

EXCAVATIONS AT KOMMOS (CRETE) DURING 1976

(PLATES 49-55)

DURING eight weeks of the summer of 1976 excavations were initiated at the prehistoric Minoan site of Kommos, situated along the shore of the Messara Plain bordering the Libyan Sea (Pl. 49:a).¹ The chief archaeological aim of the

¹ The excavations at Kommos are 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. The cooperation and help of the Greek Antiquities Service, especially that of the late Dr. Nikolaos Kondoleon and of Dr. Dimitrios Lazarides, former and present directors of the Service, is most appreciated. The advice and support of Dr. Stylianos Alexiou, Ephor of Crete and Director of the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, was especially crucial from the earliest stages of the excavation. Generous financial support for the initial stages of the project has been supplied by the chief sponsoring institutions and the Canada Council (Grants S74-0460 and 1930), as well as the SCM Corporation of New York. Other corporations (Kodak Canada, Ltd.; Keuffel and Esser of Canada; Olivetti Canada, Ltd.; Polaroid Corporation of America; Staedtler-Mars, Ltd.) provided much-needed drafting, photographic, and office equipment. Individual help and encouragement, especially that of Leon Pomerance (in cooperation with the American Institute of Nautical Archaeology), Mrs. Edgar Stone, Luther Replogle, and Rue Shaw, have been most appreciated.

The staff for the first season consisted of the director, The University of Toronto and The Royal Ontario Museum; Professor Philip Betancourt, Temple University; Professor L. Vance Watrous, The State University of New York at Buffalo; Dr. Maria C. Shaw, Scarborough College, University of Toronto; also Giuliana Bianco (our excavation architect), Betsy Comstock, the late Zbigniew Jarkiewicz, John McEnroe and Lucia Nixon, the last five present and former students of the University of Toronto. Dr. John Hayes, The Royal Ontario Museum, joined us for the early, formative weeks of the excavation; and we were most fortunate that Professor Peter Warren and Elizabeth Warren, the former then at the University of Birmingham, could work with us during the last two weeks. Cathy McEnroe gave occasional assistance in mending and other storeroom work.

Certain specialists provided useful advice and information. In particular I would single out Professor Nicolas Coldstream and Mervyn Popham in connection with the pottery. Professor John Bandekas of the Athens Polytechnic Institute made the topographic plans, and Dr. and Mrs. J. Wilson Myers worked, with the help and cooperation of the Julian Whittlesey Foundation, to make possible the pre-excavation, low-level aerial photography.

I would also like to express my gratitude to a number of individuals who encouraged the project while it was still in its formative stages: Frank Milligan, Mireille Badour, and Peter Carruthers of the Canada Council; Dr. A. Douglas Tushingham, Chief Archaeologist of the Royal Ontario Museum; Neda Leipen, Curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Royal Ontario Museum; Paul Elicker, President, the SCM Corporation; Dr. John Evans, President, The University of Toronto; Professor Emeritus J. Walter Graham, of the Department of Fine Art, The University of Toronto; Professor F. E. Winter, Chairman, Department of Fine Art, The University of Toronto; Angeliki Lebessi, Epimeletria of Antiquities, The Archaeological Museum of Herakleion; Dr. Nicholas Platon, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Art History, The University of Thessaloniki; Professor James McCredie, Director, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Professor Homer Thompson, Institute for Advanced Study; Professor C. W. J. Eliot, then at The American School of Classical Studies in Athens; Professor Doro Levi, Director of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens.

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first season was to determine by means of trial trenching the chronological range, relative size, and state of preservation of the Minoan settlement. As a result of the work done then, sufficient knowledge has now been attained to show that we are dealing with a site of some significance that merits a series of intensive future campaigns of excavation and study.

BACKGROUND FOR THE EXCAVATION

For the past seventy years, especially during the periods from 1900 to 1917 and from 1950 to the present, intensive archaeological activity has partially exposed almost all of the chief Minoan habitation sites. One of these major sites, however, that of Kommos, had, perhaps paradoxically, remained essentially untouched until our excavations were initiated during the past summer. This now deserted harbor town, of which the ancient name still remains unknown, is located about eight kilometers southwest of the famous Minoan sites of Ayia Triada and Phaistos, excavated in the past by Italian archaeologists, and some three kilometers north of the Roman harbor town of Matala, the chief sea outlet of Gortyn.

A. Taramelli seems to have been the first to link the Kommos area with activity during prehistoric times. He connects the northern cliffs of Cape Nesos (immediately south and west of Kommos) with the possible site of the shipwreck which befell part of Menelaos' contingent as the victorious warriors made their way back from Troy.² It was Sir Arthur Evans, however, who first pointed out the nearby site of Kommos as an important one of the prehistoric period. With the help of his traveling companions, Duncan MacKenzie, Piet de Jong, and the Knossos foreman, Manolis Akumianakis, Evans conducted a brief archaeological survey of the area, this examination becoming the basis for his subsequent accounts of the site as well as his interpretation of its potential significance. The first such account appeared in *The London Times* in 1924,³ but the longest description is in Volume II of *The Palace of Minos*, published in London in 1928.⁴ Evans incorrectly transliterated the

For their help in the Pitsidia-Matala-Kommos region, the director is especially indebted to the following, all of whom helped make various phases of the excavation work possible: George Beladakis, foreman of the excavation; Emmanuel and Iakovos Kadianakis and families; N. Kepetanakos; Petros Kyprakis and family; Nikos Markhakis; Ioannis Sphakakis and family; George Sphakakis and family; and Zacharias Spyridakis, chief guard for the Phaistos region, whose friendship and practical help were basic for early phases of planning. The welcome, enthusiasm, and hospitality of the populace of the Pitsidia-Matala region have often made our work and stay there a pleasure. Indeed, in some ways the excavation work has become a regional effort on the part of some of the inhabitants who are, after all, the closest temporal heirs to the area itself. I should also acknowledge the efficient help of the local Tourist Police of Mires who, with the encouragement of the present Mayor of Pitsidia, Ioannis Androurlidakis, made the site more secure.

The staff of D. Harissiades, especially Stereos Svarnas, has helped with certain photographic work; Lorna Thurston has often taken the burden of a portion of the correspondence.

² A. Taramelli, "Ricerche Archeologiche Cretesi," *MonAnt* 9, 1899, col. 296.

³ Arthur Evans, "Discoveries in Crete, 1. Southern Port Found," *The London Times*, Oct. 16, 1924, p. 15.

⁴ Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* II, London 1928, pp. 88-92.

modern name Kommos as Komo.⁵ In both accounts Evans' main theme is that Kommos was the chief port of the Messara, having been connected with distant Knossos to the north by means of a paved pathway protected by occasional guard stations. Evans' view of the hegemony of Knossos as the initiating and controlling force through Crete was recently reinforced, at least for the LM II-III A1 period, by John Chadwick, on the basis of his gleanings from the Linear B tablets from Knossos.⁶

Aside from a possible small excavation north of the Kommos site at Sphakoriaki, however, Evans did not excavate, although it is still said locally that he was preparing to do so.⁷ Actually, the closest that one comes in his accounts to excavation on the site is the recounting of rows of pithoi reported by a local landowner. As far as one can tell, these pithoi were not seen by Evans himself. Their discovery, nevertheless, formed the basis for the picturesque label of the "Teloneion" or "Customs House," presumably established for the Minoan ships returning from sea voyages abroad. Evans did not elaborate, however, to show how this particular storeroom (and storerooms are typical of most large Minoan buildings) necessarily had a commercial rather than a purely domestic role.

Evans also pointed out traces of a raised pathway, still visible, which follows the top of the southern ridge, rather unlike many modern roads which follow the contours of the hills. Subsequent investigation by us determined at least one more possible section of this presumably Minoan road between the southern hill ("Vigles") and the village of Kamilari on the northeast. So far, however, no intimate connections between Kommos and Knossos can be argued, for there is every likelihood that if the construction of the road is to be connected with any palatial site, the more reasonable connection is to be found with the neighboring palace of Phaistos. This is not to disclaim, however, the valuable evidence supplied by Evans, who during the same trip had followed carefully the pattern of Minoan remains south from Knossos, up the Platyperama Valley and then down into the Messara.⁸

⁵ The toponym "Kommos," as first pointed out to us by Stylianos Alexiou, is of masculine rather than neuter gender (the latter, Evans' use). The etymology of the name is uncertain, but it is certainly connected with the modern Greek verb κόπτω (cut). The derivative Κομμός may refer to a number of geological features. One is the towering, vertical cliff to the south. Another possibility is the striking of waves against the cliff or even upon the beach. Thirdly, as a local tradition has it, the name may refer to the small pieces of eel grass, or "kommos," that tend to pile up on the beach after a storm, especially in the corner to the southwest where beach and high cliffs meet.

⁶ John Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge 1976, p. 53. Later, after the destruction of Knossos, much smaller administrative units may have been established.

⁷ One recollection of Evans' visit, not necessarily accurate, is that he assembled a good deal of material for excavation but then, shortly after a visit by Federico Halbherr, he was taken ill and the English contingent returned to Knossos (see also footnote 13 below).

⁸ At the present time, the only possible remains of such a built way in this area were inspected by myself and L. Vance Watrous during the summer of 1975, when we hiked from Annisio to the Messara along the route taken by Evans, in the same valley and to the east of that presently taken by the modern asphalt highway. Although any other significant remains of the Minoan road have

Since the time of Evans' visit only moderate attention has been shown to the Kommos area; there seems to have been little discussion of a projected excavation.⁹ It was subsequently inspected by a number of archaeologists, although many of those writing about it probably did not visit the site.¹⁰ My own involvement with the

been bulldozed away during the recent road-clearing operations, along the approach into Ayios Thomas we found remains (also illustrated by Evans) of cyclopean walls supporting and bordering a narrow way clearly made for beasts of burden. Near by, unnoticed by Evans, was a Minoan dwelling, to judge from the sherds recovered not far from the "road." Following Evans' logic, the remains should be attributed to a Minoan "station" guarding the road. In my view, however, the presence of Minoan remains along a natural route for a roadway simply indicates that the Minoans did live here and that they used a road near by. This way, however, was not necessarily the only approach into the Messara from the north. Interconnecting roads between towns must have existed then as they do now, and until clear archaeological evidence, usually available only after careful excavation, shows that a given pathway bordered or supported by cyclopean masonry was constructed during the Minoan period, its date should remain unspecified.

⁹Dr. Cyrus Gordon was considering excavation after World War II, but the Kommos area was so heavily mined that the project was abandoned. Indeed, the entire coastline, from Kommos to Kokkinos Pyrgos, far north of the Hieropotamos River, was mined with large anti-vehicle explosives, especially in the low-lying areas where amphibious assaults by the Allies, then in North Africa, might be expected. Upon the defeat of the Axis powers and their withdrawal from Crete in 1944, much of their explosive material was abandoned. As a result, there were many civilian accidents, most occurring when the explosives (hand grenades, artillery shells, mines, etc.) were tampered with in order to remove the explosive charges. Such charges were then readily sold for various purposes, especially for fishing. At Kommos at least two people were killed while removing the charge, before the job of mine-sweeping by the military agencies began. Although up to this point no previously undetected mines have been found by us (some discoveries are not welcome, even to archaeologists!), pieces of them, rusted and harmless, can be seen in various spots. See footnote 28 below.

¹⁰ Among published accounts, it is clear that Pendlebury visited the site in 1934. He generally confirmed Evans' views although he questioned his identification of a tholos tomb on the southern hill, preferring to think of it as an apsidal building. These particular remains have not yet been identified by us, perhaps because Nazi bunker construction has obscured any walls once visible there (see J. D. S. Pendlebury, M. B. Money-Coutts, E. Eccles, "Journeys in Crete, 1934," *BSA* 33, 1932-33, pp. 80 f.). In Pendlebury's justly famous *The Archaeology of Crete* (London 1939), he relies mainly on the evidence originally furnished by Evans. Having failed to note any Late Minoan (LM) III sherds, however, he used the site as an example of those deserted prior to this period by populace seeking safer areas for occupation elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 239, note 1). As things turned out, the LM III period is unusually well represented at Kommos.

More superficial discussion of the site is to be found in Pernier's general account of the region of Phaistos and Ayia Triada (*Il palazzo minoico di Festòs* I, Rome 1935, pp. 6-73. Pernier accepts most of Evans' identifications and interpretation, having visited the site in 1930, at which time he collected some Middle Minoan (MM) and LM sherds. Later, the site was visited by a number of archaeologists such as R. W. Hutchinson (1937), who found Neolithic sherds (Pendlebury, *op. cit.*, p. 45). Up to this point we have not found Neolithic material. Honor Frost reported traces of harbor works under the sand (*Under the Mediterranean*, London 1963, pp. 111 f.), as did Paul Faure (*La vie quotidienne en Crète*, Paris 1973, p. 45). So far, we have not seen traces of such harborworks. Indeed I doubt, on the basis of personal inspection of shoreside constructions throughout the Aegean, that special harborworks were built in this area until the Greek Archaic period. The rumor is a persistent one, however, for N. Platon concluded that there was a "man-made construction in limestone set parallel to the shore" (*Κρητικά Χρονικά* 9, 1955, pp. 564-565). This construction, of which we have seen nothing, is, nevertheless, said by the locals, especially by the

Kommos area began in an informal way, when I visited it in 1965, after having worked with Robert Scranton at the Roman port town of Kenchreai in the Corinthia and then with Nicholas Platon at the Minoan harbor town and palace of Kato Zakros. Both of these sites were noted for their strategic links with known trade routes.¹¹ From my first visit to Kommos it was clear to me that the site, although largely hidden by sand, some of it quite deep, would nevertheless repay excavation, especially that part on the northern hill on which excavation is now taking place. Other early visits (October, 1968; March and May, 1970; September, 1971), which included extensive walks in the countryside from Matala north to the Hieropotamos River, confirmed that Kommos was the only significant settlement of prehistoric times along this stretch of lonely but beautiful coastline.¹²

Although a preliminary (unpublished) brochure describing the site as one deserving investigation was written as early as 1969, pragmatic progress in arranging for the excavation did not take place until after 1970. Originally the field work at Kommos was envisioned as a cooperative Greek-Canadian enterprise because of the permit situation. But when this could not be arranged, it became necessary that work at Kommos be initiated under the auspices of a foreign school of archaeology

fishermen, to stretch north-south from a huge projection of stone (the "bolakas" or "boulder" to the south) to a reef (the "Papadoplaka" or "priest's slab") still visible some 300 meters off the shore. Apparently this mysterious wall is visible in some ten meters of water only when currents have scoured away the overlying sand. Clearly, the matter should be investigated further in the future. The related problem of a possible change in relative sea level (there has been a change of at least two-and-one-half meters to the south of Kommos, at Roman Matala) will also be given some consideration. A comparative study of the harbors at Matala and Kommos is also to be made.

Other recorded visits were made by M. Zacharakis (Γενικά Ἀρχαιολογικά, Herakleion 1968, pp. 16, 28) and, on the basis of the records at the Stratigraphic Museum of the British School of Archaeology at Knossos, in August, 1955, by Sinclair Hood (who collected fine ware, including some EM I and LM III), and again in the spring of 1963, by William McDonald and R. Hope Simpson, who brought back MM and LM ware from the general area of the site and who also found EM light-on-dark ware at an "ossuary" somewhere between Pitsidia and Kommos.

Further references to Kommos, generally echoing Evans' interpretation, are as follows: H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, pp. 59, note 5 and 93 f.; R. F. Willets, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London 1962, pp. 33, 134-135; C. Crile and C. Davaras, "The Possible Site of Menelaos' Shipwrecks," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 16, 1963, pp. 47-49; S. Spanakis, *Crete, A Guide* I, Herakleion 1965, pp. 261, 293; L. von Matt *et al.*, *Ancient Crete*, Washington 1958, p. 107; K. Branigan, *The Foundations of Palatial Crete*, London 1970, pp. 192-193, 202, 207 and *idem*, *The Tombs of Mesara*, London 1970, pp. 7, 132, 171.

¹¹ During this same period I was commissioned to write a description of ancient harborworks, published later as "Ancient Greek and Roman Harbourworks," in *A History of Seafaring*, ed. George F. Bass, London 1972, pp. 88-112. My first visit to Kommos came about partially as a result of the research necessary for this project.

¹² Very few Minoan remains have been reported or can now be seen in the Matala valley to the south of Kommos. North of Kommos, along the shore, what may be an LM I building (now covered by sand) was seen by the author in 1971 east of the small settlement at Kalamaki. Of course, there remains the question of the relationship of Ayia Triada, now numerous kilometers inland, with the sea. This is a matter, however, that should be considered in detail when more information is available.

in Athens, there being no Canadian archaeological base at the time. During later negotiations, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens extended its hospitality and generosity to include the granting of one of its three excavation permits. In the meantime a financial basis for the Kommos excavation was slowly being formed.

Acquisition of the land, in particular a substantial part of the northern hill where the fill might be particularly deep, was a complex problem since the property had been acquired from the original owners in the 1950's by another party.¹³ Despite some friendly exchange between the author and the owners (land speculators planning a hotel-bungalow complex), the latter did not give their permission to conduct trial excavations on the land, although it would have been possible to inspect their foundation trenches for the various structures. Thus our only recourse was to attempt to arrange for the expropriation of the most promising section of land. Using as a basis a preliminary topographical plan made in 1972, formal expropriation procedures were initiated by the Greek Archaeological Service through an announcement in the government newspaper (5 October, 1973). Other topographical plans, done at scales of 1:500 and 1:1000, were then prepared by an Athens topographer, Professor John Bandekas. The land on the northern hill (9,254 sq. m. or 9.254 stremma) was thus finally acquired May, 1975, at our expense, for the Greek public domain for archaeological purposes.

