tubular form of its body and muzzle ties it to the Geometric tradition, but its head, neck and limbs display more advanced modeling and suggest a later date. We are indebted to Professors D. Mitten of Harvard University and B. Ridgway of Bryn Mawr College for offering their opinions as to the date (based on photographs only), the former suggesting *ca.* 700–675 B.C., the latter 675–650 B.C. (oral communication, December 1979). Whether the horse is meaningfully associated with the local cult remains to be seen. In this connection we should recall the discovery of the head of a terracotta horse (C 2486; see footnote 60 above) and of a small fragmentary wheel (C 2389), possibly part of a cart or chariot, found at a level corresponding to that of the bronze horse, but in the southern sounding under the Temple floor (see p. 236).

The bull probably belongs to the same period as the horse, and comparisons will be sought for it among the numerous bronze bull figurines from Simi, in southeastern Crete, still unpublished but with several examples on display in the Herakleion Museum. The present footnote has been provided by M. C. Shaw.

⁶⁸ According to Professor Betancourt, a rim sherd from a hydria (C 2478) may probably be placed in the early 7th century. A base of a black-glazed cup, with bowl supported by low ring foot (C 2479), is also of this era. A lid with geometric designs (C 2462) is possibly from the late 8th century, but could also be of the later Orientalizing period.

extended beyond the later temple borders on the east is also indicated in the eastern scarp of the robber's trench where, at +5.16 m., and corresponding to the level of the hearth to the west, there begin layers of stratified ash. Clearly, the foundation trench of the later temple was excavated deep through these earlier levels.

A Trench North of the Round Building (Trench 28A; Fig. 5)

During the 1978 season, two distinct surface levels were noted north of the Round Building that faces onto the court of the Greek sanctuary. The first level belonged with the lowest course of the building, the higher one resulting from a gradual accumulation (through the 1st century B.C.) after the building was completed. Since the lower, fairly level one implied that there might be a temenos wall to the north, Trench 28A (Fig. 5) was laid in at this point. Subsequently we found that the lower surface in question slopes up gradually to merge with the rubble covering the remains of a Minoan building. This building was left unexcavated since our chief interest was in the sanctuary, which did not, apparently, have a temenos wall bordering it on the north.

THE MINOAN SHORESIDE BUILDINGS (Trench 29A/27B; Figs. 1, 5, 12, 13, Pls. 66, 67)

One of the excavation's chief aims from its inception has been to ascertain to what extent the Minoan town of Kommos participated in local island commerce and had connections with other parts of the Mediterranean world. It was with this in mind that the original area for expropriation was extended so far to the south, for it was here in the southwestern quadrant, between the shoreline and the town, that any ancillary harbor structures would have been located. The area was not tested archaeologically, however, until 1979, at least partly because we were engaged in clarifying the various Greek structures of the sanctuary to the east.⁶⁹

We could not begin here with the usual trench, for the sand was so deep (over six meters in places) that a major job of sand-clearing with the front-loader was called for. Because of the nature of the sand, which slides in from the side as one excavates, a rather large area had to be cleared horizontally in order for us to penetrate to any depth. As the work continued we were once again impressed by the care with which such front-loading machines can work. Nor was the job without some risk for the driver and his machine, especially when he was working to clear sand from the precipitous slope leading down to the ancient shoreline west of Building A.

Not long after the clearing began, after a few false starts when the machine either became mired in sand or began to slip down the slope, an enormous limestone block was discovered a few meters below the surface. As we worked around it, it proved to be *in situ* and to belong to an unusually well built structure that we at first assumed to be a shoreside building, perhaps a stoa, connected with the Greek sanctuary. This connection was founded partly on the new building's proximity to the Greek sanctuary, only a

⁶⁹ We were also using the area here along the modern shore as a dump for the sand and earth from the sanctuary.

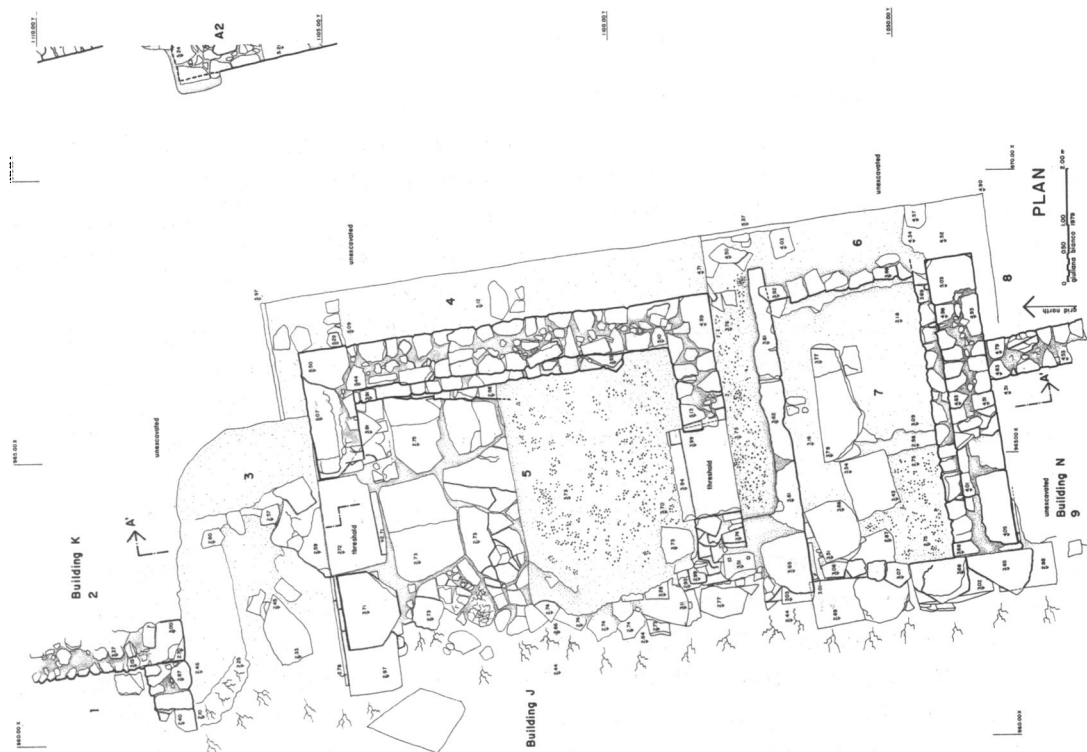


FIG. 12 Plan, Building J area

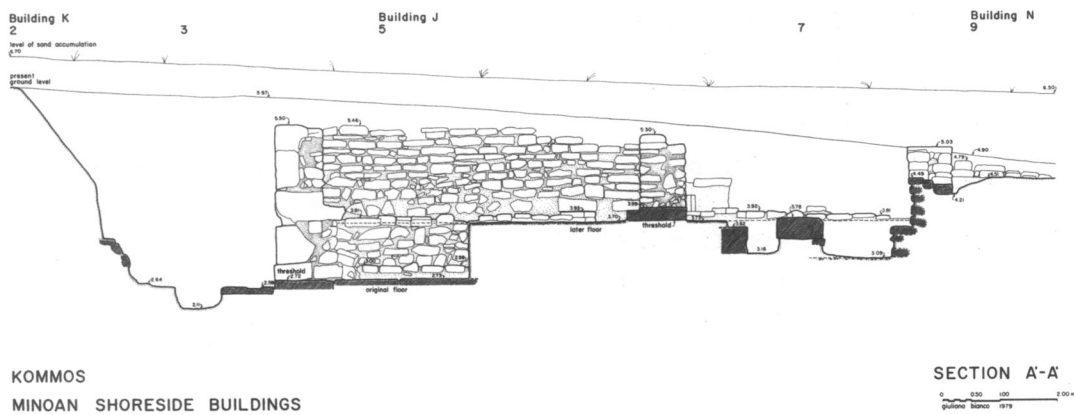


FIG. 13 Sections, Building J area

few meters to the east (Fig. 7; Pl. 66:b), but also on the fact that ashlar construction on a large scale had then been encountered only in the Greek levels. To our surprise, after the initial sand clearing had been completed and normal excavation work could begin, the building turned out to be Minoan.

At this time it is difficult to specify the exact nature of the buildings found here. They lie below a layer with intermingled pottery of Geometric through Hellenistic date, probably dumped here when Building A was being built, and can be said to have a monumental, perhaps even public character. As excavation proceeds, it may well turn out that they were built along the west side of a north-south paved road discovered in 1977.⁷⁰ Also, it seems reasonable to assume that related buildings may in time be found further to the east, under the Greek sanctuary.

At least three structures have been partially exposed: J, K and N. K, on the north, is defined at present only by a north-south wall of rubble slabs that disappears into the north scarp. To the south, in Space 3, is a pavement, some of the large limestone slabs of which have been dislocated, probably by erosion. This pavement continues to the east, where it may merge with the aforementioned road.

Bordering the pavement on the south is a very wide doorway that leads into what we have dubbed "J", an extremely solidly built, rectangular structure. South of J is what presently appears to be a corridor (7), *ca.* 3.90 m. wide, leading from the shore eastward. South of the corridor is another large building, "N". How far N may extend to the south is unknown, but a very heavy east-west wall found 8.60 m. further on in that direction may be connected with it.

After the sand clearing around Building J had been completed (Pl. 67:a), it became clear that erosion, probably by the sea, had destroyed much of it, removing its entire western wall and undermining part of its northern façade.⁷¹ Looking at this destruction from a positive point of view, we could profit from the stratigraphic cross-section of the building's interior thus exposed, indicating that there were at least two floor levels representing two major periods of use. We also suspected then that there was a wide entrance on the north (Pls. 66:a, 67:a), blocked when the floor had been built up to the later level on the interior.

