KOMMOS V

The Monumental Minoan Buildings at Kommos

EDITED BY JOSEPH W. SHAW AND MARIA C. SHAW

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY
Giuliana Bianco, Deborah Ruscillo, Jeremy B. Rutter, Joseph W. Shaw, Maria C. Shaw, Aleydis Van de Moortel, and others

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K O M M O S

An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete
by the University of Toronto
under the auspices of the
American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Joseph W. Shaw

Maria C. Shaw
EDITORS

Volume V



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Period plan of the Southern Area at Kommos. (G. Bianco and M. Nelson, 2003)

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Restored view of the Southern Area during early LM IIIB, after Building P had been completed. The cliffs of the Nisos Peninsula can be seen in the background. From northeast. (C. Dietrich, 2003)

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Restored view of the Southern Area during early LM IIIB, from northwest. (C. Dietrich, 2003)

Dedicated to

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

with thanks for its
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1970–2005

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Preface

The aim of the present volume is to present a detailed report on the monumental Minoan buildings and to provide historical perspective on their use and role in the wider geographical area of Crete and the Aegean. It appears that Kommos, with its monumental buildings located in what we have termed the "Southern Area," played a crucial role in international maritime trade. Raised in discussion are questions such as whether these grand structures were entirely the product of local initiative, or also the outcome of decisions made by external powers. Important neighboring Minoan sites, like Phaistos with its multiperiod palace, as well as the somewhat later Royal Villa at Aghia Triada, vie as possible protagonists in such roles, the three sites together forming what we have labeled a "Great Minoan Triangle" within the vast and prosperous area in the western Mesara (J. W. and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 1985).

As early as Middle Minoan IIB, if not earlier, the Southern Area was selected as the site for an enormous structure with a large court featuring at least one stoa, which we have dubbed Building AA. We know little about it, save for the exceptionally ambitious architectural technique used to construct it: Its walls were built on a huge level platform set on a sloping ground level. Later, Neopalatial Building T, also with a spacious Central Court, was constructed on the ruins of the earlier building. Like Building AA, T is one of the largest structures known from Minoan Crete. T had long lain in ruins when it was partially covered in Late Minoan IIIA2 by two other large buildings: N (a complex of rooms and a court), built over T's northwest area, and P (a structure consisting of long, wide parallel galleries), built over T's East Wing.[1] Together, this series of buildings offers unprecedented evidence for following the history of the site diachronically throughout the major Minoan periods. In addition, the Greek remains set on them (published as Volume IV in this series) provide a sequel to the story, particularly important for our knowledge of Iron Age religion, since the superposed buildings were part of a sanctuary.

We note here a few errata in Volume IV. At the beginning of the plate volume (on p. iv) credit for photographs should read "All site photographs not otherwise credited were taken by Joseph W. Shaw." In Chapter 2, "The Iron Age Inscriptions," Eric Csapo wrote the Introduction. Chapter 3, on Greek pottery, states (p. 114) that the second floor of Temple A was in use as early as the first quarter of the ninth century B.C., but on the following page the

same floor is placed in the earlier part of the tenth century B.C. (as per table 1.1 in Chap. 1). Asked to comment on this, Alan W. Johnston, coauthor of the chapter, points out that although the Phoenician wares suggest a *terminus ante quem* of the ninth century B.C., some of the local material could be taken as substantially earlier, perhaps still in Early Protogeometric, which is a floating date, but certainly in the first half of the tenth century. Certainty is impossible, he adds, but a drift to the earlier date could be entertained.

Numerous preliminary reports concerning these and other buildings have appeared (particularly in *Hesperia*),[2] and other aspects of the excavations are discussed in more focused studies. The present volume is the last in a series in which the first volume (*Kommos* I, Part 1 [1995]) set the goals and aims: the focus on the immediate Kommos area, archaeological surface surveys, and the study of the technology and industries and of the palaeoenvironmental features of the region. Volume I, Part 2 (1996) concentrated, in turn, on the area of the town north of the Civic Center, where houses and finds have revealed much about Minoan daily life during the long span of time (at least Final Neolithic to Late Minoan IIIB) when the town was inhabited.

The volumes mentioned could appear only when our basis for relative ceramic chronology had already been provided, hence the publication first of Volume II (Philip Betancourt: 1990) and Volume III (L. Vance Watrous: 1992), cataloguing and describing deposits of MM and LM pottery. The latter included imported pottery providing evidence for maritime trade at Kommos, the harbor town or *epineion* of inland Phaistos and Aghia Triada. Additional studies of both local and imported pottery also appear here in a chapter written by Aleydis Van de Moortel and Jeremy B. Rutter who, respectively, deal with the Protopalatial and the Neo- and Postpalatial pottery. Regarding chronological terminology, for this volume we have adopted uniformly the simplified labels "Protopalatial" for the MM IB–II periods, "Neopalatial" for the MM III–LM I, and "Postpalatial" for LM II–IIIC, with "Early" and "Late Postpalatial" being used occasionally (rather than "Monopalatial" or "Final Palatial," also in use).

Excavation of the monumental Minoan buildings took place in stages during the periods 1976–85 and, after a break for publication preparation, 1991–95. The excavation has been sponsored by the University of Toronto and (for a time) by the Royal Ontario Museum, and has been carried out under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens with the cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service. Financial support was provided, especially, by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (most recently Grants 410-94-1091, 410-97-1091, 410-2000-0283, 410-03-0653), and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory founded by Malcolm Wiener. Lorne Wickerson has helped most generously and consistently. In 2001 Carl Amrhein, Dean of Arts and Science at the University of Toronto, along with Adel Sedra, then Provost, established a Kommos Publication Fund intended to provide a partial base for the expenses of this volume as well as the monograph, already in progress, dealing with House X. We are most grateful to them for their initiative and for the confidence they have had in our mission.

Detailed acknowledgments of the many who made our work possible are to be found

incrementally in Volume I, Part 1 (table 1.1), in Volume IV (table 1.2, through 1998), and here (through 2005) in Table 1.1. We are deeply indebted to the successive trenchmasters for difficult fieldwork and for keeping up the records of the excavation in the day books, as well as for their detailed reports, which form the factual base for the consideration of all areas. Similarly crucial was the work done by a team of cataloguers, as well as conservators, photographers, and artists at the excavation headquarters in the village of Pitsidia. Their professional work enabled us, eventually, to select and assemble the mass of material for publication. In particular, we would single out our excavation architect, Giuliana Bianco, whose accuracy and talent combined have consistently produced over the period of three decades an excellent record of the architecture.

During the study seasons after 1998 in Pitsidia, Deborah Ruscillo, Leda Costaki, Marie Goodwin, and Teresa Hancock were invaluable in the cataloguing department, and Julia Pfaff, Laura Preston, Wendy Walgate, Jerolyn Morrison, Jenny Doole, and Glynnis Fawkes worked on pottery profiling. Taylor Dabney, Winn Burke, and Alexander Shaw were responsible for photography (see also Table 1.1 here). In Toronto Louisa Yick and Stephen Cooper helped produce the photographic prints necessary for the volume. Additional help with illustrations was provided by Teresa Hancock and Mary Markou at the University of Toronto. We are particularly indebted to Jeremy B. Rutter and Aleydis Van de Moortel, who not only contributed to the study of the pottery in this volume but also through questioning and discussion continually enriched the ongoing process of coming to an understanding of the complex Kommos site. All of us are grateful for the support given by the local Pitsidia community, especially Mayor Michael Kotsifakis, and for the warm friendship of our foreman and site guard Sifis Fasoulakis. During the period after 2001, when the pace to prepare this volume accelerated, we were aided in various ways by Alexandra Karetsou and Maria Andreadaki-Vlasaki, each of whom in succession was ephor of the KG' Ephorate of the Greek Archaeological Service in Herakleion, Crete. Also backing up our efforts were James Muhly and Steve Tracey, successive directors of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

No excavation in an area as complex as that at Kommos can be "complete." For instance, the greater percentage of the Minoan houses in the town to the north of the civic buildings remain unexcavated, with stratigraphy intact. A few of those houses will no doubt be excavated sometime in the future to test or to amplify our own spectrum of consideration. Similarly, portions of the Southern Area remain unexplored. Some were simply inaccessible below later structures that could not be removed, such as the temples and altars of the Greek Sanctuary, now partly elevated on podia stabilized by modern stone walls masked with a cement and earth mixture. Thus part of the North Stoa of Building T, as well as later Minoan structures within it, and even Early Iron Age structures above, will probably remain unknown. We have not seen much of Building AA, which underlies Buildings T and P, but at least we know AA's extent to the east and south.

In 1994 we decided that parts of Buildings T and P would not be excavated because of the cost but chiefly because more excavation seasons would delay, perhaps indefinitely, publica-

tion of Volume I, as well as Volumes IV and V. In particular, although Galleries 1 and 2 of Building P (and underlying T) have been explored on the east, their extensions to the west remain largely unexcavated. All but the western ends of Galleries 4–6 are still buried below more than 6 m of windblown sand above thick post-Minoan levels. No doubt much more could be learned about both buildings during the time that it would take to complete excavation of these areas, but they should be dealt with in the future. It would also be important to learn more about the area south of Buildings P and T, although a few exploratory trenches were excavated there without exposing extensive remains. As to what lies east of the Civic Center, whether Greek or Minoan—perhaps even the Minoan cemetery, now under 8–10 m of sand—this question can be resolved only by purchasing a large area of land and undertaking a decade or more of excavation. Perhaps scanning equipment, with greater discrimination than that used experimentally earlier on at Kommos, will be used in the future.

To preserve the record of our work and promote future research, in 2003 we began a new digital archiving project, dubbed "T-Space," in collaboration with the Library of the University of Toronto. To date numerous Kommos-related articles and monographs have been made available there at https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/3004. In connection with Chapter 3 of the present volume, we provide in T-Space tables listing physical characteristics of the Minoan pottery. In the near future we plan to add Kommos field reports and other archival material.

As with both parts of Volume I, and Volume IV, we are greatly indebted to editors Barbara Ibronyi and Cy Strom. Josée Dimson also helped in the editing process. Cy Strom was largely responsible for editing this volume and seeing it through the various stages of its preparation. Barbara Liguori and Terry Andrews showed skill and patience in their respective roles as copy editor and proofreader. Martin Ahermaa was responsible for the index of this complex volume, and Lori Holland and her colleagues at Bytheway Publishing Services transformed a challenging manuscript into a finished book. Karen Fortgang coordinated the preparation of the volume—we are indebted to her for her care and efficiency.

Joseph W. Shaw
Maria C. Shaw
Pitsidia, Crete
1 July 2005

Notes

1. We adopted the system of designating buildings with letters of the alphabet when excavation began in the Southern Area. After Building Z was identified, we adopted double lettering for each new structure.

2. For the most recent, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993. Also consult the bibliography at the end of this volume. We are grateful to the editors of *Hesperia* for allowing us to draw freely on those reports.

Abbreviations

B	bronze	LG	Late Geometric
BA	Bronze Age	LH	Late Helladic
Bo	bone	LM	Late Minoan
C	clay	m	meter
ca.	circa	max	maximum
CH	Central Hillside	max pres dim	maximum preserved dimensions
cm	centimeter	max pres h	maximum preserved height
d	diameter	max pres th	maximum preserved thickness
dim	dimension	max pres w	maximum preserved width
EB	Early Bronze	max th	maximum thickness
EH	Early Helladic	MB	Middle Bronze
EM	Early Minoan	MH	Middle Helladic
est	estimated	mm	millimeter
ext	exterior	MM	Middle Minoan
F	faience	MNI	minimum number of individuals
FB	fine buff	P	plaster
FN	Final Neolithic	pres	preserved
g	gram	S	stone
GS	ground stone tool	SA	Southern Area
h	height	SEM	scanning electron microscope
I	inscription	sp	species
IA	Iron Age	th	thickness
int	interior	w	width
kg	kilogram	wt	weight
L	lead	XRF	X-ray fluorescence
LB	Late Bronze		

All measurements are given in centimeters unless otherwise specified.

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Period plan of the Southern Area at Kommos. (G. Bianco and M. Nelson, 2003)

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Restored view of the Southern Area during early LM IIIB, after Building P had been completed. The cliffs of the Nisos Peninsula can be seen in the background. From northeast. (C. Dietrich, 2003)[2]

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Restored view of the Southern Area during early LM IIIB, from northwest. (C. Dietrich, 2003)

Chapter 1

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Plate 1.79. "Compartment" of reused masonry between chases for wooden beams of north wall, Building P, from north.

Plate 1.80. LM I paved road next to northeastern corner of Building T, with diagonal blocking wall, from south.

Plate 1.81. Northeastern corner, Building P, showing masonry style, above Building T's wall (*a*) and bordering paved road surface (*b*), surface of LM III fill (*c*). Note stepped inset for facade wall (*d*), from northeast.

Plate 1.82. Eastern facade of Buildings T and P. The lower two courses and krepidoma are Neopalatial; above them the blocks belong to LM III Building P. From southeast, with LM III stela in foreground.

Plate 1.83. LM III stela east of P facade. The block in front and slabs behind functioned as supports below the LM III ground level. From southeast.

Plate 1.84. Gallery P1, northeast corner, with later Archaic Greek walls around well chamber.

Plate 1.85. Greek well (foreground) with steps down from Archaic ground level (center) before removal of fallen blocks, from east.

Plate 1.86. Corner orthostate of Building T (left) on krepidoma (below) on which the southern wall of the Archaic well was constructed, from north.

Plate 1.87. Gallery P2/3, western end of east-west wall, showing three levels of pebbles in Central Court, from south.

Plate 1.88. Gallery P2, earlier slab pavement of T at west end, showing east-west channel (center), and narrower north-south channel in front of excavator Barbette Spaeth, from west. On right is the south wall of P2.

Plate 1.89. Gallery P2. Earlier remains below LM III floor in east part of Gallery P2, showing base of north-south facade wall of Building AA (at *a*), smaller north-south wall (*b*), Neopalatial east-west wall of Building T (shared wall of Rooms D and E) (*c*), paving at *d*, and east-west walls of Gallery P2 (*e*, *f*), from east.

Plate 1.90. Gallery P2, east end, south wall, showing early phase in construction (at *a*, *a*, *a*).

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Plate 1.92. Gallery P3, eastern part, showing field stones of "compartments" set on plaster floor with channel (*a*) and fragment of U-shaped hearth (*b*), from southeast.

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Plate 1.94. Building T, Room F below Building P, Gallery 3. Plastered channels as found (A) and partially restored (C). Later compartments created by low fieldstone walls as discovered (B) and as partially restored (D). Bottom, plan showing chases in walls and seven stone bases for supporting timber. (G. Bianco and J. W. Shaw, 2001)

Plate 1.95. Gallery P3, floor (left, at *a*). In sounding below floor are visible the earlier facade wall ("Wall A") of MM Building AA with superposed wall A 1 (*b*, left), a north-south MM wall (*c*), and an east-west wall of Building T (*d*), from east.

Plate 1.96. Gallery P3, detail of area in previous plate, showing width of MM facade wall A of Building AA (*a, a*), plaster floor of Building T (Room F), packing below floor (*c*), foundation of the north wall of Room F (*d*), north wall of P3 (*e, e*), and floor of P3 (*f*), from east.

Plate 1.97. Gallery P3, east, showing fallen masonry of northern wall (*a*), floor (*b*), anchors used as bases (*c, c*), and position of hearth (*d*), from west.

Plate 1.98. (a) Oven and burnt feature at eastern end of Gallery P2 (M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco). (b) Hearth at eastern end of Gallery P3 (G. Nixon and G. Bianco). (c) Plan and restored sections of western oven in Gallery P3. (G. Nixon and G. Bianco, 2001)

Plate 1.99. Gallery P1 (Building T, Room D). Architectural and archaeological sections. For positioning see Foldout A. (M. C. Shaw, G. Nixon, and G. Bianco, 2002)

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Plate 1.103. Gallery P4, sounding exposing MM walls, with Mila Bianco, from west.

Plate 1.104. Galleries P5 (left) and P6 (right) bordering South Stoa, from northwest.

Plate 1.105. "Lip up" of plaster layers at western end of Gallery P3 (Building T, Room F).

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Plate 1.107. West-east section f'-f' near western end of Gallery P5, indicating stratigraphy at and below the Minoan Central Court level. For positioning see Foldout C. (M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.108. Shared wall of P5/6, from west, showing ashlar end of northern wall of earlier Building T, Room J, after partial removal of LM III masonry.

Plate 1.109. Portion of southern wall of Gallery P5, showing ashlar face of Room I of Building T, after partial removal of slabs, from north.

Plate 1.110. Gallery P6 before removal of north-south LM III retaining wall, from northwest.

Plate 1.111. Gallery P6, after removal of floor. MM pottery Group L found at *a*.

Plate 1.112. North-south section h'-h' in Gallery P6 showing position of MM II Pottery Group L. For positioning see Foldout C. (M. C. Shaw and G. Bianco, 2000)

Plate 1.113. Restored plan of western end of LM I Building T's southern Room J, east wing (upper left). To right is section AA, schematic section looking east from within the same room showing LM III "sill" and other features. Section BB shows same relative area but looking west. Views below show (section CC) northern anta of same room as related to pebble court and (section DD) layers of pebble court laid up against tilted slabs at entrance to room. Below, plan of area near anta. (J. W. Shaw and G. Bianco, 2000)

Southeast (Area of South Stoa)
Plate 1.114. Schematic plan showing features in southeastern area of Central Court. (J. W. Shaw and G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.115. Schematic north-south section of Central Court and South Stoa. (J. W. Shaw and G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.116. North-south section g-g through and south of P6, looking west. For positioning see Foldout Plan C. (G. Bianco, 2000)

Plate 1.117. East-west section o′-o′ through column bases, looking north. For positioning see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2000)

Plate 1.118. North-south section m′-m′ looking east through possible drain in South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.119. North-south section n′-n′ looking west through south wall of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.120. North-south section i-i looking east through south wall of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.121. East-west section j-j looking south along length of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.122. North-south section j-j looking west toward southern wall of South Stoa. Continued from Pl. 1.121 and also below. (below, right) North-south section k-k showing details of bottom of vertical roof drain in southern wall of South Stoa. For positionings see Foldout C. (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.123. Lowest course of southern ashlar wall of Building T south of P6, with square socket, from west.

Plate 1.124. As Pl. 1.123, but from southwest, showing superposed southern wall of LM III Building P.

Plate 1.125. South Stoa area, with pottery kiln, from southeast.

Plate 1.126. South Stoa area from northwest, with remains of staircase (right).

Plate 1.127. Sounding around column bases S 2253 and S 2254, from east.

Plate 1.128. South Stoa area, showing MM wall of Building AA on which was superposed the southern wall of Neopalatial Building T, from north.

Plate 1.129. South Stoa, stone-lined pit (drain?) next to southern wall, from west.

Plate 1.130. Southwest stairway, state (left) and restored plan (right). (G. Bianco, 2002)

Plate 1.131. Strata immediately south of Building T, showing MM slab paving probably contemporary with Building AA (*a*), intermediate surface (*b*), surfaces associated with Building T (*c*, *d*), and south wall of Building T (*e*).

Plate 1.132. (top) Anta bases S 2247 and S 2248 from western entrance into Building T, Room J. (middle) Slab S 2260. (bottom) T- and gamma-shaped jamb bases S 2272 and S 2270 from Building T, Room 5. (G. Bianco, 2002) See Chap. 1.4. **13**, **12**, **31**, **2**, **1**, respectively.

Plate 1.133. (top) Threshold blocks S 2332 and S 2291 from Building T, Room 5. (center) Base S 2333-02 from southern entrance into Building T, Room J; also Base S 2303. (bottom) Staircase blocks S 2343 and S 2334 from Building T, Room 5. See Chap. 1.4. **5**, **4**, unlisted, **14**, **10**, **8**, respectively.

Plate 1.134. (top left) Block S 2341 (windowsill?). (top right) Wall-end block S 2340. (center) Jamb base block S 2244. (center right) Threshold S 2339. (bottom) Threshold S 2333. (G. Bianco, 2000) See Chap. 1.4. **15**, **11**, **3**, **7**, **6**, respectively.

Plate 1.135. Miscellaneous blocks. (top) Wall block S 2125 and staircase block S 2123. (center) windowsill(?) block S 2121 and block S 2124. (bottom) Probable reused orthostate blocks. (G. Bianco, 2000) See Chap. 1.4. **17**, **9**, **16**, **18**, respectively.

Plate 1.136. Column bases. West to east, North Stoa. (*a*) Base 4 (S 2335); (*b*) Base 5 (S 2342); (*c*) Base 6 (S 2336, not *in situ*). West to east, South Stoa. (*d*) Base 2 (S 2267); (*e*) Base 3 (S 2266); (*f*) Base 4 (S 2265) and (*g*) its sub-base after removal, showing pebbles; (*h*) Base 5 (S 2253); (*i*) Base 6 (S 2254). See Chap. 1.4. **22–24**, **26–30**.

Plate 1.137. Column base S 2236 from the North Stoa placed on S 2253 from the South Stoa, showing difference in height but similarity in tool markings.

Plate 1.138. Drawing of mason's lines on column foundation block of South Stoa with column base S 2253. (G. Bianco, 2001)

Plate 1.139. Selected ashlar blocks from Neopalatial Building T. (*a*) Windowsill(?) S 2341; (*b*) S 2124, block with unusual parallel tool markings. See Chap. 1.4. **15** and **18**.

Plate 1.140. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 123 on orthostate block of north facade of Building T. See Chap. 1.4. **19**.

Plate 1.141. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 106 on reused Minoan block. (L. Costaki). See Chap. 1.4. **20**.

Plate 1.142. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 107 on reused ashlar block. (L. Costaki). See Chap. 1.4. **21**.

Chapter 2

Plate 2.1. Wall plasters. **2**, **3** (Locus 5); views and section of molding **7** (Locus 6); **12** (Locus 10); **17**, **20**, **21** (Locus 4); **23**, **24**, **25** (Locus 11). (G. Bianco, E. Burke, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw, and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.2. Wall plasters. **25**, **26**, **26a**, **27** (Locus 11). (E. Burke, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw, T. Dabney, and M. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.3. Wall plasters. **27** (Locus 11). (E. Burke)

Plate 2.4. Wall plasters. **27**, **28**, **29** (Locus 11). (E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw)

Plate 2.5. Wall plasters. **29**, **30,** and pieces of painted floor plaster **31** (Locus 11). (E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw)

Plate 2.6. Wall plasters. **30** (reconstruction of molding, Locus 11). (J. Morrison)

Plate 2.7. Painted floor plasters. **31** (Locus 11). (G. Bianco, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw)

Plate 2.8. Wall plasters. **38**, **39**, **40**, **41** (sounding under the stylobate of the North Stoa, Locus 16); **49** (Locus 16); **54**, **55** (Locus 15). (E. Burke and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.9. Slab bins lined with wall plasters. **46a**, **46b**, **46c**, **46d** (Locus 16). (G. Bianco)

Plate 2.10. Wall plasters. **59** (Locus 15); **63** (section of T's Central Court south of Locus 15); **66** (Locus 8); **68**, **69** (Locus 2, north of Road 17); **70** (Room 42). (E. Burke, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw, and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.11. Wall plasters. **75** (Room 19). (E. Burke)

Plate 2.12. Wall plasters. **80** (Locus 20/22w); **83** (Locus 20/22e); **87** (Room 23); **93** (Locus 26/P1). (E. Burke and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.13. Wall plasters. **98** (Locus 28/P3); **102** (Locus 36/P5); **106** (Locus 43/P6). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.14. Wall plasters **107**, **108**, and painted floor plasters **109**, **110** (Locus 43/P6 west end). Wall plasters **111** (within the south wall of the South Stoa); **113**, **114** (western end of South Stoa and southwestern edge of Central Court); **117** (central part of South Stoa); **119**, **120**, **121** (Central Court adjacent to northern edge of South Stoa). (T. Dabney)

Plate 2.15. Wall plasters. **125**, **126**, **127**, **128**, **129** (southern edge of the Central Court and the eastern part of the South Stoa); **131** (Central Court and adjacent strip along the eastern portion of the colonnade of the South Stoa); **132** (outdoor area, Locus 45, south of the South Stoa). (T. Dabney)

Plate 2.16. Floor plasters. **4** (Locus 5). (T. Dabney)

Plate 2.17. Floor plasters. **5a** (Locus 5); **10** (Locus 6); **14** (Locus 10); **31** (Locus 11). (E. Burke, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw, and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.18. Floor plasters. **35**, **36** (Locus 11); **44** (sounding under the stylobate of the eastern part of the colonnade of the North Stoa, Locus 16); **51** (Locus 16); **67** (Locus 8). (E. Burke and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.19. Floor plasters. **61** (Locus 15); **86** (Locus 20/22e and Room 29); **88** (Room 23). (E. Burke, T. Dabney, and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.20. Floor plasters. **88** (Room 23); **100** (views and sections, Locus 28/P3). (G. Bianco and T. Dabney)

Plate 2.21. Floor plasters. **100** (Locus 28/P3); **115** (South Stoa, western part); **122** (southern edge of Central Court's central part and adjacent northern edge along the colonnade of the South Stoa). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.22. Floor plasters. **123** (southern edge of the Central Court and the eastern part of the South Stoa); **133** (Locus 45, south of Building T). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.23. Ceiling plasters. **5** (Locus 5); **22** (Loci 12–13). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.24. Ceiling plasters. **32**, **33** (Locus 11); **60** (Locus 15). (E. Burke, E. Burke with A. C. Shaw and R. Shaw, and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.25. Ceiling plasters. **34a** (Locus 11); **45** (with reconstruction, bottom right; sounding under the stylobate of the North Stoa, near Locus 16). Ø = estimated diameter. (E. Burke and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.26. Ceiling plasters. **73** (Room 42). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.27. Ceiling plasters. **78** (Room 21); **85** (Locus 22e/29). Ø = estimated diameter. (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.28. Ceiling plasters. **91** (Room 24). Ø = estimated diameter. (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.29. Ceiling plasters. **92** (Room 25). (J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.30. Ceiling plasters. **95** (Locus 27/P2); **116** (South Stoa, western part); **118** (South Stoa, central part); **124** (southern edge of the Central Court's central part and northern edge of South Stoa). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.31. Ceiling plasters. **134** (outdoor area, Locus 45). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.32. Other plasters. **11** (Locus 6). (T. Dabney and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.33. Other plasters. **11** (Locus 6); **82a** (Locus 20/22w). (T. Dabney, E. Burke, and J. Pfaff)

Plate 2.34. Plan. Plaster deposits (shaded areas). (G. Bianco)

Plate 2.35. Plan. Floors *in situ* (shaded areas) and types of flooring plasters. (G. Bianco)

Plate 2.36. Wall plasters. **2** (Locus 5); **12** (Locus 10); **16**, **17**, **20** (Locus 4); **24**, **25** (Locus 11); **54** (Locus 15); **76** (Room 19); **79** (Locus 20/22w); **87** (Room 23). Wall plaster **108**, and floor plasters **109**, **110** (western part of Locus 43/P6). Wall plasters **111**, **112** (South Stoa, western part); **117** (South Stoa, central part); **121** (southern edge of the Central Court's central part and the adjacent northern edge of the central part of the South Stoa); **126** southern edge of the Central Court and the eastern part of the South Stoa). (A. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.37. Wall plasters. Photos and watercolor of **26**, **27**, **28** (Locus 11). Image *f:* conglomerate sample from area of Malia. (G. Bianco and A. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.38. Wall plasters. Photos (*a*, *c*) and reconstructions (*b*, *d*) of **27** (Locus 11) and **96** (Locus 28/P3). (G. Bell and A. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.39. Painted floor plasters. Photos (*a–d*) and reconstruction (*e*) of **31**, possible spiral frieze (Locus 11). (G. Bianco and A. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.40. Wall plasters. **75**, reconstruction of painted frieze (Room 19). (A. C. Shaw and T. Hancock)

Plate 2.41. Reconstruction of the North Stoa (top); plan with distribution of plaster fragments according to date and weight of deposits (bottom). (C. Dietrich and G. Bianco)

Plate 2.42. Conservator Élise Alloin with panel of painted wall plasters (top); panel with display of ceiling plasters (left); panel with display of floor plasters (right). (M. C. Shaw)

Plate 2.43. Fragments of analyzed samples of wall plasters (samples 1–2, 4–5, 7–9, 11), floor plasters (samples 6, 10), and ceiling plaster (sample 3). (A. Dandrau)

Plate 2.44. Fragments of analyzed samples of wall plasters (samples 13–18), floor plasters (sample 12 and sample 19, two views), and ceiling plasters (samples 20–21). (A. Dandrau)

Plate 2.45. Characteristic IR spectrum of wall plaster (sample 11). Illustrated is lime, in which the percentage of calcite (Cal) reaches 93%, whereas that of quartz (Q) and silicates (Sil) does not exceed 3%. The remainder of the components consist of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphs.

Plate 2.46. IR spectrum of floor plaster (sample 6). Illustrated is marl, which consists of equal

parts of calcite (Cal) and silicates (Sil) stemming from the transformation of argilaceous minerals (Arg), a little quartz (Q, 12%), and feldspars (Felds). The remainder of the components consist of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphs.

Plate 2.47. Characteristic IR spectrum of construction plaster (sample 21). Illustrated is thin lime, in which the percentage of calcite (Cal) reaches 79%, whereas that of quartz (Q) and silicates (Sil) does not exceed 1% and 9%, respectively. The remainder of the components consist of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphs.

Plate 2.48. Characteristic IR spectrum of floor plaster (sample 10). Illustrated is thin lime, in which the percentage of calcite (Cal) reaches 81%, whereas that of quartz (Q) does not exceed 5%. The proportion of silicates (Sil) is particularly high (19%); this promoted the hardness and perhaps even the waterproofing quality of the plaster. The remainder of the components consist of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphs.

Plate 2.49. XRF spectrum characteristic of white pigment of wall plaster (sample 15). A mixture of lime (Ca) and of white clay (Si, Al, Mg, K, Fe, etc.), belonging to the kaolinite family, was identified.

Plate 2.50. XRF spectrum characteristic of yellow pigment of wall plaster (sample 9). It is an ocher, in other words, an argilaceous soil (Si, Al, K, Mg, Na, etc.) naturally rich in iron oxides (Fe). The lime (Ca) that was detected could have come from either the backing layer (calcited lime) or the carbonated binder used to affix the pigment.

Plate 2.51. XRF spectrum characteristic of red pigment of wall plaster (sample 5). It is an ocher, in other words, an argilaceous soil (Si, Al, Mg, K, Na, etc.) naturally rich in iron oxides (Fe). The lime (Ca) that was detected could have come from either the backing layer (calcited lime) or the carbonated binder used to affix the pigment.

Plate 2.52. XRF spectrum characteristic of the "salmon" pigment of wall plaster (sample 17). It is an ocher, in other words, an argilaceous soil (Si, Al, Mg, K, Na, etc.) naturally rich in iron oxides (Fe). The lime (Ca) that was detected came from the backing layer (calcited lime).

Plate 2.53. Section of wall plaster (sample 2) seen by SEM (magnified). The backing layer consists of thin lime now calcited. The gray pictorial layer that covers it consists of a mixture of thick grains of quartz (white) and finer granules of amphiboles or hornblendes.

Plate 2.54. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's lavender blue pigment (sample 8). It consists of an amphibole or a hornblende (Si, Al, Mg, K, Na, Ti, Fe, Cu). The lime (Ca) that was detected came from either the backing layer (calcited lime) or the carbonated binder that was used to affix the pigment.

Plate 2.55. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's light blue pigment (sample 14). The color is a result of a mixture of two types of amphiboles or hornblendes (Si, Mg, Fe, Na, Al). The lime (Ca) that was detected came from the backing layer (calcited lime).

Plate 2.56. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's blue/black pigment (sample 13). This tint was obtained by adding carbon (C) to an amphibole or to a hornblende (Si, Al, K, Mg, Na, Fe, Cu). The lime (Ca) that was detected came from either the backing layer (calcited lime) or the carbonated binder used to affix the pigment.

Plate 2.57. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's gray pigment (sample 2). This is most likely representative of two types of blue amphiboles or hornblendes (Si, Al, Mg, K, Fe, Na, etc.) to which was added a certain quantity of lime (Ca) or calcite.

Plate 2.58. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's black pigment (sample 18). Originally consisting of a blue amphibole or hornblende (Si, Al, K, Mg, Fe, Na, etc.), its tint is probably due to exposure to high temperature, perhaps a fire.

Plate 2.59. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 2) seen by SEM (magnified). The selected elements (Al, Si, and Ca) are distinguished, thus allowing us to visualize the backing layer, essentially consisting of lime now calcited (Ca, in blue) and of a few grains of quartz (Si, in green); the blue pictorial layer (am-

phibole or hornblende, of which only the Si and Al [in red] are shown here); as well as the carbonated layer (Ca) that covers it. This layer represents the binder that was used to affix the pigment; the technique used is therefore the *fresco secco* technique.

Plate 2.60. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 17) seen by SEM (magnified). The selected elements (Al, Si, and Ca) are distinguished, thus allowing us to visualize the backing layer, essentially consisting of lime now calcited (Ca, in blue) and of a few grains of quartz (Si, in green) and the "salmon" pictorial layer (ocher, of which only the Si and Al [in red] are shown here). The uninterrupted diffusion of the lime (Ca) from the backing layer to the pictorial layer is the result of the carbonation phenomenon of the true fresco technique (*buon fresco*).

Plate 2.61. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 13) seen by SEM (magnified). The selected elements (Al, Si, and Ca) are distinguished, thus allowing us to visualize the backing layer, essentially consisting of lime now calcited (Ca, in blue) and the blue/black pictorial layer (amphibole or hornblende, of which only the Si [in green] and Al [in red] are shown here). In the upper right corner of the image we can see the uninterrupted diffusion of the lime (Ca) from the backing to the pictorial layer. This is a result of the carbonation phenomenon characteristic of the true fresco technique (*buon fresco*). In the upper left corner of the image, however, the pictorial layer does not consist of calcite and is covered by a carbonated layer (Ca). This layer is simply the binding that was used to affix the pigment: the technique used was the *fresco secco* technique. Therefore, this plaster sample was made using both techniques, *buon fresco* and *a secco*, according to the various areas painted.

Chapter 3

Plate 3.1. Pottery from Group X. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.2. Pottery from Groups X, Y, and Z, and conical cups from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **X/17**, **Z/1**, and **Z/3**, which are at 1:6.

Plate 3.3. Conical cups, carinated cups, and straight-sided cups from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.4. Tumblers and bowls from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.5. Bowls from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.6. Bowls, basin, and *grattuge* from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **Bc/1**, **Ja/18**, **Ja/19**, and **Je/14**, which are at 1:6.

Plate 3.7. Vats, bucket, pedestaled bowl, teapots, and small open-spouted jars from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **Ba/6** and **Ja/23**, which are at 1:6.

Plate 3.8. Open-spouted jars and bridge-spouted jars from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.9. Bridge-spouted jars, jugs, and miscellaneous closed vessels from Groups A through Ji, and uncatalogued C 11131. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.10. Miscellaneous closed vessels, jars, and oval-mouthed amphora waster from Groups A through Ji, and uncatalogued C 3352. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.11. Pithoi, lid, stand, cooking pots, and cooking dishes from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **I/1** and **Ba/8**, which are at 1:6.

Plate 3.12. Cooking dish, tray, lamps, firebox, and stoppers from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

Plate 3.13. Stoppers and possible scraper from Groups A through Ji, and pottery from Groups K and L. Scale 1:3, except for **K/3**, which is at 1:6.

Plate 3.14. Pottery from Group L. Scale 1:3, except for **L/13**, **L/14**, and **L/15,** which are at 1:6.

Plate 3.15. Pottery from Group L. Scale 1:6, except for **L/22** and **L/23**, which are at 1:3.

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Notes

1. For state plans of the Southern Area, the reader is referred to those published in *Kommos* IV *(The Greek Sanctuary),* Foldout Plans A–E, the northwestern part of the Southern Area. This volume does not repeat those illustrations but complements them with state plans of remaining areas, namely, with Foldout Plans A, B, and C, and Pls. 1.13, 1.66, and 1.102.

For the room/space numbers of the eastern wing of Neopalatial Building T and Building P, when the eastern part of the Southern Area was being excavated, the sequence of Arabic room/space numbers already in use in connection with Building T was continued, beginning with 26, south of 25a and b. As work continued Building P emerged, and its six galleries were numbered, from the north, P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6. The result was that each P gallery ended up with two numbers. Then, when manuscripts were being prepared, the a–j (A–J) sequence of the Building T rooms underlying P became clear. Also, the smaller widths of the T rooms (cf. Pl. 1.68) meant that more numbers had to be added to those already assigned to T (50 and 51 in this case), for which see Pl. 1.7.

The equivalents are now as follows:

T room/spaces			State plan
C = 26 = Part of P1			Foldout A
D	51	Part of P1, part of P2	Foldout A
E	27	Part of P2	Foldout B
F	28	P3	Foldout B
G	35	Part of P3, part of P4	Pl. 1.102
H	50	Part of P4, part of P5	Pl. 1.102
I	36	P5	Foldout C
J	43	P6	Foldout C

2. Chris Dietrich notes that concerning Frontispieces B and C, reconstructions of the Southern, or Civic, Area at Kommos, the architectural focus concentrated primarily on the buildings and areas south of the east-west road, and the date of depiction was narrowed to LM IIIB. This determination was based on the earliest date possible for the completion of the last addition to Building P (P6). For data collection, input began with the scanning of state plans and topographic maps. From these plans, specific levels needed to be identified to achieve an "exposed" layer for the specific time depicted. Plot points were gathered from the various stratigraphic notes taken over the long research history at the site. The various parts were then composited and scaled in Adobe Photoshop, traced into bezier contours, and then exported to Adobe Illustrator as vector art to create a set of full-scale vector maps: the general southern tip of central Crete; the local area on which the site resides; and the actual state plan of the time period in question. These were exported to Strata Studio Pro (2.5.3), the main 3D modeling program used for the reconstruction.

For modeling, topographic meshes were created with an Apple Macintosh PowerBook G3 (500 MHz, 12 GB HD, 500 MB RAM), using a simple "skin" technique to generate a basic landscape on which to situate the site model. Specific landscapes such as the main court opening to the sea, the east-west road, the northern hillside, and areas in and around the Civic Buildings were mapped using individual skins to get the best variation in contour. Decisions concerning sea level and land erosion were made on the basis of published geological surveys of the area as well as recent findings in stratigraphy and decay analysis.

The architectural outlines were "extruded" to their respective lengths and shapes on the basis of previous research of interior architecture and roofing construction and then set in vertical space using their foundation and extrapolated roof elevations. Individual walls and objects such as thresholds, door lintels and jams, beams and cross beams, socles, and unique areas of construction were modeled separately or generated using a few "instances" with varying uniqueness and then duplicated to cut down on file size. This technique was especially necessary in the roof construction of Building P, where almost a thousand pieces of wood were allegedly used. Various cameras were placed throughout the model to review the numerous recreations and their relationship to supporting data discovered at Kommos. From these, two camera angles were chosen for their depiction of the central Civic Area, Buildings N, T, and P within their surroundings.

Texture photography was harvested directly from the specific walls and objects at the site as well as from nearby land- and seascapes. Human models were dressed and photographed in matching lighting to be stripped into the model during postproduction. Candid photography of beachgoers at Kommos and at neighboring Matala also supplemented the library of inhabitants. Back in North America, hundreds of photographs from the site were scanned to a CD-ROM, manipulated, converted into texture maps, and wrapped to their respective objects. Since many of the upper courses of the walls are missing, these areas were interpolated on the basis of lower wall construction but set with slightly smaller blocks for weight distribution considerations. Final renderings from the chosen angles were generated with appropriate solar positions and atmospherics. These were set to summer conditions at either midmorning or just before sunset for the ideal contrast in light and shadow.

High-resolution renderings of the 3D model were generated creating 2D visuals. Dozens of perspective shots taken at the site that match the camera angles were composited into the shot to simulate the natural surroundings. These were placed with the help of existing landscape contours already included in the model. Additional adjustments to architectural and landscape features were digitally retouched, mostly to simulate a weathered appearance. The human model photography was then stripped in and costumes (or bathing suits) retouched to complete the scene.

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CHAPTER 1

The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Civic Buildings

Joseph W. Shaw

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1. Middle Minoan IIB Protopalatial Building AA and Its Predecessors

Until 1991 our view of the Southern Area was that Neopalatial Building T was the first major structure to be set there and that when it was set in, any earlier buildings had been razed over a wide area to make room for it. This view was to change. In 1991–92 we discovered Building AA's eastern walls (Pl. 1.6 at Location 10 described below) and then, later, in 1995, its southern wall (Location 6). The walls formed the eastern and southern borders, respectively, of a huge level platform set against the hillslope leading down toward the shoreline (Pl. 1.5). We excavated into the platform at a number of points, discovering pottery fills of mixed Middle Minoan IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early date. AA's size and establishment near the sea implies that it was intended to play an important role in the economic life of the western Mesara, at a time of acme at Phaistos and Knossos but when neighboring Aghia Triada had yet to develop into an important regional center (Table 5.1).

As can be seen in Pl. 1.3, the original bedrock sloped down to the west and south.[1] On this slope at least three early MM structures had been set. One was at the western side, near the shore (Pl. 1.6 at Location 2). Also, in the central, higher area an enigmatic paved walkway

(Location 5) was set into the marl bedrock, and a possible terrace wall had been built (Location 4). The farther south, west, and east that the builders were to extend their platform on the slope, the deeper their fillings would have to be.

On the east there appears to have been a natural gully (Pl. 1.3, right) oriented north-south and running northeast to southwest. It is now obscured by Minoan and later construction as well as by the 6–8 m of sand that accumulated after the desertion of the site during Roman times (Gifford 1995: 51–53, 71). The gully seems to have extended south beyond the south end of later Buildings T and P, to link up with the east-west streambed at the very south, beyond the present fence line. The gully had been created by the flow of groundwater toward the south and southwest over the impermeable surface of bedrock.[2] To support their platform in this area, the Minoans built an eastern wall 2.30 m wide, wider than any other wall found by us on the site, and retaining, to its west, the general level they had selected, at about +3.35 m (Pl. 1.6 at Location 10; Pl. 1.96 at *a*).[3] One can imagine the wall rising as it was built from the bedrock up.[4] At the same time, the builders raised the area east of that wall and reinforced it against erosion from the north and east by means of a series of walls set at right angles to each other, rather like "casemates."[5]

The platform's southern wall, although not as broad as the eastern one mentioned above, was found to the southwest (Pl. 1.6 at Location 6; Pl. 1.128 at *a*). Unfortunately, south of it excavation has not progressed far enough for us to understand the general appearance of the area during either the Protopalatial or the Neopalatial period. East and west of the single long north-south trench we excavated (Pl. 1.116) we may expect general changes in the wall positioning of buildings AA and T and/or the walls' appearance.[6] For the Protopalatial period, perhaps the slab floor just to the south, at *a* in Pl. 1.116 (at +2.80 m sloping down to +2.73 m) is of Protopalatial date, but we have not exposed enough of it nor excavated below it.[7] Above it, there are numerous early Late Minoan IA surfaces of consolidated earth and/or thin layers of sea pebbles and many potsherds associated with the use of Neopalatial Building T.

North of the southern wall of AA, to provide solid foundations for the columns of the South Stoa, the builders first brought in great slabs of limestone bedrock, much harder than the soft marl that characterizes bedrock in the excavation area.[8] These slabs were stacked on top of one another, probably beginning on or near bedrock, as suggested in the restoration (Pl. 1.115). As the slabs were set into position, filling operations may have been underway so that the next slab could be dragged up and set in its appropriate position.

The southern wall of AA is not preserved as far as the estimated western edge of the court that it may have bordered (assuming that the Central Courts during Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods were coincident—see also Chap. 1.2).[9] The sea has destroyed whatever was there, including any Neopalatial architecture, after a rise in relative sea level along this part of the coast (Gifford 1995: 76–80). It is reasonable, however, to restore the wall to the edge of the court simply to complete the architectural unit. Also, it is doubtful that the wall would simply have ended there, for the court, with bedrock sloping down to the west below

Table 1.1. List of staff during the seasons 1999–2004 indicating the home institution, role(s), and year(s) on the Kommos excavation. For earlier years, see *Kommos* IV: table 1.2.

Name	Institution, Role	99	00	01	02	03	04
Alloin, Élise	École Nationale du Patrimoine—Institut Français de Restauration d'Oeuvres d'Art; conservator	x	x	x	x	x	
Bianco, Giuliana	University of Toronto; excavation architect	x	x	x	x	x	x
Burke, Winn	Sheridan College; photographer			x			
Cain, Dawn	University of Toronto; editorial assistant	x					
Callaghan, Peter J.	Pottery analyst				x		
Costaki, Leda	University of Toronto; cataloguer	x	x				
Dabney, Taylor	Pratt Institute; photographer	x	x				
Dietrich, Chris	Dietrich Designs; computer imagist		x				
Dimson, Josée	Editorial assistant					x	x
Fasoulakis, Sifis	Pitsidia; excavation foreman	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fawkes, A. Glynnis	University of Wollongong; pottery profiler				x	x	
Goodwin, Marie	Bryn Mawr College; cataloguer			x			
Hancock, Teresa	University of Toronto; cataloguer				x	x	x
Ibronyi, Barbara (Toronto)	Editorial consultant	x	x	x			
Johnston, Alan W.	University College London; pottery analyst	x		x		x	
Khordoc, Magda	University of Toronto; pottery profiler		x				
Lehane, Sean	University of Toronto; assistant to the director					x	
Markou, Mary	University of Toronto; assistant cataloguer						x
Morrison, Jerolyn	University of Houston; pottery profiler			x	x	x	
Papanikolopoulos, Chronis	Photographer					x	
Pfaff, Julia	University of Toronto; profiler	x	x				
Raymond, Amy	University of Toronto; editorial assistant	x					
Ruscillo, Deborah	University of Toronto; faunal expert	x		x	x	x	x
Rutter, Jeremy	Dartmouth College; ceramic analyst	x	x	x	x	x	x
Shaw, Alexander	Simon Fraser University; photographer				x		
Shaw, Joseph W.	University of Toronto; director	x	x	x	x	x	x
Shaw, Maria C.	University of Toronto; assistant director	x	x	x	x	x	x
Strom, Cy	Editor		x	x	x	x	x
Van de Moortel, Aleydis	Bryn Mawr College; ceramic analyst	x	x	x	x	x	
Waxberg, Haley	University of Toronto; assistant cataloguer		x				

Table 1.2. Minoan use of the site and relevant discussions in the Kommos volumes, indicated by Roman numerals. See also Table 5.1 for detailed sequence of periods and events.

Period	Events	Descriptions in Kommos Volumes
FN–MM IA Prepalatial	Scattered sherds only; settlement on Vigles	I(1): 359–63; I(2): 1ff. II: Contexts 1–4
MM IB–IIB Protopalatial	Town founded, Building AA established and destroyed	I(2): Chap. 3.2; Chap. 6, passim II: Contexts 5–14 V: Chap. 1.1; Chap. 3.2, passim; Chap. 5.2
MM III	Change and renewal; Building T constructed	II: Contexts 15-21 V: Chap. 1.2; Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5.2
LM I Neopalatial	Town continues on Hilltop and hillside; Building T damaged and reused; House X built	I(2): Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3; Chaps. 5 and 6, passim II: Contexts 20–21 III: Deposits 1–15 V: Chap. 1.2; Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5, passim J. W. Shaw & M. C. Shaw 1993 (House X)
LM II Postpalatial	Continuing use of major areas	I(2): Chap. 3.3. III: Deposits 16–24; V: Chap. 1.2, Space 7; Chap. 3.3.
LM IIIA1–IIIB	Continuing use of houses; Shrine in House X; relative sea level rises during LM IIIA1 or earlier; major building initiative in LM IIIA2 (Buildings P and N, built in stages) followed by gradual decline and desertion	I(2): Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3; Chaps. 4, 5, & 6, passim III: Deposits 25–98 V: Chap. 1.3; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5, passim; J. W. Shaw & M. C. Shaw 1993 (House X)
LM IIIC Sub-Minoan	Scattered LMIII C sherds; building of Temple A ca. 1020 B.C.	III: Deposit 98 IV: Chap. 1.1; Chap. 3.2, Deposit 1; Chaps. 4 & 8, passim V: Chap. 3.3, Group 79

Compiled by J. W. Shaw after consultation with J. B. Rutter, M. C. Shaw, and A. Van de Moortel.

it, would otherwise have been exposed to erosion on that side; so adjoining walls running west and to the north also seem to be mandatory, as suggested in our restored plan. Westward extension of the platform there also remains a strong possibility, if not a probability, for with its stoa(s), court and eastern "wing" as assumed components, AA takes on the form known from the palaces, which all had extensions west of their central courts. The same consideration applies to later Building T, Room 5, now partly destroyed, as extended westward.[10] The likelihood is that any western extension of Protopalatial Building AA was similar to that of Building T. We know, for instance, that on the south T's stoa and court were set in terms of their predecessors (Locations 6, 11). On the north edge of the court, if the stoa of Building T there also goes back in form to AA, its back (north) wall is probably along AA's

original line.[11] On the east, however, T's eastern facade appears to have extended almost 6 m beyond AA's, although it still rested on an earlier MM retaining wall.

One way to speculate about this possible westward extension during the MM or LM I period is to estimate its possible east-west dimension. One can estimate this distance on the basis of "wave reach," that is, the extent to which the winter waves, driven by a west wind, would reach up the shoreline. The waves would undermine and inevitably destroy anything built there, as happened with the rise in relative sea level after LM I.[12]

As shown in Frontispiece A, a dotted line beginning on the northwest and extending southeast indicates the present extent of wave reach, where some of the Central Court and perhaps part of the end of overlying Greek Building Q have been cut away.[13] Before the local change in relative sea level, this line must have been farther west. One basis for estimating the ancient line is by using the MM east-west walkway (Pl. 1.6 at Location 5; Pls. 1.63–1.64), which was set onto the sloping bedrock. With a preserved length of 18.40 m, it slopes down to the west, from +2.83 m to +1.97 m, suggesting the slope of the bedrock during the Minoan period (Pl. 1.4). About 5 m beyond its preserved end is the modern line of maximum wave reach, at the southeastern end of Building Q.[14] If we take the line of bedrock represented by the walkway and the preserved end of Q as our two givens, therefore, and work in the ca. 1.5-m vertical difference between modern sea level (MSL) and ancient sea level (ASL, as calculated for LM IIIA1), the result as measured graphically is a horizontal distance of some 30.64 m west of the western edge of the LM I Central Court. Perhaps a figure of 30 m would be a conservative maximum extension for the West Wing that would be possible without risking wave damage to the building. Of course, the Minoans may not have built out as far as that line but, rather, situated their structures back from it, perhaps allowing for access via a walkway, or passageway, or for a western court, steps up from the seashore, and the like.

When the eastern part of the platform for AA was constructed, two high north-south walls were built parallel to each other (Pl. 1.67b at A and B). Between them, from what we can tell through limited excavation, was an insubstantial north-south wall at a rather high level but still covered over at the time the two other walls were in use (Pl. 1.67b). Rough east-west walls in at least two places linked the two main walls. When building began, the chief walls were set on the hillslope. As the surface rose the remaining walls were added. How far this series of walls extended to the north is unknown; it is assumed that they continue to the south under the still-unexcavated area, where they link up with the eastward continuation of the east-west southern wall of the South Stoa (in Pl. 1.6 at Location 6; Pls. 1.5, 1.7).

The two north-south walls just mentioned are similar to the extent that each is constructed of slab masonry, and their upper courses are preserved to about the same height (+3.25 m). They differ in a number of ways, however. In Location 10, Wall B (Pls. 1.5, 1.67b), for instance, is more deeply founded, down to +1.90 m, about 0.30 m lower than the bottom of Wall A. This difference may simply be due to the fact that B was set farther downslope, and the upper platform level was to be maintained. Also, A is much more carefully constructed,

with its slabs laid in neat courses, in contrast with B (still only glimpsed at a few places), which is much more roughly built. Moreover, A is significantly wider (2.30 m versus 1.65 m). In plan, however, B would at first impression appear to be AA's *exterior* wall, since it is farther east.

In our most recent report (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 166), written as we were beginning to excavate the MM levels on the east, we noted that the great Neopalatial orthostate facade (Pl. 1.41) had been set upon an earlier Protopalatial wall. We should consider, however, whether this orthostatic facade is actually of Protopalatial date, thus contemporary with its foundation wall, especially now that we understand better the massive scale on which AA was conceived and carried out. One could argue, for instance, that orthostates were being used at Phaistos in early MM, earlier than those at Kommos (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 83–88) and, therefore, that early orthostates at Kommos could fit into our view of local development. On the other hand, leaving aside (for the moment) the orthostates, carefully squared ashlar masonry of poros limestone appears to be a feature of the Neopalatial period at Kommos, not appearing before Building T was constructed.

Also, it has been argued in the past that T's orthostate facade is stylistically later than the earlier examples known.[15] Of course, evaluation from the point of style can often be incorrect. On the northwest, however, the orthostate facade rests on the krepidoma of Neopalatial Room 5 (formerly, Building J).[16] Room 5 there, of Neopalatial date, is constructed of coursed ashlar blocks (Pl. 1.42). Therefore, since the orthostate facade wall postdates, even if for a short time, a Neopalatial building, it cannot be Protopalatial. Thus, the eastern facade of T appears to have been a new one designed and carried out for the occasion, just as along the southern border of the Central Court a new wall replaced an older one (Pl. 1.6 at Location 6).

Unfortunately we do not know the appearance of AA's upper walls. Perhaps they were of clay and rubble, reinforced by wood, as in the early stage of the first Palace of Phaistos (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 80, 85). Like Protopalatial Wall A at Kommos (above), those at Phaistos were extraordinarily thick.[17] Perhaps some of the stone used in AA, now anonymous and mute, was reused in Building T. Only in one case do we have a hint of an upper wall in AA, namely, on the southern part of Protopalatial Wall A uncovered at the eastern end of Building P's Gallery 3 (Pl. 1.95 to the left of *b*) where part of the lower courses of a wall, 1.50 m thick, was laid flush with its eastern edge.

Which of the two walls, A or B, could have supported the presumed eastern facade of Building AA? A, on the west, appears to be the better choice. It is more carefully built and, especially, significantly wider, the width itself suggesting that, as is known in the case of later Building T, the widest wall is on the exterior. At this point it is better to think of Wall B as retaining the eastern slope and creating a platform east of AA, as originally suggested by M. C. Shaw, who supervised many of the trenches that investigated MM contexts throughout the Southern Area.

To judge from the latest pottery within the relevant strata discussed below, AA was constructed early in MM IIB. At least its platform, as well as the massive foundations for its southern colonnade, was actually completed, which suggests that some, if not all, of the building was finished. Unfortunately, the few artifacts associated with AA's use, vases and parts of plaster tables, and some evidence for dye extraction in the southeastern part of the Central Court, tell us little about the building's function(s). For the same reason, it is difficult to follow AA's history up to the time that Building T was constructed in MM III, early in the Neopalatial period.

In summary, Building T was set in above AA during MM III. AA's upper walls were razed,[18] and most, if not all, of the floors were replaced by those of T. The result is that although we know the general exterior outline of AA to the south and east, except for the South Stoa (and, perhaps, the North Stoa), we do not know the arrangement of any interior spaces. Although we have adequate information for determining the date when AA was built (MM IIB Early), the same phenomenon of inadequate floor material presents us with only ambiguous information about when AA went out of use and/or whether it was destroyed by earthquake.

Among the alternatives to resolving this last perplexing problem are two simple approaches. The first, preferred by Van de Moortel, is that AA went out of use in late MM IIB, the date of the mendable vessels in the two determining pottery groups, one of them being in the *sottoscala* deposit (Group L, Pl. 1.6 at Location 12), the other in the fill of the pit in the South Stoa (Group M, Location 9). One could argue on this basis that AA was destroyed in later MM IIB, coincident with the earthquake that is thought to have destroyed the first palace at Phaistos[19] and which ultimately led to the Neopalatial structure that replaced it. This alternative is to be preferred if the evidence for the earthquake at Phaistos is convincing, since Kommos lies so relatively close to it.

However, if the evidence for earthquake at Phaistos remains unsure, then a date into MM III for AA use remains a possibility. Indeed, fragments of MM III pottery were found along with the MM IIB vessels in both of the areas just mentioned. These could be used to indicate area use, at least on the south, during MM III, until events brought about new construction in the form of Building T.

The Predecessors to Building AA

1. MM IB–II strata, without architecture, south of Building N, underneath N Space 8 just north of Archaic Building Q's west end (Pl. 1.6 at Location 1). Below LM I pebble court of Building T, indicating actual use of the area or filling brought in from an area characterized by domestic activity.

Trench 86E. Protopalatial Pottery Group A in Chap. 3.2.[20,21]

2. Walls and strata below the northwest corner of the Central Court under Buildings T and Postpalatial Building N (Pl. 1.6 at Location 2; Pl. 1.32 for location of lower walls. Foldout C in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000).

East Sounding. Trench 37A. MM IB–IIB Early pottery. Pottery Group Ba in Chap. 3.2.
West Sounding. Trench 37A. MM IB–IIB Early pottery. Pottery Group Bb in Chap. 3.2.
North Sounding below Space 10 slab floor. Trench 100B. MM IB–II pottery. Pottery Group Bc in Chap. 3.2.
Sounding below western part of North Stoa below Space 11, Pottery Group Bd in Chap. 3.2.

Four separate, nearly adjacent soundings below LM levels were carried out within the western end of the North Stoa (in Spaces 10 and 11 in Pl. 1.28; Pl. 1.32) and just to the south and east of there (see trenches and pottery groups above). Within Space 10 part of the Neopalatial paved court was removed, then, later, replaced by us. South of Space 10 the pebble court was partly removed and later restored to its original appearance. The MM IB–IIB Early fill below slab or court surfaces, composed of chunks of clay bedrock (lepis), earth, sand, occasional stone chips, and many sherds, was like that found elsewhere in soundings within the platform of Building AA (Groups A, C, Da–Dc, E, Fa, Fb, G, H, I, Ja–Je, Ji; also Group 29 in Chap. 3.3). The pottery is also similar in terms of degree of preservation and dating. Together, the fill and ceramics suggest that the original AA platform extended this far to the north.

Within the same area, set at least at one point on bedrock, are a number of well-preserved rubble walls (Pl. 1.32 for location and appearance). Within Space 10, on the east, the western face of a north-south wall was revealed—another supported the socle of Building T, Room 5, to the west. Presumably the latter is earlier than T5 and may be a wall of AA that, like the South Stoa (below, Location 6), was adapted as part of the general plan when Building T was constructed. Outside Space 10, to the south, the north-south supporting wall for Building T, Room 5 (above) was found to continue. East of there was a freestanding east-west wall 0.80 m wide.[22] Presumably these walls all rest on bedrock, but groundwater prevented our going any deeper in some areas (J. W. Shaw 1981a: 220–21 for details). Wall construction is of the typical MM IIB technique of coursed, medium-sized slabs.[23]

Interpretation of these walls must remain tentative, but there are two possibilities. The first, more likely, one is that at least some walls represent parts of pre-AA structures set not far from the shore and contemporary with early MM residences on the hillside to the north

(see also J. W. Shaw 1996a: 2; 1996b: 392; Betancourt 1990: 24, 72); however, in Location 10 in the eastern wing of AA, walls that were built only as part of the terracing arrangement for AA are known, so this becomes another possible explanation. Further excavation below the pebble court, south of Space 10, might resolve the issue by determining whether floors are associated with the early walls. If there are floors, then the walls are certainly those of pre-AA buildings.[24]

C 3531	Fragmentary loomweight	37A/61	Chap. 4.2, **26**
C 10680	Loomweight	100B/13	Chap. 4.2, **1**
S 817	Abraded slab	37A/63	Chap. 4.4, **26**
S 818	Whetstone	37A/63	Chap. 4.4, **27**

3. Oval Protopalatial pavement located in the northwest area of the Central Court south of Building N. Trench 100D. Location 3 (Pl. 1.6). MM IB–IIB. MM Pottery Group C in Chap. 3.2.

In Space 8 (the western part of the Central Court before LM III Building N was superposed on it), just east of Building T's facade, a small area of the pebble court was removed. Some 0.13 m below the court surface an oval pavement was exposed (Pls. 1.26, 1.32–1.33). Just west of it (Pl. 1.27) is the ashlar krepidoma of T's wall, which in turn rests on another wall that is probably earlier. Next to the pavement the pottery is uniformly MM IB–IIB Early, similar to that below the pebble pavement not far to the south (Location 1). The pebble layer of the court above it contained LM IA sherds (Trench 100D/43, 45).

Too little of the complex area was exposed, but the following sequence can be suggested:

1. The lower part of the western wall is laid in (*c* in Pl. 1.27), top at +2.51 m. MM IIB or earlier.
2. The slab pavement is established, top at +2.62 m. MM IB or later.
3. T's facade blocks, along with its ashlar socle, are set on the earlier wall,[25] and the pebble court is laid up against it on the east. MM III–LM IA.

The slab pavement, with a single very large, irregular slab surrounded by smaller ones, has no parallels at Kommos. It was laid down with some care on a thin layer of sea pebbles. There is little doubt about its MM date, but whether it was a pre-AA feature or one associated with its court remains to be determined. As to the pavement's function there are no informative clues; no nonpottery artifacts were found associated with it.

4. Early wall outside west end of P's Gallery 5 (Pl. 1.6 at Location 4; Pl. 1.107). MM IB–IIB Early pottery.

Trench 93A. MM Pottery Group Db in Chap. 3.2.

Here a wall corner was exposed, top at +2.87 m, width 0.90 m, sealed below three surfaces: (1) an uppermost floor of pebbles (top +2.98 m), (2) a floor of lime and pebbles (*chalikasvestos*, top +2.87 m), and (3) a thin layer of crushed murex shells immediately below.[26] The wall's masonry was traced down four rough courses on the west. On the southeast there does not appear to have been a wall face, suggesting that the wall retained a platform. The wall probably does not belong to Building AA, since (1) AA retaining walls seem to have faces on both sides; (2) the wall in question is at a slight angle to the southern wall of AA (see below, Location 6); and (3) the wall's masonry consists of mixed small and larger slabs, unlike the more consistent MM IIB Early slablike masonry elsewhere (e.g., that in Pl. 1.28). It is likely, therefore, that this corner is part of a platform partly razed when AA was constructed.[27]

5. The east-west walkway in the Central Court (Pl. 1.6 at Location 5; Pls. 1.63–1.64; *Kommos* IV, Foldout E).

Trench 64A3/86. Seventh century B.C.
Trench 65A3/83. LM III.
Trench 65A7/98, 99. Archaic, Minoan.

B 319	Wire	65A3/83	Chap. 4.1, **55**
C 8617	Loomweight fragment	65A7/99	Chap. 4.2, **27**

The walkway or "causeway" in the area of the Central Court[28] crosses the court in an east-west direction. It is slightly off-angle as compared with the orientation of the Minoan buildings. It is 1.40 m wide and, as preserved, 18.40 m long on the east. It begins irregularly, probably because slabs have been removed by erosion and/or construction, just west of LM III P's Gallery 3. On the west, it extends below Greek Building Q, where its continuation has probably been destroyed by a combination of runoff rainwater from the east and erosion by the sea on the west. It slopes down, from east to west, from +2.83 m to +1.97 m. Along its northern border, toward its center, there is a plaster lip, 0.07 m high, backed on the north by a few small slabs set in a line alongside it, as if a bench or wall were once set there. No such lip occurs on the south.

Curiously, every 2.00–2.60 m there is an irregular, shallow gap in this pavement, 0.15–0.20 m wide. Eight such gaps are preserved.[29] The walkway was set on bedrock. When excavated, it was covered with sea pebbles, but they were not as consolidated as those found in the layers of court paving elsewhere. Perhaps this was due to erosion, for the strata above the pavement were mixed, yielding pottery from both Minoan and Greek periods (see above). Even today the walkway remains a low point down which water drains toward the west.

The date and architectural associations of the walkway remain somewhat elusive. A pre–Building AA date, however, is the more likely one at this time. Just south of the walkway, toward the east, for instance, was found a portion of a floor possibly of MM IB date or earlier (pottery fill was uniformly MM IB; Trench 65A5/81), at +2.59 m. On the east, the walkway

would have been about 0.10 m below AA's court and, because of the walkway's slope, 0.70 m below the court's western extension.[30] One might think that the lip along the northern edge of the walkway, mentioned above, could, when extended up, have kept the walkway open and still useful during later periods. But the tops of walkways, such as those at the palaces of Knossos, Malia, and Phaistos, are either even with the road or court surfaces on either side of them, or elevated slightly above them. Also, walkways are unknown in central courts. Perhaps that at Kommos led eastward from the sea to a predecessor of Building AA, still unidentified, possibly a still-undeveloped version of the more defined palatial structures with which we are familiar. It could have been destroyed when AA was constructed.

Building AA

6. The Southern Wall of AA (Pl. 1.6 at Location 6; Pls. 1.118–1.120, 1.128).

> Trench 97A. MM IB–IIB pottery. MM Pottery Group E in Chap. 3.2. For similar circumstances and dating, see also MM Pottery Group H from east of the stone-lined pit (Location 9) in Chap. 3.2.

In the South Stoa area, the most identifiable feature of AA is its southern wall, which underlies the southern wall of the South Stoa of Building T. This broad (1.80 m) and long MM wall formed, as we have seen, the southern end of the great platform raised in MM IIB; later, it was to determine both the position and dimensions of T's stoa and court on the south.

The wall was deeply bedded. At the one point that we sectioned it (north-south), its base on either side was at +1.28 m, with a total preserved height of 1.20 m, as measured on the better preserved, north side. The uppermost course preserved here (Pl. 1.128), on the inside face of the wall, is composed of a series of thin slabs that give the appearance of a leveling course, at +2.45 m, above the more canonical MM masonry style. In the section made in Trench 97A below some plaster and stone chip debris, the fill[31] had few sherds and was chiefly composed of gray clay of the type found elsewhere in the MM platform.

AA's southern wall was a long one, traceable as far as T's southern court wall is preserved on the southwest and, on the east, slightly beyond the edge of the court. More than likely, it extends from there, below a presently unexcavated area, to where it links up with the broad north-south wall bordering AA on the east (*a* in Pl. 1.89, Pl. 1.96), at least 30 m away.

7. The Floor of the South Stoa (Pl. 1.6 at Location *7*; Pls. 1.125–1.126).

> Trench 97A. Protopalatial pottery. MM Pottery Group Fa in Chap. 3.2. Cf. Group I east of pit.

Excavation of the eastern two-thirds of the stoa's interior failed to locate a reliable MM floor level. Either it never was there or, more likely, it was disturbed when the LM IA pottery

kiln was built in the South Stoa and also, later, during its operation.[32] West of the kiln, however, there was a pebble floor, 3–8 cm thick, laid on MM IB–IIB Early fill.[33] Its top level sloped down from +3.02 m at the colonnade to +2.64 m, at about a meter north of the south wall. Farther west, toward the sea, the level was maintained.

Only one layer of pebble pavement was found next to and within the South Stoa.[34] Between column bases and/or end piers the level was maintained.[35] To judge from the preserved western portion described above, the floor on the interior sloped down to the south then by as much as 0.40 m. If this level represents the original floor, during a downpour water would have accumulated in the court, then flowed into the stoa. More likely, it is better to postulate the presence of an MM earth floor, perhaps at +3.10 m, which was so disturbed by later activity as to be no longer discernible. That it may have been there is suggested by a stone-lined pit east of the later kiln (Location 9, below), which probably served as a drain. Its preserved top is at +2.80 m. Since this level coincides with that of the razing of the nearby MM wall during the Neopalatial period, it is a fair assumption that the walls of the pit were razed as well, down from at least as high as +2.85 m (as actually preserved farther east). (There may well be other, similar sumps in unexcavated areas north of the MM wall and farther to the west.) The water would have drained south and, then, westward, outside the building.

8. The Colonnade of the South Stoa. Sounding below pebble and crushed murex layers between the two easternmost column bases (Pl. 1.6 at Location 8; Pls. 1.117, 1.127). MM IB–IIB Early pottery.

Trench 93C. MM Pottery Group G in Chap. 3.2.

In the only sounding made on the east-west line of the southern colonnade, excavation penetrated the single layer of pebble paving, then a lens of burnt, crushed murex shells that is also probably that mentioned in connection with Location 4, above, where it seals pre–Building AA strata. Here the result was similar, for both pails contained only MM IB–IIB Early pottery. The pottery is scrappy, however.

As seen in the section (Pl. 1.117), the disk-shaped bases for the columns, above ground level, rest upon one or more large blocks, which are set one upon the other, as a foundation for the column. The uniform MM IB–IIB Early fill around these sub-bases suggests that they were placed in their present positions at that time (Pl. 1.115). There was no sign of a foundation trench, so it is probable that they were part of the work originally carried out when AA's platform was being built. Perhaps the lowest slab of each stack (the number has not been determined, since excavation was limited) was set on or into the original MM exterior surface, and then others were added as the platform was built.[36] The height of the stacks, especially that of the upper slabs, must have been carefully calculated so that the tops of the actual column bases would be uniform, as can be seen in Foldout C.[37]

9. Stone-lined pit next to the southern wall of AA (Pls. 1.118, 1.129; Pl. 1.6 at Location 9).

Trench 93C. MM IIB–III pottery. MM Pottery Group M in Chapter 3.2. Faunal Group M in Chap. 4.7.

The pit, 0.80 m north-south (minimum) by 1.20 m east-west, was set into the floor of the MM stoa after its southern wall was constructed, for during the pit's construction the builders removed a few courses of the back of AA's wall. The relatively small pit was about 0.60 m deep; it continues an unknown distance under the wall of T, which was set on it.

The two pails removed (114, 116) contained much MM IIB pottery. At the bottom of the pit were traces of burning, also the top of the blocks of AA's east-west wall (the latter visible in the center, right, of Pl. 1.129). Pottery joins between the pails show that it is a homogeneous group.

The purpose of the pit is not clear. It seems too small for storage, and the pottery and numerous shells within it were probably dumped there during a cleaning operation. The most likely interpretation is that it served as a makeshift drain for the east end of the stoa, probably an afterthought, carrying water that flowed in from the Central Court, which was higher (Central Court, +3.00 m; top of pit +2.80 m). This can be shown to be true, however, only if future excavation shows that the pit continues through to the south side of the wall.[38]

The significance of the pit from the point of view of its sequence in the area is ambiguous. Two alternatives have been proposed, with the author favoring the second:

1. The pottery from within the pit is MM IIB–III in date, quite similar to that found in the *sottoscala* to the east (Location 12, below). Since the pit destroyed part of the southern wall of AA, then the upper parts of that wall could not have been standing at the time, and the stoa collapsed during MM IIB, during the very period it was built. Therefore, the pit represents a period of hiatus between the time that AA was destroyed (MM IIB) and the time when Neopalatial Building T was constructed (MM III).
2. There is a strong possibility that the pit, although destroying part of AA's wall, was excavated and lined when AA's wall was still standing. If it served as a makeshift drain, as suggested above, then part of the wall would have to be pierced anyhow, and the removal of a few slabs would not have made much difference. Another approach is also possible. In our discussion of AA's walls here, an inherent assumption has been that the total width of the very thick terracing walls was carried up to roof level. Although this is possible, there is no evidence to show that this was actually the case. Indeed, there is evidence on the east to suggest that it may not have been, for the eastern wall (below, Location 10) still has a few slabs of an upper wall preserved (Pl. 1.95, left of *b*). These slabs may represent a narrower wall set upon the broader, lower one (width of lower wall, 2.30 m; width of upper wall, 1.30 m). In the case of the pit, the builders may have removed blocks only from the interior of the socle rather than

from the wall itself. The pit can well be contemporary with AA's wall and thus with the stoa's use. The MM IIB pottery found within the pit would, therefore, represent a period of use of AA rather than one of abandonment. Pottery of the same date found just north of the pit (MM Pottery Group K in Chap. 3.2) may represent material deposited when the pit was being set in. MM III unmendable pottery found within the pit dates either the filling of the pit or activity associated with the building of T.

10. The north-south walls of AA on the east and their surroundings (Pl. 1.6 at Location 10; Pls. 1.67, 1.89, 1.95). Pottery Groups Ja, Jb, Jc, Jd, Jd, Je, Jf, Jg, Jh in Chap. 3.2. Those selected here:

a. Sounding under Building P's Gallery 1 (cf. Pl. 1.99). Dump of fill alongside (east) of AA platform, between AA walls A and B.
   Trench 80B. MM IB–IIB Early pottery. Pottery Group Ja.
b. Sounding under Building P's Gallery 3 (west) (cf. Pls. 1.95, 1.101).
   Trench 86D. Mostly MM IB with a sprinkle of MM IIA and MM IIB. Pottery Group Jd.
c. Sounding under Building P's Gallery 3 (east) (cf. Pls. 1.95, 1.101).
   Trench 86D. Pure MM IB pottery.
d. Sounding in fill next to and east of foundation below orthostate wall. MM IB–II pottery. (Pl. 1.6 at Location 10). Trench 88B. Group Jf.

As can be seen in Pl. 1.67, the eastern ends of P's Galleries 1 and 2 are, in plan, a crisscross of walls of different periods, often difficult to differentiate. We describe their features from latest to earliest: A spring chamber approached by steps was in use (Archaic through Hellenistic) (Pl. 1.85); this well reused the northern wall of Building P of LM III date. Before P was built part of this area lay outside Neopalatial Building T. T, in turn, was partly set upon MM II Building AA. A more detailed discussion of the differentiation of these walls can be found in Chap. 1.2.

These four soundings were made to determine the dimensions and relative ceramic dates of the MM walls in the area. Concerning the dating, the range is MM IB–II, with consistent MM IB occurring in one case (a, above) and MM IB below MM II in another (c). There is no evidence, however, such as floor levels or successive construction, to indicate sequences created by use. Rather, the ceramic differences are more likely attributable to the sources of the fill, probably on the hillside to the north where the town first clustered, and from which the fills, along with excavated marl, occasionally sand, and irregular stones, were extracted. The pottery and other artifacts in the fill (fragments of stone bowls, numerous fragmentary loomweights, an occasional stone or bone tool, as well as the numerous bones and shells) are, therefore, indicators of activities in contexts unconnected with Building AA itself. We assume, therefore, that the fillings are part of a single, massive building project and that the

MM walls are synchronous, dating to the period of the latest pottery in the fill, namely, early MM IIB. Imports from outside Crete confirm pre-AA foreign interconnections.

Catalogue for Location 10 (a–d, above)

B	385	Folded strip	86D/37	Chap. 4.1, **21**
Bo	60	Pointed bone tool	86D/52	Chap. 4.7, **1**. For type, cf. Blitzer 1995: **Bo 23**
C	8962	Loomweight	88B/53	Chap. 4.2, **2**
C	9447	Loomweight	80B/82	Chap. 4.2, **3**
C	9448	Loomweight	80B/82	Chap. 4.2, **4**
C	9799	Loomweight	86D/52	Chap. 4.2, **5**
C	9805	Loomweight	86D/46	Chap. 4.2, **6**
C	9809	Loomweight	86D/49a	Chap. 4.2, **7**
C	9813	Loomweight	86D/52	Chap. 4.2, **8**
C	9821	Loomweight	86D/54	Chap. 4.2, **9**
C	9823	Loomweight	86D/54	Chap. 4.2, **10**
C	9833	Loomweight	86D/57	Chap. 4.2, **11**
S	2216	Bowl fragment	80B/83	Chap. 4.4, **79**
S	2217	Bowl fragment	80B/83	Chap. 4.4, **80**
S	2220	Bowl/closed	80B/79	Chap. 4.4, **81**
S	2246	Bowl fragment	86D/57	Chap. 4.4, **82**
S	2315	Abraded cobble	86D/52	Chap. 4.4, **20**

For fauna, see Chap. 4.7.

11. The MM Central Court (Pl. 1.6 at Location 11).

Part of the Central Court remains covered by Archaic Building Q. The northernmost, part of the eastern, and the southern part of the court, north of the South Stoa, have been cleared, however. Undoubtedly the top, latest court surface is that used, perhaps also placed, when Building T was in use,[39] but it is often difficult to assign separate court surfaces to either Building AA or Building T, a problem caused partly by the general similarity of levels for court and room surfaces throughout the Southern Area. Also, the Central Court was covered with layers of pebbles brought up from the sea and thus is usually without the pottery inclusions that would make closer dating possible.

At points there is evidence for two, even three, layers of pebbles (Pls. 1.87, 1.113). The earliest court level in front of P5, for instance, is a 4-cm-thick, durable layer of pebbles and lime, called *chalikasvestos*, which sealed off MM IIB, pre-AA levels (above, Location 4). The type is also known from the MM houses north of the Civic Center (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 1996: 351). Perhaps not by coincidence, this same, superior type of pavement occurs along the northern edge of the Central Court. At the one column and column foundation preserved and accessible (Pl. 1.57), the lower court level was of this material (J. W. Shaw

1987: 102–3). At the northeastern corner of the Court, also, the earlier of the two levels was of *chalikasvestos* (J. W. Shaw 1986: 251; for the technique, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 218–21).

12. *Sottoscala* deposit from along southern side of later LM I Building T's Room J and LM III Gallery P6, below stairs attributed to Building T (Pl. 1.6 at Location 12; Pls. 1.111–1.112). Mendable MM IIB and MM III vessels with scattered MM III sherd material.

Trenches 90A, 93C, 97D. All MM Pottery Group L in Chap. 3.2.

In this complex area, from latest to earlier, the southern wall of LM III P's Gallery 6 was built on part of the width of LM I Building T's southern wall. Earlier, as we saw in Location 6, above, this southern wall of Building T was set on that of AA (Pls. 1.112, 1.128). When T was constructed, a stairway was set in, leading up, from west to east, from the Central Court, perhaps to upper rooms, a loggia over the South Stoa, and/or to the roof. This stairway could also be reached from the outside, south of the building, through a narrow doorway.

The pottery deposit, enumerated in Chap. 3.2, was found within the *sottoscala*. Apparently it was not removed when T was built, since that area would not be in use. Neopalatial razing of interior floor levels in AA appears to have been so complete that this is one of the few large pottery groups, and the only one found by us, that remained.

The deposit consisted of a variety of cups or their fragments, as well as bowls, a large jug, a pitharaki, a jar, a spouted slab or box, cooking pots and lamps. Associated with these were the remains of plaster tables and two fragments of bull figurines. Most of the vases, to judge from their freshness and high degree of mendability, seem to derive from a floor deposit of Building AA. The inventoried vessels datable to MM III are restricted to conical cups. They are likely to have been introduced during the construction of Building T. Notable is the fragment of a cooking vessel with metal adhering to it (C 9881), suggesting industrial activity, as well as a large part of a lentoid flask that may be Western Anatolian or Cycladic. Perhaps there was continuity in area use between the time of AA and T, and some of the pieces of plaster tables may belong to such earlier use, as also believed by M. C. Shaw, whose study, however, shows more conspicuous use of plaster tables during the time of Neopalatial T (see Chap. 4.5).[40] No stone tools were found in the *sottoscala* deposit, although a whetstone (S 2322, Chap. 4.4, **37**, a cobble with an abraded side from Trench 90A/50) was found just west of here.

C 9881	Crucible	90A/72	Chap. 4.1, **75**
C 10268	Bull's leg	93C/124	Chap. 4.6, **Sc9**
C 10269	Bull's horn	93C/125	Chap. 4.6, **Sc10**

Plaster tables found within the *sottoscala* proper:

P 224	Plaster table fragment	97D/18	Chap. 4.5, **PT10**

P 203	Plaster table fragment	97D/18	Chap. 4.5, **PT11**
P 196	Plaster table fragment	93C/121	Chap. 4.5, **PT12**

Plaster tables found west of the *sottoscala*,[41] in the "lobby" area:

P 215	Plaster table fragment	90A/66	Chap. 4.5, **PT13**
P 197	Plaster table fragment	90A/72	Chap. 4.5, **PT14**
P 258	Plaster table fragment	90A/72	Chap. 4.5, **PT15**
P 223	Plaster table fragment	90A/72	Chap. 4.5, **PT16**

2. Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T (Pls. 1.7, 1.8)

After the suspected destruction by earthquake toward the end of MM III, and probably coinciding with the rebuilding of many of the houses, the local leadership decided to renew the great MM IIB civic structure that we have dubbed "AA" (see Chap. 1.1).[42] AA was a huge palatial structure, including a large rectangular court with a colonnade at least along its southern border, and was placed upon an artificial terrace built up along the eastern and southern, and probably western, sides of the sloping hillside. In plan, it was probably rectangular, as suggested in Pl. 1.5.

When T was constructed AA may have been in ruins—we may never know, since the razing to make way for T, down to or even below floor level, was so thorough;[43] however, T's builders made good use of AA's elevated platform. On the south, they set a new wall above the earlier one (Pl. 1.128). On the east they extended their facade about 6 m beyond that of AA's but still reused one of AA's terrace walls as a foundation (Pl. 1.67). Moreover, the builders retained the form of the great rectangular court, oriented north-south,[44] as well as the foundations for the columns of the South Stoa. A restored plan of Building T is furnished in Pl. 1.8, along with possible units of measurement used, as suggested by Giuliana Bianco (see Bianco 2003).

From the point of view of construction, late MM III was the period for squared ashlar masonry in the Southern Area. Aside from a few small pier-and-door partition bases in houses, a window sill and pillar blocks in House X, the technique was usually not used in the houses of the town to the north.[45] In the Southern Area, as was the Minoan custom,[46] the masonry was used on facades and, within the building, along exposed areas such as courts, and as piers at wall ends. This was the first and, probably the last time that significant quarrying of poros limestone and sandstone was carried out in the Kommos area.[47] Hundreds, if not thousands, of blocks were extracted, then carted, rafted, or dragged to the building site, then given their final shapes before being set in place.[48] These same blocks were to furnish ready material for later LM III Buildings P and N, where they were incorporated,

along with slabs and rubble, into sections of interior walls strengthened by wood frames, as described in Chap. 1.3. Later, during the Greek period the successive temples and their auxiliary structures were built largely from T's blocks, extending an activity that was to continue into this century.[49]

When approaching by sea from the southwest, then as now, one would have first seen the cliffs of the Nisos peninsula, and then the great rock or "Volakas" projecting from the sea.[50] Then, to the left, one would encounter the projecting reef or "Papadóplaka" sheltering the shoreline and ships pulled up on it.[51] Beyond the shoreline, houses of the town clustered on the top and sloping side of the hill. Some of the smaller ships were, no doubt, those of fishermen, many of whom lived in the town.[52] To the right one could see the paved road, beginning behind a walkway bordering the shore, leading inland to Phaistos and eventually to Knossos near the north shore. South of the roadway was the largest building of the group, two storeys high, the western wing of Palatial Building T with its ashlar facade pierced occasionally by windows. During days when the sea was calm ships could ride at anchor not far from the shore. Others would simply pull up near or on the shore to unload cargo: raw material such as copper ingots, along with Cypriot pottery and Mycenaean tablewares, or comestibles shipped in Canaanite, Egyptian, and Cycladic storage jars. Wood and locally manufactured goods such as textiles were likely exports for the return voyage.[53]

The East-West Road

The roadway up and down which visitors and locals alike would pass (Space 17 in Frontispiece A; also Pls. 1.19 foreground, 1.20, 1.54) was like an artery both bisecting and leading into the two main sections of the built-up area. The roadway's closely set but irregularly shaped hard limestone paving slabs, which began considerably farther west than we see them now, have been smoothed and polished by centuries of traffic by feet and the hooves of beasts of burden.[54] The road first led past a broad entranceway with a massive threshold with a single leaf door leading one into the West Wing of Building T (Room 5, Pls. 1.7, 1.19, 1.20, 1.34). When we consider the limited number of entrances leading into the building, this one must have been carefully considered and crucial to its function. Perhaps this area of T5 actually was a clearinghouse, or *teloneion*, as originally envisioned for another part of the site by Sir Arthur Evans in his incisive statements about Kommos even without excavation (J. W. Shaw 1995a: 8–10). Perhaps merchants and visitors from abroad would stop here to discuss their cargoes or the purposes of their visit before continuing inland. Local merchants, either independent traders or those involved in carrying out the imperatives of palatial enterprise, would also come here.

Fishermen and other local inhabitants, without specific business to carry out in the civic buildings, could simply turn north about 6 m further east to reach the houses of the town on the hillside or beyond. During the later MM–LM I period, they would probably have walked

up a paved ramp (Pl. 1.17) of which a few worn slabs were found in a deep trench in an almost inaccessible area below one of the later Greek structures.[55] Later, during LM III, the ramp was covered over with rubble, and a rougher, stepped path (Pl. 1.18), dubbed by us the "Rampa dal Mare," led up toward the House with the Snake Tube.[56]

Beyond this southwestern entrance to the town, the north side of the road was bordered by a rough retaining wall, ranging from a meter high on the west to, on the east, 1.35 m high in front of House X. North of the wall began the houses of the town both during MM and most of the LM period, although after LM IIIA2 some of the eastern houses were probably deserted when population tended to concentrate along the western cliffside above the sandy beach (J. W. and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 1996: 394). During most of the time of the road's use,[57] traffic going to and returning from the seashore passed next to the two or three domiciles next to the road. This may have been especially true for those dwelling in House X, opposite the northeastern corner of Building T, at a crossroads. To judge from the relatively elegant architecture and the plethora of imported ceramics found within House X, the residence may at one time have belonged to an official involved in activities connected with Building T.[58]

The long east-west road served to separate the main residential area of the town from the civic buildings. It was, clearly, the main way of the town.[59] Most surprising is the road's width, averaging 2.60–2.85 m, not including a channel ca. 0.28 m wide and 0.40 m deep that borders it on the north. It is wider and more carefully made than any other on the Kommos site and, in Crete, comparable to those leading to and from the palaces.[60] It was carefully sloped for drainage: over some 66 m (minimum) of its length, it slopes from the east down toward the sea, from +3.30 m to +2.60 m, a vertical distance of 0.70 m with an overall slope of 1 percent.

Southeast of House X and northeast of Building T there was probably a crossroads (Spaces 17/32/33/34 in Frontispiece A). Unfortunately, much of this crucial area could not be cleared because of a combination of high scarps along the property line of the excavation and superincumbent Greek Buildings E (on the southwest) and F (on the northeast). Nevertheless, enough can be either seen or deduced to support the argument for the crossroads, a portion of which was exposed just east and north of Building T (Pl. 1.80). There one can discern both the eastern border of the paved road and the ashlar wall of T on the west (the orthostate facade, here north-south, just south of the point where it corners). The paved road here, 2.25 m wide, was bordered by a gutter on the east (in Space 34). The road, 2.40 m wide, continued farther south, where later LM III Building P was built over it (Pl. 1.67).

That the east-west road continued farther east at this point seems logical, if not necessary, but excavation could not be extended far enough to the northeast to determine if there was a corner there, with slabs continuing east. Perhaps the best circumstantial evidence to suggest that it did so is the series of pavements added at this point (Pl. 1.80) during the LM I–III period.[61] There the road level was raised from +3.28 m (the original surface) to +3.70 m, with the apparent intention of keeping runoff rainwater from draining to the south, toward the

(restored) northeastern entrance into Building T.[62] During LM IIIA2, a retaining wall was set diagonally, northwest to southeast, over the crossroads (Pl. 1.80), leaving the southern road passable but partially blocking passage to the east. The general concern here, therefore, seems to have been to build up pavements and, then, to place the retaining wall to control the water flowing down from the northeast, along the presumed eastward extension of the paved road.

Concerning the northern extension of the crossroads, the best evidence derives from the arrangement of House X's easternmost rooms.[63] As far as one can see, the house does not have an entrance on the west, south, or north. Therefore, there should be one on the east. The case that it actually is there is strengthened by the presence of the main staircase (X 15/X16), since the chief staircase leading to a second floor in Neopalatial houses was usually close to the main entrance. Thus the chief facade of House X should be on the east where (as usual) it would face a road, probably stepped as it continued up the slope to the north. Most likely, other houses continued up this way on both sides of the street. (For a restoration of this and other roads on the site, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1996 [eds.]: pl. 1.1).[64]

The Facades

During the time of Neopalatial T, if not earlier during the period of AA, the most impressive part of the settlement was its civic architecture. From the beach area visitors could view the ashlar facade of T's western wing, two storeys high, with some awe if not apprehension. As described in Chap. 1.1, that wing was undermined by the sea, perhaps in LM IIIA1, and tumbled down; many of the blocks lie, now unseen, canted on bedrock under the sandy beach.[65] Nevertheless, one can still get a sense of the scale and care of execution from the large ashlars flanking the northern doorway of T5, and especially from the wall of orthostates along the length of the east-west road just described.

The northwestern part of Building T, Room 5 (or T5) seems to have received special attention, for it was built first.[66] Its priority in time is demonstrated by the fact that the orthostate wall to the east is actually set on T5's socle (*krepidoma*) (Pl. 1.42 at +3.06). The differences in construction technique between one wall and the other are considerable. For instance, the krepidoma course of T5 is double-stepped, whereas that of the orthostate wall has only a single projection. Perhaps most obvious is the fact that T5's construction is simple coursed ashlar,[67] whereas the other wall has a course of orthostates. Another indication of T5's original structural, and perhaps conceptual, independence is that the original north-south facade on the east (even if the top few courses were set there in LM III) was also of coursed ashlar (Pl. 1.29).[68] This is unusual, for if the roofed stoa built later just east of T5 was part of a consistent design, then only the part exposed to the sky,[69] i.e., the southern section of the wall next to the court, would have been built in ashlar, the remainder probably in plastered rubble (for this preference, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 101 and fig. 123b).[70]

Along with the western facades at the Palaces of Phaistos and Knossos, and the central

staircase and lightwells of the eastern wing at Knossos, the Kommos facade of orthostates constitutes an impressive display of Minoan architectural ambition, engineering, and capacity to cut and set stone blocks. Technically, the architecture is characterized by the very size of the blocks used, the unusual style or arrangement with which they were squared and placed, and the care and relative consistency of their execution.

Building T (and, probably, its predecessor, AA) was conceived of as a vast rectangle, the only known deviation being a shortening of the east-west width on the northeast to allow for an entrance to its interior that we believe was once there (Pl. 1.7). From the northeastern exterior corner of Room 5 the wall stretched 55.70 m to the east, then 15.14 m to the south, where it cornered at the presumed entrance way, then, after some 6.03 m, cornered again, heading south some 22.84 m (the extent of excavation), probably to continue to where it would meet the extension of the east-west wall of the southern side of the South Stoa. Presumably, at least part of the southern wall was of similar construction. Unfortunately, much of it, at least up to where excavation reached, has been removed by stone-robbers.[71,72]

As shown in Pl. 1.41, when the facade was being built a uniform socle or krepidoma was first constructed, with ashlar blocks taking up most of the wall's width. Along the northern stretch, much of the wall was set on the marl bedrock. On the east, at least a portion was set on an earlier wall of Building AA (Chap. 1.1).[73] As an example of the care taken by the builders, we can trace the levels of this socle course around the building. For example, near T5 on the northwest its top is at +3.01 m, and farther along the road to the east, at the first corner, at +3.70 m.[74] On the east (east of LM III P's Gallery 3) it is at +3.68 m,[75] and at the west end of the South Stoa, +3.00 m.[76] Clearly, drainage, whether at roof or court level, was of concern. Strengthening this probability is the fact that near the centers of the stoas, at the northern and southern ends of the court, the tops of the socles are about the same (+3.32 m, +3.38 m), whereas all the measurements east of there are higher. One can only wonder at the techniques used to establish such slight but significant differences over such great horizontal distances.

On this base was positioned the immense wall of T, set back some 0.14–0.20 m from its edge. Over its length the T wall ranges from 1.20–1.40 m in width, with squared blocks forming its facade, and coursed slabs, with earth and clay as mortar, on the interior, usually masked by plaster (for the plasters, see Chap. 2). Overall, the lower part of T's ashlar wall is well preserved.[77] The positioning of blocks in its facade is unique, for its height has been split into two zones. The lower zone, 0.93–0.95 m high, is usually reserved for rectangular, often relatively thin slabs set on edge—literally, "orthostates." Some of these are unusually long, one from the north facade being the longest block known from Minoan architecture.[78] Some of the orthostate blocks are quite weathered.[79]

The upper zone usually has ashlar blocks, which, as in most ashlar masonry, penetrate far into the wall, unlike orthostate slabs, with the result that the thinner slabs below them are held in place by their weight. At the same time, where the north facade has been exposed, occasionally a single huge block, e.g., that in Pl. 1.54, takes up the entire surviving height of

the wall. There are at least four of these in the north facade. In the east facade seven are visible, all immense.[80] A series of four, including the corner block at the northeastern corner of T, are set side by side there, probably to give the corner special strength and an elegant appearance near the northeastern entrance.[81] Two of these high blocks, south of here, are cut into, with a resulting shape like the letter L, so as to receive the ends of ashlars from the "upper" course, perhaps to help bind the wall together.[82]

From a stylistic point of view, the wall is of particular interest, for it is not a single, high course of ashlar masonry blocks that serves as a socle for upper masonry.[83] Rather, by combining a lower course of orthostates (the lower course is significantly higher than the upper one) with enormous blocks that reach up the entire height of the wall, the builders created a new wall type that might be termed a "compound orthostatic wall." Also, the orthostates are actually slabs rather than the thick blocks used in most orthostate walls at other sites. Chronologically, since the wall is of Neopalatial date, it appears to be a variation of the simpler forms known earlier. It may well be the last, or at least one of the last, monumental orthostate walls built in Crete during the Minoan period.

At no point on this Neopalatial wall is the upper structure preserved to indicate its appearance and composition. From the masses of slab masonry clogging the northern rooms of T,[84] however, we know that at least the interior face was carried up to ceiling/roof height in a manner like the lower part of the same walls (Pls. 1.69–1.70). On the exterior, however, although some large blocks had fallen from the wall, they never occurred in such profusion that one could be sure that ashlar construction continued up beyond the point preserved. Of course, any such masses that may have been there may have been removed later for use in Building P, in the walls of which hundreds of T's blocks are incorporated. Some ashlar blocks, such as those in P's eastern wall (Pl. 1.44, above), may even "reappear" in reuse on the very wall where they were originally set.

Whether of ashlar or slab construction, the upper wall of T's facade seems to have been strengthened by horizontal (and, probably, vertical) timbers along the facade. Along the top of the wall immediately east of the Greek temples, as well as on the stretch of wall found south of House X, there is a ledge 0.30–0.35 m wide and 0.30 m high, between the rubble packing of the wall's interior and its face. This was most likely for a squared timber, into which other timbers could be set vertically.[85] The resulting mass of reinforced masonry would keep the ashlar blocks below, especially the tall orthostate slabs, in position.[86]

The Interiors of Building T

Our understanding of Building T is obscured by a combination of circumstances, both natural and man-made. The first, perhaps the most obvious, is the destruction by the sea of almost its entire western wing. Now on the northwest we have only part of an impressive ashlar facade, a stairway, a pier-and-door partition. We cannot know to what extent the western

wing was similar in form or function to other palatial structures, for instance if residential areas, or lustral basins, or lightwells were part of its original plan. For the North Wing of T another set of circumstances obtain. In the North Stoa there, for example, superincumbent Greek buildings prevented more complete excavation. Also, although floor levels with objects could be recovered in a few places, at least the upper floor levels often represented reuse of the original spaces, perhaps after the primary functions of the area were no longer being performed. Such reuse also affects our understanding of the South Stoa where a potter's kiln was installed during LM IA, not long after T's initial use during MM III.

For at least some of the East Wing, south of Rooms 22/29/25b, later use during LM IIIA2–IIIB swept clean almost everything remaining on the plaster, earth, or slab floors of T. Moreover, when LM III A2 Building P was installed in the same area, its builders demolished T's interior walls down to at least the bottom course and at the same time masked original LM I wall forms and positions with new, equally massive construction. Reuse at almost the same levels has, like a palimpsest used time and again, obscured T's original character. Perhaps further excavation below P's Galleries 1, 2, and 4–6, which are still partially unexcavated, will help resolve some of the ambiguities should circumstances there be different.

The descriptions and interpretations that follow begin on the northwest, proceed east (the North Stoa and the northeast rooms), then continue on to evidence gathered from the East Wing, below P's galleries. They end with the South Stoa and the Central Court. The period covered is later MM III (the building and first use of T) through LM IIIA1. References to Rutter's pottery groups are to those in Chap. 3.3 for which any cross-references to Betancourt's *Kommos* II (1990) and Watrous's *Kommos* III (1992) are cited. Small finds from the contexts discussed are listed at the end of each section, with references either to Chap. 2 (Plasters) or 4 (Miscellaneous Finds) or to earlier general studies by various scholars in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1995 (*Kommos* I, Part 1) or 1996 (*Kommos* I, Part 2), or elsewhere. Occasionally, unusual or important objects from the general (rather than the specific) area being discussed are included. A similar method of listing is used in Chap. 1.3, which discusses the architecture and stratigraphy of the LM IIIA2 and IIIB periods in the Southern Area.

T5, THE NORTHWESTERN ROOMS OF BUILDING T

As already described, T5 can be separated out structurally from the remainder of Building T, indicating that it probably was the first part to be built. Of its original phase we have only the architectural remains to guide us, since the earliest major use deposit, from its *sottoscala*, is of LM IB Early date (see below). After the LM IIIA1 destruction by the sea, this area of T was incorporated into another building, N, described in Chap. 1.3.

In its original form room T5 was rectangular, with a north-south interior dimension of ca. 2.80 m. Its east-west dimension (4.67 m, minimum) is unknown, since the western wall has been washed away.[87] Enough remains, however, to show that it was a large lobby or en-

tranceway (were there once benches?) leading into other parts of the building, and thus a room that would control access into both the ground floor and upper storey.[88]

The main entrance into T5 from the east-west road had a large threshold cut for a single wooden door that swung inward to the southeast (S 2291 in Pls. 1.20, 1.22, 1.34, and see Chap. 1.4 for all blocks cited in the text with an "S" [stone] catalogue number). With a clear passage space of about 1.20 m, this was probably the chief entrance into Building T from the northwest. T5's floor was of limestone slabs, much larger than those used for the east-west road but laid in the same irregular patterns upon marl bedrock. The slabs as found were worn smooth by use. The room's interior walls were probably plastered, mostly in blue (see Chap. 2.2), but its interior wall faces were apparently stripped down and replaced before LM III. T's doors led in different directions (Pl. 1.34). A probable one, no longer preserved, led into rooms on the west. Another, of which the threshold was probably that in Pl. 1.133 (S 2332), led into the area on the northeast.[89,90] On the south there were doors as well, stabilized not by a single threshold (used for exterior doorways) but by two pier-and-door partition jamb bases, one of the gamma-shaped type and the other of the T-shaped type (S 2270, S 2272, respectively, in Pl. 1.132), both reflecting Neopalatial architectural style.[91] These led to a *sottoscala* (5A) and, south of it, to the stairs (5B) leading up to the second storey and also, probably, to the roof (Pl. 1.35).[92]

Still *in situ* at the western end of the wall, separating the first flight of stairs (Space 5B) from the return to its north (Space 5A) is an ashlar block with a pair of dowel holes (S 2334 in Pl. 1.133), which stabilized the vertical wooden beams linking the ceiling with this wall-end pier. Another, similar block was found reused nearby (S 2123 in Pl. 1.135). It was probably used for the same purpose, but at the landing level at the east end of the stair's initial flight, above the eastern terminus of the wall dividing 5B from 5A. That landing, as is typical of Minoan staircases, would probably have had a window providing a view and at the same time light for the stairs. Usually, such a window would be parallel to the longest part of the landing (on the east in this case), but if its position would have interfered with the colonnade of the North Stoa, next door, it could also have been placed in the south wall. The first few treads may have been of stone slabs, some of which were found nearby, but those in the upper flight were probably of wood.[93]

Stratigraphy

In T5, the original floor slabs run under the interior face of the eastern wall, which shows that the interior face is secondary. Also, the same interior face rests upon a rough "wall" of a few sloppily set slabs set in line, perhaps a rough bench, that rests on the original slab floor and projects out at a northeast-to-southwest angle (Pl. 1.13). Perhaps the "bench" was built during LM I, before a major interior renovation (probably in LM II), during which the western face of the main eastern wall was rebuilt at least up to the floor level of the original first storey.[94] Perhaps the two doorways on the north and northeast were blocked then. During

the later LM IIIA2 establishment of N, the same LM II western face was removed down to the new, higher floor level (+3.73 m) of new room N5 (see Chap. 1.3).

Sherds from a possible LM IB floor accumulation in T5 have been reported by Watrous (1992: Deposit 1) although, as he mentions, they may simply be the lower part of the fill dumped to raise the level in LM III (for the upper fill, see Watrous 1992: Deposit 12, but also Pottery Group 47 in Chap. 3.3 here). Another possible LM IB use area is within and just south of the pier-and-door partitions where there are a slab on edge and a rough wall (Pl. 1.23, left and upper right, respectively). Three cobbles from there and a conical cup, perhaps to be connected with Phases 2 or 3 in the stoa to the east, suggest a domestic use,[95] with which the fish bones, including those of the sea bream, found above the floor, may be associated (Rose 1995: 236). Above the LM IB accumulation, there was a layer of fill (to +3.30 m) that Rutter has identified as the result of LM II filling, with slight indication of an LM II floor at +3.30 m, marked by some burning, that would parallel the use of Space 7 to the south during the same period (see below and Pottery Group 47 in Chap. 3.3).

The dump in the *sottoscala* in T5A, LM IB Early, gives the impression that many of these nearly complete vases and large fragments of plaster fell into it when the wooden staircase was either renovated or collapsed. Later sherd material and at least one restorable pot (C 2760), however, suggest that, instead, it may have been part of the later LM III filling of T5.[96]

Sottoscala deposit (Trench 36A). Pottery Group 40. LM IB Early.

B 115	Strip	36A/18	Chap. 4.1, **23**
S 711	Cobble	36A/18	Chap. 4.4, **40**
S 712	Cobble	36A/18	Chap. 4.4, **1**
S 864	Whetstone	36A/15	Chap. 4.4, **28**

SOUTHWESTERN ROOMS

Southwest of T5 the rooms originally there have been destroyed by the sea. That rooms were there at all is proven by a threshold and part of a wall. The threshold (S 2333) allowed a passage of 1.30–1.40 m into the Central Court (Pls. 1.34, 1.134). The northern end of the threshold was set into a cutting made in T5's krepidoma, whereas, to the south, it was set in the usual manner up against the krepidoma of the north-south wall. As shown by the cutting in the sill on the west, the door swung in that direction, allowing access to an interior space. The short stretch of ashlar wall to the south, with its face to the east, is a precious reminder of the fact that the court had a western facade, at the same time giving us the only point at which the maximum east-west width of the Central Court (28.64 m) can now be measured. That the western face of that wall was clearly of rubble construction is further confirmation of an interior (Space 9).[97]

LM I–II Stratigraphy in the Area of Later Space 7

In LM I "Space 7" was part of the open Central Court (Pls. 1.25; 1.55A, Phase 1), with the pebble court surface at +2.75 m. During the course of LM I, accumulation in this unroofed area rose some 5 cm. At some point during the deposition of this stratum a large slab was brought in on the west, and a hearth was built up against the southern wall of T5.[98] A partial pavement of rough slabs was also laid in (top at +2.80 m, Pl. 1.36), and an ashlar block (S 2347, for which see Chap. 1.4) was placed near the T5 wall and partially carved out in the form of an oval gourna 0.06 m deep. The surface of this shallow depression is rather rough, as if it had not been used for grinding—perhaps it was used as a receptacle for liquid. The pottery from here (see below) comprised fine-ware cups and jugs, with cooking wares making up some 10 percent. Earlier in LM IB, the area to the northeast, within and south of Space T 10, was used as a dump for pottery (Pottery Group 37c) and ashlar blocks, the latter most likely from T5, which had probably gone out of use by that time.

Fill above pebble court at +2.73 m exposed in Corridor 7 (Trenches 27B and 100C). Pottery Group 44a. LM IB Late. (Joins with Pottery Group 44b to the south). Below Pottery Group 45.

S 2347 Ashlar block with basin carved into it Chap. 4.4, **77**

Through use, the general level of accumulation rose. Rough stones were laid in a single row on the western threshold (S 2333), perhaps to retain the level to the east. Three irregular slabs (Pl. 1.25 at *3a*) were set, as for a platform or low bench, alongside T5's south wall. One of the slabs was set partially above the depression carved in the ashlar block mentioned above, suggesting that the gourna was no longer being used. East of here a hearth set between two vertical slabs was established above the earlier one (Pl. 1.25 at *3b*).[99] Refuse from the areas was probably thrown onto the northeastern dump already established south of Space 10 of the North Stoa (Pottery Groups 46a, 46b). The activity here is roughly contemporary with the metallurgical work in the eastern part of the North Stoa, discussed below in connection with Phase 4.

The LM II phase of use here is unusual, for aside from the occasional sherd elsewhere, it is also unique within the civic buildings. In the houses themselves, however, LM II is well represented.[100] Together, the LM II assemblage at various parts of the site constitutes a clear stylistic and chronological period. The LM II pottery from Space 7, including imports from abroad, with its goblets, cups, jars, and jugs, suggests that there may have been continuity in character of use from the previous period, although there is a higher percentage of cooking ware, no doubt used in connection with the hearth, although few bones were recovered from the area. A few small fragments of crucibles/molds and a small bronze chisel may reflect small-scale metallurgical activity here or be connected with earlier metalworking at the oppo-

site end of the North Stoa. After LM II, the area was abandoned until Building N was established in LM III.[101]

Fill overlying partially slab-paved floor at +2.86/2.80 m in western part of Corridor 7 up to +3.18/+3.35 m, forming the northwestern corner of the Building Court in the LM II period. Trenches 27B and 36A. Pottery Group 45 in Chap. 3.3. Above Pottery Group 44a.

B 64	Chisel	27B/35	Chap. 4.1, **6**
C 2694	Crucible fragment	36A/1	Chap. 4.1, **74**
C 2880	Mold fragment?	36A/3	Chap. 4.1, **73**
F 15	Bead	36A/3	Chap. 4.3, **2**
S 1484	Pebble	36A/1	Not catalogued

The North Stoa and Rooms Adjoining on the East (Pls. 1.47–1.60B)

Despite the relative complexity of this general area, the overall picture is rather simple. In early Neopalatial times a large stoa (perhaps with a Protopalatial background), plus other rooms, were set in east of Room T5. Gradually those eastern rooms went out of use. The stoa itself went through a number of renovations and reuses. The area went largely out of use after LM I, after which it became filled with rubble from collapsed walls. Shortly after the beginning of LM IIIA2 the western half of the stoa, along with T5 and part of the Central Court became, on a raised level, the site of Building N (see Chap. 1.3). Still later, part of the Greek Sanctuary was set over its ruins.[102]

PHASE 1 (PL. 1.55A). LM IA EARLY AND ADVANCED

Both the North and South Stoas are unusually deep, which suggests that although they partly linked the rooms in the adjacent eastern and western wings of Building T, they were intended chiefly to provide space for numbers of people and their activities.[103] On the east, each stoa began at the border of the court. On the west, each ended about 5.30 m short of the court's western border. The South Stoa, with its six columns, ended on the west at a probable staircase (Space 49). The North Stoa, also with six columns, ended on the west at T5, which provided access to the second floor by means of a separate internal stairway (Spaces 5A and B).

Now, because of later use and superincumbent Minoan and Greek structures, it is difficult for many visiting the site to realize the size and grace of the North Stoa. The South Stoa, also put out of use in later periods but with its column bases still visible and the space undivided now, provides a better sense of its appearance (Pl. 1.125). A restored plan of the North Stoa (Pl. 1.55A) helps, however, and a restored elevation, as seen from about midway down the

eastern side of the Central Court, gives a clearer idea of its original appearance, with houses of the town on the hillside jutting up behind it (Pl. 1.45).[104] A restoration of a smaller area (Pl. 2.41) offers an impression of its painted decoration and colors conceivably used for perishable wooden members.

Other details of the stoa's appearance can be inferred from its architectural remains. As discussed above, on the west the stoa was built up against preexisting T5.[105] Originally, there were probably six wooden columns resting on disk-shaped stone bases, or a single pier followed by five columns farther east.[106] The disk-shaped bases, in turn, were set on large foundation blocks, roughly cut (they would usually not be visible) but often with a rounded projection somewhat larger than the diameter of the disk to be set on them, as in Pl. 1.48. As far as we know, of the original disk-shaped bases, only the fourth from the west remains intact and still *in situ*.[107] Of the other five, one remains unexcavated, one is fragmentary but still *in situ*, half of one lies on the Central Court, and the other two are missing.

We were fortunate that the one column base *in situ* was so well preserved, along with the layers of pebble court laid against it. The total area excavated in a small sounding is shown in Pl. 1.57, Plan 1. Among the features visible there is the disk-shaped column base, 0.23 m high and 0.50 m in diameter at its top. It was set on a large, irregular slab, a sub-base, with a rounded projection about 0.08 m high. Of particular interest here is that there were two quite distinct layers of pebble court. The first, with its top at +2.92 m, was particularly solid, a mixture of pebble and lime (*chalikasvestos*), was used to prevent moisture from seeping up from below.[108] Perhaps 0.20 m inside of the drip line from the cornice on the roof, now in line with the three slabs to the right of the upper base, was added a vertical band of plaster, ca. 0.10 m high and a few centimeters thick (Section D-D in Pl. 1.57, Plan 2). This was smoothed up against the southern edge of the floor inside the stoa. The purpose of the vertical band was, presumably, to prevent water from entering the stoa.

The second layer of pebbles, without lime and at least 0.05 m thick, was brought up to the level of the stoa floor (at +2.97 m). No doubt one of the results was that water from a downpour flowed onto the floor, and it is probably to prevent this that the slabs visible in Pl. 1.57, Plan 3, and Pl. 1.47 were added, bringing the level of the edge of the floor (and perhaps the floor itself) up to +3.10 m.

Since the superincumbent temples of the Greek Sanctuary cover at least half of the North Stoa, we could investigate only its western and eastern ends, although, as just explained, we were able to glimpse from the south some of its otherwise hidden features along the line of the Minoan colonnade. As presently revealed, the western part of the stoa, as on the east, had a paved area, the latter being 3.50 m wide east-west (Pl. 1.29).[109] The western pavement is of local limestone with the exception of one red schist slab that was probably added for the sake of its attractive color. Someone walking out of the northeast doorway of T5 would have stepped on the pavement.

Belonging to the same primary phase of this Neopalatial structure, shown in Pl. 1.42, is

the back wall, with orthostates on the north face and a variably painted, plastered interior face featuring alabaster-like panels of variegated stone designs and molded bands in Venetian red for the floor (see Chap. 2.2), of which numerous fragments were found at the base of the wall in Space 11. Probably from Phase 1 (or, even, MM Building AA) is the sub-base of the stoa's first column from the west (Pl. 1.30 at *a*), as well as the finely cut poros slabs bordering the southern edge of the pavement. Set partially into the pebble court, the slabs, like those just described set between the columns farther east, probably kept out rainwater that would accumulate on the Central Court. Any early use accumulation here, unfortunately, was probably cleaned out during Phase 2, for which see below.

The eastern end of the stoa was also neatly laid out. There was a slab floor (Pl. 1.51, left), similar to that on the west but quite burned and worn, the slabs probably having become fragmented by the heat. Of particular interest from the architectural point of view is the evidence for a large window, about 2.06 m long, that separated the stoa proper (Space 16 here)[110] from the first room (42) to the east. The wall concerned is that in Pls. 1.53 and 1.56, right, where there is a partially preserved pier that would have been carried up with an unusual alternating series of beams and triangular limestone slabs.[111] This pier held up the eastern end of the horizontal beams above the stoa's colonnade. North of the pier was an opening for a door, perhaps 0.90 m wide. North of the northern, wooden, doorjamb, in turn, was the window.

The window sill was presumably of wood. It rested upon the two courses of limestone slabs visible along the central part of the wall in Pl. 1.53, in an arrangement somewhat similar to those employed at Aghia Triada.[112] The pier supporting the northern end of the window's lintel is similar to that just described, also with alternating slabs and wooden beams being carried up to ceiling level. Of special interest is that there is a series of empty sockets, arranged vertically one above the other, in the masonry of the wall on the north. These, clearly, were chases left for the short timbers employed in the northern pier that extended in alternate courses into the thickness of the wall. The result would stabilize the entire north-south wall with its pier/window/jamb/pier arrangement. This is one of the few places at Kommos where a cross wall was bonded to the main wall with such a careful technique.