EXCAVATIONS DURING 1976

During 1976, excavation was confined within the expropriated area (Fig. 1, Pl. 49:a), on the southernmost of the series of hills referred to locally as *Τὸ ἄΣπανοὺ τὰ Κεφάλια* (literally, "the heads of the hairless one") because of their general lack of covering growth. During the six weeks of actual digging in July and August, three fairly large and four quite small areas were opened by trenching. These trenches were located in such a manner that we would learn as much as

¹³ The land presently expropriated, a rectangle oriented north-south, was originally subdivided, before 1900, into three parallel, contiguous properties, oriented east-west, all of which extended at least 100 meters further to the east. The northern and southern sections extended further north and south, respectively, than our present property lines. The northern section was originally owned by Ioannis Polychronis Fasoulakis. That in the middle belonged to Konstantinos Ioannou Fasoulakis, while that on the south belonged to Emmanuel Stylianou Kadianakis. The second landowner, Konstantinos Fasoulakis, also called "Chalkias" (ironworker or smith, as he actually was) to distinguish him from a relative of the same name, was apparently the man whose tale of lines of pithoi is recorded by Evans. According to some of his descendants in Pitsidia, the various ancient objects which he found in his fields (a stone head?) were given to the Herakleion Archaeological Museum or to passers-by. The well on the property was excavated after 1957 by a Mr. Askoxylakis of the town of Vorroi; he also planted most of the almirikia (tamarisk) trees presently visible on the property. Aristoteles Fasoulakis, now over 70 years old, and the grandson of Ioannis Polychronis Fasoulakis, has told me that he found a many-handled, presumably Minoan pithos in the only gully north of the southern hill ("Vigles"), outside of the expropriated area, where the present deep layer of sand has eroded in places. The location of the pithos is presently unknown.

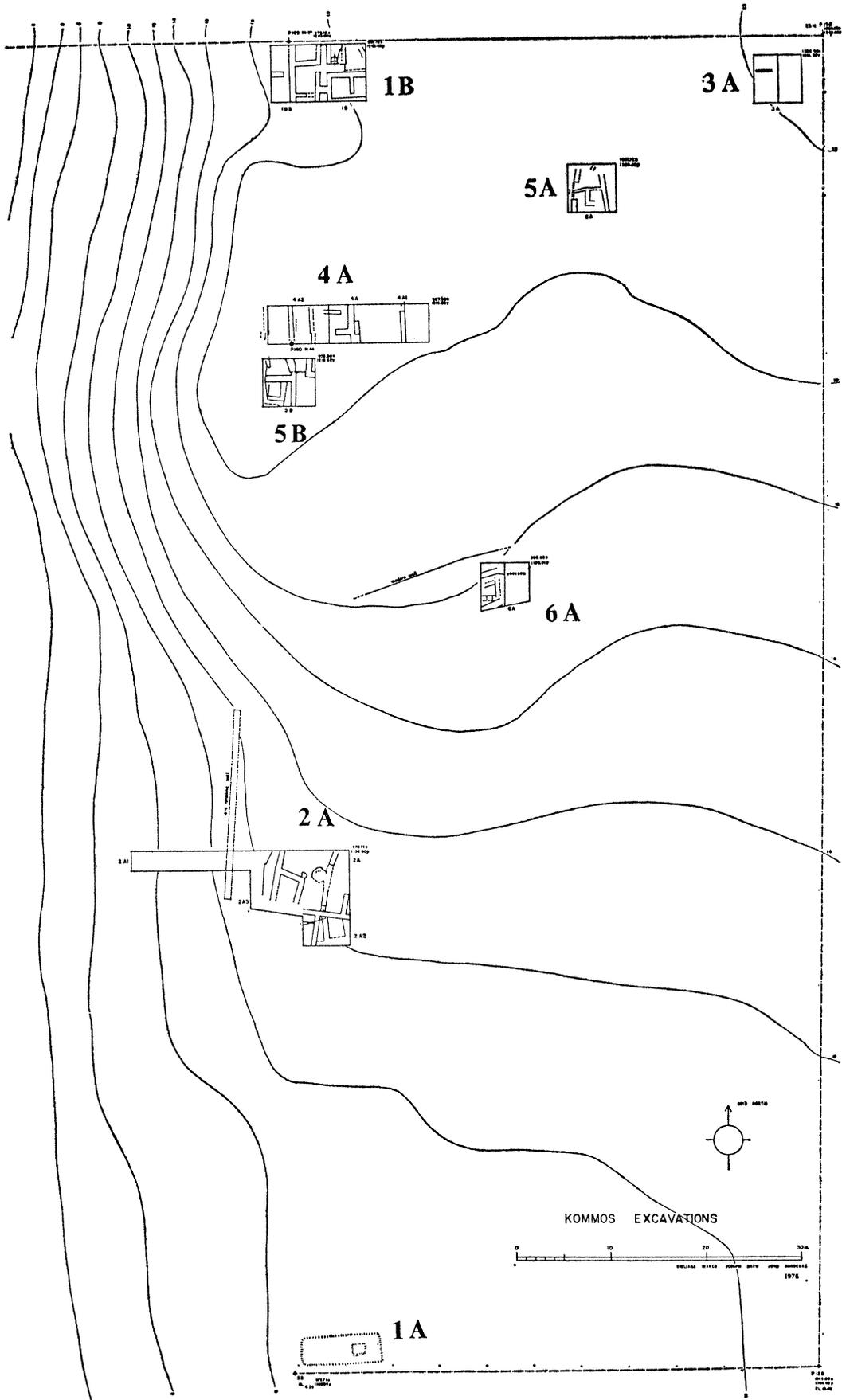


FIG. 1.

possible in the first season about the extent of habitation within the purchased rectangle. In the southeastern corner, however, where the covering layer of sand seemed sure to be as deep as three meters, no attempt was made to sound the ancient levels. If the thick sand layer is removed in the future, as we hope at present, this spot can be tested as well.

TRENCH 1B¹⁴

Trench 1B (Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 49: c, d), located in the northwestern corner of the expropriated property, was set not far from a heavy ashlar wall which appeared in the unexcavated scarp, downhill and on the west. This wall, noticed some years before we began, already hinted that the fill in this area might be deep.¹⁵ The first level (or layer) removed when excavation began was, as became common for each trench, that of sterile sand covered with vegetation, the sand ranging here from 0.30 to 0.60 m. in thickness. At first it was thought that the long mound of sand here, stretching many meters to the south (all the way to Trench 4A) might have formed around an ancient wall. As in similar cases elsewhere at Kommos (e. g. in Trench 3A), however, the appearance was deceptive, for when the sand was carefully cleared away, it was found to be quite sterile aside from a few Minoan and possibly Classical black-glaze sherds at its lower limits. The dune of sand, moreover, rested on an almost level layer of earth representing the top of the eroded, wind-swept ancient level. This sand formation, oriented north-south (as is that near Trench 3A), is definitely a later phenomenon having no connection with ancient structures, no doubt being formed by a variety of environmental factors (e. g. the prevailing north-south wind carrying sand up from the beaches, and then the sand piling up in drifts; the drifts would enlarge as new plant growth offered shelter in the lee where the sand could begin to accumulate). Indeed, we were to learn that there was little sand within the ancient, lower levels, except in cases in which it clearly had been placed there quite intentionally by man for a specific purpose.¹⁶

¹⁴ Trenches were generally numbered in order to correspond with the particular notebook being used.

¹⁵ This wall, perhaps a pillar or the end of a wall bordering a staircase, was illustrated earlier in the *Archaeological Newsletter of the Royal Ontario Museum*, N. S. 126, Nov. 1975, p. 3. See also now "Kommos: Our First Excavation Season," *ibid.*, N. S. 137, Oct. 1976, and "Minoan Port Town Emerging in Crete," *The New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1976.

¹⁶ The relative date of sand layers on the site seems, if we judge from the occasional Classical Greek or Roman sherd found on top of the ancient earth level (very little pottery has been found in this almost consistently sterile upper level of sand), to be post-Hellenistic. Indeed the accumulation of sand may be a fairly recent phenomenon, since certain of the local population maintain that at one time the northern hill was almost bare of sand; this possibility may be confirmed by Evans' plan of 1924 which indicates ancient walls on the northern hill at spots now covered by drifted sand. Final judgment on the matter, however, should await more careful study, a study no doubt related to any environmental changes that may have affected the region as a whole. The two instances in which sand was found in the ancient levels were in the "snake tube" from Trench 2A and as a probable packing below the LM I slab floor in the sounding made within Space 11 in Trench 1B.

When the ground surface had been swept and photographed, and with the primary "clearing trench" widened so as to prevent surrounding sand from falling into the area planned for later excavation, the actual trench borders were more carefully defined and actual excavation began. On the west, a small, late wall, over Spaces 1-2 and without relation to the walls below it, was removed from this Level 2 once it had been carefully recorded.¹⁷ Within Space 6 ("the corridor," for which see p. 211 below), but slightly above preserved wall height, a curious, if not unique, terracotta vessel (C 10; Pl. 49: b), 0.347 m. in diameter, was discovered. Only 0.125 m. of its original height is preserved, and it is possible that its upper part was sliced off by a plow in modern times. The vessel is quite heavy (7.6 kg.) and was found without any contents. Joined to it is what seems like a spout or, less likely, a handle broken off at its end, 0.357 m. long. Numerous small lumps of worn pumice were found alongside the spout (see below).

It would seem reasonable that this vessel might have had an industrial purpose of some kind. Since it proved to be unscorched inside and outside, it is doubtful that it could have served for metalworking, despite the fact that directly under it was a large lump of what at present appears to be ochrous copper or perhaps haematite; a few lumps of similar material were found not far away, but lower and immediately above floor level.¹⁸ Some other possible uses for the vessel can be suggested. One is that it was used for the production of unguents or perfumes, with heated air being introduced through the spout. Or, conversely, the spout may have been plugged while oil and water were mixed within the vessel. When the oil had risen to the top, it was either dipped out from above or, the water having been drained out carefully, the oil was also allowed to flow out from below. Whatever may have been the purpose of the vessel, it was probably intended to be kept exactly level, for dozens of small, rounded lumps of worn pumice, originating from Thera (Santorini),¹⁹

¹⁷ Relative levels will be followed here even though the trench was excavated in separate sections. In this case, the wall removed was actually discovered toward the end of the season. I should also note here that room or the more ambiguous "space" numbers assigned here are only temporary, for when the building has been more completely cleared a more logical, less fortuitous system will be adopted. In this report "Space" is the generally preferred term since the actual extent of any given room is usually unknown. Moreover, it is often unclear now whether we are dealing with an open area (e. g. a court or an exterior passageway) or one in the interior. A few such scrappy walls, usually with only one face and of generally undeterminable date, have appeared in a number of trenches. One of such constructions (in Trench 4A1) was simply a pile of rubble, no doubt stacked there by a farmer who wished to clear his field some time after the Minoan structures had collapsed.

¹⁸ At a somewhat earlier period metalworking may have been carried out in the general area, for within the floor material near where Spaces 7 and 11 join (in pail 1B1/4: 6A) were found lumps of haematite and copper slag. This suggests that perhaps copper sulphide ores were being smelted, with haematite being added as a flux. (I am indebted for the tentative identifications of the lump of haematite and a nodule of copper slag to Professor Robert Maddin and Dr. Tamara S. Wheeler of the University of Pennsylvania.)

¹⁹ The origin of the pumice, as demonstrated by its refractive index (range of 1.5092-1.511), was determined by Charles and Dorothy Vitaliano of Indiana University. The size of the round and

were found packed around both sides of its "spout." Some pieces had also been set below the vessel. As to the date of the vessel, the lack of similar comparative material is perhaps compensated for by the LM IIIA2 style context immediately below it.²⁰

oblong pieces of pumice (average 0.0051 m. in diameter) suggests strongly that they were simply picked up from the nearby shore after their long sea voyage around Crete. Presently a great deal of pumice with presumably the same ultimate origin and of the same size (there are also very large chunks) can be picked up along the shore in the Kommos area. Although a result of the same eruption(s), its passage to Crete is probably a relatively recent one, a result of the massive quarrying operations on Thera during which tons of this light pumice fall into the sea, which, with the help of the winds and currents, then carries it to many parts of Aegean. A good many separate lumps of pumice have already been found in ancient levels at Kommos, suggesting that pumice was known and used there for various purposes at least as early as the LM IIIB period (during the 13th century B.C.). Further definition of stratigraphic contexts, the shapes and possible uses of the pumice found within them, as well as analyses for microscopic pumice crystals in well-defined contexts, should be forthcoming.

²⁰ Matters of relative chronology should be introduced here. As is well known, Sir Arthur Evans' Early, Middle and Late Minoan periods, with their respective tripartite divisions that are themselves usually further subdivided (e. g. LM IIIA1), has its weaknesses. For instance, the two major palatial periods (MM IB-MM II; MM III-LM IB [II?]) overlap the major subdivisions since the system was originally devised to correspond with the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms in Egypt. Hence Platon's (and others') reasonable proposal in Crete for a pre-, first, second and post-palatial system. Another problem with the system is that certain styles of pottery form or decoration (e. g. canonic EM III or LM II) hardly appear at certain sites which, however, show no signs of abandonment during that period and during which earlier regional styles probably continued. Nor does the system, with its subdivisions somewhat awkwardly set to correspond with absolute dates, adapt itself easily to stylistic time lags in certain areas of Crete since the system was originally molded largely around the apparent sequence at Knossos in north-central Crete. Nevertheless, the Evans system remains the one handy, recognized tool when referring to stylistic sequences and/or absolute dating, and will be used here as a typical reference guide.

The reader must be cautioned, therefore, that in the case of our work at Kommos:

1) For the earlier periods represented on the northern hill (also, perhaps on the southern hill which we hope to investigate in the future), the relative regional styles in the Messara may be better defined in the long run through reference to the relative chronology being established by Doro Levi at Phaistos.

2) For some time the MM III-LM I periods, so carefully defined for the Knossos region, were considered by Luisa Banti as follows (in *Annuario* 19-21, 1941-43, p. 12 [my translation]):

I continue to use the current terminology as far as dating is concerned, although it does not correspond to the actual state of affairs. It is presently believed that, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, at Phaistos and Ayia Triada—also probably elsewhere—that Middle Minoan II and Middle Minoan III are mixed and that the style which Evans attributes to Late Minoan I continues to the end of Late Minoan III. Late Minoan II is not a definable chronological period, but a style restricted to Knossos, or rather to some rooms at Knossos; in the other Knossian rooms, at the moment of the destruction of the palace, we find a ceramic style which does not differ essentially from that of the end of the second Phaistian palace and that of the small palace of Ayia Triada. Therefore I usually intend for Late Minoan I the long ceramic period which corresponds to Late Minoan I and II at Knossos, a period which begins a little after the construction of the second palace at Phaistos, and goes as far as the destruction of the Cretan palaces and the building of new structures in Late Minoan III.

A related matter is the relative overlapping of styles of light-on-dark Middle Minoan with the dark-on-light decoration usually characterized as being typically LM I. Dark-on-light ("rustico") does, however, constitute a clear tradition, especially among the less exotic wares, during the MM

Being at a somewhat higher level, but still probably associated with activities carried out during the Bronze Age, it could (as may have been the case with Space 3, to the west) represent a last use of the area, perhaps even shortly after the building was essentially abandoned. Not far from the vessel was found the upper part of a roughly molded, painted figurine (C 6) along with a plain conical cup.

The layer of brown earth within which this vessel was found begins more or less uniformly some 0.20-0.40 m. above the tops of the walls. The walls themselves are preserved about 0.20-0.40 m. high above the latest floors, although considerably higher on the west where the building begins to step down the steep slope alongside the precipitous cliff. The fill here, as well as that in almost all above-floor fills excavated during the first season, was characterized by thick masses of rubble, clearly the result of the collapse of the buildings after they, for whatever reasons, were abandoned.

A glance at the plan or general view of the area (Fig. 2; Pl. 49:c) confirms that we are dealing here with a large structure oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. It was probably a house, to judge from its general appearance and the numerous fragments of cooking ware found within it. No exterior wall, however, has yet been found, and thus, although portions of at least eight rooms (or "spaces") have been found, their relationships will remain ambiguous until further work can be done. Nevertheless, a few interpretations concerning room functions can be suggested. Space 3, with a still unexcavated doorway on the east leading into Space 6, has a line of large slabs set above floor level along its southern wall. In its southeastern corner the bottom part of a large vessel with a thin wall, maximum diameter 0.35 m. and with a small slab placed in it, was set within a raised earth surface. North of the two central slabs, and resting on the floor, were found two round, fist-sized hammer stones. No doubt we are dealing here with a small industrial area, the hammer stones having been used to crush material such as grain, the material being placed later within the vessel to the worker's right.²¹

period. Also, while true MM ("Kamares") polychrome does tend to disappear before canonic LM I dark-on-light enters the scene, light-on-dark (usually white-on-red or on black), as well as shapes most characteristic of the MM tradition, seems to overlap with the later shapes and decorative styles. Perhaps the matter is presently best expressed as a question of relative proportions resulting from slowly changing tastes over long periods of time.

3) There is some question of the LM I-III sequence in the Messara area (see also Banti, 2) above). As Doro Levi has stated in the past, referring to LM I-II, and probably to IIIA as well (*The Recent Excavations at Phaistos*, Lund 1964, p. 11), "Unfortunately none of the many Cretan excavations has produced precise observations on a clear succession of strata which can help us to trace with certainty the artistic development of the Late Palace Period in question. . . ."

4) LM III, especially LM IIIB (or LM IIIA2/LM IIIB, as some would prefer) is poorly represented in Crete. Few, if any, stratified deposits, one above another, have been found in settlements or at least published when found. The best that one can do, therefore, at the present time, is to rely upon recent studies, especially those careful ones by Mervyn Popham based on stylistic development which, whenever possible, can be confirmed by apparently single-phase, sealed deposits within tombs.

