

EXCAVATIONS AT KOMMOS (CRETE) DURING 1984–1985

(PLATES 45–60)

For Nikolaos Platon

Summary

The past two seasons of excavation, concentrating chiefly in the area south of the wide east–west Minoan paved road, revealed partially eroded Greek levels overlying massive Minoan walls. Stratified dumps of the three major temple periods (Protogeometric, Geometric/Archaic, 4th century through Late Hellenistic/Early Roman) continued here. South of them, a building (“Q”) of unusual shape and size, now considered Archaic, was further investigated. On the east a previously partly excavated Hellenistic building (“E”) was cleared.

The Minoan civic buildings are impressive, although, unfortunately, barren of contents that might have explained their original functions. Late Minoan (LM) I Building T, featuring an enormous court, had a significant history of use followed by a partial abandonment and reoccupation. The LM III building P, constructed next, was composed of long roofed galleries, open on the west toward the Libyan Sea. It is the largest LM III building reported so far from Crete, but its exact use, once again, escapes us. Like its predecessor, however, it was probably devoted at least partially to commerce.

DURING THE 1984–1985 SEASONS (16 June—13 August; 24 June—14 August)¹ excavation continued in the areas of the court of the Greek sanctuary and beyond, in

¹ The excavation is being conducted by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with the cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service. Financial support during the two-year period was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Grants 82-0042-X3 and 410-85-0379-X1), by an anonymous donor through the University of Toronto, and by the Royal Ontario Museum, as well as the SCM Corporation of New York. Kodak, Canada provided a major portion of the film.

Full-time staff during the 1984 (#) and 1985 (‡) excavation seasons consisted of the Director, Joseph W. Shaw, University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum; Professor Philip Betancourt (#‡), Temple University; Professor Peter Callaghan (#‡), British Museum and, now, University of Cambridge; Professor Maria C. Shaw (#‡, Assistant Director), Scarborough College, University of Toronto. Also present were the following former or present students at the University of Toronto: Giuliana Bianco (#‡), excavation architect and artist since the project’s inception, Erin Campbell (#‡), Eric Csapo (#‡), Robert Henrickson (#), John McEnroe (‡), Jacqueline Phillips (#‡), Elizabeth Safran (#‡), and Steven Shubert (‡). Campbell (#), Csapo, Henrickson, McEnroe, M. Shaw, and Shubert worked as trenchmasters, as did Susan Cronkite (‡), University of British Columbia, and Barbette Spaeth (#‡), Johns Hopkins University. George Beladakis was again foreman in charge of workmen from Pitsidia, and also from Hagios Ioannis, Petrokephali, Pombia, and Siva.

We are also indebted to Deborah Harlan, University of Pennsylvania, who was in charge of the cataloguing and management of the work- and storerooms, with Phillips’ help. Peter Callaghan dealt chiefly with Iron Age pottery, while Betancourt, with the aid of Eleni Banou (#‡), University of Pennsylvania, dealt mainly with the Minoan pottery. Elizabeth Safran drew the profiles; Joseph Clarke (#‡) made object drawings. Catherine Sease (#‡) was the conservator. David Reese (#‡) studied bone and shell. Winn Burke (#‡), Sheridan College of Applied Arts and Technology, served as object photographer. During the winter months Phillips (#‡) and Sarah Stewart (‡) served as Kommos Research Assistants in Toronto.

Study periods during the spring were carried out by Harriet Blitzer (#, stone tools); by Professors Jennifer and Thomas Shay (#, botanical remains), University of Manitoba; Professor L. V. Watrous (#,

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order to trace the Minoan buildings, the floors of which lie about 2.40 m. below that court.² As a result the temple and a small area around it have become an “island” approachable only from the north. The same is true of the four Greek altars, which now appear to be on high pillars above the Bronze Age buildings (Pl. 45). With the exposure of the Minoan buildings, the southern area confronts the viewer with a complex maze of walls.³

Late Minoan pottery); and Professor James Wright (#), Bryn Mawr College, who is examining for publication a portion of the houses on the hillside.

In June 1984 Dr. Stavros Papamarinopoulos of the University of Patra and Lucia Nixon, then Assistant Director of the Canadian Archaeological Institute in Athens, conducted an experimental geophysical survey by resistivity meter and magnetometer of the unexcavated area east of the one expropriated in the past. The 20 × 40 m. area included, on the north, the possible continuation of the east–west Minoan road. Our aim was to learn more about this and any continuation of Building T. A number of anomalies were detected, these oriented due east–west unlike the road, which is at a slight angle, or, as we know now in retrospect, Building P’s continuation to the east with its certain northeast–southwest orientation. One cannot be certain whether the anomalies are archaeologically meaningful, for the pure sand overburden here is thick (3.50 m.), and there are some 3.50 m. of earth and sand layers above the Minoan road’s possible continuation.

Our observers from the Greek Archaeological Service were Despina Vallianou (#) and George Rethymniotakis (‡).

Mary Betancourt helped with the shopping (#), and Alexander (#‡) and Robin (#) Shaw gave help at intervals.

All these people, and many others, contributed to the progress and success of the work, and we are in many different ways grateful to them. I am in particular indebted to the trenchmasters and pottery experts for their professional, often eloquent reports that will continue to serve as permanent records for the Kommos archives.

Figures 1–4 and 6–11 were drawn by Giuliana Bianco, Figure 5 by Joseph Clarke. Object photographs are all by Winn Burke; site photographs are by J. W. Shaw.

² For preliminary reports see *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 199–240 (= *Kommos*, 1976); 47, 1978, pp. 111–170 (= *Kommos*, 1977); 48, 1979, pp. 145–173 (= *Kommos*, 1978); 49, 1980, pp. 207–250 (= *Kommos*, 1979); 50, 1981, pp. 211–251 (= *Kommos*, 1980); 51, 1982, pp. 164–195 (= *Kommos*, 1981); 53, 1984, pp. 251–287 (= *Kommos*, 1982–1983). See also J. W. Shaw, “At the End of the Road to the Libyan Sea,” *Royal Ontario Museum Archaeological Newsletter*, ser. 2, no. 10, September 1985; “A ‘Palatial’ Stoa at Kommos” (forthcoming in the proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Swedish Institute of Archaeology in Athens); and J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw, edd., “A Great Minoan Triangle in Southcentral Crete: Kommos, Hagia Triada, Phaistos” (*Scripta Mediterranea* 6, 1985), the contents being the proceedings of the Kommos Symposium held in Toronto during the 1985 AIA/APA conference. The publication includes articles on Kommos and the eastern Messara by Philip Betancourt, Vincenzo LaRosa, Maria C. Shaw, and L. Vance Watrous. See also Pamela J. Russell, “A Middle Cypriote Jug from Kommos, Crete,” in *Temple University Aegean Symposium* 10, P. Betancourt, ed., Philadelphia 1985, pp. 42–50; and, with numerous references to, and illustrations of, Minoan pottery from the Kommos site, P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery*, Princeton 1985, as well as “The Middle Minoan Pottery of Southern Crete and the Question of a Middle Minoan Thalassocracy,” in *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institut i Athen, XXXII), R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, edd., Stockholm 1984, pp. 89–92.

The following special abbreviations will be used:

AGMT = “A Great Minoan Triangle in Southcentral Crete: Kommos, Hagia Triadha, Phaistos,” J. W. and M. C. Shaw, edd., *Scripta Mediterranea* 6, 1985

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

Please note a corrigendum in *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 252, note 2, line 6, where “the Ashlar” should read “A Harbor”.

³ The visual effect of the walls and other features is complicated by the masonry of walls we have built to support the Greek structures. In the future the latter will be masked with mortar and earth. So far, during and after excavation seasons, we have had time to do only emergency building and consolidation. Our having

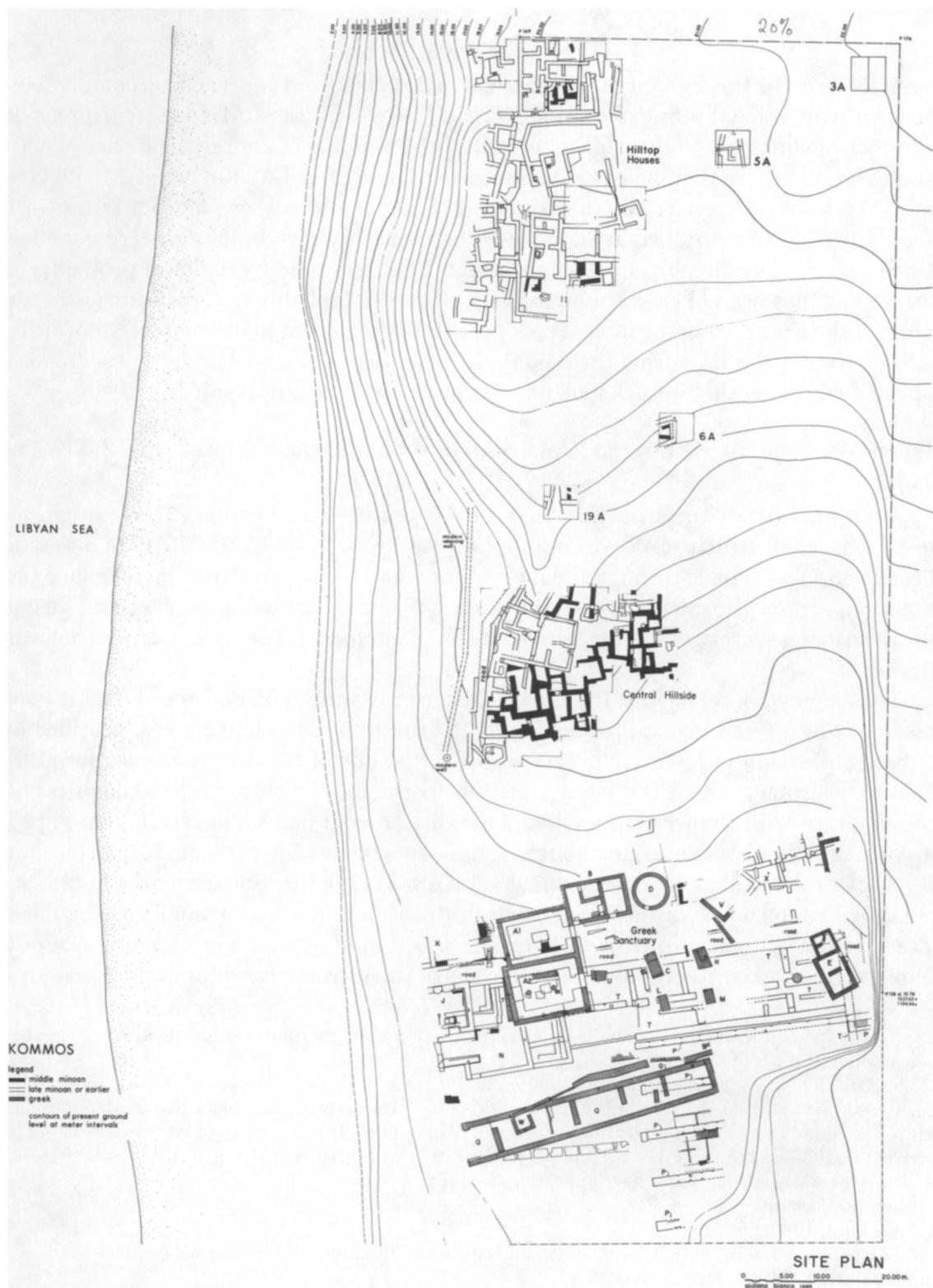


FIG. 1. Kommos, general site plan, 1985

THE GREEK LEVELS

Greek levels occur throughout the southern area, ranging from superficial accumulations to apparently intentional filling of erosion gullies. There is re-use of Minoan structures without major modification to their form, as well as the building of entirely new ones. There is now reason to believe that, whenever cut stone was used after LM I in both LM and Greek times, the stone was quarried from Building T either directly or from its re-use in the LM III period. For instance, lying outside three of the Greek buildings were abandoned Minoan blocks, presumably surplus material.⁴ The term used by the local people for this area, in fact, has been “Pelékia” (Cut Stone).⁵ It is also probably true that the north–south profile of the area during the later Greek period, sloping down to the southwest toward the sea, was similar to that during the Middle Minoan period, before the great leveling of the slope and cutting of the bedrock took place in order to set in Building T.⁶

BUILDING W AND THE RETAINING WALL SOUTH OF THE GREEK TEMPLES (Fig. 2; Pls. 45:b, 46:a)

At approximately the same time that the 4th-century B.C. Temple C was constructed,⁷ the curious small structure W was built to the southwest (Figs. 2, 3).⁸ In 1984 a sounding (Trench 55A) was made through the floor of the small room in order to investigate a block set up in its center. It rested on two more blocks (Pl. 46:a) which did not, however, go down into Bronze Age levels. A group of tusk shells (*Dentalium*) were the only objects of any interest.

The north wall, set against the slope, extended eastward 6.35 m. beyond the little room and served as a retaining wall. Access from the south to the sanctuary was provided by a 3.80 m. gap, roughly closed later, beyond which the line of the wall continued for at least 21.60 m. Construction in the latter section was rough, of fieldstones, although perhaps contemporary with the western section. This eastern wall had small rectangular gaps left for drainage (Pl. 45:b, center). Although its basic function was to prevent erosion, one might also think of the wall as serving double duty as a border of the sanctuary area to the south, acting like a temenos wall. It is of interest in this connection that a small rectangular enclosure of upright slabs filled with bone and ash, found against the southern side of the eastern wall,⁹ apparently received the offerings of pilgrims approaching from the south.

halted excavation, at least temporarily, in favor of publication will give time to study, as well as to landscape and consolidate, parts of the site.

⁴ Specifically, an enormous ashlar block found in 1981 just to the west of and behind A1, the Late Hellenistic addition to the north of Temple C. Also, a probable Minoan orthostate block just south of Geometric Temple B (found in 1983; *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 279 and note 53) and a series of large blocks found (and removed) in 1985 from just west of Building E on the east. In all three cases the blocks were not left near the main entrances where they might have appeared unsightly.

⁵ See also *Kommos*, 1977, p. 129.

⁶ *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 220–221.

⁷ The reader is reminded that Temples A and B lie below Building A2. A2 is also Temple C.

⁸ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 280, pl. 59:a, c.

⁹ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 280, pl. 59:b.

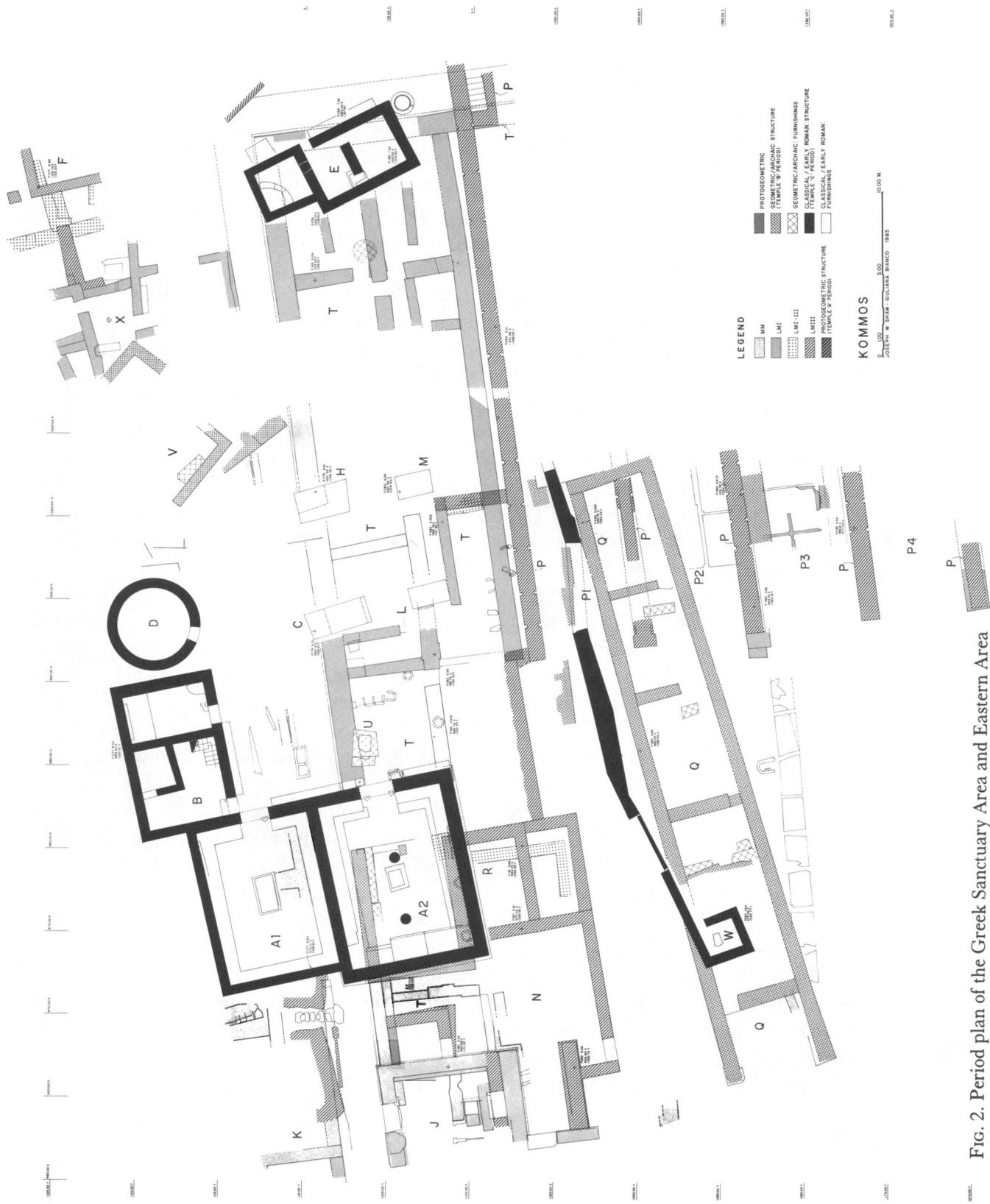


Fig. 2. Period plan of the Greek Sanctuary Area and Eastern Area

THE TEMPLE DUMPS (Trenches 62D, 63A; Pl. 53:d, e)

Excavation of the temple dumps continued beyond the area immediately south and southeast of the temples.¹⁰ These were stratified from Protogeometric (the time of Temple A) through Late Hellenistic and Early Roman levels (late Temple C). As expected, a trench between Altars U and C (Fig. 2) revealed the usual thin lenses of Geometric and Archaic deposits which had accumulated upon the collapsed masonry of Minoan Building T. We also traced the increasingly thick layers of Iron Age deposits extending all the way south to the line of T's colonnade.

The stratification of this area (Pl. 53:e), basically a surface sloping down gently to the south, consists of the following sequence, starting at the lowest levels: 1) An LM III accumulation above the court of Minoan Building P (+ 3.36 to + 3.52 m., top visible in center of Pl. 53:f) which lies upon Minoan Building T's pebble court (at + 3.16 m.); 2) the Protogeometric/Geometric dump associated with Temples A and early B (+ 3.52 to + 4.36 m.), the lowest part representing post-Minoan sand accumulation; 3) the Archaic dump associated with late Temple B (+ 4.36 to + 5.12 m.); 4) the thick stratum associated with the early use of Temple C (+ 5.12 to + 5.84 m., the height of the retaining wall just described; the bottom of that wall is just visible in the upper right-hand corner of Plate 53:d); 5) the thick layer of sand, removed in previous seasons, with Hellenistic and Early Roman materials in its lower levels (+ 5.84 to + 8.30 m.).

Artifacts within these layers were of great interest. Within Layer 1 were an imported Canaanite jar fragment (C 8144) and an inscribed handle (I 47, Pl. 58:a), as well as part of a Cypriot base-ring jug (C 8154, Pl. 58:b), coinciding with a period when Kommos' interconnections with other Bronze Age areas had reached a high point (see below, p. 268). In Layer 2 was a rich variety of ceramic and metal objects: numerous terracotta animal figurines including a horse (C 7828), an iron blade (Mi 173, Pl. 47:a), and, of special interest, part of an unusual jug with a protome of a female head with inset shell decoration for the eyes and for an ornament on the forehead (C 8192, Pl. 47:b). A number of Phoenician amphora fragments from the lowest Iron Age levels remind us again of the possible role played at Kommos by early seafarers.¹¹ The votive figurines include two bronze bulls (Pl. 47:d). One is of the general type already found earlier within and south of Temple B,¹² but the other has tenons for attachment (B 308, Pl. 47:d), possibly to the rim of a bowl or cauldron of which a few body fragments and two handles (e.g. B 312, Pl. 47:d)¹³ were recovered. The most interesting figurine of all, however, is that of a man (B 306, Pl. 47:d), ithyphallic, with his arms curving out before him as if holding some object now lost. His presence in the sanctuary at Kommos, where anthropomorphic figurines have not previously been found, at first appears to be very significant, perhaps suggesting an early tradition later replaced for at least a while by an aniconic one. He also, however, has a tang for attachment and may have belonged with a larger offering. His presence in the early

¹⁰ *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 228–241; 1981, pp. 185–192; 1982–1983, pp. 281–282.

¹¹ C 8097, C 8117, C 8190, and C 8191. See *Kommos*, 1981, p. 188 and also 1982–1983, pp. 284–285.

¹² *Kommos*, 1979, pl. 65:b; 1980, pl. 59:e.

¹³ For the other handle, B 252, see *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 281.

sanctuary may, like that of the female protome, be explained not as representing worshipper, priest, or deity, as at other shrines (e.g. Kato Symi) where anthropomorphism is common, but rather as only part of a dedication.¹⁴

Layer 3 also contained terracottas and bronze objects. Aside from the usual types of wares (e.g. cups and kraters) associated with ritual feasting, there was a miniature votive bronze shield of the Boeotian type with repoussé dot decoration (Pl. 47:c); the head of what must once have been an unusual horse with a trumpetlike muzzle (Pl. 47:e); terracotta bulls' legs; and fragments of stone vessels. Of note in Layer 4 were our first examples of ostrich-egg fragments (S 8); bronze laurel leaves, probably part of a wreath,¹⁵ and "Kommos" cups,¹⁶ one of which had been filled with water-worn beach pebbles in antiquity (C 7746, Pl. 47:f). As usual at Kommos, terracotta bulls' legs were encountered in all Greek levels. Some of the original figures, of which only the more solidly made legs are now preserved, must have been 0.40–0.60 m. high, such as the graceful Protogeometric type represented by C 3344 (Pl. 47:h) or an unusually thick 4th-century example, C 7675 (Pl. 47:g).