During Phase 1 the North Stoa provided the only access to Rooms 42 and 19. Room 42, next to the eastern end of the stoa, 1.46 m wide and 4.52 m long (north to south) appears to have functioned as a lobby between the stoa (16) and the next room (19). Activities within 42 were certainly closely tied to those in the stoa, as implied by the window in their common wall. In the northwest corner of 42 there was a rough platform or bench, about 0.70 m high above the original floor level.

Only the eastern part of Room 19, next door, could be exposed because of Greek Altars C and L on the upper level. The cleared portion of the room measured about 1.53 m east-west by 4.70 m (north-south).[113] The door between it and 42, at the south end of the wall between the rooms, was about 1.13 m wide. Its southern, eastern and northern walls were plastered

and painted salmon pink.[114] The contents of the floor pails in Rooms 42 and 19, as discussed below, were chiefly tablewares rather than storage vessels (Pottery Group 6), so they may have functioned as a kind of pantry, access to them being controlled by whoever was in Room 42. At +3.47, some 0.35 m above the floor, in the southeastern corner of Room 42, was found P 43, part of a striped frieze (black, blue, red, white). It probably ran about the interior wall, perhaps above door lintel level, and could have been seen by someone entering 42 from the west.

Stratigraphy, Phase 1[115]

Spaces 10, 11

See Phase 2.

Space 16 (the North Stoa on the east) +2.98–3.05 m

Trenches 42A and 67A. Pottery Group 8 in Chap. 3.3. (Pl. 1.58, Phase 1).

C 4976	Larnax-like basin	42A/67A	Chap. 4.2, **65**
C 5149	Fragmentary terra-cotta slab	42A/65	Not catalogued

Within the immediate stoa area, the only LM IA strata are in a restricted area excavated in Trenches 42A and 62A. Our probes, as explained above, were constrained by the presence of the Greek temples and Archaic Altar U to the west and northwest. Moreover, within this already confined space, a later LM I wall (see Phase 3, below) restricted excavation to the south. A narrow balk, also, separated Trench 42A on the west from Trench 62A on the east, which were excavated during different seasons. Our understanding of the eastern stoa area, therefore, remains incomplete.

As described above, a slab pavement, perhaps intended as a platform for activities, was originally laid in at each end of the stoa. If we judge from the more exposed western one in Space 10 on the west (Pl. 1.29), that on the east, now only partly visible (Pl. 1.51), extended from the eastern wall with the window to the midpoint of the first column. West of this slab floor (at +3.05 m) was a hard-packed gray clay (lepis, lepidha) floor on which were lying a few LM IA sherds, as well as a single fragment of a terra-cotta slab (C 5149). Below this layer and sealed by it was a clay floor (at +2.98 m) with the pottery in Group 8 (rhyton, juglet). Set into the lower clay floor was a larnax-like basin (C 4976, Pl. 1.52, Chap. 4.2, **65**), with its length oriented east-west, bottom at +2.76, top at +2.92 m. Among the sherds within it was one that joined a patterned stirrup jar found in Room 19 to the east (in Pottery Group 6). The larnax was left *in situ*, and excavation was discontinued, since groundwater, welling up from below, prevented stratigraphic excavation.

Partly because of the confined space, the significance of the larnax remains unclear. What is it doing there? That it served originally for burial here, even during the MM period, is unlikely, for no Minoan burials (much less larnakes) have been found on the Kommos site.

Normally, Minoan burials are set outside settled areas. Reuse of some kind is more likely. Possibly it was partially buried in the floor and then, when a new floor was being laid in, the upper part of the larnax was broken off. Or, perhaps as Blitzer has suggested (1995: 527), it was set into another, later floor at a higher level (+3.16 m) and used for quenching during metallurgical activities, described below in connection with Phase 4.

+3.02–3.09 m
Trenches 42A, 52A, and 62D. Pottery Group 18 in Chap. 3.3.

The floor of lepis in Space 16 on the east (with C 4468, a miniature flower pot) sealed the earlier level. Group 18 represents the fill that accumulated upon the earlier slab floor.

Room 42 (Pl. 1.65)

+3.14–3.30 m
Trench 62D. Pottery Group 17b in Chap. 3.3.

C 8270	Loomweight	62D/83	Chap. 4.2, **46**
C 8271	Loomweight	62D/83	Chap. 4.2, **45**
C 8313	Loomweight	62D/92	Chap. 4.2, **44**
Plaster group from Space 42			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.10
Faunal Group 6			Chap. 4.7

A few cups, a loomweight, and substantial pieces of charcoal, as well as some animal bones and shell were in the accumulation above the original floor. Some 1,130 limpets were recovered from here and the floors above (Reese 1995d: 253).

Room 19 (Pl. 1.69)

+3.12 and fill to +3.40 m
Trenches 53A and 62D. Pottery Groups 6 and 17a in Chap. 3.3.

S 1544	Pierced stone weight	53A/40	Chap. 4.4, **44**
S 2101	Cobble	53A/40	Not catalogued
Faunal Group 6			Chap. 4.7

This accumulation above the floor contained a good deal of charcoal, with some pieces large enough to suggest to the excavator possible remains of boards. The fragmentary stone weight (pierced, weight 1.5 kg), and a cobble were among the few nonceramic objects recovered. The presence of numerous tablewares and the lack of storage vessels, as well as the bones (sheep/goat and pig) and some 500 limpet shells suggest that Room 19 may have served as a pantry and as a place to dispose of leftovers from meals. Alternatively, M. C. Shaw has

argued in Chap. 2.2 that the room may originally have served as a dining room for the elite, and used as a dump later.

PHASE 2 (PL. 1.55B). LM IA FINAL–IB EARLY.
THE COMPARTMENT/BIN PERIOD (PL. 1.58, PHASE 2)

During this phase, the original forms of the two major large spaces (the Stoa, Room 22) were changed dramatically; some rooms went out of use. At the west end of the North Stoa, a north-south wall was built, in effect creating Spaces 10 and 11 as seen in Pl. 1.30. The wall, actually, may have been built in at least two phases, the first being of slab masonry, on the north, set in when the westernmost column in the stoa was still standing on its base.[116] At least part of the second section, that on the south, composed of reused ashlar blocks, was built when the column and its disk-shaped base were no longer there, for the end of the wall projects over the column's sub-base. Perhaps during both of these periods the wall was not a high one but, rather, like a low parapet separating two areas of use (T5 and the paved area next to it (10) from Space 11/16 east of it). Certainly, at one point it was no higher on the south, for a kernos is carved into the top of each of two blocks on the southern part of the wall.[117] Usually, such kernoi are thought to result from games played on a surface near where people could crouch to reach the "gaming board."

East of here, two rooms appear to have been built of reused ashlar blocks within the North Stoa. Only the corner of the western "room" is visible, however, as in Pl. 1.47 at *b*, in the form of two large ashlars set one on the other (bottom at +3.27 m). Their placement north of the column base here, rather than on it, as was done later to the east (Pl. 1.49, right, and see below), suggests that the wooden column may still have been in place. Neither the possible continuation of the "wall" to the west nor that to the north has been seen, however, so what we see could even be the lower part of a makeshift pillar supporting the stoa roof. On the other hand, the northern end of an L-shaped wall extending out over the Central Court (Pl. 1.46, and see Phase 3 below), certainly appearing to be an addition to something earlier, is positioned west of the visible blocks and implies that an east-west wall continues west below the later Greek temples. Thus Room "R" seems to have been created (Pl. 1.55B). Its northern wall would have been the back wall of the stoa. Since we did not find the continuation of its southern wall where we excavated in Space 11 to the west, we assume, unless the wall was removed, that it corners somewhere in the unexcavated area beneath the Greek temples.[118] R's function, of course, remains unknown.

East of R a second room (R′) was constructed in Space 16. There a wall made up of reused ashlar blocks (Pl. 1.62, left) was set east-west along the line of the colonnade.[119] The base of the wall, at +3.13 m, was set directly on the sub-base of the sixth column from the west—the disk-shaped base on which the column once rested had been broken: part of it can be seen south of the wall (Pl. 1.49, center), on a raised level of the Central Court.

We cannot know if the column and part of the roof were still standing immediately before

the east-west wall was set in, but it is probable that they were.[120] Probably both the column and base were removed during the construction of this new shelter. To the southeast an entranceway, 0.91 m wide, was allowed for by not extending the new wall all the way to the pier at the end of the colonnade. On the west, we can see only the end of this new wall, but we assume that it cornered before the fifth column from the west and may have extended, perhaps with a gap for an entrance, to the stoa's northern wall.

Outside Space 16, in the Central Court, a basin (S 2331, Pl. 1.49, Chap. 4.4, **76**) was set just east of the doorway into Space 16, on the higher court surface (+3.27 m). The level of the doorway was also raised with a narrow wall of rubble, no doubt to keep water from entering the building.

On the east, the window/door arrangement in the wall separating Space 16 from Room 42, described above, was no longer thought necessary or was collapsing. Any timbers from the wooden window framing, in any case, were probably removed, and the gap once occupied by both window and door was filled in up to the ceiling with rubble masonry. At the same time the east-west wall between 20/22 and 19 was broken through to form an entrance, a meter wide and without jambs, into the now more private Room 42 (via 19), the floor of which rose through accumulation to +3.50 m. A cupboard may have been installed in the southern face of the north wall, just to the left as one entered (left of the vertical edge of the line of slabs in Pl. 1.69, upper left).

The original floor of R', at +3.21 m, may have been dedicated to metalworking.[121] This floor rose to +3.30 m. It was very burnt. Into it and against the east wall had been set a four-sided bin of slabs, 0.40 m deep (Pl. 1.51, left). Within and near it were found portions of a basin (C 8342), which might have fit it when entire. At the same time four three-sided slab enclosures were built northwest of the bin (Pl. 1.51, right); the slabs of the northernmost bin were removed in antiquity).[122] The enclosures were uniformly an average of 0.48 by 0.35 m wide internally and 0.30 m high (M. C. Shaw 1990: 245). 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 (Chap. 2). Pieces of plaster with colored bands of the type found in Room 19 east of here (Chap. 2.2, **75–76**) are prominent. It is conceivable that such bands may have originally decorated parts of the walls of the stoa farther west but not necessarily here, where no plaster was found either next to or adhering to the north wall. The plaster fragments, in any case, were probably used to keep the contents of the enclosures from becoming mixed with earth from the floor. In most cases a stone quern was found (Pl. 4.22), varying in size and in the condition in which it was left, sometimes within, sometimes just outside the enclosure, sometimes upside down (Chap. 4.4, **69–73**). The bins may, therefore, have been used to catch and collect the material being ground, probably grain, in a multiple installation without clear precedent at 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 LM I–III House with the Snake Tube on the hillside to the north.[123]

Stratigraphy, Phase 2

Space 10

a. +2.63–2.80 m
Trench 62C, bedrock to floor level.

b. +2.67–2.80 m
Trench 62A, from near bedrock up to the floor at +2.78 m.
Pottery Group 28a in Chap. 3.3.

c. Trench 100B below slab pavement in Space 10.
Pottery Group 28b in Chap. 3.3.

Just west of the north-south wall separating Spaces 10 and 11, sounding *a* (above) below the expected level of the stoa floor produced LM IA–B transitional sherds. West of there, below what was first identified as the stoa floor (at +2.78 m), sounding *b* produced similar results. Since the overall view that Building T was constructed at the end of MM III prevails, the otherwise anomalous pottery readings in *a* and *b* probably indicate renovation, perhaps work on the north-south wall (for *a*) and the laying in of a new floor (in the case of *b*), before the area on the west and south here became a dumping ground. This may be confirmed by the pure MM III pottery found below the slab pavement of Space 10 in sounding *c*.

Space 16 (R′)

+3.36–3.50 m
Trench 62D. Pottery Group 33 (above Group 26) in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 62D. Pottery Group 26 in Chap. 3.3.

S 1758	Cobble	62D/86	Chap. 4.4, **11**
S 2326	Quern	62D/78	Chap. 4.4, **69**, Tool Group 3
S 2327	Quern	62D/78	Chap. 4.4, **70**, Tool Group 3
S 2328	Quern	62D/78	Chap. 4.4, **71**, Tool Group 3
S 2329	Quern	62D/78	Chap. 4.4, **72**, Tool Group 3
S 2330	Quern	62D/78	Chap. 4.4, **73**, Tool Group 3

Plaster group from Space 16 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.8

The most interesting items from the bin/compartment period are the five querns, unusual anywhere in the Southern Area, especially within such a limited space, but common in the houses to the north. The type is discussed in Blitzer 1995: 479–81, Type 17, who describes them as processors of food, primarily grains and pulses. Querns S 2326 and S 2327 were found near the eastern wall southeast of the bins. S 2330 was found in connection with the

northernmost of the four bins, S 2329 with the next one to the south, and S 2328 the next. The largest quern (S 2329) was shaped so as to allow it to stand on the ground in a steeply slanted fashion so that whatever was being ground on it would fall right onto the floor of an enclosure (M. C. Shaw 1990: 244). The bin/quern/grinding relationship is clear. Although a cobble was found above one bin, missing are the handstones that would probably have been used with the querns.[124] S 1017, a thin stone disk 0.30 by 0.40 m, may have been used in the process.

It is significant that this phase of activity in the stoa probably featured the grinding of grain. The four receptacles, with enough querns for each, imply that numbers of people were involved in the process. Because of this, we may not be dealing with normal household activity. In Room R, across from R', of course, people might have resided, but then the space there could also have been reserved for storage of grain and flour. This establishment was probably connected with the hearth/oven arrangement in Room 22 to the southeast (Pl. 1.74), as confirmed by actual ceramic cross joins (e.g., C 4371).

Room 42

+3.30–3.44 m
Trench 62D. Pottery Group 27a, Chap. 3.3.
Trench 62D. Pottery Group 27b, Chap. 3.3.

A very burnt floor with many flat sherds, much charcoal and ash, bits of pumice, especially up against the eastern wall. Room 19 to the east remained out of use.

PHASE 3. ENCLOSURE/OVEN PERIOD (ROOM 10, SPACES 11 AND 16, AND ROOM 42). LM IB EARLY. ARCHITECTURE AND STRATIGRAPHY (PL. 1.58, PHASE 3)

Room 10

a. +2.83–2.89 m
Trench 37A. Earth level above slab pavement.

S 1405	Cobble	37A/58	Not catalogued

b. +2.83–3.21 m
Trench 37A. Pottery Group 37c in Chap. 3.3.

C 3322	Loomweight	37A/50	Chap. 4.2, **47**
S 769	Stone disk	37A/50	Chap. 4.4, **54**
Plaster group in Space N6 and underlying levels			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.3

c. +2.76–3.35 m
Trench 43A. Pottery Group 37d.

L 14 Lead strip 43A/94 Chap. 4.1, **58**

On the southern part of the slab pavement there was a layer of earth, burnt on top (*a*, above). This thin layer of earth, with transitional LM IA–B pottery sherds, represents the only real "use" accumulation in Space 10. Above the eastern part of the pavement, and extending west over our *b*, above, was a fill of earth (with Pottery Group 37c) and canted ashlar blocks. The pottery within it appears to be a dump brought from either within T5 to the west or the reused stoa area to the east. The apparent sequence in the immediate area appears to be, therefore, (1) earth accumulates above the slab court; (2) the area goes out of use to become a dump that continues to the south, outside the confines of the original stoa.[125]

Space 11

+2.83–3.00 m
Trench 62C.

S 1598 Soapstone pendant 62C/33 Chap. 4.3, **6**

Plaster group in West End of North Stoa Chap. 2.2, Locus 11, Table 2.7

There is a nice, solid floor, of compact reddish earth with charcoal and darkish patches, running up to near the north-south wall (surface at +2.83 m). Found fallen upon the floor, alongside the north wall of the stoa, were numerous finely decorated pieces of plaster, hints of how richly the stoa was once painted (see Chap. 2). Also, there was a soapstone pendant, among the rare items of personal adornment found in the Southern Area but rather common in the houses to the north. The latest ceramic date for the pail (62C/33) is LM IA Final–IB Early, which is no doubt the date of the renovation of the space, some time after the original painting of the floor and walls, which should date to the period of the construction of the stoa.

+3.01–3.33 m
Trench 37A. Pottery Group 37a in Chap. 3.3.

Plaster group in West End of North Stoa Chap. 2.2, Table 2.7

+3.00–3.40 m
Trench 43A. Pottery Group 37b in Chap. 3.3.

C 4861 Crucible fragment 43A/93 Chap. 4.1, **71**

S 1075 Cobble with ochre 43A/93 Chap. 4.4, **42**
S 1076 Pebble 43A/93 Chap. 4.4, **61**
S 1077 Triangular slab 43A/93 Chap. 4.4, **68**

On a floor at +3.00 m were a few stone tools (43A/93). The crucible fragment (C 4681) found in the fill above it (to +3.40 m) is of special interest, since it may provide a link with activities in the eastern stoa area—perhaps discarded from metalworking activities there.

Central Court: The L-shaped wall

+3.00–3.05 m
Trench 44A. Pottery Group 38 in Chap. 3.3.

+3.04–3.35 m
Trench 44A. Pottery Group 39 in Chap. 3.3.

S 1003	Half a cobble	44A/52	Chap. 4.4, **6**
S 1004	Cobble	44A/50	Chap. 4.4, **43**
Plaster group south of West End of North Stoa			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.6

As mentioned in the text (above), an L-shaped wall (Pl. 1.46) was added now or earlier to R on the south, the former extending out over the Central Court. Pottery Group 38 (transitional LM IA/IB) is actually on the pebble surface of the Central Court. Group 39 (early LM IB), above it, represents the use level alongside the wall itself. The southern arm of this L-shaped wall probably originally extended farther west, possibly to corner at the southernmost preserved end of the original west wall of the Neopalatial court.

Space 16

+3.50–4.40 m
Trenches 42A, 62D. Pottery Group 36 in Chap. 3.3.

C 4154	Loomweight	42A/50	Chap. 4.2, **48**
S 1018	Mortar	42A/53	Chap. 4.4, **74**
Plaster group in East End of North Stoa, Space 16			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.8

In Space 16, on a higher level, a curving enclosure (1.76 m east-west by 2.30 m north-south) was built over the bins in the northeast corner of the room (Pl. 1.50). The enclosure's top was at +4.00 m, and within it, at +3.50 m, was found a very small and badly damaged clay feature, probably an oven, since a cooking pot could not have fit within it (M. C. Shaw 1990: 244). Along with it were a heavily burnt collar-necked jug (C 8282) and a conical cup (C 8281) (Chap. 3.3, Group 36). The two parallel vertical slabs of one of the earlier grinding bins, at a somewhat lower level, may have provided a rough drain for the enclosure. The third was removed or fallen. In Room 42, next door, the southern part of the party wall between it and

16 was broken through to create a passage between the two spaces. At the same time or somewhat earlier, a small platform was added against the west wall of Room 42, and a thin partition wall just to the left as one entered narrowed the southeastern entrance via Room 19.

Room 42

+3.50–4.00 m

Trench 62D. Pottery Group 35 in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 62D/75.

See above (Room 16).

PHASE 4. METALWORKING IN SPACE 16, THE EASTERN PART OF THE NORTH STOA (LM IB, LATE)

Room 16 (Pl. 1.60)

+3.21–3.25 m
Trench 42A. Pottery Group 34 in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 42A/48.
Trench 42A. Pottery Group 43 in Chap. 3.3.

C 4110	Crucible fragment	42A/48	Chap. 4.1, **62**
C 4200	Bird figurine fragment	42A/54	*Kommos* I (2), chap. 4.6, **41**
C 4422	Crucible fragment	42A/55	Chap. 4.1, **63**
C 4424	Crucible fragment	42A/55	Chap. 4.1, **64**
C 4473	Crucible fragment	42A/55	Chap. 4.1, **65**
C 5148	Crucible fragment	42A/54	Chap. 4.1, **66**
S 1000	Cobble	42A/55	Chap. 4.4, **3**, Tool Group 1
S 1001	Cobble	42A/55b	Chap. 4.4, **4**, Tool Group 1
S 1002	Cobble	42A/55	Chap. 4.4, **5**, Tool Group 1
S 1005	Cobble	42A/55	Chap. 4.4, **21**
S 1006	Stone disk	42A/55	Chap. 4.4, **55**
S 1017	Stone disk	42A/54	Chap. 4.4, **56**
S 1460	Whetstone	42A/55	Chap. 4.4, **29**

Found on and slightly above a very burnt floor in Space 16 was significant evidence for metalworking involving melting bronze, from ingots or scrap, to make artifacts. Fragments of crucibles were found scattered on the clay floor (at +3.21 m; see Pl. 1.59), in levels above,

as well as in Space 11 to the west (see above), in Rooms 42 and 21 to the east (see below), in the Central Court (see below) and, also, south of T5.[126] Stone tools (cobbles, a handstone, a whetstone) possibly used in the manufacturing process, were found nearby, as well as in the Central Court (see Tool Groups 1 and 2 in Pls. 4.20–4.21 and Chap. 4.4).

There are two options for determining when this metalworking activity took place, assuming that a single period of work is represented. The first is during a phase preceding the Compartment/Bin Phase (Phase 2, LM IA Final–IB Early, above), as originally proposed (J. W. Shaw 1986: 249, fig. 7, Phase 2). The second option is, because of the later LM IB floor pottery in Group 43, to interpret the assemblage as at least partially an accumulation from later LM IB metalworking activities, as if a pit had been excavated down to earlier levels, later to be filled in with earlier material from nearby (Pottery Group 34). Of the two options, the second has been chosen for the presentation here.[127]

The floor of 16 was burnt, with scattered charcoal and red, burnt soil above it. Blitzer (1995: 527) has suggested that the clay larnax attributed here to Phase 1 may actually have been set into this floor, to be filled with water used to quench the hot metal. It is to be regretted that only a small area of the floor space could actually be cleared, for there would be a fair to even chance of recovering more crucibles and stone tools and, especially, other kinds of evidence for metalworking: perhaps an anvil for shaping the metal, tools for cutting and shaping it, or even the site of the forge itself.

Blitzer has published the crucibles and a few of the stone tools from the 16/42/19 area, as well as possible ingot fragments from other parts of the Southern Area within the general context of metalworking at Kommos.[128] It is apposite to quote her here:

> In shape the MM III–LM I type of crucible at Kommos consisted of a massive, deep, broad, thick-walled, spouted bowl (average reconstructed diameter ca. 25–30 cm) mounted upon a substantial pedestal base. On the side of the base was a perforation (the preserved example is square) for the wooden rod which was used to lift the crucible to and from the furnace or melting bed . . . it is the size and the intentionally fashioned base which marks these crucibles as part of a metal-melting tradition which appears to continue into the LM I period at Kommos. . . . No examples of these massive crucibles were recovered from the Middle or Late Bronze Age Kommos settlement deposits.[129] . . . The connection of this metal-melting operation in Building T with the agricultural community residing in the settlement may have involved the provision of metal (strips, bars and wire) for use in daily life (no molds were found in association with these crucibles).[130]

This final phase of stoa use, after which it remained deserted until LM IIIA2 when Building N was constructed at a higher level, was over by the end of LM IB.

The Eastern Rooms (21, 22, 23, 24a, 24b, 25a, 25b). LM IA (Early and Advanced)

PHASE 1 (PL. 1.55A). ARCHITECTURE

During Phase 1, before it was split longitudinally into two spaces (20, 22), Room 22 was an extremely long (30.90 m) and broad (3.90 m) space, like a massive hallway. Its clay floor sloped slightly from +3.22 m on the east down to +3.07 on the west. Its northern wall divided the northeastern part of T, like a spine, with horizontal spans of 4.50–4.56 m on the north and 3.90 m on the south. It provided access into at least seven rooms (19, 21, 23, 24a, 24b, 25a, 25b) along its northern and eastern periphery. Where the room began alongside the Central Court on the west, there was a simple sill of slabs, ca. 0.45 m wide, with its face toward the west. Since there is no evidence for closure (e.g., doorjamb bases or wall remains), we assume that the room was open there to the west. Its walls were plastered and painted a light bluish gray, for quantities of plaster were found collapsed upon the latest floor along the bases of the walls. From the floor levels of Phase 1 in adjoining rooms (above) are Pottery Groups 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 15 and 16. Neither floors nor floor features are known in Room 20 for the first, primary period, although hearths were set toward the western end of its southern wall during Phase 2.

From Room 22 one could have entered 21, 4.60 m north-south, but about which little could be learned, since excavation was limited by Greek Altars H and M on the upper level. The primary floor is of steel-gray clay, typical of this part of the building, with some pebbles, at +3.16 m, above which was a pottery accumulation belonging chiefly to the end of Phase 1.

Excavation within Room 21 did not progress far enough to reveal whether it was a long, hall-like room east-west or a series of as many as three rooms, including Room 23. The consecutive room layout of 42 and 19 west of here suggests three adjoining rooms as the most likely solution, however. Nor do we know how such rooms interconnected, but since the southern entrance into Room 23 (Pl. 1.70) was made by breaking through the wall, original access into 23 (and, farther east, 24) must have been either through 21 or through an undiscovered doorway in the southern wall.

Room 23, 4.63 m north-south, its plaster walls painted a shade of salmon pink, must have functioned as a kind of anteroom into Room 24. A striped fresco similar to that in Room 19 to the west may have been on its east wall (a few fragments were found in the earth next to the wall). Stratified above the clay floor, once plastered but unpainted,[131] were two pottery groups belonging to Phase 1 (Pottery Groups 2a and 2b).

Room 24 (Pl. 1.70), 4.72 m north-south (as determined by the original east-west "spine" wall) was probably about 7.40 m east-west.[132] Its walls were also salmon pink. Room 24, like Room 25 directly south of it, which was 3.87 m north-south and of the same length as Room 24, was divided by a thin, rather poorly built wall that might be interpreted as an after-

thought if it were not so solidly based on the original floor.[133] The long, narrow spaces that resulted are very similar to those elsewhere that are often interpreted as storerooms. Owing to the lack of threshold between each pair of rooms, they are designated as *a* and *b*. Each of the four rooms had two phases of floor levels. The levels of the first, earlier floors ranged from +3.18 to +3.32 m. The second ranged from +3.42 to +3.53 m. There were no floor features. The pottery groups associated with six of the eight floors were arranged by Rutter, accordingly, with two from Room 24a (Groups 3a, 3b), two from 24b (4a, 4b), and two from 25a (5a, 5b). Two soundings below the first floors in 24a and 24b revealed MM I pottery resting on a sand layer directly overlying bedrock there, the pottery a reminder of the earlier use of the area, as discussed generally in Chap. 1.1, whether disturbed AA platform filling or AA floor material.[134]

On the T floors above was a layer of almost pure charcoal indicative of massive burning. The black ash and charcoal were thickest (20–30 cm) in Room 25 (Pl. 1.71), and there was soot from the burning upon the blue-painted rooms continuing to the west. In the western part of 25b that once had blue plaster on its walls, we recovered the form of a rounded, carbonized beam of evergreen oak (*Quercus coccifera/ilex*: Shay and Shay 1995: 122) ca. 0.08 m in diameter, that had burnt either where it was lying or, more likely, when part of the ceiling structure collapsed into the room, and the weight of the mass pushed the burning timber down into the soft earth floor. In 24a and 24b, to the north, there was also a similar layer, 0.08 m thick on the south but negligible in 24a next to T's north facade. The burning continued into Room 23, being thickest at its eastern entrance, but then thinning until it disappeared to the west.

The fire most likely occurred sometime during Phase 1. The rooms did not go out of use, however, for upper floors covered over the burning, and it is reasonable to expect that the damage to the ceiling was repaired. Nevertheless, this damage by fire was on a scale not encountered elsewhere at Kommos in either private or public buildings. At the same time the thin east-west walls within both 24 and 25 were covered over, suggesting that the walls were either partly demolished or had never been any higher than at present.

The most notable find from the room is the pottery, as discussed by Rutter in Chap. 3.3. Specifically, the excavation of the packing between floors in 24b produced 5.8 kg of pithos fragments, suggesting that large storage vessels were probably used at the time in 24b, a phenomenon also noticed in Rooms 23 and 24a as work went on. Thus at least in Phase 1 these three eastern rooms were probably used for storage. Pithos fragments did not appear in Room 25, which probably had another function. Of nonceramic small finds from the area, the upper floor in 24b produced a few stone slabs, a stone disk, a cobble, and a quern (Tool Group 4 in Chap. 4.4). A lamp (C 7370), and a lamp fragment (C 7431), from 24a may have been used in the room itself—there is another (C 7611) from Room 23. These rooms appear to have been abandoned by the beginning of Phase 2 of this part of the East Wing of T.

The Eastern Rooms, Phase 1. LM IA

Stratigraphy

Room 22

+3.27–3.34 m

Trenches 57A2, 67B. Pottery Group 15 in Chap. 3.3.

Northeastern part of Room 22

Pottery Group 15 actually comes from within the northeastern part of Corridor 20 (Phase 2, below) that, however, was included originally in part of Room 22. In the fill above Group 15 was a stone bowl fragment (S 1599, Chap. 4.4, **83**).

Room 21 (see Phase 2, below)

+3.14–3.25 m

Trench 53A. Pottery Group 16 in Chap. 3.3.

C 8600 Crucible fragment 53A/39 Chap. 4.1, **69**

Since there is no good ceramic evidence for early LM IA use of this space, we must assume that either it wasn't used or, more likely, that it was cleaned out.

Room 23

+3.25–3.35 m

Trench 93D. Pottery Group 2a in Chap. 3.3.

Trench 58A. Pottery Group 2b in Chap. 3.3.

These deposits represent early use of Room 23, with an unusual amount of MM IIB and MM III style mixed with LM IA Early material. Rutter suggests that the MM IIB pieces are leftovers from MM Building AA that became mixed in with the Neopalatial ceramics (MM III and LM IA Early) when Building T was superposed on it.[135] This may be so, but here north of the line of the colonnade both the stratigraphic and architectural remains of AA are sparse.[136]

Room 24a

+3.32–3.53 m

Trench 58A. Pottery Group 3a in Chap. 3.3.

+3.53–3.72 m

Trench 58A. Pottery Group 3b in Chap. 3.3.

See below for individual finds.

Room 24b

+3.32–3.42 m
Trenches 58A and 66B. Pottery Group 4a in Chap. 3.3.

+3.42–3.75 m
Trenches 58A and 66B. Pottery Group 4b in Chap. 3.3.

S 1656	Flat-faced quern	58A/35	Not catalogued
S 1658	Slab	58A/45	Chap. 4.4, **64**, Tool Group 4
S 1661	Stone disk	58A/39	Chap. 4.4, **58**, Tool Group 4
S 1662	Slab	58A/39	Chap. 4.4, **65**, Tool Group 4

Plaster group in Rooms 24a, 24b — Chap. 2.2, Table 2.15

Room 25a

+3.18–3.44 m
Trench 66B. Pottery Group 5a in Chap. 3.3.

+3.43–3.70 m
Trench 66B. Pottery Group 5b in Chap. 3.3.

Room 25b

+3.22–3.32 m
Trench 86A/7.

+3.30–3.58 m
Trench 86A/6.

PHASE 2. THE EASTERN ROOMS (19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24A, 24B, 25A, 25B) (PLS. 1.55B, 1.66). LM IA FINAL–IB EARLY

Phase 2 was marked by a radical change in Room 22, which was now divided by a thin east-west wall 0.60 m wide that began 3.80 m from the Central Court and extended all the way to the western wall of Room 25. A small additional room (29) also was set in by closing off the southwestern entrance into Room 25 and building a new north-south wall, with a gap for an entrance on the west. The small room thus created measured 2.30 (north-south) by 2.85 m (east-west). If the eastern doorway was not already blocked by the time the small room was built, it may be interpreted as an anteroom into 25b from the south in its first phase.[137] In any case, it seems to have been used for storage of materials for weaving, as suggested by the many loomweights found within it (see below).

In the western part of Room 22, as the floor level there rose, a rough curb of stones was added above the north-south sill, probably to keep water from a rising Central Court level from flowing into the room. Not far east of here, two hearths bordered by slabs set on edge were built at floor level (+3.20 m) against its southern wall (Pl. 1.74). The eastern one could have been an oven, to judge from the clay lining preserved against the wall and curving in the interior, but it may not have risen higher to form a dome (M. C. Shaw 1990: 244 nos. 29 and 30, fig. 3). Surely the hearths, accompanied by restorable drinking vessels and drinking services (Chap. 3.3, Groups 23–24), suggest food processing and eating, as do the numerous animal bones and limpets associated with the pails.[138]

It is apparent that east-west Corridor 20, north of 22, was intended to control access to the entire line of rooms to the north as well as, perhaps, to the east unless they had gone out of use earlier, as suggested above, before the corridor was created. Perhaps, too, the southern wall of 23 was broken through (Pl. 1.70, left) to make it accessible from the south before the corridor was created.

The entire northeastern section of rooms was closed off when a wall was built, converting the eastern part of Corridor 22 into a room. The blocking wall was a roughly built north-south wall of slabs, 1.00 m wide and 0.50 m high. The base of the wall was set at +4.16 m, about 1.10 m above the original LM I floor level, which was deeply buried by debris. Found not far from this new wall, lying next to the north wall of Building P was a large stone gourna or basin (S 2338), with its spout tilted to the northeast (Pls. 1.76–1.77). Part of the bowl had come to rest over the partially robbed-out southern wall of Room 22. At some later point the basin was covered over by a thin rubble wall of only a few courses.[139]

The basin was probably originally set on the first, north-south blocking wall mentioned, Its career in the Civic Center might be reconstructed as follows:

1. The north-south blocking wall (or "platform") is built, its southern end set against the still-standing southern wall of 22. The basin is then positioned on it, with its spout projecting out over the edge of the platform, perhaps beyond its western (rather than its eastern) edge as in Pl. 1.77. The basin was probably used to press olives and/or grapes, the liquid draining out into a large vessel set below the spout and next to the platform.[140]
2. In LM IIIA2 Building P (below, Chap. 1.3) is constructed. T's wall is robbed of many of its blocks for reuse in the neighboring wall. The clay mortar used between the joints of these blocks accumulates above what is left of the LM I wall. When P's wall is completed, the area to its north is filled in—the basin is pushed south, off its platform, and lodges next to P's wall where it was found. Later, a rubble wall is built over the spot, perhaps to prevent erosion.

Stratigraphy, Phase 2

Rooms 22, 20

Group 22a comes from below the western sill level and just above what was interpreted as being bedrock. Group 22b is thought by Rutter to be contemporary with the kiln dump in the South Stoa.

+2.95–3.06 m
Trench 52A. Pottery Group 22a in Chap. 3.3.

+3.06–3.20 m
Trenches 52A and 56A1. Pottery Group 22b in Chap. 3.3.

Plaster group in Court 15 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.9

The clearest evidence for this second phase in Rooms 22/20 is the floor at +3.20 m on the west (with the two hearths) and the new east-west wall that partitioned the space. There are few catalogued nonpottery objects from this upper level.[141] The reader, therefore, is best referred to the discussions of the relevant pottery groups in Chap. 3.3 (Pottery Groups 23, 24, 31, and 32). The pails most closely associated with the two hearths are 56A1/98, 99, part of Pottery Group 23. With which phase(s) of the North Stoa are they to be associated? Levelwise, the floor the hearths are set on (at +3.20 m) comes closest to that of the Compartment/bin period (floor at +3.30 m), which is confirmed by ceramic cross joins. The loomweights in the hearth area are probably to be associated with those in Room 29 to the east (see below). This period appears to be contemporary with the earliest floors found at the west end of the North Stoa (in Space 11) at ca. +2.80 m.

Room 29

+3.20–3.75 m
Trenches 57A1 and 67B. Pottery Group 21 in Chap. 3.3.

C 8101	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **28**
C 8102	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **29**
C 8103	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **30**
C 8104	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **31**
C 8105	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **32**
C 8106	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **33**
C 8107	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **34**
C 8108	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **35**
C 8109	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **36**
C 8110	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **37**
C 8111	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **38**

C 8112	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **39**
C 8113	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **40**
C 8114	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **41**
C 8115	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **42**
C 8116	Loomweight	67B/1	Chap. 4.2, **43**

During Phase 2, newly created Room 29 served as a storeroom for weaving operations carried out nearby. Perhaps weaving took place in Room 22 itself, where there was ample room for a number of looms to be set up. This possibility is strengthened by a few similar loomweights found in the western part of 20/22, near or in the same area as the hearths.[142]

The best description of the loomweights (Pl. 1.72) and their use is the analysis by Dabney:

> Loomweights **30–45** from the LM IA floor . . . form the largest group of loomweights found in positions of primary deposition.[143] All of these are discoid loomweights, grooved and flattened at the top with no tab and no paint. Eight have single perforations and eight have double perforations. Excluding **34**, which weighs 160 g, they range in weight from 60 to 90 g with a mean of 71.59 g and a median of 70 g. It may be significant that not all of these loomweights were found intact. Loomweight **43** was broken at the top so that its perforation was no longer useful, and only the upper half of **44** was preserved. Therefore the loomweights may have been in storage rather than in use at the time of deposition. . . .
>
> Many of the loomweights found scattered in the LM I fill of Building T may originally have been associated with the weaving activity evident in that building on the basis of the group found in Room 29. Loomweight **29** was found on the floor of Room 22, **28** and **60** in the accompanying fill, **53** in the fill above Rooms 23–24, **147** (a painted half-diskoid) in Room 19, **25** in Court 15, **56** in Room 16, and **49** [in Room 10]. . . .[144] Except for **147**, these loomweights all resemble those recovered from Room 29 of Building T. . . . Three other loomweights [**46**, **47** and **48** from . . . Room 42] are also diskoid loomweights of the same type, except that **47** and **46** have double perforations. (Dabney 1996a: 245–46)

Room 23

+3.62–4.35 m

Trench 58A. Pottery Group 20 in Chap. 3.3.

C 7484	MM bull figurine (fragmentary)	58A/50	*Kommos* I (2), chap. 4.6, **22**
S 1655	Cobble	58A/38	Not catalogued
Plaster group in Room 23			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.14

Again, along with Room 21, evidence of early LM IB pottery in the fill above the primary deposit (Pottery Groups 2a, 2b) demonstrates that Room 22 was not blocked off until that date.

The East Wing of Building T (Middle Minoan III Late–Late Minoan IA/B)

The term *East Wing* here includes all architectural spaces east of a north-south line drawn along the eastern edge of the Central Court.[145] Fortunately, LM IIIA2 construction of Building P did not materially affect the northernmost rooms of this wing. Those rooms have already been described, in connection with the North Stoa, with which they were most intimately connected. That area seems, actually, to have been quite self-contained, for the southern wall of Rooms 22–25 is well preserved, without doorways leading south.

South of this dividing wall, the only glimpses we had of T's walls (aside from the eastern facade with orthostates, already described) were made possible by removing P's earthen floors, so often while excavating and writing reports we would refer to such-and-such a wall of T being below one of the six galleries of Building P.

Before dealing with these walls and their floors, however, it will simplify matters if we present a hitherto unpublished proposal for how this eastern wing of T was originally laid out.[146] First, the most common architectural characteristic of the T spaces here was their neatly laid east-west walls of slabs, 0.90–1.00 m wide.[147] As we gradually learned as we discovered them during different excavation seasons, first by chance and then by calculation, these walls were separated from each other by intervals of ca. 3.89–4.60 m. Since we know the northern and southern borders (the facades), we can propose that the original plan was a series of ten such east-west divisions, as shown in Pl. 1.7, where they are numbered alphabetically, A to J, from north to south (see also Pl. 1.68). The northernmost one (A) carried on the line of the interior of the North Stoa, the southernmost (J), the line of the South Stoa. Both of these were closable on the west. B consisted of Rooms 20/22 and 25, described above. Space for C and D was defined on the north by the southern wall of 20/22 and 25 and, on the south, by the east-west LM I wall found below the eastern end of P's Gallery 2 (Pl. 1.89 at *c*). Their common separating wall is yet to be discovered, but any future excavation will probably expose it below P's Gallery 1 and, on the west, below the east end of Archaic Greek Building Q.[148]

Relevant sections of east-west LM I walls for E through I can be seen in Frontispiece A and are also discussed below. Save for D, where an eastern entrance has been restored (Pl. 1.7), there is no evidence that the spaces thus formed were entered from that direction.[149] A, B, and J were divided in different ways by other walls, but there is no indication of major subdivision in the others, especially in F (but was there, possibly, a back room there on the east?). Also, there is no evidence for closure by means of walls or piers alongside the Central Court for B (only a sill), E, or F.[150] Slab floors were found in E and I.[151] Partial plaster floors were found in A, but were almost complete in F, with clay/dirt floors in B, C, G, H, I, and J.

ROOMS A AND B (PL. 1.7)

For description, see above.

ROOM C (SPACE 26; PL. 1.7, FOLDOUT A)

Room C's north wall is relatively well preserved (Pls. 1.74, foreground; 1.75, left, at *a*). For the most part, like the other interior walls of Building T, it is made up of good-quality slabs, and without any indication of chases for either horizontal or vertical timbers. Of particular interest in this wall is that along its southern face, beginning 3.00 m from the wall's western end and continuing for a distance of 10.70 m, the slab masonry is replaced by ashlar blocks of which two courses are preserved (Pl. 1.75, beginning at *a*). Clearly, there was a special reason for this departure from the usual wall style, probably related to the nature of the space to the south, which was most likely open to the sky.[152] Here there was probably a court, perhaps of pebbles or of slabs, of unknown appearance but probably 10 m long east-west. Unfortunately, as seen in Pl. 1.75, right, the northern wall of LM III Building P was set so close to this wall of T that there was not enough space for excavation to resolve the question.

Whereas the north face of the wall separating B from C was plastered, and painted a bluish gray, we do not know if its south face within C was plastered as well, for the plaster (if any) would probably have been found fallen along the base of the wall, where we could not excavate. The pattern in A and B, however, was definitely to plaster the walls, and presumably the south face of the B/C wall was as well, an argument that is strengthened by the anta-like cuttings on the block (C 2340) at its western end (Pl. 1.134). But since most of the LM I walls were razed to the floor level or lower, and the western face of the orthostate facade wall on the east was probably redone in LM III, this can be only a suggestion.

ROOM D (SPACE 51; PL. 1.99, FOLDOUT A)

On the west, this space still lies below later walls and unexcavated earth. On the east its southern wall, 0.95 m wide, runs the length of the east-west sounding made below P's Gallery 2 (Pl. 1.89 at *c*). There its lowest course crosses over the top of the earlier MM wall (*a*). Unfortunately, later leveling operations removed P's floor.[153]

North of here, and north of the wall between P's first and second galleries, there is a sometimes confusing nexus of constructions, usually Minoan, but there are also the sidewalls and steps associated with the Greek Spring Chamber, which leads down to the south (Pl. 1.84).[154] That which concerns us here is the east-west wall of T of which the corner orthostate block is still standing on its krepidoma (Pl. 1.86). From T's northeast corner there, the krepidoma continues west at least 3 m, after which it disappears below later construction and does not reappear to the west, leaving a gap between where it stops and where the north-south wall of T (Pl. 1.81 at *a*), also a facade, once met it.[155]

North of the east-west wall of orthostates, outside T (and P), there is a north-south paved road (Pl. 1.81 at *b*), 2.35 m wide, which parallels T's wall. Part of the road surface (it was below the floor of P and so was preserved) was included within the construction of the Greek Spring Chamber, where it appears below the ninth step from the west. A few of the road slabs reappear in Pl. 1.67c to the right of d (at +3.35m).

The best explanation of T's 6-m-long jog to the east here is to connect it with this paved

road, namely, that the road led south to an entrance into T at this point, the only entrance being proposed for T from the east.[156] This hypothetical entrance, first suggested by M. C. Shaw, has been positioned in the 3-m gap between the western end of the krepidoma mentioned above and the north-south wall of T, which we know intersected with it. The few slabs at +3.33–3.36 m, within the confines of P's first gallery from the north, may be all that remains of a paved lobby entered from the north over a now-missing threshold.[157]

ROOM E (SPACE 27; PLS. 1.7, 1.100, FOLDOUT B)

Trench 97E. Pottery Group 1 in Chap. 3.3. Fill from +3.12 to +3.50 m MM III.

B 404	Fishhook	97E/58	Chap. 4.1, **20**
C 10369	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **12**
C 10370	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **13**
C 10371	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **14**
C 10372	Figurine fragment	97E/60	Chap. 4.6, **Sc1**
C 10373	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **15**
C 10374	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **63**
C 10376	Loomweight	97E/55	Chap. 4.2, **16**
C 10377	Loomweight	97E/60	Chap. 4.2, **17**
C 10378	Loomweight	97E/60	Chap. 4.2, **18**
C 10413	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **19**
C 10414	Loomweight	97E/59	Chap. 4.2, **20**
C 10415	Loomweight	97E/60	Chap. 4.2, **21**
C 10416	Loomweight	97E/60	Chap. 4.2, **64**
C 10417	Loomweight	97E/59	Chap. 4.2, **22**
C 10418	Loomweight	97E/59	Chap. 4.2, **23**
C 10421	Loomweight	97E/58	Chap. 4.2, **24**
C 10465	Loomweight	97E/55	Chap. 4.2, **25**
S 2296	Schist bars	97E/55	Chap. 4.4, **66**
S 2297	Schist bars	97E/58	Chap. 4.4, **67**

The pottery group, including the loomweights and schist slabs, was found in between the lower floor of P's Gallery 2 (at +3.54) and the pure MM IIA fill associated with MM Building AA (top here at +3.12). The uppermost pail, 55 (+3.42–3.50 m), was above the estimated floor level of T (+3.28, based on the slab pavement to the west and the plaster floor of Room F to the south). The lowest pail, 60 (+3.12–3.28 m), is partly below that floor level and part of the top of the MM wall to the west (Pl. 1.89 at *a*, at +3.22 m), but above the north-south MM wall paralleling it east of there (*b*, at +2.98 m). No floors were found in the area concerned.

The pottery in the pails, variably worn, is of MM III date. Rutter prefers to think of the group as a construction fill associated with the building of T, the floor of which was removed during construction work for P in LM IIIA2. But how are we to interpret the 13 loomweights[158] and the 10 schist bars? If pre-T, then they may reflect early weaving activities in

Building AA, which would provide a continuity of such work in both AA and T, judging from the significant LM IA Final group found in Room 29 to the north (see above). Or, if they belong to T, they would strengthen the argument that its eastern wing was at least partly used for weaving. The schist bars could reflect a nearby workshop or a floor decoration that had been installed.

On the west, the pebble court, composed here of at least three layers (Pl. 1.87), extends ca. 3.60 m eastward into Room E, ending evenly at an earthen surface 0.65 m west of the slab pavement seen in Pl. 1.88, and Foldout B, Part 1. At +3.13 m, this well-worn pavement has a central east-west "channel" 0.16–0.35 m wide. Another channel, this one north-south, and restricted to the southern half of the pavement, begins ca. 3.20 m from the western edge of the paving. On the north, the paving continues under Archaic Building Q, presumably to end at an east-west wall. On the south it actually goes under the wall of P—to abut the stub of the earlier LM I wall upon which the P wall was set.[159]

The same pavement probably appears on the east (Pl. 1.89, top center) where it partly overlaps Building AA's Wall A. Perhaps it continued farther east, for no LM I floor surfaces were found in that area. The central channel appears on the east as well, so we assume that it extends the entire length of the space. In that case it sloped down to the west, probably serving either as a drain or in any case as a collector of liquid.[160]

ROOM F (SPACE 28; PL. 1.101, FOLDOUT B)

This, the only completely excavated gallery of LM III Building P, is the third from the north. P3 was selected by us for extensive excavation because it seemed to be reasonably clear of overlying Greek structures and was relatively well preserved. In the process of the work, as seen in Pl. 1.91, we revealed five periods of general area use. They are sketched out below so that readers can both separate them out and find more detailed descriptions elsewhere.

1. MM. On the east there are at least three north-south walls of the MM period belonging to Building AA. The easternmost was reused as a foundation for LM I Building T. Later, the part of the wall above the orthostate course on the east was replaced by LM III Building P's own facade. West of here is a thin MM wall (Pl. 1.95 at *c*). Farther west is the very thick AA wall (Pl. 1.95, at *b*, the thickest on the site) that was probably the foundation for AA's facade (see Chap. 1.1). Upon its southeastern part is the poorly preserved base of another wall (Wall A 1), 1.50 m wide (Pl. 1.95, left of *b*). This is probably what is left of AA's eastern facade. During LM I it may have been reused as an interior partition wall.[161]
2. Neopalatial Room F. Of its northern wall, only the southern face is visible, like a step, projecting from under the northern wall of P3. Of the southern wall, 1 m thick, a 10-m stretch of it has been exposed and can be seen next to P3's southern wall in its southcentral part (Pl. 1.93, at the right). Room F was about 4.50 m wide. On the west,

the plaster floor stops in a north-south line about 1.10 m from the western line of the Central Court. There the plaster was actually smoothed up against a vertical clay surface so that the thickness of the plaster is visible from above, as are its multiple renewals (Pl. 1.105). (For the plaster floor, see M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2.2). Normally one would expect a wall with an entrance here, but there is no sign of wall blocks just west of the plaster "lip." Since there is no evidence for closure at the relevant point in other similar T spaces, it is best not to restore a wall here but, rather, to postulate that someone walking east here from the Central Court (at +3.10 m then, now at +3.03 m) walked into the room, then stepped down onto the plastered floor, at +2.94 m at its western end, over the north-south plaster "lip" mentioned above. On the east, after a small room (see previous phase), Room F ended at the facade wall.

3. LM IIIA2. During this period of reuse, there was a series of compartments with low separations made up of small field stones (Pl. 1.93), set on an earlier pebble floor on the west, for which see Chap. 1.3. Then, as a preliminary step prior to Building P, a line of seven stone bases, described below, was set in along P3's longitudinal axis (Pl. 1.94, bottom). These were probably used as temporary supports during building construction. After P was built, its earth floor covered over all earlier remains.
4. LM IIIA2–B. Establishment of Gallery 3 of Building P, with the earth floor covering over the earlier remains (for which see Chap. 1.3).
5. Middle Geometric Building Z. Coincident with the construction of Greek Temple B; visitors to the sanctuary reused the western half of P3 at a higher level. A rough rubble wall, 1.50 m wide, was built up against P3's northern wall. A north-south wall closed the building on the east (see Foldout B; also J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000: chap. 1.2; and Johnston 2000).

The floor of F was carefully plastered (for details see M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2.2). West of MM Wall A there were as many as six plaster layers in places. East of Wall A, a substantial plaster floor at a somewhat higher level was found continuing up against part of the eastern facade wall. An earlier layer was blue, a later one white. Upon it was a 2-cm-thick layer of reddish earth, identified as hematite, and clay.[162]

Next to Wall A, the plaster floor is missing, and appears to have been removed after Room F had gone out of use.[163] The reason for this may be that Wall A 1 (Pl. 1.95; Foldout B) was still standing, having been reused, and presumably with a doorway leading into a room on the east. Then, when preparation for P was underway, this wall was removed to down below floor level, the plaster coating on the immediately adjacent portions of the floor being destroyed at the same time. This would have happened before the line of bases was set in during LM IIIA2, for the seventh base from the west would have been unnecessary if wall A1 had still been in place.

Aside from the walls, the only floor features from the first phase of Room F are a small U-

shaped clay hearth on the final plaster floor in the western part of the room (Foldout B) and a series of eight north-south plastered channels preserved in the plaster floor (Pl. 1.94). On average, the channels are about 0.15 m wide and 0.04–0.05 m deep. Although it is clear that they subdivided the spaces into small distinct areas, their exact function remains unclear, and parallels for them remain to be recognized. Although there is a slight overall slope down of the plaster floor west of wall AA (+3.19 m down to +3.07 m), there is no central channel as in Room E to the north, so if the channels were for liquid, that liquid would have remained in them rather than draining out to the west. At least one channel slopes down to the north, however (Pl. 1.94). Nor, as far as one can see (all the lengths of the channels have not been preserved/excavated, however), was there a collection basin. One possibility is that they were for thin wooden partitions separating the room (and floor space) into separated areas. Because there is an east-west channel preserved in the easternmost area of the room east of Wall A, all the spaces may have been subdivided on the east-west axis as well.

Concerning artifacts indicating room use, there are many copper strips, often associated with LM IIIA2 pottery from the period of reuse, near or actually on the final plaster floor. Indeed, although such strips had been found earlier in both the civic buildings and the hill-side houses, they came to be expected in levels close to the plaster floor in Room F. More than twenty examples, some consisting of groups of as many as 40 strips, were catalogued; others remain uncatalogued.[164] Usually the strips were fairly short, but there were small rolls as well. Most of them were found toward the east/central part of the room but appeared as well at the western and eastern ends.[165] Along with them there were part of a small-toothed saw-blade (B 358a, Pl. 4.1a and b), small rod fragments (e.g., B 363b, B 375, Pl. 4.4), a nail (B 366, Pl 4.4) and a fragment of a double-edged blade (B 359a, Pl. 4.1a and b).[166]

That at least some, if not the majority, of these bronze artifacts belong to the period of the plaster floors (LM I) can be shown by their presence within the floor renewals.[167] Moreover, in about the center of the length of the room, a thin layer of earth with LM IB Early pottery contained strips and wire.[168] They were also found built into the later fieldstone compartments, and must have been lying on the floor when the compartments were being laid out.[169] The possibility that they were discarded from copper-making operations is slight, since there is no evidence for metalworking in the immediate area.[170] More likely, they were useful in some industrial activity connected with work going on in plastered Room F, in which the floor with its many renewals suggests that the space had to be kept immaculate. Perhaps the strips were used as tie-ons for the postulated wooden partition walls, or in some way for the packaging of materials (e.g., of woven goods), but fibrous materials were certainly available and would have been simpler for tying.

Possibly still during LM I, but perhaps during LM IIIA2, a partial floor was added on the west, in the form of a thin layer of pebbles and clay. It was marked by burning in an area that reached from the entrance eastward as far as the first north-south channel in the plaster floor, which was covered over by it.[171] Upon the pebble floor were patches of red material,

probably hematite similar, although more granular, to that found upon the plaster floor at the eastern end of the space. Within the strosis of pebbles below a later compartment was S 1826, a rectangular grooved stone weight (Pl. 4.26).

ROOM G (SPACE 35; PL. 1.102)

Excavated only on the west, the stratigraphy and almost all floor levels were found destroyed by erosion; usually, LM III pottery had penetrated into earlier levels. An underlying MM room was located, however (Location 4 in Chap. 1.1). Fortunately, a 4-m-long stretch of the lower courses of the southern wall of Room G was still partially preserved, beginning some distance east of the Central Court, at +2.84 m. North to south, the room was about 3.95 m wide. Of small finds, a few uncatalogued bronze strips, B 392 (a rod) and B 393 (a loop), below the single floor detected of later P4, are reminiscent of discoveries made in Room F to the north. There was also a loomweight (**52** in Chap. 4.2).[172]

ROOM H (SPACE 50; PLS. 1.102, 1.104 [LEFT])

Trench 93B/45.

Trench 93A. Pottery Group 10 in Chap. 3.3. LM IA Early.

B 193 Bronze fragments 93A/45 Not catalogued

With its stratigraphy largely destroyed on the north by erosion, and further disturbed by the addition of the wall shared by P5 and P6, there is little left of Room H on the west. Its north-south width, however, can be calculated at ca. 2.80 m. The only recoverable stratification was between the southern wall and that of P4/5, where MM III–LM IA style pottery was unmixed. The lowest pail (28) was at +2.80 m, on a burnt floor with a significant accumulation of charcoal near the eastern scarp. In the pails above were plaster (P 193) and strips and pieces of bronze (uninventoried, from 93A/28, 29).[173] The north face of T's wall here contained slabs with thick, fine-quality plaster adhering, but it was not clear if this wall had been plastered or if the slabs, perhaps brought from elsewhere, were in reuse. The floor level here (at +2.80 m) is lower than that in Room E (+3.17 m) and F (+3.13 m) to the north, but equivalent to that of the original Neopalatial floors in Rooms I (+2.84 m) and J (+2.80 m) to the south. This must indicate an intentional lowering of floor levels from Room H (perhaps even from G) southward, a difference not reflected, however, in a stepping-down of the Central Court to the west.

ROOM I (SPACE 36; FOLDOUT C)

Only the western end of Room I was excavated. There, the northern wall (the southern wall of H) was fairly roughly made; it ends at the Central Court, without evidence for closure there, and with the pebble court coming up to the western edge of the room, covering over

earlier MM remains.[174] The southern wall is partly marked by the common wall of LM III P5/6 laid over it and which actually covered up part of its western face terminated by pier block S 2448 in Pl. 1.113. Part of the upper wall was removed in two places. On the west the face of the pier was partially revealed (Pl. 1.108) showing that, although partially fractured on the northwest, it cornered normally and without the inset visible on its southern face. On the north, blocks were pried by us from the face of the LM III wall to expose a wall made up of small, reused ashlar blocks (Pl. 1.109), an unusual occurrence at the Kommos site but probably paralleled in time and rough style of setting by the later ashlar walls that subdivided the North Stoa.[175] Room I was about 3.90 m wide, north to south.

The original floor of Room I, at +2.84 m, is made of limestone slabs (Pls. 1.106 at *d* and 1.114; Foldout C),[176] now fractured by time, and with gaps, and extends at least 4 m in from the Court. On the north, the slabs nestle up against the wall; on the south, they go under the later wall of P. About 2 m in from the court, and 1.10 m from the northern wall, was a small low platform of unpainted plaster, 0.03 m thick and roughly 0.40 m square, of unknown use (Pl. 1.106 at *e*). Above the slab floor, which was covered by a layer of reddish earth and pebbles, with a few shells, were two other floor levels. One was of earth with a poorly preserved clay hearth facing north (at +2.94 m) and above that a clay floor at +3.21 m (the first floor of Gallery 5 of Building P).

Trench 89C. Floor at +2.95–3.05 m Pottery Group 9a in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 93A. On floor at +2.90/2.95 m associated with clay hearth. Mixed with LM IIIA2 pottery. Pottery Group 9b in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 93A/11 +2.85–2.87 m. On slab-paved floor.

C 9031	Mold fragment?	93A/12	Not catalogued
C 9079	Crucible/mold fragment	93A/12	Chap. 4.1, **79**
C 9098	Crucible/mold fragment	93A/12	Chap. 4.1, **80**
B 387	Chisel	93A/7	Chap. 4.1, **7**
B 388	Spiral strips	93A/9	Chap. 4.1, **25**
Faunal Group 9a			Chap. 4.7
Plaster Group in Space 36/Gallery P5			Chap. 2.2

Only one pail (93A/11) is representative of the first LM IA use level, for many of the others, even if from equivalent levels, contain mixed earlier and later ceramics, probably the result of later LM III building operations (see also Pottery Group 54). The hearth, the cooking pots, charcoal, a few bones and shells (including a dog rib) suggest a cooking area for the second floor level.[177] Aside from the plaster fragments inventoried, there were a few possible clay mold fragments, spiral copper strips, and a fine bronze chisel.

ROOM J (SPACE 43; FOLDOUT C, PART 2)

The architectural history of this area is complex, so a brief review of the periods represented here may be helpful:

1. Building AA is constructed in MM IIB. Its southern wall, 1.80 m wide, is best seen in the South Stoa area (Pl. 1.128), but it continues east as well (Pl. 1.114). Walls parallel to it, just to the north, may be earlier.[178] See also Chap. 1.1, Locations 6 and 12.
2. Building T is constructed during the Neopalatial period. Its southern ashlar wall (Pls. 1.123–1.124), 1.40 m wide, is set on AA's southern wall. The distance from the north face of the former to the next LM I wall to the north (thus the north-south width of Room J) is 4.60 m. Its original floor, of hard, greenish-gray clay, is established at +2.80 m, later to be raised to +3.10 m. At the same time an east-west wall, 0.65 m wide (Pl. 1.114), is set parallel to the southern wall and 1.50 m from it, leaving a gap for a flight of stairs, probably wooden, leading up eastward to a second floor and/or to the roof.[179] Within this *sottoscala* area were the deposit of pottery and fragments of plaster tables discussed in Chap. 1.1 (Location 12, Pottery Group L) and Chap. 4.5.
3. Building P is constructed in LM IIIA2. Its southern wall (Pl. 1.124) is set over the northern part of T's facade and also projected north of it. P's wall covers T's earlier stairway and entrances from the Central Court. At a later stage a sill of large, rough blocks (Pl. 1.110) raises its entrance from the west to ca. +3.88 m. See also Chap. 1.3.

The LM I architectural arrangement alongside the court, and for the southern entrance from outside, are of particular interest. The former, from the south, begins with a single slab (S 2244, for which see **3** in Section 1.4) with a square cutting, quite clearly the setting for the pivot block of a single door, probably opening inward to the north (Pl. 1.123). The doorway, at +3.11 m (see below), led to a landing, also approachable from the north, leading eastward up the flight of stairs described above.

Adjacent to the sill block (above), on the north, is an unusual rectangular anta block (S 2247, for which see **13** in Chap. 1.4), ca. 0.80 m high and still *in situ* (Pl. 1.113). It terminates the line of the stairway on the west. Its northern face has a substantial vertical notch, 0.18 m wide and 0.025 m deep. Its base, at +2.86 m, is at the approximate level of the initial LM I floor on the interior. The northern, notched side faces another, similarly carved block (S 2248), with its notch, 0.20 m wide and 0.03 m deep, on its southern side. Surely, these two cut blocks correspond, and the nature of the framing and/or closure of the space between them (2.50 m) was determined by what was to fit in the notches. The closest parallel known to this author are pillars cut with vertical slots in their sides, the slots serving to house large, thin stone slabs around the interior of the Temple Tomb at Knossos.[180] In this case, however, wood was probably the preferable material. If solid slats fit into the slots, then it would be difficult to remove them, assuming the slats went higher than the base of the wall—and

wouldn't a built wall have been a simpler solution? Another possibility is that this was an unusual way to provide for a double door, but in that case one would expect some type of threshold/intermediate base arrangement between the two antae, and there is none.[181] Perhaps the space between the antae was only partially closed by means of a wooden lattice. This might be reasonable, since it then would not be a wall nor a doorway and would fit well enough, structurally, within the space provided, nor would it need a special base to support it at the center.

South of the landing for the east-west stairway, mentioned above, there was one of the few known entrances into Building T from outside. The threshold block[182] (Pl. 1.123; S 2333-02 in Pl. 1.133) has a rectangular cutting ($0.26 \times 0.36 \times 0.09$ m deep) that no doubt was intended to house a wooden pivot block for a door leading into T from the south. The cutting overlaps the block to the west, which has been cut into slightly, probably to accommodate the western jamb. As reconstructed, the doorway would have been about a meter wide and opened inward toward the west.

Aside from pottery, there were few other LM I finds within Room J and north of the rich MM *sottoscala* deposit. The first clay floor, with some pebbles in places, was at +2.76 m (west)–2.85 m (east). Within it on the north was a crucible fragment (C 9826 from 90A/51, **75** in Chap. 4.1). During this first phase one would have stepped up slightly (+2.76 to +2.80 m) to enter the stoa on the west. The second floor was at +3.10 m—at the same time, the level of the court may have risen and three limestone slabs (Pls. 1.111, 1.114) were placed between the antae, probably to prevent water from entering the room. Part of a bronze rod (B 379 in Chap. 4.1, **16**) was found above the floor.

The South Stoa (Pls. 1.125, 1.126, Foldout Plan C)

The MM IIB South Stoa was renovated in the Neopalatial period. Plate 1.128 shows how the earlier MM wall served as the base for the later one, 1.40 m wide, that was set on it. This southern wall of Building T was set even with the southern face of the earlier wall, but about 0.40 m back from its northern face.[183] Evidence of a foundation trench was discovered along this northern face.[184]

Aside from its reduced width, the construction of the upper wall contrasts with that of its predecessor. The former is done in squared ashlar technique; the latter is composed entirely of slabs. The ashlar technique appears most clearly south of Room J (and P6) in Pl. 1.123, near the LM I entrance into T. There, aside from a large threshold block, the course preserved is composed of triangular blocks of which the near sides of blocks on the same face meet at their edges, a typical Neopalatial technique. East of here the ashlar construction continues into unexcavated areas. West of here, aside from two roughly rectangular ashlars, the southern face has been robbed out, although still preserved at the western end of the stoa is a built stone drain waterproofed with plaster (Pl. 1.122, Section k-k). The drain is 0.30–0.40 m

wide and ca. 1.00 m long (north-south). The bottom of the drain is at +2.42 m, about 0.60 m below the level of the Central Court to the north. Since the drain does not extend to the northern face of the South Stoa wall, it probably did not drain water from within the stoa. Rather, it is more likely that the part of the drain that is visible is the bottom of a closed drainage shaft leading down from the roof.[185] The drain includes the channel that would lead the water out of the building to where there might still be an unexcavated sump. Of interest is that the drain occurs just east of the eastern line of the staircase (Space 49, for which see below). Surely the placement of the drain here was not coincidental and implies that the wall of the staircase, which was no doubt covered, probably projected up beyond roof level—that is, the stairs could lead one up to the roof. Also, because the drain was set at a point in the roof structure where the water would collect, the roof probably sloped gently down to the southwest. The drain no doubt protected the stairway wall, set next to it on the west, from being damaged.

Of some interest is that the north face of the South Facade wall (Pl. 1.121), although inferior in technique to the southern, is also of ashlar construction and, as an interior wall, is to that extent unique on the site—even the back (south) wall face of the North Stoa is of the usual coursed slabs. The joints between blocks in the same north wall face were also heavily plastered to protect the clay mortar, a detail not readily noticeable even on the orthostate facade.

Unfortunately, stone robbers removed so many blocks from the south face of the wall here that we do not know if the wall above the course preserved was of normal Neopalatial ashlar (like the facade of T5 [Pl. 1.42]) or orthostatic (as in the northern and eastern facades). At this point, since there is no neat krepidoma course of long blocks with tight joints between them, as is normal in the orthostate facades at Kommos, we propose coursed ashlar for T's South Facade.[186]

The original appearance of the area south of T here is largely unknown because of incomplete excavation. About even with the top of AA's wall there was a (MM III) paved area extending south at least 2.50 m. Above this, bringing the level up to +2.80/2.85 m, was another surface, of compacted earth and LM IA Early date (Pottery Group 11). Resting on it in turn was another of the same period (Pottery Group 12).[187] Probably, these surfaces extend eastward alongside T; however, they were found not to extend into the area where a sounding was made some 16 m to the west (Trench 97A). It is possible, therefore, that some other construction, under or west of later Greek Base Y on the upper level, lies unexcavated here. For instance, a north-south wall could well have brought about such a change in the arrangement of the exterior surfaces here. The surfaces we have been discussing, therefore, contrast with the situation to the north of T to the extent that we do not seem to be dealing with an east-west road. Rather, the surfaces certainly served to provide access into T from the south. Whether they are part of a more extensive "south court," eroded by time, can be discovered only through more extensive excavation.

The founding of the stoa's colonnade, when it belonged to MM Building AA, has already

been described in Chap. 1.1. Its disk-shaped bases rested upon a series of "stacked" slabs buried below floor level.[188] On the west, the stoa's architrave was set upon a reinforced northeast wall corner of the stairway (Pl. 1.130, Space 49). On the east, it rested upon the pier (S 2248) at the western end of northern wall of Room J (Pl. 1.114). There were six columns, with an average intercolumniation of 3.32 m (for details, see Tables 1.3, 1.4). The tops of the disk-shaped bases, some actually carefully truncated with the larger diameter below, were 0.47–0.50 m in diameter. Of some interest is that at least two of them (the fifth and sixth from the west) were set upon a thin layer of pebbles spread on the sub-base.[189] Of the six bases originally there, the westernmost is missing (it has now been replaced by one of cement), four are canonical, and the third from the west is roughly made of a rectangular block (a late replacement?). The depth of the stoa (column center to wall edge) was about 5.31 m.[190]

Concerning floor level in the LM IA stoa, no permanent features serve as guides, except for the Central Court level where its pebble pavement circles the column bases (at about +3.00 m). There were no slab-paved areas here as in the North Stoa. Rather, it appears that there was originally a plaster floor, but that floor had been so disturbed by erosion and the installation of the pottery kiln (below), that its original levels are difficult to identify. An indirect way of determining the level, however, is by means of the stratified LM IA pottery, of which there were at least three relevant groups in the eastern part of the stoa. The first, in fill in the southeast corner, is from +2.90 to +3.10 m (Pottery Group 13, below the kiln dump). The second, also below the kiln dump and above the MM surface, is from +2.85 to +3.00 m (Pottery Group 14). The third, above the MM surface and blending with the kiln dump, is from +2.78/2.87 m up to +3.10/3.15 m (Pottery Group 19).[191] It is reasonable, therefore, to posit that the latest, highest LM I floor was at +3.00–3.10 m in the eastern stoa area and perhaps somewhat lower farther west to allow for drainage.[192] Within the stoa, especially along its northeastern edge and extending out into the Central Court, were found many fragments of painted plaster tables (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5).[193] Fragments of a probable painted dado, like that in the North Stoa, were recovered as well (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2.2, Table 2.19).

THE STAIRCASE WEST OF THE STOA (PL. 1.130)

Bordering the stoa on the west are the remains of a staircase, the reinforced northeastern corner of which supported the epistyle of the colonnade.[194] Unfortunately, any walls are preserved only below floor level, and the sea has destroyed the western wall of the stairs. The restored plan in Pl. 1.130, therefore, can be termed only the result of a reasonable guess by Giuliana Bianco.

Concerning the size of the architectural block forming the staircase here, the north-south dimension (5.50 m) is extant. The east-west dimension (5.30 m), equal to that of T5's eastward projection into the court on the north, is assured by the alignment of the two blocks of ashlar facade bordering Space 7, directly south of T5. The placement in the drawing of the stairs, north-south, is made possible by the characteristic shape of the 0.90-m-wide, 4.60-m-long

area (Space 49). An entrance into the stairwell from the stoa is, probably, mandatory—we have restored it on the north. We have also allowed for direct access to the stairs from the Central Court as well as from the southwestern rooms of the West Wing of Building T. The last makes it likely that the stairs started up from the west rather than from the east. Where would the stairs have gone? Certainly to the second floor of the West Wing (like the stairs in T5), quite possibly to a loggia above the South Stoa, and also to the roof, the last implied by the presence of the roof drain in the South Stoa wall discussed above (Pl. 1.122, Section k-k).

THE POTTERY KILN (PLS. 1.121, 1.125)

During the Advanced and Final stages of LM IA, a large pottery kiln was set up next to the southern wall of the stoa. The kiln's construction, features, and the pottery found within it and scattered in an extensive dump around it, are the subjects of two separate studies (J. W. Shaw et al. 1997, also 2001 [the more detailed presentation]), so we only summarize it here. Because of its good state of preservation, the kiln assemblage, together with the potters' bats and the masses of pottery connected with it, constitutes an invaluable source of information about pottery production at Kommos and can be used to evaluate the distribution of Kommian ceramics both at the site and elsewhere.[195]

The kiln is oval, approximately 5.40 m east-west by 3.20 m north-south, and its exterior walls are made up of rubble stabilized by clay mortar. The firing pit was on the west, with a western entrance 0.50 m wide. Like the four channels to the east, the firing pit was coated with layers of clay baked, during kiln use, to a reddish buff. The kiln is of a type used in Crete during MM III–LM I, of the cross-draft type with long, multiple parallel flues or channels leading out from the firing pit (Evely 1993: 298–312).

Most likely the kiln was covered by a domed clay roof, parts of which may have been found, collapsed, inside it. Immediately above the kiln were LM III levels associated with the reuse of the court area in connection with Building P to the east.[196] Since the kiln's southernmost flue was built up against the stoa's south wall, the southern wall of the kiln must have rested upon that wall. This implies directly that by the time that the kiln was built, at least a portion of the southern wall of T (and, probably, the colonnade) had collapsed and/or had been dismantled to a relatively low level. The number of ashlar blocks found collapsed upon the kiln's firing chamber and extending farther west, however, shows that at least some of that wall was still standing. After the kiln ceased to be used, before the end of LM IA, the stoa area apparently ceased to be a center for activity. Room J to the east, however, continued in use,[197] and the time of metalworking in the North Stoa was still to come during LM IB, then LM II use of the northwest corner of the Central Court was to follow.

The Neopalatial Central Court (Pl. 1.7)

The court was 28.64 m (maximum) wide, east-west, and 39.10 m long (north-south).[198] As far as can be determined it was without built features.[199] At various places where we pierced the

court, there were one to three levels of pebbles (Pl. 1.87, for three). In a few cases *chalikasvestos*, a mixture of pebbles and lime, which is very durable, was found below the upper layer of pebbles. In particular, *chalikasvestos* occurs along the drip line of the North Stoa (34A/63 and 52A/59) and to the southeast in front of T's Room I, again next to the edge of the court (P5 area, Trench 93A/20). In these three cases, it belongs to an earlier court level, perhaps associated with Building AA.[200] On the other hand, *chalikasvestos* could also have been used in an early phase of Building T. Another possibility, since the material has not been found covering a large area, is that it was used only as a protective measure at some points alongside the edges of the court.

There seems little doubt that most or all of the pebble court had been laid down by the time that Building P was constructed for there is little evidence, at least on the north, for LM III pottery within the court makeup.[201]

The chief LM I use accumulations on the court were found in the northwestern corner of the court (Pottery Groups 44a, 44b) and between the North Stoa and the LM III retaining wall south of it, where they were relatively well protected from erosion. There were also the fragments of painted plaster tables, mentioned above, found lying on the southernmost part of the court north of and within the South Stoa, as well as a stone disk (S 2288 from 95A/207, for which see Chap. 4.4, **59**).

3. Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P (Pl. 1.11)

After LM II, even the northwestern area of Neopalatial Building T in the Civic Center at Kommos probably went out of use.[202] During LM IIIA1, or perhaps earlier, there seems to have been a relative rise in local sea level, which probably undermined or even destroyed part of the westward extension of T.[203] There was a concomitant rise in the local freshwater table, especially near the sea, which simply added to the dampness. Probably for this reason, when Building N was laid out in LM IIIA2, reusing the northwestern area of T, floor and court levels were raised by about a meter. Inland, to the southeast, the floors of contemporary Building P (Pl. 1.12), also a new structure, were not raised significantly above earlier ones.

Building N (Pls. 1.9–1.10; 1.60A–B)

Building N, like Building T, had a court but was laid out on a much smaller scale and with a different arrangement. Altogether, N was about 13.78 m north-south and 19.40 m (minimum) east-west. In its court's northwest corner was a small room (4) with an entrance from the south. On the west were two rooms, 5 (earlier, T5/5A/5B but now on a higher level)

opening south into 7, which seems to have been completely open to the court (N6) east of it. Most likely 7 was covered, if not with a conventional roof of beams supporting reeds/brush and clay, then with a light structure of some kind. At least two rooms (12, 13) were added along the eastern side of Court 6. On the south visitors to N entered through a doorway directly into the court, but their view into 7 was blocked by a projecting wall. There is no evidence to suggest that N had a second storey.

Preparations for N's building consisted of renovating existing walls, building new ones, and bringing fill in from elsewhere to raise the floors and courts to the desired level. The renovation affected the old LM I orthostate facade wall at the north, east of T5, as well as the walls of T5 itself. The former orthostate wall was narrowed by removing its south face down to about 0.10 m below the desired court level (+3.78 m [the court]), then rebuilding this face so that the wall's overall width was reduced from 1.25 m to 0.70 m. The result was a ledge later covered by the pebble surface of the court.[204] A similar procedure was followed in the north wall of T5, where in Pl. 1.24 one can see how the back of a large, triangular block of the original LM I facade was cut back below the intended level of the LM III floor. Probably at the same time the original LM I entrance was closed off by a rough wall of reused blocks (Pl. 1.39).

Unless the work had already been done during LM II (see also Chap. 1.2), the eastern wall of T5 was also redone, at least from above the level of the second ashlar course on the east (Pl. 1.29). The doorway that once led from T5 into T10 (Pl. 1.31) had probably already been blocked, its threshold removed for use elsewhere (see below), and much of the apparently destroyed area just north of the doorway was filled in at the same time.[205] The interior (LM II?) face of the same wall was probably stripped down to the level of the intended floor. The overall aim of wall narrowing, aside from increasing court or room size, was probably to simplify construction of the upper walls. This was especially true of the walls of Room 5, which, in their new form, supported the roof of only a single storey.

Generally, the new walls were quite solidly founded and built. Room 5, just referred to, was furnished with a new southern wall set over a space (5B) that originally housed the first flight of stairs in T5 (Pl. 1.34). That space was first filled with stacked slabs. A threshold block (S 2332, see Chap. 1.4, **5**), probably from T5's northeastern doorway, was repositioned upon it and served as the main entrance into 5 on the new, higher level. A new southeastern corner of reused blocks was also fashioned (Pl. 1.21, right), with a vertical anta-like projection cut into the south face of its south wall about 0.84 m from the corner.[206]

The same wall served as the northern wall of Space 7. Parallel to it on the south was a similar wall with a corresponding anta at the east end of its northern face. Since this parallel wall to the south was also part of the southern border of N, it was solidly constructed. It was set on the southern edge of a broad base, which projected some 0.30 m on the north and was to be hidden under the pebble floor surface of Space 7. The wall, as seen from the south, is made up of medium-sized rubble blocks topped by a leveling course of horizontal slabs

and, above them, reused ashlars set neatly next to one another (Pl. 1.15, above *a*). Abutting this wall on the south, the southwest corner of the court enclosure wall was reinforced by larger slabs and a large ashlar. The remainder of the court enclosure wall, continuing to the east, was of slab-and-rubble construction based on or near the surface of the Neopalatial pebble court.

Also built at the same time was Room 4, in the court. Its upper, southern rubble wall was positioned in the center of a wide wall laid upon the earlier LM I accumulation (Pl. 1.29). East of here was the north-south wall bordering court N6. Surprisingly, it is not that deeply founded. East of here were Rooms 12 and 13, apparently part of N's original plan, their eastern wall being built all the way down to the LM I court, functioning as the main retaining wall on that side of the building.

FILLS BELOW THE LM III FLOORS

When Room 5 was renovated, as mentioned above, northern and eastern wall interiors, and part of the exteriors were redone. As noted in Chap. 1.2, traces of late Neopalatial reuse were found near the pier and door partition leading south toward the original stairway; there was also a concentration of badly ground-up LM IB pottery on the slab floor. Above this was a dump of some 50 cm of mixed Neopalatial and LM II fill. This lay beneath a burnt surface (at +3.30 m), most likely an LM II floor, upon which was a large block. Upon this floor in turn was dumped fill, the top of which was leveled to form the LM III floor of Room N5, at ca. +3.73 m.

For the pottery and other items from this fill and for more details, see Chap. 3.3. Below are listed some of the nonpottery finds, including bones and shell:

Trenches 27B and 36A. Pottery Group 47 in Chap. 3.3.

B	71	Flat strips	27B/33	Chap. 4.1, **51**
C	3546	Loomweight	27B/33	Chap. 4.2, **55**
S	619	Bowl fragment	27B/27	Chap. 4.4, **84**
S	669	Chert flake	36A/12	Blitzer 1995: **CS 51**
S	762	Cobble	36A/12	Chap. 4.4, **16**

Faunal Group 47 — Chap. 4.7

Plaster group in Lower Deposit in Space 5s(outh) and 5n(orth) — Chap. 2.2, Table 2.1

A similar miscellany of small finds comes from the fill below Court 6 and Room 4:

Trench 37A. Court 6. Pottery Group 48 in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 62A/1–9 (Room 4).

C 2929	Loomweight	37A/22	Chap. 4.2, **56**
S 663	Lamp fragment	37A/23	Chap. 4.4, **92**
S 774	Cobble	37A/24	Blitzer 1995: **GS 326**
S 1752	Cobble	62A/7	Chap. 4.4, **10**
S 1753	Whetstone	62A/8	Chap. 4.4, **32**
Plaster group in Space 10			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.4

No nonpottery finds were inventoried from the fill below the LM III floors of N12 and N13.

ROOM N5

In its new form, N5's interior was 5.52 m north-south. Its western wall has been destroyed by the sea but may have been set where the earlier, corresponding LM I wall of T5 has been restored (Pl. 1.34). This would correspond to the pattern set by the north and east walls, which are at least partially of LM I vintage. N5, now squarish more than rectangular, may have led to other roofed spaces on the west, as suggested in Frontispiece C, but the relative rise in sea level probably limited interest in building in that direction.

Only about half of the LM III floor, at +3.73 m, was preserved. Some pebbles had been scattered on it, but it was without the thick pebble layer found in exterior areas. No floor features such as built hearths were found, although the clay floor was singed black, grey, and red at points where fires were probably set. Some four nonpottery items (two stone tools, wire, and plaster) were catalogued, all from within the main room. The array of pottery on the floor here and extending south onto the threshold and out into Room 7, however, was unusual in its number, in its variety, and in the fact that some of the pots, although cracked, were otherwise complete. Plate 1.21 shows some of the larger inventoried items as found, each of the three groups (within N5, on its southern threshold, and in N7) including some large storage vessels and one fine drinking or eating vessel, plus large cooking pots in two of the three cases. Included in the pottery group (Group 59, for which see Chap. 3.3) are fragments of two "feeding bottles." The Sardinian pottery in N5/7 is simply not found in Building P (below), where such imported material is attested only in front of but not actually within P6. Conversely, short-necked amphoras (or SNAs), which are so common in Building P, are not represented as mendable vases in N, although they do occur as such both in House X and elsewhere in the town. The assemblages in N5/7 are similar to certain domestic deposits on the hilltop to the north.[207]

On the floor were over 100 limpets and 25 murex shells (Reese 1995d: 254, 258) as well as the bones of fish (sea bream: Rose 1995: 239), the remains of marine meals.

Room N5

Trench 27B/18, 21, 22 Pottery Group 59 (part) in Chap. 3.3.

B 60	Fishhook fragment	27B/18	Chap. 4.1, **19**
S 640	Cobble	27B/18	Chap. 4.4, **22**
S 641	Whetstone	27B/18	Chap. 4.4, **24**
Plaster group in Lower Deposit N5 s(outh) and 5 n(orth)			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.1

Threshold Trench 27B/24. Pottery Group 59 (part) in Chap. 3.3.

Room N7

Trench 27B/19, 23, 25. Pottery Group 59 (part) in Chap. 3.3.

Two pots and large fragments of others were found on or near the threshold. C 2499 (a pithoid jar) and C 2501 (a horizontal-handled jar) were cracked but otherwise largely intact, the former actually set on the threshold and the latter just south of it (Pls. 1.21, 1.37).[208] Their placement and preservation are both unusual. Concerning the former, the pots were probably left in their position of last use, perhaps when this building was abandoned in LM IIIB. Bones of sea bream found within C 2499 (Vessel **59/21** in Chap. 3.3; Rose 1995: 239) suggest that the fish may have been stored within it in a dried or pickled form, or, perhaps, a stew had been prepared. Perhaps the eastern end of the threshold was used for passage between N5 and N7, and the pots were set where found for convenience. As to the pots, only rarely are large ones found standing as they were left, for over time they tend to open up and fall flat upon adjacent surfaces. At Kommos, without burials where such assemblages might be largely intact, preservation of this type has occurred only when a pot is in a "protected environment" buried under a floor,[209] or within an enclosure,[210] or within a room later filled in.[211] Such a protected environment could have occurred in this case if sand had blown in, and both filled and surrounded the pots, but the soil around them was more like earth than sand. A likely possibility is that the wooden framework of the door, and perhaps part of the roof, stayed in place long enough for earth to accumulate in and around the pots and keep them from splaying open.

ROOM N7 (PLS. 1.21, 1.25, 1.36)

N7, 5.30 m east-west and 2.50 m wide, was created by building its southern wall on top of the LM I pebble court (at +2.74 m). Ashlar blocks originally from the upper courses of T5's south wall were apparently dumped, flat, south of the building and on top of the LM II buildup from the reuse of the area (see Chap. 1.2). Some of these blocks were found lying on their sides. This construction was probably carried out after at least the lower courses of any

new walls had been built in the area and as part of the infilling of N5 to the north and Court N6 to the east. Once the level had been raised sufficiently, beach pebbles were brought in and spread out in a layer about 5 cm thick, with the top of the layer at ca. +3.76 m. The floor thus created covered the lower part of this southern wall (Pl. 1.36, Phase 3) as well as the original first course of T5, which was left undisturbed. On the east there was no cross wall, so 6 and 7 simply merged, although later in LM IIIB a north-south row of nine fieldstones was laid in between the two, perhaps to keep rainwater from washing into 7. On the west there remained the original ashlar wall of T, but the sea has removed any evidence for LM III building there—the passage may well have been closed.

N7's floor was found littered with LM IIIB pottery. There was plentiful evidence for burning, especially in the approximate center of the room. There, one of the long, triangular blocks originally belonging to T5's south wall, the top of which was lying just below floor level, was seared red and black (Pl. 1.36, phase 4, center). Here is probably the site of much of the cooking that went on in the 5/7 areas.

N7 was paved with pebbles and may, therefore, like Court 6, have been open to the sky; or it may have had a covering of reeds, with beams spanning the gap between north and south walls, as suggested in Pl. 1.9. That N7 was not always considered part of Court 6 is indicated by the line of stones, mentioned above, separating the two. The extension of N7's southern wall to the east (Pl. 1.10) is interesting from this point of view: if 7 had not been at least partly covered over, it would not have been necessary to extend the wall that far. The arrangement of the entrance to the south here is related to the question, for the same wall extension blocked a view of activities in N7 to anyone looking in through the doorway.

ROOMS N4 AND N6 (PL. 1.10)

The only known entrance to Building N from outside was in the southwestern corner of its court (Pl. 1.15), as already mentioned. The threshold (S 2339, **7** in Chap. 1.4) is a limestone block, 0.67 by 0.93 m, that was set in such a manner that gaps of 0.20–0.30 m were left on either side, probably to accommodate the lower jambs of the door framing. There was no trace of a pivot hole in the threshold nor of a separate pivot block, which probably would have been wooden, alongside it to the north. Having crossed the threshold, one had the choice of either going into 7, then 5, in which at least in their latest phase, there was domestic activity, or going right to the East Wing (12/13), where there is some evidence for industrial work. The court dimensions are north-south, 12.60 m (west) to 12.15 m (east), and east-west, 6.70 m (north) to 12.15 m (south).

Room 4, set in the northwestern corner of the court, is certainly part of the original design of N. Its interior is 2.21 m east-west by 3.00 m north-south. Upon its primary floor, at +3.91 m, was a cobble (S 981, **2** in Chap. 4.4), some plaster fragments, and part of an amphoroid crater (C 2503, **59/10**) that joined other pieces found in Court 6 to the south and elsewhere. There were some shells, bone, and charcoal, but otherwise not enough to designate specific

use. N4's original entrance was at +3.96 m—there was no sign of a threshold, which could have been of wood or stone.[212] In a second stage, the level of the entrance was raised by the addition of a rubble sill set east-west along the width of the room next to the earlier sill. This corresponded to a higher floor, at +4.40 m. Set in the southeast corner of the room was a rough hearth of slabs, accompanied by some shell, bone, and three cobbles (see below). The hearth/cobbles/bone/shell combination suggests that during this final LM IIIB phase in Building N, Room 4 was used for cooking, like N7 to the southwest.[213] Perhaps a wooden step or two made possible access into 4 from 6 at the time.

Trench 43A/73 Room N4, Floor 1. +3.91–4.04 m. Pottery Group 60 (part of) in Chap. 3.3.

S 981	Cobble	43A/73	Not catalogued
Faunal Group 60			Chap. 4.7
Plaster group in Space N4 and underlying strata			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.5

Trench 43A/64, 66 Room N4, Floor 2. +4.35–4.62 m.

S 969	Cobble	43A/64	Chap. 4.4, **39**
S 970	Cobble	43A/64	Chap. 4.4, **60**
S 971	Cobble	43A/64	Not catalogued
Plaster group in Space N4 and underlying strata			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.5

The pebble court of 6 was strewn with a rich variety of pottery, including imports, as described in Chap. 3.3 (Pottery Group 60). Along with the vessels were a number of artifacts, particularly stone cobbles and whetstones (Tool Group 5), as well as four loomweights. The first two items were usually used for food preparation, and the last for weaving. There was also a cup base with a potmark (Chap. 3.3, **60/7**). Here and upon the floor of Space 7 were some 99 bones of sheep/goat, but also cattle and pig (Reese 1995b: 169, 187). Bones of dove (Reese 1995c: 197) were recovered, as well as those of grouper (Rose 1995: 238–39), a fish that usually dwells under rocky outcrops that are undisturbed by wave action (see also Faunal Group 60, below).

Trench 37A/19, 20, 21, 22, 22A, 40, 41, 41A, 41B, 42, 45, 46. Part of Pottery Group 60 in Chap. 3.3.
Trench 43A/63.
Trench 50A/24, 26, 27, 28. Part of Pottery Group 60 in Chap. 3.3.

C 2929	Loomweight	37A/22	Chap. 4.2, **56**
C 3193	Loomweight	37A/41	Chap. 4.2, **57**
C 3216	Loomweight	37A/42	Chap. 4.2, **58**
C 6412	Loomweight	50A/28	Chap. 4.2, **59**
I 21	Inscribed cup base	50A/24	Chap. 3.3, **60/7**
S 744	Cobble	37A/42	Chap. 4.4, **15**, Tool Group 5
S 759	Whetstone	37A/46	Chap. 4.4, **25**, Tool Group 5
S 945	Cobble	43A/63	Chap. 4.4, **38**, Tool Group 5
S 1499	Three pebbles	43A/63	Chap. 4.4, **62**, Tool Group 5
S 1531	Whetstone	50A/27	Chap. 4.4, **30**, Tool Group 5
Faunal Group 60			Chap. 4.7

ROOMS N12–13 (PLS. 1.10, 1.60A–B)

East of the court was a series of interconnected rooms of which most of two (N12, N13) have been excavated. Another, unexcavated, lies under the Greek temples. These rooms were apparently built at the same time as the western part of Building N and were part of its original plan.[214]

The shape of the northern, unnumbered room may never be known (one would have to dismantle the overlying Greek temples), but it can nevertheless be inferred. Concerning positioning and layout, the room's southeastern corner probably included the corner (Pl. 1.48 at *b*) of an earlier structure, R, at least partly made up of reused ashlar blocks, set within the North Stoa during LM I.[215] The eastern wall of N12/13 was built up against that corner, and it follows that the line of the latter continued to the north, with the earlier wall serving as the base for the later one. Since we assume that R had a north-south western wall, now completely hidden below the later Greek temples, it is quite possible that the western wall of N12/13 (the eastern wall of Court 6) is set on that western wall of R.[216] The northern limit of our unnumbered room would, of course, be on the line of the northern limit of Court 6, also an LM I wall in reuse (the orthostate facade).

We now must consider access and floor levels here in the East Wing of N. Concerning the first, the eastern wall of Court 6 is preserved at least 0.50 m higher than the court itself (+4.40 m versus +3.84 m) and there is no indication of an entrance from the court into the eastern rooms. Since we assume passage from the west into them, we must restore a doorway either in the (unseen) northwestern corner of N12 or in the (also unseen) western wall of the room north of N12. The latter choice is preferable, for in their first stage the floors of N12 and N13 stepped down from +3.65 to +3.45 m, respectively, and were still below the level of Court 6. We favor the possibility, therefore, that the northern room had a floor at about court level (+3.85 m), with about a 0.20-m step-down south into N12, repeating the pattern observed to

the south.[217] The result is three rooms, of which the northernmost controlled access to the two southern ones. That the one entrance into them was set as far as possible from the exterior entrance into N suggests that security was of primary concern.

All three rooms were ca. 5.20 m wide, east to west. We assume that they were roofed, with their main ceiling beams set east-west. The direction of the spans may be shown by the fact that in their second phase (Pl. 1.60B), N12 and N13 became one large room, with a common floor at +3.92 m, somewhat above that of Court 6. Those in charge of Building N dispensed with the cross wall between the two rooms, removing its blocks down to below floor level (as seen in Pl. 1.46). That the builders could do this easily suggests the direction of the span, since if the main beams had been placed north-south, it would have been necessary to replace the entire roof construction when the wall supporting one end of the span was removed.

Room N12 Lower Floor at +3.65 m, and fill to ca. +3.92 m

Trench 44A. Part of Pottery Group 64 in Chap. 3.3.

Room N13 Lower Floor at +3.45 and fill to ca. +3.92 m. Part of Pottery Group 64 in Chap. 3.3

Trench 44A/41, 42.

B 409	Copper ingot fragment	44A/41	Chap. 4.1, **60**
Bo 41	Bone shaft, worked	44A/41	Blitzer 1995: **Bo 27**

Rooms N12/13 Later, common floor at ca. +3.88/4.02 m and fill above to +4.20/4.30 m. Pottery Group 65 in Chap. 3.3

Trench 44A/37,38, 39, 40; 51A/25; 51A1/62.

B 408	Copper ingot fragment	44A/40	Chap. 4.1, **59**
S 914	Chert core	44A/38	Blitzer 1995: **CS 84**
S 1073	Disk	44A/37	Chap. 4.4, **57**, Tool Group 6
S 1459	Cobble	44A/38	Not catalogued
S 1479	Cobble	44A/38	Chap. 4.4, **17**, Tool Group 6
S 1493	Cobble	44A/38	Chap. 4.4, **18**, Tool Group 6
S 2044	Cobble	51A/25	Chap. 4.4, **13**, Tool Group 6

The original floor of N12, at +3.68 to +3.73 m, was very burnt. The floor of N13, at +3.48–3.57 m, produced a worked shaft of bone and an ingot fragment. The combined, later floor of N12/13 was very burnt, especially over a large area in the center of the room. Frag-

ments of bronze, especially another copper ingot fragment, suggest metalworking here, although no crucibles were recovered in the same levels.[218] Cobbles on the northern part of the floor (pail 38), and a core and a disk (Tool Group 6), also suggest area activity, perhaps in connection with metalworking or food preparation. A number of vases imported from outside Crete (Cycladic, Cypriot, Egyptian) are among the pottery from the floor levels.

South of N (Space 8; Pls. 1.10, 1.15)

Once the southern east-west wall of Building N was constructed down to or near the LM I pebble court,[219] the general level was raised. Building on any earlier accumulation, the ground level was raised outside the wall by 0.30 m on the southeast to over a meter on the very southwest. Just south of N's threshold the surface was covered by the later collapse of the court wall, so it was well preserved at +3.60 m.[220] One entering N would step up from there to the threshold (at +3.93 m), then down onto the court (at +3.76 m). The exterior surface outside N had at least one layer of pebble renewal and was rather like a ramp sloping down to the south (Pl. 1.15). Alongside the wall, the pebbled surface was fairly well preserved for about 3 m on the east and 1.50 m on the west, but erosion had cut deeply into it farther south, down to the level of the LM I court.

While N was being used the exterior surface to the south and southwest was used as a dumping ground for pottery, other artifacts, bone, and shell. Some of the latter are recorded below.

Earlier, LM IIIA2 levels south of N. Trenches 50A and 36A. Pottery Groups 50, 51, 62 in Chap. 3.3.

B 269	Strips	50A/68	Chap. 4.1, **52**
B 272	Nail shaft	50A/79	Chap. 4.1, **9**
S 1620	Cobble	50A/78	Chap. 4.4, **19**

LM IIIB slope was often mixed with later material, south of N. Pottery Group 78 (part of) in Chap. 3.3. Trench 50A.

B 270	Strip	50A/58	Chap. 4.1, **53**
B 412	Ingot fragment	50A/57	Chap. 4.1, **61**
S 2037	Cobble	50A/57	Chap. 4.4, **12**
S 2042	Whetstone	50A/55	Chap. 4.4, **33**
Faunal Group 78			Chap. 4.7

Building P

Building P, roughly contemporary with N, consisted of six broad, long galleries facing west. They were 38.50 m long and ranged from 4.50 m to 5.88 m wide (Pls. 1.60A–B). Their ceilings were at least 4 m high.[221] The following discussion focuses first on the exterior levels and architecture and, then, the interiors. The main discussion of the building's use is found in Chap. 5.2.

THE LM III TERRACE

When P was built, a terrace was created over the ruins of the collapsed walls and ceiling materials of Building T. As we have already seen, in the Building N area the level was brought up to ca. +3.75 m. East of N the buildup continued. More than likely, the builders first leveled any upper walls that were still standing, either removing the blocks for reuse or simply using them as filling material. Then they brought in fill to create a large rectangular, sloping area about 12 m wide (north-south) and at least 50 m long, bordered on the north and east by the still-intact orthostate wall. The amount of fill required varied, from as little as 0.15 m (above T's Room 42) to as much as 1.30 m (above T's Room 23). North of P1, the northern wall of which served as the major retaining wall for the terrace, the top of the terrace platform sloped down north-south from +5.45 m to +5.20 m (on the east), and from +5.00 m to +4.75 m on the west. There was an east-down-to-west slope, therefore, of about 0.40 m. Alongside the north wall of P and not far from a mass of limpets, was a hearth, its base at +4.70 m. On either side of the hearth was a slab lying on its side, as if fallen, the ensemble suggesting a roasting pit (Pottery Group 58c). East of the hearth a rough retaining wall was built at the same time that a large stone bowl (Pls. 1.76–1.77; S 2338, **78** in Chap. 4.4), left over from late LM IB activity in the area (see Chap. 1.2), was toppled from its base, since it otherwise would have projected above the desired level. [222]

Directly northwest of P, a thin east-west retaining wall (Pl. 1.62) was built upon the Central Court. On the east it began at the western end of one of T's east-west walls[223] and continued west to abut against Building N. The retaining wall held up a slope beginning at least as high as 0.70 m (the top of the wall as preserved) above the court surface to the south and ending at +4.50/4.60 m above Space 16 of the now-buried North Stoa.[224] East of N, the slope and the higher area to the north were covered by one or more thin layers of beach pebbles, but pebbles do not seem to have been used farther east than the area above T's Room 42.

Found within these fills (see Pottery Groups 52a–52h) were a number of objects, including bone and shell, which probably reflect use of the (unknown) LM I–IIIA1 contexts from which they originated.

B 275	Loop	57A/9	Chap. 4.1, **26**
B 276	Serrated blade	57A/15	Chap. 4.1, **4**
C 7442	Loomweight	56A1/75	Chap. 4.2, **51**

S 952	Bowl fragment	42A/49	Chap. 4.4, **93**
S 1637	Cobble	57A/11	Not catalogued
S 1652	Cobble	57A2/74	Chap. 4.4, **8**
S 1653	Cobble	57A2/68	Chap. 4.4, **9**
S 1668	Whetstone	58A/17	Chap. 4.4, **31**
S 1669	Cobble	58A/17	Not catalogued
Faunal Group 52c			Chap 4.7
Plaster group in Corridor 20/22 and Room 29			Chap. 2.2, Table 2.13

THE PERIPHERY

Part of Building T's original layout provided the physical framework for the various activities carried out within P and N. Outside that framework, the bordering LM I levels seem to have been maintained without major change. The east-west slab-paved road along the north was kept open, for instance. Along the periphery to the east the LM I exterior level (at ca. +3.40/+3.50 m) had risen only to about +3.80 m outside P's northeast corner, to +3.90 m east of P2, and remained without change east of P3, at the time that work on P was initiated. During P's use the level was to rise to about +5.00 m, after which it was to remain about the same until the eighth/seventh centuries, when it gradually rose to at least +5.90 m, even with the top of P's masonry next to P2. Throughout these Greek levels there were areas of burning, probably from fires lit by pilgrims camping out east of the Greek Sanctuary.[225]

A real curiosity here along the eastern facade is the limestone stela, still in position east of P2 (Pl. 1.83). Its upper surfaces, unfortunately, are so worn that any sculpted or painted designs that may have been on them have disappeared.[226] When originally set in, the slab was 1.28 m high, 0.17 m thick, and 0.60 m wide.[227] As one can tell from the part below ground level (bottom at +3.40), it was finely finished. It was originally set in when the ground level was at +4.00 m, so that about 0.66 m of the slab projected. To steady the stela, slabs were set in back of it, between it and the orthostate wall. A squared stone was set immediately in front.[228]

The stela was erected during LM III, after the LM I level had risen to about +4.00 m.[229] It was probably set in during an early phase of P, perhaps during its construction. Its purpose is unknown, but it is probably commemorative, although no votive material was found around it. Excavation next to it progressed down to +3.30 m, probably not far enough to determine if the stela marked a grave, perhaps that of someone connected with P or its construction.[230]

Immediately south of P there is evidence for about 0.40 m of LM III buildup above LM I levels. The most obvious topographical feature there is the erosion on that still largely unexcavated slope. South of a west-southwest/east-northeast line of vertical slabs that may have been used to provide shelter from the wind, were found a number of small clay ovens (Pl.

1.116).[231] Another similar, but larger oven was built into the protected south side of the earlier LM IA pottery kiln in the South Stoa (J. W. Shaw et al. 2001: fig. 5). The number of such ovens used here during LM III is unusual and probably had a direct relationship to the individuals participating in activities within Building P.

The first and most carefully constructed parts of Building P were Galleries P1 and P2, which were built consecutively but apparently as a unit and part of an overall plan of six galleries. To adapt their plan to make use of Building T's eastern orthostate facade, and still maintain the required length and width of galleries, the builders extended the earlier northern limits of T, where there had been a jog to the south to allow for the postulated northeastern entrance.[232] In the process the builders removed almost all the earlier orthostate construction in that part of the jog down to below floor level. Then, they built a new facade of ashlar blocks on the north and east, shown in Pl. 1.81.

This new section of east-west facade was erected by first building a krepidoma, stepping up to the east, running the length of the wall on the north (Pls. 1.78A–D).[233] A corresponding krepidoma, level with T's (at +3.63 m), was not added along the eastern face of the wall. Rather, the wall was built up with slabs and blocks (to +5.01 m) and then was stepped back to the west (Pl. 1.43). This stepping-back corresponded in level to the top of the orthostate course farther south. There was a similar setback for the laying of the LM III wall, some 0.10–0.20 m back from the eastern edge of the orthostates. The wall itself was about 1.20 m wide and was set back from the eastern line of the LM I orthostate facade (itself 1.40 m wide). Although only two courses are normally preserved, the higher corner on the northeast shows that there was at least one and probably three more courses above that. This eastern wall is likely to continue in this fashion up to the southeastern corner of P (and T) below presently unexcavated land.

This northeast corner segment is the only new ashlar wall in Building P and was probably built in ashlar because it was an exterior wall but also because it was visible to passersby on the east-west road. Its construction is typical of LM III work at Kommos and is comparable to the upper courses of the renovated eastern wall of N5 (in its earlier phase, the eastern wall of T5); namely, an assortment of blocks, usually triangular in plan, were laid in rough courses. In the process, not much care was taken to use blocks of the same height in separate courses, unlike in most LM I ashlar work. Also, small stones and slabs, plus clay mortar, were used to compensate for inequalities in block height. Some five to eight courses of blocks were laid in this manner. The interior of the wall, disturbed by later reuse, was probably of rubble, slabs, and a few reused ashlars.[234]

As it continues west here, the northern wall of P1 changes character dramatically, from coursed ashlar to one of reused slabs and blocks strengthened by vertical and horizontal beams (Pls. 1.78A–D). The methodology used here was to establish first a krepidoma, a solid base of slabs and reused ashlar blocks, and clay mortar, at a level well below that of the first floor of P1 to the south and set within a foundation trench. This lower foundation wall was

somewhat broader than the upper wall placed on it.[235] On this level base the wall was constructed in what we can refer to as "segments." The twelve compartments for this wall were made up of horizontal rows of reused ashlars with courses of smaller, slablike blocks between them. Immediately above the krepidoma a long chase was left for horizontal beams—the wall, of course, was thinner at this point.[236] Also, vertical gaps were left at intervals: these were chases for beams that would be socketed into the horizontal timbers just mentioned. Corresponding vertical chases occur at each side of the wall, so that timbers set into them could be bound together laterally as well.[237] The only exception to this general approach is found in the western end of the wall, where there were more large ashlars than usual, without wooden framing, which were carefully squared on the west.[238] Timber framing was used as far south as the common wall between Galleries 3 and 4 (= P3/4) after which, apparently,[239] it was discontinued.

Concerning the timbering generally, some similarities should be noted. First, although the chases for vertical timbers occur predictably opposite one another on either side of a particular wall, so that the timbers could be bound together by transverse crossbeams, the chases in opposite walls do not match (e.g., see Pl. 1.94, bottom [P3]), nor need they. Also, the vertical timbers began in Galleries P1 and P2 at some distance (4.40 m, 4.35 m, respectively), from the eastern wall, probably since the area there already had three (rather than the usual two) walls for support, and was therefore stronger.[240] The long average distances between chases in the northern wall of P1 (2.65–2.94 m) are not matched by the shorter intervals in P3's north and south walls, ranging from 1.63 to 1.90 m, suggesting that it was thought that interior walls required more timber reinforcement.[241] Also, special thought was given to the western termination of the walls in the first three galleries. Those in P3 were apparently completed by a series of horizontal beams tied to the first 5.15 m of the wall by means of wooden dowels.[242] The long interval between the end of P3/4 and the first timber chase (3.60 m) implies that the end here was also especially cared for.

Among the regularities just pointed out there are major inconsistencies as well. Within the timber-enclosed "compartments" of P's north wall, for instance, large reused ashlars were set above and below smaller groups of slabs (P1, Pls. 1.78A–D and 1.79), whereas in P1/2 ashlars were reserved for the foundation course and the lower part of the wall (Pl. 1.99, upper right; Pl. 1.100, upper left).[243] In P3/4 the ashlars, very neatly arranged, were also laid as part of the first course after the krepidoma.[244] In P4/5, although the wall base is broader than usual, there appear to have been few large blocks and no timber reinforcements, similar to the situation in P5/6.[245] In the case of the south wall of P6, its north face is made up entirely of slab masonry (Pl. 1.111), whereas there is an irregular row of large ashlars making up P's southern facade (Pl. 1.124), a facade that might otherwise have been built of neater ashlar construction, like the northeastern corner of P1 (Pl. 1.81).[246]

With its unusually substantial foundations and solid wall construction, Building P was structurally superior to Building T. Often, T's interior walls were not carefully bonded, and

unless set on earlier walls, the foundations were either shallow or nonexistent. Perhaps the very height of P's walls and the unusually broad spans required more than usual care.[247] Nevertheless, the inconsistencies in P's construction, just pointed out, should still be explained, especially the degeneration of building technique the farther south one goes in Building P.

A practical way to resolve the question is to note that among the LM III courses of ashlar blocks set above the orthostates on the East Facade, the edges of the usually overlapping blocks are aligned at two points. One point is even with the southern face of wall P1-P2. The other is even with the southern face of P2-P3. This can mean only that the ashlar blocks of the eastern wall of P1 were laid first, from north to south, and stopped at the first vertical joint mentioned. Then, when at least the eastern part of P1 was completed, work began on P2, with the eastern ashlar wall being the first to be completed. That this was the case can be shown most clearly in the northern face of P2-P3 (Pl. 1.90 at *a*), where the carefully built eastern end of the wall there, from the corner out for 1.35 m to the west, was built first. The remainder of the same wall, including the uppermost preserved course, was added later. Thus Gallery 2 was added on to Gallery 1. Because of their relative consistency in appearance and their use of timber framing, they were probably built not long after one another.

Part of the sequence here is provided by the series of seven bases (including two reused anchors) found on the longitudinal axis of P3 (Pls. 1.94, 1.97) and described below in more detail in connection with that space. Although their placement definitely dates to LM IIIA2, post Building T, they were covered by P3's floors and, therefore, appear to belong to the construction phase of that gallery. The role of the bases can be explained in a number of ways. One is that they were used to support a temporary wooden shelter for the workers and their equipment while P1 and P2 were being constructed. Another, perhaps more appealing one, is that they were used as supports for wooden scaffolding for workers constructing the sidewalls. If a ramp system was not used (and there is no evidence to show that ramps were used for the upper part of freestanding Minoan structures—although low ramps could very well have been used to set T's orthostates in place) then a system of scaffolding may be the more reasonable alternative. In such a case, scaffoldings would be built on either side of the walls and tied into one another within the gallery by using the central line of bases, and the mortar, slabs, and blocks would be carried, dragged, and hoisted into position as the scaffolding was extended upward.[248]

Another element to be considered is that there are three surfaces isolated within P3, the first of LM IIIA2 date belonging to the bases just mentioned, and other two dated to the LM IIIB use of the gallery. In contrast, the lower, use floors in P1 and P2 date to LM IIIA2–B. It is possible, therefore, that P3 was completed after P1 and P2 had already been in use for some time.

If so, the difference in the arrangement of the vertical timbering in the common wall of P2/3 and that of P3/4 may be explained, for the timbering in the former begins 4.35 m from the east wall, and that of the latter begins ca. 11.50 m from the east wall, a significant differ-

ence.[249] The same line of approach can be used to explain the apparent complete lack of timbering, and shoddier use of slabs and large blocks, in P5 and P6.

In summary, it appears that Building P, unlike Building N, was built in stages over a period of time, with P1 and P2 first, then P3 and P4, followed by P5 and P6. In other words, a pair could have been completed during each one of three construction periods. This sequence would account for the different approaches the workers and their supervisors took to completing their jobs. It could also explain why P5 and P6 are without compartments separated by timbering, which could be a result of the local economy and the availability of wood for both half-timbering construction in the walls and the immense beams for supporting the roof. The suggested sequence is reinforced by Rutter's pottery analysis (Chap. 3.3). Rutter also notes that the construction fills of the first two galleries of P contain numerous non-Cretan imports, whereas the later galleries of P have fewer imports. He speculates that this could indicate that the local people may have played a greater role in building the later four galleries.

There are also inconsistencies, however, within the separate periods of construction. For instance, the six western compartments of P1 (Pls. 1.78A–D) are much more carefully constructed than the six on the east. Also, the western end of P2/3, unlike that of P1, both supposedly built in the first stage of construction, was reinforced by horizontal beams held onto ashlar blocks by wooden dowels, a technique not noticed in N or anywhere else in P. Or, in P3/4, the northwestern face of the wall combines ashlars, perhaps reused orthostates, in an attractive way (Pl. 1.93, right), but there are no ashlars in the 3 or 4 m visible of the southern face of the same wall! This difference can probably be attributed to the workers and overseers involved, who varied and, indeed, may have been committed to completing only a part of the work to be done within a single building. A similar phenomenon may have occurred elsewhere in Minoan Crete, but during the Palatial periods, where individual "mason's marks" occur in groups in different parts of palatial structures (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 110).

THE GALLERIES OF P (PLS. 1.60A–B, 1.68)

The levels underlying P have been described in Chap. 1.1 and 1.2. P's general layout and aspects of its architecture have also just been presented. It remains for us to deal with the contemporary LM IIIA2 and IIIB floor levels and any features found on or within them. Since the major artifact class from all these levels remains pottery, our constant reference points are the ceramic groups delineated by Rutter in Chap. 3.3.