²¹ We have found many hammer stones, choppers, and pestles, usually of hard metamorphic

Rooms (or "Spaces") 6 through 11 seem to have been a closely related unit. Space 11 may have been a court; it was built over the slab floor of what could be an earlier court belonging to a large building probably underlying most of the upper structure being considered here (Pl. 49:c).²² Space 9 may represent a *sottoscala*, at least in the building's latest architectural phase. In both Spaces 8 and 9 were found a number of entire or mendable pots (a tripod cooking pot in Space 8, along with an unusual loomweight of elliptical shape, C 103, C 38, respectively, a conical cup, a LM IIIA cup with trickle pattern, and a jug top, C 46, C 47, C 98, respectively). Some indication that we are dealing with an entranceway in Spaces 11 and 7 is provided by the presence, at a lower level but probably belonging to the pre-LM III phase of the same building, of a threshold block with two circular cuttings; the block is actually a re-used stand for keeping water jugs erect, a type of stand that is still being used in the neighboring village of Pitsidia even today. Spaces 7 and 6 seem to have been part of a corridor, 6 serving as a space for the return of the stairway beginning in Space 10 as well as the main entrance from the east through the still-unexcavated doorway into Space 3. Space 7 also served as the main approach from the east into Space 4 (the presence of a blocked doorway here is certain) and also to the stairway tentatively restored over Space 8-9. Space 13, with its doorway into Space 12, may have been entered from the east. Within Space 12 was found a typical long-handled "brazier" (actually a scoop?), a pounder, and a one-handed cup, as well as a variety, perhaps even an ancient Minoan collection, of sea shells, including a Triton's Trumpet conch shell.

Dating evidence for the final occupation of the area was found in many of

stone, sometimes simply rounded beach pebbles, demonstrating clearly that stone tools continued to be used even through the Bronze Age. Since the site here on the northern hill has little if any EM past, these tools can hardly be considered as carry-overs or "heirlooms" found near by and related to a primitive past. One can also suggest at this point that, since so few obsidian blades and/or cores have been found so far by us on the northern hill, at least by the end of the Middle Bronze Age they had largely gone out of use, no doubt replaced by bronze cutting tools. No bronze tools or vessels have yet been found at Kommos (a fragment of a thick terracotta crucible, C 101, was discovered, however, in Trench 4A2), presumably an indication that when the inhabitants left they took with them their most valued possessions. The variety of stone tools, found in almost all the trenches during the past season, will be investigated in the future. Their findspots, when they are discovered at floor level, also can be most informative, for a possible pattern is emerging in which the stone tools often appear near places where people might have sat, especially near stone slabs set on the floor, often alongside walls. Thus the tools can be used to help define both function and arrangement of architectural space within a particular room. In the case of what seems to be a window sill in Trench 4A1, a pounder found next to the wall at that point suggests that someone, sitting on the window sill, had left it in front of the wall as a matter of course, perhaps so that it could be used whenever the occasion arose.

²² See (below) the description of the sounding made in Space 11. For this preliminary report only actual state plans are being used. Thus in Space 11 ("the court," which had no floor features on its upper, final level), what appears in Figure 2 to be a heavily constructed area is the lower, earlier architectural phase exposed within the sounding. In the publication for another season, when the architectural phases are more clearly defined and more of the building has been excavated, a combination of actual state and restored plans will be used.

the rooms. The topmost floors of various spaces in the building date to the LM III period. Earlier decorated sherds of the MM III-LM I tradition of decoration (e. g. from cups and a bridge-spouted vase, and also from the rim of a LM II Ephyraean cup) were found on the floor in Spaces 6 and 7, for instance, but the earliest date for the laying down of the upper floor in Spaces 6-7-11 is determined by a fragmentary LM III kylix found within the floor material in Space 11. Moreover, on the floor of Space 6 was found a series of vessels and sherds which are characteristic of the LM IIIA2 period at Knossos (e. g. the cup in Pl. 51: d, b).²³ Spaces 13 and 4 produced stylistically related vessels (Pl. 51: d, a, c).

The Sounding in Space 11

A sounding in the "court" (Space 11) was made toward the end of the excavation season. The immediate aim was to determine what, if any, habitation levels lay below the building already partially described above. We were fortunate to find there an informative sequence of apparently undisturbed, stratified levels, with significant amounts of pottery of the classic LM I style. Below the hard, white floor, within which the LM III kylix referred to above had been found, was a LM III fill lying over a grayish, powdery, burnt layer within which was a mixed fill of MM III/LM I style sherds, including LM IB in its upper levels. At approximately the same level, just north of a lower wall upon which the southern wall of Space 11 had been built (Pl. 49: d) was a group of six vases of which at least two preserve the light-on-dark tradition of the MM III style.²⁴ These vases may have been associated with an unpaved (?) court here of an earlier period. Three other mendable vases were found on about the same level in connection with a stone slab stand along the northern edge of the trench.²⁵

The fill below the "court" surface revealed a shabby wall oriented north-south (the wall was removed before the photograph in Pl. 49: d was taken) with only one face, that on the west, in the manner of a retaining wall. This wall had been set upon a floor made up of huge, irregular slabs of white limestone set alongside one another. This floor is earlier than the southern base-wall for Space 11 as well as its western wall, for the slabs continue under both. Moreover, the latter wall ends some distance above the level of the slabs. Here we certainly have an independent architectural phase essentially unrelated to the building set on the higher level. The

²³ The material from Space 6 has formed the basis for a separate study by Philip Betancourt. Among the catalogued pieces are C 11, C 13, C 25, C 36 (Pl. 51: d, b), C 70, C 89, C 90. Fuller reports on this and other pottery deposits, including profiles and more photographs, will form part of later publication. For comparisons with Plate 51: d, b (C 36), see Popham, *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos*, Göteborg 1970, fig. 3: 2.

²⁴ A strap-handled cup with vertical white stripes (C 144); a piriform bridge-spouted (?) jar with white spirals on a reddish brown ground (C 145); a conical cup with flaring rim (C 146); two plain conical cups (C 147, C 148); a tall, slightly flaring tumbler (C 149).

²⁵ A partially burned, deep cooking pot (C 150); a large strap handle decorated with a leafy pattern (C 151), and an incurving bowl/cup (C 152).

slabs are set parallel to another wall, with a different orientation from the structures above, which borders them on the east. When we removed the largest slab (Pl. 49: c, where it can be seen propped up against the wall) it was found to have been bedded on a mixture of earth and beach sand, a type of packing used even today to prevent settling, being tamped and wet before the slabs are set upon it. Below this point the fill contained sherds of the LM I style, indicating the relative ceramic period during which the slab floor was probably laid down. The sounding was then continued down to bedrock, some 0.71 m. (maximum) below the slab floor, which itself lay at + 18.23 m. elevation, and some 0.76 m. below the top of the LM III floor where the sounding originally began. Above the bedrock were found sherds of polychrome barbotine ware, suggesting the early MM habitation in the area. Polychrome Kamares sherds above them but still below the packing for the slab floor suggest that the eastern wall, bordering the slabs and set some distance below them, may have been built during the MM period.

If we review the evidence presently available for habitation in the area we seem to have four major periods, two of use, each with its subphases that are supported in turn by both architectural and ceramic evidence.²⁶

Period A (MM I?)

1. The site is inhabited while the polychrome barbotine style is still fashionable (MM I?). Elevation + 17.60 to *ca.* + 17.84 m.²⁷

Period B (MM II[?]-LM I)

2. A substantial building, to which the easternmost wall in the sounding belongs (base at + 17.84 m.), is constructed. (MM.)
3. The slab floor is laid down parallel to the above wall (LM I), its top at + 18.24 m.
4. Part of the space above the slab floor goes out of use when a roughly made rubble wall is constructed upon it. The space back of this wall, on the east, is filled in. A heavier east-west wall to the south may have preceded this rough walling. (LM I.)

Period C (LM I-LM IIIB)

5. The level of the "court" is generally raised, with the addition of MM III-LM I fill. Perhaps the upper part (if there was one) of the roughly built north-south wall is removed at this point. Part of the east-west wall on the south may also have been leveled now for the construction of a new wall upon it. This is probably the period when the western wall of Space 11 was con-

²⁶ See footnote 22 above in regard to restored plans.

²⁷ Elevations are based upon a mean sea level established during the original Bandekas survey of the Kommos area.

structed, for LM I levels continue evenly to its side and base, the latter being built at + 18.50 m., some 0.27 m. above the slab floor. The early, eastern wall in the sounding (top at + 18.63 m.) is now covered over and out of use. (LM I.)

6. The area continues in use; this is the period of the vase deposits and that of the general accumulation of LM IA/B pottery. (LM I.)

7. A clearly burnt, gray level of powdery earth above the unburnt level may indicate either that the area was converted into one for cooking or that we are dealing with a general burning of the building. (LM I.)

8. Pottery of LM III date, mixed with earlier materials, accumulates above the burnt level (but this may be intentional fill) and the thick (0.13 m.) white floor, with a LM III kylix mixed in, is laid down over the remains. The slab pot stand, originally re-used as a threshold (top at + 18.83 m.), is now covered over. (LM III.)

9. A new floor (top at + 18.90 m.) is laid down upon the old, covering up the threshold (the pot stand) in Space 7. Space 10, certainly a stairway by now, may have been narrowed on the east at this point by the addition of a rough walling. Perhaps the floor level is raised, a second time as well, to + 19.02 m. All spaces presently visible in the building are in use. (LM III.)

10. At some time during this period, perhaps a brief one, doorways between Spaces 1 and 2 and 4 and 7 are blocked with rubble. Pottery in Plate 51:d is being used now. (LM IIIA2.)

11. Space 3 only may have continued in use, the remainder of the structure having been abandoned for an undetermined reason. The large, spouted vessel (Pl. 49:b) found in nearby Space 6, at a rather high level, may belong to this period. Pottery from Space 3 would appear to be somewhat later; a later octopus-decorated vessel was found somewhat above floor level in neighboring Space 1. (LM LIIIB.)

Period D

12. The building having been abandoned, its walls eventually collapse and the area becomes roughly level. Some time after the collapse, a thin wall is built above Spaces 1 and 2. (LM IIIB—Graeco-Roman times.)

13. Sand accumulation above subphase 12 ruins. (Graeco-Roman[?] to the present.)

TRENCHES 4A, 4A1, 4A2 and 5B

These trenches (Fig. 3, Pl. 50: a-d), excavated in the order cited, were located on the brow of the hill, the closest being some twenty-one meters south of Trench 1B, just described. A strip of unexcavated ground, two to four meters wide, was left

along the edge of the precipitous bluff, west of Trenches 4A2 and 5B. Before the excavation began, the tops of three limestone blocks belonging to a straight wall were thought to be Minoan because of their appearance and orientation, but chiefly because of the limited chronological range (MM-LM) of the sherds lying around on the surface and nearby slopes.²⁸ All of the area, except for the wind-swept southwestern section of Trench 5B, was hidden by a sand layer covered at intervals with various types of plant growth. Trench 4A (Fig. 3, upper plan, in the center) was begun by cutting through the southern end of a drift of sterile sand, 0.85 m. thick (maximum) and densely covered by hardy "schinos" bushes (*Pistacia lentiscus*).²⁹ The same long drift, oriented north-south and roughly parallel to the cliff edge, extended north to terminate over Trench 1B. Generally the sand layer (Layer 1), varying from 0.20 to 0.80 m. thick, became deeper as it followed the gentle slope down toward the east. Below the pure sand, and either upon or shallowly within the sandy earth layer below, were found, mixed with many MM-LM sherds, a Classical black-glaze sherd (in Trench 4A1), a Roman lamp fragment (in 4A), a Roman jug and roof tile fragments (in 5B), as well as a green-glazed, presumably Byzantine sherd (C 99 from 5B). The presence of this late material here may be considered as further indication that the present accumulation of drifted sand is post-Roman.

While the excavation here is not too difficult from a practical point of view, there is an inherent complication in the area that is not presently encountered in Trenches 1B (above) or 2A (below): when major renewal was accomplished here a new building was not constructed at a higher level. Rather, in a manner somewhat similar to that apparent at the LM IIIA/B site of Chondros Viannos,³⁰ earlier walls were partially destroyed or adapted to different uses; the functions of various rooms changed as corridors were opened or closed or as floors were raised (or perhaps lowered), or once covered areas were left open to the sky (or *vice versa*). Moreover, while we seem in the upper level of Trench 1B to be dealing with a single building, here we are presented with a series of separate dwellings, perhaps interconnected although not necessarily communal in nature. These dwellings, in any case, have a complex and related structural history. It is also possible that here, as in

²⁸ As things turned out, this wall is at present the westernmost one of Trench 5B. South and east of it was a pit, originally thought to be a Nazi foxhole, but which turned out to be a small crater resulting from the relatively recent explosion of numerous mines that had been gathered during sweeping operations by army personnel. The heat of the explosion was so intense that the southern courses of the wall, although under the ground, were completely calcified for a depth of two courses and a horizontal distance of at least a meter. The effect upon the fill east of the wall is ambiguous, for while there is much fused material in it the earth is also quite dark from burning for some distance. Perhaps we are dealing here with an area that has been subjected to intense heat during both ancient and modern periods.

²⁹ A more complete description of the present surface vegetation will be published at a later time.

³⁰ This is discussed in the publications (e. g. *Πρακτικά* 1959, pp. 197-205). The fact does not become clear, however, until the buildings there, especially the more heavily constructed one with the hearth, in approximately the center of the built area, are examined carefully on the site from an architectural point of view.

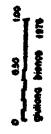
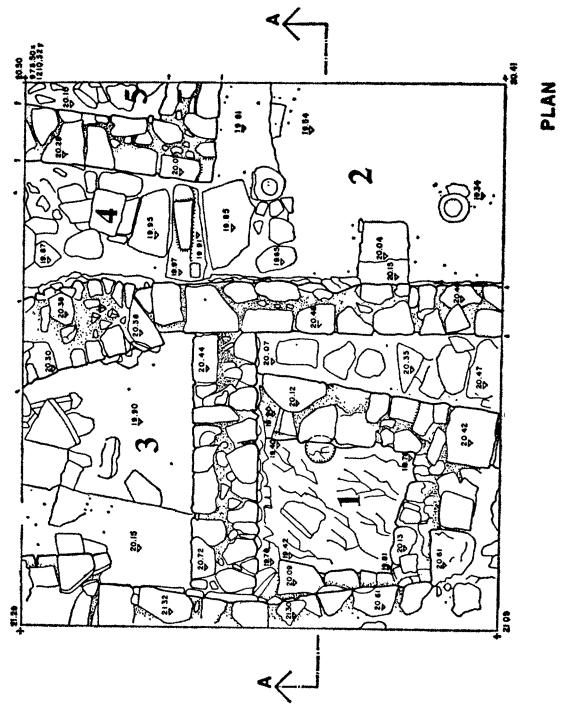
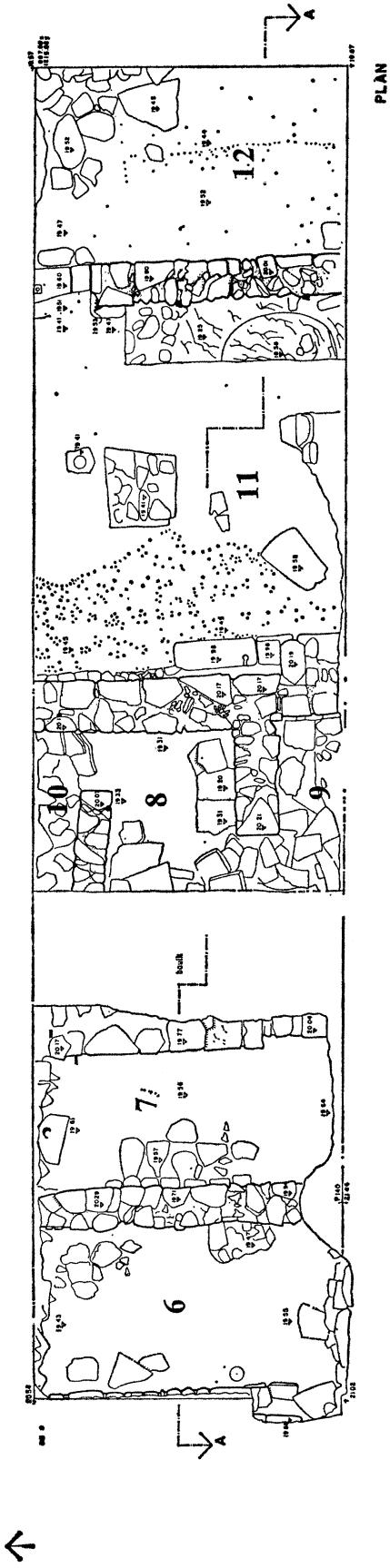


Fig. 3.

many Cretan villages today, certain living spaces were occupied while others were deserted because of the vicissitudes of a particular individual or family. It is clear, moreover, that at present we have only an incomplete knowledge of the area, of which only a portion has been exposed. The following description, therefore, is tentative in nature.

In the case of Trench 5B (Fig. 3; Pl. 50: a) we are dealing with a series of stratified levels and walls resulting from many renovations, adaptations, and new additions. The earliest known phase of construction here is represented by the three inner walls lining Space 1 (not the wall on the north).³¹ A LM I date can be assigned to them on the basis of the pottery found in the floor packing of the same space. (A round sinking cut in the bedrock, perhaps to hold a vessel and visible in Plate 50: a, predates these walls.)³² Since the eastern wall of Space 4, to the northeast, is parallel to the north-south walls here, and there are other indications from Space 8 (Trench 4A) of its original LM I date, it is probably roughly contemporary with them.

The early walls in Space 1 were superseded by a major building phase, also of LM I date, consisting at present of two heavy walls, the first bordering Spaces 1 and 3 on the west and the second, Space 2 on the west. The wall west of Spaces 1 and 3 may represent the eastern façade of a building, still unexcavated, set alongside the cliff edge and with a magnificent view west out over the wide beach and the Libyan Sea. The northern wall of Space 1, joining the two above-mentioned walls but not bonded to them, is probably of basically the same period of construction but a little later.