When first found in the sand just above the east–west Minoan road,¹⁷ bull's leg C 3344 was thought to be of Late Minoan date since it was in an LM III ceramic context. Since then a number of joins have been made, first with fragments from within Temple A (Trench 33C) and then from the lowest levels of the temple dumps being described (Trench 63A). One can perhaps deduce from the locations of the pieces that the original terracotta figure was set within Temple A, probably as a major dedication. It was broken there, and during a cleaning of A (or when the ruins of Temple A were being partly leveled in preparation for the construction of Temple B above them), one of its pieces was thrown down onto the sand that had accumulated above the Minoan road, then still largely open, and other pieces were discarded with refuse far down the slope to the southwest.

Temple A had originally been set on a long, high, east–west mound formed by the collapsed masonry of Minoan Buildings T and J. As time went on the surrounding area was leveled off by a combination of natural erosion, neglect, and dumping, so that by the time that C was established in the 4th century the gap for the Minoan road was completely filled in, and the area south of the temple had been built up considerably. During the early Iron Age, in the area west of Minoan Building P and south of T (Pl. 53:d), a 0.30 m. layer of sand had accumulated upon the LM III court. Somewhat later, probably during the Geometric period,¹⁸ an east–west retaining wall of re-used Minoan blocks was built (Pl. 53:d, right), south of the LM III retaining wall (Pl. 53:d, left). This was shortly to be hidden from view as the refuse from the temple accumulated upon the slope behind.

This Greek retaining wall may not have been intended primarily to stabilize the slope south of the temple, for unless part of the wall has been robbed out, it did not extend far

¹⁴ We do not yet know, however, into what type(s) of socket the pierced tang would have been set.

¹⁵ Cf. *Kommos*, 1980, p. 229, pl. 58:b.

¹⁶ For the type see *Kommos*, 1980, p. 228, pl. 59:a.

¹⁷ It was then catalogued as C 6060, as in *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 281.

¹⁸ We must generalize here, for the unexcavated earth below the 4th-century retaining wall in Plate 53:d, upper right, obscures a crucial area, three meters wide, in front of the wall being discussed.

enough west to be of use there. Instead, as can be seen in Figure 2, the wall continues eastward in an uneven fashion and then disappears below unexcavated areas. There it probably was unrelated to the Geometric sanctuary which functioned, as we know, in the immediate temple area. Rather, the Geometric stratum on the southeast (see below) may have some bearing on the interpretation of the wall. This layer might even have extended to the west, where there are now no early Greek remains, for it is probable that water erosion has swept clean any overlying LM III and Geometric/Archaic remains above the LM I pebble court.

There is little architectural evidence to the southeast of Q to enable us to estimate the scale of this area's use during the Geometric period. So far one can only point to two broad but insubstantial east–west walls that were built within Gallery 3 of Minoan Building P, some distance above its original floor (at P3 in Fig. 2; upper left in Pl. 55:b).¹⁹ Throughout the area, however, there is a layer, 0.60–1.00 m. thick, of sooty black earth with much fragmentary Protogeometric and Middle Geometric pottery. Joins between this pottery and that in temple dumps show that sanctuary remains extend this far south. This layer was found throughout the P2/P3 areas (in Fig. 6d and Pl. 55:d) and becomes thicker as it continues east.²⁰

The erosion of the ancient levels described here has probably occurred periodically. Some seems to have taken place before the accumulation of the sand layer above the LM court, perhaps in LM IIIC/Protogeometric times, when the upper, LM III court level was washed away (see below, p. 258). A second phase occurred after the Archaic period but before the time that a three-sided hearth (Fig. 2, Pls. 45:b, 46:b) was set upon the sand, with its stone lining actually penetrating down to the level of the LM I pebble court. Not far south of the hearth, which was the site of much burning on the west and south, were found large curving fragments of terracotta slabs that we first thought were roof tiles but which, when their fenestrations were noticed, were identified as beehives.²¹ We now provisionally suggest that the hearth was associated with beekeeping, used perhaps for melting the wax or other procedures. Sherds in the surrounding sand range from Archaic to Hellenistic. Since beehives are normally set some distance from where people congregate, it seems unlikely

¹⁹ Part of this curious arrangement was first noted in 1980 when a sounding was made within a space cleared of more than 10 meters of sand at what was then the extreme southern part of the expropriated property. The description and interpretation in *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 242–243 still apply; the Geometric wall can be seen there in pl. 57:d, upper left.

²⁰ The pails concerned are 36B/2:21; 64A1/2:16; 65A/2:15, 17; 65A2/2:25. Although easily identifiable profiles were not common, thereby suggesting redeposition, skyphoi and mixing bowls were noted. No terracotta figurines associated with ritual were found. The sherds associated with the temple dumps north of Q are C 4134 (around Temple B), a Cycladic pithos, and C 8050, a globular flask, perhaps Phoenician.

²¹ C 8332, C 8334. According to P. Callaghan, there are more than two beehives. He notes that they seem to look like high barrels, with a sort of shoulder at the “top”, rather like those from a kiln site at Knossos where they are wrongly identified as kiln props (B. Homann-Wedeking, “A Kiln Site at Knossos,” *BSA* 45, 1950 [pp. 165–192], p. 185 and fig. 26). Unlike the Greek beehives found in Attica (J. E. Jones, A. J. Graham, and L. H. Sackett, “An Attic Country House below the Cave of Pan at Vari,” *BSA* 68, 1973 [pp. 355–452], pp. 397–413), the Kommos examples are hollow at both ends and were provided with little rectangular windows down the side. For the use of fire for driving away or stupefying bees, see E. Crane, *The Archaeology of Beekeeping*, London 1983, *passim*.

that they were being used when near-by Archaic Q was still functioning; a Greek or Hellenistic date, during a time when the area was not being used extensively (e.g. during the 5th century or after *ca.* 50 B.C.) would be preferable.

ARCHAIC BUILDING Q (Trenches 60B, 62B, 64A–64A3; Figs. 2, 3; Pls. 45:b, 46:b, c, e)

One of the major surprises of the two recent campaigns at Kommos was the discovery of Building Q, a 7th-century building of unusual size and plan. Up to 1985, Q had been identified as an isolated Archaic building of one room on the southeast,²² while its walls on the west, discovered in 1979 during the massive sand-clearing operation which preceded excavation, were thought even in 1984 to be of Minoan date and perhaps related to LM III Building P which had just appeared.²³ Our growing interest to know the extent and borders of the Minoan court (over which Q stretches) led to the revelation of Q's actual plan and aspects of its history.

In its final phase Q was a very long, narrow building. As found, it is 38 meters long and ranges from 5.40 m. (on the east) to 6.20 m. (on the west) in exterior width. (The northern wall is very straight, but the southern wall bows out.) Originally the building had either five or six rooms and had, presumably, a flat, tileless roof like Temple B.²⁴ Also like Temple B, Q was built on the natural slope of the hill without any effort to level the area, so that the floor of the eastern room is at + 4.39 m., and the original floor of its western room is at + 2.40 m., a two-meter difference. Thus, on the east the building was set into and above Geometric levels, but on the west, where there had been more erosion, its walls actually penetrated down through the LM I Court of Building T. Like all post-LM I structures on the site, Q was constructed with re-used Minoan blocks, but the masons worked without a great deal of care, often simply setting the blocks in position without reshaping them or placing them in neat courses.

The first room on the west, 40 (Fig. 3, Pl. 46:c), was a covered porch, about 3.80 m. wide and 1.00 m. deep, with a doorway 0.90 m. wide, at the north end of the east wall, leading into inner Room 39.²⁵ This interior doorway is unlike the other four of Q, which are along the southern wall.²⁶ The columnless porch faced the seashore and was probably set just far enough back from it not to be endangered by the waves generated by winter storms. It is possible that the northern and southern walls continued further west, but this seems unlikely, since the wall ends discovered are set upon special subfoundations not seen elsewhere in the building and may act as antae. Erosion by the waves of a continuation of Q on the west (a fate certainly suffered by Building J to the north) still remains a possibility. The porch had two major phases of use. Its first earthen floor, quite burnt, had an oval area

²² *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pp. 280–281.

²³ E.g. *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 277 and fig. 2 on p. 256.

²⁴ *Kommos*, 1980, p. 232, note 71. Superposed Greek Building W prevented its complete excavation.

²⁵ The rooms of Q were numbered in the order of their discovery.

²⁶ There may have been a second doorway in the east wall of Room 40, on the south (the gap in Pl. 46:c), but this is not sure.

0.30 × 0.40 m. of pumice of uncertain use, 0.80 m. from the east wall. Above was a secondary floor at + 2.65 m., also burnt; between the two floors were fragments of 7th-century transport amphoras of micaceous fabric (e.g. C 7745) similar to others found in Q's eastern rooms (see below).

Neighboring Room 39 lies largely below later Building W. Of the western part of the room we could ascertain only that there were at least two floors, the original, lower one joining that in Room 40, and an upper one, at + 3.10 m., partially paved with slabs that were even with the top of their common cross-wall. It is possible that this upper surface represents a third, higher floor of Room 39; or it may correspond to the second one in Room 40, the upper part of the cross-wall having been removed so that one could step down to the west from Room 39 to Room 40.

Perhaps in the first phase of Q, Rooms 38 and 39 were a single room *ca.* 11.15 m. long, for the thin wall (and the adjacent stubby one) shown in Figure 3 are certainly later additions, although another cross-wall may still be obscured by Building W. In Room 38 there were two floors, the lower one (at + 3.11 m.) characterized by a few stone slabs, flat sherds, and burning, as well as a thick mass of some 2,000 crushed *Murex trunculus* shells, the first time that a deposit of this size, no doubt the result of obtaining the base material for purple dye, has been found at the Kommos site. The shells were used as packing for the floor, probably having been brought in from outside where the crushing and extraction had been carried out.

Just above this floor was another, of burnt, hard-packed clay. It continued, via a doorway, into Room 37. Later, perhaps when the floor was raised, the doorway was partially blocked. Room 37 was quite large, 6.56 m. long, and found filled with rubble from the fallen walls, its floor of burnt earth, flat sherds, bone and shell with a number of limpets, sloping north to south from + 3.48 m. to + 3.30 m. Much of the southern wall has been robbed out, so one cannot be sure that there was not a doorway, but the positioning of the blocks that remain makes a doorway seem doubtful.

The easternmost room of Q, 30, with east–west dimensions of 6.20 m. (north) and 6.50 m. (south), had two somewhat ephemeral floors of which the latest retained a few small slabs, at + 4.39 m. This room was partly excavated in 1982 in an exploratory trench;²⁷ along with part of 31 to the west, it was completed in 1984 during an effort to locate certain Minoan features suspected to be below its floor level. Little was found upon the floor of Room 30 save a few fragments of bronze and iron, limpets, a bone tool, a few stone tools and pumice. That of Room 31 was composed of thick multiple levels of much fragmentary pottery, limpets, and burnt earth, including many sherds of an attractive vase of Wild Goat style (Pl. 47:i). Our impression at the time was that this dump, which slopes down to the west from the common cross-wall (Pl. 46:e), was formed when people within Room 30 threw their refuse into Room 31.

On all Q's floors, in the rubble levels above them, and on the adjacent court south of Rooms 37–40 were recovered many fragments of Attic, Chian, Lesbian, and East Greek

²⁷ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 281.

transport amphoras (some twenty representative examples were inventoried) which, along with those in the strews from the temple courtyard and in the floor levels within Temple B, comprise one of the richer groups of imported amphoras known from the Early Greek Iron Age. Their study should help us learn about commercial interrelations not as shown simply by the more delicate and attractive fine ware but rather by the amphoras whose contents of wine, oil, and other commodities were the actual object of the exchange. All these vessels certainly date to the last half and probably to the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., the time of late Temple B when the sanctuary was increasingly popular, yet, ironically, on the verge of a long period of partial abandonment.

The plan of Building Q remains without a clear local precedent, although it resembles superficially the long Roman building at the Cretan seaside sanctuary of Asklepios at Leda southeast of Kommos, tentatively identified as a hostel for the suppliant of the healing god worshipped there.²⁸ Q's proportions are those of a stoa, but its sides were closed. Unlike a stoa, it could not be entered easily. The northern and eastern, and most likely the southern, sides are preserved high enough to preclude doorways there, so that Q seems to have been entered only from the west. The internal cross-walls seem to be original (even though they do not bond). One must conclude that Q's interior consisted of rooms, their floors stepping up to the east, following the slope of the hillside.

The building had two unusual internal architectural features. First, the entrance to it, through the westernmost cross-wall, is on the north, whereas passage between interior rooms is on the south. Could this have been arranged to ensure the privacy of the inner rooms? Second, the position of the doors next to a long south wall must be explained, perhaps simply as a curious local custom or to provide the maximum usable space for material or people. In the former case, no floor features suggest benches or couches for dining, such as in Building A in the sanctuary, nor do the ceramic finds suggest either ritual or ritual dining, as they do in the sanctuary deposits both inside the temples and outside in the temple dumps. Rather, the masses of transport-amphora fragments throughout the floor deposits suggest the storage of goods, in particular liquids imported from abroad. Further study will be necessary to explore the nature of the exchange between the Kommos area with its Messara hinterland, in particular the population centers at Gortyn and Phaistos, and Eastern Greek trade centers. It does seem that this amphora trade is a continuation of the local tradition of Kommos as a landing spot and point for commercial interchange as it had been during the Bronze Age and, later, during the 9th–8th centuries B.C.²⁹ During the 7th century, Building Q seems to have been a storehouse on the shore for safeguarding trade goods, foreign or local, a facility which might have been a welcome convenience to those either administering or visiting the near-by sanctuary. Q's single entrance could perhaps be explained as evidence that vigilance by a caretaker was built into its plan.

The patches of burning on the floors, the layers of carbon and earth mixed with sherds in Room 31, as well as the scatters of limpets should still be explained. Some of the burning

²⁸ L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Guida degli scavi italiani in Creta*, Rome 1947, p. 69 and pl. 75 (at 7).

²⁹ A revival of the tradition of amphora trade may be seen in the hundreds of amphora fragments scattered about the sanctuary during a final, perhaps commercial, use of the area during the 1st century after Christ.

might be the result of a general fire in the roof, but nowhere were the burnt deposits thick or pure enough to be convincing, as they were in one of the rooms of Minoan Building T (see below, p. 253). It seems preferable, therefore, to think that there were other occasional uses made of the storerooms by the building's guardians or those connected with the import-export trade, whether with the shipping, cartage, or some other aspect. The three-sided hearth just south of Q, mentioned above in connection with the beehives, might well have been theirs, as well as that represented by a single slab set against Q's wall to the south of Building W (visible in Pls. 45:b, 46:b).

GREEK LEVELS ON THE EAST

The Archaic Court

During excavation around the temple we came to expect the "Archaic" level which was characterized by more limpets, iron fragments, and tools than elsewhere, by burning, by groups of pebbles (such as those in Plate 46:d), by curious three-sided stone enclosures, by bits of colored clay, and occasional fragments of specular haematite as well as faïence bowls.³⁰ Predictably, the levels were at about five meters above datum, at about + 5.10 m. west of the temple, and at + 5.00 m. just south of it (before the slope down to Building Q). In front of Temple B the level was at + 4.97 m. at the base of Altar U and at + 5.23 m. next to the twin hearth on the north, suggesting that there may have been an intentional slope down to the south.

As we excavated east of the temple, we also noted the "Archaic" level which again was usually marked by patchy burning, limpets, and occasional small, low, rectangular platforms built with slabs and small stones. While the small enclosures do not appear on the east (except in front of the temple), there is a layer of stone chips there not found on the west. We also found on the east a well, 1.00 m. in diameter and probably of Archaic date, which partly destroyed some of a Minoan wall in T's Room 24b (see below, p. 253). A bovid skull was found at water level within this incompletely excavated well. It was only after extensive excavation over a broad area, however, that we realized that the level space in front of Temple B (phase 2) extended far to the east, implying that there had been a massive leveling and filling operation designed to create a large court. Up to the time that this work was done, the east-west Minoan roadway was left open,³¹ which no doubt made it difficult to approach the temple from the north or east, for during its earliest phase Temple B, like its predecessor, Temple A, was built upon an "island" formed by the top of the collapsed masonry of Minoan Building T. At this time, during the second phase of Temple B, Altar (or both-ros) U was established, and, to its north, above the Minoan road, the double hearth was constructed (Fig. 2).

While the filling operation extended north of the road near the temple, further east (Pl. 51:d) the roadway was left open for a time. By the end of the 7th century, however, the orthostate wall of Building T was covered over; above T the court of Temple B was

³⁰ *Kommos*, 1981, p. 189.

³¹ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 282.

carefully leveled (at about + 5.50 m.) and sloped slightly down to the southwest. Any earlier Greek remains that may have been there were removed,³² and the court level was neatly retained along much of its southern length by the north wall of Minoan Building P (Pl. 52:a). Alongside P's north wall, west of the area shown in Plate 52:a and the number 22 in Figure 6e, and not far from a mass of limpets, was a hearth. On either side of the hearth was a slab lying on its side, as if fallen, the ensemble suggesting a roasting pit.

It seems inconsistent, given the care that the Greeks gave to their temple and its court, that they did not build a retaining wall along the south in order to prevent erosion. They could have done this easily by extending westward the line of the north wall of Building P. Q, which was built very late in Temple B's period, might have helped, but surely, if a major effort was being made, Q's orientation would have been different and perhaps a wall northward from Q would have been built. Another possibility is that there once was an east-west retaining wall that was robbed out and that the only blocks remaining from it are those shown in Plate 53:d (center), for they are certainly part of a Geometric retaining wall which so far remains unrelated to buildings discovered either to the north or south.

The thin layer of working chips characterizing the court surface on the east probably results from the dismantling of Minoan walls, especially the north walls of Buildings T and P (Pl. 50), although we do not know where the material was used, perhaps in V or Q, or in some still undiscovered building. Much of the south wall of T had been removed and covered over during LM III, but part of that wall was left projecting above Temple B's court surface (Pl. 52:a). The court created was at least 12.10 m. wide (from P's north wall to T's north wall) and 42.20 m. long, the eastern limit probably being the east wall of Minoan Building T (Pl. 51:d), now obscured below Building E.

Two Isolated Dumps

Two dumps are worth noting here. The first (in Trench 56A Pails 38, 39, 41, 44) contained the only solidly 5th-century group of pottery discovered at Kommos. It was found just north of Building P's north wall, sandwiched between dumps of late Temple B and early Temple C dates. The types of wares represented (hydriai, "Kommos" cups, ladles, lamps, and tulip cups) typify sanctuary dump material and indicate the continued use of the court area for ritual purposes. The rituals, however, may have taken place completely in the open, since, as far as we know, there were no cult buildings at Kommos at the time. The

³² The specific pails of this somewhat difficult level are, from west to east, 62D/45, bottom at + 4.97 m.; 56A1/57, at + 4.72 m.; 57A/9 (bottom at + 5.50 m., shown in Pl. 52:a); 57A2/65, at + 5.50 m.; 58A/15 at + 5.42 m. In 57A, 57A2, and 58A the transition from 7th century to LM III is immediate, the abruptness of the change suggesting two possibilities. One is that during LM III there was a use surface on the east, north of Building P and perhaps reached from the south by the stairs shown in Figure 4e. One could argue that this same surface was re-used during the Archaic period. In 57A2, however, the Archaic court surface actually runs over P's north wall, thus indicating that at least part of the surface was created during the Archaic period. The other possibility arises when we note that very little early Iron Age pottery has been found in the eastern area. Were Protogeometric/Geometric levels removed when the Archaic court was established? There are, however, places (e.g. above the road to the east) where leveling did not take place and there is no Geometric presence. It is still possible that a portion of the thick Protogeometric/Geometric layer below and to the south of Building Q (see above, p. 226) may have originated just east of Temple B.

position of the dump just south of the altars probably confirms our earlier suggestion that one of the four post-Archaic altars, probably Altar H to the northeast, was used during the hiatus after the time that Temple B went out of use (*ca.* 600 B.C.) and before Temple C was constructed (*ca.* 400–375 B.C.).³³ The 5th-century dump lies upon a thin layer of working chips that extend northward, where they coincide with the base of Altar H and may support a 5th-century date for it.

The second dump (Trench 59A1, Pails 26–36) was in the northeast area, above the east–west Minoan road and south of Minoan Building X. In an area prone to erosion and used for discarded sanctuary material as early as the 7th century B.C.,³⁴ we recovered over 55 kilograms of pottery and broken roof tiles dating to the last half of the 1st century B.C. Joins between sherds from this dump and pottery found in Burned Building B, some 25 meters to the northwest (C 368, a cup; and C 3151, a plate), confirm at least part of the dump's origin, enabling us to trace more of the activity in the late sanctuary and adding to our ongoing attempts to link otherwise disparate deposits in the southern area.

Hellenistic Building E (Trenches 66B; 67A–A1; Fig. 2, Pl. 60:a, b)

Our first project on the east in 1985 was to finish excavation of Building E. We hoped that E did not extend so far south as to prevent excavation of Minoan levels and recovery of more of the plan of Minoan Building T which, as we had learned in the previous campaign, ended in this area. Building E, discovered in 1977, was partly excavated the following year,³⁵ at which time we suggested that its distance from and skewed position in relationship to the sanctuary court, its lack of ritual material, and the eastern orientation of its one known doorway all implied that it was not directly connected with the sanctuary (Pl. 60:a). This hypothesis has been strengthened now by E's complete clearance.