GALLERY P1 (PLS. 1.60A, 1.99, FOLDOUT A)

The complexities of this area, excavated extensively only on the east, have already been pointed out, with P's construction falling some time after that of T's East Wing in early Neopalatial times and long before that of the Archaic/Hellenistic stepped spring chamber (Pls. 1.67, 1.84–1.85).[250] The gallery here was ca. 5.41 m wide. When P was built, part of T's orthostate wall, now largely covered over by the southern wall of the well chamber, was

removed. The northeastern corner block of T's orthostate wall (Pl. 1.86) was left in place, however, and projected at least 1.10 m into the room. Presumably this was done not to form a separate space but, rather, not to weaken the eastern facade wall of P, which reused T's earlier wall somewhat like a high krepidoma to support a newly constituted wall.[251]

When P1 was constructed, a foundation trench was excavated down through earlier levels.[252] P1's first dirt floor (at +3.46 m) was found burnt in places. Above it, also, were lenses of burning, a phenomenon typical of the floor levels in P's galleries, reflecting activity on the floors and renewals of the floor surfaces. The final floor was at +3.55 m, also burnt in places and with fragments of LM IIIB domestic wares, especially cups. Included among them were numerous fragments of medium-coarse short-necked amphoras, which also occur occasionally in the Kommos houses but, especially, typify Building P's floor levels. This vessel type, for storage and transport, was introduced at Kommos in LM IIIA2. It was probably made in the Kommos area and was associated with seagoing commerce that seems to have been the reason for P's construction and use.[253] In places on this floor was a layer of ash, as thick as 3 cm,[254] plus fill above to ca. +3.65 m, below the later Greek levels. On the east, a deep pile of LM III debris, with evidence for burning, sloped up to +4.40 m against the eastern wall (Pl. 1.99). This accumulation, with much singed and burnt material, along with a number of sheep/goat bones as well as limpets (Chap. 4.7) seems to have been a dump, almost a meter deep in places, made when P1's floor to the west was cleaned. As suggested by pottery joins between upper and lower pails, the dump may represent a single period of activity. The pottery, including fragments of Canaanite and Cypriot wares, is described in Chap. 3.3 (Pottery Group 66).[255]

Gallery P2, East (Pls. 1.60A–B, 1.100, Foldout A)

On the east, somewhat over 6 m (east-west) of P2 was exposed in a series of trenches, which also revealed earlier architectural features from Buildings AA and T. Of P, 5.54 m wide, there are at least three distinguishable levels. The first is a burnt earth and clay surface (+3.40 m west and +3.54 m east) with about 0.15 m of accumulation above it. Associated with it is a roughly rectangular pit (0.90 m east-west by 1.10 m north-south) in the northeast corner of the space. A clay floor burnt to an orange color and containing bits of hematite defines the pit, which is about 0.15 m deep and contained ashy fill with charcoal. The pottery within the floor accumulation is uniformly LM IIIA2 (Pottery Groups 56a–c, including fragments of Cypriot and Egyptian ware). Rutter has suggested that since it is unusual to find a use deposit of this date anywhere within the civic buildings in the Southern Area, some special circumstance may be involved, such as the priority of construction of P1 and P2 in the series of six galleries, as suggested in the preceding architectural description.[256]

The second surface (ca. +3.50 m west rising to +3.70 m east) features a U-shaped hearth or oven and a mysterious clay "installation" in the southeastern corner of the gallery (Pl. 1.98a). The former is located ca. 2.50 m from the east wall of the gallery, and its curved backside is

set against a course of the south wall that projects 0.10–0.15 m like a krepis. It is roughly of horseshoe shape (interior dimensions 0.60–0.95 m) with the open and narrower side (0.40 m) on the northwest end marked by two small, upright slabs embedded in the clay walls. These walls are ca. 0.15–0.20 m thick and made of partially baked clay, with the result that they were very crumbly. The floor of the hearth slopes down from northwest to southeast from +3.65 to +3.53 m. It was entirely covered by ash, and in the rounded inner area marked by a black circle (diameter ca. 0.20–0.24 m) was a mark left on the floor by a burnt vessel or some other circular object. The maximum preserved height of the clay walls is 0.12–0.14 m. It appears that the rounded chamber was a shallow pit dug into the LM III floor. If a clay dome had covered it, it would have been like the ovens found to the south in Gallery P3 and, also, south of the kiln in the South Stoa. Like the ovens, the back of the pit was against the southern wall, and someone facing south, probably squatting to the north of it, would have tended it.

The second installation is unique at Kommos. It was built within the very corner of the gallery, against the east wall and some 0.30 m from the krepis of the south wall. The most definable part is a clay cylinder with thick walls (0.03–0.035 m thick and ca. 0.10 m maximum preserved height) and with an inner diameter of ca. 0.19–0.20 m. The interior face of the cylinder was thoroughly burnt/blackened. Fragments from the upper part of the structure found fallen all around were also consistently burnt on one side (interior face?) only. There were also traces of burning on the east wall of the gallery, where some of the stones were singed red and black. Under the fragments that lay west of the cylinder was a lump of clay and debris from disintegrated, partially baked clay. Removal of the contents in the interior of the cylinder suggested that it was built over a rough level (with stones and perhaps clay or earth) and without a proper floor or base. Its use remains unknown.

Making up a third level within the eastern end of Gallery 2 was a series of some 30 slabs set flat and sporadically in the center of the gallery, without specific arrangement, but with their tops sloping up from west to east, from ca. +3.80 m (west) to +4.40 m (east). Probably to be associated with them is what remained of a rough hearth, with evidence of burning and a single slab set on edge in the southeastern corner of the gallery, directly above the curious circular installation just described.

The pottery from the two preceding levels is discussed in Pottery Group 67a and includes numerous cups, SNA fragments, cooking pot fragments, a lamp, bones and shells, and a fragment of a Cypriot Base Ring jug. Nonpottery objects are the following:

B 400a	Chisel	97e/30	Chap. 4.1, **8**
B 400b	Knife	97e/30	Chap. 4.1, **3**
C 10338	Sherd tool?	97e/30	Not catalogued
S 2293	Stone tool	97e/34	Chap. 4.4, **50**
Faunal Group 67a			Chap. 4.7

GALLERY P2, WEST (PLS. 1.60A–B, 1.100, FOLDOUT B)

The only clearly defined floors of P2 on the west were at +3.30–3.42 m (Pls. 1.68, 1.100).[257] Pottery associated with them is in Pottery Group 67b–67d, including fragments of a Cycladic pithos, an Egyptian jar, and a Mycenaean kylix.

GALLERY P3 (PLS. 1.60A, 1.101, FOLDOUT B)

P3, the third gallery of P from the north, was built above earlier Room F of Building T, a description of which, along with a summary history of the area from Middle Minoan through Geometric periods, is to be found in Chap. 1.2. If we summarize part of the LM I–IIIA2 history here, however, F's floor was plastered. On the western part of the plaster floor was added a surface of pebbles that became black from burning and with which hematite can be associated. Perhaps to be linked with the same level is a series of fragments of braziers and basins, as well as of numerous sherds from Canaanite and Egyptian storage jars, mute indications of some industrial activity perhaps connected with the hematite that was found in varying amounts throughout the level. Often, the interiors of SNAs, introduced at Kommos during LM IIIA2, were found stained by that material.

Associated with this phase, or perhaps with the "base phase," for which see below, are two floor features at the gallery's east end, both only vaguely defined. The first (Trench 89A/27), just east of AA's Wall A, is a burnt surface of clay, at +3.38 m, with a roughly circular depression, and evidence for extensive burning, with considerable amounts of hematite, not far from a thin flat slab.[258] The other feature (Trench 89A/31) is a roughly circular group of stones above Wall A.

On the levels to the west of Wall A was set a series of low compartments made up of lines of small field stones, one after another, usually in single rows, without evidence of plaster (Pls. 1.93, 1.94). These are like low partition walls, so one could have stepped easily from one compartment to the other. They were not burnt. A long line of such stones stretched the east-west length of the room, set along the longitudinal axis. The compartments themselves are best preserved on the west, where they begin about 2 m from the west end of the gallery where it meets the Central Court. Just east of there, enough remains of the north-south walls to restore eight such compartments, four on each side of the central "spine." They are of uneven east-west dimensions, ranging from 2.56 m to 3.20 m. Since the central spine wall is preserved all the way to Wall A on the east, it is reasonable to propose that this entire area was subdivided, resulting in some 20 separate compartments, as shown restored in Pl. 1.94 at D. Since the spine wall is roughly equidistant from the east-west walls of T's Space F (ca. 2.20 m), the compartments were probably laid out in terms of that space rather than in relation to the broader space created when the southern wall of P3 was set in. There is no evidence of them east of Wall A, but much of the area there down to LM I floor level was destroyed by later LM III building activities.

Like the earlier plaster "channels," after which the compartments were no doubt patterned,

there is no indication of their use, since nothing unusual was found in them. Some of the copper/bronze objects listed below may have been associated with their use but, as described above, are probably remnants from earlier activities in the same area. The compartments' slight height and flimsy structure do not suggest bins for long-term storage; however, their arrangement suggests that they were used for segregating materials. Perhaps these materials were organic, and since the compartments are unburnt, any trace of their former contents has disappeared. Perhaps here is an echo of separating agricultural products, a process that could also have been carried out on the earlier plaster floors below. Such products could have been separated by type or quality and/or in terms of who was doing the separating. They also may have been dried here in preparation for distribution and later consumption.

The first phase that can definitely be associated architecturally with P's construction is a series of seven stone bases (Pls. 1.94, bottom; 1.97) set with their centers equidistant (2.90 m) from the north and south walls of the gallery, which is 5.74 m wide on both east and west. This spacing, aside from other considerations, shows that they belong to P rather than to T. The easternmost base, an irregular flat slab (S 2232), is set about 6.60 m from P's eastern wall. West of the base, at regular intervals, and about 2.20–2.30 m on center, are the other six. The upper surfaces of the bases are at elevations ranging from +3.37 m (the easternmost base) to +3.30 m (the westernmost), so they were set in with some care. Between the center of the easternmost and the westernmost the distance is ca. 13.60 m.

Five of these seven bases are irregular, uncut, naturally formed slabs. The second and third from the east (S 2233, S 2234, **45** and **46** in Chap. 4.4), set into beddings cut down into the LM I plaster floor, are, however, of particular importance, for they are carefully cut composite anchors in reuse. Their general significance is that they are anchors used for sea-going ships, and it can be shown that the stone of which they were made is not Cretan but, rather, Syrian or Cypriot.[259] In the context being described, however, they were simply useful slabs culled from nearby, perhaps from the seashore where they had been abandoned. S 2234 was found resting on a few of the stones remaining from the earlier compartment period.

As for the bases, it is clear that they were intended to support wooden posts.[260] As to their use, it may be that because of the unusual width of P3 in this case, extra support on the longitudinal axis was thought necessary.[261] On the other hand, the bases were found covered by the major floors of P3, and the relative density of the floor material above the center of S 2233 was uniform over the entire base, suggesting that a wooden support, surrounded by the floor, had not decomposed there.[262] Probably, therefore, whatever wooden support had once been there was removed before any floors were laid.

For this reason, it was suggested in the preceding section on P's architecture that the slabs supported scaffolding that enabled the workers to build the sidewalls and position the roofing timbers, and that later the scaffolding was dismantled.[263] It was also argued above that P1 and P2 were completely built before P3. In such a case, if scaffolding in P2 and P3 was

thought necessary for the common wall of P2/3, then it may have been left in place until work on P3's southern wall and P4 could progress.

Rutter lists in Chap. 3.3 ten pottery groups (57a–j) characteristic of the first stages of the post–plaster floor use of Room F/P3. The first four are from the western area, the fifth are from the center, and the last five are from the eastern part of the space. Notable from the western end were drinking vessels, braziers, cooking pots, and basins. Listed below are the nonceramic finds from these groups, including a reference to the many shells and a few bones found there, and to which have been added a few copper strips and two of the seven stone bases not belonging to the pails forming the groups themselves.

B	345	Strips	83A/54	Chap. 4.1, **39**
B	355	Strips	89A/6	Chap. 4.1, **42**
B	356	Strips	89A/10	Chap. 4.1, **40**
B	358a	Serrated blade	89A/12	Chap. 4.1, **2**
B	358b	Strips	89A/12	Chap. 4.1, **33**
B	359a	Blade	89A/12	Chap. 4.1, **1**
B	359b	Strips	89A/12	Chap. 4.1, **34**
B	362	Strips in a ball	89A/13	Chap. 4.1, **35**
B	363a	Strips	89A/13	Chap. 4.1, **36**
B	363b	Rod	89A/13	Chap. 4.1, **13**
B	366a	Nail	89A/35	Chap. 4.1, **10**
B	366b	Strips	89A/35	Chap. 4.1, **37**
B	367	Strips	89A/31	Chap. 4.1, **38**
B	371	Strips	89B/65	Chap. 4.1, **30**
B	372	Strips and wire	89B/57a	Chap. 4.1, **31**
B	374	Strips	89B/70	Chap. 4.1, **32**
Bo	62	Bone "figure-of-eight"	83A/54	Chap. 4.7, **3**
S	1826	Weight	65A2/60	Chap. 4.4, **47**
S	2233	Reused anchor	89A/6	Chap. 4.4, **45**
S	2234	Reused anchor	89A/6	Chap. 4.4, **46**
Faunal Group 57a–j				Chap. 4.7

Above the bases, and forming the first identifiable floor in P, at +3.24 m (west) and +3.38 m (east), is the floor that covered the anchor bases (see Pottery Group 68 in Chap. 3.3) and belongs to the first period, when it is assumed that P was roofed.[264]

The second major use floor, of clay with lenses of burning, is at +3.48 m (east) to +3.38 m (west) and is dated by the pottery to LM IIIB. Characteristic here are the ubiquitous SNAs and cups, and also included in Pottery Groups 69a and 69b are fragments of a Cycladic pithos and an Egyptian jar. Among the catalogued nonpottery items, including the many shells, from the floor are the following:

B 350	Bronze bead	83A/44	Chap. 4.3, **1**
C 9711	Fragmentary loomweight	81B/73	Chap. 4.2, **60**
C 9720	Fragmentary loomweight	81B/73	Chap. 4.2, **61**
Faunal Groups 69a, 69b			Chap. 4.7

Near the southern wall, and toward the eastern end of the gallery, are two domed, horseshoe-shaped ovens probably used for baking (Pl. 1.98).[265] The discarded charcoal and ash from them no doubt contributed to the lenses of burning on the nearby floors. Their detection was made possible by the unusual pinkish yellow color of their floors at those points. Their original forms, better preserved than that in P2 to the north (above), were determined by excavating carefully within and next to the surrounding clay.

The ovens were built by first digging a circular cavity (about 0.30 m deep and 0.80 m in diameter) into the floor and then coating it with fine clay in a layer about 0.10 m thick. The curving sides and the fallen sections of baked clay found within the ovens made it clear that they had domes, perhaps projecting 0.30 m above floor level. Within the eastern oven were a few LM IIIA2–B sherds (Trench 83A/80); there was also a slab on which was perhaps set a cooking pot. In the well-preserved western oven (Trench 83C/82) (Pl. 1.98c) were large, very burnt fragments of a short-necked amphora that may have been set on its side, with the narrow mouth removed, so that a clean container for baking would be available.

No clear edges of the upper oven openings were detected, however, leaving the total size of the openings undetermined. Stones that lined a rough passage leading down into the ovens probably indicate the positions of the openings on the north, however. Within both of the smoothed clay interiors were layers of ash and carbon, along with fragments of the dome. Dry and water sieving did not provide evidence of significant quantities of bone or other materials that would help determine what was being baked.

Pi-shaped hearths and ovens have been found elsewhere at the Kommos site, where they are typical of the LM III period. Hearths are more common than ovens, but one probable oven, with enough of its dome preserved to identify it, was found in Room N16 of the North House on the Hilltop.[266] The ovens in P2 and P3, however, are unusually large and had much greater capacity than those elsewhere at Kommos.[267] These, the two large LM III ones built over the southern edge of the LM IA kiln in the South Stoa (J. W. Shaw et al. 2001: fig. 5), and the smaller two built on the slope south of Building P,[268] surely must reflect a desire to provide sustenance to those using Building P, more than the few people represented in a single household. Since both P2 and P3 have ovens, moreover, it is likely that more exist, probably in the same relative positions, in P1, as well as in P4–6.[269]

The third main use floor was at +4.16 m on the east and +3.54 m on the west. As in both P1 and P2, discarded material had collected against the eastern wall. There, as in P2, a hearth was built in the gallery's southeastern corner, this one about 1.36 m east-west and 0.80 m

north-south (Pl. 1.98b). It was bordered on the north by three slabs set on edge, and it contained ash, carbon, shells, and urchin spines (Trench 83A/60). In it was also extensive pottery (almost 11 kg), including many short-necked amphora fragments (with an exceptional number of rims and handles), cooking pot fragments, and those of jugs and cups. In addition to the usual thin lenses of burning, at the east end of P3 patches of hematite were found up to +4.40 m. Some hematite adhered to the interior of a bowl and to the interior surfaces of sherds of short-necked amphoras.[270] Representative of the pottery from the level are Pottery Groups 70a and 70b.

The most dramatic evidence for wall collapse was found in Gallery 3, where entire sections of at least the north wall were found fallen, with the blocks edge-down (Pl. 1.97 at *a*) on the accumulation above the latest floor (bases at +3.80–4.00 m). Clearly, the masonry collapsed all at one time; from the position of the blocks, they must be from the north wall. Within the remains of the fallen wall could even be seen the chases for the vertical beams that once bound the masonry in place, and they could be followed, diminishing in clarity, toward the south. Also, the blocks are canted toward the north as if they fell from that direction.[271] The number of courses could be counted, giving us an estimate for the minimum height of this wall of P of 4 m. At least at this spot the upper walls of P were built of smaller blocks that could be set more easily in place.[272]

The walls of Building P and at least part of its roof must have stood for centuries after their abandonment ca. 1250 B.C. The wooden beams of the roof and those within the wall fabric decayed with time, and the walls probably collapsed in stages.[273] The collapse had occurred in P3 by the eighth century, for ninth/eighth-century pottery, discarded after use in the Early Iron Age, was found below the fallen masonry (e.g., Trench 83C/68), and eighth-century pottery lay uniformly above the fallen wall mass. Probably, some of the blocks were reused when Building Z was built to the west within P3.[274] After this time, the eastern part of P3 gradually filled up with debris and alluvium until, by the end of the Archaic period, its walls were no longer visible.

Gallery P4 (Pls. 1.102, 1.103)

Remains of underlying pre-AA remains and of Building T (Rooms G, H) are discussed in Chap. 1.1 and 1.2.

During excavation of P4, it became clear that erosion during post-Minoan times, before the deep layer of sand blanketed (and preserved) the Southern Area, had confused the stratigraphy of this gallery's west end. Possibly, erosion was concentrated here, rather than elsewhere in adjacent galleries. Another possible cause is an east-west Archaic Greek retaining wall, which was built up against P3's eastern facade (Frontispiece A).[275] Runoff rainwater from the north may have accumulated against that wall, then flowed over P's facade wall, then continued toward the sea, where it cut channels into the earlier Central Court as well.[276]

Of P4, although its sidewalls are preserved, so its width of 5.19 m is known, only one floor

has been preserved. This would seem to be the initial floor, at +3.25 m. Pottery Group 53, which represents makeup of the floor itself and the fill immediately below it, marks this floor. From this level are the following objects:

B 392	Rod	93B/52	Chap. 4.1, **15**
B 393	Loop	93B/53	Chap. 4.1, **49**

Gallery P5 (Pls. 1.102, 1.104, Foldout C)

P5, 5.30 m wide on the west, was set in above earlier MM remains as well as Building T's Rooms H and I. Like P4 and P6, only its western end has been excavated.

P5's first floor, at +3.21 m, and the material below it, contained a mixture of LM IA–IIIA2 material (Pottery Group 54 but also Group 9b). Some of this mixture may be due to erosion, as in P4, but to a lesser degree in this case. A more representative LM IIIB pottery group is probably Group 72, containing a few Canaanite jar fragments. Above the second clay floor, at +3.46 m, up to the surface of abandonment on which collapse from the sidewalls rested, the pottery was LM IIIB, including a fragment of Canaanite jar and still unprovenanced imports (Pottery Groups 73a–c). There were also a variety of shells, although of limited numbers, as well as a few bones (93A/27), one of them of a dog (93A/2b; see Faunal Group 54 in Chap. 4.7).

Gallery P6 (Pls. 1.104, 1.114, Foldout C)

The earlier history of the P6 area has already been described, both during MM times (Chap. 1.1) and during the time of Building T, Room J (Chap. 1.2). During the Neopalatial period, Room J was unusual because it featured a stairway and two wall-end pillars facing the interior of the South Stoa. During LM IIIA2–B, P6 was also exceptional because the earlier pillars were left in place, since, apparently, they did not interfere with activities within the gallery. In contrast, the other five galleries were apparently left completely open to the west. Also, P6 remains the narrowest of the galleries. At 4.43 m wide, it is almost a meter narrower than the others. This appears to have been an intentional decision on the builders' part, for the southern wall of P6 (Pl. 1.124) could easily have been set farther south on the base of the robbed-out southern wall of Building T—a meter could have been gained that way. Instead, P's southern wall there is actually perched somewhat precariously over the edge of T's wall, as shown in Section g-g (Pl. 1.116). The reason for this will probably remain unknown. Possibly, a lack of beams of sufficient length is the simple cause, for we have already remarked on the gradual degeneration of building techniques from north to south in P. We also should consider, however, that P6 may have served purposes different from the galleries to the north, and for that reason could be constructed on a reduced scale.

P6's first earth floor was at +3.20 m, about the same as the floors in P4 and P5.[277] In the fill above it, up to +3.45 m, where the second floor was laid, was Pottery Group 75. On that floor in turn was Group 76, of LM IIIB date, with a worked cobble (S 2313 from 90A/54, **23** in

Chap. 4.4) and a *Glycymeris* shell with bronze remains adhering to it (Sh 14 from 90A/10). A strip of copper (B 364 from 90A/12, Chap. 4.1, **50**) was in an associated level, as well as a variety of shells.

During P's use, perhaps as a result of intentional filling operations, the court floor outside on the west rose.[278] If intentional, this was probably done to prevent water, draining down the court from the north, from entering the gallery. At that point, in an operation similar to that during LM I, a rough sill of two large and some smaller reused blocks was laid at the entrance into the gallery (Pls. 1.110, 1.113). Actually, whereas the LM I sill is a series of three slabs laid end-to-end between the piers at the entrance into the room, the LM III construction is really a retaining wall, with its face to the east and even with the western ends of the gallery walls. This suggests that the court west of it, really a terrace composed of fill, had already reached the top of the wall (at +3.90 m). Presumably, then, one stepped down from the top of the court/retaining wall directly onto P6's floor. Since the step down to P6's first floor would have been an awkward 0.70 m, it is more likely that the retaining wall belongs to the later stage, when the step down would have been only about 0.45 m.

THE COURT DURING LM IIIA2–B

The best evidence for the appearance of the former Central Court area during the time of Building P is to be seen in its northern part, where an east-west retaining wall (Pl. 1.62) was built to maintain a slope rising to the north, the so-called terrace. This wall's base was set at +3.43 m, slightly into the levels that had accumulated above the pebble court since LM I.[279] The level of the definite LM III surface south of the wall was at +3.54 m. This surface defined the LM III court on the north. The level there is slightly above that of the first floor of P1 (+3.46 m) and some 0.30 m above that of the underlying pebble court of Building T.

Although Building N's court (N6) shows clearly that pebble courts were created at Kommos during LM III, that material was not used for the area west of Building P, at least not for the area outside its northern galleries. Rather, both gallery and court floors were made of earth. The situation in the southern part of the court has not been clarified archaeologically, since a clearly traceable upper LM III level, like that south of the retaining wall mentioned above, is not apparent. Erosion is certainly a factor here, for south of Archaic Building Q excavation showed that water flowing down westward through P3, P4, and P5 had excavated channels through the LM I pebble court and thus removed any levels above it.[280] Nor is it unusual to find Archaic Greek pottery immediately above the pebble court south of here (e.g., Trench 91B/51, 54).

The only evidence that P may have had a pebble court is from just west of P5 where LM III pottery was found within the pebble surface.[281] In this area, however, the architecture of P is no longer of high quality, and it would be unusual to find a special court surface that was not already installed on the north. It remains a possibility, however, that both the original LM

III earthen court as well as the pebble court had eroded to such an extent here on the south that the LM I pebble court was partially renewed during LM III.[282]

West of P6, in the space originally occupied by the South Stoa, the top of the LM IA pottery kiln (whose dome had collapsed long before) was at +4.00 m, roughly equivalent to the final LM IIIB use layer outside P6. During LM IIIA2–B two ovens were built where the kiln's southern wall had once been, above T's southern wall here. Their entrances faced south, away from the direction of the prevailing wind. Of the eastern oven, only part of the back wall was found. Almost the entire plan of the western one was preserved, however. Its interior dimensions were about 0.80 m north-south and 0.70 m east-west. Within it was a burnt slab on which a cooking vessel was probably placed, much like the arrangement for the ovens in P3 (Pl 1.98c). Other, similar ovens were found on the slope south of the kiln and Building T.[283]

The Twelfth-Century-B.C. Hiatus

Buildings P and N, as well as the settlement, were deserted toward the end of LM IIIB, ca. 1200 B.C.[284] The settlement was abandoned at about the same time, also without obvious trace of violence. As often happened during a period when the site was not being used, there was some sand accumulation, especially near the shoreline areas. Occasional visitors there were, however, as is shown in particular above two rooms of Building N, Rooms 5 and 7, perhaps as late as the twelfth century B.C. (LM IIIC) and before the establishment of Temple A (Pl. 1.61) at the end of the next century (Sub-Minoan).

Trench 27B. +4.25 to ca. +4.57/4.72/4.85/5.21 m. Pottery Group 79 in Chap. 3.3.

B 75	Lump	27B/20	Chap. 4.1, **54**
S 567A	Obsidian blade	27B/15	Blitzer 1995: **CS 45**
S 567B	Flake	27B/15	Blitzer 1995: **CS 46**
S 577	Rectangular basin	27B/20	Chap. 4.4, **75**

In Room N5, a pass about 0.20 m above the LM IIIB floor produced the relevant pottery and two fragments of chipped stone tools. At Kommos chipped stone is relatively rare and can often be considered a leftover from the earliest Minoan use of the site, as it may be in this case. About 0.45 m above the LM IIIB floor of Room N7 was the base of a rough, mortarless, Z-shaped wall (Pl. 1.40, center), accompanied by a lump of bronze, as well as a stone basin built into the wall (Pails 16, 17, 19, 20). The wall was set on sand. Perhaps it was a temporary shelter from the wind, for its purpose remains unclear. Nevertheless, it represents site use during a period when few stayed long in the otherwise deserted shore area.

4. Architectural Blocks, Mason's Marks, and Column Bases from the Southern Area

Joseph W. Shaw, with Leda Costaki

A number of blocks and column bases, cut for special purposes and/or with significant tool markings, are catalogued below (**1–31**). Most are still *in situ* in their primary place of use. Some are in reuse (**5**, **7**, **9**, **20**). Probably all the ashlar blocks, with the possible (although unlikely) exception of **17** and **18**, were quarried early in the Neopalatial period for use in Building T, and they are part of the only significant quarrying operation for ashlar that took place at the site. Those receiving attention here are jamb bases (**1–3**), threshold blocks (**4–7**), wall-end pier blocks and a pier block (**8–13**), a corner block (**14**), a few ashlars with unusual cuttings or worked surfaces (**15–18**), and blocks with "mason's marks" carved onto them (**19–21**). The disk-shaped column bases and a sub-base (**22–30**) from the north and south stoas are also listed (see also Table 1.3 and Chap. 1.5). Unless specified otherwise, measurements are in centimeters. Trench and pail are given as follows: (e.g.) 27B/35, for Trench 27B, pail 35.

1 (S 2270) Gamma-shaped jamb base. Pls. 1.23, 1.132. Length 72, w 27 (north), 20 (minimum), 24 (south), h 20 (minimum—not all was exposed). Limestone. Of a well-known Neopalatial type (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 150–51; also 1999: 765) that served as a base for wooden door framing, with the pivot of the door set into a (missing) wooden socket in the angle created by the projection, in this case of the northern, wider end. The top of the base was elevated above the slab floor to the north, most likely to protect the wooden construction set on it.

In situ at the entrance into a *sottoscala* south of Building T's Room 5 labeled 5A in Pl. 1.34 (36A/13). This is the only block of this shape found within Building T, but it is clear that there was at least one, and probably a good many more in T's western wing. This type of base is also present, although in limited numbers, in the Kommos Hilltop houses (M. C. Shaw 1996a: 36, pl. 2.9), in those on the hillside (McEnroe 1996: 200, pl. 3.122), and in House X just north of the Civic Center (J. W. and M. C. Shaw 1993: fig. 4 [Room X4]).

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 219, pl. 54a, also the next listing here and Chap. 1.2.

2 (S 2272) T-shaped jamb base cut from a block. Pls. 1.23, 1.132. Limestone. Length 74 (min), w 29.3 (north end), 16.3 (south end), h 37. East-west projections on the north ca. 5. Cut neatly down along the sides but left rough where it would be hidden below floor level. Worn, probably by exposure between the time that T5 was abandoned (LM I) and when a higher floor was established in LM IIIA2 for Building N's Room 5. The base was elevated above the level of the slab floor north of it.

In situ on the border between Rooms 5 and 5A in T5 (36A/13). Its east side provided a setting in the angle of projection for a wooden half-door's pivot, the other leaf of the same door also closing to the north in a pivot set next to **1** (above, S 2270). Its western side provided for a pivot and, probably, another half-door leading to the stairway that provided access to the second floor, beginning at the western end of Room 5B. As suggested in Chap. 1.2, another base, either gamma- or T-shaped, was no doubt to the west of here but was washed away by the sea. This base is unusual, but there were probably others in the now-destroyed West Wing of T. A similar base, but more like a wall-end (rather than partition) block, was found in the North House on the Hilltop at Kommos (M. C. Shaw 1996a: pl. 2.9, upper left); another may possibly be in reuse at the eastern end of the north wall of Geometric Temple B not far from Room T5 (J. W. Shaw 1981a: 232, pl. 56a, at **1**).

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 219, pl. 54a; see also Chap. 1.2.

3 (S 2244). Doorjamb base. Pl. 1.134. Length 66–68, w 34–35, th 20. A roughly rectangular limestone block, roughly cut around the sides, used as a base for the jamb structure of a doorway leading from the Central Court into the southernmost room of the eastern wing of Neopalatial Building T (Room J). A rectangular cutting, 11 × 10 × 4 deep, probably served as the socket for a wooden pivot block into which the door pivot was set. If the door had two leaves, another, similar block may still be buried below the LM III accumulation on the south.

90A/48.

See Chap. 1.2.

4 (S 2291) Threshold block. Pl. 1.133. Length 170, w 97–102, th 17 min (partly masked by slab floor on the south and sidewalls on the east and west). It was set 11–17 cm above the slabs of the east-west road to the north. A single wooden door probably about 115 cm wide rested on a wooden pivot block set into the floor next to the block's northeast corner. The door itself, opening to the southeast into Building T's Room 5, swung when closed against the side of a cutting, 2.5 cm deep, made into the top of the block along its southern length. The sill was 0.90 m wide. Wooden jambs were apparently set on both ends of the threshold slab. The sill was 89 cm wide.

27B/41.

J. W. Shaw 1980: 239 and pls. 66a, 67c, fig. 12.

5 (S 2332). Threshold block. Pl. 1.133. Length 160, w 105, th 21. Limestone. Broad, well-dressed limestone slab. Generous (20 × 25 × 3 deep) setting for rectangular wooden pivot block. Ledge 25 cm wide and 3.5 cm deep cut along the top of the slab to stabilize the doorframe, the door itself having been about 118 wide. There is a shallow depression of unknown origin in the middle of the slab.

This threshold block is *in situ* at the southern entrance into LM IIIA2 Building N, Room 5 (27B/24). On it were found a number of pots (Pl. 1.37). As described in the text (Chap. 1.2 and 1.3), there is good reason to believe that when the floor level of Building T, Room 5 (directly below this area) was being raised in LM IIIA2, this threshold was removed from its original position in the northeastern corner of Room 5 and reused in its present position.

J. W. Shaw 1980: 240, pl. 67c, d.

6 (S 2333). Threshold block. Pl. 1.134. Length 166, w 94, th 22. Large slab for a single wooden door. Cracked now into three pieces. Cutting 2.5 cm deep along part of the length 8.5 back from the edge shows where the door rested when closed. Wear marks visible, as well as the roughening for the setting of the wooden jambs along each end, suggest that the door opening was about 130–40 cm wide. The sill was 85 cm deep.

This threshold block is *in situ* between the east-west southern wall of Building T, Room 5, and a short north-south section of the eastern ashlar wall of Room 9, most of which has been destroyed by the sea (27B/37). Set north-south as it is, with a cutting along the western edge showing that the door opened inward to the west, this and Room 9's ashlar wall south of the threshold constitute the best evidence that rooms continued south of T5 in the Neopalatial period. A cutting into the krepidoma of T5 on the north for the slab suggests that as one entered from the Central Court, the door opened inward to the northwest. The cutting may also indicate that since no allowance was apparently made for the threshold block when T5 was built, the rooms south of it were added at a somewhat later period.

J. W. Shaw 1980: 242, pls. 66b, 67b; 1981a pl. 54b (at *f*).

7 (S 2339). Threshold block. Pl. 1.134. Length 93, w 67, th 38. Limestone. A shallow cutting 16 cm down from the front face of the block, which may not be connected with the door framing, suggests that the block may be in reuse.

The threshold is *in situ* at the southwestern entrance into LM IIIA2–IIIB Building N and led into Court 6 (50A/26). On either side of the block there is a 20–30 cm break in the wall masonry that probably accommodated the wooden jambs of the doorframe. The single doorway may have been 80 cm wide.

J. W. Shaw 1984b: 275, pl. 52b (below *6*). See also Chap. 1.3.

8 (S 2334). Stairway wall-end block. Pl. 1.133. Length 67, w 42–47, h 26. Limestone. Two mortices, 3 cm square and 6 cm deep, are set back about 11 cm from the leading, western edge of the block. Cut 7.5 cm from the southern edge is a mason's setting line, probably for horizontal timbers that ran around at least three edges of

the block. These (and the vertical timbers morticed into them) were stabilized by wooden tenons set into the mortices.

The general area here was first described in J. W. Shaw 1980 and 1981a. With S 2334 we are dealing with a block found set at the end of a wall in Building T, between Spaces 5A and 5B. The wall formed the spine of a Minoan U-shaped stairway, a type most common during the Neopalatial period (for the type: Graham 1987: 180–85).

The use of timber at the beginning of stairways began at least as early as the Protopalatial period, but the introduction of ashlar blocks such as S 2334 to support such timbers began when the New Palaces were built (J. W. Shaw 1999). That the cut mortices held wooden tenons or dowels is clear (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 161–85). It can also be shown that as one progressed up the stairs from the ground floor, similar end blocks would appear (unless plastered over), set at the end of the spine wall at the first landing as well as at the landing farther up where one would enter the second storey (ibid., with examples cited from Akrotiri on Thera). In the case of the stairway in T5A/5B at Kommos, it is suggested elsewhere (ibid.) that two blocks similar to S 2334 (S 2123 and 2343, **9** and **10** below), found in the same general area, also belonged to the stairway. One was set at each landing, the final one directly above S 2334 that is *in situ*.

27B/37.

9 (S 2123). Stairway wall-end block. Pl. 1.135. Length 66 (57 are finished), w 30–50, h 39.4. Limestone. Two rectangular dowel holes (4 × 4 × 6 deep) are cut next to a mason's guideline that is 10 cm from the block's face. Found reused in a nearby LM III wall (29A/4). Not *in situ*.

See **8**, above, and J. W. Shaw 1999.

10 (S 2343). Stairway wall-end block. Pl. 1.133. Length 58, w 67, h 39. Limestone.

99A/no pail. Not *in situ*.

See **8**, above, and J. W. Shaw 1999.

11 (S 2340). Wall-end pier block. Pl. 1.134. Length 87–90, w 42, h 89. Limestone. Single ashlar block in the East Wing of Neopalatial Building T. Set at the western end of the wall bordering Rooms 20/22 on the south (also "Room B") and defining the eastern north-south line of the Central Court at this point. No dowel holes. At 30–31 cm from the western face, the sides of the block have been cut back 2.5 cm, probably so that plaster could be applied evenly here on both block and eastern wall (the remainder of the block was not plastered), a typical Neopalatial technique.

63A/77.

See also Chap. 1.2.

12 (S 2248). Wall-end pier block. Pl. 1.132. Length 87, w 44, h 68. Upright ashlar block of limestone with vertical cutting in southern face (3 d, 20 w). Its northern face is smooth. Opposes S 2247 (**13**, below).

The western face of the block defines the north-south line of the Central Court, as does S 2340 (**11**, above) farther north. As discussed in Chap. 1.2, the enigmatic vertical cutting on the south face of this block is most likely for the insertion and stabilization of a wooden framework also set in **13** (below). No close parallels are known by the author for such an arrangement. Neopalatial, connected with Room J of Building T.

90A/34; 99A/no pail.

13 (S 2247). Wall-end pier block. Pl. 1.132. Length 64, w 48, h 74. Limestone. Upright block with vertical cutting 2.5 cm deep and 29 cm wide on its north face, opposing S 2248 (**12**, above). The cutting probably served to stabilize the southern end of the wooden structure connected with S 2248. This was set alongside the Central Court on the west and next to doorways leading from Space 43 to a stairway in Space 46, both within Room J of Building T.

90A/34.

See Chap. 1.2.

14 (S 2303) Corner block. Pl. 1.133. Length 78.5, w 51–70, h 18.5. Limestone. Worn. A lowered surface 23.5 cm wide and 4 cm deep along the top of one side probably continued onto one of the neighboring sides of the block, now partially broken off. Into each of these was cut a dowel hole 4 cm square about 6.6 cm back from the face. There was probably another dowel hole in the corner of the block, but that corner has flaked or broken off.

Neopalatial in date. There are no parallels for it on the Kommos site, but its top surface is strikingly like wall corner blocks at Knossos (J. W. Shaw 1973a: figs. 191B, 199F, 201), although horizontal cuttings for wood are lacking

there. On the other hand, unless it was once much larger, S 2303 is now more like a slab than a block, being only 21 cm thick, so perhaps it had some special purpose other than that of a thick block designed to support massive weight being transferred down from above, like those at Knossos.

Area of 75C, in debris above the eastern end of Gallery P4.

15 (S 2341). Windowsill(?). Pls. 1.134, 1.139a, 1.49 center. Length 115, w 57, h 28.3. There is a cutting roughly 15 cm wide and 12 cm deep along the edge of most of its upper surface. The cutting is no doubt for laying in a squared wooden beam, perhaps for a window framework. The usual holes for tenons to stabilize the wood are not present.

52A/36. Found reused in the second, upper course of a wall of ashlar blocks set in LM I above the line of the North Stoa colonnade.

J. W. Shaw 1973a: fig. 210 (for comparisons); 1984b: 272, fig. 57f (at *g*). Chap. 1.2.

16 (S 2121). Windowsill(?) Pl. 1.135. Length 101+, w 41–49, h 23.5. Limestone. There is a cutting roughly 18 cm wide and 3.5 cm deep along the upper surface of the block. Well-finished face. No dowel holes.

58A/29. Found near the north wall of Building T, Room 24a. If actually a windowsill, it suggests that Room 24 (and perhaps 19, 21, and 23 along the same wall) had windows high up in their northern walls, maintaining the security implied elsewhere in T's architecture and at the same time providing a light source for the otherwise dim interior spaces not adjacent to the Central Court.

For comparanda, see S 2341 (**15**, above). See also Chap. 1.2 for the room itself.

17 (S 2125). Triangular ashlar block, typically Neopalatial in shape. Pl. 1.135. Length 97.5, w 65, h 40. Limestone. Aside from various diagonal tool marks on its outer face, it also has a roughly chiseled herringbone pattern in two rows toward the edge of the block, which is partly broken at that point.

34A2/60. Found in LM I fill just south of the North Stoa. See S 2124 (**18**, below).

18 (S 2124). Ashlar block. Pls. 1.135, 1.139b. Length 132, w 60, h 26.3. Limestone. The block is unusually long. A series of herringbone-like tool marks are chiseled in horizontal rows on its outer face. **17** and **18** may well have been part of an ashlar facade set above the wooden architrave of the North Stoa. On the other hand, the herringbone pattern on the blocks leaves them without exact parallel in Neopalatial contexts in Crete. The best parallels for the tool marks are on the facade of the early palace at Phaistos (J. W. Shaw 1973a, fig. 87 (MM IB Palace facade), and fig. 89 (MM II Palace facade). Thus these two blocks could, uniquely at Kommos, be of Protopalatial date, and might be remnants from Protopalatial Building AA, perhaps reused in the Neopalatial stoa. It should be noted, however, that if the herringbone pattern were not on the blocks, they would fit in well with the ashlar characterizing Building T. Moreover, both are cut for a facade of *coursed* blocks, whereas the patterns at Phaistos are on orthostates without ashlars set above them. Perhaps the herringbone pattern occurs here in a Neopalatial context simply because of mason's whim.

34A2/60. Found in the same area as S 2125 (**17**, above).

19 (I 123). Mason's mark on the face of orthostate of the north wall of Neopalatial Building T. Pl. 1.140a, b. Height 0.14, w 0.12. Dimensions of block: h 0.98, w 0.65. Limestone. Simple cross, carved close to the upper left part of the block facing the east-west paved Minoan road; the sign is parallel to the sides of the stone. This is the only sign found *in situ* so far at Kommos. The cross is among the most popular mason's marks and has been found at other Minoan sites as well,[285] a close parallel being one from Anemospilia, Archanes.[286]

54A/37 (the trench has been backfilled).

Cf. J. W. Shaw 1984b: 261–62, pl. 55b.

20 (I 106). Mason's mark on upper or lower surface of ashlar block. Pl. 1.141a, b. Probably Neopalatial. Length of central stem 0.27, w of sign ca. 0.27; the central stem is ca. 0.015 deep. Max pres dim of block: 1.75×0.59 m, max h 0.36. Limestone. Branch with central stem and two sprays on either side. The side sprays curve inward and rise almost to the height of the central stem. The sign is roughly carved and weathered. It must belong to the original phase of the trapezoidal block on which it is carved and most

likely would not have been visible. The block is reused in an east-west Iron Age retaining wall south of Temple B. Mason's marks in the shape of a branch with two or more side sprays have been found at other Minoan sites.[287]

68A/30.

Cf. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: 12, 27.

21 (I 107). Mason's mark on upper or lower surface of ashlar block. (Pl. 1.142a, b). Neopalatial(?). Length 0.14, w 0.14, max depth 0.03. Max pres dim of block: 0.52 × 0.50 m, h 0.24–0.34 m (not original dimensions). Only part of the ashlar block is preserved, the surfaces are weathered, and there are deep grooves in the southeast corner. The block was found in the Central Court, not in its original position. Limestone. Cross-shaped sign roughly carved near the southwest corner of the block. The side arms of the cross are slightly at an angle toward the north. The edges and tips of the cross are rounded. The north-south bar is not well defined and is not as deeply carved as the side arms. Similar signs at other Minoan sites have been classified under the branch (with single sprays each side) shape.[288] This sign also bears resemblance to a mason's mark found at Xeste 4 at Akrotiri.[289]

101A/13.

Comment

Of the three Kommos mason's marks, the only one found *in situ* so far was most likely intended to be visible, incised on the facade of Building T's north wall along the paved road.[290] The other two, incised on the upper or lower surface of ashlar blocks, would not have been visible. In terms of manner of execution the Kommos marks are roughly and deeply carved, rather large, and could be assigned to Evans's "first" or "early" category.[291] Both types (cross, branch) occur elsewhere on Crete, though the roundness and height of the side sprays of **20** (I 106) do not have close parallels. It is no surprise that at a site with buildings of fine ashlar masonry, mason's marks were carved on the blocks, but with only three of them found so far and only one *in situ* it is difficult to advance our interpretation of their meaning and function.[292] As Palyvou notes, mason's marks on Crete remain a typical feature of palatial architecture.[293]

22 (S 2335). Column base. Pl. 1.136a. Base for fourth column from the west in the North Stoa. Greenish poros limestone.

34A2/61.

See Table 1.3; J. W. Shaw 1981a: 224, pls. 55b, 55d; 1984: 269, pl. 57a, left, 57d; 1987: 103, figs. 4, 9.

23 (S 2342). Column base. Pl. 1.136b. Base for fifth column from the west in the North Stoa.

100A/1.

See Table 1.3; J. W. Shaw 1984b: 269, pls. 57a, right, and 57e at *a*.

24 (S 2336). Column base. Pl. 1.136c. Fragmentary base for sixth column from the west in the North Stoa.

52A/45. Not *in situ*.

See Table 1.3; J. W. Shaw 1984b: 269, pls. 57b at *b*, 57f at *b*; 1987 fig. 12 at *c*; also Chap. 1.5.

25 (S 2268). Column sub-base. Pl. 1.30 at *a*. Sub-base for base of first column from the west in the North Stoa.

95C/112.

26 (S 2267). Column base. Pl. 1.136d. Base for second column from the west in the South Stoa.

95C/22.

See Table 1.3.

27 (S 2266). Column base. Pl. 1.136e. Base for third column from the west in the South Stoa.

95A/38.

See Table 1.3.

28 (S 2265). Column base. Pl. 1.136f. Base for fourth column from the west in the South Stoa.
95A/47.
See Table 1.3.

29 (S 2253). Column base. Pl. 1.136h. Base for fifth column from the west in the South Stoa.
87B/114.
See Table 1.3.

30 (S 2254). Column base. Pl. 1.136i. Base for sixth column from the west in the South Stoa.
87B/112.
See Table 1.3.

31 (S 2260) Rectangular cut limestone slab found in mixed Minoan/Greek (eighth/fifth centuries B.C.) upper levels of the western part of Gallery 4 of LM III Building P. Length 50, w 38, th 15. Pl. 1.132. Each side of the slab has a well-cut rectangular sinking—on one side it is 6 cm deep and 25 cm square; on the other it is 3–4 cm deep and is 24 × 30 cm on the sides. Latest date Classical Greek. Possibly, it is a base into which a sanctuary dedication was set; or, perhaps more likely, it could be a socket for a wooden pivot block, in which case it might be Minoan. Cf. socket cut in threshold S 2244 (**3**, above, Pl. 1.134), or socket at southern entrance into Room J of Building T (Pl. 1.123). On the other hand, the sockets on either side of the same slab remain unexplained and constitute a unique pair at the Kommos site. Perhaps the slab was reused, or recut when the timber to be inset was of another size. It is doubtful that the slab could be a basin of either the Greek or Minoan periods because of the careful cutting involved. Cf. Chap. 4.4, **76** (S 2331), Pl. 4.28, and *Kommos* I (1), pl. 8.60C, 3 (**GS 693**), both Minoan.
86F/97.

5. The North and South Stoas: Form and Construction

J. W. Shaw, with Conn Murphy

The history of the two stoas is dealt with in detail in Chap. 1.1 and 1.2. In brief here, the South Stoa (or portico) was originally part of Protopalatial Building AA, which had a central court. The North Stoa may have had a similar Middle Minoan ancestry, since the original plan of AA was followed to a large extent when Neopalatial Building T was laid out above AA's extensive platform. The overlying Greek temples, however, and the shallow occupation levels within that stoa, limited access and excavation so that one cannot be sure.

Column Bases

In form the North and South Stoas are similar, each with six wooden columns set on round bases. The stoas' lengths (wall to wall) are also similar (23.24 m and 23.12 m, respectively), as are their depths (5.15 m, 5.30 m, respectively—see also Table 1.4) and their intercolumniations. During the period of AA, moreover, more attention was paid to deep and broad foundations than during Neopalatial times, as reflected in this case by the extensive supports provided for the column bases. The former, as described in Chap. 1.1, were huge, thick, flat slabs, usually stacked one upon the other, with each lowest slab probably set into the marl bedrock common to the Kommos area. This feature is most evident in the South Stoa (Pl. 1.114) but also appears in two places in the North Stoa (the third and fourth columns from the west (Pl. 1.48). Usually, the top of the topmost slab was finished by creating a rounded

Table 1.3. Column bases of North and South Stoas of Building T at Kommos (J. W. Shaw and C. Murphy).

Excavation Number	Trench	Dimensions	Level of Top	Illustration	Comments
North Stoa (from west)					
1.	37A				Missing; sub-base exposed(?)
2.					Not excavated
3.					Sub-base exposed (J. W. Shaw 1984: pl. 56c)
4. S 2335	34A2	H 20–26 UD 50 LD 56	+3.27	Pl. 1.136a	*In situ*; base height adopted to sub-base
5. S 2342	34A2	H 15–18 UD 50 LD —	+3.21	Pl. 1.136b	Damaged but *in situ*; later wall set on top
6. S 2336	52A	H 18.3 UD 50 approx. LD		Pl. 1.136c	Half of base preserved; not *in situ*; sub-base exposed
South Stoa (from west)					
7. S 2268					Only the sub-base found
8. S 2267	95C	H 21–23.5 UD 50–51 LD 50	+3.07	Pl. 1.136d	*In situ*; pebble layer between base and sub-base
9. S 2266	95A	H 25 UD 59–60 LD	+3.09	Pl. 1.136e	Not accurately rounded; set on pebble layer
10. S 2265	95A	H 24 UD 54 LD 55	+3.13	Pl. 1.137f	*In situ*; rests on layer of pebbles
11. S 2253	87B	H 26 UD 46 LD 47	+3.09	Pl. 1.136h	*In situ*
12. S 2254	87B	H 19 UD 48/49 LD 51	+3.10	Pl. 1.136i	*In situ*

H = height
UD = upper diameter
LD = lower diameter
Base sizes given in centimeters

projection larger than the base that was to be placed on it. The height of the tops of these blocks and the absolute levels of the top of the rounded projection were carefully calculated, as best seen in the South Stoa, where the range of the height of the projecting disk is +2.80–2.89 m, some 9 cm, only a little more than the range of the tops of the bases themselves (+3.07–3.14 m), some 7 cm.

Usually, a roughly formed block or blocks served for the sub-base, but in at least one instance a large flat triangular slab was used (Pls. 1.117, 1.138), below the fifth column base from the west (S 2253, no. 11 in Table 1.3).[294] There, rather than creating a rounded projection, the builders set the disklike column base directly on the flat top of the sub-base. Of particular interest in this case, and probably unique at this point in the Minoan archaeological record, is a series of thin straight lines incised into the top of the sub-base (Pl. 1.138). These many lines were inscribed in such a way that they were tangent to the circle where the base was to be set. Most likely they were incised before the base was set, a rare instance of preserved Minoan setting marks.[295]

With eight (of twelve) bases preserved, they can also be studied with care.[296] Most of them are carefully carved, their tops ranging from 0.47 to 0.50 m in diameter. At least four are truncated cones, with the lower diameter of the base ranging from 1 to 6 cm larger than the upper diameter.[297] Usually, the upper surfaces of the bases have been cut somewhat back from the edges, perhaps to reduce water accumulation (and, therefore, rotting) around the wooden column's lower end, which as a rule had a smaller diameter than that of the base itself (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 152).

Whether the column bases in the stoas are originally Protopalatial for Building AA, or Neopalatial for Building T, remains to be determined, since although we know that they were used for T, we do not know if other bases were used for AA.[298] Surely, bases were supplied for the original phase of the South Stoa during the MM period, and none have been found in reuse, so at least the canonical bases there (nos. 8, 10–12 in Table 1.3) could be contemporary with the sub-bases. Of particular interest in this respect is that the pecking marks and general shape (but not the height) for at least one base from each stoa are quite similar (Pl. 1.137), so they may well be contemporary.[299]

The Kommos Stoas in Minoan Context

As described elsewhere (J. W. Shaw 1987), the general form of the portico or stoa was well known in Minoan Crete, where it is probably first seen at Malia set along the eastern side of the great early MM ossuary at Chrysolakkos (Table 1.4), dated by Soles (1992: 168) to MM IB–II.[300] Later in the MM period, and especially in Neopalatial structures, as Graham has pointed out (Graham 1976: 190–97; see also Hayden 1982), porticos became common features, often occurring at points around the central courts where a shaded area was desired. Sometimes these shaded areas were quite narrow, for instance along the eastern sides of the central

Table 1.4. Statistics for selected Prehistoric porticos in Crete.

Site	Date	Type	Length* (m)	Depth** (m)	Facing	Intercolumniation	Column/ Pillar/Pier Arrangement	Base Diameter (m)	Comments
Aghia Triada									
LMI stoa on NE corner	LM I	Freestanding?	8.60	2.00–2.10	W	0.80; 1.60 at ends	5 square pillars		
Building F/G	LM III	Freestanding	18.20	5.00	S	2.45	2 of 7 cols. preserved	0.45	2 attached rooms
Mercato	LM IIIA2	Freestanding	45.00	2.65	W	2.70	9 columns, 8 pillars alternating	0.40	8 attached rooms; stairs; two storeys
Kommos Building T									
North side of Central Court	MM II? and MM III	Attached	23.24	5.15	S	3.25; at W end 3.71(?), at E end ca. 3.22	6 columns, between wall-end piers	0.50	No rear rooms but access From E and W rooms
South side of Central Court	MM II and MM III	Attached	23.13	5.29 average	N	3.25–3.33; at W end 3.25, at E end 3.31	6 columns, between wall-end piers	0.49 average	No rear rooms; interior access from E; stairs to E and W
Malia									
Chrysolakkos	MM IB/II	Attached	38.50	5.20	E	4.65	7 of 10 pillars preserved	—	No side walls
North side of Central Court	MM III?	Attached	27.78	3.20	S	1.52–2.83	11 columns	0.53–0.70	
East side of Central Court	MM III?	Attached	31.35	3.20	W	2.49–2.71	6 columns, 7 pillars alternating	0.55–0.65	

Phaistos									
West side of Central Court	MM III?	Attached	51.70?	3.00	E	2.00	15 (of 18?) columns	0.50	Foundations only
East side of Central Court	MM III?	Attached	51.70?	2.50	W	2.20	8 piers preserved	—	
Pyrgos									
	LM I	Attached	4.90	2.10	W	2.60 to end walls	1 central column	0.60	Rear room(s)
Tylissos									
	LM III	Freestanding	10.20	2.55	S	1.00; 1.30 to E wall	2 of 7 bases preserved	0.30	Possible bench
Vathypetro									
	LM I	Attached	6.70+	1.80	E	1.78–1.94	3 columns	0.41	Faces tripartite shrine in court
Zakros									
	LM I	Attached	9.61	2.78	S	4.14; 1.55 to E pillar, 1.63 to W pier	2 columns	0.48	Has bench

*Interior dimension

**Outer edge of column base/pier to inner wall

courts at Kato Zakros, Malia, and Phaistos. Exceptions to this general tendency are MM IB–II Chrysolakkos, and also the South (and probably the North) Stoa at Kommos. Apparently, the relatively deeper spaces at Chrysolakkos and Kommos were intended to provide shelter for various activities in which groups of individuals participated.

The Kommos stoas are also unusual to the extent that they did not provide access to rooms behind them.[301] Rather, the back walls of each are the exterior walls of the building. Perhaps the Kommos examples and that at Chrysolakkos represent an early stoa form that then developed into one that was not as deep and also provided for a greater variety of possibilities. Later, at Aghia Triada and Tylissos, the freestanding stoa was to emerge (Table 1.4; Hayden 1982).

As for orientation, Minoan stoas bordering the central courts usually faced east, south, and west with a larger number facing west, where they would be open to the afternoon sun. A southern exposure, such as that of the Kommos North Stoa, would give a balance of daylight (as well as some of the heat of the noonday sun). It is of some interest to note here that among the palatial structures, only one monumental stoa, the South Stoa at Kommos, faces north, an exposure otherwise later reserved for the residential areas of palatial establishments such as those at Aghia Triada (northeast area), Malia (Area IV), and Phaistos (Room 85). Concerning the number of stoas or porticoes in the palaces, two seem to be the norm, with a preference for sheltered, open areas supported by columns along the northern and eastern sides of the central courts.[302]

As mentioned previously, the two Kommos stoas are over 5 m deep, a depth matched only by Chrysolakkos during the palatial periods and probably an indication of the daring of the Protopalatial builders. The same daring is seen in the Kommos intercolumniations (3.22–3.45 m), again matched only by the intervals between columns/pillars at Chrysolakkos.[303] It can tentatively be proposed, therefore, that during the early, formative period of palatial architectural development in Crete, the stoas were unusually deep and had unusually wide intercolumniations. The same generosity of conception (or daring) can be seen in the MM foundations of Building AA, as compared with the shallow foundations of many Neopalatial structures at Kommos and other sites.[304] It is also reflected at Chrysolakkos, where an extremely hard limestone was used for orthostate and wall-end construction, an approach that was shortly replaced by the use of poros limestone that could easily be cut with chisels rather than the bronze saws needed to cut the harder stone.[305]

Notes

1. The contours in Pl. 1.3 are based on the location of bedrock at the points noted. The drop from +3.05 m to +2.38 m in the northeast corner of Building T is probably the result of leveling of the bedrock for unknown purposes during the Protopalatial period. (For the use of the + sign, see note 3.)

2. Later, during the period of the Greek Sanctuary, it was to serve as a source of water when two wells, the levels of which are indicated on

the contour plan, were excavated (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000: chap. 1.3).

3. The + sign throughout this volume indicates the level above mean sea level, as established by topographer J. Bandekas in 1974.

4. The masons did not build on bedrock within the declivity itself but partly on soft sand and clay, down to +1.48 m in the later P1 area (Location 10), some distance below groundwater level, which in 1992 was at +2.72 m here.

5. M. C. Shaw, who supervised much of the excavation in this area, and whose analyses are basic for its interpretation, first introduced the term *casemates*. It is possible that the level thus created established a link, a level area, between AA and another structure to the east, now below at least 8 m of sand accumulation, but there is no evidence to show that this is true.

6. To the east, perhaps T's (and AA's) walls may jog to the north. Building P's wall, set above the southern part of T's facade (see Pl. 1.124 for the relationship) may actually be following the layout of T in unexcavated areas east of here. Also, to the west, excavation south of AA's broad wall (Pl. 1.128) did not expose any pavements such as those to the east (in Pl. 1.131). It seems unlikely that they would have eroded away. This difference may result from a drop in ground level to the southwest, which could have been adjusted to by building a north-south wall to support the higher level.

7. Some 6.36 m south of this MM pavement there is a rough, east-west Protopalatial wall with a floor with plaster patches just south of it, at +1.46 m. These may belong to an independent building, however. Below it was another clay floor sealing sterile sand. Between the two floors was MM IB–IIA pottery fill (Group X in Chap. 3.2). Above the floor with plaster patches was mendable pottery datable to MM IIA or early IIB (Group Y in Chap. 3.2). Both groups contained pottery imported from outside Crete. The sterile sand below continued for about a meter until groundwater was reached at ±0.00. In Pl. 1.116, most of the archaeological section is based on Trench 84A (to pail 109). The remainder, completing the sounding to groundwater level, was in Trench 90B.

8. See also the discussion of the colonnade in Chap. 1.2.

9. Throughout this chapter of five sections, the section reference is given as Chap. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and so forth. References to other sections in other chapters are given in the same way (e.g., Chap. 3.2 = Chapter 3, Section 2).

10. We know that Room 5 extended farther west than presently preserved, for there is the beginning of a pier-and-door partition, and the room's western wall is gone. Also, Space 7 to the south (in LM I, actually part of the Central Court) was accessed from the west by means of a threshold (Pl. 1.34) its door opening *in* to the west, that is, to an *interior* space. The minimum westward extension permissible west of Space 7, with doorway, swinging door, and presumed room, is about 5 m.

11. At this point, the strongest link between the South and North Stoas is an architectural one, for the colonnades are similar. Moreover, the *chalikasvestos* layer of paving in the Central Court, perhaps laid in on the south during the MM period, is found on the north as well. Confirmation of the South Stoa's date is clear because of the depth of fill required there for the MM platform, as described in the text (Locations 6, 7, 9). In the area of the North Stoa, however, the shallow fill does not enable sure confirmatory dating. Therefore, although a north colonnade is suggested as possible in the restored plan of AA (Pl. 1.5), the actual colonnade is described in Chap. 1.2.

12. Any structure along the shoreline would have to be set east of the line of wave reach, for there is no evidence to show that the Minoans could build structures such as quays that could withstand continual wave action. For more detailed discussion, see note 203.

13. The excavation dump on the west presently prevents encroachment by the sea, but in the long run this must be viewed as only a temporary measure.

14. Archaic Building Q seems to have been built as close to the shoreline as possible, probably to make it available for the loading and storage of transport amphoras (for Q, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000: chap. 1.3; and Johnston 1993).

15. J. W. Shaw 1983a: passim. That article was written when only part of the facade on the north had been exposed. The part discussed in the article, however, is so similar to the remainder of the wall on the north and east that one can probably assume that, judging from the

style of the blocks and general dimensions of the wall, the entire wall was built at one time.

16. The designation "Building J," used in numerous earlier publications, has been abandoned in favor of Room T5, which is being used throughout this volume.

17. Approximate wall widths at Phaistos: 2.50 m (the south wall of the MM I palace, south of LXI–LXV); 2.00 m (west of LVIIIa, includes socle); 2.15 m (west of LIII). The measurements were scaled from Levi 1964: fig. 2. With time, the walls in the various building stages of the Phaistos Palace became slimmer, perhaps owing to increasing sophistication and experience in building.

18. Assuming that AA was actually completed.

19. Levi 1964: 9, 14.

20. Pottery groups are discussed in Chapter 3: all the Protopalatial in 3.2 by Aleydis Van de Moortel, and the Neopalatial and later Minoan by Jeremy Rutter in 3.3. This author is most indebted to Van de Moortel and, especially, to Rutter, for providing the ceramic basis for sequencing of both levels and architectural development and for suggesting through pottery typology the use of particular areas. The results of consultations with them are present throughout my own texts.

21. Here and throughout the various lists in this chapter are given the particular trench and pail (or unit) number (e.g., 86E/95 = Trench 86E, pail 95). For the trenches see the trench plans in Pls. 1.1–1.2. For the pails see the pottery group(s) cited in Chap. 3.2 or 3.3, if applicable. Nonpottery finds within the relevant pails are indicated in the lists by trench and pail, however, and there is reference to the appropriate section in Chapter 4 or elsewhere. If an object has been catalogued in this volume, that number is included as well. References to earlier publication are usually to be found in the actual catalogue listing there.

22. Some 10 m east of here, south of the third column from the east of the North Stoa of Building T, the bedrock (at +2.74 m) slopes down to the south. Set into it are a few blocks of a retaining wall (Trench 34A2/63, 64), unaligned with the early walls being described in the text. The bedrock on the east here is at the same level as the top of the wall described in the text.

23. No doubt related to the walls being discussed is at least one north-south wall discovered below the sottoscala area in Building T, Space 5B (Pls. 1.13, 1.32) to the west of Space 10.

Trench 36A/21, 22, 24, 26, and part of 18. Pottery Group 29 in Chap. 3.3. Mixed MM IB–IIB Early and LM IA.

In these confined spaces probes revealed evidence of industrial activities that may be connected with the underlying MM structures on which T was constructed. In J. W. Shaw 1981a: pl. 54d (at *b*), one of these definite pre-T walls is shown (it continues below both of the later walls superposed on it).

B 114	Chisel	36A/21	Chap. 4.1, **5**
B 115	Flat strip	36A/18	Chap. 4.1, **23**
C 2976	Crucible	36A/21	Chap. 4.1, **72**
C 2978	Figurine leg	36A/22	Chap. 4.6, Table 4.5

24. No floor was found associated with the two north-south MM walls below the paved court in Space 10. This may, however, have been a space between buildings.

25. As apparently happened on the north (above, Location 2).

26. For the murex shells and their probable connection with industrial activities such as dye extraction see Chap. 4.7.

27. Another possible predecessor to AA was found near the western end of Gallery P4 (Trench 93B/31, 32). There a rectangular space 2.16 m east-west by 1.68 m (minimum, since the space continued under later construction) was found lined with walls without outer face. It was set on bedrock (at +2.37 m). Pottery was MM IB–IIB Early in date (Group Da in Chap. 3.2). Since the base of the MM platform in the area was at about +2.90 m, this space was probably covered over when AA was constructed. The upper levels (from +2.78 to +2.95 m), with MM III pottery, may reflect the later use of Building AA before Building T was established or, alternatively, may mark the disturbance brought about when Building T was established (Trench 86F/109, 111).

28. J. W. Shaw 1986: 252 and pl. 56a, b.

29. The only parallel we are acquainted with is the raised walkway in the MM II (?) West Court at the Phaistos Palace where the ca. 1.10-

m-wide pavement is marked by similar gaps at 5-m intervals (Pernier and Banti 1951: on large separate plan of western court of First Palace).

30. As calculated on the basis of the level of the court to the north here, during MM/LM times the court sloped evenly from the east down to the west, like a huge table that had been tilted slightly. Along the east side of the court: northeast +3.08 m, southeast +2.96 m. Along the west side: northwest +2.75 m, southwest +2.75 m, as measured at the corners of the pebble court.

31. Pail 25 on the south, Pails 9, 10, and 14 on the north (Group E in Chap. 3.2).

32. For the kiln, see Chap. 1.2.

33. In the section of Trench 97A (Pl. 1.119) to the north (to the right on the drawing), Pail 6 (ca. 6–8 cm) consisted of an almost pure layer of pebbles. Pail 7 was a hard-packed layer of earth. Pail 8 was a layer of small, generally sharp, angular pieces of stone, probably stoneworking chips left over from building activity.

34. In the eastern end of the North Stoa, the only part of Space 16 that could be explored because of superincumbent buildings of the Greek Sanctuary, there were hard-packed lepis floors as well as a portion of slab pavement. Measures had also been taken (Pl. 1.47) to prevent water from entering the stoa, in contrast to the situation apparent in the South Stoa.

35. The level of the pebble court between columns of the South Stoa, east to west: +2.96 m, +2.87 m, +2.96 m, +2.98 m, +3.02 m, (destroyed), (destroyed). These levels were probably similar during the period of AA as well as that of later Building T.

36. A similar technique was used for the Southwest Stepped Portico at Knossos, also built on a slope (Evans 1928: 142–45, figs. 73–74).

37. Although we believe that the sub-bases and foundations are of MM date, this may not (but could) apply to the disklike bases set on them, which may belong to the LM I reconstruction of the stoa.

38. Here, however, the earth supports Greek Base Y, which cannot be removed.

39. There is no evidence for a pebble court here of LM III date, although pebble courts were being created at the time, as shown by that laid in when the court of Building N was in use (see Chap. 1.3).

40. Numerous fragments of plaster tables were also found in Neopalatial contexts in the South Stoa area next door, as well as outside on the Central Court (see Chap. 4.5).

41. Material from Pail 90/72 is from somewhat farther west, which in Chap. 4.5, M. C. Shaw treats as a lobby, as the *sottoscala*, in her view, would have started farther east.

42. For discussion of possible earthquakes at the Kommos site, see also Rutter, Chap. 3.3, and J. W. Shaw, Chap. 5, also J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 20, 56, 183, and 392. The excavators of Phaistos have a similar vision of a major earthquake at the end of MM II (Old Palace, Levi Phase 2) and another earthquake during MM III (Old Palace, Levi Phase 3, for which see La Rosa 1995: 888–89).

43. Pottery groups usually representing the earliest use of the rooms suggest the date of T's founding during MM III–LM IA. As discussed by Rutter in Chap. 3.3 and in the text below, these are from the North Stoa and the rooms on the northeast, also the East Wing, and the South Stoa. A group below an early floor (Pottery Group 1) and one outside T (Pottery Groups 11, 12) are also included in his discussion.

44. The north-south axis of Building T, like that of AA, is 90° 40′ 15″ west of grid north as established by the topographers for the survey. The general orientation for other palatial structures was one in which the north-south axis was some degrees east of true north (the range is 2° [Phaistos] to 37° [Zakros]). See also J. W. Shaw 1973b. Kommos's Building T does not conform to this range. Rather, its orientation may be compared with that of MM Chrysolakkos and the "Agora" at Malia that are ca. 10° and 7°, respectively, west of grid north. I am indebted to Sylvie Muller-Celka, archaeological surveyor of Malia, for the information. More exact determinations could be established directly by observation with a theodolite.

45. For cut partition bases in the houses of the town, also a Neopalatial phenomenon, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: fig. 4 (House X) and J. W. and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 356 (general) and 31, 205, pl. 2.46 (The North House) and pl. 3.122 (The House with the Snake Tube). For the windowsill in House X, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 148, fig. 5 (lower left) and pl. 18b. For a general discussion of the dating of cut jamb bases, see J. W. Shaw 1999.

46. J. W. Shaw 1973a: 100–101.

47. Although we have searched the area for quarries large enough to serve as a source, none were found. There are, however, some relatively small ones along the westward cliff of the Nisos peninsula toward Matala, south of Kommos. Hope-Simpson et al. (1995: 337, 356) suggest that these are quarries for the Hellenistic/Roman town of Matala. Perhaps the Kommos blocks were obtained from places now below sea level, although we have looked with mask and snorkel over the years, or from quarries deeply hidden under a sand mantle, perhaps even the large unexcavated area east of the Kommos site.

48. J. W. Shaw 1973a: 30–41 for the techniques.

49. Within the memory of some of the elders in nearby Pitsidia, blocks were dug up by locals building a bridge, now washed away, near Aghia Galene (ancient Soulia) (M. C. Shaw 1981: passim).

50. A sense of the appearance of the southern border of the harbor can also be derived from the restoration published in Time-Life Books, *The Age of the God-Kings* (3000–1500 B.C.), 1987, Amsterdam, 102–3.

51. For the Papadóplaka, the shoreline, and Kommos as a harbor town, see especially J. W. Shaw 1996a: 8–10 and pl. 1.1. For a summary of what is known about some Aegean harbors, see J. W. Shaw 1990.

52. For fishing at Bronze Age Kommos, see Rose 1995: 204–39 and Blitzer 1995: 510–13, pl. 8.85.

53. Far-off Mari in Western Mesopotamia apparently received via the port of Ugarit weapons, textiles, and vases from Crete ("Kaptara"). See Heltzer 1989: 24.

54. Carts were known but were not a chief means of transportation, to judge from the lack of cart ruts on Minoan streets, courts, and passages (for carts, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 43 and fig. 44).

55. In Trench 14A1, for which see J. W. Shaw 1982: 179 and n. 36 with further references.

56. J. W. Shaw 1982: 179, found in Trench 43A; McEnroe 1996: 207 (Road 1).

57. The slab-paved road is at least as early as Building T, but its origins may go back to MM IIB, the period of Building AA. Since the slabs were usually laid on bedrock, probes would probably not provide sufficient dating material. The slabs are laid so closely up alongside T's krepidoma that the two appear to be contemporary. Also, since the facade of T can be persuasively shown to be of Neopalatial origin (rather than in reuse from the MM period, for which see Chap. 1.1), for the moment at least we should consider this road as Neopalatial in date.

58. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 160. House X, directly north of the Minoan road, was situated far enough east to be beyond most of the later Greek Sanctuary buildings, and therefore we could clear most of it. A few probes were made, however, below or next to the Greek buildings, north of or along the line of the Minoan road, namely, (1) the ramp, in Trench 14A1, referred to in the text above; (2) Trench 44B, excavated below Greek Building A1, which exposed the back of the MM retaining wall and a north-south wall connected with it (J. W. Shaw 1982: 180); (3) Trench 28A, just north of the Greek Round Building (D), which showed that there were only Minoan (rather than Greek) buildings there (J. W. Shaw 1980: 237); (4) Trench 20B, just east of the Greek Round Building, which exposed a series of Minoan walls, probably of houses, of which the lower, MM levels were ceramically rich and merit further investigation (J. W. Shaw 1979: 168; Betancourt 1990: Deposits 4, 7, 10, 11, 12).

59. Not all of the road could be cleared, unfortunately. The four chief stretches of it exposed along the northern facade of Building T, from west to east, are (1) Trench 43A, just north of T5 (Pl. 1.19; J. W. Shaw 1982: 175–80); (2) Trench 47A, just east of the Greek temples and north of Archaic Greek Altar U (Pl. 1.54; J. W. Shaw 1984b: 257–61); (3) Trench 54A, just south of Greek Building V (not illustrated); J. W. Shaw 1984b: 261–62); and (4) Trench 59A, south of Minoan House X (Pl. 1.73; J. W. Shaw 1986: 236). To reveal this portion of the road completely, which would also benefit the site's drainage by restoring the ancient system, one would first have to create durable supports for Greek Altars H and C, which otherwise would be undermined. Also, Greek Building A1 lies above an unexcavated part of the road. Clearing the road there would require a tunneling operation along with reinforced concrete support of the upper Greek structure. In the process the stratigraphy would probably be forfeited, for by necessity excavation would have to progress from the side.

60. Most Minoan (or, for that matter, Bronze Age Aegean) roadways between houses in towns are less than 1.50 m wide. For Minoan roads in general see McEnroe, *Minoan House and Town Arrangement*, passim (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto). Perhaps the widest street is the Royal Road at Knossos, 3.80 m wide, with a central line of slabbing bordered on either side by a rougher pavement covered with hard plaster (Evans 1928: 155, where, however, he gives the width as 3.60 m). For a full description of the road system and roads at Knossos, see Warren 1994: passim.

61. For details, see the description of Trench 60A in J. W. Shaw 1986: 245–55 and pl. 57b–f. A slab with a kernos design was built into one of the pavements (S 1592, **51** in Chap. 4.4).

62. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that the continuation of the road to the south (Pl. 1.66, lower right; 1.81 at *b*), in Trench 67A1, had only one road surface, rather than a series of surfaces, at +3.40 m.

63. See also J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 134, 137–39 and fig. 4.

64. For roads in the town, see also J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 362.

65. As glimpsed when we cleared down the bedrock slope west of T5 in 1979.

66. In the preliminary reports this large room was designated "Building J." For our purposes here, former J is being referred to as Building T, Room 5, since J later became merged physically with Building T built on the south and east.

67. The four courses preserved, from top (at +5.50 m) to bottom: 0.45 m, 0.70 m, 0.68 m, 0.72 m.

68. This independence is curious and leads one to examine various possibilities. One is that T5 is actually a remnant of MM II Building AA. An argument for this can be made on the basis of the fact that the fills immediately east of T5, below the pebble court, are uniformly of AA date (Chaps. 1.1 and 3.1, Location 2). A more likely possibility is that since AA probably did extend up as far north as the east-west road, then T5 reused earlier foundations here, as it did elsewhere. T's slab floor, apparently set on *kouskouras* bedrock, may still belong to AA (thus the presence of Group O in Chap. 3.2). Also, if AA's construction had been completed up to that point, and the MM II version of the North Stoa was standing, then (as above) the east wall of T5 should have contained less ashlar, for ashlar walls usually faced exterior rather than interior spaces.

Although an MM II ancestry can be fairly argued for T5, on the one hand, its general Neopalatial character at least above ground level is supported by the ashlar masonry technique used in all its external walls. Also, there is almost no evidence for cut ashlar blocks from AA. Moreover, it can be shown elsewhere at Kommos, at Aghia Triada and at Phaistos, that the pier-and-door partition base technique used in T5 is a Neopalatial style (J. W. Shaw 1999; 1973a: 148).

This still does not explain, however, T5's apparent structural independence. If it was being built as a deliberate first stage for the remainder of the palatial structure (as was to be the case for the first two galleries of LM III Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3), the eastern facade should have conformed to traditional form. Moreover, the northern facade of T5 and the orthostate wall should have been similar in construction (see main text). Perhaps the most reasonable explanation for T5's structural independence is that, first, it was designed as a free-standing building. After it was built, however, a decision was made by the Mesara leadership to, in effect, recreate a new building set largely on AA's lines, with T5 in its northwestern corner. If so, then T5 must have been built only shortly before the supplementary construction, since the latter is already Neopalatial (MM III) in date (Pottery Groups 1–2 in Chap. 3.3).

69. About 1.50 m north of the southeastern corner.

70. T5 as preserved is only a small part of the western wing of a much larger palatial structure continuing west and south. We do not know, however, whether the entire western wing was built first, along with T5. On the other hand, a missing jamb base north of the threshold on the south, leading eastward into the Central Court, was set into T5's krepidoma (Pl. 1.13), a situation similar to the relationship between T5 and the orthostate course just described in the text.

71. Some of the blocks from the south or, for that matter, from the western facades, were probably reused in the interior walls of LM III Building P, Galleries 2 and 3. Some of their dimensions (length × height × thickness), where 0.92–0.95 m is the range of the height of the lower course of the orthostate facade: 0.92 m ×

0.69 m × 0.70 m; 0.93 m × 0.68 m × 0.50 m; 0.93 m × 0.70 m × 0.53 m; 0.93 m × 0.70 m × ? (not measurable). Another was found, dragged up probably so as to be ready for use, south of Geometric/Archaic Greek Temple B (0.95 m × 0.95 m × 0.34) m (J. W. Shaw 1986: 222, n. 4).

72. Only the northern and eastern facades will be described here. For details of the southern wall, see the description of the South Stoa below.

73. Curiously, at one point where neither bedrock nor an earlier wall was available, at least part of the krepidoma was set on soft fill (Pl. 1.86). In the process of excavation here, near the later Greek Spring Chamber, we supported the krepidoma, with its enormous full-height corner orthostate, with a wall of rubble and cement. At no point along the course of any part of the wall have we seen the actual tops of the krepidoma blocks to know their entire shape as seen in plan. Judging from the few krepidoma blocks visible in T5 (which, however, is not orthostatic in construction), they may be rectangular and not triangular (as in most Minoan coursed ashlar masonry). The sizes of krepidoma blocks visible there on the west, as seen in plan: 1.00 m (east-west) × 0.80 m; 1.12 m (east-west) × 0.91 m, both from west of the northern entrance into T5. Those below the north-south wall of two blocks bordering the western side of the Central Court, south of T5: 0.73 m (east-west) × 1.03 m; 0.71 m (east-west) × 1.00 m.

As for the height of the krepidoma blocks for the orthostate facade, they are usually not measurable along the north where the road slabs are set next to them, but at one point near T5 a block is 0.42 m high. Along the eastern facade there are a number of points where height is available, e.g., 0.26 m (at Archaic Spring Chamber) and 0.30 m (east of Building P's Gallery 3), where they appear to be of lower height than along the north.

74. The paved road, the top of the krepidoma, and the top of the orthostate wall are essentially parallel (see above).

75. Although the entire building was sloped down to the west, the north-south levels were maintained as similar as possible. On the east, levels on the krepidoma: +3.70 m (first corner from the west, as in the text; +3.69 m (jog on the south, in the interior southwestern corner; +3.63 m (northeast corner of T); then, south along the krepidoma to Gallery P3: +3.63, +3.63, +3.66, +3.68 (the last, in the text).

76. This last measurement was taken on the krepidoma/socle for the southern ashlar wall of T, which may not have had orthostates.

77. Pls. 1.41–1.44 show the entire eastern wall as found. The top two courses belong to LM III Building P, also the entire section of wall north (right) of the group of particularly high orthostate slabs.

78. The "longest": 3.44 m long, 0.94 m high, 0.35 m thick (Pl. 1.54, right). Another, the eighth large block in the eastern facade south of T's northeast corner (Pl. 1.43): 3.13 m long, 0.93 m high, thickness not measurable.

79. Of the ashlar blocks from Building T, the most eroded are those around its periphery, especially in the north and east facades. Of those, the most resistant were blocks in which the natural layering in the stone was set horizontally, the normal way for setting the blocks in all Minoan building. In other words, most blocks were set as they had been lying in the quarry. The least resistant were the relatively thin orthostate blocks, which were set on edge, with their veining set vertically. Major weathering can be seen just east of T Room 5 (Pl. 1.20) where the orthostate blocks appear as if carved by wind, sand, and water erosion. The same is true of some of those in the eastern facade (Pl. 1.43), although some of the blocks, here and elsewhere, were not as affected, since they were composed of a harder stone.

This erosion took place between the time that T was constructed in MM III and when the blocks were covered by accumulation, a process usually completed by the Protogeometric period, some five to six hundred years. The erosion was most likely of the type that gradually removes small stone particles, something undetectable during normal excavation.

80. Some of the dimensions: 1.96 m long, 1.38 m high, 0.48 m thick (T's northeasternmost corner block [Pl. 1.43]); 1.86 m long, 1.38 m high, width unknown (the third block south of T's northeast corner [Pl. 1.43]); 1.60 m long, 1.38 m high, width unknown (the seventh large block south of T's northeastern corner [Pl. 1.44]).

81. Unlike in LM III Building P, where the southern side of its east-west walls coincides

with a break in the masonry of the eastern facade (Pl. 1.43 and Chap. 1.3), in Building T there is apparently no consistent relation between interior walls and the shape or position of the facade blocks. Of some interest, however, are two places on the eastern facade (marked with +4.54 in Pl. 1.43 and +4.63 in. Pl 1.44) where two courses (rather than one) were used. In each case the last block on the south was partially set into a cutting made in the orthostate block. Could these two places really be filled-in sills for windows? Unfortunately, neither of these north-south "sills" is set centrally between east-west interior walls, as might be expected if this were the case. Moreover, in each case the interior east-west walls of T abut part of the eastern facade. Perhaps the top courses here were set into the orthostate blocks to stabilize them with the extra weight, so that they would not tilt out from the facade. If so, the technique was not used consistently. That the tall orthostates could tilt out was shown just east of the Greek temples (J. W. Shaw 1984b: pl. 53d), where a block had to be forced back by us into the facade.

82. Both "L" blocks are cut away on their northern edges. Since the blocks resting within the cuttings were most likely placed there after the orthostate slab was set in place, one can suggest that the builders may have been progressing with their assembling from south to north.

83. For the history of the orthostatic wall in Minoan construction, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 83–91, also 1983b, written before the full extent of the exterior wall of T was known.

84. Especially in Rooms 16, 19, 21, 23, and 24 just south of the facade (not in an area of LM III rebuilding).

85. One would normally expect this horizontal beam to have been attached to the ashlar blocks by means of wooden tenons anchored into square mortices cut into the top of the blocks (for the technique, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 83–92). There are no mortice cuttings there, however.

86. When the upper masonry was not there, at least two of the tall orthostates along the north facade tilted out of position (J. W. Shaw 1984b: 259). We replaced one in its original position. On the eastern facade, the large vertical orthostates are being held in place by the weight of Building P's wall.

87. The position for the western wall as seen in Pl. 1.34 was chosen by us because the LM III room at a higher level depended to some extent on the lines of the earlier LM I walls (east, north walls). Since the threshold leading into the room set above T5 is not near the corner of the room, it may very well have been set on its axis. Here we assume that the LM III wall on the west was set onto the earlier LM I wall. If the pier-and-door partition in T5, as discussed in the text below, did end where we see it in Pl. 1.34, it would end next to that same wall.

88. A comparison with LM I houses is apt. A typical example of the main entrance way is that of the North House (M. C. Shaw 1996a: pl. 2.6). There one could simply turn right after entering the main room to go upstairs. In the case of T5, the point of entrance is a separate room, rather than a narrow hall, as in many other Minoan houses or (as in the North House) the main room through which one can reach the stairs.

89. S 2332 was probably reused during LM III or perhaps earlier. It was found *in situ* with part of an LM IIIB pottery deposit on it (Pl. 1.37). Originally this threshold may have been in the northeastern corner of T5. Scoring marks on the slab pavement of the room's interior show that there was a door in that corner, now blocked with rubble from LM II or LM III reuse. The length of the threshold once there, now missing, can be measured on the outside of the building, since the distance from the abrupt northern end of the ashlars there (Pl. 1.31 at *a*) to where the interior of its northern wall would corner, a distance of about 1.60 m, is similar to the actual length of the threshold, 1.63 m.

90. Pl. 1.34 suggests that the doorway led into an open, paved area, still partly preserved on the south (Pl. 1.29) that was there before the North Stoa was built. Pottery between the slabs was of LM IA Final to LM IB Early date (Pottery Group 28b), presumably representing use accumulation. That directly below the slabs was of MM III date. For there to be two doorways so close together, for access into T5, there was also probably an east-west wall on the north, as suggested in the drawing. This would have been removed when the east-west orthostate facade replaced it.

91. For the type, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 148. At least one more base, now missing, was on the

west. If of the T-type, the series would have continued farther west. More likely it was of the gamma-type, since at this point, leading to the stairway, there was no need to open up the space any further.

92. For the stairway, see now J. W. Shaw 1999.

93. LM III construction later filled in the southern flight of the stairway when Building N's southern wall, reusing the threshold mentioned earlier, was set on it.

94. That mendable Protopalatial pottery (Group O in Chapter 3.2) was found in a probe somewhere here might be explained by probing further here in the future.

95. Trench 36A/13: S 712, S 762, and S 1486 (Chap. 4.4, **1**, **16**, and **7**, respectively); also C 2815.

96. J. B. Rutter has suggested (pers. comm.), however, that the filling of T5 to the north may have taken place earlier than that of the *sotto-scala*.

97. The upper wall construction, with its two triangular blocks meeting at edge, is similar to that in T5. This type of wall is also illustrated in J. W. Shaw 1973a: 105, fig. 122. Of interest here is that the blocks of the krepidoma, exposed by the erosion, are rectangular rather than triangular, an indication that the builders wanted a solid base for the upper wall.

98. Part of the hearth (Hearth 1) is visible in Pl. 1.25 at *2d* (cf. Pl. 1.36, Phase 2).

99. For the hearth, see M. C. Shaw 1990: 245 and fig. 3 there. It was built up against the eroded lowest wall course of T5, which indicates that the block's face had already been exposed for a significant time.

100. For LM II use of House X just north of the road see J. W. and M. C. Shaw 1993: 131–61, passim. For the same period in the hilltop and hillside houses see McEnroe 1996: 212; also Watrous 1992: 20–30, 119–25.

101. See Chap. 1.3.

102. See J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.

103. For the stoas, see also the comparative information in Chap. 1.5 and in Table 1.4. The South Stoa is discussed individually below. For the sure MM ancestry of the South Stoa, and the possible one for the North Stoa, see Chap. 1.1.

104. For the estimated height of the columns, see J. W. Shaw 1984a: 272 n. 33.

105. Further evidence for the sequence is provided by the lack of a broad, vertical projecting band cut into the lowest, original ashlar blocks forming the eastern face of T5, at the point above which the longitudinal beams above the columns would have been socketed into the facade. For the normal form of the projection, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: figs. 123a–b, showing the formal entrance into the LM I Palatial Building at Archanes. Something similar was done at the eastern end of the North Stoa at Kommos, where the engaged pier block supporting the beams over the colonnade was cut back on the north and south sides in the form of an anta. This probably indicates that stoa and anta are contemporary. For the primary report on the North Stoa, written before the South Stoa was discovered, see J. W. Shaw 1987, also 1984a: 269–72.

106. The presence here of an anta or pier (as in J. W. Shaw 1984a: 30, and 1987), as preferred by M. C. Shaw in Chap. 2 here, rather than a column (as in Pl. 1.45), can be argued in detail either way. Each argument depends on one's interpretation of the broad north-south foundation that separates Spaces 10 and 11 and appears to begin ca. 1.45 m from the south face of the east-west orthostate wall.

107. Taking the series of column bases from west to east (see also Table 1.3): the first, of which probably only the sub-base remains, was originally thought to be the base for a pier or pillar, since it did not have a rounded projection (the sub-base can be seen in Pl. 1.30 at *a*); however, in the South Stoa we found a disk-shaped base set directly on a large, flat slab *without* projection (S 2253 in Pl. 1.138). Thus it is possible to restore a column base instead of a pillar there. The absolute level for this works out satisfactorily: top of sub-base of column 1 (+2.93 m) to top of disk-shaped base of column 4 (+3.27 m in Pl. 1.136a) or column base 5 (+3.21 m) = range of 0.28–0.34 m, the approximate height of the missing disk base. The last measurement, however, is somewhat greater than that of the other disk-shaped bases from the North Stoa (0.18–0.23 m), although its lower limit falls within the range of those from the South Stoa (0.22–0.29 m).

Continuing east, the second column base remains unexcavated behind the modern retaining wall supporting the Greek temples. Of the third, only the base block with a rounded top was found. This can still be seen through a slit left in

the masonry of the modern wall (for the base see J. W. Shaw 1984a, pl. 56c, e). The fourth, with complete disk and sub-base, is illustrated in Pl. 1.48. Of the fifth base, a very battered disk rests on its sub-base, rounded on top (Pl. 1.136b). It lies below the extension of a later wall (see main text). Of the final, sixth base, its sub-base with rounded projection was found *in situ* below another later wall—what we assume to be a large fragment of its disk-shaped base lay near it on a later surface of the Central Court (Pl. 1.49 at *b*).

108. In the previous section the use of *chalikasvestos* was brought up in connection with the court surface of MM IIB Building AA. If the layer described in the text here is indeed of MM IIB date (it need not be), then the sub-base and associated colonnade were established along with the South Stoa and thus belong to Building AA. On the other hand, the contemporary vertical band of plaster described in the text is not a South Stoa feature.

109. The paved area may once have extended all the way to the back wall but, if so, was partly removed by later construction. We should also add an explanation of the space numbers here, in Pl. 1.30, which were assigned as excavation progressed. Space 4 is an LM III room belonging to Building N (see Chap. 1.3). Spaces 10 and 11 were created in MM III when a north-south wall was set west of T5 and, again, probably during Building T, Phase 2, for which see below and Pl. 1.55B.

110. Space 16 here is the continuation of Space 11 to the west, just described.

111. Described in J. W. Shaw 1987: 103, 105, where it was compared with a similar, but LM III, pier base at Aghia Triada. This method of construction was the subject of a special study by M. C. Shaw (1999), who proposes that the wooden beams were placed longitudinally and transversely around cut blocks in the facade, the pattern perhaps resembling the pi-shaped patterns seen set vertically on building facades in Minoan pictorial representations, particularly frescoes.

112. Compare our Pl. 1.56, by M. C. Shaw, with pl. 205a, b in J. W. Shaw 1973a where, however, the construction is much neater. During a later stage (Phase 2) the wooden window frames at Kommos were removed and the space there was built up with slabs to ceiling level—the doorway was filled in at about the same time.

113. High on its northern wall, 1.37 m above the floor, was a possible opening for either a window or a cupboard (Pl. 1.69, upper left). On the southern face of its southern wall were three small, square openings, possibly for scaffolding when the wall was being constructed but otherwise rare in T's walls.

114. As noted in Chap. 2, the southern wall of 19 was plastered even where the eastern north-south wall abutted it. This suggests that the east-west wall was plastered before the north-south wall was constructed.

115. In the following analyses we have tried to correlate architectural and stratigraphic floors and ceramic levels in a reasonable sequence. The architectural sequences are based on superposition, addition, and stylistic considerations. With the pottery, analyses are based on Rutter's estimate of stylistic change. In some cases we could only approximate. From the point of view of specific phases charted below, we have occasionally simplified what may have been the actual, more complex situation. The most difficult tasks were trying to relate adjoining spaces and correlating the sequences in spaces lying at some distance from each other.

116. Excavation alongside the north end of the wall here exposed substantial foundations (in Trench 62C), suggesting that another wall preceded the one that we now see.

117. The kernoi are illustrated and interpreted in Whittaker 1996a: **11** (S 1609), **12** (S 1610). See also Chap. 4.4, **52–53**, and Whittaker 2002.

118. Neither Iron Age pottery nor other finds suggest a Greek intrusion down to this level, although R's position could be roughly equivalent to that of Sub-Minoan Temple A, set above. The first floor of Greek Temple A is at +4.20 m, compared with the height of the topmost block of the corner of R, at +4.31 m. For the relationships see Pl. 1.61 here and J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.

119. In Pl. 1.49, above *b*, a reused block with a cutting for a horizontal beam on it was probably once part of a windowsill, perhaps even the windowsill in the Space 16/42 dividing wall, as suggested by Rutter. See S 2341 in Chap. 1.4.

120. As we have seen, R to the west was set north of the line of the colonnade, which suggests that the builders were still using the stoa's roof for shelter. Moreover, the original east-west

wall extended up to, but not over, the base of the fifth column from the west.

121. For the metallurgical remains found on and above the burnt floor mentioned in the text, see Period 4, below.

122. The following description is based directly on the report prepared by the trenchmaster, M. C. Shaw.

123. In Rooms 4 (M. C. Shaw 1996e: pl. 3.144; also 1990) and, perhaps, 12 (J. W. Shaw 1978b, pl. 37d).

124. It is possible, however, that the cobbles found nearby in another trench (44A/55, for which see Period 5 below) are the missing tools.

125. From the southern part of this dump, all in pails enumerated in Pottery Group 37e: Bo 39, pointed bone fragment (Blitzer 1995: **Bo 26**); B 180, flat bronze strips (Chap. 4.1, **22**); B 156, part of a tweezers (Chap. 4.1, **56**); S 797, cobble (Blitzer 1995: **GS 329**), and P 18 (see Chap. 2).

126. For the last, Chap. 4.1, **72** (C 2976) from 36A/21.

127. Recommending the first option is the burnt floor at +3.21 m (Trench 42A/55) on which many of the crucibles and stone tools were found, for it extends south to run up evenly against the east-west wall of Room R′. No trace of a pit was found during excavation. Also supporting the first option is that crucible fragments were found nearby in LM IA contexts (C 4681 from 43A/93, along with Pottery Group 37b; C 8600 from 53A/69, in Group 16). Recommending the second, as stressed by Rutter, are the later LM IB cups (C 4866, C 10753) which, unless there was a (unlikely) mixup in pails during excavation, would definitely postdate activity in Room 16 during Phases 3 and 4 (above). Also, in an adjoining Trench, still within Space 16 but farther east, no crucibles were recovered from related levels (62D/90, 99, 100, 102).

128. See especially Blitzer 1995: 500–20, 527–28, pls. 8.76–8.77, 8.104.

129. Blitzer 1995: 502.

130. Blitzer 1995: 528.

131. The remains of the plaster floor, at +3.28 m, were found in Trench 93D/55. See Chap. 2.

132. Overlying Greek Building E prevented more complete excavation. Since the eastern facade here of Building T was located in a sounding just east of Building E (Pl. 1.80, upper left in the shaded area), however, the approximate distance from the western wall of 24 to the interior face of the facade wall could be calculated.

133. As subdivided, the resulting north room was about 2.10 m north-south and the south room 1.94 m. The original floor, partly destroyed by an Archaic Greek well that removed part of the southern wall of 24b, had been set on a layer of sand, 0.10–0.15 m thick, spread on bedrock to serve as a leveling layer. From below it was recovered a small MM clay figurine, C 7358, perhaps of a monkey (Chap. 4.6, Table 4.5, **9**).

134. See also MM deposit Group Jj in Chap. 3.2.

135. The same may apply to the lower group in Rooms 24a (Group 3a), 24b (Group 4a), 25a (Group 5a), and also to the only floor recognized in Room 29 (Group 21), for which see below.

136. Where excavation has gone below the primary floors in the North Wing of T, usually marl bedrock is not far below, and above it is chiefly MM III pottery; e.g., (1) in Space 10 below LM III Room 4, at the western end of the North Stoa (Trench 62A/15), and 100B/10 below the slab floor in the same area; (2) in Space 16 at the eastern end of the North Stoa (Trench 42A/67 in Pottery Group 8); (3) in Room 23 on the northeast (Trench 93D/55, part of Pottery Group 2a).

137. The thick layer of burning found in Room 25 was not, however, found in 29.

138. See Ruscillo, Chap. 4.7, Group 23; also Reese 1995b: 168. Bones from the earlier phase in the area (among Pottery Groups 22a and 22b), and the tripod cooking pot C 7648 in Group 22b, suggest that they reflect an earlier tradition here. A fine deep burnt bowl of stone (S 1595, Chap. 4.4, **85**) was recovered as well.

139. For this upper wall see J. W. Shaw 1986: pl. 51a, and Chap. 1.3 (the "terrace" of P on the north).

140. Two press-beds, one discovered on its original platform, were found in the Minoan houses to the north. Our S 2338 is more bowl-, less slab-shaped but probably performed a similar role. See Blitzer 1995: 486–87 and pls. 8.63 and 8.63C.

141. Exceptions are a cobble (S 1634 from 57A/22) and P 128 (from 57A/25), along with Pottery Group 25. There are also three loomweights, discussed in the following note.

142. These are **49** and **50** in Chap. 4.2, the lat-

ter found next to the hearths. Another was found in upper fill (**51**).

143. See also, now, the group of 14 found under the floor of Building P's Gallery 2, in Building T's East Wing (see below).

144. Ed.'s note: Room 11 has been changed here to Room 10.

145. For nomenclature of rooms discussed below, when the eastern part of the Southern Area was being excavated, the sequence of Arabic room/space numbers already in use in connection with Building T was continued, beginning with 26, south of 25a and 25b. As work continued, Building P emerged, and its six galleries were numbered, from the north, P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6. The result was that each P gallery ended up with two numbers. Then, when manuscripts were being prepared, the a–j (A–J) sequence of the Building T rooms underlying P became clear. Also, the smaller widths of the T rooms (cf. Pl. 1.68) meant that more numbers had to be added to those already assigned to T (50 and 51 in this case), for which see Pl. 1.7.

The equivalents here are now:

T	room/space		State Plan
C	= 26 =	%P1	Foldout A
D	51	%P1, %P2	Foldout A
E	27	%P2	Foldout B
F	28	P3	Foldout B
G	35	%P3, %P4	Pl. 1.102
H	50	%P4, %P5	Pl. 1.102
I	36	P5	Foldout C
J	43	P6	Foldout C

146. Maria C. Shaw and Giuliana Bianco played a major role in developing thoughts about the original layout of the East Wing of Building T. The general layout can be seen in the plan (Pl. 1.8), which also incorporates Bianco's proposal for the module used in T's plan, about which she wrote later (Bianco 2003).

147. Not including the north and south facade walls, which are 1.40–1.50 m wide.

148. Trench 60 B excavated below the floor of Building Q's Room 31 located the western end of P2's north wall (J. W. Shaw 1986: pl. 54d). A limited sounding made south of it, near the area where the proposed wall may be, did not reveal a wall; however, the wall may be farther north or south or simply may not be preserved as far west as the Central Court, as occurs with the common walls of Rooms F and G, or G and H.

149. We do not know, however, about unexcavated Rooms H through J.

150. The western entrances to C and D have not been excavated; those for G and H are either destroyed or built over.

151. A slab or pebble floor is suspected in the western part of Room C (see below).

152. For this custom, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 101. Another possibility is that there was an unusually long window here. If so, the upper ashlar blocks of the third or fourth course, now gone, would most likely have been cut with a shallow ledge to receive the lower window framing.

153. The paving at *d* in Pl. 1.89 remains unexplained. It is below the LM III floors of P but still nestles up to both the T and P walls. Perhaps it is the top of an earlier wall. More likely, although it is rough, the paving is part of Room D's pavement on the north. That it was not disturbed when P's wall was placed there later is explainable only if we assume that a foundation trench for that wall, exposed on the north, was excavated only on that side of the wall.

154. See also J. W. Shaw 2000: chap. 1.3.

155. This east-west wall continues down to water level and may well be part of MM Building AA, reused in LM I. The krepidoma mentioned in the text, as we see it along the southern border of the wall (Pl. 1.86), does not rest on this wall but, rather, on earth, so the krepidoma blocks do not seem to have been designed to go with the wall.

156. The road slabs rest on MM II fill (Trench 62E/106) and may actually date to the time of AA and have continued in use.

157. It is also possible, considering that the Archaic well reached water here in later periods (J. W. and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000: 30–31) that similar access to the underlying water source was provided during the Prehistoric period as well. The entrance way proposed here seems logical; however, it is not a proven entranceway such as that into T5 on the northwest or that just east of the South Stoa.

158. Three other discoid loomweights (**20**, **22**, and **23** in Chap. 4.2) and a bat fragment (C 10445 from 97E/56) were found north of T's wall here, above the rough pavement visible in Pl. 1.89 (within the area of Room D). They probably belong with this group.

159. The other face of the LM I wall can be seen, like a ledge, projecting out on either side of this wall that separates P's Galleries 2 and 3.

160. On the east: +3.27 m (pavement); +3.19 m (channel). On the west: +3.13 m (pavement); +3.07 m (channel).

161. A1's MM date is based mainly on its substantial width (1.50 m), which is somewhat less than the base for AA's southern wall in the South Stoa area (1.80 m), but also on the character of the fill on either side (Chap. 1.1). Even the LM I orthostate wall of T is usually not as thick (range 1.20–1.40 m). T's interior walls (and this would be one) are usually no more than a meter wide. For the Neopalatial plaster remains found within this eastern room or space, see Chap. 2.2, **99**.

162. Trench 86D/41, 42.

163. This would have happened before the line of bases was set in during LM IIIA2, for the seventh base from the west would have been unnecessary if Wall A1 had still been in place.

164. For these copper strips, see Chap. 4.1.

165. West to east (refer to Trench Plan, Pls. 1.1–1.2): Trench 65A (B 297); 89B (B 374, B 375); 89A (B 354–59; B 362, B 363 B 365–68; B 371, B 372; B 383); 86D (B 385); 83A (B 345, B 351).

166. Some of these may belong, however, to the LM IIIA2 reuse, for which see Chap. 1.3.

167. In soundings through the plaster floor: 86D/34 (+3.18–3.24 m, an uncatalogued strip along with LM IA/B pottery); east of there, near Wall A, 86D/33 and 36 (+3.10–3.24 m, uncatalogued strips along with MM II and LM IA/B sherds); and nearby (top +3.10 m) B 385 (a knotted bronze strip, **21** in Chap. 4.1) in 86D/37 along with MM II pottery.

168. Trench 89B/57A (B 372) and 89B/65 (B 371), **31** and **30**, respectively, in Chap. 4.1. See also the description of P3 in Chap. 1.3.

169. Especially in Pail 89A/13.

170. It is tempting to connect their manufacture with bronze-working in the North Stoa during LM IB.

171. Trenches 36B/32, 34; 65A2/33, 35, 40, 41, 59, 60, 62, 63; 89B/57, 57A, 59, 60, 62, 65.

172. Respectively, these are from Trenches 93B/52, 93B/53, and 86F/103.

173. The only inventoried items from near the northern wall were bronze strips (B 390, **24** in Chap. 4.1).

174. For the architecture and stratigraphy below the court here, see Chap. 1, Location 4, above. For the crushed murex deposit and associated channels, see Chap. 4.7.

175. This facade of reused ashlar extends at least 5 m eastward from the western end of the wall.

176. A shallow sounding in the northeast, below the level of the slabs (in 93A/24, 25) produced MM II pottery. This could suggest that the slab floor originally belonged to Building AA. This is possible, for the colonnade of the nearby South Stoa is dated to that period. The arrangement of any MM rooms within the perimeter of AA, however, is so vague that the matter cannot be pursued further at this point, but the possibility nevertheless must be raised.

177. For the fauna see Chap. 4.7, Group 54. Rutter emphasizes that this cooking area, of LM IA Early, was later replaced by that in Space T22 to the north (Chap. 3.3 and Rutter 2004).

178. The gap to the east, between the two walls, could be for a narrow stairway, so the two walls could be contemporary. A wall that appears farther west narrows the gap, however.

179. This wall was set on an earlier one, mentioned above.

180. J. W. Shaw 1973a: 184, fig. 215.

181. The three slabs between the antae are presumed to be later LM I additions. Excavation below the central slab revealed only that the pebble court here had been laid here up against a series of small slabs set on edge along the north-south line of the Central Court (Pl. 1.113, Section D-D).

182. This could also be the base for a threshold block removed when the wall was pillaged.

183. See also Chap. 1.1, Location 6, for the MM history.

184. Trench 97A: Pails 1–2 (MM III) above Pails 3–4 (MM IIB).

185. For a somewhat similar arrangement at Aghia Triada, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 133–34 and fig. 169.

186. Numerous large blocks of the right height (0.93–0.94 m), probably once set as ortho-

states, can be seen reused in nearby walls of LM III Building P (see also Chap. 1.3). These blocks could derive from other areas of the site, however—for instance, the unexcavated section of the facade to the east or, for that matter, from the now-destroyed western border of Building T.

187. For more information about the area here, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 179–82.

188. The top slab of one of the "stacks" has slight grooves cut into it so as to position the base accurately (see Chap. 1.4).

189. This phenomenon, not noticed elsewhere, is difficult to explain. Are the bases of LM date and placed inadvertently on pebbles dating to the period of the MM court? Or, assuming that the pebbles would have been cleaned off the tops of the sub-bases before the column bases were set in place, perhaps the pebble layer is intentional. It could, for instance, have been intended to raise the bases slightly; or it may have served to give more flexibility to the wooden superstructure in an area where earthquakes were frequent.

190. The North Stoa, by contrast, was somewhat shallower (ca. 5.03–5.09 m).

191. For the shells, see Group 19, Chap. 4.7.

192. In Chapter 2.2 M. C. Shaw posits on the basis of fresco fragments a painted floor, a painted dado, and a blue-painted upper wall for the South Stoa, as shown more clearly for the North Stoa.

193. A perforated pebble was found east of the kiln (S 2255 from Trench 87B/116e).

194. The staircase may well also be part of one connected with Building AA. The pottery within Space 49 was a mixture of MM and LM I pottery, but the stratigraphy there was most likely confused by erosion (95A/149, 155, 159, 162). A curious stone cube (S 2289 from 97A/1, for which see Chap. 4.4, **63**) was found in the MM levels east of the staircase.

195. Perhaps fortuitously, a number of stone vase fragments were found around the kiln, for which see Chap. 4.4, **86–90**.

196. In these levels were found two similar limestone tools (S 2307, S 2308, Chap. 4.4, **48** and **49**, respectively), with rounded depressions ground down into their opposite, flat sides.

197. Wasters and pottery from the kiln were found below the second, LM IB, floor there (Trench 90A/19).

198. Calculating the width of the Central Court depends on where on the much-destroyed east facade one thinks the main line actually was. Estimates range from 28.46 to 28.64 m.

199. Trench 101A, excavated in the south-central part of the court, exposed three ashlar blocks, two of which were lying face-to-face. Their tops range from +2.42 to +3.11 m (estimated level of Court at +2.92 m here). One of them has a sign (I 107, rather like a cross or a Y [Pl. 1.142a, b]) carved in its top. Pottery alongside the blocks indicates that their context is post-Minoan. Also, they rest on a deep layer of sand that had drifted into an east-west erosion channel cut in the court in the post-Minoan period. They have been left *in situ*.

200. If of MM date, however, it is curious that *chalikasvestos* was not found in connection with the South Stoa, which in its earlier form is securely dated to that period.

201. Specifically, on the west: Trench 86E (north of Archaic Building Q)/66, 67: MM IB pottery, latest. On the north, 37A (just east of Building T, Room 5)/62, 64: LM IA, and /61, 66: MM III; 34A (south of the third column from the east of the North Stoa)/63: LM I; 52A (just south of the first column from the east of the North Stoa)/59: undatable. On the east, two exceptions: 93A (in front of P5)/19: LM IIIA2/B, also /14a, 15a: LM IIIA2, but /14b, 15b, 16b: LM I. On the south, 86E (between the two eastern column bases of the South Stoa)/66: MM IB, and /67: MM IB; but then north of the LM I pottery kiln: 91B/60: LM IIIA2/B. See also the discussion of the court area during LM III in Chap. 1.3.

202. For the earlier history of Building T, see Chap. 1.2.

203. For the rise in sea level, see Gifford 1995: 78–79, who estimates that after LM I and by the time Building N was constructed in LM IIIA2, the relative sea level had risen at least a meter. This estimate is shown graphically in *Kommos* I (1) pl. 1.1, where the LM I shoreline is shown as 2.60 m below modern sea level. At the time, the shoreline was about 125 m from the western wall of Building T, well out of the reach of the waves. (For the estimated 30-m width of the West Wing of Building T [or AA], see above.) With the 1-m or more rise before N was built,

the sea on a calm day may have come within about 75 m of T. On a rough day with an onshore western wind, commonest during the winter, however, the 2.75-m wave reach would have brought the waves dangerously close to, if not actually up against, at least the southwestern part of T.

Wave reach can be calculated as follows: (1) According to Gifford (1995: pl. 3.19), the present relative sea level is the highest that it has been since the third millennium B.C. (2) We know that the western part of T5 was removed by wave action, and this happened relatively recently because of (1). (3) The difference between modern sea level and the level of J's partly destroyed slab floor is ca. 2.75 m. Therefore, 2.75 m is the vertical distance between the sea level when it is calm and the maximum wave reach when the waves are driven up on the shore by a strong wind from the west.

As Gifford suggests, the associated rising of the local water table would have added to the dampness. It is even possible that those reusing Room T5 during LM II were affected, for an intermediate LM II floor level (at +3.30 m), connected with Pottery Group 47 in Chap. 3.3, has, since Gifford wrote, been detected between T5's original slab floor (at +2.73 m) and N5's earth floor (at +3.73 m).

The state of preservation of T's western wing at the end of LM IIIA1 remains unsure. Possibly as much as two-thirds was preserved. If so, no doubt many of its blocks were removed for reuse in Building P, where ashlars, including many orthostate blocks, are common, especially in the earlier, northern galleries. Since LM IIIB the continuing rise of sea level to its present position has destroyed almost all the built areas west of the Central Court, as well as part of the Court itself.

204. Reducing wall width in this case produced the "ledge." Elsewhere, LM III walls were set partly on, but back from, new wall bases (e.g., the south and east walls of N's Room 4, below) or on earlier walls, often creating the ledge effect that can characterize LM IIIA2, as contrasted with LM I, construction technique at Kommos.

205. Below the level of the LM III court here, and sealed by it, were numerous ashlar blocks, lying without order, that no doubt were once set in T5's eastern wall. Either the blocks are left over from the LM III dismantling/rebuilding process or, more likely, simply remained where they had fallen during the LM IB/LM IIIA1 interim period between the abandonment of the North Stoa and the time that N was constructed. The latter is more likely, since the LM IB dump in this area (Pottery Groups 37c, 37d in Chap. 3.3) is unmixed with later material. On the other hand, some of the ashlar blocks strewn on the higher levels were probably reused in the later structure. Distinguishing between the more carefully laid, original LM I ashlar masonry and parts of walls rebuilt with ashlar blocks is usually made possible by comparing the height of the blocks (which are equal within each course in LM I) and noting whether stone chips are used in either horizontal or vertical joints between blocks, a common technique used during LM III (e.g., on the eastern wall of N5 [Pl. 1.29] and on the northeastern facade of Building P [Pl. 1.81]) when the appearance of the wall was less important than it once had been. Also, during LM I joints between ashlar blocks were often plastered.

206. This type of finishing, unusual on the site during LM III, provides an attractive transition between ashlar and slab masonry. It can also indicate a transition between an exterior (the ashlar) and an interior (slabs/rubble). It may imply that the westernmost part of the ashlars and the rubble wall were plastered, although no actual plaster has survived.

207. Watrous 1992: Deposits 82 (Hilltop Court 2) and 84 (Hilltop Room 14b).

208. In order, the two jars mentioned in the text are numbered **59/21** and **59/12** in Chap. 3.3.

209. MM Houses on the Central Hillside (Wright 1996: pls. 3.64, 3.137).

210. LM House with the Snake Tube (McEnroe 1996: pl. 8.151).

211. MM Room 25 on the Central Hillside (Wright 1996: pl. 3.37).

212. The top of the entrance wall was missing stones along its northern face, which strengthens the possibility that a wooden threshold had been set there.

213. Recent reexamination of the pottery from the trenches (43A and 62A) concerned revealed Greek sherd material going so deep in Room N4 that a post-Minoan penetration of earlier levels

is the most likely cause. That this intrusion happened north of the presumably Minoan Floor 2 is suggested by the excavator's note that the floor in Trench 43/66, did not continue into the northern half of Space 4. The area continued in use during the Greek period, when a floor was established at +4.75 m, for which see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.

214. The southern wall of Court 6 does not bond with that of N13, nor does the east-west wall separating it from N12 bond with the eastern wall of 6 (Pl. 1.10). Originally, this led us to believe that N12 and 13 were later additions to the original plan (J. W. Shaw 1984b: 276). The eastern wall court N6, however, is unlike other walls in the room group to the extent that it is not deeply founded on the north. If N12 and 13 were significantly later, therefore, that side of the court would have been open to erosion and collapse during its first stage. On the other hand, the southern and eastern walls of N12/13 were well built almost from the LM I court up. Moreover, the east-west retaining wall that bordered the LM III court of Building P on the north abutted the north-south wall of N12/13 and did not continue westward to abut the eastern wall of Court 6.

215. See Chap. 1.2 (the North Stoa area).

216. This wall could also be the western wall of Sub-Minoan Temple A, never seen by us, since it underlies later floor features of Geometric Temple B, which could not be removed. For Temple A, see Pl. 1.61 here and J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.1.

217. This would place the LM III floor about 0.30–0.40 m below the floor of Greek Temple A, the latter being at +4.20 m.

218. Another copper ingot fragment was found (B 412 from 50A/57, **61** in Chap. 4.1) in a dump south of Building N. This and the two mentioned in the text are the only ingot fragments found in the Southern Area. Three more were found on the Central Hillside. Cf. Blitzer 1995: 500–4.

219. The LM I court near the southeastern corner of N: +3.08 m; near the western end, below Room N7: +2.75 m.

220. About 0.74 m above the LM I pebble court.

221. The last estimate is based on the highest preserved block in P's northeast corner (Pl. 1.81). It is at +6.59 m, to which should be added the two or three courses of ashlar masonry found fallen to the east (0.88–1.31 m): 6.59 m + (0.88–1.31 m) = 7.47–7.90 m (range). From this should be subtracted the average level of the first floors in the first three galleries (3.35 m), giving us the range for the minimum height of the ceiling of 4.12–4.55 m. Blocks fallen in courses within Gallery P3 (Pl. 1.91) also showed that the interior walls were at least 4 m high (Trench 83A/58).