It was not known, however, how far J extended on the east. We determined this shortly by means of a shallow trench. The building's general preserved dimensions being clear, we then decided to excavate a major part of J as well as 7, possibly a corridor, to its south, with the excavation of the two areas proceeding concurrently. After the recording and removal of two scrappy, superimposed walls in 7, we arrived at the first floor level that continues throughout J and 7, at about +3.70 m.⁷² Here we first understood (although the lack of roof tiles in the fill had already made some of us sus-

⁷⁰ *Kommos, 1977*, pp. 146–147, pl. 40:c.

⁷¹ It is difficult to estimate the amount of erosion that has taken place. If, when the eastern wall of J has been exposed, it seems reasonable to assume that J was originally rectangular, then the amount lost may be less than two meters.

⁷² The floor may also extend into Building N, to the south.

picious) that the building was Minoan, for on the pebble floor was an unusual amount of relatively intact LM IIIB pottery; this was mostly coarse ware (e.g., the pithos and pithoid jars in Plate 67:c,d), but there was enough fine ware for us to be assured of the relative date.⁷³

A number of these pots lay upon or near an immense, monolithic threshold, 1.68 m. long and 1.05 m. wide (maximum), with a sill for the door closure 0.22 m. wide and 0.05 m. deep; the sill has a rectangular cutting, not characteristically Minoan, where the pivot block, 0.20×0.26 m. and probably of wood, was set.⁷⁴ At a few points on the floor of J, but especially in 7, there were signs of burning; those within 7 centered upon what first appeared to be a large slab set at floor level. Clearly here was an LM IIIB domestic occupation level analogous to those found on the hillside and hilltop to the north. There are a few differences, however, namely in the lack of certain features that we have come to expect in such contexts (e.g., slab enclosures, "stamnostatis" slabs, and built hearths; the paucity of stone tools was also surprising). Moreover, in contrast with many other IIIB floors representing the final occupation, in J there were a number of storage vessels abandoned on the floor.

At this point we began to suspect that a good deal of rebuilding had accompanied this later reoccupation, for the eastern wall rested on a (presumably) wider wall below (Pl. 66:b), which juts out some 0.20 m. into the room at floor level. Moreover, the ends of two very large triangular blocks, one in the northern and the other in the eastern wall, had been cut down so as to be even with the floor and above-mentioned ledge. Also, the southern wall of the late phase, with its threshold, cannot at present be connected with the earlier, lower phase and may have been brought from close by. As excavation proceeded it became evident that during the LM III phase the entire southern wall (and perhaps the eastern one, too) had been moved inwards (see below).

About half of J's floor was then removed on the north so that we could clarify the lower, original floor level of slabs that we had already glimpsed along the western scarp. This floor, about a meter below the upper one, proved to be composed of a number of huge limestone slabs, worn shiny by the very many feet that had once passed over them (Pl. 66:b). The largest of these, not far from the entrance, is roughly 1.75×1.20 m. On the east these slabs continue under a projection of the wall, indicating that the wall is later than the floor. On the north we also encountered later construction in the form of a blocked doorway, already mentioned, which had been filled with large blocks,

⁷³ Among the fine ware catalogued were a Palace Style jar (C 2469), probably a survival, a deep cup (C 2460), a stirrup jar (C 2470), a cup/bowl (C 2472) and a goblet (C 2495). The first was found in a number of fragments on the floor, both in J and 7.

⁷⁴ Usually the pivot was set directly into the sill rather than into a separate rectangular block of wood, as in this case; cf. J. W. Shaw, *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques* (*Annuario*, n.s. 33, 1971 [1973]), *passim*. Only in a few late additions at Hagia Triada do I recall a similar arrangement. Coincidentally, the technique used here at Kommos is rather similar to that used in some of the Greek buildings in the sanctuary.

re-used perhaps from the original wall. Also, the interior (southern) face of the later wall continued as part of the blocking. This interior face belongs, no doubt, to a time when the floor level on the interior, like the present eastern wall, was to be raised. One puzzling question remains, however, since intermediate occupation levels were not discovered between the two floors: why was the floor level raised so significantly (about a meter)?

The blocking within the doorway was removed in stages to reveal the entranceway until then visible from the north only. Its monolithic threshold block is 1.70×1.00 m., with cuttings for the single door (0.12 m. wide), which show that the door was about 1.40 m. wide and opened to the left as one entered.⁷⁵ No doubt it closed upon wooden jambs, now missing.

Part of what is no doubt the original northern façade is preserved on the exterior (Pl. 67:a); it consists of four high courses of ashlar blocks, the largest of which is 1.24 m. wide, 0.65 m. high, and at least 2.32 m. long, its inner face having been cut down to accommodate the LM III floor level.⁷⁶ The topmost part of the wall here is 2.30 m. above the interior slab floor.

West of the doorway are the blocks which had first appeared during the sand-clearing operations. One huge block, roughly triangular in plan,⁷⁷ rested on a series of slabs forming a stepped krepidoma that can best be compared with the fine technique used at Hagia Triada, bordering the Rampa dal Mare.⁷⁸ These blocks constitute the most elegant construction so far discovered at Kommos.

South of the entrance the slab floor continues below the later, LM III floor and actually below the southern wall of J as it appeared during LM III (Fig. 12; this relationship can also be seen in Pl. 66:b). Thus the interior dimension, north-south, of the room in its first phase was about 6.20 m. but during its later, contracted phase about 5.57 m. Consequently, it appears that all of J's present southern wall, built of roughly set, small slabs, belongs to the later phase of the building.

The original southern wall of J can best be understood through an examination of Corridor 7 (Pl. 67:b). Here, after the removal of two late, superficial walls partly set on sand at a high level, we eventually reached the LM III floor level already described at ca. +3.73 m. This was quite burned. The floor may have originally continued to the east, for the southeastern exterior corner of J is actually finished with a slight inset some 0.90 m. from the corner to form a kind of *anta*; there is a corresponding *anta* cut-

⁷⁵ The later door on the south on the upper level opened in and to the right; it was about 1.50 m. wide.

⁷⁶ The original northern wall of J was somewhat over a meter wide. It may have been covered with plaster, for although plaster has not yet been found on any of the walls, a great many large chunks were recovered from the fill.

⁷⁷ The block is 1.32 m. long, 0.98 m. wide and 0.66 m. high.

⁷⁸ Shaw (*op. cit.*, footnote 75 above), figs. 112 (Hagia Triada) and 115 (Tylissos, House C), both built on a slope (as J).

ting on the northeast wall of N across the corridor, a typical Minoan detail used to terminate walls in a stylish manner.⁷⁹ At some later point in LM III a rough north-south wall, perhaps no more than a single course high, was used to close off 7 on the east (visible in Fig. 12 and Pl. 67:b).

The southern border of 7 is formed by a single heavy wall, 0.80 m. thick, set back 0.30 m. from the face of a lower wall that continues down to what we believe to be the original floor, at *ca.* +2.75 m. Thus, during LM III, 7 was about 3.90 m. wide. It is possible that it was covered by a roof then, but there are no bases for internal supports to prove that this was the case.

Excavation below the LM III floor in the corridor is still incomplete, but has so far revealed the original, southern wall of J, which was a little over a meter wide; the southern face consisted of very large ashlar blocks each over a meter long (Fig. 12; Pl. 67:b). The faces of these large blocks are very burnt and continue down to a pebble floor at +2.75 m. that at this stage of the excavation was cleared only on the southwest.

Lying upon or not far above this lower, presumably original floor are three huge blocks (Pl. 67:b), the tops of which are almost flush with the LM III floor level. Most likely they were tumbled from J's original southern façade before the LM III re-use. At the same time the lower part of 7 was closed off on the west by a rubble wall (to the right of the figure in Plate 67:b).

As far as one can see now, 7 was originally entered from the west by a series of steps, one of which was inset neatly into J's southern façade. The steps were only about 1.70 m. wide since 7 originally was partially closed off on the south by a very heavy wall, of which four very large blocks are still preserved. Thus one mounted steps from the west and passed into the corridor which, in its original phase, was *ca.* 2.50 m. wide. In its earliest phase the corridor was paved with pebbles without plaster, to judge from the limited area that was investigated during 1979.

Although it is clear that there is still much to learn about these important Minoan structures, their development seems to be as follows:

1. Buildings J, K, and N were built, perhaps just west of a major thoroughfare, at a date in the Minoan period which cannot be specified at the moment.⁸⁰ Though the original function of Building J is not clear, its original floor plan does not resemble that of the rooms of houses from that period, nor is its megalithic construction paralleled in any of the Minoan houses at Kommos. In view of these special features, it is not beyond probability that J and the other two adjacent buildings, set as they were between the seaside and the town, served the commerce of the port. MM III-LM IIIA.
2. Perhaps after a hiatus, during which the original Building J remained unoccupied, J was partially rebuilt. The northern entrance was blocked, the southern wall and perhaps that on the east were moved inward,

⁷⁹ E.g., at the terminations of stylobates at Tyliossos, Archanes and Hagia Triada (*ibid.*, figs. 114, 123:b, and 205 respectively).

⁸⁰ The latest pottery below J's upper floor was of LM II or LM IIIA1 style. The latest, rather scrappy sherds directly above the slab floor level (Pail 38) would seem to be LM I. In the only area in 7 where we reached the lower pebble floor, the latest pottery was LM I (e.g. C 2598, a sherd of Reed Painter style). This is suggestive, of course, but must be confirmed by further investigation.

with their bases set on the slab floor. Corridor 7 was also filled in to the level of the newly raised floor. After a period of domestic use, the building was abandoned in LM IIIB. At some later point a few scrappy walls were built over 7.

