

EXCAVATIONS AT KOMMOS (CRETE) DURING 1980

(PLATES 49–61)

During our fifth season¹ at Kommos (23 June–27 August) we finished excavation of selected Late Minoan (LM) houses on the hilltop, now being prepared for publication. On the hillside we uncovered Middle Minoan (MM) house levels. To the south, we nearly completed work on the later Greek Sanctuary (4th century B.C.—mid-2nd century after Christ) and exposed parts of two successive Iron Age temples below. Near by, along the shore, we explored further the monumental Minoan buildings discovered in 1979.²

¹The 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 Archaeological Service. Financial support for 1980 was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Grant 410-78-0590-X2S1), the University of Toronto, and the Royal Ontario Museum as well as the SCM Corporation of New York and Leon Pomerance. Kodak Canada, Ltd., Keuffel and Esser of Canada, and the Polaroid Corporation of America helped provide equipment.

Full-time staff during the fifth season consisted of the Director, representing the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum; Professor Maria C. Shaw, Scarborough College, University of Toronto; Professor L. Vance Watrous, the State University of New York at Buffalo; Professor James Wright, Bryn Mawr College; Professor John McEnroe, Indiana University (formerly of the University of Toronto). Also present were the following former or present students at the University of Toronto: Giuliana Bianco, excavation architect and artist, Lucia Nixon (presently at the University of Cambridge), and Douglas Orr. Of the above, Nixon, McEnroe, Orr, M. Shaw and Wright worked as trench masters. George Beladakakis of Pitsidia was foreman again, in charge of some twenty workmen from Pitsidia and Siva.

Major contributions were made during the summer by Mary K. Dabney, Columbia University and Katherine A. Schwab, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (cataloguing); Peter Callaghan, the British School of Archaeology at Athens and Robert B. Koehl, University of Pennsylvania (both working on pottery, along with Professor Watrous); Harriet Blitzer, Indiana University (bone, metal and stone tools); David Reese, University of Cambridge (bones and shells). On the technical side were Catherine Sease, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Marta Leskard, Queen's University (conservation); Taylor Dabney (photography); Danaë Cotsis (pottery profiles). During the previous winter Sarah Stewart (now Mrs. Sharpe), University of Toronto, worked as Kommos Research Assistant.

Special thanks are to be extended to certain individuals who joined us for a limited time: Dr. John Hayes, Royal Ontario Museum (pottery); Professor John Gifford, University of Minnesota (geology); Professor Daniel Geagan, McMaster University (epigraphy); and Professors Jennifer and Thomas Shay, University of Manitoba (botany). The Shays spent over a month during the spring collecting and examining flora in connection with our botanical study of the Kommos region, and, during the excavation period, they set the groundwork for the analysis of carbonized seeds and wood from the ancient levels. We are also obliged to Ann Orr for helping with shopping and other matters.

To all the above I am deeply indebted.

The plans and illustrations for this report were made by Giuliana Bianco. With the exception of Plate 61:d, by Robert K. Vincent, Jr., object photographs and Plates 49:a and 50:a are by Taylor Dabney; the remaining site photographs were taken by the author.

²For earlier preliminary reports see *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 199–240 (= *Kommos*, 1976); 47, 1978, pp. 111–170 (= *Kommos*, 1977); 48, 1979, pp. 145–173 (= *Kommos*, 1978); 49, 1980, pp. 207–250 (= *Kommos*, 1979). See now J. W. Shaw, "In the midst of excavation at Kommos," *ROM Archaeological Newsletter*, no. 172, September 1979, and "Unravelling the History of a Greek Sanctuary in Crete," *ibid.*, no. 184, September 1980; M. C. Shaw, "Sir Arthur Evans at Kommos," *Expedition* 23, 1980/1981, no. 3, pp. 4–12; M. C. and J. W. Shaw, "Recent Discoveries in Crete," *Rotunda* 14, Spring 1981, pp. 12–19. For Minoan

Hesperia 50, 3

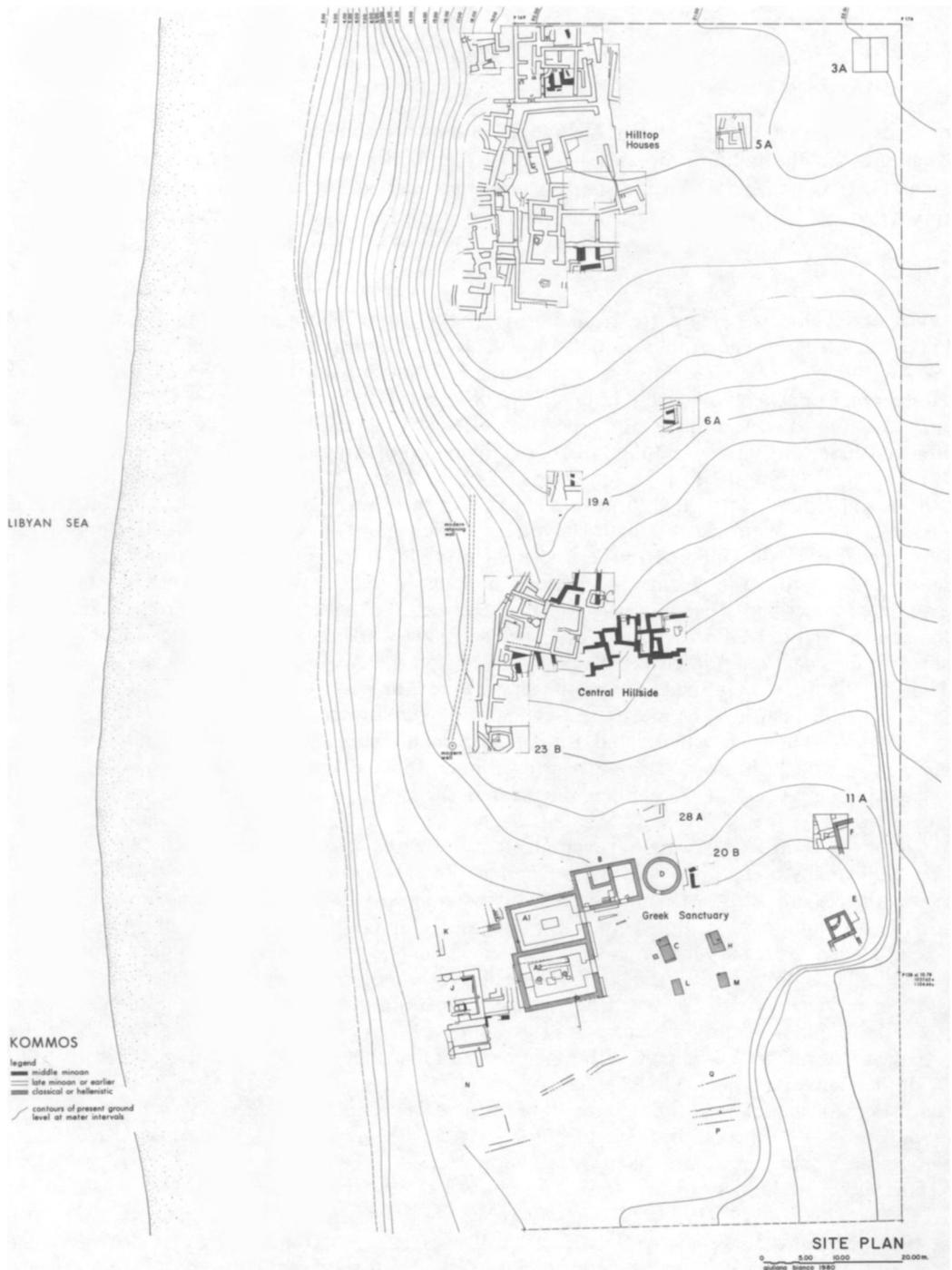


FIG. 1. General plan, site of Kommos (1980), by Giuliana Bianco

THE HILLTOP

(Trenches 36C, C1 and C2, 38A; Fig. 1 [top], Pl. 50:a)

Excavation within the Minoan houses on the hilltop, where almost half our excavation effort was expended during previous seasons, was confined to a few limited probes intended to clarify points of construction and chronology.

In Trench 36C a blocked doorway was cleared in the "Oblique" Building between Spaces O 15 and O 16,³ revealing a handsome threshold slab indicating at least two periods of use. Pottery from a sounding to bedrock in O 15 suggests at the moment that the Oblique Building may have been built in LM I, a relatively prosperous period on the site. To the west other blocking was removed from between Spaces 6 and 20 in the cliffside house,⁴ to expose a fine threshold, also with two periods of use. In the lane (7) outside the house, just to the west, a sounding clarified the walls of earlier structures. It also exposed in Court 21 a covered drain leading north into an oval, slab-lined enclosure that may have functioned as a cistern or sump.

Trench 38A explored the northern part of Space N 18 of the LM I North House,⁵ revealing that the eastern rooms of the MM predecessor of the North House were set into deep cuttings in the bedrock, just west of the north-south street (N 19) separating houses.⁶ Upon the completion of this probe excavation of the hilltop was terminated in order to allow study for final publication to begin.

THE CENTRAL HILLSIDE

(Trenches 33B, 35A-35A2; Figs. 1, 2, Pls. 50, 51)

On the hillside some cleaning and consolidation work was carried out within the LM I-III house largely uncovered during previous seasons.⁷ South of the house, in the intervening area between it and a sounding (23B) opened in another year, we began a trench⁸ and excavated down to the LM I ground level. It was discontinued as soon as it became clear that during LM I-III this was essentially an outdoor area without structures. If we had excavated further down, however, there is little doubt that we would have found ourselves within an MM house, for not only have such remains been found to the north and northeast⁹ but in the process of clearing part of the north-south street along the edge of the hill (Space 1, Pl. 50:c) we found that the street is bordered on the

coarse ware at Kommos, see Philip P. Betancourt, *Cooking Vessels from Minoan Kommos, A Preliminary Report*, Occasional Paper 7, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles 1980.

Brock, *Fortetsa* = J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa*, Cambridge 1957

Shaw, *Minoan Architecture* = J. W. Shaw, *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques* (= *ASAtene*, n.s. 33, 1971 [1973])

³Trench 36C1. For this area, see *Kommos*, 1978, pp. 152-153 and fig. 2:b; *Kommos*, 1979, p. 211.

⁴Trench 36C2. *Kommos*, 1977, p. 117 and fig. 3; *Kommos*, 1978, fig. 2:b.

⁵*Kommos*, 1978, fig 2:a; *Kommos*, 1979, pl. 54:a (mislabeled N 19 in the photograph).

⁶For a Geometric krater (C 1657) found in the levels above North House (House N), see below, p. 240.

⁷*Kommos*, 1979, fig. 2, Rooms 2-6, 11, 12. Now being studied by John McEnroe.

⁸Trench 33B.

⁹*Kommos*, 1979, fig. 2, Rooms 7-9, 24, 25.



FIG. 2. Hillside houses, easternmost area, by Giuliana Bianco

east by an MM wall, preserved three courses high, neatly and evenly constructed of large squared slabs. As we had found when excavating a section of this road on the north, the road was built during the MM period, with the addition of earth and occasional rough pavement slabs raising its level until it was abandoned in LM IIIB.

Major excavation took place east of the LM building (Trenches 35A1, 2, Fig. 2, Pl. 50:b, d), with the aim of uncovering more of an MM house of which only a western wall was exposed last year (that of Room 28 in Fig. 2). If there were no significant LM building above it, we might in this way be able to expose an entire MM building that

could be taken as representative of such buildings in this area. Fortunately, our hope was justified. As was the case with the area adjacent to the LM I building on the south, no LM structures were discovered east of it, although there was a small slab enclosure (above Room 28) west of a terrace wall, and LM III re-use was noted in Room 30. Some four rooms were uncovered, and it is hoped that in a future season connecting rooms to the north can be uncovered to reveal most if not all of what remains of the house plan. We may also be able to penetrate below the floor levels of a few of these rooms in order to reveal more of an earlier MM building, presumably a house, of which at least two rooms (26, 27, and perhaps 32) have already been explored.

If we review the newly discovered rooms briefly, it is clear that the builders of 28 knew and took advantage of the lower MM rooms, for the east and west walls of 28 were built on what was left of the earlier walls. Concerning 28 itself, the floor has been destroyed by erosion, which has removed any floor deposit or furnishings that might reveal its use. The original floor level, therefore, remains unsure, save that it was probably at or above +11.75 m., the elevation of the top of the highest of two stone steps which led up into the room from the north, contrary to the slope of the hillside. From 28 one could descend by steps (one is preserved) into Room 31 (Pl. 50:b, d), a small but well-paved room with a slightly irregular shape and with its slab floor sloping gently to the south (from +10.93 to +10.82 m.). Along part of its western and southern walls single lines of field stones some 0.26 m. from these walls suggest that there were low platforms, perhaps benches, here. We might be dealing with a small light-well. A few MM III-style vessels, including an unusually early small stirrup jar (C 2957, Pl. 51:c),¹⁰ a conical cup, and a few fragments of other vessels, apparently abandoned after the room went out of use, were found on the slab floor in the northeast corner.

Future work is needed to clarify the original state of Room 28 and, especially, its relation to neighboring Room 29, which apparently connected with it by means of a doorway before an opening in their common wall was blocked up. Perhaps 29 was originally a space below a stairway (*sottoscala*). It became, in any case, a place for storage when the doorway to 28 was blocked up; in its southwestern corner was then set a pithos.¹¹ At its north end was found a small deposit of MM III (Post-Kamarenes) pottery

¹⁰The stirrup jar (C 2957, maximum height to top of disk 0.126 m., maximum width 0.118 m.) is painted with a dark paint over all and with a red line at the shoulder and belly enclosing what appear to be red blobs. The disk is pierced through the overhanging edge. Unfortunately the "true" spout is broken below the rim. Robert Koehl advises me that prior to the discovery of this jar, in what is a clear MM III (Post-Kamarenes) context at Kommos, it had been thought that the earliest stirrup jars were all large, coarse jars which developed in MM III from the corresponding tall, amphoroid jar (as in A. Furumark, *Mycenaean Pottery*, I, *Analysis and Classification*, Stockholm 1941, p. 19). An example of such a large MM III stirrup jar is represented at Kommos by C 2720 (Pl. 51:b), a fragment with light-on-dark decoration and with both spouts preserved. It was found in a mixed MM III/LM I fill above Room 28, described in the text above. Its depressed disk is pierced, with the "true" spout being surrounded by spikes. It would seem, therefore, that small stirrup jars existed along with the larger ones during MM III, rather than developing from them at a later stage (LM I) as thought previously.

¹¹When the earth within the pithos in the southwest corner of 29 was removed, a steatite signet seal (S 713, Pl. 51:f-h) was found. The decoration of its stamp is unusual and abstract, resembling an open

(Pl. 51:a, e), including conical cups, a plain bridge-spouted vase and another with fine polychrome decoration (C 2981), the last covered by a rough slab perhaps intended for use in stacking one pot on another. There were also found a curious spouted tripod jar, with vertical and horizontal handles decorated with a drip pattern,¹² and a stone tool. The lower part of the deposit lay directly upon a floor covered first with reddish plaster, then white above it.

East of 29 and 31 we traced progressively a series of slanting deposits as they tilted down to the east and, in the process, removed the ramshackle LM IIIB retaining wall mentioned previously. Near it was found the somewhat dolorous but appealing female figurine, C 3205, in Plate 55:e. Below part of the wall was Room 30, originally of MM date, but clearly re-used in LM III when two floor levels were established. Built up against its southern wall was a hearth bordered by slabs, of a type that we have come to expect in levels of that period.¹³ Farther east are two thresholds, the one on the south leading out of 30; the relative function of that on the north remains undetermined.

Erosion, LM III re-use, and probable stone robbing in the southeastern corner of the trench removed much of the material associated with the upper MM building. A pitted burnt surface, perhaps suggesting LM III metalworking, was found above Room 32 at *ca.* +10.40 m. Room 32 itself (Pl. 50:d) was discovered shortly afterwards, with a fine slab floor at +9.82 m., a meter below and projecting out from under 31. Obviously Middle Minoan, it may belong with lower MM rooms 26 and 27 discovered on the west. It could be a light-well analogous to that suspected in its successor, Room 31. Only a single stone tool was found on its floor. A few vertical slabs, backed by clay, along its northern wall served as revetment. East of 32 the earth was much disturbed but nevertheless we recovered a few small groups of pots as well as two curious terra-cotta objects (Pl. 51:i), each pierced at one end, which may have served as shuttles, or as tools for mending nets.¹⁴

The same area, just east of Room 32, provided an opportunity for a sounding, from about +10.00 to +7.60 m. (bedrock). First layers of sand and soil were encountered (to +9.19 m.), then a thick layer of pure sand (to +8.50 m.), then a red-brown clayey layer (to +7.90 m.) upon the gray clay bedrock (*kouskouras*). The pottery found in the first three layers (the last was sterile) is most interesting, for in the top one the latest pottery was of MM I date, the time when we theorize that the hillside at Kommos was

flower with a leafy branch on one side and two branches on the other. This type of seal was well known in MM times (cf. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, London 1939, fig. 25:a, p. 143). For a similar seal see N. Platon, *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* (F. Matz and H. Biesantz, edd.), II, i, *Iraklion Archäologisches Museum*, Berlin 1969, no. 334.

¹²This small deposit of pottery is comparable in date to that found in an MM storeroom (Room 25) to the west of Room 28 (*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 214–217) and to another from an early sounding on the hilltop to the north (*Kommos*, 1977, pp. 154–155).

¹³Such as in Room 5 to the west (*Kommos*, 1978, p. 157 and pl. 54:b [d, e]).