222. A rough LM III north-south line of rubble, just east of the north-south line of the Minoan Central Court's east side at this point, may also have functioned as a retaining wall, bottom at +4.35 m, top at +4.45 m. For the unpublished wall, the reference is to Trench 52A/26, 29, also p. 5 and the east-west section in that report; also Trench 56A1, notebook pp. 150–51 and fig. 4 in the trench report.

223. The southern wall of Space 20/22 (or T's Room B on the east), for which see Chap. 1.2.

224. This court/retaining wall arrangement was to be repeated in early Greek times, for the temples set above the northeastern corner of Building N were continually built at higher levels, and the clay court east of them was successively extended farther east. The northern wall of P1 continued to retain the southeastern court here through the seventh century B.C. On the north, the orthostate facade and the east-west Minoan road were covered over by the same period. On the southwest, as during LM III times, no major wall (like that of P1) was ever built to retain the slope. Rather, a series of makeshift walls, like the thin LM III retaining wall mentioned in the text, were constructed—as many as two for the Temple B period (Geometric/Archaic) and one for Temple C period (fourth century/Hellenistic), all at different spots but for the same purpose of preventing extreme erosion of the slope. For details, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.2 and 1.3.

225. At least six separate seventh/eighth-century burnt surfaces were isolated, for instance, in Trench 88A.

226. To judge from the stratigraphy above the base for the slab, it was exposed from LM IIIA2 (fourteenth century B.C.) through the seventh century B.C. That the erosion on the slab's surfaces is due to exposure (and not to flaking that

can occur even when buried) is evidenced by the original, finely cut, condition of the lower, intentionally buried part of the stela. By analogy, the erosion of the orthostate facade west of the stela is also probably due to exposure during the same period.

227. It measures 0.51 m wide at the preserved top, so it may have tapered.

228. As seen in Pl. 1.83, the stela has been surrounded by a small modern supporting wall to preserve it. The ground level at the time the stela was set in was at the level of the top of the block in front of it, so this fronting block was set into the contemporary ground surface.

229. From ca. +3.40 m, somewhat below the top of T's krepidoma here. The pail immediately in back of the stela (88A/27) and that immediately in front (88A/28) contained LM III pottery (Pl. 1.100, Section c'-c'). Above them, LM IIIA2/B levels continued almost to the top of the stela. Some stone chips, probably from construction of P's eastern facade, were found in Pails 27 and 28. Chips were also found in Pail 20, higher up (evidence of renovation?). Pail 23 (up to halfway up the stela) is of LM IIIA/B, latest, date.

230. One might have to excavate below the water table here (at ca. +2.00 m in 1991), however, which could undermine the original solid setting for the stela.

231. The area is described in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 178–81. See also the discussion of the LM I levels in Chap.1.2.

232. See Chap. 1.2.

233. To the west, it was set directly on the earlier road paving of the north-south road (Pl. 1.81 at *b*).

234. Part of P1's interior here became a spring chamber with steps leading down during the Greek period, when the interior wall face seems to have been removed. In connection with the spring chamber, there is a large, irregular gap in the masonry of the eastern facade (Pl. 1.43, top at +4.47 m). This was found filled with stony rubble, bulging out to the east. In the rubble was pottery dating to the Hellenistic period (Trench 88A/39). Most likely, the gap was created by removing a block or two to provide access to the water for those living or camping east of P. The blocks themselves may have been removed from P's wall during the eighth/seventh century, for the gap corresponds to those levels on the east. The Hellenistic pottery in the gap probably results from the gap having been filled in from the west, from within the well area, which was found with much pottery of that date, some of it almost intact. See J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.3 for the well, and J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 167 for the circumstances of discovery.

235. One might well inquire why, for their northern wall, P's builders didn't simply reuse T's earlier wall, which was immediately to the north (Pl. 1.75, left). Instead, T's wall was largely stripped of its blocks and then covered over by the LM III terrace, described above. One possibility is that the builders did not want their wall as far north as T's, because of their plans for the use of the galleries (see Chap. 5). Another is that even though the two walls are of equivalent width (about a meter), P's builders wanted a particularly strong wall to serve as exterior wall as well as retaining wall. Indeed, the LM I wall, without wooden reinforcing and constructed almost solely of slabs, has tended to lean in places north and/or south with time, whereas P's wall, even with its wooden reinforcements gone, is as straight and solid as when it was built.

236. Presumably there were other horizontal chases above this point of preservation in non-ashlar east-west walls of Building P.

237. Only parts of the southern face of this wall have been revealed, but the pattern is well known from elsewhere in P.

238. The intervals of the two westernmost wall compartments were made shorter, probably to strengthen the wall (2.21 m, 1.95 m, from the west), as opposed to those farther east, which range from 2.65 m to 2.94 m. The oval hole in the face of one of the end blocks in Pl. 1.75 is natural, not man-made.

239. The eastern parts of Galleries 4–6, of course, remain unexcavated.

240. In the southern wall of P3, however, there are no chases until they begin regularly 11.50 m from the eastern wall.

241. Range of intervals in P2/3: 1.80–1.90 m; in P3/4: 1.63–1.80 m.

242. The technique is rare in LM III work at Kommos. The western end of the northern wall of P1 is described above. That of P2/3, found below the floor of Greek Building Q, was robbed

out down to its substantial foundation block (J. W. Shaw 1986: pl. 54d).

243. Only a small stretch has been exposed here, however.

244. A series of horizontal beams does not seem to have been used here, or in many other wall bases, as they were in the northern wall of P1.

245. An ashlar wall, presumably of LM I date, is included within the fabric of the LM III wall (see Chap. 1.2).

246. Here one should inquire why the ashlar facade of T was not left standing for reuse, as in the case of the eastern orthostate facade. One possible reason is that, like the north wall of P, its southern wall was intentionally built from scratch because the LM I wall was judged inferior (see above). This is doubtful, since the LM I wall was both broad and of solid construction. Another is that the width of Gallery P6 was set at 4.40 m, no more, no less, and that the upper part of the LM I wall was too far south for the plan to be carried out; or that T's southern wall had already been largely robbed out when other, northern galleries of P were being constructed.

247. N4's and N7's walls were also well founded, however, as were the LM IIIA2 walls of Building ABCD at Aghia Triada, so we may be dealing here with an LM III tradition in the Mesara.

248. There may be evidence for scaffolding at MM Phaistos (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 142 n. 3, 155). A few gaps in the masonry of a wall in the North Wing of Building T (Pl. 1.69, foreground) are suggestive, but nothing more. In the final stages of building, after the sidewalls were complete, scaffolding would also have been useful to help set the main ceiling beams in place. The case for a system of scaffolding would become stronger if more, similar bases were found in the future in the same relative positions in other P galleries. They also might continue farther west than in P3, where the westernmost base is 15.84 m from the entrance to the court. Perhaps some in western P3 were removed after use.

249. The latter could also suggest the presence of an (unexpected) cross wall in Gallery 4, east of that first chase.

250. See also J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 168–69.

251. Since the position of the original (southern) face of T's wall is hidden by later construction, we do not know if that face was removed at the corner. Farther west it (and the hypothetical northeastern entrance into T) was removed.

252. For the foundation trench, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: pl. 33b. The trench went down to +3.11 m, below T's original floor. The latest pottery within it was of LM IIIA2 Early date (Trench 80B/76).

253. For the SNAs see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: fig. 172, pl. 33a and p. 188; J. B. Rutter 2000, and Chap. 3.3 here.

254. Trench 76A/56A. This was originally interpreted as evidence for destruction by fire of this part of the building. The layer underlies the dump mentioned below, however, which probably shows that at least part of the gallery continued in use. The lack of a similar ash layer in Galleries 2 and 3 to the south suggests that at most this was a limited conflagration, similar to that which affected the northeastern rooms of Building T (Rooms 25a and 25b, especially, for which see Chap. 1.2) during LM I.

255. Few nonceramic finds from the area were catalogued, although part of a bronze strip was found within the first floor (B 346, Trench 80B/56, Chap. 4.1, **27**), and a lead hasp or hinge was recovered from the dump (L 24, Trench 76A/51A, Chap. 4.1, **57**). For the fauna, see Group 66 in Chap. 4.7.

256. The only nonpottery finds from this level are two nails (B 396 and B 397a, respectively **11** and **12** in Chap. 4.1) and some strips of copper (B 397b; and B 398, found in an associated level. For these see **28** and **29**, respectively, in Chap. 4.1).

257. Foundation trenches for the north and south walls here were cleared, producing LM IIIA2 Early pottery (Trench 65A6/74 and 65A4/72, respectively).

258. It was suggested at the time that metalworking may have taken place here, with the slab being used as an anvil, but lack of sufficient metal debitage makes this doubtful.

259. The bases from east to west: S 2232, S 2233 (reused anchor), S 2234 (reused anchor), S 2235, S 2236, S 2337, S 2337. For the anchors in particular see J. W. Shaw 1995c and below.

260. The term *posts* is preferred here, since there is no reason to suggest that there was a colonnade. As to their shape in section, they

may have been rectangular rather than square, and certainly not circular. Of some interest here is that all seven bases are longer than they are wide, with the longer dimension north-south. In plan, S 2235 is quite small, only 0.57×0.25 m, implying that the post set on it was perhaps no larger than 0.40 (north-south) by 0.20 m (east-west).

261. If so, then one would have to assume that bases and posts were set west of post 7, where the building becomes structurally weaker near the entrance.

262. Normally, also, in Minoan architecture a stone base on which a vertical wooden support is to be placed, whether a column or the framing for a door, is set with its top above the intended floor level.

263. If the bases were used for scaffolding, and the use of scaffolding was the normal method for building P's walls, it would follow that excavation at the appropriate points below the floors of other galleries would expose more such bases.

264. For the fauna, see Group 68 in Chap. 4.7.

265. As seen in Foldout B, Part 1, one oven is 5 m from the gallery's eastern end; the second is 6 m west of the first.

266. M. C. Shaw 1990: 238, figs. 4a, 8; and M. C. Shaw 1996a: 46, pls. 2.44, 5.5, 5.9.

267. The oven in the North House is about 0.30 m wide; those in P2 and P3 are about 0.60 m in diameter.

268. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 182, fig. 15, pl. 43a.

269. If there were any in P1, they would be west of the area excavated. So far, of the ovens found in the galleries, all three are on the east. Perhaps food preparation usually took place there. Light would be needed, however, for the process. A few lamp fragments have been found in the galleries (e.g., C 10464, C 10457), but there may also have been windows for each gallery, above the preserved part of the eastern facade, to allow light to come into what otherwise would have been, at their eastern ends, very dim interiors.

270. For a photograph: J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: pl. 38d.

271. There is one layer of blocks, so we are probably dealing with only the south face of the wall. Perhaps the north face fell into Gallery P2 (still largely unexcavated). Conversely, since there is no evidence for the collapsed material from the south wall of P3 within P3 itself, it probably fell as one unit into P4 to the south, rather than splitting in half vertically.

272. The mass of fallen masonry was removed by us, to be reused subsequently in modern retaining walls, but a few of the large ashlar blocks found tumbled next to the north wall were left *in situ* (Pl. 1.97 at *a*).

273. The surface of abandonment on which the collapse occurred is represented by Pottery Groups 71a and 71b, which include a fragment from a terracotta bull's ear (C 9533, Trench 83A/53, Chap. 4.6, **Sc2**).

274. For Z, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: chap. 1.3; and Johnston 2000.

275. Only a few meters of this Greek wall were exposed. Presumably, it was built with its face to the south to prevent erosion in that area.

276. The top of the Archaic wall is at +5.61 m, roughly level with the preserved top of P's wall here (+5.52 m, min). For the former to function as suggested in the text, it should have been higher, then, to divert water to the west.

277. Evidenced by Pottery Group 55, the floor and its packing down to the LM IB level, which was largely cleared out during LM IIIA2 construction. P 222, a catalogued plaster fragment, is from Trench 90A/61 there.

278. Now that the South Stoa was no longer there, the court extended to the south wall of Building T (the back wall of the stoa). In the terrace outside P (for the pottery see Group 77), all from one pass, were the following:

C 9531	Crucible fragment	84C/48	Chap. 4.1, **78**
C 9532	Figurine fragment	84C/48	Chap. 4.6, **Sc11**
S 2188	Pebble pendant	84C/48	Chap. 4.3, **4**

279. Rutter (Chap. 3.3) suggests that the retaining wall may postdate the construction of P1 and P2.

280. The MM walkway (Chap. 1, Location 5) was discovered because it was at the bottom of one of these channels.

281. See the discussion of T's court in Chap. 1.2 for details.

282. If the floor of each P gallery was roughly equivalent to that of the earthen court outside, as we have seen was apparently the case with P1, then the court outside P5, with its first floor at +3.21 m, should have been at least 0.30 m above the pebble court (pebble court at +2.84 m). Moreover, directly south of here, the top of the LM I kiln dump was at +3.10 m even before Building P was constructed.

283. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 182, fig. 14.

284. Rutter (pers. comm.) suggests that since joining fragments of Cycladic pithos C 4134 were found between the second and third floors of P3 and on the latest floors of N6, that N might have been deserted before P was.

285. Knossos (Evans 1921: figs. 99, 23b; 1928: 327); Phaistos (Pernier 1902: fig. 24.2; Savignoni 1904: fig. 50; Pernier 1935: 403 no. 7, although carved on the upper surface of the block and would not have been visible, very similar in dimensions; Pernier and Banti 1951: 26, fig. 7); Malia (Olivier 1980: no. 63, although much smaller and finer, carved on an altar; more similar in dimensions and carving is no. 65); Amnisos (Marinatos 1932: 90); Archanes (both at Tourkogeitonia and at Anemospilia; Sakellarakis 1967: 281, in Brice 1967; Sakellaraki and Sakellarakis 1983: 377; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 146); Aghia Triada (Cucuzza 1992: 57). Also at Akrotiri (Palyvou 1999a: 154).

286. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 271, fig. 107.

287. Knossos (Evans 1921: 394; 1928: 903–4, fig. 878, not defined how many side sprays); Phaistos (Pernier 1935: 403 no. 8, although more elongated and with short side sprays; Pernier 1902: fig. 24.10); Malia (Chapouthier 1930: 80–81; Olivier 1980: nos. 84, 90, also nos. 73, 81, 113, and 301 (L92), which have a more elongated central stem; in general, the Malia mason's marks of the branch type are larger than the Kommos example, with the exception of no. 301, and of finer and straighter carving; furthermore, the side sprays do not reach as high as the tip of the central stem; that no. 301 is combined with two other mason's marks could account for its smaller size); Archanes (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 122, 146, not defined how many side sprays); Aghia Triada, where it is the most popular sign (Cucuzza 1992: 55, 58). Mason's marks of the branch type are reported from Petras, but with no further specification (i.e., how many side sprays, dimensions), Tsipopoulou-Papacostopoulou 1997: 211.

288. Knossos, Malia, Phaistos (Pernier 1935: 404 no. 11a, and 1902: fig. 24.3; Savignoni 1904: 439–40, figs. 52–53), see Hood 1987: 207. These examples have side branches that curve in much more prominently than the Kommos example, which is closer to a cross type.

289. Palyvou 1999a: 152, fig. 73.

290. There are no indications that the surface of this wall would have been plastered, thus covering the mark. It should be noted, though, that it is carved lower than eye level.

291. Evans 1921: 133. For a list of supporters of Evans's theory and a summary of their views see Sakellarakis 1967: 286–88; Hood 1987: 205.

292. Scholars have assigned various meanings to these signs, ranging from religious or magical symbols to true mason's marks. For a summary of theories on the meaning and function of mason's marks see Sakellarakis 1967: 285–88 and Shaw 1973a: 109, 111.

293. Palyvou 1999b: 612.

294. Given the precedent of the South Stoa, the squared block below the (missing) first column base from the west of the North Stoa (Pl. 1.30 at *a*) has also been interpreted as a sub-base rather than as a foundation for a wall end or pillar, as originally thought (as in J. W. Shaw 1984b: 269, fig. 6A).

295. It seems odd that so many lines were incised.

296. For more details than given here in the text, see Table 1.3. I am indebted here to a study made by Conn Murphy in 1997. (*J. W. S.*)

297. An exception is S 2267 (no. 8 in Table 1.3), which may have been placed upside-down, since its original top was damaged. This may be corroborated by the fact that the pecking on the exterior surface is only on the lower part of the base—usually it is around the upper part. See n. 299, and also S 2266 (no. 9 in Table 1.3), which is irregularly rounded and appears once to have been a rectangular slab that was imperfectly shaped. For tapering bases, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 119 and fig. 143 and, on Thera, Palyvou

1999a: fig. 40. A closer study of tapering bases still remains to be done, however.

298. For possible dating by shape see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 125, but general traditions remain to be established.

299. S 2336 (no. 6 in Table 1.3) from the North Stoa has been placed on top of no. 11 (S 2253) in Pl. 1.137. The pecking marks, beginning at the tops of the bases, extend down at least 12 cm. The bottoms of both bases were probably concealed by the pebble court (the sub-bases were also hidden).

300. Table 1.4 includes a number of only approximate measurements, usually made by the author from published plans.

301. The possibility of a third, north-south, portico at Kommos should also be considered, extending from the southeastern corner of T5 to the northeastern corner of the stairway bordering the South Stoa on the west. The depth of the potential portico would be ca. 6 m, with an intercolumniation of perhaps 3.30 m between nine columns. The arguments against such a possibility in the area, which is overbuilt on the north and eroded on the south, are as follows: (1) Although the southernmost five sub-bases and bases could have been removed through erosion, the northern four would not have been affected. The second from the north, however, would have been found in Trench 86E, which was cleared down to bedrock at +2.23 m (see trench plans, Pls. 1.1–1.2). The third from the north would have been found in Trench 62B in which bedrock was found at +2.40 m. In both cases the tops of any sub-bases would have appeared at between +2.80 and +3.04 m, the range of the sub-bases in the stoas. (2) Especially along the north, the pebbled Central Court continues within the area, which would have been covered by the stoa, whereas this does not occur in the North Stoa and occurs in the South Stoa only during its first, MM, phase. (3) The western facade of the Central Court, as indicated by the small portion preserved on the northwest (Pl. 1.27 at *a*) was of ashlar construction, which usually was not used to face a roofed area (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 101).

302. Kommos: 2 (north, south); Malia 2 (north, east); Phaistos 2 (west, east); Zakros 2 (north, east); Knossos (southwest, probably southeast).

303. Kato Zakros (4.14 m in Table 1.4) appears to be more, but an extensive colonnade is not involved.

304. An instructive example at Kommos is where the Neopalatial orthostate wall appears within the Archaic well (Pl. 1.86). There is no foundation provided below the krepidoma there, perhaps because there was no MM wall that the builders could perch their wall on, as there was elsewhere (e.g., the east and south facades). As a result, the excavators had to build a modern wall below it to prevent slumping. For wall foundations elsewhere in Minoan Crete, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 75–77.

305. After Chrysolakkos, the harder limestone would be cut only for Minoan thresholds, bases, and occasionally for slab pavements.

CHAPTER 2

Plasters from the Monumental Minoan Buildings: Evidence for Painted Decoration, Architectural Appearance, and Archaeological Event

Maria C. Shaw

1. Introduction
2. Archaeological Contexts and Descriptions of the Plaster Deposits
3. Types, Techniques, and Uses of Plaster
4. Synthesis and Conclusions

Appendix 2.1. Retrieval, Preliminary Study, Conservation, and Display of Plasters Found in the Area of the Monumental Buildings at Kommos (M. C. Shaw)

Appendix 2.2. Plasters from Kommos: A Scientific Analysis of Fabrics and Pigments (A. Dandrau and S. Dubernet)

1. Introduction

The plaster remains from the Southern Area were once part of wall revetment, floors, and ceilings. Being an integral part of the architecture, the plasters can provide evidence about the appearance of a building, and, along with associated pottery, they can throw light on whatever led to the creation of plaster debris—whether architectural modifications or destruction (accidental or deliberate). For these reasons, plasters in this chapter are treated as yet another archaeological object, one that deserves to be examined stratigraphically and contextually. Information and interpretations offered in other chapters in this volume have provided me with useful insights: that on the architecture (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1), and that on pottery (A. Van de Moortel and J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3). Numerous other people have offered valuable assistance, both directly while I was working on this chapter and, in general, as

part of the routine processing and recording carried out on a yearly basis at the excavation headquarters.[1]

Of the monumental buildings in the Southern Area, it is Building T that is the main, if not exclusive, source of plaster debris. Building T was built in late Middle Minoan III, which I tend to believe is also the time when most of the plastering, and especially some of the more ambitious painted decoration, was executed. A few pieces, generally small and worn, were found in soundings in Protopalatial levels that could relate to Building AA, the large predecessor of Building T, namely, in subfoundations made up of a grid of subterranean walls acting as a building platform, called the *casemates* in this volume. Since these foundations preceded the construction of Building AA, the fill likely came from another area of the site, perhaps from the Minoan town that spread on the hill to the north of the monumental buildings here under consideration, where the practice of plastering had already started by MM II. Painted decoration, indeed, even simple plastering or the use of plaster in construction, is not attested anywhere in Late Minoan III Buildings N and P.

Using a traditional term, Building T, with its large Central Court and surrounding wings, is a Minoan "palace." Using the more recently coined label *court-centered building* has the advantage of objectively adhering to architectural form rather than interpreting the building in terms of its assumed functions. The term *palace*, nevertheless, has the advantage that it suggests an era when characteristics one associates with a palace—such as pomp and luxury, for instance—were present. The building's palatial character did not last long, however. Blatant signs of a debased status are the installation of a kiln within the South Stoa and the conversion of parts of the North Stoa into a room for food production and preparation—events that started well before the end of LM IA. Otherwise, the dilemma as to what is an appropriate descriptive term to use is skirted (as generally in the rest of this volume) by using the neutral term *Building T*.

A few comments are necessary at this point regarding the organization of this chapter. Following this introduction (labeled in the chapter contents as 1) are three sections (2–4) dealing with provenances, technical aspects, and aspects of restoration and general interpretation—all based on evidence from both construction plasters and painted plasters.

Several plans help the reader follow discussions in these sections. A plan (Pl. 2.34) shows the provenances of all types of plaster found in the Southern Area, and another (Pl. 2.35) indicates the types of plaster floors found either *in situ* or in fragments fallen from an upper storey or a roof. A third plan (Pl. 2.41) shows deposits of construction plaster according to their weights and general date. There are also two Trench Plans (1.1 and 1.2), which can be consulted for the purpose of locating trenches referred to on various occasions throughout the chapter.

Two appendices accompany this chapter. Appendix 2.1 (by M. C. Shaw) summarizes the ongoing study and conservation of the plasters found over a period of some 25 years, as well as the recent mounting of representative examples in special tableaux (the latter produced

by conservator Élise Alloin). Appendix 2.2 (by A. Dandrau and S. Dubernet) is a scientific analysis of a selection of plasters, including some from the Minoan town area.

2. Archaeological Contexts and Descriptions of the Plaster Deposits

Since it appears that plaster debris was often dumped outdoors, directly outside the space(s) in which the plaster once belonged, the plasters are presented here in terms of their derivation within the interconnected clusters of spaces. The order followed is clockwise, starting with the northwest corner of Building T (namely, at Locus 5) and proceeding to its north, east, and south wings. ***Cluster A*** deals with the northwestern portion of the North Wing of T and the adjacent outdoor spaces north and south of it; ***Cluster B***, with the northeastern portion of the North Wing of T, the East Wing of T, and related outdoor areas northeast and east; and ***Cluster C***, with the South Stoa and the western end of Locus 43/P6, along with the adjacent outdoor areas of the east-west strip of the Central Court and the area directly south of T. The term *locus* is generally used here as a general or neutral label to denote an area of provenance within each *cluster* whose architectural character underwent change diachronically, as, for instance, in the case of the North Stoa, parts of which were converted into interior "spaces" or "rooms." The term *room* (versus *locus*) is used when such a modification did not occur, hence, the designations Rooms 42, 19, 23, 24, and 25 (Pl. 2.34). These are all located in the east half of the north part of Building T, which underwent only minor architectural remodeling, such as the blocking of an old doorway or the opening of a new one. The term *locus* is also applied to an area that functioned originally as a court but was eventually superseded by one or more rooms built over it.

The finds for each locus are discussed in terms of the particular archaeological and architectural contexts and the types, accompanied by a table in which these and additional facts are ordered by phase. The table is divided into columns and horizontal rows, with each row representing a phase.[2] The first column labels the particular plaster group for the phase and gives the absolute levels involved and relevant floors related to the phase. The label for the plaster group consists of a number of items: the name given in this volume to the locus (usually an Arabic numeral), with further specifications added, when necessary. For instance, Locus 5, at the northwest corner of the building, is used in this volume to refer to both the northern and larger part of that space and the two-flight staircase to its south. Here the two locations are relabeled to further specify the findspots. The northern part is labeled "5n," and the southern space, the *sottoscala* under the northern flight of a staircase, is labeled "5s." Specific labels introduced in this chapter are recorded in the plans accompanying the chapter. Whereas the abbreviations just described denote location, the next part of the label of the plaster group, in italics, further identifies the phase. Thus "Plaster Group 5s *a*" (in Table 2.1) precedes in date "Plaster Group 5s *b*," and so on. Sometimes the label for a locus will com-

bine spaces previously presented separately in an earlier phase in the same table. An example is "Plaster Group 5n+5s *f*." In this particular case, the combination means that whatever had separated the two spaces in the past (such as a dividing wall) was no longer there, and excavation treated the higher stratum as one lot. Finally, a more drastic change is adopted when the level belongs to a radically new building, one that belongs to a time after Building T went out of use. Thus, "N5" describes a large room in LM III Building N that was built over T's Loci 5n and 5s, at the western end of the North Wing of Building T. Building P was also built in LM III, but in this case over the East Wing of T. Labels referring to that phase of the East Wing incorporate the letter P in the locus space, as in P1, P2 and so on, to identify the long, wide galleries seen in the plans of that wing (Pl. 2.34). The choice was made to treat each locus diachronically, since the study of the plaster fragments revealed that pieces of the same type were found not only in levels of Building T, where they originated, but also higher up in later strata, sometimes separated by use surfaces or floors. The obvious conclusion is that the collapse of wall plasters and plasters from ceilings and upper floors was incremental. Treating a locus in its entire chronological range allows us to know more about the original plaster decoration, since it basically belongs to Building T, and also about what happened in that area.

The second column in the table provides additional information on context: it lists the particular trenches[3] and pails used in the excavation of the particular phase, and it provides a cross reference to the pottery group that contributed the date. Unless otherwise stated, pottery groups listed in the tables are those of the Neopalatial period published by J. B. Rutter (Chap. 3.3), since almost all plaster deposits date to this, rather than to the Protopalatial period.[4] Finally, of the two remaining columns, one provides brief descriptions of sizes, numbers, and characteristics of wall plasters; the other, concentrating on construction plasters, is subdivided in two types: plasters used for making floors at ground-floor or upper-storey levels, or for a roof pavement, and those used with other materials (such as wooden beams) in the construction of ceilings. Fine plasters were quantified either by counting the pieces (in the more definable and sizable lots) or by using descriptive terms like "a few," implying some 5–10 fragments.[5] Construction plasters have at times been found in large numbers, and weights and counts are provided for such larger deposits. The category "Other Plaster Items," which sometimes merits an additional column, refers either to "offering tables," which are examined in detail in another chapter on miscellaneous finds (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5), or to other unidentifiable plaster remains. Still another category consists of comments on uncatalogued and/or uninventoried plaster fragments that are worth mention and some remarks.

Following the table is a catalogue, divided, like the tables, into wall revetment and the two types of construction plasters. Information here is naturally more extensive than in the tables, and it includes details such as specification of colors used. A particular color was matched with one deemed the closest to it in the *Solid to Process PANTONE Process Color Imaging Guide*

(copyright Pantone, Inc., 1963, 1992, ISBN 1-881509-90-7). Technical observations on fabric and surface treatment relied mostly on examination using 10-power lenses. Given that there is variation even in a single piece, and plasters from wall revetment are preserved in quite small fragments, it would be pretentious to claim that one can always specify the type of fabric accurately. Thus, and for the majority of the pieces, descriptions like "fine," "semi-fine," "coarse," and "semicoarse" should suffice. A more detailed study is provided in the scientific analysis by A. Dandrau and S. Dubernet (Appendix 2.2), but the shortcoming there is that the number of pieces examined is necessarily limited. Equally limited is the description of ranges of size in the uncatalogued fragments, given the huge number of pieces found, and in the case of the fine pieces their usually tiny size. For those catalogued, and unless otherwise stated, measurements are given in centimeters, representing maximum preserved dimensions. Whereas numbers of fragments quoted in a table represent the total numbers found, the number in the corresponding catalogue is limited to the one or the few selected for detailed description because of their diagnostic character.

The illustrations consist of black-and-white photos and some drawings of individual pieces (Pls. 2.1–2.33), two drawings of site plans containing information on plasters (Pls. 2.34, 2.35), and six color plates (Pls. 2.36–2.41), which, besides select fragments, include digital restorations. In the black-and-white illustrations, it was opted to group examples of wall, floor, and ceiling plasters separately, to allow for visual comparisons within each category. The only exception was to include the painted examples of floor plasters from the North and South Stoas in the section on the wall plasters, again to allow for visual comparison between wall and floor decoration, which in these two spaces is similar. Catalogue numbers appear in each plate next to the pieces illustrated.

Approximate matches in the *Solid to Process PANTONE Process Color Imaging Guide* (1992) for the colors encountered on painted plasters from Kommos.

Matches were made with the samples shown in the "4/C Process" column of the guide. The actual pigments used by the Minoan artists are analyzed in Appendix 2.2.

Abbreviations for pigments listed below: C = Cyan; M = Magenta; Y = Yellow; K = Black.

4/C Process color	*Modern pigments used to produce the color*
5 C/OGZA.C	C:0.0; M:27.5; Y:100.0; K:6.0
5 C/OHYO.C	C:0.0; M:30.5; Y:94.0; K:0.0
5.5 C/ODPO.C	C:0.0; M:15.0; Y:60.0; K:0.0
5.5 C/OGTO.C	C:0.0; M:27.5; Y: 76.0; K:0.0
7 C/OBKO.C	C:0.0; M:8.5; Y: 43.0; K:0.0
7 C/OEPO.C	C:0.0; M:18.5; Y: 60.0; K:0.0
7.5 C/OENO.C	C:0.0; M:18.5; Y:56.0; K:0.0
7.5 C/OHUO.C	C:0.0; M:30.5; Y:79.0; K:0.0
7.5 C/OJTO.C	C:0.0; M:38.0; Y:76.0; K:0.0
8 C/OCLO.C	C:0.0; M:11.5; Y:47.0; K:0.0
8 C/OFTO.C	C:0.0; M:23.5; Y:76.0; K:0.0
8 C/OHVO.C	C:0.0; M:30.5; Y:83.0; K:0.0

4/C Process color	*Modern pigments used to produce the color*
9 C/OHRO.C	C:0.0; M:30.5; Y:69.0; K:0.0
9.5 C/OFNO.C	C C:0.0; M:23.5; Y:56.0; K:0.0
9.5 C/OMWO.C	C:0.0; M:51.0; Y:87.0; K:0.0
10.5 C/OEIO.C	C:0.0; M:18.5; Y:34.0; K:0.0
10.5 C/OIMO.C	C:0.0; M:34.0; Y:51.0; K:0.0
10.5 C/OKSO.C	C:0.0; M:43.0; Y:72.0; K:0.0
10.5 C/ONWO.C	C:0.0; M:56.0; Y:87.0; K:0.0
11 C/OCEO.C	C:0.0; M:11.5; Y:18.5; K:0.0
11 C/OHLO.C	C:0.0; M:30.5; Y:47.0; K:0.0
11 C/OLTO.C	C:0.0; M:47.0; Y:76.0; K:0.0
11 C/OPZE.C	C:0.0; M:60.0; Y:100.0; K:0.0
11.5 C/OQWO.C	C:0.0; M:65.0; Y:87.0; K:0.0
12 C/OEEO.C	C:0.0; M:18.5; Y:18.5; K:0.0
12 C/OJLO.C	C:0.0; M:38.0; Y:47.0; K:0.0
12 C/OQVO.C	C:0.0; M:65.0; Y:83.0; K:0.0
12 C/ORZJ.C	C:0.0; M:69.0; Y:100.0; K:0.0
13 C/OSUL.C	C:0.0; M:72.0; Y:79.0; K:47.0
13 C/OTVC.C	C:0.0; M:76.0; Y:83.0; K:11.5
13.5 C/OXZM.C	C:0.0; M:91.0; Y:100.0; K:0.0
28 C/GBOO.C	C:27.5; M:8.5; Y:0.0; K:0.0
29 C/IAOO.C	C:34.0; M:6.0; Y:0.0; K:0.0
29 C/NEOO.C	C:56.0; M:18.5; Y:0.0; K:0.0
30 C/GAOOC.C	C:27.5; M:6.0; Y:0.0; K:0.0
30.5 C/ZLOO.C	C:100.0; M:47.0; Y:0.0; K:0.0
49 C/OOOQ.C	C:0.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:65.0
50 C/AOOI.C	C:6.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:34.0
50 C/COOQ.C	C:11.5; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:65.0
50 C/FOOU.C	C:23.5; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:79.0
50 C/IOOY.C	C:34.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:94.0
50 C/OOOF.C	C:0.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:23.5
52.4 C/OOOL.C	C:0.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:47.0
52.4 C/OOON.C	C:0.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:56.0
56 C/OFJO.C	C:0.0; M:23.5; Y:38.0; K:0.0
57 C/DGHO.C	C:15.0; M:27.5; Y:30.5; K:0.0
57 C/HKLO.C	C:30.5; M:43.0; Y:47.0; K:0.0
66.5 C/AOOB.C	C:6.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:8.5
66.5 C/COOE.C	C:11.5; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:18.5
66.5 C/EOOG.C	C:18.5; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:27.5
66.5 C/NCOK.C	C:56.0; M:11.5; Y:0.0; K:43.0
66.5 C/IOOJ.C	C:34.0; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:38.0
67.7 C/EOBJ.C	C:18.5; M:0.0; Y:8.5; K:38.0
67.7 C/JOEN.C	C:38.0; M:0.0; Y:18.5; K:56.0
79 C/JBOC.C	C:38.0; M:8.5; Y:0.0; K:11.5
79 C/REOF.C	C:69.0; M:18.5; Y:0.0; K:23.5
89 C/OGPO.C	C:0.0; M:27.5; Y:60.0; K:0.0

Descriptive terms used in the tables in this chapter

Colors

Black	Dark gray	Red	Yellow or ocher
Blue	Gray	Reddish yellow	yellow
Blue/black	Orange	Pink	White
Brown	Orange/red	Venetian red	

Fabrics

Fine (generally characteristic of all wall plaster)	Coarse	Semifine
	Very coarse	Semicoarse

Size of fragment

Very small	1.5 cm or less
Small	2–5 cm
Medium	6–8 cm
Large	8 cm and larger (usually no larger than 30 cm)

Surface treatment and preservation

High polish	
Indef	indefinite (plaster fragments lacking surfaces, therefore indefinite as to whether they are from wall revetment or from plaster used in construction)
Max pres	maximum preserved
Painted	
Polished	
Smooth	
Rough	
Wash	a highly diluted pigment
Worn	

Thickness

Very slim	less than 1.0 cm thick
Slim	1.0 to 1.4 cm thick
Thick	1.5 cm and above

Cluster A: The Northwest Portion of the North Wing of Building T; Building N; and Adjacent Outdoor Areas

Loci 5, 7, 6, 10, 4, 12–13, 11; 16, 15, south of Loci 15, 8, 17, 2

Within Cluster A, three groups of loci are identified: the first, the rooms in T that were built over by Building N in LM IIIA2; the second, further spaces to the east; the third, outdoor areas north of the loci and including Road 17.

GENERAL COMMENTS ON LOCI 4–7, 10–13 (PL. 2.34)

As noted previously in this section, the use of the letter *N* as a prefix in labels for a particular locus denotes use or construction in LM IIIA2, within or over Building T. Some of the outdoor areas that were part of the Central Court of T (like Loci 6, 12–13, and 15) were, in LM IIIA2, converted into interior courts (6 and 15) or into rooms (12–13). Locus 5 continued to be used as an interior space or room, whereas locus 4/10 was partially occupied by a newly built room, which is labeled henceforth in this chapter as Room N4, but which is shown in the plans by its T name, as Locus 4. What is marked as 10 on the plans was, during the period of Building T, the continuation of Locus 4, likely a small roofed porch, with an earth floor at its north and a slab pavement on the south where it opened onto the Central Court. The porch also served as passageway for those entering T's North Stoa through the large doorway located in the northeast corner of Locus 5. It is the belief of this author that the porch was separated from the stoa by a transverse north-to-south wall, marked by a doorway at its north end, directly east of the northeast doorway of Locus 5.[6] Both doors were eventually blocked during modifications that took place during the reuse of Building T.

LOCUS 5: ROOMS 5N AND 5S AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND OVERLYING ROOM N5 (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.1)

Located at the junction of the North and West Wings of Building T, Locus 5 (referred to in earlier reports as Building J)[7] occupies a strategic spot with regard to circulation, not least because of its large northern doorway, which provided direct access to and from the important Minoan Road 17. Internally, Locus 5 also provided access to various parts of the building, including T's North Wing, and by means of a staircase to the second storey. Given such heavy traffic, it is no wonder that the floor at ground level was paved with flagstones to take the wear. Mural decoration, too, seems to have been appropriately simple for a transitional space. Locus 5 had walls painted in solid colors (mostly in blue) enlivened by friezes of multicolored bands.

Architecturally, Locus 5 is split into two parts: the larger northern room referred to here as 5n and the area directly south occupied by the staircase, 5s. Only the *sottoscala* located under the northern flight could be excavated; the space under the southern flight was found packed with blocks and fill placed there during later construction. Combined architectural and ceramic evidence indicates the presence of three successive floors in 5n: the original slab floor (at ca. +2.72 m), a rough earth surface with traces of burning (at +3.30 m), and, considerably higher (at +3.73 m), a surface of compacted earth and pebbles that belongs to Building N, constructed in LM IIIA2. In Table 2.1, "N5" serves as the label for the larger space built directly over 5n and 5s. Pottery of LM IB date occurs above the original slab floor in 5n and in 5s, in the latter at the bottom layer. In both cases the levels are topped by fill of LM II date, which occurs above and below the burnt surface in 5n, in the latter case along with some LM III sherds. There are some peculiarities in the fills just noted that led J. B. Rutter (Chap. 3.3) to treat these fills as part of Pottery Group 47, but it is possible that plasters continued to fall from the walls onto successive floor surfaces if there was no maintenance or renewal of the plasters still adhering to the walls. Thus the later date of such plasters is no indication of when they were made, but rather of when they fell.

The most substantial plaster deposit (Table 2.1, Plaster Groups 5n *e* and 5n+5s *f*) is pivotal to the interpretation of the archaeological events that may explain the creation and deposition of plaster debris in the room in other levels as well. The deposit consists of coarse plaster of Type B/C (described here in Chap. 2.3) that amounts to nearly 200 fragments and weighs ca. 9 kg. It was found mainly between the intermediate floor in Locus 5n[8] and below the LM IIIA2 pebble floor (Group 5n *e*, mainly in 27B/27), its deposition dated ceramically to LM II. The plaster must have been used here for paving a floor in an upstairs room or possibly the roof, since the ground floor in 5 was already paved.[9] That the deposit is less likely to be a dump brought here as leveling fill from elsewhere is suggested, in my view, by the high concentration of plaster Type B/C in Locus 5 and also by its presence in smaller quantities in rooms adjacent to Locus 5 (as in 4/10 in the western part of the North Stoa). This increases the possibility that this entire area had above it a floor or a paved roof built of that type of

Table 2.1. Plasters from Loci 5s and 5n at the time of Building T, and Locus N5 at the time of Building N.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
Lower Deposits at the Time of Building T in 5s(outh) and 5n(orth) (up to LM II surface at +3.30 m)				
5s *a:* ca. +2.30/2.73 m	36A/21, 24, 26: LM IA Final–IB Early; #29	5 small: fine; light blue and blue 4 indef	Bits, indef	
5s *b:* +2.70/2.73–3.30 m	36A/6, 9, 10, 14, 18: LM IB Early; #40	**1:** 11 small, 2 large: slim; light blue 30 small, bits: slim to thick; white 78 bits very small: slim to thick; several light blue, some blue **2:** 13 bits: fine; reddish/pink, white, red bands with string line; polished 3 bits: yellow 4 bits: reddish/pink Ca. 50 indef	A few very small: Type D(?)	3 large 10 very small to small
		(5s *b* wall revetment: ca. 2.5 kg)	(5s *b* construction plaster: ca. 4 kg)	
5n *c:* +2.73–2.90 m	27B/33, 38; 36A/11, 12: Neopalatial–LM II; #47	Ca. 5 bits: indef 3 small: light blue	4 very small: Type D	3 small
5n *d:* +2.90–3.30 m	27B/29, 31; 36 A/7: LM II; #47	10 very small, bits: indef	1 small: Type D(?)	

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.1 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
Upper Deposits in Building T in 5s(outh) and 5n(orth) (from +3.30 to 3.73 m)				
5n *e:* +3.30–3.73 m	27B/26–28: LM II; #47	Ca. 25 medium to bits: indef; some blue 8 bits: slim; yellow; polished 5 bits: slim; red; polished 4 bits: slim; reddish/pink **3:** 3 bits: slim; bands black and orange; with string line 1 molded; fine; white	**4:** Type B/C (5n *e* construction plaster: ca. 9 kg, most of it floor/roofing plaster Type B/C)	14 small to medium
5n+5s *f:* +3.30–3.73 m	36A/4, 5, 30: LM II; #47	21 small to medium: slim to thick; white, blue 8 bits: fine; white; polished 11 indef	8 pieces (like 4): Type B/C **5a:** murex shells and pebbles (5n+5s *f* construction plaster: ca. 4 kg)	27 small to medium
Space N5 (over 5n and 5s combined) at the Time of Building N (from floor at +3.73 to ca. 4.20 m)				
N5 *g:* +3.73–4.20 m	27B/18, 21, 22: LM IIIB; #59	6 small: thick; blue 3 small: red and white; polished 3 small: white; polished 30 small: indef (N5 *g* wall revetment: ca. 1.7 kg)	2 pieces (like **4**): Type B/C	**5:** 16 pieces
N5 *h:* +4.20–4.57 m	27B/15: LM IIIB or IIIC; #79	2 indef		

material. Conceivably, the floor or roof may have been removed or may have collapsed as a result of architectural changes that evidently took place even before Building N was built (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1).[10]

Deposits of other kinds of plasters in Locus 5 are much smaller. Two groups of LM IB date were identified: one just above the slab floor in 5n (Group 5n *c*) and a larger one at the base of the *sottoscala* (Group 5s *b*). Pieces in the latter, specifically wall plaster, were larger, like one painted a light blue color (**1**). Other pieces, smaller and thicker, were painted a darker shade of blue, or left unpainted. A few pieces (**2** and **3**, Pls. 2.1, 2.36) seem to come from a painted frieze of multicolored bands separated by impressed string lines—red, yellow, gray, and white being attested.

Returning to construction plasters, I note the presence, in LM I contexts in Loci 5n and 5s, of minuscule amounts of a paving plaster of what I have labeled Type D, a type characterized by a surface of coarse sand and tiny pebbles. Along with these small and much-destroyed pieces were found, at times, some small lumps of soft plaster with much chaff, the kind of fabric that usually comes from packing around beams. The small size of the sample—perhaps because the room was cleared out to allow for its continued use—is best considered in conjunction with evidence of this type's presence in other spaces—something that is done in the general conclusions offered in Chap. 2.4.

Note should also be made of a few fragments of plaster (**5**), likely from a ceiling, that were found over the LM III pebble floor of N5 (Group N5 *g*). Their presence here raises the issue of whether they belonged to the ceiling of Building N itself or were remnants from the ceilings of Building T. In general, at Kommos there is hardly any plaster that can be attributed with confidence to buildings later than T, but perhaps the question should remain open. In the case of fine painted plasters, we can remain assured that fragments found occasionally in LM III levels likely belong to the painted walls of Building T, particularly when they show technical and other affinities with those more securely dated to Neopalatial times.

Floor plaster **5a** (Pl. 2.17) was found in an undatable context west of Locus 5. Its interest lies in the use of crushed murex shells among the aggregates included in its bottom layer.

Wall Plaster

1 (P 281, 36A/18). Several small fragments and two thin larger ones (18.0 × 18.5 and 30.0 × 35.0; th 0.6–0.9) retrieved using a gauze backing. Preserved on the surface are traces of light blue color with slight gray tinge (66.5 C/COOE.C–AOOB.C). Plaster fine, flat at top and back; surface smooth but unpolished. Another fragment of identical type and color (2.7 × 2.0) comes from an adjacent fill (P283, 36A/6), and another from 36A/9 (the latter in Appendix 2.2, sample 8).

2 (P 282, 36A/6, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36). Two fragments (2.4 × 1.7, th 1.0; 1.1 × 1.3, th 1.1) painted with bands, Venetian red (max dim 1.7) and white (max dim 0.7) separated by an impressed string line. Plaster fine; top surface flat, highly polished; irregular back.

3 (P 12, 27B/27, Pl. 2.1). Single fragment (1.9 × 2.3), with two areas separated by an impressed string line, painted, one (max dim 0.5) a yellow ocher (89 C/OGPO.C), the other (max dim 2.0) a gray color (50C/AOOL.C), the latter slightly

overlapping the previous color. Fine plaster, surface highly polished; irregular back; th 0.9. Cf. **76** in Room 19 (Appendix 2.2, sample 16), where yellow and gray bands again overlap.

Construction Plaster

4 (P 145, 27B/28, Pl. 2.16, top and side views; P 9, 27B/27). Floor plaster Type B/C. Illustrated is one of the largest pieces, P 145 (12.0 × 10.0, th 3.0–3.5), characterized by two flat surfaces, both worn, and one (presumably the upper one) marked by small sparse pebbles and occasional angular inclusions, black, translucent, and pale ocher. Fabric also contains bits of fine plaster and grains of sand, the latter visible on one surface only. No color visible on either side; therefore, pieces belong more strictly speaking to Type C (Appendix 2.2, sample 19).

5 (P 14, 27B/18; P 179, 27B/22, Pl. 2.23, three views and one section of one piece). Ceiling plaster; five measurable fragments (largest 8.6 × 4.6, max th 3.5), three preserving concave impressions from beams (est d 13.0–16.0). Fabric medium hard.

5a (P 150, 36A/30, Pl. 2.17). Small (4.0 × 5.0) worn piece of floor plaster containing pieces of *Murex trunculus* along with small pebbles and other aggregates in the lower of the two plaster layers.

LOCUS 7: NORTHWEST CORNER OF CENTRAL COURT OF BUILDING T AND OVERLYING SPACE N7 (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.2)

The locus is defined by two walls—the south wall of Locus 5s, and a north-south wall to the west with a doorway leading into the West Wing. The southern east-west wall in 7 belongs to what is labeled here as N7, a space dating to the period of Building N. The north face of that wall was wider in the lower courses, which was surely intended to provide more retaining support for the massive fill in Building N when the floor was raised. South of this wall, the level dropped down dramatically in the court area fronting the galleries of Building P, built at about the same time as Building N.[11]

In a secondary use, whether as an interior or exterior space, Space N7 had a utilitarian function, judging from a series of hearths, the earliest starting already at ca. +2.80 m (Plaster Group 7 *a* by or before LM II). The use of fire was also attested into LM IIIA2, as shown by the large stone with a burnt surface set flush with the pebble floor of N7.[12]

Given such extensive use and apparent eradication of the levels of use during T, few plasters were found. They likely derive from Locus 5, where the use of two tones of blue on pieces of wall revetment, three small pieces of Type B/C, and some bits of Type D paving plaster were found. Worthy of note is a piece of wall molding (**6**) in addition to the dispersal of plaster fragments throughout the strata, whereas none were found directly on the original slab-and-pebble floor of the Central Court. This floor was clearly kept clean and reused into LM II, the earliest context in which plasters were found (Plaster Group 7 *a*).

Wall Plaster

6 (P 11, 27B/34). Two pieces of molding (5.0 × 3.6, th 2.1–2.3; 4.6 × 3.4, th 2.1–2.3), of unpainted plaster, with convex, polished surface; uneven on back side.

Table 2.2. Plasters from Locus 7: part of the Central Court in Building T, and Space N7 at the time of Building N.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Upper Floor/Paved Roof	Ceiling
Locus 7 at the Time of Building T				
7 *a:* +2.86–3.35 m	27B/35; 36A/1; 100C/21, 23, 26: LM II; #45	A few indef Ca. 5 small: light blue 2 bits: high polish	3 small: Type D	
Space N7 at the Time of Building N				
N7 *b:* construction north of N7; +3.35–3.73 m	27B/32, 34, 39, 40: LM IIIA2	**6:** 2 small: molded white; high polish A few: blue, light blue 1 fragment: yellow (N7 *b* wall revetment: ca. 800 g) Some 30 small to very small, also coarse	Bits with pebbles	
N7 *c:* above +3.73 m	27B/20, 25, 30: LM IIIA2–B	A few indef bits: light blue		

LOCUS 6: PART OF THE CENTRAL COURT AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T, AND COURT N6 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING N (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.3)

Although deep soundings in two limited locations exposed Protopalatial levels, the plaster found in these areas (37A/67) was minimal and indistinct. Table 2.3 therefore starts with the level of the Central Court's pebble surface (at +2.87 m) during the period of Building T. This level was reached in the northern part of Locus 6, as excavation in a strip along the south wall stopped at the level of the LM III floor (at +3.77–3.88 m). The plasters come from two levels, the lower level (Plaster Group 6 *a*) dating to LM IB Early, and the upper level (Group N6 *b*) LM IB Early, but with some intrusions of LM II–IIIA1 sherds. The plasters in both cases likely derive from the immediately adjacent interior Loci 4/10 and the western end of the North Stoa (Locus 11) and are part of debris that, as evidence from the spaces suggests, accumulated no later than LM IA Final to LM IB.

The fine plaster consists of thin pieces with a highly polished surface, painted mostly in solid colors. A couple of thicker pieces may have lost their top surface: they seem to be part of a molding with curving bands—perhaps in a spiral frieze (**7**).

Some of the coarse plasters must derive from a ceiling structure to judge from the concave impressions on them left by beams and reeds (**8**, and in higher levels **9**), although their relatively small size suggests that the larger pieces of such debris may have been disposed of elsewhere. The same may be true of the few pieces of Type D flooring plaster (**10**). Several chunks of coarse plaster characterized by enigmatic surfaces of ridges and grooves (like **11**) defy identification. Of interest is also the discovery of part of a plaster table (**PT4**), immediately next to Locus 11.

Wall Plaster

7 (P 42, 37A/49, Pl. 2.1). Two wall plaster fragments (3.5 × 3.0, max th 1.2; 2.6 × 2.5, max th 1.1), one with two and the other with three adjacent curving bands in relief, perhaps coils of a spiral. The middle band in one piece is fully preserved and ca. 1.8 wide. Plaster semifine; surface unsmoothed and unpainted; back side of both pieces slightly concave, a technical detail discussed in Chap. 2.3.

Construction Plaster

8 (P 138, 44A/19). Ceiling plaster, preserved in many small to medium fragments (two of the larger: 9.0 × 5.5; 5.0 × 3.20), bearing impressions from adjacent transverse and horizontal beams, some of the latter apparently somewhat squared. Limited preservation prevents estimation of the diameter of the beams. Fabric medium coarse.

9 (P 75, 37A/49). Ceiling plaster; one fragment (5.5 × 4.4, max th 2.6) preserving the impression of one beam on one of three surfaces (cf. Appendix 2.2, sample 20, from a fragment in 37A/44).

10 (P 19, 37A/51, Pl. 2.17; other pieces in 37A/44 and 37A/49). Floor plaster, Type D (catalogued piece 6.0 × 6.30, max th 2.0), with top thin layer of plaster (th 0.2–0.3), roughly smoothed, added on top of lower layer containing angular hard inclusions and bits of plaster. Surface of lower layer packed with coarse sand and tiny pebbles.

Table 2.3. Plasters from Locus 6: part of the Central Court at the time of Building T, and Court N6 at the time of Building N. Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
Locus 6 in the Central Court at the Time of Building T					
6 *a:* +2.87–3.35/ 3.40 m	37A/50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57, 59; 44A/19: LM IB Early; related to #37a	Ca. 300 bits to small: most indef 3 small to medium: white; high polish 8 small: light blue; unpolished Ca. 180 bits to very small: fine; white; high polish 1 bit: fine; Venetian red; high polish Ca. 20 bits: tiny; yellow/red; unpolished 3 bits: fine; pink; high polish 3 bits: pink 1 small: black/gray **7:** 2 small: semicoarse; molded spiral; white; rough surface	**10:** ca. 20 very small to small: Type D (6 *a* construction plaster: ca. 7 kg)	**8:** ca. 95 very small to medium	**11:** unidentifiable mass with concentric grooves and ridges
Court N6 at the Time of Building N					
N6 *b:* +3.35/3.40– 3.80/3.88 m	37A/43, 44, 47, 49: mainly LM IB Early, with LM II–IIIA1 intrusions; #48	Ca. 10 indef 2 fragments: white; high polish	4 small (like **10**)	**9:** small (like **8**)	**PT4:** plaster offering table

Other

11 (P 17, Pl. 2.32 [max w 12.75, max th 2.45; width of impressed bands 0.55; two views and two sections]; P 18 [max w 5.4, max th 3.8; Pl. 2.33, middle row left]; P 76 [3.0 × 2.0, max th 1.3]; P 78 [four pieces: 10.3 × 6.2, th ca. 2.3; 10.6 × 7.3, th ca. 3.2; 5.9 × 4.2, th ca. 1.3; max dim 9.5 × 5.9, th ca. 3.1] two pieces illustrated in Pl. 2.33, top row, and one on the right also in Pl. 2.33, second row right). All examples were found in 37A/50–53, and they are chunks of coarse plaster with numerous, mostly angular inclusions. The impression (as deduced from the examination of both surfaces and sections) is that the plaster was added in layers incrementally within a roughly round container or a pit.

PT4 Part of a plaster offering table.

LOCUS 10: SLAB-PAVED PORTION OF LOCUS 4/10 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND OVERLYING STRATA AT THE TIME OF BUILDING N (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.4)

Floor slabs were found only in the southern part of Locus 4/10, whereas an earthen floor continued in back. Locus 10 specifically labels the paved area, which is treated here separately from the rear (specifically Locus 4), since the latter was later occupied by LM III Room N4, with its own stratigraphic history. As noted above, Locus 4/10 may have been a porch opening onto the Central Court during the era of Building T.

Few fine plasters were found in Locus 10, but they included two small fragments with remains of what must be a frieze of multicolored bands (**12**), and some construction plasters, including some of paving plaster Type D (**14**)—all found in contexts of LM IA Final to LM IB Early. The latter were found over the slab floor, significantly, with some 30 medium–small-sized pieces of coarse and generally semisoft fabric—clearly, debris from a ceiling structure and paving plaster from an upper floor or a roof. Of interest were discoveries made in a sounding (in Trench 100B), in which some of the slabs of the pavement were temporarily lifted to explore the fill underneath. Sunken between the slabs were plaster bits (**13**) that were obviously part of paving plaster, given their makeup (hard angular inclusions), and likely what had been used to fill the interstices or gaps between the slabs. Extensive use of the slab floor in this area led to the breakage of the plaster in the interstices.[13] It makes sense, therefore, that sherds of LM IA Final to LM IB Early found between the slabs belong to later use, rather than to fill during the construction of the floor, which likely belongs to the time Building T was built.

Wall Plaster

12 (P7, 37A/28, Pls. 2.1, 2.36 at *b*). Two joining pieces (7.9 × 4.0, max th 0.9) divided into colored bands, in sequence from top: red (max dim 0.5, white [0.5], red [2.6], white [max w. 3.7]), separated by impressed string line. Fine plaster; highly polished top surface; irregular back. Piece may be related to **17** in Locus 4.

Construction Plaster

13 (P 263, 100B/9, 12). Floor plaster, small fragments (two of average size: 4.9 × 3.8, 4.0 × 3.7, and 3.4 × 2.9, th ca. 2.2) once used to fill the interstices of the slab pavement. Badly preserved, but there appear to be two layers, the lower and coarser with hard round and angular inclusions. Original surface hardly preserved.

Table 2.4. Plasters from Locus 10 at the time of Building T and Locus N10 at the time of Building N.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
Locus 10 at the Time of Building T				
10 *a*	100B/12–14: MM I–II; Van de Moortel Pottery Group Bc	20 bits: indef	**13:** plaster from the interstices of slab floor	
		(10 *a* wall revetment: ca. 230 g)		
10 *b:* +2.70–2.80 m	100B/9; 62C/34: LM IA Final–IB Early; #28a, 28b	Ca. 15 very small: indef	More of **13;** also bits of **14**	
10 *c:* over +2.83 m, the original floor	37A/28, 55: LM IB Early; #37c, 37d	A few small: slim; fine; white; polished 2 small: slim; fine; red; faded; worn P 115: 1 small: thick; semifine; pitted; black; faded **12:** 2 small: fine; red with white bands; high polish	**14:** 4 small: Type D	Ca. 30 small to medium
		Ca. 105 very small to small: indef (ca. 900 g)	(10 *c* construction plaster: ca. 2 kg)	
Locus N10 at the Time of Building N				
N10 *d:* +3.23–3.80 m	37A/23, 24: LM III; #48	Ca. 25 small: indef		

14 (P 114, 37A/55, Pl. 2.17, middle row, side and top views). Floor plaster, Type D (6.7 × 6.0, max pres th 2.5); three layers preserved: top layer, of white plaster, th ca. 0.15–0.2; middle layer, th 0.2–0.4, packed with coarse sand and tiny pebbles; bottom layer, th 2.5, plaster packed with angular stones, dark (max dim 2.0) and light, and bits of plaster.

LOCUS 4: THE REAR PORTION OF LOCUS 4/10 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND THE OVERLYING ROOM N4 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING N (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.5)

It was suggested above that this particular area may once have been a porch (4/10) during the period of Building T. The level of the earliest earthen floor (+2.78 m) seems to have been roughly the same as that of the bedding of the plaster floor in the nearby western end of the North Stoa. On it were found a few plaster pieces (Group 4 *a*) that could be of Protopalatial date, but there was no diagnostic pottery to confirm it. Immediately above it, the fill seems to be early Neopalatial in date (Plaster Group 4 *b*). The level immediately above was disturbed by the construction of Room N4, the walls of which rest on built foundations, and by the use of the new room, where the first floor was at ca. +3.90 m.

Plasters were found primarily in the lower levels (in Plaster Groups 4 *b* and N4 *c*), although some trickled upward—perhaps having been incorporated as fill in the walls of N4 and then redeposited when these walls were destroyed. There is a fair representation of fine plasters, although typically very small fragments and bits are preserved. Some are highly polished; some are painted in solid colors (orange/red, Venetian red, yellow, and black). Good candidates for a frieze of multicolored bands are **17** and **18**, with the former preserving white and red bands separated by an impressed string line. They may well be part of the same frieze to which fragment **12**, found in Locus 10, may belong.

Noteworthy is another pattern (ruddy streaks on a yellowish background) that appears on just a few and very small pieces (**16**, **21**). The pattern is more extensively represented in adjacent Locus 11—the western end of the North Stoa, which may also be the source for the bits found in Locus 4, which were perhaps shifted there during the blocking of the doorway between the two adjacent spaces. This activity may have necessitated removing the door's wooden frame and may have caused damage to T's rear or north wall. Otherwise, wall decoration in Locus 4/10 contemporary with Building T shows an affinity with that in Locus 5, namely, the painting (perhaps partial) of the walls in a solid color enlivened by friezes of multicolored bands.

Some construction plaster, namely, a few fragments of paving plaster of Type B/C, was found under the LM III floor and thus forms a context (Group N4 *c*) analogous to that in Locus 5n and 5s. Type D paving plasters were also present, even if in scanty quantities, throughout most layers, a further indication that the disturbance here resulted from the extensive and continued use of this space.

Table 2.5. Plasters from Locus 4 at the time of Building T and Room N4 at the time of Building N.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
Locus 4 at the Time of Building T with Later Contamination				
4 *a:* +2.60–2.78 m	62A/13, 14: MM III–LM IA	1 fragment: orange/red 20 bits: light blue		
4 *b:* +2.78–3.10 m	62A/8–11: Neopalatial with some LM III	80 medium to bits: indef 10 small: slim; fine; white 8 small: slim; fine; white; high polish 1 small: thick; semifine; black (4 *b* wall revetment: 1.5 kg)	1 fragment: Type D	
Room N4 at the Time of Building N				
N4 *c:* to Floor 2; +3.10–3.90 m	62A/1–7; 43A/74: mixed Neopalatial and LM III	Ca. 100 very small to small: indef 3 small: white; high polish **15:** 2 small: thick; semifine; light blue with specks of blue/black **16:** 2 very small: fine; yellow with red striations **17:** small: fine; white and red; string line; high polish 4 bits: fine; Venetian red 3 bits: yellow/orange; fine; high polish 1 fragment: fine; like **18**	Ca. 18 medium to bits: Type B/C A few very small bits: Type D (N4 *c* construction plaster: ca. 4.5 kg)	16 very small to small

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.5 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
N4 *d:* over Floor 2, under Floor 3; +3.90–4.30/4.35 m	43A/68, 71, and 73: latter pail, LM IIIB; #60	**18:** 2 small: slim; fine; white with a hint of blue/green; high polish **19:** small: slim; fine; orange/red over yellow; high polish 7 small to very small: slim to thick; blue/light blue 1 very small: fine; red over part of yellow; polished **20:** 4 very small: fine; red and yellow bands Ca. 70 small to bits: indef (ca. 800 g)	2 small: Type D	
N4 *e:* to Floor 4; to +4.70/4.75 m	43A/64, 66: LM III; 43A/21–25 Minoan	1 fragment: like **18** **21:** 2 small: yellow with red striations 1 bit: black; polished 3 bits: 2 blue Ca. 27: indef (ca. 600 g)	Bits: Type D(?)	

Wall Plaster

15 (P 167, 62A/5). Two chunky pieces (7.5 × 6.0; 5.5 × 3.5; th 4.0). Semifine fabric; top surface worn with traces of faded light blue/gray with specks of dark blue/black on top, likely from superposed wash; irregular back.

16 (P 168, 62A/7, Pl. 2.36 at *d*). Two thin pieces (larger one, 2.5 × 1.8; th 0.6), painted with red striations or streaks over yellow background (5 C/OHYO.C). Flat front and back; surface highly polished. Similar to part of **30** from Locus 11 (part of which is sample 9, Appendix 2.2).

17 (P 79, 62A/6, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36 at *c*). Fragment (6.6 × 5.4) divided into two areas, Venetian red (max pres w 1.4) and white (max w 3.5), by an impressed string line. Plaster consists of two layers, the top (th ca. 0.2) finer than the lower one (max th 2.0). Top surface flat and polished, back somewhat curved, fairly smooth and marked by impressions of roughly horizontal parallel lines.

18 (P 28, 43A/73; additional fragments in 62A/4 and 7). The fragments (the one catalogued here, 3.0 × 2.0, th 1.0) are white with a very faint tint of blue/green color. Fine plaster, flat front and back with a highly polished upper surface.

19 (P 29, 43A/73). One piece (1.7 × 2.6, th 0.9) painted salmon red (12 C/OJLO.C) turning to orange red where it overlaps wash of ocher color on polished upper surface. Fine plaster, front and back sides flat.

20 (P 30, 43A/73, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36 at *e*). Four pieces, of which one (1.4 × 2.0, th 1.35) preserves adjacent areas, one yellow (5 C/OHYO.C) (max pres w 0.3), the other Venetian red (max pres w 0.9), possible bands, but no signs that a string line was used.

21 (P 116, 43A/66, Pl. 2.1). Two pieces (the larger 2.2 × 2.3, th 0.9) painted yellow with red streaks or striations. Fine plaster, upper surface polished, flat backs. Numerous fragments with such decoration were found in the adjacent western end of the North Stoa. Similar to **16**.

LOCI 12/13: PART OF THE CENTRAL COURT OF BUILDING T, AND THE OVERLYING ROOMS N12/N13 OF BUILDING N (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.6)

This area is directly south of the western section of the North Stoa that lies directly under the Classical Temple. LM III Rooms N12 and N13 were built over the adjacent northern edge of the Central Court. A wall in the form of a reversed L below the two rooms points to an intermediary architectural phase (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1)—perhaps a proto–Building N.

The earliest level at which plasters appeared was a floor or surface of sandy earth (+2.97/3.02 m). Plaster debris on this surface (Group 12/13 *a*) was dated ceramically to LM IB Early. During the time of Building T, this area, particularly under N12, became the repository of a sizable dump of plaster debris identifiable as coming mostly from a ceiling structure. Most likely, this debris came from the destruction of the roof of the stoa to the north, presumably when the columns were removed, as other columns were at the eastern end of the stoa. A fascinating aspect of the discovery is the stratification of this debris, namely, the concentration of all ceiling fragments in a bottom layer (Plaster Group 12/13 *a*), and the presence of flooring material (of Type D and a bit of Type B/C) mostly at the top (Plaster Groups 12/13 *b* and N12–N13 *c*). My suspicion is that pieces of the concrete-like flooring plaster were removed and discarded outdoors.

Wall plaster in this locus is poorly represented, although there is a fair representation of fine unpainted plasters with a highly polished surface, likely from the original building.

Table 2.6. Plasters from Loci 12–13 in the Central Court at the time of Building T, and overlying Spaces N12 and N13 at the time of Building N.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
Part of the Central Court at the Time of Building T in Loci 12–13					
12/13 *a:* above floor in 12 of Locus 12/13; +2.97/3.02–ca. +3.40 m	44A/49, 50: LM IB Early; #39	Ca. 30 very small to medium: some coarse 1 small fragment: orange/red 50 bits to very small: fine; white; high polish	5 medium to small: Type D	**22:** ca. 100 very small to medium	**PT5:** plaster offering table
			(12/13 *a* construction plaster: ca. 10 kg)		
12/13 *b:* above floor in 12 of Locus 12/13; +2.90–3.50 m	44A/45, 47, 48, 51: LM IIIA2; #49	Ca. 25 bits to small: indef 1 bit: yellow; faded 2 bits: fine; white; high polish	9 very small to small: Type D		
Rooms N12–N13 at the Time of Building N					
N12–N13 *c:* over floors of +3.65/3.73–3.88/4.02 m	44A/41, 42, 44, 46: LM IIIB; #64	34 bits to very small: indef 2 small: fine; black; polished	Piece of Type B/C		

Noteworthy is the discovery of a piece of a plaster offering table (**PT5**), the second piece to be found directly south of the stoa's colonnade in the north edge of Building T's Central Court.

Construction Plaster

22 (P 140, 44A/50, Pl. 2.23, four views of two pieces). Ceiling plaster, specifically in Space 12; two triangular fragments show two convex sides representing beam impressions, and a third straight side; fragment sizes 7.0 × 6.5, th 4.0; 10.0 × 9.0, th 5.0; fabric semihard. Estimated diameters of beams range from 16.0 to 19.0 cm.

Uncatalogued: fragments of Type D and a single piece of Type B/C, found in high level of N12–N13 *c* (Appendix 2.2, sample 21).

Other

PT5 Part of a plaster offering table.

LOCUS 11: THE WESTERN END OF THE NORTH STOA AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.7)

Locus 11, at the westernmost end of the North Stoa, is a tiny area, yet it produced the highest concentration of painted plasters at Kommos. It is a north-south strip (ca. 5.7 × 1.0–1.5 m) defined by two walls, west and north, and by a tall scarp of unexcavated fill on the east that supports the Iron Age temples. The south side opens onto Locus 6, part of Building T's Central Court.

Most of the plasters bear painted decoration, and they belong to both the wall and the floor. The patterns depict various variegated stones that are in part matched by a few found in the South Stoa, suggesting that the decoration in these two impressive architectural spaces was very similar, if not identical. This type of decoration was not found anywhere else in Building T, with the exception of the South Stoa. A few pieces decorated with what we nicknamed the "sponge pattern" (**96**) likely also simulated some fancy type of stone; these were found in the East Wing in Locus 28/P3. The main mural decoration in the rest of the North Wing is of a simple nature, namely, painted friezes consisting of successive multicolored bands, which occur also in Locus 4/10. This corroborates the idea that the latter was a discrete architectural space and not part of the stoa.

Most of the information about the character of the decoration in the North Stoa was gleaned from the generally small to tiny pieces of plaster that were left lying in Locus 11. More pieces from this stoa were dumped directly outside it (in Locus 6) and farther east along the northern edge of the Central Court in the adjacent Loci 12–13, 5 and 15, as well as along the colonnade of the easternmost part (Locus 16) of the North Stoa.

The main context of the plasters, which was below a surface (at +3.02 m) that represents fill that accumulated over the assumed level of the plaster floor, dates to LM IA Final/IB Early (Table 2.7, Plaster Groups 11s *a* and 11s *c* in the southern portion of the strip, and 11n *b* in the northern portion). Here, the wall fragments were found together with the few fragments preserved of the floor. A few more bits were found higher up (Group 11 *d*) and in a limited probe

Table 2.7. Plasters from Locus 11 (the western part of the North Stoa) at the time of Building T. Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Catalogue and Excavation Number: Number of Pieces; Size	Pattern and Color
11s *a:* +2.22–2.80 m	37A/63: MM III and Neopalatial	**Patterned and Plain Wall Revetment**	
		23: 1 small	Consecutive curving bands; white; black; red
		30 (P 24): ca. 75 bits to small	Yellow with red streaks
11n *b:* +2.77/2.80–3.01 m	62C/33: Neopalatial fill under #37b (LM IA Final–IB Early)	**Patterned and Plain Wall Revetment**	
		24 (P 84, P 101): 2 small	Black and red veins on yellow background; red molded band
		26a (P 288): 2 small	Veins and other linear patterns
		27 (P 80, P 85, P 91, P 98, P 102, P 103): 10 bits to small	Conglomerate; light blue background; red molded band
		28 (P 89, P 99, P 100, P 169, P 279): 19 bits to very small	Conglomerate; white background
		29 (P 81, P 82, P 87, P 169): 13 bits to small	Conglomerate; light blue background; red molded bands
		30 (P 88, P 92, P 97, P 104): ca. 75 bits to small	Yellow with red streaks
		P 95: ca. 55 bits to very small	White; no pattern
		Patterned Plaster Floor with Pebble Backing	
		31 (P 70, P 71, P 83, P 90, P 96, P 280): some 15 fragments, 1 large, the rest medium to small	Conglomerate light blue background; red molded straight and curving bands; also bands adjacent to a white area
		Plain Plaster Floor with Pebble Backing	
		35 (P 93): large, some 50 bits to small: Type B/C **36** (P 284): 6 very small to small All Type B/C in scarp	

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.7 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Catalogue and Excavation Number: Number of Pieces; Size	Pattern and Color
		Ceiling Plaster	
		32: 1 small with traces of yellow **33:** 1 medium, and traces of yellow **34a:** 1 small in scarp	
11s *c:* +2.77–3.01 m	37A/30: Neopalatial fill under #37a (LM IA Final–IB Early)		
		Patterned and Plain Wall Plaster	
		25 (P 53, P 55, P 60): 7 bits to small	Red and black veins
		27 (P 20, P 53, P 56, P 62): 18 bits to small	Conglomerate; light blue background; molded red bands
		28 (P 58): 3 small	Conglomerate; white background
		29 (P 59): 1 small	Conglomerate pattern(?)
		Patterned Plaster Floor with Pebble Backing	
		31 (P 50–P 52): ca. 10 medium to small	Conglomerate; light blue background; Venetian red molded band and white area
		Ceiling Plaster	
		34 (P 21): 2 large fragments	
11 *d:* +2.91/2.98–3.40 m	37A/29, 43A/93: LM IA Advanced–IB Early; #37a, 37b		
		Patterned Wall Revetment	
		24 (P 8, P 61): 7 small	Veined pattern
		25 (P 55, P 110): small	Black veins; white background
		26 (P 54): ca. 8 bits to small	Red and black patterns (veins?) on white; Venetian red molded bands
		27 (P 57): 5 small	Conglomerate; light blue background; Venetian red molded bands

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.7 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Catalogue and Excavation Number: Number of Pieces; Size	Pattern and Color
		29 (P 63): 6 small	Conglomerate pattern(?); yellow round shapes; bit of Venetian red molded band
		6 small to bits (similar to **30**)	Red streaks on yellow
		Flooring Plaster	
		37 (P 49): 1 small: mixed Type B/C and Type D	
11n *e:* from scarp (T level)	46A4/no pail: Minoan, undiagnostic		
		Ceiling Plaster	
		34a (P 40): 1 large: with beam impression	

under the east scarp limited to a spot next to the stoa's rear wall (equivalent level to Group 11n *b*).[14]

The exact cause of the demise of the painted decoration is not easy to determine, although it is likely connected with a rather drastic architectural remodeling of the stoa during LM IA, involving in places the removal of columns to be replaced by a wall. In addition, in the case of Locus 11, the doorway leading to and from Locus 4/10 was blocked. The latter activity may appear innocuous as far as damaging the wall with the frescoes, but this may not have been the case if the blocking necessitated removing the wooden frame of the doorway, which would have been secured into that wall. The presence of extensive debris of construction plasters in this general area (particularly in Locus 12) itself bears testimony to the extent of the architectural modifications here.

The question of when the painted decoration was initially executed cannot be answered definitively. I am, however, strongly inclined to believe that the initiative was taken when Building T was built in MM III Late. This must have been the time of the decoration of the South Stoa as well, where evidence shows that its rear or south wall was already destroyed in LM IA Advanced when a pottery kiln was installed, partly overlapping the ruined south wall.[15] The wall fragments from both these stoas are thin and flat at the back, suggesting that this layer of plaster was applied directly on the walls without a backing, as is further discussed in the technical section, Chap. 2.3. Indeed, there is hardly any evidence for renewed decoration anywhere in the building, or even replastering, to suggest that it was redecorated. It makes sense that both the architecture and the painted decoration—so abstract and decorative in character—were part of the initial vision of how the building was to look.

A few words about the character of the painted decoration of the walls and floor are warranted here to explain the organization of both the table and the catalogue of the fragments below. The fragments consist of painted simulations of variegated stones, some with veined patterns, some with pebble-like forms, that suggest a conglomerate stone. Other preserved patterns likely are of stones that are not always easily identifiable. In the case of the wall decoration, the rock-work patterns belonged to panels in a painted dado separated by bands in low relief painted Venetian red. Only the conglomerate pattern seems to have been repeated in the decoration of the floor, this as part of a painted frieze edged by Venetian red bands in low relief. Corroborative information about the overall character of the decoration is provided by the South Stoa, although there the evidence is very poorly preserved. The criterion for differentiating between wall and floor fragments—since they bear similar designs—is basically technical, the pieces belonging to the floor being thicker and made up of a coarser plaster—matters that are described in more detail in Chap. 2.3.

Owing to the exceptional character of this deposit and to avoid repetition, the catalogue is presented differently from the rest of the deposits in other locations. Here, categories are created in terms of the types of patterns, not singly for each inventoried item, since in most cases the pattern is conveyed as efficiently by an illustration. Exceptionally too, the table lists both the excavation number (this always associated with the locus and level of the find, indicated by the trench and pail notation in the table) and the catalogue number (this assigned after study, and representing classification by type after study). In fact, in this particular and tiny locus, location may not be significant, for what one learns by comparing the findspots of the distinct designs is that there is no distinct pattern of distribution. One explanation is that the fragments were moved around in that space during renovation and after they had fallen down; another is that the imitation of the particular type of stone was repeated (perhaps with some variation) on a number of panels—although these explanations need not be mutually exclusive. Other pieces may have been removed and taken out of the space. The pieces found seem to represent but a minuscule percentage of the original wall and floor surfaces, and we must assume that the missing pieces were thrown elsewhere, likely outdoors. The main patterns are described in the following catalogue, under **23**, **24**, **25**, **26**, **27**, **29**, **30**, **31**, and **35**, representing the decoration of both the wall and the floor.

The technical makeup of the painted plaster floor has been assigned the label Type A, which is described in Chap. 2.3. A few examples of flooring plaster Type B/C (**35**–**36** and perhaps **37**, which shares also characteristics of Type D floor plaster) that must belong to a floor or roof above the stoa were also found in Locus 11, an issue discussed further in Chap. 2.4. Along with these fragments were found others that had been used as packing between beams in the ceiling (**32** and **33**); two more (**34**) came from somewhat south, near the line of the colonnade. Finally, a ceiling fragment (**34a**) was found at the bottom of the east scarp of Locus 11 during conservation work that required constructing a wall to protect the scarp that supports the Iron Age temples.

Wall Plasters

23 (P 25, Pl. 2.1, in Plaster Group 11s *a*). One fragment (2.5 × 2.3, th 0.06), painted with consecutive curving areas, perhaps bands, in Venetian red, black (painted in part over the red), and white. Fine fabric, polished surface.

Veined Pattern (a)

24 (P 84; P 101 and P 61 [Pls. 2.1, left column, fourth row down, and 2.36 at *g*, bottom] in 11n *b*; P 8 [Pls. 2.1, bottom left, and 2.36 at *f*], along with P 61 [Pls. 2.1, central column, left of scale, and 2.36 at *g*, top] also likely part of the same design, both these sets found in a higher level in 11 *d*).

Predominant in this group are warm ocher colors, particularly yellows, a blending of yellows and reds, fluent and vibrant brush strokes, and lines with red and black added for accent. Beautiful miniaturist rendering in P 61 (Pl. 2.36 at *g*, top) with tiny white shapes reserved within on an ocher yellow background (7.5 C/OJTO.C) adjacent to a white area crossed by wavy black and red lines. P 84 preserves part of a molded band, painted Venetian red (max pres w 2.6). P 8 (Pl. 2.36 at *f*) can serve as an example of the type of yellow used. It is very bright and ranges in tone 5.5 C/OGTO.C–ODPO.C (dark to light shades). Reds in these pieces vary from the usual Venetian red to a more diluted tone (the latter, 12 C/OQVO.C).

Veined Pattern (b)

25 (P 60 [Pls. 2.2 and 2.36 at *h*] with several fragments [including one extracted from P 53], all in Plaster Group 11s *c*; P 55 [Pl. 2.1, bottom right] and P 110 [Pl. 2.1, bottom center] in 11 *d*; with some joins between the two groups).

Characteristic of many of the fragments are patterns of nervous red and black lines, rendered in a calligraphic style, in some cases forming concentric patterns, and in other cases wavy and parallel lines, mostly against a white background, but for the piece from P 53 where red lines appear on a yellowish background. A distinct color in P 55 is a soft pink (10.5 C/OEIO.C). Preserved on some pieces (not illustrated) is the edge of a molded band painted Venetian red, with preservation varying from 2.5 to 2.7.

Possible Veined Pattern

26 (P 54, Pl. 2.2, Plaster Group 11 *d*) consists of some eight small to tiny fragments (largest 5.0 × 3.5; th 1.1), preserving parts of molded Venetian red bands and abstract patterns in red and black against a white background. Fine fabric; polished surface.

26a (P 288 [extracted from P 98], Pl. 2.2, Plaster Group 11n *b*) consists of only two small pieces, with linear patterns in red and black on a light blue ground (50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C, in light-to-dark progression). Fine plaster, polished surface.

CONGLOMERATE PATTERN

Pebbles in the various painted decorations described next vary in size: The largest are ca. 5.5 × 3.5; the next smaller size ranges to 3.5 × 2.5; others are much smaller.

Conglomerate Pattern (a)

27 (P 80 [Pl. 2.37 at *e*, bottom row]; P 85 [Pls. 2.3, second row, and 2.38 at *c* bottom]; P 91 [Pls. 2.3, top and 2.37 at *e*, top left]; P 98; P 102 [Pl. 2.37 at *d*, one piece top left]; P 103 [Pls. 2.3, bottom row, 2.37 at *c*, four pieces on right, and 2.37 at *d*, three pieces top right], Plaster Group 11n *b*; P 20 [Pl. 2.2, second row right, view and section, and Pl. 2.38 at *c*, top and middle]; P 53 [Pl. 2.2, bottom left]; P 56 [Pl. 2.4 top, and 2.37 at *d*, six pieces bottom row]; P 62 [Pl. 2.3, third row] in Plaster Group 11s *c*; P 57 [Pls. 2.2, top right, and 2.37 at *c*, section and one piece at left] in Plaster Group 11 *d*).

Characteristic of this group is the display of pebbles against a light blue/gray background. Most of the pebbles are rendered in white impasto added over the already-painted background; others are rendered in black or dark blue/gray. The larger pebbles tend to be rendered in a more painterly style, the white impasto having been diluted to the point of being opaque, which allowed some of the background colors to blend in, resulting in pastel tones in

light blue, or pink where details were in red, generally Venetian red. These red forms seem to weave their way behind pebbles (as in some pieces in Pl. 2.37 at *d–e*) and may themselves be elongated pebbles sectioned longitudinally. P 20 is unusual because of its greater thickness (3.5) compared with most other fragments. It also preserves an upturned edge or lip, likely part of a red molded band that broke off. Characteristic of the design in P 20 and P 85 are the tiny rounded pebbles in white that often surround a larger pebble, resulting in a stylized pattern we can attribute to artistic license rather than to pure imitation of the cut stone.

Colors: Light gray/blue (background color): 50 C/OOOF.C–/AOOI.C (light to dark). The gray (used for some of the pebbles) 50 C/AOOL.C–/COOQ.C. Black to blue/black (used for some of the pebbles) 50 C/COOQ.C–FOOU.C (in light to darker progression). A purer black, in one case, is 50 C/IOOY.C. White/pink of egg (as read in P 80) 10.5 C/OEIO.C. Red (part of the background in P 62) 12 C/ORZJ.C.

Conglomerate Pattern (b)

28 (P 89 [Pls. 2.4, bottom left, and 2.37 at *a*, four pieces on left side]; P 99 [Pl. 2.37 at *a*, one piece to right]; P 100 [Pls. 2.4, second row, and 2.37 at *b*, three pieces on left], P 169; P 279, in Plaster Group 11n *b*; P 58 [Pl. 2.37 at *b*, three pieces on right], in Plaster Group 11s *c* and one joining bit from Plaster Group 11 *d*).

The characteristic of this group is the shape of the pebbles, which are generally slimmer and painted in crisp, solid colors (including a brilliant yellow, a light gray/blue, and blue/black) against a white background. The style stresses solid silhouette rather than the painterly effects of the previous group. Combinations are different too: In one case a small red pebble is surrounded by tiny round pebbles in black—a variant of the same idea in P 20 in the preceding group. Surfaces show a high shine.

Colors: yellow: 7.5 C/OHUO.C–OENO.C; gray/blue and blue/black are as in **27.**

Tentative Conglomerate Pattern

29 (P 81; P 82 [Pl. 2.4, bottom right]; P 87 [Pl. 2.4, bottom center]; P 169 in Plaster Group 11n *b*; P 59 [Pl. 2.5, top right]; P 73 in Plaster Group 11s *c*; P 63 [Pl. 2.5, top left] in Plaster Group 11 *d*).

This collection is split into three groups, according to painting style and coloring. Characteristic of one group is the subdued tone—light gray/blues and white colors (P 81, P 82)—which is rather similar to the treatment of pieces (**41**) found under the stylobate of the North Stoa, a short distance east of Locus 11. Of these, P 82 is interesting in that it features the broadest molded Venetian red–painted band (ca. 4.0 versus those ca. 2.5–2.7 wide). Perhaps it belonged to a band that ran along the top of the dado, and the slimmer bands acted as vertical dividers between the panels.

Next, P 63 and P 73 are characterized by ocher colors, with red and yellow patterns displaying rounded sides that may be parts of pebbles in a conglomerate pattern. The style is painterly, with the ruddy tones blending with yellow ones to create an illusion of roundness. The blending produces an orange/red.

The last type consists of only one fragment (P 59), featuring what looks like a large black pebble against a white background with linear Venetian red patterns flanking it on one side.

Colors: Light blue/gray varying from a tone similar to that in **27** to a darker tone 66.5C/EOOG.C. The yellow varies from 7.5 C/OENO.C (taken from P 87) to 9 C/OHRO.C (taken from P 73). The red is 12 C/ORZJ.C (taken from P 87). Orange/red is 10.5 C/OKSO.C (taken from P 73); black/gray is 50 C/COOQ.C–FOOU.C–IOOY.C (in a light to dark progression; taken from P 59).

Possible Imitation of Wood Grain

30 (Part of P 24 [Pl. 2.6, top and middle] in Plaster Group 11s *a*; P 88; P 92 [Pl. 2.5, left, and Pl. 2.6, bottom piece]; P 97 [Pl. 2.5, right]; P 104, all in Plaster Group 11n *b*). One small piece was used for scientific analysis (Appendix 2.2, sample 9).

The plasters may well belong to a wall molding, as suggested in the reconstruction (Pl. 2.6) in which they are associated with other wall pieces, and discussed in Chap. 2.3 and 2.4. The roughly parallel ruddy streaks or striations perhaps were meant to imitate timber graining. A similar coloring has been found in some bands that belong to the painted frieze (**76**) in Room 19. Smaller pieces likely attributable to the same molding are either plain yellow, or yellow with irregular ruddy lines. In some cases, as in the large piece seen in the photograph (P 92, Pl. 2.5,

left), the yellow area is adjacent to one left white but with polished surfaces. Numerous white fragments (P 95) with an equally polished surface were found in Locus 11 and they likely belong to a large expanse of wall left unpainted, possibly above the dado and up to the predominantly yellow molding. One of these white pieces has been analyzed (Appendix 2.2, sample 11).

Colors: Yellow 5.5 C/ODPO.C–8 C/OFTO.C; the ruddy striations 11 C/OLTO.C–OPZE.C (in light to dark progression).

Uncatalogued: group of some sixty very small to bits of plaster (P 279) was retrieved from the bottom of the eastern scarp in Locus 11, next to the north wall of the stoa, during a cleaning operation. Many are part of decorated surfaces, but too little is preserved to add to our knowledge of any additional patterns. They simply remind us that the rich deposit found in Locus 11 must continue east, under the thick fill that sustains the Iron Age temples.

Plaster Fragments from the Painted Floor of the North Stoa

31 (P 70 [Pls. 2.7, left column center, and 2.39 at *b*]; P 71 [Pl. 2.7, top right]; P 83 [Pl. 2.39 at *d*; P 90 [Pls. 2.7, top left, and 2.39 at *a*, top left]; P 96 [Pls. 2.5, bottom left, and 2.39 at *a*, two pieces on right], P 280 [Pl. 2.17, top, side, and bottom views] all in Plaster Group 11n *b*, some 15 fragments, 1 large, the rest medium to small in size; P 50 [Pls. 2.7, bottom left, and 2.39 at *c*]; P 51–P 52 in Plaster Group 11s *c*, some 10 pieces, medium to small in size. P 70, P 90, P 96 incorporated in reconstruction [Pl. 2.39 at *e*]).

Our knowledge of the painted floor on the ground level in the North Stoa is based on some two dozen plaster fragments characterized by a thick layer of pebbles on the back or bottom. The top surface was once polished and painted with still-visible patterns, which include molded bands in Venetian red. Some of the bands are curving, as in two pieces (left side in Pl. 2.39 at *a*), one combined with a straight band. The band could be at least 4.2 wide, as can be inferred from another example (Pl. 2.5, bottom row, center). In the piece that combines the two bands, the curved one runs oblique to the straight one, resulting in a triangular space between them decorated with an imitation of a conglomerate stone. A triangular space formed between bands is usually encountered between spirals in a running spiral frieze, and that this may be the decoration involved here is further considered in the light of other comparanda in the concluding part of this chapter, Chap. 2.4.

Other fragments that also belong to the floor, given the backing of pebbles, show two adjacent areas, one left unpainted, the other painted Venetian red and molded. Again, the possibility that these represent the edge of the decorated part of the floor—likely a frieze alongside the walls framing a white central area—will be discussed further. It is of interest, archaeologically, to note here that most of the fragments that may belong to the edge (like P 50) were found in the southern part of Locus 11, that is, near the very area likely left unpainted. It is therefore tempting to view this find as fragments that stayed approximately where they were once *in situ* in the unbroken floor.

Color of the light blue background: 66.5 C/COOE.C.

Construction Plaster

32 (P 74 located, post excavation, at the north end of Locus 11 at a level equivalent to the base of 62C/33, Pl. 2.24). Ceiling plaster, one piece poorly preserved (max dim 4.8 × 3.55), shaped like a right triangle, the longer and concave side clearly the impression of a beam estimated to be 15.0–20.0 cm in diameter; fabric semihard. The piece has a flat surface with traces of yellow color (7 C/OBKO.C–OEPO.C, in light to dark progression). This piece was likely facing outward and was visible on the stoa's facade. The two straight sides represent two architectural features, one horizontal and the other vertical, perhaps the stoa's epistyle and a lateral wall—questions further explored in Chap. 2.3 and 2.4.

33 (P 94, 62C/33, Pl. 2.24). Ceiling plaster (max dim 7.7 × 4.8, th 5.3), with a concave impression on one side, likely from a round beam and one flattish surface, likely the visible one (as argued for **32**). Fabric semihard.

34 (P 21, 37A/30). Ceiling plaster, preserving two large fragments of triangular shape (9.8 ×

6.1, th 4.3; 8.1 × 5.8, th 4.7), each preserving two adjacent concave impressions, one suggesting a beam ca. 21.0–23.0 cm in diameter. Fabric semihard.

34a (P 40, 46A4/no pail, Pl. 2.25). Piece of ceiling plaster found while the base of the eastern scarp in Locus 11 was being cleaned (at the level of 37A, 62C/33). The piece (12.0 × 8.4, th 3.6) is roughly in the shape of an isosceles triangle of which the two curving sides represent the impressions of two adjacent ceiling beams.

35 (P 93, 62C/33, Pl. 2.18). Floor plaster Type B/C; one large and ca. fifty very small fragments; largest (10.0 × 8.0, th ca. 3.0) flattish at the back; top slip with faint traces of reddish ocher; under it, a thin layer of plaster (th ca. 0.2–0.4) packed with coarse grit and tiny pebbles. The bottom layer contains dark and light angular inclusions (Appendix 2.2, sample 10).

36 (P 284, level of 62C/33, found in a probe in the eastern scarp of Locus 11, Pl. 2.18). Floor plaster Type B/C; ca. six very small to tiny fragments (max pres th 2.0); possible sandy color on surface of one of the pieces.

37 (P 49; 43A/93). One fragment (5.1 × 3.7, th 1.9) sharing characteristics of both Type B/C and Type D floor plasters. It has small pebbles and other grit on the top flat surface of a layer of plaster, which, however, is lacking the typical hard inclusions in these types. Surface bears traces of ruddy color, as more usual in Type B/C floor plaster.

LOCUS: SOUNDING UNDER THE STYLOBATE OF THE NORTH STOA ALONG THE SOUTH EDGE OF THE COLONNADE BETWEEN LOCI 12 AND 16, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34)

In the process of excavation of the sounding, one of the "stylobate" slabs—the one closest to Locus 12—was temporarily removed (100A/5), revealing some 25 small to tiny fragments. Most of these were from wall revetment, painted with the same types of patterns and with a fabric similar to those found in Locus 11 of the stoa, and were found at a similar level (ca. +2.91–3.02 m). They included pieces of molded bands painted Venetian red, which, it was suggested above, framed the individual dadoes. One of these (**44**), a tiny piece, preserves the beginning of a backing of pebbles in a better state of preservation than the fragments of the plaster floor found in Locus 11. The plaster floor clearly continued east from the present location and likely ended where a pavement of slabs started in Locus 16, alongside the east wall of the stoa.

Given the small area of the probe, the discovery of a piece of plaster that belonged to the ceiling (**45**) is quite interesting. As already mentioned, wall and construction plasters in the North Stoa tend to be found in the same locations, suggesting that there was a connection between architectural activity that caused the creation of plaster debris and the demise or end of the use of fresco and painted floor decoration. Unfortunately, the date of the pottery was not sufficiently diagnostic in this case to date the debris, but all other deposits in the stoa tended to be LM IA Late to LM IB Early.

Needless to say, the discovery of the plasters *under* the stylobate implies that the installation of the latter postdates the destruction of the decoration of the stoa. J. W. Shaw (Chap. 1) rightly hypothesizes that the stylobate slabs are not part of the initial construction and that they were added later to prevent water from seeping onto the floor of the stoa.[16]

Wall Plasters

38 (P 260, Pl. 2.8). One small fragment (measuring 3.5 × 3.2, th 0.6–0.7) with faint traces of curving forms with pointed ends in black and Venetian red against white. Fine fabric, with once highly polished surface. The badly shattered fragment required retrieval using a backing of gauze.

39 (P 264, Pl. 2.8). Eight fragments (the largest, 2.8 × 2.5, th 0.7) with curving linear patterns, next to molded bands painted Venetian red. Patterns painted in black against a background in parts white, yellow (8 C/OHVO.C), and orange 9.5 C/OMWO.C, the latter produced by applying red over yellow. Fine plaster, with highly polished surface.

40 (P 266, Pl. 2.8). Thirteen fragments, varying from small to bits (the largest 2.5 × 1.3, th 0.6–0.9), with occasional black linear designs and, in one case (Pl. 2.8, bottom row second from right), a black/blue abstract pattern that may depict the "sponge pattern" known from pieces (**96**) found in Locus 28. Fine plaster; highly polished surface.

41 (P 267, Pl. 2.8). Eight fragments (two joining), ranging from small to bits (the largest measuring 3.7 × 2.1, th 0.6–1.0); some painted a solid gray/blue, some with added amoeba-like patterns in white against gray/blue (66.5 C/EOOG.C), one with traces of diluted Venetian red. Fine plaster; highly polished surfaces.

42 (P 268). One small piece (measuring 2.1 × 2.2, th 1.2) with diluted Venetian red and light blue brush strokes on white; blue (79 C/EOOA.C). Fine plaster; highly polished surfaces.

43 (P 261). A small fragment of very thin plaster (3.1 × 1.6, th 0.4) painted a solid yellow color (8 C/OFTO.C–OHVO.C, from light to dark).

Construction Plasters

44 (P 265, 100A/5, Pl. 2.18, bottom row left, top and side views). Floor plaster, Type A, like the painted floor of the North Stoa; consists of three joining fragments (one measuring 2.6 × 1.8) with thin upper layer (th 0.6) somewhat convex and painted Venetian red, with very partially preserved backing on which two pebbles still adhere. Clearly, part of a molded band belonging to the stoa's floor.

45 (P 262, Pl. 2.25, two views and a reconstruction). Ceiling plaster; four joining fragments (largest 8.5 × 5.5, th 3.8), with adjacent concave impressions, although limited preservation does not allow estimating the beam diameter. Fabric medium hard.

LOCUS 16: THE EASTERN END OF THE NORTH STOA AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.8)

The locus is defined by walls to the north and east, the latter with a door leading to Room 42. On the west is the tall scarp of unexcavated fill over which the Iron Age temples were built. To the south, Locus 16 opens onto the Central Court. During architectural modification, still in LM I A, this part of the stoa was converted into a room by the replacement of the columns with a wall. The space's radically new function is evident from the installation of a number of bins on the raised floor, a surface of compact earth (at ca. +3.30 m; see Chap. 1). Just prior to or at the time of this modification, this area's direct communication with Room 42 was ended with the blocking of the doorway as well as of a window that existed in the dividing wall between the two.

Our ability to learn more about the mural decoration in this space is indeed restricted. Excavation was limited in both trenches (42A and 62D). In the former case, the presence of an exterior Geometric altar east of the Greek Temple did not allow us to expand the trench, whereas in the case of trench 62D bins made of upright slabs were found, and excavation

Table 2.8. Plasters from Locus 16 (the eastern end of the North Stoa) at the time of Building T.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
16w *a:* floor at ca. +3.00 m and above	42A/53, 57, 67: LM IA Early; #8	Ca. 30 very small, fine: unpainted; polished Some coarse			
16e *b:* +3.14–3.23 m	62D/100, 102: LM IA Advanced; #18	Ca. 35 very small to small, indef **47:** 5 small to medium; thick; edge from abutting; traces of black and orange/yellow; polished (16e *b* wall revetment: ca. 1.3 kg)	**50:** 7 small to medium: Type B/C (16e *b* construction plaster: ca. 1 kg)	Ca. 10 small to bits, likely from ceiling	
16e *c:* floor at +3.30/3.36 m and fill above	62D/78, 85, 86, 90: LM IA Final; #26	Ca. 120 small to bits; mostly indef 1 small: slim; fine; red and white; with string line 15 small: slim; fine; yellow **48:** 20 very small: thick; semifine; blue	5 small: construction, indef		**46a–46d:** 4 slab enclosures lined with plaster pieces
16e *d:* removal of stone platform; +3.28–4.00 m	62D/72, 80, 91: LM IA Final–IB Early; related to #33	Ca. 45 small to very small; much indef; white; generally polished	**51:** 7 bits to small: Type D		
16w *e:* stone debris in east section; +3.30–4.30 m	42A/50–52, 54: LM IA Final–IB Early; related to #34	Ca. 75 small to very small: indef 3 small: fine; blue **49:** 1 small: slim; fine; molded band; Venetian red; high polish 30 small to very small: slim; fine; white; high polish (16w *e* construction plaster: ca. 6 kg)	Ca. 18 very small to small: mostly Type D(?)	16 very small to small	

down to the initial floor (at +3.08 m) could be pursued only in spots. One area that could be further explored was in a strip along the east wall, where excavation revealed the floor to have been of slabs, rather than of plaster, as apparently in the rest of the stoa. Such pavement here makes sense, particularly if it was heavily used, given the apparent use of Room 42 as a pantry. In Table 2.8, the plasters are presented separately for the eastern and western parts of the excavated space; the locations are labeled 16e and 16w, respectively.

Ironically, the most interesting plasters found in Locus 16 may not derive from the space itself but may have been brought there in a secondary use, which was to line the interiors of the bins installed in this location after this part of the stoa was converted into a room. The lining consisted of sheets of plaster applied at the bottom of the bins that were used as receptacles for materials, likely foods that were ground next to them. The plasters were painted in plain solid colors but in one case with multicolored bands and in another with abstract but indefinable motifs, faded presumably from their new use. As discussed in Chap. 2.3, the plaster sheets must have provided a hygienic advantage, especially if the materials ground were foods.

Of the loose plasters found in Locus 16, small piece **49** is important, for it preserves part of a molded band in Venetian red, which most likely belongs to the continuation of the painted dado discussed in connection with the western part of the stoa (Locus 11). Other pieces of fine wall plasters, found in LM IA Advanced to LM IB contexts, were painted in blue (**47**), and one, in black and yellow (**48**). Fine unpainted fragments with a highly polished surface were found over the original floor (Group 16w *a*) in an LM IA Early context (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 8), suggesting that at least part of the wall revetment was removed or fell earlier in this location than it did in the western end of the stoa.

Construction plasters were relatively few. Some were part of flooring plaster of Type B/C (**50**), and a large piece was of Type D (**51**). Other coarse plaster found mostly in the western portion of Locus 16 (Group 16w *e*) was badly fragmented but likely came from packing used in the ceiling. Together, these plaster finds seem to suggest that there was another destruction or a remodeling event in addition to the one suggested by the finds in Group 16w *a*.

Wall Plaster (used as lining in four bins, 46a–d, Pl. 2.9)

The description here proceeds from north to south, bin by bin. Dimensions and further details of the bins can be found in Chap. 1. Plasters described as having been marked by impressed string lines evidently derived from painted friezes of multicolored bands. Plasters with abstract designs likely represent variegated stones and could belong to the stoa's painted dado.

46a This is the northernmost and the most destroyed of the slab enclosures. Preserved on its floor is a flat sheet of plaster 30.0 × 13.0. The piece was divided by a string line into two areas, one light blue the other white.

46b Here the floor was entirely covered with a sheet of plaster, again with bands. Preserved was a tiny part of a white area next to a red band one (w 17.0), separated by a string line from the next white area (w 14.5). Two pieces of upright plaster were preserved at the base of the eastern side of the enclosure, one blue, the other white with faint blue splashes. Loose pieces of plaster revealed it to be very thin, 0.3–0.4, and flat on the back.

46c The plaster here consisted of two overlapping sheets, one gray/blue and the other blue/black, which was preserved in light and darker tones, respectively, 67.7 C/EOBJ.C–JOEN.C.

46d Again, the floor was covered with two pieces of plaster, one light blue, the other white with light blue splashes—all very worn. The plaster was missing in a strip on the west side, and here one can see that the ground had been surfaced with a compacted red substance or soil.

Wall Plaster

47 (P 165, 62D/102). Five small to medium-sized fragments (the largest, 7.0 × 6.5, th 3.0; others, 7.0 × 6.5; 6.0 × 4.5, th 1.0; 3.0 × 2.5, th 1.5; 3.2 × 2.5; th 1.4) preserving a thickened edge from where the plaster abutted a straight architectural feature, possibly a ceiling. Some bear very faint traces of orange/yellow and faded black. Plaster fine fabric; well-polished surface.

48 (P 163, 62D/78). Some twenty small to tiny pieces (the largest, 3.0 × 2.8, th 0.7) bearing traces of blue color. Fine plaster; polished surface.

49 (P 31, 42A/54, Pl. 2.8). Tiny fragment (2.2 × 1.6, th 0.65) from a molded band, painted Venetian red. Fine plaster; worn surface.

Floor Plaster

50 (P 164, 62D/100). Floor plaster Type B/C; seven fragments, mostly small to medium (largest, 6.5 × 5.0, th 2.0) consisting of three layers: top of plain plaster (th 0.4–0.6), next with some light and dark grit and some tiny pebbles, bottom with hard angular inclusions.

51 (P 162, 62D/72, Pl. 2.18, top, right vertical row with side, top, and bottom views; more pieces in 62D/80, 91). Floor plaster Type D; seven fragments, small to bits (largest 10.5 × 12.5, th 3.5–4.0); made of two layers: top 0.8–1.0, packed with sand; bottom one th ca. 2.0, with coarse angular inclusions, mostly small black stones.

LOCUS 15: PART OF THE CENTRAL COURT AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND OVERLYING COURT N15 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING N (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.9)

This locus acted throughout its history as a court, first as part of the Central Court of Building T, and then, in LM III, as a partially enclosed court. At this later stage, preexisting Neopalatial and later walls bordered it on the north, west, and perhaps also on the east. On the south there was a retaining wall, likely a low one to allow access to the Central Court. Of the two trenches assigned to this locus, 34A dealt mostly with the higher levels at the western end, where excavation continued with Trench 52A, which covered the eastern part of the locus, too. Some limited excavation occurred at the eastern end with Trench 56A1.

As discussed under Locus 12, the Minoans had no qualms about leaving debris right outside the building's public spaces that continued to be used, like the North Stoa, but now were used for utilitarian purposes. Thus, there was a massive accumulation of construction plaster (ca. 17 kg; **60**) found here in a context dating to LM IA Final–IB Early. As in Locus 12, the plaster fragments in the lower stratum came from packing around the ceiling's beams (Plaster Group 15 *a*), whereas the layer above contained pieces attributable to paving plaster, either from a roof or from the floor of a second storey (Plaster Group 15 *b*, **61**, **62**). The debris likely derived from the architectural modifications of the stoa, particularly near Locus 16.

In the case of the wall plasters, there may be another derivation for the pieces found near the eastern end of Locus 15. They could have been dumped out of the adjacent T's original

Table 2.9. Plasters from Locus 15: part of the Central Court at the time of Building T, and later accumulation in Court 15 at the time of Buildings N and P.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
Locus 15: Part of the Central Court at the Time of Building T					
15 *a:* +3.00–3.35 m	34A2/60, 61, 62; 52A/52, 54, 56, 58; 56A1/104: LM IA Final; related to #22a, 22b, 23, 24	75 mostly small: some backing; most indef P 117: 1 medium: semifine; possible wall molding; roughly smoothed 23 bits to very small: white; high polish 3 very small: orange/red; faded 2 very small: yellow 1 small: red and white bands(?) **52:** slim: blue; surface covered with soot **53:** 1 medium: conglomerate pattern	3 small 1 very small: similar to Type D (15 *a* construction plaster: ca. 17 kg)	**60:** ca. 20 large, 50 medium, 125 small, 80 small to bits, ca. 30 lumps	

Court 15 at the End of Building T and into the Time of Buildings N and P

15 *b:* +3.35–3.84 m to the west; ca. +4.10 m to the east	52A/42–45: LM IA Final; 52A/40, 47–49: LM IA Final with a few LM IB intrusions; 34A2/59: LM IA Final and Geometric intrusions	12 small: 1 white; high polish **54:** in western part of 15 (join with **79** in 20/22w): blue/gray with dark gray streaks; high polish 8 bits to very small: blue **55:** 1 very small, in western part of 15: red line on white, next to blue; polished **56:** 1 small, thick, fine, in western part of 15: gray blue/black pattern on light blue; surface once polished **57:** in western part of 15: light blue layer covering red stripes on yellow **58:** 1 medium, semifine: smooth; very, very light blue and white	**61:** uncertain type, similar to Type A(?) (15 *b* construction plaster: ca. 3 kg)	**62:** 20 mostly small, some medium	**PT6:** plaster offering table
15 *c:* higher levels	34A2/57–58: LM III + Geometric; 52A/27, 33, 36: mixed	40 very small to medium: mostly indef **59:** in western part of 15: very, very light blue and white; string line; polished but worn		1 large 15 bits to small (15 *c* ceiling plaster: ca. 1.5 kg)	

Corridor 20/22, rather than from Locus 16. For instance, such is the case with **52**, a sizable piece of thin wall plaster with a fabric of bluish color and a surface blackened with soot. We can remain fairly assured that it was used in 20/22 and in some rooms opening into its eastern end, like 25b, where similar plasters, also covered with soot, were found in sizable accumulations. Indeed, it appears that Room 25b may have been the spot where a fire broke out, given that its contents (as in Room 23 nearby) were full of burnt material (Chap. 1). In the case of fragment **53**, on the other hand, the painted simulation of conglomerate stone makes it likely that the piece derived from the painted dado of the stoa that must have continued onto the walls of Locus 16. Then there are fragments **54** and **79**, which were found to join; the former was discovered at the eastern end of Locus 15, the latter at the eastern end of Locus 20. Whether the corridor also had a dado imitating variegated stones remains questionable; there is no further evidence to support the possibility that it was.

Of the wall fragments found at the western end of Locus 15, **55** features an abstract pattern, a curving form and a red line in red on white, which may be part of a conglomerate pattern, but there is not enough of the fragment preserved to allow identification. Fragment **56**, I suspect, may be part of stone imitations, given that what remains of the pattern—a black area sprawling over a white background—is quite reminiscent of the sponge pattern, another simulation of a variegated stone discussed below.[17] Noteworthy because of its technical peculiarity is **57**, a small piece that was found at the eastern end of Locus 15 and that has a plain light blue surface painted over one marked with thin red stripes on a yellow background. Given that there is no other sign of secondary overpainting in Building T, it is possible that this piece came from elsewhere as part of fill used in walls. Alternatively, it may have come from Room 42, which had a long history of reuse. Whatever the case, its context (Plaster Group 15 *b*) shows it to have been dumped or redeposited during LM IA Final–IB Early.

Part of a painted offering table in plaster (**PT6**) was also discovered at the western section of Locus 15, directly south of the stoa.

Wall Plaster

52 (P 204, 56A1/104). Several joining fragments of thin plaster (25.0 × 22.0, th 0.4), painted blue surface covered with soot. Found at the very east edge of Locus 15, next to Locus 20/22, where more fragments of this type have been found, but mostly at the eastern end (cf. similar sample 18, from Locus 29, Appendix 2.2).

53 (P 69, 56A1/104). A badly cracked fragment (8.0 × 8.0, th ca. 2.0) consisting of a very thin top layer (th 0.6) directly atop a mass of mud and pebbles. Visible on the surface are the remnants of a decoration imitating conglomerate stone, similar to examples found in the western part of the stoa (Locus 11). The pebbles in the painting are rendered in blue, black, and red. The piece was found directly west of the stone slab separating the area of Locus 15 from T's original Corridor 20/22 on the east, that is, next to **52**. The real pebbles in the mud are likely to have been picked up from the surface of the Central Court, which was made of pebbles, and held by the

mass of mud over which the thin layer of painted plaster became attached. Given the presence of the conglomerate pattern, the painted plaster likely belongs to the North Stoa's painted dado. It may have been in Locus 16, at the eastern end of the stoa, and dumped outdoors.

54 (P 111, 52A/49, Pls. 2.8 and 2.36 at *i*, larger fragment to the right). In the color illustration the piece is shown with two smaller ones, one joined to it. These smaller pieces (**79**) were found nearby at the western end of Locus 20/22, hence the different catalogue number assigned to them. The pattern on the two joining fragments (the larger 6.1 × 4.6, th 1.3) shows dark gray/blue (50 C between COOQ.C and FOOU.C) streaks against background in light gray/blue (50 C/AOOL.C). Plaster fine; surface highly polished.

55 (P 112, 52A/48, Pl. 2.8). One fragment (3.2 × 2.0, th 1.5), divided into two areas, one white and the other a curved blue/gray (28 C/GBOO.C–JDOO.C in light to dark progression). The white area is crossed diagonally by a slim band painted Venetian red, whose pointed end ends at the red area. Fine plaster.

56 (P 113, 52A/47). One fragment (4.2 × 3.5, max pres th 2.1), painted with blue/black irregular patterns over a light blue background. Plaster made of two layers, the finer top one th 0.04. Surface worn but once polished.

57 (P 129, 34A2/59). Small fragment (3.6 × 2.4, th 0.95) with surface painted twice: solid light blue (75 C/OODA.C) on a slip applied over a surface beneath painted with two very thin stripes in red against a buff yellow background. Of the pattern, only a tiny area is visible at one edge of the pattern. The latter could be a piece of recycled plaster, or we could have here a rare case of repainting.

58 (P 125, 52A/48). Fragment (7.0 × 4.0, th 1.7), with traces of a light blue color. Semifine fabric; smooth surface.

59 (P 121, 52A/36, Pl. 2.10). Fragment (7.3 × 4.0, max th 3.0), divided into two areas, one white, the other gray (50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C), by an impressed string line, the former preserved for 1.1, the latter for 3.1. Semifine plaster irregular on the back; top surface worn but originally polished.

Construction Plasters

60 (P 130; P 139, 34A2/61, Pl. 2.24, views and sections of two pieces). Ceiling plaster, found in several pieces, of which three are catalogued here. P 130 (7.0 × 7.0; th 3.9; not included in the illustrations) is in the shape of an isosceles triangle, with concave impressions of two adjacent transverse beams and a third impression from a squared beam evidently from the epistyle course over the colonnade of the stoa. The piece shows a flat surface between the two concave impressions, which must have been the visible side, part of the facade of the stoa. The diameter of the round beams is estimated to be ca. 23.0. The two pieces of P 139 catalogued here are right triangles, the large concave side representing the impression of half of a transverse beam, the straighter sides being where the plaster abutted a corner, perhaps the epistyle and a lateral wall of the stoa. Flat surfaces occur in these also. The estimated diameter of one of these is ca. 21.0–23.0, of the other and fragmentary one, ca.15.0–17.0. The fabric of the plaster in all these examples is medium hard.

61 (P 124, 52A/48, found in western part of Locus 15, Pl. 2.19, top and bottom views). Floor plaster of uncertain type; its surface and the presence of pebbles on the back similar to Type A; illustrated piece 6.7 × 5.6, and 2.2 th, made of three layers: top, semifine plaster 0.7 th, smooth and somewhat polished; middle thin layer containing black pebbles; bottom layer semisoft with some straw marks on back.

62 (P 122, 52A/47). Ceiling plaster, two fragments (5.2 × 4.0, th 2.7; 3.1 × 2.4, th 1.5).

Comments on Some Uncatalogued Plasters

See also the analysis of two samples: three bits of wall plaster painted black (52A/54), and a fragment of a Type D floor (34A2/61), both from Plaster Group 15 *a*, analyzed respectively as samples 13 and 12 (Appendix 2.2).

LOCUS: AREA IMMEDIATELY SOUTH OF LOCI 12/13 AND OF THE RETAINING WALL SOUTH OF LOCUS 15, DURING THE PERIOD OF T AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PL. 2.34)

Plasters here appeared in a layer above the court floor at +3.10 m and continued up to ca. +4.40 m. They were found mostly in mixed Minoan and Iron Age levels, caused by erosion in the area, and therefore they are not stratigraphically important. Most pieces were found near the wall.