The Development of the Lower Hillside Area

At this stage of the excavation of the lower hillside, described above, the development seems to have been as follows:⁸¹

- A. The Bronze Age (MM–LMIIIB [*ca.* 1800–1200 B.C.], the separate phases for this area to be refined further).
 1. Settlement in MM I here and to the north (“the founding of the seaside town”), with continuing occupation; the construction of the ramp leading to the north. MM I–MM III.
 2. Building of the upper ramp, Buildings J, K and N. MM III–LM IIIA.
 3. Rebuilding of J, accompanied by the raising of the floor level in the interior; the final, domestic phase is in LM IIIB, during which the building and the remainder of the settlement are deserted. LM IIIA–LM IIIB.
- B. Post-Minoan Levels (*ca.* 1000 B.C.–A.D. 150).
 1. After a hiatus, re-use of the area begins in the Geometric period, perhaps centering around the shrine discovered in 1979 below the temple. *Ca.* 800–675 B.C.
 2. A hearth is built in connection with the earlier shrine but at a higher level. Its chief period of use is *ca.* 675 B.C., to judge from the single votive deposit recovered, but it may continue down to *ca.* 350 B.C. A small settlement on the hillside to the south, on Vigles (Site 66), may be contemporary with the earliest stage. *Ca.* 675–350 B.C.
 3. Building F on the east, Round Building D, and Altar C are built *ca.* 400 B.C., perhaps while the early hearth is still in use. *Ca.* 400–350 B.C. The Classical sanctuary has been founded.
 4. The southern room (A 2) of Building A is constructed, with its westernmost column base set upon the earlier shrine/hearth, probably in a conscious effort to recognize and preserve tradition. Room A 1 to the north may come shortly afterward, with Building B’s construction following. Additions are being made to Altars C and H, and Altars L and M may be built now, although Building F, far to the east, probably has been deserted. This is the apogee of the sanctuary’s use. Towards the end of the period there are indications of disuse (e.g., the apparent abandonment of Round Building D and sand accumulation in B). At about the same time, furthermore, the roof of B collapses, that of the northern room of A (A 1) falling at the same time or probably not too long afterward. Now begins the decline of the sanctuary, a decline which may well be attributable to the armed rivalry between Gortyn and Phaistos, as suggested in an earlier report.⁸² *Ca.* 350–100 B.C.
 5. Despite the disuse and decay, the sanctuary partly revives. In B the floor is raised in both rooms. Altar C continues in use; the addition to E, which may be earlier, is used now.⁸³ In the southern room of A, where the fill above floor level was so consistently of later date, the room must be cleared out (the building may also escape destruction). Eventually, *ca.* 50 B.C., B is abandoned and the walls eventually collapse. Altar C is gradually covered with sand. There is also a major burning which covers C and D with ash as it does the northern room of A and the large altar court and other areas. The southern wall of B is badly scorched, but its roof may still be intact at this time since thick ash was not found in its interior. About now, the roof of the southern room of Building A

⁸¹ This outline also incorporates material from *Kommos, 1977*, pp. 149–150 and *Kommos, 1978*, pp. 162–173.

⁸² *Kommos, 1977*, p. 152.

⁸³ *Kommos, 1978*, pp. 169–170.

collapses, its floor level being raised afterwards and roughly leveled. Not long afterwards some of the ashlar walls are partly robbed out and the site is abandoned. *Ca.* 100 B.C.–A.D. 150.

6. There is further sand build-up and eventual quarrying of wall blocks of A (and Minoan J?) by monks from Preveli, and others, some 50–60 years ago. *Ca.* A.D. 150 to the present.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Prehistoric Minoan Levels

There have been two discoveries of remarkable interest during the past season. One is the essentially intact storeroom on the hillside, another of the numerous indications that the deeper levels should be examined further. From a more general point of view, however, this is only one of a number of similar contexts already discovered at Kommos in which abandonment of an MM building is followed not long afterward by LM construction, the latter characterized either by re-use of wall stubs or by rebuilding from scratch. On the hilltop this phenomenon is illustrated by a fairly well preserved MM III storeroom which remained outside the limits of an LM building constructed after the storeroom had gone out of use.⁸⁴ Near by⁸⁵ as well as a bit farther down the hill slope are similar cases.⁸⁶ In the area of the hillside storeroom discovered during this past summer, of course, the situation is more dramatic, though not necessarily unique, since contemporary contexts to the west may all belong to a single, rather large house.

The abandonment of this storeroom after a major ceiling collapse, which has crushed some of its contents, suggests a severe earthquake. Seen along with the other examples of desertion and rebuilding cited above, this in turn suggests a major change in the town toward the end of the MM III (post-Kamarea) phase. Further excavation on the hillside, especially to the east where buildings of the same period should be found, will effectively test the theory that a natural catastrophe, affecting the entire town, actually did take place, cutting short a very prosperous period, perhaps even the acme of the town's history.

As our information grows, our picture of the general evolution of the town becomes clearer; we have come to anticipate certain architectural and ceramic phases, although the discovery of monumental architecture to the south (Building J) took us by surprise. It is possible that here lies the town center, in position analogous to that of the palaces discovered elsewhere in Crete. Building J, with its massive wall blocks, wide thresholds and unusually wide floor slabs, and on a scale vastly different from any other structure discovered at Kommos, can be compared only with structures discovered at Hagia Triada (the façade on the Rampa dal Mare) and Phaistos (e.g. the West Façade) in the Messara area. As suggested above, Building J has a public rather than a domestic character. We like to think that its function is commercial in nature, having to do with the everyday handling of the commerce in a busy port town. If, as excavation proceeds, this proves to be true, then Kommos may provide a unique insight into maritime activity in

⁸⁴ *Kommos*, 1978, pp. 154–155.

⁸⁵ West of the North House (Trench 13A: *Kommos*, 1977, p. 114) and within it (see p. 211 above).

⁸⁶ Trench 6A (*Kommos*, 1976, p. 238) and *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 155–164 (the pottery deposit).

the Aegean. Only at Nirou Khani in Crete has such a Minoan entrepôt been suspected, and even this is unexcavated and thus its function remains uncertain.⁸⁷ It is possible that we are on the verge of discovering some kind of center for bartering and storage at Kommos. Of course this would be equivalent to the *teloneion* or customs house which Evans once claimed was on the hilltop at Kommos.⁸⁸ From what we now know, however, he was quite wrong about its location, since the storeroom "with its rows of pithoi" to which he was referring at the time could only have belonged to a house, a common enough feature in almost any Minoan town. Yet if J should prove to be a commercial establishment, perhaps parallel in function, although not necessarily contemporary, with the great LM III stoa at Hagia Triada, Sir Arthur's suggestions would nevertheless deserve the name of prescience.

The Geometric-Archaic Shrine

While much remains to be learned about the small shrine discovered below the later temple, the presence of many fragments of animal bone within extensive layers of burning shows that it was used extensively, first in the form of a tripillar structure, then with part of it re-used on a raised floor level to form one side of a hearth that may have also served as an altar. This period of intensive use was *ca.* 725–600 B.C., although the area continued to retain its sanctity until the time the temple was built over it *ca.* 350 B.C.

Formal worship in the early Greek period in Crete is known to have taken place in a number of circumstances, for instance, in connection with caves (e.g., that of Zeus in the Idaian and Psychro [Diktaian] caves⁸⁹ or those of Eileithyia at Amnisos and Inatos⁹⁰) or outdoor shrines (e.g., that of Hermes at Kato Simi⁹¹ or that of Zeus at Amnisos⁹²). Some of these places of worship, especially that at Simi, have extensive Bronze Age remains as well. At Kommos, on the other hand, to judge from present evidence, there is a ceramic gap from the end of LM IIIB through the Protogeometric period. It is possible, however, that excavation in deeper levels of the sanctuary area will fill in this hiatus, and it may be significant in this connection that the triangular block of the early shrine is quite similar to blocks used for Minoan walls. The block may even have been taken from a near-by Minoan building, such as J on the west, which may have been partly visible then in the scarp.

⁸⁷ S. Marinatos, *BCH* 50, 1926, pp. 573–574 and "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νίρου Χάνι Κρήτης," *Πρακτικά* 1925–1926 (1929), pp. 141–147.

⁸⁸ *PM* II, p. 88.

⁸⁹ Cf. B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World, Bibliotheca Antiqua* (The Polish Academy of Sciences), X, Warsaw 1972, pp. 318 (Idaian Cave) and 319 (Psychro Cave).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 317 (Amnisos) and 320 (Tsoutsouros [Inatos]).

⁹¹ For Simi, see recent issues of the *Πρακτικά* as well as S. Hiller, *Das minoische Kreta nach den Ausgrabungen des letzten Jahrzehnts, Mykenische Studien* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), V, Vienna 1977, pp. 186–188.

⁹² S. Marinatos, "Ἀνασκαφή Ἀμνισοῦ Κρήτης," *Πρακτικά*, 1933 (1934), pp. 93–100; *idem*, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Ἀμνισῷ Κρήτης," *Πρακτικά* 1934 (1935), pp. 128–133.