About halfway up, in its center, this wall is pierced by an opening *ca.* 0.30 m. high and 0.20 m. wide, constructed in rough corbel style. The opening, which gives limited access between Spaces 1 and 3, may have to do with light, may have enabled the inhabitants to pass material from one space to another, or, on an analogy with many contemporary Cretan houses with similar access to subsidiary rooms, may have been intended for the passage of small domestic animals. At and slightly above the lowest part of this opening in Space 1 were found the sherds in Plate 52: c, the latest of which are LM IIIA in style.³³ Above this point but still within Space 1 the style of the pottery found was consistently LM IIIA/B.

³¹ See footnote 28 above.

³² Construction here certainly cut into the bedrock, which slopes down slightly from west to east. Such adaptations will, however, become clearer as more excavation is carried out. In the floor packing above the bedrock was found a discoidal lead weight (L 1), pierced by a hole, the head of a terracotta figurine (C 230) and, on the floor itself, an interesting collection of four stone tools (S 21-S 24).

³³ In Plate 52: c, a selection from pails 24, 28, 29, are light-on-dark wares that often appear in otherwise stylistically later contexts (*f*, *i*, *h*), and LM I style sherds (e. g. *a* = C 227; for a related regional parallel see *Annuario*, N. S. 29-30, 1967-68, fig. 98 on p. 146, from Chálara), as well as later material (*d*, LM II style bowl fragment C 228, cf. *Arch. Reports for 1972-73*, p. 56, fig. 24, from the Unexplored Mansion, for design and shape; and *h*, Ephyraean-type goblet C 205, with part of iris cross motif [?]; and *g*, a LM IIIA style goblet). Below this level is LM IA style (latest) and above is LM IIIB (latest) material.

As excavation progressed, Space 3 became too confined for careful excavation of lower levels; this area will have to wait until the baulk bordering it on the north is removed. East of here, Spaces 2-4-7 may once have been open to the sky, separating buildings. The separation may have continued even after the passageway was blocked by a general raising of the level and the placing at this upper level of a doorway, closed from the south, positioned on a threshold set where Spaces 2 and 4 adjoin. The coarsely built wall, presently visible between Spaces 3 and 4, would seem to have been a later addition, at least at the upper level now visible. Perhaps at the same time there was a raising of the floor level in Space 2 by means of a surprisingly thick (0.50 m.) layer of *asprochoma* that was probably gathered locally from exposed scarps, a material that is still being used in Crete for the more humble roof construction today.³⁴ This floor was laid down over a lime-and-pebble (*chalikasvestos*) pavement,³⁵ within which had been set a stone quern, presumably intended for grinding. The presently ascertained chronological range of the structures here, therefore, seems to be LM I-III; there are at least four separately traceable phases of construction, but further excavation should clarify relationships considerably.

The adjoining line of Trenches 4A2, 4A, and 4A1 (Fig. 3, Pl. 50: b; the baulk between trenches 4A and 4A1 has been removed) has exposed some of the structures already referred to in connection with 5B to the south. Once more we are dealing with at least two houses (represented by Spaces 1, 3, 6; and 5, 8-10, 11) and there are three probable open spaces (7, 11 (west), 12), but for no single room or "space" is the complete floor plan yet known.

Space 7, perhaps originally a passageway between Spaces 6 and 8, was closed off from the south at a date late in its history, so that during its final phase of use it served as an accessory space to 6 (and, perhaps, to 9). Its floor at first appeared to be a series of multiple surfaces which resisted clear definition over a large area—there were patches of ashy fill with small bones, teeth, and many sherds lying horizontally—but later it became clear that underlying this was a yellowish clay surface similar to that soon to be found in Space 6 to the west.

Within Space 6 was a thick deposit of gray fill, small animal bones and burnt sherds, as well as grinding stones, all probably the result of continuous use over a relatively substantial period of time. They rested upon a yellowish clay floor, 0.10 m. thick, embedded with small stones and beach pebbles. Unlike Space 7, however, there were a number of floor features, including an empty, rounded depression in the floor intended for the rounded base of a jug (a "stannostatics," as is common in

³⁴ The *asprochoma* (literally, "white earth") here is an extremely thick layer which may actually be part of what might be characterized as a rough renovation of the area. It is possible that the earth was brought from close by, perhaps from the roofing material of a building that was out of use. The unusual thickness of the material here, much thicker than what one might find even in a palatial center, makes it suspect. For the origin and use of *asprochoma*, see J. W. Shaw, *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques*, Rome 1973 (= *Annuario*, N. S. 33, 1971), pp. 225-226.

³⁵ For *chalikasvestos* pavement, see *ibid.*, pp. 218-221.

the earthen floors of certain older houses in neighboring Pitsidia) as well as a half-dozen irregular stone slabs, set upon the floor, upon which in turn had been set a variety of large and small terracotta vessels. Such "setting slabs" seem to have been a common floor feature in the LM I-III period at Kommos, providing relatively clean areas upon which work might be done, people might sit, or where objects might be placed. No doubt they supplemented whatever wooden furniture might have been used at the time. A reddish brown patch of burnt clay floor in the southeast part of the room may indicate where cooking took place.

The variety of pottery found within the floor deposit (pail 64) here can probably be taken to represent a fairly informative sampling of ordinary LM IIIB pottery used at Kommos during this period.³⁶ The lot, consisting of some 850 sherds whose total weight was approximately 37,020 grams, contained the following proportion of local fabrics: red coarse (cooking ware), 35%; medium coarse, 30%; fine buff, 35%. There was a higher proportion of cooking ware than usual (the average proportion among wares in separate pails from the site is 20%, 30%, 50% respectively). The main function of the room for cooking is further indicated by a glance at the coarse-ware shapes, or rim fragments thereof, within the deposit; cooking dish (24), cooking pot (12), jar (11), pithos (2), jug (4), amphora (1), stirrup jar (4), bucket (1), and tripod brazier (1). At least four tripod cooking pots were used here, since ten tripod legs were discovered. Among the finer ware were represented the one-handled cup and deep bowls (13), the kylix (12), goblet (15), stirrup jar (4) and conical cup. The most popular decorated-ware shapes were the one-handled cup and the two-handled bowl, with the goblet and kylix also being particularly popular; the earlier popularity of the conical cup, that ceramic *leitmotiv* of MM-LM I levels, has waned by now. The kylix is usually plain. The decorated-ware shapes, probably that from which people most often ate and the decorative patterns which may have served occasionally to distinguish the vessel of one person from that of another, are mainly cup and bowl.

The deposit is LM IIIB in nature, to judge from the decorated ware (Pl. 52: d), especially the deep bowl (Pl. 52: d, g), the decoration of stemmed spirals (FM 51; C 134, Pl. 52: d, f), and the flower decoration on a stirrup jar (FM 45), as well as from the popularity of the goblet. The presence of the reserved lip band on the bowl or cup also suggests a late date.³⁷ The pottery in the room represents its final phase of occupation. Despite the amount of burnt material on and within the floor, which is most likely an accumulation through use, the inhabitants' departure from the room, perhaps from the building, does not seem to have been as a result of fire.

³⁶ Much of the following information is based on a special report prepared by L. Vance Watrous. A more complete presentation of the material will be made when the room has been completely excavated.

³⁷ As Watrous remarks in his report (see footnote 36 above), the pottery from this deposit is similar in style to the LM IIIB pottery published by Mervyn Popham ("Some Late Minoan Pottery from Crete," *BSA* 60, 1965, pp. 316-342; see also *BSA* 65, 1970, p. 202) which, as a group, finds its closest parallels with pottery from Aya Triada and Phaistos, not far from Kommos.

To the east, the situation in Spaces 8-10 was somewhat different. The architecture here, perhaps belonging to a separate building, is a bit more pretentious. The central room (8), for example, was found to be filled with broken, canted, limestone slabs, mixed in helter-skelter with a thick fill of *asprochoma* which no doubt had fallen from above. Some of the slabs can be seen in Plate 50: d, still in place, since Spaces 9 and 10, as well as the western part of 8, still await excavation. Upon the removal of these slabs, we arranged them on a flat surface, one next to the other, the total square area resulting being 7.2 sq. m., which approximates the square area from which they were removed. This can be taken as a sure indication that we are dealing with a floor of fallen slabs, probably the floor of a second storey that collapsed down onto the floor below. This slab floor was probably similar to that only partially excavated in Space 9 to the south. That this conclusion is correct, i. e. that the fallen material is part of an upper storey built before the lower living space went out of use, is pointed out by the fact that the pottery from above the upper floor and within the ceiling material was uniformly earlier in style (MM-LM I) than that found on the floor itself.

Unlike the situation in Space 6 to the west, described above, there was no floor deposit in Space 8, nor were there extensive signs of burning. Rather, on the floor level there were only a few vessels or fragments thereof: a stirrup jar (C 57) and a one-handled goblet (C 12), the latter of LM IIIA style. Both vessels were found on or near what might be interpreted as "setting slabs" of a type already described above. Thus the room was apparently almost empty at the time that the roof collapsed. Perhaps the family occupying it had moved out some time before, having left it relatively tidy. In any case, the roofing and/or ceiling came to rest upon a hard-packed earth floor, 0.05 m. thick and of grayish brown tinge. When a sounding was made through this floor, an earlier floor was revealed, covered with a now fugitive red slip (Munsell Soil Color Chart: 7.5R 4/8 or 3/8). In a limited sounding made below this floor, we may have discovered bedrock.

Space 11, east of Space 8, provided both rewards and frustrations. Along its western side was discovered a handsome bench, 0.45 m. wide, 1.33 m. long, and 0.53 m. high, facing onto a courtyard paved with *chalikasvestos* (Pl. 50: d, lower right). The area in front of the bench was more worn than other parts of the surface indicating where nervous sitters had scuffed their feet. The top of the bench consists of a small limestone slab and another, much larger one of hard, white limestone, the latter being a threshold block (note the round pivot hole), probably removed from some neighboring structure and re-used here. Near by, upon the court surface, were found a number of vessels, mixed in with a thick layer of *asprochoma*, including a kylix (C 30; Pl. 52: b, b) of LM IIIB style, a small pithos in fragments, a plain bowl, and a rather coarse vessel (C 29, a large jar [?] decorated with loops, no doubt the tentacles of a deteriorated octopus design, of LM IIIB style). East of here, once the baulk separating Trenches 4A and 4A1 had been removed, were found more

vessels, among which were two LM III goblets (e. g. C 224) and more fragments of the octopus vase just mentioned.

An unexpected surprise was the discovery here of many fragments of a magnificent terracotta rhyton, of fine buff ware, of which portions had already been discovered earlier in the season. Some pieces had been found on the easternmost part of the paved court floor; others had appeared at floor level in the northern part of Space 12. Curiously, parts of what appear to be its cylindrical bottom had been discovered at least 0.60 m. above the floor during early stages of excavation.³⁸ While the horizontal displacement is more easily explained (the vessel may have been broken, the pieces becoming scattered with circumstances), the vertical displacement remains, at least for the moment, unsolved. Nor as a religious vessel can it be related so far with any shrine accouterments in the immediate area.

This conical rhyton is rather large, being 0.19 m. wide at the top (Pl. 53: b, c). When complete the body was approximately 0.43 m. high,³⁹ with its thick but splendidly graceful strap handle projecting 0.06 m. above the rolled rim. To ensure stability the handle was attached below the rim on the two sides as well as to the rim itself. The main zone of decoration, 0.146 m. high, consists of three stylized papyrus motives interspersed with pendant tri-curved arches and vertical lines of chevrons. The decoration is in black paint, often badly worn. Below the main design is a series of wide bands alternating with groups of smaller, parallel bands. The handle is partially painted on its outside, with the unusually wide, rolled rim being decorated with a wavy pattern. Below the rim, on the body of the vessel, was painted a series of three-barred sigma designs. Although numerous rhyta have been found in Crete, thus far we know of no close parallels to this one save in the general shape and certain aspects of the rendering of the designs.⁴⁰

³⁸ Over thirty pieces, large and small, of the rhyton (C 19) were found spread out horizontally and vertically in the area. The chief group was found partly on the court surface but also east of there when the baulk separating Trenches 4A and 4A1 was removed. The square area involved here was about 2 sq. m., being located within 1.50 m. of the northern border of the trench and from ca. 1.20-2.50 m. from the northern part of the building's façade (pails 3: 32, 40, 44, 47). Surprisingly, significant parts of the same vessel were also found in pail 2: 12, from at least 0.06 m. above the same spot. Moreover, large joining pieces were found wedged in among the paving slabs in the northern part of Space 12 (pail 3: 27). A similar displacement, but with much greater distances involved, occurred in the case of the famous tripartite-shrine rhyton from the Palace of Kato Zakro.

³⁹ The final restoration of this vessel has been postponed, since more pieces of it may well be found during the next excavation season. Presently we have about two thirds of the vessel.

⁴⁰ The design is stylistically LM IIIA1-2 and, according to Mervyn Popham, certainly no later. The parallel chevrons (FM 58 [15]) are LM IIIA2; the isolated tri-curved arch (FM 62 [1]) may be of the same period or earlier (LH IIA, in this case). The stylized papyrus plant, which occurs in a number of variations, especially on sarcophagi, seems to be particularly popular in LM IIIA2, (FM 11 [35]). For the shape, there is perhaps no close parallel in profile, with its rolled rim and particularly high, graceful handle. See, however, that from Chondros Viannos (*Πρακτικά* 1957, pl. 70A, from the "shrine") and those from the Royal Villa at Knossos (Popham, *op. cit.* [footnote 23 above], fig. 4: 7 and pl. 14: f) and Hogarth's houses (*ibid.*, pl. 48: d). An appropriate stylistic antecedent for the combination of the designs (palm, pendant tri-curved arch, "S" patterns), is

Most of the rhyton fragments were found to the west of where the pebble pavement disappears, unexpectedly unevenly, to be replaced by an irregular floor of white earth. Set in the floor there was a stone block with a deep conical cutting, 0.10 m. deep and 0.15 m. in diameter at its top; it is probably for grinding but may have had other uses as well. The pebble pavement may once have extended all the way to the eastern edge of Space 11, since small patches of it were found at the correct level along the western edge of the east wall. Thus the exact east-west dimensions of the court remain unknown—perhaps side walls on the north and south will provide the necessary architectural definition in the future.⁴¹ In any case Spaces 11 and 12 may well have been the eastern end of the building, for the worn slabs in Space 12 appear presently to belong to an exterior pathway. Upon these slabs were found fragments of the afore-mentioned rhyton as well as fragments from a LM IIIB style octopus jar (C 108). The wall separating Spaces 11 and 12 has a threshold at its northern end, with a round pivot hole set into a square sinking; the door no doubt opened inward, i. e. to the west. Flat slab construction on the wall to the south suggests that a window adjoined the door, the former being about 0.78 m. wide with a stone sill about 0.24 m. above the exterior ground level.⁴² A stone pounder found next to the wall, along its eastern face, suggests that someone sitting on the window sill had absent-mindedly left the pounder where, some 3,300 years later, it was found by us.

While the relationships of Spaces 8 and 10 to 11 and 12 are not clear, it seems likely that in the case of the first we are dealing with interior spaces and that at least the western part of Space 11 was open to the sky; Space 12 was probably open as well. As to the dates of their final use, while Spaces 8-10 have so far produced little pottery, and that probably at the latest LM IIIA2, in Spaces 11 and 12 later octopus-style vessels, a kylix, and other pottery suggest that perhaps 11 and 12 (also 6 and 7, to the west of here) were being used after Spaces 8-10 had already gone out of use. This matter requires further confirmation, however; it also assumes that the close stylistic differentiation within the LM IIIA/B phases, apparently valid for Knossos, applies equally well for a settlement site in the Messara.

TRENCHES 2A, 2A1, 2A2, 2A3

These contiguous trenches, excavated in the order cited, were dug into the lower slope of the hillside. Before excavation began here, none of the walls shown to be found in a LM IB style ovoid rhyton from Pseira (Evans, *op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], fig. 302, p. 497).

⁴¹ A sounding in the middle of Space 11 produced a line of slabs, with a single face on the west (shown on the plan, Fig. 3); but these may belong to an earlier architectural phase unconnected with the remains being discussed here. Another sounding, which revealed part of a pit excavated in bedrock, was made in the southeastern corner of Space 11. The pottery within it was MM-LM III in date.

⁴² The approximate width cited is that within a restored wooden window frame.

on the plan (Fig. 4) were visible, although on the steep slope adjoining the area on the west there was much loose rubble and both coarse and fine sherds, the latter datable to the MM and LM periods. (This area was therefore dubbed the "sherd slope.") It was assumed then that there were no walls on the slope and that the material on the surface had slipped down from higher levels through the process of erosion. It also seemed apparent that the material rested on *kouskouras*, a local name for the soft, white limestone characterizing sterile bedrock in the vicinity. Fortunately these assumptions proved to be correct. An east-west trench (2A1), 12.00 m. long and 2.00 m. wide, later excavated on the southern part of the sherd slope (Fig. 4, left), revealed no wall but, instead, an uninterrupted surface of bedrock, and as a result the area could serve as an appropriate excavation dump. Toward the end of the excavation season a north-south retaining wall, about twenty meters long, was built some distance down the slope (shown in Fig. 4). The function of this wall is to prevent further erosion and, after the raised area behind it on the east has been planted with tamarisk (*almiriki*) trees, it will serve as a platform next to the excavation where visitors can rest and from which they can view the wide beach and the sea, the offshore reef with the island of Paximadi far behind it to the west, and to the north the magnificent gray and bluish hued mountains of central Crete. The level of this platform, at least on the south, approximates the level of what seems to be a Minoan road of worn paving slabs found bordering the buildings here on their west. This road, dubbed the "Sea Ramp" (or the *Rampa Dal Mare*, after that found leading in the direction of the sea at Ayia Triada) is presently recognizable in only a dozen or so limestone slabs west of a heavy wall outside Spaces 2 and 3 and east of 1. But we hope that more of the road, to the north and south, will be found as the excavation expands in those directions.