There were some construction plasters from two kinds of flooring plaster: Type D (**64**), and another (**65**), resembling the painted floor in Locus 11 (Type A) but without any traces of color. Two pieces of wall plaster (**63**), interestingly, preserve part of a conglomerate pattern.

Wall Plaster

63 (P 175, 63A/74, Pl. 2.10, top and side views). Two fragments (4.5 × 2.8; th 0.7; 3.5 × 3.9, total th 1.8), one with oval or rounded shape in blue/black color against a white background, the other painted light blue. Colors: 50 C/AOOI.C–FOOU.C; light blue: 30 C/GAOO.C. Plaster consists of two layers: the top very thin and finer; top surface polished. White shows a slight tinge of blue/green tint.

Construction Plaster

64 (P 173, 63A/74). Floor plaster, Type D (13.5 × 19.5, th 2.5) consisting of three layers, the top one essentially a slip preserved in spots where it covers the next layer, the surface of which is packed with sand and tiny pebbles (th ca. 0.2–0.4). The bottom layer contains hard, mostly angular inclusions, and bits of plaster.

65 (P 174, 63A/74). Floor plaster (9.0 × 6.6, th 3.0–3.7) of uncertain type, but similar to **61**, which was compared with Type A, the painted floor of the North Stoa. It consists of three layers: top (th 0.7) with a polished surface, medium layer with pebbles, bottom layer of plain plaster (th 1.7–2.0).

LOCUS 8: PART OF THE CENTRAL COURT OF BUILDING T AND OVERLYING STRATA (PL. 2.34)

Plasters found here are few, owing to erosion that would have occurred after the West Wing of Building T disappeared, but some plaster pieces of interest were found just above the pebble floor of the Central Court in an LM IB context (mainly in 100D/38, some in Pail 36). One (**66**) is nearly white, with the same high quality and polished surface as similar pieces found in the North Stoa. Among pieces that have not been inventoried is a much faded fragment, blue/black in color (66.5 C/COOE.C), and a few thin, little pieces with a highly polished surface, one painted Venetian red, another with red next to a white area. Two pieces of paving plaster (**67**) are of Type D.

Wall Plaster

66 (P 269, 100D/38, and 36, Pl. 2.10, top and side views). A few small fragments (the largest, 4.0 × 2.3, th 1.1), unpainted but with the white surface tinged slightly by a green/blue tint. The fragments consist of two layers, the top finer (th 0.8), the lower softer (max pres th 0.3), with a highly polished surface.

Construction Plaster

67 (P 270, 100D/38, Pl. 2.18, top and side views of two pieces). Floor plaster, Type D; two very small pieces (largest, 2.6 × 2.6, th 1.8), consisting of three layers: top layer (th 0.3–0.4) of pure plaster with a flat, smooth surface; middle layer (th 0.6–0.7) of plaster packed with thick sand and tiny pebbles; bottom layer incompletely preserved, but preserving some large angular inclusions.

LOCI 17 AND 2: WEST PORTION OF MINOAN ROAD 17 AND ADJACENT LOCUS 2, WITHIN THE NORTH RETAINING WALL OF THE ROAD (PL. 2.34)

A few plasters were found in Locus 2, outside Building T, north of Loci 5, 4/10, and Road 17, behind the latter's northern retaining wall. The reason for their inclusion here, where we deal entirely with the Monumental Buildings, is the suspicion that plasters found there may have been dumped from Building T, both because the wall plasters (**68, 69**) show color and technical affinity with some found in that building[18] and because remains of plaster offering tables (**PT1–PT3**) found with them have so far not been discovered in any of the houses in the Minoan town. Access to the road was easy thanks to the large door at the north side of Locus 5.

The context of the plasters in Locus 2 is not clearly dated beyond an apparent Early Neopalatial date (43A/106 and 107). The wall plasters were of a fine fabric with a highly polished surface, which was painted in solid color, mostly blue with the occasional linear abstract design. Convex surfaces suggest derivation from moldings, a decoration well attested within the building.

A single piece of floor plaster (43A/106) best resembles Type D, with the rough inclusions in its bottom layer including even a sherd.

Wall Plaster

68 (P 37, 43A/106, Pl. 2.10). A few fragments (the largest, 3.8 × 3.2, th 2.1). Some of the surfaces are rounded and painted blue/black (50 C/FOOU.C). Occasionally there is a white or red (13 C/OSUL.C) abstract design, too faded to identify. The largest fragment preserves traces of a red border. Plaster fine; the surface once highly polished. Perhaps the pieces are part of a decorative wall molding and of the wall adjacent to it.

69 (P 39, 43A/107, Pl. 2.10). Small molded piece (3.4 × 2.4, th 1.2), divided into two bands, one left white the other painted red (13 C/OSUL.C). Fine plaster; surface highly polished.

Cluster B: The Northeast Portion of the North Wing; the East Wing of Building T; Adjacent Outdoor Areas

Loci: 42, 19–25, 29; Roads 33–34

ROOM 42: AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.10)

This small narrow room communicated directly with the eastern end of the North Stoa through a door, and even a window, in the wall that separated the two. The room appears to have functioned as a small pantry (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1), to judge by its size and by the presence of drinking vessels (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 7). The pottery led Rutter to the interesting theory that there was drinking and eating in the stoa, using vessels and food stockpiled in Room 42 and nearby Room 19, although we offer an alternative solution concerning the use of the Room 19, namely, that it may have itself served as a dining room. Room 42 seems to have gone through a number of vicissitudes, including what was likely a fire that may have caused the collapse of the original ceiling. Other changes, as already noted under Locus 16, are the blocking of both the window and the door in its western wall that had previously allowed direct communication with the stoa.

Understandably, there were few painted plasters, given the apparent utilitarian function of the space. The limited availability of wall surface, partly because of the window and two doors in its western wall, partly because of the likely presence of cupboards or shelves, may also have contributed to the paucity of plasters. In addition, only a small portion of its northern wall could be excavated given the mass of stone debris jutting out from the east scarp. This fill provided support for overlying Altar C on the higher levels. I assume that the few fine thin plasters found came from the well-built north wall. The few thicker pieces likely belonged to where the plaster abutted an architectural feature, such as the ceiling or the wooden frame around windows or doors. Colors represented are Venetian red, black, and what we have labeled salmon red (as in **71**).

Plasters of a coarse fabric were found in the lower levels (Groups 42 *b* and 42 *d*) but were rather scanty, probably because the majority were cleared out so the room could continue to be used. Besides a few that may have come from a wall, the rest appear to have belonged to packing used in the structure of a ceiling, judging by the impressions of beams (**73**). The quantity of coarse plaster was dramatically larger at the higher LM III levels (Plaster Group 42 *f*), totaling up to some 15 kg. In this lot were also fragments that seemed to belong to a floor (like **74**), clearly from above the ceiling, and therefore once part of either the floor of a second storey or of a paved roof—one that may have replaced (perhaps partially) another whose fragments were in Plaster Group 42 *b*. A likely time for the construction of the second ceiling and pavement was during LM IA Final or IB Early (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 27b), and it is interesting to note that the type of paving does not exactly match any types

Table 2.10. Plasters from Room 42 at the time of Building T and later accumulation.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
42 *a*: Floor 1 at +3.07 m	62D/92: LM IA Early; #7	10 bits to small: indef		
42 *b*: Floor 2 at +3.14–3.30 m	62D/83: LM IA Advanced; #17b	30 bits to small: indef **70:** 7 very small: fine; white; string line **71:** 5 very small: fine; salmon red		**73:** a few
42 *c*: Floor 3 at +3.29–3.37 m	62D/79, 81, 82: LM IA Final–IB Early; #27a	Ca. 35 small: indef	1 small: similar to Type D(?)	
42 *d*: Floor 4 at +3.29–3.48 m	62D/77: LM IA Final–IB Early(?); #27b	Ca. 7 indef	2 very small	Ca. 12 small to bits
42 *e*: Floor 5 at +3.55 m	52A/53; 62D/70, 75: LM IB Early; #35	30 bits to small: coarse; indef 1 small: fine; pink/peach (like **71**)	6 medium to small	
42 *f*: higher strata to ca. +4.80 m	62D/42, 50, 55, 56, 58, 61–65, 67, 69; 52A/13, 25, 28, 30: Neopalatial through LM III and some Archaic (in pail 42); partially related to #52f	**72:** 11 small: thick; semicoarse; Venetian red **71:** ca. 20 very small: fine, semifine; pink/peach A few bits to small: fine; yellow, red, black faded 260–300 large to very small: indef	**74:** a few fragments of uncertain type: similar to Types E and F	Ca. 50 medium to bits
		(42 *f* wall revetment: ca. 5 kg)	(42 *f* construction plaster: ca. 15 kg)	

known from the other areas, although it does relate to Type D in use earlier in the North Wing of the building.

Wall Plaster

70 (P 166, 62D/83, Pl. 2.10, top and side views of two pieces). The two fragments catalogued (2.5 × 2.2 and 4.0 × 2.0, th 1.5) preserve two areas, one painted gray (50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C), the other left white, separated by a string line. They are likely bands in a frieze. Their relatively substantial thickness suggests that the plaster abutted a straight architectural element, perhaps a wooden beam.

71 (P 161, 62D/64). Five fragments, of which two are catalogued here (2.5 × 2.0, th 0.5; 2.5 × 1.9, th 0.5), consisting of two layers, the top one (th 0.3–0.4) with a surface painted salmon red (11 C/OHLO.C), the lower, partially preserved, softish and colored through the penetration of the surface color, here in a lighter tone (11 C/OCEO.C).

72 (P 160, 62D/56, 58). Eleven pieces, of which the two best preserved are catalogued (6.0 × 4.5; 5.5 × 3.5; max th 2.8), painted Venetian red. Plaster semifine, with a somewhat curving top surface and flat on the back. Color fugitive with little penetration. Pieces may derive from near a straight architectural feature, hence the plaster's thickness.

Construction Plaster

73 (P 146, 62D/83, Pl. 2.26, views and section). Ceiling plaster; two fragments (10.0 × 9.0, th 5.0; 9.0 × 8.0, th 5.0) with two incurved sides each, from round beams; one of the diameters estimated as being between 21.0 and 23.0.

74 (P 159, 62D/65). Floor plaster (14.0 × 11.0, th 8.0) of uncertain type (close to Types E and F), with two layers: top layer off-white with soft red and dark grit inclusions (th 4.0); lower layer with occasional soft red specks and hard angular inclusions; surface rough.

ROOM 19 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.11)

This room seems to have been accessed originally only through Room 42, which, in turn, could be entered directly from the North Stoa. Later, the door and window between 42 and 19 were blocked, and a new door was made through the south wall of 19. In Chap. 3.3, Rutter makes the comment that "social" drinking took place in the stoa and that drinking vessels and foods were stockpiled in Rooms 42 and 19. Here, I would like to suggest a different function for Room 19, namely that it may have served as a dining or banquet room for a small and select group. This hypothesis may explain why Room 19 received extensive mural decoration of a broad painted frieze with multicolor bands (**75** and **76**) and why it seems to have been accessed directly from the stoa. These facts speak against its use as merely a place for storage.[19]

Room 19 was excavated as one trench (53A), except for a small area involving the southern entrance (part of Trench 62D). Two floors, both earth surfaces, have been recognized in the room, the lower (at +3.12 m) used into LM IA Early (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 6), the upper (at +3.16/3.22 m) used into LM IA Advanced (Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 17a), with the immediate strata above being LM IA Final or IB Early in date.

The main discovery in 19 was the frieze of multicolored bands separated by impressed string lines (**75–76**). Among the colors is one that imitates Egyptian blue, the only known

Table 2.11. Plasters from Room 19 at the time of Building T.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
19 *a:* above Floor 1; +3.12 m	53A/parts of 44, 45: LM IA Early; #6	A few bits: salmon red 5 small pieces (likely from **75**/**76**): red, orange/red, white; polished 2 small: white and orange bands; polished A few bits: white; highly polished	1 small: sand and trace of red on top surface	Ca. 20 small to medium
			(19 *a* construction plaster: 3 kg; mostly ceiling plaster)	
19 *b:* above Floor 2; +3.16/3.22 m	53A/ 40, 41, 50; 62D/88, 89: LM IA Advanced; #17a	**75:** painted bands; several; small: fine; white, red, gray/blue/black; highly polished P 46: corner piece; small: semifine; blue; smooth **76:** painted bands; several; small: gray/blue, white, yellow, red; polished 4 very small: salmon red **76a:** 2 medium to small: semifine; light blue; worn; molding or wall corner	1 very small: sand on top	Pieces with impressions
			(19 *b* construction plaster: ca. 7.5 kg; mostly ceiling plaster)	

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.11 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
19 *c:* above Floor 2	53A/34, 37: LM IA Final or IB Early (Rutter's date for stratum above #17a)	Ca. 7 very small to bits: thick; white; polished Ca. 15 very small: salmon red More of **75:** as above More of **76:** as above	Mostly ceiling plaster	
			(19 *c* construction plaster: ca. 14.5 kg)	
19 *d:* collapsed roof / upper walls of T	53A/25, 27, 29, 31: MM III–LM I	5 small: salmon red	Mostly ceiling plaster; like **77**	
			(19 *d* construction plaster: ca. 7 kg)	

instance of such a use in Building T. The technical character of the painting is among the finest in Crete, in terms of its fine fabric, the luster of its surface, and the permanence of the colors. Scattered fragments were found over the lowest floor along with some construction plaster debris (Plaster Group 19 *a*)[20], but the main mass was over Floor 2 (Plaster Group 19 *b*),[21] and farther above (Plaster Group 19 *c*). The later date of this level (LM IA Final or IB Early) might mean there was gradual collapse over time. The collapse included both wall blocks, of which masses were found, and debris from a ceiling in which plasters had been incorporated as a building material. Most of the painted plasters were found alongside the east wall, some centrally and continuing somewhat to the north, others farther south. The plasters were given two catalogue numbers, those at center and north, **75**, those farther south and nearer the south wall, **76**. There is also a difference between the two in the colors used, and perhaps in fabric—distinctions that are noted in more detail in the catalogue. Conceivably, **76** is an earlier painted frieze that already existed in the room, before **75** was painted on the east wall, which seems to have been built after the south wall. At the time of excavation, the trench master noticed traces of color on the south wall where the east wall abutted it.

Salmon red was used, and traces of it were also found still adhering on the north wall. Fragments of the same color (generally small to tiny, their painted surface ca. 0.2 thick, backed by a lower layer of softer plaster, varying from 1.0 to 1.5) were also found loose in the fill in several levels, as evident from Table 2.11. Their color varies somewhat, depending in part on preservation (from salmon red [11 C/OHLO.C] to salmon pink [11 C/OCEO.C]).

There was evidence of a collapsed ceiling, perhaps the result of a fire, consisting of numerous chunky pieces of plaster of soft fabric with much chaff, some bearing the impressions of the reeds and beams between which the plaster was packed.[22] There were also scanty fragments of an unusual type of flooring with a very fine layer of sand at the top, too poorly preserved to be appropriately defined and catalogued. Small pieces of clay were found in the same debris, likely part of the construction of the room's superstructure.

Wall Plaster

75 (P 43, 53A/37, 40 and 41, Pl. 2.11, also incorporated in the restoration, Pl. 2.40). A painted frieze of multicolored bands, two sections restored from joining pieces, fairly flat on the back with a thickness varying from 0.5 to 1.0. These pieces may have been applied on a backing plaster, traces of which were found on the upper part of the east wall. The bands vary in width, although the widths repeat themselves in a predictable pattern to suggest the restoration incorporating the larger section that is further discussed in Chap. 2.4, where the widths of all bands are also listed in detail. The colors of the bands are gray (50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C); imitation of Egyptian blue (66.5 C/EOOG.C for the light blue and 30.5C/ZLOO.C for the dark blue spots); Venetian red (13 C/OSUL.C); white. Samples were analyzed (Appendix 2.2, sample 14).

76 (P 286, 53A/37, 41, Pl. 2.36 at *j*). Painted frieze of multicolored bands. Ca. 20 fragments (the three largest, 5.0×7.5; 7.0×7.5; 6.0×6.5). The plaster often consists of two layers, the top ca. 0.2, the lower 0.3–0.4 in thickness. The lower layer is a softer and coarser plaster. The colors in these fragments differ from those of **75**, also a

frieze found in the same space. They are a gray/blue, which, in one case, appears over the yellow, which is itself marked by faint red streaks. Colors are yellow (9.5 C/OFNO.C); red ([the streaks on some of the yellow fragments] 9.5 C/OMWO.C); gray (52.4 C/OOOL.C–OOON.C). With these fragments was found one with a bluish color (50 C/AOOI.C–AOOL.C, light to darker). A sample of **76** was analyzed (Appendix 2.2, sample 16).

76a (P 45 in 53A/40, P 46 in 53A/41). Two fragments (4.6 × 3.3, th 3.6; 4.7 × 4.4, th 2.5), each consisting of two surfaces meeting at a right angle and both painted light blue. Painted surfaces are flat and smooth but only roughly polished. Fragments could be part of a molding or from the corner of two walls at an opening, whether a window or a door.

Construction Plaster

77 (P 44, 53A/27). Ceiling plaster (largest fragment, 6.3 × 3.2, th 4.5). Fabric coarse, with some chaff.

ROOM 21: AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PL. 2.34)

Only a narrow strip along the west wall of this room was excavated (Trench 53A). It is adjacent to Room 19 but with no direct entrance to it. It is unknown what spaces there were directly to its east, as that area was not excavated below the Greek levels because of the presence of two altars, H and M. The only entrance to it that we know is from Corridor 20/22 directly south.

Its stratigraphy is not dissimilar to that of 19, namely, much rubble and construction plaster that started fairly high up (with Pails 24 and 26) and ended at a floor used into LM IA Advanced (Pails 38–39, at +3.14/3.16 m, deposit partially related to Pottery Group 16). Construction of the altars caused a disturbance of the upper Minoan levels marked by some Greek sherds as well as by the occasional piece of plaster (like **78,** at +5.50 m). One difference from the adjacent Room 19, as far as plasters are concerned, is that there were very few fine or decorated plasters; some were painted in the ubiquitous salmon red color, and some blue/black.

Coarse plaster, mostly used as packing in a ceiling, was found all the way down to the floor, totaling about 10 kg, the largest mass found in fill directly above the floor (in Pails 35, 36, and 38, from +3.12 to 3.54 m). As in Room 19, such plasters were found along with clay lumps, which may be part of the construction of the ceiling and/or the roof. Conceivably, this room did not have a paved roof or a floor above, to judge by the lack of such types of plaster among the debris.

Construction Plaster

78 (P 149, 20B1/22, Pl. 2.27, left side of plate, four views and a section). Ceiling plaster (9.5 × 4.0, max pres th 2.1) found in a seventh-century context east of Altar H. Fabric semicoarse and hard; one surface, likely the visible one, is flat and marked on either side by curves, clearly the impressions of two adjacent transverse beams, with the respective estimated diameters ranging from 17.0 to 22.0. Behind the flat surface the plaster is rough, as if broken away from where it would have continued farther back from the stoa's facade.

LOCUS 20/22 AND ROOM 29: AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PL. 2.34; TABLES 2.12 AND 2.13)

With these locations, we move directly south of the ones just examined (42, 19, 21) but also to the eastern end of the building where the corridor once ended at Rooms 24a–25b. After its initial use, the long and wide east-west corridor was divided longitudinally by a long and narrow wall. The northern strip (20) continued to function as a corridor leading to rooms to the north and east, whereas the southern one (22) was further subdivided by short north-south walls that defined a small room at the eastern end (29). Continuous remodeling led to the blocking of entrances to the latter and the subdivision in LM III of strip 22 in its western section. Excavation, as in the case of Locus 21 and for similar reasons, was limited to Greek levels in the area between 20/22 and 29. The situation is further obscured by the contamination of the upper levels, first during the LM IIIA2 construction of the galleries of Building P, then during the reuse of the site during the Early Iron Age.

The finds from the western and eastern sections of the corridor are presented separately in Tables 2.12 and 2.13. Two floors were identified, the lowest representing the end of the use of the original corridor, here labeled 20/22. The next floor is associated with the use of the secondary dividing wall and the newly created spaces. This phase ended in LM IA Final.

Fine plasters were found primarily over the initial floor, including that in Room 29, which was then part of the original corridor. There are, however, some distinct variations in the types of plasters found. On the western end—nearly next to Court 15—there were more pieces with patterns or that were painted a solid color and could derive from places like the North Stoa or rooms adjacent to the east. It was noted previously, for instance, that **79**, with a pattern simulating some type of variegated stone, joined with a fragment found in that court. Fine plasters in the east section were fewer and without decoration. Pieces like **52**, painted in blue, were found in the eastern end of the corridor (Group 20e *a*) and in 25b, but there with their surface covered with soot and where there is evidence for burning over the initial floor. Pieces may thus have shifted in both directions, between the adjacent spaces of the court and the corridor. Solid blue may have been a predominant color in the initial corridor, to judge from a few more fragments, thicker than the burnt ones, and rather worn and with pitted surfaces. Most of these were found in the western section (P 47, P 132, and **81,** the latter of which is part of a molding with additional traces of red) and may have belonged to the original plastering. Worthy of note is fragment **81**'s similarity to **68**, a wall plaster that was found north of Road 17, together with parts of plaster tables, as discussed under Locus 2, where the suggestion was made that the collection may be a dump of materials once moved out of Building T and thrown outdoors. Blue fragments with soot continued to be found in scantier quantities in successive levels, possibly as a result of their falling at intervals from the walls.

Attention must be called to the discovery of numerous fragments of another type of wall plaster concentrated in the eastern area, including Room 29, above the upper of the two

Table 2.12. Plasters from Locus 20/22 (western part) at the time of Building T and later accumulation.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
20/22w *a:* +3.06 to 3.28–3.30 m	52A/51, 52, 56, 58; 53A1/69, 71, 74; 56A1/97, 98, 102, 103: LM IA Final; related to #22a, 22b, 23	**79:** 3 small: fine; black streaks on gray/blue; highly polished **80:** 4 very small to small: blue, white, Venetian red; string line; polished, pitted P 119: 1 small: fine; light blue; highly polished 15 small to very small: mixed; indef 5 small: fine; blue with soot		Ca. 30 small to medium	
			(20/22w *a* construction plaster: ca. 5 kg)		

20/22w *b:* above +3.28/3.33 m	52A/43–45; 53A1/66–68; 56A1/92, 95, 96: LM IA Final	P 47: 1 medium: semifine; light blue, traces of red; polished P 131: 1 very small: fine; curving red band on white; worn Ca. 75 small to very small: mixed; indef (20/22w *b* wall revetment: ca. 2 kg)	1 medium: small pebbles on top		
20/22w *c:* to +3.84 m	53A1/57–60, 62, 63, 65, 66; 56A1/86–91: mixed Neopalatial to LM IB Early; #31, 32	4 small: fine; blue with soot Handful; very small to small: fine; salmon pink; polished Ca. 50 small to very small: indef (20/22w *c* wall revetment: ca. 1 kg)	**82:** 1 small: similar to Type A(?)		
20/22w *d:* above +3.85 m	52A/24, 27, 29, 31, 32; 56A1/ 54, 69, 70, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80–84: LM IIIA2; construction fill dumped over 22w; #52e	P 132: 1 small: fine; blue/black; pitted surface **81:** 1 very small: fine; possible molding; blue/black with red lines; polished Ca. 20 medium: mixed; indef (20/22w *d* wall revetment: ca. 2 kg)	(20/22w *d* construction plaster: ca. 3 kg)	A few ceiling fragments: worn	**PT7:** plaster offering table **82a:** conical form

Table 2.13. Plasters from Locus 20/22 (eastern part) and from Room 29.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
20e *a:* above floor at +3.27/3.34 m	67B/1, 2: LM IA Early (more likely LM IA Final); #15	9 small: indef		
20e *b:* above floor at +3.33/3.42 m	57A1/80 and part of 77: LM IA Final(?)	5 small 1 small: blue; faded; no polish		
22e *c:* above floor at +3.19–3.42 m	57A/26: LM IA Final(?)	Ca.10 fragments: blue; surface covered with soot		
22e *d:* above floor at +3.34/3.42 m	57A/21–23, 25; 57A1/73, 78: LM IA Final; related to #25	**83:** 1 medium: semicoarse; straw impressions in back; no polish 6 small: thick; fine; highly polished 8 bits to small: fine; 1 Venetian red on yellow, molding(?) 10 bits to very small: salmon red Several bits to small: blue with soot like **84** Ca. 200; a few large and very small to medium: most like **83** (22e *d* wall revetment: ca. 12 kg)		

29 *e:* above floor at +3.27/3.33 m	67B1/1, 2: LM IA Final; #21	**84:** bits: slim; fine; blue; surface covered with soot Ca. 10 bits to small: indef	
29 *f:* above floor at +3.33/3.42 m	57A1–A2/81: LM IA Final; #21	5 medium to small: indef P 158: small: thick; blue/black curving; next to red	
Later Accumulation			
22e/29 *g:* ca. +4.00–ca. +4.92 m	57A/10–19 over Locus 22; 57A1/44–52, 54, 56, 57, over 22 and 29; 57A2/70–72, 74, 76: Mixed Neopalatial–LM III2; related to #52d	P 157: small: thick; blue/black; polished	**85:** concave impressions
		Ca. 200 very small to medium: likely mostly from ceiling (ca. 8 kg)	
22e+26n *g:* above +4.92/5.05 m	57A/6–9 (over 22 and north wall of P1/26); 57A1/37–42: Neopalatial through LM III, some Archaic; related to #58b	6 very small: fine; polished	**86:** Similar to Type A(?)
			Ca. 80 mostly small: likely mostly ceiling plaster (ca. 2 kg)

floors, mainly because the type may represent a rare case of later plastering in Building T, after its remodeling and during its reuse. Some corners from where the plasters presumably abutted an architectural feature or the ceiling preserved traces of plaster fragments. Their fabric is semicoarse, with flat and only roughly smoothed surfaces. They are thicker than the plasters of the North Stoa or Room 19, and their backs occasionally preserve the imprint of straw or chaff (as in **83**), perhaps from backing plaster from which they became detached. Traces of backing plaster were, indeed, found *in situ* in some spots on the south face of the narrow east-west wall that divided the original corridor in two, and perhaps the plaster discussed came from this location. The rather rough construction of this wall explains the use of a backing layer, a parallel for which is that found *in situ* on the rough wall that blocked the original entrance between Loci 4/10 and 11.

Few plasters from ceilings, roofs, and pavements were found, but these have interesting patterns of occurrence from a chronological point of view. They are scanty over the lower floor, and after that they occur only in the uppermost strata (Plaster Groups 20/22w *c* and 22e/29 *g*). It is now not yet possible to know if a new roof was built when the dividing wall was installed; perhaps there was only some dismantling and then repairs. Whatever the genesis of the final roof,[23] it appears to have been demolished gradually later on, perhaps as part of a leveling operation related to construction in LM III.

Wall Plaster

79 (P 118, 52A/51, Pl. 2.36 at *i*, the small pieces, far left and fragment to the right). Of the two fragments catalogued here (4.6 × 3.9, th 1.2; 4.9 × 3.5, th 1.2), one joined the larger piece seen at the center of the color illustration, which was found at the eastern end of Locus 15 and thus was given a separate catalogue number (**54**). In all three pieces the decoration consists of streaks of blue/black color against a gray/blue background. For color specifications, see the catalogue description for **54**. The plaster is fine and the surfaces highly polished.

80 (P 144, 52A/51, Pl. 2.12). Three small pieces with pitted surfaces (4.7 × 3.6, th 1.2; 3.7 × 3.1, th 1.1; 2.2 × 1.9, th 0.4; 2.5 × 1.8, th 0.7), of which two are illustrated. Preserved in one of the latter (third in top row in Pl. 2.12) is evidence for two adjacent areas separated by an impressed string line. Of these, the top one (as shown in the illustration) is molded and painted Venetian red, the other is flat and painted light blue. On the other fragment (top left in the illustration) there is a painting of a curved area painted blue (66.5 C/NCOK and IOOJ.C) adjacent to a white area. Conceivably, the pieces discussed are part of a dado preserving a molded band and what may be a conglomerate pattern. Since the fragments came from just east of Court 15, the source may be Locus 16 of the North Stoa, unless there was a similar dado in Locus 20/22, for which there is not sufficient evidence.

81 (P 136, 56A1/54). One fragment (2.1 × 1.2, th 1.4), possible part of molding, painted blue/black with two red diagonal lines or smears. Plaster fine, with polished surface. The piece seems similar to **68** found north of Road 17, north of Locus 5.

Construction Plaster

82 (P 48, 53A1/58). Floor plaster similar to Type A fragment (8.0 × 6.9, th 3.0) consisting of three layers: top one (th 1.2–1.5) hard and of semifine fabric, with fairly smooth surface; middle one containing small pebbles; bottom layer of softer fabric preserved incompletely.

Other

82a (P 120; 52A/32, Pl. 2.33, bottom row, three views, and a section). Broken conical form (5.3 × 4.9 × 3.5) built of some three concentric layers. Interpretation is difficult, and we cannot determine whether the piece was part of a mural decoration or part of an object. If the latter, it resembles the leg of a plaster offering table, but is too pointed at what would have been the bottom part of such a leg.

PT7 Plaster offering table.

Wall Plaster

83 (P 152, 57A1/73, Pl. 2.12, top and bottom views). Wall plaster fragment (9.0 × 4.6, th ca. 2.6); semicoarse fabric; flat but only roughly smoothed top surface; straw impressions on back.

84 (P 127, 67B1/2). A few fragments (the larger ones, 3.0 × 2.1, th 0.8; 1.8 × 1.6, max th 1.9) found in Room 29 over the floor (+3.27 m) near the south wall, painted blue (66.5 C/EOOG.C), their surface covered with soot. They are made up of three layers: the top one (th 0.2–0.3) of gray/blue fabric, colored by the penetration of the pigment applied on the surface, except for specks of plaster that remained untainted; the middle one (ca. 0.4) off-white; the bottom one very soft and muddy (Appendix 2.2, sample 18).

Construction Plaster

85 (P 154, 57A/15 and P 155, 57A/16, Pl. 2.27, right column in plate, with two views and a section). Ceiling plaster, the fragments (4.0 × 3.0; 4.0 × 3.0) many-faceted and with concave impressions likely from reeds or pieces of rounded timber.

86 (P 153, 57A/7; P 156, 57A/6, Pl. 2.19, second row, top, side and bottom views). Floor plaster (catalogue piece 4.0 × 4.0) similar to Type A, preserving two layers: top one semifine (th ca. 1.5–2.0) with polished surface; the next and partially preserved layer consisting of small black pebbles. Incised straight line and traces of ocher yellow in one of the pieces.

Selective Comments on Uncatalogued Plaster

A few small pieces (P 157 in 57A/19, and P 158 in 57A/8), painted blue/black (50C/FOOU.C), seem similar in thickness, coloring, and surface treatment to fragments (**68**) found north of the west end of Road 17, in Locus 2. Of interest are also some fragments painted salmon pink (11 C/OCEO.C) in 57A/21, 25.

ROOM 23 AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.14)

Excavation took place only along the eastern part of the room, revealing two lateral doorways set in that corner, one leading east, the other south, and two floors (the earlier at +3.25–3.30 m, the next at +3.35 m). Two interesting discoveries were made. One was a patch of unpainted plaster floor found *in situ* along the south wall and the door. The other was two instances of a relatively thin layer of painted plaster (salmon) still adhering to the lower parts of the north and the south walls. Instructive in this case was that the painted plaster layer had been applied directly on the wall without any backing plaster, a technique encountered also in Locus 11 in the North Stoa. The reason for this technique may be the same in both cases, namely, the relative smoothness of the well-built interior faces of their walls.

Not much is known about the mural decoration of the room. There were several pieces of salmon red plaster scattered through the successive fills, two small pieces of a frieze of multi-

Table 2.14. Plasters from Room 23 at the time of Building T and later accumulation.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
23 *a:* over Floor 1 at +3.25–3.30 m	93D/36, 39, 55: MM II–III; #2a	8 small: indef 6 small: blue/black	Plaster floor, unpainted, found *in situ*	
23 *b:* over Floor 2 at +3.35–3.50 m	58A/54, 56, 57, 59: LM IA Early; #2b	**87:** 2 very small: slim; fine; white and Venetian red bands(?), with string line P 106: 2 small: thick; blue/black; burnt Ca. 30 very small to small: slim; salmon red	A few pieces	Some roughly preserved pieces
		100 small to medium: mixture of wall and ceiling plaster (ca. 1.95 kg)		
23 *c:* above +3.50 m	58A/38, 43, 47, 50, 60: LM IA Final; #20	Ca. 35–40 bits to very small: slim; fine; salmon red; semipolished	**88:** ca. 50: Type E	Ca. 200 small to large
			(23 *c* construction plaster: ca. 10 kg)	
23 *d:* above ca. +4.40 m	58A/19, 21, 24, 25, 27: LM III2; #52a	Ca. 90 bits to small: poorly preserved, mostly coarse construction plaster (ca. 3 kg)		

colored bands (white and Venetian red), separated by an impressed string line (**87**), as well as a few blue-painted fragments covered with soot—the latter a frequent phenomenon in this part of the building.

Construction plasters were of greater interest. Most seem to have come from the structure of the ceiling, to judge by the soft, chaffy fabric and the occasional impressions of reeds and comparable materials. A few were part of a floor or a paved roof (**88**). The debris started above the second floor in fill dating to LM IA Early (Plaster Group 23 *b*), but it continued upward with more fragments (in the later Plaster Groups 23 *c* and 23 *d*).

Wall Plaster

87 (P 109, 58A/56, Pl. 2.12). Two fragments (3.0 × 2.0, th 0.6; 1.7 × 0.7, th 0.9) their surface divided into two areas by an impressed line, one white (with a slight bluish tinge), the other painted Venetian red; max pres w of white band 2.1, that of the red one 1.1. Plaster is fine, with a highly polished top surface, flat at the back. Fabric, coloring, and surface treatment much resemble Frieze **75** from nearby Room 19.

Construction Plaster

88 (P 107, 58A/50, Pl. 2.19, two pieces, views and sections; Pl. 2.20, top and side views of the two pieces). Four large, 30 small to medium, and 15 small fragments of floor plaster Type E (largest 7.0 × 5.0, max th 4.1). Some preserve two layers of unequal thickness separated from each other by a thin layer (th ca. 0.2–3.5) of granules, perhaps crushed limestone, and in one case also by a thin sherd; bottom layer contains small light and dark stones; surface is smooth but unpolished.

Selective Comments on Uncatalogued Plasters

Found in 58A/54 and 47 was a piece (max pres dim 4.0 × 2.5, th 1.0) painted salmon red (11 C/OHLO.C; penetration of lighter pink color 11 C/OCEO.C) and a similar piece from (58A/54) that has been analyzed (Appendix 2.2, sample 17). Found in the latter context were also two small pieces (P 106), the larger 5.8 × 3.5, th 2.8 painted blue/black 49 C/OOOQ.C), interesting because they were burnt on all sides.

ROOMS 24A AND 24B AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.15)

Excavation in what appears to have been storage rooms was restricted by the presence of the Hellenistic Building E, which covers part of the northeastern corner of Building T. The eastern ends of the rooms are considered here, and those directly south (25a and 25b). Building E (Pl. 2.34), and whatever earlier Historic construction may lie under it, accounts for sherds of Historic date in the uppermost Minoan fills (as in Plaster Group 24A/24B *f*); see Table 2.15.

Fine plasters (mostly salmon red) occurred on the earliest floors, in fills of MM III or LM IA Early date, characterized by burning, mostly in Room 24a. The surface of some of these pieces was covered with soot. The same types continued higher, perhaps the result of gradual collapse, even if the rooms featured a second floor of use (according to Rutter's reading of the pottery). Little was found in Room 24b, although the stratigraphy is the same. Notewor-

Table 2.15. Plasters from Rooms 24a, 24b and the doorway between them (24a/24b) at the time of Building T, and later accumulation over the two rooms combined (24a+24b).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
24A *a:* over +3.32 m (Floor 1)	58A/39, 42, 45: MM III or LM IA Early; #3a	**89:** ca. 35 bits to small: slim; fine; salmon red; smooth		
24A *b:* over +3.53 m (Floor 2)	58A/35, 36: LM IA Early; #3b	15 bits to small: like **89;** salmon red 20 small: fine; white; smooth		
24A/24B *c:* (doorway between the two rooms)	58A/31: LM IA Early	25 bits to medium: indef; broken up and lumps 15 bits: salmon red 20 small: fine; white with soot on surface (24a/24b *c* wall revetment: 1.63 kg)		3 small
24B *d:* over +3.32 m (Floor 1)	58A/42, 44, 48: MM IIB–III; #4a	A few pieces: salmon red		
24B *e:* over +3.42 m (Floor 2)	58A/35; 66B/24: LM IA; #4b	10 bits to small: indef; 1 lump		
Later Accumulation				
24A+24B *f:* ca. +3.80–4.90 m	58A/20, 22, 26, 29, 33, 34; 66B/12, 14, 16, 18: to LM III; some Historic	P 178: piece from wall with two surfaces	**90:** Type F Ca. 200 small to large: construction plaster, mostly ceiling (ca. 26 kg)	**91:** beam impressions

thy are several loose blocks (in 58A/28–29), clearly from the walls with traces of what may have been backing plaster, somewhat coarse and varying in thickness from 0.8 to 2.0.

More impressive are the remains of construction plaster, which occurred over both spaces and mainly in the higher strata, predominantly LM III in date, with the occasional Historic sherd (Plaster Group 24A/24B *f*). Practically all the plasters came from the destruction of the ceiling (**91**), and whatever floor or pavement existed above (**90**). The particular stratum is suggested by Rutter to represent the reshaping of the North Wing of Building T as a terrace during the period of the LM III A2 buildings that superseded T.

Wall Plaster

89 (P 105, 58A/39). A chunky piece (3.2 × 3.4, th 3.2), painted salmon pink/red (12 C/OJLO.C), made up of two layers. Of these, the top (th 0.6) was tinted salmon pink (12 C/OEEO.C) from the penetration of the pigment applied on the surface, but it also contained specks of plaster or lime that remained white. The bottom layer (th 3.0) was softer and buff in color.

Construction Plaster

90 (P 141, 66B/20). Floor plaster Type F (6.5 × 6, max pres th 2.8); fine sand (mostly dark) densely concentrated at the surface, some continuing sparsely throughout body; body made of coarse hard plaster, with the occasional inclusions, including in one case either a piece of clay or a worn coarse sherd. The piece is flattish on the bottom as if applied on a flat surface, as in pieces of Type B/C found in other locations, mainly in Locus 5.

91 (P 177 66B/12, Pl. 2.28, all but bottom right in the plate, four views and two sections; P 108, 58A/29, Pl. 2.28 bottom right). Ceiling plaster, larger fragment (10.0 × 7.0, max pres th 6.5); with two concave impressions and a third curved side, the latter from possible reeds. The other and smaller piece (bottom right) bears impressions from what may be reeds and smaller beams or tree limbs.

ROOMS 25A AND 25B AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PLAN 2.34; TABLE 2.16)

Like Rooms 24a and 24b, these appear to have been storage magazines. Once again, their excavation was partially limited by the presence of Hellenistic Building E along their eastern edges. Excavation continued down to the initial floors (at +3.16/3.26 m), which were characterized by a thick layer of burning associated with pottery of MM IIB–LM IA Early date (25B *c* in Table 2.16). Found leaning against the south wall of 25 was a heap of fragments of blue-painted plaster, the surfaces of which were covered with soot, suggesting that their burning happened while they were still part of the wall. The heap reached as high as +3.50 m, the level at which a new floor may have begun, as inferred by Rutter on the basis of ceramic evidence (Chap. 3.3).

In both 25a and 25b construction plaster lay over the second floor (Plaster Groups 25A *b* and 25A/25B *e*) and in fills of mingled Early Neopalatial and LM IIIA2 sherds, the latter clearly the result of remodeling of this area of Building T as a terrace during the time of

Table 2.16. Plasters from Rooms 25a and 25b at the time of Building T, and later accumulation in upper levels in the two rooms combined (25a+25b).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
25A *a:* over +3.18 m; Floor 1	66B/26: MM IIB–LM IA Early; #5a	5 very small: slim; no color; worn		
25A *b:* over +3.44/3.50 m; Floor 2	66B/21, 22: MM IIB–LM IA Early; #5b	Ca. 20 small: indef	Ca. 250 very small to medium: mostly ceiling plaster (ca. 7 kg)	
25B *c:* over +3.16/3.26 m; Floor 1	86A/7 and part of 6: MM IIB–LM IA Early	Heap of plaster piled against south wall; blue with soot on surface		
25B *d:* over +3.44 m; Floor 2	86A/part of 4, 5, 6	Heap against south wall; blue with soot		
Upper Strata in 25a and 25b Combined				
25A+25B *e:* from +4.00 m and above	86A/1–3; 66B/11, 13, 15, 17, 19: LM IIIA2 and some Historic			**92:** ca. 35 small to very large
			(25A+25B *e* construction plaster, mostly ceiling: ca. 11 kg)	

Building P. As in all the rooms in the northeastern section of the building, such debris consisted basically of pieces from a ceiling/roof (like **92**), rather than remains of any paving there may have been on top. This debris totaled some 18 kg. As suggested in the preceding discussions of the several adjacent rooms east of 25a and 25b, it is likely that such plaster debris was still lying near its place of origin when the LM III operations occurred.

Construction Plaster

92 (P 142, 66B/17, Pl. 2.29, two views and two sections, one including a reconstruction). Ceiling plaster with impressions of beams and/or reeds.

LOCUS: EASTERN PORTION OF ROADS 17, AND 34 (PL. 2.34)

Hardly any plasters were found either along the central part of Road 17 or its eastern return (Road 34), except for the occasional piece from roof or ceiling construction that bears impressions of round beams—these were found north of the eastern part of the North Stoa (47A/53: LM I).

Cluster C: The East Wing; the South Stoa and Adjacent Spaces of the Central Court and Areas Outside the Buildings

Loci 26/P1, 27/P2, 28/P3, 35/P4, 36/P5; 43/P6, and 46/P6; the South Stoa along with a strip in the Central Court; area 45 south of the Stoa

Unlike the North Wing of Building T, the structures most visible today in the East Wing are those built in LM IIIA2, a series of long parallel rooms built over the remains of Building T. Collectively these rooms or "galleries" make up Building P. Galleries seem to have existed in Building T as well, although the defining parallel walls do not exactly coincide during the two periods, except for the one that separates the second from the third galleries. For the galleries of Building T, the label uses only an Arabic numeral; for the LM III structure, the prefix "P" has been added to the Arabic numeral. Often, and for clarity, references to these spaces combine the two labels, as in Loci 26/P1, 27/P2, and so forth. At least within two of these long spaces, 26/P1 and 27/P2, there was extensive Iron Age reuse involving architectural changes, like the insertion in P1 of a well and a staircase leading down into Minoan from the Greek levels. The most completely excavated space remains Locus P3/28.

Because of such spotty recovery and often-disturbed stratigraphy, there is less call for tables to present plaster provenances. One must rely on references given to trenches and pails to specify derivations in these wide and long spaces without interior divisions. There is some compensation, however, for these limitations—for example, the discovery of a plaster

floor *in situ* in Locus 28 and of plaster deposits that help architectural construction or destruction to be inferred. Each gallery is treated below along with the area directly to the west in the Central Court, with the thought that here too, as in the North Wing, some plasters may have been thrown out onto the court from within. Another area considered in Cluster C is a strip excavated directly east of the Minoan buildings.

LOCUS 26/P1, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND INTO BUILDING P (PL. 2.34)

Plasters were located only in the eastern sector of this space—from west to east in the northern part of Trench 94A and (after an unexcavated area) in parts of Trenches 67A1, 62E, 76C, 75A, 76C, and 80B. Iron Age structures (Building Q on the west, and the Iron Age well and its staircase at the east end) disturbed Minoan levels and prevented more complete excavation.

The only case where pure Minoan strata were reached was in a sounding at the eastern end of the gallery, where levels preceding both Building T and Protopalatial Building AA were found. Here, one of the finds was a fine specimen of wall plaster painted yellow with red striations perhaps imitating wood grain (**93**), found in an LM IA context (at +3.18–3.30 m). Another find was part of a plaster offering table (**PT8**), important for the history of ritual at Kommos (see Chap 4.5). In the same context and farther down (80B/57A, 58, 60, 60A, 77) was a small collection of construction plasters along with possible floor material (**94**), as well as a piece of medium-fine fabric, flat at the back, with a top slip that is highly polished and painted a light brown. This material shows correspondences to types encountered in the North Wing of T and suggests some consistency in the quality of plaster.

Finds in the Pre- or Protopalatial levels in the same sounding (Trench 80B/78, 79, 81, 83, and in an MM IA–IIB Early fill, A. Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, Pottery Group Ja) were rather disappointing: bits of reddish brown plaster (11.5 C/OQWO.C), with a pink fabric (56 C/OFJO.C) containing tiny specks of white lime with penetration turning all the fabric a light red. There were also yellow bits 0.8–0.9 thick (9.5 C/OFNO.C) with a white fabric with faint yellowish color from surface pigment penetration. Of interest was the presence of a sandy fill containing also some tiny murex shells.

Wall Plaster

93 (P 126, 67A1/57, Pl. 2.12). A piece (5.0 × 4.0, th 1.6) painted with streaks in light red (10.5 C/ONWO.C) against a pinkish background (10.5 C/OEIO.C), somewhat similar to **16** and **30**, the difference being the more yellow background in the latter, plaster fine, the surface polished and curving toward the back at one end, suggesting this may be part of a molding.

Construction Plaster

94 (P 135, 56A1/53, above ca. +5.00 m). Floor fragments, somewhere between Type A and Type G (the painted floor of Locus 28, under Gallery P3); max dim 4.5 × 3.4; fragments consist mainly of a layer of plaster, max pres. th 1.5, under which is a black smallish pebble, perhaps the only one preserved from what was once a layer of pebbles; top surface smooth but unpolished; fabric semifine (57 C/HKLO.C–DGHO.C).

Other

PT8 Plaster offering table.

LOCUS 27/P2, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND INTO BUILDING P (PL. 2.34)

The floor in this area at the time of Building T was paved with slabs, so that any floor plaster found in pertinent levels should be attributed to the floor of an upper storey or to a paved roof. A few plasters from the destruction or collapse of a ceiling (**95**) and of paving plaster incorporating a layer of pebbles were found in a mixed Minoan and Iron Age context at the western end of this space, of which the excavation was very limited for the reasons explained immediately above.

Other plasters came from the eastern portions of the gallery, and these too seem to go back to Building T. Thus, in one of the few undisturbed contexts at the eastern end (77A/40, +3.35 m, LM IA) were bits of plaster painted yellow to orange/red, light blue, and red. A few more slim pieces bearing traces of Venetian red (13.5 C/OXZM.C) were found in a sounding (97E/60 at +3.12 m).

Construction Plaster

95 (P 250, 94A/12, Pl. 2.30). Ceiling plaster (7.6 × 9.3, th 4.2) with partially preserved impressions of adjacent beams.

LOCUS 28/P3, AT THE TIME OF BUILDINGS T AND P (PL. 2.34)

This is one of the most thoroughly excavated of the long parallel spaces in the East Wing of Building T and in Building P. Unexcavated below the LM III levels remains a strip in the southeastern section of the space, where some interesting LM III hearths (Frontispiece A, Foldout B, Pl. 1.98 at *b*) led to the decision to stop excavation at that level. Excavation was also limited by the presence of eighth-century-B.C. Building Z, built near the west end over Gallery P3, although excavation continued under its floor, which was made merely of compacted earth.

Of greatest interest in the context of this chapter was the discovery of a plaster floor that paved both the long space on the west and the rear or east room and that was still *in situ*, even if damaged here and there. We were able to trace this floor in a number of locations where excavation could reach the appropriate levels (Pl. 2.35), particularly in the northern half of the long spaces.[24] Preservation varied, damage having been caused by the later reuse of the floor, as indicated by the installation of rectangular compartments outlined by small stones that were partly inserted within the plaster surface (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1). Whatever the activity involved, fire was used and it often led to the destruction of the floor, the only

compensating advantage being that the removal of the layers caused by the activity revealed the floor's bedding, which, as is also known from some probes under the better preserved areas of the floor, consisted of a thin layer of pebbles.

The plaster floor sloped up (from ca. +3.13 to +3.47 m) from the west, where the longer room opened onto the Central Court, to the east, the small rear room. It consisted of several layers, representing renewals, that ended at the bottom on a surface with a scatter of pebbles mixed with some lime or crushed plaster. The bottom of the lowest layer was reached in some locations, at ca. +3.43 in the small room and at ca. +2.87 at the west end of the long room. Of great technical interest is that the successive plaster layers that were applied on the floor continued up over the lowest course of the adjacent walls. This phenomenon was clearly attested where the plaster was traced against the original walls of Building T. The two main cases are illustrated here, one with a drawing, in the case of the small rear room showing the plaster rising against its east wall (Pl. 2.20, bottom right), and the other with a photograph, near the longer west room where one can see the many layers rising against the north wall of T (Pl. 2.21). The same technique was discovered in a number of soundings along the north wall in both the long and the small rooms. The reason why this feature was preserved is that, unlike what happened with the other walls of T in the East Wing, this particular wall was not entirely dismantled, since the north wall of LM III Gallery P3 ran along the same line, with a slight deviation in orientation that was dealt with by keeping only the bottom course of T's wall (hidden under the LM III floor) and building anew the upper courses. Thus, it turned out that in the east end of Locus 28/P3 this part of the wall of T jutted out. These circumstances also saved the plaster floor from destruction.

The question of how many layers the floor consisted of is a difficult one to answer, as the number varied from area to area where we conducted probes. Varied too were the sequences of colors applied on the floor surfaces, although it is not difficult to imagine how this happened, namely, that some of the surfaces were worn in some places but not in others before the next surface was added. Colors detected in the east room can be seen in the drawing noted above (Pl. 2.20, bottom right). Some six layers were found, starting and ending with white and with blue ones in between. Some nine layers were found in the west portion of the longer room (Pl. 2.21, top), and of these three at the bottom were white, then followed five blue ones, and then a white layer at the top. The thickness of the layers varied, the thicker ones usually being at the bottom, but they all were largely thinner than 2.0 cm and most as thin as 0.2–0.5 cm. A fragment catalogued as **100** (Pl. 2.20), derived from the smaller eastern room, provides an idea of the fabric and the type of blue paint used, as can be seen in its description in the catalogue.

Loose fragments of plaster were found in three soundings both above and below the upper level of the plaster floor. Those below were few, fragmented, and difficult to date, since the contexts were somewhat mixed, including Neopalatial in addition to Protopalatial sherds. These circumstances negate the usefulness of presenting them in a table of provenances, but

an attempt will be made to follow an order, partly by location, partly chronological, by discussing first those found in the soundings below the floor and then those found above it.

All the soundings (excavated in Trench 86D) were located against the north wall in the eastern portion of the gallery, the easternmost one in the east room and directly east of the thick Protopalatial wall that seems to have served as foundation for a slimmer wall of Building T. This last sounding was the only one that yielded plasters in purely Protopalatial levels (Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, Pottery Group Je), although these were not particularly instructive, given their poor preservation. Some were painted yellow (**97**), one had a friable fabric painted with a fugitive red/brown color, and some twenty small pieces were construction plaster.

The middle sounding west of the one just described was also positioned next to the thick Protopalatial north-south wall. Of great interest, despite their shattered state, were a few pieces of plasters encountered toward the bottom of the plaster layers, with more bits mingled with the pebbles. Despite their poor preservation, we could make out the painted pattern, one known from other Minoan examples and usually referred to as "sponge pattern" (Pl. 2.38 at *a*). The possibility that this pattern represents a variegated type of stone and may have been part of a painted dado is considered in Chap. 2.4. Unfortunately, the context leaves it ambiguous whether these pieces were hangovers from a pre–Building T era or were part of an earlier decoration of Building T dumped over a floor surface that was later resurfaced. The location of some of the pieces in the layer with the pebbles may lend more support to the Protopalatial date.

The westernmost sounding was located a short distance away from the previous one and was smaller than the others. Here, only one layer of the plaster floor was preserved, and this was very worn. Sherds within the floor (80D/34 and 34A) were again LM IA or IB date, representing the reuse of the building. What remained of the bottom plaster layer was laid over a compacted claylike surface with some sand (evidently the top fill in the underlying casemate). The most exciting discovery, once again, was more shattered pieces of plaster again preserving traces of the sponge pattern.

Some plasters were found above the plaster floor, particularly in the western portion of the longer space. Noteworthy were a molded fragment with traces of light blue color on a polished surface, and bits of thin red-painted pieces found near the north wall (respectively, in 65A2/43 and 71, at +3.00–3.10 m). The ceramic context of the latter was of LM IB date (related to Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 41). Some ten pieces were found near the south wall of Building T, a segment of the bottom course of which was exposed near the western end of the gallery. Some were unpainted but with a highly polished surface, a few were painted black, and two featured adjacent white and black areas that may have been parts of bands in a frieze (**98**). Given their quality, it makes sense that they belong to the decoration of that wall of Building T.

More massive was a deposit of mainly unpainted plaster, with a well-smoothed surface (**99**), found in the east room and likely representing debris from the wall of T, built over the

Protopalatial wall already mentioned. T's wall must have been demolished just prior to the construction of Building P, given the LM III context (83A/46A and 58, at ca. +3.55 to 3.34/3.40 m) of these fragments, some fifty pieces, small to very small, weighing ca. 2.6 kg, a few with faint traces of blue. Their irregular back suggests that they were applied on a wall surface that was not particularly smooth.

A few other plaster fragments were found in LM IIIB levels (81B/73: Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 69a). They are coarse with much chaff and could belong to Building P's roof. If so they represent rare evidence for the use of plaster in the monumental buildings at Kommos during LM III.

Wall Plaster

96 (P 186, P 185, 86D/33–35; in the west and central soundings, Pl. 2.38 at *a*). Some ten badly preserved (the longest 9.8, th ca. 0.2–0.3), some so thin and cracked they had to be retrieved by attaching them to gauze.[25] All are painted with the sponge pattern, in blue/black (50 C/FOOU.C) on a white background that looks bluish gray (50 C/AOOI.C) evidently from the spread of the applied colors in it. The plaster is fine, and the surface is polished.

97 (P 226, 86D/48, east sounding). A few badly broken fragments (largest, 15.5 × 12.0), painted yellow (8 C/OCLO.C–8 C/OHVO.C in light to darker shade), varying in thickness from 0.5 to 1.0 cm and consisting of two layers that vary in thickness. As in the salmon pink and some blue fragments noted in a number of spaces in the North Wing of the building, the plaster also contains bits of white inclusions—lime or specks of plaster—in the top layer, which is otherwise saturated with the yellow pigment that was applied on the surface.

98 (P 242, 89B/96, Pl. 2.13). Two fragments (3 × 2.9, th 0.4–1.2; 2.0 × 2.5, th 1.1), painted in what may be bands, one white, the other gray (50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C and 52.4 C/OOOL.C–OOON.C.), max pres w 2.00. The plaster is fine, flat on the back, with a highly polished top surface, which is worn in spots, making unclear whether the two areas were separated by an impressed string line.

99 (P 251, 83A/46A and 58, from east room of Locus 28, found above the plaster floor [at ca. +3.34–3.55 m]). Some fifty fragments (the largest 4.4 × 3.3, th 2.7) of unpainted wall revetment, likely deposited when the north-south wall separating the two spaces in Locus 28 was removed; plaster semicoarse, surface polished; faint traces of blue noted on some pieces.

Construction Plaster

100 (P 227, 86D/45, Pls. 2.20, top and side views, and 2.21). Floor plaster, Type G, one piece (3.4 × 3.5; max th 1.8) derived from one of the lower surfaces of the plaster floor in the rear or east room in Locus 28, with very small pebbles underneath (d ca. 0.02); painted light blue (50 C/AOOI.C–AOOL.C).

Comments on Uncatalogued Items

P 290. Fragment broken off the western edge of the plaster floor (area of Trench 65A); max dim 6.0 × 3.5; plaster rather soft, off-white with occasional soft brown inclusions (clay?); many linear voids (probably once occupied by vegetal materials) and animal hair; fragment is from the main body, with no surface preserved.

LOCUS 35/P4, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND INTO BUILDING P (PL. 2.34)

Of the two areas excavated in this gallery, one at the western end (Trenches 63B, 63B1, 86F, 93B) the other at the eastern end (Trench 75C), only the former reached Minoan levels. Parts

of two walls of Building T (both east-west) were revealed here, one near the center of the gallery and the other in the next gallery to the south, 36/P5. Unfortunately, the whole area was much eroded, and as a result, contexts contained some Early Iron Age sherds along with Minoan; thus to some extent they were not diagnostic in a useful way. In the northern half were poorly preserved construction plasters (with soft and chaffy fabric) and bits of wall plaster with traces of light blue (86F/108, 109). Interesting was the discovery of **PT9,** part of a plaster offering table.

The main plaster found in the southern part of the western end of the gallery (at +3.25 m) consisted of **101**, pieces preserving bands: white, red, dark blue, and a lighter tone of blue, although not separated by impressed string lines, as is usual in Minoan painted friezes of multicolored bands. Although the fragments were found in contexts containing LM III sherds, they probably belong to the Neopalatial period and to the walls of Building T.

Wall Plaster

101 (P 274, 93B/41A, and bits in 42A). Three worn and very thin fragments retrieved by attaching them to gauze (8.0 × 3.2; 7.6 × 4.4; 3.2 × 2.2), one piece preserves blue only, the other two, stripes, one red (13 C/OTVC.C–OSUL.C) and completely preserved (w 1.3), the other blue (29 C/NEOO.C–IAOO.C from dark to light); surfaces very worn.

LOCUS 36/P5, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND INTO BUILDING P (PL. 2.34)

Only the western end of the gallery was excavated. Trench 89C stopped at the upper LM III strata; Trench 93A continued down into earlier ones. Plasters in the upper levels were poorly preserved and seem to be from a ceiling and wall backing.

Trench 93A (pails 2A and 2B, the first LM IA or B and the second LM IA in date) explored the area directly outside the gallery, in the Central Court. Plasters found there included some with concave impressions, presumably of a roof or ceiling, as well as very small pieces from wall revetment, often with a highly polished surface. It is quite possible that they represent debris from the immediately adjacent stoa, rather than from Gallery P5 itself. Some plasters were found in MM I–II contexts in a sounding (93A/21) that revealed a layer of pebbles mixed with some plaster (at +2.76–2.84 m), laid over a thin layer of crushed murex shells. The plaster fragments, unfortunately, were few and poorly preserved. Some were painted yellow ocher (7.5 C/OHUO.C). In another case, there were adjacent black and Venetian red areas. These plaster fragments could belong to Building AA or could have been brought here earlier with fill from elsewhere.

As in Locus 35/P4, parts of two east-west walls of Building T were traced in the lower levels. One part was closer to the north wall of the gallery; the other lay under the south wall of P5 and projected like a ledge into P6. The two early walls, once again, must have been the sources of fine plasters found here. Two small fragments from the very western edge of the gallery (**102**) are painted a mottled yellow/blue, and one fragment preserves a

molded Venetian red band. The latter is important, as it suggests the presence in this area of another painted dado, like that in the North Stoa, where such bands acted as dividers between the dado panels. From farther into the interior of the gallery came fragment **103** that may depict rock work, but whether it is part of a landscape or merely part of a dado with imitations of variegated stones is unclear, given its very worn surface. Finally, fragment **104** preserves a variety of colors (blue, red, and white and black) in an indefinable pattern. This piece was found between the north wall of T and the north wall of P, and it thus belongs to Locus 35 under Gallery P4 to the north. Indeed, traces of plaster were found *in situ* at the bottom of T's wall, giving the impression that the wall may have been painted before the final layer or surface of the floor, something I assume also happened in the North Stoa—a matter discussed in Section 2.4.

A small low platform of plaster (0.40 × 0.40 m, Pl. 2.34) was located roughly centrally between the two T walls and set just east of the entrance, with its top level at +2.87 m (Pl. 2.34). At about the same level, plaster was found adhering to the base of the southern wall of T. The platform must have been used for setting on it something delicate on special occasions—perhaps a plaster offering table, as I suggest in Chap. 4.5.

Wall Plaster

102 (P 237, 93A/10, found at the very western end of the space, Pl. 2.13). Two very small fragments (larger 2.3 × 1.3, th 0.6) painted yellow (varying from 5 C/OHYO.C to 5 C/OGZA.C) applied over a blue wash (varying from 29 C/IAOO.C to the darker 29 C/NEOO.C); preserved on one fragment is a tiny part of a molded band painted Venetian red; plaster rather soft.

103 (P 192, 93A/7). Fragment (7.0 × 9.0, max th 2.0); very worn surface with parts missing, preserving traces of indefinable design with blue/gray, and yellow areas, some wavy gray/black lines, and red dashes.

104 (P 193, 93A/26). Very fragmented, thin plaster (14.50 × 8.00); faded colors of blue, red, white, and black in an indefinable design; this fragment may actually belong to T's Locus 35, since it was found north of that wall in P5.

LOCUS 43/P6, AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND INTO BUILDING P (PL. 2.34; TABLE 2.17)

Only the western end of Locus 43/P6 was excavated (Pls. 1.113, 1.114). The main plasters found in this area belonged to plaster offering tables, which may have been stored in the *sottoscala* (**PT13–PT16**); see Table 2.17.

Two trenches were involved: 90A, mostly for the higher levels, and 93C, for excavation in depth and for soundings. During the period of Building T, the space was divided by an east-west wall into a wider north room and a narrow one that contained a staircase. On entering the latter space from the South Stoa, located on the west, one encountered a small lobby beyond which there would have been staircase rising up toward the east (although no steps

Table 2.17. Plasters from Locus 43/P6 (western part).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
P6w *a: sottoscala;* +2.74–2.95 m	90A/66 (this MM IIB–LM I[?]), 71, 72; 93C/118, 122, 124, 125; 97D/18: MM IIB–III; Van de Moortel Pottery Group L	80 small to medium: indef **105:** 7 small: light blue to blue/black; polished **106:** 1 medium: molding(?) (P6w *a* wall revetment: ca. 2 kg)	6 small: with pebble backing		**PT10–PT13:** plaster offering tables
P6w *b:* southwest space and west edge; +2.83–3.08 m	90A/39, 47, 49–52, 72: MM III (pail 72, MM IIB–III)	Some 100 very small to small: indef (P6w *b* wall revetment: ca. 1.9 kg)		**110:** pebble backing; molded; red band, light blue, red	**PT14–PT16:** plaster offering tables
P6w *c:* northwest space and related fills; +2.45–3.04 m	90A/17–20, 67, 70, 75: LM IA Final; #30	Ca. 55 small: indef 7 very small to small: fine; red, yellow 1 bit: blue (P6w *c* wall revetment: ca. 650 g)			

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.17 continued*)

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
P6w *d:* southwest space and west edge; ca. +3.08–3.75 m	90A/24–26, 34, 45, 59, 60, 61 (this with some LM III), 62, 63, 64: LM IA–IB Early; partly related to #42	Ca. 60 very small to small: indef 3 bits: fine; white, blue/black, orange/red; all highly polished **107:** 2 bits: fine; conglomerate pattern; white pebbles on blue/black; polished 2 very small: fine; blue lines on red; both highly polished 1 very small: yellow; polished **108:** small: thick; fine; similar to **107;** blue/black on white; relief band in red; highly polished (P6w *d* wall revetment and construction plaster: ca. 600 g)	1 small: pebbled layer		
P6w *e:* +2.88–4.07 m in south and north areas	90A/1, 2, 8–12, 16, 27, 28, 36, 48, 56, 57, 58, 73: LM I–IIIA and B; related to #55	Ca. 65 very small: indef (ca. 750 g)			

were preserved). We labeled that rectangular strip beyond the "lobby" a *sottoscala* (Locus 46), although most of the space excavated must be where the bottom steps were, with the *sottoscala* a bit farther east. It is all the more tantalizing to think of what lies beyond, since the most interesting finds, including part of a painted plaster table, come from exactly that spot. The earliest contexts were located in this last area (in Plaster Groups P6w *a* to P6w *c*), but the somewhat higher stratum (Plaster Group P6w *d*) had been contaminated by the installation in LM III of the south wall of P6. The one context not mentioned so far is that of the northern space (Plaster Group P6w *c*, Locus 43), but few plasters were found there, and no plaster tables. This is important to note, since the presence of tables in the area of the South Stoa suggests that although the tables were stored in Locus 46, they were not necessarily used in 43. I have suggested elsewhere that the tables, most likely, were occasionally used in the nearby South Stoa, and it is possible that the *sottoscala* closet served as storage for other areas of the building, including the North Stoa, where such tables would have also been used.[26]

One loose plaster fragment (**110**) has two characteristics that suggest that it belonged to a painted floor of the kind better attested in the North Stoa. The fact that it came from the western edge of the gallery (Group P6w *b*) means that it may have originated in the South Stoa itself. The painted floor features a layer of pebbles (typical in floors at Kommos) and what may be a Venetian red band in relief next to a bluish area. There are a few other fragments from the same area that may belong to a conglomerate pattern (like **107**) and another (**108**) either to a conglomerate or to a veined pattern. The second one also preserves part of a raised area painted Venetian red, which is surely one of the molded bands used in the dado, as best known from evidence in the North Stoa.

Traces of plaster were found *in situ* at the bottom of the pillar that fronts the dividing east-west wall inside the gallery; an interpretation for the plaster's presence is offered in Chap. 2.4.

Wall Plaster

105 (P 240, 93C/124, in *sottoscala*). Seven fragments (the largest 3.05 × ca. 4.0, th 1.0–1.7). The solid color applied on the now-worn surface appears as light blue with tiny traces of darker blue or black/blue (28 C/GBOO.C–29 C/NEOO.C, light to dark), which may be the original color before it wore off.

106 (P 239, 93C/124, Pl. 2.13, three views, one section). Wall molding (6.5 × 8.2, th 1.3–2.9), divided into two parts: one slightly concave, the other slightly convex; back flattish and rough with a broad vertical depression that may reflect a roughness on the wall surface; plaster coarse.

107 (P 221, 90A/63, Pl. 2.14). Very small pieces, painted with simulations of a conglomerate stone, with white small pebbles on a blue/black background with adjacent Venetian red and blue areas, themselves likely parts of larger pebbles; plaster fine; highly polished surface.

108 (P 222, 90A/61, Pls. 2.14, 2.36 at *l*). Fragment (3.6 × 2.9, th 1.1), painted with an imitation of a veined stone, preserving also part of a Venetian red molded band; red veins on a white ground; plaster fine, quite flat on the back, with a highly polished surface.

Construction Plaster

109 (P 241, 93C/124, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *m*). Floor plaster similar to Type A, with pebbles at the back. Preserved is one fragment of a molded band (3.3 × 1.6, th 1.3–1.2) decorated with five stripes, alternately blue/gray and Venetian red; width of stripes, in sequence, is blue (only bit preserved); red, 0.4; blue, 0.4; red, 0.8–1.0; blue, 0.4; red max pres 0.7; surface worn, but clearly once polished. The use of a molded band compares with the Venetian red bands used in the painted floor of the North Stoa. Cf. also **110**, which was found not far away.

110 (P 220, 90A/47, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *n*). Fragment (4.0 x 3.3; th 2.0) from plaster floor in the shape of a molded band with three stripes, the central and broader one painted light blue, the other two Venetian red, consisting of three layers: the top one of plaster, the next containing small pebbles; and a third layer incompletely preserved (th 0.7); surface polished.

Other

PT10–PT13 Parts of plaster offering tables.

LOCUS: SOUTH STOA AND ADJACENT STRIP OF CENTRAL COURT AT THE TIME OF BUILDING T AND LATER ACCUMULATION (PL. 2.34; TABLES 2.18–2.22)

The South Stoa was excavated in its entirety. To facilitate the presentation, the materials from the stoa are divided into three sections, according to derivation: from the western, the central, and the eastern sectors of the stoa (Tables 2.18–2.22). Included, in subsections, is material found in the immediately adjacent southern edge of the Central Court, as this is likely to belong to the stoa and to have been dumped there, for reasons comparable to those suggested previously for a similar situation in the case of the North Stoa. Given the large size of the area to be considered, numerous trenches are involved: 95C, 97A, 95A (from west to east), 97C (south), 97F, 87B, 90C (north), 93C, 84C (north), 84A (north), 84B, 84C, 90A (west), and 93C (east).

The conditions of preservation varied. In the westernmost part of the stoa and the nearby edge of the Central Court (SStw and CCsw in Table 2.18), erosion had worn ancient strata nearly down to a pebble surface that had originally belonged to Protopalatial Building AA and was later reused—likely resurfaced—during the time of Building T. Unfortunately for our knowledge of Protopalatial plasters, a sounding made under this floor yielded rather indistinct bits (Plaster Group SStw *a*). Pottery directly above the floor (Plaster Group SStw *b*) was mostly LM IA Advanced representing the use of the kiln that had been installed in the stoa by that time.[27] By then, the south wall of the stoa—also the southern facade wall of Building T—also lay in ruins, to judge by the fact that the kiln was partially built over its lower courses.

Because of these circumstances and the fact that the south wall of Building T was itself set on the foundations of the south wall of AA, it is difficult to determine the date of two fragments of a colorful fresco with abstract patterns (**111**) that were found within the ruined wall of T. Given the lack of any decorated plasters from Protopalatial levels anywhere at Kommos, my inclination is to believe that the pieces belonged to the south wall of Building T, and to

Table 2.18. Plasters from the South Stoa's western part (SStw) and the adjacent southwestern edge of the Central Court (CCsw). Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)	
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling
South Stoa, West End				
SStw *a:* sounding under pebble floor	97A/9, 10: MM IB–IIB; Van de Moortel Pottery Group E	1 very small: fine; polished 1 very small: fine; yellow; polished		
SStw *b:* within south wall of AA/T	97A/20: LM IA	**111:** 2 small to bits: fine; patterns in yellow, red, white; highly polished		
SStw *c:* above pebble floor +2.67 m (south)–2.69 m (north)	95C/82, 84, 141, 159, 168, 171, 177, 186, 190, 192, 203, 206, 208, 209, 211, 213–15: mostly LM IA	Ca. 7 very small: medium to fine; light blue; faded Ca. 8 very small: fine; white; highly polished **112:** small: fine; patterns in Venetian red on white; highly polished **113:** 2 fragments: Venetian red on white; molded Venetian red band	**115:** Type F 300 very small to large: construction plaster, mostly ceiling (ca. 12 kg)	**116:** several pieces with concave impressions
Central Court, Southwestern Edge				
CCsw *a:* above ca. +2.82/2.90 m	97B/54: LM IA	9 very small: fine; white; highly polished 1 very small: fine; light blue; polished 1 very small: fine; red; polished **114:** 2 very small: fine; Venetian red molded band with blue; highly polished		
CCsw *b:* above ca. +2.90 m	97B/52: LM I–IIIA2	Ca. 25 mostly very small to small: indef; some possibly ceiling plaster (ca. 800 g)		

Table 2.19. Plasters from the South Stoa's central part (SStc).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
SStc *a:* above pebble floor +2.67 m (south)–2.97 m (north)	95A/75, 76, 94, 95, 103, 104, 109–11, 116–20, 124, 136–40, 143, 145–48, 156–58, 160, 161, 163–65, 167, 178, 181, 182, 184, 185, 187–89, 191, 193–95, 197–200, 202, 205, 207, 210, 211, 213–15: LM IA (with rare earlier LM II–III)	6 very small: fine; white; polished 9 very small: fine; blue/black; one molded(?) 1 very small: fine; yellow; polished 9 very small: fine; red, yellow; polished 1 very small: red; molded(?) **117:** small: fine; conglomerate pattern; red with blue on white	5 small: 3 layers, middle one with pebbles	**118:** beam impressions	**PT25:** plaster offering table
			660–700 mostly very small to small, and a few large: construction plaster; mostly ceiling (ca. 6.5 kg)		
SStc *b:* above pebble floor +2.67 m (south)–2.97 m (north) and up to ca. +3.50 m	95A/17, 18, 22–25, 28–32, 34, 38, 42, 47–50, 52, 57–59, 63, 65–67, 69–73, 79–93, 102, 105, 123, 134, 136, 151, 169, 176: LM I–III, with occasional Historic sherds	250–300 mostly very small to small: construction and other coarse plaster, mostly ceiling (ca. 3.9 kg)			

Table 2.20. Plasters from the southern edge of the Central Court's central part and the adjacent northern edge of the central part of the South Stoa (CCc+SStc).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
CCc+SStc *a:* ca. +2.80–3.18 m	95B/121, 175, 204, 212; 97C/12, 15, 19, 22, 26, 33, 40, 42: LM IA	Ca. 200 mostly very small to small: largely indef **119:** pile of 5 sheets: some white, some faded blue **120:** ca. 16 very small to small: slim to thick; blue/black; pitted surface 1 very small: slim; red **121:** 3 small to medium: Venetian red on blue; highly polished 5 small: slim; polished 4 fragments: reddish/yellow	**122:** some 10 bits to small: similar to Type A **123:** some 120 very small to medium: similar to Type A	**124:** reed impressions	**PT26**, **PT28**, **PT29:** plaster offering tables
		(CCc+SStc *a* wall revetment: ca. 1.5 kg)	Ca. 550 small to large (ca. 10 kg)		
CCc+SStc *b:* ca. +3.06–3.18 m	95B/170, 173; 97C/31: LM I–III	**122:** 2 small: blue/black	**122:** ca. 15 fragments: similar to Type A		
		Ca. 40 very small to small: indef (ca. 900 g)	(CCc+SStc *b* construction plaster: ca. 2 kg)		

Table 2.21. Plasters from small areas of the southern edge of the Central Court (beyond those considered in Table 2.22) and the eastern part of the South Stoa (CCe+SSte).
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
SSte *a*: pit/drain and surrounding area	93C/113–16, 119: MM IIB; Van de Moortel Pottery Groups I, K	1 bit: slim; fine; yellow; polished 7 bits: slim; yellow 1 bit: thick; blue, black 3 bits: traces of red, yellow, and blue 2 bits: red; polished Scanty remains: worn; indef (ca. 350 g)			
CCe+SSte *b:* east of kiln above patch of early floor at +2.90 m	90A/37, 38, 40–44, 46; 93C/33, 35: MM III and LM IA Early; related to #13, 14	**125:** 2 small: white and black; string line; highly polished Ca. 40 small: slim to thick; semi-fine; mostly white; a few blue/black, light yellow, light red **126:** 1 small: fine; speckled pattern; yellow on blue/black Ca. 100 very small to small: worn; indef (ca. 1.4 kg)		2 small: near colonnade	**PT18:** plaster offering table
CCe+SSte *c:* east and southeast of kiln	90A/24, 25; 90C/86, 87, 91, 92, 94: LM IA Advanced (and earlier)	Ca. 30 small to bits: indef (ca. 500 g)		1 small	
CCe+SSte *d:* dump northeast of kiln; ca. +2.96–3.40 m	87B/111B, 111C, 111D, 112, 112B, 113–16, 116C, 116D, 116E: LM IA Advanced–Final	1 medium, thick; blue/black; faded 9 bits to small: blue; faded 1 small: thick; yellow; polished **127:** 1 small: pattern of red and yellow; polished		Ca. 15 large to small	**PT20:** plaster offering table

			300 very small to large: mostly ceiling plaster (ca. 4 kg)	
CCe+SSte *e:* northeast of kiln; dump of kiln debris; ca. +3.40–3.75 m	87B/82, 85, 86, 89–91, 93, 96, 97, 102–5, 105A, 106, 106C, 106E, 107–10: LM IA Advanced–Final	1 small: slim; fine; white; polished 4 bits: slim; fine; white; polished 2 bits: blue/black(?)	9 very small to small	**130:** 2 layered fragments (clay and plaster)
		Ca. 180 bits to small: mostly indef; some construction plaster (ca. 1.8 kg)		
SSte *f:* southeast of kiln; dump of kiln debris; ca. +2.78–3.45 m	84A/34, 36, 47–49; 84C/51, 52: LM IA Advanced–Final; partly related to #19	**128:** 2 small: slim; fine; Venetian red (molded) with blue; highly polished **129:** 1 small: thick; red with white areas; highly polished; molded Ca. 100 small: slim to thick; worn wall plaster; some yellow, red traces 1 bit: blue/black 1 bit: Venetian red	A few pieces with impressions	
		Ca. 395 very small to small: construction and possible wall plaster (ca. 4 kg)		
	84A/33: mostly LM I; some LM III	3 very small: (like **128** from 84A/36) slim; fine; red (molded) with blue; string line; polished		
SSte *g:* southeast of kiln; ca. +3.20–3.94 m	84C/39, 41–43, 46; 87B/80, 94, 95, 98, 100, 101: LM IIIA–B	Ca. 240 mostly small: worn; construction and possible wall plaster (ca. 1.6 kg)		

Table 2.22. Plasters (other than those considered in Table 2.21) from the southeastern edge of the Central Court (CCse) alongside the adjacent last two columns of the colonnade of the South Stoa.
Catalogued items are shown in bold. Unless otherwise specified, Pottery Groups are those in J. B. Rutter, Chap. 3.3.

Plaster Group: Level	Trench/Pails: Ceramic Date; Pottery Group #	Wall Revetment Number of Pieces and Size: Fineness; Color; Surface (Weight)	Construction Plaster Number of Pieces and Size: Type (Weight)		Other Plaster Items
			Floor/Roofing	Ceiling	
CCse *a:* +2.81–3.09 m	87B/112D, 117, 118: LM I Advanced–Final	Some 50 small: slim to thick; blue/black **131:** 3 medium: fine; pattern in black, red, yellow; possible veined pattern; worn surface Ca. 90 mostly very small to small (ca. 1 kg)		A few small fragments	**PT20:** plaster offering table
CCse *b:* west of Gallery P5 +2.90– 3.35 m	91B/44, 46, 50, 51, 54: LM I–IIIB mixed; Historic in 44	1 small: slim; fine; white 2 small: slim; fine; orange/yellow 3 bits: slim; fine; red molded band(?); orange with black areas	1 small: similar to Type A Ca. 90 medium to very small: most apparently roof plaster (11.185 kg)	2 small	
CCse *c:* west of Gallery P5	101B/2, 4, 5, 8, 18: mixed Minoan–Historic	Ca. 30 very small to small: badly worn; mostly coarse (ca. 900 g)	1 small: sand between plaster layers		

the decoration of panels in a painted dado, a decoration better preserved in the North Stoa but supported, too, from evidence in the South Stoa itself, as will be evident from the description below.

Of interest—because they reflect drastic architectural modification—are also coarse fragments found both within and directly outside the South Stoa (like **116, 118, 123, 124**), many with concave impressions left from reeds and beams that clearly derived from a ceiling. Again, the situation parallels that in the North Stoa. Some of these pieces came from LM I contexts, some were in fills with an admixture of LM III sherds from later accumulation. Although some of these items, I suspect, were likely left exactly where they fell, especially those found along the colonnade, other plasters, including wall revetment, often fragmentary, were gathered and dumped outside the building in a general cleaning operation preceding the installation of the kiln.

This kiln installation badly disturbed strata in the central and eastern area of the stoa, especially the excavation of a firing pit on the western side of the kiln. There is a hidden advantage to this activity from our point of view, however; namely, the excavated fill seems to have been piled up east of the kiln. Within this heap were numerous pieces of plaster offering tables (**PT20–PT24**), which were thus spared the trampling that other such tables must have suffered, lying as they were on the ground. It was near the columns in this eastern area of the stoa that **117**, part of a wall revetment painted with an imitation of conglomerate stone, was found, confirming again the idea that here, too, as in the North Stoa, there was a painted dado decorated with imitations of variegated stones.

Other fine fragments preserved only solid washes of color. Like **117,** they were thin and flat at the back, presumably because this layer was applied directly onto the smooth surface of the well-dressed ashlar blocks of which the south wall was built. Some other pieces–including a pile of thin sheets of plaster (like **119**)—were found farther out in the Central Court, clearly dumped there. Chunkier small pieces were also found separately inside and outside the stoa, and these again showed traces of blue, the better preserved indicating the color to be a blue/black common among plasters at Kommos. Other plasters had been exposed to other conditions: they were preserved in tiny pieces and bits held together by dried mud (95B/173), clearly the result of exposure to rain and erosion. Among them were fragments of a type that should be attributed to a floor (**122**), given the use of pebbles at the bottom. Together with **110**, found at the very western edge of Locus 43/P6 and also part of flooring with a decorated surface, the two fragments suggested that, as in the North Stoa, there may have been a painted plaster floor in the South Stoa, with the only preserved pieces coming from molded bands or a border.

The easternmost section of the South Stoa was somewhat spared the amount of erosion and disturbance noted elsewhere. This made it eligible for the study of pottery groups (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Groups 13, 14, and 19), which are cross-referenced in Table 2.21. Exciting here was the discovery of a tiny piece (**126**) with a painted pattern that simulated

variegated stone: light yellow speckles on a dark blue/black background, of which the identification is further considered in Chap. 2.4.

Wall Plaster

111 (P 225, 97A/20, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *o*). Two fragments (the larger, 3.5 × 1.5, th 0.8) found within the partially demolished south wall of the stoa; painted decoration consists of abstract patterns in white and one red line against a yellow (8 C/OFTO.C, with darker areas as 8 C/OHVO.C) background—possibly an imitation of breccia; plaster fine; polished surface.

112 (P 235, 95C/213, Pl. 2.36 at *p*). One fragment (2.4 × 1.9, th 0.9) painted with abstract design in Venetian red; plaster fine; surface polished.

113 (P 231, 95C/211, at rear of stoa, Pl. 2.14). Two fragments (2.3 × 1.2, th 1.0; 1.8 × 1.3, th 1.0). Preserved on the worn surface are Venetian red stripes on a white background, next to a molded Venetian red band; plaster fine.

114 (P 211, 97B/54, found near the columns, Pl. 2.14). Two small fragments (larger measuring 2.0 × 1.3, th 1.2), with a molded Venetian red band next to flat area with traces of blue, and traces of red visible on larger fragment; plaster fine, surface polished.

Construction Plaster

115 (P 234, 95C/206, found near colonnade, Pl. 2.21, top and side views). Floor plaster Type F (7.5 × 7.0, th 2.05); tiny black sand at top surface.

116 (P 273, 95C/84, Pl. 2.30, top row right, one view and two sections). Ceiling(?) plaster (7.0 × 6.5; max d 5.4) with one concave impression. Plaster added around round object, possibly a round tree limb, in layers. Fabric off-white, soft, with some chaff.

Wall Plaster

117 (P 259, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *q*). Small piece (3.6 × 2.5, th 1.5) exposed after a rain and found by conservator Kathy Hall on the pebble surface of the South Stoa in the area of Trench 95A, directly east of the third column). Painted with an imitation of conglomerate stone, preserving part of a large red pebble (12 C/ORZJ.C) surrounded by blue and blue/black small pebbles against a white background. Fine plaster, highly polished surface.

Construction Plaster

118 (P 229, 95A/178, from near the columns, Pl. 2.30). Ceiling plaster (6.3 × 4.5, th 3.80) preserving two concave impressions of adjacent transverse beams, with a flat surface in between, that must have been visible on the facade of the stoa.

Other

PT25 Part of plaster offering table.

Wall Plaster

119 (P 200, 95B/212, Pl. 2.14). Five segments of cracked and worn sheets of plaster that varied in size (30.0 × 24.0; 30.0 × 22.0; 11.0 × 8.0; 22.0 × 14.0; 17.5 × 14.0), with thickness ranging from 0.5 to 1.3; some preserved traces of blue, some white.

120 (P 205, 97C/12, Pl. 2.14). Some sixteen fragments (largest 5.5 × 1.2 and 6.5 × 3.1, th 0.6–1.1), most with heavily pitted surfaces, bearing traces of faded blue/black (50 C/FOOU.C–IOOY.C, from light to dark); fairly flat backs.

121 (P 209, 97C/33, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *r*). Small fragments, of which one (2.9 × 2.5, max th 0.9) seems to be part of a molding, given the rather convex and highly polished surface. Preserved is an abstract pattern in Venetian red against a blue (79 C/JBOC.C–REOF.C light to dark) background; plaster fine.

Construction Plaster

122 (P 233, 95B/173, Pl. 2.21 top view and section). Floor plaster similar to Type A. Several fragments (largest 4.4 × 2.7, th 2.0–2.6), consisting of three to four layers, alternately of plaster and smallish dark pebbles (0.06 × 0.03), similar to **123**. More pieces of the same kind were found in 95B/175.

123 (P 206, 97C/12, Pl. 2.22 top two rows, two top views and one section). Floor plaster similar to Type A (larger piece 4.5 × 5.2) consisting of layer of plaster and one of pebbles underneath, and occasionally with a third layer of plaster; top surface polished.

124 (P 208, 97C/15, Pl. 2.30 left column at bottom and right column middle to bottom, three views and two sections). Ceiling plaster (0.7 × 0.5) with several concave impressions, probably from reeds; medium-hard plaster.

Other

PT26, PT28, PT29 Parts of plaster offering tables.

Wall Plaster

125 (P 238, 93C/35, Pl. 2.15). Two fragments (larger one, 3.5 × 2.9, th 0.9–1.1), their surface divided by an impressed string line into a black and a white area; fine plaster, originally with a highly polished surface.

126 (P 218–P 219, 90A/46, from the eastern edge of the South Stoa, next to P 6, Pls. 2.15 and 2.36 at *s*). The larger (2.1 × 2.5, th 0.9) of two fragments is decorated with spots in yellowish white (9.5 C/OFNO.C) against a blue/black background. The other fragment is too small to clarify the design, but it shares the same background with the piece with which it was found, and it features whitish rounded spots, but somewhat differently shaped. The painting must represent some variegated stone, as further discussed in Chap 2.4. The plaster is fine and the surface highly polished.

127 (P 236, 87C/116E, Pl. 2.15). One fragment (2.2 × 1.9, th 1.9) with traces of yellow and yellow/reddish areas; fine plaster, worn surface.

128 (P 243, 84A/36, Pl. 2.15) Two small pieces (2.5 × 2.0; 1.7 × 1.2; th 0.2–0.9) divided into two painted areas, one a very faded blue, the other somewhat molded and painted Venetian red; plaster fine and surface polished.

129 (P 244, 84A/49, Pl. 2.15). One small piece (2.4 × 1.8, th ca. 0.7) with a convex and highly polished surface divided into Venetian red and white areas, perhaps part of a wall molding; reminiscent of the molded bands of the dadoes, but without the typical indentation or groove separating them from the flat surface.

Other

130 (P 214, 87B/90). Two fragments (larger, 5.9 × 3.5, th 1.2) of irregular shape, found in the northern channel of the kiln, made up of a layer of clay covered by a very thin one of plaster. Conceivably, these came from the roof of the kiln.

PT18, PT20 Parts of plaster offering tables.

Wall Plaster

131 (P 213, 87B/118, Pl. 2.15). Three joining fragments (6.3 × 4.5, th 1.5) with a very worn surface with traces of curving brushstrokes in red, yellow, and black; possibly simulating a veined type of stone.

Uncatalogued

Floor plaster bits like Type A.

Other

PT20 Part of a plaster offering table.

LOCUS: OUTDOOR AREAS EAST OF THE EAST WING, AND LOCUS 45, SOUTH OF THE SOUTH STOA (PL. 2.34)

Only a strip was excavated alongside the shared exterior wall of the three northernmost galleries. Here the ground sloped from north to south, and it was clear from the mixed pottery of the fills excavated that there had been much erosion. Occasionally, a lot consisted of pottery that was mainly from one period, but whether this was owing to chance could not be always determined. Here, we mention only some fine white plaster with a well-polished surface that was found in an MM II context. One piece (P 247) was included in the scientific analysis (Appendix 2.2, sample 11).

South of the building, excavation was limited basically to a strip directly south of the stoa and the western end of Locus 43/P 6. Exploratory Trench 91A was set farther south. Remains of plasters (mostly from construction) were few and mostly poorly preserved. Bits of an occasional piece of clay or mud containing flecks of plaster (like P 216, 90C/82, with a possible reed impression) found in the same contexts, could have come from the kiln's roof.

More productive was the area to the east (Trenches 84A, 84D, and 90B). Once again, there were some wall plasters (some painted blue/black, one white with a polished surface) and construction plasters, but also found were part of a plaster offering table (**PT17**) and a fine piece (**132**) divided into white and yellow areas separated by a string line. Both items came from the same context (84A/103, at +2.80/2.85 to +2.71/2.73 m; MM IIB–LM IA Early in date; Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 11). Likely the pieces derive from the South Wing of the building, from the stoa and the west part of Locus 43, which was right next to the second known major entrance to the building.

From the area farther south (in 90B/7) and at a lower level (90B/21, +1.55 to 1.59 m, MM II–LM I mixed), came more blue/black fragments, a fragment of a coarse plaster floor (**133**) and another from a ceiling or a roof (**134**).

In remote Trench 91A (Pail 9), fills were characterized by the presence of many LM III sherds mixed with earlier ones, likely the result of erosion, as the ground slopes down fairly steeply. Some 25 small and tiny fragments were found there, recalling types familiar from within Building T, but none distinct; some were painted blue/black, some bore traces of red. In Pail 10, a highly polished bit appeared (th 1.03 cm) with traces of red, white, and blue pattern!

Still farther south, at the southeast end of the excavation property, excavation was carried out in a limited area (Trench 78A). Few plasters were found, although a fragment with a polished surface was found in a mixed Minoan and Greek context (78A/3).

Naturally, there is no way of knowing whether plasters found in the trenches just discussed belong to Building T or came from elsewhere, although the latter seems unlikely (J. W. Shaw, Chap 5), since the area to the south of the Monumental Buildings may have been too close to sea level to have been chosen for further major building.

Wall Plaster

132 (P 249, 84A/103, Pl. 2.15). Wall plaster (3.2 × 3.3) with areas white and orange/yellow (7.5 C/OJTO.C–OENO.C, from light to darker shade), divided by an impressed or engraved line.

Construction Plaster

133 (P 217, 90B/22, Pl. 2.22, lower half, two top views and a section). Floor plaster similar to Type B/C (7.3 × 4.6, th 2.4); very hard plaster with thin layer (0.01–0.05) of tiny black pebbles directly below the top plaster layer (th 1.5), which displays a smooth but unpolished surface.

134 (P 184, 90B/22, Pl. 2.31, four views and three sections with reconstructions of two pieces). Ceiling plaster (7.5 × 6.4; 4.6 × 3.0) of soft fabric with cane or reed impressions.

Other

P 216 (90C/82). Largest fragment measuring 4.0 × 3.5, th 2.7; clay mixed with bits of plaster, and impressions of reeds. Pieces may be part of the roof of the kiln.

PT17 Part of a plaster offering table.

3. Types, Techniques, and Uses of Plaster

Wall Plaster: Plain and Colored

A common practice in Minoan wall painting was to begin preparing the wall by applying a layer of what is generally known as *backing plaster*.[28] A mixture of organic materials, like bits of straw, made this plaster malleable and easy to spread on a wall and to fill the gaps in the wall surface between the building blocks. The process was particularly needed when a wall was built of rubble rather than cut blocks, which made its surface uneven. The outer side of the backing layer was flattened, but not smoothed, so that the next layer of finer plaster could adhere to it.

Backing plaster is rarely encountered at Kommos in pieces found loose, but it has been found *in situ* on some walls, mostly in the eastern rooms of the North Wing of Building T, where, when the surface is also preserved, the favored wall color was solid red, as in Rooms 24 (**89**) and 23 (Table 2.14, Plaster Group 23 *b*, Appendix 2.2, sample 17). The other color used in the same area was blue and is represented mostly by fragments found in the eastern end of Corridor 20/22 (**84**, Table 2.13, Plaster Groups 22e *d* and 29 *e*, Appendix 2.2, sample 18). In both the red- and the blue-painted plasters, the layer directly below the surface showed the penetration of the pigment, as pink and light blue respectively. The lower (or backing) layer remained white, which suggests that the plaster in the latter was nearly dry when the top layer was added and painted. Interestingly, the tiny inclusions of what seem to be uncalcined limestone[29] in the upper layer remained white, despite the penetration of color in that layer (Appendix 2.2, sample 1).

Traces of backing plaster *in situ* were also found in a few other cases in spaces that had been modified architecturally, as when new and rough walls were added. One instance is

the rough rubble wall that blocked the doorway that previously led from Locus 10/4 to the eastern end of the North Stoa (Locus 11). Another example is the long east-west wall that subdivided the originally wide Corridor 20. A thick, crude piece (**83**, Pl. 2.12) found at the eastern end of the corridor likely came from a later wall at that end and provides an example of what the upper layer looked like. Visible on the back side are impressions of chaff. There are, nevertheless, some cases in which finer plaster fragments found loose (like **3; 12,** Pl. 2.36 *b*; **56; 63**, **66**, **70**, Pl. 2.10) and likely from the original walls of Building T are characterized by two distinct layers.

Pieces found in the North Stoa nearly always lacked traces of a backing layer. Most fragments, such as the series **24**, **25**, **27**, **28** (Pls. 2.1; 2.2–2.4; 2.36 at *f–h*; 2.37 at *a–e*; 2.38 at *c*) clearly belonged to the dado with the painted imitations of variegated stones that decorated at least the rear (or north) wall of the stoa. Backing plaster may have been omitted because the neatly cut blocks with their largely flat surfaces may not have required its use. That this absence may not be simply a matter of preservation derives some support from the fact that fragments found in the South Stoa and belonging to its own painted dado also lack a backing, including **107–108**, **111–112**, and **117** (Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *l*, *o–q*). As in the North Stoa, the preserved or only layer with the painted surface tended to be thin[30] (just below or just above 1 cm), and its back side relatively flat. The flatness may be explained again by the fact that this presumably single layer was applied to the long rear or south wall of the stoa, which was built of ashlar blocks that had fairly flat surfaces. Thin plasters with flat backs have been found elsewhere in Crete,[31] but it is not always clear which walls they came from to be able to support the proposed theory.

Painted surfaces were usually well polished, but, interestingly, associated plaster surfaces that were left white often showed an even greater luster. Minoan painting was polished before color was added, although polishing after painting was apparently also practiced.[32] Smooth, large handheld pebbles were used for polishing plaster surfaces at Kommos, examples of which were found in the Kommos town with plaster still adhering to them.[33] In the hands of expert craftsmen, even such simple tools could produce impressive technical effects. Among the best-polished fragments are those found in the two stoas (those mentioned above) and the frieze in Room 19 (**75**, Pls. 2.11 and 2.40). Just prior to painting, workmen added a slip of very fine plaster to facilitate the adhesion of pigments, which then bonded chemically with the upper or main layer of plaster on drying. Penetration of color is known from many examples at Kommos, especially when red was used (Appendix 2.2, sample 5 from the Hilltop), leading to the conclusion that the *buon fresco* technique was known and used. Notable examples are the fine frieze of multicolored bands in Rooms 19 and 23, and in the houses in the town area at Kommos (Appendix 2.2, Table 2.29, samples 5, 14, 15, 17).

Impressed string lines were made by holding a fine string taut and snapping it against the damp plaster surface. The lines are visible in practically all instances of friezes of multicol-

ored bands, which are particularly prevalent in the North Wing of Building T, but the best-preserved examples can be seen in the painted frieze of Room 19 (**75,** Pl. 2.40).[34]

Another technique of wall decoration, different from the types discussed above, is the use of plaster to produce moldings and other designs in relief, usually in horizontal friezes or courses. One such molding from the North Stoa (**30**, Space 11) is characterized by angular, convex, and concave profiles, as suggested in a restoration drawing (Pl. 2.6) that is further discussed in Chap. 2.4. Another example is a frieze of what could be a running spiral (**7**, Space 6, Pl. 2.1, views at the top, sections at the bottom). It is noteworthy from a technical point of view that the two remaining fragments are characterized by a slightly concave depression underneath, an explanation for which might be that a small mass of malleable material, like plaster or clay, was applied on the wall to help project parts of the design.

In contrast with the true relief just mentioned, a technique known as *faux relief* that is comparable to one used in Egyptian wall reliefs[35] renders what have generally been referred to in this chapter as molded bands—those used as borders and dividers for the dado panels in the two stoas. The impression of relief is created by grooves that outline the bands, which then seem to project from the adjacent plaster surface, when in fact they are flush with it. This technique was used also to render curving bands in addition to straight ones, the main example being the painted decoration of the plaster floor of the North Stoa, where the two types of bands, as is argued in Chap. 2.4, may represent a running spiral frieze (Pl. 2.39 at *e*).

Finally, there was a practice among Minoan artists that, although not intentional, provides us with an unexpected advantage in figuring out joins between fragments belonging to painted multicolor friezes. This is particularly true in the better-preserved frieze (**75**, Pls. 2.11 and 2.40) of Room 19. In the process of studying the fragments of this frieze, but also in studying plaster fragments (**18**, **48**, **58**; **66,** Pl. 2.10; **87,** Pls. 2.12 and 2.36 at *k*) from other locations, we noted that white areas of the wall surface (likely the white stripes) displayed a very slight tinge of blue color. The tinting, one might argue, may have been intentional, but it is more likely that it resulted accidentally from using a brush that had previously been used to apply blue color that was not cleaned thoroughly. The tinting proved particularly useful in finding joins in the best preserved frieze of multicolored bands found at the site (**75**, in Room 19).

The Color Palette

The color palette at Kommos is the basic one used in Minoan Crete, which consists of red, yellow, blue, and black. Yet, as at a number of other sites, an amazing range of tones exists, as can be inferred from the color descriptions in the catalogue entries in Chap. 2.2, where the *Pantone Color Guide* is used as a reference. The variation in the description of colors and tones is therefore the result, at times, of dealing with loose fragments rather than with large ex-

panses of painted surfaces, which can provide a better idea of overall coloration. Color application is also bound to vary from area to area on the same wall, depending on the degree of pigment dilution or on a slight variation in the relative proportions of pigment when a mixture is prepared. The latter condition is reflected in the somewhat inconsistent verbal descriptions of certain colors, particularly those applied to the varying tones of blue and black, resulting from somewhat differing mixtures. Clearly, color perception is subjective, and the only way color can be objectively defined is through scientific analysis.

For Kommos, a scientific analysis by A. Dandrau and S. Dubernet (Appendix 2.2) has provided precise information.[36] There, the pigments are categorized in the following groups, according to their derivation: (1) white (lime); (2) yellow, red, and salmon (all ochers "naturally rich in iron oxides . . . or in hematite"); (3) blue (basically amphiboles, with "chromatic range of . . . blue-green and blue-gray"); (4) gray (created by mixing the varieties of blue with lime and calcite); (5) and black.

White is mixed at times with a pigment to create another tint or shade.[37] The most impressive example at Kommos is perhaps the depiction of the conglomerate pattern in some fragments deriving from the painted dado in the North Stoa (as in **27,** Pls. 2.37 at *c–e* and 2.38 at *c–d*). There, pastel colors resulted from the application of white impasto to render some of the larger pebbles over a background already painted in various colors, while the surface was relatively damp. This resulted in swirls of light blue (on the blue background) and pink (on the red background) within the pebbles painted white. This rendering contrasts with that of another version of conglomerate pattern (**28**, Pls. 2.4 and 2.37 at *a–b*), where different-shaped pebbles (small and slim) stand out in crisp silhouette in vivid yellow, black, and red against a white background. Presumably, the surface in this case was relatively dry.

Following are some discussions of the ranges within the basic colors, which note the colors' usual distribution at the site, for practical purposes disregarding the subtle variations in hue and tone recorded with reference to the *Pantone Color Guide* in the catalogue discussion of particular pieces. The following descriptions are based on visual observation, which has the advantage of being the most accessible method of description and the most widely applicable, given that scientific analysis can never be all-inclusive. The categories examined are Venetian red, salmon, red/orange, red, yellow, blue, gray, and black.

VENETIAN RED

The term *Venetian red* is borrowed from Sir Arthur Evans, who frequently used it in his description of Knossian frescoes. At Kommos, it is used for the color with the most standard hue, one that comes closest to Pantone color 13 C/OSUL.C–12 C/ORZJ.C. It was mainly used as the color of the molded bands that defined the panels in the painted dadoes and in the floor decoration of the North and South Stoas, as well as in painted friezes of multicolored bands. Because of the consistency of this color at the site, its occurrence can be followed more clearly than that of other colors.

In the painted friezes, Venetian red is often used as the color of more than one band (Pls. 2.36 at *a–e*, *k*, and 2.40) in Spaces 5, 10, 4, 19, 20/22, and 23. It is also the color of the molded bands that outline the panels of dadoes (Pls. 2.36 at *l*, 2.37 at *c–e*) or are part of the decoration of plaster floors (Pls. 2.36 at *m–n*, 2.39 at *a*, *c–e*). One last use is in details in a variety of patterns (Pl. 2.36 at *f–h*) and as the color of some of the pebbles in the conglomerate pattern (as in Pls. 2.36 at *q* and 2.39 at *a–e*). Most of the bands are related to fragments found in the two stoas, but, interestingly, an example of a molded red band was found in Space 36/Gallery P5 (**102**, Pl. 2.13).

SALMON RED AND SALMON PINK

The color is pinkish to orange-red and was most commonly used on the walls of the eastern rooms in the North Wing of Building T. When best preserved, plaster thus colored shows a reddish color at the top surface, and a pink one below representing the penetration of the pigment into the lower layer. The two tones are equivalent to Pantone colors 11 C/OHLO.C, the closely related 10.5 C/OIMO.C or 12 C/OJLO.C for the red, and 11 C/OCEO.C or 12 C/OEEO.C for the pink.

The main occurrences of this color are **19**, **71,** and **89** (in Spaces 4, 42, and 24a) and uncatalogued remains (in Spaces 19, *in situ*, on south wall, 20/22, 22/29, and 23, with a fragment from the latter analyzed (Appendix 2.2, sample 17).

YELLOW AND ORANGE

The two colors represent ranges of yellow ocher, likely resulting from admixtures of red and yellow ochers, or from the application of two different pigments atop each other on the plaster surface. Varieties of ochers exist in nature, often together, and this is the preferred interpretation by Dandrau regarding fragment **30** from the North Stoa (Appendix 2.2, sample 9), which is characterized by ruddy streaks on a yellow ground—and there are a few other similar examples from other locations (such as **16** and **76**, Pl. 2.36 at *d* and *j*, respectively). According to Dandrau, obtaining a purer tone of either yellow or red often requires separating red and yellow ochers, which are often found mixed in nature.

Variations in yellow and orange exist at Kommos, those approximating what I call orange matching a range corresponding to Pantone colors 5.5 C/OGTO.C to ODPO.C; 8 C/OHVO.C; 9 C/OHRO.C; 9.5 C/OFNO.C. Some of the brightest yellows are those rendering conglomerate pebbles shown against a white background, like **28** (Pl. 2.37 at *b*); this a tone between Pantone 7.5 C/OHUO.C and OENO.C.

BLACK, BLUE/BLACK, BLUE, BLUISH GRAY

As with the yellows, it is difficult to describe distinctions within what is essentially a chromatic range.[38] The variation clearly results from a mixture of pigments, but also from the painting of motifs over a freshly painted background. Thus the nearly black (or blue/black)

color used for pebbles assumed more of a bluish tone when applied over a bluish background (Pls. 2.38 at *c* and 2.39 at *b*), whereas a purer and darker blue/black was created when the pigment was applied over a white background (Pl. 2.37 at *a–b*). A bluish/gray color (varying in tone from 50 C/AOOL.C–COOQ.C), on the other hand, is clearly the result of mixing pigments (likely blue, black, and white). This gray is found in friezes of multicolor bands (Pls. 2.36 at *j* and 2.40).

In addition to the tones just described, three kinds of blue particularly stand out. One is a light blue (66.5 C/COOE.C and AOOB.C), the best-preserved example being a large piece (**1**) found in the *sottoscala* (Space 5s). The analysis (Appendix 2.2, sample 8) showed it to be an amphibole, which is the source of most of the blues at Kommos. The other type of blue is that found in the slimmer bands in the painted frieze from Room 19 (**75**), and this too is an amphibole. In this case, there seems to have been an attempt to simulate Egyptian blue by adding tiny specks of darker matter (perhaps the carbon detected in the analysis, Appendix 2.2, sample 14). The Pantone equivalents are 66.5 C/EOOG.C (for the background blue) and 30.5 C/ZLOO.C (for the blue/black specks). Although Egyptian blue seems to have been prepared in Crete, as indicated by pieces analyzed from other sites,[39] there is no evidence from the area presently examined at Kommos that this was used there.

A third distinct blue at Kommos was preserved on a thin piece of plaster (**101**) found in Space 35 (under Gallery P4) and resembles Pantone color 29 C/NEOO.C–IAOO.C, from dark to light. The color looks very much like some of the vivid blues used in some frescoes at Akrotiri,[40] but whether it matches the Theran example in its makeup cannot be ascertained, since the Kommos fragment was too flimsy to obtain a sample of it for scientific analysis.[41]

WHITE

The quality and makeup of the lime used in the plasters at Kommos is fully discussed in Dandrau's scientific analysis.[42] An interesting detail is that in at least one case, namely, the multicolored frieze in Room 19 (**75**, Pl. 2.40), the lime included kaolinite, a mineral normally used in vase painting to render white on dark designs, as in Kamares pottery. Kaolinite—whatever the implication may be—has up to this point been attested in murals at Knossos only.[43]

Plaster Used in the Construction of Ceilings/Roofs

Plaster was used in Building T as packing between beams and reeds that were part of the construction of ceilings and of the beddings above them, used to support a floor on an upper storey of the building or its roof.[44] Although none of the organic materials used in the construction remain, their presence is recognizable in the impressions left in the plaster applied against the materials, a form of diagnosis used in other sites in Crete and the Aegean, where roof and ceiling construction sometimes substitutes clay for plaster as the packing material.[45]

A few impressions of reeds or branches were preserved at Kommos (as in **134**, Pl. 2.31).[46] Other pieces (like **124**, Pl. 2.30) show irregular curves almost all around, likely the impressions of larger reeds or slim limbs of trees that were included in the structure of the ceiling above the main beams.

More clearly recognizable as belonging to a ceiling are fragments that have been found mainly in, and immediately outside, the North and South Stoas (such as **5**, **32**, **33, 73, 78**, and **91** shown correspondingly in Pls. 2.23, 2.24, 2.26–2.28). As at other Bronze Age sites, the pieces at Kommos have two characteristic shapes, the most common being that of a quasi-isosceles triangle with incurved sides (like **73**, Pl. 2.26, and **91**, Pl. 2.28). The other shape is a right-angle triangle with one curved and two straight sides (like **5**, Pl. 2.23), with the curved side left by the impression of a round beam, and the straight sides coming from where the fragment abutted against a wall and/or lintel in spaces with an entirely open side, like the stoas. The large, relatively flat surface (like the one seen in Pl. 2.26, top right) would have been visible as part of the stoa's facade. Some of the isosceles pieces are characterized by the impression of a relatively flat, narrow surface, and this likely was the result of the impression from a squared horizontal beam or a plank running perpendicular to the beams.[47]

Ceiling plasters also help us infer the size of the beams used, the best-preserved specimens being those deriving from the North Stoa. It appears that the builders used beams that varied in size, with the diameters of the smaller ones falling within a range of 13–20 cm, and the larger ones, 20–23 cm.[48] It is possible that the larger ones of the more uniform larger size were used on the facade; the others may have had a subsidiary function. The reason for the lack of preservation of this kind of construction plaster in other rooms of Building T, mostly in the northeast area, is likely the softness of the fabric used there[49] and the fact that such plaster would have been easily pulverized when falling and being crushed by the weight of wall debris. Perhaps, too, the beams in those rooms were set at greater intervals from one another than in the fancier spaces, like the two stoas, and there were fewer fragments with beam impressions that make such pieces identifiable.[50]

Plaster Used in Floors/Pavements

Many different types of plaster floors were found at Kommos.[51] Some of these floors were found *in situ* at ground level; others are represented by pieces found in fill, and for these, there are, theoretically, a number of alternative interpretations: (1) they can represent a broken-up floor at ground level—the main example being the painted floors of the two stoas; (2) they may be part of the floor on the second storey; (3) they can belong to a roof pavement, especially if there is no evidence that a second storey existed. The various possibilities have been considered individually in the analytical survey of the remains in Chap. 2.2.

Floors of the period of Building T are best preserved in the North Wing, since there was relatively little LM III construction, and even that, as in Building N, consisted of raising

floors rather than eliminating earlier ones to maintain a low level, as was the case in the East Wing. Most of the T floors, especially in the easternmost rooms, were merely made of hard-packed earth; others, like that in Space 5, which was a major passageway for people entering the building from the northwest area, were made of large flagstones. The same applies to Space 4/10, which appears to have been a porch and where the slab pavement is limited to the south end of the floor, the location more exposed to the sky, although the lack of a pavement at the back could also be a matter of preservation. The use of these two main materials (compacted earth or slabs) finds parallels in houses in the Late Cycladic I town of Akrotiri, again in rooms on the ground level, where slab floors were favored where there was more traffic.[52]

At Kommos, plaster floors found *in situ* on the ground floor are generally painted, like those in the two stoas and one in the long Space 28/P3 in the East Wing (Pl. 2.35). Fragments of plaster floors found in fill, and likely deriving from above the ground level, were not painted, with the exception of Type B/C, described below, which showed traces of a red wash. Despite the various types, all loose floor fragments have one characteristic in common: they incorporated impurities that made the pieces hard like cement.[53] The floor plasters at Kommos are similar to a number of fragments found in the Palace of Phaistos.[54] Cameron was of the opinion that the cement-like pieces of plaster found at Knossos likely belonged to floors of upper storeys,[55] and this view seems to make sense for most of the loose plaster fragments found at Kommos. Inclusions in these pieces that appeared on the plaster surface, such as little beach pebbles of different textures and colors (black, translucent, and more rarely brown/red), would have also had a decorative role.[56] Surprisingly, in the examples from Kommos such surfaces were occasionally found covered by a thin layer of pure plaster (like **14**, Pl. 2.17), although whether this was an afterthought or part of the floor from the beginning is now difficult to determine.

In the discussion of materials and techniques that follows, plaster floors *in situ* are discussed first, followed by those found in fragments.

PLASTER FLOOR *IN SITU* IN SPACE 28 (FOLDOUT PLAN B, PARTS 1 AND 2; PLS. 2.20, 2.21, AND 2.35)

This is, to date, the longest plaster floor found in Crete, for it covered both the longer Space 28 and the smaller room at the rear on the east—the two totaling nearly 40 m in length. Most of the description of this floor was given in the survey of Space 28 in Chap. 2.2, so only salient characteristics will be summarized here and put in a wider perspective with references to comparanda from elsewhere. It is noteworthy that the floor, like the rest of the floors in the East Wing of T, sloped down from east to west and consisted of several layers, the result of resurfacing. Most layers were painted blue, some white, and rarely, red was used. Of great interest is a technique (this too described in Chap. 2.2), which shows that the plaster of each layer continued up the bottom course of adjacent walls, likely in order to seal the

gap between wall and floor and thus provide protection from water seeping into the foundations of the walls. The particular technique is known from its use in other buildings, both at other sites in Crete and the Aegean, and at Kommos itself.[57] One detail that has not been discussed in Chap. 2.2 is evidence that the plaster layers abutted a vertical surface at the very west end of Locus 28. Since this end was open on the side of the Central Court, as were the rest of the other parallel rooms in the East Wing,[58] the surface could not be that of a wall subsequently removed. My explanation for this characteristic is that a vertical wooden slat may have been used at each resurfacing where the plaster floor was supposed to end on the west—to avoid painting against the thick layer of pebbles that served as the floor of the court, given that there was no structural divider, for example, a course of stones, like those that appear elsewhere in the building: between Locus 4/10 and the court, and between Corridor 20/22 and the court.

Two other characteristics regarding the floor in the long west room of Space 28 are noteworthy. One is that the floor is rather sunken along the longitudinal axis of the room, possibly the result of gradual subsidence. The other is the presence of shallow, channel-like crisscrossing depressions within its surface (Pl. 1.94), an issue raised again later in this section. Loose pieces derived from various layers at various spots showed enough of a consistency to assign this plaster to floor plaster Type G, one fragment of which has been catalogued as **100** (Pl. 2.20).

PLASTER FLOOR *IN SITU* IN ROOM 23 (CHAP. 1, STATE PLAN PLS. 1.66 AND 2.35)

This floor was preserved only as a strip (at +3.28 m) against the room's southern wall, part of which was later removed to create a doorway (location shown in Pl. 2.35). Where the south wall was not demolished (to the east of the doorway), the plaster seems to consist of one thin layer, which was laid atop a gray clay surface and continued vertically onto the lower part of that wall, as was the case with Space 28 described above. The date of this patch of floor, which predates the doorway, should be MM III, given the pottery found at that level (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 2a).