Before its crudely constructed northern addition was built, without proper doorway but only a passage formed by removing part of the common wall, Building E was a neatly and solidly constructed building, 6.58 m. long by 4.35 m. wide. That it was built largely of re-used Minoan material seems assured by the tumble of some seven Minoan blocks found upon the late Hellenistic surface next to its southwest corner. These were probably originally brought for use in E but were abandoned behind the house after its completion. For use in most of the walls the large blocks were probably reduced to smaller pieces, but like larger Building B in the sanctuary, corners were reinforced with unbroken Minoan blocks. Just south of E, set on a southward slant next to its southeast corner, was a large circular basin, 1.30 m. in diameter, 0.30 m. thick (max.) and at least 0.15 m. deep (Fig. 2, Pl. 60:a, far left). We have no evidence for its specific use but assume that it was at least for liquid, since a hole had been bored in its southern edge, presumably to allow the liquid to drain out. The later, northern addition to E incorporated in its corners a Minoan threshold block and a pier-and-door partition base.

³³ *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 225, 236; 1981, pp. 185–186.

³⁴ A join was found between a sherd from this dump and another (C 3053, a Corinthian aryballos) from a high level within Temple B.

³⁵ *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 133–134; 1978, pp. 169–170 and pl. 58:e; 1979, p. 243.

Buildings B and E resemble each other, being part of the same tradition.³⁶ Each has an exterior bench next to its doorway, that in front of E being 4.23 m. long and 0.54 m. wide and next to the single, particularly narrow doorway (0.68 m. wide) leading into the central room (Figs. 2, 4). Like Building B, also, there were originally two rooms, but in E's case a single doorway gave access to both rooms, unlike the situation in Building B where each room had its own exterior doorway and there was no interior connection between rooms, a curious arrangement perhaps intended to separate activities, material (e.g. stored goods), or even people.

Unlike Building B, with its stairway leading up to an attic or second story, E was apparently single storied. Its rooms, moreover, were smaller and simpler, without platforms or inner partitions like those in B. A single block set along the north wall of the central room probably provided a rough seat (Fig. 4). The wall separating the two original rooms, of which the northern is the larger (2.14 × 3.24 m. *vs.* 2.51 × 3.18 m.), is unusual in that a doorway, 0.60 m. wide, was provided at each end. This bit of special luxury, however, was eliminated at a relatively late period in the building's history when its inhabitants set a hearth, formed of upright slabs, in the inner doorway facing the northern room. Perhaps the central room was used for cooking, as implied by the pottery found there, especially two complete pots in the northwest corner, a serving dish (C 7756) and a cooking pot (C 7739; Pl. 60:b, c), and along the southern wall, part of another cooking pot (C 7759). During the colder winter months the heat from the fire would have been evenly distributed between the rooms.

The southern room of E, like the other two rooms, was found with roof tiles scattered below burnt earth above its floor. When these had been removed, we found to our surprise a fine floor of irregular but carefully fitted slabs. It is not clear whether the slab floor is original or a later addition. The slabs do not continue below the hearth, and so either paving slabs were removed when the hearth was built or they were placed around the hearth. We know that the hearth was a late addition, blocking the original passage and lying upon tiles believed to derive from a first roof collapse, and so the paving is likely to be original. Tiles presumably from the same collapse were also found in the northern room and below the quarter-circle structure there (Fig. 4), both late additions to E. No complete vessels were found in this room, although there were fragments of cups, lamps, cooking ware and amphoras; parts of C 7757, a cylindrical cup, were found here and in the central room.

The phases of Building E, which appears to be a modest Hellenistic house, seem to have been as follows:

- 1) A rectangular building with two rooms, one paved, with exterior bench, was constructed upon Late Hellenistic levels.
- 2) An additional room was added on the north, communication being provided by breaking through the original north wall; a slab pavement was added south of the addition.
- 3) The building's roof(s) collapsed, then was (were) restored. In the northern room (the addition) a quarter-circle construction of unknown use was set over the fallen tiles, raising the floor level. At least two types of pan and cover tiles were in use in E. The two southern rooms were then partially cleared, and the hearth between the central and south rooms was set in the 1st century B.C.

³⁶ For Building B, see *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 136–140; 1979, p. 243.

4) Not long afterward the building burned, its roof collapsing inward, in the last half of the 1st century B.C., as suggested in earlier reports. Building B had a similar history, with abandonment at about the same time preceded by two roof collapses.

HELLENISTIC RE-USE IN THE SOUTHEAST AREA (Trench 67A1, Pl. 59:b–d)

Immediately south of Building E is Minoan Building P. North of P, the Greek level changed, with its layer of stone chips, to Minoan at a predictable depth (+ 5.50 m.), analogous with what we had found further west.³⁷ South of P's wall, however, was a uniformly Late Hellenistic level containing a dump of domestic wares, especially amphoras, cups, bowls, cooking pots, jugs, and platters. The drinking cups, serving bowls, amphoras, and some jugs were very much like other 1st-century B.C. wares associated with the sanctuary, but this dump generally lacks their votive element. Only one small votive lekane and a few small unglazed bowls suggest ritual use. The large serving platters and extra large cooking pots could have been used for communal eating. The deposit, part of which was also recovered from within the stairway, continued down to the original floor of Building P, at + 3.48 m. The lowest pail here, from + 4.00 m. to the floor, was of almost pure sand, but the pottery was of the same date as that in the dump. Upon the floor of the small area cleared (Pl. 59:d) we found a few small bits of bronze.

There is no doubt that Minoan P was re-used in Greek times, but our understanding is limited by the small sounding made.³⁸ It does seem, however, that the refuse found in the Hellenistic dump postdates any major re-use and simply represents a time when dumping there was convenient. The sand layer, then, would represent a limited time period when drifting sand accumulated on top of the Minoan floor. It is most likely that P's roof had collapsed, along with the upper part of the walls, in LM III, and unless another roof had been built, its rooms would still have been open to the sky. This particular room near the stairway, however, must have been cleared out during the Greek period, for wall debris, which usually remains next to the wall from which it has fallen, was not found. All the pottery in the sand layer on the floor was exclusively Greek; the date of the *latest* cleaning of the room should have been at the time just before the latest sherds accumulated in the sand layer. Therefore, although we have no hint of the nature of this re-use of P, a re-use of its eastern rooms during the Hellenistic period, and perhaps earlier, seems certain. We do not know, naturally, that there is a covered room here, for the pebble floor might belong to a court. At the time the stairs were open and probably used, perhaps by the people connected with Building E on the north.

THE MINOAN LEVELS

In 1984 trenches were laid out to intercept an east–west wall in Minoan Building T presumed to lie south of those already known (P's northern wall appeared in the same trench; Pl. 50) and to extend northward over T's eastern rooms, as well as above the wide east–west

³⁷ See footnote 32 above.

³⁸ To the west we note only limited re-use of P, and that during the Geometric period, perhaps because of the extensive robbing out of the walls there as well as the effects of erosion.

road known to be there,³⁹ then beyond onto the sloping hillside where an LM house had been located in an exploratory sounding in 1977.⁴⁰

THE FAÇADE OF BUILDING T (Figs. 2, 4, Pl. 51)

We had two aims in excavating north of T.⁴¹ One was to expose a major part of T's façade of orthostates (Pl. 51:d) on a part of the site where there was little later construction, for, on the west, work near the Greek buildings would threaten them by subsequent erosion and the accompanying undermining.⁴² We might also learn how long the road had remained open and whether there had been an early Iron Age use of the area. The second major objective was to learn more about what lay immediately north of the road during LM I, the time of Building T. Since the contrast between monumental ashlar T and the humble, contemporary houses on hilltop and hillside is so great, it seemed particularly important to determine whether the same contrast obtained on the east and right across from Building T.

The Greek levels here lay upon an LM III slope covered with rubble that ended about 0.85 m. above the Minoan road (Pl. 56:c). The earliest pottery was Archaic, reinforcing our previous impression that Geometric use of the site was confined to the temple area to the west and southwest (see above, p. 226) and suggesting that during much, if not all, of a 600-year period (*ca.* 1300–700 B.C.), the façade of T was exposed, a time when the erosion of the wall, especially the upper part, took place (Pl. 51:d). By the end of the 7th century, however, after the period when the court of Temple B (Phase 2) was laid out, the façade wall lay below at least half a meter of deposit. Upon the Archaic level here and confined to the northern part (perhaps in connection with Building F on the east) were a few Classical sherds, but the next major habitation stratum, of the 1st century B.C., is the dump associated with the emptying of Building B to the west.

In 1985 we managed to clear the façade of T as well as the road, noting at the time that the gutter, found earlier along the northern side of the road to the west,⁴³ had apparently been covered over when the original retaining wall was replaced by another, set next to it on the south (Pl. 53:c, right). Little was found upon the road save a few small slabs and some earth with LM III sherds.

HOUSE X NORTH OF THE MINOAN ROAD (Trenches 11A, 59A-A1, 66A; Figs. 2, 4; Pl. 56)

The LM III strata begin with a series of dumps built up south of House X when it was in use, overlain by layers brought down into the general area by erosion of the hillside to the north. Aside from a few LM IIIB sherds above, LM IIIA2 is the latest date for the accumulations, suggesting that, rather as with the houses to the northeast at the end of LM IIIA and into LM IIIB, the inhabited areas shrank toward the shoreline on the west.

³⁹ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pl. 55:f. The road would presumably parallel T's façade.

⁴⁰ Trench 11A described in *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 147–148; 1978, fig. 4 on p. 161.

⁴¹ See below, pp. 240–250, for excavations in Building T itself.

⁴² E.g., of the walls of Room A1 (*Kommos*, 1982–1983, pl. 53:a) and Building V (*ibid.*, pl. 55:a, c).

⁴³ E.g. *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pl. 55:a at a.



Fig. 4. Actual-state plan of Eastern Area

South of House X, below the dump, we found what seems to have been originally a pair of spacious interior rooms (X8, X9, Fig. 4), 5.00 m. wide (north–south).⁴⁴ During LM I, however, the rooms became part of a court, furnished with a rough bench and simple hearth (in Space 8 [Pl. 56:d]), the latter upon a number of large slabs in the center of the room. A stone basin of the type that we usually have found (when *in situ*) set in an exterior area⁴⁵ lay in Space 9 to the east, in a corner formed by X's present south wall and the stub of an original cross-wall (Pl. 56:d). Upon the court were LM I sherds, and sandwiched between them and the LM III dump above was a thin but nevertheless significant dump of LM II date (e.g. C 7602, Pl. 58:c), adding another example of an LM I—LM II—LM III stratified sequence to the Kommos houses.⁴⁶ Inside the house to the north for the first time we found stratified floor levels with LM III upon LM II.

House X, of which an estimated one-third to one-half has been explored, was built in LM I upon Middle Minoan levels. If we assume that Spaces 8 and 9 on the south, and perhaps 10 and 11 on the east, were interior areas at the time, we estimate that the house was built next to the east–west Minoan road and any extension of the north–south road east of Minoan Building T (Pl. 57:e). We can point out seven of its later LM I rooms (1–7) but have only excavated parts of six. The central room, 5, contained a lightwell. The mass of pottery in its southeastern corner (Pl. 56:e) first gave the impression that we had found an LM III destruction deposit in an interior room, but the pottery is really part of a dump. The handsome fragmentary pyxis C 8001 (Pl. 58:f) is from there. The pithos lying on its side in Plate 56:e belongs with the same group. Like an MM III pithos from the lower hillside at Kommos,⁴⁷ it had an accumulation of bones of rodents, recovered by both dry and wet sieving, that had died within it.

The dump in Space 5 probably accumulated when inhabitants of near-by rooms threw their refuse into it. Originally, however, it was one of the better appointed house rooms at Kommos. It was entered from a large space to the south through a doorway that was eventually intentionally blocked in two stages, probably owing to disuse of the area on the south. At the south end of the west wall of Space 5 was a doorway leading into an interior room; at the north end was a window with a wooden frame set upon a sill of re-used ashlar blocks.⁴⁸ Along with the window, the discovery of a circular, disklike column base of red limestone, 0.26 m. in diameter, in approximately the center of the room, indicates that part of Space 5 was open to the sky, probably the southeastern corner from which the window would have borrowed light.⁴⁹ Here, below the later dump, was a slab pavement with a rough drain that

⁴⁴ The northern wall that appears rather like a buttress, the fragmentary wall to the south of it, the eastern wall of Room 7, and the wall south of the road's original retaining wall are all that remain. The case for an earlier destruction, followed by a cleaning up, is strengthened by the fact that the drain from the bathing slab, described below, empties into an internal bothros rather than simply through the exterior wall of Room 6. Only further excavation, however, can resolve the issue.

⁴⁵ E.g. during re-use of T (Fig. 6c) or in Rooms 2 and 11 on the hilltop (*Kommos*, 1978, fig. 2c).

⁴⁶ For the first see *Kommos*, 1977, pp. 165–170 and L. V. Watrous, "The Relationship of Late Minoan II to Late Minoan IIIA1," *AJA* 85, 1981, pp. 75–77.

⁴⁷ *Kommos*, 1979, pls. 55:c, 56:f.

⁴⁸ For analogous sills with cuttings for the wooden frames see *MAMAT*, pp. 180–183.

⁴⁹ Small lightwells like this can be seen in the Southeast House at Knossos and Room 54 at Hagia Triada.

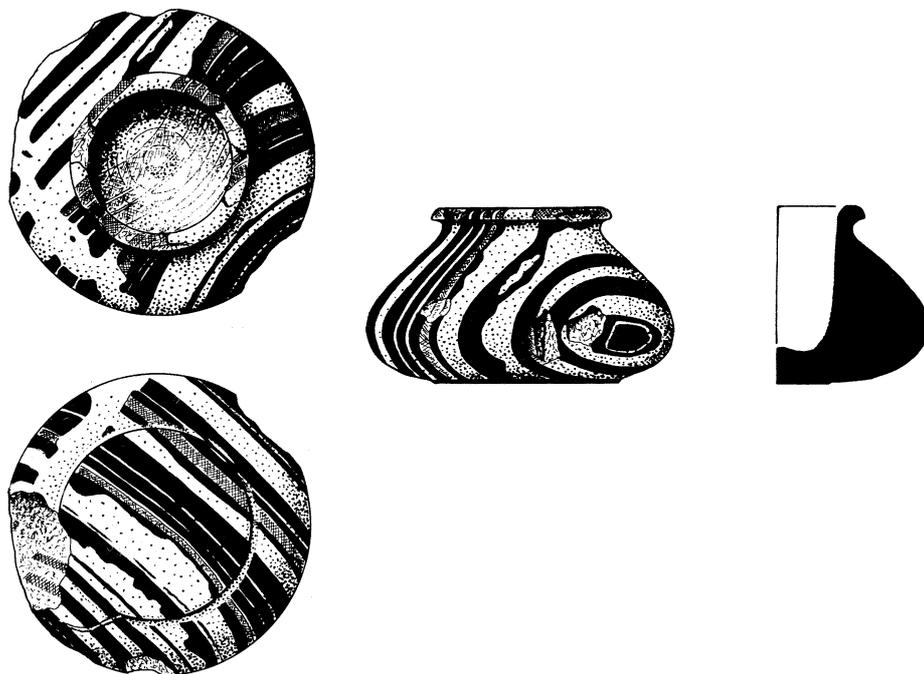


FIG. 5. Minoan marble bowl from House X (drawing by J. Clarke). Scale 1:2

probably led to a bothros below. As the pottery dump built up, the room may have flooded when it rained heavily, and this may be why in LM IIIA a flight of steps leading into Room 2 on the north (Pl. 56:e, right) was built leading up to a raised floor surface.

In Room 2 the LM III floor was at + 5.70 m. During LM II (and perhaps LM I as well) it was significantly lower, at + 5.00 m. Upon it was a scatter of stone tools and some twelve cups of which two conical and one semiglobular can be seen in Plate 57:a. A pithos had been set into the floor, where it was probably used for storage, a situation similar to that in two Late Minoan I–III houses on the hillside.⁵⁰ Just southeast of the pithos, upon the floor and below the LM III steps, was a squat alabastron of veined marble (Fig. 5, Pl. 58:d), the first LM II stone bowl, and at the same time one of the finest, from the Kommos site.

Little can be said at this point about Rooms 3, 4, and 7. In Room 1 on the northwest was an LM III floor with a hearth next to a northern wall of LM III date, all at + 5.72 m. Upon the floor was a good deal of LM II style pottery (including C 7964, an Ephyraean goblet stem; Pl. 58:c) and, tilted in the northeast corner, a bronze tool much like a sickle (B 301). Room 6 was of some interest, although only excavated down to the LM III level. Upon its floor was a variety of material, including a complete Ephyraean goblet (C 8119), a fishhook (B 303), loomweights (C 8021, C 8098, C 8099), a Cypriot flask (C 8006; Pl. 58:b) and parts of a Palace Style jar (C 8088; Pl. 58:e). Of particular interest, however, was a large flat slab (Pl. 56:d, f), 0.96 × 1.00 m., supported on three sides and tilting down to the west. On the east is a step up to the slab, and on the west is visible the channel leading from the

⁵⁰ *Kommos*, 1976, pl. 55:b; 1981, pl. 49:a, b.

slab through the wall to the lightwell (Space 5) next door. One can only interpret this installation as a bathing or washing slab, larger than but otherwise similar to installations in two houses to the north.⁵¹ The water that spilled down upon the slab and ran out through the channel would then have disappeared into the bothros. In the other two examples noted above the water emptied outdoors.

At present only incompletely excavated, House X deserves further investigation. It has produced some fine small objects, and, in addition, its installations (the bathing slab, the buried pithos) add to our understanding of the types of Minoan living facilities on the site. Further architectural flourishes, such as a pier-and-door partition, might well be revealed to go along with the more formal lightwell with its column base of colored stone (the first noted so far at Kommos). Most important archaeologically, however, perhaps because the house is built on a lower slope, is the fact that it was convenient for the inhabitants to build up rather than to level the floors of the rooms. Finally, the erosion which occurred after the desertion of the house at the end of LM IIIA covered (rather than destroyed) the building, preserving for us Late Minoan II and III deposits stratified within (rather than outside) the house, a unique case at Kommos.

THE MINOAN ASHLAR BUILDINGS

The Exploration of Minoan Building T (Figs. 6a–6c, Pls. 48–54)

During two campaigns we have clarified the plan of that part of Building T which lies adjacent to the east–west road, especially the broad stoa area and rooms on the east. Fortunately, T's northeast corner was discovered within the expropriated area and not obscured, as it might have been, by Greek Building E on the upper level. Portions of rooms of T remain unexcavated because of the superposed Greek altar, just as, regrettably, the Late Minoan I/II Building R (Fig. 6c), underlying the Greek temples, cannot be examined.

The Western End of the Stoa (Trench 62A; Fig. 6d, Pl. 46:f)

In 1985 a brief sounding was made within Space 4, a small room built during LM III in the corner where LM I Buildings J and T meet. Our aim was to determine whether there was originally any communication between J and T. Our suspicion was based partly on the characteristic concentric, curved, door-swing abrasion marks on J's slab floor. At the critical point, the original LM I ashlar wall of J ends in a vertical line formed by three blocks (Pl. 46:f, just left of the meter stick). In the center are blocks, probably of LM I date, re-used in a variety of positions in LM III as base course for the rubble masonry set above them. The rubble walling below the LM III ashlar masonry also seems to have been placed there in LM III, plugging the gap.

Now that we know the width of the actual gap (1.69 m.) and put it in relationship to the scratch marks on J's floor, we realize that there is room only for a single door rather than

⁵¹ In Room O15 of the Oblique House (*Kommos*, 1979, p. 211) and Room 11 of the LM I house on the hillside (*ibid.*, p. 214).

the double one we originally imagined opening into J. Was there a threshold? We can only assume so, probably one not unlike that leading into J from the road on the north.⁵² A most likely candidate for the original block is the one now in the doorway leading from the south into LM III J,⁵³ then the western room of the court/room group N. That threshold block, 1.63 m. long, would fit neatly in the gap; and its door, as shown by cuttings on the threshold block, would have swung inwards in such a manner that it could have left the kind of scratch marks found on J's floor. Part of the back of T's wall was dismantled next to J in LM III. The reason for this may be that when in position the threshold block could not have been extracted horizontally from its walls from the interior of J, since the threshold slabs are wedge-shaped, the exterior faces longer than actual door-plus-jamb width.

The discovery of the door in Space 4 suggests an intimate relationship between Buildings J and T. We have known for some time, however, that T's orthostate wall was built upon J's krepidoma and therefore must postdate it. Also, the masonry styles and course alignment differ considerably, and if the builders of J had intended to construct a stoa adjoining it on the east, they probably would have used rubble masonry rather than coursed ashlar for a shared interior wall.⁵⁴ Yet the newly discovered doorway would not have been needed unless T's northern wall was being planned or there was a pre-existing wall there already. Building J is very neatly incorporated into T's over-all plan (as we understand it), even though J's southeastern corner projects into what otherwise might have been a large, evenly laid out, rectangular court, the type the Minoans preferred. The degree to which J can be considered a first stage of a much larger building project, therefore, is debatable; that it in effect became the first stage, however, is beyond doubt.

The Eastern End of the Stoa and Adjacent Rooms (Trenches 53A, 56A, 62D; Fig. 7, Pls. 48:a, 50, 53:e)

During the past two seasons three large adjoining trenches were excavated in the eastern stoa area, below the Greek levels discussed above, sloping out and down from the temples. A major result was the delineating of the complex, successive Bronze Age phases in this much used part of Building T, as well as the sequence of LM III phases that followed its abandonment.⁵⁵ Although major excavation had been carried out in the area before,⁵⁶ the over-all sequence of its development is only now fairly clear; it is suggested tentatively by the three successive periods of use during the LM I–II period shown in Figures 6a–6c. The two periods during LM III, beginning not long after Building T was completely abandoned in LM II, are illustrated in Figures 6d and 6e.

⁵² *Kommos*, 1979, fig. 12 and pls. 66:a, 67:a.

⁵³ *Kommos*, 1979, pl. 67:c, d.

⁵⁴ See *MAMAT*, pp. 100–107 for the Minoan preference for using ashlar only in exterior areas.

⁵⁵ M. C. Shaw was the trenchmaster for 56A and 62D, as she had been in earlier seasons for adjoining trenches 42A and 47A. She also shared responsibility, along with the respective trenchmasters and director, for the supervision of neighboring trenches during 1984–1985. Her insights as described in her reports and notebooks form the basis for much of my own summary here.