That there was here a tripillar shrine (Fig. 11) seems definite, even though the possibility that the pillars had a practical function should nevertheless be considered. The problem with a tripillar shrine is that one is hard put to find a parallel for it even in the form of a tomb or cenotaph from this same period.⁹³ The only parallel arrangement in fact exists in the Minoan period in the tricolumnar shrines, the best known being the model from Knossos.⁹⁴ There is also the tripartite shrine, but this also seems to go out of use in LM I.⁹⁵

Pillars used to represent a deity are, of course, not unknown in other, non-Greek contexts, as for instance the pillars (baetyls) of various sizes, some almost like Egyptian obelisks, rather common in the Syro-Palestinian area.⁹⁶ Closer to Crete, there are a number of stelai from the Phoenician/Punic culture of North Africa with depictions in relief of tripillar shrines not unlike that at Kommos. It is of interest that on these reliefs there are numerous pillars, usually one to three or more, set onto (into?) a base. The pillars and their bases are often shown set within a small, covered naïskos made in an Egyptianizing style.⁹⁷ Although the dating for such stelai is not often certain, they seem to be as early as the 7th century, perhaps after the Kommos pillars had been set in place. It is nevertheless possible to consider that the Kommos shrine could be in the form of those which the Phoenicians originally brought westward with them. So far, however, there is little evidence for close Phoenician contact with Crete,⁹⁸ although it

⁹³ For a possible parallel in the form of a single, tapering pillar from the Mainland, see, however, J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture, The Archaic Period*, London 1978, fig. 123:A,B. This pillar, 0.67 m. high and dated to ca. 600–575 B.C., depicts Menelaos and Helen on either side. According to Boardman, it may have come from the Menelaion near Sparta.

⁹⁴ *PM* I, p. 220, fig. 166F. Concerning sacred pillars in the Near East in general one should also consult another of Evans' works, "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult," *JHS* 21, 1901, pp. 99–204. Also, M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, New York (reprint) 1971, *passim*.

⁹⁵ J. W. Shaw, "Evidence for the Minoan Tripartite Shrine," *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 429–448. The Spring Chamber near the Caravanserai, however, of which the façade is in the form of a tripartite shrine, was used through the Protogeometric period (*PM* II, pp. 136–138).

⁹⁶ Among the numerous stone pillars (baetyl ['home of the god'] or massebah ['which have been set up']) found in the area of Syria and Palestine, there are the large Bronze Age pillars, rather similar to Egyptian obelisks, standing behind a temple at Byblos (W. Culican, *The First Merchant Venturers*, London 1966, fig. 21 on p. 27). At Hazor a row of ten stelai of LB III (13th century) date were found in connection with a small shrine (Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, Tel Aviv 1974, p. 57). There also seems to be evidence of the cult continuing at Sarepta, in a shrine of Tanit-Ashtart of the 8th through 4th centuries B.C., where a socket for a pillar, perhaps a meter high, was recently discovered (J. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City*, Princeton 1978, pp. 131–138). For a general review of the subject, see C. F. Graesser, "Standing Stones in Ancient Palestine," *BiblArch* 35, 1972, pp. 34–63.

⁹⁷ For a general discussion of these Punic shrines, see S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians*, Chatam 1965, *passim*, esp. pls. 24 and 28. These pillars vary in height from 0.35 to 1.50 m., the earliest apparently dating to the 7th or 6th century B.C. (p. 151). An actual pillar "of the oldest Carthaginian type" was found recently in Sardinia. It has a socket somewhat like that described from Kommos (S. Moscati, "The First Carthaginian City to be found in Sardinia," *ILN*, April 3, 1965, pp. 19–21). By the same author see *I Fenici e Cartagine*, Turin 1972, esp. pp. 304 and 320.

⁹⁸ According to Stephanos of Byzantium, there was a Phoenician trading post at Itanos (modern Erimopolis) in eastern Crete; but an attempt to show that this was the case is not convincing (J. Boardman,

still might be expected on the shores of southern Crete along which the Phoenicians must have sailed so often.⁹⁹

However this issue might be resolved, the faïence figures of Sekhmet and possibly of her son Nefertum, placed intentionally between the small pillars of the Kommos shrine, show that there was a definite foreign connection, at least with Egypt. How the figurines actually arrived at Kommos, of course, will remain unknown, but they may have been brought by a traveler or trader from Egypt or some intermediate point (e.g. Syria) *ca.* 700 B.C., at a time even before the founding of the Greek town of Naukratis in the Delta, *ca.* 620 B.C.¹⁰⁰ This would also be somewhat before the Greeks began manufacturing their own, rather cruder versions of Egyptian faïences in Rhodes, during the mid-part of the 7th century B.C.¹⁰¹

One also wonders whether the placement of the faïence figurines in their context at Kommos has any particular significance aside from their exotic religious character, for not only are Egyptian and Egyptianizing figurines uncommon in Crete¹⁰² (although

The Cretan Collection at Oxford, Oxford 1961, p. 151, commenting on R. Demangel in *Syria* 26, 1949, p. 394).

⁹⁹ John Boardman sees strong north Syrian influence and even the possibility of oriental immigrants in parts of south-central Crete, the chief evidence for which is provided by a certain type of burial and Orientalizing wares at Aphrati (ancient Arkades; *Dädalische Kunst*, Volume in honor of Friedrich Matz, Mainz am Rhein 1970, pp. 20–23).

¹⁰⁰ For the founding of Naukratis, see J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth 1964, p. 138.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 174 (for a bibliography of Greco-Roman faïence). For a recent treatment of Greek faïence see V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faïence*, Warminster, England 1978.

¹⁰² Some of these figurines are poorly illustrated, and many have not been inspected by experts inquiring after their origins (e.g. Egypt, Syria, Rhodes). Among those found in Crete are those at

Amnisos:	Bes, faïence (and others, unidentified).	Marinatos, <i>Πρακτικά</i> , 1933 (1934), fig. 4 on p. 98. 7th/6th century B.C. (?)
Idaian Cave:	Bes, faïence.	P. Demargne, <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> , CLXIV, <i>La Crète Dédalique</i> , Paris 1947, p. 124.
Knossos:	Ptah pendant, faïence. Bes, faïence. Sekhmet(?), faïence.	H. Catling, <i>JHS-AR</i> , 1978–79, No. 25, p. 50, from graves. Orientalizing. Brock, <i>op. cit.</i> (footnote 57 above), pl. 21 (IX 264), but published at a minuscule scale; 0.022 m. long, from a somewhat mixed grave context.
Psychro (Diktaian Cave):	Amon-Re, bronze.	The most handsome figurine from Crete during this period. Frontispiece in J. D. S. Pendlebury, <i>Aigyptiaka</i> , Cambridge 1930. Though thought to date <i>ca.</i> 900 B.C. by Hogarth (D. G. Hogarth "The Dictaeon Cave," <i>BSA</i> 6, 1899/1900, p. 107), Boardman, (<i>op. cit.</i> [footnote 98 above], Oxford 1961, p. 74) would date it before 1200 or after 800 B.C.
Tsoutsouros (Inatos):	Bes (Bastet, and others of faïence, unidentified).	Δελτ 18, 1963 (1965), B'2, p. 311. Unpublished though on exhibition at the Herakleion Museum.

many scarabs have been found), but such figurines are rather rare in Greece in general during this period, with those of the ugly god Bes, who was connected with childbirth, perhaps being the most popular. Very few of Sekhmet have been reported,¹⁰³ and none that I know of depict her with the cat as well. The cat is significant, for Sekhmet, a fierce but sometimes beneficent goddess of war ("the powerful one") during the New Kingdom in Egypt, came to be merged with the cat-god Bastet sometime after 1400 B.C.,¹⁰⁴ and was popular in this form especially during the reign of Sheshonq I (ca. 950 B.C.) and later.¹⁰⁵ According to Herodotos, who described (II.59–60) the annual orgiastic celebration at Bubastis in the Delta where Bastet was the chief god, she was to be equated with the Greek goddess Artemis. The type of figurine which we have found might, in Egypt, have been given as a New Year's present on the first day of the flood season.¹⁰⁶

Of course there is a real possibility that the three pillars at Kommos might be taken to represent a "trinity". For instance, the trinity of Apollo, Artemis (the Egyptian equivalent of Sekhmet), and Leto has been recognized in the three sphyrrelaton bronze figures discovered in connection with the temple of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros.¹⁰⁷ Also, in connection with the temple of Apollo at Gortyn, there are the well-known reliefs in Daedalic style depicting a similar trio.¹⁰⁸ Both the examples cited are approximately contemporary (ca. 700 B.C.) with the tripillar shrine at Kommos.

The Later Greek Sanctuary

Upon the completion of another season's excavation within the Greek sanctuary, our perspective has been expanded in a number of ways, not the least of which is the knowledge of an unexpected longevity of the site as a sacred one, shown by the shrine discovered below the temple floor (above). The discovery of two additional altars (L and M) east of the temple points to an extension of the sanctuary area to the south, the

¹⁰³ Aside from the possible example from Knossos (see footnote 102), there are those of Sekhmet from Rhodes (Greek? Webb, *op. cit.* [footnote 101 above], no. 113), possibly from Hama in Syria (P. J. Riis, *Hama, Les cimetières à crémation*, Copenhagen 1948, p. 170, D5 and fig. 206:D), and from Narce in Italy (E. Dohan, *Italic Tomb Groups in The University Museum*, Philadelphia 1942, pl. XVI: 23). Those from Narce, five of them ca. 0.33 m. long, of faïence, date to ca. 700 B.C., and are the closest (though not exact) parallels to that from Kommos, from the point of view of both date and appearance. Cf. also a gold amulet case from Carthage, Moscati, *op. cit.* (footnote 97 above), London 1968, fig. 100.

¹⁰⁴ *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (footnote 50 above), p. 253.

¹⁰⁵ M. Murray, *The Splendour That Was Egypt*, London 1949, p. 128. Translated by the same author is an attractive hymn to Sekhmet-Bastet, in *Egyptian Religious Poetry*, London 1949, pp. 102–103.

¹⁰⁶ This according to Dr. N. B. Millet, Curator of Egyptology at the Royal Ontario Museum, to whom I am much indebted for help in the process of researching Sekhmet/Bastet, as I am also to Dr. Robert S. Bianchi, Associate Curator of Egyptology at the Brooklyn Museum.