The use of a relatively thin layer of plaster, nearly a whitewash, applied directly atop a beaten earth floor is not uncommon at Kommos and was found mainly in the town, in buildings dating from Proto- to early Neopalatial times.[59] The practice, which applies to both painted and unpainted plaster floors, is also known at other sites in Crete, for example, at nearby Phaistos.[60]

SLAB FLOOR WITH PLASTER INTERSTICES IN SPACE 10 (CHAP. 1, STATE PLAN PL. 1.14)

The slab floor was limited to the southern part of Locus 4/10—what was once a single space open on the south side onto the Central Court of Building T. The slab floor seems to have been limited at that end, and when first excavated, the interstices between the slabs were

found filled with earth. However, it was later realized during a sounding in which some of the slabs were temporarily removed that the interstices had originally been filled with plaster, small pieces of which had sunk down, their top surface worn or gone. Evidently, they were eventually covered with earth that filled the new gaps between the floor slabs. Characteristically, the makeup of these plaster pieces (catalogued as **13**) was like that of other remains of plaster floors; namely, their lower layer (the only one preserved here) incorporated round and angular small stones. This hard mixture must also have helped keep the stone slabs from shifting. The top surface, which would have been of plaster with fewer inclusions, might have once been painted, perhaps red, as known from many other cases in slab-paved Minoan floors. Also revealed in the sounding was that the slabs had been laid over a layer of pebbles that had served as the floor's bedding.

Flooring Plaster: A Tentative Typology

What follows is an attempt to sort out the main types of floor plasters in terms of their makeup and whether they derive from the ground floor of the building or fell from an upper floor or paved roof. It should be kept in mind that there may be a degree of overclassification in what is being offered, in part owing to variation in the samples that could have resulted from inconsistencies in the production technique.

TYPE A

- The top layer is of hard semifine plaster, varying from 1.0 to 2.2 cm in thickness. The surface seems to have once been well polished.
- The second layer varies from 1.0 to 1.2 cm in thickness and consists of mostly black pebbles in a plaster matrix.[61] The pebbles vary in size from 0.7×0.3 to 2.5×1.5 cm.
- A possible third layer consists of plaster only.

Several pieces of Type A (**31**, Pl. 2.17) were found mainly in the western end of the North Stoa and are surely the remains of the broken-up plaster floor at ground level. They lay directly over a surface of compact earth (at +2.77–2.80/2.83 m) that served as a bedding, reddish and gray in color and probably containing some clay or lepis.[62] Pebbles, those seen in the lowest layer of plaster, would have been spread on this surface, then covered by the layer that acted as the matrix of the pebbles, and then by another layer of finer plaster, its surface smoothed, polished, and then painted in places with decorative patterns.

Fragments with very similar lower layers were found scattered in other locations: **82** (from the western end of 20/22, near Court 15); **65** (found between Court 15 and Gallery P1); and **61** (Pl. 2.19) and the uncatalogued fragment P 124. Given the locations, these fragments may have originated from the eastern sections of the same North Stoa.

VARIATIONS OF TYPE A

Two variations of Type A have been noted. The first is characterized as follows:

- The top layer is of semifine plaster ca. 1.4–2.0 cm thick.
- There is a thin layer of sparse little pebbles (0.6 × 0.5 cm pebble size).
- The bottom layer is of plaster (0.6–0.7 cm thick), at times flat at the bottom.

In this case, the pebbles are smaller, and there is a definite bottom layer. Examples come from the South Stoa: **122** (P 232; P 233, Pl. 2.21) and **123** (P 206, Pl. 2.22).

The second variation is characterized as follows:

- The top layer is 1.8–2.0 cm thick, with a smooth surface, of very hard off-white plaster with very thin voids, perhaps left by disintegrated organic material.
- Smallish round pebbles (max 0.5 × 0.4 cm) are found at the very bottom.

The differences in the two variations are in the size of the pebbles, which are smaller than those of Type A and are embedded in a thinner layer of plaster. There is no evidence for a third layer in the second variation. Examples are **86** (P 153; and P 156, Pl. 2.19) from the eastern end of Space 22, and **94**, the latter from higher levels at the western end of Gallery P1, therefore in secondary deposition.

TYPE B/C

- The thin top layer of plaster is ca. 0.2–0.4 cm thick, with a flat but unpolished top surface, occasionally preserving traces of a ruddy color.
- There is a thin layer of sparse small pebbles or thick sand, 0.1–0.5 cm thick.
- A third plaster layer has small dark and light stones and bits of plaster,[63] frequently flat at the bottom and ca. 2.00 cm thick.

Type B is like Type C, with the label B denoting the preservation on some pieces of a ruddy wash applied to what must have been the top surface.[64] Examples showing this ruddy wash were found in the North Stoa (**35**–**36** from Space 11, Pl. 2.18; **37** from Space 11; **50** from Space 16) and, more rarely, from nearby associated contexts. Many such flooring pieces were found in Space 5 (**4**, Pl. 2.16) below the LM III pebble and earth surface. None of these pieces retained any color—if any was ever applied in this case. The flat bottom surfaces of all these pieces suggest that the plaster was laid over a flat surface, perhaps a packing of earth or clay above the ceiling of the first storey.[65]

Similar to the preceding plasters is a fragment (**133**, Pl. 2.22), found south of Building T, which may derive from a floor above the South Stoa, possibly from the latter's plaster floor, which like the floor of the North Stoa may have contained areas left white.

TYPE D

- A thin layer contains coarse sand (grit) and tiny pebbles, 0.3–0.7 cm thick.
- A second plaster layer 2.8 cm thick contains hard inclusions, including small pieces of stone and bits of plaster.

Pieces of Type D at times preserve a very thin layer of white plaster (0.2–0.3 cm thick) over the sandy layer. Examples were found in Spaces 10, 6, 16, 15s, and south of Building N, in area 8/9 of the Central Court (**10**; **14**, Pl. 2.17; **51**; **67**, Pl. 2.18; **64**).

TYPE E

- A plaster layer ca. 1.8–4.5 cm thick contains voids, likely from organic inclusions; it has a smooth top surface. This layer is clearly separated from the next one, the separation marked sometimes by a thin layer of crushed plaster which does not spread throughout, and once includes a long thin sherd.
- The lower plaster layer packed with hard angular inclusions contains the occasional bit of brown earth or clay.

An example of Type E is fragment **88** from Room 23 (Pl. 2.20).

TYPE F

- The top layer is packed with fine sand that continues downward in an attenuated fashion for some 3.00 to 4.00 cm.
- The second layer contains hard inclusions.

As in the previous type (Type E), there is no clear or straight separation between the two layers in Type F. Examples are **90** from Room 24b, and **115** (Pl. 2.21) from the South Stoa. There are traces of what may be blue color on the surface of the latter.

TYPE G

This type represents the painted plaster floor in Space 28, other aspects of which have already been discussed as floors *in situ*. As noted there, this floor was repeatedly resurfaced, each time by adding a new plaster layer and painting its surface or leaving it white. The successive layers varied in thickness, and since probes were made at different locations rather than throughout, it is now impossible for us to match the layers revealed in these locations by thickness and/or color. Indeed, the number of layers varies, which might suggest that occasionally resurfacing was done in patches, as needed. Of technical interest is the presence of tiny and sporadic pebbles that were found in places between layers and in greater accumulations under the bottom layer, there sprinkled on a compact earth surface.

Catalogue piece **100**, already described in Chap. 2.2, is used as an average example of any

of the layers in the floor of Locus 28, the fabric and other characteristics of which typify Type G floor plaster.

Floors Incorporating Plaster as a Minor Material

There is only one floor that incorporated traces of plaster at Kommos, namely, the pebble floor of the Central Court. Here, soundings in some locations revealed the presence of uncalcined lime or pulverized plaster, part of a thin layer at the very bottom above which was a thick layer of loose pebbles, which were not embedded in a matrix of plaster like the types of flooring material examined above. Mixed with the lime/plaster at the bottom we occasionally found crushed shells, including *Murex trunculus.* A high concentration of such shells was found in the Central Court directly west of Space 36/P5, associated with sherds of Protopalatial date, but whether this layer of shells was put down before the layer of pebbles was added, or whether the shells were left over from an activity connected with the murex, is discussed elsewhere in this volume.[66]

Other Uses of Plaster in Buildings

PLASTER USED TO PRODUCE A CLEAN SURFACE

Besides its use for architectural enhancement and construction,[67] plaster provided surfaces that could be kept clean. High-quality Minoan plaster was generally very sturdy, and the surfaces could be easily swept and even wiped with a wet cloth.

The need for hygiene may well explain the lining of the pi-shaped stone enclosures that seem to have been used as temporary receptacles for ground substances, most likely edible products. The receptacles were installed at the eastern end of the North Stoa (Space 16), when the space was ultimately used for industrial or food processing activities. The enclosures were catalogued as **46a–46d** (Pl. 2.9). Each was equipped with a quern and rubbing stones found in front of it (Pl. 1.51 [the bin]; Pl. 4.22 [the querns]).[68]

The use of plaster for a floor in the long Space 28 may have had a similarly practical purpose. Thin channels impressed in the surface of the longer western room may suggest an activity that required the use and disposal of liquids—possibly water used to rinse materials laid out on the floor (Pl. 1.94). The floor sloped down from east to west, and occasionally from north to south, and the slopes could have facilitated drainage. The liquids that may have been used in connection with such an activity could have thus run down south and west. In the latter case, they would have drained into the Central Court.

PLASTER USED AS A SEALANT

Plaster was found at the base of the west face of the pillar block that marked the west end of an east-west partition wall dividing a room under LM III Gallery P6 into two parts (Spaces

43 and 46). This may have been used as a sealant, unless it is all that remains of a painted floor that we know existed from extant fragments found in the South Stoa. A more definite case for the use of plaster as a sealant is where it was applied between the sub-bases and the stylobate slabs found in a sounding next to the columns at the eastern end of the North Stoa. The purpose may have been to prevent water from seeping into the stoa itself. A comparable practice may have been the continued application of plaster up the base of the walls, directly adjacent to a plaster floor. Such a case has already been mentioned in the discussion of Space 28.

4. Synthesis and Conclusions

The use of plaster at Kommos is already attested in the Protopalatial period. The earliest examples are in houses in the Central Hillside part of the town, where limited construction in Neopalatial times made it possible to excavate earlier levels. The earliest contexts where plasters were found are MM II, but this date marks the time of their deposition rather than of the employment of plaster as wall revetment or in construction, which may be when some of the houses were built, in MM I.[69] In the Southern Area, on which this volume concentrates, the paucity of plasters in levels of Protopalatial Building AA may be due to the eradication of the relevant strata, including the floors, as part of the preparation of the site for the construction of Building T.[70] Some fragments were found as fill along with other materials within casemates that were part of the underpinning of a terrace on which the large MM II Building AA was built, but such fill obviously predates the building for which the foundation was prepared and may have been brought from elsewhere at the site, likely from the Town Area.

The technical quality of the plaster of this early date is impressive, both in terms of fabric and of the generally carefully polished surface. Paint was applied solidly, with the palette consisting of red, yellow, blue, and black.[71] Plaster floors of the same period were simple, mostly made up of a rather thin layer of plaster laid over a compacted earth surface. This practice, examples of which were occasionally found *in situ* in the Town Area, was still in use in MM III,[72] and there is even a very partially preserved example of such a floor in Room 23 of Building T (Table 2.14, Plaster Group 23 *a*). It is likely the earliest floor and therefore of late MM III date, the time when Building T was built.

Wall plastering and painted decoration on walls and floors became more ambitious in the Neopalatial period, and there is evidence at Kommos of the use of plaster as packing material between beams in ceilings. Most of the information for painted wall decoration in the Southern Area comes from Building T and from the neighboring contemporary elite House X, which was built directly north of the large Minoan road that formally divided the town from the Civic Center (Frontispiece A). In both cases, the paintings—abstract in the former and a combination of abstract and floral in the latter—are likely to have been done as soon as the two buildings were constructed, at the beginning of the Neopalatial period.[73] Paintings

likely existed in other contemporary elite houses that were likely built in a row along the same east-west line west of House X overlooking the large Minoan Road 17, but these are now mostly inaccessible because of the construction over them of the Greek temples and accessory buildings. Few plasters were found in the Neopalatial houses on the Hilltop and Central Hillside areas of the town, and these in secondary depositions, one likely reason perhaps being the continued use, with drastic and ongoing remodeling, of the houses into LM III times. In the latter period the practice of plastering may have been abandoned altogether. Indeed, there is little if any evidence to suggest that plastering activity continued after LM IA or LM IB Early, this being the date of most of the deposits of plaster debris found throughout Building T, deriving from walls and dismantled or destroyed ceilings and floors.[74]

For all these reasons, this section concentrates on Building T (Pl. 2.34), the apparent main source of plasters in the Southern Area of the site. Although the archaeological contexts and physical characteristics of the plasters and techniques used in plastering were dealt with in Chap. 2.2 and 2.3, the aim here is to arrive at some larger perspectives. For instance, since plaster debris at a site naturally results from remodeling or possible destruction of parts of a building, the contents and locations of plaster debris could illuminate the extent and the nature of such events, especially when the plasters are studied stratigraphically and their deposition dated by associated pottery. Fragments of plaster from walls, ceilings, and floors can also throw light on aspects of the building's appearance prior to whatever caused the deposition of the plaster debris. What is most significant and helpful in this quest is that most of the debris seems to have been left within the spaces in which it was originally used, or dumped near them. Finally, in this section we return to the painted decoration, particularly that of the two stoas, with the purpose of gaining a better understanding of its character and role in the building as well as its place in Aegean painting.

Construction Plasters as Evidence for Archaeological Events and Aspects of Building T's Architectural Appearance

The simplified map shown in Pl. 2.41 indicates the larger deposits of construction plasters—those that have statistical significance. Noted are their weights and, broadly speaking, their chronological context.[75] Their pattern of distribution is rather distinct, namely, in three main locations: the rooms in the eastern half of the North Wing and the northern and the southern edges of the Central Court directly outside the North and the South Stoas. Few fragments have been found in the East Wing or directly outside it along the eastern edge of the Central Court, although such absence is likely an accident of preservation, caused by the almost complete eradication of Building T's strata by the construction of Building P directly over the East Wing. This likely resulted from the effort to keep the floors of Building P's galleries

as low as possible, to facilitate access from the court and the seaside on the west, particularly if ships were stored in the galleries, as we have suggested (see Chap. 5.2).

The concentrations of construction fragments directly outside the two stoas most likely represent debris from within the stoas themselves, the causes probably varying in each case. Plasters found in and next to the North Stoa could have resulted from the dismantling of its colonnade and its partial replacement by a wall. Similarly, plasters found within and directly north of the South Stoa would have resulted from the dismantling (or destruction) of both its colonnade and its south wall. It is clear that the south wall was already ruined when the kiln was built in LM IA, since the kiln's south side rested over the remaining lower courses of that wall. That the plasters originated near where they were dumped is supported by the fact that the same types of plasters were found both inside and outside each stoa. The fragments within were fewer, evidently left there accidentally and eventually covered by a new floor or use surface made of earth. The rather greater quantity of plaster (especially that used in construction) dumped in the Court is an indication of the rather debased era into which Building T was entering. The Stoa's painted decoration, of which fragments were found in strata comparable with that of the construction debris, was never replaced.

The pattern in the interior spaces in the eastern part of the North Wing is different and requires its own explanation. There, the debris (mainly ceiling plaster) seems to have accumulated incrementally, likely as a result of gradual decay, in successive strata. The lowest strata were LM IA in date; the higher ones contained LM III and occasionally Historic sherds.

We now turn to the map of coarse plasters (Pl. 2.41, bottom) to comment on individual deposits, and we proceed, again, in a clockwise sequence. Spaces 5n and 5s, at the very northwest corner, also represent one of the most impressive deposits (ca. 13 kg, Table 2.1, Plaster Groups 5n *e* and 5n+5s *f*), unusually made up primarily of flooring rather than ceiling plaster. This debris was found along with LM II sherds and above a surface (at +3.30 m) that (as argued in Chap. 2.2) represents a reuse of the building.[76] As I suggested there, the debris could have resulted from renovations that led to the northern flight of the staircase in Space 5 having gone out of use at that time.[77] The floor plasters were likely part of the floor of an upper storey over 5n and 5s. No such plaster was found above the later and raised floor of pebbles and earth (at +3.73 m), introduced when Building N was built in LM III. During the construction of this building, the pieces probably were found to be useful as fill and allowed to stay under the LM III surface. Most were of Type B/C, the double label standing for pieces of the same makeup but those of Type B without any trace of color on their surface, those described as Type C with a ruddy color—the absence of color likely being an accident of preservation. Type B/C flooring plasters were also found in nearby loci, such as 4 and 10, and within and directly outside the North Stoa, their spread suggesting that the floor suggested to belong to an upper storey may have continued above these adjacent spaces (Pl. 2.35).

A smaller deposit of construction debris (ca. 4 kg, Table 2.1, Plaster Groups 5s *b* and 5n *c*, LM IB) was found in an earlier context, mostly in 5s, the space that was once occupied by

the northern flight of the staircase. This flooring plaster was of Type D, characterized by the presence of sand and tiny pebbles on the surface. More bits of Type D were found outside, south of Rooms 5n and 5s (Table 2.2, Plaster Group 7 *a*), again in an LM IB–II context, and in Spaces 4 and 10 in T levels (Table 2.4, Plaster Group 10 *c*). The presence of these two types of flooring (B/C and D) used above these rooms' ground level appears to call for an explanation, a matter to which I shall turn later.

The next deposit (ca. 7 kg, Table 2.3, Plaster Group 6 *a*) contained mainly ceiling plaster and again bits of Type D flooring plaster, found in an LM IB Early context under the LM III earth and pebble floor in the northern part of Court 6. It belongs to T levels dating from when the area here described as Court 6 was part of T's Central Court, directly south of the North Stoa's western end. The same description applies to our next deposit (ca. 10 kg, Table 2.6, Plaster Group 12/13 *a*), which again dates to LM IA–IB Early and contains mainly ceiling plasters. These were found mainly under Space N12, in what was earlier the northwestern edge of the Central Court during the period of Building T—again, south of the stoa. The scanty flooring material is represented here by a small piece of Type D and by pieces of Type B/C (Pl. 2.35).

As noted previously, construction debris was dumped directly outside the North Stoa, in the Central Court. The pieces found within the western end of the stoa in Locus 11 were few (Table 2.7, Plaster Groups 11n *b* and 11 *e*). These were found with and over a deposit of a good number of fine, painted pieces that came from the decoration of the stoa (both its walls and its plaster floor), all either deposited or fallen from the walls in LM IA Late–IB Early (Plaster Groups 11s *a*, 11s *c*, and 11 *e*). The pieces fell over a painted plaster floor, of which only a few fragments were found, most of them very near the rear (north) wall of the stoa. Some pieces that were later identified as belonging to a floor were still partially wedged under the wall; others were spread farther south still within the space and into the north part of Locus 6. The plaster floor was likely crushed under the feet of builders dismantling and rebuilding that part of the stoa, when columns were removed in places and replaced with a wall. The plaster debris was eventually covered over by an earthen surface that represents the reuse of the stoa's Space 11. Comparable activities affected the stoa's eastern end (Space 16), where the columns were taken down to be replaced with an east-west wall, which turned that end of the stoa into an interior space or room. Notable in Space 16 was the presence of a few pieces of flooring plaster, in addition to some ceiling plasters, both of Type B/C and D, found in contexts ranging from LM IA Advanced to Final to IB Early (ca. 7 kg, Table 2.8, Plaster Groups 16e *b*–16w *e*).

Construction plasters occurred in greater numbers directly outside and south of Space 16, that is, along the northern edge of Building T's Central Court, at the location labeled Court 15 on the plan (ca. 20 kg in an LM I context, Table 2.9, Plaster Groups 15 *a* and *b*, and ca. 1.5 kg in an LM III context, Group 15 *c*). This location continued to be used in connection with LM III Building N but, naturally, with its floor raised above that of the initial Central Court.

We turn now to the eastern section of the North Wing of T, where the largest deposit (one

mainly of ceiling plaster)[78] was found in Room 19 (32 kg, Table 2.11, Plaster Group 19 *a–d*, from LM IA Early to LM IA Final or LM IB Early [including some MM III]). As in the case described in Space 11, the deposit was uncovered along with fragments of painted wall decoration consisting of an impressive frieze of multicolored bands (**75**, Pl. 2.40). These finds began mainly above a secondary floor (at +3.16/3.22 m) that was used into LM IA Advanced. The debris of construction plaster continued in upper strata of later date and was likely the result of incremental collapse after the room went out of use.

Smaller deposits were found west and east of Room 19, in the following loci: Room 42 (ca. 15 kg, Table 2.10, Plaster Group 42 *f*, MM IB–LM III); Room 21 (ca. 10 kg), again over and above a floor used into LM IA Advanced; Room 23 (ca. 12 kg, Table 2.14, Plaster Group 23 *a–c*, in an LM I context), and in higher fill (3 kg, Table 2.14, Plaster Group 23 *d*). Noteworthy is the presence of flooring plasters resembling Type A at the two ends of Corridor 20/22 (Pl. 2.35). At the western end they were found at two levels: 5 kg in LM I contexts (Table 2.12, Plaster Group 20/22w *a*), and 3 kg in higher levels in LM III (Table 2.12, Plaster Group 20/22w *d*). At the eastern end, near Room 29, approximately 10 kg of plasters were found in an LM I–III context (Table 2.13, Plaster Groups 22e/29 *g*, and 22e/26n *g*). The LM III sherds may have ended up here as a result of the drastic remodeling that involved removing the long north wall of Building T's Space 26 down to its bottom course and reusing its blocks to build the north wall of Building P. Possibly the same kind of material continues in the unexcavated central part of this corridor.

The greatest accumulation of construction plaster in this part of the building occurred in magazine-like Rooms 24a–24b at the eastern end of the wing and was found in the higher fills characterized by the presence of some LM III and occasionally of Historic sherds (a total of ca. 26 kg, Table 2.15, Plaster Group 24A/24B *f*, Pl. 2.41). In the other series of magazines directly south (25a–25b), debris was found both at a lower level over Floor 2 (7 kg, Table 2.16, Plaster Group 25A *b*) in an LM IA Early context and higher up in a context along with LM III and some Historic sherds (11 kg, Table 2.16, Plaster Group 25A+25B *e*), totaling some 18 kg. The LM III sherds most probably found their way there during a leveling operation intended to create a terrace north of Building P by using the remains of the now-ruined North Wing of Building T. It is likely that the plasters were still lying at the top of the collapsed debris of the series of rooms when the work started on the terrace. As with other spaces already discussed, the patterns of provenance of construction plaster seem to indicate that the process of collapse started in LM IA (earlier than in the west section of the North Wing) and continued incrementally into the LM III remodeling of the area.

The last area to provide information on the patterns of distribution of debris of construction plasters is the South Stoa and its environs, that is, the southern edge of the Central Court and the western end of Gallery P6. Of interest in explaining the patterns here is that this stoa was not converted into new spaces. No new walls were built, and the original floor continued to be used, now much destroyed and even gouged out in places. The installation of a kiln in

the South Stoa has already been mentioned and discussed at length elsewhere.[79] The stoa's columns were clearly gone by this period and its rear wall destroyed at least at its western end, where the kiln's south side overlapped the few lower courses that were still standing. Most construction debris may have been dumped outside, south of Building T, but enough remained within the building to pass on interesting information, notably the remains of plaster offering tables that seem to have been used for special occasions, both here and in the North Stoa (see M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5). Construction plaster in this area was found mainly in fills of LM IA Advanced to Final date. There was a degree of contamination by some LM III and, occasionally, Historic sherds in some of these fills, clearly caused by the fact that no new floors were laid down, and as a result, materials in the lower levels were not separated from later accumulation. Some later sherds may have washed down from the southeastern part of the East Wing as a result of erosion, as evidenced by gullies both within some of the galleries (particularly P5) and in the nearby area of the Central Court. Much plaster debris was, luckily, located south of these gullies, near and, to a lesser extent, within the South Stoa. Approximately 12 kg of construction plaster was found at the western end and along the adjacent strip of the Central Court (Table 2.18, Plaster Group SStw *c*, LM I); ca. 23 kg in the central section of the stoa and court (Tables 2.19 and 2.20, SStc *a*, SStc *b*; CCc+SStc *a* and *b*, of LM I and LM I–III date), and ca. 22 kg in the eastern part of the stoa (Tables 2.21 and 2.22, CCe+SSte *d*, CCe+SSte *e*, SSte *f*, SSte *g*; and CCse *b*, of LM I and LM I–III date).

This brings us to the end of the discussion of construction plaster debris as evidence for archaeological events, and we can now turn to ways in which the same materials can help us visualize aspects of architecture otherwise based on the study of plan and extant masonry. We start with the use of plaster in ceiling construction, particularly what was found near the two stoas, where the plaster served as packing to plug the gaps between adjacent ceiling beams. In this instance, the fragments have preserved the negative image of beams. Fragments shaped like an isosceles triangle, but with two opposite incurved sides (rather than straight), bear the impressions of two roughly round, adjacent beams (**22**, Pl. 2.23; **73**, Pl. 2.26; **78**, Pl. 2.27). More rarely found were fragments in the shape of a right-angle triangle, with two straight sides at a right angle and with the third side somewhat incurved (**5,** Pl. 2.23). The curve reflects the impression left on the packing plaster by a beam, and the straight sides represent the junction between a wall and a horizontal element, like an epistyle course. The latter is inferred from impressions on plaster that suggest a somewhat squared beam running at right angles to the direction of the transverse round beams suggested by the isosceles triangles, as illustrated in the reconstruction of the North Stoa (Pl. 2.41, top). A row of beam ends is often seen in representations of architectural facades, particularly in frescoes, depicting large architectural openings such as windows, balconies, and porches.[80] In those frescoes, the beam ends are shown in different colors that are repeated rhythmically, and to this fact we may now add the possibility that the surrounding plaster between the beams was also painted. This idea is suggested by a piece of packing plaster from the North Stoa, of which

one of the flat surfaces bears traces of yellow color (**78**). One last comment on the appearance and construction of the ceiling of the North Stoa is that the impressions on the packing plasters from that area show the beams to have varied somewhat in diameter. Some are as small as 16 cm, others as large as 23 cm. Naturally, the various sizes may have been used in different locations and in different ways. It is of interest that those beams we believe to derive from the North Stoa and that are more securely measurable (**22**, **60**) tend to be more standard in size, namely, within a range of 19.0 to 23.0 cm.

Now, we turn to the second main type of construction plaster, that used as flooring material, for any information this material can convey about the architectural appearance of the buildings and perhaps even about archaeological events. Plate 2.35 shows the provenances of the main types (A, B/C, D–G), the technical characteristics of which were given in Chap. 2.3. As in the discussion of the use of plaster in ceilings, we begin here with a summary of the patterns of distribution. Type A is the fancier kind, one with a lower layer or layers of pebbles in a matrix of plaster and a thick upper layer of plaster. Its surface was polished and painted, in some cases with decorative patterns. This type can be assigned with certainty to spaces on the ground level, especially to the North and South Stoas. It was found in fragments, specifically in Space 11 of the North Stoa (**31**, Pls. 2.7, and 2.17), then farther east in a sounding under the stylobate, the section between Loci 12 and 16 (**44**, Pl. 2.18). Similar plasters, and again with painted decoration, from the South Stoa were few; these were found in the Central Court directly outside the North Stoa (**61** and **86**, Pl. 2.19). Space 28 (under Gallery P3) provided an impressive example of a painted floor at ground level, found *in situ* (**100**, Type G). This floor consisted of many layers, most of which are plain white, others painted in solid blue and, rarely, in red. The floor extended throughout the long Space 28 and the rear smaller room on the east (Pl. 2.35), an area nearly 40 m long! Interesting technical facts emerged from this floor, given it was still *in situ*, and these were discussed earlier in this chapter. Noteworthy was that the plastering on the lower parts of walls adjacent to the floor was extended in a continuous curve (**100** in Pls. 2.20 and 2.21). The plaster is similar to Type A to the extent that its bottom layer was laid over a bedding of pebbles (Pl. 2.20), but it differs from Type A in that the fabric of the plaster is somewhat softer, and there is evidence that it had been resurfaced.

The remaining flooring pieces appear to derive from second-storey spaces, possibly also from parts of roofs that may have been paved. The reasons for assigning these to a second storey were discussed in the two preceding sections of this chapter. As noted earlier, some of the spaces in which the plasters were found already had recognizable floors at ground level. Thus we learn about the appearance of the now-vanished upper storeys, as the plasters seem to have fallen or been dumped near the spaces where they originated.

Type B/C is an interesting case. The discovery of fragments (**4**, Pl. 2.16) in LM II fill above the slab floor of Space 5 and under the much-raised floor of LM III Building N was noted in

the introduction to this section of the chapter. A few more similar fragments were found east of Space 5, in the areas of N4 (Table 2.5, Plaster Group N4 *c*), in the North Stoa (**35** and **36**, Pl. 2.18), and directly south of the above areas, in the Central Court. Significantly, some of them (but not those found in Space 5, of which the surface was quite worn) preserved traces of red color. Fragments were found farther east in the North Wing (**50**), and there is some indication that this type of upper-storey floor material may also have been used above the South Stoa, but slight variations in the appearance of the pieces and fewer samples prevent confirmation.

Ultimately, it is Type B/C, because of the good size of the deposits and the presence of red color on some of the pieces, that allows for some archaeological inferences to be drawn. For instance, the pieces found under the LM III surface in Room 5 could well belong to the floor of the Neopalatial second storey, which was reached directly by the staircase located in the south part of Space 5. This upper floor may have continued over the adjacent spaces to the east of Space 5, namely, Spaces 4 and 10 and the North Stoa, where Type B/C was also found, now with traces of red on its surface. Indeed, the use of color would suggest that this plaster might have paved a second-storey floor rather than the roof of the stoa and the adjacent spaces to its east. A balcony, rather than rooms on the suggested upper storey, would have served to accommodate additional viewers of ceremonies taking place in the Central Court during special occasions. Such a balcony might, in fact, have been matched by one over the South Stoa, which had staircases at both its eastern and western ends.[81]

Concerning the distribution of floor plasters, one pattern that still needs to be explained is the discovery on a number of occasions of small amounts of Type D plasters found along with Type B/C plasters. Type D is characterized by an upper layer packed with sand and tiny pebbles at the top and, in a few cases, with a white slip at the top (as in **14**, Pl. 2.17, and **51**, Pl. 2.18). It is unknown whether the slip was used everywhere and then came off, or only in certain areas. Whatever the case, and given the sturdiness and thickness of this cement-like plaster type, it would make sense that it was used as the pavement of a roof rather than as the floor of an upper storey. The idea gains support from the use of a similar type of plaster found elsewhere in Crete and at Akrotiri, where the archaeologists have suggested that it may have been used as a roof pavement.[82] The white slip is more difficult to explain, although the notion that Minoan roofs may have been used frequently for additional activities is one that is becoming increasingly convincing.[83] Alternatively, the floors of the assumed upper storey above Space 5 and the North Stoa may have been paved in two different ways for variety's sake, sometimes using Type B/C, sometimes Type D flooring plaster. Types E and F were found in the easternmost spaces of the North Wing, the former in Room 23, the latter in 24a and 24b. Since there was only one type of plaster in each case, it is reasonable to assume that it came from the respective paved roofs of each room, rather than one from a roof and the other from an upper storey. The second storey suggested earlier may well have stopped with the area of the building facing the Central Court, namely, with the North Stoa.

The Painted Decoration of Building T

The mural and floor decoration of Building T used only geometrical and abstract elements. The predominant decoration was a frieze made up of successive multicolored bands or other comparable single courses of design (such as moldings or cornices), the purpose of which was to divide the large expanse of a wall's surface into horizontal parts. The other type involved an imitation of fancy variegated stones, some of which were actually used as wall veneer in a dado and as floor slabs in a number of Minoan buildings.[84]

We start with the friezes, examples of which were found (a) in the North Wing, in Locus 5 (**2** and **3**, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36 at *a*); Locus 10 (**12**, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36 at *b*); Locus 4 (**17** and **20**, Pls. 2.1 and 2.36 at *c*, *e*); Locus 15 (**59**, Pl. 2.10); Room 42 (**70**, Pl. 2.10); Room 19 (**75**, Pl. 2.11; **76**, Pl. 2.36 at *j*); Room 23 (**87**, Pls. 2.12 and 2.36 at *k*); and (b) in the East Wing, in Loci 28/P3 (**98**, Pl. 2.13) and 35/P4 (**101**). All these friezes[85] are poorly preserved and thus do not allow us to visualize the full sequence, except for one from Room 19. In the latter, the fragments have been given two catalogue numbers (**75** and **76**), on the possibility (argued in Chap. 2.2) that they may belong to two different walls and conceivably were painted at somewhat different times, since the east wall was a somewhat later addition. Fragments of the former, and better preserved, frieze joined to create two large segments (Pl. 2.11), the larger of which has been digitally restored to suggest the full width of the frieze.

As restored (Pl. 2.40), the frieze consists of a series of blue, gray, and white bands repeated antithetically above and below a central series of bands painted Venetian red and separated by thin white stripes.[86] If the symmetrical arrangement suggested is correct, the height of the entire frieze would be ca. 0.45 m, which falls within the range of Minoan friezes from elsewhere.[87] The level at which the frieze started on the wall is a matter of speculation, but it could not have been set lower than ca. 2.00 m above the floor, since there are no bands on the walls preserved to that height. Evidence from other Minoan sites shows that such friezes were generally placed at the level of the lintels of doors and windows.[88] It is not clear whether the sections of the wall above and below a frieze were of the same or of different color, or if one section was colored and the other not.

It is worth noting that although the friezes were present in adjacent spaces, none were found in either of the two stoas at Kommos.[89] What was found instead is a related form of decoration, a molded course or cornice. A suggestion of how the molding in the North Stoa (**30**) may have looked is shown in a drawing (Pl. 2.6) which combines a number of fragments related to one another by similar colors and designs, some showing a flat area adjacent to what is preserved of the areas in relief. The largest piece (at the bottom of the drawing) has a squared profile, and its flat surface is yellow with roughly parallel ruddy streaks, a design that could simulate a wooden beam.[90] Pale red markings also appeared on numerous flat yellow-painted pieces, perhaps a continuation of the simulated course of timber. Of interest in the case of the large piece is, at one side (shown in the drawing as the bottom of the piece),

the beginning of an unpainted but highly polished surface, making it clear that the molding was next to an unpainted part of the wall. The suggestion in the drawing that this white surface may have appeared below the molding assumes that the molding appeared some distance above the dado that decorated the base of the wall. The molding may have run at the height of real wooden elements in the room, like the lintels of doors and windows.

The small fragments with curving bands in relief (**7**, Pl. 2.1) from Locus 6 may well be another type of decorative wall molding, conceivably part of a spiral frieze, one of the most common Minoan decorative motifs. The pieces are white, which is how spirals appear in wall decoration, especially when the bands or coils are in relief.[91] Spirals occur elsewhere at Kommos, and in a quadruple-spiral arrangement in House X.[92]

We now turn to the painted decoration that simulates fancy variegated stones, a form that anticipated the Proto-Pompeian type of wall painting in the Early Roman period. The type appeared in Crete in the Protopalatial period[93] and continued to be used into Neopalatial times. It spread to other areas of the Aegean, in the form of a dado, like the examples from the LC IA site of Akrotiri in Thera,[94] and to the Mycenaean Mainland, particularly in palaces and other elite buildings, in the form of dadoes or floor decoration.[95]

None of the fragments were found *in situ* in Building T, although these were most certainly fragments that once decorated the walls and floors of Space 11, where they had fallen or had been dumped from the nearby northern and southern walls forming the western end of the North Stoa. As noted earlier, more fragments with this particular type of decoration were found in the other parts of the stoa and directly south of the Central Court. There were far fewer, but definite, examples in the South Stoa. This type of decoration, therefore, seems to have been concentrated in the two stoas, although a few small pieces with a pattern that may represent variegated stone were found in the East Wing, which is discussed below under the heading "Sponge" Pattern.

Imitations of Variegated Stones

The painted patterns involved are illustrated here both in black and white and in color, and in a small number of digital restorations.[96] The artistic quality of the paintings is generally superb, with the subtle variations in color and the vibrant lines and brushwork creating realistic effects. Yet, in looking for parallels among real stones or asking the opinion of experts, one finds that there is ambiguity as to the identity of the stones. It is exactly this combination of a semblance of reality with "artistic license" that seems to be expressed by Warren's observation that the Aegean artists "conceptualized and translated distinct real world forms into images along a representational spectrum which ranged from near naturalistic to essentialist."[97] There is, of course, the additional possibility that at least in some cases the artists did not rely on direct observation but, rather, copied either earlier paintings or renderings in other artistic media.[98] The artists had the opportunity to study and copy actual

variegated stones that were used as part of the architecture in Minoan elite buildings already in the Protopalatial period: gypsum (for its decorative veins), schist (for its color), conglomerate (for its multicolored pebble inclusions and interesting patterns), and veined types of limestone, some compact and fine enough to be referred to as marble.[99]

The following identifications of the painted patterns are listed in terms of higher probability, with those more certainly identified being discussed first.

CONGLOMERATE STONE

The conglomerate stone pattern is the most realistically rendered as well as the best represented among the plaster fragments found in the North and, to a much lesser extent, the South Stoas (Table 2.7 and Tables 2.17, 2.22 respectively). Fragments with this pattern belong both to wall revetment and to a floor.

Conglomerate is a sedimentary stone made up of waterworn and waterborne coarse components (or *clasts*) that are deposited and held within a matrix of finer particles, made of minerals.[100] The type of clasts pertinent here are pebbles, their color varying depending on the kinds of stones from which they were shaped: chert, quartz, limestone, and the like. Size and shape also vary, as in the fresco representations, from egg-shaped or oval to spherical, or thinner and more elongated (like **28**).[101] Examples of the representation of this stone can be seen in a number of illustrations (Pls. 2.2–2.5; 2.7, 2.14, and 2.36 at *q*). A sediment can contain similar-looking pebbles (what is described geologically as *good sorting*) or be made up of an assortment of pebbles (*poor sorting*).[102] Not knowing whether some of the types we see on separate fragments at Kommos were combined in single panels or sorted out, we do not know which of the two was being represented.

Still, the variety and detail in representation suggests that the Minoan artist had a fairly good idea of what conglomerate looked like. There are, still, however, some puzzling aspects in the representations, and given the usual properties of conglomerate, one wonders how realistic is the possibility, as implied by the fresco, that such a stone was cut in large slabs to serve as wall veneer and floor pavement. Compact conglomerate, that is, with the pebbles close together and little earth between them, would be the most suitable kind,[103] but the pebbles are often shown spaced widely and against solid backgrounds (such as light blue/gray, as seen in Pls. 2.37 at *c–e* and 2.38 at *c–d*), which might represent either some kind of matrix or an artistic choice to set off the more concrete details. Densely packed pebbles can be seen in a modern specimen, a piece of unworked conglomerate (Pl. 2.37 at *f*) that the author found in the area of Malia and that was sliced by a marble cutter, thus producing two flat shiny surfaces with many colors. The colors come from the sections with the pebbles, for the binding agent or matrix (usually sand) is limited to the tiny interstices among the pebbles.[104] Loosely packed pebbles result in "pebbly sandstones,"[105] which, if used in architecture, would be used only to produce coarse building blocks. Of the varieties mentioned, compact sediments of conglomerate could be quarried for use in architecture. There is indeed evidence for the use of conglomerate in the Palace and the Tomb of Atreus at Mycenae, both

for building blocks and also for column bases.[106] Cutting slabs from this rock to be used as wall revetment would naturally have been much more difficult, if not impossible, and to my knowledge, the practice is not attested in the Aegean.[107] It is strange, therefore, that Aegean artists should depict conglomerate as part of a dado, as in a Mycenaean painted dado in which the conglomerate is shown along with panels that apparently depict textile patterns![108]

Because there is a good chance that the source of inspiration for the painted dadoes at Kommos (and in other Aegean paintings) may also, to a certain degree, lie beyond strict imitation of nature,[109] the last comments on this type of rock will briefly concentrate on comparanda with other artistic media used. Warren, for instance, mentions two cases of Minoan stone vases made of true conglomerate,[110] but the pattern also occurs on painted pottery in varying degrees of stylization.[111] Just as makers of clay pottery aspired to make their vases look as if made of variegated stone, so sometimes did the makers of plaster offering tables. In one case, the one preserved leg of a table shows traces of painted multicolored pebbles against a blue background.[112] Realizing all these links between various media, I propose that the use of a conglomerate pattern as floor decoration at Kommos may owe something to a general resemblance to the terrazzo floors popular in Minoan Crete, some of which were made up of sizable multicolored pebbles embedded in a layer of lime plaster.[113] In the case of breccia,[114] which is related to conglomerate, the main difference is that the clasts are angular rather than pebble-like and rounded. It is possible that some pieces considered as possible conglomerate from the North Stoa (**41**, Pl. 2.8) and in the South Stoa (**111**, Pl. 2.14) are actually examples representing breccia, although their preservation is too poor to confirm the identification.

VEINED PATTERNS

The generic word *veined* used in this study refers to artistic renditions of a variety of stones rather than to actual petrographic specimens. The following tentative identifications are based largely on the opinions of scholars. The degree of certainty in any identification is greater, naturally, when there is a convergence of opinion.[115]

Travertine, banded tufa, marble, and banded gypsum are among the variegated stones likely to have been depicted in some of the frescoes, all but the last being varieties of calcite[116] that were deposited by water and colored by iron earths (ocher yellow and hematite).[117] The colorful veined patterns in catalogued fragments **24** (Pl. 2.1) are excellent candidates for the group of stones just mentioned, although it is not possible to ascertain whether the images represent calcite or gypsum. Chlouveraki has recently studied gypsum for its use in Minoan architecture, and her opinion on plaster fragments **24** is that the pieces represent a colorful type of gypsum of the kind common at the Minoan sites of Aghia Triada and Phaistos.[118] Other veined patterns, again found in the Kommos stoas, occur in small pieces (such as **25**, Pl. 2.1, and **38–39**, Pl. 2.8). A larger piece (**131**, Pl. 2.15) is, unfortunately much worn, but close examination reveals roughly parallel lines, some curving, some in the form of two shallow arches, that are close to renderings of veined stone dadoes from other sites.[119]

One of the terms commonly used for such colorful veined designs is *marbling*. Marble is a limestone in a crystalline state that can be highly polished.[120] Fitting this category may be an example from Kommos (**54**, Pl. 2.8) characterized by dark gray/blue brushstrokes on a blue/lighter blue background. It may be what is referred to as *banded marble* known also from Early Minoan stone vases from Mochlos.[121]

Unlike the use of conglomerate, that of both limestone and gypsum in Minoan architecture is widely attested, although gypsum was mostly used as a veneer stone.[122] It had already appeared by MM I times, incorporated into ashlar masonry along with limestone blocks. These examples appear particularly in palatial buildings in Central Crete, where extensive gypsum quarries existed.[123] Unlike conglomerate, gypsum also can be cut easily into large slabs that can be used for wall revetment (often behind benches), for panels in dadoes, and for interior pavements.[124]

When the imitation of veined stone started in Minoan wall painting is uncertain.[125] Painted imitations of gypsum slab pavements—but these without any veined patterns—had already appeared by MM II, such as in a floor of ashlar slabs in the Old Palace of Phaistos.[126] Thick wavy lines rendered in black on a white ground occur on plaster fragments from Vano LXII in the Old Palace at Phaistos, and these are generally thought to represent gypsum veins,[127] as are similar patterns on wall plaster and also as painted decoration on an offering table found in MM III contexts, both believed by Militello to belong to the MM II period.[128] The Phaistian examples clearly provide the best-known antecedents for the examples at Kommos. The more advanced character of the latter is evident in the use of polychromy and an impressionistic style, which stand in contrast with the simple silhouette rendering of both examples from Phaistos.[129] During the Neopalatial period, veining is thought to represent gypsum. The technique became very common, spreading even beyond Crete[130] to the Mycenaean buildings on the mainland, particularly the palaces.[131]

In many of these cases the disposition or direction of the banding varies. Some sets of veins are set diagonally within a panel, some vertically, with some in antithetical arches made of crinkly lines. These variations may represent the different ways in which the stone was cut by the masons,[132] or they could be the product of the artists' imagination. Particularly interesting is the well-preserved painted dado in the West House at Thera,[133] which shows variations of veined patterns in the successive panels. In some, the veins describe concentric shapes, in others series of chevrons. Popular in Mycenaean painted dadoes are arcs of scalloped lines in two groups, placed back to back in the same panel.[134]

"SPONGE" PATTERN

The "sponge" pattern was first identified by Evans, who assigned it to the MM II period. The design was most probably produced mechanically by dipping a sponge in dark paint and then pressing it down on a lighter colored surface repeatedly, a technique that Evans suggested for the examples found at the Palace of Knossos.[135] At Kommos, fragments of plasters bearing this type of decoration (**96**, Pl. 2.38 at *a*, *b*) were found mainly in soundings

under the plaster floor of Building T in Space 28, below Gallery P3, and above the casemate walls that were part of the site preparation during the construction of Protopalatial Building AA. The latest pottery in the fill was Neopalatial, but there is no way of determining whether the patterned plaster pieces belong to an earlier phase of Building T and were eventually covered over by the multilayered plaster floor there or whether they preceded Building T. It should be mentioned in this connection that two small pieces found in T's North Stoa (**38** and **40**, Pl. 2.8) resemble this pattern, but the preservation is so poor that this cannot be confirmed. Whereas the pattern in the Knossian example (above) is light on a dark ground, the one from Kommos is the opposite; however, the decoration was clearly intended, in either case, to imitate some type of variegated stone.[136]

For the identification of the type of stone that may have been represented by the sponge pattern, I can only quote opinions offered by those more knowledgeable about petrographic matters: one suggests that the pattern may represent serpentine,[137] others gabbro[138] or diorite;[139] still others venture that it is granite.[140] All these stones share certain similarities, namely, that they are igneous (except for serpentine, which is metamorphic), and their hardness and appearance vary according to their composition, particularly the types of mineral that they contain.[141] Most of these stones were occasionally used to make vases,[142] but they were very rarely used in architecture. The latter fact makes it the more surprising that a column base made of diabase (gray and white speckled) found at the LM I site at Aghia Triada was cut into an elaborate cruciform shape with stepped sides.[143]

PATTERN OF LIGHT SPOTS ON DARK BACKGROUND

This last pattern, of light spots on a dark background, was found only on a small fragment in the South Stoa (**126**, Pl. 2.15). I suspect that the same design was repeated with little, if any, change over a larger area of the plaster surface and that it represented still another type of variegated stone in one of the dado panels. The main problem remains the identification of the stone.[144] The design resembles obsidian,[145] a volcanic rock that is too brittle, however, to have been used as wall revetment in architecture; yet light spots on a dark ground are known from a number of plaster fragments from other Minoan sites, and these have usually been interpreted as parts of painted dadoes.[146] Conceivably, Minoan artists were inspired by designs on other objects made of white-spotted obsidian, such as stone vases, like the famous chalice from the Palace of Zakros.[147] This variety of obsidian was apparently imported to Crete as raw material as early as MM I.[148]

Reconstructing the Painted Decoration of the Plaster Dado and Floor in the North Stoa (Pl. 2.41 top)

The emphasis on the North Stoa here is due to the fact that it has yielded more information than the South Stoa, yet it appears that the wall decoration was similar in the two locations. Like the North Stoa, the South Stoa was decorated with imitations of conglomerate (**107** and

117, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *q*) and of veined stones (**131**,[149] Pl. 2.15, and possibly **108**, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *l*). Fragments found in the South Stoa only indicate that other types of stones may have been imitated, such as obsidian (**126**, Pls. 2.15 and 2.36 at *s*), and another stone (**111**, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *o*) that remains unidentified. We can be certain that the South Stoa, like the North Stoa, had a painted plaster floor, but all that remains are a few fragments that belonged to a border in relief decorated with successive differently colored bands (**109** and **110**, Pls. 2.14 and 2.36 at *m* and *n*).

The presence of a painted dado in both stoas is therefore well attested. Red relief bands bordered the plaster dado decorated with imitations of variegated stones (like **27**, Pls. 2.2–2.4, 2.37, 2.38; **29**, Pls. 2.4, 2.5; **39**, Pl. 2.8; **108**, Pls. 2.14, 2.36 at *l*; **113** and **114**, Pl. 2.14), and they separated one panel from the other. Such framing is well known from a number of other examples, including one from Thera, in which the vertical bands are yellow, and a long black band runs at the top along the entire dado.[150] At Kommos it appears that the bands were all red and that they varied in width. Possibly, the upper border was wider, perhaps ca. 4.0 cm (as in P 82, part of **29**, Pl. 2.4, bottom right), and the vertical ones were 2.5–2.7 cm wide. Another distinct characteristic of the dado at Kommos is that the bands were rendered in "faux relief"; that is, the illusion of projection was created by delineating the long sides of the band with grooves. The technique becomes clear in an illustration that shows a section and the pertinent band piece (Pl. 2.37 at *c*, two pieces on left).

The dado's possible height and length can be estimated by the architectural character of the space in which it was set. First, it appears that there were two main types of Aegean dadoes: those made of real stone slabs and those divided into painted plaster panels. In the former case, the panels are rectangular and their longer sides are set vertically, whereas in the latter, they are rectangular or nearly square, and the longer sides are set horizontally.[151] To some extent the type, whether in stone or simulated in painting, is determined by the architecture. For instance, in Room 5 in the West House at Akrotiri in Thera, a series of windows was set low onto two consecutive walls. As a result, two short, narrow spaces were left vacant, the one above the windows to be occupied by the famous Fleet Fresco frieze, and that below by a painted dado.[152]

Fortunately, a window in the east wall of the North Stoa at Kommos helps to determine the height of the painted dado, assuming that the dado continued onto this wall—which is not an unreasonable assumption, as dadoes tend to continue, as does a frieze, on all the walls of a room or other space.[153] The window provided light to the nearby Room 42 on the east, which was also connected with the stoa by a door. Both window and door were blocked at some point, when the eastern end of the stoa (Locus 16) was converted into a room, by replacing the columns with a wall and, likely, adding to it a west wall to divide it from the eastern portions of the stoa. Luckily for our purposes, however, the initial construction in the east wall of Locus 16, while it was still part of the stoa, was distinguishable from that of the blocking, since the latter was built of rough stones, and the former of cut rectangular

blocks. Thus it was possible for the excavator to detect the top course of the earlier wall—since it was not removed—and thus infer the original height of the window. My inference here is that if we take into account the height of the likely wooden beam that would have served as a sill, the opening for the window would have started at approximately 0.65 m above the stoa's floor, the wooden beam being roughly some 0.20 m.[154] The wall below the beam was approximately 0.45 m high, which gives the total estimated height of the dado itself.[155] The horizontal dimension of each dado panel remains a matter of guesswork. Like most dadoes of the shorter type, those at Kommos could have been rectangular with the longer side set horizontally, as is suggested in the digital reconstruction of the North Stoa by Chris Dietrich (Pl. 2.41, top).

Now, we turn to the plaster floor of the North Stoa. This did not continue all the way to the stoa's east end, where the floor was paved with slabs in a strip along the east wall, this being an area of much traffic, given the presence of doors south and east leading to and from it.

The painted decoration of the floor consisted of a simulation of conglomerate stone and of molded bands, straight and curved, and painted Venetian red. The fragments on which I will focus (catalogued as **31**) are illustrated in color (Pl. 2.39 at *a–d*) and in black-and-white photographs (Pls. 2.5 and 2.7). The curved red bands are seen in two fragments (Pl. 2.39 at *a* [restored in Pl. 2.39 at *e*]), of which the first also features a straight red band. If we position the straight band horizontally, like a border, then the curved band (which, however, is not part of a circle) seems to run diagonally upward. Were we to extend the curve graphically, the resulting design could easily describe a spiral, of which only part of the outer coil (the curved band) is preserved. The resulting triangular space, typically formed between spirals in a running spiral frieze, is filled with the conglomerate pattern. The restoration offered here (Pl. 2.39 at *e*) suggests that the width of the spiral frieze, including the borders of the red bands, was some 0.40 m. What could not be shown in the restoration, because of lack of space on the plate, is that some of the red "border" pieces were adjacent to a white area of the floor. Likely, the painted frieze was positioned along the walls of the stoa,[156] and the remaining surface of the floor was left unpainted or white. Perhaps the placement of dado and floor frieze was a decor perceived to be attractive. More likely, however, the reason for this placement may have been to protect the fragile decoration of the floor by limiting it to the edges of the room, where people are less likely to walk. Conversely, the white area, suggested to occupy the center of the room, could easily receive a new wash once worn, although there is no sign of resurfacing in the few fragments preserved.

Plaster floors with painted decoration may have been more common in Crete than currently suggested by the scanty remains. Few instances are known today, and these, interestingly, derive mostly from Phaistos, specifically from the palace and a house of the Old Palace period.[157] Cameron also added to the corpus of floor plasters fragments from Knossos, decorated with abstract patterns or with imitations of hide, the latter from the as yet unpublished excavations of the Royal Road.[158] To these must also be added the "Labyrinth Fresco" from

Knossos, which, I have argued elsewhere, is likely to be from a floor, its incavo decoration of a meander pattern being rather similar to that of the Protopalatial floors from the area of Phaistos already referred to.[159] This relative paucity of information on Minoan floors makes the discovery of a painted, patterned floor from Kommos all the more precious.

Attention must also be paid to the combination of floor and dado decoration encountered at Kommos. In particular, it must be stressed that there are quite a few cases in Minoan mural decoration where a painted frieze with a running spiral is shown in association with a dado, whether of real slabs of stone or painted to look like stone. Suffice it to note two examples, one in the so-called Bathroom of the Queen's Megaron in the East Wing of the Palace of Knossos, where a spiral frieze (0.43 m high) surmounted a high dado of gypsum slabs.[160] The other example is a painted dado recently found in a lustral basin in a Minoan building at Chania, with a spiral frieze apparently running atop a course of gypsum slabs that were simulated by painting.[161] The obvious difference from the case of the painting in the North Stoa at Kommos is that, in the latter case, the spiral frieze appears to have been placed on the floor, likely directly below the dado course, rather than atop the dado—but the association between dado and spiral frieze is nevertheless there.

Whether my restoration of the pattern in the frieze as a spiral is correct or not, there is little doubt that the frieze functioned as a border to the main part of the floor, which was likely left unpainted/white. Parallels for a painted frieze as a border of a plaster floor are, to my knowledge, lacking in Crete but are known in some cases from the Mycenaean Mainland, on floors both of palaces and elite houses.[162] It is true that the few such friezes known use rosettes as the filling ornament—but rosettes and spirals are frequently interchangeable as filling patterns in decorative friezes in Aegean art, whether in painting or in other media. The possibility that the curving red band in relief on the floor of the North Stoa may have been part of a rosette was eliminated, since the curve of the band does not seem to describe a circle and is much more likely to be the outer coil of a spiral. In support of the spiral identification is also the fact that spirals, but not rosettes, are often rendered in relief, at least when used as wall decoration. A connection between spirals and a floor—even if indirect—is the decoration of the rims of fixed round hearths with running spirals, known mainly from Mycenaean palaces.[163] Interestingly, an example of a running spiral used as a border associated with a decoration of painted simulations of stone slabs occurs on a floor outside the Aegean, namely, on the podium in the grand Hall 64 of the Palace of King Zimri-Lim at Mari.[164] The paintings clearly belong to the time before the destruction of the palace by Hammurabi, commonly dated to 1757 B.C.[165]

As for the tradition of imitating variegated stones as a form of architectural decoration, the practice has a long history and was widespread, occurring both in the Aegean (as in Thera and later on the Mycenaean Mainland) and in the Near East, as early as the Palace at Mari already mentioned and continuing later.[166] Within this tradition the examples from Kommos seem to occupy an intermediary chronological and developmental position. Their

execution is assumed in this chapter to have occurred between MM III Late (the time of the construction of Building T) and LM IA, during which period they were destroyed as some remodeling took place, especially in the North Stoa. Most probably, most of the paintings were executed in MM III Late, as there are no signs of any ambitious remodeling taking place afterward in Building T.

We close this chapter with further thoughts of some archaeological and art-historical interest regarding the simulation of fancy variegated stones, which was the main form of painted decoration in the two stoas. As can be inferred from the difficulty encountered by us in identifying the particular types of stones simulated in the painted dadoes, the degree of intended or desired verisimilitude on the part of the artists must have varied in the renderings. Some types of stones are easily recognizable; others, less so. Among those recognizable are some (like conglomerate stone) for which there is no tangible evidence that they were ever used as veneer or as floor slabs in extant Minoan architecture. Indeed, cutting these stones into relatively thin slabs to serve as panels in a dado would have presented great difficulty, both because of the difficulty of quarrying stones in large sizes and because of physical properties like loose texture or excessive hardness. What seems to have happened is that the Minoan artists continued to expand their visual vocabulary by imitating even those types of stones that could not be used in architecture. One source of inspiration for the patterns could well have been smaller stone objects, most likely the magnificent vases that were carved out of a vast range of variegated stones. We know of imitations in other media such as painted clay vases. It is easy to see how such exchanges between media would have resulted in a large repertoire of patterns that could then have been handed down from generation to generation of artists to choose from—with the lines between reality and fantasy in terms of naturalistic renderings fading with time. In the case of architecture it is easy to see the temptation on the part of both the artists and the patrons to pretend through simulations in painting that all types of fancy stones had been used in a particular building. Such pretense adds all the more to the increasing realization on the part of the modern viewer that Minoan monumental painting had become a potent tool in the hands of the ancient artists and of the elite. The aim here was simply to create an impression of greater luxury through the pretense that fancy stones had been used in a building;[167] but in the case of the larger representational wall paintings, it was to use them as a medium for transmitting complex ideological messages regarding politics, religion, and other societal concerns.

Appendix 2.1

Retrieval, Preliminary Study, Conservation, and Display of Plasters Found in the Area of the Monumental Buildings at Kommos

Maria C. Shaw

As usual at most Minoan sites, the plasters found at Kommos derived from wall revetment, floors, ceilings, and perhaps roofs. During excavation, special attention was paid to the retrieval of the finer pieces, particularly those that were painted, but the general aim was full and careful recovery of all types, whether fine or coarse. Coarse plasters, found in larger masses, are indicated on a plan (Pl. 2.41). Finer wall plasters were preserved in small pieces—generally smaller than 10 cm and rarely more than 15 cm in size—and these pieces were often quite sturdy. In the majority of cases the earth was dry and not so compacted as to jeopardize their safety when they were retrieved through manual extraction. Thin layers of plaster—often already badly cracked when found—required special treatment, and when necessary the conservator was asked to remove them.[168] In such cases the usual technique was to apply a polyvinyl acetate (PVA) solution on strips of gauze over the exposed side or surface of the plaster to solidify the piece to facilitate lifting it. The advantage of this procedure is that it is reversible, for the solvents used can eventually be diluted and the gauze can be removed. When the gauze was attached to the back of the piece, however, it was sometimes decided to leave it on to protect the piece. Other work by the conservators involved looking for joins and restoring parts of a mural, although, in general, the plaster remains in the Southern Area at Kommos were so badly broken and scattered that restoration was not always possible. The notable exception is the painted frieze from Room 19 (**75**), of which two sizable segments were restored (Pls. 2.11 and 2.40).[169] Similar work was done to conserve the plaster offering tables (discussed in Chap. 4.5), but again with limited success, given their poor preservation.

The preliminary study of the plasters was undertaken by the present author in two main sessions: one during a deliberate cessation of excavation (1986–1990) that would allow us to advance research toward the site's final publication, the other when it was clear that all major excavation for the site, at least as much as we were going to undertake, had been completed. The study involved weighing and counting the plaster deposits and entering this data in a database with descriptive details entered in a memo field.[170] Like other objects, these items were catalogued and photographed and sometimes drawn by other members of our excavation team. Eventually, and after further study, prime examples were reexamined and selected for publication on the basis of inherent interest and archaeological importance.

With final study arose the concern about final storage and preparation of select pieces for display in a museum.[171] To some extent, the two types of plasters, wall revetment and construction plaster, dictated the organization of that material. Construction plasters were divided into those from floors and those from ceilings. Representative pieces were chosen in each case, and it is hoped that displays of such collections will be instructive to both archaeologists and interested students. Fine plasters, mostly painted, were organized into many more separate displays, often according to location.

Although the present author undertook presentation and organization, the physical arrangement was entrusted to our latest conservator, Élise Alloin. The method designed by her was the following. For each display panel, she cut and glued together a number of polyethylene foam layers, within which she carved cavities to the shape and size of the pieces to be nested within them. Each panel made up of these foam layers was rectangular and ca. 60 × 45 cm in size, as illustrated by three examples, one held by the conservator herself (Pl. 2.42). To provide a firm surface, the polyethylene foam layer was glued onto a larger Coroplast™ panel, into the side ends of which were attached rings to help lift and lower each panel into the box that contained it. The primary purpose of this method was to protect the plaster pieces from dust and to limit as much as possible the need to handle them during future examination. Setting the pieces in the carved foam receptacles also had the added advantage that the surfaces of the plasters were set flush with one another, which allows a composition to be viewed as if the plaster were still on the wall. Of course, the conservation materials are acid-free and shown from their use to have a great longevity.[172]

The foam panels with the embedded plaster samples were eventually stored in large wooden boxes that were ordered especially to accommodate a number of panels each. Written labels provided for groups of plasters or single pieces facilitate the viewer's task of finding related information both in the Kommos Excavation archives and in the present volume. For this purpose, one of the items noted was the publication catalogue number.[173] In addition, the boxes were numbered, making it easier for the researcher looking for a display to find it at its future museum destination. (Ongoing construction at the Herakleion Museum makes it uncertain where the boxes in question will be stored.)

Table 2.23 lists the contents of each foam panel.[174] For reasons presented in Chapter 2, all fragments belong to Neopalatial Building T. The locations can be found in any of the plans of the site accompanying this chapter, such as Pl. 2.41.

Table 2.23. Plasters organized for permanent storage and for display in a museum.

Box 1			
Kommos Inventory Number	Catalogue Number	Number of Pieces	Locus
Coarse Floor Plasters from Various Locations			
P 145	**4**	1	5n
P 19	**10**	1	6
P 114	**14**	1	10
P 93	**35**	1	11
P 49	**37**	1	11
P 164	**50**	1	16
P 162	**51**	1	16
P 124	**61**	1	15
P 173	**64**	1	Area of Central Court south of 15
P 174	**65**	1	Area of Central Court south of 15 and in 26/P1
P 270	**67**	2	8, 9, south and west of Building N
P 156	**86**	1	East part of 22 and Room 29
P 153	**86**	1	East part of 22 overlapping 26/P1
P 107	**88**	2	23
P 141	**90**	1	24b
P 135	**94**	1	26/P1
P 234	**115**	1	West part of South Stoa
P 233	**122**	1	Central part of South Stoa near the Court
P 206	**123**	2	Central part of South Stoa near the Court
P 217	**133**	1	Just south of Building T
Ceiling Plasters from Various Locations			
P 179	**5**	1	5
P 14	**5**	1	5
P 138	**8**	2	6
P 140	**22**	2	12–13
P 21	**34**	1	11
P 262	**45**	1	15/16
P 130	**60**	1	15
P 139	**60**	2	15
P 146	**73**	1	42
P 149	**78**	1	21
P 155	**85**	1	East end of 22 and adjacent Room 29
P 177	**91**	1	24a
P 208	**124**	1	Central part of South Stoa near the Court
P 184	**134**	2	South of Building T

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.23 continued*)

Box 2			
Kommos Inventory Number	Catalogue Number	Number of Pieces	Locus
Plasters from Floors and Walls in the NE Wing			
P 42	**7**	2	6
P 168	**16**	1	4
P 116	**21**	1	4
P 165	**47**	3	16
P 31	**49**	1	16
P 161	**71**	1	42
P 69	**53**	1	15
P 48	**82**	1	West part of Corridor 20/22
P 112	**55**	1	West part of 15
P 175	**63**	1	South part of 15
P 160	**72**	1	42
P 118	**79**	1	West part of Corridor 20/22
P 111	**54**	1	15
P 126	**93**	1	26/P1
P 37	**68**	1	2, North of the West End of Road 17
P 158	Uncatalogued	2	East part of 20 and Room 29
P 127	**84**	2	East part of 20 and Room 29
Floor and Wall Plasters from the South Stoa and the Adjacent Central Court			
P 241	**109**	1	43/P6
P 220	**110**	1	43/P6
P 221	**107**	3	43/P6
P 222	**108**	1	43/P6
P 225	**111**	2	West part of the South Stoa
P 235	**112**	1	West part of the South Stoa
P 231	**113**	2	West part of the South Stoa
P 211	**114**	2	Southwest part of Central Court
P 259	**117**	1	Central part of South Stoa
P 209	**121**	1	Central part of South Stoa
P 218/219	**126**	2	East part of South Stoa near the Court
P 243	**128**	2	East part of South Stoa near the Court
P 244	**129**	1	East part of South Stoa near the Court
P 213	**131**	1	East part of South Stoa near the Court

(*continued*)

(*Table 2.23 continued*)

Box 3			
Kommos Inventory Number	Catalogue Number	Number of Pieces	Locus
Striped Frieze from Room 19: Segment A			
P 43	**75**		19
Striped Frieze from Room 19: Segment B			
P 43	**75**		19
Striped Friezes from the North and East Wings			
P 282	**2**	2	5
P 12	**3**	1	5n
P 7	**12**	1	10
P 79	**17**	1	4
P 30	**20**	1	4
P 121	**59**	1	15
P 166	**70**	2	42
P 109	**87**	2	23
P 242	**98**	2	28/P3
P 274	**101**	3	35/P4
P 286	**76**	8	19
Box 4			
The North Stoa: Plasters from Painted Walls			
P 91	**27**	2	11
P 54	**26**	3	11
P 102	**27**	2	11
P 103	**27**	4	11
P 57	**27**	3	11
P 53	**27**	4	11
P 80	**27**	4	11
P 56	**27**	8	11
P 98	**27**	4	11
P 62	**27**	2	11
P 20	**27**	2	11
P 85	**27**	1	11
P 58	**28**	3	11
P 100	**28**	3	11
P 89	**28**	4	11
P 99	**28**	1	11
P 81	**29**	1	11
P 267	**41**	1	15/16
P 82	**29**	1	11

(*continued*)

(Table 2.23 continued)

Box 4			
Kommos Inventory Number	Catalogue Number	Number of Pieces	Locus
The North Stoa: Plasters from a Painted Floor			
P 96	**31**	2	11
P 90	**31**	1	11
P 96	**31**	4	11
P 71	**31**	1	11
P 70	**31**	1	11
P 51	**31**	7	11
P 50	**31**	2	11
P 83	**31**	3	11
Box 5			
The North Stoa: Plasters from Painted Walls			
P 60	**25**	7	11
P 55	**25**	1	11
P 54	**26**	5	11
P 84	**24**	1	11
P 8	**24**	6	11
P 264	**39**	4	Between 16 and 15
P 24	**30**	9	11
P 88	**30**	1	11
P 59	**29**	1	11
P 288	**26a**	2	11
P 110	**25**	1	11
P 266	**40**	4	Between 16 and 15
P 101	**24**	1	11
P 61	**24**	1	11
P 104	**30**	3	11
P 97	**30**	1	11
P 87	**29**	1	11
P 63	**29**	4	11
P 74	**32**	1	11
P 92	**30**	1	11
P 95	Uncatalogued	1	11

Appendix 2.2

Plasters from Kommos: A Scientific Analysis of Fabrics and Pigments[175]

Alain Dandrau and Stéphan Dubernet

Since the start of the excavations carried out at Kommos by J. W. and M. C. Shaw this site has delivered a significant quantity of fragments of plaster, sometimes painted, sometimes not.[176] In the study of the plasters, M. C. Shaw and A. Dandrau were able to distinguish, by using a binocular magnifying glass or the naked eye, three broad categories: wall and floor plasters, and plasters used as mortar in roof/ceiling construction. Some of the plasters preserved geometric and floral designs in vibrant colors.

Twenty-one samples of plaster were selected and sent to France for scientific analysis, conducted by A. Dandrau and S. Dubernet (Table 2.24 and Pls. 2.43–2.44).[177] The criteria used by M. C. Shaw in selecting the samples were that they be representative of the range of periods and locations at the site, as well as of types of plasters. The aim of the present scientific analysis was to differentiate plasters on the basis of mineralogical or chemical analysis and to see to what extent such criteria support the visually determined categories. Equally, the aim was to identify the makeup of the pigments and the manner of their application and interaction with the plaster fabrics.

To complement the observations made by using the binocular magnifying glass and the polarizing microscope,[178] three analytical methods were employed concomitantly in this study. The initial technique was infrared (IR) spectroscopy. Based on the interaction between electromagnetic radiation and matter within the range of infrared frequencies, this method, which has already been used in the analysis of Bronze Age materials from the Aegean,[179] allows for the study of samples freed from the constraints of crystalline composition. In addition to its qualitative advantages, IR spectroscopy has the advantage of allowing the determination of the proportions of all the components—except for halides—in the object analyzed.[180] With this intention, the sample must be accurately weighed before being analyzed in the form of a KBr (potassium bromide) pellet. The spectra were acquired on a Perkin-Elmer FT-IR spectrometer (model 16 PC). The proportions of the various mineral components in each sample were determined by reference to spectra established from pure samples.[181]

Observations in scanning electron microscopy (SEM) make it possible to obtain images with high resolution (enlarged 12× to 3,000,000×) by scanning the surface of a sample that has been prepared by being metallized (here, with carbon) to facilitate the evacuation of the electronic charges accumulated on the surface. The SEM (JEOL 820) was equipped with a silicon–lithium detector (multichannel analyzer LINK), allowing us to carry out the elementary qualitative analysis of the various pictorial layers by energy dispersive X-ray fluores-

Table 2.24. List of analyzed plasters and their principal characteristics: archaeological context, chronological context, identification of type, and color of the pictorial layer.

Sample	Context	Context Date	Type	Color
1	28B/20 (CH-25)	MM IIB	Wall revetment	Red
2	28B/20 (CH-25)	MM IIB	Wall revetment	Gray/blue
3	28B/20 (CH-25)	MM IIB	Construction plaster	
4	40A/67 (CH-35)	MM II	Wall revetment	Yellow
5	31A/7 (HT-17a)	MM III	Wall revetment	Dark red
6	35A/43 (CH-29)	MM III	Floor plaster	"Salmon"
7	73A/84 (SA-XII)	LM IA	Wall revetment	Red + yellow
8	36A/9 (SA-5)	LM IB Early	Wall revetment	Gray/blue
9	62C/33 (SA-11)	LM IA Final/IB Early	Wall revetment	Yellow
10	62C/33 (SA-11)	"	Floor plaster	
11	88B/47 (SA-E of T)	MM IB–II	Wall revetment	White
12	34A2/61 (SA-15)	LM IA Final	Floor plaster	
13	52A/54 (SA-15)	"	Wall revetment	Blue/black
14	53A/37 (SA-19)	LM IA Final or IB Early	Wall revetment	Blue/black
15	53A/37 (SA-19)	"	Wall revetment	Dark red and white
16	53A/37 (SA-19)	"	Wall revetment	Blue + "salmon"
17	58A/54 (SA-23)	LM I	Wall revetment	"Salmon"
18	67B1/2 (SA-29)	LM IA Final	Wall revetment	Black
19	27B/27 (SA-5n)	LM II	Floor plaster	
20	37A/44 (SA-6)	LM IB (with some later sherds)	Construction plaster	
21	44A/41 (SA-12–13)	LM IIIB	Construction plaster	

Context is stated as trench/pail followed by locus in parentheses. The locus specifies the area at the site followed by a label for the space or room.
CH = Central Hillside
HT = Hilltop
SA = Southern Area
T = Building T

cence (XRF). This method provided, in addition to the images, the spectrum of the principal elementary components of the surface studied, as well as the distribution within this surface of a specific atom selected from the spectrum (elementary cartography).

For reasons that are not necessary to set out here, atoms with atomic number lower than $Z = 6$ (C, carbon) cannot be detected using this equipment, particularly lithium (Li, $Z = 3$). On the other hand, there are some that are detected without difficulty, including oxygen (O, $Z = 8$), sodium (Na, $Z = 11$), magnesium (Mg, $Z = 12$), aluminum (Al, $Z = 13$), silicon (Si, $Z =$

14), sulfur (S, $Z = 16$), potassium (K, $Z = 19$), calcium (Ca, $Z = 20$), titanium (Ti, $Z = 22$), manganese (Mn, $Z = 25$), iron (Fe, $Z = 26$), copper (Cu, $Z = 29$), and zinc (Zn, $Z = 30$).

The Plasters: Wall Revetments, Construction Plasters, and Floors

Plaster consists of two principal parts: the binder and the aggregate (or the charge). All 21 samples were observed under optical and polarizing microscopes. In every case, calcite was identified as the main binder. It was usually found in the form of micrite, that is, calcite mud in which the particles do not exceed 4 mm.[182] The aggregate always contained quartz sand to which a certain quantity of organic matter and silicates was also added.

We have already shown how the calcination of chalk [$CaCO_3$] rich in microfossils and argillaceous (clayey) minerals, once hydrated, becomes a hydrated lime [$Ca(OH_2)$], which undergoes the process of carbonation on contact with air, as discussed below. At the same time, the calcite undergoes complete micritization accompanied by a transformation of argillaceous minerals into silicates, as well as a clear increase in the quantity of calcite.[183] The first two phenomena were observed in all the plasters studied here, with the exception of sample 6, and all that remained was to study the quantity of calcium (transforming it into calcite), to confirm that the plasters were lime-based. The only means of determining these contents was to use IR spectroscopy. As this method requires the removal of a few grams of material,[184] it was not applied to the entirety of the plasters analyzed.

WALL REVETMENT

The component minerals were determined through IR spectroscopy. Calcite [$CaCO_3$] is by far the most prominent element (between 71% and 93% of the total analyzed weight). These samples are relatively low in quartz aggregate (9% maximum) and silicates (12% maximum). The remainder of the material (% unidentified) consists of very small quantities of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphous matter that are difficult to distinguish.

The analyzed samples appear to be made up of only one layer, except for sample 17. All contain calcite [$CaCO_3$] ranging between 71% and 93% (Table 2.25 and Pl. 2.45). Likewise, since with the exception of sample 17 the proportion of silicates does not exceed 8%, it is evident that the plasters considered consist of a binder comparable to that of a "thin" lime, that is, produced by impure limestone calcination. The silicates that we identified represent impurities, that is, the presence of argillaceous minerals that were transformed in the course of heating.

Sample 17 consists of two characteristically distinct layers, a foundation of white plaster and a layer of pink color on which the pictorial layer was applied. The penetration of pink tint in the top layer can be attributed to the diffusion of the coloring matter applied on the surface. That it is an ocher—in other words, a clay rich in iron oxides—also explains both the hue and the saturation of silicates noted (resulting from the clay), that is, 12% versus 8% for

Table 2.25. The composition of the backing plasters of the wall revetments from Kommos.

Sample	Date	% Calcite	% Quartz	% Silicates	% Unidentified
5	MM III	83	5	6	6
8	LM IB Early	71	6	4	19
9	LM IA Final/IB Early	82	1	4	13
11	MM IB–II	93	3	3	1
13	LM IA Final	86	1	6	7
14	LM IA Final or IB Early	85	2	5	8
15	LM IA Final or IB Early	82	9	7	2
16	LM IA Final or IB Early	82	4	7	7
17 white	LM I	76	5	8	11
17 pink	LM I	71	6	12	11

its underlying layer—the latter percentage appearing, in fact, to be that of the entire layer before it was painted.

The aggregate is composed primarily of quartz sand in proportions that, although low (from 1% to 9%), are apparently sufficient for assuring the cohesion of the plaster. One should not, however, neglect the potential role played by an organic aggregate of vegetal (straw, chaff from grain, etc.) or animal (hair, fat, etc.) origin. The use of such materials, although not proved, is not however to be excluded if one compares them in whole or in part to the materials not identified in IR spectroscopy (% unidentified).

Distinct among the plasters is sample 6 (Table 2.27), which comes from a simple kind of floor, one found *in situ* in one of the Middle Minoan rooms in the Town Area of the settlement. It consists of a very thick, and particularly heterogeneous, grayish brown layer with a grainy texture. The plaster was laid over an underlying support of a compact and flat earth surface (Pl. 2.46). IR spectroscopy showed it to consist of 38% calcite and the same amount of silicate, resulting from the heating of argillaceous minerals and of nonaltered feldspars, which indicates that it is a marl, that is, a calcareous rock containing between 35% and 65% clay. Calcite appears both as very fine grains and as micrite. A comparison with the wall plaster samples discussed above, as well as the presence of nonfaded feldspars, encourages us to think that this marl underwent a heating of low intensity, in any case lower than 450–500°C. The resulting material shows all the characteristics of cement with a very high hydraulicity. In other words, we obtain, in theory, a plastic and resistant product that can harden even in the absence of air, that is, underwater. One can surmise that this marl was used as much because of its abundance in nature as it was for the physicochemical properties attributable to it.

Table 2.26. The composition of the construction plasters from Kommos.

Sample	Date	% Calcite	% Quartz	% Silicates	% Unidentified
3	MM IIB	84	6	6	4
20	LM IB	87	1	5	7
21	LM IIIB	79	1	9	11

CONSTRUCTION PLASTERS

The construction plasters are recognizable by their coarse and unpolished character, and thus they sometimes reveal markings that betray their function. Most often, these are the imprints of wooden elements (boards, beams, etc.). Whatever their intended use, the three samples of construction plasters from Kommos analyzed here (Table 2.26 and Pl. 2.47) are of the same composition, namely, of calcite ranging between 79% and 87%, no more than 6% quartz aggregate, and a few silicates (9% maximum). As is also the case with the wall plasters, these quantities seem to be independent of the period of manufacture. It is also worth noting that coarse mineral inclusions (pebbles, flakes of plaster, etc.) and vegetal matter (a large quantity of straw), which were part of the analyzed materials, were intentionally removed. Such sifting was essential for determining the actual quantities of calcite and silicates.

The various mineral concentrations were determined by IR spectroscopy analysis of the matter devoid of all coarsening inclusions (pebbles, plaster flakes, etc.) and vegetal materials (straw). One should note that under these conditions, calcite [$CaCO_3$] is present in high amounts (between 79% and 87% of the analyzed total weight). Quartz does not exceed 6%, and silicates are lower than 10%. The remainder of the material (% unidentified) consists of very small quantities of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphous matter that are difficult to distinguish.

The significant presence of mineral inclusions of substantial granular size, such as pebbles or fragments of plaster, is no doubt due to the builders' desire to reduce as much as possible shrinking and deformation caused by drying. As for the numerous wispy inclusions of straw, they too may have had the same function as the minerals, namely, to strengthen and harden the mortar mixture. They prevented cracking during drying by spreading the tension throughout the plaster. At the same time, they helped reduce humidity and thus accelerated the drying process while diminishing the mixture's permeability.[185]

FLOOR PLASTERS

Plaster sample 6 (Table 2.27), a simple type of floor plaster, has already been discussed. Here we turn to three remaining samples representing specific types of floor plaster: unpainted plaster with a finely polished surface (sample 10); a fragment of terrazzo—a mixture of quicklime and small pebbles that are visible at the surface (sample 12)[186]; a very coarse, whit-

ish plaster with a large quantity of mineral inclusions such as pebbles and flakes of plaster, with a roughly leveled surface (sample 19).

The various mineral contents were determined by IR spectroscopy. In samples 10, 12, and 19 the proportion of calcite [$CaCO_3$] is by far the highest (between 78% and 81% of the total weight analyzed). These three samples are relatively low in quartz aggregate (between 2% and 5%) but very rich in silicates (11–19%). The remainder of the material (% unidentified) consists of very small quantities of organic matter, water, and possibly salts and amorphous matter that are difficult to distinguish.

Although very different in appearance, floor plasters, with the exception of sample 6, have an identical composition (Table 2.27 and Pl. 2.48). They have a binder of thin lime (which has since become 78% to 81% calcite) and a small amount of quartz (less than 5%) used as a coarsening agent; the small quantity of quartz was compensated for by the addition of varying amounts of small pebbles and plaster chips. Beyond the fact that, as in the case of the wall plasters and the construction plasters, the quantity of lime seems not to have any relationship to the period in which the plaster was manufactured, the principal characteristic of the floor plasters is the high percentages of silicates. It is difficult to come to a conclusion about the exact origin of these plasters, but it is highly probable that they resulted from the transformation of the argillaceous minerals that were either naturally present in calcinated limestone or incorporated before the calcination. In either case, the presence of these argillaceous minerals, or silicates, was certainly desired, as they were responsible for the hardness and perhaps also of the impermeability displayed by these coatings, qualities eminently desirable in floor plaster.

Coloring Matter

Coloring matter is defined as any material that confers color on the medium in which it is incorporated. A distinction is made between pigments and dyes. The former, insoluble in the medium with which they are associated, are either natural minerals (e.g., earth, rocks) or artificial minerals (e.g., Egyptian blue, metallurgical residues). In contrast, dyes can easily be dispersed into the medium on which they confer color. Since they were used only in solution,

Table 2.27. The composition of the floor plasters from Kommos.

Sample	Date	% Calcite	% Quartz	% Silicates	% Unidentified
6	MM III	38	12	38	12
10	LM IA Final/IB Early	81	5	13	1
12	LM IA Final	78	2	19	1
19	LM II	81	4	11	4

Table 2.28. Results of the X-ray microfluorescence analysis (micro-XRF) of the pictorial layers of the painted plasters.

Color	Shade	Sample	Micro-XRF	Identification
White		15	**Ca**, Si, Mg, Al, Fe, K, S	Lime + kaolinite
	Pale	4	**Si**, **Ca**, Al, Mg, K, Fe, Na, Ti, Cu	
Yellow		7	**Ca**, **Si**, Mg, Al, Fe, K	Ochers
		9	**Si**, **Al**, **Ca**, K, Fe, Mg, Na, Ti, Cu, Zn	
	Vivid	1	**Si**, **Al**, **Ca**, Fe, Mg, K, Na, Cu, Zn	
	Vermilion	5	**Si**, **Ca**, Al, Fe, Mg, K, Na, Ti	Ochers
Red	Vermilion	7	**Ca**, Si, Al, Fe, Mg, K, Na, Ti, Cu	
	Vermilion	15	**Si**, **Ca**, Al, Fe, Mg, K, Na, Cu, Zn	
		6	**Ca**, Si, Al, Fe, K, Mg, Ti, Cu	
"Salmon"		16	**Si**, **Ca**, Al, Fe, K, Mg, Ti	Ochers
		17	**Ca**, Si, Al, Fe, Mg, K, Na	
	Lavender	8	**Si**, **Al**, **Ca**, Mg, K, Fe, Na, Ti, Cu, Zn	Amphiboles
Blue	Dark	13	**Si**, **Ca**, **C**, **Al**, K, Mg, Fe, Na, Ti	Amphiboles + C
	Light	14	**Ca**, **Si**, Al, Mg, K, Fe, Na, Ti **Si**, **Ca**, **Mg**, Fe, Al, Na, Ti, Cu	Amphiboles
		2	**Si**, **Ca**, **Mg**, Al, Fe, Na, K, Cu	
Gray			**Si**, **Al**, **Ca**, K, Mg, Fe, Na, Ti	
		16	**Ca**, **Si**, Al, Mg, Fe, K, Na, Cu	
		14	**Ca**, **Si**, Al, Mg, K, Fe, Cu	
Black		18	**Si**, **Ca**, **Al**, Fe, K, Mg, Ti, Mn, Cu, Zn	

The elements detected are classified in order of decreasing content: the major elements are boldfaced, the minor ones are underlined. The remaining ones are present only in trace amounts.

dyes had to be of organic origin, either vegetal (e.g., blue from indigo, red from madder) or animal (purple from murex).

After studying the matter with a binocular magnifying glass, which indicated the systematic use of pigments, we relied entirely on XRF analysis to identify the nature of the colors used (Table 2.28). We used this method because of the small quantity of coloring matter contained, for the most part, in the pictorial or the topmost layer and because we wanted to avoid excessive sampling.

WHITE

Like black, white is not technically a color. Quicklime [CaO] is the principal product used by the Minoan painters to obtain this hue or to lighten the other colors.[187] It is most frequently

the color of the plaster itself without a pictorial layer and whose surface was simply polished. More rarely, as in the case here (sample 15), a white clay of the *kaolinite* family (*kaolinite, halloysite*, etc.) was used and mixed with quicklime (Pl. 2.49). Primarily employed in the decoration of vases,[188] kaolinite is a pigment that was only rarely employed in murals, and until recently it was thought to be unique to Knossos.[189]

YELLOW, RED, AND "SALMON"

The XRF spectra indicate without ambiguity that pigments responsible for the yellow (Pl. 2.50), red (Pl. 2.51) and "salmon" (Pl. 2.52) are ochers, that is, argillaceous earths (argillaceous minerals, feldspars, and quartz), naturally rich in iron oxides (goethite or limonite [FeO(OH)]) or in hematite [Fe_2O_3]. Only the variability in the proportions of these minerals explains why the chromatic range of ochers is particularly wide—from beige to bordeaux, encompassing the nuances of yellow, red, and orange ("salmon"). Ochers are rocks that are found frequently in nature, particularly on Crete. For this reason they have been abundantly employed since early prehistory in paintings or in cosmetics.

If a Minoan painter had a large number of sources for the color red (ochers, hematite, realgar, and even yellow ocher on heating) or orange (naturally occurring ochers, mixture of yellow and red ochers, red coloring matter mixed with yellow or white, etc.),[190] it was an entirely different case with the color yellow. It appears that this hue was produced only by ochers of that same color.[191]

BLUE

The chromatic range of the blue coloring matter extends to blue-green and blue-gray, with the boundary between these various hues not always clearly defined. This concept being quite subjective, we have developed an arbitrary classification that recognizes three blue samples and three gray samples. Among the blue plaster coatings it is possible to distinguish among three nuances: lavender blue (sample 8), light blue (sample 14), and deep blue (sample 13).

An examination of these samples with the binocular magnifying glass allowed us to eliminate the hypothesis for Egyptian blue (or cuprorivaite [$CaCuSi_4O_{10}$]) as the agent responsible for the range of hues observed. The absence of this synthetic pigment, however frequently used in murals in the protohistoric Aegean world,[192] was confirmed by XRF analysis. Indeed, copper (Cu), the discriminating element, appears only in trace amounts—in other words, in insufficient quantities for Egyptian blue. Moreover, the characteristic appearance of the crystals of Egyptian blue was not attested either by optical microscopy or by scanning electron microscopy (SEM).

These observations, on the other hand, highlighted the presence of many grains of minerals in a matrix consisting of calcite, which forms part of the backing of the plaster coatings. These grains of matter (Pl. 2.53), when analyzed with XRF (Pls. 2.54–2.56), proved to have a

chemical composition related to that of amphiboles, a large family of minerals with a spectrum of colors, from light to dark green, brown, black, or even lavender blue or bluish gray. The name *amphibole* (deriving from the Greek *amphibolos*, "ambiguous") indicates perfectly the difficulties in differentiating the colors as well as the possibility of confusing them with other minerals. In fact, their classification becomes particularly complex with variations in the proportions of Mg and Fe, Ca and Na.[193] Three principal groups are distinguished:

- Ferromagnesium amphiboles of formula $[(Mg, Fe)_7Si_8O_{22} (OH, F)_2]$, which are represented by anthophyllite, gedrite, cummingtonite, and grunerite
- Soda amphiboles, most of which are of glaucophane $[Na_2(Mg_3Al_2)Si_8O_{22}(OH)_2]$
- Riebeckite $[Na_2Fe_3^{2+}Fe_2^{3+}Si_8O_{22}(OH, F)_2]$

The presence of sodium (Na) in the XRF analysis led us to reject the possible presence of ferromagnesium amphiboles (of nonsoda chemical composition) or soda amphiboles (in which the relative proportion of Na is too low). At this stage of the study we favor the presence of calcic amphiboles or hornblendes within the blue pictorial layers. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to determine with precision the origin of the minerals involved. Indeed, the color can be the result of a single mineral (Pl. 2.54) or a mixture of two types (Pl. 2.55), which also explains the variations observed. It is also possible that the hue was modified by the addition—natural or intentional—of an altogether different element, such as carbon (C), which was obviously responsible for darkening in sample 13 (Pl. 2.56).

In addition to the problem of mixtures, other reasons that explain uncertainties regarding the identification of the mineral phase of these pigments include nonspecific methods of analysis; the nearly identical chemical formulas of these minerals; and natural alteration into argillaceous minerals (talc or chlorite), into an epidote, or into calcite, depending on the original composition.[194] Additionally, there is always the possibility of enrichment from calcium (Ca), which may be due to the nature of the backing of the plaster, as well as to the pictorial technique implemented.

Very frequently employed as the blue pigment in the Cyclades during the Bronze Age,[195] the amphiboles identified in Minoan paintings were always sodas (glaucophane or riebeckite) and were very frequently mixed with Egyptian blue.[196] Certain authors do not hesitate to affirm that the amphiboles for blue pigments were directly imported from Santorini;[197] however, it would seem that such deposits were present in Crete.[198] If such was the case, a local origin for the blue pigments employed at Kommos might be a hypothesis to be considered.

GRAYS

The simplest way to produce gray hues is the use, alone or mixed with white (e.g., quicklime, clay), of coloring matter generally containing carbon (C). According to the tone desired, one

could substitute for the white component of the mixture a pigment that could be greenish (clays) or true blue (Egyptian blue).[199] This is not surprising if one thinks of Myceneae, for example, where the gray of certain paintings is in fact nothing other than a small amount of Egyptian blue reduced to a very fine powder.[200] Following a widespread process, the artists of Kommos produced the color gray by using blue pigments currently in use, which contained calcic amphiboles or hornblendes—alone or, more probably, mixed with lime and calcite—reduced to a more or less fine powder (Pl. 2.57).

BLACK

Only one sample (no. 18) contains a black hue. The observations with the binocular magnifying glass made it possible to highlight a certain number of characteristics (granular texture, presence of soot, extremely fragile backing layers that have the tendency to disintegrate, etc.) that clearly indicate that the plaster underwent heating of a particular intensity. The study of its context confirms this impression: the plaster fragment, clearly derived from a burnt area, was so heated that its texture and color were modified. Indeed, the XRF analyses (Pl. 2.58) revealed a chemical composition identical with that of the blue and gray coloring matter previously mentioned, in other words, similar to amphibole or hornblende.

The Pictorial Techniques

The techniques of mural execution can be categorized into three main types according to the means by which the pictorial layer adheres to the backing:

- The"bareback" technique. The pictorial layer adheres without there being a physicochemical reaction with the support layers, that is, without the assistance of a binder. It is the simplest technique and certainly the first to be employed. Regardless of the type of backing, the pictorial layer or the coloring matter is composed of clay, which allows it to adhere to the substrate, owing to the substrate's plasticity.
- The fresco technique. True fresco painting (*buon fresco*) requires pigments (as opposed to dyes). These are applied to fresh plaster while it is still damp, so that the pigments are fixed through carbonation. They are then embedded in the calcite crystallization, becoming an integral part of the calcareous substrate.
- The dry technique. This category includes all the forms of paintings executed on dry coatings (*a secco*). Given that the coloring matter cannot be fixed by carbonation, the use of a binder is compulsory. When the pigments are applied, using a lime-based solution, on a plaster surface that has been remoistened in advance, one speaks of *fresco secco.* In the *tempera* technique, on the other hand, the pigments are mixed with a watery binder of organic origin (e.g., egg, caseine, oils, adhesives, vegetable gums), which serve to fix the pigments while drying.

BUON FRESCO AND THE PHENOMENON OF CARBONATION

Only hydrated lime [$Ca(OH)_2$] is used in both construction and painting. If the mixture is mixed with an inert aggregate, or charge (see above), the resulting product becomes consistent and hardens. As this takes place, the mortar contracts, owing to evaporation and to the absorption into the wall of the water contained in the mortar. At the same time, the carbon dioxide [CO_2] in the air reacts with the calcium hydroxide [$Ca(OH)_2$] via the following reaction:

$$Ca(OH)_2 + CO_2 \longrightarrow CaCO_3 + H_2O$$

The products are water [H_2O] and calcium carbonate or lime carbonate [$CaCO_3$], that is, calcite. This phenomenon is called carbonation.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE PICTORIAL TECHNIQUES: GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Each of the three pictorial techniques[201] has distinct physicochemical qualities. Thus, a "bare-back" painting has no carbonate (quicklime) or organic binder. The presence of clay alone allows for its identification. The case of true fresco is more complex. There, the carbonation always begins at the surface and penetrates toward the innermost layers. Being unaware of this phenomenon, many authors have interpreted the penetration (which they thought they recognized) of the pigments within the plaster as a criterion for the identification of the *buon fresco* technique. This interpretation is obviously erroneous, since it is on the contrary the dissolved calcium hydroxide [$Ca(OH)_2$] that migrates toward the surface through the pictorial layer. It is thus by taking into account the degree of diffusion of calcium within all the painted layers that we may identify the pictorial technique used. The only practical means of visualizing this diffusion is through elementary cartography coupled with observations from SEM. In the case of a true fresco, calcium is present throughout the entire thickness of the plaster, with no perceptible limit of diffusion between the backing layer and the pictorial layer. When such a limit is visible—in other words, when calcium is not detectable within the thickness of the pictorial layer as well as on its surface—the painting was definitely executed in the *fresco secco* technique.

THE PAINTING TECHNIQUES AT KOMMOS

The selected method—the only one viable, to our knowledge—for the identification of the pictorial technique implemented requires the removal of relatively large samples of material. It is essential that a complete cross section of the sample be available, its "stratigraphy" complete from the backing layers to the pictorial layers. Given these conditions, only 8 plasters out of the 15 painted could be subjected to the analysis (Table 2.29).

Table 2.29. Pictorial techniques obtained from elementary XRF cartography coupled with SEM analysis of painted plasters at Kommos.

Sample	Date	Visual Characteristics	Technique
2	MM IIB		*a secco*
5	MM III		*buon fresco*
9	LM IA Final/IB Early		*a secco*
13	LM IA Final		*a secco* + *buon fresco*
14	LM IA Final or IB Early	String impression	*buon fresco*
15	LM IA Final or IB Early	String impression	*buon fresco*
16	LM IA Final or IB Early	String impression	*a secco* + *buon fresco*
17	LM I		*buon fresco*

The selected samples were immersed in a resin and then cut into thin cross-sectional slices. The portions obtained were then polished before being metallized (carbon metallization) and studied with the SEM. After observation of various enlargements (which made it possible to identify the various constitutive layers of the plaster), the samples were analyzed with XRF; the elements detected were then finally subjected to cartographic analysis, that is, their position was identified within the material. Since the discriminating element for determining the pictorial technique employed is calcium, we subjected the calcium to cartographic analysis throughout the cross section, from the backing layers through the pictorial layers:

- Present in all the layers of the plaster: *buon fresco*
- Absent from the pictorial layer: *a secco*

The plasters revealed the use of the two techniques: tempera (*a secco*, Pl. 2.59) and true fresco (*buon fresco*, Pl. 2.60). The choice of one or the other was independent of the dating as well as of the colors in question.

Two fragments are peculiar in that they were painted using both techniques. The first of these (sample 13, Pl. 2.61) was covered with a blue monochrome pictorial layer. It seems logical to reason that the pigment was applied in two stages: (1) the process was begun on wet plaster, which encouraged carbonation (*buon fresco* technique); (2) some time later, after the plaster had dried (*a secco*) the process was completed: the use of a binder (lime milk or lime water) was therefore necessary.

The case of sample 16 differs slightly. The print of a fine cord is perfectly visible on the surface of the plaster. This cord was applied to delimit two distinct color zones—blue and

"salmon." Given that the imprint of the cord could be made only if the plaster was damp, we can identify the *buon fresco* technique here. In fact, only the blue color was applied this way; the other color was applied *a secco* (Pl. 2.61). If one considers that the recourse to one technique or the other depends on the state of freshness of the coating—and thus on the working time—one can postulate that the artist initially painted the blue portions of the wall but completed the work in "salmon." It appears evident that the frequent presence of cord prints on the surface of the Minoan plasters constitutes a relevant index of the use of the *buon fresco* technique.

Conclusions

As a result of this study it is possible to respond to the various questions that were posed at the beginning concerning the plasters at Kommos. With regard to the distinction among the wall, floor, and construction plasters, the analyses of the compositions seem to indicate that the basic material is always the same, a thin lime, in which variances in the carbonate [$CaCO_3$] content (71–93%) are apparently independent of the period of manufacture. In fact, only visual observation and the establishment of morphological or technical criteria allow us to identify these architectural materials. Physicochemical analyses, on the other hand, highlight the presence of particular materials intended to instill or reinforce the characteristics needed for a particular purpose (for example, hardness and impermeability for the floor coverings). Such elements, in the long term, will allow us to proceed with some certainty to identify different plasters or construction plasters.

With regard to the coloring materials employed, even in view of the restricted number of fragments studied, one can only be astonished by the lack of variety displayed. Indeed, only three types of pigments could be identified: limes, clays, and amphiboles, and only a geological study can determine if these particular minerals came from the immediate surroundings of the site or somewhat farther afield. Such a lack of diversity is quite surprising if one compares this brief list with the one that was potentially available to the Aegean painter.[202] This surprise is reinforced if one considers that the painters at Kommos worked in what was certainly one of the most active Minoan ports, a place where various materials, in particular coloring materials, would arrive from the whole Aegean basin.

Finally, as for the pictorial techniques, the development of a method of study that specifically combines SEM and XRF has unambiguously allowed their identification. Thus we were able to distinguish the use, either together or separately, of two techniques: true fresco (*buon fresco*) and tempera (*a secco*). This duality illustrates that the Minoan artists were not content with only one way of painting[203] and implies a knowledge of materials and of the constraints on their use that compares with the knowledge of fresco painters of the Roman period or the Italian Renaissance. Could we have ever doubted this?

Notes

1. The storage and cataloguing of plasters, as well as of other materials, was a routine task of the excavation staff in the Cataloguing Department. For a list of the staff in the Cataloguing Department, see credits in *Kommos* I, table 1.1, and IV, table 1.2; also in the present volume, Table 1.1. Side by side with this much-appreciated work, the present author undertook the organization, examination, and description of the plasters for over a period of some 25 years. Invaluable help in this project was provided by a number of people, and foremost those who helped input massive amounts of information in a database—including copious notes in a "memo" field—both on deposits and on inventoried pieces: first, Helène Whittaker, then (for plasters found after 1986), Marissa Schlesinger and Teresa Hancock. Thanks also go to the conservators who worked at Kommos over the years: Catherine Sease, Barbara Hamann, Katherine Hall, and Élise Alloin. The following took the photos for the catalogued items: Edwin Burke (sometimes with the assistance of Alexander C. Shaw and Robin A. Shaw) and Taylor Dabney. Digital images of fragments that appear in the color plates (Pls. 2.36–2.39) were taken by Alexander C. Shaw. Other color images are a watercolor (Pl. 2.37 at *c*), a reconstruction (Pl. 2.39 at *e*), and a plan (Pl. 2.41 bottom) by Giuliana Bianco; a reconstruction by Gordon Bell (Pl. 2.38 at *b* and *d*); and the reconstruction of the North Stoa by Chris Dietrich (Pl. 2.41 top). The digital restoration of the Painted Frieze **75** (Pl. 2.40) was undertaken by Teresa Hancock, who designed the color plates in collaboration with the author. Numerous drawings that appear with the black-and-white photos were made by Julia Pfaff, others by G. Bianco and one by Jerolyn Morrison (Pl. 2.6). Mary Markou is responsible for the digital design of the black-and-white plates. Her work was facilitated by Kimberley Pixley, who did much of the scanning of the original photos. The present chapter has benefited from editing by J. W. Shaw, Barbara Ibronyi, Cy Strom, and Josée Dimson. My deepest thanks, however, go to the latter for her professional and moral support in the last and difficult stages of this chapter's production.

The site plans in this chapter (Pls. 2.34 and 2.35) label four of the Southern Area's rooms as 24A, 24B, 25A, and 25B, whereas the site plans and text of Chap. 1 use the lowercase forms 24a, 24b, 25a, and 25b. The text of this chapter follows the practice used in the plans and architectural discussions in Chap. 1, and elsewhere in this volume, by retaining the lowercase forms.

2. A somewhat different arrangement was adopted in the case of the plasters from Locus 11, the western end of the North Stoa, as explained in the survey in Chap. 2.2 under Locus 11.

3. For the location of the trench plans, the reader is advised to consult J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Pls. 1.1–1.2.

4. Naturally, the cross-referenced plaster and pottery groups in the tables vary somewhat in their inclusion of pails used in the excavation of the particular level and space because of the difference in importance of the varying materials presented by each of the contributors. My own choice in this chapter was to cover as far as possible all contexts that yielded plaster remains, since the distribution of plaster debris, as I try to demonstrate in the rest of this chapter, can provide useful clues to archaeological events: the construction of, use of plaster in, and destruction of the buildings.

5. Whereas coarse plaster was mostly removed en masse, deposit by deposit, small, fine, fragile fragments from the same deposit were often retrieved separately and specially packaged in small containers to prevent further damage and to await any treatment deemed necessary by the conservators. The weight of these fine plasters is so slight as to make it meaningless for comparisons with that of other deposits.

6. A column (as restored in the plan that serves as Frontispiece A of the volume) may have once been there, perhaps in the time of Building AA. My preference for a wall separating Locus 4/10 from Locus 11 at the time of Building T (as seen in Pl. 2.34) is based both on my own understanding of the physical remains and, more pertinently for this chapter, on the dramatic difference in the painted decoration on either side of this wall. This suggests to me that Loci 4/10 and 11 (the latter, I believe, the west end of the stoa) were separate architectural entities.

7. As in the preliminary excavation reports published in *Hesperia*, J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993.

8. Pails 26–28 (in Trench 27B) were located entirely in 5n. Pails 4 and 5 (in Trench 36A) designate the topmost level, directly below the pebble floor in both 5n and 5s.

The locations of trenches/pails cited in this chapter are illustrated in the archaeological sections accompanying Chap. 1.

9. For an argument that the plaster came from a floor, rather than the roof, see the discussion in Chap. 2.3.

10. The changes included the stripping of the small, fine blocks that formed the interior face of the eastern wall from the upper courses (leaving a ledge at the bottom), and the blocking of the doorway leading to Locus 4/10. The latter was an activity that may have been matched by the blocking of the window and door leading to Room 42, at the eastern end of the North Stoa.

11. Conceivably, the south wall of Locus 6 was built much like the south wall of 7, but excavation directly north of the wall stopped at the level of the LM III floor, and so we cannot confirm this idea.

12. M. C. Shaw 1990: 245. For the area, see also J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.

13. Pressure on and the gradual subsidence of floor slabs must explain the frequent loss of plaster from the interstices in such Minoan floors.

14. There were some sixty pieces in the probe, varying from very small to bits. Those from wall revetment were recognized by their flat backs, thinness, and polished surface, and were inventoried as P 279. Some preserved patterns: yellow with red striations, bits of Venetian red molded bands, traces of design such as taupe (55C/EH-NO.C) on white; also solid color, such as light blue/gray—similar to that used as background in some simulations of conglomerate stone in better-preserved fragments. None of these have been catalogued, since they were very worn.

15. J. W. Shaw et al. 2001.

16. Naturally, his idea also implies that this part of the stoa was still open on the side of the court, but perhaps the columns themselves were by then gone, given the construction plasters from a ceiling and/or another floor that were found along the stoa, including a piece found in the sounding under the stylobate near this very spot.

17. Unfortunately, the surface was too worn to make illustration worthwhile.

18. The resemblance is to P 158, uncatalogued but descriptions of which are provided under Locus 22e+26n, where the pieces were found.

19. Room 19 does not match in grandeur or location the banquet rooms suggested to have existed on the upper floors in other Minoan palaces (Graham 1987: 125–28, figs. 87–90, 167), but it may have been adequate for a building like T, the plan of which (at least in the three preserved wings) suggests little emphasis on fancy spaces intended for guests and ceremonies. Room 19, to some extent, is not dissimilar in location to banquet halls in the palaces at Zakros and Malia, namely, in the north wing and in close proximity to a stoa, except that it is situated on ground level. The size of Room 19 is ca. 21 m^2, much more modest than other such halls but still capable of accommodating at least a dozen diners. Although kitchens were normally located below the banquet rooms in a pillared space, cooking in the case of T may have taken place partly outdoors, as Rutter (Chap. 3.3) suggests on the basis of pottery, in Locus 35 in LM I levels under LM III Gallery P5 in the East Wing of T. Receptions for greater numbers of people could have taken place in the North Stoa.

20. The presence of plaster debris at this early level is puzzling, although it could represent some incident in LM IA Early followed by mending as the room continued in use.

21. What is puzzling here is why a second floor was constructed, if there had been a collapse already. One possibility is that there was a minor earlier collapse, in LM IA Early. It is possible that the east wall of the room, which is later than the south and north ones, was built then.

22. It should be noted that whereas fine plasters were brought for study to the excavation headquarters, coarse plasters were weighed (in detail) and then left at the site, as in this case. From the excavator's report it is clear that most of these plasters had concave impressions. There do not appear to have been any substantial remains of paving plaster. This pattern is in keeping with plaster debris in Room 23, a short distance east of Room 19.

23. Fragments P 48, P 153, and P 156 are part of a paving (possibly of the roof), and all seem to be of one type, with a rather thick layer and smooth surface at the top, with small pebbles underneath it, and a bottom layer of plain plas-

ter. This sample resembles the Type A floor in the North Stoa and is of excellent quality, which suggests that it may be the roof of the upper floor of the original building.

24. This floor was located at various spots in 36B/32; 65A1/35; 83C and 89A, and in three soundings in Trench 86D (respectively, 86D/34, 86D/33; 86A/45, 47, 49; and 83A/44, 46, 54.

25. The gauze was erased digitally in Pl. 2.38 at *a*.

26. For the possible use of offering tables in the two stoas, see M. C. Shaw Chap. 4.5. Worth considering in this connection is Rutter's suggestion (Chap. 3.3) that there may have been a kitchen in the western part of Locus 35/P4. If so, the southern part of Building T may have had utilitarian functions from the beginning, serving the whole building.

27. An earlier use of the stoa may be represented by pottery on a patch of floor at +2.90 m preserved at the stoa's east end. Its date of use is LM IA Early (Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Groups 13 and 14).

28. For technical aspects of plastering see Cameron 1975: 152–60. For an update on the preliminary stages preceding the application of color and/or painted design, see M. C. Shaw, 2003b: 179–92.

29. For a discussion of the typical makeup of Minoan plasters, see comments on plasters from Kastelli at Chania, based on a scientific analysis by Photos-Jones, Jones, and Hall in Hallager and Hallager, eds. 2003: vol. 3, 1: 306–7.

30. There is always, of course, the occasional thicker piece, which likely derives from where the plaster abutted some wall feature, like the wooden frames of windows and doors. For wall features that may have caused the plaster to be thicker in spots, see the useful discussion and diagram by Militello based on his study of the plasters from Phaistos (2001: 30, 34, fig. 3).

31. Examples (ca. 0.05 cm thick) have been reported from LM I contexts at Kastelli at Chania (Schallin 2000: 203). For further technical comments by this author, see her more recent report in Hallager and Hallager, eds. 2003: vol. 3, 1: 195–96.

32. Evely 2000: 479.

33. Blitzer 1995: 456–58.

34. For detail see M. C. Shaw 2003b: col. pl. XLIII a.

35. For varieties of Egyptian relief, see Schäfer 1974: 74–79.

36. For further analyses of Minoan pigments, see Dandrau 1999, where he also provides bibliographic references to earlier studies, the most extensive being the analysis of the plasters from Knossos by Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis (1977).

37. Whereas *hue* denotes "that property of color by which the various regions of the spectrum are distinguished" (*American Collegiate Dictionary* [1958]: 587), words like *tone*, *tint*, and *shade* denote chromatic variations of color (ibid., 1275).

38. The problem of defining blue is also discussed by Dandrau (Appendix 2.2).

39. As at Kastelli in Chania in LM IB contexts, where Schallin (2000: 204) reports that the results of a scientific analysis by R. Jones suggested that this color was likely produced "by mixing the synthetic pigment Egyptian Blue and an iron-rich amorphous pigment containing muscovite mica and albite." More details can be found in the just-published report on the analysis in A. J. Hall in Hallager and Hallager, eds. 2003: vol. 3, 1: 317–18, and in an addendum, 320.

40. The color is as in the shaved heads of figures from Xeste 3 (Doumas 1992: 157, pl. 121; but the tone is better reproduced on the book's dust cover).

41. For a recent analysis of plasters from Akrotiri, see Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 103–18. Cameron also often refers to a "sky blue" color in the Knossian frescoes, samples of which were analyzed (Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977: 140).

42. Dandrau, Appendix 2.2.

43. According to Dandrau 1999: 9.

44. For the construction of ceilings in Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 155–57 and 1977b; Palyvou 1999a: 213–27.

45. One of the earliest examples of ceiling packing from around beams or rafters in the Aegean dates to the Early Helladic II period and derives from the House of the Tiles at Lerna (Wiencke 2000: 279–307). Remains of ceiling plaster have been found at Phaistos (Militello 2001: 123, 179, pl. XIII, 3, fig. 34) and at Akrotiri (Palyvou 1999a: 199). Clay was used for the same purpose in an LM I house at Chania (E. Hallager 1990: 285, 288, fig. 4), and at Nirou Khani (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 156).

46. Much better preserved are examples from Akrotiri in Thera, where Palyvou (1999a: 213–14) notes the diameter of the reeds to be a maximum of 2 cm. The ones from Kommos (like **134**) are slimmer (with a diameter of ca. 1 cm).

47. A comparable example for this was found in an LM I house at Chania (E. Hallager 1990: 288, fig. 4).

48. I thank Jerolyn Morrison for her assistance with estimating the measurements. E. Hallager (1990: 285) reports a range of 13–25 cm for beams used in ceilings in LM I houses at Chania. He, too, noted that the inferred size of the beams varied, not only from room to room but in the same ceiling.

49. Dandrau (pers. comm. 2000) believes that such inclusions make plaster lighter, allowing it to fit in gaps more easily. On the other hand, animal hair, as the fragment analysis shows, seems to have been included in all types of plasters at Kommos (see, for example, Appendix 2.2, samples 3 and 8).

50. This method of ceiling construction is attested in houses of the town of Akrotiri in Thera (Palyvou 1999a: 197). For further on variations in the use of beams in Crete, too, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 156.

51. For Minoan floors, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 216–21; Cameron 1975: 213–18; Hirsch 1977. For floors in Thera and comparanda with other Aegean sites, see Palyvou 1999a: 191–227.

52. Palyvou 1999a: 193.

53. These materials include chips and little chunks of stone, pebbles, and crushed older plaster. More rare are terra-cotta–colored clay or soil bits, occasional sherds, or crushed shells—the most interesting example being fragment **5a** (Pl. 2.17), which was found just outside Space 5s and which included pieces of murex shells. The use of murex shells is also attested in Thera as backing or bedding for floors and, in one case, as surface ornament on a floor. I am indebted to Demetria Kriga, who discusses this matter in her dissertation (2003) on the architecture of Sector A at Akrotiri in Thera. See also Palyvou 1999a: 195–96 and 211. According to Dandrau (pers. comm., summer 2000), a high percentage of silicates and a lesser one of calcite contribute to the hardness of floor plaster at Kommos, as evidenced in sample 12 (Appendix 2.2).

54. I thank P. Militello for taking me on a tour of floor plasters in the excavation storerooms (August 14, 2000). See, also, Militello 2001: 177–78.

55. Cameron 1975: 213, 218.

56. This type of floor is usually referred to as *terrazzo*. Other examples of the latter seem to generally consist of larger and smaller pebbles (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 218–21). There is no exact equivalent at Kommos, where the top surface is covered either by very fine sand (like **115**, Pl. 2.21) or by coarse sand and tiny pebbles (like **14**, Pl. 2.17). The latter compares with examples from Phaistos (Militello 2001: 93, pl. 14, 10).

57. For other sites, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 218; Palyvou 1999a: 210; and Kritseli-Providi 1987: 291–92, the latter regarding Mycenaean plaster floors. At Kommos there is evidence that the technique was used in House X (as will be discussed in the eventual publication of this building) and possibly in the case of a building preceding Building T, represented by a slab-paved walkway visible in the north part of T's Central Court. As discussed in Chap. 1, preserved along the north edge of this walkway at some spots was a layer of plaster that curved up forming a lip, as if it had once abutted either a bench or a wall along the walkway.