¹⁴Not far away from Room 32, in a disturbed fill as late as LM III, was found a rounded, pierced stone (S 853) that was certainly a weight and could well have been used as an anchor.

first settled.¹⁵ The sand and upper part of the second, clayey stratum, however, contained sherds only of the Early Minoan period, some rather late, this being the first time that EM pottery has been discovered on this hill. At the moment we cannot connect the EM pottery with any architecture. Perhaps the sherd scatter is the result of occasional visits by people living on the hill to the south (Vigles), where we have found EM pottery. Future excavation, however, may prove that there is definite EM habitation on the northern hill (Τοῦ Σπανοῦ τὰ Κεφάλια). The deep layer of sand we have now discovered here is also important, for while there is little evidence to indicate an accumulation of sand in the area after MM I and before *ca.* 1200 B.C. (see below), it is clear here and elsewhere on the site¹⁶ that the original settlement in MM I was made in places upon a layer of sand, a fact that should aid us in any future reconstruction of environmental circumstances in the Kommos region.

THE LOWER HILLSIDE

Here we concentrated on completing clearing of the later Greek Sanctuary (the top ancient level) and on exploring parts of the Geometric/Archaic strata directly below it. We also investigated a portion of the underlying Minoan level. General results indicate that there was a large, perhaps “public” group of Minoan structures that, after re-use as dwellings, were abandoned in LM IIIB, *ca.* 1200 B.C. or earlier. Some time in the 10th century B.C. this part of the site was revisited and a small temple was established, to be succeeded by another above it in the 8th century. In turn, upon and near it, were built the altars, temple and other structures of the later Greek Sanctuary, all apparently established after *ca.* 450 B.C.

THE MINOAN LEVELS (Trenches 36A–A1, 34A–A2; Figs. 3, 4, 6, Pls. 52–55)

It is evident that on this southern part of the site the built-up Minoan area is extensive and that the buildings are proportionately larger and better constructed than the houses on the hilltop and hillside.¹⁷ In brief, of the Minoan buildings known, on the south only the tops of the walls of Building N have been identified, exposed during sand-clearing operations in 1980 (Fig. 3). On the southeast, we have excavated on either side of a large Minoan wall (P). A sounding directly south of the temple (A 2) has exposed a series of Minoan walls and a column base *in situ*. Only in the area of Building J, however, can one now see clearly the layout of a single Minoan building and a portion of its surroundings.

¹⁵For early settlement on the hill, see *Kommos, 1976*, p. 238; *Kommos, 1977*, p. 148; *Kommos, 1979*, p. 243.

¹⁶Sand was found in a similar context, but without EM pottery, some distance to the southeast (Trench 11A: *Kommos, 1977*, pp. 147–148. See also *Kommos, 1976*, pp. 213, 238).

¹⁷No evidence for ashlar construction was found in a sounding made next to the Round Building (D) of the sanctuary (*Kommos, 1978*, pp. 168–169), which may indicate that the large buildings did not extend that far to the northeast.

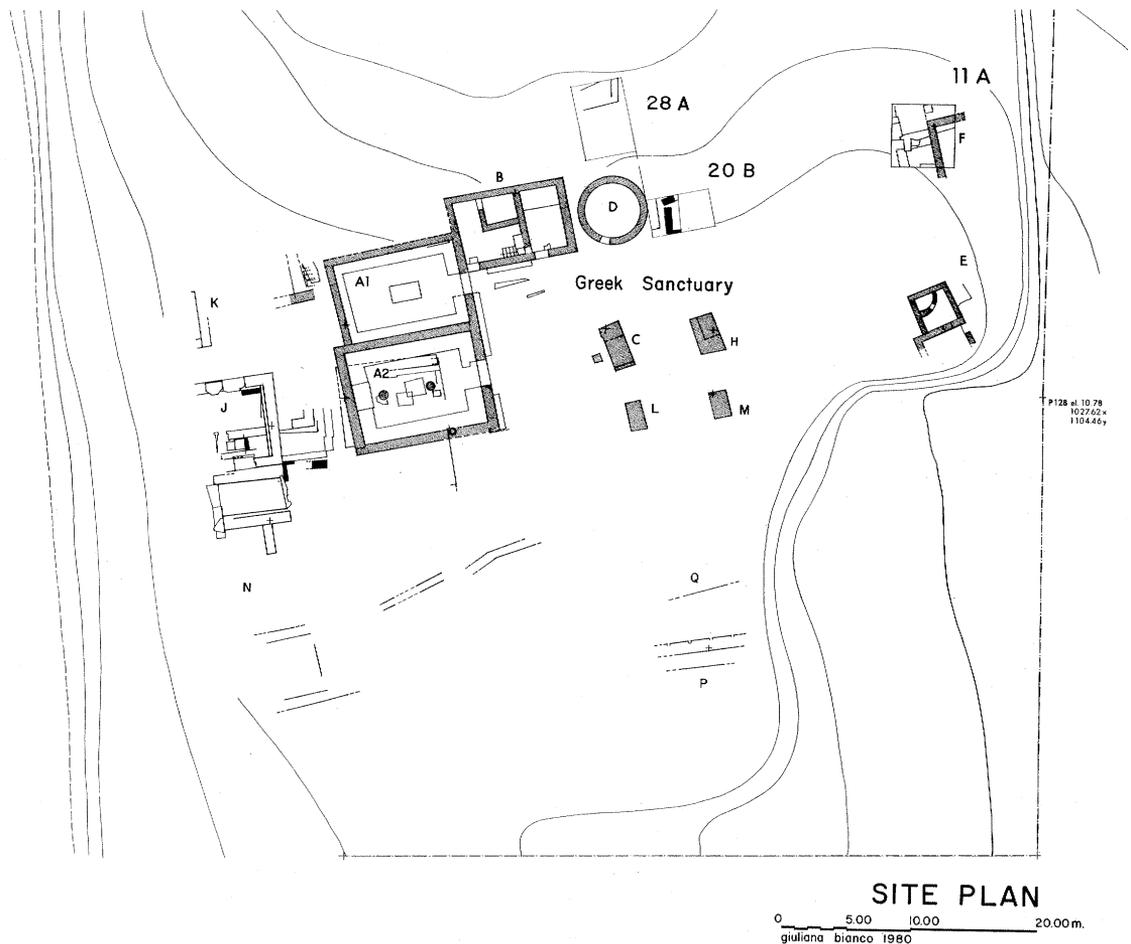


FIG. 3. Plan of area of Greek Sanctuary, by Giuliana Bianco

Building J and Adjacent Structures (Pls. 52:a, 54:b)

During 1979, Buildings K, J, and N, in a north-south sequence, were discovered deep below accumulated sand along the seashore.¹⁸ Their western walls had been eroded away, most likely by the sea. Neither K nor N have yet been cleared, excavation having been concentrated on J.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Kommos*, 1979, pp. 237–243, and figs. 12, 13.

¹⁹ During cleaning operations, however, a partly eroded pebble floor was found west of K's north-south wall, suggesting that (as J) the building extended further west. Also, the northwestern room of N was cleared down to its upper, LM III floor (to +3.92 m.). At the end of the season a very heavy wall, built with blocks removed from the excavation, was constructed along the western side of J, with its top just below J's early floor level. It is hoped that this wall will help prevent erosion in the future.

In 1980 we essentially completed the excavation of J's interior, revealing an earlier, original room on the south with at least two phases, each of which incorporated a stairway leading up to an upper floor or the roof, or both. First we removed the remaining half of the upper LM III floor on the south to reveal a rough cross-wall, probably once plastered, against which the original limestone floor slabs end quite evenly. There is a gap (a passage?) between it and the east wall of J. On the west it also stops, at a large Γ-shaped base for a doorjamb, to the west of which is a large T-shaped jamb base, the two bases (a and b, respectively, in Pl. 54:a) clearly belonging to a pier-and-door partition (running east-west) of a type known in larger Minoan establishments but found here at Kommos for the first time.²⁰ Further west there was certainly another base or series of bases, but the floor at this point has been eroded away.

South of the cross-wall, in what now is seen to be J's southern room during the first phase, we excavated below ground-water level to reveal a north-south cross-wall (a in Pl. 54:d), perhaps a support for a stairway. Above it (there was no clearly indicated floor level) were masses of fallen plaster painted blue, the color of which, unfortunately, faded rather rapidly when exposed to the air. Below "floor" level the pottery was uniformly Middle Minoan; above it was a fill containing chiefly LM I pottery but there were also some LM III sherds, the latter indicating the time when the spaces were filled to accommodate the higher, LM III floor level.²¹

As recognized in 1979, the original southern wall of J went out of use in LM III and a new one, this time with a threshold at a higher level, was established further north.²² We found, however, that the new wall was set upon an earlier east-west wall which had divided the original southern room of J. This southern room in an intermediate phase was probably a stairway replacing an earlier stairway further west.²³

The following, tentative sequence suggests itself at the moment:

1. J is built, with a southern room entered from the north through a pier-and-door partition, offering privacy (the doors could have been locked from the south) and access westwards via a stairway to a presumed upper floor as well as to the roof. LM I; see below, p. 245.
2. The eastern part of the southern room is converted into a second stairway. LM I?

²⁰For this type of base, see Shaw, *Minoan Architecture*, pp. 150–151, fig. 181. The type, used in single doorways, had been found earlier on both hilltop and hillside (*Kommos*, 1978, p. 152 and note 11).

²¹The pottery (conical cups, cup-bowls, and jugs) is of the domestic type known from the houses to the north. The more unusual objects were a curious hollow horn-shaped object, C 2977, perhaps a spout, found below floor level and, above floor level, part of a Cypriot spindle-bottle (C 2753, of which a joining fragment was found outside J on the east), as well as some fragments of "Canaanite" jars (C 3559, C 3560), for which see below, pp. 246–247.

²²*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 240–242.

²³Detailed interpretation of J's structural history, especially that of the southern room, must await further study. The existence of an earlier stairway further west is suggested by the positioning of a base with two dowel holes (e in Pl. 54:b). One would have passed from the north through the pier-and-door partition and, after a gap (paved), turned right to ascend the stairs. Then in the later phase this stairway was abandoned in favor of another one built to the east; the latter was probably of the U type studied by J. W. Graham (*The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, p. 182) and was situated within the inner room south of the east-west partition wall described in the text.

3. The second stairway is filled in with debris, including plaster from the upper walls, and the new southern wall of J is set upon the wall of the stairway. LM III.

During the LM III renovation, J's original north door was blocked and the interior floor level was raised a meter to +3.73 m.; J became one large room with a single storey, replacing a building with two ground-floor rooms and two floors. The unusually substantial change in floor level (there were no intermediate floors) is not explained easily. Perhaps the sea's erosive action was the cause, but in any case the change was matched by a similar raising of level both south and east of J. In the "Corridor" (7) on the south (*Kommos*, 1979, fig. 12), the Minoans levered in blocks from J's original southern wall²⁴ onto the original floor (at +2.75 m.).²⁵ In the process they covered up a small, makeshift fireplace and a line of slabs (a coarse bench?) set alongside J on the south. They then leveled the floor (to *ca.* +3.76 m.) with a thick mixture of sea pebbles. They continued this pebble pavement to the east (see below), and from the number of joining sherds found on the floor within, south, and east of J it is reasonable to conclude that the individuals living in J also used the areas near by, which were presumably outside.²⁶

East of Building J a trench (37A) was set between Temple C and Building J and penetrated successively down through Classical, Archaic, Geometric, and Protogeometric levels until Minoan was reached (at *ca.* +4.00 m.).²⁷ There were three chief Minoan occupation levels below this point: 1) Middle Minoan rooms at the lowest level reached; 2) a pebble floor and court (at +2.88 m.) with evidence of use during LM I (Fig. 4, Pl. 53:a); 3) an upper pebble floor and Room 4, an addition onto the side of J (the floor at +3.82 m.), both used during LM III (Pl. 54:e).

The Middle Minoan rooms were investigated in only two small soundings made through the LM I pebble floor south of the paved court. A number of walls (Pl. 55:a) were found, all constructed neatly of slabs. One of these walls turns south directly below the southeastern corner of J, a good indication that the builders of J used earlier structures with the same orientation for their foundations in at least one place.²⁸ The krepidoma block of J, the top of which is just visible in Plate 53:a, rests upon this wall, which projects eastward from it.

Next to the krepidoma the latest pottery was of LM IA style (Pails 62, 64), which now suggests the date for the construction of Building J. Aside from these brief glimps-

²⁴The three largest blocks have been left *in situ* for the moment. See *Kommos*, 1979, fig. 12.

²⁵Evidence is mounting (based on J's eastern interior wall, the LM III addition to J on the east) to show that the LM III builders first constructed a kind of krepidoma for their walls, upon the original floor level, ending at about the desired floor level. Then they set thinner but still quite substantial walls upon such bases, some distance back from their faces. This suggests in turn that the south wall of the "Corridor" is really of LM III date and that the original pebble floor outside J once extended much further to the south. On the west, however, it was bounded by a doorway and heavy ashlar wall (f and g, Pl. 54:b).

²⁶E.g. C 2469 (large spouted vessel with palms and papyri); C 2503 (pithoid jar with papyrus decoration); C 2849 (coarse, octopus stirrup jar).

²⁷The post-Bronze Age levels are discussed below in connection with the later temples, pp. 230–244.

²⁸The interior of the north wall of J seems to incorporate an early wall.

ses, however, we know little yet of these early buildings. Unknown, also, is the height to which these MM walls are preserved, for we could not dig effectively below ground-water level in such limited spaces.²⁹ The pottery from the southeastern sounding (Pl. 55:a) was uniformly MM I domestic ware which, I assume, also gives us the latest date of the walls found there.³⁰ This sounding does, however, introduce the question of why so little MM II/III ware was found in the immediate area, for we know that the hillside to the north was thickly settled then and that buildings of that period are as close as the site of the round building of the later sanctuary.³¹ Possibly, when J and perhaps other buildings were constructed here, the builders first prepared a kind of platform by leveling the ground but taking care to slope it gently down to the west for the sake of drainage.³² Thus any MM II/III buildings may have been removed, leaving only their predecessors; then the early walls were used, in at least one instance, as foundation for later structures of quite different construction, built of ashlar blocks instead of slabs. At that time a thick layer (0.15–0.20 m.) of bluish gray beach pebbles bedded on a layer of compact gray schist was laid down to form the floor. To judge from the late MM III—early LM I sherds found in this layer, the floor dates to early LM I.

Thus J was built and the floor was laid. Not long afterward, or even at the same time, a handsome paved surface (3.50 m. east-to-west) was set just east of J, its southern limit defined by a line of three finely cut ashlar slabs, *ca.* 0.45 m. wide and partially set within the pebble floor (Pl. 53). The pavement slabs are of local limestone with the exception of one red-schist slab which was probably added for the sake of its attractive color.³³ The pavement's northern limit is perhaps obscured by the LM III structure (Room 4) set upon it, but it may also continue considerably further to the north. In any case its function remains unclear, for it is unlikely to belong to a light-well: no column bases are visible, nor does it yet have an interior space adjoining it on any of the three sides presently visible, nor is there any sign so far of a drain. It could be part of an entranceway leading into a still-undiscovered structure to the north.

At first glance, the heavy ashlar wall bordering the pavement on the east appears to belong to a large building; but upon examination we found that the eastern face of the wall is irregular (Pl. 53:b), rather like that of a retaining wall, and, moreover, there is

²⁹The MM walls were at a depth below the pebble floor (at +2.88 m.) from +1.94 m. to +2.57 m. on the west and +1.99 m. to +2.77 m. on the east. Bedrock in J to the west is at +2.66 m.

³⁰The area investigated was limited, however, and in the future a larger sounding should be made at a convenient point. The investigation next to J's southeastern corner produced only a few undiagnostic MM sherds at its lowest level (Pail 65).

³¹*Kommos, 1978*, pp. 168–169.

³²From east to west: +2.88 m. (pebble floor south of paved court), +2.79 m. (pebble floor in 7, "The Corridor"), +2.75 m. (slab floor in J's northern room). In Trench 34A2, immediately south of the temple and some distance east of Trench 37A (see Fig. 5 and p. 224), the top of the lower column base (+3.04 m.) and associated pebble floor (at *ca.* +3.08 m.) suggest a similar relationship; excavation of the intervening area should clarify the matter.

³³Similar use of red slabs was noticed earlier in an LM I pavement on the hillside (*Kommos, 1977*, p. 127). For Minoan use of polychrome stone, especially in the Messara, see Shaw, *Minoan Architecture*, pp. 20–29.

little clear sign of a floor bordering it on the east. Rather, the fill (LM I at latest) from *ca.* +3.33 m. down (0.40 m. down from the highest part of the wall) was quite clayey, then further down became densely packed with small pebbles like a road surface and was quite difficult to penetrate.³⁴ Further excavation to the north (the wall seems not to have continued to the south) will undoubtedly clarify the situation;³⁵ it is possible that the wall retained a sloping surface of fill on the east which mounted to the north until it merged with a Minoan ramp discovered in 1977 and of MM III/LM I date.³⁶ Part of the wall, indeed, looks like a parapet. Cut into the upper surface of one of its finely squared blocks (Pl. 54:f, foreground) was a series of shallow cavities, arranged in the form of a subdivided oval. The result is like a “kernos”, and may be part of a game played by passers-by. The slab just south of it probably did not belong to the original wall.

In LM IIIA at the earliest,³⁷ the general level in the area was raised and the upper pebble floor, already mentioned, was laid down. Any intermediate periods are difficult to determine, but it does seem that the lower levels in J, in “Corridor” 7, and immediately east of J could have been abandoned for some time, since the fill for about 0.30 m. above their floors seems to be uniformly LM I (with a few pieces of LM II) without the LM III material found further up. There is no sign of burning, nor do the few objects found indicate a sudden abandonment of rooms and goods as in certain LM IB structures elsewhere on the island or in the MM III rooms on the Kommos hillside.