¹⁰⁷ S. Marinatos, "Le temple géométrique de Dreros," *BCH* 60, 1936, pp. 214–256. See also H. Drexler, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit* (*ArchHom* II, O), Göttingen 1969, pp. 5–7 for further references.

¹⁰⁸ For the Gortynian triad see Boardman, *op. cit.* (footnote 93 above), pl. 31; also B. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, p. 20.

ensemble constituting a plan not unlike that of the 4th/3rd centuries B.C. Dodekatheon on Delos, with its temple and, east of it, its numerous attendant altars.¹⁰⁹

The discovery of Room A 2, on present evidence originally constructed *ca.* 350 B.C., has provided focus to the sanctuary as a whole, for here apparently was the center of worship, the temple. Its identification as such is based on a number of facts, first of all that it was intentionally set upon an earlier shrine (above). Also, its construction is the finest yet discovered at Kommos from this period, and the presence of a possible monumental statue base at the rear of the cella is a familiar feature of late Cretan temples.¹¹⁰ The many lamps and glass bowls, as well as perirrhanteria and other dedicatory objects, found within Room A 2 make the argument almost compelling, as does the location of the altars directly to the east. Finally, the plan of the room, with its hearth and column bases on axis, corresponds to that of earlier temples in Crete and suggests that this tradition persevered for a long time. Best known of these earlier temples are that of Apollo Delphinios at Dreros¹¹¹ and those, probably of Rhea, at Prinias¹¹² dated to the 7th century. The long hiatus of as much as 350 years between the respective temples should not, I think, pose a problem; no doubt temples with similar plans, and chronologically falling in between, will be discovered in the future.

The problem of the deity or deities worshipped at Kommos still remains. It is tempting to see Pan, represented in a fragmentary relief (S 197; Pl. 59:f), as providing a clue, especially as the rural character of the sanctuary would have been an appropriate setting for him. Sanctuaries to Pan, however, are rare and have been identified mainly in western Crete.¹¹³ Poseidon is another candidate, an appealing possibility because of the location of the sanctuary next to the sea, and of numerous seashells within the temple, both on the later floor and in the earlier shrine.¹¹⁴ Zeus and Athena have more in their

¹⁰⁹ E. Will, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XXII, *Le Dôdekathéon*, Paris 1955, *passim*. Also P. Bru-
neau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris 1965, esp. fig. 17. I am grateful to Professor David Rupp for
bringing this to my attention.

¹¹⁰ The arrangement is quite similar to that at the still unpublished Greek temple of Asklepios at Lis-
sos in western Crete (cf. S. Spanakis, *Κρήτη II*, Herakleion, Crete 1971, pp. 247–250, with bibliography),
or the Roman temple of Asklepios at Lebena (Leda; L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in*
Creta, Rome 1947, pp. 68–75 and fig. 78, with bibliography) and probably that at Lato (P. Ducrey and O.
Picard, “Recherches à Latô, II. Le grand temple,” *BCH* 94, 1970, esp. pp. 583–588).

¹¹¹ Marinatos, *op. cit.* (footnote 107 above), pp. 214–256. See also Drerup, *op. cit.* (footnote 107
above).

¹¹² Pernier and Banti, *op. cit.* (footnote 110), pp. 75–80, esp. fig. 92.

The Kommos temple, with its massive western column base so surely in place, adds credence to the
original restored plan of the Dreros Temple, as well as that of Temple A at Prinias. In the former the base
was not *in situ*. In the latter the corresponding base had been found shifted out of its original position).
The sure position of the westernmost column base at Kommos would also make less credible a recent pro-
posal that in the Prinias temple there were two bases west of the hearth, on either side of the longitudinal
axis (S. Stucchi, “Questioni relative al Tempio A di Prinias ed al formarsi degli ordini dorico e ionico,”
Antichità Cretesi [footnote 51 above], pp. 89–119, esp. fig. 5 on p. 96).

¹¹³ For Pan in Crete, see F. Brommer in *RE*, Suppl. 8, 1956, Nachträge, esp. col. 997.

¹¹⁴ The inscription in Plate 59:e may refer to Poseidon.

support at the moment, for their names appear in a dedicatory inscription (I 12) found southeast of the temple (Pl. 65:f).¹¹⁵

The original appearance of the interior of the temple needs further definition. As discussed above, the benches may be a later addition. Their progressive widening may be connected with happenings in Room A 1, to the north, which was apparently designed for ritual banquets.¹¹⁶ Since A 1 probably went out of use earlier than A 2, it is possible that the latter at some point absorbed some of the functions of the former. This might explain why in the latest phases there was so much scattered bone and coarse ware found within the temple.

Also, one might ask whether A 1 and A 2, so similar in plan with their benches and hearths, might be thought of as “twin” temples, such as that of Aphrodite and Ares of the 2nd century B.C. at Olous,¹¹⁷ or the unasccribed, finely constructed 5th/4th-centuries B.C. temple discovered at Aptera.¹¹⁸ This might be true in the case of Kommos, but A 1 possesses neither statue nor column bases, nor were any traces of dedicatory material found within it. Moreover, its construction is inferior to that of its neighbor on the south, and it was not set in relation to altars built in the court. It probably was, therefore, an auxiliary room.

Perhaps further excavation will clarify some of these problems, for clearing of the court surface around the two altars on the south, as well as removal of the deep sand directly south of the temple, may furnish new information. We may also be fortunate enough to find further epigraphic evidence to illuminate the nature of the sanctuary. There is always the possibility, moreover, that excavation within the earlier, Geometric/Archaic levels will shed light on the sanctuary’s later use.

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¹¹⁵ The inscription (Pl. 55:f) cites Zeus (as first recognized by David Jordan) and Athena (both with unusual epithets). The inscription reads

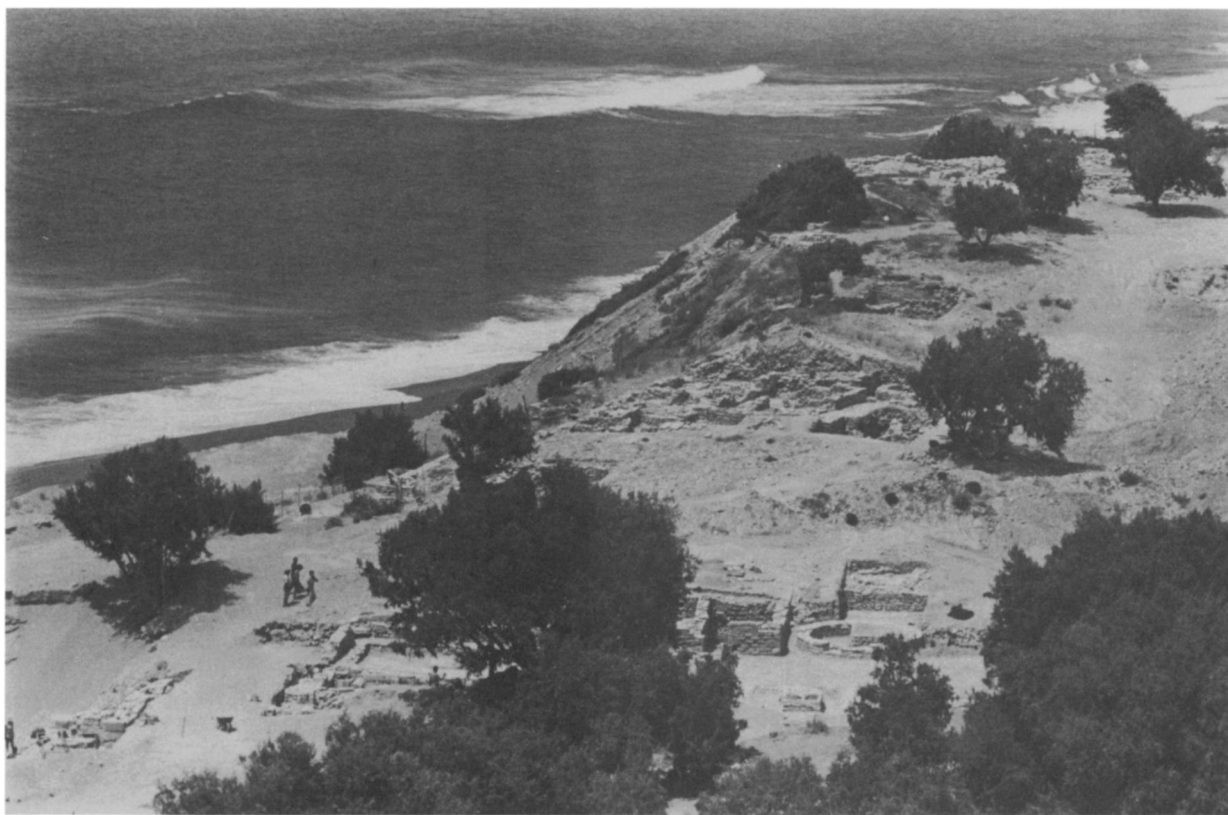
THNI[. ³⁻⁴ .] TAYMI|ΩI *vacat*|EYATTEAΩI|AΘANAI AI

I am indebted to Professor D. Geagan for his help with the reading and interpretation.

¹¹⁶ *Kommos*, 1978, pp. 171–172.

¹¹⁷ J. Bousquet, “Le Temple d’Aphrodite et d’Arès à Sta Lenikà,” *BCH* 62, 1938, pp. 386–408.

¹¹⁸ H. Drerup, “Zweizelliges Heiligtum in Aptara,” in *Forschungen auf Kreta*, ed. F. Matz, Berlin 1951, pp. 99–105.