58. As in the other spaces, the two walls defining Space 28 end with antae at the west end, and there is no sign that they once cornered to justify restoring a wall there.

59. M. C. Shaw 1996e: 350.

60. Militello 2001: 178.

61. The use of pebbles in the bottom layer is also attested at Phaistos (Militello 2001: 119, pl. 12, 10). The same system is occasionally attested at Akrotiri, on Thera (Palyvou 1999a: 194).

62. For the similar use of lepis at Knossos, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 221 and fig. 253.

63. Plaster was apparently used extensively as a filler in preparing wall revetment and plaster floors, as has been stressed in a recent article (Brysbaert 2003: 167–78).

64. The similarity between Types B and C plasters is confirmed by the scientific analysis of samples from a variety of locations, namely, from Spaces 12–13 (Appendix 2.2, sample 21), Space 5 (sample 19 [**4**]), and from Space 11 (sample 10 [**35**]).

65. For such construction, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 219, 221, fig. 252.

66. The shells in this location are mainly

discussed by D. Ruscillo (Chap. 4.7). For further information on the shells and their frequent connection with plaster at Kommos, see Reese (1995d: 273) and M. C. Shaw (1996d: 305, n. 10, and 342, n. 34). The latter contains references to an unpublished report by J. Gifford in which he identified fossils as partial content of some plasters.

67. Evely (2000: 479, 481) discusses the waterproofing qualities of plaster as well as its use "to fashion furnishings: niches, benches, tables, stair coverings." It should be made clear that the use of plaster for making "offering" tables is not discussed here, since the focus is on plaster used in architecture. For that topic, see M. C. Shaw Chap. 4.5.

68. The enclosures (or bins) were discussed by M. C. Shaw (1990; chap. 2.2) and by J. W. Shaw, in Chap. 1. There seem to be comparable uses of plaster at other Bronze Age sites, as at Galatas, in Crete, where some kind of processing (perhaps of food) took place on a reused plaster floor in a building of Protopalatial date (Rethemiotakis 1999: 26, n. 28; Papatsaroucha 1999: 10), and in Thera (Palyvou 1999a: 195).

69. For plasters from the Town Area, see M. C. Shaw 1996d: 311–13.

70. Certain fragments of such date have been discussed above, in this chapter, namely, fragments of the sponge pattern (**96**), found in Space 28/P3, and two tiny fragments decorated with an abstract design in white and yellow (**111**), found within the demolished south wall of Building T's South Stoa; the latter likely ended up there at the time of the wall's demolition, rather than as part of the fill within the wall.

71. Yellow is attested in the Prepalatial period in Kastelli, at Chania (Schallin 2000: 202).

72. Discussed in M. C. Shaw 1996d: 306–7 and 310 (**13–14**, **16**, **19**, and **42**). A fragment of **19**, the multilayered floor, was part of the plaster analysis (Appendix 2.2, sample 6).

73. For late MM III as a possible date for the construction of House X, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 136. Early LM IA now seems the more likely date.

74. Plaster, it seems, dropped out of use early also in Kastelli at Chania, to judge by the question raised in a recent publication (Schallin 2000: 204) of whether painted or even plain revetment was in use in LM IB.

75. More specific context dates are provided in the tables or in the text commenting on plasters by locus or space in Chap. 2.2. In the map (Pl. 2.41), red is used for LM I contexts, green for LM II, blue for LM I–III. LM II sherds are rarely found in association with these deposits. On the map, the latter case is limited to Space N5, of which the fill under its much-raised LM IIIA2 floor contained some LM II sherds. The term LM I–III usually means that there was a merging of earlier (LM I) and later fills. Since there is no evidence for the use of plaster for construction purposes in LM III, a logical conclusion is that the plasters in such fills are earlier.

76. Rutter, Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 40.

77. For the possible dating of this event, see J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.

78. Unfortunately, these plasters were dealt with by the excavator at the site, so it is no longer possible to know how many—if any—were flooring plaster, although the weights were meticulously recorded.

79. For the history of the kiln and of its physical context, see J. W. Shaw et al. 2001.

80. A few examples in frescoes from Knossos can be seen in *PM* III: 59, fig. 35, and 84, fig. 47.

81. M. C. Shaw 2003a: 5I5. Further support for this idea is provided in the present author's study of the use of plaster tables in Chap. 4.5, also in this volume.

82. See Palyvou 1999a: 220, 222–23, figs. 118–19. The thickness of the pieces there is ca. 4 cm. One difference with the Kommos type is the apparent lack of sand, but many of the other aggregates, including the little pebbles, are similar. For a sand-tempered plaster from an LM I house at Chania, thought to belong to the roof, see Hallager 1990: 285 n. 17.

83. For the domestic use of roofs in the Aegean, see M. C. Shaw 1996e: 369; Palyvou 1999a: 227; and J. W. Shaw 2003a: 5I1.

84. See discussions in Graham 1987: 143–45 and in J. W. Shaw 1973a: 21, 27–28, 98, 147, 150, 217.

85. To these friezes must be added some of the sheets of plasters preserving parts of bands that were used to line the slab enclosures in Locus 16 (Pl. 2.9), although there is no way of knowing from which room these were ripped off the walls to be reused this way. Descriptions of the decoration are given in catalogue entries **46a–d**).

86. More specifically, the measurements are as follows:

Band	*Color*	*Width of Band (cm)*
Segment A		
A	Gray (incomplete)	4.0
B	Egyptian blue	2.7
C	Gray	4.0
D	White	5.45
E	Red	2.6
F	White	0.7
G	Red	2.8–2.5
H	White	0.6
I	Red	2.8
J	White	0.7
K	Red	2.45
L	White	5.7
M	Gray (incomplete)	2.2
	Total preserved width of frieze ca. 36.7	
Segment B		
A	Gray (incomplete)	0.2
B	Egyptian blue	2.7
C	Gray	3.7
D	White	5.6
E	Red	2.5
F	White	0.7
G	Red	2.75
H	White	0.7
I	Red	2.4
J	White	0.7
K	Red	2.4
L	White	5.4
M	Gray (incomplete)	0.4
	Total preserved height of frieze ca. 30.15	

87. Fyfe 1902: 110–11. The proposed width of the frieze from Room 19 at Kommos comes closer to the width of miniature frescoes, like those at Knossos, and to the more recently discovered one at Akrotiri in Thera, which measures ca. 43.0 cm (Doumas 1992: 68, pl. 35). Larger are friezes where bands frame the central course of a running spiral, like an example from the Palace at Knossos (Fyfe 1902: 120, fig. 43) and another from Akrotiri (Doumas 1992: 124, pl. 90).

88. Fyfe 1902: 110–11. For various formats of wall decoration including those incorporating dadoes and bands or friezes, see also Cameron 1976: 33, fig. 1.

89. A small piece of relief (**129**, Pl. 2.15) divided into red and white areas, from the South Stoa, is unfortunately meager. It is more likely to belong to a dado, as the Venetian red band is curving, and thus in relief, even if not rendered like other molded red bands we connect with the dadoes.

90. There are several parallels for painted imitations of an architectural course in wood, as in a fragment from the Royal Road North at Knossos (Cameron 1975: pl. 147 B), and in the palace in a wall decoration where the simulated wooden course is associated with a dado, described in that case as a "horizontal plinth imitating woodwork" under a dado's panels (*PM* I: 356; Fyfe 1902: 112, fig. 13). The closest to the one at Kommos is a painted frieze found *in situ* in a ground-floor room in the House of the Frescoes, there located 56 cm above the floor and surmounted by a frieze imitating veined stone (*PM* II.2: 443, fig. 260).

91. For a recently published example from the old excavations at Phaistos, see Militello 2001: 128, pl. 19, 6.

92. To be published in another volume concentrating on that building.

93. No examples from Kommos can be securely dated to this period, but there are some from the nearby Palace at Phaistos. The evidence from Phaistos has recently been reviewed by Blakolmer (1997: 97–100) and has been republished in Militello 2001.

94. Doumas 1992: 86–87, pls. 50–51.

95. I limit myself to a few illustrations from the Palace at Pylos. For dadoes: Lang 1969: pls. 93, 106–7; for floors: the frontispiece restoration in Blegen and Rawson 1966, which shows the placement of such decoration on the walls and floors of the building.

96. Those responsible for the preparation of the illustrations have been acknowledged above (n. 1).

97. Warren 2000b: 364.

98. The interplay between media is one that Warren (1969: 168) has described as one of both independence and interaction. He was particularly interested in transfers in shape and decoration from stone to clay vases, a process that he shows to have started in EM II–MM I/II and to have continued into LM IIIA (1969: 168, 171–73). More recently, Blakolmer (1997) followed the

transfer of patterns from craft (actual stone vases) to major art (wall painting, with main reference to paintings of Protopalatial date in the Palace of Phaistos). Schiering's study of imitations of stone in other media (1960) is still very useful. For depictions of rocks as they exist in nature and as depicted in naturalistic frescoes, I refer the reader to Morgan 1988: 32–34.

99. J. W. Shaw (1973a: 11–29) discusses extensively the decorative uses of such stones, which were cut to serve as floor slabs and as wall veneer or were shaped into column bases. On their use in floors, see also Hirsch 1977. For detailed geological descriptions of such stones, see Rosenfeld 1965.

100. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1979) vol. 4: 1109–11; Rosenfeld 1965: 99.

101. The latter may represent what are called "rollers": *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1979) vol. 4: 1110, fig. 1.

102. Ibid.: 1111, fig. 2.

103. The density or compactness of rock varies depending on the degree of consolidation and how close the clasts are (ibid.: 1110).

104. I owe much of my understanding of the properties and appearance of conglomerate to advice received from P. Warren (June 19, 2003).

105. In such sandstones, the sandy matrix surrounds the pebbles rather than merely filling the interstices, and the sand is much more visible (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* [1979] vol. 4: 1110). In trying to explain the varying backgrounds shown on the plaster pieces from Kommos, J. Moody suggested the possibility that the colors reflect different types of matrix (July 4, 2002): marl shown as white, terra rossa as red, calcareous earth as light blue/gray. She also referred to a relevant conglomerate deposit she spotted between Kokkinos Pyrgos and the Amari turn as one drives to Chania from the Mesara.

106. Mylonas 1966: 16–20, 66, 77.

107. Thus J. W. Shaw (1973a: 27, 112–14) quotes a number of architectural uses for conglomerate in the Aegean, but he does not refer to its use as wall veneer.

108. In this painting from Pylos (Lang 1969: pl. 98), the eclectic style is naturally the result of repeated artistic derivation, which no longer requires direct and accurate representation of what is being depicted.

109. Conglomerate stone is shown in representational frescoes and other media as part of nature, mostly in riverine and marine environments. Sometimes it is shown as groups of scattered banded pebbles, such as in examples from the Caravanserai Fresco from Knossos (*PM* II: frontispiece), and in fragments of a composition that were found in the area north of the North Portico of the Palace of Knossos (Cameron 1975: pls. 67, 70, 72, 84; Kaiser 1976: fig. 429). On other occasions, conglomerate is shown as a mass of rock of polychrome semiconcentric bands, as in a seascape depiction in the Fleet Fresco from Akrotiri (Doumas 1992: 77, pl. 37), and at the Mycenaean Palace at Pylos, where a lyre player is shown seated on it (Lang 1969: pls. 27, 125).

110. Warren 1969: 30.

111. A comparison between Evans's *PM* I: 178, fig. 127 g (a cup), and *PM* I: opp. p. 596, col. pl. VII (jug on the right), shows an increase in stylization from MM I/II to MM III, the dates given by Evans for the two examples. The later piece can be compared with **27** from Kommos, in that they both depict large pebbles surrounded by smaller ones in a rather regular way. Semi-naturalistic is the "pebbly beach" on an MM III vase from Pachyammos, which comes closest to the pictorial style used in frescoes (*PM* I: 608, fig. 447).

112. The piece was found at Phaistos (Militello 2001: F BW.20T, p. 96, pl. B 3).

113. One of the best examples is a terrazzo floor in the Palace of Zakros (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 220, fig. 250).

114. Warren 1969: 127–28.

115. I am much indebted to the following people for their advice on stone identification (pers. comm.), although they are not responsible for any errors in my text: J. Moody (July 2002); P. Warren (June 19, 2003); T. Strasser (July 28, 2003); and S. Chlouveraki (August 15, 2003).

116. According to Rosenfeld (1965: 109 and fig. 12), banded varieties of calcite (the mineral in tufa) are often mistaken for alabaster. Alabaster itself is a fine-grained and more compact variety of gypsum (Rosenfeld 1965: 115–16, and Hirsch 1977: 7).

117. For imitations of travertine in vase painting, see Warren 1969: 126–27.

118. See Chlouveraki 2002; J. W. Shaw 1973a: 21, 42–43, 217.

119. As, for instance, in the painted dado

from the West House at Akrotiri in Thera (Doumas 1992: 50–51, pls. 16–17).

120. Rosenfeld 1965: 114.

121. Seager 1912: pls. V (VI.1) and VI (VI.5) are examples from Mochlos brought to my attention by P. Warren (June 19, 2003), to whom I am grateful.

122. See J. W. Shaw 1973a: 21–23.

123. The use of gypsum in Crete is mostly attested at Knossos, Phaistos, and at Aghia Triada. For its use at Nirou Khani, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 23, 25 fig. 16, 112, 150. For a more complete survey including a discussion of quarries, see the more recent article by Chlouveraki 2002.

124. For the use of gypsum, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 20–23.

125. Vases of veined stone, including those of banded tufa and veined marble, appeared in EM (Warren 1969: 126–27, 134–35), clearly preceding imitations in wall painting. For further discussions of the stone and its depictions in art, see Blakolmer 1997: 97–98 (with references in n. 35 to Schiering 1960).

126. This was thought by Levi to represent slabs of alabaster (Levi 1957–58a: 332–33, figs. 181 and 182; Levi 1976–81: vol. I, pt. 1: 271, fig. 423), although it apparently shows no signs of bands on the plaster surface—a clarification I owe to P. Militello (pers. comm., spring 2002, and Militello 2001: 65, 178, pl. III, 8). Levi assigns it to his phases IB and II, which are now dated respectively to MM II A and MM II B, thanks to subsequent research (Fiandra 1961–62; Warren and Hankey 1989: 47–49; Carinci and La Rosa 2001: 509).

127. Levi 1957–58a: 198, fig. 7, and Levi 1976–81: vol. I, pt. 1: 106–7, fig. 142. Levi assigned it to Phase Ib, which is now dated to MM II A–B, for reasons noted in the preceding note. For further discussion of the piece, see Militello 2001: F62.1, p. 48. pl. III, 1. Militello believes that the particular piece belongs to MM IIB rather than to IIA (pers. comm., summer 2002).

128. For these, see Militello 2001: F N30.1 and F GF.1T, and pl. C, 10 (the wall plaster) and 11 (the table leg). See also Levi 1976–81: vol. I, pt. 2: 594, pl. LXXXVI a, 10 and 11 (#6714 and #5503).

129. Blakolmer (1997: 98) rightly remarks that the examples of such abstract designs at Phaistos and other Minoan sites anticipate the decoration one sees later in the decoration of Minoan painted dadoes.

130. A Neopalatial dado with veined patterns from the southeastern area of the Palace of Knossos, which is known only through a restored drawing, mainly because of the coloring of the veined pattern, is said to consist of reddish brown strokes on a light yellow with bands of darker yellow and orange and some black lines (Fyfe 1902: 112, fig. 13). See also the veined decoration in the Lustral Basin at Chania (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1993: 56–76) and the more fragmentary remains of veined patterns in the LM I contexts at Chania (Schallin 2000: 203). Perhaps earlier in date are plasters found at Pera Galenoi, not far from Rethymnon, which are painted with a simple rendering of a veined pattern (wavy red lines on an ocher background). A preliminary examination of the pottery suggests that it is of MM III date, according to the excavator, Eleni Banou. I thank her for permission to provide this reference. Wavy red lines also appear on a plaster fragment from Room L 2 in Building 6 at Palaikastro, which I saw in an exhibition in the modern village of Palaikastro in the summer of 2002. For mention and illustrations of this fragment, see MacGillivray 1998: 240 and Brysbaert 2000: 54, fig. 3a and 3b.

131. Examples are too numerous to detail here, but a few from Pylos (as in Lang 1969: pl. 140) provide a good idea of the popularity of this form of decoration, since, unusually, the frescoes from a single site are gathered together in one publication.

132. This is an aspect that Chlouveraki may illuminate in her studies of the Minoan use of gypsum.

133. Marinatos 1974: col. pl. 4.

134. Lang 1969: pl. 140.

135. *PM* III: 361–62, fig. 238; Cameron 1975: vol. 1: 114, pl. 4 D.

136. Rather than being a marine subject, as Evans thought (*PM* III: 361–65, and 364, fig. 240), the sponge pattern is a likely forerunner of painted imitations of stones, as Blakolmer (1997: 98) has suggested.

137. Suggested by Warren (written comm., November 11, 2003).

138. Suggested by Strasser (pers. comm. noted above).

139. This option (particularly "hornblende diorite") was offered by Warren, who, however, also expressed doubt that this may have been represented in the dado given that this stone is so rare in Crete (pers. comm., November 11, 2003). Diorite was used in Egypt for sculpture and for making stone vessels (Aston 1994: pl. 1 C).

140. As suggested by George Wheeler of the Metropolitan Museum (September 2, 2003), who was kindly contacted on my behalf by Joan Aruz. The pattern is quite similar to that of diorite.

141. For a discussion of igneous and metamorphic rocks, particularly those mentioned in the text, see Rosenfeld 1965: 76–78 (for granite); 81–83 (for diorite, gabbro, and dolerite); and 96 (for serpentine). Gabbro (p. 83) seems to be closely related to diabase/dolerite—an "intrusive rock" that occurs among other forms in "sheets, and other relatively small, shallow bodies" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* [1979] vol. 3: 515).

142. Warren 1969: 130, diorite; 131, gabbro; 138, serpentine.

143. J. W. Shaw 1973a: 120–21, fig. 147.

144. T. Strasser proposed that it might represent some kind of nummulitic limestone.

145. For a discussion of this stone, see Rosenfeld 1965: 86 and pl. 7.

146. An example of a "speckled black dado" from the North Threshing Floor area of the Palace at Knossos is discussed and illustrated by Cameron 1975: 116, and pl. 147 C, who quotes Evans's identification of the design as imitating liparite. Although in this example the spots are white, gray, and orange on a black background, there is another example from the Palace of Phaistos from an MM II context, where the spots are white (see Pernier 1902, figs. 12 and 22, and Militello 2001: 84, pl. V 5). Spots of various colors appear on a dark ground as decoration on the facade of a building in a miniature fresco from the Palace of Knossos, but here Evans has suggested that the stone imitated may be "porphyry or Spartan basalt." *PM* I: 445–46, fig. 321.

147. Warren 1969: 135–36, and P 195.

148. Warren discusses (1969: 135–36) the earlier use of the term *Liparite*, which was applied to the stone on the basis of its assumed derivation from the Lipari Islands. Recent fieldwork, however, has shown that the white spotted kind comes from Gyali in the Dodecanese.

149. The example in the South Stoa is of a somewhat different version. It best resembles examples from dadoes in the West House at Akrotiri on Thera (Doumas 1992: 86–87, pls. 50–51) and a pattern in Mycenaean dadoes, as in the Palace at Pylos, described as an arc pattern (Lang 1969: pls. 93 and K).

150. See the preceding note.

151. In the case of stone dadoes, the Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos provides examples of both kinds, the taller kind in the hall itself, the shorter one in the light well (*PM* III: fig. 225). An example of the shorter type in painting is the dado from Akrotiri mentioned in n. 149 and, in Crete, that under the bull-leaping fresco found *in situ* on the north wall of the western end of the Corridor of the Processions (*PM* IV: figs. 872, 873). Restored as the taller variety is a dado imitating a veined stone, known from fragments found from the eastern edge of the Domestic Quarter and thought by Evans to be of MM III date (*PM* I: 356, fig. 255). Of interest is the veined decoration of a Lustral Basin at Chania (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997: 22–23), which occurs both as a dado and as revetment on a pillar and taller walls. For further information of types of dadoes, in stone and painted, see Fyfe 1902: 110–13, and Cameron 1976: 33, fig. 1.

152. See the reconstruction in Palyvou 2000: 423, fig. 8.

153. Possible additional evidence for the continuation of the painted dado in Locus 16 is the discovery of plasters with painted imitations of variegated stone directly outside it in Locus 15, where they were dumped—a pattern that repeats what was attested for the eastern portions of the stoa.

154. For window construction in Minoan architecture, see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 174–75. For a discussion and reconstruction of the east wall of the stoa and the window see M. C. Shaw 1999: pl. CLXXIII d (reproduced here in Chap. 1, Pl. 1.56) and pl. CLXXII c, where the earlier courses of the wall (left of center in the picture) are visible. The thickness of the wooden beam was likely ca. 0.20 cm, which would allow it to align with the tops of two stone piers at each end of that side of the stoa. As I have argued in the

study mentioned, the east wall of the stoa held a frame of wooden beams that was secured into the stoa's north wall. The windowsill's beam was part of that frame.

155. The height of the panels in the dado in Room 5 in the West House at Thera is ca. 0.45 m without the black horizontal band at the top, and 0.60–0.65 m with it. In the case of the Mycenaean Palace at Pylos, Lang estimates the height of the dado with imitation gypsum panels in Hall 64 to be 0.60 m (Lang 1969: 169, and pls. 93, 140, and K).

156. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that some of the floor fragments from Space 11 were partially wedged under the north wall—where the floor plaster with the patterned decoration was originally set—thus contributing to their preservation nearly *in situ!* Although the stones of the interior face of the wall were at that stage slightly above the earth surface on which the painters stood, the stones of the outer facade of the wall—the krepis and the orthostate slabs—continued farther down onto the road surface, which was lower than the floor in the stoa. Clearly, the painters worked first on the wall and the dado, and then they turned to laying out the plaster for the floor.

157. For the examples from Phaistos, see Militello 2001: 45, 86, pl. A.

158. Cameron 1975: 213–18. For illustrations of a floor imitating animal hide, see Evely 1999: 248.

159. M. C. Shaw 1995: 110.

160. *PM* III: 384, fig. 255.

161. Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997: 22–23, figs. 19–21.

162. For the discussion of rosette friezes on floors, see Kritseli-Providi 1987: 288–89 and 293, fig. 1. The Mycenaean examples occur on plaster floors divided by a grid into units decorated with abstract patterns, the rosette bands here being limited to the outer borders of the painted floor.

163. Blegen and Rawson 1966: 87–88; frontispiece and pl. 66.

164. Parrot 1958: 67–69, fig. 54 and pls. XV 1–2.

165. Pinning down the exact date of the Mari painting and arriving at a correct synchronism with the Aegean are goals difficult to attain, particularly now with the schism that exists among archaeologists of the Bronze Age Aegean, some of whom adhere to a long, some to a short, chronology. For a discussion of this issue, see the recent and most thorough review in Wiener 2003: 363–401. See also suggestions made for a different date for the Mari paintings by Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, especially 74–75.

166. As, for example, at Qatna, northeast of Byblos (Smith 1965: 17–18, figs. 31a and b).

167. A phenomenon known from other elite buildings in Crete and other areas of the Bronze Age Aegean, one that was later reinvented in Early Republican times in the Roman world.

168. For the names of the conservators, see n. 1 in this chapter.

169. The final restoration was done by Élise Alloin, but previous conservators contributed extensively, too.

170. The invaluable assistance received in those early study sessions by the present author is acknowledged in n. 1 in this chapter.

171. Naturally, a great number of fragments were not suitable for displays, either because of insufficient intrinsic interest or because of poor preservation. Thus, fragments of that kind were stored in containers that are presently in the excavation storeroom in Pitsidia, Crete. Small and tiny pieces were stored in paper or plastic envelopes marked with identifying information and then put in small cardboard boxes. Larger, coarse pieces (depending on the quantity) were stored in a variety of containers including plastic pails that we normally used during excavation for the collection of sherds.

172. This paragraph on the technology of the preservation and the mounting of the pieces is based on É. Alloin's description provided in reports on her work as conservator at Kommos during the 2001 and 2002 study seasons.

173. A further precaution was taken by having the carpenter provide each wooden box with a well-fitted wooden cover to protect the plasters during their eventual transport to other locations, where, it is hoped, they can be displayed for public viewing.

174. Here, I should express my thanks to Teresa Hancock, Chief Cataloguer in recent years, who helped me with the preparation of labels and in other respects related to the method of storage just described. Given their bulky and heterogeneous character, fragments of the plaster offering tables could not be displayed in the

same fashion. These are stored in boxes along with the other finds in the excavation storeroom. Further help with the above was provided more recently by Mary Markou.

175. This study was edited by M. C. Shaw, who deleted introductory general comments already in her chapter on the plasters (Chap. 2), and translated by her with the help of Effie Chan and Josée Dimson, graduate students of the University of Toronto, and of Cy Strom. Help with chemical terms was received from Sandra Marone.

The captions to Pls. 2.45–2.61 in this appendix have been abridged on the plates themselves; the complete captions may be consulted in the List of Plates.

176. M. C. Shaw 1996d: 303–13; Dandrau 2000: 78–80.

177. M. C. Shaw and the authors of this appendix are most grateful for permission granted by the Greek Archaeological Service to transport the samples. The samples were duly returned and are presently stored with other finds in the excavation headquarters in the village of Pitsidia, Crete. The infrared spectroscopic analysis and mineralogical study were carried out by A. Dandrau, of the Université de Paris IV—Sorbonne, at the Laboratory of Geology in the National Museum of Natural History (M.N.H.N., Paris). A. Dandrau wishes here to thank Prof. F. Fröhlich for his kind help and permission to carry out such analyses. These studies, performed using a scanning electron microscope and X-ray microfluorescence, were carried out by S. Dubernet with the assistance of A. Dandrau, in the Centre de Recherche en Physique Appliquée à l'Archéologie (C.R.P.A.A) of Bordeaux. We here thank the director, Prof. F. Bechtel, for his permission and invaluable assistance.

178. The minerals could be smeared onto a slide (Parfenoff, Pomerol, and Tourenq 1970) and analyzed under a polarizing microscope (Roubault et al. 1972). All of the mineralogical information contained in this article resulted from these two works, as well as from Deer et al. (1992).

179. Maniatis 1986: 109–13; Dandrau 1997.

180. Pichard and Fröhlich 1986: 809–19; Fröhlich 1993: 3–7.

181. Pichard and Fröhlich 1986: 809–19; Fröhlich 1989: 267–73.

182. This word is the contraction of the term *microcrystalline calcite*.

183. Dandrau 1997: 374–76 and fig. 5.V.1 and 5.V.2; Dandrau 2000: 82–83.

184. Although the weight of the analyzed matter does not exceed 1.5 mg, it is appropriate to take a relatively large quantity of it to ensure its adequate representation within the material considered.

185. Martin and Lambe 1937: 137–50.

186. This very particular plaster was especially well described by A. Evans, who found many fragments of it at Knossos (*PM* I: 107; II: 107, 327–28, 523, 686–89, 696, 716, 800, and fig. 185; III: 330; IV: 225). See also J. W. Shaw 1973a: 218–21.

187. *PM* I: 36 n. 3, and 533–34; Heaton 1910: 209; Heaton 1911: 705; Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1976: 35–36; Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977: 146; Philippakis 1978: 601–2.

188. Noll, Holm, and Born 1971: 615–18; Stos-Fertner, Hedges, and Evely 1979: 192–93.

189. Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977: 146. Dandrau 1999: 8–10.

190. Dandrau 1999: 29–33, 35–6; Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 112–13.

191. *PM* I: 534; Heaton 1910: 209–10; Heaton 1911: 705; Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1976: 36, 38; Hazzidakis 1934: 100; Profi, Perdikatsis, and Philippakis 1977: 112; Asimenos 1978: 574; Philippakis 1978: 601, 603; Dandrau 1999: 27–29; Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 113, 115.

192. *PM* I: 534; III: 351. Among the extraordinary abundance of publications referring to Egyptian blue, see especially Tite, Bimson, and Cowell 1984: 215–42; Dandrau 1999: 15–18; Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 113–14.

193. Leake 1978: 533–63.

194. This, in fact, explains the presence of talc and/or chlorite revealed by Perdikatsis (1998: 103–8) within blue pictorial layers of protohistoric Aegean plasters; he had interpreted their presence as a mixture of materials.

195. Profi, Perdikatsis, and Philippakis 1977: 112; Philippakis 1978: 601–3.

196. Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1976: 35–37; Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977: 140–41, 158; Dandrau 1999: 17–18; Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 114–15 and 117, fig. 3.

197. Philippakis, Perdikatsis, and Paradellis 1976: 143–53; Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1976:

35–37; Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977: 143–53.

198. Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1976: 35–38.

199. Asimenos 1978: 574; Dandrau 1999: 12.

200. Profi, Weier, and Philippakis 1974: 110.

201. These principles, like their application in the study of the painted Aegean protohistoric plasters, were discussed in Dandrau 2000, and Dandrau 2001: 41–66.

202. Dandrau 2000.

203. Cameron 1968a: 45–64; Cameron et al. 1977: 167–71; Perdikatsis et al. 2000: 115–16; Chryssikopoulou et al. 2000: 119–29.

CHAPTER 3

Minoan Pottery from the Southern Area

Jeremy B. Rutter and Aleydis Van de Moortel

1. Introduction: Presentation Format and Drawing Conventions (J. B. Rutter and A. Van de Moortel)
2. Middle Minoan IA and Protopalatial Pottery (A. Van de Moortel)
3. Neopalatial and Later Minoan Pottery (J. B. Rutter)
4. Ceramic Imports at Kommos (A. Van de Moortel and J. B. Rutter)

1. Introduction: Presentation Format and Drawing Conventions

Jeremy B. Rutter and Aleydis Van de Moortel

The pottery published in this volume is presented in the form of context groups (cf. Betancourt 1990: 17–18, "Contexts"; Watrous 1992: xvii, 1, "Deposits"), each consisting of anywhere from one to sixty-five vessels or vessel fragments recovered from what has been determined to be a significant locus of excavation. For each of the more than 150 groups and subgroups presented here, at least a summary listing of the group's size, stratigraphic position, constituent excavation units, and chronological range is provided immediately before the catalogue descriptions of the vessels and fragments selected for publication from that group. For groups excavated since 1991 that were processed and recorded in the field by the authors or by staff working under their direct supervision, more detailed statistics describing their composition by sherd count and weight according to major fabric and shape or decorative categories are also provided.

Almost every piece included in the catalogues is illustrated by a line drawing; a relatively small number are illustrated either instead or in addition by photographs, chiefly when more detailed images of features such as potters' marks, technological peculiarities, or unusual wear or breakage patterns are desirable.

Individual catalogue entries have been kept relatively spare. Information on state of preservation, dimensions, colors, fabric compositions, and surface treatments has been relegated to a series of large tables posted on T-Space, a Web server connected with the Department of the History of Art at the University of Toronto (https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/3004) where such data can be presented in a compact and abbreviated format, yet also in an accessible and searchable form for purposes of comparison. Fabrics are grouped into four broad categories ("fine," "medium fine," "medium coarse," and "coarse") according to the frequency of nonplastic inclusions contained and the maximum size of these inclusions (e.g., Van de Moortel 1997: 30–31). Overall frequencies of inclusions have been estimated using charts developed by M. S. Shvetsov (Terry and Chilingar 1955: figs. 1–4; Van de Moortel 2001: 44 n. 69). Frequencies of visually distinct types of inclusion, loosely described in terms of combinations of color, shape, and size, are more crudely assessed on a four-point scale: "occasional" (i.e., no more than one visible), "some," "many," and "massive numbers of." Sizes of inclusions are categorized as "very fine," "fine," "medium," "coarse," "very coarse," "granule," and "pebble" according to the Wentworth scale (Shepard 1956: 118). Shapes of inclusions are very roughly classified on a four-point scale as "rounded," "subrounded," "subangular," or "angular." Surface finishes are described with the same terms employed by Rutter for the Early Helladic III pottery of Lerna (Rutter 1995: 55–58) with one minor modification: vessels thrown on the wheel and exhibiting very finely wheel-ridged surfaces that are dull within the troughs of the ridges and lustrous on the crests are here described as "wheel-polished" rather than "wet-smoothed." The color terminology is that of the Munsell Soil Color Charts. Coatings, bands, or patterns of fine, dark-firing (i.e., red, brown, or black) clay are described as "paints." Coatings of fine, pale-firing clay, on the other hand, are described as "slips," except when applied in the form of bands or patterns over dark "paints," in which case they become "added white" or "light paint."

The classification of vessel shapes and decorative patterns is based on the typologies considered most appropriate for the ceramic periods in question. Van de Moortel has organized the Protopalatial catalogue primarily by shape, with subcategories based on size, fabric texture, and decoration. Rutter, on the other hand, has organized the Neopalatial and later Bronze Age material initially according to the texture of the clay body (first fine, then medium coarse, and coarse), subsequently by mode of decoration (first painted, then plain), and finally by shape (closed forms before open forms), with imports to Crete listed at the end of each group. Rutter's classification of decorative patterns is based, whenever possible, on the typology and nomenclature devised by Furumark (1941) for the Mycenaean pottery of the Greek mainland, for the simple reason that his approach to decorative analysis is far more systematic and broadly applicable than any other in common use for Aegean Late Bronze Age (LB) ceramics (Rutter 1998). The abbreviation "FM" followed by a number thus refers to a particular "Furumark Motif." Only patterned ornament merits a verbal description in the catalogue; for horizontal bands or solid coats of colored slip, the reader is referred to the

relevant illustration(s). Painted decoration is assumed to be executed in a dark-on-light mode, unless otherwise specified. Furumark's system of shape classification, however, does not lend itself as readily to the description and analysis of Minoan forms. Notwithstanding the remarkable variability in the terminology used for the basic shapes of the Neopalatial and later Late Minoan ceramic repertoires (Hallager 1997: 15–18), there appears to be sufficient consensus on what those standard forms are (Betancourt 1985a: figs. 77–80, 93–94, 112, 118–119; Hallager and Hallager 1997: 407–17) that the ambiguities so often encountered in discussions of LM painted patterns[1] can be satisfactorily avoided.

The line drawings of vessels drawn at life size in the field are ordinarily reproduced here at a scale of 1:3. Big vessels (heights of more than 30 cm or maximum diameters of more than 35 cm) that are largely or fully preserved are presented at a scale of 1:6. When vessels illustrated at two different scales appear on a single plate, multiple scales are included to make clear which vessels are drawn at which scales, and the different scales are also noted in the caption. Cross sections of vessel walls, and of accessories such as handles and spouts, are rendered in solid black where preserved and in dashed outline where restored. The dark-firing clay slips used to produce painted patterns and bands as well as overall coatings are likewise rendered in solid black, with a narrow reserved strip being left between slip and cross section to permit them to be clearly distinguished. Light-firing clay slips applied over dark-firing slips to create bands or patterns in a light-on-dark mode are indicated by fine stippling of a uniform density (e.g., **1/2**, **2a/8**). When either light-on-dark or dark-on-light decoration of an uncertain nature has failed to survive, the fact and extent of restoration are indicated by patterns, and more rarely banding, rendered in hollow outline (e.g., **1/3**, **2a/8**, **6/1**). Three-dimensional relief on unpainted vessels is rendered by stippling of variable density (e.g., **2b/11**, **2b/13**, **2b/15**). Dense diagonal crosshatching indicates a localized patch of burning on the surface, often indicative of a vessel's use as a lamp (e.g., **2a/2**, **2b/13**, **3b/2**, **18/2**). Dense diagonal hatching denotes either missing chips from a vessel's surface (e.g., **2a/7**) or an exposed break or fracture (e.g., **1/1**, **2b/14**, **3b/2**). Attachment scars on vessel surfaces left by the breaking away of accessories in the form of handles, spouts, or decoratively applied bands are marked by broken horizontal hatching (e.g., **2b/14**, **3b/6**, **16/6**). The detection of visible coil joints within the thickness of a vessel's cross section is marked by reserved dashed lines, which are useful indicators of either the handmade manufacture of entire vases such as pithoi (e.g., **2b/14–15**, **3b/6**) or the combination of coil addition and wheel finishing on large cooking pots (e.g., **56f/3**, **60/26**). Wheel-ridging, although often prominent (especially on the interiors of closed vases), is ordinarily indicated only in cross section; but in the case of unpainted and banded conical cups, it is marked by horizontal dot rows if relatively light (e.g., **1/3–4**, **1/8**, **2b/5**), by thin lines if more pronounced (e.g., **2a/3–4**), or by a combination of the two (e.g., **1/9**, **1/11**). Supplementary views in the form of overheads of rim outlines (e.g., **2a/2**, **2a/6**) or head-on renderings of the backs of handles (e.g., **21/4, 26/3**, **29/5**) are provided when they furnish information on shape or decoration that is not visible from a vessel's princi-

pal illustration. While numerous internal cross-references to relevant comparanda have been provided in the catalogue for individual pieces, these may not be exhaustive in every case.

2. Middle Minoan IA and Protopalatial Pottery

Aleydis Van de Moortel

Introduction: Protopalatial Ceramic Chronology at Kommos and Phaistos

PROTOPALATIAL CHRONOLOGY AT KOMMOS

A Middle Minoan IB–IIB ceramic sequence at Kommos was established by P. Betancourt in his preliminary studies and final publication of the pottery from the Central Hillside (CH) and parts of the Southern Area at Kommos, excavated between 1976 and 1982 (Betancourt 1980; 1984b; 1985b; 1985c; 1986; 1990).[2] As many as 24 contexts from these areas were identified by Betancourt as belonging to the MM IB–IIB period; 2 more were tentatively assigned to MM IA. Nearly all these contexts were located below the extensive MM III to early LM IA occupation at the site. For the evaluation of these 26 MM IA–IIB contexts it is important to keep in mind that none were floor deposits. They were deliberate fills, dumps, or casual accumulations often including admixtures of pottery fragments of other ceramic phases. Finds consisted of more than 10,000 MM IA–IIB fragments but only a few dozen mendable vessels. Betancourt published roughly 900 vases and fragments, nearly all of MM IB–IIB date, the best represented phase being MM IIB (Table 3.1).

Betancourt and Myer subdivided Kommian fabrics into three groups—fine buff, tempered buff, and coarse red (Myer and Betancourt 1990). Their classification is still in use. Even though the Protopalatial pottery was associated with architectural remains, too little was exposed to allow for the identification of Protopalatial architectural phases (Wright 1996: 140–41). Betancourt's pottery chronology was based primarily on two long stratigraphic sequences: one a succession of MM IIA, mixed MM IIA–B, and MM IIB levels located below MM III spaces CH 35 and CH 36 (Betancourt 1990: 53); the other a series of MM IA, MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB contexts found in a small but deep sounding east of the Classical Round Building D in the Southern Area, north of Building AA.[3]

On close scrutiny, however, it now seems that the MM IIA context below spaces CH 35–36 is not pure but includes some MM IIB pottery.[4] More seriously, the sequence from east of Round Building D is no longer valid. Discoveries of numerous cross joins in this deep sounding, between levels initially dated to different phases, have led the present author to conclude that nearly all this material belongs in fact to the same context and should be redated to an early stage of MM IIB.[5] As a result of these revisions, it appears that the MM IIA pottery phase at Kommos has not yet been stratigraphically isolated in these excavations, and it is more poorly known and less sharply delineated than Betancourt thought. The relative posi-

Table 3.1. Chronological distribution of MM IA–IIB contexts and pottery from Kommos published by Betancourt (1990).

Ceramic Phase	Number of Contexts	Number of Vases/Sherds	Percentage of Vases/Sherds
MM IA	2?	5	0.5
MM IB	7	193	21
MM IB–IIA	2	39	4.5
MM IIA	5	182	20
MM IIA–B	1	167	18.5
MM IIB	10	314	34.5
MM IB–IIB		11	1
Total	**27**	**911**	

tions of the MM IB and MM IIB phases, however, remain well established through stratigraphic superposition in three locations.[6]

In spite of these difficulties, Betancourt's characterizations of the three Protopalatial pottery phases at Kommos are still largely valid. The MM IA phase remains poorly known because of the dearth of stratified remains. Betancourt deserves credit for publishing the full spectrum of Protopalatial pottery shapes and for drawing chronological information not only from fine decorated pottery but from often-neglected utilitarian vase shapes such as cooking pottery (Betancourt 1980) and unpainted cups (Betancourt 1986) as well. His highly refined chronology of Protopalatial conical cup types is especially important for dating contexts at Kommos. These simple cups are sensitive chronological markers, having undergone frequent stylistic changes and representing by far the most common ceramic shape in Protopalatial contexts. Moreover, conical cups are easily identifiable, even as small fragments. Betancourt's conical cup chronology corresponds largely, but not entirely, to that developed by Fiandra (1973) at Phaistos, the principal site and to all appearances the political capital of the Protopalatial western Mesara. In most other respects, Betancourt's sequence shows closer stylistic correspondences with the rival Phaistian pottery sequence established by Levi (1976) and Levi and Carinci (1988).

Before embarking on the present study of Protopalatial pottery from the area of the large Civic Building AA at Kommos, it is necessary that we come to terms with the problems of Protopalatial Phaistian chronology. Phaistos and Kommos are only about 8 km apart, and their Protopalatial pottery assemblages are so similar that they can be considered to belong to the same production tradition.[7] Thus it is proper that their pottery sequences are studied together. The much more abundant and better stratified remains from Phaistos have proven to be indispensable for filling gaps in the pottery sequence at Kommos, and in particular for fleshing out the MM IIA ceramic phase and identifying an early stage of MM IIB. In return,

Table 3.2. Some Phaistian contexts dated differently by Fiandra (1961–62; 1973; 1980; 1990) and by Levi and Carinci (1988).

Context	Levi and Carinci	Fiandra
Room LXIII, bench	MM IIA lower two levels	End MM IB
Drain below rooms LIX, LX, LXIV	MM I–IIB	MM IB–IIA
Grotta M	MM IIB and later	MM IIA

stratified pottery evidence from Building AA at Kommos has been useful for clarifying some chronological issues at Phaistos, as will be demonstrated in this study.

PROBLEMS OF PHAISTIAN PROTOPALATIAL CHRONOLOGY

Since Doro Levi's 1950s and 1960s excavations in the west wing of the First Palace at Phaistos, Protopalatial ceramic chronology at that site has been at the center of an unresolved debate (cf. La Rosa 1995). Levi rejected Arthur Evans's Knossian chronology and proposed his own tripartite scheme with Protopalatial phases I, II, and III. Levi's phase I was further subdivided into phases IA and IB. All these phases were both ceramic and architectural phases. In Levi's view, phases IB, II, and III ended in destructions, each covered by a layer of *calcestruzzo* ("concrete") on top of which the structures of the next architectural phase were built (Levi 1960: 121; 1976: 7–9, 16–21; 1981; La Rosa 1995: 881–84). Even though Levi's ideas met with much criticism (Platon 1961; 1968; Zois 1965), his chronology was accepted by Betancourt (1985a: 66), Watrous (1994: 739) and, to some extent, Walberg (1987: 98–99).

A different Phaistian chronology has been proposed and used since the early 1960s by excavation architect Enrica Fiandra, who identifies four architectural periods in the palace, based primarily on changes in building styles and the composition of mortar and plaster (Fiandra 1961–62; 1973; 1980; 1990; La Rosa 1995: 884–87). The pottery styles associated with Fiandra's four architectural periods form a sequence that closely corresponds to Evans's ceramic chronology at Knossos. Fiandra's Periods 1 and 4 approximately agree with Levi's phases IA and III, respectively, and her Periods 2 and 3 are roughly contemporary with Levi's phases IB and II (Fiandra 1961–62: 125); but in fact the deposits assigned to Fiandra's Periods 2 and 3 differ substantially from those of Levi's phases IB and II, and so do their ceramic characteristics. Fiandra rejects Levi's identification of phases IB and II as architectural phases, interpreting them instead as two storeys of her Period 3 palace. The final destruction of the Old Palace, in her view, took place not at the end of her Period 4 but at the end of Period 3, contemporary with the final Protopalatial destruction at Knossos. Fiandra, unlike Levi, recognizes only one layer of *calcestruzzo*, laid over the final Protopalatial destruction level of Period 3. Being in agreement with Evans's phasing, Fiandra's chronology has gained acceptance primarily among British archaeologists.[8]

Table 3.3. Approximate synchronization of ceramic phases at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci, Fiandra), Kommos (Betancourt, Van de Moortel), and Knossos (Evans).

Levi and Carinci	Fiandra	Betancourt, Van de Moortel	Evans
Phase IA	Period 1	MM IB	MM IB
Phase IB Early	Period 2	MM IIA[11]	MM IIA
Phase IB Final/II	Period 3	MM IIB	MM IIB
FINAL PROTOPALATIAL DESTRUCTION			
Phase III	Period 4	MM III	MM III

Whereas Fiandra has maintained her position over the years, Levi and his coworker Filippo Carinci have made several important revisions, bringing Levi's pottery chronology much closer to that of Fiandra and Evans. In their monumental 1988 study of some 3,000 MM vases from Levi's excavations, they agreed that the pottery of the phase IB and II floor deposits, even though belonging to two different architectural phases, is ceramically similar and must date to the same stylistic phase (Levi and Carinci 1988: 299, 303).[9] A second important step was their subdivision of Levi's phase IB into two stages. Phase IB Early, also referred to as transitional phase IA/IB Early, is represented by the pottery found below the latest floors of the palace. It is stratigraphically separated and stylistically distinct from the vases of the phase IB Final destruction horizon (Levi and Carinci 1988: 300–301). Phase IB Early is roughly equivalent to Evans's MM IIA phase, and its contexts correspond closely, but still not entirely, to those of Fiandra's Period 2. Some of the differences are noted in Table 3.2.

With those revisions, Levi and Carinci's pottery phases now roughly parallel Fiandra's and Evans's chronological subdivisions. More recently, Carinci has concluded that not phase III but phase IB Final/II was the last Protopalatial ceramic phase at Phaistos and that phase III was the first Neopalatial phase (Carinci 1989: 73, 78). Finally, Carinci and his coworkers have abandoned Levi's terminology in favor of Evans's terms MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB (Speziale 1993: 540–44; Carinci 1997; 1999).[10]

In the wake of these revisions, a set of *approximate* synchronisms of ceramic phases in the western Mesara and Knossos may be proposed, as shown in Table 3.3.

Even though there is now substantial common ground between Fiandra and Carinci in their dating of contexts, they still differ significantly about the chronology of specific ceramic styles. This is a result not only of their different dating of some contexts but also of disagreements on the dates of vases found within the same contexts. For instance, even though both

parties agree that Bastione II on the West Court was constructed in the MM IIA phase, Fiandra assigns most complete vases from that construction fill to the end of MM IB, whereas many are dated to MM IIA by Levi and Carinci. Vases from a mixed context below Room 11 dated to MM IIA and MM IIB by Fiandra are considered by Levi and Carinci to be mostly MM IIB in date.[12]

The differences of opinion between Fiandra and Levi and Carinci mostly pertain to the characteristics of the MM IIA and MM IIB phases. Broadly speaking, Fiandra, like Evans, sees MM IIA as the most flourishing phase of Protopalatial pottery and architecture, having produced pottery of the highest quality and variability. The MM IIB phase, in her view, is one of decline (Fiandra 1973: 90; 1980: 169). In Levi and Carinci's view, however, the MM IIB pottery phase is the high point of the Protopalatial period and produced high-quality Kamares vases with the most intricate and dynamic polychrome painted patterns (Levi and Carinci 1988: 299), even though the authors admit to some deterioration in the surface finish of many MM IIB vases. Levi and Carinci's position is supported by Betancourt and to a large extent by Walberg, although Walberg's highest-quality phase—Classical Kamares—begins in the MM IIA phase and continues into MM IIIA (Betancourt 1985a: 96; 1990: 32–34; Walberg 1987: 122–25).

It is difficult to make an informed choice between Levi's and Fiandra's chronologies on the basis of the available evidence, because Fiandra's publications are short and do not provide much stratigraphic detail. Moreover, Fiandra has provided explicit dates for only ca. 150 Protopalatial vases and fragments, in contrast with the ca. 2,500 Protopalatial vases dated and discussed by Levi and Carinci. In spite of the paucity of the evidence published by Fiandra, it is possible to establish that she disagrees with Levi and Carinci on the history of two important vessel types and a number of specific decorative patterns, which also occur in stratified contexts in Building AA at Kommos. The wheel-thrown low teacup, according to Fiandra, appears at Phaistos in the MM IB phase and continues into MM IIB (Fiandra 1973: pls. 27g–d, 30b.1–2; 1990: figs. 7, 20, 21, 22, 23), whereas in Levi and Carinci's view it does not occur until late in MM IIB (Levi and Carinci 1988: 189–93, 300).[13] Bridge-spouted jars with grooved horizontal strap handles are dated by Fiandra to her MM IIA and MM IIB phases (Fiandra 1961–62: pl. KH'.2–3; 1973: pl. 28a–b; cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 55c, 56o) but by Levi and Carinci no earlier than MM IIB (Levi and Carinci 1988: 123–24). In terms of specific decorative designs, the most striking difference of opinion relates to the wavy-line pattern (cf. FM 53), which is dated by Fiandra to MM IIA and MM IIB (Fiandra 1973: pls. 27g–d, 30b.1–2; 1980: pl. 40.1) but by Levi and Carinci to MM IIB (Levi and Carinci 1988: 193).

Levi and Carinci's dates of these morphological and decorative features are quite well supported by Walberg, who assigns low teacups, bridge-spouted jars with horizontal strap handles, and the wavy-line pattern to her Classical Kamares phase (Walberg 1976: 93, 125, 179, figs. 7.8, 34). Betancourt dates low teacups and fine bridge-spouted jars with grooved strap handles at Kommos to both the MM IIA and MM IIB phases; however, close study shows that all his purported MM IIA examples come from contexts that include at least

some, or even a majority of, MM IIB pottery, and thus there is no reason for not dating them to MM IIB.[14] Betancourt did not find vases with wavy-line patterns in good Protopalatial contexts.[15] MacGillivray in his comprehensive study of Protopalatial pottery from Knossos dates wheel-thrown teacups (his Types 3–6) to MM IB–IIB and bridge-spouted jars with horizontal grooved strap handles (his Types 4 and 5) to MM IIA–IIB, in agreement with Fiandra. In contrast with Fiandra, however, he dates the wavy-line pattern at Knossos to MM IIB–IIIA (MacGillivray 1998: 62–64, 75–76, 79–80).

It is argued in the present study that the stratified data from Building AA at Kommos support Levi and Carinci's chronology over Fiandra's. In particular, the new Kommian data make it very clear that low teacups, bridge-spouted jars with grooved strap handles flattened at their attachments, the painted wavy-line pattern, and intricate, dynamic polychrome patterns in general do not appear before the MM IIB phase, as Levi and Carinci have argued. Since Levi and Carinci have published much more pottery and more stratigraphic detail than Fiandra, their sequence will be the one mostly used in the present study. Fiandra's dates will be mentioned when they diverge from Levi and Carinci's.

A NEW SUBPHASE AT PHAISTOS AND KOMMOS: MM IIB EARLY

The Phaistian and Kommian sequences combined represent by far the best-known regional Protopalatial pottery chronology published anywhere in Crete,[16] owing not only to the abundance of finds but also to the minute detail in which Levi and Carinci have documented the chronological development of each single vase shape and decorative pattern, paying as much attention to higher-quality as to utilitarian vessels.[17]

Phaistian Protopalatial chronology, as interpreted by Levi and Carinci, relies on a well-stratified sequence in Room IL of the First Palace, complemented by a short MM IB–IIA sequence in Room β at Aghia Photini—the settlement area on the north slope of the palace hill—as well as two MM IIA–IIB sequences found in Room LXIII of the palace and Room CVII on the Acropoli Mediana, an area of the settlement located a few hundred meters west of the palace (Table 3.4; Levi 1976: 604–29).[18] Furthermore, stratified MM IB and MM IIB Late floor deposits were found in Room LXV of the palace, and in Rooms IC, C, CIII of a house located west of the West Court. A sounding below Room 11 of the New Palace uncovered a poorly understood context with MM IIB and earlier debris, stratified over the remains of a large plaster-lined wooden box or "larnax" containing MM IB pottery (Levi 1976: 361–68).

Represented by 192 vases from these and other contexts, the MM IB phase at Phaistos is fairly well established. Its characteristics are largely agreed on by Fiandra and by Levi and Carinci (Table 3.5).[19]

The MM IIA contexts are further enriched by finds from elsewhere at Phaistos, in particular the latest pottery from the construction fill of Bastione II. With a corpus of 415 vases, the MM IIA phase, as interpreted by Levi and Carinci, is quite well known at Phaistos; however, as at Kommos, it suffers from a lack of stratigraphic isolation, being always mixed with MM IB or MM IIB debris.[20] The ambiguities surrounding its delineation have led to the

Table 3.4. Protopalatial stratified sequences in the palace and settlement at Phaistos. Thick black horizontal lines represent floors (after Levi and Carinci 1988: 299–302; for the dating of the fill below the floor of Room IL to MM IIA rather than MM IB, see the text).

	Palace Room IL	Palace Room LXIII	Palace Room LXV	Palace Rooms XXVII–XXVIII	Palace below Room 11	House Rooms IC, C, CIII	Acropoli Mediana Room CVII	Aghia Photini Room β	Bastione II	Chalara below Room ι′
MM IIB Late	Floor deposit	Floor deposit	Floor deposit	Floor deposit	Mixed debris	Floor deposit	Floor deposit			
										Fill
MM IIB Early	Bench fill									
MM IIA	Fill	Bench fill, two lower levels					Fill	Floor deposit with few earlier and later vases	Fill	
MM IB			Floor deposit		Larnax fill	Floor deposit		Bench fill		
Prepalatial				Fill						

Table 3.5. Chronological distribution of MM IA–IIB pottery from Phaistos and the number of contexts in which it was found (based on dates given by Levi and Carinci 1988: 311–51).

Ceramic Phase	Number of Contexts	Number of Vases/Sherds	Percentage of Vases/Sherds
MM IA	4	35	1.6
MM IB	23	192	9.0
MM IIA	27	415	19.4
MM IIB Early	2	11	0.5
MM IIB Late	85	1,484	69.5
Total		**2,137**	

greatest discrepancies between Fiandra's and Levi and Carinci's chronologies. There is much more agreement regarding the ceramic characteristics of the late MM IIB destruction contexts at Phaistos, which are very abundant, having yielded almost 1,500 vases and large fragments.

An examination of two contexts at Phaistos offers the possibility of refining Protopalatial chronology even more, by subdividing the MM IIB phase into an early and a late stage. Carinci was the first scholar to detect that a few contexts at Phaistos contained pottery that was MM IIB in character but seemed to be somewhat earlier in date than the pottery from the final Protopalatial destruction horizons.[21] The most important MM IIB Early context at Phaistos is a large pottery fill of 125 vases found inside the bench built against the north wall of Room IL in the palace. This bench fill is stratigraphically earlier than the MM IIB destruction debris that was found on top of the bench and the floor of Room IL, and it is stratigraphically later than the floor of Room IL, on which the bench is standing (Table 3.4). The pottery fill below the floor includes MM IB vases but also some that are datable to MM IIA, providing a *terminus ad* or *post quem* for the laying of the floor.[22]

The large majority of the pottery vessels found within the bench of Room IL are MM IB and MM IIA in date; however, six vases look more advanced. Four of those are indistinguishable from the latest MM IIB pottery of the destruction deposits at Phaistos, and date the closing of the bench fill to the MM IIB phase. They include two conical cups with bases that have sloping interior surfaces (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 100i, k). Such sloping transition of the interior base to the wall is standard among Type C/D conical cups of the MM IIB destruction contexts and clearly differs from the "hollowed-out" base interiors of wheel-thrown MM IIA Type C/D conical cups found below Room CVII (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 100b–c, g, l, m). Also appearing for the first time in the bench fill of Room IL are two carinated cups with low carinations typical of MM IIB destruction contexts (F.53, F.89; Levi and Carinci 1988: 197, pl. 90h; Levi 1976: pl. 130w).[23] Carinated cups with such low carinations are not found in MM IB or MM IIA contexts at Phaistos.

Two other vases from the bench fill in Room IL resemble MM IIB Late shapes, but appear to be somewhat earlier in character, and for this reason are here assigned to an MM IIB Early subphase. One is a new conical cup type with a shallow convex bowl and a ledge rim, corresponding to the Kommian Type A (F.457; Levi and Carinci 1988: 244, pl. 102v; cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 35). Type A conical cups never occur in MM IB or MM IIA contexts but are found in MM IIB Late destruction contexts at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 102w, y-a'). MM IIB Late examples have strongly projecting ledge rims, however, whereas cup F.457 from the bench fill in Room IL has a weakly developed rim and looks less advanced.

A second vase from the bench fill of Room IL that can be assigned stylistically to an MM IIB Early subphase is fine bridge-spouted jar F.189 (Levi and Carinci 1988: 124, pl. 54l; Levi 1976: pl. XXXIVc). This jar has grooved horizontal strap handles, a feature that never occurs in MM IB or MM IIA contexts at Phaistos but is standard in the MM IIB Late destruction

deposits. However, whereas MM IIB Late bridge-spouted jar handles are flattened at their attachments, the handles of bridge-spouted jar F.189 are not but have carefully finished grooves that continue all the way down. It is argued here that such well-finished bridge-spouted jar handles preserving their grooves are typical of the beginnining of the MM IIB phase.

A bridge-spouted jar and carinated cup with similar characteristics have been found in a pottery fill below the floor of Room ι′ at Chalara (South), the area of the Phaistian settlement that is located on the south slope of the palace hill (F.4350; Levi and Carinci 1988: 124, fig. 35; Levi 1976: pl. 112a; and F.4361; Levi and Carinci 1988: 197; Levi 1976: pl. 132h).[24] Since these new morphological characteristics in the bench fill of Room IL and in the fill below Room ι′ at Chalara are stylistically much closer to MM IIB destruction than to MM IIA features, we feel justified in assigning them to an MM IIB Early rather than an MM IIA Late stage.

The morphological differences between MM IIB Early and Late Type A conical cups and fine bridge-spouted jars are admittedly very small, and published MM IIB Early pottery from Phaistos is extremely rare. It would be very difficult to argue for the existence of an MM IIB Early subphase based on this meager evidence from Phaistos alone. One could, for instance, suggest that the latest vases from the bench fill in Room IL and the fill below Room ι′ at Chalara are simply variants of MM IIB Late vase types. The validity of the MM IIB Early subphase is amply supported, however, by the new evidence from the Southern Area at Kommos. A number of large pottery fills from this area—the fill found east of the Classical Round Building (Trench 20B; see above) and the foundation fills of Building AA (published here)—in all, numbering in the tens of thousands of fragments, were undoubtedly closed in the MM IIB Early subphase. They have yielded abundant examples of MM IIB conical cups of Type C/D and MM IIB Early fine bridge-spouted jars with strap handles preserving their grooves down to the handle attachments. In contrast, in spite of their large size, they do not include a single example of MM IIB Late conical cups of Types A or J with well-developed rims or bridge-spouted jars with flattened handle attachments. Neither do they include any of the other diagnostic MM IIB Late morphological features found in final Protopalatial contexts at Phaistos and Kommos, such as low teacups, standardized flaring straight-sided cups, wheel-thrown concave-flaring bowls, deep globular bowls, or pitharakia. Equally lacking are popular MM IIB Late decorative patterns such as horizontal rows of running spirals (FM 46), scale designs (FM 70), wavy-line patterns, and multiple horizontal wavy lines (cf. FM 53; see below). Like the bench fill of Room IL at Phaistos, the construction fills of Building AA were clearly separated stratigraphically from overlying MM IIB Late floor pottery. Thus the MM IIB Early pottery groups at Kommos and Phaistos are not only stylistically but also stratigraphically well distinguished from MM IIB Late assemblages. The pottery fill east of the Round Building seems to be largely MM IIB Early in date, including little earlier pottery, and can be considered to be a type deposit of the new subphase. This pottery fill needs to be republished in the future and is expected to provide more diagnostic features distinguishing MM IIB Early from MM IIA and MM IIB Late assemblages.

Table 3.6. Protopalatial pottery groups from the Southern Area at Kommos published in this volume, with numbers of sherds and mendable vases.

Ceramic Phase	Contexts	Sherd Count	Mendable Vases
MM IA–IIB Early	A–Ji	27,361	
	X–Z	822	3
MM IIB Late	K–M, O	1,972	39
	N	143	
Total		**30,298**	**42**

The Pottery from the Southern Area at Kommos

The present chapter deals with the MM IA and Protopalatial pottery from Building AA and the area just to the south of it, which was mostly excavated between 1991 and 1997. Yielding over 30,000 fragments, these contexts are much more abundant than those published by Betancourt; however, their stratigraphy is simpler (Table 3.6).

The overwhelming majority of ceramic fragments—more than 28,000—are MM IA–IIB Early in date. Of these, more than 27,000 come from soundings made into large foundation fills of Building AA (Groups A–Ji) and are mixed MM IA, MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early. The other MM IA–IIB Early pottery (822 fragments) was found in a few small contexts to the east and south of Building AA (Groups X, Y, Z). Stratified above the AA construction fills were several MM IIB Late contexts, yielding more than 2,000 pottery fragments. They include four pottery groups (K–M, O) with 39 mendable MM IIB Late vases that appear to represent use material of Building AA as well as three single mendable vases (**C/1**, C 3352; C 9785). In addition, a small MM IIB Late fill or dump of unmendable fragments (Group N) was found stratified on top of a construction fill in Location 10.

In spite of its coarse stratigraphy, this pottery merits publication for various reasons. It provides us with the construction and destruction dates of Building AA and informs us about activities at the site both before and during the lifetime of Building AA. Ceramic fragments are by far the most numerous finds from pre-AA levels in the Southern Area, and they constitute our main source of information on the early Protopalatial history of Kommos. We are now also in a better position to compare Kommian and Phaistian pottery distribution and consumption patterns. From a purely ceramic viewpoint, the assemblages from the Southern Area considerably expand our knowledge of the classes of MM IB–IIB vases that were consumed at Kommos, especially during the MM IB through MM IIA phases, when pottery shows an enormous morphological variability (Table 3.7). At the same time, the new pottery evidence allows us to establish MM IIB Early as a new chronological subphase at Kommos and Phaistos. Last but not least, as has been shown above, the pottery contexts from

Table 3.7. Chronological distribution of contexts and of local MM IA–IIB pottery from Kommos published by Betancourt (1990) and in the present volume.
Two of Betancourt's MM IIA contexts have been redated (see the text).

Ceramic Phase	Number of Contexts Published by Betancourt	Number of Contexts Published in This Volume	Vases/Sherds Published by Betancourt	Vases/Sherds Published in This Volume	Total of Published Vases/Sherds	Percentages
MM IA	2?		5	10	15	1.3
MM IA–B				5	5	0.4
MM IB	7	1	193	42	235	21
MM IB–IIA	2	1	39	18	57	5
MM IIA	3		182	7	189	16.8
MM IIB Early	1			7	7	0.6
MM IB–IIB Early		23		74	74	6.6
MM IIA–IIB Early	1	1		3	3	0.3
MM IIB Late	10	5	314	23	337	30
MM IIA–B	1		167	12	179	16
MM IB–IIB			11	11	22	2
Total	**27**	**31**	**911**	**212**	**1,123**	

Building AA also contribute to resolving the long-standing controversy between Fiandra and Levi and Carinci, providing new evidence in support of Levi and Carinci's ceramic chronology at Phaistos.

In view of the scarcity of well-stratified Protopalatial sequences from Kommos, especially with respect to the MM IB and MM IIA phases, it was decided to publish here also some stratified pottery groups found outside Building AA (Groups X–Z), which help differentiate the MM IB phase from later Protopalatial phases. These include an MM IA–IB fill of large pottery fragments (Group X) stratified below a construction fill of Building AA (Group Jg), and a short stratigraphic sequence found in a partially excavated building south of Building AA, consisting of a small MM IB/IIA construction fill (Group Y), stratified below an earthen floor and a small MM IIA/IIB Early floor deposit or homogeneous dump (Group Z) with parts of three mendable vases.

Since sizable amounts of Protopalatial pottery from Kommos have already been published by Betancourt, it is not necessary to describe and illustrate here in full all representative pieces. From the AA construction fills, only those pottery fragments have been selected that provide crucial information on the building date or that are representative of shapes or vessel

types not previously published from Kommos.[25] All other pieces from the building fills have been omitted from the catalogue, but they are included in the discussions. In contrast, all mendable vases of the use pottery from Building AA (Groups K–M, and O) as well as an imported fragment from Group N are included in the catalogue.

The present study describes chronological developments in each single class of pottery, as did Betancourt, Levi, and Carinci. Rather than focusing narrowly on "type fossils," or isolated vase types with a particular shape and decoration diagnostic for a specific ceramic phase (MacGillivray 1998: 65), this study documents developments in the entire pottery assemblage, capturing the rhythms of change of each individual morphological type, decorative pattern, and technological style. Only in this way is it possible to reach a broad as well as an in-depth understanding of pottery developments.

Late Prepalatial and Most of the Protopalatial Period: Middle Minoan IA–Middle Minoan IIB Early

Nearly all the MM IA–IIB Early pottery from the Southern Area comes from soundings in large mixed construction fills (secondary contexts) found in association with Building AA (Groups A–Ji: Pls. 3.2–3.12, 3.17–3.20; Table 3.6; see Chap. 1.1, Locations 1–10). This pottery is in general unmendable and lightly to heavily worn; most fragments show use wear (see T-Space pottery tables). Another three pottery groups from two short stratigraphic sequences were uncovered to the east and south of Building AA. An almost pure MM IB pottery fill with an admixture of MM IA fragments (Group X) was found on bedrock in a ca. 1.50×1.30 m sounding east of Building AA (Pls. 3.1–3.2). It covered a thin wall built on bedrock and was stratified below a construction fill of Building AA (Group Jg), which in turn was covered by an earthen surface at +3.17/3.12 m, a construction fill of Building T consisting almost entirely of AA material (Group Jh), and the paved north-south road 34. Being only lightly worn but largely unmendable, Group X represents a dumped fill (secondary context) rather than a primary dump. Found adjacent to a foundation wall of Building AA, it may be an earlier fill cut by the AA foundation, or it may be part of the AA construction fills themselves.

To the south of Building AA, a sounding of ca. 1.5×1 m revealed part of a structure with a short stratigraphic sequence. An earthen floor with an MM IB/IIA dumped fill (Group Y) on top was covered by a plaster floor, which in turn was superimposed by a small MM IIA/IIB Early assemblage (Group Z) with three mendable vases and crucible fragment C 11659 (Pl. 3.2). Because of its high mendability and homogeneous date, Group Z is likely to represent a primary context, either a floor deposit (purposeful discard) or a dump (casual discard). Its pottery is moderately worn.

In the pottery catalogue, Groups X, Y, and Z are presented before Groups A–Ji because they are more narrowly datable. Since they represent different episodes of deposition, they are illustrated as separate groups (Pls. 3.1–3.2). In contrast, the vases of Groups A–Ji and

ungrouped vase C 11131, listed at the end of this catalogue section, are mixed in the illustrations as if they form a single ceramic group (Pls. 3.3–3.13). The reason for this arrangement is that all this pottery comes from AA construction fills that are comparable in their composition and were deposited at roughly the same time. The vases in the latter groups were selected, not as representative of their individual groups, but of the AA construction fills as a whole. The illustrated vases are organized by shape, from small to large. Inscribed vases (Pls. 3.17A–B) and nonlocal vases (Pls. 3.18–3.20) are illustrated separately.

Group X

Date:	MM IB
Total sherds:	482
Weight (grams):	10,250
Trench/pail(s):	62E/109, 110, 111, 112
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	Homogeneous fill east of Building AA, below paved road 34, from ca. +3.07 to +2.48 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 59 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	*Kouskouras*
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group Jg (MM II)

X/1 (C 11690). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.1.

Hand-modeled, leaving two parallel probably downward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower body.

MM IA. Roughly similar comparanda as for **A/1**. Betancourt 1990: 72 no. 128, fig. 15, pl. 6 (MM IB Kommos, context 7); Levi and Carinci 1988: 234–35, figs. 54b, d; Levi 1976: pl. 16l, q, s, t; Benzi 2001: fig. 5c; Fiandra 1973: 86, pl. 34b; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3a (Patrikies); Banti 1930–31: 179 no. 64, fig. 37b; Cultraro 2000: pl. 3 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, annex room L).

X/2 (C 11717). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.1.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel upward-oriented finger impressions on exterior lower body. Interior and exterior upper body wheel-finished.

MM IB. Betancourt 1990: 145 no. 969, fig. 44 (Kommos); Levi and Carinci 1988: 235, pl. 99h; Levi 1976: pl. 35e′, h′, i′ (Phaistos).

X/3 (C 11718). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.1.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel downward-oriented finger impressions on exterior lower body.

MM IA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 234–235, fig. 54c; Levi 1976: pl. 16r (Patrikies).

X/4 (C 11693). Carinated or rounded cup. Pl. 3.1.

Too little preserved to determine manufacturing technique.

MM IB. Quality of manufacture and handle shape similar to that of **Ja/6**, but handle placed higher. Comparanda are MM IIA–B and not very close: Betancourt 1986: fig. 3.7 (Kommos); Levi and Carinci 1988: 214–15; Levi 1976: fig. 902, pls. 130n, q, w, 135 (Phaistos).

X/5 (C 8622). Cylindrical (spouted) basin. Pl. 3.1.

Coil-built. No trace of spout. Lateral lugs on either side of body, one preserved.

MM IB–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 25, pl. 13p–q (Phaistos).

X/6 (C 11694). Open-spouted or bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.1.

Interior surface entirely worn away. Body too little preserved to determine manufacturing technique or decoration.

MM IA/B. Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–19, fig. 31, pl. 53a (Phaistos). Cf. **Y/1** but handles more slanted: possibly MM IB.

X/7 (C 11721). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.1.

Coil-built. Globular body, overfired.

MM IA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 54; Levi 1976: 755, pl. 16a (Patrikies); Carinci 1999: 124, fig. 4 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A); Banti 1930–31, 220–21, figs. 125a, 126–129 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, Camerette Sud); La Rosa 2001: pl. LXXIIIc (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, area of Camerette Sud, pit). Cf. **A/7**, **Jg/5**.

X/8 (C 9200). Jug. Pl. 3.1.

Globular body. Barnacle barbotine modeled from thick suface layer of fine clay, decorated with white-painted dots. Barbotine areas bordered by smooth diagonal strips painted with red bands. Dark drips on interior.

MM IB. Betancourt 1990: 66–67 nos. 58, 72, fig. 13 (Kommos). Fiandra 1961–62: pl. KB'.2; 1973: pl. 25a.2 (Phaistos, end of Period 1); Levi and Carinci 1988: 64, 68–69, pl. 30; Levi 1976: pls. 22b, 84a (Phaistos).

X/9 (C 11720). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.1.

Globular body. Regular rows of barnacle barbotine modeled from thick surface layer of fine clay.

MM IB–IIA. Typically western Mesara; dark-painted dot pattern at Phaistos more common in MM IIA than in MM IB contexts: Levi and Carinci 1988: 68, pl. 32b; Levi 1976: pl. 91f (Phaistos); Cultraro 2000: pl. 2a (Aghia Triada Tholos Tomb A, Camerette Sud); Foster 1982: 14–15, 58. Cf. **Jg/4**.

X/10 (C 11689). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.1.

Body is coarser than neck but insufficiently preserved to determine texture. Neck vertically shaved. Prickle barbotine at interior rim.

MM IB–IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 28a–f, 32b–c; Levi 1976: pls. 22e, 23a, c, f, 91d, g (Phaistos). Cf. **X/11**.

X/11 (C 11691). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.1.

Fine clay coil at upper part of neck interior. Exterior of neck covered by thick fine clay layer. Prickle barbotine at base of neck and lug modeled from fine clay.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 28a, d, f; Levi 1976: pls. 22e, 23a, c, f, 24c (Phaistos). Cf. **X/10**.

X/12 (C 11696). Closed vessel, small. Pl. 3.1.

Coil-built. Globular body, ledge rim. Possible traces of white patterned decoration on the red ground.

MM IB–IIB. The closest comparanda for the collar neck with flattened rim and sloping shoulders are provided by MM IB–IIB tall teapots (It. *bricchi*) from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 103–6, pls. 44–45). Protopalatial small collar-necked jars from Phaistos have comparable shoulders and collar neck but simple rims (Levi and Carinci 1988: 48–49, pl. 24).

X/13 (C 11707). Collar-necked jar? Pl. 3.1.

Too little preserved to determine manufacturing technique. Neck may be monochrome dark coated instead of dark-banded.

MM IB?–IIB. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 21l–m, 22a–b; Levi 1976: pls. 72a, 73c–d (MM IIA–B Phaistos).

X/14 (C 11724). Cylindrical jar. Pl. 3.1.

Coil-built.

MM IB–IIA. Shape: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 6h (Phaistos). Decoration: comparanda as for **Ja/30**.

X/15 (C 8625). Wide-necked jar. Pl. 3.1.

Coil-built. Overhanging ledge below rim. String hole just above ledge, pushed in from exterior; interior of hole solidly dark coated.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. No close comparanda published from the western Mesara or Knossos.

X/16 (C 11692). Jar or amphora. Pl. 3.2.

Coil-built. Coils drawn up (cf. Rye 1981: 72–73). Vertical finger impressions on interior. Lower vessel wall built up of interior and exterior coils. Tiny red (10R 4/8) stains on worn interior of base must be postdepositional.

MM IB. Interior layer: cf. **A/8**, **Je/24**. No comparanda published from elsewhere.

X/17 (C 8624). Pithos. Pls. 3.2, 3.21.

Coil-built; rim formed by folding upper coil over inserted coil. Dark trickle paint is fugitive, whereas black paint of rim band is well preserved: probably overpainted.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi and Carinci 1988: 6–8, fig. 1, pls. 1a, c, e, 2a; Levi 1976: fig. 400, pls. 44a, 47, 167c (MM IIA–B Phaistos).

X/18 (C 11722). Cooking jar or cooking pot, Type A, small. Pl. 3.2.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous yellowish red

to red fabric with gray core, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Hard fired.

MM IB incompletely oxidized. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 15f (Phaistos cooking pot Type A, MM IIB). Cooking jar comparanda as for **Ja/37**.

X/19 (C 11697). Cooking pot, Type A, medium. Pl. 3.2.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow to brown fabric with light brown core, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Hard fired.

MM IB incompletely oxidized. Betancourt 1980: 3–5; 1990: 66, 93 nos. 50, 423, figs. 12, 23 (Kommos); Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 15a–e (Phaistos).

X/20 (C 11698). Cooking dish. Pl. 3.2.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric with light gray core, incompletely oxidized. Handmade. Spout fragment with dipping rim. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Interior and rim exterior buff-slipped. Hard fired.

MM IB incompletely oxidized. Betancourt 1980: 5–7; 1990: 66 no. 48, fig. 12, and passim (Kommos). Cf. Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 75, C 9177 (MM III Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 279, fig. 66 (MM IIB Phaistos). Cf. **Dc/2**.

X/21 (C 11699). Cooking dish. Pl. 3.2.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric fired rather pale, with large light gray core, incompletely oxidized. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Interior and rim exterior buff-slipped and coated red. Hard fired. Fire-darkened.

MM IB incompletely oxidized. Betancourt 1980: 5–7; 1990: 66, 69, 143 nos. 49, 87, 926, 927, figs. 13, 14, 43 (Kommos). Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 29, red coating on Protopalatial cooking vessels. Cf. **Dc/2**. See also red-coated Cycladic trays **Ja/64**, **Je/43**, **Jf/23**.

X/22 (C 11700). Pedestaled lamp, large. Pl. 3.2.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric with large brown core, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Pedestal fragment, MPD 10.7 cm. Exterior buff-slipped, red coated, and burnished. Hard fired.

MM IB incompletely oxidized. Mercando 1974–75: 28–44, 96–104 (Phaistos). Cf. **Je/27**, **Jf/12**, **L/24**.

X/23 (11725). Convex-sided bowl. Pl. 3.18.

Unusually fine, soft reddish yellow fabric with redder core. Wheel-thrown. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Interior pink slipped; exterior painted with red rim band. Horizontal polishing marks on interior, possible traces of polish on exterior. Rim interior too worn to determine decoration.

MM IB context. Knossian fabric: Momigliano 1991: 245–60 (MM IA Knossos); MacGillivray 1998: 55 (MM IB–IIIA Knossos). Manufacturing technique and polished surface: MacGillivray 1998: 94, 128 no. 129, pls. 5, 45 (MM IB Knossos). Dark-on-light patterning: MacGillivray 1998: 122, 127 nos. 19, 125, pls. 1, 5, 44 (MM IB Knossos).

X/24 (11695). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.18.

Spout fragment with unusually fine reddish yellow fabric and light red core. Formed by folding coil. Interior and exterior smoothed. Interior slip yellow, exterior very pale brown. Exterior polished before decoration, unlike Knossian **Ja/55** and East Cretan vases (cf. **Je/36**, **Db/1**). Exterior painted with black to dark reddish brown bands.

MM IB context. Knossian fabric. Comparanda as for **X/23**.

Group Y

Date:	MM IB–IIA
Total sherds:	151
Weight (grams):	1,830
Trench/pail(s):	90B/31, 32, 33, and joins in 29, 30
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; fills on top of clayey floor south of Building AA, at +0.96/0.95 m,

	covered by MM IIA plaster floor at ca. +1.45 m; partially excavated
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 49–50 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Sterile sand until water table at +0.50 m
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group Z (MM IIA/early MM IIB)

Table 3.8. Pottery Group Y.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	10	14	13	39	47	28
As % of total	6.6	9.3	8.6	25.8	31.1	18.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	42	113	95	470	700	410
As % of total	2.3	6.2	5.2	25.7	38.2	22.4

Y/1 (C 11668). Open-spouted jar. Pl. 3.2.

Coil-built. Fabric has pale greenish tinge. Traces of black paint.

MM IA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–17, fig. 31 (Patrikies).

Y/2 (C 11663). Conical basin. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed, white slipped, and painted with red horizontal band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Group Z

Date:	MM IIA/early MM IIB
Total sherds:	189
Weight (grams):	2,300
Trench/pail(s):	90B/22, 29, 30, and joins in 21
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	Floor deposit or homogeneous dump on plaster floor south of Building AA, at ca. +1.45 m, and fill above to +1.55 m; partially excavated
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group Y (MM IIA)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	MM III–LM IA earth-and-pebble floor (90B/3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 21)

Table 3.9. Pottery Group Z.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	28	4	17	63	40	37
As % of total	14.8	2.1	9.0	33.3	21.2	19.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	90	10	120	1,060	660	360
As % of total	3.9	0.4	5.2	46.1	28.7	15.7

Z/1 (C 11672). Conical bowl, fruit stand, or *louter*, large. Pl. 3.2.

Body preserved almost to base. Coil-built. Joining of outer rim coil facilitated by series of wide parallel-slanted U-sectioned scorings in inner coil. Thick interior surface layer of very fine buff clay, burnished.

MM IB–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 14, 18, 22, pls. 9a–b, 10e, 11a, 12p; Levi 1976: pls. 55, 57a, 60f, 62b–c (Phaistos); Betancourt 1990: 87–88 nos. 308–310, fig. 20 (Kommos). Cf. **Ba/6**.

Z/2 (C 11671). Jug, large. Pl. 3.2.

Coil-built. Coils drawn up. Vertical finger impressions on interior.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. No comparanda published for manufacturing technique.

Z/3 (C 11670). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.2.

Coil-built; interior surface of shoulder has vertical finger impressions where counterpressure was applied during handle attachment. Short neck and broad flat handles are Protopalatial.

MM IIA–B white-bordered dark-on-light curvilinear motif: Levi and Carinci 1988: 41; Levi 1976: pl. 70a, d (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 158 no. 1255, fig. 51 (MM IIB Kommos). Tzigounaki 1995: 902–4 no. π 7662, fig. 5α, pl. 4α–β (MM II Apodoulou), pl. 10α (Monastiraki).

Group A

Date: Mostly MM IB, some MM IIA, MM IIB?
Total sherds: 742
Weight (grams): 8,180
Trench/pail(s): 86E/66, 67, 68, 69
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, below Central Court (just north of Archaic Building Q) from +2.52/2.34 to +2.30/2.16 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 18–22 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: *Kouskouras* in some places
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial pebble court of T, with Archaic contamination (86E/64, 65)

A/1 (C 9840). Conical cup, Kommos Type C Pl. 3.2.

Irregular height. Hand-modeled, leaving shallow parallel downward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower body. Deeper and more regular upward-oriented finger impressions around base were applied later.

Table 3.10. Pottery Group A.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	47	63	109	257	216	50
As % of total	6.3	8.5	14.7	34.6	29.1	6.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	225	215	905	2,950	3,060	825
As % of total	2.7	2.6	11.1	36.1	37.4	10.1

MM IA. Roughly same comparanda as for **X/1.** Betancourt 1990: 73 no. 135, fig. 15, pl. 6 (Kommos MM IB context 8; cup drawn too steep). Levi and Carinci 1988: 234–35, figs. 54b, d; Levi 1976: pl. 16l, q, s, t; Benzi 2001: fig. 5c; Fiandra 1973: 86, pl. 34a; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3a (Patrikies). Banti 1930–31: 179 no. 64, fig. 37b; Cultraro 2000: pl. 3 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A annex room L).

A/2 (C 9851). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.2.

Hand-modeled, leaving two rows of upward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower body. Regular, wheel-finished rim. Burnt patch on interior possibly from use as a lamp.

MM IB wheel-finished rim; shape close to MM IA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 235, pl. 99k (Phaistos).

A/3 (C 9860). Convex-sided bowl, small. Pl. 3.4.

Unusual fabric color and inclusions. Coil-built. Body vertically scraped, leaving slight facets. Burnished exterior, interior, and base. Fired unusually hard. Burnt area on body.

Prepalatial?

A/4 (C 9843). Cylindrical bowl, pyxis or bucket jar, small. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built; vertical finger impressions on interior. Medium coarse with fine coils on interior and exterior. Shape uncertain. Four horizontal grooves impressed in fine coil in handle zone. Various shades of red on exterior: curved ("orange") red band around handle attachment; traces of ("purple") dark red to the left; alternating pale yellow and ("orange") red bands above base.

MM IB–IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 137–38, 158, 164, pls. 59e, g, 60d, 69g; Levi 1976: fig. 731, pls. XLIb, 39d, g, k, 59f (Phaistos).

A/5 (C 9850). Flaring bowl, deep, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built, rim wheel-finished. Parallel slanted finger impressions at base, upright: base modeled when upside down. Fine very pale brown slip covers interior and reaches over exterior rim and upper body over 2.5 cm. Double or triple pendent ("orange") red loops at rim.

MM IB. Decorative pattern similar to that of EM III–MM I "South Cretan White-on-Dark decoration." Betancourt 1990: 74 no. 139 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 224, pl. 95i; Levi 1976: pl. 36m (Phaistos). Cf. **Ja/15**, **Ja/16**, **Ja/17**, **L/10**.

A/6 (C 9845). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.9.

Reconstruction of base probably wrong; only published example with complete profile (from Aghia Triada, MM IA) is more squat. Plastic ridges made of medium-coarse fabric. Handle attached to neck at an angle.

MM IA (–MM IB). Banti 1930–31, fig. 133a (Aghia Triada Tholos Tomb A, Camerette Sud). Bonacasa 1967–68: figs. 33a, 34; Levi 1976: fig. 1206 (Patrikies). Betancourt 1990: 67, 145–46 nos. 76, 963, 1000, figs. 13, 44, pls. 4, 54 fragments (Kommos MM IB).

A/7 (C 11212). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.9.

Coil-built.

MM IA. Comparanda as for **X/7**. Cf. **Jg/5**.

A/8 (C 11408). Jar, large. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Medium-coarse coil or layer at inte-

rior turn to base. Traces of polychrome decoration: one or two dark red bands and fugitive white.

MM IB–IIB Early. Interior layer: cf. **Je/24**, **X/16**. No comparanda published from other sites.

A/9 (C 9856). Jug or jar, small. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Nonjoining rim fragment preserves beginning of pulled spout; location is uncertain. Partially preserved lug handle below rim. Fragment of coil handle possibly belongs, but its location is uncertain as well. Carefully made vase. Exterior and rim interior covered by a thin fine very pale brown slip. Possibly traces of red paint on exterior and white band at rim.

MM IB–IIB. No convincing comparanda from the western Mesara or Knossos. Closest comparanda are spouted jars and wide-mouthed jugs from Phaistos, but none have lugs; they are either unpainted or decorated with simple dark-painted patterns (Levi and Carinci 1988: 37–38, 88–89, pls. 17c–k, 39a–k). Cf. Phaistian basket-handled jars (Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 67g–h, 68a–b).

A/10 (C 11509). Jug or jar, large. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse pink fabric with very pale brown self-slip on the exterior; completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Coil-built. Interior and exterior surfaces summarily wet-smoothed, leaving horizontal and diagonal wiping marks on the interior. Exterior diagonal black band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Group Ba

Date:	Mostly MM IB, some MM IA, MM IIA, and MM IIB
Total sherds:	380
Weight (grams):	6,669
Trench/pail(s):	37A/66, 68, 69, and joins in 61
Cross joins:	Group Bd (**Ba/6**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, below pebble floor at northwest corner of Central Court (below N Space 6), east of Group Bb, from +2.76/2.70 to +2.55/1.99 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	21–71 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial pebble court of T (37A/61)

Ba/1 (C 7216). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown, very thin walled.

MM IIA–B. Betancourt 1990: 31–35, 80 nos. 220, 221, fig. 18 (MM IIB Early Kommos). Van de Moortel 1997: 34–38, fig. 5 (MM IIB Kommos, conical cup Type C). Levi and Carinci 1988: 238–39, pl. 100d, t, w, x, y (Phaistos, MM IIB Early fill below room CVII; final MM IIB destruction).

Ba/2 (C 7215). Conical cup, Kommos Type C/D. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown, somewhat thicker-walled than **Ba/1**, and base interior not hollow.

MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 152 nos. 1126, 1133, figs. 47–48; Van de Moortel 1997: 34–38, fig. 5 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 89, pl. 34o–p; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3o–p (Phaistos, Period 3); Levi and Carinci 1988: 238–39, pl. 100v, w, y–d', 101b, d, f, g; Van de Moortel 1997: 308–11 (Phaistos); La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 39 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Cf. **Je/2**, **K/1**, **O/1**.

Ba/3 (C 7217). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.3.

Table 3.11. Pottery Group Ba.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	48	23	57	115	107	30
As % of total	12.6	6.0	15.0	30.3	28.2	7.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	368	157	705	2,325	2,378	736
As % of total	5.5	2.4	10.6	34.9	35.6	11.0

Wheel-thrown, somewhat thicker-walled than **Ba/1**.

MM IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 238; Levi 1976: 72, pl. 145o′ (Phaistos). La Rosa 1979–80: 84, fig. 38b (MM II Aghia Triada). Cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 55, 63, 69, 78 (Kommos, LM I conical cups Type P).

Ba/4 (C 3462). Tumbler. Pl. 3.4.

Finger impressions on exterior surface of middle and lower body. Distinguished from conical cups by its well-formed, slightly outturned rim. Black paint brushed on; horizontal, diagonal, and vertical brush strokes visible.

MM IA–B. Betancourt 1990: 145 no. 987, fig. 44 (MM IB Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 235–36, pl. 99f (MM IB Phaistos). Levi 1976: pl. 16m, p (MM IA Patrikies). Benzi 2001: figs. 4e, 5a–b. Fiandra 1973: 86, pls. 19, 34c; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3c (Phaistos, construction First Palace). Xanthoudides 1924: 61, pl. XXXVIb nos. 5097–98 (Porti). Blackman and Branigan 1982: 36 nos. 176, 177, 189, fig. 13 (Aghia Kyriaki); Alexiou and Warren 2004: 68 no. 62, fig. 20, pl. 40 (Lebena, Gerokampos, Tholos Tomb II). Cf. **Ji/1**.

Ba/5 (C 7224). Flaring bowl, large. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built.

MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1990: 66, 87 nos. 52, 305, figs. 12, 20 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12e–f (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 74 no. 139, fig. 15.

Ba/6 (C 7232). Vat or pedestaled krater. Pl. 3.7.

Probably most of profile preserved, including three body fragments from Group Bd (37A/63). Coil-built. Joining of outer rim coil facilitated by series of wide, parallel-slanted, U-sectioned scorings in interior coil; cf. **Z/1**. Thick interior engobe of very fine reddish yellow to very pale brown to yellow clay, burnished. Exterior surface of lower body is coated with coarse layer of unknown function, perhaps attachment of pedestal base.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 14, 20–22, pls. 9a–b, 11h, 12a (Phaistos). Cf. **Z/1**, **Ja/23**.

Ba/7 (C 7240). Spouted pithos. Pl. 3.11.

Sides of spout folded over vessel wall. Large spout, probably bridged.

MM IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 8, pl. 4f–g; Levi 1976: pls. 50a–c, 168a, d (Phaistos).

Ba/8 (C 7230). Pithos. Pl. 3.11.

Coil-built.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi and Carinci 1988: 6–8, pls. 1b, e, 4a–c; Levi 1976: pls. 17a, 47b, 48c, 49d, 52a (Phaistos). Betancourt 1990: 95, 109 nos. 443, 608, figs. 23, 29 (MM IIB and MM III Kommos).

Ba/9 (C 7233). Cooking pot, Type B, small. Pl. 3.11.

Coarse noncalcareous yellowish red to reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Too little preserved to identify manufacturing technique. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1980: 3–5; 1990: 76 no. 162, fig. 16 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 16a (MM III Phaistos).

Ba/10 (C 7236). Cooking dish. Pl. 3.11.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with dark brown core, incompletely oxidized. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well-smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1980: 5–7; 1990: 66, 76 nos. 49, 158, figs. 12, 16 (Kommos).

Ba/11 (C 11058). Closed vessel, medium. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well-smoothed. Exterior very pale brown slip and red horizontal band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Group Bb

Date: Mostly MM IB, some MM II
Total sherds: 50
Weight (grams): 781
Trench/pail(s): 37A/65, 67
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, below pebble floor at northwest corner of Central Court (below N Space 6), west of Group Ba, from +2.67 to +2.55/2.09 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 12–58 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial to Final Palatial pebble court of T, N (37A/62, 64)

Table 3.12. Pottery Group Bb.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	7	3	7	9	18	6
As % of total	14.0	6.0	14.0	18.0	36.0	12.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	42	11	80	211	336	101
As % of total	5.4	1.4	10.3	27.0	43.0	12.9

Bb/1 (C 3379). Teapot, medium or large. Pl. 3.7.

Fine spout attached to medium-coarse body; fine clay continuing over exterior surface of preserved part of body. Spout vertically shaved. Clean break in rather unusual location: spout reused?

MM IA–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 94–106, pls. 45–46; Levi 1976: pls. VI, VII, 15 (Patrikies, Phaistos). Cf. **Ja/26**.

Group Bc

Date: Mostly MM IB, some MM II
Total sherds: 223

Weight (grams): 3,700
Trench/pail(s): 100B/11, 12, 13, 14
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, below pebble floor in northwest corner of Central Court (below T Space 10), from ca. +2.67 to +2.25/1.84 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 42–83 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated; groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM III pebble floor (100B/10)

Table 3.13. Pottery Group Bc.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	24	13	28	70	50	38
As % of total	10.8	5.8	12.6	31.4	22.4	17.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	648 (= all fine fabrics)			2,382		670
As % of total	17.5 (= all fine fabrics)			64.4		18.1

Bc/1 (C 10677). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.6.
Coil-built. Interior slipped and burnished.
MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1990: 66 no. 52, fig. 12. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g–h.

Bc/2 (C 10679). Stopper. Pl. 3.12.
Body fragment of medium-coarse buff closed vessel, cut to be reused as a stopper (d ca. 2.5 cm). Fractures rounded from use.
MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Group Bd

Date: MM IB, MM IIB
Total sherds: 77
Weight (grams): 1,270
Trench/pail(s): 37A/63
Cross joins: Group Ba (**Ba/6**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, below floor of T Space 11, from +2.80 to +2.22 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 58 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: *Kouskouras*
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial floor of T (37A/30)

In addition to three body fragments of **Ba/6**, fragments of three vases with unusual fabrics, possibly nonlocal, were inventoried from this group. None are published here.

Group C

Date:	MM IB–II
Total sherds:	160
Weight (grams):	1,235
Trench/pail(s):	100D/46, 48, 49a, 49b, 49c, 49d
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA and deposit of conical cup **C/1** between two upright stone slabs, probably associated with the use of AA, in northwest area of Central Court (below N Space 8), from +2.66/2.57 to +2.15/2.11 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	46–51 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial pebble court of T (100D/43, 45)

Table 3.14. Pottery Group C.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse Fabrics	Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted		
Number of sherds	26	11	19	36	39	1	28
As % of total	16.2	6.9	11.9	22.5	24.4	0.6	17.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	65	36	172	305	370	40	247
As % of total	5.3	2.9	13.9	24.7	30.0	3.2	20

C/1 (C 10726). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pls. 3.3, 3.21.

Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Rim worn at one location over a distance of 5 cm from use as a drinking vessel. Surface finish much sloppier than on MM II conical cups from other construction fills. Projecting rim is indicative of date late in MM IIB.

MM IIB Late. Betancourt 1990: 89 no. 345, fig. 21; cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 34–35, fig. 5 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 243–44, pl. 102w, y; Levi 1976: figs. 101, 172k, l, m, 185a, pl. 143 f, i–m; La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, figs. 40–42 (Phaistos). Rim more developed than that of MM IIB Early conical cup of Type A F.457, from fill of bench in Room IL of the Phaistian palace (Levi and Carinci 1988: 244, pl. 102v). Fiandra 1973: pls. 29k–m, 34q–s; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3q–s (Phaistos, Period 3). Cf. MacGillivray 1998: 156 no. 725, pl. 115 (Knossos). Cf. **L/1**.

Group Da

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, MM IIB
Total sherds: 190
Weight (grams): 1,565
Trench/pail(s): 93B/31, 32
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: Fill in rectangular walled space below T Room 35, from +2.74 to +2.37 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 37 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM III pebble floor of T (86F/111)

Table 3.15. Pottery Group Da.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	35	30	20	51	28	26
As % of total	18.4	15.8	10.5	26.9	14.7	13.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	120	75	80	480	545	265
As % of total	7.7	4.8	5.1	30.7	34.8	16.9

Da/1 (C 10024). Conical spouted bowl. Pl. 3.4.
Rim opening elliptical or irregular.
MM IB. No close comparanda.

Da/2 (C 11731). Jug or jar, large. Pl. 3.19.
Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Exterior very pale brown slipped and painted with red to dark reddish brown curvilinear and horizontal bands.
MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Da/3 (C 10029). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.20.
Medium-fine yellowish red fabric with light yellowish brown core, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed, monochrome red coated, and burnished, leaving diagonal and horizontal burnishing marks.
MM IB–IIB Early context. Provenance uncertain: Pediada? Cf. **Fa/1**. South Cypriot Red-Polished round-bottomed bowl? Macroscopically resembling MC fabrics found at Pyrgos Mavroraki (Belgiorno 1999), Psematismenos Treloukkas, and other sites between Lemessos and Larnaca. Cypriot identification first suggested by V. Karageorghis (pers. comm. 2000); needs confirmation by scientific analysis.

Group Db

Date: MM IB, MM IIA?, MM IIB
Total sherds: 227
Weight (grams): 1,405

Trench/pail(s): 93A/17, 18, 21, 22, 23
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; floor makeup of Central Court of AA, west of T Room 36, from ca. +2.87 to +2.80 m, and fill below to +2.25/2.12 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 63–75 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM IIB pebble court of AA (93A/16b)

Table 3.16. Pottery Group Db.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	22	21	5	34	50	95
As % of total	9.7	9.3	2.2	15.0	22.0	41.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	110	45	35	325	300	590
As % of total	7.8	3.2	2.5	23.1	21.4	42.0

Db/1 (C 11647). Pithos. Pl. 3.19.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Exterior pink slipped and painted with red horizontal bands; polished after decoration.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Group Dc

Date: MM IB, MM IIA?, MM IIB
Total sherds: 205
Weight (grams): 2,315
Trench/pail(s): 93A/24, 25
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: Construction fill of AA with burnt patches, below gap in slab floor of T Room 36, from +2.83/2.82 to +2.69 m, and sandy fill below, from +2.69 to +2.60 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 22–23 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial slab floor of T and undisturbed LM IA Early floor deposit on top (Group 9b)

Table 3.17. Pottery Group Dc.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	22	11	22	49	66	35
As % of total	10.7	5.4	10.7	23.9	32.2	17.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	100	30	190	810	845	340
As % of total	4.3	1.3	8.2	35.0	36.5	14.7

Dc/1 (C 10121). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.9.

Coil-built. Barbotine prickles of fine clay applied on coarse body. Waster, not too deformed. Many prickles melted or broke off under excessive heat.

MM IB. At Kommos common in MM IB but not in MM IIA: Betancourt 1990: 67 no. 60, fig. 13, pl. 3. Single published example from Phaistos comes from MM IIB Early context (bench in Room IL): Levi and Carinci 1988: 73, pl. 34a; Levi 1976: pl. 91a. Foster 1982: 34–35, 66.

Dc/2 (C 11562). Cooking dish. Pl. 3.11.

Coarse noncalcareous red to reddish brown fabric with brown core, almost completely oxidized. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Interior and rim exterior buff slipped and red coated. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Comparanda as for **X/21.**

Dc/3 (C 11561). Stopper. Pl. 3.12.

Base fragment of cooking pot or cooking tray, buff slipped on interior, cut for reuse as a stopper (d ca. 2.5 cm). No differential use wear.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Group E

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, MM IIB
Total sherds: 454
Weight (grams): 3,275
Trench/pail(s): 97A/9, 10, 14
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, in southwest part of South Stoa, from ca. +2.45 to +1.10 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 135 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group Fa (Protopalatial)

E/1 (C 10848). Jug or jar, large. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Medium-coarse body covered on the exterior by 1 mm-thick very pale brown engobe and pale yellow slip. Unusual inclusions, unevenly distributed, leaving finer areas. Not very well smoothed.

MM IB–IIB. Size, wall thickness, decorative scheme: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 50, pls. 7c, 25a; Levi 1976: pls. 53c, 79a; decoration: cf. Levi 1976: pls. 43b, 69a, 70b, 71d–f, 72b, 73a–c, 83b, 174a, c (Phaistos).

Table 3.18. Pottery Group E.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	88	66	41	86	111	62
As % of total	19.4	14.5	9.0	19.0	24.4	13.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	312	140	195	818	1,290	520
As % of total	9.5	4.3	5.9	25.0	39.4	15.9

E/2 (C 11481). Scraper. Pl. 3.13.

Fine reddish yellow fabric, redder than usual: western Mesara fabric? Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Fine closed vessel covered on the exterior by reddish yellow engobe (0% inclusions) from which barbotine barnacles were formed. Body fragment cut to be reused as a scraper or related tool. Differential wear: right edge chipped and heavily worn. Similar ceramic tools are used for shaving pottery vessels during manufacture (Rye 1981: 87).

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Jd/7**.

E/3 (C 11482). Cup or bowl, small. Pl. 3.18.

Fine reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed and black coated. Exterior fugitive white and dark reddish brown horizontal bands.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric, cf. **Jf/15**. Shape and decoration: MacGillivray et al. 1992: fig. 11.7 (MM IIA Palaikastro).

E/4 (C 10844). Spouted vessel. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with gray core; incompletely oxidized. Mostly angular micaceous inclusions. Manufacturing technique and shape cannot be determined. Interior and exterior very well smoothed. Exterior monochrome red coated, dull. Interior body darkened, perhaps by fire.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric. Cf. spouted bowls from Aghia Eirini: Overbeck 1989: 102 nos. AR-16–AR-18, pl. 62.

Group Fa

Date: Protopalatial
Total sherds: 41
Weight (grams): 230
Trench/pail(s): 97A/6, 7, 8
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; makeup of pebble floor of AA, in southwest part of South Stoa, and fill below, from +2.78/2.72 to ca. +2.45 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 27–33 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group E (MM IIB)
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM III foundation trench (97A/1, 2, 3, 4) and LM 1A Early stoa debris above (95C/171, 177, 183)

Table 3.19. Pottery Group Fa.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	4	7	4	5	13	8
As % of total	9.8	17.0	9.8	12.2	31.7	19.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	15	10	20	20	60	105
As % of total	6.5	4.4	8.7	8.7	26.1	45.6

Fa/1 (C 11370). Wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.20.

Fine bright reddish yellow fabric with slightly redder core, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed, monochrome dark brown coated.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Provenance uncertain: Pediada trefoil-mouthed jug? Tentatively identified by K. Christakis (pers. comm. 2003). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 156 no. 1222, fig. 50 (MM IIA–IIB Kommos, Gritty Red fabric); Levi and Carinci 1988: 217–18, pl. 92 (MM IB–IIB Phaistos); Momigliano 1991: 261–64, figs. 29.8, 38 (MM IA Knossos). South Cypriot Red Polished? Cf. **Da/3**. Needs confirmation by scientific analysis.

Group Fb

Date: MM IB, MM II
Total sherds: 61
Weight (grams): 455
Trench/pail(s): 95C/82
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: Construction fill of AA, below pebble floor in northwest part of South Stoa, from +3.09 to +2.56/2.21 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 55–88 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Pebble floor and LM–Iron Age level on top (95C/75)

Fb/1 (C 10043). Open-spouted or bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Wasters, not too deformed.

MM IB–IIB slanted coil handle. Levi and Carinci 1988: 110–16, pls. 49–52 (Phaistos).

Group G

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, some MM IIB
Total sherds: 190
Weight (grams): 2,910

Table 3.20. Pottery Group Fb.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	12	4	4	34	4	3
As % of total	19.7	6.6	6.6	55.7	6.6	4.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	25	25	20	345	10	30
As % of total	5.5	5.5	4.4	75.8	2.2	6.6

Trench/pail(s): 93C/38, 40
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; fill below floor in northeast part of South Stoa, from ca. +2.83/2.75 to +2.52/2.49 m
Thickness of constituent strata: ca. 26–31 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM IB–II floor of AA with pebbles and crushed murex; possibly MM III and LM IA Early intrusions (93C/37)

Table 3.21. Pottery Group G.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	32	7	16	54	53	28
As % of total	16.8	3.7	8.4	28.4	28.0	14.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	295	25	170	960	940	520
As % of total	10.1	0.9	5.8	33.0	32.3	17.9

G/1 (C 10032). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.10.

Too little preserved to determine manufacturing technique. Waster, surfaces vitrified from overheating.

MM IIA–IIB insloping neck, dark painted band on handle. Betancourt 1990: 76, 158 nos. 178, 1254, fig. 16 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 40–41, pls. 18k–l, 19, 20a–f; Levi 1976: pls. 70a–b, e, 71d, f, g (Phaistos).

G/2 (C 11504). Closed vessel. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with very pale brown self-slip on the interior and exterior; completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Coil-built. Strap handle depressed on the exterior along centerline, corresponding to a bulge along its interior surface. Interior and exterior surfaces wet smoothed. Exterior very pale brown slip.

MM II. Gavdos fabric. Dated by C. Papadaki (pers. comm. 2001).

Group H

Date: Mostly MM IB, little MM IIA and MM IIB
Total sherds: 141
Weight (grams): 2,375
Trench/pail(s): 93C/120, 123
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, east of stone-lined pit in southeast part of South Stoa, from +2.33 to +1.63 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 70 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group I (MM II)

Table 3.22. Pottery Group H.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	16	8	21	29	44	23
As % of total	11.3	5.7	14.9	20.6	31.2	16.3
Weight of sherds (grams)	140	25	185	560	955	510
As % of total	5.9	1.0	7.8	23.6	40.2	21.5

H/1 (C 11372). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.20.

Fine reddish yellow fabric with gray core; incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Horizontally trimmed, leaving slight facets. Interior and exterior well smoothed, monochrome red to dusky red coated, and polished.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Provenance uncertain: South Cypriot Red Polished? Macroscopically resembling Åström's MC Red-Polished IV Blue Core fabrics (cf. Belgiorno 1999: 78). Cypriot identification first suggested by V. Karageorghis and S. Manning (pers. comm. 2000); needs confirmation by scientific analysis.

Group I

Date: Some MM IB, mostly MM II
Total sherds: 177
Weight (grams): 2,680
Trench/pail(s): 93C/119 and most of 34
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, surrounding stone-lined pit in southeast part of South Stoa, from +2.87/2.80/2.72 to +2.33 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 47–54 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Group H (MM IIB [Early])
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group K (MM IIB [Late]) and LM IA surface of T with pebbles and crushed murex, with LM IIIA1 intrusions (93C/33)

Table 3.23. Pottery Group I.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse Fabrics	Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted		
Number of sherds	36	18	19	39	37	3	25
As % of total	20.4	10.2	10.7	22.0	20.9	1.7	14.1
Weight of sherds	190	50	175	675	490	685	415
As % of total	7.1	1.9	6.5	25.2	18.3	25.5	15.5

I/1 (C 11640). Pithos. Pl. 3.11.

Coil-built. Rim area built up of various coarse clay coils. Regularly spaced, V-shaped diagonal grooves in innermost coil to facilitate join with outermost coil. No paint preserved on interior or on rim exterior.

MM IIA–B. Levi and Carinci 1988: 6–8; Levi 1976: fig. 611, pls. 48b–c, 50d, 166a–c; Pernier 1935: pls. XXXVI–XXXVIII (Phaistos); Fiandra 1961–62: pls. LD'.1, 2, 6, LI' (Phaistos, Period 3).

Group Ja

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, little MM IIB
Total sherds: 11,805
Weight (grams): 184,925
Trench/pail(s): 80B/78, 78a, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88
Cross joins: Group Jb (**Jb/1**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA in compartments below east end of T Room 26, from +3.20 to +1.48 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 172 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial pavement (80B/77, 77a)

Ja/1 (C 11344). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel downward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower and midbody.

MM IB. Betancourt 1990: 74 no. 147, fig. 16 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 86–88, pls. 21 (shape), 34e; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3e (Phaistos, Period 1); Levi and Carinci 1988: 235, pl. 99h (Phaistos).

Ja/2 (C 10912). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel upward-slanted finger impressions on exterior mid- and lower body. Upper body wheel-finished with uneven rim. Thick base.

MM IB–IIA. Fiandra 1973: 88, pls. 23, 27a–b (shape), 34f–l; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3f–l (Phaistos, Periods 1 and 2); Levi and Carinci 1988: 236–38,

Table 3.24. Pottery Group Ja.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse Fabrics	Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted		
Number of sherds	1,174	799	1,750	3,339	2,631	2	2,110
As % of total	9.9	6.8	14.8	28.3	22.3	0.0	17.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	8,836	5,143	16,746	58,945	53,020	515	41,720
As % of total	4.8	2.8	9.0	31.9	28.7	0.3	22.5

pl. 991, p; Levi 1976: fig. 853a, pls. 35w, 46a, c–e (Phaistos).

Ja/3 (C 10952). Conical cup, Kommos Type L. Pl. 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel upward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower body. Upper body possibly wheel-finished. Interior may have been monochrome red rather than dark-dipped. Fire-darkened patch at rim: used as a lamp.

MM IB. Similar in shape to **Jg/1** but dark-dipped. Betancourt 1990: 74 no. 148, fig. 16, pl. 7; 145 no. 970, fig. 44 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 236, pl. 99n; Levi 1976: fig. 356a (Phaistos).

Ja/4 (C 9770). Conical cup, Kommos Type E. Pl. 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel downward-slanted and vertical finger impressions on exterior lower body. Upper body probably wheel-smoothed.

MM IB manufacturing technique. No close comparanda. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 99k (Phaistos).

Ja/5 (C 9758). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.3.

With a height/rim diameter proportion of 0.60, this cup is on the border between Types C and D. Expertly thrown on the wheel, with even, thin walls and a regular shape. Hollow interior base. Wet-smoothed but neatly finished. Parallel string marks on base indicate that the wheel was at a complete stop when the cup was cut off.

MM IIA. Betancourt 1990: 80 no. 221, fig. 18 (MM IIB Early Kommos), 152 no. 1129, fig. 47 (MM IIB Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 89, pl. 34m; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3m (Phaistos, Period 2); Levi and Carinci 1988: 238, pl. 100d, g, l, m (Phaistos, MM IIB Early fill below Room CVII).

Ja/6 (C 11050). Carinated or rounded cup. Pl. 3.3.

Subtype with low carination, broad looping strap handle set well below the rim, partially coated with dark "paint." Impossible to determine whether coil-built or wheel-thrown. Rim and body flattened as a result of handle attachment; impossible to determine diameters. Handle centrally depressed and slightly twisted, its left side rising higher than its right side. Paint brushed on: dilute brown brush strokes visible on the interior.

MM IB. Quality of manufacture and handle shape similar to that of MM IB cup **X/4** but handle placed lower on body. No close comparanda: MacGillivray 1998: 75, pls. 3, 42 nos. 104, 106 rounded cups Type 1, and pls. 5, 31, and pl. 44 no. 123 squat rounded cup Type 2 with similar handle from the Early Chamber beneath the West Court at Knossos, dated to MM IB; cf. Momigliano 1991: 249–51, fig. 31 (MM IA–IIA Knossos). Betancourt 1990: 151 no. 1102, fig. 47 (MM IIA–B Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 82i (MM IIA Phaistos). Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991: 101, fig. 74 (Archanes, Phourni Building 6/Tholos B).

Ja/7 (C 10965). Carinated cup. Pl. 3.3.

Coil-built, but wheel-finished above carination. Many finger impressions on lower body from hand joining of coils. Variant with flaring, slightly concave upper body, thick-walled.

MM IB. No close comparanda. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 196, pl. 86a–b; Levi 1976: fig. 231 (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 74, fig. 2.12.2 wheel-made short-rimmed angular cup Type 2 (Knossos).

Ja/8 (C 9450). Tumbler. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built, with diagonal upright finger im-

pression on lower and midbody. Possibly wheel-finished upper body.

MM IB. Fiandra 1973: 87, pls. 21, 22a, 34d–e (Phaistos, early in Period 1); Levi and Carinci 1988: 236, fig. 55, pl. 99a–b, d–e. Levi 1976: pl. 36a, d (Phaistos).

Ja/9 (C 11034). Rounded cup. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built. Unusual metallic shape with crinkled rim and at least one vertical handle. Horizontal rows of fine barbotine prickles. Painted decoration largely illegible.

MM IB. No close comparanda. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 81, 83a (Phaistos).

Ja/10 (C 9771). Conical bowl, small. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built. Burnt to a gray cast.

MM IB. No close comparanda. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 101c–d (Phaistos).

Ja/11 (C 11052). Convex-sided bowl, medium. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built. Crinkled rim.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Tzigounaki 1995: 909, fig. 6ζ, pl. 7α (no. π 106) (Apodoulou), MM II pl. 11α (Monastiraki). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 151 no. 1101, fig. 47 (Kommos). No close comparanda from Phaistos: Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 75i–o.

Ja/12 (C 10941). Conical bowl, small. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built. Barnacle barbotine. Two shades of red: "wine" red band on interior (7.5R 5/6), other red bands and dots are more yellowish and may originally have been orange (2.5YR 4/8), cf. **Jf/4**. For well-preserved orange color, see C 3352 and **K/2**.

MM IB. No comparanda with barbotine. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–25, pls. 95l, 96n (Phaistos).

Ja/13 (C 10870). Cylindrical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built. Possibly slipped. Band around handle attachment.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g (Phaistos).

Ja/14 (C 10900). Flaring bowl, medium, spouted. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built. Upright vertical finger impressions on exterior well below spout. Spout pulled from rim. Exterior surface worn away. Possibly used as a lamp.

MM IB–IIB. Betancourt 1990: 78 no. 209, fig. 18 (Kommos). Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 221, pls. 94o–t, 95c–d (Phaistos).

Ja/15 (C 10899). Flaring bowl, deep, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built. Interior triple festoons at rim, bordered below by horizontal band. Exterior unpainted except for small red drip.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224, pl. 95i; Levi 1976: pl. 36m (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 77 no. 188, fig. 17 (Kommos). Cf. **A/5**, **Ja/16**, **Ja/17**, **L/10**.

Ja/16 (C 10875). Flaring bowl, deep, medium. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built and wheel-finished. Dark-painted festoons may have had white borders.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–25, pl. 95i, o; Levi 1976: pls. 36m, 142g (Phaistos). Cf. **A/5**, **Ja/15**, **Ja/17**, **L/10**.