In the fill were numerous large blocks, certainly from walls near by, from J, and presumably from buildings still to be discovered. A few of these blocks lay almost directly on the LM I floor, but most of them were higher, often tilted down toward the west. It is reasonable to think that these blocks were dragged to their present positions, after they were pried loose from walls or recovered by the builders from the “domino”-like pile of stones that characterizes a fallen ashlar wall.³⁸

When the level was raised in LM III, the builders began from near the original floor levels. In J the northern entrance was closed up by large blocks laid directly on the threshold.³⁹ In the interior a new face of smaller stones was built against the east wall. In 7, the foundation wall on which the southern east-west wall was set begins from the LM I floor level (see p. 221 above). East of J, the platform of Room 4 is set almost

³⁴Within the packing were many fragments of painted wall plaster with a variety of designs, some apparently simulating variegated stone and generally rendered with fine brushwork.

³⁵Expansion to the east here is impeded by the scarp supporting the temples.

³⁶*Kommos*, 1977, p. 147, fig. 7 and pl. 40:c. The pavement north of J also appears to belong to a passageway, and if so could connect with the ramp, although another ramp or a flight of steps would be necessary for the levels to merge evenly.

³⁷Tentative classifications of the latest pottery: Below the upper pebble floor in J and in Pails 5–7 of Trench 36A, LM II or LM IIIA1 (*Kommos*, 1979, p. 242, note 80). In “Corridor” 7 to the south, LM IIIA in Pail 2. East of J, possible LM IIIB is reported from Pails 22–24 (Trench 37A). LM II also is present in the “Corridor” (C 2878, kylix fragments) and in Trench 37A (C 2933, jar fragment).

³⁸Such a tumble was discovered, for instance, in the southwestern part of the Central Court at Kato Zakros (Πρακτικά, 1964 [1966], pls. 149:b, 150:a), and at Kommos itself within Greek Building B (*Kommos*, 1977, pl. 39:a).

³⁹As shown in *Kommos*, 1979, pl. 67:a.

directly upon the slab floor of the court (Pl. 53:b). Once these walls were set, whatever fill was available near by (including sherds, stones, plaster fragments, etc.) was brought here in order to raise the level.⁴⁰

In LM III, aside from the upper walls, the area east of J must have looked very much as it does in Plate 54:e, with the pebble floor at *ca.* +3.80 m. (average). On the southwest a single course of fieldstones at one time created a barrier between it and "Corridor" 7 (Fig. 4). One entrance into Room 4 (1.15 m. wide), without a pivot hole to indicate a door, was from the south; was there a threshold, now removed? Nothing more is known about this room since its interior remains unexcavated. Upon the upper floor outside 4, however, were numerous decorated sherds, some of which joined others found on the same relative floor in "Corridor" 7 and J to the west (see footnote 26 above). The wall of J was probably at least a meter higher than it appears in Plate 53:a, assuming a 3-meter-high ceiling on the LM III interior level; at least the upper part of the wall was added in LM III.⁴¹ At that time only one block of the north-south wall bordering the earlier "ramp" remained exposed (as in Pl. 54:e).

How long in absolute terms this upper level remained in use is unclear. It was abandoned in LM IIIB, after which sand drifted over this part of the site along the shore, building up 0.10 m.–0.40 m. in places east of J, the level rising to about +4.00 m.⁴² The site lay deserted, but a few Geometric sherds among the Minoan in the sand layer indicate that there was new occupation at a time when the eastern wall of Building J (and perhaps of 4) was standing at least 1.50 m. above ground level and could even have been used to provide shelter for the first newcomers.⁴³

There is no doubt that significant Minoan levels continue east of the area described, below the later temples and even further. The only place where we have glimpsed them so far, however, is south of the temple (Fig. 4, Pl. 55:b, d), in Trench 34A2 below the temple dump. This is an area rather difficult to understand and to relate to the remains on the west because of the unexcavated area between and because of possible later intrusions (e.g. the north-south wall along the western scarp in Plate

⁴⁰Among the pottery catalogued from the LM III filling were C 2949 (LM III Argive stirrup-jar fragment), C 3218 (Cypriot White Slip II sherd), C 3325 (terracotta strainer fragment), C 3326 (globular rhyton fragment), C 3327 (conical cup with kernoi) and, from the level just above the LM I pebble floor, C 3348 (LM I bowl with painted flying birds) and B 156 (intact bronze tweezers, Pl. 58:a).

⁴¹To judge from the known fact that J was shortened on the south, the end block of the second course at the southeast corner (Pl. 53:a) was certainly placed then, and the unevenness of blocks in the third course suggests that not all of them are original. The rather sudden switch from ashlar to slab masonry above this point, and to slab masonry much like that used for the LM III walls of Room 4, also suggests that the entire upper wall was renewed. Some of these slabs were found fallen next to the wall along its east face, above the LM III floor.

⁴²Sand accumulation on the site coincides roughly with times when it was largely deserted: before *ca.* 2000 B.C. (see footnote 16 above), after LM IIIB and before our earliest Protogeometric (*ca.* 1200–950? B.C.), and beginning from *ca.* 150 B.C. when sand began to build up in the sanctuary area, as shown in the temple dump below, p. 228, and in the sand sealed below a burned floor level in Building B (*Kommos*, 1977, p. 139; see also *Kommos*, 1976, p. 206, note 16).

⁴³For the sequence after this point, see pp. 239–240.

55:b). Moreover, aside from rather scrappy sherds and a small Minoan terracotta head (C 3275), there is little artifactual evidence to help us interpret the use of the area.

Nevertheless, part of the architectural history (as opposed to the history of use) can be traced here, beginning with a portion of a wall, probably Middle Minoan, of which what remains may be only the bottom course and which was set in the manner of a retaining wall on bedrock (at +2.68 m., Fig. 4, lower right). This may be contemporary with the earlier structures found east of J below the LM I floor, even though its orientation differs. Next, after a general leveling operation, probably in MM III, a thick floor of pebbles was laid down (top at +2.96 m.) just below the top of a column base (at +3.04 m.), which was carved out as a round projection from a large slab of limestone (Pl. 55:d at a). Somewhat later, but no later than LM I, another pebble floor was added (to +3.08 m.), and a fine cylindrical column base with a diameter of 0.51 m. was set upon the earlier one, its top at +3.27 m. The time when this was done most likely corresponds to that of the paved court (and perhaps J) on the west. Unfortunately, while the column base is definitely *in situ*, we do not know to which walls it was related, although there is an ashlar wall directly to the east.⁴⁴ This wall, visible in the scarp (Pl. 55:b at a), cannot yet be cleared without endangering the foundation of Temple C⁴⁵ above (Pl. 55:b at b), almost exactly and certainly coincidentally on the same line.

Did the LM III renovations reach this point? Perhaps. If the LM III floor continued over from the west, it may equate with a layer of pebbles found at +3.95 m. (Pail 51), the pebbled surface rising to the east until it stops at a pile of blocks and rubble; the latest sherds in the pile are LM III. Perhaps here the LM III renovations ended and the pile is debris left east of the intended building site. As in the area east of J, large blocks (one with unusual chisel marks on its face) were used as packing below the LM III pebble floor.⁴⁶

THE GREEK SANCTUARY

The Latest Court and its Altars (Trenches 33A–A3, 34A3; Fig. 3, Pl. 49:b)

One of our priorities during the past season was to complete excavation of the upper or latest sanctuary and, in particular, to clear the court of the sand and earth that had accumulated upon its 4th-century B.C. surface. This “cosmetic” work brought the level down to the bases of both benches in front of the temple (A 2), as well as down to the krepidomas of the four altars discovered during past seasons. The clearing was not carried out further north, however, for a small, late wall in the court there seemed worth preserving; moreover, it seemed better to maintain the original relationship

⁴⁴What appears to be a wall corner of ashlar blocks three courses high rests upon the earliest column base, at +3.04 m. (top at +4.31 m.). Since a column base is hardly ever set so close to a wall, one must assume at this point that the ashlar corner belongs to a period postdating the setting of the base.

⁴⁵See footnote 53, below.

⁴⁶The two longer blocks undoubtedly come from a still-undiscovered building near by. Cuttings similar to those mentioned in the text can be seen in the MM palace façade at Phaistos, both on the upper and lower (earlier) orthostate courses (Shaw, *Minoan Architecture*, fig. 87, p. 84 and fig. 89, p. 86).

between Building B with its benches and the court surface which had risen since the northernmost altars had been built.

Few notable small finds, aside from sherds and burnt bone (the latter especially near Altars C and H), were found in the process. Some new features of the court were uncovered, however, in particular a small enclosure (Pl. 55:f) set next to the temple wall and just to the left as one entered (see p. 226 below). Also, we found that while the foundation of the northern bench outside A 1 and A 2 is set on earth, the bench to the south is on a layer of sand, implying that the latter is the later of the two since sand accumulated relatively late in the classical sanctuary.

In the area around the altars the bases of Altars L and M were completely cleared.⁴⁷ Both their krepidomas and wall construction are so similar that they are probably contemporary and, as a pair, a later addition to the original sanctuary. Although differing in size and missing some blocks, the altars probably appear now much as they did in antiquity. Neither was enlarged as were Altars C and H to the north.

Altar C, upon which was found the terracotta bull, has been discussed in past reports,⁴⁸ along with its probable phases of construction. When it was first excavated, a wall was reported directly west of it, but with further clearing this "wall" turned out to be a small, almost square platform (visible in Figure 3, 0.62 m. east-west by 0.65 m. north-south and only two courses high) made of uncut slabs and with its top about 0.20 m. above the level of C's original krepidoma. It lies roughly on an east-west line bisecting the altar's first architectural phase. Its use, however, remains unexplained. It was probably not a place of sacrifice, for although some bone was found near it on the court surface, its stones were not burnt. Perhaps near here major outdoor rites connected with the sanctuary took place,⁴⁹ and this small platform was built for some use associated with them, perhaps as a base for a small dedication which has since disappeared. These same rites may have involved an enclosure formed by slabs set on edge, built up against Altar C on the south, surrounding an area 1.50 by 1.60 m. The earth on the interior was burnt but no indications of specific use were forthcoming.

Altar H, revealed in 1978,⁵⁰ was also cleared completely. In its final phase it was *ca.* 1.94/1.96 m. wide and 3.00/3.26 m. long, but a close study of its masonry reveals that additions were made along the western and southern sides of the altar and that its original size was 1.17 (east-west) by 1.89 m. (north-south). A restudy of the pottery from the level of the original krepidoma⁵¹ suggests that the altar may be as early as the 7th century B.C., and as such would be the earliest of the four in the court. For a clearer understanding of the altar sequence, however, it is probably better to await investigation of the Geometric/Archaic level now known to extend to the east of the temple

⁴⁷There had not been time to do this during the previous season (*Kommos*, 1979, p. 219).

⁴⁸*Kommos*, 1977, pp. 142–145, fig. 9.

⁴⁹*Kommos*, 1978, p. 168. See also, Birgitta Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos, A Study of Structure and Function*, Lund 1967, p. 110.

⁵⁰*Kommos*, 1978, pp. 162–164.

⁵¹Trench 20B1/3:14.

(A 2), below the later court. If it does turn out that Altar H is contemporary with an early temple (probably with the second phase of Temple B, for which see below), then it would have been set on rising ground about a meter higher than the temple floor.⁵²

*The Latest Temple (Temple C)*⁵³ (Trench 34A5; Fig. 4, Pls. 49:b, 55:f, 56:b, d)

During 1980, excavation in the court east of the temple (A 2) disclosed differing phases of the two benches (see p. 225 above) and a small slab enclosure (Pl. 55:f) set up against the outside ashlar face of the temple, probably not long after the latter was built. In an earlier phase the enclosure was 0.60 m. long and 0.50 m. wide, and the layers of burnt clay in its interior suggest that fires may have been lit within it, probably scorching the exterior face of the temple's ashlar wall (now, unfortunately, removed by stone robbers). In a second phase, when about 0.60 m. long and 0.50 m. wide, and at a somewhat raised level, the dark soil and burnt bone indicate that the same use continued. Perhaps offerings were burnt here, and on the altars outside, as well as on the hearth within the temple.

Investigations in the temple clarified the fact that there were double doors opening inward at its entrance.⁵⁴ The most interesting revelation, however, came when the northwestern interior corner was excavated revealing four phases in the use of the building (Pl. 56:d; cf. Fig. 4).⁵⁵ Originally the corner was accessible, for the first floor continues under the accumulated remains and ends in the northwestern corner near three worn slabs (1' in Pl. 56:d). The slabs may have served as a step down from a minor entrance to the room from the northwest during its first period, probably before A 1 was built to the north. Opposite these slabs there was a rectangular platform (1" in Pl. 56:d) set against the statue base (1''').⁵⁶ Later, this level was raised (2), and not long after that the second bench phase (3) was added, to be followed in one of the latest periods of its use by the final bench phase (4).

Little helpful dating material was recovered in these cumulative fillings, but roof-tiles in the packing between the first and second bench phases suggest that the roof had collapsed at least in part before the second bench was installed, perhaps in the 2nd century B.C.⁵⁷ Concerning the northwest corner itself, one can only speculate whether

⁵²Elev. +6.09 m. (top of the krepidoma of H) versus +5.01 m. (eastern level of the second, probably 7th-century B.C. floor of Temple B).

⁵³Successive structures on the site of Building A 2 are referred to as Temples A, B, and C; see p. 232 below.

⁵⁴The position of the doorway became clear in 1979 when the pivot block was discovered (*Kommos, 1979*, p. 219). Circular marks on the floor slabs north of the doorway showed that there were two leaves to the door, the northern one probably set onto a similar block now missing.

⁵⁵In Figure 4 the corner is shown as discovered in 1979, with the later blocking and filling largely unexposed.

⁵⁶That this base is part of the original construction is indicated by the fact that neither the base molding for the statue base nor the original floor continue further to the west.

⁵⁷This would correspond to the end of phase B (4) as discussed in *Kommos, 1979*, p. 243. The weathering on the northern face of the statue base (1''' in Pl. 56:d) would suggest that the building may have been unroofed at this time, for later construction here (4 in Pl. 56:d) largely covered over this part of the



FIG. 4. Plan of temple area and part of adjoining Building J, by Giuliana Bianco

there was a doorway here, perhaps a private entry for the priest.⁵⁸ Nor is there a clear explanation for the platform with its two phases, built alongside the statue base on the north. Evidently the platform was useful; perhaps it accommodated offerings or temple furnishings of some kind.

The "Upper" Temple Dump (Trenches 34A–34A1; Pls. 58:b–g, 59:a, b)

At the end of the 1979 season a handsome tamarisk tree directly south of the newly discovered temple was left standing on an "island" of sand some 2.50 m. above the court level.⁵⁹ At the beginning of the past season it was necessary, unfortunately, to remove the tree, but partial recompense for its loss was provided by a rich dump of ritual material discarded during occasional cleanings of the temple over a long period of time. Indeed, the practice of throwing debris south of the temple can be traced back to the Geometric and Protogeometric predecessors of the latest temple (Temple C).⁶⁰

The "island" of sand was removed in two large, somewhat irregular trenches, 34A on the west and 34A1 on the east. In general the dump consisted of sand, with occasional patches of burnt earth and bone, in some cases suggesting that burning took place on the mound itself. From the debris of the dump were collected much bone and a great many terracotta objects, as well as a few bronze artifacts. Of the catalogued objects there were some 8 dishes, 5 jugs, 11 ladles, 29 lamps, and 11 unguentaria. A multitude of cups and bowls were catalogued, including 27 tulip cups (e.g. Pl. 58:d), 51 cups or bowls, and a type of small bowl unusually well represented at Kommos; some 17 have been catalogued, of which 5 are shown in Plate 59:a. We have dubbed this cup type the "Kommos Cup". There were also a number of loomweights (3), a stamped Rhodian amphora handle (I 15), and some inscribed fragments of a slab (I 14).

There was a general tendency for the layers, especially the earlier ones, to slope up to the west, perhaps a reflection of the desire of those cleaning the temple (at least until most of the sanctuary had gone out of use) to keep the mound of debris, including a certain amount of sand swept up from the court, partially out of sight south of the temple but still at a convenient spot. This conclusion, however, is not based on excavation according to stratified layers. Unlike Trench 35A on the hillside to the north, where we followed stratigraphic layers that could be differentiated as we progressed, the dump consisted of shifting, sandy debris occasionally disturbed by the roots of the tree that was removed. Rather, we excavated as best we could in a horizontal manner; the sequential analysis is based on the study of the pottery.

base. Some 16 sq. m. of pan tiles were found south of the temple in 1980, bringing to 97 sq. m. the total area of those recovered. This represents about 72% of those needed to cover the roof of Temple C (cf. *Kommos*, 1979, p. 222, note 33).

⁵⁸Such a side entrance exists into one of the two cellas (that of Ares) in the Hellenistic temple of Ares and Aphrodite at Olous (J. Bousquet, "Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Lenikà," *BCH* 62, 1938, pl. 43).

⁵⁹*Kommos*, 1979, pl. 53:b, upper left.

⁶⁰For the "lower" dump, below the Classical-Hellenistic level, see below, The Predecessors of Temple C, pp. 230–236.

The material recovered ranges in date from the 5th century B.C. to at least the 1st century after Christ, the span of the temple's use, although material from the period *ca.* 350–250 B.C. seems to be rather poorly represented. Perhaps it was dumped elsewhere. The earliest material is at the bottom of the mound, the latest at the top, the latter consisting of a great many amphoras, lamps, and small votive bowls. Problems of relative levels and transitions remain with what lies in between, given the ambiguous circumstances related to stratigraphy recovered from sand. Nevertheless, a possible sequence incorporating six basic levels of the dump, beginning from approximately +5.60 m. (about 0.20 m. below the early court level), is as follows:⁶¹

- 1) 5th–3rd centuries B.C.
- 2) Later 3rd and mid-2nd centuries B.C.
- 3) 5th–4th centuries B.C., redeposited during a general clean-up
- 4) Late 2nd–early 1st centuries B.C.
- 5) 1st century B.C., eastern part of mound only
- 6) 1st century after Christ.⁶²

The largest deposit is that represented by 5, of 1st-century B.C. date (Pails 4–7, 10), a dump with quite a variety of materials, among which tulip cups, unguentaria, lamps, ladles, and cup/bowls predominate. In the same context were fragments of leaves and stems of an exquisite bronze wreath (Pl. 58:b, c) with ivory berries,⁶³ perhaps used as a dedication within the temple, although it could also have belonged to the cult statue. There was also an unusual small portable terracotta stand, triangular in plan, its supports formed by sirens of which one is well preserved (Pl. 58:g, h). In Layer 000 was a bronze instrument that may once have served to mend fishing nets (Pl. 59:b) but here had probably been dedicated in the sanctuary.⁶⁴ The “Kommos” cups are generally from the same level.