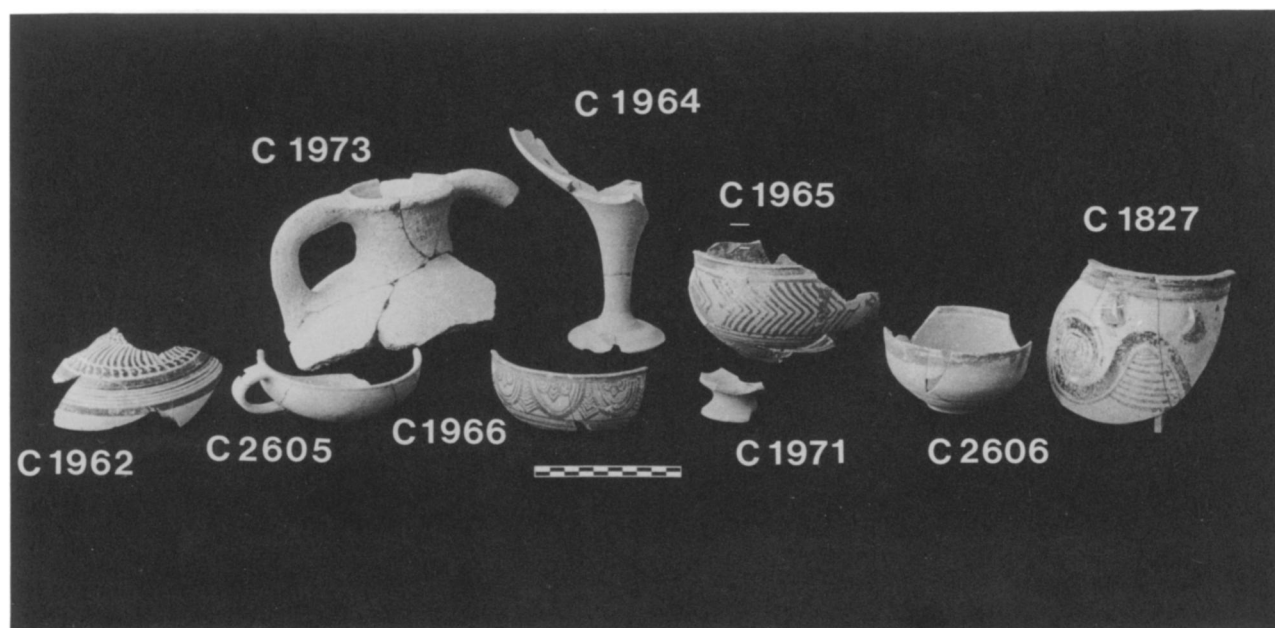
a. View of site toward end of 1979 season, from south



b. The Greek Sanctuary, looking northwest



a. Minoan House N on the hilltop, from the east



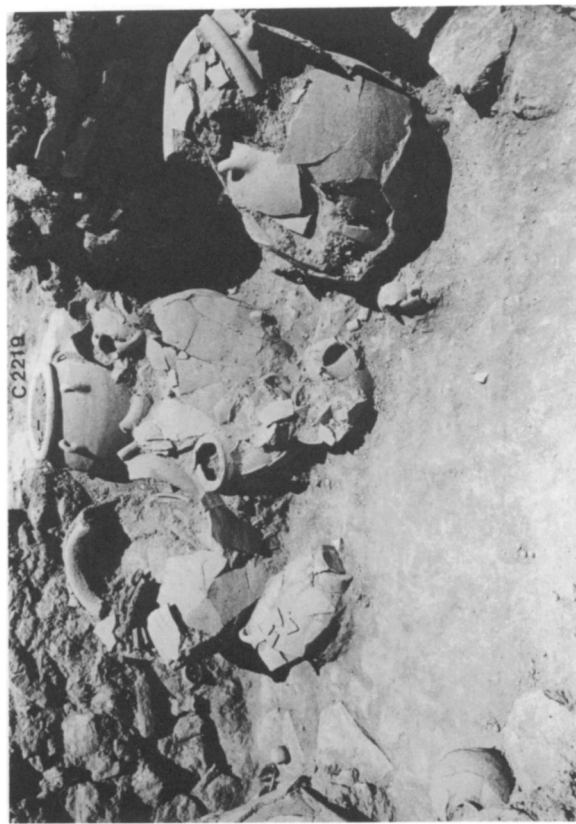
b. Late Minoan III pottery from *sottoscala* N 21, House N



a. Fallen floor slabs and tops of pithoi in Space 25, from east



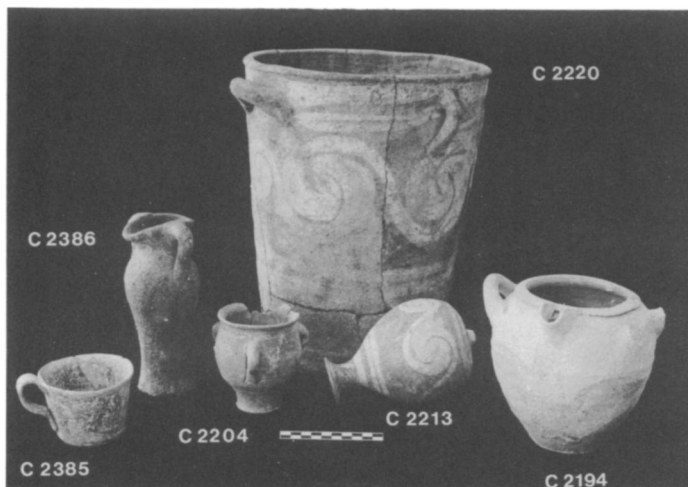
b. Middle Minoan storeroom (25) with vessels *in situ*, from west



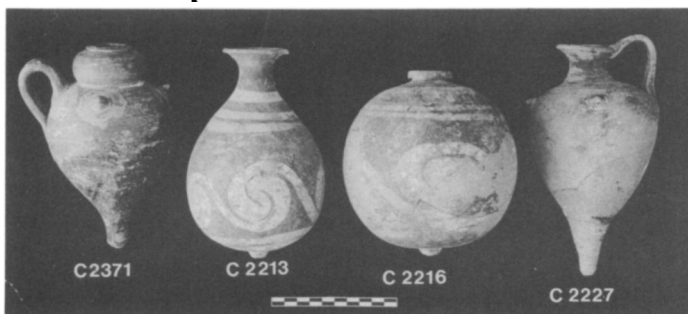
c. Eastern part of Middle Minoan storeroom (25), from west



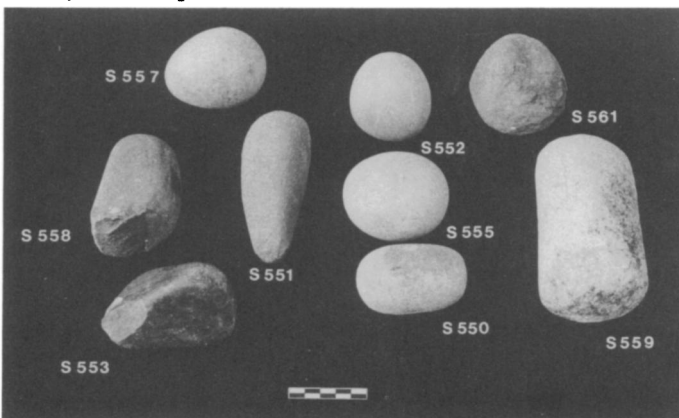
d. Middle Minoan storeroom (25) after removal of most of the pottery, from south



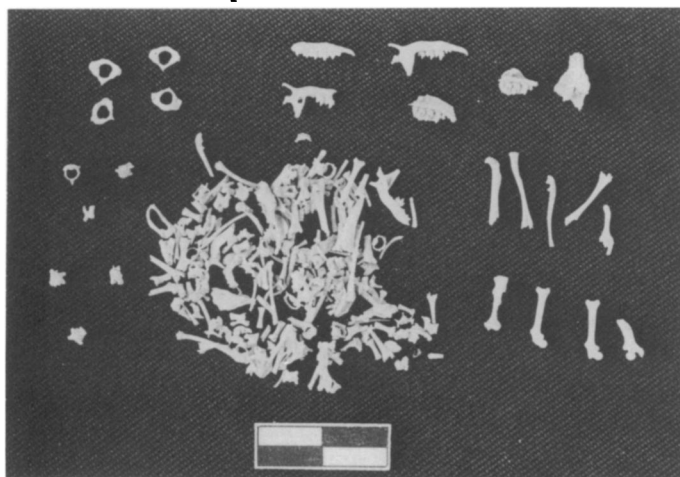
a. Vessels from Space 25



c. Rhyta from Space 25



e. Stone tools from Space 25



f. Shrew bones from within pithos C 2219 in Space 25



b. Rhyta and stone tools in place in Minoan storeroom (25)



d. Conical rhyton from Space 25.
Watercolor by Giuliana Bianco



g. Spaces 26 and 27, from south



a. Clearing sand around Altar L (left) and excavating an amphora (right), from west



b. Altar L from east (base unexcavated)



c. Altar M from west (base unexcavated)



a. Rooms A 1 (right) and A 2 (left), from east



b. Room A 2 from east



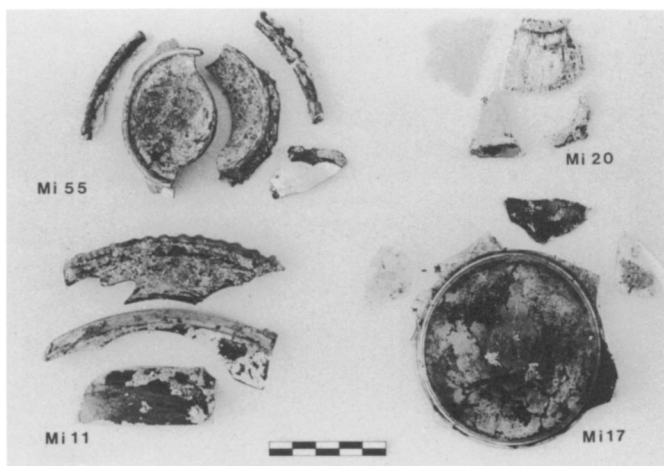
a. Room A 2, upper level, from southeast