There were two other suggestive features visible here before excavation began. A well, excavated sometime in the 1960's and about twenty meters south of Trench 2A, was flanked by a large poros block with a deep round sinking, no doubt a trough of some kind, which appeared to be ancient. (This well presently furnishes the excavation crew with water.) The second was a round pit, over a meter wide and about 1.50 m. deep, in Space 2, within which Minoan pottery and probable slab walls were visible.⁴³ This pit and a wall in the cliff scarp west of Trench 1B were the chief indications before excavation that the fill would be sufficiently deep for recovery of archaeological stratigraphy. (Early guesses as to the depth of the fill in the Trench 4A area proved to be overconservative, for the actual slope of the bedrock down from west to east, below the covering sand and earth, was not clear at the time.)

Trench 2A has revealed two major building phases, the first of the MM III period at the latest, the second represented by an upper construction, built during the Second or Neo-palatial Period (perhaps as late as LM I) but inhabited, at least

⁴³ This pit was excavated in the 1960's, perhaps by seekers after antiquities.

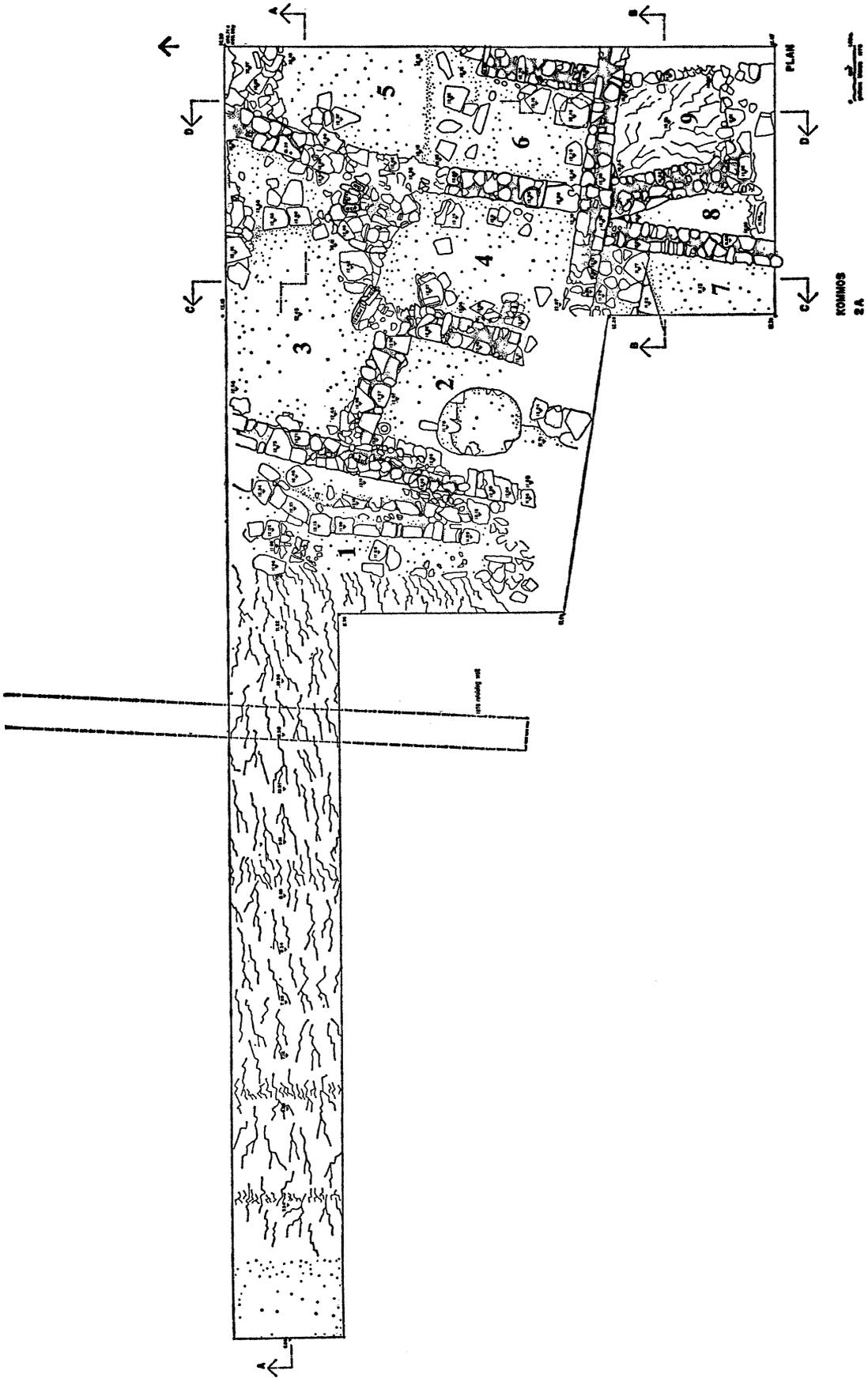
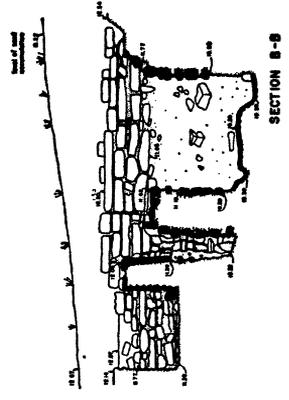
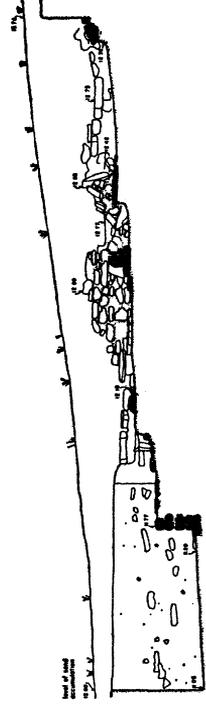
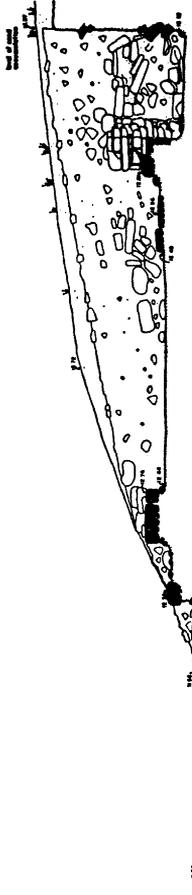


FIG. 4.



KOMMOS
2 A

Scale 1:50
Vertical Scale 1:10

FIG. 5.

partially, through LM IIIB. In some ways, the history of this area provides a microcosm of the vicissitudes of this part of the site of Kommos and therefore merits some detailed description at this early stage, even though evidence from future work will no doubt refine, perhaps even change, some of our present conclusions.⁴⁴ As in other trenches already discussed, we are once more dealing with few clearly defined room, court, or street spaces, except in the case of 6 and perhaps 4.

In this trench the sterile sand layer (Level 1), 0.10 m. to 0.70 m. thick, became deeper toward the southeastern part of the trench. Level 2 down to the floor level consisted of compacted sand on top of masses of stone rubble in varying quantities of earth that were almost two meters deep in some places. While there were no extraneous, unaligned and/or ununited later walls above the remains of the upper building,⁴⁵ its architectural history as shown in Spaces 2 through 6 is nevertheless complicated by the fact that its final occupation was characterized by a roughly blocked doorway (between 5 and 3), a partially constructed pit (in the northern part of 5) and, above all, by crude walling that could only with difficulty be differentiated from fallen wall material.

This upper building may have been only partially occupied during its final period, when the LM IIIB ceramic style was popular. This hypothesis, however, may be tested during the next excavation season by means of a sounding in Space 3, which seems to be that which was last inhabited. Although the northern border of space 3 is still unexcavated, on the west it is enclosed by a substantial wall which veers to the northeast. A slab on the floor, along the interior of the western wall, may have served as a pot stand as did those found in Space 6 of Trench 4A2 (see pp. 218-219 above and Fig. 3). Along the east, the space is bordered by a high wall. A blocked doorway, just to the north of the partially circular structure visible in the plan, suggests that the use of adjacent Space 5 during this period by the inhabitants of Space 3 was at most secondary. A series of slabs seems to have been set within Space 3 and along its eastern wall, creating a kind of raised platform, trapezoidal in shape but at least 1.30 m. wide.

The southern border of Space 3 is only partly defined by a wall to the southwest. From here eastward, there is first what can only be described as a "lump" of stones (Pl. 51:c) that seems to have been set against the tumble of stones which characterized the northern part of Space 4 during excavation. Beyond this point there is a large, flat slab set on the floor. This slab was burned, and sufficiently covered with ash and burned material to suggest that it was a place for cooking. Further east, a raised circular platform, built of rubble and about 1.25 m. (maximum) in diameter on the outside, had been set into what was apparently the southeastern corner of Space 3 during its final use. Two slabs set vertically, with horizontal slabs between them, formed a type of entrance, 0.32 m. wide and 0.30 m. high (as preserved).

⁴⁴ Even though Trenches 2A, 2A1, 2A2 and 2A3 were excavated separately, for the sake of clarity of presentation they will be treated here as a unit.

⁴⁵ As over Spaces 1 and 2 in Trench 1B, 11 in 4A1, and 1 in 5B.

Although an analogy can be made between this structure and raised ovens, the apparent lack of sufficient burning (e. g. burned stone and carbon accumulation) makes the identification uncertain.

Nevertheless, in Space 3 we are dealing with an area in which a good deal of cooking seems to have been going on. The floor as presently excavated is really a succession of layers of hard, gray earth with many sherds of cooking ware lying flat within them. The decorated pottery from this "use" deposit (Pl. 53: e) is characteristically LM IIIA and/or IIIB in style,⁴⁶ as was found to be the case in Space 6 in Trench 4A2; but the greater range of designs here in the decorated ware (once more, chiefly cups and deep bowls) suggests that we have here the remains from a relatively longer period of occupation. Perhaps this layer was built up through the addition of floor levels, either intentionally or fortuitously, or a combination of the two. In any case the upper floor surface here is some 0.30 m. above that in Space 4 to the south. This difference in level, and the character of the remains between the two spaces, suggests that they may not be contemporary.

The Household Shrine and the Entranceway

Spaces 4 and 6, joined by a threshold which no doubt served as the base for a wooden door, constitute a fairly clear unit. The first was used at least partially as a household shrine, as indicated by the discovery in its original position of a remarkably well preserved religious stand (C 3, Pl. 54: a, c and Fig. 6 at a). The stand had been placed upon a slab set into the floor next to the eastern wall. It is of the "snake tube" variety, other examples of which were recently studied in a definitive article by Gesell⁴⁷ and of which some were found most recently by Cadogan at Pyrgos (Myrtos).⁴⁸ The unique quality of the Kommos vessel, aside from its position in this particular room, lies in the fact that the cup discovered set within its mouth proves the hitherto only suspected supposition that the tubes were actually used as stands within which cups were set. Also, the positioning of birds of terracotta on the handles of the vase (Pl. 54: d), not yet encountered elsewhere in Crete, provides further evidence that the stand definitely had a religious use.

The stand is of medium-coarse fabric of a pinkish color (Munsell 5YR 8/4 to 7/4), 0.432 m. high, with a diameter at the bottom resting surface of 0.163 m., and at the mouth (exterior) of 0.082 m. On either side of this tall, tapering shape were two opposed sets of handles, each with four individual coils arranged vertically in a series, beginning just below the rim.⁴⁹ Originally four birds were probably attached to opposite handles in the second and fourth (lowest) rows, but only two

⁴⁶ C 58 (Pl. 53: e, m) may be the latest (LM IIIB). See footnote 36.

⁴⁷ Geraldine Gesell, "The Minoan Snake Tube: a Survey and Catalogue," *AJA* 80, 1976, pp. 247-259.

⁴⁸ Gerald Cadogan, "Clay Tubes in Minoan Religion," *Pepragmena of the Third Cretological Congress, in Rethymnon* (1971), Athens 1973, pp. 34-38.

⁴⁹ This vessel was made on a potter's wheel in one vertical piece, including the closed bottom. The handles were added separately.

were recovered, these two having been found in the associated fill and later joined on. The birds, apparently intended to appear as if they were either alighting or about to fly away, are 0.028 m. and 0.036 m. long (on the second and the lowest handles, respectively). The rim of the vessel was painted, and there are also four horizontal, painted bands beside the handles. On one side of the vessel a short vertical stroke has been added across the horizontal band just below the handles, centered on the vase, and another appears on the opposite side, on the second band down, perhaps



FIG. 6.

accidentally off center. The birds have painted black wingtips, with black on heads and tails.

Found set into the mouth of the stand, the wide conical cup (C 2; Pl. 54: e) is of the same material as the tube. The cup is 0.065 m. high, with a diameter of 0.13 m. (base diameter: 0.042 m.), with part of its rim disintegrated. It also is painted with black bands, one inside and another outside on the rim, a third on the body, so similar in technique to the stand that the two were clearly made as a pair. Inside the cup were found six small river pebbles and, consolidated at the bottom, a thick layer of a white substance which, upon analysis, may provide some insight into the specific ritual purpose of the tube.

The tube was positioned on an irregular, flat slab set on the floor. This gave

the stand some stability which was enhanced by its own weight (3.68 kg.) and by some 0.735 kilograms of sand placed in it, most probably by its owners. The slab on which the tube was set, however, is not the only one in the room. Indeed, a glance at the plan (Fig. 6) reveals a circle of floor features (with an appropriate gap for the people entering or leaving the room) consisting of a number of other slabs, a circular stone, an elevated slab and an enclosure of slabs. Proceeding counterclockwise in our description, and ignoring slabs unassociated with other remains, at c in Figure 6 were found scattered fragments of a coarse cooking basin (C 104). At b was a curious, founded, oblong piece of limestone (Pl. 54: b, A and B), 0.17 m. long and broken at the bottom, which at first gave the impression that it might have fallen from above. This was not the case, however, for we later found that it had quite intentionally been propped up at the back edge with a small round hammer stone. If the stone concerned had been found lying on the floor by itself, it would probably have been thought to be a tool; if it were discovered propped up but without a specific context, it would constitute a mystery. But discovered as it was along with the stand, and set next to the same wall, it can probably only be considered an aniconic fetish or, as some would say, a "baetylic pillar" (admittedly a rough, modest one), a feature recognized in some of the depictions on Minoan seals, sealings, and relief work.⁵⁰ The fact that stones set vertically have been found near other religious stands tends to make our identification an even stronger one.⁵¹

In the southwestern corner of the room (Fig. 6 at d), there seems to have been a rustic seat, a roughly triangular slab set on a series of small stone supports⁵² about 0.20 m. above the floor. North of here at e (Fig. 6 and Pl. 55: a) was discovered an enclosure consisting of four slabs of poros limestone set on edge, the front (southern) one apparently being intended to be removable. Set within it was found an empty "brazier" with a long drooping handle (C 5), the container part of the vessel being 0.18 m. in diameter. That its handle pointed to the east, as it was found within the enclosure, suggests that it was last placed there by a right-

⁵⁰ For discussion of baetylic stones, see M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund 1950, pp. 106, 258, 272.

⁵¹ At Gazi was found a long piece of natural conglomerate stone, set vertically next to one of the tubes (*Aρχ 'Εφ, -937, A', fig. 2, p. 279). Fetishes in the form of natural concretions, bulbous rather than oval in this case, were also found in the Little Palace Shrine at Knossos (Evans, *op. cit.* [footnote 4 above], p. 346, fig. 198). A similar concretion was found at Koumasa (C. Zervos, *L'art de la Crète*, Paris 1956, pl. 221, p. 182), while a "cone-shaped object of terracotta" was found in association with tubes at the same site (for the latter, S. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará*, London 1924, pl. XXXIII, no. 5001 [0.32 m. high]). In the shrine within the large house at Gortyn (Mitropolis) also were found one (perhaps two) vertical stones near floor level (*Annuario*, N. S. 19-20, 1957-58, fig. 3 on p. 392 [= *Boll. d'Arte*, Ser. 4, 44, fasc. 3, 1959, p. 252, fig. 23]). It is also worth remarking here that conical clay objects of about the same size as the stone from Kommos have been found outside the Koumasa and Platanos tombs (Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIX: a, top, nos. 4300-4302 and LI: b, nos. 6901-6903). While the last examples cited are probably earlier than that from Kommos they could nevertheless express a tradition that was to last a long time.

⁵² Among the supports for the slab was a roughly rounded, gray schist loom weight (line weight?), 0.084 m. long (S 18).

handed person, and then the front (southern) slab was set in place. The function of the "brazier" may have been the purely practical one of heating food, but since it showed no signs of burning it may have been used as a scoop in various domestic chores.⁵³ Near f (Fig. 6), but scattered to the east as well, were fragments of a tripod cooking pot (C 45) some 0.425 m. high when restored (Pl. 54: f). Its one preserved leg was burned, suggesting its possible function in cooking. A small, coarse bowl (C 108), 0.18 m. in diameter, was found between e and f (Fig. 6).⁵⁴

Thus in a space only 2.25 m. wide (east to west) and 3.20 m. (minimum) north to south we have an area which, as in many Greek village households even today, domestic and religious functions seem to have been united. The question does arise, however, as to the relative date of the material within the area. Aside from the tubular stand, which on the basis of comparative material would be placed somewhere in the LM III period, the pottery cited above is not helpful. Nor is there a useful series of decorated sherds from the floor, as there is in Space 3 to the north. The only datable pottery consists of two low goblets (C 179, found northeast of d in Fig. 6, and C 112, found in the approximate center of the circle of slabs), which simply place us by style in the LM IIIA2 and B periods.