In general, the contents of the dump support the hypothesis, already developed in previous reports, that the temple with its hearth and benches, along with associated Room A 1, was dedicated to feasting, as shown by the great number of ladles, drinking

⁶¹For much of the following interpretation I am indebted to Peter Callaghan, whose report written on the pottery from the “upper” and “lower” dumps has been invaluable.

⁶²The sequence is proposed by Peter Callaghan. Another possibility is that layers 4 and 5 could be combined with the lower part of 6 (creating a new layer 4), with the 1st-century (after Christ) lamps, bowls, and amphoras being relegated to the highest level (a new layer 5). Further study and excavation may clarify the situation.

⁶³The laurel wreath (or wreaths, since there may be more than one) was found scattered in the sand, with two large pieces and a number of leaves (B 100–B 101) not far from each other and another leaf (B 158) from an adjoining trench. It was identified by our botanist, Jennifer Shay, as representing laurel. The laurel (*Laurus nobilis*), the Greek Daphne or our Bay, woven into a wreath form became a traditional honor. Wreaths of various types have been found in tombs from the Classical–Hellenistic period. They were often of silver, gilt bronze, or gold foil (R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961, pp. 158–159).

⁶⁴Such “net menders” (they might also be weaving shuttles) have been found in various sanctuaries in the Aegean and elsewhere, as well as within tombs. I am indebted to Mary Dabney for pointing out to me that some 12 are published from Delos, along with comparanda from other sites (W. Deonna, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XVIII, *Le mobilier délien*, Paris 1938, p. 202, pl. LXIX, no. 550).

vessels, and animal bones. That this celebration was of a ritual nature is substantiated partially by the number of lamps (some were used no doubt simply to illuminate the proceedings when they took place at night) but chiefly by the unguentaria, miniature stemmed lekanai (6), and numerous small bowls (28), as well as by the wreath and the siren stand. Nevertheless, it does seem curious that so few terracotta figurines were found in the dump (only two bull legs), an observation that one could apply to the sanctuary as a whole. It was also disappointing that more inscriptions were not found, but these could still be discovered elsewhere in the future, especially when we excavate further to the south.

A few comments should be made here concerning the relationships suggested by the contents of the later levels of the dump. Layer 5 is particularly provoking, for the number of aryballoi, tulip cups, and articles of temple furniture reflects a major cleaning that could possibly have followed a destruction; where forms of pottery can be compared, those most similar are found on the main floors of Building B.⁶⁵ Present comparisons between our now expanded vocabulary of forms and those outside Kommos suggest that this destruction may be later than has been suggested in the past, *ca.* 75/50 B.C. rather than the middle of the 2nd century B.C.⁶⁶

Concerning Layer 6, which was contemporary with the re-use on an upper level of the rooms within Building B as well as the re-use of Temple C,⁶⁷ the lamps and amphoras probably represent the short use of the sanctuary in the 1st century after Christ, a time when ritual within the temple may have continued but which can be characterized more accurately as a time of disuse and decay.

The Predecessors of (Classical) Temple C (Trenches 33C, 34A2 and 37A, upper levels only; Fig. 5, Pls. 56, 57)

In 1979, excavation at two points below the floor of the temple indicated that it had been built upon remains of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods. On the west we had discovered a small tripillar shrine, then dated 725/675 B.C., with rich offerings; the shrine in a later phase was partially incorporated into a hearth behind which gifts had been placed. On the southwest, along the southern part of the temple's interior, a small but relatively deep sounding penetrated through multiple layers of ash and some hard surfaces, presumably floors, which indicated that the area of use around the shrine extended further east as well.⁶⁸

Consequently, during 1980 we opened a large, irregular area of the temple floor (Trench 33C) in order to investigate more fully the earlier levels.⁶⁹ The same relative

⁶⁵ Described in *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 136–140, pls. 38, 39.

⁶⁶ As suggested in *Kommos*, 1977, p. 152 and *Kommos*, 1979, p. 243.

⁶⁷ For the upper part of the deposit, with 1st-century (after Christ) lamps, amphoras, and with small votive bowls unknown in the Hellenistic levels, the closest association is with the reoccupation level in Building B.

⁶⁸ *Kommos*, 1979, pp. 229–237, 245–248.

⁶⁹ As in 1979, the slab floor was replaced after excavation in order to protect the remains. No permanent distinctive features of the floor were removed during the process of excavation.

levels were examined in two trenches adjoining the temple to the west (Trench 37) and south (Trench 34A2). This work revealed that the tripillar shrine was the apparent center of worship within a structurally separate Geometric temple below the temple we already knew. Moreover, there are clear indications that this earlier temple had been at least partially built upon the walls of an even earlier one of Protogeometric date; the result is a series of superposed structures of especial interest. These temples have been given the temporary labels of 'A' (the lowest and earliest), 'B' (the intermediate structure), and 'C' (the highest and latest: A 2 as described in last year's report). The fact that there were few new ritual objects discovered within these buildings was compensated for to some extent by their discovery within a clearly stratified dump south of the temple, below and directly antecedent to the Classical–Hellenistic–Early Roman dump just described.

Temple B: Architecture and Stratigraphy

The outline of Temple B can be traced fairly clearly.⁷⁰ It was entered from the east, and was oriented more to the southeast than Temple C. Its entrance was also set further to the west. Apparently it was open to the east, for no traces have been found of cuttings for jambs, thresholds, or settings for pivot blocks. Roughly on axis, and set back 0.20 m. from the assumed roof line, was a heavy pillar (Pl. 57:e), perhaps a block re-used from a Minoan building and set on end. There is no evidence to indicate whether the pillar was carried up to ceiling level in stone or wooden construction. Presumably it helped support a flat roof, although a gabled roof remains a possibility.⁷¹ Below the eastern face of the pillar, above an earlier wall,⁷² were set some small slabs to level the pillar when it was set in place. These were covered over when the first floor was installed, at *ca.* +4.70 m.

The north wall of B is seen clearly in Plates 56:a, 57:f (at 1), and Figure 5. It is 0.80 m. wide and quite solidly built, with a T-shaped block forming its eastern end. It continues westward to a point where some wall blocks have been removed. That it continued farther westward is proved by the presence of a bench 0.44 m. wide flanking it on the south. The most visible part of the bench is composed of two very long blocks (1.68 and 1.53 m. long) with a relatively small slab set vertically between them. At the trench scarp on the west, a somewhat wider block suggests that the bench widened somewhat (*ca.* 0.10 m.) after this point.

Part of the western wall of B, *ca.* 0.72 m. thick, can be seen in Figure 5 and Plates 52:b, 53:b, where it underlies the foundation course of Temple C. Like the bench just

⁷⁰Restored plans of the temples will be published at a later date.

⁷¹Temple C above had a gabled roof, for masses of rooftiles were found fallen within it. No rooftiles were found within Temple B, however, nor should they be expected so early in Crete. Presumably, therefore, the roof of B was flat, in the tradition of the earlier Minoan buildings (Shaw, *Minoan Architecture*, pp. 221–222), and similar to that of a Geometric house model from the Tekke cemetery at Knossos (R. W. Hutchinson, "The Khaniale Tekke Tombs," *BSA* 49, 1954, p. 220). The statement applies also to the Dreros temple of Apollo Delphinios (Pendlebury, *op. cit.* [footnote 11 above], p. 318) which has sometimes been restored with a gabled roof based on terracotta models found on the Mainland.

⁷²The sill of Temple A; see p. 237 below.

described, it too is constructed with occasional vertical slabs set between larger blocks, a technique probably used elsewhere at Kommos during the same period.⁷³ There does not seem to have been a bench lining the eastern, interior face of this wall.⁷⁴ Both the corners of the west wall, which was *ca.* 6.46 m. long, have been identified, that on the northwest being formed by a large block later built into the foundation of Temple C (Fig. 5, marked 5.21).

The southern wall of Temple B may be exposed further in another season. Of it one can recognize only its southwestern corner, just mentioned, and perhaps part of its southern wall where it was exposed in the sounding south of the temple (Fig. 4, marked 4.92). The southeastern corner block, in any case, seems to have been lost, as well as any bench that may have been here then (if we assume, as I do, that the northern bench would have faced one built along the southern wall).

The first hard-packed earth floor, plastered just outside and just inside the temple, was set at +4.70 m. on the east, 0.25 m. above the bottom of the pillar base and even with the bottom of the bench blocks to the north. A small wheel (C 3190, of a chariot?) was found in the fill (Pl. 60:c). The tripillar shrine on the west was probably set in at this time, too, with the bottom of its base slab at +4.54 m., even with the sloping floor.⁷⁵ The shrine was set on or near the axis of Temple B,⁷⁶ apparently as the center of worship to judge from the bronzes and faïences found, set around it, in 1979. At about this time a rough hearth bordered by slabs was set in front of it. Within the hearth (only its northern limit was fixed securely) were ash and numerous bones. At its lowest level, probably set into its floor when it was made (Pl. 57:a at x), were a very burned faïence bowl (F 23), a small votive shield (?) of bronze or a clothing ornament (B 151), two fragments of animal figurines (C 3344, C 3345, the former of a bull), as well as a miniature kalathos or bowl (C 3316).

Outside the temple on the west a thick layer of working chips had accumulated next to the wall of B when it was built (Fig. 6, Pl. 54:c); with time, the level rose to +4.92 m., a burned surface littered with limpet shells from meals gleaned from the

⁷³As in wall Q, some distance to the southeast (p. 242).

⁷⁴Trench 34A4. A few blocks of Temple C's west foundation were temporarily removed, and a probe was carried down within a confined space to +3.93 m., some 0.80 m. lower than the wall of B, below the layer of stone chips and sandy fill upon which the wall was constructed. B's wall is 0.70 m. thick at this point, the interior being faced with small stones. Burnt, hard-packed surfaces at +4.71 m. (the bottom of the wall on the interior) and +4.88 m. are probably floor surfaces. A few sherds and a curious coil of terracotta (C 3466, perhaps a votive snake?) were catalogued. The easternmost extension of the probe, partly undermining the fill below the statue base of Temple C, was about 0.80 m. from the carbonized wooden column or bowl discovered in 1979 (*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 233-234; Fig. 5).

⁷⁵Unless settlement is involved, the temple was built without due regard for leveling, on ground that sloped down to the southwest. The bench on the north in Temple B slopes westward from +5.07 m. down to +4.88 m. The top of the western wall of B slopes southward from +5.21 to +4.93 m.

⁷⁶The centers of the eastern pillar, tripillar shrine, and wooden bowl (for the last, see p. 235 below) fall on a single line slightly (0.20 m.) north of the building's axis as determined by the length of the western wall of the temple. Possibly the southern wall of Temple B was significantly thicker than that on the north, thus placing bowl, shrine and pillar on the room's interior axis. On the other hand, the later, finely built upper hearth (see p. 235 below) does fall on axis. Perhaps we can sort out this anomaly in the future; perhaps it is simply a result of poor planning when Temple B was first built.

seashore. On the same surface was a series of small, enigmatic enclosures of upright slabs open on the west (such as that in Plate 54:c at c). Here also was a thin but broadly spread-out layer of varicolored pieces of a chalky, sometimes claylike material, still unidentified as to exact composition and use, with white pieces and chunks of vivid lilac and orange, quite unlike anything else that we have found up to this time at Kommos. This outside surface continued west to the east wall of Minoan Building J, part of which was still standing at least 0.50 m. above ground level.

As time passed, the level outside the temple on the east rose gradually, and to provide access to the lower interior as well as to help prevent the temple from becoming clogged with silt, a north-south retaining wall 0.30 m. high (foreground, Pl. 57:c) was built. This was only a temporary measure, however, for the floor level rose as ash, sherds, slabs and earth gradually accumulated on the interior, especially near the hearth, in dozens of horizontal layers, with much animal bone mixed into all levels. Accordingly, the level of the hearth was raised by adding a few more rough stones. At about the same time, a bronze shield was set behind the tripillar shrine: it would have appeared as a circle behind the three pillars.⁷⁷ At this point the earlier retaining wall at the entrance to the east became, in effect, a rough threshold.

Eventually, as the temple floor was gradually raised with earth and ash, another floor was established at a third major level, east of the temple at +5.04 m.; on the inside, level with the tops of the benches, at +5.07 m.; and at +5.08 m. on the west, near the tripillar shrine. Two new hearths were now established (see Fig. 5); one was built of rough slabs, some set on edge, with the western side of the hearth made up largely of the tops of the three pillars of the tripillar shrine. By this time, the wooden bowl (or base of a wooden column) behind the pillars was covered with clay and earth; it, and perhaps any original meaning that the shrine had for the worshippers, were largely forgotten. This place remained, nevertheless, a place of worship, for in 1979 a significant deposit of offerings was discovered back of the hearth and above the bowl just described. Contemporary with these offerings and with the hearth, or perhaps a bit later, another hearth was built (Pls. 56:c, 57:a) on the same level, to the south-east, on the axis of the temple. It was a very well made hearth, certainly the finest that had graced the temple so far, constructed of carefully selected slabs set on edge, forming a rectangle 0.94 m. (east-west) by 0.88 m. (north-south) as measured on the interior. It was quite filled with ash and bone, with a carefully smoothed, clay bottom surface at +5.05 m., and another of clay at +5.30 m., almost even with the top edge of the slabs. Its construction, of a type known elsewhere in Crete at the time, was to be the first at Kommos and eventually was succeeded by that set above it on the floor of Temple C.

The upper floor of B, exposed more fully in 1980 than in 1979, was found overlaid with small groups of stones, sandy earth, a few slabs and, not far from the pillar on the

⁷⁷The various parts of the shield, B 21, reported in *Kommos, 1979*, p. 235 (pl. 65:d) were assembled in 1980. The shield was ca. 0.69 m. in diameter and had a bronze rosette design at its center. It should be restored behind the pillars in *Kommos, 1979*, fig. 11. According to A. Snodgrass (personal communication) it is of the "prehoplite" type.

east, some rather large pieces of carbonized wood that could have been boards used in the building's construction. The burning, however, aside from a few patches here and there, seems more incidental than the result of a conflagration, for the wall blocks bore no sign of scorching. B, therefore, seems not to have been destroyed by fire but, as suggested in last year's report,⁷⁸ fell into disuse after *ca.* 620 B.C. While the temple may have been deserted, at least one altar may have been built in the court between then and the time that the upper temple (C) was built, *ca.* 350 B.C.⁷⁹

It is difficult to know what the masons constructing Temple C could see of B when they started. Certainly the place was known as a temple site, and at least during the process of work portions of B's walls, as well as the tripillar shrine, were used for extra foundation support, even though the new temple was to be larger and set on a slightly different axis. Perhaps some of the slabs still rested on B's western wall, and were discarded to the side in the process of work (see the tumble of slabs in Plate 54:c). In any case, the builders seem to have raised the level carefully, using fine ashlar masonry for the upper walls (now almost completely robbed out), and they laid their floor upon a thick layer of stone chips that had accumulated during the process of work. The chips lay in turn upon earth and rubble and, over the north wall of B, above a few pits that had been excavated down to the top of the wall: the pits were found filled with sandy earth.

Temple A: Architecture and Stratigraphy

After Temple B was photographed, a probe revealed below its bench another east-west wall which could hardly be a foundation, and so excavation continued down further. Part of B's predecessor, "A", was thus revealed. Of it we have found enough architecture and floors to prove that it is a building, and sufficient artifactual evidence to conclude, independent of information about the upper buildings, that it too was a place for worship; but we do not know much about its interior features or size, although its width (north-south) may be quite similar to that of B.

The northeastern corner is crucial to our understanding, for B's end wall here (Pl. 57:f at 1) was set upon an earlier wall of carefully shaped slabs, at least 0.30 m. wide and projecting slightly (0.10 m.) to the east (Pl. 57:f at 2).⁸⁰ The bottom of this wall was not found but we know it continues down at least two courses below the level

⁷⁸ *Kommos, 1979*, p. 233.

⁷⁹ *Kommos, 1979*, p. 228, note 45. In 1980 we found immediately below the slab pavement a Classical cup rim and one Late Hellenistic/Roman lamp handle (in Pail 47), the latter probably an intrusion via the joints of the floor slabs. Below that point the latest sherds were of the 7th century, in particular a sherd joining with C 2396, the incised cup illustrated, *ibid.*, pl. 63:c-d, found some distance to the west in 1979 and dating to about 620 B.C. A few sherds of 6th- to 5th-century date found in the western part of B in 1979 suggest that there were a few visits, but no sherds later than the late 7th century were found near B's upper floor in the relatively large area exposed during 1980, and it is possible that sherds, perhaps of the early 6th century, from high in the fill may have been placed here along with any fill brought in when Temple C was constructed.

⁸⁰ The wall is bounded on the northeast by a vertical slab extending out from its northeast corner for an unknown distance. Unfortunately the slab could not be followed further.

excavated.⁸¹ Along the wall on the south, below B's bench, is an irregular wall of slabs, in some places stacked rather than laid in courses, which could be a bench on the analogy of B's above; but not enough was seen of the top of this wall (0.44 m. wide) to prove that it actually is what it seems to be.

As visible in Plates 56:a and 57:f, the small slabs underpinning B's bench at its eastern end rest upon a wall. This north-south wall of one course (with its top at about +4.38 m.) continues under B's pillar which it later helped support. The wall can be considered, I think, the sill of Temple A. The northernmost block of the sill, a meter long, is an especially fine one. It should be noted that the face of the sill is on the east, toward the open space on the exterior of the building. This contrasts with the sill of B (Pl. 57:c), which was built (almost directly above that of A) when the level outside B had risen. In B's case the wall was built to maintain the lower interior level, and therefore the face of its sill was set on the west.