⁵⁶ *Kommos*, 1981, pp. 182–185; 1982–1983, pp. 259–274.

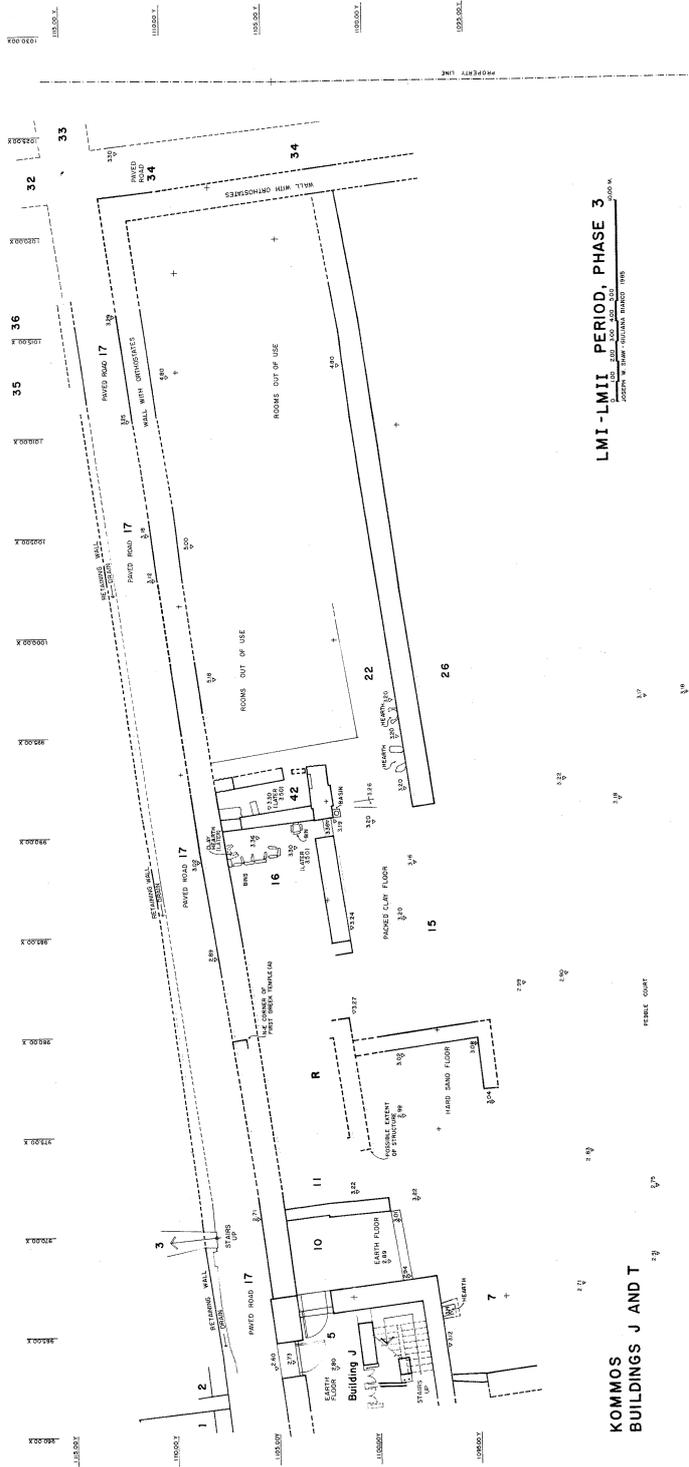


Fig. 6c. Conjectural plans of Minoan Buildings J and T: Phase 3 (LM II)

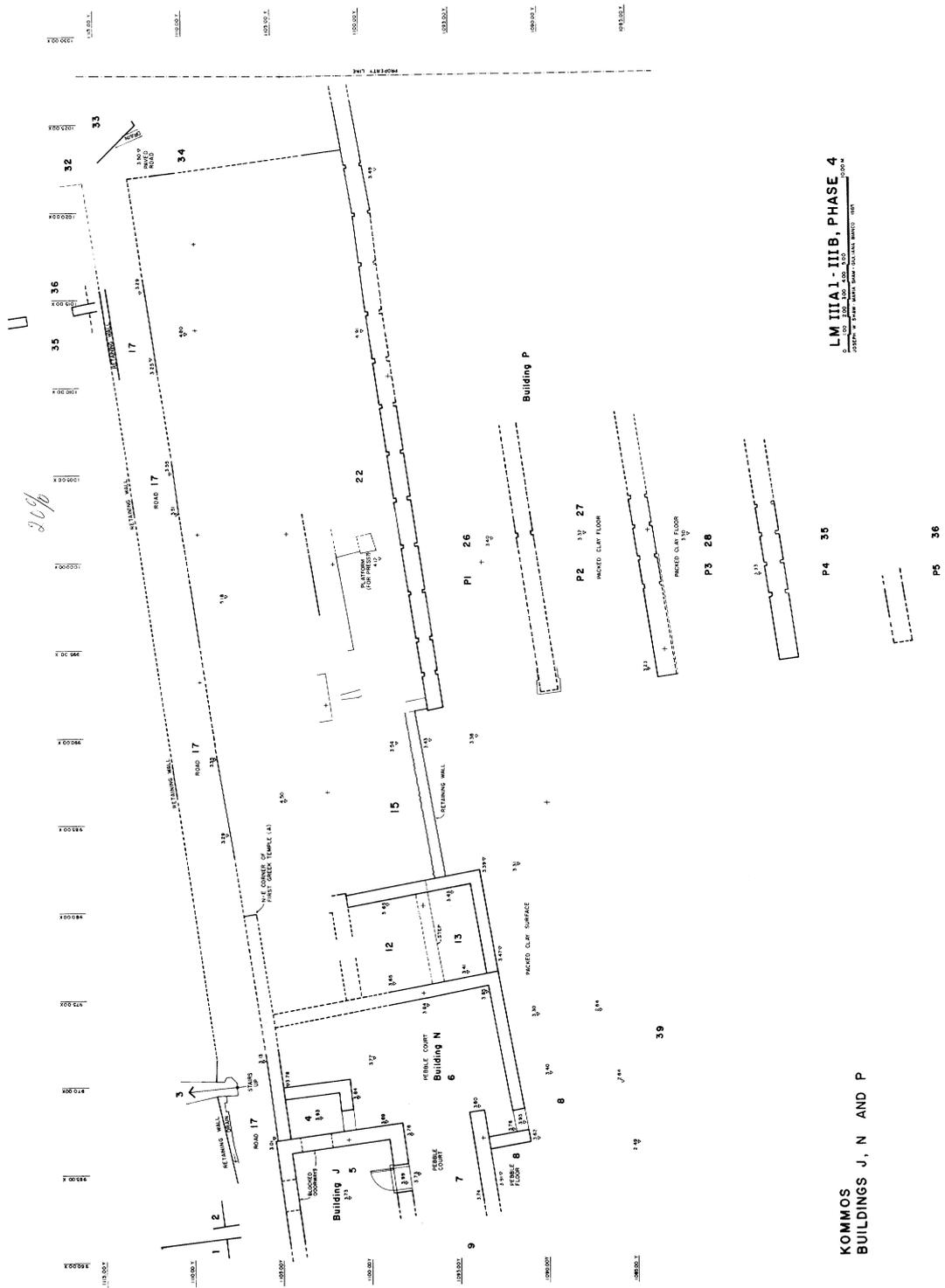


Fig. 6d. Conjectural plans of Minoan Buildings J and T: Phase 4 (LM IIIA1)



KOMMOS
BUILDINGS J, N AND P

LM IIIA1-III B PHASE 5
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

FIG. 6c. Conjectural plans of Minoan Buildings J and T: Phase 5 (LM IIIA2)

Perhaps the history of the area during LM I–II can best be understood if we present the separate periods as we understand them now, pausing to discuss specific architectural or stratigraphic features and the usually few small finds associated with them:

Period 1. (Figs. 6a, 7:Phase 1. LM I, probably LM IA.) In the first phase an extremely long room (20/22), 3.90 m. wide and 30.90 m. long, was built with one end facing a wide court paved with pebbles. The room, at least partially plastered and painted light bluish gray, has no evidence for closure (doorjambs, bases) on the west, like the galleries of its successor, Building P; but it has what appears to be a rough sill with its top at floor level next to the court (Pl. 49, right).⁵⁷ During this same primary phase, in the stoa area to the north a rough slab paving, found quite burnt and fragmented (Pl. 48:d, right) was laid down west of a north–south wall separating Spaces 16 and 42.

This wall is unusual, for each end (Pl. 48:b, far left, far right) incorporates a pier, similar to those in the large LM III stoa at Hagia Triada. The base of each pier is a squared block, 0.64–0.66 m. high. Upon it were set horizontal, and perhaps vertical, wooden beams that alternated with stone blocks in a half-timber method perhaps unique in Crete to the Messara.⁵⁸ The construction can best be seen in the northern pier (Pl. 48:b, left) where three of the stone slabs are still in place, although they all, especially the top one, have settled after the dissolution of the wood upon which they were placed. The wooden beams on the east and west faces of the pier were actually socketed into the back of T's north façade, an unusual bit of care in a building so massively but simply constructed. We think that the two piers, of a type not found in other interior walls in T (some of which are not even bonded to the east–west walls) require a special explanation; we propose that they were placed there to support heavy beams spanning north to south at ceiling level. Below them, we think, were a window and doorway (Fig. 7:Phase 1), both of which were filled in with rubble walling at a later period. The wooden window sill would have been set upon the two lowest courses, of carefully cut slabs, the top of the sill coursed with the pier blocks. It extended about 2.06 m., from the northern pier (Pl. 48:b at a) to where the squared slabs end (Pl. 48:b at b), at which point there would have been a wooden doorjamb allowing passage into interior Room 42.⁵⁹

Room 42, rather like an antechamber to Room 19, was provided with a small bench set against the north pier, next to the window (Fig. 7:Phase 1). Although not all of Room 19 could be excavated because of the overlying Greek altars, we know its approximate dimensions (4.52 m. north–south by 1.46 m. east–west) and that its only entrance was from the stoa and Room 42, guaranteeing 19 a privacy and security that might be reserved for storage

⁵⁷ The southern wall of Room 20/22 is constructed with a north face of heavy rubble (Pls. 49, foreground; 50, left) but with a southern face of finely cut, but poorly set, ashlar blocks for at least ten meters (Pls. 50, center; 53:f, left). This ashlar façade implies that the area to the south was open, perhaps a court, for ashlar interiors are almost unknown in MM III/LM I Crete. Moreover, we have not found an LM I wall parallel to it on the south. Again, only further excavation can show whether the poorly set blocks were being re-used in what was really an interior wall, or whether they represent a rebuilding of an LM I court wall during, say, Phase 2 of Building T.

⁵⁸ For the pier at Hagia Triada see J. Shaw, "A 'Palatial' Stoa at Kommos," forthcoming (footnote 2 above). For the general type, however, see *MAMAT*, pp. 167–178.

⁵⁹ The window would probably have appeared like that at Hagia Triada (*MAMAT*, p. 177).

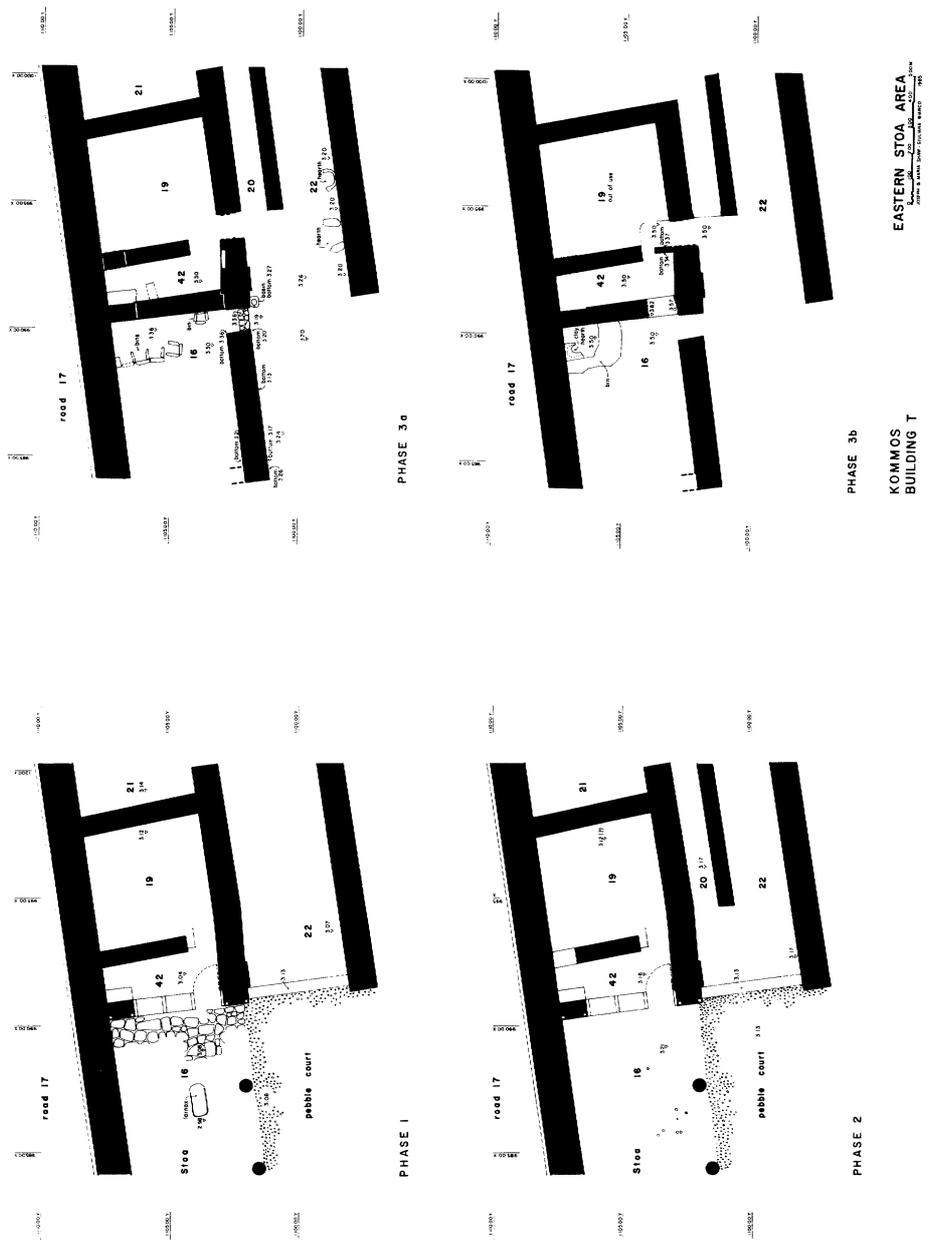


FIG. 7. Stoa use sequence (LM I-II)

areas of important material. As we learned in a previous season, its eastern wall was decorated by a colorful fresco with horizontal stripes,⁶⁰ perhaps suggesting a less prosaic function. During this same primary period at least the western part of the stoa was similarly decorated.⁶¹

Associated with the first floor were a number of unpretentious finds: a conical cup, perhaps used as a lamp, in Room 16 (C 8354) and in Room 42 loomweights (C 8270, C 8271, C 8313) and conical cups (C 8326, C 8327, C 8330). All were of MMIII–LM I styles with a good deal of MM and LM IA, a tendency noted when we excavated the eastern part of Room 19.⁶²

Period 2. (Figs. 6b, 7:Phase 2. LM I.) In this time of re-use the major architectural change was the addition of the thin east–west wall in Room 20/22, thereby creating Corridor 20. The possible significance of the change of space arrangement is discussed below (p. 254), in connection with the eastern rooms. A window may have been cut on the north between Rooms 42 and 19. In Room 16, at + 3.21 m., there is a burnt floor with cups and stone tools, as well as bits of large crucibles used for bronzeworking.⁶³ In Room 42 were conical cups (C 8220, C 8246, C 8247) and a bell cup (C 8248), as well as a crucible fragment (C 8311); there was a thick spill of carbon above them next to the east wall.

Period 3A. (Fig. 6c, 7:Phase 3a. Late LM I, LM II.) The rooms far to the east were out of use at this time, perhaps after a major collapse. If such a collapse occurred in the stoa area, which is likely, the resulting rubble piles must have been cleared up, for in Room 22 two hearths bordered by slabs set on edge, perhaps our earliest of this type at the Kommos site, were built at floor level against T's southern wall (Pl. 49). A scatter of cups and sherds of LM II style was recovered to the northwest. In the stoa the colonnade had been replaced by an east–west wall,⁶⁴ and the window/door openings between Rooms 16 and 42 had been blocked up. Room 16 was no longer a spacious stoa but rather an interior room. Access to 42 was only from the south, made possible by breaking through the wall into Room 19 (Pl. 48:e). A small platform was added against the west wall of Room 42 (Fig. 6c); another was added to the southeast in the succeeding period (Fig. 6d).

Now or somewhat later the floor in Room 16 was raised to + 3.30 m., and a four-sided bin of slabs was set into the floor against the east wall (Fig. 7); within and near it were found portions of a basin (C 8342). At the same time four three-sided slab enclosures were built northwest of the bin (Pl. 48:c, d; the slabs of the northernmost bin were removed in

⁶⁰ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 268, pl. 54:f.

⁶¹ During 1985 a limited probe (Trench 62C) in Space 10 recovered fresco fragments with alabasterlike variegation (part of a dado?), rich conglomerate pebble designs with blue, black, and occasional red highlighting, as well as fragments with parts of red spirals in low relief. These were found upon the original floor of the stoa (at + 2.79 m.). Above them were chunks of *chalikasvestos*, a lime and pebble mixture, perhaps used for the stoa's roof, found in T's LM I court as well as in that of a house on the hilltop (*Kommos*, 1977, p. 218. I owe this interpretation to M. C. Shaw). Among the scattered pebbles in Room 10 was found a fine soapstone pendant with an animal's head (S 1598), perhaps that of a bull.

⁶² *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 265.

⁶³ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 273.

⁶⁴ For details of the change see *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 273.

antiquity).⁶⁵ The floors of these enclosures were made up of segments of plaster torn or fallen from the walls, with a reddish claylike material used to smooth out the interiors. Pieces of plaster with colored bands of the type found in Room 19 (see above) are prominent. It is conceivable that such bands may have originally decorated parts of the walls of the stoa further west but not necessarily here where no plaster was found either next to or adhering to the north wall. The plaster was probably used to keep the contents of the enclosures from becoming mixed with earth from the floor. In each case a stone mortar was found (Pl. 48:f), varying in size and in the condition in which it was left, sometimes within, sometimes just outside the enclosure, sometimes upside down. The bins may, therefore, have been used to catch and collect the material being ground, perhaps grain, in a multiple installation without clear precedent on the Kommos site (or perhaps even in Crete). Individually, however, they are paralleled by the three-sided slab enclosures, sometimes containing pots, discovered in the house on the hillside to the north.⁶⁶ The room was reached from the court by a narrow entrance blocked partially by a rough wall, perhaps to keep the rainwater from flooding in during the winter.

Period 3B. (Fig. 7:Phase 3b. LM II.) At this stage, shortly before abandonment of T, Room 19 went out of use, while Rooms 16 and 42 were once more connected through a rough doorway created by removing blocks from the southern part of their common wall. The earlier bins were covered over by an enclosure about 1.76 (east–west) × 2.30 m. (north–south) in the northwest corner (Pl. 48:a). Within it was a burnt surface (at + 3.50 m.) on which was set a small, clay oven/hearth, between the west wall of the platform and the north wall.⁶⁷ A small, burnt jug (C 8282) was found in it, while a conical cup (C 8281) lay near by.

The LM I Pebble Court (Figs. 6a–6e, Pl. 53:e)

The width of the LM I pebble court is 28.75 m., from the eastern end of the stoa to the threshold leading out of the court just south of J. Its original north–south dimension is unknown, for although we think we have been able to trace it 38 meters to the south, to where P4 would be built later, it continues beyond our present property line. Much of its western border has been destroyed by the sea which has cut it away on a diagonal from northwest to southeast. On the north is Building J with its pier-and-door partition which was once part of a major interior space. Just to the south in Space 7 is a doorway opening to the west through the ashlar façade into what was once, certainly, also an interior space (Space 9).

A trench set on the eastern edge of the expropriated property has exposed a section of a north–south, LM I wall which probably was part of an eastern wing of Building T, prompting a reconsideration of the plan of the building that, only a year ago, did not seem to continue south of Space 22. Erosion, later overlying construction of LM III to Graeco-Roman times, and probably stone robbing, make it impossible, at present, to reconstruct the

⁶⁵ The following description is based directly on the report prepared by M. C. Shaw.

⁶⁶ In Rooms 4 (*Kommos*, 1976, fig. 6; 1977, fig. 4) and, perhaps, 12 (*Kommos*, 1977, pl. 37:d).

⁶⁷ The hearth is of the type commonly found in the LM houses on the hilltop, for instance in Room N16 of the North House (*Kommos*, 1978, fig. 2a) and in O12 of the Oblique House (*ibid.*, fig. 2b).

entire plan, but it is becoming clear that the large court was bordered by spaces of Building T on the east. Aside from the “sill” leading into Room 22 (Fig. 6a, Pl. 49, right), we have not actually detected any walls which border the court. The pebble court with its numerous phases has been of some use, however, in at least beginning to help us untangle the mystery.

This court originally sloped from northeast down to southwest (+ 3.08 m. [NE] to + 2.75 m. [NW] along its northern border; + 2.92 m. on the south in front of Space P4). Next to the stoa a probe revealed two surfaces, the earliest using a pebble and lime combination (*chalikasvestos*).⁶⁸ Small grayish blue and occasionally white pebbles acquired at the seashore near by were used for the court, probably tamped down to make it more solid. It averaged 0.20 m. thick. Along the eastern side of the court, on the other hand, three separate pavements were traced (Pl. 55:a). The first and least substantial layer is blackened, as if it had been burnt. It is clear from tracing these pebble surfaces here that there was not a simple north–south wall delimiting the court on the east. Instead, the outline may have been an irregular one, for at one point, for instance, the three layers of pebbles end evenly at an earthen surface 0.65 m. west of the slab pavement in Space 27 (Fig. 6a [cf. Fig. 6d], Pl. 54:c). At another point farther south (Pl. 54:e) there was a roughly circular platform formed by naturally rounded slabs, which was later surmounted by what may have been a rectangular base. To the east the blackened pebble layer covered over earlier surfaces and extended at least 5.00 m. eastward from a projection of the “sill” line in Room 20/22 to the north (Pl. 55:e at g, within later P3).