The domestic nature of Space 4 recurs in Space 6 which adjoins it on the east. Aside from a Triton's Trumpet conch shell⁵⁵ appropriately embedded in the northeast corner of the doorway leading into the domestic shrine in Space 4 (at g in Fig. 6), the activities within the area are suggested by the row of stone slabs, the stone tools still in place (at h in Fig. 6), and the slab-covered pithos found along the eastern wall (Fig. 6, at k). The four stone tools were found north of the last slab along this wall, where the workers probably sat. Some large oval tools were for smoothing and rubbing; another, a fine pointed pestle of hard stone, had been blunted through use. These tools had been left where they would be handy, to the right of the person sitting on the nearby slab. The pithos, buried upside-down with its bottom broken off to make possible access from above, was set on a slab buried deep in the floor. It was discovered concealed by a large slab set over it. Within the pithos were found a coarse bowl (C 212), two complete conical cups (C 210, C 211), a small "brazier" probably used here as a scoop (C 209), two round pounding stones, and some carbonized matter. All of these tools and vessels are probably to be associated with the crushing and collecting of the material being worked on by the inhabitants. The "brazier" may have served as a dipper to remove the material that was being stored within the pithos.⁵⁶ An analogous working situation probably

⁵³ The function(s) of "braziers" is unsure. In the past it has been suggested that they may have served mainly as scoops, a suggestion supported by the finding of one within a storage vessel, perhaps intended for grain storage, east of here (see below, this page).

⁵⁴ A bull's head of terracotta (C 37; pl. 54: a) was found in LM III fill outside and south of the room. The bull's head could possibly have been connected with ritual conducted within Space 4.

⁵⁵ A faience conch shell accompanied the tubes at Pyrgos (Myrtos).

⁵⁶ The few sherds found here are MM in style; one cup fragment is of LM I date. It is possible, therefore, that the pithos remained covered over during the later, LM III, phases of the structure.

existed in Space 3 of the large building discovered in Trench 1B, described above.

Space 6 can probably be classed as an entranceway or anteroom, probably covered, the lintel of its entrance on the north being supported at its center by a vertical post set on a long stone base. Beyond here was Space 5, probably open and serving as a court, a roadway, or both. Thus the workers in Space 6, seated on their stone slabs either along the wall or near the doorway, could watch, while they worked, the activities of part of the town from the shelter of their comfortable spot.

The LM I-II Dump Deposit

Along the southern edge of the building just discussed interesting features were encountered. In Level 3 within Space 7, a level which slightly overlapped what has been interpreted as a retaining wall reinforcing the southern wall of Space 4, was found a one meter deep layer of soft, dark gray soil filled with animal bones and sherds. This layer, part of which continues into the scarp on the west and south (on the east it was apparently piled up against the wall separating Spaces 7 and 8), has been presently defined as a dump, most likely material thrown out of a nearby structure. It rested on a ground level outside the building just described. This dump seems to be a gradual accumulation, for although the separate pails of pottery do not join from top to bottom, each pail does join with the next above and below. On the other hand, the shapes and decoration remain relatively consistent throughout the pails.⁵⁷

From this deposit, still only partially excavated, some 3,050 sherds weighing 60.66 kilograms have been removed, with the proportion of wares approximating the average for the site.⁵⁸ Among the coarse wares were numerous fragments of dishes and cooking pots; in medium coarse were pithoi, amphoras, flowerpots, a jug, a basin, a dish. The fine-ware shapes in the deposit, in order of their frequency, are conical cups, cups and bowls, bridge-spouted jars, jugs, alabastra, kylikes, kalathoi, and a lid.

The decorations on fine-ware shapes, especially those on the cups and bowls, fit variously into a late LM I-II-III A (early) context, with definite parallels with the LM II material from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, recently published in a preliminary report by Popham.⁵⁹ So far, however, no fragments of large Palace Style vases, so often thought to be typical of this period, have been identified. The most commonly painted form in this collection is the cup or bowl, which can be low and rounded, with monochrome paint inside and out or with a dark blob. Higher, rimmed cups usually have a pattern below a banded rim (Pl. 55: c, a, C 65; Pl. 55: d, f, C 76, l, C 79, m, C 77), but we lack parallels elsewhere for the exact patterns

⁵⁷ See footnote 36 above. Mervyn Popham and Professor Nicolas Coldstream were kind enough to examine this material.

⁵⁸ See the description of Space 6 in Trench 4A2 (p. 219 above) for the average proportions.

⁵⁹ M. Popham, "The Unexplored Mansion at Knossos: A Preliminary Report on the Excavations from 1967 to 1972," *Arch. Reports for 1972-73*, pp. 50-61.

(the scale, fish [?], and sponge patterns, respectively). It is possible, of course, that we are dealing here with a local tradition. There is also an intermediate type of bowl, examples found being decorated with festoons (Pl. 55: c, e, C 73, Pl. 55: d, g), the lily band (Pl. 55: c, c, C 82) and the net pattern (Pl. 55: d, h, C 72, and k).

A two-handled bowl (C 71, Pl. 55: c, b) is decorated with intersecting wavy lines bisected by a horizontal line, above dark bands with added white reminiscent of the LM I style. This shape, as well as the design, may be unparalleled, a suggestion that at Kommos we may eventually be able to point out a local stylistic vocabulary for which there is not clear evidence so far elsewhere in the Messara. Finally, the classic LM II decorated kylix appears, often with a painted base. There are stripes or blobs along its rim, and a single design on one side (C 83, Pl. 55: d, d) or a wavy band (C 78, Pl. 55: d, a), the latter perhaps indebted once more to local inspiration for the design but not the shape.

The dump in Trench 2A is not the only place at Kommos where close affinities to the LM II style, usually thought to be unique to Knossos, have been found. Trench 1B, far to the north, has produced at least one example; from Trench 5B a number of sherds, including those in Plates 52: a, a (C 86) and 52: c, d and h, have emerged,⁶⁰ indicating that we can expect more information to accumulate about this important, perhaps even crucial evidence. Since the style has been recognized lately at Chania (Kydonia), and also at House E at Mallia,⁶¹ it may well be that we are dealing with a stylistic tradition common to many parts of the island that has simply gone unnoticed before at sites not deserted at the acme of the LM IB Marine Style.

The afore-mentioned dump is delimited on the east by a north-south wall (Fig. 4; Pl. 51: a) presently assumed to be contemporary with or slightly later than the chief upper structure. East of here was found a packing of stones that, apparently, was a sealing for a filling created when a lower, potentially large, structure was covered over and the level, as in the case in Trench 1B, was raised considerably. When this packing of small stones was removed, along with a line of rubble walling (simply a line of stones), two new walls were revealed bordering Space 9. Because of the depth and orientation of these walls it was clear that an earlier structure had been found. Actually, the existence of such a building had been suspected earlier when the ashlar wall in the northern part of Space 7, oriented at an angle to the upper structure and approximately even with the lowest part of the dump described above, was cleared. The material found in the lower parts of Spaces 8 and 9 seems

⁶⁰ E. g. a rim fragment of a kylix on a later floor in Trench 1B, similar to Popham, *ibid.*, p. 56, fig. 20 (various); a bowl fragment (Pl. 52: a, a [C 86]) from Trench 5B, the design on which is paralleled by that on a Palace Style amphora in Room VI, in Herakleion, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3881. Also from Trench 5B are C 205, a low kylix with part of what may be an iris cross decoration (Pl. 52: c, h; cf. Popham, *ibid.*, fig. 20, lower left, on p. 56); C 220 and C 229, both sherds with tendril pattern (cf. *ibid.*, p. 56, fig. 21); C 228 (Pl. 52, c, d), a sherd with festoon pattern similar to that in Popham, *ibid.*, p. 56, fig. 24, top right.

⁶¹ M. Popham, "Late Minoan II Crete: A Note," *AJA* 79, 1975, pp. 372-374.

to be contemporary, the latest material within the filling being MM III in style. The decorated fine ware associated with the floors found below is all dark ground and, aside from the carry-over of additional red (e. g. a straight-walled cup, C 165), spiral designs in white on a dark ground are quite popular (e. g. a decorated cup, C 168). Near the bottom of Space 8 was found an interesting piriform rhyton of terracotta (C 92, Pl. 53: d) decorated with a white spiral on a dark ground, 0.221 m. high and with a maximum diameter of 0.144 m. This is an unusual type of vessel recently found by Professor Levi at Phaistos and assigned by him to the last phase of the First (or Proto-palatial) Palace Period.⁶² Another fine rhyton of clay, this of the ostrich-egg variety, was discovered close to the floor, along with much other pottery, in Space 9. This floor was set on a fill over bedrock.

To recapitulate the apparent history of this part of the site, as it appears at the moment, there are (as in the case of Trench 1B) two major periods of construction:

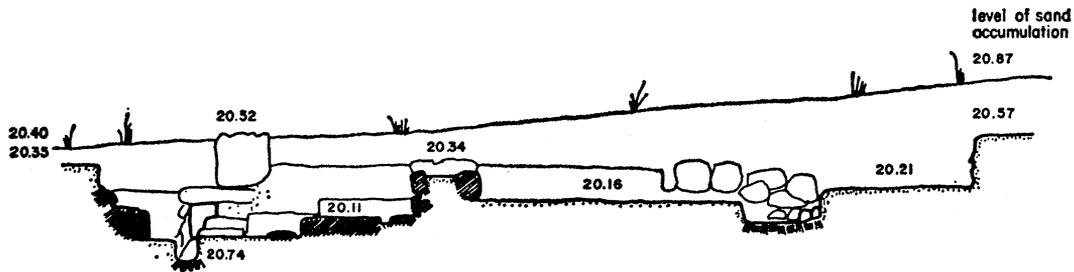
Period A (?-MM III)

1. Construction of a substantial building to which belong the eastern and western walls of Space 9, as well as the ashlar wall bordering Space 7 on the north. (MM III latest possible date.) Bedrock at *ca.* + 10.40 m.; bottoms of walls at *ca.* + 10.69 m.

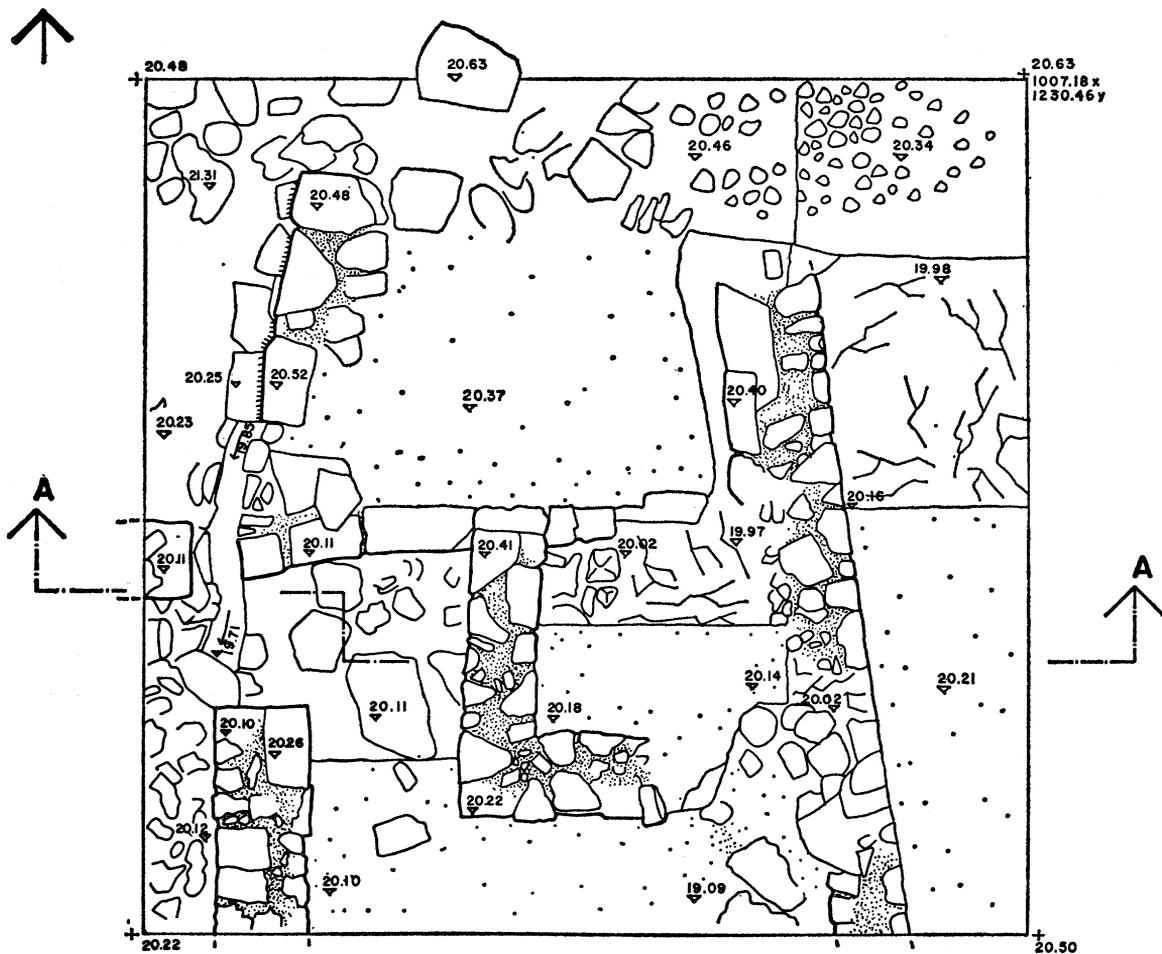
Period B (MM III earliest possible date—LM IIIB)

2. The large upper structure (Spaces 2-4) is built, with the earlier building being covered over. Spaces 8 and 9 are filled in and capped with a sloping packing of small stones. At some succeeding time Space 6 was added, and if the Space 5-6-9 area had originally functioned as a north-south thoroughfare, traffic was either stopped or diverted to the east. The southern retaining wall of Space 4 may be part of the original structure, as may be the wall between Spaces 7 and 8. (MM III-LM I, the earlier date being based on the exclusively MM III character of the pottery within the fill of Space 9.) Within Space 8, for some distance down, there are LM I style sherds, which suggests that the wall between Spaces 7 and 8 was built then.
3. Continued occupation during LM I, with the LM I-II dump in Space 7 accumulating to the point that it covers the southern retaining wall, top *ca.* + 11.77 m., of Space 4. (LM I-II.)
4. Continued occupation of Spaces 2 through 6 during LM III. Perhaps the household shrine (4), floor level at *ca.* + 12.10 m., and entranceway (6) go out of use at this point (LM IIIA2?), with domestic activities later taking place in Space 3 during LM IIIB. Space 2, however, as yet somewhat undefined, was still being used. Associated with the final use of the structure is the possible

⁶² *Annuario*, N. S. 23-24, 1961-62, figs. 160:f (p. 112) and 161. At least one of these rhyta, from House 73 at Phaistos, has a similar spiral decoration.



SECTION A-A



PLAN

KOMMOS

TRENCH 5A

0 0.50 1.00 m.
giuliana bianco 1976

FIG. 7.

building up of the floor level in Space 3 (top *ca.* + 12.42 m.), the blocking of the doorway between Spaces 3 and 5, and the addition of the rounded structure in the southeast corner of Space 3. (LM IIIA and IIIB.)

5. Desertion of the area after LM IIIB.

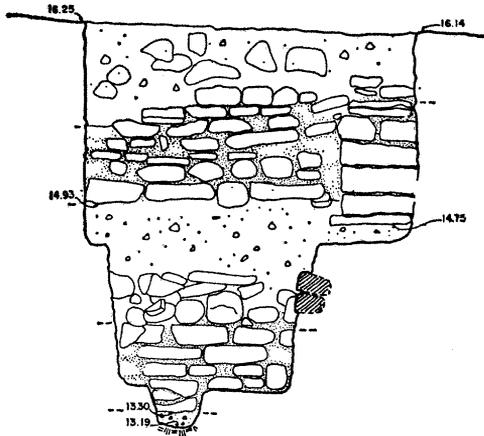
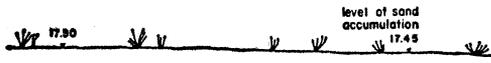
MINOR TRENCHES: 1A, 3A, 5A, 6A

Four small, but nevertheless significant trenches should be mentioned briefly. All but one of them were east of the 1B-4A-5B-2A line already discussed above. The latter, Trench 1A (Fig. 1), was begun in order to probe the depth of sand in the southwestern corner of the expropriated property. There, two meters of sand were found to rest upon an ancient earth level covered with Roman (?) tiles. The probe was limited to a small (0.40 by 1.00 m.) area within a larger, upper, trench opening and, as soon as the deepest part was cleaned and photographed, it was abandoned and filled in. It will be reopened in another year if it becomes possible to remove the deep layer of sand by mechanical means.

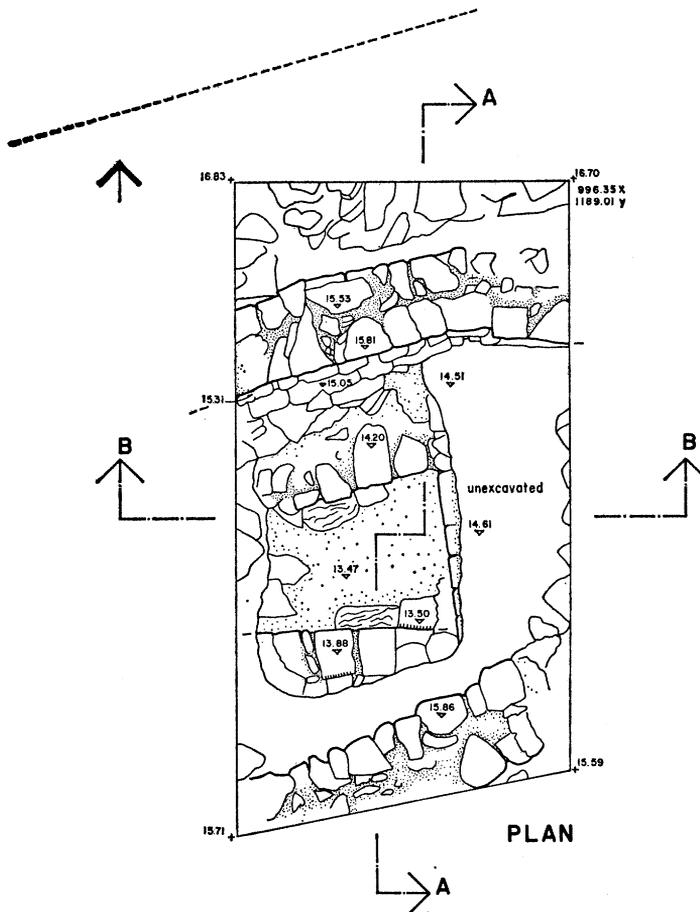
Trench 3A (Fig. 1) was set, also in the opening days of excavation, in the northeastern corner of the property. Although interesting ceramic levels were reached, with MM wares resting upon bedrock (a soft marl typical of the Kommos region), the strata were without immediate architectural context. Only half of the original trench was opened, however, so our view of things was limited. Moreover, since the architectural remains in Trench 5A to the southwest suggest strongly that there is construction in the area near by, Trench 3A may be widened in the future. Perhaps what was discovered in Trench 3A actually represents a series of court surfaces, although the evidence for this is not clear.