The lower, first-floor level of A, of packed earth, was at +4.19 m. both inside and outside the building, and was laid upon a fill that was chiefly Minoan but which also contained a few sherds of Early Protogeometric (EPG) style. Upon the floor was an EPG krateriskos (C 3257), along with fragments of a number of carinated krateriskoi (Pl. 61:b). One presumably entered A from the east by stepping over the sill. There is no evidence for a roof support, analogous with B's pillar, on A's presumed axis, although the slab just north of the pillar's base could have served the same function (Pl. 57:e). Nor is there evidence for a hearth on the interior; in comparison with the stratified layers of ash in Temple B above, there was comparatively little burning noted in the fill here. If there was a hearth, on axis to the west, it lies too deeply buried below the accumulation of later, superposed hearths to be detected.

As was the case with B, the floor level rose in A, and a new tamped earth floor was established at *ca.* +4.53 m. both inside and outside A, completely covering the earlier

⁸¹ As noted above, the general dimensions of A are not known. Presumably, however, the range of its east-west length is about 3.80 m. to 7.00 m. (from the end of the bench as traced to the west to the eastern end of the small sounding made east of B's west wall [see footnote 74 above]). B's wall does not rest upon another, nor is there a wall west of it that might be the west wall of A. The north-south width of A is also conjectural, but it is possible that in a sounding made in 1979 (*Kommos*, 1979, p. 236) we found the upper floor of A on the south, at +4.55 m. (comparable to that found this year). South of this floor were blocks set with their faces east-west, which, in retrospect, could be a combined bench and wall.

The relationship of A to even lower structures should also be considered. As mentioned in the text, A's northern wall continues down an unknown distance below the earliest floor level discovered. For various reasons excavation could not proceed below this point. It is possible, therefore, that still another floor level exists below the one reached. There is another possibility also, namely that A's northern wall is in fact Minoan, and was re-used when the area was being resettled during the Protogeometric period.

In this connection I should point out, on the south, an ashlar wall set upon the edge of a Minoan column base (Fig. 4, b in Pl. 55:d). Presumably this wall is Minoan, possibly LM III, and it appears to be the southeastern corner of a building. Now if a line is drawn southeast from A's northeastern corner, along the length of A's sill, it coincides exactly with the eastern face of this "corner". The levels are suggestive, too, for the top of the "corner" is at +4.31, just below the level of A's sill. It is possible, therefore, that the north wall of A goes as deep as this wall, and that A was set within a Minoan building. These are speculations, however, and must be re-examined as excavation progresses.

sill and also putting the possible bench along the north out of use. Found lying upon the floor outside the building, near a pebbled floor surface, were a number of Protogeometric krateriskoi (C 3283, C 3286, C 3287; Pl. 61:a), a leg belonging to what was once a rather large bull figurine of terracotta (C 3293; Pl. 61:a), as well as a fine bronze arrowhead (B 150) which is similar to one discovered at a somewhat higher level within A (Pl. 60:b). Presumably the arrowheads are votive gifts,⁸² and the bull's leg is an indication of an early tradition that was to continue for a long time in the sanctuary; one of the latest examples in the series is a bull figurine found in 1977 still standing on Altar C,⁸³ an altar probably built at least four hundred years after Temple A.

Chronology: Temples A and B, and the "Lower" Temple Dump (Trench 34A2)

The chronology of the two new temples, A and B, can be determined independently on the basis of the pottery found within them. Complementary ceramic material, however, is to be found southeast of them where a dump was established shortly after A was built; the dump continued in use even when Temple C was constructed at least half a millennium later. From this Protogeometric, then Geometric and Orientalizing dump came much stratified pottery, a few bronzes, and other material that enrich our knowledge of customs and ceramic development at Kommos.

The dump begins just above Minoan levels (pp. 222–223), at about +4.55 m. on the west and +4.24 m. on the east, close to the level of A's first known floor (+4.19 m.). It probably sloped slightly to the southeast, following the hillside. If one imagines an east-west section, looking north, the dump would appear rather like a stubby pencil with the pointed end facing west, the other end extending eastward beyond the borders of the trench. Much of the lower part of the dump was of brown earth, darkened by the burnt wood it contained, probably the debris that had been swept out of the temples or even from a near-by altar mound that could lie still undiscovered in front of the temples, below the Classical-Hellenistic court.

The transition point between the material from Temples A and B, that is between Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, takes place at roughly +4.76 m. on the west and +4.55 m. on the east, at about the same level as B's earliest floor (+4.70 m.). This is about halfway up the dark stratum of fill mentioned previously, and continues up into a light-brown earth without a great deal of burned material, ending at about +5.20 m. where it merges with the later levels and the dump established when Temple C was built (p. 228), with its slab floor at *ca.* +5.64 m. On the basis of what we now know, the Iron Age dump lay southeast of the temples; the Classical dump (since the size and position of the temple had changed) was set more decorously south of its respective temple. Save for a north-south wall bordering the one trench excavated here

⁸²The arrowheads are of a usual type, leaf shaped with a tanged head, Type 5 as listed in A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh 1964, pp. 154–156. A javelin point of bronze (B 15) was found in the same relative level, to the southwest and presumably still within A, in 1979 (*Kommos, 1979*, p. 236).

⁸³*Kommos, 1977*, pl. 41:a.

(Pl. 55:b, left), which may be Protogeometric, there is little sign of building activity after the Minoan period, nor were any post-Minoan floor levels identified.

While our understanding of the period from *ca.* 1100 to 850 B.C. at Kommos will be refined further with more study and excavation, there is no doubt that Temple A was founded and used during the Early Protogeometric period, since the pottery associated with the first floor of that building is of that date. Allowing for possible regional retardation, and on the basis of absolute datings previously suggested for Crete,⁸⁴ a date sometime in the 10th century, perhaps late, seems at this point to be reasonable,⁸⁵ although the relative-absolute equivalents may have to be revised in the future.

The crucial sherds from this lowest floor (Pail 82) are illustrated in Plate 61:b. The krateriskos (C 3257) is an import, possibly from Knossos. Since it is such a large piece, it was probably broken during use within the temple. The open style of decoration with horizontal squiggle, the banded glaze within, and the shape can be paralleled in EPG deposits of the 10th century at Knossos.⁸⁶ Associated with this sherd are early krateriskoi with little reserved windows, as well as the rim of a large krater (C 3256), the lower ridge decorated with a rope pattern; these are paralleled by the 9th-century pottery from Knossos.⁸⁷

Pottery from A's upper floor (chiefly from Pail 85)⁸⁸ reflects Knossian Protogeometric, particularly EPG but also Late Protogeometric (LPG) as well, and includes Middle Geometric Atticizing imports. Krateriskoi C 3283, C 3286 and C 3287 (Pl. 61:a) were found crushed on a stone slab on the floor just outside the entrance of the temple, along with the bull's leg (C 3293) and arrowhead B 150 (Pl. 60:b); B 149 was found inside the temple. In related levels to the south were found the pedestaled cups (C 3107 and C 3108, Pl. 61:a), a fragment of a team of two horses (C 3049, Pl. 59:f),⁸⁹ as well as

⁸⁴Pendlebury (*op. cit.* [footnote 11 above], pp. 260, 301, 313, 323) thought that Sub-Minoan (including LM IIIC) dates would be *ca.* 1175–1050, with Protogeometric *ca.* 1050–900 B.C. J. K. Brock suggested more recently (*Fortetsa*, chronological chart) the following: Sub-Minoan (SM) 1020–970; Early Protogeometric (EPG) 970–920; Middle Protogeometric (MPG) 920–870; Late Protogeometric (LPG) 870–850; Protogeometric B (PGB) 850–820; Early Geometric (EG) 820–800; Mature Geometric (MG) 800–770; Late Geometric (LG) 770–735; Early Orientalizing (EO) 735–680; Late Orientalizing (LO) 680–630. J. N. Coldstream (*Geometric Greece*, New York 1977, p. 385) ends EPG *ca.* 900, with the other classes corresponding roughly with Brock's dates, but with MG ending *ca.* 750 and LG *ca.* 700 B.C. See also A. Kanta (*The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: A Survey of Sites, Pottery and Their Distribution*, Göteborg 1980, pp. 4–5) who would begin Protogeometric in Central Crete about 975 B.C.

⁸⁵For information about the ceramic sequence I am much indebted to Peter Callaghan, whose reports form the real basis for the present interpretation.

⁸⁶J. N. Coldstream, "Knossos 1951–61: PG and Geometric Pottery from the Town," *BSA* 67, 1972, A 25 (p. 69), fig. 2, pl. 15 and B 32–B 38, p. 72 and pl. 17; Brock, *Fortetsa*, no. 57 (Tomb VI), p. 13 and pl. 6.

⁸⁷Brock, *Fortetsa*, Tomb V, no. 221 (developed PG), p. 26 and pl. 16.

⁸⁸In Plate 61:a all but C 3026 and C 3107–C 3110 are from A's second (upper) floor level. The others are from related levels in the dump to the south (Trench 34A2). C 3256 is from the lower floor (Pl. 61:b).

⁸⁹This fragment of a team of two horses (C 3049) was found in the dump south of the temple (Trench 34A2/4:32) in a ceramic context of early 7th-century B.C. date. Several sections are missing: the neck and head of one horse, the snout of the other, the legs and rear part of the "shared" body of both. According

a horse figurine (C 3136) not illustrated here. Sometime during the period when these vessels were in use, a large bell-krater, C 1657 (Pl. 61:d), was left broken above the remains of Minoan House N far to the north, one of the few signs of any activity on the hilltop during the Geometric period.⁹⁰

Temple B replaced A at a higher level, and its more substantial character indicates that it can hardly be thought of as simply a remodeling. It is clearly a new temple. Evidence for its earliest phase comes from the interior as well as from the areas to the west and south. From what we can determine now, it was constructed in the 8th century B.C. Aside from fragments of the body of a terracotta bull figurine (C 3344, Pl. 61:c), black-glazed cups have been found on its floor suggesting LG presence. Along with these, however, were at least four fragmentary PG kanthariskoi. Outside the temple on the west, in Trench 37A (Fig. 6; Pail 38), an important series of sherds was found in the context of the working chips from B, among which were MG Atticizing skyphos fragments dating to the 9th or early 8th century B.C. From the second floor, two flasks (C 3221, C 3222, Pl. 61:c) are of a type popular during the Early Orientalizing period. For the final, upper floor, a use in the 7th century B.C. is sure. The deposit found in 1979 near one of the latest hearths is representative. The latest pottery used when the temple was functioning in a normal way is probably the fine incised bowl (C 2396) depicting a hoplite standing before a bier.⁹¹

A selection of aryballoi (C 2988, C 3053), cups (C 3045, C 3059), a dish (C 3106), flasks (C 3221–C 3223, C 3043, C 3064) and a miniature alabastron (C 2989) are shown in Plate 61:c. Many of these are from B itself, but some are from the dump to the south.⁹² The particularly fine Protocorinthian ovoid aryballos (Fig. 7, Pl. 59: c, d) may be a work of the “Corneto” painter, who, according to Dunbabin and Robertson,⁹³ was

to M. C. Shaw, who has studied the figurine, the large round perforation at the front of the body suggests a number of possibilities. One is that the horses rolled on four wheels, perhaps as in a 4th-century (after Christ) example of a horse from the Athenian Agora (see D. B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book 3, 1959, fig. 75), or perhaps the horses pulled a chariot, the hole being for the yoke (as in a small bronze model of a chariot pulled by bulls, from the Psychro Cave; see D. G. Hogarth, “The Dictaeon Cave,” *BSA* 6, 1899/1900, p. 108, fig. 39), or possibly for the attachment of separate legs. Solid and four-spoked terracotta wheels have been found in various levels of Temple B (C 2389, C 3190, and C 3317). Dark, painted straps around the muzzle and on the neck, as well as another small perforation on the mane, further suggest harnessing. Dark, linear painted patterns appear on neck and body of the horses. Modeling is summary but bold. The ears project; the eyes are rendered by two applied clay disks. Though the local typology of terracotta animal figurines has not yet been defined, on analogy with dedications elsewhere we would suggest a date of late Geometric (see D. Ohly, “Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos, I,” *AthMitt* 65, 1940, pp. 57–102; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Frühe olympische Tonfiguren*, Berlin 1972).

⁹⁰This unusually large bell-krater, C 1657 (about 0.70 m. high), was discovered in many fragments in 1978 (*Kommos*, 1978, p. 149, note 9, where it is incorrectly called a pithos). For the shape see Brock, *Fortetsa*, no. 1467, pl. 77 (Tomb P); for the designs see therein nos. 312 and 1467. We are much indebted to the staff of the Herakleion Archaeological Museum for mending the vessel.

⁹¹*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 231–233, pl. 63:c, d.

⁹²From the dump (Pails 31–32): C 2988, C 2989, C 3043, C 3045, C 3059.

⁹³The production of this artist has been studied along with that of others by J. L. Benson, *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen*, Basel 1953, esp. p. 14 (“Gruppe des gespenstischen Stiers”) and by T. J.

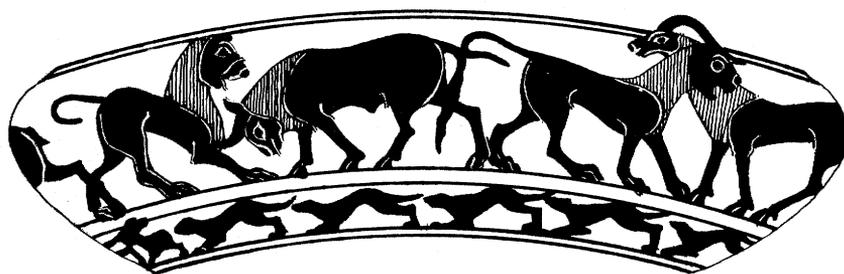


FIG. 7. Frieze on Protocorinthian aryballos (C 2988), by Giuliana Bianco

one of the four artists who helped form the Protocorinthian style and perhaps the polychrome style also. It can be dated independently to *ca.* 675–660 B.C.,⁹⁴ which helps to fix our chronological range more accurately and, not incidentally, shows that the Kommos temple attracted a sometimes high quality of dedication. Reinforcing this impression is a fine bull figurine of bronze (B 127, Pl. 59:e) and two of terracotta (C 3048 and C 3050, the latter in Plate 59:g),⁹⁵ as well as a bronze ring (B 126). Throughout the level associated with B's early use were also a number of fragments of faïence bowls (including an intact one from B's earliest hearth),⁹⁶ as well as fragments of imported coarse ware that we associate tentatively with Levantine or Phoenician pottery.⁹⁷ Also to be mentioned are three scarabs, the first to be found at Kommos.⁹⁸

Dunbabin and M. Robertson, "Some Protocorinthian Vase-Painters," *BSA* 48, 1953, esp. pp. 172–173, 175 (The Corneto Painter). More recently Benson has discussed the attributions (*AJA* 60, 1956, "Some Notes on Corinthian Vase Painters," p. 219). He now attributes with certainty two ovoid aryballoi to the same painter: the "name" vase in the Corneto (Tarquini) Civic Museum in Italy and one in Oxford.

⁹⁴The aryballos from Kommos can at this point, Benson thinks, only be attributed to the Corneto Painter's workshop (private communication 25/11/80).

⁹⁵The context for the two figurines, B 127 and C 3050, is generally 8th century B.C. (Pail 36). Though sharing a few common features such as the treatment of the muzzle and mouth and the indication of the dewlap, the bronze piece is the more advanced with its greater and more powerful modeling on body and limbs and the indication of more details, such as the fetlocks and hooves. With further study the difference may prove to be a chronological one. A provisional date is in the Geometric period, probably Late Geometric, for the bronze bull. Cf. the bronze bull figurine (B 22) found within Temple B upon the tripillar shrine in 1979 (*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 235–236 and pl. 65:b).

⁹⁶The "faïence level" represents a fairly definable level in the sanctuary area, from about +4.10 m. to +5.40 m., but most faïence pieces have been found within a more restricted range. These number so far some 18 items (F 5, F 6, F 9–F 17, F 19, F 20, F 22–F 26). Most (11) are from within Temples A and B (none are definitely from A and most are from the upper levels of B). The remainder are from west and south of the temples where we have reached Geometric/Orientalizing levels. Many are bowl fragments (7) and single beads or bead groups (7) but there are also figurines and scarabs (2 of each).

⁹⁷See below, pp. 250–251.

⁹⁸The three scarabs were found in late Temple B contexts and are in the process of being studied. One is of glass (Mi 75, 33C/3:58), the other two are of faïence (F 6, 29A1/5:68; and F 16, 33C/3:50). Only F 16 may have a useful inscription.

A Sounding in the Southern Area (Trench 36B; Fig. 3, Pl. 57:b, d)

During 1980 we continued to clear deep, sterile sand from the southern part of the site, with the result that we have now removed most of the sand from south of the temple and altars. Where sand layers were present when the sanctuary was being used, as in the temple dump, the front-end loader was replaced by conventional means. In the future we will excavate by hand around a diagonal cross-wall, which is probably a retaining wall (Fig. 3). Now the only deep sand remaining on the property that we have acquired is on the southeast, where it forms a platform four to nine meters high shaded by tamarisk trees.

During these clearing operations, when the front-end loader was removing over eight meters of sand overburden, the machine struck stone which, when cleared by hand, turned out to be a substantial wall (Pl. 57:b). After preparing the area for excavation, we laid in a trench four by eight meters square over this wall which we assumed to be part of a building (dubbed "P") and which we now recognize to be Minoan and, roughly, aligned with Minoan Building J northwest of it. As excavation progressed, we uncovered a neighboring wall to the north ("Q") built at a slight angle to J, its lowest course considerably higher than that of P. Associated with Q was a layer of worn Geometric pottery, some bone, and carbon remains. The style and domestic nature of the pottery suggest that Q may be the southern wall of a Geometric house; we did not excavate north of it. The date suggested is reinforced by the use in the wall of occasional slabs set on end between stretcher blocks, the same technique used in the northern and western walls of the securely dated Geometric Temple B (Pls. 52:b, 56:a).