Predecessors to LM I Building T (Fig. 2, Pls. 55:a, e, 56:a, b)

Construction predating Building T has been known for a while through tantalizing bits of walls such as those of the MM I building below the court of N, built over in LM I (Fig. 2). The scanty preservation was partly due to the leveling on the east down to bedrock. In the southern court area and below later P3, however, we have found intriguing plaster floors with superposed compartment walls (Space 28; Fig. 6d, Pl. 55:b). Some of this area is shown in Plate 55:e: the northern wall of P3 is on the far left (at f) and may have replaced an earlier wall bordering a plaster floor with a “channel” in it (at b) of unknown purpose.⁶⁹ Upon the plaster floor, which lay on top of an earlier one, possibly of MM date, were a well-used hearth and an accumulation of a claylike red substance (Pl. 55:e, at a and d, respectively). The space would have been about 4.54 m. north–south, between “lips” of plaster-covered earth which sloped up to cover now missing walls (at e and h). Borders on east and west have not been searched out, but the western edge might be even with that of a curious pavement on the north (Pl. 54:c) which also has “channels”, a rather wide (0.16 m.) east–west one and another north–south. During a subsequent LM I period a series of lightly constructed compartments of unknown height (Pl. 55:e at c) and use were laid out in the southern space with thin lines of rough stones. When T’s court was built, these were covered over in turn by the first layer of pebbles, subsequently burned.

⁶⁸ J. Shaw, “A ‘Palatial’ Stoa at Kommos” (footnote 2 above).

⁶⁹ For the MM I building below Building N, see *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 220–221; for the channels originally discovered in a sounding in 1980 see *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 242–243.

A westward projection of the plaster “lip” at e in Plate 55:e aligns with the northern edge of one of the most surprising discoveries of the 1985 season: a finely laid walkway of slabs, 1.40 m. wide and 18.47 m. long as preserved (Pls. 46:b, 55:a). Both ends have been destroyed, by erosion on the east and by the construction of Archaic Building Q on the west: Q’s wall actually sits upon the pavement (Pl. 46:b: the vertical slab upon the pavement in the left foreground may belong to an Archaic hearth). The pavement follows the slope of the land, and if it was a walkway, it must have led down to the shore. It has two curious features. First, like the plaster floor to the east, there is a plastered lip (Pl. 56:b, behind the meter stick) suggesting that a wall may once have been set along the north side. No such edge occurs on the south, implying that the area there was open (a court?). The second curious feature is that, every 2.00 m. to 2.80 m., there is an irregular and very shallow gap; there are eight in the section of walkway preserved.⁷⁰ At the time of Building T, the walkway was covered over by all three phases of the pebble court.

To summarize part of the sequence observed here:

1. MM. These levels, detected in at least two places, remain unexplored.
2. LM I, early. The plastered room and the walkway, the slab paving with channels, and the later partitions.
3. LM IA. The time of the construction of Building T. The first pebble-court surface was laid down, to be followed by the rounded “platform” and then a rectangular(?) base, after which the third, final pebble surface was laid down.

Minoan Building T on the East: The Eastern Rooms (Trenches 57A-A2, 58A, 63C, 66B, 67B; Figs. 6a, 6b, Pls. 51:b–e, 52:b, 53:a–c, 57:b–f)

In 1984 one of our major aims was to penetrate below the Greek levels into the eastern rooms of Building T, discovered in 1983 when we found the juncture of the east–west wall of orthostates and a north–south cross-wall.⁷¹ In 1985 we also re-examined floor levels and explored much of Room 25. In the process we were able to investigate portions of seven rooms, all of which were filled nearly to the preserved tops of the walls (Pl. 52:b) with blocks that tumbled inward when this part of the building was destroyed, perhaps by earthquake, during LM I. Nowhere was there evidence, in the form of stairways or fallen room contents, for a second floor; we assume that like the stoa to the west, but unlike Building J, T had one story and, like all known Minoan buildings, a flat roof. Of particular importance is the clear evidence for two periods of use, the first ending after a major fire, the second involving what appears to be a reallocation of space in order to enhance security and possibly privacy. As far as we can tell, these periods could correspond to the first two periods in the stoa area (see Figs. 6a and 6b for these phases).

⁷⁰ If the gaps were used to drain the area alongside the walkway, one must assume a higher court surface, rather than a wall to the north, when the walkway was in use. The only parallel we are acquainted with is the raised walkway in the MM II(?), west court of the Phaistos palace where the 1.10 m. wide pavement is marked by similar channels at five-meter intervals (L. Pernier and L. Banti, *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs II*, Rome 1951, large separate plan of western court of first palace).

⁷¹ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pl. 55:f.

Period 1 (Fig. 6a). The major eastern rooms (Pls. 51:c, 52:b) were first laid out on either side of a heavy wall that divided much of the area of T like a spine, with spans of 4.50–4.56 m. on the north and 3.90 m. on the south. The rooms were plastered, a salmon pink being preferred for the north and south walls of Rooms 23 and 24; a striped fresco similar to that in Room 19 to the west may have been painted on the east wall of Room 23 (a few fragments were found in the earth next to the wall). A patch of unpainted white plaster was found on the south wall of Room 24. A grayish blue was used, apparently, on all walls throughout the 20/22/25 area. Many large fragments of the last were found fallen upon the later, upper floors (Pl. 53:b, upper left). Each of the two major eastern rooms (24, 25) was subdivided by a thin, rather poorly built wall that might be interpreted as an afterthought if it were not so solidly based on the original floor. The long, narrow rooms that resulted are very similar to what elsewhere are often identified as storerooms (Fig. 11); owing to the lack of threshold for a separating doorway between each pair of rooms, they are designated “a” and “b”.

A few conical cups were found on that part of the first floor that was cleared in Room 25 (Pl. 53:a, b). Of greatest interest, however, is a solid black layer of carbonized material beginning in the far eastern part of Room 20 and becoming thicker as it continues into Room 25. This could only have resulted from a major burning, to an extent not encountered elsewhere at Kommos (Pl. 53:a: the burnt layer shown is 0.20–0.25 m. thick). In the western part of 25b (Pl. 53:b) we recovered the form of a round, carbonized beam, *ca.* 0.08 m. in diameter, that had burned either as it was, set into the floor or, more likely, as part of the ceiling structure that collapsed into the room, the weight of the mass pushing the burning timber down into the soft, earth floor.

In 24a and 24b there was also a layer of carbon on the floor, 0.08 m. thick on the south but negligible in 24a next to T’s façade wall, suggesting that the center of the fire was to the southeast. The original floor, partly destroyed by an Archaic Greek well that had also removed part of the southern wall of 24b, had been laid upon a layer of sand (0.10–0.15 m. thick) spread upon bedrock to serve as a leveling layer, apparently in order to establish the general floor level. Upon the floor itself were a few cups (e.g. C 7472, C 7473), a bowl fragment, and part of a closed vessel. Below it was recovered a small Middle Minoan clay figurine (C 7484), perhaps of a monkey.

In Room 23 to the east the burnt layer, although thick at its eastern entrance, became thinner until it disappeared to the west. Scattered upon the floor was an assortment of cups (C 7510, C 7612, C 7613, C 7650–C 7654), a miniature jug (C 7511) and a number of pithos fragments. In the northeastern part of Room 20 was a thick layer of carbon sloping up from 0.02 m. to 0.18 m. on the east. Further south (below the floor of later Room 29) were found fragments of a number of conical cups (e.g. C 8136, C 8137) and a group of 16 loomweights, so close to the bedrock, however, that they may not be associated with room use (Pl. 51:e). Lying near them was a fragment of a large clay slab or basin of the type found in many areas of T, always fragmentary and usually in secondary contexts.⁷²

⁷² *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pp. 265, 268.

There was no trace here of the massive burning, although the grayish blue plaster found along the south wall of Space 20 was uniformly sooty in appearance. Either the room had been cleaned up, or, more likely, the burning had been confined to the easternmost rooms. One would have expected to find some of the charcoal on the floor with the loomweights since there was at one time a doorway leading into 25b as well as 25a. The blocking of the door (giving Room 25 only a single access like Room 24), therefore, was probably carried out during Period 1 before the fire (Pl. 53:a, left).

Period 2 (Fig. 6b). After the burning a major change was made with the addition of a very long, thin (0.55 m.) east–west wall in Room 20/22. This created a hall-like space (Room 22) from which a small room (29) was now partitioned off. Of more importance, however, the narrow corridor remaining, Room 20, now gave exclusive access to Rooms 21, and 23–25. It is tempting to speculate that the fire resulted from some carelessness and that the new wall was built as further means of security and to minimize the possibility of a similar accident in the future. The carbonized remains from the fire, in any case, were evened off where they were thickest, in Room 25, and formed the lower part of an upper floor layer about 0.30 m. thick. A few conical cups (Pl. 53:b) and a large sheet of the grayish blue plaster, probably part of the room’s original decoration, were found on the floor of 25b. In near-by Room 20 were more fallen fragments of the same painted plaster, and upside down in the northern doorway into Room 21 was a kalathos (C 7649). In Room 24 were a few conical cups upon a rather soft floor with a few beach pebbles, a pattern repeated in 23 to the west, where there were many conical cups and pithos fragments above and within the otherwise rather insubstantial earth floor.

The Eastern Façade of T and the Crossroads (Trenches 60A, 62E, 67A1; Figs. 6a–6e, Pls. 57:b–f, 59:a)

In 1984 an exploratory trench was dug on the east, at the edge of the expropriated area and on the line of the façade of Building T (Pl. 51:d). The only available space for a limited probe was between Greek Building E and the precipitous sand scarp marking the edge of the expropriated property. The digging became more difficult, even dangerous, as we continued down. Fortunately, we found not only T’s northeast corner, much eroded, flush with the western scarp (Pl. 57:b), but also a series of LM I–III road levels. To simplify the presentation, the development will again be discussed by phases, although the complex stratigraphy and limited area here, and later to the south, leave some of the relationships unsure.

Building T was first built upon MM levels in early LM I, with massive orthostate slabs set on a socle or krepidoma (at + 3.70 m.), and with a paved road of slabs, some 2.25 m. wide, presumably set next to it on the east as on the north (Pl. 57:b). Only a small part of this first pavement was actually exposed (Fig. 6a, Pl. 57:e). There is a gutter along the eastern side of the road. One should imagine a major crossroads here, although the cramped trench and later construction above the road did not allow us to confirm either northern or eastern extensions.

In the second phase (LM I—LM IIIA1), a second slab pavement was laid upon the first, either in an LM I pavement renewal or during an early phase of LM III Building P to the south. One of the slabs has the common circular kernos design upon it, this one with 17 circles (Pl. 57:c).⁷³

In the third phase (LM IIIA1) two successive surfaces of extremely hard-packed road metal (of brown, clayey sand mixed with stones, sherds, and fist-sized stone chips, at + 3.60 m. and 3.70 m., respectively), were added above the slab pavement, obscuring T's krepidoma. A number of slabs were laid just next to the building's corner, while still others, perhaps a rough step up from the east–west road, were added later.

In the fourth phase (LM IIIA2, latest) a retaining wall was set diagonally above the road (Fig. 6d, Pl. 57:b–e), to keep the road clear, for it allowed passage around the northeast corner of Building T and is in line with the northwest corner of the crossroads. On the other hand it blocked immediate passage to the north and east, perhaps another indication that areas of use contracted toward the shoreline to the west during later LM III. The trench was not wide enough, unfortunately, to determine the nature of any construction to the east, including the extent of the diagonal wall to the southeast. As debris built up an ashlar block from Building T may have been set on end (Pl. 57:b and d which shows it repositioned by us to allow further excavation). At some point the end of this block was carved out for re-use.

LM III Building P (Trenches 56A, 57A-A1, 60B, 63A, 63B-B1, 64A1, 65A-A7; Figs. 2, 6d, 6e, 9, 10, Pls. 54:b–f, 55:a–d, 59)

The post-LM II abandonment of T and the LM III renovation of J in the form of Building N have already been partly discussed in previous reports. As compared with the LM III houses to the north, Building N seemed massive enough then. The discovery of LM III Building P, therefore, with a minimum floor area of *ca.* 1360 sq. m., almost five times as large, came as a surprise, both in 1984, when the north wall of P first appeared (Pl. 50) and later, when it became clear that portions of east–west walls of LM III date to the south actually belonged to P, defining its successive galleries.

Most of the walls and floors of Building P on the east still lie under meters of post-Roman sand overburden which, in turn, lies above sand and earth accumulations of the Graeco-Roman period. On the west, however, we have cleared a large area (Pl. 45:b), a process aided by the massive water erosion that had stripped away post-Minoan levels from above, south and east of Building Q. Above the uneroded strata, and sloping to the south, were those of sand many meters thick. After a major primary sand clearing down to a point safely above the latest ancient levels, we began proper excavation through the remaining sterile sand. Once its depth in a particular area was known, a front-end lifter was used to help remove it.

The north wall of Building P is well preserved, partly because it was less affected by erosion and therefore less exposed to stone robbers. It averages 0.95–1.00 m. thick, and it

⁷³ The date is unsure. Two LM IIIA kylix fragments (in 60A/50) were found above the lower, LM I, road, where they could be interpreted as either part of the original road metal or as debris that had fallen into the north–south gutter when the later road was in use.

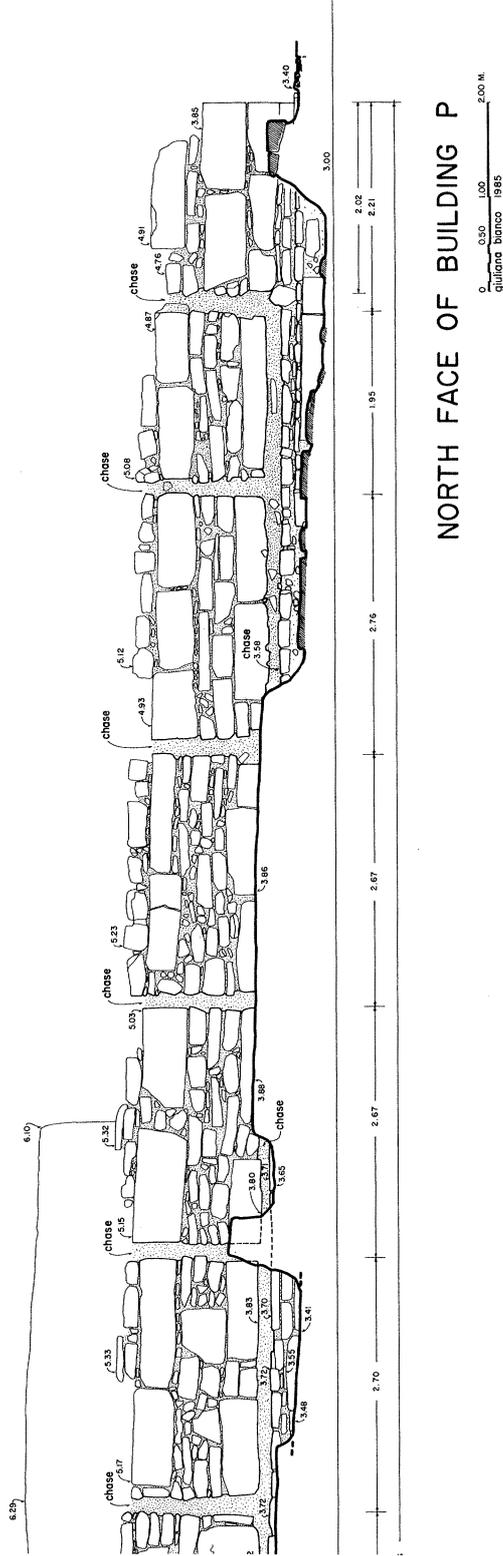


FIG. 8. Building P: elevation of western section of north facade

has been traced for over 35 meters until it disappears below our present eastern scarp. On the east the wall was of ashlar construction very much like that used in Building J's contemporary renovation on the west (Pl. 59:a).⁷⁴ To the west, where the façade of this wall was partly below ground level, which was quite high as a result of a leveling operation covering the ruins of Building T (Fig. 8, Pls. 49, 50), the builders replaced coursed ashlar with masonry strengthened by vertical and horizontal timbers. They did this on both sides of the wall, framing great masses of ashlar and rubble blocks re-used from Building T, especially from the parallel wall immediately to the north.⁷⁵ The western end of P's wall on the other hand was marked by carefully set ashlar construction which probably rose to roof level (Pl. 53:f).⁷⁶ Some of the blocks that had tumbled from the wall here were later used in the Archaic Building Q (Pl. 46:b).

The south wall of the first gallery of Building P (P1) was first detected in 1983 below the floor of Building Q.⁷⁷ Later, we were able to trace its westward continuation to the point in line with the end of the north façade wall (Pl. 54:a). Only the bottom course was found set into the earlier LM I court, the higher courses having been pillaged, perhaps by the 7th-century builders in this area (Pl. 54:b, d).⁷⁸

It was the discovery of this LM III wall which led to the realization that an already partly excavated wall on the south, at the same interval as that just described from the nearest east–west wall, might also end on a line with the court. This wall (Fig. 6d) had been discovered in 1980.⁷⁹ A trench was laid out to intercept it, and by the end of the season not only had a good length of it been defined (Pls. 54:c, right, 55:b at a) but portions of two more similar walls were traced, the last one just north of our property line (Pl. 55:c, f). The poorly preserved upper courses of the last rested upon a foundation that resembles LM I construction, but nothing more definite could be determined.

The northernmost gallery of LM III Building P (P1) was exposed in disparate parts since it ran directly under Archaic Building Q (Fig. 2). Part of the other galleries (P2, P4) could be seen south of Q. There may well be further galleries south of the presently expropriated area. Fortunately, the western end of gallery P3 could be excavated freely and allowed us to trace not only its floors but, through shallow soundings, the LM I levels below.

The north wall of P3 illustrates the type of half-timber construction used (Pl. 54:f). As preserved, it shows the surface upon which the lower part of a timber framework was set, like that for which the chases are more obvious in the better preserved northernmost wall of

⁷⁴ Cf. *Kommos*, 1980, pl. 53.

⁷⁵ One wonders why T's wall was not simply used as a base, as J's was. Perhaps the builders preferred the half-timbering method in which the timber frame was carried all the way down to the base of the wall. They knew that this method was not used in T, which had collapsed, and may have planned a stronger structure as a result.

⁷⁶ The southern block in the second course has an oval cutting that remains unexplained. Although the hole does not appear to be completely natural in origin, to have served as a socket for an attachment it does not seem sufficiently large or even.

⁷⁷ *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 281 and pl. 59:e, where one of its blocks was referred to as a possible “*anta*”.

⁷⁸ Originally it seemed that the pebble court was built around the base, but when the contradiction of an LM III building with a contemporary LM I court was realized, we returned to reinvestigate and found a setting trench with working chips in it around the base block.

⁷⁹ *Kommos*, 1980, pp. 242–243.

Building P. The framework was secured by wooden dowels joining horizontal timbers to the base, two mortises for which can be seen on the wall back of the meter stick in Plate 54:f.⁸⁰ The western end of the wall was set down into the LM I pebble court, upon an oval “platform” of rounded slabs contemporary with the court (Pls. 54:e, 55:a). Farther west is a roughly built rectangular platform, also predating Building P, of which the north side was plastered. The south wall of P3, supported next to the court by a large base slab, incorporated re-used blocks within the usual timber framework (Pl. 55:b at b, c).

The width of the galleries ranges from 5.48 m. to 5.96 m. (Fig. 10, Pl. 55:d). The length of P1 could be as much as 35 meters, but there could be a cross-wall at some point. None is visible, however, at the high level where we have excavated on the north side of the room. The regular width and uniform construction strongly suggest that the galleries are very similar in plan.

Two floors were found within parts of the three rooms we excavated. The first, of local gray clay or *lepida*, is hard packed and scorched in places (Pl. 55:b at d). The second is not as solid but is also of clay (Pl. 55:b at e). None of the floor levels had any features nor any fallen or abandoned material that would help interpret the use of the building.

Even more puzzling is the lack of evidence in the form of a cross-wall, jamb, pier, pillar, or column base to indicate that the galleries were closed on the west. Although erosion might have removed such evidence in places (e.g. the erosion gully, Pl. 55:b at f), elsewhere, especially west of the well-preserved northern gallery, it would certainly have remained. As far as we know, the rooms, so like galleries, were open to the court or outdoors area on the west and as such are unique in Minoan Crete.

In Plate 55:b it appears that the floors of P3 sloped down to the west. It is apparent, however, that the LM I pebble court was covered by a thick layer of clay. Where the LM III court surface is actually preserved west of the northernmost gallery (Pl. 53:d), court and floor are seen as even in an area that escaped erosion. The floor here was protected by the retaining wall built northwest of Building P against the LM II debris of the destroyed stoa of Building T (Pl. 53:d, left). At the same time, the *ca.* 0.20 m. gap between the ends of the parallel walls of T and P was plugged with a short north–south wall (Pl. 53:f, just left of the meter stick).⁸¹

Building P on the East (Trench 67A1, Figs. 2, 6e, 9, Pl. 59)

We expected that Building P would end in line with the east wall of Building T. Instead, the building continued eastward with a high, impressive ashlar façade on a socle imitating that of earlier T and extending an unknown distance into the scarp (Pl. 59:a). Building T was found to have extended further south than we had thought but was robbed out when P was built. T’s eastern façade can be seen to continue where P had been built upon it (Pl. 59:a, right). Of Building T, here only three blocks, probably part of the

⁸⁰ For the technique see *MAMAT*, pp. 166–185.