Trench 5A (Figs. 1, 7) exposed a series of walls belonging to at least two periods of construction (LM I-LM III?). Only by extending the present trench could one be sure, however. The remains here, unfortunately preserved only at floor level and even lower, will be of interest in the future when we attempt to trace the development of the town plan(s). With the upper walls largely destroyed by plows and erosion, there is little hope here for stratigraphic excavation of the type possible along the cliff on the west, in the Trenches 1B-2A area.

The erosion in Trench 5A and the presence of a north-south drain along the westernmost wall do point to a rather more precipitous incline immediately to the south than is suggested by the gentle contours visible in Figure 1. To test this possibility, Trench 6A (Figs. 1, 8, 9, Pl. 51: b) was begun to the south, in an area already known to have a deep accumulation of sand. As work went on in Trench 6A, the sand layer, already covering a modern retaining wall to the north, proved to be so deep that a top-lifter was brought in to clear the sand away from the ancient ground level. Even this machine was not a perfect solution, for it nearly became trapped in soft sand. Eventually, however, a crater-like space, two meters below the original sand level, was cleared and a proper trench was laid out and begun.



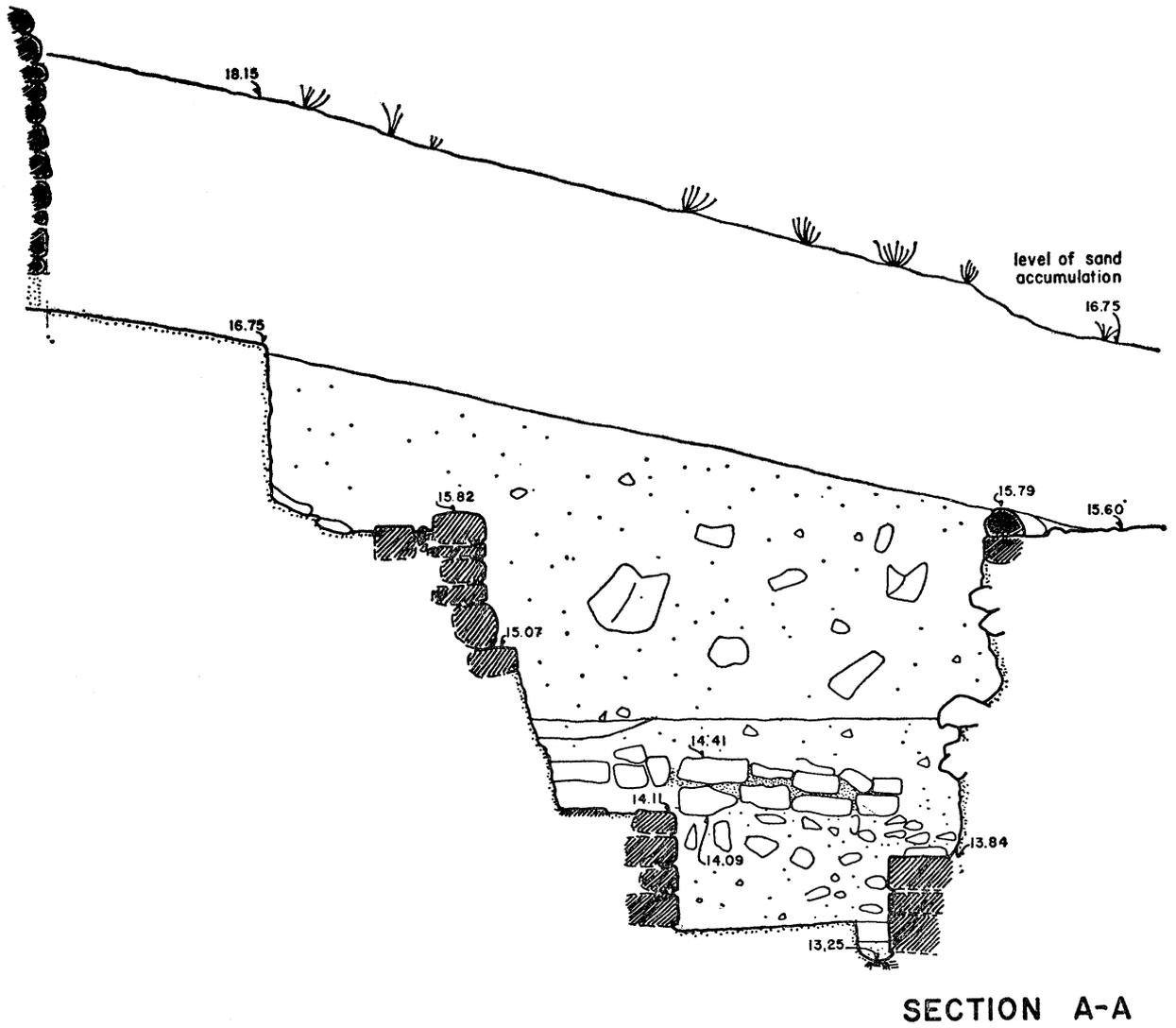
SECTION B-B



KOMMOS
TRENCH 6A



FIG. 8.



KOMMOS
TRENCH 6A

0 0.50 1.00m
giuliana bianco 1976

FIG. 9.

The chief aim in Trench 6A was to test the depth of fill at this point. As matters turned out, only half of this trench was opened up, but sufficient evidence was gathered to show that here we are dealing with a number of structures as late as LM III and, at the lower levels, as early as MM II-III. At least five different structures were detected at different levels. The solid east-west wall along the northern side of the trench may have lined a MM corridor, the southern wall of which is particularly impressive. Although the present architectural evidence, therefore, is not sufficiently clear for us to determine the exact shapes and/or uses of the structures discovered, the probe did determine that the remains here are well preserved, within a fill almost three meters deep, and certainly merit further investigation in the future. We were also encouraged in our efforts when, on the final day of excavation, over twenty mendable MM vessels, some decorated in the most attractive Kamares polychrome style, were discovered resting on the floor of the early "corridor," at about + 13.47 m. elevation, some 0.30 m. above what seems to be bedrock and over four meters below the top of the original sand layer.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

If we attempt, even briefly and tentatively at this early stage of the opening up of a new site, to place Kommos within a historical framework, it is at once clear that the site shared in the general prosperity of both Early and Late Minoan Palatial Periods. No earlier remains occur here, so far, but Early Minoan sherds can be found on the high hill (Vigles) to the south. This fact had suggested to Evans (and, more recently, to Alexiou) that the settlers on the high southern hill later moved to the low hill near the sea during a safer period. It is most probable that their moving to a lower area brought some of them closer to many of their fields, but their chief motivation must have been to be near the sea. It is difficult not to bring to mind a busy commercial atmosphere in this new harbor town. The nature of the commerce there, aside from the normal fishing ventures, may be clarified in the future. It is nevertheless instructive from this point of view that possible MM III, LM I and LM III imports (indicated by sherds) from other parts of Crete as well as the Cyclades (for the latter, Pl. 52: a, d) and Mainland Greece have already appeared, which hints that Kommos was clearly connected with various basic routes of exchange.

To judge from the finds in the various trenches (1B, 3A, 6A), the prosperity of the town on the northern hill began almost as soon as the first palaces were founded (MM I), although the range of that prosperity remains to be defined further. At least by MM II-III, in any case, substantial structures had been built in a number of places already sounded (Trenches 1B, 6A, 2A?). These were covered over by completely new structures built at a higher level (Trenches 1B, 2A, 6A?), when the MM III-LM I (early) ceramic styles were popular. The cause for this rebuilding

is still not known—the MM II-III fills above the earlier fills, however, do not suggest so far a destruction by fire.

Once the later structures were built (including those in Trenches 5B, 4A), their inhabitation was to be a long one of at least three hundred, in some cases as much as four hundred years (*ca.* 1600-1200? B.C.), during the LM I-III periods. Each trench area excavated indicated the separate structures' histories of use, remodeling, and change, but these contexts must be explored more fully before definite patterns of change and internal ceramic development in design and/or shape can be proposed. Nevertheless, one can say at this point that later styles common to north-central Crete as well as more regional styles of the Messara have been found. Significantly, the rare LM II style is represented at a number of spots. LM IIIA and B forms and shapes are also present. LM IIIC, if present at all, seems on the basis of its scarcity to represent the time when the site had essentially ceased to be inhabited. Where the people went at this point is, of course, unknown, but an apparently new concentration of LM IIIC material at Phaistos may suggest that they moved inland, away from the sea.⁶³

The presence of varied LM IIIA/B style material in numerous contexts at Kommos remains most intriguing as one prepares for a lengthy series of annual campaigns at the site. Perhaps the evidence discovered will answer partially the need expressed by Popham:⁶⁴ "Pendlebury's observation that one of the greatest

⁶³ When studying the LM III period in the Messara, in his *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford 1964, Vincent Desborough remarks (p. 168) in connection with Ayia Triada and Phaistos that "no precise division into LM IIIA or B, or even C, has apparently been possible, but the evidence suggests continuous habitation." This evidence, as Popham has pointed out, is quite scattered, and of course the LM III contexts at Ayia Triada remain unpublished.

LM IIIA appears at Chálara in connection with a house partially destroyed by a later Geometric house, on the eastern slope of the acropolis at Phaistos (see *Annuario*, N. S. 45-46, 1967-68, p. 142, figs. 93-96; also Popham, *op. cit.* [footnote 23 above], p. 84). LM IIIB style appears in sherds associated with the habitation of House O on the western side of the acropolis, in the Bastion Area (*Annuario*, N. S. 19-20, 1957-58, p. 292, fig. 135: a, and Popham, *BSA* 60, 1965, pp. 316-342, esp. p. 338). LM IIIC also appeared in connection with House O (*Annuario*, N. S. 19-20, 1957-58, fig. 135: c) as well as at Chálara (D. Levi, *The Recent Excavations at Phaistos*, Lund 1964, p. 12).

While some late material had appeared during the much earlier excavation of the Second Palace at Phaistos (*MonAnt* 12, 1902, fig. 45, pl. 8: 4), it appeared in greater volume when chamber tombs were excavated in Liliانا (*MonAnt* 14, 1904, cols. 627 f.; also Desborough, *op. cit.*, p. 183). For LM IIIC in Crete, see now V. Desborough, "Crete in the First Half of the Twelfth Century B.C.: Some Problems," *Pepragmena of the Third Cretological Congress, in Rethymnon* [1971], Athens 1973, pp. 62-69). A LM IIIA tomb was recently found at Goudies, near Mires, and published in admirable detail by Clelia Laviosa ("La tomba tardo-minoica di Goudies presso Mires," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22, 1970, pp. 99-118).

It is clear that a collation of this LM III material, as scanty as it may be, will be extremely useful, and it is hoped that A. Kantas' thesis on the topic of "LM III Pottery and its Distribution" will make up for our present gap. Still useful, however, is Pendlebury's listing of LM III in southern Crete (J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, London 1939, pp. 261-266).

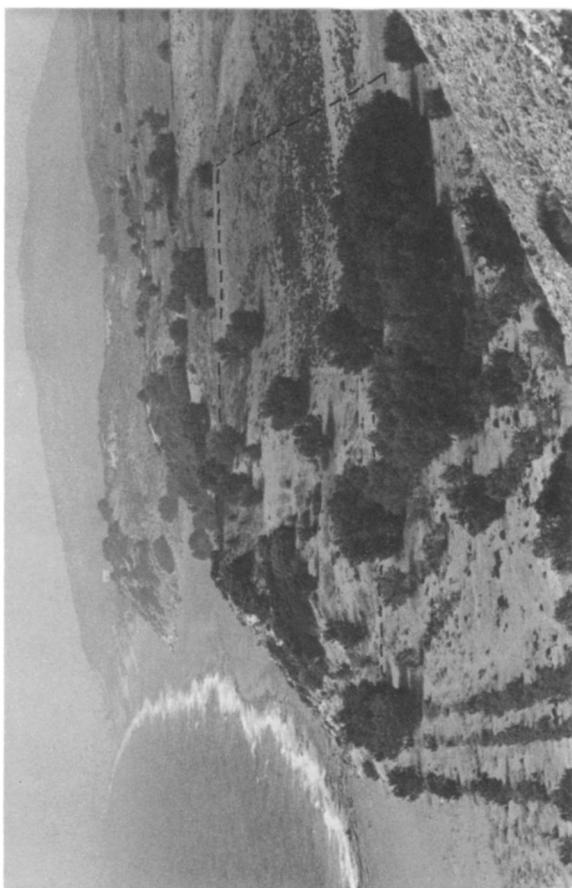
⁶⁴ Popham, *BSA* 60, 1965, p. 316, note 1.

necessities for Minoan archaeology is the excavation of a stratified LM III site is as true now as when it was written twenty-five years ago (AC 253).”

This is a period during which (LM IIIA1/2 transition) Knossos was finally abandoned as an administrative center. Long before, *ca.* 1450 B.C., or toward the end of LM I, other palatial centers such as Zakros, Phaistos, and Mallia had apparently lost their regional control. After the demise of Knossos, during the Post-palatial Period, regional autonomy in Crete may have been the practical result in times apparently relatively prosperous but about which very little is now known.

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a. Middle to Late Minoan hill site before excavation, from south. Approximate property lines shown by dashes



b. Spouted vessel C 10 from Trench 1B, Space 6



d. Trench 1B, floor of limestone slabs within sounding (Space 11), from north



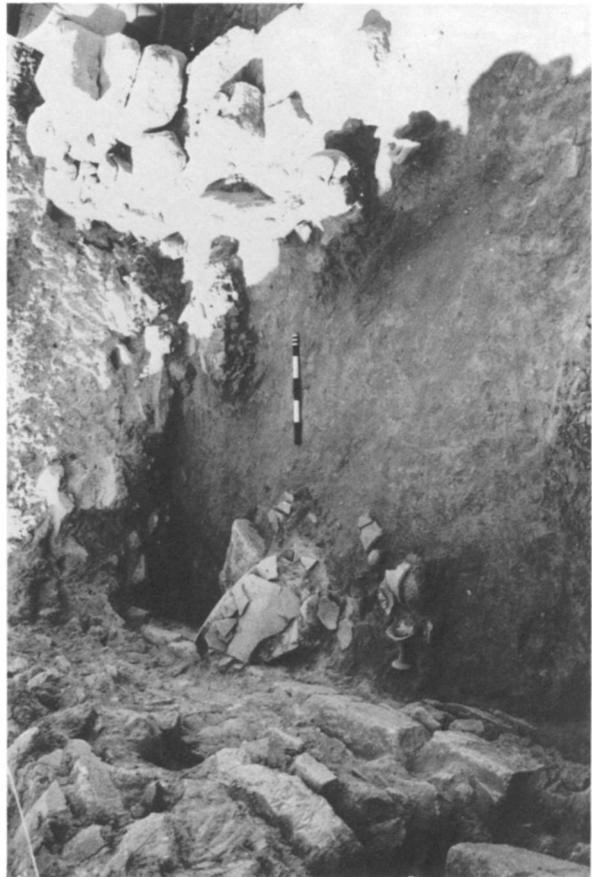
c. Trench 1B from northeast



a. Trench 5B, Space 1, from southwest



b. Trench 4A with bench and court (right, center), from northeast



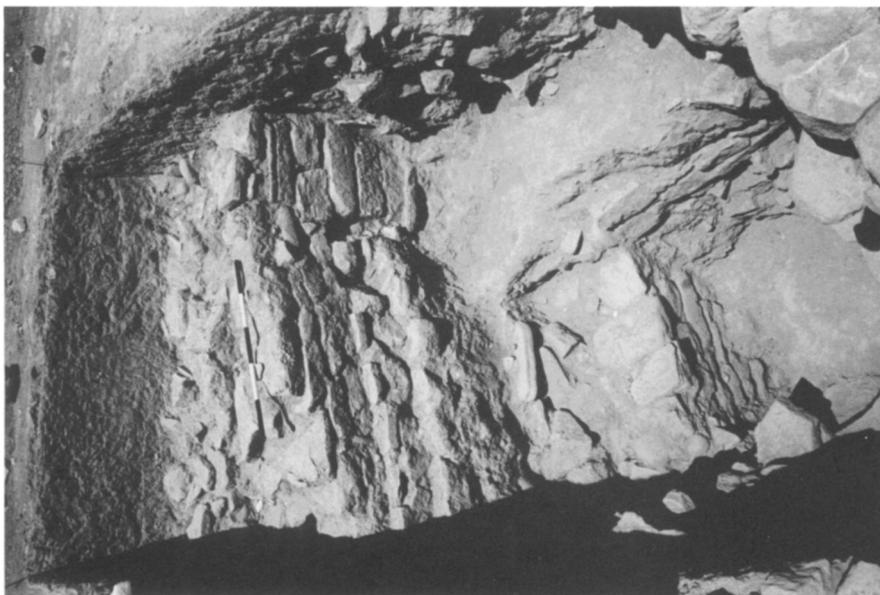
c. Trench 4A, Space 6, with LM IIIB floor deposit, from south