Wall P to the south (Pl. 57:b; P 1 in Pl. 57:d) is impressive but curious, perhaps belonging to a larger Minoan building. It is a meter wide and well built of large ashlar blocks of differing sizes (compare with the even, lower courses of J to the northwest; see, e.g., Pl. 53:a). Here for the first time on the Kommos site there is clear evidence for massive half-timber construction, with the empty sockets or chases visible in Plate 57:b indicating where beams were to be set. In the wall, above the krepidoma course, was first set a horizontal beam, *ca.* 0.20 m. high, and, as indicated by the vertical chases, beams with their centers about 1.70 m. apart were set upon it and probably mortised into it. This construction was used on both sides of the wall: the timbers were held together by horizontal cross beams at right angles to the wall's length, a technique similar to that used in the construction of the walls of the Residential Quarter at Knossos.⁹⁹

P was re-used during the Geometric period, to judge from the mass of domestic pottery found in blackish fill to the south of it and below its top, when a wall (P 2 in Pl. 57:d, *ca.* 1.20 m. wide and built of small slabs) was laid alongside its southern face.¹⁰⁰ The combined thickness of the double wall comes to about 2.20 m. Partly because of

⁹⁹Shaw, *Minoan Architecture*, pp. 144–149, figs. 179, 180.

¹⁰⁰The wall is only 0.76 m. high, its bottom half a meter above the presumed krepidoma level of P's southern face.

the small area cleared we remain unsure why this addition was made. Did they want to create some kind of platform? If so, certainly the platform was an irregular one. Is this a fortification wall? But, if so, the earlier Minoan wall shows no signs of having been built over so that the level could be raised. Could it be a road? But there is no sign of the wear that one might expect.

The floor associated with P on the north (at +3.41 m.) was of gray, hard-packed clay, and contained a few LM III sherds. We did not excavate next to the face of the wall on the south because of the Geometric wall just described, but further south we found a solid clay floor (at +3.40 m.) at a level corresponding to that of the northern floor. There were no features to indicate the presence of a floor nor signs of extensive use; LM III sherds here would also seem to date the laying-in of the floor and, by inference, P itself to that period.

P and its floors rest upon an earlier level. To the north is a slab floor (at +3.32 m.) which rests on bedrock and continues north before stopping short where bedrock begins to slope up. South of P (at +3.07 m.) was found a floor of white plaster with a north-south channel over 1.50 m. long, 0.03 m. wide and 0.03 m. deep (x in Pl. 57:d). Also in the southeast corner of the trench was found a horseshoe-shaped hearth of extremely hard, burnt clay. A discolored layer of earth, partly burnt, lay above the floor. The area may be connected with industrial use; it overlies what may be a wall exposed in a probe made in the central part of the trench (Pl. 57:d).

The use and sequence here, despite problems of interpretation, may be reconstructed as follows:

1. A slab floor is laid down in connection with a still-undiscovered building. MM.
2. A plaster floor, perhaps connected with industrial use, is established. LM I–LM IIIA.
3. Wall P is built, employing techniques of timber framing new to the Kommos site but known from Minoan buildings elsewhere. The LM III floors associated with it may date its construction but could be later. It is curious that relatively few slabs, and no large blocks of stone, were found alongside P, tumbled from P when it went out of use. Were the rest quarried away or was P left unfinished? LM I–LM III.
4. During the Geometric period an additional wall is added to P on the south, above a dump of pottery. Perhaps Q is built at the same time and could belong to a Geometric house, of which only the southern wall has been exposed.
5. The immediate area does not seem to have been used after the Geometric period, although slope wash with later sherds covered over the projecting walls of the structures. Post-Geometric.

The Development of the Lower Hillside Area

Our view of the chronological development of these Minoan and Greek remains, as previously proposed,¹⁰¹ has been improved in a number of ways. For the former period, for instance, there is evidence now to show that the Middle Minoan settlement did extend this far south and that near Building J the area was leveled down to the stubs of the solid MM I walls when, at an early stage of LM I, Building J and presumably other monumental buildings were constructed; these in turn were partially rebuilt and later

¹⁰¹ *Kommos, 1979*, pp. 243–244.

deserted along with the remainder of the site. Important also was our discovery in 1980 of evidence for an EM presence on the hill.

Concerning the Greek remains, the hiatus of some four hundred and fifty years between *ca.* 1200 B.C. (end of LM IIIB) and the Geometric remains known in 1979 (from *ca.* 750 B.C. on) has been filled considerably by the discovery of a temple and dump of the Protogeometric period. Further refinement of our dating will no doubt be necessary, but a conservative estimate would place the founding of A *ca.* 925/900 B.C., and that of B *ca.* 750 B.C. or somewhat later. Thus the hiatus between Minoan and Geometric now appears to be *ca.* 300 years, although it may actually be less.¹⁰²

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE MINOAN LEVELS

As excavation proceeds we are still learning more about the nature and relationships of occupation phases. On the hillside, for instance, the EM sherds scattered in the sand above bedrock now indicate that the lee of the hillside was at least used, if not settled, at that time. Perhaps the chief EM settlement was on the higher hill, Vigles, to the south, which could be more easily defended. Then in MM I, when conditions were more stable, people from Vigles and probably elsewhere came to settle on the more convenient hill to the north where we are now excavating. A similar tendency to prefer lower sites in MM I, presumably the result of a beneficial social consolidation which both led to and resulted from the establishment of Minoan palaces, has been noted elsewhere as well.¹⁰³

To judge from the MM levels on the site, that period here (as at Phaistos) was prosperous, with houses on the hillside succeeding one another; the final Post-Kamares or MM III phase was brought to an end by an earthquake of some intensity.¹⁰⁴ What happened on the hilltop following the earthquake is not clear, save that a number of new LM I houses were constructed not long afterward: LM III re-use and rebuilding here have somewhat obscured the situation. On the hillside, however, it is apparent that the rebuilding in LM I was limited; at least two MM houses went out of use and were replaced by a single house set along the north-south street. The area east and south of the house where MM houses had once been standing was smoothed out; a roughly built retaining wall was constructed on the east. It is difficult now to decide whether the settlement was degenerating when people did not rebuild in LM I, or whether they simply rebuilt elsewhere on the site.

One cannot determine if the large LM I buildings on the lower hillside, along the shore, were also built just after the postulated earthquake; Minoan ceramic sequences are limited in their use when short intervals measured in decades are involved. It is

¹⁰²A hint that this may be a possibility is the suggestion by J. N. Coldstream that C 3257, which is crucial for our dating of the first floor of Temple A, may actually be Sub-Minoan since EPG skyphoi are not decorated but merely dipped down to two thirds of their height (personal communication, 5/11/80).

¹⁰³*Kommos, 1976*, p. 238.

¹⁰⁴*Kommos, 1979*, p. 244.

nevertheless clear from the leveling operation undertaken here, the proportions of J, and the use of ashlar masonry on a scale hitherto hardly attempted on the site that this was a carefully considered, large-scale project. One cannot determine yet whether these buildings replaced earlier, MM III structures with a similar function, for such buildings (if they were there) seem to have vanished with the new construction. In this connection we should consider further whether J and related buildings still to be excavated are in reality contemporary with the renewal of the Phaistos palace and, along with the Hagia Triada houses, represent a major, organized revival of cultural life in the Messara in the LM I period.

J and the adjacent structures, with their monumental ashlar masonry and wide wall openings for doors (and presumably windows), must have contrasted greatly with the nearly contemporary houses to the north. For J's original use, unfortunately, we do not have a floor deposit, nor is there evidence for conflagration. What, therefore, was its fate *ca.* 1450 B.C., at the end of LM I, when so many other sites in Crete, including ones in the Messara, were destroyed by fire and then abandoned? One possibility is that J for some reason remained unused, but this is unlikely, judging from the wear on its threshold and slab floor. Another is that for some still unknown reason J was deserted or went out of use before the catastrophes took place elsewhere. A third possibility is consonant with the remains elsewhere on the Kommos site where so far there is no evidence for catastrophic destruction by fire or other means during the LM I–LM IIIB period: it may be Kommos was spared, presumably by the Mycenaeans who wished to preserve it as a handy outlet to the sea and as a local center of power.¹⁰⁵ These, however, are only three of the possibilities that can be explored.

The floor level in J was raised a meter in LM IIIA.¹⁰⁶ J's interior was changed: the stairway was filled in, and the southern wall was moved north. Now there was direct access into J from the south via the new threshold. These and other changes reallocated interior and exterior spaces. Was this renovation for domestic use? The LM IIIB pottery on the floor certainly suggests this; but could there have been an earlier re-use of a different nature? Perhaps further excavation, especially in adjoining structures, will help clarify the question.

BRONZE AGE "INTERCONNECTIONS"

As our knowledge of local pottery grows, so our recognition of imported "foreign" pottery wares improves. Besides local Cretan wares we now have pottery from the Greek mainland, Cyprus, and the Levant. Concerning Cretan products, one can isolate

¹⁰⁵The lack of an LM I destruction horizon seems particularly clear in the houses on the hilltop and hillside at Kommos, where occupation seems to have continued uninterrupted. The appearance of LM II-style pottery at Kommos (*Kommos*, 1976, pp. 231–235, 239; *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 120–125, 165–170), rare outside the Knossos area, along with a good deal of LM IIIA1 style, is particularly pertinent in this regard and supports a theory of close contact between Knossos and Kommos at a time when Phaistos seems to be depopulated. The possibility of such a link has occurred to F. Schachermeyr as well (*Kreta zur Zeit der Wanderungen, von Ausgang der minoischen Ära bis zur Dorisierung der Insel [Die Ägäische Frühzeit, III]*, Vienna 1979, p. 51 ["Stützpunkt"]).

¹⁰⁶Cf. footnote 37 above.

fine wares imported from Knossos and Chania on the basis of fabric composition, glaze, and decoration,¹⁰⁷ and within the Messara itself one can distinguish pottery brought south from the neighboring sites of Hagia Triada and Phaistos ("The Phaistos Ridge"). At the moment we are studying the late Minoan wares most intensely from this point of view and find quite a few imports from Knossos in LM I and LM IIIA1 contexts,¹⁰⁸ a pattern also noticeable on sites in Eastern Crete such as Palaikastro and Gournia. During LM IIIA2/IIIB, however, after the suspected demise of the palace at Knossos, Knossian imports at Kommos become few or nonexistent while those from Chania are rather frequent.¹⁰⁹ This shift may serve as an indication of more open, intra-island trade. It could also reflect growing Western Cretan influence or even territorial control.

The presence of Cypriot pottery at Kommos has been mentioned in previous reports.¹¹⁰ No complete pots have been found. Now, however, the number of sherds has increased to 17 which, with others possibly to be found in the future, should enhance our ability to evaluate their significance in terms of the site as a whole. The examples so far all occur in contexts with a maximum range of LM I (late) to LM IIIA2/IIIB, with the probability that most of the pots concerned came to Kommos during LM IIIA.¹¹¹ These sherds have been found in all major parts of the site, although they are commonest in the area of the LM I–III house on the hillside; we can reasonably consider that such wares were present in many of the households then, probably as attractive vases imported for everyday use. Of the sherds found, most (12) are of White Slip II hemispherical "milkbowls", originally 0.14–0.19 m. in diameter. They are known in Cyprus from the Late Cypriot (LC) IB to LC IIB periods but were most popular during LC IIB. There are other Cypriot types as well, however: Base-Ring I and Base-Ring II fragments and also, from within and east of Building J, joining fragments of C 2753, a Red Lustrous spindle bottle (Pl. 60:a), common in Syria and Cyprus but rarely found in the Aegean.¹¹²

As our ability to differentiate fabrics and shapes improves, we are identifying fragments of "Canaanite" transport amphoras, ubiquitous in the Levant and Egypt where they were manufactured as early as the 17th century B.C. An entire vase was discovered in a domestic LM IA context at Thera,¹¹³ and at least 12 examples are known from

¹⁰⁷The following is based on a report by L. V. Watrous, who will be preparing a more complete study.

¹⁰⁸LM I: C 852, C 931, C 952–C 954; LM IIIA1: C 26, C 1051.

¹⁰⁹C 120, C 1274, C 1279.

¹¹⁰Cf. *Kommos*, 1977, p. 128, pl. 36:e; *Kommos*, 1978, p. 160, note 37 and pl. 55:a.

¹¹¹Of the Cypriot vases recognized, White Slip II wares are the commonest (C 335, C 340, C 665, C 993, C 1262, C 1981, C 1982, C 2046, C 2141, C 3156, C 3218, C 3249). Of Base-Ring I there are two (C 2923, C 3391), as there are of Base-Ring II (C 1051, C 1052). There is one of red lustrous wheelmade ware (C 2753, for which see the next footnote). I am much indebted to Robert Koehl for his report on and interpretation of this Cypriot ware, as well as the Canaanite pottery discussed below.

¹¹²Two examples are reported, one from Trianda on Rhodes and the other from Gournia (G. Cadogan, "Cypriot Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean and their Importance," *Praktikon of the First International Cypriological Congress*, Volume A, Nicosia, Cyprus 1972, p. 7).

¹¹³S. Marinatos, *Thera VII*, Athens 1976, p. 30, pl. 49:b.

Mainland Mycenaean contexts.¹¹⁴ Up to this point, however, to our knowledge, none have been published from Crete. At Kommos we have now some 13 fragments, of which there are two (possibly three) rim fragments, one handle (Pl. 60:d), and numerous body sherds,¹¹⁵ in contexts ranging from LM I to LM III (one may possibly be from an MM III context). Like the Cypriot sherds discussed above, they are from findspots spread out fairly evenly on the site but are fewer in the southern sector, where less excavation has taken place. All, as far as we know, could be from essentially domestic contexts and, since the ware is plain, they were probably valued less for their individual shapes than for their contents.

The presence of such a variety of imported wares in our Bronze Age contexts is significant. One conclusion that can be drawn is that Kommos was certainly well connected with the other centers of Crete, especially with Knossos during LM I and, later, with towns in Western Crete. Concerning foreign relations, while examples of Mainland Mycenaean ware¹¹⁶ and at least one example from the Cyclades¹¹⁷ belonging to the LM III period (probably LM IIIA) suggest connections with these areas, one can reasonably conclude that there were rather close ties, most likely by means of shipping, between the port of Kommos and Cyprus as well as the Levant. An incongruity remains to be explained here, for on the Kommos site the most prosperous times seem to be during the MM period and at least the beginning of LM I; but so far the majority of imports, including most of the imports from the East, are from contexts later than LM I. Can we assume that during the Palatial periods ships arriving from the East brought few objects that would be kept in the houses, while most would be sent further inland or buried in local tombs? Or that raw materials such as bronze or gold cannot be expected to appear except in a destruction context?¹¹⁸ Perhaps the appearance of Cypriot and Canaanite imports from LM IIIA contexts is to be thought of simply as an indication of increasingly closer contacts between Crete and the East, following in the wake of Mycenaean expansion in that direction, a phenomenon more in keeping with LM III remains found outside Crete than, so far with the exception of Kommos, on the island itself.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴For a comprehensive study of the Canaanite jar, see Virginia Grace, "The Canaanite Jar in the Aegean," in *The Aegean and the Near East (Festschrift for Hetty Goldman)*, S. Weinberg, ed., New York 1956. For a recent listing of such vases (from Menidi, Mycenae, Argos, Asine, Athens, and Pylos) see Åke Åkerström, "More Canaanite Jars from Greece," *OpusAth* 11, 1975, pp. 185–192. These may have been brought westward by Aegean merchants (see J. D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians, The Relations between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages," *Berytus* 19, 1970, pp. 19–64, esp. p. 43).

¹¹⁵Those fragments noticed to date: C 140, C 287, C 288, C 1474, C 1564, C 1649, C 1780, C 2675, C 2924, C 2925, C 3171, C 3366, C 3392.

¹¹⁶Of Mycenaean ware, there are two joining fragments from a Mycenaean stirrup jar (C 2949 in Pl. 60:a).

¹¹⁷*Kommos*, 1976, pl. 52:a (d).

¹¹⁸The problem of Cypriot-Cretan connections during the Minoan Palatial periods is discussed by G. Cadogan, "Cyprus and Crete ca. 2000–1400 B.C.," *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C."*, Nicosia 1978, pp. 63–68.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 67, "the preponderance of Minoan and Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus from about 1400 is quite obvious." For Cypriot pottery on Crete see also *Kommos*, 1977, p. 128 and note 30.

THE IRON AGE AND CLASSICAL TEMPLES

We have now essentially completed excavation of the classical temple, altars and court, and have, in previous years, cleared the other buildings around the court: the residence (B) and the round building (D), as well as parts of two buildings of unknown use (E, F) further to the east (Fig. 3). The only contemporary levels still to be excavated are in the sand that accumulated some 10 meters south of the temple, for there remains a slim possibility that buildings there were set into the sloping hillside. If they were, they may reveal new facets of the sanctuary's later use and its ascription. Further study may also help clarify how the now fairly well understood architectural development, especially that of the temple, meshes with the still incompletely known history of the Messara during the Iron Age and succeeding period. Pottery sequences, especially those of the floors of Building B, as compared with the accumulation in the dump south of the temple, should aid in this endeavor.