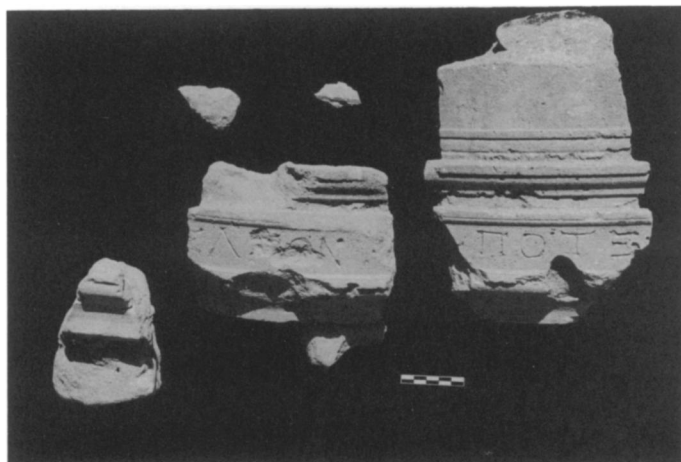
b. Room A 2, eastern column base, with overlying block, and hearth, from east



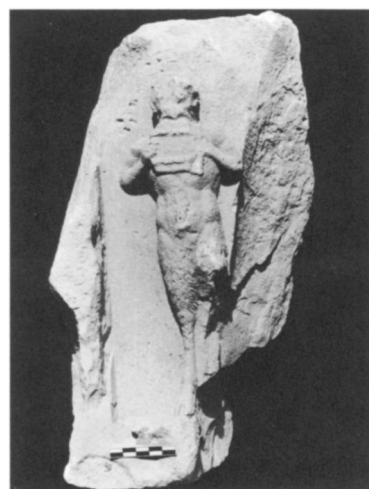
c. Room A 2, eastern column base and hearth, after partial clearing of accumulated ashes, from east



d. Glass bowl fragments from A 2



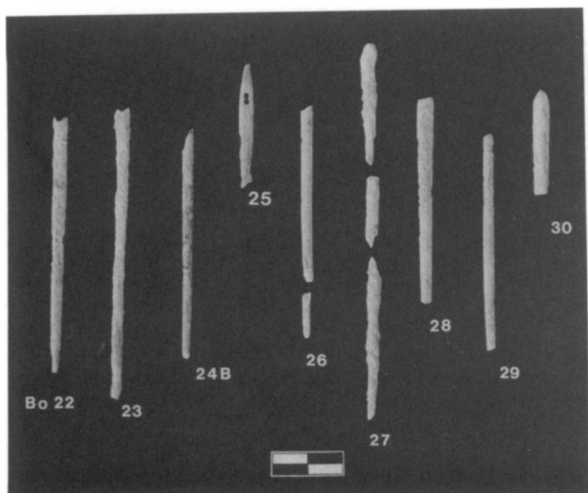
e. I 9 from within A 2



f. Pan relief (S 197) from A 2



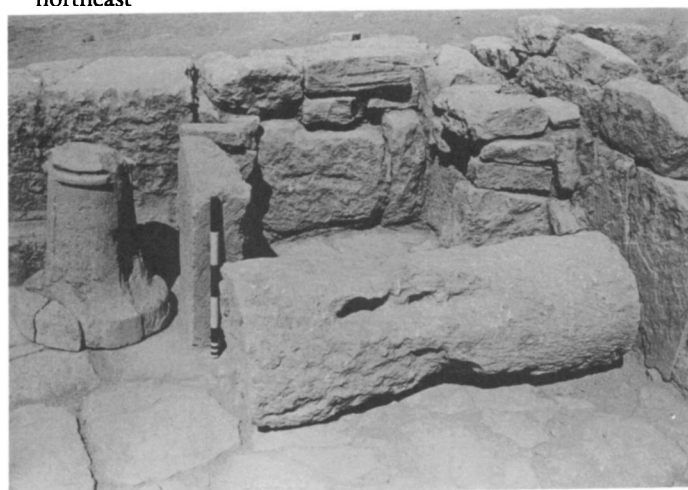
a. Coin (B 13) of Antoninus Pius from fill in A 2



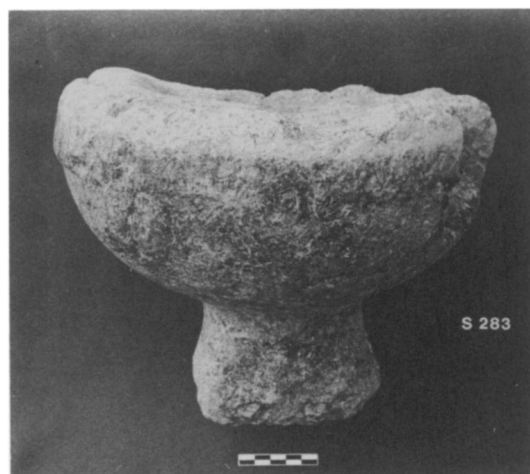
b. Bone needle fragments from A 2



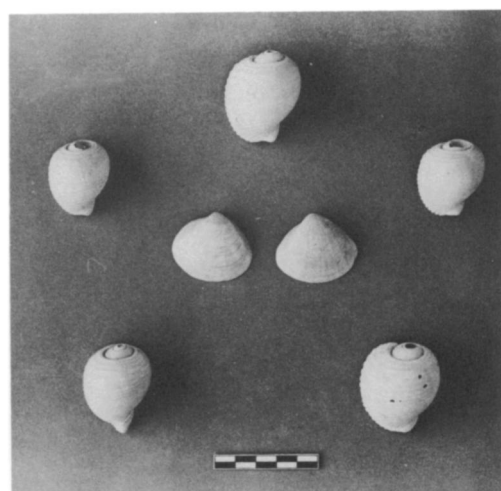
e. Room A 2, southwestern corner with S 654 *in situ*, from northeast



f. Room A 2, northwest corner with column drum and perirrhanterion base (S 653)



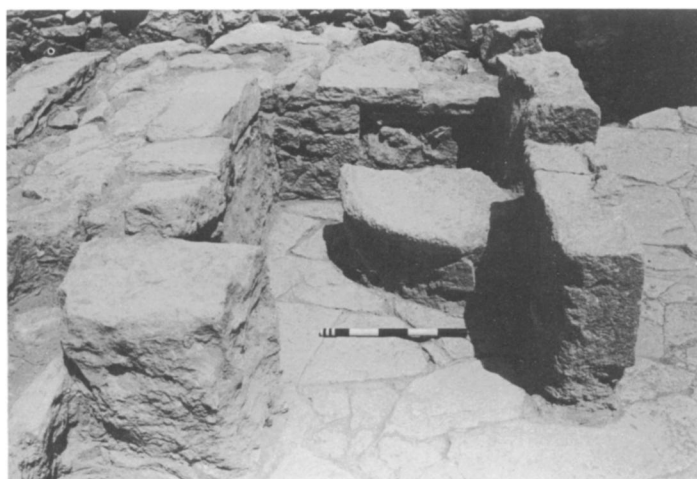
c. Stone lamp (portable altar?) from A 2



d. Shells (Sh 3) from below S 283 (*Mactra Stultorum*, center and *Tonna galea*)



g. Perirrhanterion base from A 2



a. Room A 2, northeastern corner with basin fragment in place, from west



b. Room A 2, top of western platform, from north



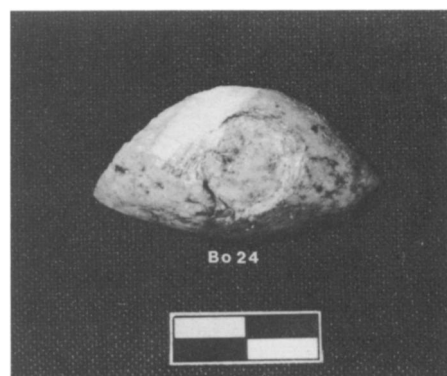
c. Room A 2, base molding of western platform



d. Room A 2, corner block of western platform, from south



e. Room A 2, cutting with channel on western platform, from south



f. Bone eye from A 2



a. Room A 2, northwestern corner after partial removal of backing for bench, from north. Fragment of I 11 at arrow.



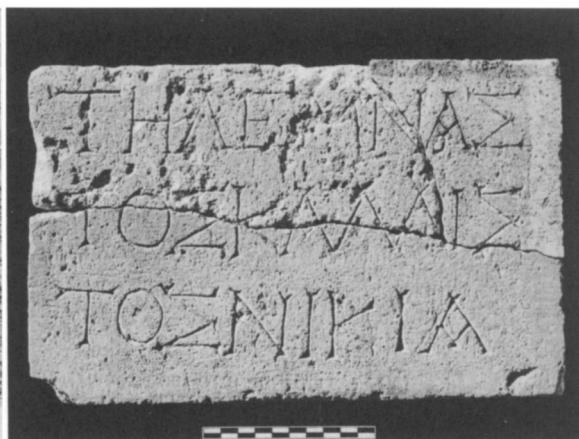
c. Architectural corner fragment found in two pieces within A 2 (S 656)



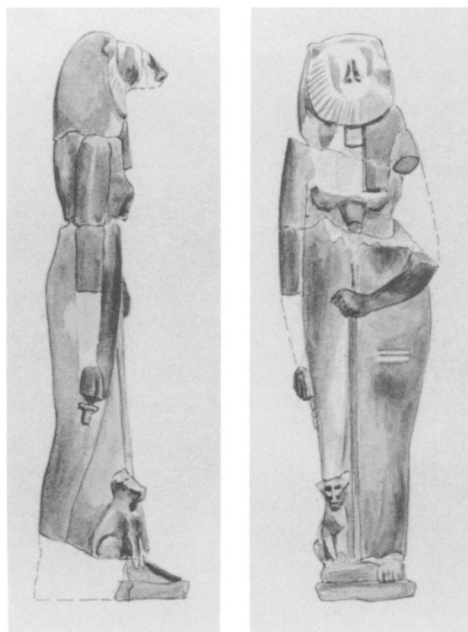
f. Bones from altar or hearth in western sounding in A 2.