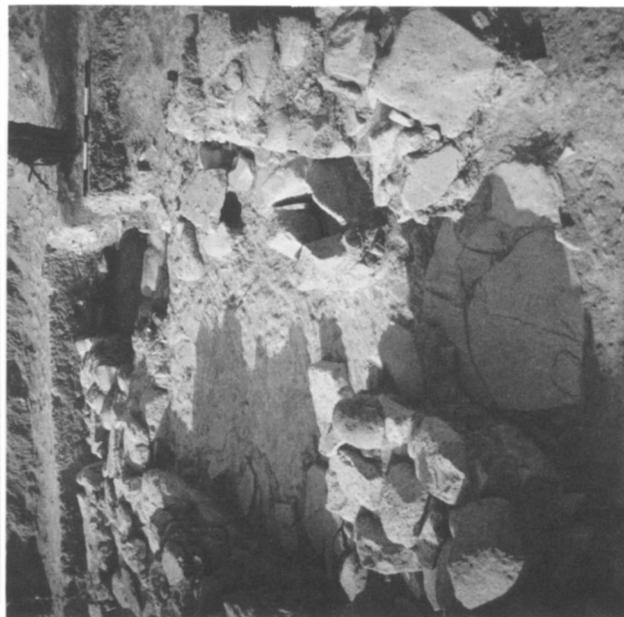
d. Trench 4A, Space 8, from southeast



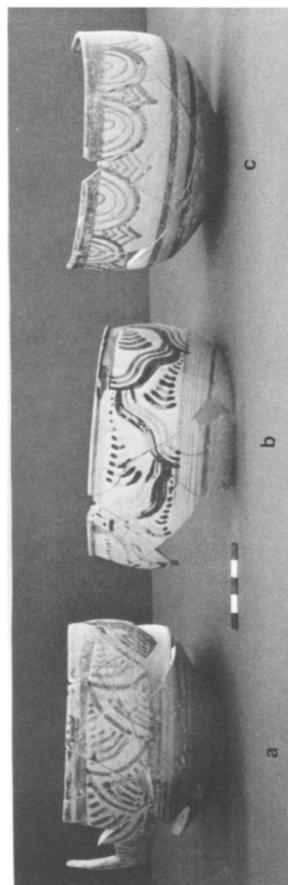
a. Trench 2A from south



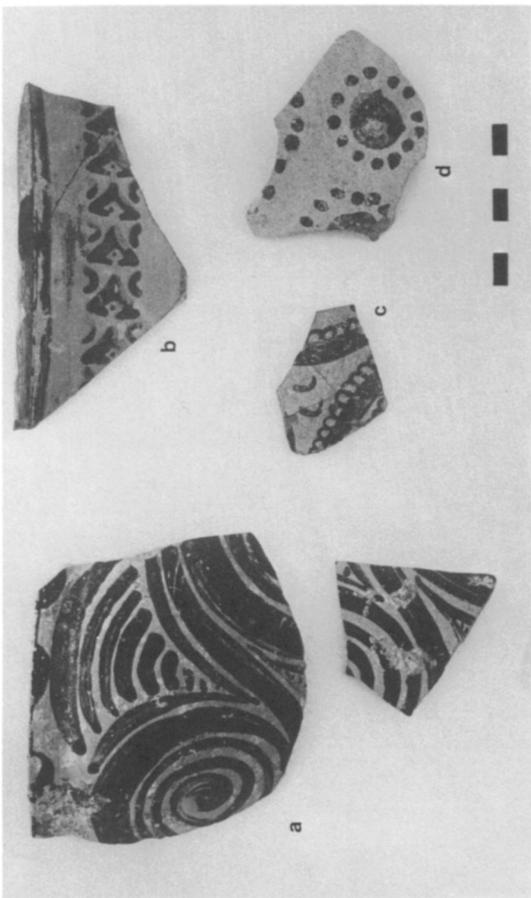
b. Trench 6A from south



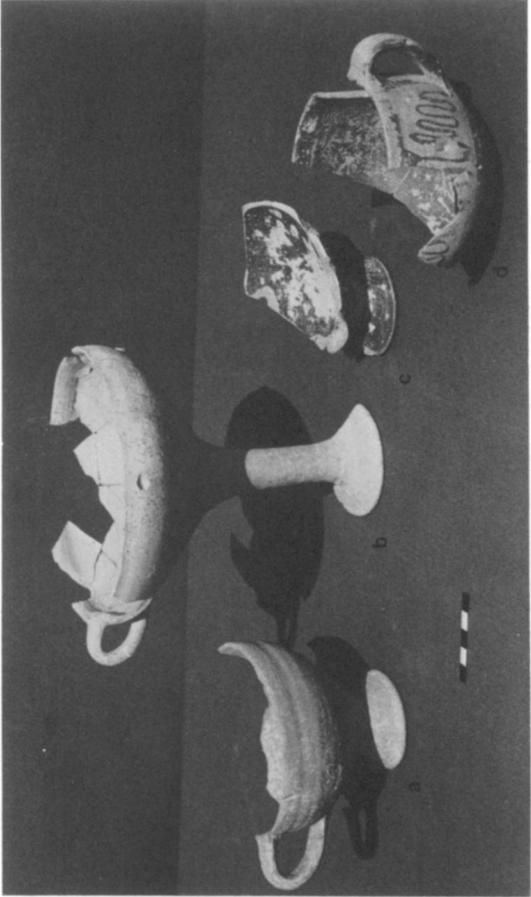
c. Trench 2A, household shrine (Space 4), from north



d. LM III decorated bowls, Trench 1B: a, C 176, Space 13; b, C 36, Space 6; c, C 69, Space 4



a. Sherds: a, C 86 (LM II style), Trench 5B; b, C 26 (amphoroid krater), Trench 1B1; c, C 14 (argonaut?), Trench 4A; d, C 181 (nipple ewer), Trench 6A



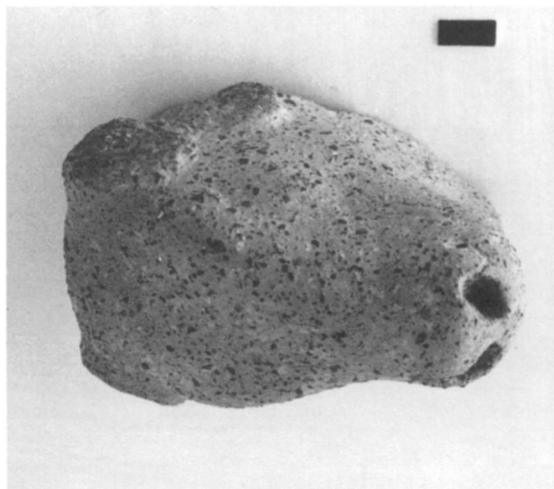
b. LM III cups, Trench 4A: a, C 109 (one-handed goblet), Space 11; b, C 30 (kylix), Space 11; c, C 85 (one-handed goblet), Space 6. Trench 5B: d, C 158 (cup)



c. Sherds, Trench 5B, Level 4



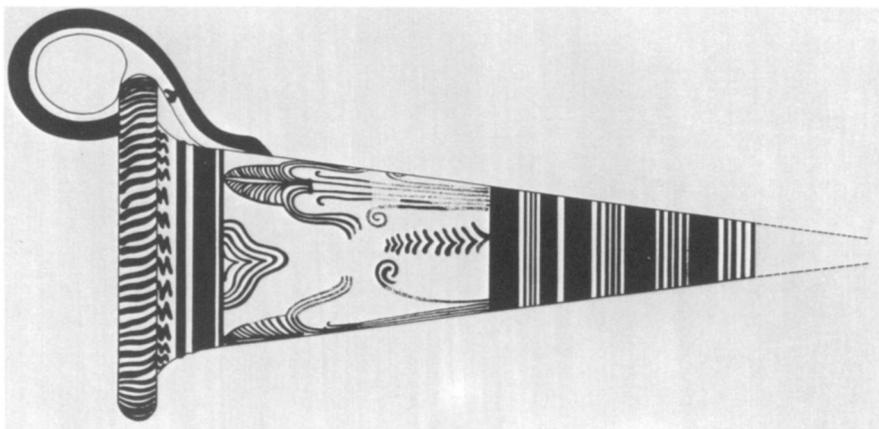
d. Sherds of LM III A/B style, Trench 4A2, Space 6



a. Terracotta bull's head C 37, Trench 2A, Space 7, Level 3



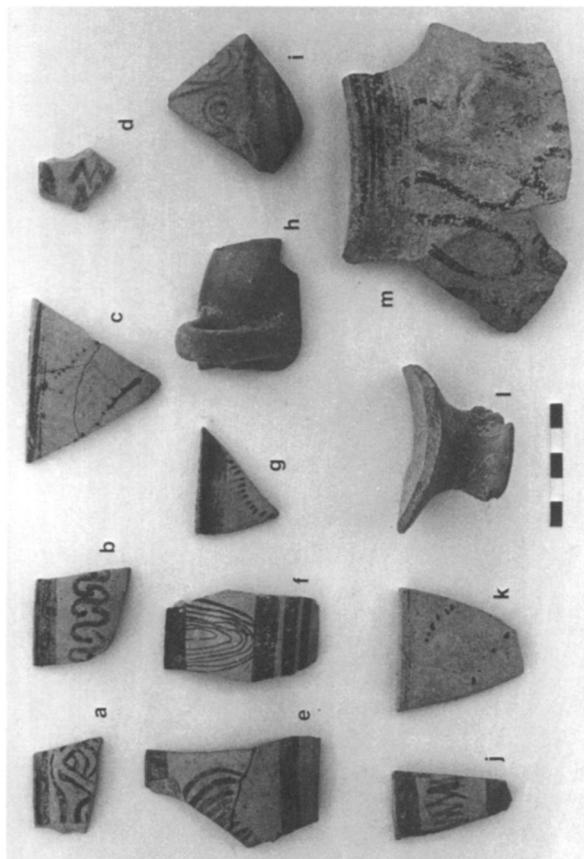
b. Rhyton of LM III style, C 19, Trench 4A1



c. Preliminary restored drawing of C 19



d. Piriform rhyton C 92, Trench 2A, Space 8



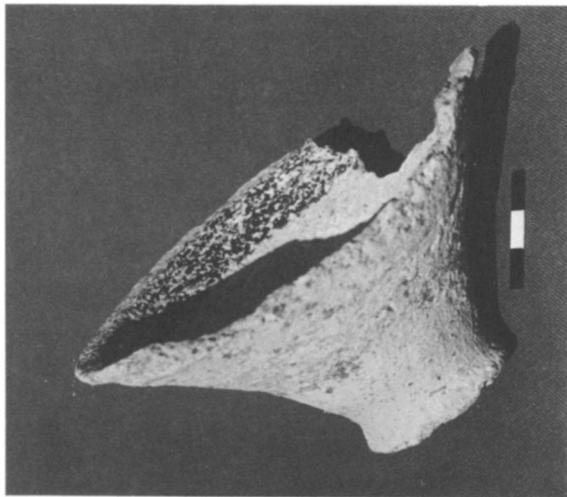
e. LM III sherds from floor, Trench 2A, Space 3



a. Religious stand C 3 and fragments of cauldron C 45 as found, Trench 2A, Space 4, from west



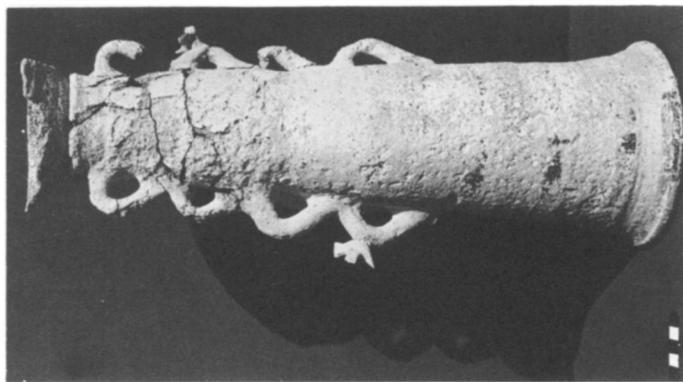
b. Stone set vertically, Trench 2A, Space 4, from south (A) and west (B)



d. Terracotta bird on handle of religious stand C 3

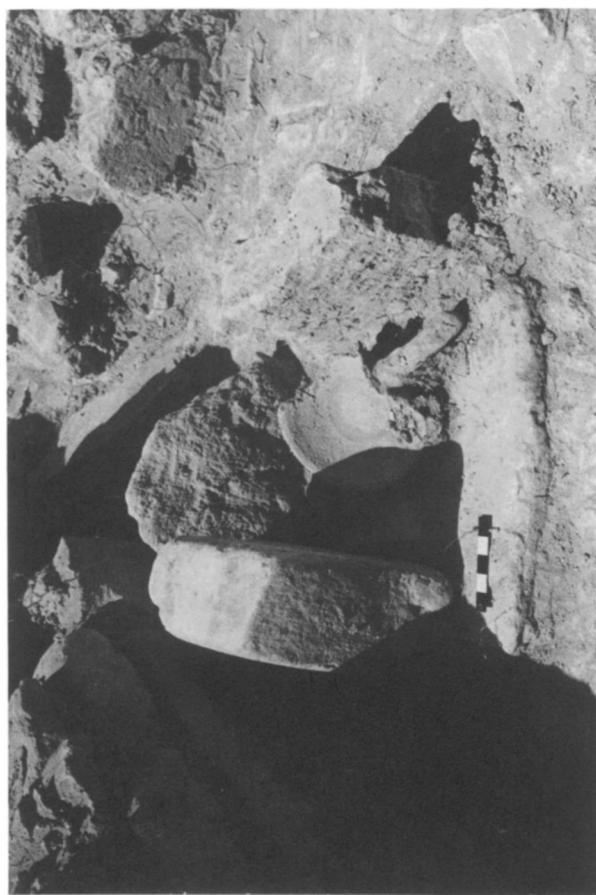


f. Tripod cauldron C 45, mended, Trench 2A, Space 4



c. Religious stand C 3, partly mended, with cup C 2

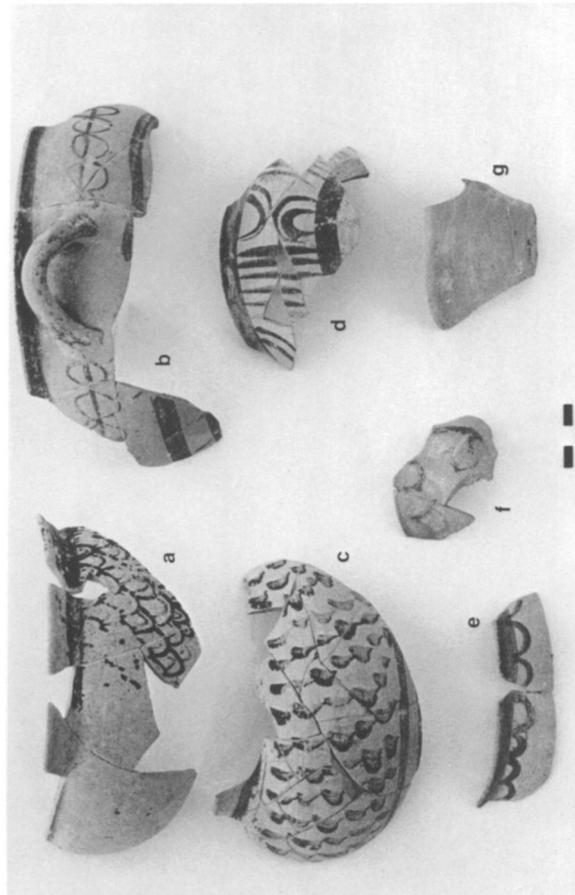
e. Cup C 2 from religious stand



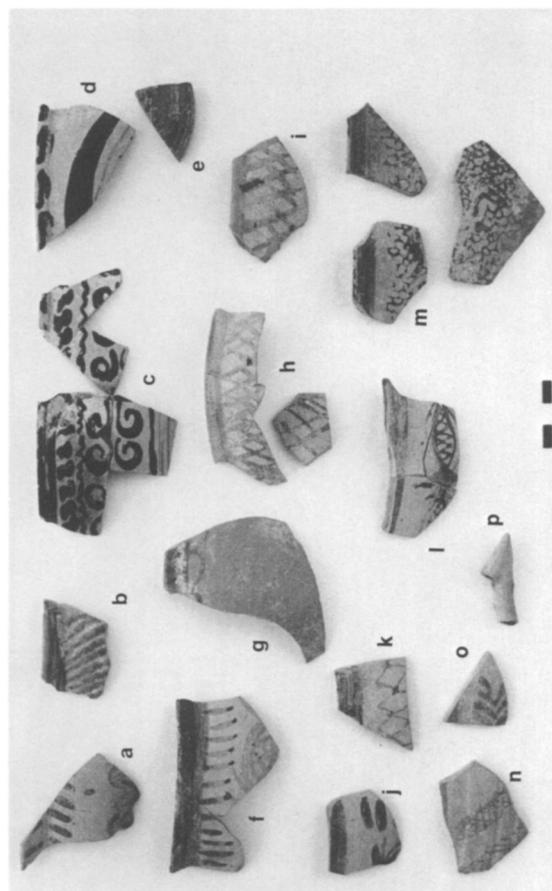
a. "Brazier" C 5 within enclosure of stone slabs, Trench 2A, Space 4



b. Industrial area, partly excavated, Trench 2A, Space 6, from west



c. Bowls and cup of LM I-II style from "dump", Trench 2A, Space 7, Level 4



d. Sherds of LM I-II style from "dump", Trench 2A, Space 7, Level 4