⁸¹ When P was constructed, a rubble retaining wall (Pl. 51:a, above) was built to hold the earth level on the east, covering over at the same time a large stone basin (Pl. 51:a, below), 0.82 m. in diameter. The basin may, during the latest phase of T (Fig. 6d), have been set upon the wall to the left in the photograph.

foundation, had been spared from LM III quarrying (Pl. 59:e). As described earlier, Greek re-use of Building P, down to a thick floor of sea pebbles (at + 3.48 m.; Pl. 59:d), had unfortunately left no trace of Minoan activity, unless the few bits of bronze found on that floor are Minoan.

An unexpected discovery was that of a stairway set alongside P's wall (Fig. 6e, Pl. 59:b, c). Originally there were eight stone steps, each 0.29–0.35 m. in height, but only six could be traced in the narrowing stair passage. Although Greek amphora fragments were found on the steps and we know that the stairway was used during the Hellenistic period, we are assuming for the moment that the stairs are Minoan and led up to the roof of Building P. The stair structure, however, is based about 0.16 m. higher than the original floor of P and so was most likely added in the second phase associated with the higher floor level. The restored drawing (Fig. 9) suggests a floor-to-rooftop distance of 4.45 m. Evidence for the lower part of the wooden framing to the left can be seen in the chases in the wall. The possibility that there was a window is suggested by a slab with a pivot hole still *in situ* on top of the wall, similar to those used in second-story windows at Kato Zakro.⁸²

In Plate 59:a one can see the paved road level (at + 3.44 m.), continuing below the krepidoma of Building P and therefore earlier than at least this part of P. Above it is a rather soft level of earth (at *ca.* + 3.70 m.; at a in Pl. 59:a), a later exterior surface that perhaps never became compacted by the passage of traffic since it was in an unfrequented corner. It is difficult, however, to relate the pavement to the road surfaces found after an interval of unexcavated area, only a few meters to the north and next to the corner of T. Here four separate road surfaces were found, two lower ones of slabs below two of hard-packed earth. At the moment it seems best to think of the road pavement in the southern of these two excavated areas not as one that was laid originally in connection with LM I Building T but, rather, one that was laid either after the initial construction of T or one built after LM I and, conceivably, still prior to the construction of P.⁸³

THE DATE OF BUILDING P

The LM III date of P is certain. Sherds dating its construction come from the packing north of its wall⁸⁴ and from its first floors;⁸⁵ they are no later than LM IIIA1, the period

⁸² I noted two while participating in the Kato Zakro excavations. One is set into the top of an exterior house wall north of the palace. The other was found fallen east of a stairway (M) in House H, a stairway of the "U" type that so often has a window providing light at the turn of the stairway.

⁸³ Taking T's sole as a guide, sloping as it does from + 3.70 m. on the north to + 3.66 m. on the south, we conclude that the drainage here was probably to the south. If so, then the upper two road surfaces belong with the soft level mentioned above. A sounding, however, was made below the slab pavement next to P and exposed only LM and MM remains without a second slab pavement. With which of the two slab pavements on the north (+ 3.48 and + 3.30 m.) does the southern slab pavement (at + 3.44 m.) belong? Unless we reverse the drainage slope, the top one must be chosen, leaving that below it without an obvious continuation on the south. In the sounding below the slabs (Trench 62E), however, we found a disturbed level (at + 3.12 m.) which could once have contained an earlier pavement, robbed out when P was constructed. The latter interpretation was suggested by M. C. Shaw, who made a probe here and who traced the primary floor of P under the staircase, showing that the staircase postdates the first use of P.

⁸⁴ C 7507, C 7697, C 7698 from Trench 56A1.

⁸⁵ P1: 56A/18; P2: 65A4/85; P3: 65A2/31, 37, 47.

during which Building P was founded and first used. A second stage of use is represented by the second floor and by the stairway on the east, during LM IIIA2, as indicated by the latest pottery from within the upper floor layers.⁸⁶ Whether P, like J, was used into LM IIIB, cannot yet be determined, for erosion and Graeco-Roman activity and accumulation have either contaminated, cleared, or obliterated Minoan floors and most court surfaces.⁸⁷

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOWER HILLSIDE AREA

The past two seasons of work have added to our understanding of the phases of the southern area.⁸⁸ In the Bronze Age levels, the discovery of the long, broad walkway leading from the shore to the unusual plastered floor and pavement with channels (pp. 251–252 above) demonstrates that the area where Buildings T and then P were to be built had already been used at least once before for important structures.

For LM I, we have for the first time at Kommos identified a major conflagration, in the eastern rooms of Building T. Although on a scale that one might otherwise expect to find in an LM IB context, it occurred during an early phase of Building T, probably in early LM I, but owing to the lack of floor deposits it is difficult to be more specific. There is, however, no evidence for a wall collapse then. Instead, we know that the same rooms were re-used until there was a major wall collapse, probably unaccompanied by fire; Building T was ruined to the point that its rooms were filled with wall blocks and portions of collapsed roof. Only to the west, in the stoa area, were rooms presumably emptied out and re-used (Phases 3–5 in Fig. 6).

The time when the collapse took place remains to be fixed more precisely by future study of the sherds scattered upon the eastern floors, but an LM I date is sure. Re-use of the stoa area during the same ceramic period implies, moreover, that the destruction took place before LM I had run its course at Kommos and at other neighboring sites and, therefore, may have preceded the late LM I burning and collapse so clear at Hagia Triada to the north. There is no indication that the collapse was caused by human agents. Rather, its very scale suggests an earthquake. So far, however, we have not found evidence elsewhere on the site for an LM I tremor, as we have in the MM period when the destruction was apparently so great that rebuilding was the only alternative.⁸⁹ One can point out, however, that that rebuilding could have taken place some generations after the MM collapse (the length of the hiatus remains to be determined) and that the sequence of Buildings T and P might present an analogous situation, although the LM I/II re-use of T is probably not paralleled in the MM III levels.

⁸⁶ P1:56A/16; P2: 65A4/75, 78, 80; P3: 36B/28; and 65A2/30, 36, 46.

⁸⁷ Above the one bit of LM III court remaining (Pl. 53:f, right), however, was a layer of sand with mixed Iron Age and Minoan pottery. Below that and upon the court surface, probably protected from erosion by a wall of roughly set blocks (Pl. 53:d, right), were many fragments of a Canaanite jar (C 8144) and a Cypriot Base Ring I jug handle (C 8154; Pl. 58:b). None of the local pottery was later than LM IIIA, which may indicate that Building P went out of use before LM IIIB.

⁸⁸ See also *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 284, with other references.

⁸⁹ *Kommos*, 1981, p. 172.

Another addition to our knowledge has been the discovery of stratified LM I/II/III levels in House X north of the Minoan road, confirming the sequences we defined in the dumps south of an LM house on the hillside. In House X the strata exist both in the exterior dump and within the house. As throughout all areas east of T's colonnade, here also we found little or no LM IIIB pottery, supporting our impression of a gradual desertion of the eastern area, including the north-south road on the east, while the seaside to the west continued in use.

The discovery of LM IIIA Building P adds substantially to our view of the appearance of LM III Kommos, when Buildings P and N replaced then deserted T. P, especially, was a worthy successor to the earlier tradition of major Minoan structures in the southern area.

Of the later Graeco-Roman remains, we note two developments, both occurring during the 7th century B.C. The first is the establishment of the Archaic court above the ruins of Minoan Building T but also extending out above the Minoan road and further to the north. This general clearing, the many small platforms set without apparent order on that level, as well as other features, suggest that the cleaning and leveling was to allow for accommodation for those visiting and using the sanctuary area. Archaic Building Q was built at the end of the same period, which along with the Hellenistic one represents the two peaks of the sanctuary's popularity. Building Q will require further study if we are to understand its curious plan, orientation toward the sea, and lack of side entrances. The imported transport jars found in and near it, implying extensive contact between the Western Messara and East Greek harbors, should inform more general studies of regional exchange during that period.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the past two seasons we have added to our understanding of the appearance and function of the temple areas during the millennium that they were used. But even this interesting part of the site's history pales by comparison with the emergence of vast Minoan Buildings T and P. The evidence for the form and archaeological history of the eastern rooms and southern continuation of T, as well as that for P's galleries, has been presented above. Here we can consider a few substantive aspects of their respective histories; each building introduces certain issues that are basic to our understanding not only of Kommos but the Western Messara and, by inference, of aspects of Minoan culture.

In the case of Building T, we now know that on the north and east it bordered an enormous court, 28.75 m. wide and at least 38 meters long. Because of erosion and possible removal of building blocks, we can only suspect that T was continued all along the western side with an ashlar façade. Within and south of J there was extensive interior space, and in one case there were pier-and-door partitions. More needs to be known of the wing of the building along the eastern side of the court, its plan presently lying hidden under the galleries of Building P. The end of the court on the south, unfortunately, lies beyond the boundaries of the land we can presently excavate, so that its exact dimensions remain unknown. We already know, however, that the court was rectangular, and if conforming in

proportion to those of other large contemporary Minoan courts such as the “central courts”, it might have been 62.29 m. to 72.05 m. long.⁹⁰

If this is indeed such a court, surrounded by a colonnade and other rooms, then the building could be another Minoan “palace” and the court equal in size to any other known Minoan court. Building J/T would become, as some already have argued,⁹¹ the fifth known Minoan “palace”. If T were to be shown to have had a palatial form, its role, I believe, might be rather different from that of other palaces. I have pointed out elsewhere, for instance, the striking contrast between the scale and technique of Building T and the houses of the Kommos town.⁹² This, together with its location near the shore, suggest that T’s role may have been colored by harbor activities. Moreover, T lacks some of the characteristics one expects in “palaces”, such as the familiar religious objects, masons’ marks,⁹³ and state or reception halls.⁹⁴ Finally, one might not expect to find another palace, usually thought to be a center of rule for a large area, so close to Phaistos and with a central court of roughly the same size.

Building P, as restored with its great galleries in Figure 10, also invites questions. Although its two phases of use are well defined, its plan is known only partially; we do not know how far it continued to either east or south. The galleries, nevertheless, form a coherent plan that we can discuss at least provisionally. In Figure 11 we provide some parallels from buildings in Crete, the Mycenaean Mainland, Asia Minor, Egypt, the Syro-Palestinian area, North Africa, and Roman Italy, the latter two from Graeco-Roman times.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ The estimate is based on the proportions, widths to lengths, at Zakros (12.09 × 30.30 m.), Malia (22.275 × 48 m.), Phaistos (22.25 × 51.70 m.), and Knossos (24 × 52 m.). For Zakros see J. W. Graham, “Further Notes on the Minoan Foot,” *Acta of the Second International Cretological Congress*, Athens 1967, pp. 157–165, esp. p. 162; for Malia, J. W. Graham, “The Central Court as the Minoan Bull Ring,” *AJA* 61, 1957, pp. 255–262, esp. p. 255, and *idem*. “Windows, Recesses and the Piano Nobile in Minoan Palaces,” *AJA* 64, 1960, pp. 329–341, esp. p. 341; for Phaistos, *ibid.*, p. 339. The Knossian dimensions were scaled off the published plan, S. Hood and W. Taylor, *The Bronze Age Palace at Knossos* (BSA Supplementary Volume 13), London 1981.

Another, although faint, possibility is that the east–west dimension of the court represents its longer measurement. Taking 28.75 m. as a length, the width could then range from 11.47 m. to 13.27 m., and with its east–west orientation the court arrangement would not be unlike that at LM I–II Plati in the Lasithi Plain (J. W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete*, Princeton 1962, p. 71 and fig. 30) where the court was a little over 16 m. wide. One can also suggest an analogy with Hagia Triada, with its open “central” space. (The space, however, is not enclosed, is quite irregular, and apparently was not even partially paved until LM III.) The difficulty with this explanation is that no traces of an east–west cross-wall on the south have been found so far and that a pebble-court surface, presumably LM I in date, was found at the appropriate level west of the southernmost gallery (P4). Further cleaning could clarify the matter.

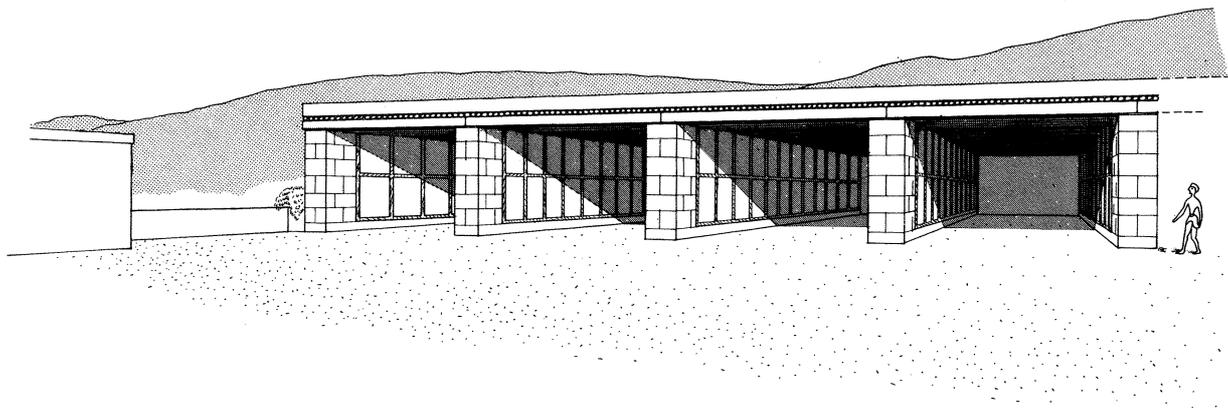
⁹¹ E.g. Betancourt in *AGMT*, p. 37.

⁹² *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 286.

⁹³ For a possible “+” mark, see *Kommos*, 1982–1983, pl. 55:b.

⁹⁴ If on the west, of course, they would have been destroyed by the sea.

⁹⁵ The sources for Figure 11 are as follows, from left to right: Knossos, detail of the West Magazines, after Hood and Taylor, *op. cit.* (footnote 90 above). Phaistos, West Storeroom area, after Graham, 1962, *op. cit.* (footnote 90 above), pl. 4. Hagia Triada, northern section of the great LM III stoa, after F. Halbherr *et al.*, “Haghia Triada nel periodo tardo-palaziale,” *ASAtene*, n.s. 39, 1977 [1980], general plan. Tiryns “stoa” area in propylon area, after K. Müller, *Tiryns. Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes*, Augsburg 1930, III,



KOMMOS

BUILDING P LOOKING EAST

JOSEPH W. SHAW - MARIA SHAW - GIULIANA BIANCO

1985

FIG. 10. Conjectural perspective restoration of LM III Building P from the southwest (J. W. and M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco)

Almost invariably, buildings with a series of relatively narrow, parallel rooms have been identified as places for storage of commodities and, sometimes, for sheltering animals. Some were magazines with pithoi in which liquids and other goods would have been kept, like those found at Knossos, Phaistos, and at Hagia Triada. The narrow rooms at Malia are undated but are probably Minoan. The latest research at Gla suggests that the buildings there are also storerooms.⁹⁶ The columned rooms at Megiddo may have functioned as stables.⁹⁷ Egyptian depictions of storerooms, such as those from the Ramesseum, often show ingots of copper, grain, storage jars, pottery, and exotic goods.⁹⁸ The *horrea* or warehouses at Ostia were intended for the storage of corn.⁹⁹ Those at Apollonia, on the other hand,

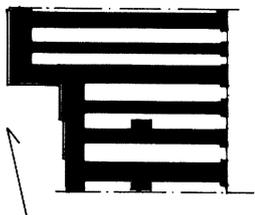
pl. I. Malia, submerged Minoan building near shoreline, after A. Guest-Papamanoli and R. Treuil, "Bâtiment immergé," *BCH* 103, 1979 (pp. 668–669), fig. 3 on p. 668. See also A. Guest-Papamanoli, "Discovery of an Important Structure in the Sea at Malia in Crete," *AAA* 13, 1980, pp. 99–101, where it is interpreted as a building connected with activities in the Minoan port. Gla, one of the two "stables" or storerooms, after G. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*, Princeton 1966, fig. 74, and S. Iakovides, «'Ανασκαφή Γλά», *Πρακτικά* 1981 [1983] (pp. 92–95), pl. 86. Part of the storerooms in Temple I at Boğazköy, after R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens*, Tübingen 1974, fig. 597. A detail of the storerooms next to the funerary temple of Rameses II in Thebes, after W. S. Smith (rev. ed. by W. K. Simpson), *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, Middlesex 1981, fig. 355 on p. 362. Megiddo, two of the "stables", after S. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo I*, Chicago 1939, fig. 3. Apollonia, a portion of the Greek shipsheds, after J. du Plat Taylor, *Marine Archaeology*, New York 1965, fig. 69. Ostia, northern part of the Horrea of Hortensius, from R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1960, fig. 22.

⁹⁶ Iakovides, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

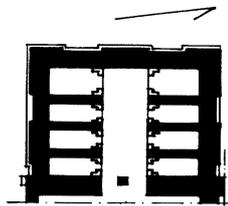
⁹⁷ See J. Holladay, "The Stables of Ancient Israel," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies presented to Siegfried Horn*, forthcoming.

⁹⁸ The tomb of Meryra, in N. de Garies Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, I, The Tomb of Meryra*, London 1903, pl. XXXI.

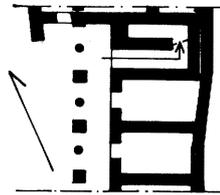
⁹⁹ Meiggs, *op. cit.* (footnote 95 above), p. 45.



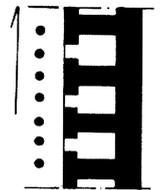
KNOSSOS
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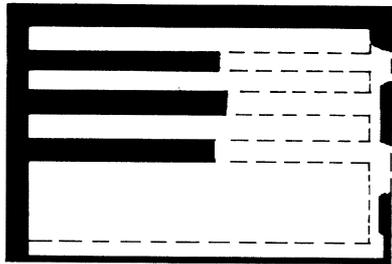
PHAISTOS
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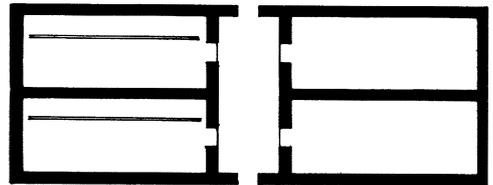
HAGIA TRIADA
XIV C. B.C.



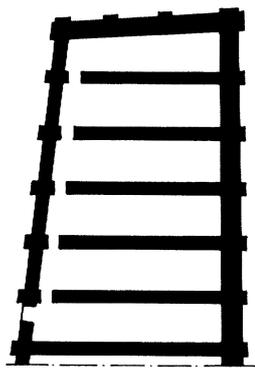
TIRYNS
XIII C. B.C.



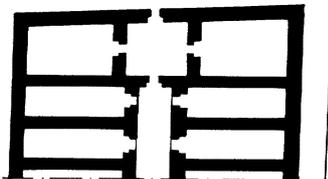
MALIA MINOAN BUILDING (UNDERWATER)



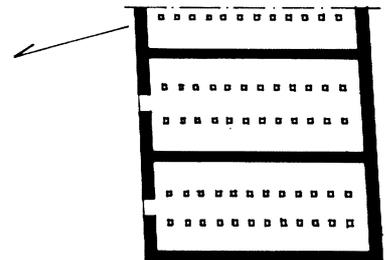
GLA
XIII C. B.C.



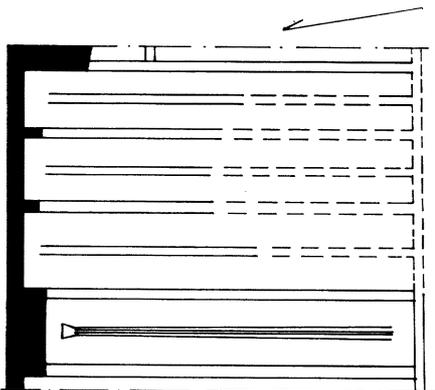
BOĞAZKÖY
XIII C. B.C.



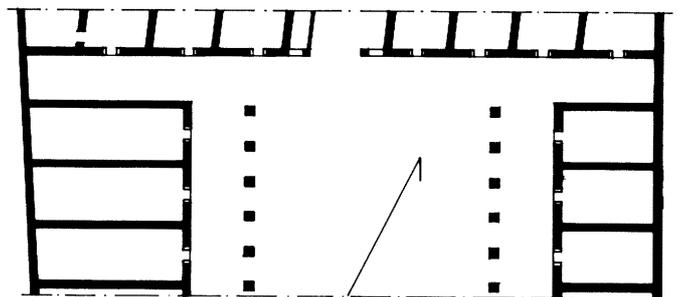
RAMESSEUM
XII C. B.C.



MEGIDDO I
X C. B.C.



APOLLONIA SHIPSHEDS
IV C. B.C. ?



OSTIA - HORREA OF HORTENSIVS
I C. A.D.

FIG. 11. Plans of various buildings with corridorlike rooms

sheltered warships. With the possible exceptions of the Malia and Apollonia buildings, partly destroyed by the sea, all the examples contrast with Building P at Kommos to the extent that their entrances are restricted either by a door or by a corridor, or both, whereas the galleries of P are completely open.