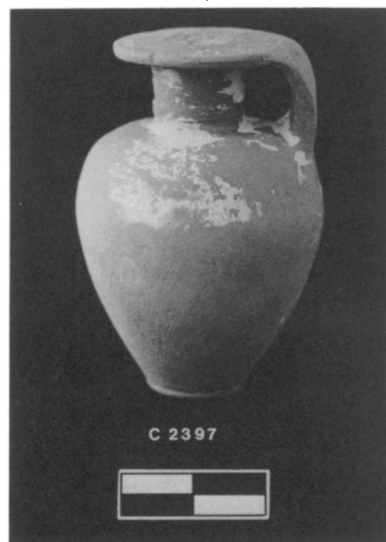
g. Possible fragmentary obolos from altar or hearth in western sounding.



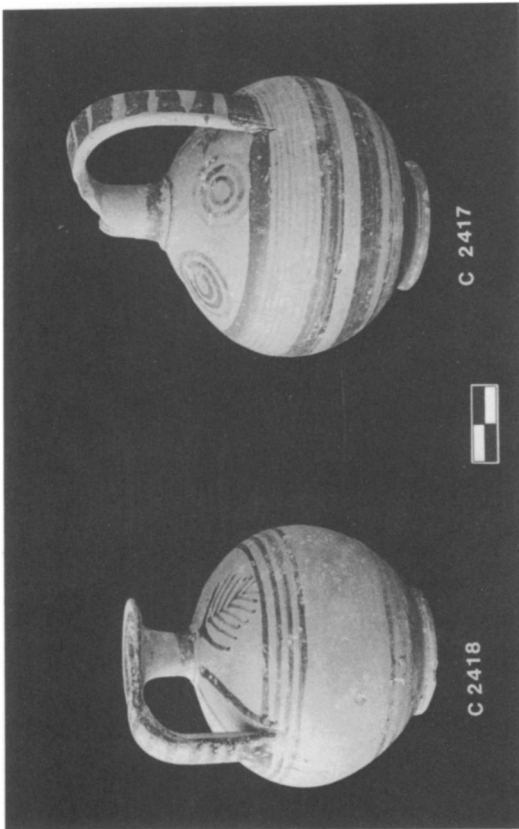
b. I 11, mended from pieces found east of and inside A 2



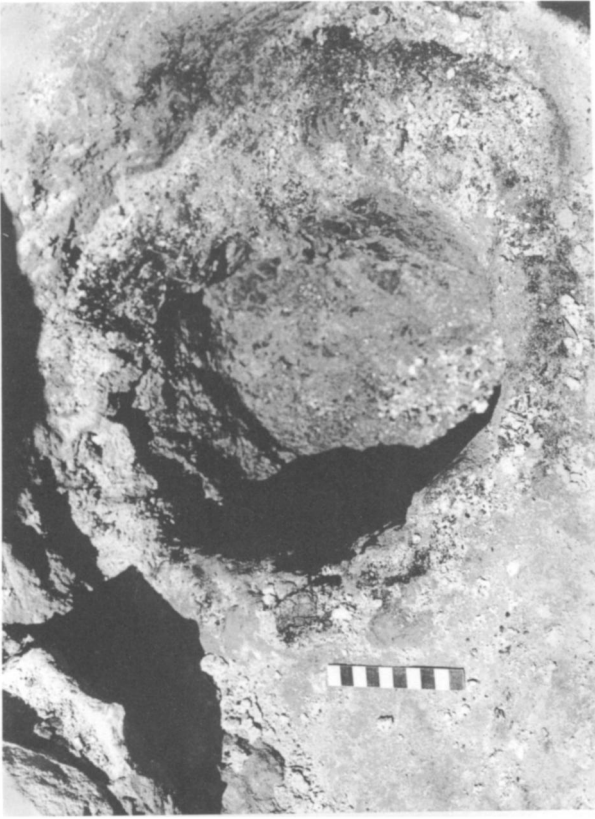
d, e. Faience figure of Sekhmet (F 5) from shrine. Watercolor by Giuliana Bianco.



h. Corinthian-style aryballos from western sounding



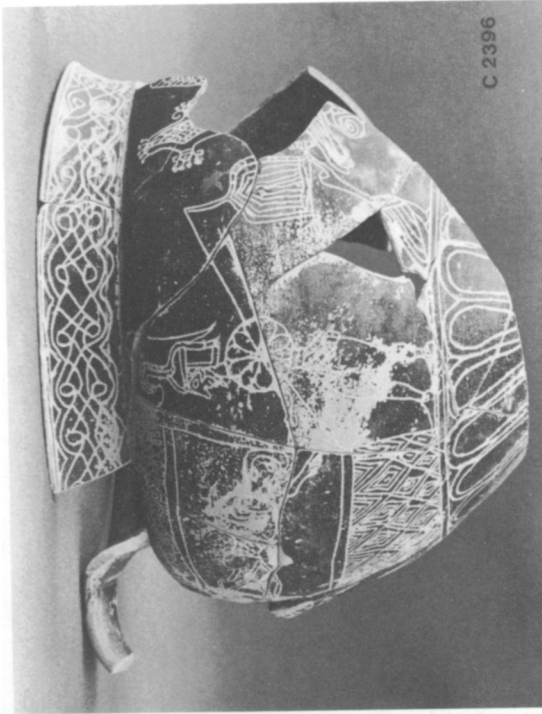
a. Two globular aryballoi from western sounding in A 2



b. Wooden bowl *in situ* in western sounding



c. Incised black cup, view A. From western sounding



d. Incised black cup, view B



a. Western sounding with altar or hearth below the superimposed column base, from south. Bronze horse at arrow.



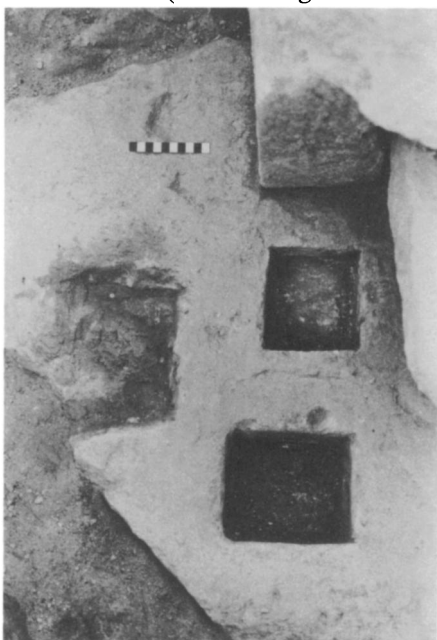
b. Bronze horse (B 17) *in situ* between pillars



c. Level of shrine below altar or hearth before removal of pillars, from south. (Blocks to right of column base added to stabilize it.)



d. Bronze horse from shrine



e. Detail of triangular base block of shrine, showing mortises. From south



f. Shrine, showing first pillar being replaced in mortise. From south



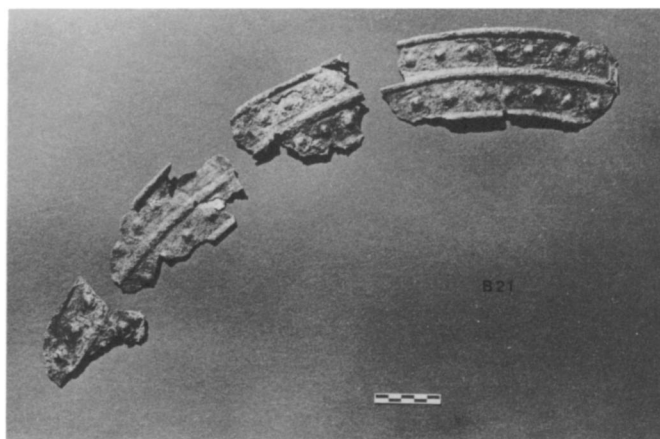
a. Central pillar from shrine after removal



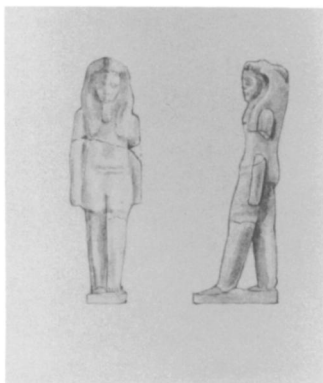
b. Bronze bull from shrine



c. Southern sounding from north



d. Fragments of bronze shield from shrine



e. Small faience figurine (F 10, of Nefertum) from shrine. Watercolor by Giuliana Bianco



f. I 12, found during sand-clearing operations southeast of A 2



b. Building J (foreground) and the Greek Sanctuary (background), from west



a. Building J at the end of excavation in 1979, from north

The Minoan Shoreside Buildings



a. Building J just after sand clearing operations, from north



b. Corridor 7 (center) in 1979, from west



c. Building J, southern façade with pottery deposit, from south



d. Building J, southern threshold with pottery deposit, from northeast