The discovery of the two earlier temples, of course, adds special interest and significance to the Kommos site, for although temple sequences of some duration and complexity are known at Mainland sites (e.g. the Temple of Apollo at Thermon) and on some of the Greek Islands (e.g. the Temple of Hera on Samos), on Crete the only sequence discovered up to this point is in the Temple of Aphrodite and Ares at Olous, where there were two phases.¹²⁰ At Kommos, Temple A, founded and used exclusively during the PG period, may be the earliest Iron Age temple discovered on Crete, although it is clear that other temple sites in Crete, such as that on the Acropolis at Gortyn, were being used from a very early time.¹²¹

Few temples elsewhere in Greece are thought to have been built as early in the Dark Ages as that at Kommos,¹²² and so we must proceed with care to uncover more of its plan even though our efforts will be limited by the superposed remains of Temples B and C. It is likely, therefore, that A's complete floor plan, as well as at least one of the major dimensions, will remain unknown. On the other hand we are relatively freer to

¹²⁰J. Bousquet, *op. cit.* (footnote 58 above), pp. 386–408. The first stage of the building is Archaic, while the second stage is dated to the 2nd century B.C.

¹²¹G. Rizza, V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina I*, Rome 1968, p. 25, fig. 45. Coldstream argues that the PG date proposed for the temple may be earlier than the temple itself, partly since the dating sherds may actually come from the Dark Age settlement lying immediately beneath (Coldstream, *op. cit.* [footnote 84 above], p. 280). At the time that Pendlebury wrote, he believed the Dreros temple to be the oldest in Hellenic Crete (Pendlebury, *op. cit.* [footnote 11 above], p. 318).

¹²²Among those considered particularly early is Megaron B at Thermon in Aitolia, thought by the excavator to be of the 10th century B.C. (for the pottery see Δελτ 1, 1915 [1916], p. 265, fig. 31). Snodgrass has recently commented that the PG pottery from there is probably a later native ware and, even if genuine PG, would not imply a date earlier than 800 B.C. (A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 409–410). A building at Lefkandi in Euboea, thought to be PG, was recently at least partially destroyed during building operations (*JFA* 8, 1981, pp. 91–93). Just as this article goes to press there is a report from the same site that this building is *ca.* 9 meters wide and 45 meters long, apsidal at one end, with mud-brick walls and remains of a "peristyle" of rectangular timbers. It is part of the extensive cemetery already partially excavated by a Greek-British team. Below the building's center was found a rich PG grave which, according to the excavators, identifies the structure as a 10th-century monument dedicated to a hero, rather than a temple (*The London Times*, Friday, April 24, 1981).

excavate east and north of the temples in search of any auxiliary structures that might still exist. We may be able to determine if, as we suspect now, A was built partially upon an earlier Minoan building. Certainly A's north wall continues down below the lowest floor level reached, and the supposed southern wall continues down below both floor level and the lowest PG deposit.

There is no doubt, in any case, that A overlies Minoan levels, and one can find numerous parallels to the general situation.¹²³ At the moment, however, there is no evidence to suggest that the Minoan structures known to be here are religious, so their possible re-use at a later period would probably be due less to any awareness of their original function than to an aura of sanctity which the Minoan walls conveyed to the first Iron Age settlers.

While Temple A's early founding and the nature of its establishment are of considerable interest, B's plan, construction, and interior features are much better known. To judge from the amount of EPG found along with Geometric pottery upon its first floor, there was little if any hiatus between the abandonment of its predecessor, A, and B's construction during the 8th century B.C. Like the later, 7th-century Temple A at Prinias, it had a central pillar on axis at its entrance. Perhaps like B at Kommos, benches in A lined at least its northern (and, presumably, its southern) wall, a Cretan tradition which continues in Temple C and Room A 1 at Kommos, as well as in numerous later Cretan buildings elsewhere.¹²⁴ With the cumulative evidence now available there seems little doubt that these benches served primarily not for the placement of offerings but, rather, as benches or "couches" upon which the worshippers would sit or recline.

Another element common to at least B and C (there is no evidence so far from A) is the hearth, a rough enclosure of slabs and stones in the first stage of B. Only in the latest, its third and final stage during the 7th century B.C., was B's hearth regularized by laying slabs on their edges to form a rectangular structure on the building's axis, a type of hearth known at the Dreros temple of Apollo Delphinios, at the 7th-century Prinias temples, and in later buildings both sacred and profane.¹²⁵

¹²³In Crete the temples of Dictaean Zeus at Palaikastro, that of Zeus Welchanos at Hagia Triada, the temple above the Minoan palace at Knossos and that along the southern border of the Phaistos palace were all founded above earlier remains although they did not necessarily make use of pre-existing walls. For examples on the Mainland see A. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

¹²⁴Cf. *Kommos, 1978*, pp. 171–173. Of the temples at Kommos, wall benches are sure within B and C but not yet within A. The presence of benches for sitting or reclining or both, as well as feasting, brings up the question of whether only special initiates or dignitaries were allowed within the temples. This is a subject which should be explored in the future, especially in the case of Cretan temples. For temples on the Mainland, one scholar has concluded that no general rule applied and that temples could often be entered by ordinary people (P. E. Corbett, "Greek Temples and Greek Worshippers: the Literary and Archaeological Evidence," *BICS* 17, 1970, pp. 149–158).

¹²⁵See the preceding footnote. The significance of the hearth within early Greek temples has been investigated by various people, especially M. Nilsson ("Archaic Greek Temples with Fire-Places in their Interior," *Från Stenålder till Rokoko (Studier Tillägnade Otto Rydbeck)*, Lund 1937, pp. 43–48) and M. Guarducci ("La 'Eschara' Del Tempio Greco Arcaico," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 13, 1937, pp. 159–165). Nilsson concluded that in early Iron Age temples the hearth on which the sacrificial meat was cooked was first within the temple but that later the tendency was to move it outside. In Temple C at Kommos, of course, there are both interior hearth and exterior altars, upon both of which sacrifices could

Of the small finds, animal bones characterize all levels of A, B, and C and are presumably the leftovers of ritual feast and sacrifice.¹²⁶ Cups throughout the levels attest to the water and wine drunk on these occasions, as do the plates to the food eaten. Among the offerings, terracotta bulls are found in association with all three temples; bronze bulls were found only in connection with B. Terracotta horses can be connected with both A and B (there is also the bronze horse in B), as can armor and weapons (various projectile points in A, miniature and actual shields in B). To C are restricted certain types of later temple furniture or offerings: terracotta lamps, glass bowls, bone needles, wide stone basins and perirrhanteria, as well as relief sculpture and inscriptions on stone. We should also recall that outdoor altars were common in connection with C but so far have not been found east of A or B; they may be discovered there, however, when we excavate down to corresponding levels. Differences between the individual temples at Kommos exist, therefore, but certain architectural features and similarities in offerings and, perhaps most important of all, the partaking of ritual meals within the buildings argue for at least partial continuity in ritual, despite the hiatus between the desertion of B and the building of C.

In this connection we should, finally, consider the permanent centers of worship within the temples. For A, of course, there is none yet known: if there was one it now lies deeply buried below later floors and the structures on them. For C we postulated a statue on a base, the remains of which have been described elsewhere.¹²⁷ For B, its tripillar shrine presents the most intriguing center of worship: not only is its form unusual, being paralleled most closely by "altars" shown on Punic-Phoenician reliefs¹²⁸ but certain objects associated with B indicate close ties with the East, such as the Egyptian faïence figurines from between the pillars themselves as well as the scatters of faïence beads, scarabs, and bowl fragments.¹²⁹ Finally there is a series of some 8 sherds of coarse-ware vessels, mostly fragments of transport amphoras, that on the basis of their distinctive sandy fabrics and shapes we tentatively class as Levantine, perhaps Phoenician. Almost all of them are connected with the foundation or first floor level of B.¹³⁰ One handle (Pl. 60:d) may be stamped.

have been burnt to judge by the amount of burnt bone found on them. Perhaps as cited by Nilsson (*op. cit.*, pp. 46–47) from a later inscription pertaining to sacrifice at Kos, the larger sacrifices were made outdoors with only a small part being burned in the interior of the temple.

¹²⁶The bones from the various levels of the temple are still in the process of being studied.

¹²⁷*Kommos*, 1979, pp. 225–226, fig. 9 and pl. 61:b–e.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 246 and note 97.

¹²⁹See above, p. 242.

¹³⁰The sherds in question are C 3078, C 3130, C 3134, C 3245, C 3270, C 3294, C 3528 and I 16. Most could belong to transport vessels such as amphoras, although one (C 3078) is a chalice stem. Of the pieces one (C 3245) was found far south of the temples in a Geometric deposit associated with walls P and Q. Another was found in connection with Temple A (C 3270). On the floors of Temple B were C 3134 and C 3294. At a level corresponding to B's lower two floors, but in the dump to the south, were C 3078 and I 16. On the west, within the stone-chip level connected with B's construction, were C 3130 and C 3528. To judge from this distribution, similar sherds should be found during future excavation within and around the temple.

From what we can tell now, the tripillar shrine was set on the first floor of B.¹³¹ If of Eastern origin, it may well have been inspired by the very people, perhaps Levantines themselves, whose coarse everyday pottery may have now been found in levels contemporary with the building of the temple. (Of course one could argue that the Levantine pottery was brought to Kommos by Cretans, although this seems less likely at that date.) We can hardly call the temple "Phoenician", in any case, even if time shows the tripillar shrine and the imported sherds to be genuinely Levantine, for not only is there an earlier temple on the same site but the majority of offerings and pottery are of local inspiration. It is possible, however, that the people of Kommos, as receptive as were others in Crete at the time to Eastern ideas, adopted a form of altar known to passing Eastern merchants who, during the 8th century when Phoenician expansion westward was in full swing,¹³² could have stopped regularly at this small, well-watered shore site in Crete. Such an occurrence might be expected at Kommos, located as it was along a major sea route and at a reasonable point of entry into southern Crete.

The Kommos site might have appealed to such merchants, for it lies near a high, defensible hill and had an offshore anchorage behind a sheltering reef, not unlike places in the Phoenician homeland and elsewhere where Phoenicians are known to have settled successfully. It is probably not by coincidence that it was along such a coast in Crete that Odysseus, in one of his fabricated tales, was taken aboard a Phoenician vessel.¹³³

After the tripillar shrine was established, purely local artifacts (e.g. the bronze horse, bull, and shield) were added. Eventually the floor rose and only the tops of the pillars were visible. Then they were incorporated into a hearth during the 7th century. While the spot remained sacred, as proved by the ritual deposit discovered west of this late hearth, the form and original meaning of the shrine may well have been forgotten by the descendants of the worshippers who originally built B.

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¹³¹It could, however, have been set into the second floor, with the top of the slab at floor level.

¹³²Cf. J. D. Muhly, *op. cit.* (footnote 114 above), p. 46, "The evidence from archaeology and epigraphy combines to date the expansion of the Phoenicians into the Western Mediterranean in the eighth century B.C." See also *Kommos*, 1979, p. 246, notes 98, 99, and for Phoenician objects in Cretan contexts (e.g. the Idaian Cave bronzes, the bronze belt and quiver from Fortesta) see Muhly, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49. Recently a Phoenician bronze bowl with an inscription dating ca. 900 B.C. was found at Tekke near Knossos (Maurice Szyner, "L'inscription phénicienne de Tekke, près de Cnossos," *Kadmos* 18, 1979, pp. 89-93). The question of Phoenician influence in Crete, especially the presence of North Syrian craftsmen resident in Crete, has been debated further by John Boardman (*The Greeks Overseas*, rev., London 1980, pp. 37, 56-59) and Angeliki Lebessi ("The Fortetsa Gold Rings," *BSA* 70, 1975, pp. 169-176, esp. p. 173 and note 49). For possible Phoenician settlement on Rhodes see J. N. Coldstream, "The Phoenicians at Ialysos," *BICS* 16, 1969, pp. 1-8.

¹³³*Odyssey* xiii.272f.



a. Site of Kommos at end of 1980 season, from south



b. Greek Sanctuary (upper level) from southeast



a. Hilltop houses as completed in 1980, from north



c. Hillside Street 1 from south



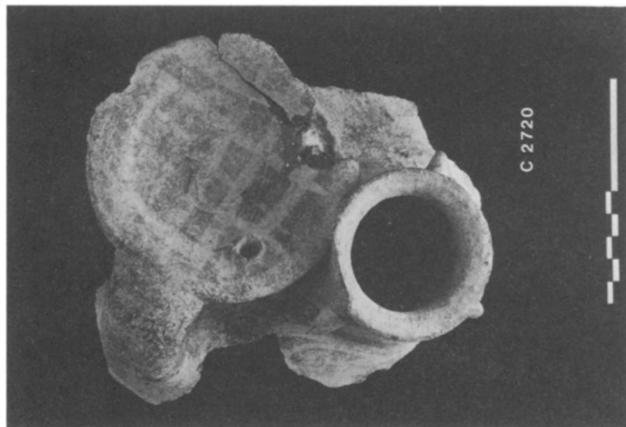
b. Hillside, eastern MM house levels, from southeast



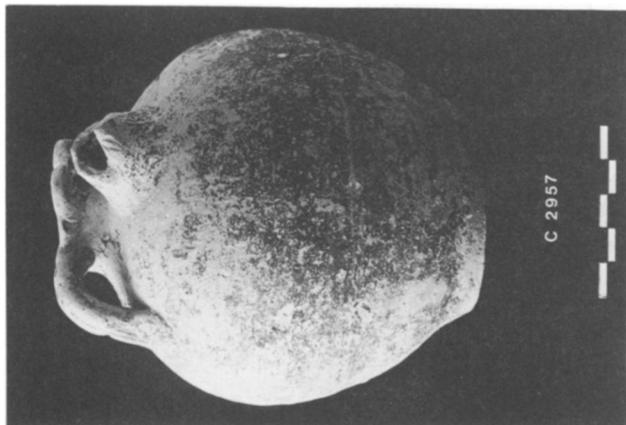
d. Hillside, eastern MM house levels from above (south at top)



a. Pottery deposit within Room 29, Hillside, from south



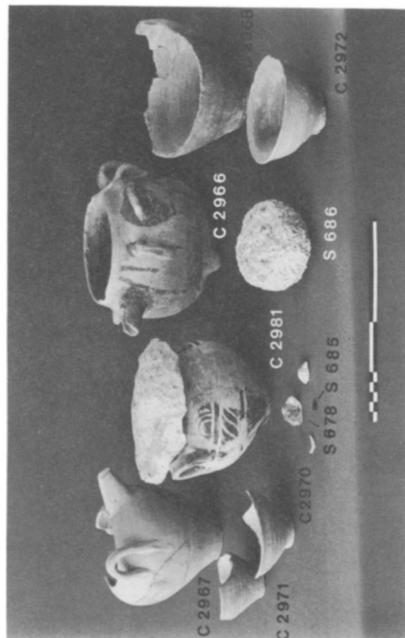
b. MM stirrup jar fragment from Hillside



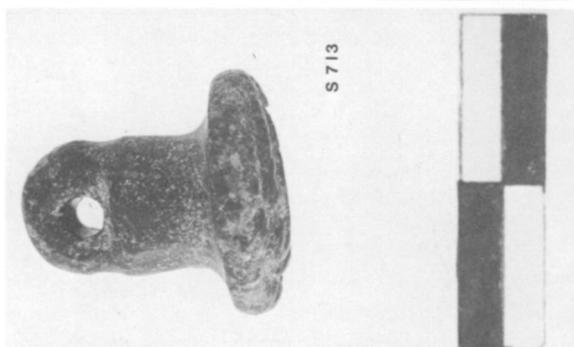
c. Stirrup vase from Room 31, Hillside



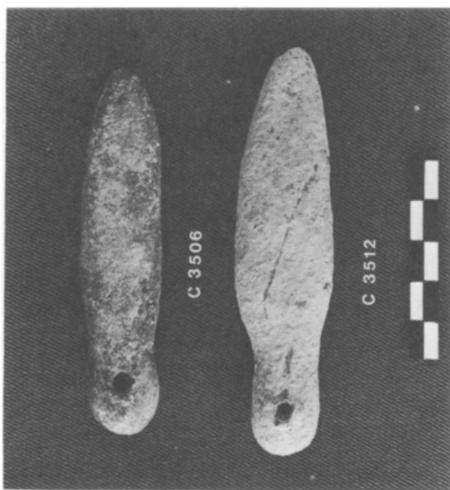
d. Room 31, Hillside, from south: pottery resting on slab floor (at top)



e. Pottery deposit from Room 29, Hillside



f. Signet seal from Room 29, Hillside
 f. Side view g. Face h. Impression



i. Pierced terracotta objects from Space 33, Hillside



a. Minoan Building J (foreground) and Greek Sanctuary (background), from west



b. Trench 37A: wall of Minoan "ramp" (a) and foundations of Temples B (b) and C (c), from southwest



a. Trench 37A: eastern façade of Building J with LM III addition above paved court, from southeast



b. Trench 37A: paved court with LM III addition, "ramp" wall (right), and lower walls of later temples (upper right), from south



a. Pier-and-door-partition bases and sounding in Building J, from north



b. "Corridor 7": LM III threshold (a), original southern wall of J (b), and southern wall of "Corridor" (c), from west



c. East end of Trench 37A: foundation blocks of Temple C (a), rubble (b), and slab enclosure (c) resting on outside surface associated with Temple B, from west



d. Southern room of Building J: sounding below floor level, from north



e. West end of Trench 37A: LM III floor level and entrance into Room 4, from south



f. Trench 37A: blocks strewn in fill between LM III and lower floors, from northeast



a. Trench 37A: southeast sounding below pebble floor, from east



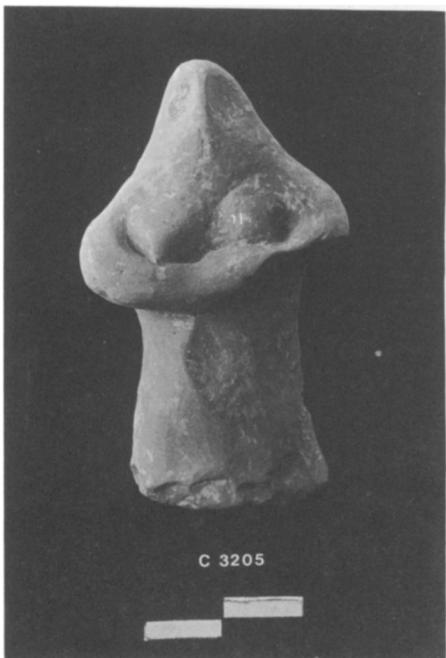
b. Trench 34A2 from south. Foundation of Temple C (b)



c. LM I pottery (and C 2753, Cypriot) associated with Building J



d. Trench 34A2, northwest corner, from south



e. Female terracotta figurine, Hillside



f. Small cist just outside Temple C, from west



a. 1980 sounding below Temple C, from east



b. Temple C: part of slab floor before temporary removal for sounding, from west



c. Superposed hearths in western end of sounding, from west



d. Northwest corner of Temple C, from east



a. Temple C, sounding below hearths, from south



b. Southeast sounding from north. Wall P and associated floor (right); earlier slab pavement



d. Southeast sounding from west. Walls P1 and P2; early plastered floor with channel (x)