The plans suggest that the galleries in Building P could also be used for storage, possibly of local produce. Wood is a possibility, to judge from the extensive use of massive timbers in LM I–III architecture. It would certainly have been welcome in other lands such as Egypt where much of the wood was imported. On the other hand, timber, or even cut lumber, can usually be stored outside, rather than in an expensive roofed area. Grain could have been stored, for we know that great masses of grain were being collected at a still unidentified site (“da-wo”) near pa-i-to (= Phaistos[?]), the grain representing 10,000 units, the produce of between 2,000 and 6,000 hectares of land, enough to fill the entire central court at Phaistos to a depth of over a meter.¹⁰⁰ In order for the galleries to be useful some means of confining the grain and protecting it from rot would have to have been devised, as in the series of round granaries in the southwestern part of the palace at Malia. No such evidence was found, however, either in the form of confining barriers or elevating platforms. Further problems are the unusual length and width given to the galleries, longer and wider than any of the Minoan storerooms in Figure 11, which makes the theory of grain storage doubtful. The same might apply to the alternative of storing textiles and wool for export, an industry suggested by the great numbers of sheep recorded in the Linear B tablets (some 100,000 sheep, requiring one quarter to one third of Crete for grazing), providing a base for export of wool and woolen goods.¹⁰¹

In view of the lack of a satisfactory solution along these lines, it is worth considering a different theory proposed recently. The open, unprotected character of the galleries (if intended for storage) and their strange proportions (too long for their width) led M. C. Shaw to consider what might be stored in such large spaces that could not be easily stolen. One possible answer is ships. Estimated sizes of Bronze Age ships and comparisons with Classical shipsheds strengthen the possibility.¹⁰² She has also noted a possible depiction of such a building on the shore in the West House miniature fresco from Thera.¹⁰³ Possible contemporary parallels could be the still undated, long, parallel cuttings in the bedrock at Nirou Chani, identified by S. Marinatos as Bronze Age shipsheds on the basis of their proportions, size, and location next to a Minoan site.¹⁰⁴ There is also the very large, undated building

¹⁰⁰ J. Bennet, “The Structure of the Linear B Administration at Knossos,” *AJA* 89, 1985 (pp. 231–249), p. 247.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 236. See also J. T. Killen, “The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age,” *BSA* 59, 1964, pp. 1–15.

¹⁰² M. C. Shaw, “Late Minoan I Buildings J/T, and Late Minoan III Buildings N and P at Kommos: Their Nature and Possible Uses as Residences, Palaces, and/or Emporia,” *AGMT*, pp. 19–25.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 23 and pl. III:b. The building depicted is one story high with an exceptionally high ceiling, its rooms facing the sea. Another, similar building, also on the shore, is depicted in a fresco fragment from Hagia Irini on Keos. The façade consists of a vertical wall end (white [ashlar?]) and dark interior against a tan background. Near it men attend two tripod cauldrons on the shore next to what is probably the blue sea; K. Abramovitz, “Frescoes from Ayia Irini, Keos. Parts II–IV,” *Hesperia* 49, 1980 (pp. 57–85), p. 62 and pl. 6:a.

¹⁰⁴ S. Marinatos, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νίρου Χάνι Κρήτης», *Πρακτικά*, 1925–1926 [1929], pp. 141–147.

(25 × 37 m.; Fig. 11) at Malia, consisting of three parallel rooms (*ca.* 2.50 m. wide) north of another, *ca.* 6.00 m. wide, the last similar in general dimensions to a gallery of Building P at Kommos. The French archaeologists believe it to have been a Minoan harbor installation,¹⁰⁵ although its date is uncertain.

The distance from Building P to the shore must be considered, but dragging a ship on rollers or preferably on a sandy beach, over oiled skids, for 130 meters and up some 5–6 meters is not such an onerous task, as long as enough ropes and manpower are available.¹⁰⁶ It is to be understood, moreover, that such an operation would be carried out only once a year, at the end of the spring/summer sailing season. An analogous scene of bringing ships up from the sea is recorded in the *Iliad* (I. 485–486):

But when they had come back to the wide camp of the Achaians they hauled the black ship up on the mainland, high up on the sand, and underneath her they fixed the long props.¹⁰⁷

Some have objected that there are no Near Eastern parallels for ship storage within buildings, but we can now note that an inscription from a royal Egyptian dockyard of Tuthmosis III (1504–1450 B.C.) records the storage of a sacred boat in a boathouse (literally, store-room or storehouse) at a place called Resynu.¹⁰⁸

There may have been a major difference between the positioning of these possible Bronze Age shipsheds and those of the later Greeks. The Greeks built their shipsheds next to the shore, with one end of each slipway actually projecting down into the water, for the convenience of pulling the ships up the inclined slipways, but also to enable the sailors to launch their ships with dispatch, if an enemy ship should appear.¹⁰⁹ More to the point, however, is that the Greek shipsheds were usually set in a position well protected from the waves, within a natural or manmade, sheltered harbor,¹¹⁰ behind a sheltering reef (e.g., Apollonia in Cyrenaica [Fig. 11], a situation not unlike that at Nirou Chani in Crete), or within a cutting in bedrock along the shore, as at Sounion in Attica. In Crete the single shipsheds at Siteia¹¹¹ and Matala¹¹² typify the local Greek custom. At open, poorly sheltered Bronze Age harbor sites like Kommos, or Amnisos, Palaikastro, and Zakros, any building set so close to the shore would simply have been destroyed by the winter waves.

¹⁰⁵ See footnote 95 above.

¹⁰⁶ The vertical distance would be the present level of the floor of P1 (+ 3.36 m.) plus the two or three meters we now estimate for subsidence for the Matala/Kommos area since the Bronze Age. The horizontal distance is that from P to the present shoreline (80 meters) plus the 30 to 50 meters to be added when the shoreline was further out.

¹⁰⁷ Translation by R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer*, Chicago 1951.

¹⁰⁸ S. R. K. Glanville, "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III. Part II," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 68, 1933, pp. 7–41, reference on p. 37; and R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954, p. 159.

¹⁰⁹ For the Greek shipsheds see in particular D. J. Blackman, "The Ship-Sheds," in J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, Cambridge 1968, pp. 181–192.

¹¹⁰ Athens' Piraeus (Munichia; Zea) for the former, Aigina for the latter.

¹¹¹ C. Davaras, «Εἰς νεώσοικος παρὰ τὴν Σητεῖαν», *Ἀρχ' Ἐφ*, 1967 [1968], pp. 84–90.

¹¹² D. Blackman, "The Neosoikos at Matala," *Acta of the Third Cretological Congress* I, Athens 1971, pp. 14–21.

As a result of this last season of excavation, it is clear that at Kommos there are no known impediments west of P preventing the drawing up of ships,¹¹³ and the theory that P functioned to house ships, or ships and goods, remains the best available explanation. It is unfortunate that there is no evidence within the galleries in the form of ships' equipment or traces of use (e.g. provision for the keels in the floor) of the ships themselves.

While there may have been some independent Minoan traders after LM I, the character of the Linear B tablets emphasizes the controlling role of the administrative authorities,¹¹⁴ and one must associate Building P with an administrative initiative during LM IIIA which made use of a derelict public area, that of Building T, which had once probably been the major "civic" building at Kommos.

The nature of the trade associated with P and other LM III buildings in the southern area remains vague, although it is clear that interconnections between Cyprus and the southern Messara (via Kommos) were closer than ever, as shown by the presence of Cypriot and Canaanite wares in many different LM III contexts at Kommos. Connections with Italy, although not yet so strong, had already been established by LM IIIA1.¹¹⁵ Of special interest in this connection is the discovery of the 14th–13th century shipwreck off the coast of Turkey at Kaş, with its many tin and copper ingots, pithoi containing varieties of Cypriot wares, and Canaanite jars, as well as Mycenaean pottery.¹¹⁶ The close links between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean at the same time have recently been reinforced by the excavation in Egypt of the small offshore island at Marsa Matruh, the only natural harbor between Alexandria and Tobruk, where reinvestigation of a site known to have Cypriot wares has produced not only Mycenaean but some possible LM IIIA Minoan pottery as well. The investigator concludes that the island served as a port of call for mariners sailing from Crete toward the Nile Delta and the Palestine coast.¹¹⁷ Crete (= Kaptaru) was also frequented by Ugaritic ships, one returning to its home port in the early 13th century with a cargo of grain, a fermented beverage, and oil. Tin from the storehouses at Mari was picked up at Ugarit by a merchant from Crete.¹¹⁸

The material imported into Crete also remains uncertain. The commodity most commonly mentioned by scholars is metal: gold and in particular copper and tin. One suggestion is that during the period of Building P metal trade between Kommos and Cyprus declined

¹¹³ Only in 1985 was the court cleared. Two walls to the west, thought to be of LM III date, turned out to be the western end of Archaic Building Q.

¹¹⁴ E. Schofield, "The Western Cyclades and Crete: A 'Special Relationship'," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1, 1982, pp. 9–25, esp. p. 20.

¹¹⁵ The evidence up to 1984 is summarized in L. V. Watrous, "Late Bronze Age Kommos: Imported Pottery as Evidence for Foreign Contact," *AGMT*, pp. 7–11. See also *Kommos*, 1982–1983, p. 278.

¹¹⁶ C. Pulak and D. A. Frey, "The Search for a Bronze Age Shipwreck," *Archaeology* 38, 1985, pp. 18–24.

¹¹⁷ D. White, "Excavations at Marsa Matruh," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 131, Fall 1985, pp. 3–17, esp. p. 10, and "Excavation of Bates Island, A Late Bronze Age Egyptian Trading Station" (abstract), *AJA* 90, 1986, pp. 205–206.

¹¹⁸ Citations for both can be found in Y. Portugali and A. B. Knapp, "Cyprus and the Aegean: A Spacial Analysis of the Interaction in the Seventeenth to Fourteenth Centuries B.C.," pp. 44–69 in *Prehistoric Production and Exchange*, A. B. Knapp and T. Stech edd. (Monograph XXV, Institute of Archaeology, University of California), Los Angeles 1985, esp. p. 66.

and was replaced by trade with Italy.¹¹⁹ A recently published analysis indicates Aegean interest in Cyprus increasing in the 15th century at the same time that, curiously, Cypriot interaction with the Aegean, as measured by Cypriot objects imported into the Aegean, decreases.¹²⁰ Although at Kommos there are a few Cypriot imports in MM I–LM I contexts, there is a dramatic increase in LM IIIA, which should indicate closer contact.¹²¹ A major, unresolved issue is to what extent Cypriot copper, as opposed to copper from Europe or the Greek Mainland, in particular from Laurion, was being brought to Crete and during what periods.¹²² Future analyses of the metals from Kommos, especially the ingot fragments from the LM IIIA floor of Building N, may contribute to the resolution of the problem.

Regarding LM I–III developments in Crete, we should note that the recently published symposium on the area of the Western Messara (*AGMT*) has brought a number of general relationships into focus. It has been pointed out, for instance, that the character of population centers seems to change. Phaistos appears to lose its hegemony after LM I but regains it in late LM III; and Hagia Triada, with its opulent LM I houses and lower town, seems to become more of a regional administrative center in LM IIIA2.¹²³ The character of Kommos during both periods, however, seems consistent: the humble quality of the houses contrasts first in LM I with massive ashlar Building T and later, in LM III, with Building P. It has been proposed that during LM III Hagia Triada assumed an administrative role, with Kommos acting as the center for foreign exchange, the former represented by Building ABCD and the two stoas at Hagia Triada, the latter shown by the presence of Cypriot and Canaanite pottery at Kommos rather than at Hagia Triada.¹²⁴ Perhaps this commercial role is what explains the rather constant importance of Kommos in both LM I and LM III times, which stands in contrast with the more fluctuating character of the other two sites.

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¹¹⁹ Watrous, *AGMT*, p. 10.

¹²⁰ Portugali and Knapp, *op. cit.* (footnote 118 above), p. 64.

¹²¹ *Kommos*, 1981, p. 193; 1982–1983, *passim*, and P. Russell (*op. cit.* [footnote 2 above]).

¹²² Recent consideration of the complex problem can be found in Portugali and Knapp, *op. cit.* (footnote 118 above), pp. 64–65, and also in J. D. Muhly, “The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus: A 25 Year Retrospect,” in *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, Nicosia 1985, pp. 20–46, esp. pp. 38–39 where he questions the Laurion source since so far we lack evidence for significant copper deposits and appropriate Bronze Age settlements in that area.

¹²³ See especially V. La Rosa, “Preliminary Considerations on the Problem of the Relationship between Phaistos and Hagia Triada,” *AGMT* (pp. 45–54), pp. 50–53.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53. LM IIIA1, however, appears to be the date of Buildings N and P at Kommos, whereas LM IIIA2 is that proposed by the excavators for the structures at Hagia Triada. There is evidence, on the other hand, to show that LM IIIA1 was well advanced when at least P was built, but only further study of the pottery at both sites can help to determine whether there is a gap between the building of the two groups. Nevertheless, during its second phase, in LM IIIA2, P might have served in the manner suggested.



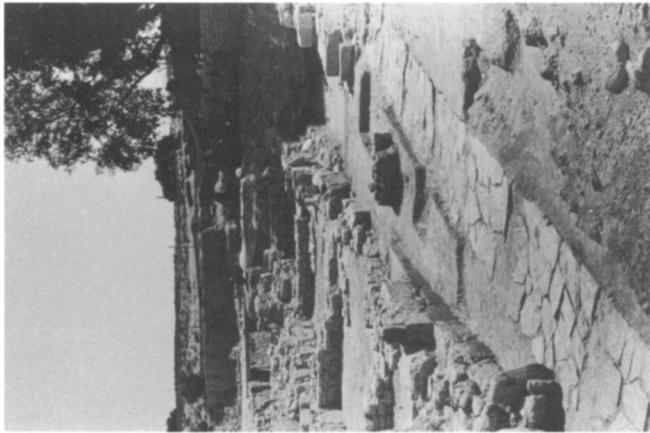
a. Southern area from southwest



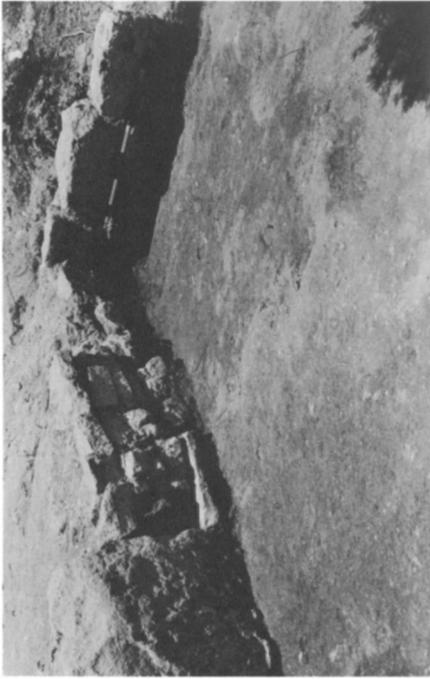
b. Southern area from south, Building Q in foreground



a. Greek Building W, interior from east



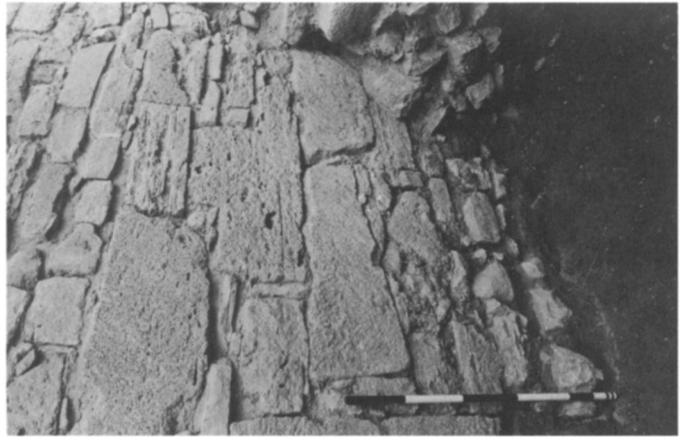
b. Building Q and Minoan paved walkway, from southwest



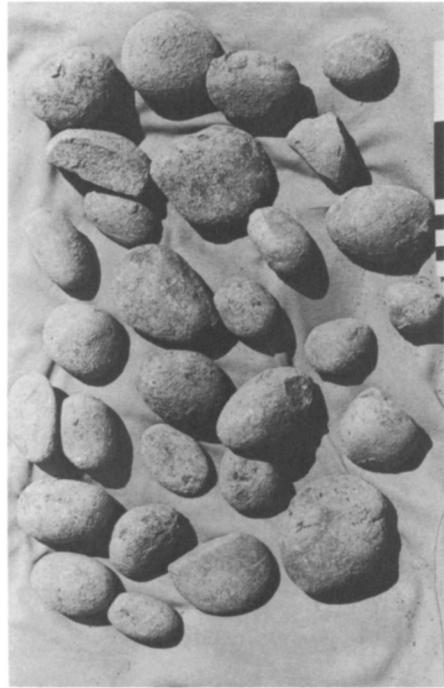
c. Building Q: westernmost space (40) from northwest



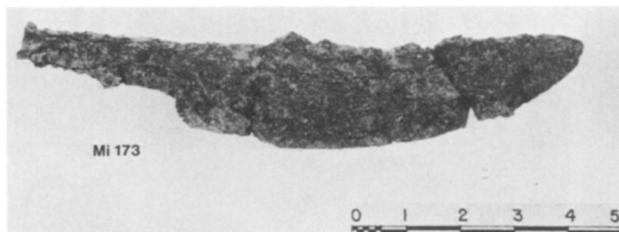
e. Building Q: doorway between Rooms 30 and 31, from south



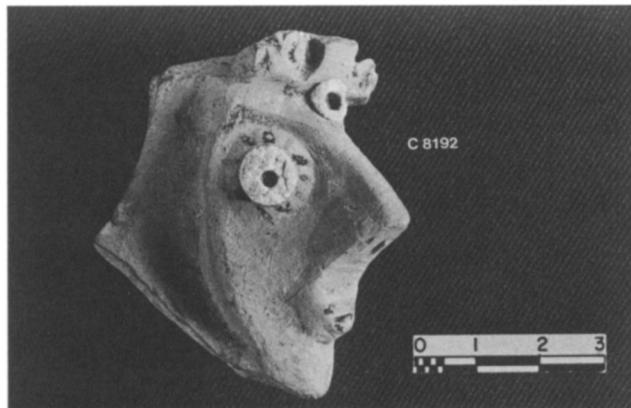
f. Blocked doorway in eastern wall of Building J, from southeast



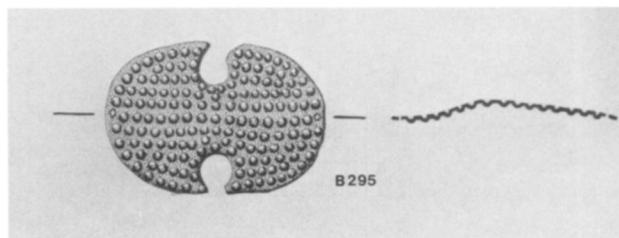
d. Cobbles/pebbles from exterior surface used during a late stage of Temple B



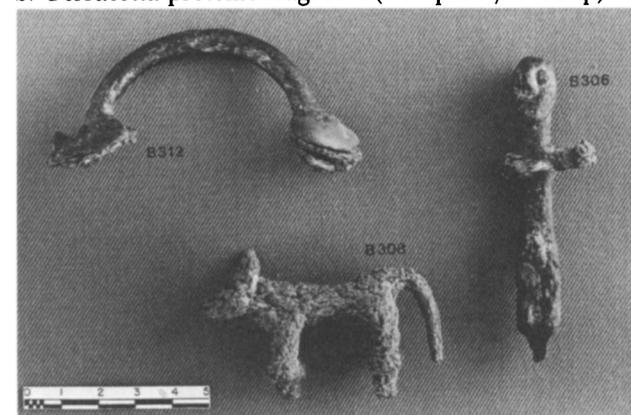
a. Iron blade (Temple B dump)



b. Terracotta protome fragment (Temple A/B dump)



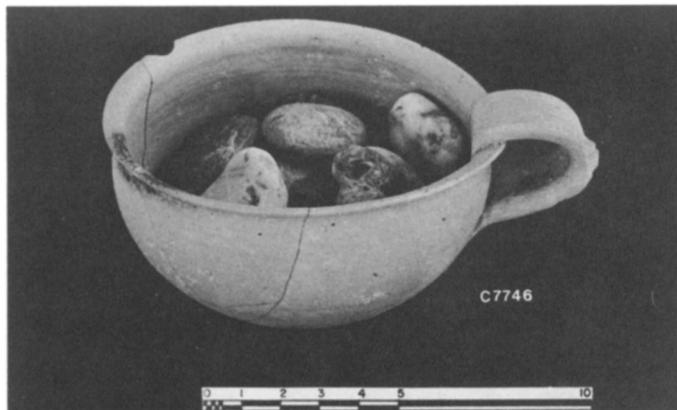
c. Bronze repoussé shield (Temple B dump)



d. Bronze figurines and handle (Temple A dump)



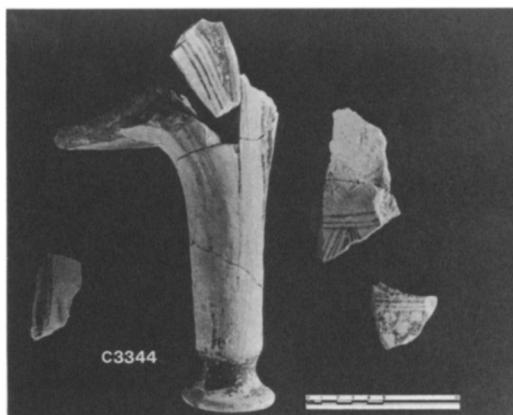
e. Terracotta horse's head (Temple B dump)



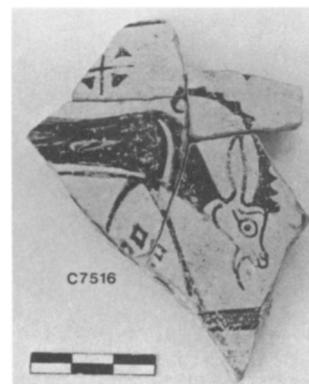
f. Hellenistic "Kommos" cup with pebbles, as found



g. Terracotta bull's leg (Temple C dump)



h. Terracotta bull's leg (Protogeometric dump)



i. Sherd of "Wild Goat" style (Building Q)



a. Space 16 from south



b. Space 16 from southwest

Eastern End of Stoa Area



c. Slab enclosures in Space 16, from northeast



d. Bin (upper left) and slab enclosures in Space 16, from north



e. Space 42 from north



f. Grinding stones from slab-enclosure area



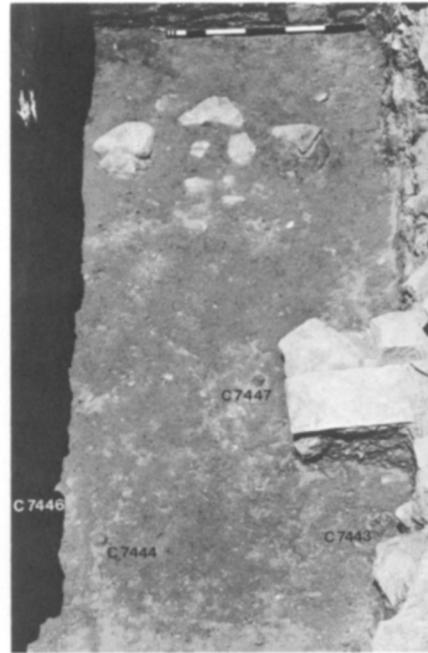
Building T, Space 22: LM II hearth (left) next to southern wall of Building T. Façade of Building P in background. From north



South wall of Building T (center), façade of Building P (right), stone bowl repositioned. From west



a. Above: LM I stone basin below LM IIIA retaining wall, next to façade of Building P (right), from west
Below: Same, after clearance



b. Building T, Space 24: floor with scatter of stones and cups, from south



c. Building T, eastern area from northeast (1984)

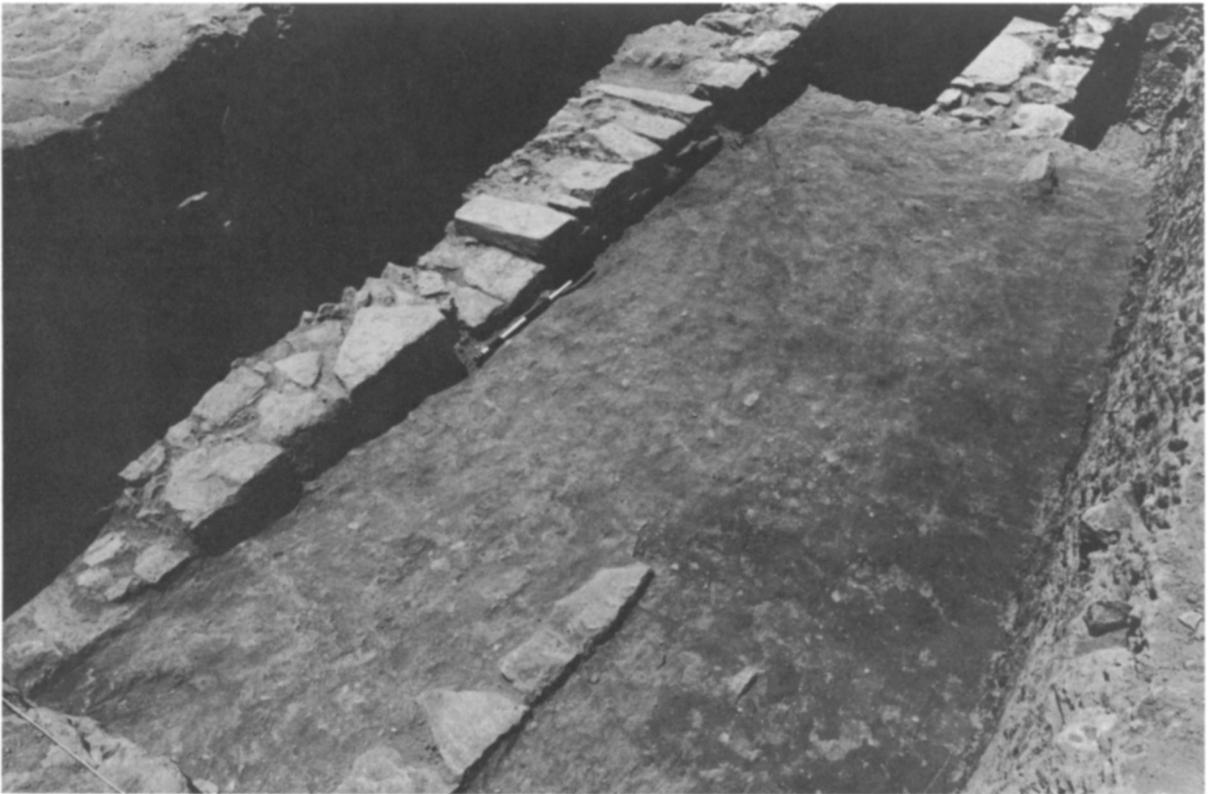


d. Façade of Building T north of Spaces 23/24, from north

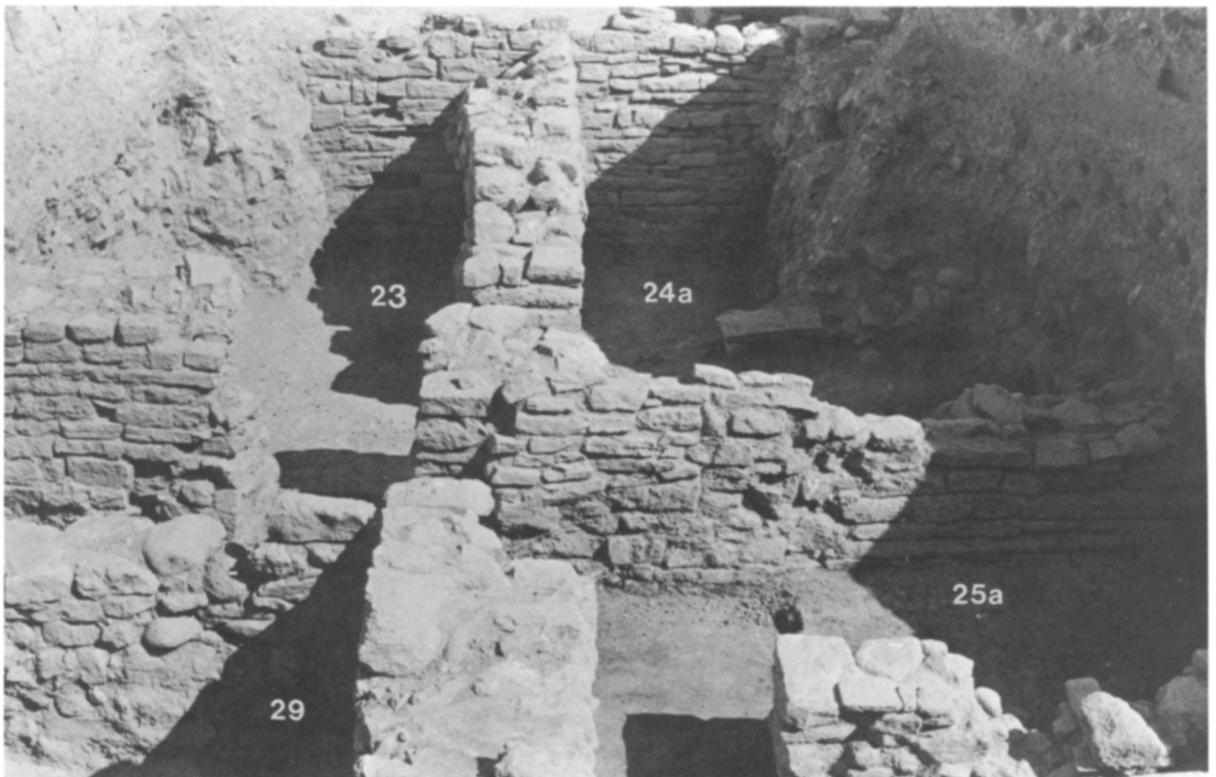


e. Building T, Space 29: floor with terracotta slab and loomweights, from west

PLATE 52



a. Archaic Greek court level beside north wall of Building P. Southern wall of Building T projects in foreground. From northeast



b. Rooms excavated in eastern area of Building T, from south (1985)



a. Building T, Space 25: lower burnt level exposed. From southeast



b. Slab road surface and scattered slabs. Building T at left. From east



c. Building T, Space 25: fallen plaster (below meter stick), scattered cups, burnt-beam impression (center) on first floor. From north



d. LM I court area: LM III retaining wall (left) and 4th-century retaining wall (far upper right)



e. LM I court area: LM III retaining wall (center) from southwest



f. LM I court area: LM III court surface (foreground), retaining wall (left) adjoining southern wall of Building T, end of façade wall of LM III Building P (center). From west.

PLATE 54



a. Court area before excavation: part of Building Q, Room 30 (foreground) and crosswall of Building P (at arrow), from east (1984)



b. Same as a: base for P's wall end (center) from southeast



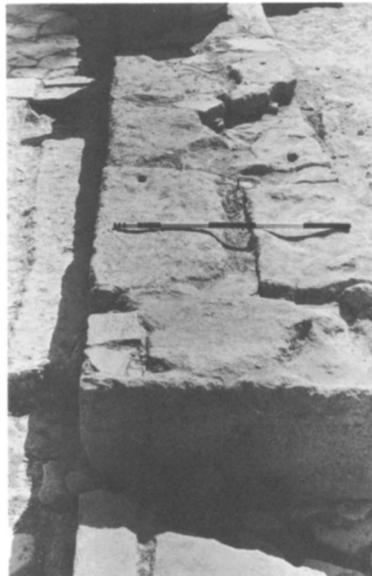
c. LM I pavement below floor of Gallery P2 (Space 27) from west



d. Same as b: detail of base from east



e. Building P: southern wall end of Gallery P2 (Space 27) and earlier platform, from northwest



f. Same as e: southern wall end of Gallery P2; dowel holes beyond meter stick. From west



a. Gallery P2: portion of “platform” west of south wall end, above rounded slabs. Three layers of LM I pebble court (left). From south



b. Gallery P3: walls and surfaces, from northwest



c. Gallery P3: portion of south wall



d. Demonstration of width of Gallery P3



e. Gallery P3: LM I plaster floor and compartment walls below P3 floor, from west



f. Western end of south wall of Gallery P4, from west

Building P



a. Portion of walkway found below LM court, south wall of Building Q in background, from southeast



b. Detail of plaster edge north of walkway



c. LM III rubble tumble above road, House X in background. From south

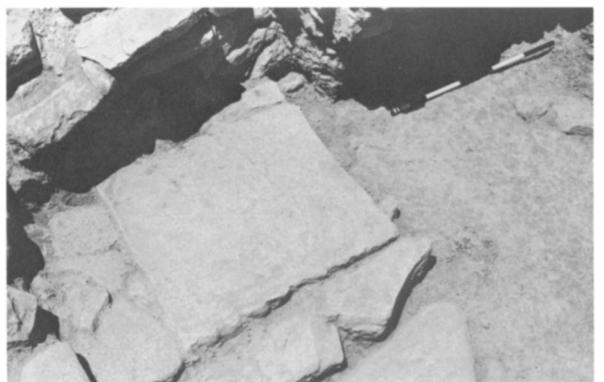
House X, North of the East-West Road



d. Rooms 5, 6, 8, 9, from south

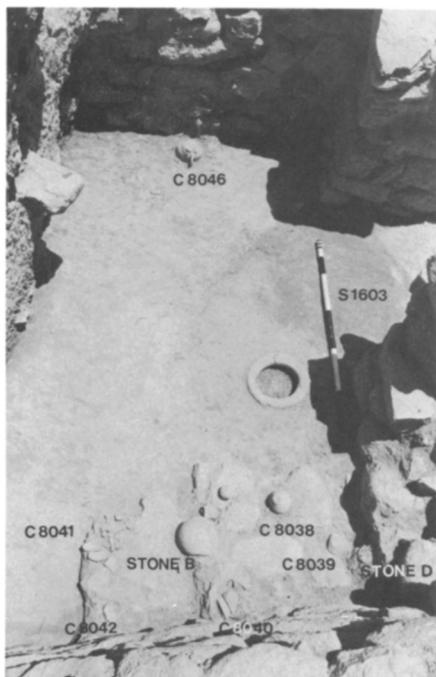


e. Upper level of Room 5, from south



f. Slab and drain (in shadow at left) in Room 6, from southeast

Eastern Road Area



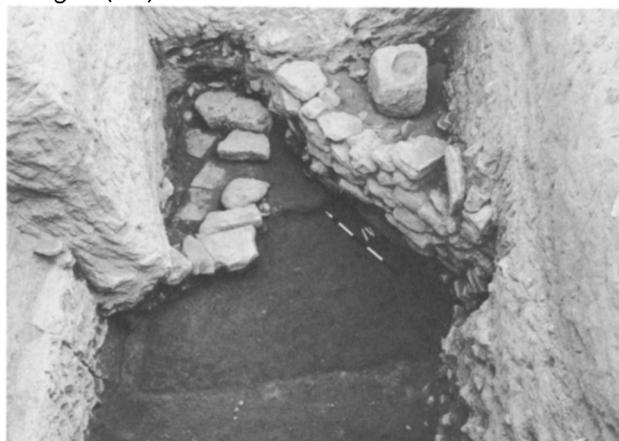
a. House X: Room 2 from west



b. Upper fill: LM III retaining wall. Eastern façade of Building T (left). From south



c. Upper slab road surface with kernos (center), from south



d. Upper LM III road surfaces from south. Ashlar block repositioned

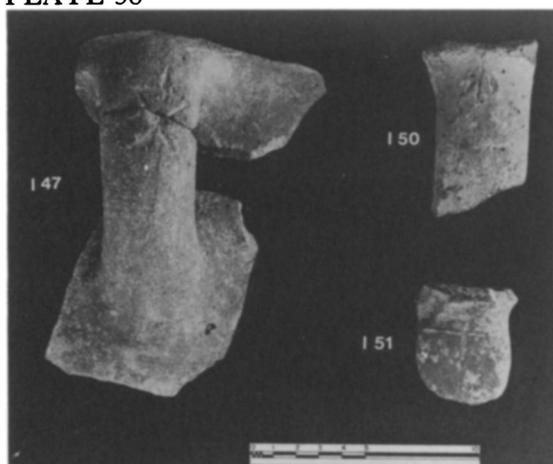


e. Detail of earlier slab road (upper surface at left) from south



f. Northeast corner of Building T, from southeast

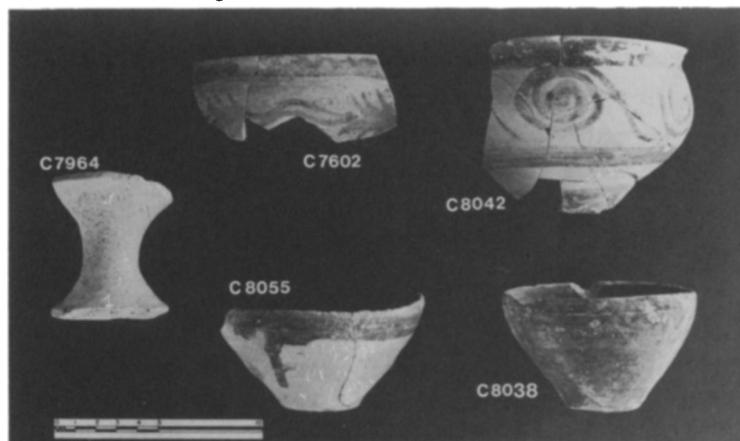
PLATE 58



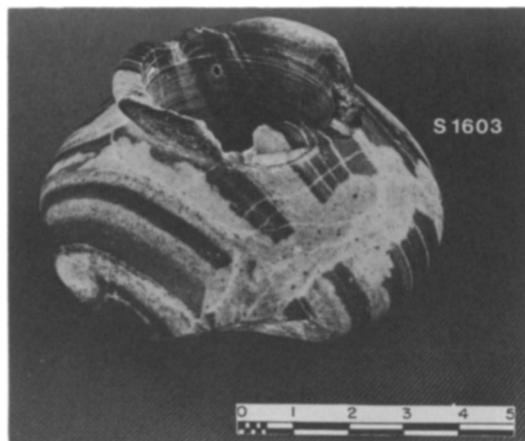
a. Canaanite jar handles with signs: from above LM III court (left) and just north of Building P on the east (right)



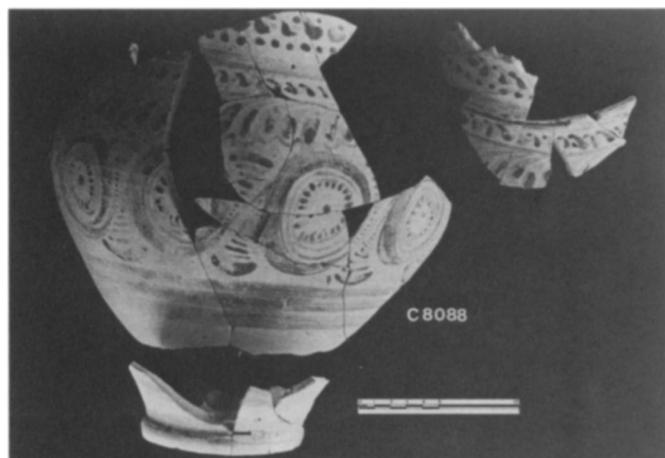
b. Cypriot jug fragments: from within House X (left) and above LM III court (right)



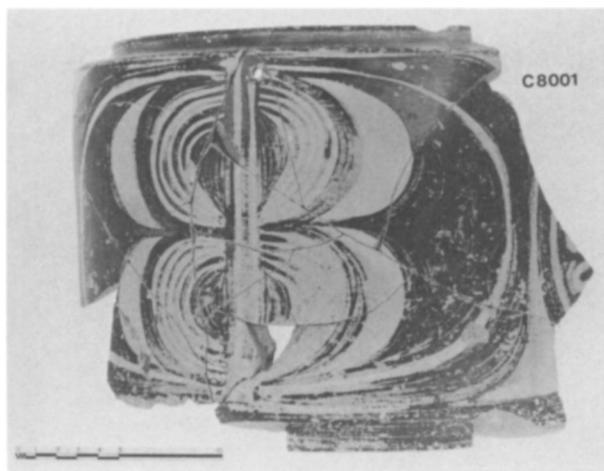
c. LM II pottery from area of House X



d. Stone squat aryballos from House X



e. Palace-style vase from House X



f. Fragment of pyxis from House X



a. Road next to façade of Building P (right) set upon earlier road (center) next to Building T (foreground), from west



b. North façade and stairway of Building P, from northwest



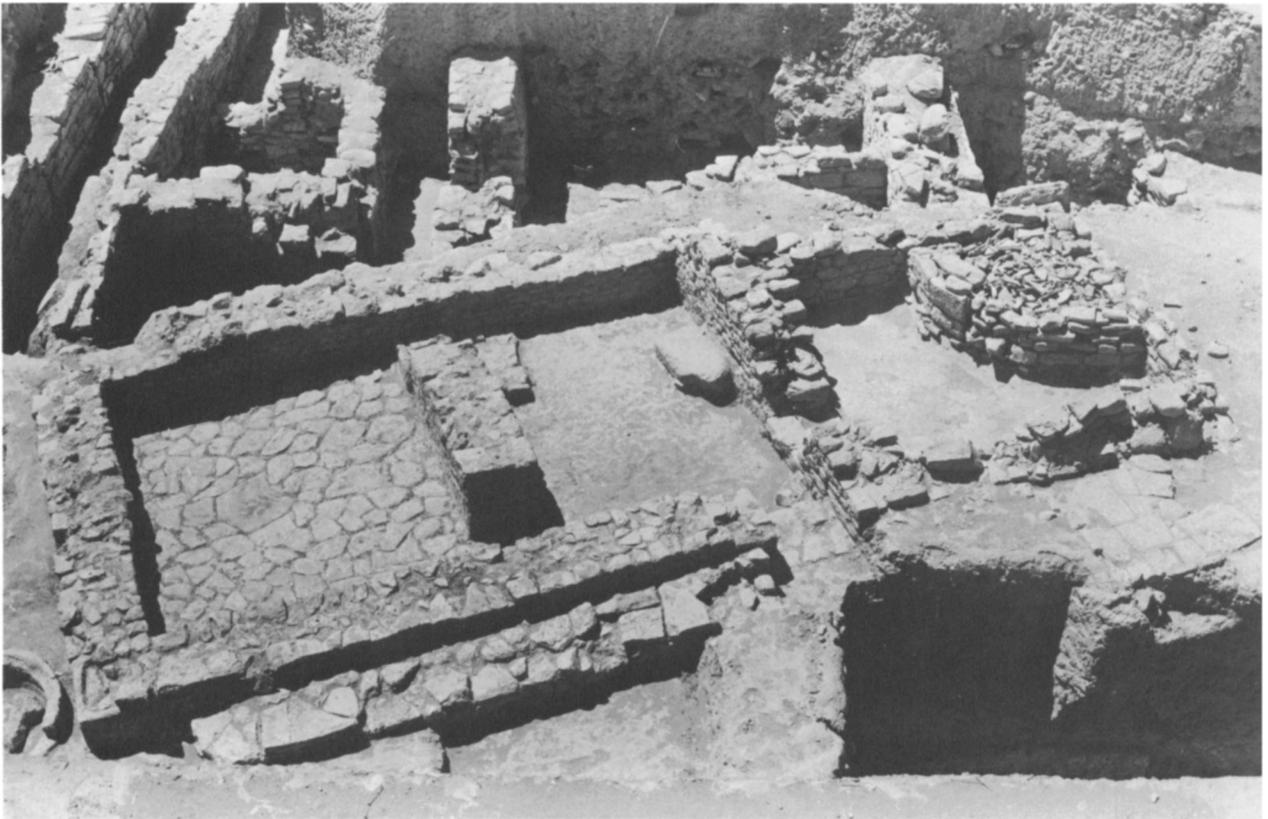
c. Building P: stairway from southeast



d. Building P: floor west of stairway from west



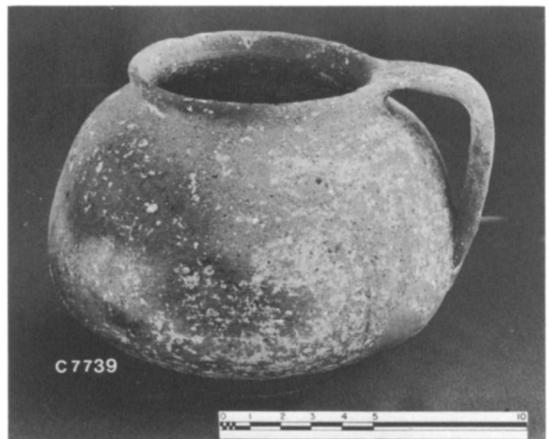
e. Building P: probe below floor west of stairway, from west



a. View from the east



b. Central room, basin and jar *in situ*, from east



c. Cooking jar from central room

Eastern Area, Hellenistic Building E