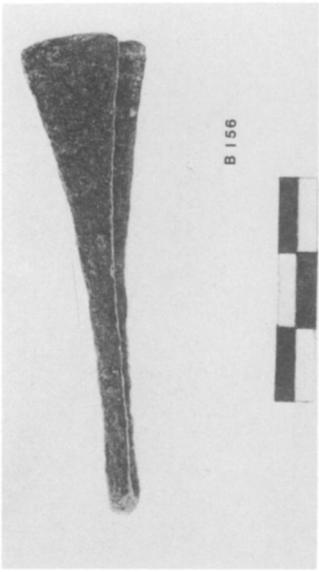
c. Retaining wall (foreground) at entrance to Temple B, from east



e. Temple B: central pillar at entrance, from northeast



f. Northeast corner of Temples A and B, from south



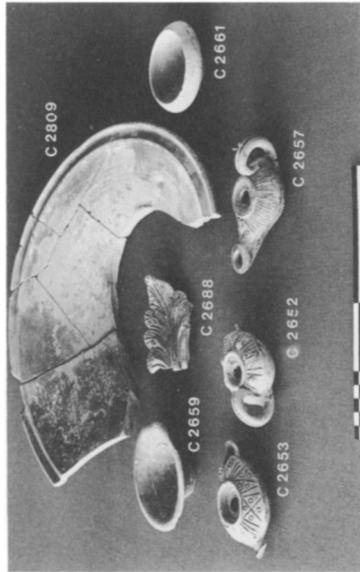
a. "Tweezers" found on lower pebble floor east of Building J



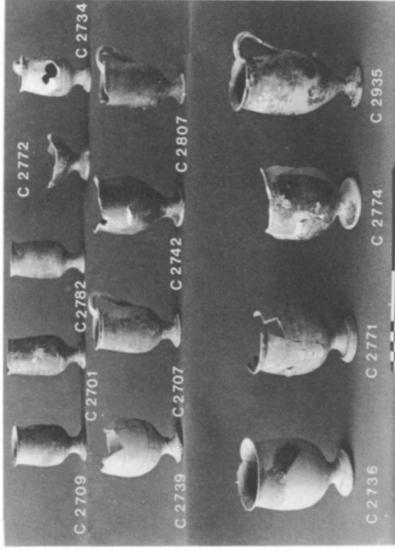
b. Bronze wreath with ivory berries, from Temple C dump



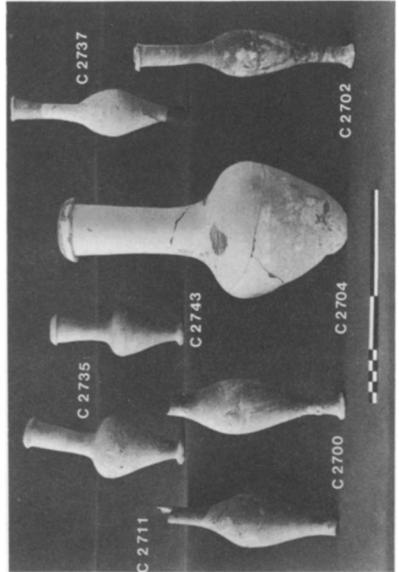
c. Detail of wreath



d. Roman bowls, lamp and dish, from Temple C dump



e. Tulip cups from Temple C dump



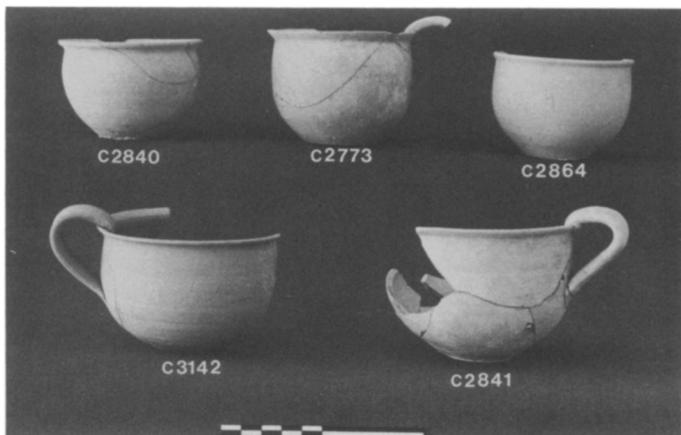
f. Fusiform unguentaria from Temple C dump



h. Detail of siren



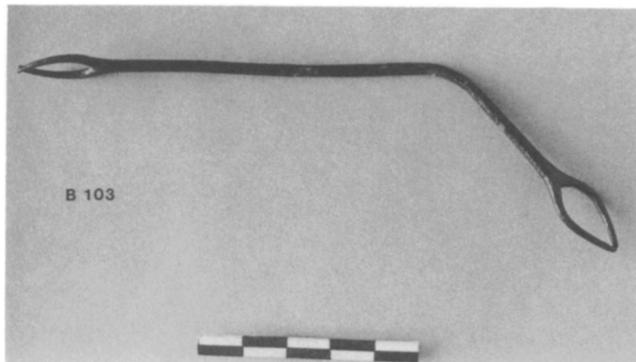
g. Siren stand from Temple C dump



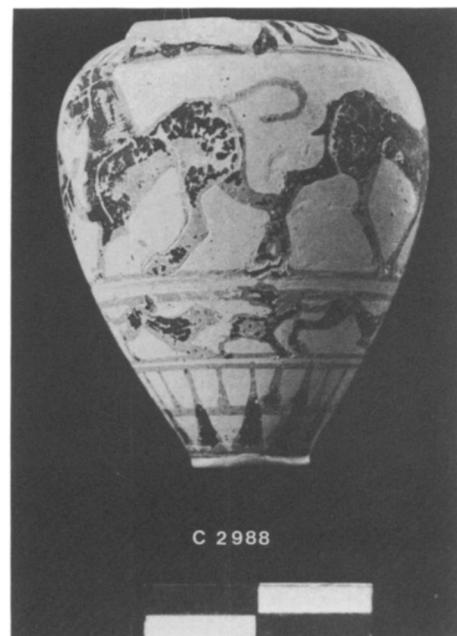
a. Hellenistic cups ("Kommos cups") from Temple C dump



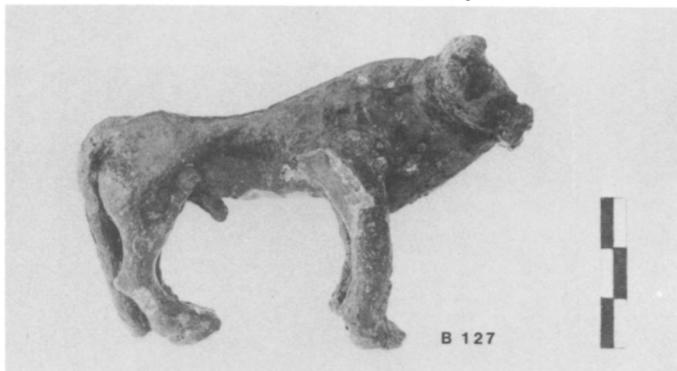
c. Aryballos C 2988, top view



b. Bronze instrument from Temple C dump



d. Protocorinthian aryballos from Temple B dump



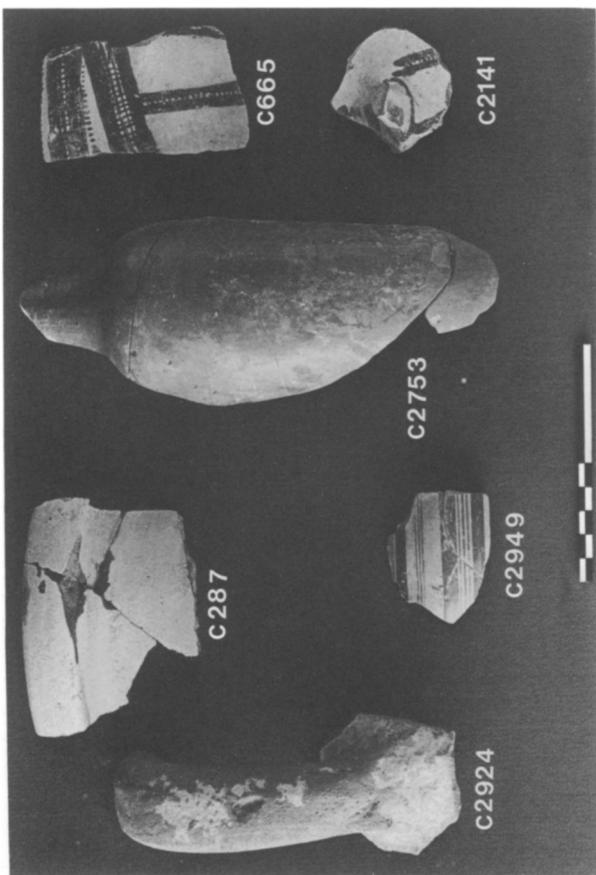
e. Bronze bull figurine from Temple B dump



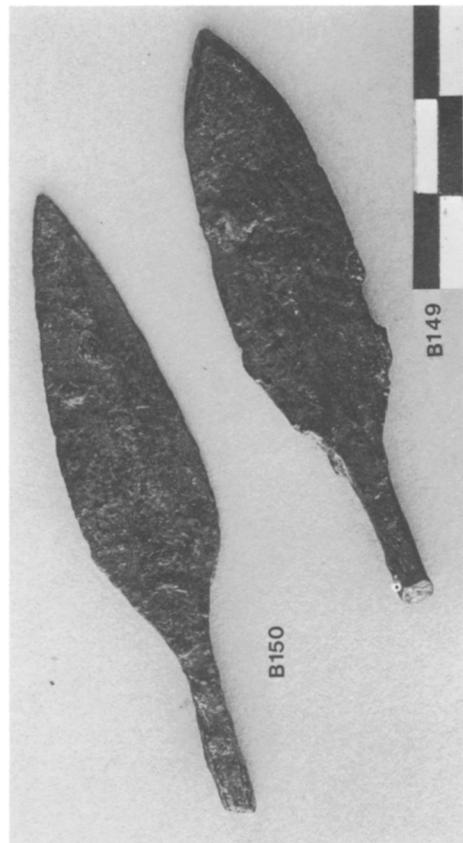
g. Terracotta bull from Temple B dump



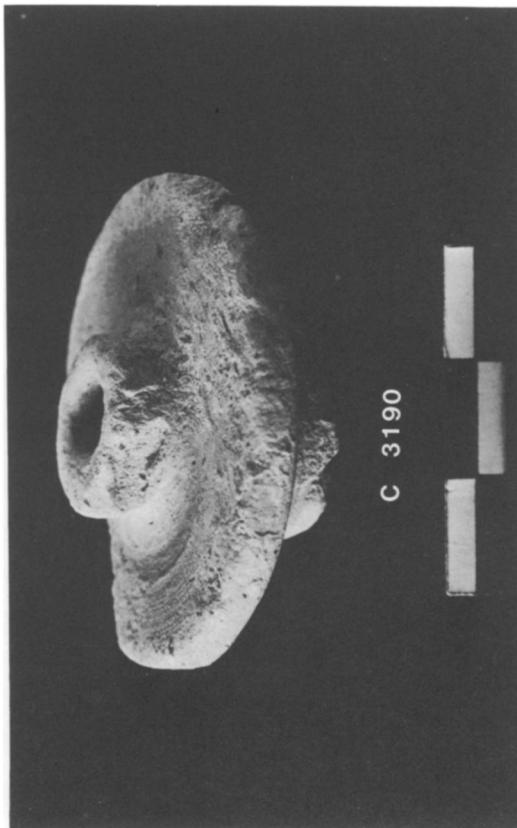
f. Team of two joined horses from Temple B dump



a. Examples of imported pottery from Bronze Age levels



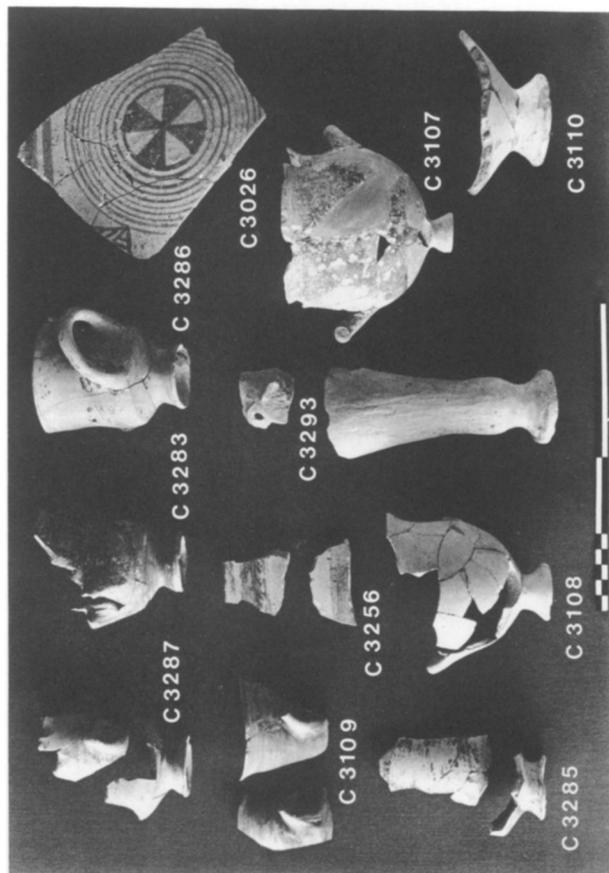
b. Bronze arrowheads from Temple B



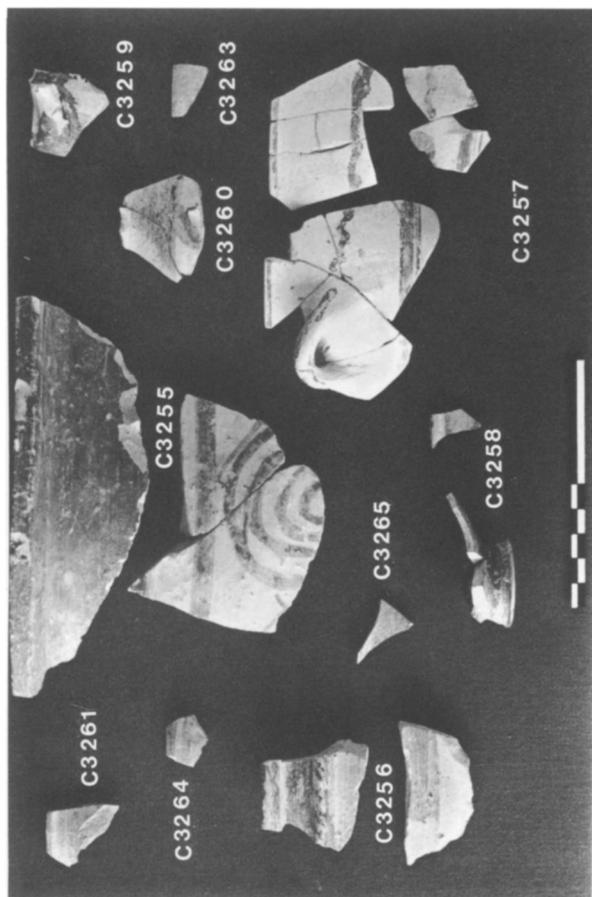
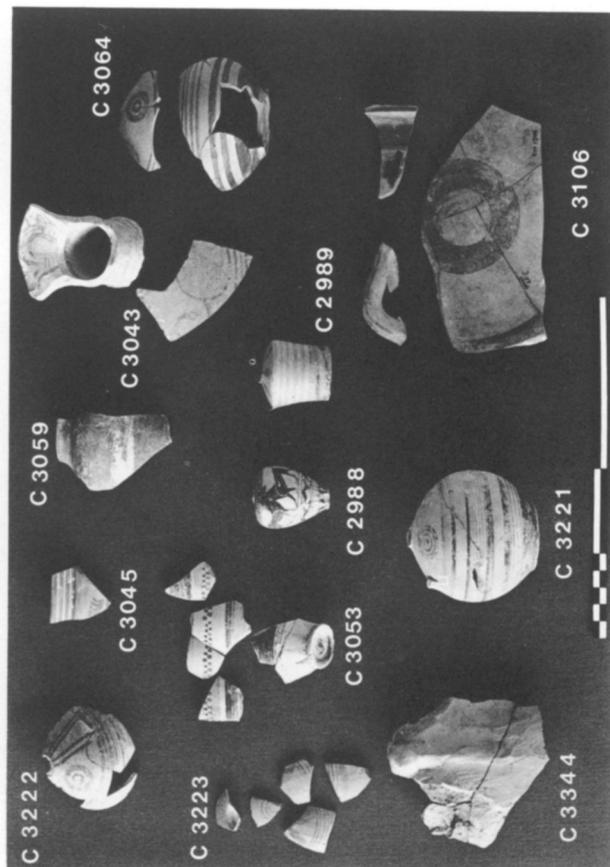
c. Terracotta wheel from Temple B



d. Eastern pottery fragment from early temple dump



a. Protoegeometric pottery associated with Temple A



b. Protoegeometric pottery associated with the lowest floor level reached in Temple A



c. Geometric/Orientalizing pottery associated with Temple B

d. Geometric krater from North House, Hilltop