Ja/17 (C 9452). Flaring bowl, deep, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built; wheel-finished interior and rim exterior. Used as a lamp.

MM IIA–B Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–25, pl. 95n, o. Cf. Levi 1976: pls. 36, 142 (Phaistos). Cf. **A/5**, **Ja/15**, **Ja/16**, **L/10**.

Ja/18 (C 10873). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built. Flattened rim, well finished. Separately formed troughed spout, largely missing, joined to rim. Seam visible in one area. Interior burnished.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 26, pl. 13r; Levi 1976: pl. 60a (Phaistos).

Ja/19 (C 10878). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.6.

Too little preserved to allow determination of formation technique. Interior burnished before decoration.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 26, pl. 13s; Levi 1976: pl. 56d (Phaistos).

Ja/20 (C 10898). Flaring bowl, large. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built. Traces of curvilinear motif on interior at midbody.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 226, pl. 95n; Levi 1976: pl. 142o (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 74, 144 nos. 139, 940, figs. 15, 43 (Kommos).

Ja/21 (C 10867). Conical basin, large. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built. Spout separately formed and attached. Interior coated with thick layer of fine clay, on top of which a raised and impressed band of fine clay was applied. Exterior covered with thin slip "folded" 1.5–1.75 cm over base edge. Red paint brushed on top of slip, leaving visible brush strokes. Most of bottom is coarse, unsmoothed, and unpainted.

MM IB. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 25, pl. 13q (Phaistos).

Ja/22 (C 10964). *Grattugia.* Pls. 3.6, 3.21.

Only top part of central raised platform preserved, originally attached as an appliqué. Possibly solidly coated. *Grattugia* **Ja/22** identified by F. Carinci (pers. comm.).

MM IB–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 222, pl. 95f–g; Levi 1976: pl. 140a, c; Borda 1946: pl. XXI (Phaistos); Carinci 1999: 129 n. 78 (Aghia Triada); Kanta 1999: 389 (Monastiraki).

Ja/23 (C 10890). Vat or pedestaled krater. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Probably two horizontal handles.

MM IIA–B. Levi and Carinci 1988: 20–22, pls. 11h, 12a (Phaistos). Cf. **Ba/6**.

Ja/24 (C 10868). Bucket jar, small. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Body may be taller. Rim and body vertically indented below handle. Rim tapering to rather sharp edge. Impressed vertical groove on lower body. Barbotine ridges. Highest quality in terms of manufacture, surface finish, and elaborateness of decoration. Decoration and triangular handle shape MM IB, strap handle MM IIA.

MM IB–IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 137–38, pl. 59g–h. Levi 1976: pls. 31b (decoration), 39d, g, 113c (Phaistos). Cf. **A/4**.

Ja/25 (C 10937). Fruit stand. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Probably cylindrical body shape. Base of bowl possibly painted with red concentric circles.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 17, pl. 11d–e; Levi 1976: fig. 911 (Phaistos).

Ja/26 (C 11019). Teapot, medium. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Fine spout and neck attached to medium-coarse body; Spout vertically shaved; shape uncertain. Painted decoration worn. Traces of white paint on top of spout.

MM IA–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 94–106, pls. 44–46 (Phaistos). Cf. **Bb/1**.

Ja/27 (C 10896). Open-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Troughed spout, fashioned separately and attached to upper body. Simple polychrome linear pattern.

MM IB–IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–22, pls. 53–54c (Phaistos).

Ja/28 (C 10897). Open-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.7.

Coil-built. Open troughed spout. Slight carination at shoulder: MM IB? Possible traces of white paint.

MM IB–IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 118, pl. 53e (Phaistos).

Ja/29 (C 10953). Open-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.8.

Coil-built. Fine rim coil and spout, medium-coarse body. Slightly carinated shoulder. Barbotine prickles made of thick fine exterior slip.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–19, pls. 53–54c (Phaistos).

Ja/30 (C 10895). Open-spouted jar, medium. Pl. 3.8.

Coil-built. Spout medium fine, body coarse. Upturned spout, polychrome linear painted pattern: MM IA–IIA. Arched coil handles: MM IIA.

MM IB–IIA. Xanthoudides 1924: 58–60 nos. 5051, 5062, pls. XXXIVi, XXXVd (MM IA–B Porti). Bonacasa 1967–68: 39 no. 7, figs. 25d, 39d, f; Levi 1976: pl. VIIl (MM IA–B Patrikies). La Rosa 2001: pl. LXXIIIf (MM IA Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, area of Camerette Sud, pit). Cf. Betancourt 1990: nos. 139–42, 945, fig. 43; Betancourt 1984a: 8–9 (Kommos). Levi 1976: pl. 142o (Phaistos, MM IIA decoration). Cf. MacGillivray 1998: 79, fig. 2.16, Type 1 with arched coil handles but bridged spout (MM IIA Knossos). Cf. Alexiou and Warren 2004: 165–66 nos. 68, 71, fig. 43, pl. 147C–E (EM IIB/III Lebena, Gerokampos, Room AN). Decoration cf. **X/14**.

Ja/31 (C 11040). Bridge-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.8.

Possibly wheel-made in various parts. Handles not preserved. Possible traces of white painted decoration. Small size, ovoid body with rounded carination at shoulder, upturned rim,

steeply rising bridged spout set well below rim: MM IIA

MM IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 122–23, pl. 54b–c, h–i (Phaistos). Cf. **Jf/8**.

Ja/32 (C 11035). Wide-necked jug. Pl. 3.9.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Probably single vertical looping strap handle.

MM IB–IIA. No similar jugs from Phaistos, but carinated cup with similar crinkled rim and handle (Levi and Carinci 1988: 195, pl. 81a; Levi 1976: pl. 30e) and bridge-spouted jar (Levi and Carinci 1988: 140, fig. 39). Cf. bowl from Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 68 no. 82, fig. 14).

Ja/33 (C 11585). Closed vase, small. Pl. 3.10.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined with certainty. Row of barbotine prickles on top of rim, possibly decorated with red dots, and prickles below handle zone. Thick diagonal red band near handle. Possibly two red horizontal bands on the rim interior. Burnt gray; decoration very worn.

MM IB–IIA. Prickles on rim: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 28a–l (Phaistos, MM IB–IIA jugs). Decoration of alternating groups of white and red diagonal bands is assigned by Walberg to Early Kamares, dated to MM IB–IIA (Walberg 1976: 77, 125); cf. MacGillivray 1998: pl. 2 nos. 71–75 (MM IB Knossos).

Ja/34 (C 10876). Teapot-jar, small. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Hybrid vase with teapot-shaped body and bridged spout at rim. Published *ollette-teiere* from Phaistos with similar rims are handleless or have vertical or horizontal handles and occasionally lugs. Impossible to determine whether troughed spout of **Ja/34** was originally bridged. Very dusky red ("purple") band at rim and around spout.

MM IIA–B. Levi and Carinci 1988: 139–40, pl. 61a–e (Phaistos). An MM IB example from the Kamares Cave has a much squatter body: Dawkins and Laistner 1912–13: pl. IXa.

Ja/35 (C 11041). Closed vase, small. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Combination of coarse and fine fabrics. Fine fabric used for appliqué ring base. Traces of polychrome painted decoration on exterior. Well made, regular. Fragment cut for reuse as a stopper.

MM IB most likely, because vase is small with coarse body. The closest comparanda from Phaistos are MM IB–IIB tall teapots (It. *bricchi*) with polychrome painted decoration (Levi and Carinci 1988: 103–4, pls. 44e, 46c–d; Levi 1976: pls. 41d, 99a, i, XVI, XLIVc). An MM IIB polychrome juglet has a comparable base but a more globular body (Levi and Carinci 1988: 82, pl. 38a; Levi 1976: pls. 95d, XLIVa). No comparanda from Kommos.

Ja/36 (C 11022). Tube. Pl. 3.11.

Coil-built; lowest coil join visible on interior surface. Fenestrated at base. Wine red band on dark brown ground. Diameter suggests it is a tube fragment (forerunner of "snake tube") rather than part of pedestaled vase.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 152 no. 1113, fig. 47 (MM IIA–B Kommos); Betancourt 1990: 170 nos. 1555–59, fig. 57 (MM III Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 276, pl. 114d–e; Levi 1976: fig. 885, pl. 164a–b, i (MM IIA and MM IIB Phaistos). Xanthoudides 1924: 50, pl. XXXIII nos. 5001, 5004; Georgoulaki 1990: 20, pls. Ve, VIa, c (MM I/II Koumasa). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 152, 158, 172 nos. 1112, 1120, 1262, 1586, figs. 47, 51, 58 (MM IIA–B and MM III pedestaled vases Kommos). Cadogan 1973; Gesell 1976; Betancourt et al. 1983: 32–37, Lembessi 1991: 322, pl. 206b (MM III Kato Syme).

Ja/37 (C 11015). Cooking jar, small. Pl. 3.11.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Coil-built. Rim uneven, probably sloping toward a pulled spout. No legs. Fabric and extensive burning indicate function as a cooking jar, even though the probable presence of a spout and the relatively low location of the handles are characteristic of spouted jars (*stamnoi*), cooking jars from Phaistos and Kommos as a rule do not have spouts and have horizontal coil handles placed high on the shoulder.

MM IIA–B. Betancourt 1990: 76, 112 nos. 167, 659, figs. 16, 32 (MM IIA and MM III Kommos, resp.). Levi and Carinci 1988: 33, 37, pls. 16n–o, 17h–l (MM IIB Phaistos); Levi 1976: pl. 67. Cf. **X/18**.

Ja/38 (C 11023). Cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.11.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous brown fabric with darker brown core, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Basket handle encompassing

rim is typical for the western Mesara. Hard fired. Interior possibly burnished.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 15i (Phaistos).

Ja/39 (C 10888). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.11.

Unusually short leg, almost circular in section. Interior of leg hollow, apparently to receive projecting part of base, in a unique mode of attachment, not documented before at Kommos. Coarse non-calcareous red fabric, completely oxidized, seems to be local. Reddish yellow self-slip. Some fire-darkening.

Possibly Neolithic or Early Minoan (Betancourt, pers. comm. 1999; P. Tomkins, pers. comm. 2000).

Ja/40 (C 11016). Circular dish. Pl. 3.12.

Coarse noncalcarous red to brown cooking pot fabric with reddish brown core, completely oxidized. Slab-built. Smoothed on tournette or fast wheel. Base smooth. Burnt at rim.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 95 no. 455, fig. 23 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 226–27, pl. 96t–w but made of medium-coarse calcareous buff fabric and decorated with dark-painted patterns (Phaistos, Kamilari).

Ja/41 (C 10938). Angular tray or box. Pl. 3.12.

Coarse noncalcareous fabric similar to cooking pot fabric, completely oxidized. Probably slab-built, slightly irregular. Function unknown.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 227, pl. 96x–b′; Levi 1976: pls. 146l, n, o, 147b (fabric not specified) (Phaistos).

Ja/42 (C 11048). Cooking tray, large. Pl. 3.12.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric with pale brown to dark gray core, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built, possibly in various layers. Red slipped. Interior burnished and fire darkened.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1980 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 32, pl. 14o (Phaistos). Cf. **Jf/11**, **Je/43**.

Ja/43 (C 10864). Firebox. Pl. 3.12.

Very carefully shaped and finished, with regular body shape and even wall thickness. Careful surface smoothing has obliterated evidence of shaping technique. Interior and exterior red coated. Interior of capsule burnt.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 150 no. 1073, fig. 45 (MM IB–IIB Early Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 261–63, pl. 113d–h; Levi 1976: fig. 346, pls. 37d, f, 159, 182d–f (MM IB–IIB Phaistos). Georgiou 1986: 4–22.

Ja/44 (C 11039). Stopper. Pl. 3.13.

Coil-built. Body fragment of a large coarse buff pithos, cut to be reused as a stopper (d 7 × 7.5 cm). Fractures quite sharp. Size and oval shape would make it suitable as stopper of a large oval-mouthed amphora, cf. **Z/3**.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Jf/20**.

Ja/45 (I 126). Basin, small. Pl. 3.17A.

Handmade. Base built up of two clay layers. Incompletely oxidized. Interior surface mostly abraded and red paint worn away as a result of use. Impressed and raised potmark in center of exterior bottom, applied before firing: dentated circle.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. Levi 1976: 624, 853, pl. 228d, e (MM IIB Late Phaistos).

Ja/46 (I 134). Jar, small. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Handmade. Transition from base to side built up of three clay layers with different textures. The outer clay layers are coarse, enclosing a medium-coarse core coil. This central coil gradually tapers toward the center of the base, disappearing at 38 mm from the base edge. Impressed and raised potmark in center of exterior bottom, applied before firing: two concentric impressed and raised circles and plastic linear design in center.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Manufacturing technique: cf. **Ja/47**. Potmark: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 280; Levi 1976: pl. 228e (MM IIB Late Phaistos).

Ja/47 (I 128). Jar or amphora, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Handmade. Base built up of three clay layers with different textures. The outer clay layers are thin (ca. 1 mm) and coarse, enclosing a thick medium-coarse core layer. Boundaries are not sharp, indicating that layers were joined when wet (M. Goodwin, pers. comm.). Potmark in center of exterior bottom, applied before firing: raised cross and single preserved line, set into a slightly sunk, probably square, area.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Manufac-

turing technique: cf. **Ja/46**. Potmark: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 280, Levi 1976: pl. 227k, l (Phaistos, Grande Frana), 228b (MM III Phaistos).

Ja/48 (I 132). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish brown to yellowish red fabric, completely oxidized. Handmade. Flattened rim unusual. Not local? Potmark: two neat crosses, 35 mm apart, incised on rim after firing. Function unknown.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Crosses incised after firing have been reported from Phaistos, but both are large and rough and were not applied on the rim but on the upper body: Levi and Carinci 1988: 297; Levi 1976: pl. 227m (undated), q (MM IIB Late Phaistos).

Ja/49 (I 135). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous pink fabric, completely oxidized. Handmade. Interior covered with very pale brown slip. Potmarks at rim: at least four parallel grooves, perpendicular to rim; upper body: vertical stroke, possibly part of more complex mark. All incised before firing, when clay was leather-hard; no displaced clay.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Both potmarks: cf. **Ja/50** but different techniques. Levi and Carinci 1988: 297; Levi 1976: pl. 227l (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Grooves perpendicular to rim: cf. **Ja/51, Ja/52**, **Jf/13**.

Ja/50 (I 131). Cooking pot, Type B, medium. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow to pink fabric, completely oxidized. Lot of very fine silver mica: not local? Probably handmade. Potmarks at rim: three parallel grooves, perpendicular to rim, impressed on top of rim before firing, when clay was still sufficiently plastic to be displaced; upper body: vertical line and converging slanted line incised after firing; surface inside cuts redder (5YR 6/6) than exterior surface.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Both potmarks: cf. **Ja/49**; Levi and Carinci 1988: 297; Levi 1976: pl. 227l (MM IIB Late Phaistos) but different techniques. Grooves perpendicular to rim: cf. **Ja/51**, **Ja/52**, **Jf/13**.

Ja/51 (I 130). Cooking pot, Type B, medium. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built and drawn, leaving vertical finger impressions. Possible traces of reddish yellow paint. Potmark: four parallel grooves, perpendicular to rim, impressed on top of rim before firing, when clay was still sufficiently plastic to be displaced. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Grooves perpendicular to rim: cf. **Ja/49, Ja/50, Ja/52**, **Jf/13**; Levi and Carinci 1988: 297; Levi 1976: pl. 227l, m (MM IIB Late Phaistos).

Ja/52 (I 129). Cooking pot, Type B, medium. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous brown to reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Handmade. Surfaces smoothed on wheel or tournette, leaving parallel wiping marks. Yellow slip on top of rim, presumably covering interior. Potmark: four parallel grooves, perpendicular to rim, impressed on exterior rim edge before firing.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Comparanda as for **Ja/51**.

Ja/53 (I 127). Cooking jar or cooking pot, Type B, medium. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous brown to light brown fabric, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Asymmetrical: spouted cooking jar rather than cooking pot. Potmark: six parallel grooves incised diagonally into rim top before firing, when clay was leather-hard; no displaced clay.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Diagonal grooves: cf. **Ja/54** but different technique.

Ja/54 (I 133). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse noncalcareous yellowish red fabric, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Patches of reddish brown paint preserved on exterior, possibly the remains of an exterior and interior coating. Potmark: three parallel slots incised diagonally into rim top after firing; surface inside cuts is more orange than exterior surface.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Diagonal grooves: cf. **Ja/53** but different technique.

Ja/55 (C 11014). Convex-sided bowl, small. Pl. 3.18.

Possibly wheel-thrown but difficult to determine because attachment of disk base resulted in an uneven lower body shape and wall thickness. Interior smoothed, exterior well smoothed. Interior and exterior very pale brown slipped, pain-

ted with sloppy black to reddish yellow horizontal band and spots; polished after decoration. Nonlocal features: fine pink fabric with bright red core, disk base; band just above base; and polish extending over exterior bottom surface.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Knossian fabric. Comparanda as for **X/23**. Mackenzie 1906: pl. VIII; MacGillivray 1998: 132–33, 137, 152, 157, 162, 167, 169 nos. 203–20, 293, 295, 298, 624–27, 738–39, 874, 975, 1004, pls. 25, 52, 53, 56, 67, 70, 71, 104, 142, 143, 149 (MM IIA–B Knossos).

Ja/56 (C 11347). Bridge-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.18.

Fine, unusually pale yellow fabric with very pale brown core. Coil-built. Fine coil handles: MM IB? Cf. C 10897. Exterior well smoothed, coated dark grayish brown to very dark gray, and painted with fugitive white and weak red to red ("purple") horizontal bands and pattern.

MM IB–IIA coil handles (MacGillivray 1998: 78–79). Knossian fabric: Momigliano 1991: 245 (MM IA Knossos, Fabric I, whitish variant). Size, shape: MacGillivray 1998: 165 no. 929, pl. 28 (Knossos, below Room of the Olive Press).

Ja/57 (C 10969). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.18.

Coarse very pale brown body with fine pale yellow neck, completely oxidized. Coarse fabric macroscopically similar to that of shrine model from Monastiraki. Exterior smoothed; body covered with fine pale yellow slip from which barbotine barnacles were modeled; coated dark brown to light red. White painted bands on neck; painted decoration of body disappeared.

MM IB. Monastiraki area fabric? Cf. **Je/33**. Fabric combination, shape, decoration same as in western Mesara: comparanda as for **X/8**.

Ja/58 (C 11480). Jug, medium. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Exterior well smoothed, covered with fine light red slip from which barnacle barbotine was modeled; monochrome weak red coated.

MM IB. East Cretan fabric. Cf. western Mesara jugs: comparanda as for **X/8**.

Ja/59 (C 11454). Closed vessel, large. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-fine reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Coil-built, with finger impressions at coil joins. Exterior well smoothed, slipped very pale brown, and painted with red curvilinear bands and spots.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Ja/60 (C 11505). Jug, large. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-fine light brown fabric with gray core, lightening to pink below exterior surface; incompletely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Coil-built. Interior and exterior surfaces summarily wet-smoothed, leaving vertical and diagonal wiping marks and, on the interior, little clay lumps. Handle well integrated into exterior surface. Exterior very pale brown slip and sloppy black bands.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Ja/61 (C 11498). Narrow-necked jug, large. Pl. 3.19.

Coarse fabric, pale yellow on the exterior, very pale brown on the interior, with reddish yellow core; completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Coil-built. Oval neck, asymmetrical in section. Interior and exterior surfaces summarily wet-smoothed, leaving wiping marks and faint horizontal finger impression on the exterior shoulder, and finger impressions on the interior. Exterior pale yellow slip and black neck band and remains of painted decoration. Interior paint light reddish brown to red.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Ja/62 (C 10943). Closed vessel. Pl. 3.19.

Coarse body with coarser handle. Fabric very pale brown on the exterior, pink on the interior with darker pink core; almost completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Handmade. Lower handle extremity pushes into vessel wall, causing it to bulge substantially on the interior, but not to push through. Interior and exterior surfaces roughly smoothed. Exterior white slip and sloppy black bands. Gray cast on handle from fire.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Ja/63 (C 10942). Amphora. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse body with coarse handle. Pink fabric, completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an

"oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Handmade. Interior ledge presumably held a lid.

Interior and exterior smoothed; handle attachment well integrated. Exterior possibly white slipped.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Ja/64 (C 11379). Pan or tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with light yellowish brown core, incompletely oxidized. Mostly angular micaceous inclusions. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Interior and rim exterior monochrome red coated, dull.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric (J. Coleman, pers. comm. 1998), possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to contemporary Minoan cooking dishes, some of which are red coated as well, cf. **X/21**.

Ja/65 (C 11380). Pan or tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with light brown core, incompletely oxidized. Mostly angular micaceous and schist inclusions. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric (J. Coleman, pers. comm. 1998), possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to Minoan cooking dishes, cf. **X/21**.

Group Jb

Date:	MM IB, MM IIA, some MM IIB
Total sherds:	946
Weight (grams):	8,945
Trench/pail(s):	77A/110, 111, 112, 113, 115
Cross joins:	Group Ja (**Jb/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill AA in western compartment below east end of T Room 27, west of Group Jc, from +3.25/3.19 to +2.11 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	108–114 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial clay floor of T (77A/67)

Table 3.25. Pottery Group Jb.

	Fine Fabrics		Medium-Coarse Fabrics			
	Painted	Unpainted	Painted	Unpainted	Coarse Fabrics	Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
Number of sherds	134	157	215	274	1	165
As % of total	14.2	16.6	22.7	29.0	0.1	17.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	560	835	2,100	3,415	25	2,010
As % of total	6.2	9.3	23.5	38.2	0.3	22.5

Jb/1 (C 10869). Convex-sided bowl, small. Pl. 3.4.

Rim from Group Ja (80B/78) belongs to same bowl, no join. Coil-built. Burnished on the interior and exterior, leaving horizontal burnishing troughs. Fine fabric with redder core: may be Knossian (cf. Momigliano 1991: 245, Fabric I).

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 172–73, pl. 75f (Phaistos).

Group Jc

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, MM IIB, with few Neopalatial and LM IIIA1 intrusions in upper part (Pails 60, 61)
Total sherds: 728
Weight (grams): 5740
Trench/pail(s): 97E/60, 61, 63, 65; Pail 60 joins with Pails 55, 58, 70
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA in compartments below east end of T Room 27, east of Group Jb, from +3.33/3.28 to +2.92/2.86 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 41–42 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Mostly MM IIB–III construction fill of P, with some later material (to LM IIIA2) (97E/58, 59)

Table 3.26. Pottery Group Jc.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse Fabrics	Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted		
Number of sherds	223	57	43	140	168	2	95
As % of total	30.6	7.8	5.9	19.2	23.1	0.3	13.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	740	180	235	1,330	1,775	160	1,320
As % of total	12.9	3.1	4.1	23.2	30.9	2.8	23.0

Jc/1 (C 11651). Convex-sided closed vessel, small. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Convex collar neck with handle attachment. Strip of ca. 4 mm abraded on interior, below neck, presumably as a result of use.

No comparanda from Phaistos, Aghia Triada, Kommos, or Knossos.

Jc/2 (C 11621). Cooking dish. Pl. 3.11.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric with pale self-slip and light gray core, incompletely oxidized. Handmade. Spout fragment. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1980: 5–7; 1990: 73, 79, 94 nos. 133, 211, 441, figs. 15, 18, 23 (Kommos).

Group Jd

Date:	Mostly MM IB, little MM IIA, MM IIB
Total sherds:	742
Weight (grams):	8,180
Trench/pail(s):	86D/37, 38, 39, 40
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill AA, below T Room 28, just west of large compartment wall and Group Je, from +3.10 to ca. +1.50 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 160 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial plaster floors of T (86D/33, 36)

Table 3.27. Pottery Group Jd.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	47	63	109	257	216	50
As % of total	6.3	8.5	14.7	34.6	29.1	6.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	225	215	905	2,950	3,060	825
As % of total	2.7	2.6	11.1	36.1	37.4	10.1

Jd/1 (C 11169). Carinated bowl, medium. Pl. 3.4.
Coil-built. Undulating carination.
MM IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 171–72, pl. 75c; Levi 1976: fig. 1008, pl. XXb (Phaistos). Cf. MacGillivray 1998: 124, no. 50, pls. 1, 37 (Knossos).

Jd/2 (C 11774). Conical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.5.
Coil-built. Coarse body with fine rim coil.
MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g (Phaistos).

Jd/3 (C 11773). Conical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.5.
Coil-built. Medium-coarse body with fine rim coil.
MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g (Phaistos).

Jd/4 (C 11168). Bridge-spouted jar, small. Pl. 3.9.
Trace of fugitive white bar. Fine grooved strap handle, maintaining groove throughout.
MM IIB Early. Carinci, pers. comm. Levi and Carinci 1988: 124, pl. 54l; Levi 1976: pl. XXXIVc (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 79–80, fig. 2.16, Types 4–6 with grooved strap handles (MM IIA–B Knossos). Cf. **Je/16**.

Jd/5 (C 11586). Closed vessel, small. Pl. 3.9.
Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Small jar with polychrome-on-dark painted linear pattern.
MM IB–IIB. Cf. Levi 1976: pls. 29d, 78a–c, 129g, 138c, 145a, g, 175d (Phaistos).

Jd/6 (C 11132). Hole-mouthed jar, medium. Pl. 3.10.
Coil-built. Medium-coarse body with fine rim coil. Spout pulled from rim. Minute traces of dark paint on exterior. Exterior and rim gray cast from fire.
MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1990: 69, 97, 151 nos. 92, 461, figs. 14, 24, 1104 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 37, pl. 17e, h–k; Levi 1976: pls. 20d, f, 66–67a–f (Phaistos).

Jd/7 (C 11129). Stopper or scraper. Pl. 3.13.

Handmade. Shoulder fragment with handle stub of medium-coarse buff oval-mouthed amphora. Waster, overfired to a gray color, showing firing cracks but not deformed. Cut to be reused as a stopper or scraper (d ca. 5 × 6.5 cm). Differential wear: breaks below and left of handle more worn than break above handle; cf. **E/2**.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Group Je

Date: Upper part (Pails 46, 48, 50–57) MM II; lower part mostly MM IB, little MM II
Total sherds: 4,414
Weight (grams): 51,795
Trench/pail(s): 86D/46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 61A, 62
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill AA in compartments below east end of T Room 28, east of Group Jd, from +3.13 to +1.58 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 55 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated because of groundwater
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group N (MM IIB)

Table 3.28. Pottery Group Je.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Cooking Fabrics and Lamp Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	542	379	339	1,118	1,179	857
As % of total	12.3	8.6	7.7	25.3	26.7	19.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	2,655	1,635	2,225	14,595	19,250	11,435
As % of total	5.1	3.1	4.3	28.2	37.2	22.1

Je/1 (C 9832). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.3.

Thrown from the hump. Parallel string marks on base, indicating that cup was cut off a wheel at a complete standstill. Finger marks around base show that cup was held upside down by all five fingers when still wet, presumably when placed upside down to dry. Cursory surface finish, resembling that of MM III conical cups.

MM IB–IIA. Fiandra 1973: 88, pls. 23, 27a–b (shape), 34f–l; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3f–l (Phaistos, Periods 1 and 2); Levi and Carinci 1988: 236–38, pls. 99a′, q, 100b; Levi 1976: pls. 35b′, 46f (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 70 no. 97, fig. 14, pl. 5 handmade (Kommos).

Je/2 (C 9869). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown. Interior base not hollow.

MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 152 no. 1130, fig. 47; Van de Moortel 1997: 35, fig. 5 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 89, pl. 34o–p; Fiandra 1995: fig. o–p (Phaistos, Period 3); Levi and Carinci 1988: pl.

101e (Phaistos). La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 39 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Cf. **Ba/2**, **K/1**, **O/1**.

Je/3 (C 11158). Carinated cup. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown. Sharp carination with small projecting rib; lower body straight-walled. Slender variant. Possible traces of polish on interior and exterior.

MM IIA. Betancourt 1990: 148, 154, 161 nos. 1045, 1172, 1316, figs. 45, 48, 53 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 196–97, pl. 86f–h; Levi 1976: fig. 258 (Phaistos). Tzigounaki 1995: 911, fig. 7α, pl. 8α (no. π 7630) (MM IIA Apodoulou), pl. 12α–β (Monastiraki). Cf. **Jf/3**.

Je/4 (C 11224). Carinated cup, large. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown. Rim and body warped to oval shape. High carination produced by pressure from interior. Lower body convex. Exterior sloppy finish. White-coated interior, burnished presumably to aid bonding of white "paint" to surface—a technique well known at Phaistos in the Protopalatial period.

MM IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 196, pl. 86a, f; Levi 1976: pl. 31c (Phaistos). Tzigounaki 1995: 911–13, fig. 7β, pl. 8β (no. π 7632) (MM IIA Apodoulou), pl. 12γ–δ (Monastiraki). MacGillivray 1998: 73–74, fig. 2.12.1 short-rimmed angular cup Type 1, pl. 3, no. 98 (Knossos).

Je/5 (C 11155). Straight-sided cup, large. Pl. 3.3.

Coil-built and wheel-finished. Faint stretch marks on lower interior wall run clockwise from bottom to top, indicating a counterclockwise turning of the potter's wheel. Ridge barbotine. Possible traces of white paint.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 202, pl. 87n; Levi 1976: fig. 900, pl. 31f (Phaistos).

Je/6 (C 11159). Tumbler, large. Pl. 3.3.

Wheel-thrown. Ridge barbotine. Illegible traces of white paint.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 164, pl. 80f; Levi 1976: pl. 31b (Phaistos). Cf. **Jg/3**.

Je/7 (C 11156). Straight-sided cup, large. Pl. 3.3.

Wall fragment, possibly near turn of base. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Cylindrical shape with stepped exterior, cf. MM III straight-sided cups Knossos, Archanes.

MM IB/II. No close comparanda. Levi and Carinci 1988: 202–5.

Je/8 (C 11160). Carinated bowl, medium. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built, possibly shaped on the wheel. Possibly thin white diagonal bands on rim exterior. Barbotine ridges. Rim edge badly chipped and abraded.

MM IB. No close comparanda.

Je/9 (C 11220). Convex-sided bowl, medium. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built. Medium-coarse body with fine rim and ledge. Ledge runs at an angle to rim.

MM IB. No close comparanda. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 23, pl. 12i (Phaistos).

Je/10 (C 9873). Convex-sided bowl, medium. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built; wheel-finished rim and upper body. Warped rim. Finger impressions only on exterior.

MM IB/II. Betancourt 1990: 143, 153, 156 nos. 923, 1136, 1225, figs. 43, 48, 50 (Kommos). No close comparanda from Phaistos: cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 175–76, pl. 75m.

Je/11 (C 11230). Conical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Wheel-thrown. Prickle barbotine on exterior and rim. Possibly attachment scar for prickle on interior.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g (Phaistos).

Je/12 (C 11264). Flaring bowl, medium. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built. Coarse body with fine rim. Possibly used as a lamp.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224, pl. 95m (Phaistos).

Je/13 (C 11223). Conical bowl, large. Pls. 3.6, 3.21.

Coil-built. Medium-coarse body with fine coil on interior below rim and thick fine slip on interior.

MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1990: 66 no. 52, fig. 12 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12g–h (Phaistos).

Je/14 (C 11221). Conical basin, large. Pl. 3.6.

Coil-built. Unusually uneven distribution of inclusions in fabric.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, pl. 12f.

Je/15 (C 11192). Open-spouted or bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Thick horizontal strap handle (h = 2.6 cm)

with central depression but no groove. Lower attachment fire-darkened.

MM IIA (handle shape). Levi and Carinci 1988: 122–23, pl. 54c, f, k; Levi 1976: figs. 257f, 429b, pl. 104a (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 79, fig. 2.16 Type 4 (Knossos).

Je/16 (C 11204). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Probably wheel-thrown. Fine grooved strap handle, maintaining groove throughout.

MM IIB Early. Carinci, pers. comm. Levi and Carinci 1988: 124, pl. 54l; Levi 1976: pl. XXXIVc (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 79–80, fig. 2.16 Types 4–6 with grooved strap handles (Knossos MM IIA–B). Cf. **Jd/4**.

Je/17 (C 11361). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.9.

Short horizontal spout stuck onto body without being integrated: MM IIB rather than MM IIA; however, separately made rim coil (now missing) is MM IIA.

MM IIA/IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 122–23, pl. 54d–e, g–i.

Je/18 (C 11199). Bridge-spouted jar, medium or large. Pl. 3.9.

Medium-coarse grooved strap handle exceptional on medium and large bridge-spouted jars. Handle maintaining groove throughout, including at attachment.

MM IIB Early. No comparanda from Phaistos. Levi and Carinci 1988: 110–16. MacGillivray 1998: 79–80, fig. 2.16, Types 4–6 with grooved strap handles (Knossos MM IIA–B). Cf. **Jd/4, Je/16**.

Je/19 (C 11150). Narrow-necked jug, large. Pl. 3.9.

Neck and lugs made of fine clay; shoulder medium coarse.

MM IB. Betancourt 1990: 66 no. 57, fig. 13 (Kommos) medium coarse throughout. Levi and Carinci 1988: 68, pl. 30a; Levi 1976: pl. 22b (Phaistos).

Je/20 (C 11164). Closed vessel: bridge-spouted jar? Pl. 3.9.

Very fine fabric without visible inclusions. Coil-built. Thin-walled. Molded horizontal stepped ribs. Steps on western Mesara vessels tend to be oriented downward, whereas at Knossos they are oriented upward.

MM IIA–B. Horizontal ribs found on Phaistian cups, bridge-spouted jars, and bucket jars: Levi and Carinci 1988: 128, 137–38, 188, 194, esp. pl. 57a (MM IIB bridge-spouted jar F.1690); Levi 1976: pl. 107e. Cf. **Je/21**.

Cf. MacGillivray 1998: pl. 17 nos. 404–7.

Je/21 (C 11163). Closed vessel: bridge-spouted jar? Pl. 3.9.

Very fine fabric without visible inclusions. Wheel-thrown. Impressed stepped ribs.

MM IIA–B. Similar comparanda as for **Je/22**.

Je/22 (C 11157). Closed vessel: jug? Pl. 3.9.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Medium-coarse body covered with fine engobe from which wavy barbotine ridges have been molded. Possible traces of white-painted decoration.

MM IB. Banti 1930–31: 226, fig. 138 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A Camerette Sud). Levi 1976: pl. 21b (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1985a: 83–84; Foster 1982: 17–26.

Je/23 (C 11213). Closed vessel: jug, jar, or amphora. Pl. 3.10.

Fabric has a remarkably high proportion of gray and white translucent as well as gray-brown schist inclusions. Coil-built.

MM IIA–B medium-coarse large closed vessel with white bordered dark-painted design on buff slip at Phaistos: Levi 1976: passim. Cf. Betancourt 1990: 158 no. 1255, fig. 51 (Kommos).

Je/24 (C 11151). Closed vessel: jug or jar. Pls. 3.10, 3.21.

Coil-built. Coils drawn up (cf. Rye 1981: 72–73). Vertical finger impressions on interior. Medium-coarse body, interior covered by medium-coarse clay layer. Base cut out and filled with plug of very fine clay of a different color (greenish buff), perhaps to reduce porosity. Surface carelessly finished. Slightly overfired.

MM IB–IIB Early. Interior clay layer cf. **A/8**, **X/16**. No comparanda published for manufacture of base.

Je/25 (C 9868). Straight-sided lid. Pl. 3.11.

Coil-built. Wall thickness indicates that pierced lug was located in center of lid. Gray cast from exposure to fire.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 229–33, pl. 97l–p (Phaistos) with central coil handle instead of pierced lug.

Je/26 (C 11205). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.11.

Medium-fine reddish yellow body with yellowish red core, almost completely oxidized. Coarse yellowish red leg with dark grayish brown core, incompletely oxidized. Base of pot grooved for attachment of leg. Body and leg coated reddish brown. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIA thin oval section. Betancourt 1980: 5; 1990: 66, 83, 147 nos. 51, 244–45, 1016, figs. 12, 19 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 29–30, pl. 15; bright orange fabric also used at Phaistos (Carinci, pers. comm.). Cf. **K/3**.

Je/27 (C 9866). Pedestaled lamp, large. Pls. 3.12, 3.21.

Coarse noncalcareous body, completely oxidized, covered with thick fine buff engobe. Coil-built. Exterior bottom worn: probably had pedestaled base. Interior rim decorated with impressed grooves and wavy band. Horizontal handle attachment with remains of fine slip used to attach handle. Solidly red coated and burnished. Surfaces heavily worn, possibly by water.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. MM IIA/IIB Early because completely oxidized? Betancourt 1990: 93, 95, 150, 156 nos. 436, 437, 456, 1070, 1213–16, figs. 23, 50; Van de Moortel 1997: 210–12 (Kommos). Mercando 1974–75: 28–44, 96–104, figs. 91j, 94–97; Levi and Carinci 1988: 268–69; Levi 1976: pls. 153–54 (Phaistos). Cf. related lamps with wick cuttings from Protopalatial Knossos: Popham 1974: 189, pl. 32c (MM IIB); MacGillivray 1998: 87, figs. 2.24.3–4. Cf. **X/22**, **Jf/12**, **L/24**.

Je/28 (C 11207). Stopper. Pl. 3.12.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Body fragment of medium-coarse buff closed vessel, cut to be reused as a stopper (d 3.8 cm). Fractures rounded from use.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Je/29 (C 11208). Stopper. Pl. 3.12.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Overfired shoulder fragment with handle stub of medium-coarse buff oval-mouthed amphora, cut to be reused as a stopper (d ca. 5.1 × 5.5 cm). Fractures rounded from use.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Je/30 (I 142). Jar. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Impressed and raised potmark in center of exterior bottom, applied before firing: square with concave sides framing an illegible design.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Potmark possibly same as **Je/31**.

Je/31 (I 141). Pithos. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coil-built base. Overfired. Impressed and raised potmark in center of exterior bottom, applied before firing: encircled square with concave sides and interior diagonal cross.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi and Carinci 1988: 280; Levi 1976: pl. 228a, b, d (MM IIB Late–MM III Phaistos). Cf. Davis 1986: 54, Z-31, pl. 67; Georgiou 1986: 39 no. 157, pl. 19 (Aghia Eirini, Period V). Cf. **Je/30**.

Je/32 (C 11166). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.18.

Unusual fine, very pale brown fabric with reddish yellow core. Possibly wheel-thrown. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Exterior and rim interior coated black; exterior painted with weak red ("purple") horizontal band below rim. Possible traces of fugitive white. Folded-back rim on fine bridge-spouted jar is not a western Mesara feature.

MM IB–IIB. Knossian fabric: comparanda as for **X/23**. Bridge-spouted jar with folded-back rim: MacGillivray 1998: 162 no. 874, pl. 25 (Knossos, Loomweight Basement).

Je/33 (C 11452). Narrow-necked jug, medium. Pl. 3.18.

Coarse very pale brown neck, completely oxidized. Coarse fabric macroscopically similar to that of shrine model from Monastiraki. Interior and exterior smoothed. Exterior coated monochrome yellowish red to dark reddish brown.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Monastiraki area fabric? Cf. **Ja/57**. Use of coarse fabric for medium shape characteristic of early Protopalatial period in western Mesara.

Je/34 (C 11567). Askoid jug. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Coil-built, with finger impressions at coil joins. Horizontal drag mark from finishing on tournette or wheel. Exterior smoothed, covered with fine pink slip and painted with dark reddish brown to red lunettes and horizontal band.

MM IIA–B. East Cretan fabric. Shape and decoration cf. western Mesara: Levi and Carinci 1988: 85–86, pls. 40–41; Levi 1976: pl. 90c, e, l.

Je/35 (C 11455). Closed vessel, medium. Pl. 3.18.

Fine reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Coil-built, with finger impressions at coil joins. Interior and exterior smoothed. Exterior pink self-slip, fine pale yellow slip, and red horizontal band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Je/36 (C 11568). Closed vessel, large. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Exterior very pale brown slipped and painted with very dark grayish brown horizontal band. Exterior polished after decoration.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Je/37 (C 11569). Closed vessel. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, almost completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed. Exterior very pale brown slipped and painted with dark brown vertical band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Je/38 (C 11506). Jug or jar. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse fabric with very pale brown exterior, and pink interior and core; completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Handmade. Interior and exterior surfaces smoothed but somewhat irregular. Black band around handle.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Je/39 (C 11500). Jug, jar, or amphora. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-fine reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Coil-built. Circular neck and mouth, perhaps tapering to spout. Exterior scraped and smoothed, covered with pale yellow slip, possibly polished. More careful manufacture than other Gavdos imports.

MM I. Gavdos fabric. Dated by C. Papadaki (pers. comm. 2001).

Je/40 (C 11915). Vat or pithos. Pl. 3.19.

Coarse very pale brown fabric with pink core, completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior surfaces smoothed.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Gavdos fabric.

Je/41 (C 11449). Vat. Pl. 3.19.

Coarse pink fabric with very pale brown core, almost completely oxidized. Fine clay matrix with angular crushed rock temper, lending an "oatmeal" appearance to fabric. Handmade. Interior and exterior surfaces smoothed, leaving some wiping marks. Traces of red paint on exterior and interior, possibly rim band.

MM II. Gavdos fabric. Dated by C. Papadaki (pers. comm. 2001).

Je/42 (C 11444). Pan or tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with light brownish gray core, incompletely oxidized. Many angular micaceous inclusions. Handmade. Exterior rim scraped, leaving facets. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric (J. Coleman, pers. comm. 1998), possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to Minoan cooking dishes, cf. **X/21**.

Je/43 (C 11518). Tripod tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse yellowish red fabric with thin brown core, incompletely oxidized. Mostly angular schist and micaceous inclusions. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior, including bottom, well smoothed. Smooth bottom is characteristic of a Cycladic tripod tray (Davis 1986: 87).

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric (J. Coleman, pers. comm. 1998), possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to Minoan cooking trays (Betancourt 1980: 7), cf. **Jf/11**, **Ja/42**.

Group Jf

Date: MM IB, MM IIA, early MM IIB, with ca. 25 localized fragments of MM III, LM IA, and LM IIIA2/B

Total sherds:	4,926
Weight (grams):	65,380
Trench/pail(s):	76A–B/9, 10A, 10B; 77C/116, 117, with joins in 114; 88A/38, 43; 88B/46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill east of AA, from ca. +3.65/3.36 to +2.72/1.73 m; with later intrusions
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 93–163 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	*Kouskouras* and groundwater; some areas partially excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	MM III pebble surface (88A/42) and fill (77C/114; 83B/51), and LM IA fill (88A/36, 37)

Table 3.29. Pottery Group Jf.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics			
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups*	Painted	Unpainted	Coarse Fabrics	Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
Number of sherds	899	442	307	1,233	1,272	8	765
As % of total	18.3	9.0	6.2	25.0	25.8	0.2	15.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	4,530	2,015	2,065	19,580	24,170	655	12,365
As % of total	6.9	3.1	3.2	29.9	37.0	1.0	18.9

*Conical cups were not counted as a separate category in 76A–B/9, 10A, 10B, 77C/116, 117.

Jf/1 (C 11543). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.2.

Interior and exterior upper body smoothed, possibly by hand. Irregular shape.

MM IA. Fiandra 1973: 86, pl. 34b; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3b; Levi and Carinci 1988: 234–35, fig. 54b (Patrikies). Banti 1930–31: 179, no. 65, fig. 37a Aghia Triada (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A annex room L with gritty fabric and exterior slip).

Jf/2 (C 11546). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving parallel upward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower and midbody. Interior and exterior upper body wheel-finished. Pronounced hollow at interior base.

MM IB–IIA. Fiandra 1973: 88, pls. 23, 27a–b (shape), 34f–l; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3f–l (Phaistos, Periods 1 and 2); Levi and Carinci 1988: 236–37, fig. 875b, pl. 99m, o, r (Phaistos).

Jf/3 (C 11547). Carinated cup. Pl 3.3.

Wheel-thrown. Sharp carination; lower body straight-walled. Squat variant. Possible traces of interior white slip, cf. **Je/4**. No visible traces of polish.

MM IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 196–97, pl. 86c, e ; Levi 1976: fig. 258b, e (shape), f (decoration) (Phaistos). Cf. **Je/3**.

Jf/4 (C 11535). Convex-sided bowl. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built and wheel-finished. Concentric string marks on base indicate that bowl was cut from wheel in motion. Midbody after smoothing

slightly pressed in by two fingers, which left clear prints. Two shades of red: wine red band on exterior midbody, and orange-red on exterior upper body and interior midbody. Possible traces of white decoration. Handle possibly white-barred. Barbotine prickles.

MM IB. No close comparanda. Cf. Levi 1976: pl. XIIc (Phaistos, decoration).

Jf/5 (C 11522). Convex-sided bowl. Pl. 3.4.

Wheel-thrown. Rim made of separate coil. Interior rim edge worn away.

MM IB/IIA. No close comparanda. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 75f, g, h (Phaistos).

Jf/6 (C 11536). Conical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.5.

Coil-built, wheel-finished. Slightly fire-darkened on one side.

MM IB–IIB Early. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–25, pls. 95m, 96e, g–l; Levi 1976: pls. 36b–c, e, h, 142a–h (Phaistos). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 74 no. 139, fig. 15 (Kommos).

Jf/7 (C 8969). Open-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Coil-built, wheel-smoothed. Diagonally upright finger impressions on lower body. Finger impressions on interior. MM IB (elongated body). Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–22, pl. 53c (Phaistos).

Jf/8 (C 11531). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Coil-built. Small size, ovoid body with rounded carination at shoulder, bridged spout, and arched coil handles: MM IIA. Rather sloppy surface finish.

MM IIA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 122–23, pl. 54b–e, g–i (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 79, fig. 2.16 Type 1 with arched coil handles (MM IIA Knossos). Cf. **Ja/31**.

Jf/9 (C 10921). Gobular jar, small. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built. Fine button appliqué on medium-fine body.

MM IB–IIB. No comparanda from Phaistos, Aghia Triada, Kommos, or Knossos.

Jf/10 (C 11530). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.11.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow fabric, fired to a pale color. Brown core, incompletely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1980: 5; 1990: 76, 83, 150, 157 nos. 164, 247–48, 1082, 1084, 1086–87, 1238–39, figs. 16, 19, 46, 50 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 29–30, pl. 15 (Phaistos).

Jf/11 (C 11554). Cooking tray. Pl. 3.11.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with gray core, incompletely oxidized. Possibly very pale brown self-slip. Handmade. Interior and exterior well smoothed, including bottom. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB Early. Betancourt 1980: 5–7; 1990: 143, 150 nos. 928, 1080, figs. 43, 46 (Kommos). Cf. **Je/43, Ja/42**.

Jf/12 (C 11539). Pedestaled lamp, large. Pl. 3.12.

Combination of coarse and fine fabrics, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior covered by a thick fine buff engobe. Pedestal decorated with impressed horizontal grooves. Monochrome red coated and burnished. Base fire-darkened.

MM IB–IIB Early combination of fine and coarse fabrics. Comparanda as for **Je/27**. Cf. **X/22**, **L/24**.

Jf/13 (I 140). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse reddish brown to brown fabric, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior white slipped. Potmark: at least four parallel grooves, perpendicular to rim, incised into rim top before firing, when clay was leather-hard; no displaced clay. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Comparanda as for **Ja/51**.

Jf/14 (I 139). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pls. 3.17A–B.

Coarse reddish yellow to pink fabric, incompletely oxidized. Coil-built and drawn. Potmark: zigzag line incised on rim top before firing. Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish.

Jf/15 (C 11558). Teacup. Pl. 3.18.

Fine reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Parallel string marks on base indicate it was cut off a wheel that had come to a standstill. Interior and exterior well smoothed, except for exterior bottom; monochrome red coated.

MM II. East Cretan fabric, cf. **E/3**. MacGillivray et al. 1992: fig. 12.6 (MM II Palaikastro).

Jf/16 (C 11555). Conical bowl. Pl. 3.18.

Fine reddish yellow fabric, completely oxidized. Wheel-thrown. Interior and exterior well smoothed and coated black to reddish brown. Fugitive white-painted decoration.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Jf/17 (C 11540). Vat. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-fine reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed, white slipped, and painted with dark reddish brown to yellowish red diagonal band. Interior and exterior polished to an even sheen without blemishes.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Jf/18 (C 11557). Narrow-necked jug, large. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed, painted very dark grayish brown to black.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric (Zakros?), with mostly purple angular inclusions.

Jf/19 (C 11550). Narrow-necked jug, large, or amphora. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Exterior well smoothed and white slipped. Red horizontal band at junction of shoulder and neck.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Jf/20 (C 11528). Stopper. Pl. 3.18.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow body with coarse handle, incompletely oxidized. Angular schist inclusions. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed; exterior very pale brown slip and red curvilinear bands. Handle attachment cut into a rough oval shape, apparently for reuse as an oval-mouthed amphora stopper (d 5.5×4 cm). Cf. **Z/3**. Fractures rounded from use.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric. Coarse handle on medium-coarse body also common in Protopalatial jugs and jars from the western Mesara. Stoppers: cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jh/2**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**.

Jf/21 (C 11537). Tray. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, almost completely oxidized. Coil-built. Interior and exterior well smoothed, very pale brown slipped. Exterior red rim band.

MM IB–IIB Early context. East Cretan fabric.

Jf/22 (C 11560). Pan or tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with brown core, incompletely oxidized. Mostly angular schist and micaceous inclusions. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric, possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to spout of Minoan cooking dish, cf. **X/21**.

Jf/23 (C 11553). Pan or tray. Pl. 3.20.

Coarse reddish yellow fabric with yellowish brown core, incompletely oxidized. Handmade. Interior and rim exterior well smoothed; exterior bottom rough. Interior and rim exterior covered with yellow slip, and monochrome red coated.

MM IB–IIB Early context. Cycladic fabric, possibly Kean (cf. Davis 1986: 4). Similar to contemporary Minoan cooking dishes, some of which are red coated as well. Cf. **X/21**.

Group Jg

Date:	Mostly MM IB, little MM II
Total sherds:	138
Weight (grams):	1,700
Trench/pail(s):	62E/108
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA, east of AA, below earthen surface situated below paved road 34, from +3.17/3.12 to +3.07 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	5–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	X (MM IB)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	MM II earthen surface and Group Jh (Protopalatial–MM III)

Jg/1 (C 11684). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.2.

Hand-modeled, leaving downward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower and midbody. Interior and upper body possibly wheel-finished.

MM IB. Betancourt 1990: 68 no. 79, fig. 14, pl. 4 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 236, pl. 99i (Phaistos). Shape: cf. **Ja/3**.

Jg/2 (C 11685). Conical cup, Kommos Type L. Pl. 3.3.

Hand-modeled, leaving downward-slanted finger impressions on exterior lower body, and vertical downward-oriented finger impressions at base. Interior and upper body probably wheel-finished.

MM IB–IIA. Betancourt 1990: 70 no. 98, fig. 16 (MM IB Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 88, pls. 23, 27a–b (shape), 34f–l; Fiandra 1995: fig. 3f–l (Phaistos, Periods 1 and 2); Levi and Carinci 1988: 236–38, pl. 99o; Levi 1976: pl. 35g–l (Phaistos). La Rosa 1979–80: figs. 13e, 38a (Aghia Triada settlement). Banti 1930–31: 173, no. 37, fig. 22 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A). Tzigounaki 1995: 913, fig. 7δ, pl. 8γ (no. π 7621) (MM IIA Apodoulou). Alexiou and Warren 2004: 148 no. 42, fig. 40, pl. 134D (Lebena, Gerokampos, Tholos Tomb IIa).

Jg/3 (C 11715). Tumbler. Pl. 3.3.

Coil-built.

MM IB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 179–80, pl. 79a–c; Levi 1976: pl. 31d (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 68, fig. 2.9.1–2 tumblers Types 1 and 2 (Knossos). Cf. **Je/6**.

Jg/4 (C 8620). Narrow-necked jug. Pl. 3.9.

Coil-built. Fine neck, medium-coarse body covered with thick fine slip from which barnacle barbotine has been formed.

MM IB–IIA. Typically western Mesara; dark-painted dot pattern at Phaistos more common in MM IIA than in MM IB: Levi and Carinci 1988: 68–69, pl. 32a. Levi 1976: pl. 91a–c, e, h. Betancourt 1990: 67, 70, 74, 144 nos. 64–71, 94, 144, 956–60, fig. 13, pls. 3–5, 7, 54 (Kommos). Banti 1930–31: 228–30, fig. 147; Cultraro 2000: pl. 2a (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, Camerette Sud). *Contra* Foster (1982: 14–15, 58, pls. 11–12) who dates "black-spotted" barbotine jugs to MM IA–MM IIB. Several fragments found at Patrikies (Bonacasa 1967–68: 47, fig. 35c–d), in the foundations of the Phaistian palace, and below the West Court are dated by Fiandra (1973: 86, pl. 20a–b) to MM IA but by Levi and Carinci to early MM IB (Levi 1976: 287; Levi and Carinci 1988: 68). Fragments of a similar jug were found in the North-West Pit at Knossos together with MM IB–IIA pottery and possibly also MM IIB and Neopalatial pottery (MacGillivray 1998: 28–29, 135 no. 255, pl. 60). Cf. **X/9**.

Jg/5 (C 8619). Wide-necked juglet. Pl. 3.9.

Coil-built. Spout pulled out from rim. Two horizontal coil handles at midbody, on either side of the spout.

MM IA. Levi and Carinci 1988: 55, fig. 16; Levi 1976: pl. 16b (Patrikies). Carinci 1999: 124, fig. 4a.4 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A). Banti 1930–31: 230–33, figs. 150, 154 (Aghia Triada, Tholos Tomb A, Camerette Sud). Xanthoudides 1971: pl. XXXV no. 5124 (Porti, Tholos Tomb). Cf. **X/7**, **A/7**.

Jg/6 (C 11686). Hole-mouthed jar. Pl. 3.10.

Coil-built; coils diagonally scored to facilitate joining. Rim very irregular. Horizontal coil handle set obliquely.

MM IIA–IIB Early. Betancourt 1990: 157 no. 1251, fig. 51 (Kommos; smaller jar). Levi and Carinci 1988: 37, pl. 17f–g; Levi 1976: pls. 66a, d, 67b (Phaistos; both jars similar in size to **Jg/6** and with similarly irregular rims).

Group Jh

Date:	Mostly MM IB–late MM IIB, 1 fragment MM III
Total sherds:	134
Weight (grams):	875
Trench/pail(s):	62E/106, 107, with join in 108
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of T below paved road 34, its top part resting against

krepis of T's east facade, from +3.33 to +3.17/3.12 m

Thickness of constituent strata: 16–21 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Earthen surface and Group Jg (MM II)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Paved road 34 (MM III)

Jh/1 (C 11682). Open-spouted jar. Pl. 3.8.

Spout may not belong to body. Coil-built. Handles not preserved. Plastic button appliqué on spout.

MM IB. Fiandra 1973: pl. 22d (Phaistos, Period 1); Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–22, pls. 53g, l–m; decoration: Levi 1976: pl. 27e (Phaistos).

Jh/2 (C 11680). Stopper. Pl. 3.12.

Coil-built. Base fragment of coarse buff basin or pithos cut to be reused as a stopper (d 5.2 × 5.4 cm). Fractures rounded from use.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. **Dc/3**, **Bc/2**, **Je/28**, **Je/29**, **Jd/7**, **Ja/44**, **Jf/20**.

Group Ji

Date: MM IA, MM IB, MM IIA, MM IIB, with ca. 35 fragments MM III/LM IA
Total sherds: ca. 210
Weight (grams): 2,940
Trench/pail(s): 58A/48, 49, 51, 52
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; construction fill of AA with some construction fill of T, below T Rooms 24a and 24b, from +3.34 to +3.18 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 16 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: *Kouskouras*
Group and/or date of stratum above: MM III floors and Groups 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B (MM III–LM IA Early)

Ji/1 (C 7493). Tumbler. Pl. 3.4.

Coil-built and drawn, leaving vertical finger impressions. Rim and interior wheel-finished. Distinguished from conical cups by its well-formed, slightly out turned rim. Black paint brushed on; horizontal, diagonal, and vertical brush strokes.

MM IA–B. Comparanda same as for **Ba/4**.

Ungrouped Vase

C 11131. Jar, medium. Pl. 3.9.

From a construction fill of AA below T Room 28, east of Group Jd and west of the very wide foundation wall (86D/60), from +3.10 to +2.77 m.

Coarse body with coarse exterior slip on lower body, grading to fine slip toward midbody. Coil-built.

MM IB/IIA. Cf. more complete jar C 11959 from homogeneous dump east of Round Building at Kommos, redated by me to MM IIB Early (20B/60, unpublished).

THE CIVIC CENTER IN MIDDLE MINOAN IA: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Few identifiable MM IA pottery fragments have been recovered from the deep soundings in the Southern Area (Table 3.7). They consist of eight conical cups of Types C and D (**X/1, X/3, A/1, Jf/1** [Pls. 3.1–3.2], and unpublished C 9841, C 9842, C 9849, C 9852 from Group A),[26] a tumbler (**Ji/1**; Pl. 3.4), an open-spouted jar (**Y/1**; Pl. 3.2), three globular jugs (**X/7, A/6, A/7**; Pls. 3.1, 3.9), and a globular juglet (**Jg/5**; Pl. 3.9). All come from mixed fills, and nearly all are single sherds. These 14 highly fragmentary MM IA vases can be added to the 5 pieces published by Betancourt from the sounding east of the Classical Round Building (Betancourt 1990: 53, 64). Five more fragmentary vases from fills in the Southern Area published in the present volume are either MM IA or MM IB in date (conical cup **A/2,** tumbler **Ba/4,** open-spouted jars **X/6** and **Ja/30,** and cylindrical jar **X/14**; Pls. 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.8). Two teapot fragments are no more closely datable than MM IA–IIB (**Bb/1, Ja/26**; Pl. 3.7).[27] Thus, the MM IA ceramic corpus at Kommos has now been enlarged from 5 to 19–26 fragmentary vases, all coming from the Southern Area. No architectural remains can be securely assigned to this phase.

The scarcity of MM IA finds at Kommos contrasts with the tens of thousands of Protopalatial ceramic fragments encountered in the deep soundings below Building AA and east of the Classical Round Building (Trench 20B, see above). Especially significant is the near-absence of teapots—the quintessential pouring vessel of the MM IA phase in the western Mesara (Levi and Carinci 1988: 95–101). From MM IB onward, teapots were increasingly replaced by open-spouted and bridge-spouted jars. Thus the new finds from the Southern Area confirm Betancourt's conclusion that MM IA occupation at Kommos was indeed very limited (Betancourt 1990: 27). Consisting mostly of small drinking and pouring vessels, and a conical cup used as a lamp (C 9841), these scanty MM IA pottery remains are indicative of normal domestic activity.

MIDDLE MINOAN IA POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Whereas Betancourt's MM IA corpus consisted of a few small fragments, the new finds from the Southern Area include for the first time complete MM IA conical cup profiles as well as identifiable fragments of open-spouted jars, globular jugs, and a juglet. Some diagnostic characteristics can be discerned.

With regard to fabrics, it appears to be typical for the MM IA phase that medium-coarse and coarse fabrics were widely employed for small shapes. This practice can be seen to continue in the MM IB phase, whereas by the MM IIA phase, only fine fabrics were used for small vases. Two of the MM IA conical cups (**X/3, A/1**) and both tumblers (**Ba/4, Ji/1**) have fine fabrics, but all other conical cups as well as all globular jugs, including juglet **Jg/5**, in spite of their small size, have medium-coarse fabrics with up to 15 percent nonplastic inclusions. Small open-spouted jar **Y/1** has a fine body but coarse handles. MM IA–B open-

spouted jars **X/6** and **Ja/30** have coarse bodies, and MM IA–IIB teapots **Ja/26** and **Bb/1** have medium-coarse bodies, making it seem likely that they date to MM IA–IB rather than later. Teapots **Bb/1** and **Ja/26** show in addition a striking use of two fabric textures, having fine spouts attached to medium-coarse bodies (Pl. 3.7). The combination of fine and coarser fabrics on the same vase has a long history in the Mesara, going back to the Early Minoan period.[28] The present study shows that it occurs very frequently in the MM IB and MM IIA phases (see below), but it has never before been systematically studied for the MM IA phase or Protopalatial period.

All MM IA vases are handmade. Conical cups typically are large and squat. Many have parallel downward-slanting finger impressions on the exterior surface of their lower body, presumably as a result of drawing, that is, squeezing the clay body while pulling it upward (Rye 1981: 72). Tumblers with slightly outturned rims (**Ji/1**) are datable to MM IA, whereas those with straight rims (**Ba/4**) are either MM IA or MM IB. MM IA open-spouted jars are characterized by an elongated body and horizontal coil handles set almost horizontally on the shoulder, close to the rim (Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–17, fig. 31). MM IA jugs generally have squat globular bodies but show morphological variation, as do their counterparts at Phaistos, Patrikies, and Aghia Triada (Levi and Carinci 1988: 54–55; Carinci 1999: 124, fig. 4a).[29]

Surfaces of decorated vases are well smoothed. Conical cups and tumbler **Ji/1** have been rather neatly wiped, even though their finish retains a certain roughness common to utilitarian vases. Only globular jug **A/7** has been covered on the exterior with a buff slip; it was fired to a greenish tinge. Little painted decoration has been preserved on MM IA pottery fragments. Typical for MM IA are the dark-painted double festoons of globular jug **X/7**, as well as the linked circles of jug **A/7** and lunettes of juglet **Jg/5**. The diagonal curvilinear dark-painted bands as well as the plastic and incised bands on the upper body of jug **A/6** likely date to MM IA rather than MM IB. The thin white-painted linear patterns of open-spouted jar **Ja/30** and cylindrical jar **X/14** are datable to MM IA–IB; jar **Ja/30** is the only vase with preserved polychromy. Tumblers **Ba/4** and **Ji/1** have the dark-coated body and thin white horizontal bands below the exterior rim that are typical of this MM IA–B vessel type. Firing temperatures of MM IA pottery have not been analyzed, but they appear to have been quite high to judge by the hardness of the vases and the greenish hue of some (**X/3, X/7, Y/1, Jf/1**).

Kommian MM IA pottery is identical in fabric, manufacturing techniques, shape, surface finish, decoration, and firing atmosphere to contemporary vases found at other western Mesara sites, such as Phaistos, Patrikies, Aghia Triada, and various tholos tombs. Similarities are so close in all steps of the production sequence that this pottery is likely to have been produced by the same potter or workshop. A few specific morphological or decorative links can be made with MM IA pottery from Knossos, such as the common occurrence of teapots and spouted jars. The general character of the painted decoration, consisting of simple linear white-painted and polychrome patterns on a dark ground, is the same as well (Momigliano 1991: esp. 256–58, figs. 35.2, 36).

THE CIVIC CENTER IN MIDDLE MINOAN IB–MIDDLE MINOAN IIB EARLY: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

More than 27,000 pottery fragments, mostly single sherds, have been excavated from the various soundings in the foundations of Building AA (Group A–Ji). In addition, 822 fragments and a few mendable vases were found in the partially excavated small stratified contexts X, Y, and Z located east and south of Building AA (Table 3.6).

Because of the very large size of the AA construction fills, no attempt was made to estimate the total number of vases deposited in each phase. Since nearly all this pottery consisted of single fragments, the numbers given in Table 3.6 may be taken as rough approximations (see also T-Space pottery tables).

Construction Date of Building AA

The construction of Building AA is dated by the latest ceramic fragments encountered in its foundation fills. This dating is primarily based on morphological criteria, as painted decoration is in general poorly preserved. The bulk of the pottery in these fills is datable to the MM IB and MM IIA phases, corresponding to Levi and Carinci's phase IA and the beginning of phase IB at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 299–302), and the MM IB and MM IIA phases established at Knossos, respectively (MacGillivray 1998). Some fragments from the AA construction fills are clearly later in character but still predate the pottery from the final MM IIB destruction horizons at Kommos and Phaistos. These latest sherds from the AA foundation fills are best dated to the early stage of MM IIB recently identified by Carinci at Phaistos (see above), thus placing the construction of Building AA late in the Protopalatial period, and presumably within one or two generations before its destruction.

Even though the chronological makeup of the various pottery groups from the AA foundation fills varies, they show a roughly comparable degree of fragmentation and preservation (see T-Space pottery tables), and they were found embedded in a limited variety of soil matrices. Thus it is safe to conclude that all these pottery fills were laid down early in the MM IIB phase. Their uneven composition must be a result of differences in the origin of the sherd material used as fill. MM IIB Early fragments are relatively few, but they were found dispersed throughout the construction fills, and there is no doubt that they were deposited together with the earlier pottery.[30]

The latest pottery from the AA construction fills compares very well with the latest pottery from the bench fill of Room IL of the Phaistian palace, and the fill below the floor of Room ι' at Chalara South. It includes conical cups of Type C/D with sloping interior basal surfaces that are identical with the standard Type C/D conical cups from MM IIB Late destruction contexts at Phaistos and Kommos (Pl. 3.3: **Ba/2, Je/2**; cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 100i, k). About half of the MM II Type C/D conical cups of the AA construction fills are of this variety, whereas the others are of the MM IIA variety with "hollowed-out" base interiors (**Ja/5**), similar to the most advanced cups found in the MM IB–IIA fill below Room CVII at

Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 100b–c, g, l, m). Two unpublished carinated cups (C 11256, C 11229) have low carinations similar to those of cups from MM IIB Early and Late contexts at Phaistos and of an MM IIB Early carinated cup from the fill east of the Round Building, and of an MM IIB cup from the Central Hillside at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 80, 161 nos. 228 and 1320, figs. 19 and 53, respectively). Among the pouring vessels from the AA foundation fills are many open- and bridge-spouted jars, most of which have coil handles and are datable to MM IB and MM IIA (see below). In addition, six fine bridge-spouted jar fragments have thick strap handles without grooves datable to MM IIA; however, as many as 25 bridge-spouted jar fragments have the carefully finished strap handles with grooves preserved down to the attachments that are typical of MM IIB Early at Phaistos (Pls. 3.8, 3.9: **Jd/4, Je/16, Je/18**).[31] None have the flattened handle attachments diagnostic of MM IIB Late bridge-spouted jars from Phaistos or Kommos. In addition, Type P conical cup **Ba/3** from the AA construction fills with its rather thick wall and monochrome dark coating has close comparanda in the MM IIB Late destruction contexts of Phaistos (Levi 1976: 145l′–o′).

Despite the presence of MM IIB conical cups and carinated cups as well as MM IIB Early bridge-spouted jars in the AA construction fills, a considerable number of ceramic features typical of MM IIB Late destruction contexts of Kommos and Phaistos are missing, indicating that the construction of Building AA took place early rather than late in the MM IIB phase. Even though arguments *e silentio* are notoriously untrustworthy in archaeology, they are acceptable here because of the very large size of the AA construction fills with their more than 27,000 pottery fragments. Missing from the foundation fills are diagnostic MM IIB vase types and varieties such as low rounded conical cups with ledge rims of Kommian Types A or J, wheel-thrown low teacups, standardized flaring straight-sided cups, deep globular bowls, and pitharakia (Levi and Carinci 1988: 166–68, 174–75, 189–90, 205–6, 243–44, 299; Van de Moortel 1997: 219–20).[32] In terms of manufacturing technology, it is remarkable that none of the concave-flaring bowls (It. *piatelli*) from the AA construction fills, in spite of their frequent occurrence, were thrown on a potter's wheel; all were coil-built and their interior surfaces and rims finished on the wheel. Fully wheel-thrown concave-flaring bowls occur only in the MM IIB Late use pottery from Building AA (**L/11, L/12;** see below). Likewise, painted designs diagnostic of MM IIB Late destruction contexts, such as wavy-line patterns, scale patterns, horizontal rows of running spirals, and multiple horizontal wavy lines on lower bodies, are entirely absent from the AA construction fills (cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 865–66, 882–86). Intricate polychrome designs are lacking as well, whereas they occurred in substantial amounts in mixed MM IIA–B and MM IIB fills on the Central Hillside at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 30–36; see above for their redating). Since the morphological and decorative features listed here are also absent among the pottery from the bench fill of Room IL at Phaistos and the fill below Room ι′ at Chalara, they must be more advanced MM IIB innovations, and they can be used to distinguish MM IIB Late from MM IIB Early contexts at Kommos and Phaistos.[33] With the notable exception of flamboyantly painted Kamares vases,

many of these MM IIB Late diagnostic features continued, with some modifications, into the MM III phase, indicating that there was a degree of continuity despite the many major ceramic changes that took place at the transition from the final Protopalatial to the early Neopalatial period (Van de Moortel 1997: 225–35, 350–86).

If we compare the ceramic data of the AA construction fills with the different Phaistian pottery chronologies proposed by Fiandra and by Levi and Carinci, it is clear that they support Levi and Carinci's interpretations over Fiandra's (see above). For instance, Fiandra believes that the wheel-thrown low teacup appears in the MM IB phase and continues into MM IIB, and that the painted wavy-line pattern on a dark ground as well as bridge-spouted jars with grooved horizontal strap handles are MM IIA and MM IIB in date. She has also concluded that top-quality Kamares vases with the most complex and dynamic polychrome painted patterns are MM IIA in date, whereas Kamares vases in MM IIB underwent somewhat of a decline. However, the absence of low teacups and wavy-line patterns as well as highly complex polychrome Kamares patterns in the massive MM IA–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA shows that those features cannot have appeared before an advanced stage of the MM IIB phase. Fine bridge-spouted jars with grooved strap handles do occur in some numbers in the AA construction fills, but since they are absent from MM IB and MM IIA contexts at Phaistos and Kommos, it is reasonable to believe that they must postdate the MM IIA phase as well.[34]

Protopalatial Settlement Predating Building AA

The MM IB–IIB Early pottery fragments found at Kommos number in the tens of thousands, representing an enormous increase over the roughly twenty pieces dating to the MM IA phase (Tables 3.6, 3.7). This phenomenon cannot solely be explained by the longer duration of the MM IB–IIB Early phases, since together they are estimated to have lasted only one and a half to two times as long as the MM IA phase, whereas the increase in pottery remains was a thousandfold. Moreover, even though only a relatively small proportion of the MM IB–IIB Early fragments can be assigned to specific chronological phases, the amounts datable within each phase are still vastly larger than those of the MM IA phase. There is little chance that this dramatic increase is due to the vicissitudes of archaeological discovery, since differences in the soil matrices indicate that the construction fills of Building AA were taken from several different locations (see above). Thus we may safely conclude that the increase in the amount of pottery recovered reflects a major rise in pottery depositions. This in turn indicates that the settlement at Kommos experienced a rather sudden, significant expansion in the MM IB phase—a much more dramatic increase than was previously thought (cf. J. W. Shaw 1996a: 2; Wright 1996: 141). The amounts of pottery datable within the MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early phases furthermore suggest that the settlement continued undiminished throughout the Protopalatial period.

Earlier research at Kommos showed that some of the new MM IB–IIB occupation was

located on the Central Hillside. Too few building remains have been exposed to understand its character or reconstruct its architectural phases (Wright 1996: 141, pl. 3.2). An MM IB fill (Context 6) overlying a slab floor, presumably MM IB in date, was found below a mostly MM II context beneath MM III spaces CH 26–27 (Betancourt 1990: 52, 68–71). Another MM IB fill (Context 8) was uncovered below an MM IIB–III context below MM III space CH 38, and a mixed MM IIA–B fill (Context 9) was excavated on top of an MM IB level and below an MM IIB fill (Context 13) located beneath a plaster floor under MM III spaces CH 35–36; both Contexts 8 and 9 lacked associated architectural remains (Betancourt 1990: 53–54, 73–78; see above for my redating of Betancourt's Context 9). MM IIB fills on the Central Hillside were much more abundant and widespread than earlier remains. They were encountered almost everywhere excavators went below the MM III occupation (CH 16, CH 16–17, CH 18, CH 26–27, CH 32 [Context 14], CH 35, CH 35–36 [Context 13], CH 38; Betancourt 1990: 51–54). Since Betancourt did not yet distinguish MM IIB Early from Late pottery, it is impossible to know, without restudy, the extent or nature of MM IIB Early occupation on the Central Hillside.

In the Southern Area, flimsy walls of various structures possibly predating Building AA were uncovered together with the MM IB–IIB Early construction fills of AA (Chap. 1.1). North of this civic building, the MM IIB Early fill of the deep sounding east of the Classical Round Building had been deposited next to wall remains of two superimposed structures (Trench 20B, see above). All those early structures of the Southern Area obviously predate the MM IIB Early deposition of the various pottery fills. They cannot be dated more precisely, since they are lacking associated floors, floor deposits, and construction fills (Betancourt 1990: 24, 72). Farther east of the Classical Round Building and still north of Building AA, closely datable MM IB pottery fills without architectural remains were found below House X (Context 5: Betancourt 1990: 65–68) as well as below paved road 34 east of Building AA (Group X). It is not known whether the large amounts of MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early pottery deposited as fills in the Southern Area were originally used in that part of the site or how much of it was taken from other areas.

The partially uncovered structure to the south of Building AA predates the deposition of MM IB/IIA Group Y on its lower, earthen floor. Group Y was covered by a later plaster floor. The incompletely excavated floor deposit or primary dump (Group Z) found on top of the plaster floor dates the abandonment of this structure to MM IIA or MM IIB Early.[35] It conceivably went out of use in conjunction with the construction of Building AA, but too little has been excavated for us to understand the circumstances of its demise. The abandonment of this structure may not have been an isolated phenomenon. Also the large MM IIB Early pottery fill found in the area east of the Classical Round Building to the north of Building AA may have been deposited in preparation for AA's construction.

Betancourt did not find convincing evidence for a violent destruction of the Kommos settlement in any phase of the Protopalatial period (Betancourt 1990: 28–33). Likewise, the large

pottery deposits from the AA foundation fills and the structure to the south both lack solid evidence for destructions in the MM IB and MM IIA phases and the MM IIB Early subphase; however, the large fill east of the Round Building largely consists of mendable MM IIB Early vases, which suggests the possibility of a localized destruction, perhaps in conjunction with the building of AA. Building AA also seems to have met a violent end in the MM IIB Late subphase (see below). The lack of MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early destruction horizons at Kommos is mirrored at Phaistos and Aghia Triada (Levi and Carinci 1988: 299; Carinci 1989).[36]

Even though the architectural history of Kommos in the MM IB–IIB Early period remains largely unknown, the characteristics of its pottery shed some light on activities at the site prior to the construction of Building AA. It was beyond the scope of this study to quantify the number of vases of each type represented among the more than 27,000 pottery fragments of the AA construction fills. Such quantifications have been made only for Group Ja (Location 10), which is by far the largest pottery group, making up 43 percent of all the pottery of the construction fills (Table 3.30). The other pottery groups from the foundations of Building AA are comparable in character to Group Ja, with the exception of Group A (Location 1), which is largely MM IB in date, is overall more mendable, and has considerably fewer large vase types.

In addition to the vase types of Group Ja, the MM IB–IIB Early pottery groups from the Southern Area published here include open-spouted jars, a fine bucket vase, and a possible *louter* or pedestaled basin. The new finds from the Southern Area at Kommos published here have considerably expanded our knowledge of the range of vase types used at Kommos in the MM IB–IIB Early phases. We now know that in addition to the shapes published by Betancourt (1990), Type P conical cups, a *grattugia* or "grating" bowl, a possible *louter* or fruit stand, fine bucket vases, and new varieties of rounded cups, straight-sided cups, tumblers, bowls, jars, and cooking pots were consumed at Kommos.

With this fuller knowledge of pottery use at Kommos, we are now in a better position to make comparisons with the range of vase types found in the Phaistian palace and settlement (Table 3.31).

Nearly all Kommian vases from the AA construction fills have close comparanda among the Phaistian pottery of the MM IB–IIB Early phases. The variety of vase types consumed is roughly similar to that used in the Phaistian palace and settlement as well as elsewhere at Kommos. The few MM IB–IIB Early shapes missing at Kommos are also extremely rare at contemporary Phaistos. These are elaborately decorated teapots, askoid jugs, *rhyta*, "candle holders," suspension vases (It. *vasi a gabietta*), unguent vases, multiple-joined vases, and askoi. These rare vessels occur in the Phaistian palace as well as in the settlement. Their absence at Kommos may be due merely to the vicissitudes of recovery.

The MM IB–IIB Early assemblages from the Phaistian palace and nonpalatial contexts are admittedly small, however, and do not allow for an in-depth comparison of sizes or frequen-

Table 3.30. Estimated frequencies of vessel types represented in Group Ja (Location 10), broken down by chronological phase.
Estimates are based on counts of quantifiable diagnostic features, such as handles, legs, spouts, rims, and bases. For a detailed description of the methods of quantification used, see Van de Moortel 2001: 29 n. 15. Nearly all remains are single fragments. The discrepancy between the total estimated number of vases and the number of fragments is due to the fact that most fragments could not be closely identified.

Ceramic Phase	Vase Shape	Frequency
MM IB (some MM IA–B)	Conical cups	531
	Tumbler	1
	Conical bowls	2
MM IB–IIA	Conical cups	198
	Open-spouted jars, small	30
	Open- or bridge-spouted jars, small	5
MM IIA	Conical cups	5
MM IIA–IIB	Rounded cups	24
	Straight-sided cups	11
	Bridge-spouted jars, small	2
MM IB–IIB	Carinated cups	13
	Bowls, fine	27
	Bowl, medium-coarse cylindrical, handmade	1
	Bowls, medium-coarse flaring, handmade	154
	Bowls, medium-coarse convex, handmade	47
	Bowls, very large, shape uncertain	119
	Basins, large to very large	8
	Grattuge	1
	Vat or pedestaled krater	1
	Fruit stand	1
	Teapots	1
	Bricchi	1
	Teapot-jar, small	1
	Bridge-spouted jars, medium coarse	4
	Jugs or ewers, narrow-necked	40
	Jugs, wide-mouthed	16
	Jugs, trefoil-mouthed (Pediada)	5
	Jugs, very large	50
	Jars, small	32
	Jars, large	234
	Jar, collar-necked	1
	Jars, very large	22
	Oval-mouthed amphoras	30
	Pithoi	53
	Cooking pots, Type A, small to medium	114
	Cooking pots, Type A, very large	5
	Cooking pots, Type B, small to medium	5
	Cooking pots, Type B, large	3
	Cooking pots, type unknown, large	13

(*Table 3.30 continued*)

Ceramic Phase	Vase Shape	Frequency
	Cooking jar, small	1
	Cooking trays	6
	Cooking dishes	167
	Circular tray or dish	1
	Lamps, small handheld	1
	Lamps, large stationary	37
	Firebox	1
	Tube	1
	Angular tray or box	1
	Stopper	1
Total number of vases of known types		**2,028**
Number of fragments		**11,805**

cies. When one includes the abundant MM IIB Late destruction deposits from Phaistos, and distinguishes between palatial and ordinary domestic contexts, some interesting differences in consumption patterns emerge, which suggest that at least part of the pottery from the AA foundation fills came from a building with an official function, possibly a predecessor of Building AA. No convincing wall remains of such AA predecessor have been identified, but its former presence is further suggested by the east-west paved walkway or "causeway" uncovered below the central court of Building AA, which may have led visitors from the sea to this vanished civic structure (see Chap. 1.1).[37]

Part of the AA construction pottery consists of typical household pottery fulfilling a large variety of domestic functions, found also at Phaistos in the palace as well as in nonpalatial domestic contexts: drinking (cups, tumblers), serving (bowls, fine bucket vases, fruit stands), pouring (teapots, open-spouted jars, bridge-spouted jars, jugs), storage (jars, pithoi), transport (amphoras), cooking (cooking pots, trays, dishes, jars), and lighting (lamps), as well as specialized activities (basins, *louteres*, tubes, angular trays or boxes).[38] Drinking, serving, and pouring vessels include utilitarian as well as higher-quality varieties with complex painted designs. The 5:1 proportion of cups to pouring vessels seen in Group Ja is consistent with domestic use in Protopalatial Phaistos, MM IIB Knossos, and MM III Kommos, suggesting that, generally, each pouring vessel would have contained liquid for a small group of drinking vessels (Table 3.30). The evidence from the Phaistian palace in this respect is unclear.[39]

However, the AA construction fills differ from domestic contexts at Kommos and Phaistos by their unusually high numbers of large storage jars, amphoras, pithoi, very large bowls, basins, jugs, and cooking pots. At Phaistos these very large vases occur in small quantities in domestic contexts but are much more frequent in the palace.[40] Large storage jars, amphoras, and pithoi take up 17 percent of Group Ja (Table 3.30), comparable to ca. 19 percent of

Table 3.31. Vase types found in the palace, the Acropoli Mediana (an official context), and the settlement at Protopalatial Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 311–79) and in MM IB–IIB Early contexts at Kommos.

Vase Type	Phaistos Palace/ Official Context	Phaistos Settlement	Kommos MM IB–IIB Early
Cups, conical	X	X	X
rounded	X	X	X
carinated	X	X	X
straight-sided	X	X	X
Tumblers	X	X	X
Bowls, medium to large	X	X	X
very large	X	X	X
Basins, medium to large	X	X	X
very large	X		X
Grattuge	X		X
Vats	X		X
Kraters	X		?
Fruit stands	X	X	X
Louteres	X	X	?
Bucket vases, high-quality	X	X	X
Teapots, very elaborate	X	X	
other	X	X	X
Open-spouted jars	X	X	X
Bridge-spouted jars, small to medium	X	X	X
large	X	X	X
Jugs, small to medium	X	X	X
large	X	X	X
askoid	X	X	
lentoid	X (MM IIB Late)		
milk jugs	X	X	X
Rhyta	X	X	
Strainers	X (MM IIB Late)	X (MM IIB Late)	
Pyxides	X	X	?
Elongated jars	X	X	X
Stamnoid jars	X	X	X
Spouted bucket jars	X	X	X
Pithoid jars	X	X	?
Amphoras	X	X	X

(*Table 3.31 continued*)

Vase Type	Phaistos Palace/ Official Context	Phaistos Settlement	Kommos MM IB–IIB Early
Pithoi, very large	X (MM IIB Late)		
medium to large	X	X	X
Cooking pots, small to medium	X	X	X
large	X	X	X
Cooking jars	X	X	X
Cooking trays	X	X	X
Cooking dishes		X	X
Lamps, small handheld	X	X	X
Lamps, large stationary	X	X	X
Fireboxes	X	X	X
Incense burners	X (MM IIB Late)		
"Candle holders"	X		
Clay furnace	X (MM IIB Late)		
Pedestals	X (MM IIB Late)		
Suspension vases	X	X	
"Horned" vases	X (MM IIB Late)	X (MM IIB Late)	
"Unguent" vases	X	X	
Multiple-joined vases	X	X	
Partitioned vases		X	X
Askoi		X	
Bird vases	X (MM IIB Late)	X (MM IIB Late)	
Vases with interior plastic appliqués		X	X
Tubes	X (MM IIB Late)	X (MM IIB Late)	X

the pottery of the Phaistian palace (Van de Moortel 1997: 764–96, 881–82). Very large bowls, basins, jugs, and cooking pots constitute about 11 percent of the pottery of Group Ja. Likewise, in the Phaistian palace outsized bowls, basins, and jugs occur much more frequently than in Protopalatial houses at Phaistos and Kommos.[41] Of course, one has to exercise caution when comparing the percentages of vase shapes in the AA construction fills and floor depos-

its since the latter as a rule have been sealed during use, whereas the foundation fills, consisting almost exclusively of single pottery fragments, seem to have been taken from dumps of broken and discarded pottery. The frequency of vase shapes in such dumps is to a large degree determined by the breakage rates of individual vessel shapes. If we take this factor into consideration, however, the high percentage of large and very large vessels in the AA foundation fills is even more remarkable because those vessels tend to break less and be discarded at a slower rate than smaller vases.

A few vase types from the AA construction fills may even occur exclusively in official contexts in the Protopalatial period. These are vats, kraters, very large basins, "grating" bowls or platform bowls (It. *grattuge*), and fireboxes. At Phaistos, vats, kraters, and very large basins (rim = 45–55 cm) are reported only from the palace and the fill below Room CVII of the Acropoli Mediana, which in the MM IIB Late subphase fulfilled an official function (Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 12–13). Similarly, *grattuge* such as **Ja/22** (Pl. 3.6) may have been reserved for official use. Eleven other examples of *grattuge* are known to date (Levi and Carinci 1988: 222–23). Of these, eight come from the Phaistian palace and one from the final MM IIB destruction level of the monumental building at Monastiraki (Kanta 1999: 389). A tenth example comes from the area of the Complesso della Mazza di Breccia at Aghia Triada and is perhaps related to an MM II ceremonial or cultural context (Carinci 1999: 121, 129 n. 78). The eleventh *grattugia* is reported by Pernier to have been found at Kalathiana but has not been seen since. Nearly all come from ceremonial contexts, and with the exception of the Aghia Triada *grattugia* and the possible Kalathiana example, all are associated with official contexts. Thus the presence of a *grattugia* in the AA construction fills may be indicative of a previous official building at Kommos. Finally, fireboxes such as **Ja/43** (Pl. 3.12) also may have been largely restricted to official contexts at Phaistos. Of the ten Protopalatial Phaistian examples listed and illustrated by Levi and Carinci, five come from the palace—including one from the bench fill in Room IL—two come from Room CV of the Acropoli Mediana, an area with official function, and three have unknown origins (Levi and Carinci 1988: 262, pl. 113d–h; Levi 1976: pls. 37d, f, 159, 180b, 182d–f). Two examples come from a house west of the West Court (Speziale 2001: pl. IV.2; La Rosa 1998–2000: 81, fig. 144A, B). Likewise, one of two Neopalatial fireboxes from Phaistos that have good contexts comes from the palace, and all nine Neopalatial examples from Aghia Triada were found in the "villa" (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 129–79; Van de Moortel 1997: 29–94). Taking into consideration the combined presence in the AA construction fills of fragments of vats or kraters, very large basins, *grattugia* fragment **Ja/22**, and firebox fragment **Ja/43**, as well as the unusually large percentage of large storage and transport jars, very large bowls, jugs, and cooking pots, I believe we can justifiably raise the possibility that an official building existed at Kommos before Building AA.[42]

In contrast with the AA construction fills, the pottery from the structure found to the south of Building AA (Groups Y and Z) consists almost entirely of ordinary household vases of normal size (drinking, serving, pouring, cooking vessels, possibly jars). The presence of a

crucible fragment (C 11659) in Group Z with copper slag adhering is indicative of metalworking at the site before the construction of Building AA.

MIDDLE MINOAN IB–MIDDLE MINOAN IIB EARLY POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

The construction fills of Building AA (Groups A–Ji) and the few additional pottery groups X, Y, and Z found east and south of that building add more than 28,000 MM IB–IIB Early Protopalatial pottery fragments to the ten thousand or so studied by Betancourt. They contribute considerably to our understanding of ceramic developments in those phases at Kommos, allowing us to characterize them in much more detail than was possible before.

General Ceramic Developments

The new pottery finds from Kommos demonstrate that a number of important ceramic changes took place in the western Mesara in the course of the Protopalatial period. Before discussing individual shape histories, we point out some general trends in terms of fabric recipes, vessel formation techniques, morphological and decorative variability, and firing practices.

The use of medium-coarse (**A/6, A/9, Ja/29, Je/22, Jg/4, Jh/1**) and coarse (**A/4, Dc/1, Ja/35,** C 11131) fabrics for small open (max d = 15 cm) and closed shapes (max h = 20 cm), common in MM IA, continued into the MM IB phase, but was much diminished. For instance, in contrast with their MM IA predecessors, MM IB conical cups have mostly fine fabrics. From MM IIA onward, the use of medium-coarse and coarse fabrics seems to have been largely limited to medium and large vases, as it was in the MM IIB phase and Neopalatial period.

More striking in the MM IB and MM IIA phases is the frequent combination of fabrics of different textures on the same vases. This characteristic is not discussed by Levi and Carinci (1988) but was presumably equally widespread at Phaistos. It is certainly common in the MM IB phase at Kommos and is especially found on medium-coarse and coarse vases with barbotine decoration (see below). Surfaces of those vases tend to be covered by a thick fine slip or engobe out of which the plastic decoration was fashioned. Other uses in the MM IB and MM IIA phases are thick fine engobes on the interiors of large medium-coarse or coarse bowls (**Bc/1, Ja/18, Ja/19, Je/13**), vats (**Ba/6**), and a possible fruit stand or *louter* (**Z/1**), fine rim coils on coarser bowls or closed vases (**Jd/2, Jd/3, Je/9, Je/12, Je/13, X/11**), fine necks and spouts of some coarser jugs (**Je/19, Jg/4**), spouts of medium-coarse teapots (**Bb/1, Ja/26**), fine and coarser body coils on large burnished pedestaled lamps (**Jf/12**), and even the application of a fine base on a small coarse closed vase (**Ja/35**)—possibly a tall teapot—and on a medium-coarse jar or jug (**Je/24**; see below). It stands to reason that fine clay was used for rim coils, spouts, and plastic decoration to give those features a sharper definition, since there were no nonplastic inclusions in this clay to obscure the edges. Fine clay engobes on the interiors of large bowls and vats as well as clay coils in the bodies of large pedestaled lamps

and fine clay bases on medium-coarse or coarse vases seem to have served to reduce the porosity of those vessels, since those surfaces were also burnished. In some instances, however, it is not obvious why the potter combined different clay textures (e.g., bowl **Je/13**, jar C 11131). The coarse stratigraphy of the Kommian data does not allow us to determine whether the combined use of different fabric textures was as common in the MM IIA as in the MM IB phase. To judge from the large MM IIB Early pottery fill east of the Classical Round Building in the Southern Area, the practice had largely ceased by the beginning of the MM IIB phase, and it certainly was rare in the MM IIB Late subphase (see below).

Another striking aspect of manufacturing technology in the Protopalatial period is the gradual adoption of the kinetic force of the wheel to throw the vase body. This trend was already observed by Betancourt (1990: 29–30). Our new data confirm Betancourt's finding that in the MM IB phase the potter's wheel was hardly ever used in the western Mesara for the throwing of vases, but it was employed to finish surfaces and rims, for example, of conical cups and concave-flaring bowls. Very few local MM IB vases can be shown to have been wheel-thrown, such as fine conical bowl **Je/11** (Pl. 3.5), dated by its intricate barbotine decoration. A second wheel-thrown bowl, **X/23** (Pl. 3.18), dated to MM IB by its context (Group X), is a Knossian import. In the MM IIA phase the wheel was used to throw all small and medium open shapes—conical cups of Types C/D, rounded cups, carinated cups, straight-sided cups, some small and medium low bowls (e.g., **Jf/5**; max rim d 19 cm; max h 5.5 cm)—as well as some small closed vases of indeterminate height (e.g., **Je/21**). Other small vases were still coil-built, for example, bridge-spouted jar **Jf/8**, or seem to have been wheel-thrown in parts, e.g., bridge-spouted jar **Ja/31**. Larger vase shapes were still handmade. We have too little information on MM IIB Early pottery to understand the use of the potter's wheel in that subphase. Certainly, all MM IIB Early conical cups were wheel-thrown, but bridge-spouted jar remains are too fragmentary to allow the identification of their manufacturing technique (e.g., **Je/16**).

The adoption of the potter's wheel for vessel formation did not merely represent a development in technique but reflects a major change in the organization of pottery production as well. It required a much greater investment in manufacturing tools and allowed the potter to produce vases faster and increase the volume of production. To understand how important production speed was to the potter, one needs to investigate whether the use of the wheel was accompanied by related developments such as standardization of manufacturing practices or a decrease in the variability of vase shapes.

It is possible that the increased use of fine fabrics for small vases in the MM IIA phase was connected with the employment of the wheel, since fine fabrics spinning on a fast wheel would have been easier on the potter's fingers than the medium-coarse or coarse western Mesara fabrics with their chunky angular inclusions. Certainly, all MM IIA wheel-thrown vases published here, and even wheel-thrown MM IB bowl **Je/21**, in spite of its medium size, have fine fabrics. Whether the adoption of the wheel also affected the practice of combining different fabric textures cannot be gauged, since the coarseness of the Kommian data does

not allow us to detect a decline in this practice in the MM IIA phase. Certainly, by the MM IIB Early subphase it had become much reduced.

Because the adoption of the wheel signifies an increase in production speed, one could expect that it is accompanied by simplification and greater standardization of vessel shapes. However, at Kommos as well as at Phaistos these trends are not observed until late in the MM IIB phase (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 304). A striking characteristic of MM IB and MM IIA pottery at Kommos, which now is much better appreciated than before, is the enormous morphological variation of the highest-quality fine serving vessels as well as of some medium-coarse and coarse vase types such as high-quality bowls (see below). Considerations of space make it impossible to include all morphological variants in the present catalogue. As at Phaistos, the greatest variability is observed among serving vases. The most variable shapes at Kommos are highly decorated rounded cups, straight-sided cups, tumblers, and especially fine bowls and small bucket jars, which may have been preeminent display pieces. On the other hand, intricately decorated serving vessels such as carinated cups, vats, teapots, open-spouted jars, bridge-spouted jars, and globular jugs already had standardized shapes in the MM IB and MM IIA phases, and so did utilitarian conical cups, bowls, basins, *grattuge*, *louteres*, jugs, jars, amphoras, pithoi, cooking vessels, and lamps. It is only in the MM IIB Late subphase that we see the standardization of fine teacups, straight-sided cups, and some fine bowl types (see below; cf. Betancourt 1990: 159 no. 1281).

Whereas the morphological characteristics of the MM IB–IIB Early pottery from the Southern Area at Kommos are quite well understood, not much of its painted decoration is preserved, thus precluding a detailed discussion of designs or their development through time. Rather simple linear patterns prevail in our extant material. Painted decoration on high-quality vases usually is executed in white or polychromy on a dark ground, but in the MM IIA phase often on a buff clay ground, which may be polished (e.g., **Je/3, Jf/3**). Polychrome decoration uses white, purple, wine red, orange, and occasionally yellow colors (see T-Space pottery tables). Rarely do high-quality vases have white-coated surfaces (**Je/4**). Utilitarian vases, in contrast, often are decorated with simple dark-painted motifs on the clay ground, which is often slipped but never polished. Less commonly, they have white or reddish designs on a dark-coated ground. In the MM IIA and MM IIB phases, dark-painted designs on amphoras, pithoi, and other large vases may be bordered by a white band (e.g., **Z/3, Je/23, I/1**).

On high-quality vases of the MM IB phase, painted patterns are often accompanied by plastic barbotine decoration, usually executed in fine clay. There is quite a variety of barbotine patterns, including barnacles, prickles, ridges, and waves. This form of plastic decoration continues into the MM IIA phase but is much less frequent and less varied, being limited to barnacles on globular jugs and simple rows of prickles (cf. Betancourt 1985: 83; 1990: 29, 33; Levi and Carinci 1988: 68). The reduction of this labor-intensive plastic decoration in the MM IIA phase seems to have been compensated for at Phaistos and Kommos by the increase in intricacy of the polychrome-painted designs of top-quality vases as well as of finely executed

impressed patterns (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 300). Even the most intricate MM IIA polychrome designs (**A/4, Ja/20, Ja/24, Jd/1, Jd/5, Je/7, Jf/3**), however, retain a certain linearity and stiffness that, according to Betancourt (1990: 32) and Levi and Carinci (1988: 300–301), are typical of MM IIA polychromy and constrast with the much more flamboyant patterns of the MM IIB Late subphase.

In addition to changes in fabric use, vessel formation techniques, and variability in shape and decoration, Protopalatial pottery at Kommos also must have seen a major evolution in firing practice from the MM IB to the MM IIB Late subphase. This change affected vases of all classes—fine, medium-coarse, and coarse buff vases as well as cooking vessels, lamps, and braziers. Whereas MM IB vases as a rule were incompletely oxidized during firing, showing a gray or dark-colored fabric core in their section, almost all MM IIB Late vases from the use deposits of Building AA were entirely oxidized, displaying a uniform color throughout their section (see T-Space pottery tables; cf. MM IB Group X and MM IIB Late Groups K–M, O). The very few MM IIB Late exceptions were almost completely oxidized (**L/18, L/21, L/24**). Vases from the AA construction fills and Groups Y and Z to the south, which are only broadly datable to MM IB–IIB Early, vary in their degree of oxidation, some being completely oxidized. Since this shift in firing practice is fairly uniform and consistent at Kommos, it can serve as a rough chronological criterion. Given the close similarities of the Kommian and Phaistian ceramic assemblages, it is expected that Phaistian Protopalatial vases underwent a similar change in firing practices, even though it is not reported by Levi and Carinci (1988). In contrast, Knossian vases were completely oxidized already in the MM IA phase, as can be determined by their typical pink core (Momigliano 1991: 245).

In addition to general trends, the MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early pottery at Kommos also experienced significant changes within individual vase shapes. Very detailed shape histories for Protopalatial Phaistos have been published by Levi and Carinci (1988). Since the pottery from Kommos follows the same developments, it is not necessary to repeat Levi and Carinci's observations in great detail. Only the main trends within each vase type are discussed here.

Overview of Vessel Shapes

Conical Cups (Pls. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3)

Protopalatial conical cup developments at Kommos closely followed those at Phaistos observed by Levi and Carinci (1988: 234–39, 243–44) and Fiandra (1973). Most MM IB conical cups were tall (max h 5.6 cm). They resembled MM IA cups in shape, fabric, and surface finish but had more slender proportions and narrower bases (**X/2, Ja/1, Jg/1**) and can be assigned to Kommian Type D (see above). Some were dark-dipped (**Ja/3**). Deep parallel finger impressions on the lower body occurred frequently, indicating that hand-modeling of the lower body was still common. In contrast with MM IA fabrics, MM IB conical cup fabrics were almost always fine. MM IB Type D cups were joined by two other types: the rare Type E conical cups with a

very large semi-ovoid body (**Ja/4:** h ca. 7 cm; max d ca. 11 cm) and the more common small Type C or D cups with a constricted base and ogival profile. These small ogival cups have fine fabrics and are handmade. Four examples, three unpainted (**Ja/2, Je/1, Jf/2**) and the other dark-dipped (**Jg/2**), have wheel-finished rims and could belong to either the MM IB or MM IIA phase (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 236–37). None of the Kommian dark-dipped ogival cups preserve the simple white-painted patterns that are commonly seen on Phaistian examples.

Only small ogival cups and Type E cups continued into the MM IIA phase. They were joined in this phase by slightly larger cups of Types C and D that were entirely wheel-thrown and have an ovoid rather than ogival profile. These were obviously mass-produced, and because of their small size and undercut lower body, they were most likely thrown off the hump. Wheelmade Type C and D cups of MM IIA date always have a pronounced hollow at their interior base (**Ja/5**), and some have very thin walls (**Ba/1**). The hollow base was created by a scooping motion of the potter's finger when he or she lifted the clay at the transition of the base to the wall. Its ubiquitousness on MM IIA wheel-thrown conical cups at Kommos and Phaistos indicates that this particular motion constituted a motor habit on the part of the potter. Parallel string marks on the base show that the wheel was at a complete stop when the cup was cut off (**Ja/5**).

In the MM IIB phase, small ogival cups entirely disappeared, and the larger, wheel-thrown Type C and D cups became the most common conical cup types. They have more standardized, thicker walls than before and no longer display the hollow at the base (**Ba/2, Je/2**). Some are monochrome dark coated and can be assigned to Type P (**Ba/3**). None of these have the simple white decoration seen at Phaistos.

New in the MM IIB phase were very low conical cups with everted rims, which were either unpainted (Type A) or dark-dipped (Type J; cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 989, fig. 6; 2002: fig. 10.4). Phaistian as well as Kommian evidence suggests that cups with strongly everted rims did not appear before the Late stage of MM IIB, but a few examples with weakly developed rims occurred in MM IIB Early at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 244, pl. 102v). The foundation fills of Building AA, despite their large size, entirely lacked Type A and J cups. Given this distribution pattern, it seems that Type J conical cup **C/1,** with its well-developed everted rim, is advanced MM IIB in date and is likely to have been deposited during the lifetime of Building AA rather than during its construction (see below).

Other Cup Types (Pls. 3.1, 3.3, 3.4)

Apart from conical cups and MM IA–B tumblers (cf. **Ba/4**), only carinated cups were fairly standardized among the MM IB–IIB Early cups at Phaistos and Kommos and can be said to have been mass-produced. Kommian carinated cups closely correspond to Phaistian examples (Levi and Carinci 1988: 196–98). In the MM IB phase carinated cups were rare and can be subdivided into two morphological variants. By far the more common kind is handmade with a high carination and an almost straight upper body that may have been finished on the

wheel (**Ja/7**). Examples are dark-coated and may carry painted ornament. The other variant has a low rounded carination and a looping strap handle that runs from below the rim to the carination (**X/4, Ja/6**); it is dark-dipped. This second variant displays considerable morphological variation and is not well understood. In the MM IIA phase, carinated cups have their carination at midbody or slightly lower. Variants can be wide- (**Je/4**) or narrow-mouthed (**Je/3**). Typically the carination has a sharp projecting edge (**Jf/3**). The lower body is straight-sided and the upper body slightly concave, with at times a pronounced hollow above the carination. Carinated cups are now as a rule wheel-thrown. Because of their small size they were presumably thrown off the hump, possibly with the aid of a template.[43] The handle is always attached at the carination itself. Likewise diagnostic for MM IIA is the dark- or polychrome-painted pattern on a lustrous clay ground and the preference for vertical banding. The white-coated surface of **Je/4** is an MM IIA feature but also occurred in the MM IIB phase at Phaistos and Knossos (Van de Moortel 1997: 345; Levi 1976: pls. 115c, 130h; cf. Evans's "Creamy-Bordered style": MacGillivray 1998: 88; Levi 1976: pls. 61e, XVIIc). MM IIB carinated cups typically have a lower and less pronounced carination than their MM IIA predecessors (Levi and Carinci 1988: 198).[44]

Straight-sided cups occurred in the MM IB–IIB Early phases at Kommos and Phaistos but, unlike carinated cups, were much less standardized in shape (Levi and Carinci 1988: 202–3, 300). MM IB examples from Kommos are handmade and have wide bases (**Je/5**). As at Phaistos, no slender straight-sided cups are datable to the MM IB phase. Kommian MM IIA and MM IIB Early cups are wheel-thrown and vary in shape from cylindrical to spool-shaped or flaring, and in diameter from narrow to wide. They often are squat and cylindrical (**Je/7**).[45] The standardized flaring straight-sided cups typical of the MM IIB Late and MM III phases (e.g., Pls. 3.13, 3.16: **L/7, L/8, L/9, M/1, M/2**) do not appear in MM IB–IIB Early contexts at Kommos or Phaistos.

Likewise, the teacup, defined as a standardized rounded cup with semiglobular to semiovoid or semipiriform body, everted rim, and single vertical handle, did not exist in the MM IB, MM IIA, or MM IIB Early phases at Kommos or Phaistos. It made its first appearance in the MM IIB Late subphase (e.g., Pl. 3.17A: C 9785).[46] A large variety of rounded cups were in use in the earlier Protopalatial phases, with unique pieces such as the MM IB waisted cup with crinkled rim (**Ja/9;** cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 188–95). Cups with eggshell-thin walls have not been encountered in the AA construction fills, but fragments of a rounded cup and a carinated cup with such thin walls were found in an MM IIA/IIB Early context in the domestic structure to the south (Group Z).

Tumblers were never common in the early Protopalatial period at Kommos and Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 179–80). In addition to the MM IA–B tumbler type, a tall dark-dipped type of utilitarian quality is typical of the MM IB phase (**Ja/8**). Fine high-quality tumblers show a wide variety of shapes and sizes (**Je/6, Je/7, Jg/3**) and are always dark-coated, often

carrying polychrome linear ornament on top. Being highly labor-intensive, unique pieces, high-quality rounded and straight-sided cups and tumblers may have served as display vessels and may have carried social prestige.

Bowls (Pls. 3.4, 3.5, 3.6)

The bowl shape is very common in MM IB–IIB Early contexts at Kommos, and Kommian bowls closely follow trends observed at Phaistos (cf. Betancourt 1990: 31; Levi and Carinci 1988: 171–78, 224–26). Bowls may have convex, conical, cylindrical, carinated, or concave-flaring bodies, and they range from small (rim d < 15 cm) to large (rim d > 25 cm). Several small and medium bowls from the Southern Area at Kommos are of very high quality, such as MM IB spouted conical bowl **Da/1**, conical bowls **Ja/12** and **Je/11**, carinated bowl **Je/8**, ovoid bowl **Jf/4**, convex bowls **Jb/1** and **Je/9**, MM IIA fine bowl **Jd/1** with undulating carination and polychrome-painted decoration on a dark ground, and MM IB/IIA convex bowl **Jf/5** and possible cylindrical bowl **A/4**. With their intricate shapes and decoration they obviously are products of very fine workmanship. None have eggshell-thin walls. Like the high-quality nonstandardized cups, they may have been appreciated as display vessels with prestige value.

All other bowls are of utilitarian manufacture. They include small and medium conical bowls **Ja/10, Jd/2, Jd/3, and Jf/6**, medium convex bowls **Ja/11** and **Je/10**, cylindrical bowl **Ja/13**, spouted flaring bowl **Ja/14**, as well as large convex bowls **Bc/1, Ja/18, Ja/19**, large conical bowl **Je/13**, and large flaring bowls **Ba/5** and **Ja/20**. Only the medium flaring bowls (It. *piatelli*) represent a standardized type; it can be subdivided into a deep (**A/5, Ja/15, Ja/16, Ja/17**) and shallow (**Je/12**) variant. The deep variant became shallower in MM IIA–IIB Early (**Ja/17;** cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224). Standardized flaring bowls were painted with simple festoons and may have functioned as simple individual serving plates.

In terms of manufacturing practices, few bowls were wheel-thrown during the MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB Early phases (**Jf/5, Je/11**). The largest wheel-thrown bowl has a diameter of 19 cm and height of at least 5.5 cm. All Kommian concave-flaring bowls of the standard type were coil-built with wheel-finished rims—a characteristic that must be diagnostic for the MM IB–IIB Early period. In contrast, MM IIB Late concave-flaring bowls were entirely wheel-thrown (see below).

Several bowls combine fabrics of different textures. A medium-coarse or coarse bowl may have a fine rim coil, which allowed the fashioning of a sharply defined rim (**Je/9, Jd/2, Jd/3, Je/12**). Large bowls commonly are covered on the interior with a thick fine engobe, painted with dark bands, and burnished, presumably to lower their porosity (**Bc/1, Ja/18, Ja/19, Je/13**). One large medium-coarse bowl has a fine coil inserted in a notch cut out on the interior just below the rim (**Je/13**). The purpose of this fine coil is unclear.

Basins (Pls. 3.1, 3.6)

Basins are defined here as thick-walled conical (**Ja/21, Je/14**) or cylindrical (**X/5**) open vessels with medium-coarse or coarse fabrics. Kommian basins closely parallel those of Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 22–26). All examples from the Southern Area are coil-built. Their rim diameter is usually larger than that of bowls. They are utilitarian vessels with little or no painted decoration. A large low spouted basin is unique in that it has barbotine decoration on the interior (**Ja/21**). The interior of its coarse body is covered with a thick engobe in which barbotine barnacles were modeled.

Grattuge (Pl. 3.6)

A type of basin with a raised platform in the center or at the side decorated with barbotine prickles or barnacles is commonly referred to by the Italian term *grattugia*, "grater." *Grattuge* occurred only in the Protopalatial period. They are found primarily in the Phaistian palace and may have had an official use. For the first time, the centerpiece of a *grattugia* has been identified at Kommos (**Ja/22**). Because of the morphological resemblance of *grattuge* to modern kitchen graters, scholars have suggested that these vessels were used for the kneading or grating of food (Levi and Carinci 1988: 222); however, the barbotine prickles of **Ja/22** are modeled out of an engobe of very fine soft fabric applied on the coarse body, and they were coated with dark paint. They seem to be unsuitable for grating even soft foods such as cheese, and they lack tell-tale rubbing marks. A function as a dripping bowl seems more likely.[47] Their distribution pattern suggests a ceremonial and perhaps official use (see above).

*Vats/Kraters/Fruit Stands/*Louteres *(Pls. 3.2, 3.7)*

Vats are large, deep, open vessels with thick, convex walls. They are always coil-built. Only four Protopalatial vats have been published from Phaistos. They date to the MM IIA or MM IIB phases and are highly decorated, presumably having functioned as serving and display vases (Levi and Carinci 1988: 21–22, pl. 12a–d; Levi 1976: figs. 76, 889, pls. 56b, XXVIIIa–b). Two large, highly fragmentary vases from the AA construction fills at Kommos resemble the Phaistian vats in shape and size. However, **Ja/23** is an unpainted coarse vat of utilitarian quality. **Ba/6** has a coarse fabric, but its interior is coated with a thick engobe and slipped. It can no longer be determined whether it had painted decoration.

It is remarkable that none of these Phaistian or Kommian vats has a preserved base. Perhaps one should envision them not as vats at all, but as pedestaled kraters. The lower part of **Ba/6** is covered on the exterior with a layer of coarse clay. The presence of this coarse clay is unusual, and it is proposed here that it may be the remnant of an attached pedestal base. It is conceivable that the four Phaistian examples were kraters as well, and that their pedestal bases were lost. This would raise the number of kraters known from Phaistos from one to five (Levi and Carinci 1988: 20, pl. 11h; Levi 1976: pl. XXVIIa).

A third large vessel (**Z/1**) from Kommos has a coarse fabric similar to that of vat/krater

Ba/6, and its interior is equally covered with a thick engobe and burnished; however, it has a much shallower body than **Ba/6**. If **Z/1** had a pedestaled base as well, it could have been a fruit stand rather than a krater (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 10, 11a–e, possibly 12p; Levi 1976: pl. 60b, f). **Ba/6** and **Z/1** are so similar in fabric and manufacture that they may have been part of a krater-and–fruit stand set analogous to the highly decorated krater F.1031 and *fruttiera* F.1053 from Room LV at Phaistos (Levi 1976: pl. XXVIIa–b). Alternatively, since **Z/1** is unpainted, it may be a small *louter*, or unpainted flaring bowl on a tall pedestal base, such as those found in MM IIA and MM IIB contexts at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 14, 22, pls. 9a–b, 12p; Levi 1976: pl. 55). *Louteres* come from the Phaistian palace as well as from domestic contexts such as Room η at Chalara (North) and Room β at Aghia Photini. They appear to have been simple vases of domestic use, but their exact function is uncertain. Levi and Carinci suggest that they were washing basins. The slipped and burnished surface of **Z/1** would have made it well suited to use as a working basin, although such surface treatment is not mentioned with regard to the Phaistian *louteres*. Three small rim fragments from the Central Hillside at Kommos published by Betancourt (1990: nos. 308–10) are similar in shape to **Z/1**. An unpublished fragment (C 10673) from the AA construction fills bears close resemblance to **Ba/6** and **Z/1**, but its shape can no longer be reconstructed.

Finally, a polychrome painted fragment of high quality from the construction fills of Building AA appears to belong to a small MM IB fruit stand (**Ja/25**).

Bucket Vase (Pl. 3.7)

A small fragmentary bucket vase (**Ja/24**) is datable to MM IB or MM IIA on the basis of its decoration. It has a fine fabric and is coil-built. Its irregularly shaped body is indented below the handle. The base of a possible second example (**A/4**; Pl. 3.5) is assigned the same date range because of its intricate combination of fine and medium-coarse fabrics. Both these vases are highly decorated and of the finest quality. They must have been fancy display pieces in addition to being serving vessels. Both compare quite well with high-quality spouted bucket vases from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 137–38).

Teapots and Related Shapes (Pls. 3.1, 3.7, 3.10)

Teapots are very common pouring vessels in the MM IA phase at Patrikies and Phaistos, and display great morphological variability. They become much rarer in the MM IB phase, but continue without major morphological changes to the end of the Protopalatial period (Levi and Carinci 1988: 94–106). For this reason they are difficult to date by shape alone. Two teapot fragments were recovered from the AA construction fills (**Bb/1, Ja/26**). Both have fine spouts attached to medium-coarse bodies. Their shape is not more closely datable than MM IA–IIB, but because of their medium-coarse bodies and small size, our two examples most likely date to the MM IA or MM IB phase (see above; cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 96–101).

In addition, possible fragments of two tall teapots or *bricchi* (**X/12, Ja/35**) come from an

MM IA–B fill (Group X) and an MM IB–IIB Early construction fill of Building AA (Group Ja), respectively. **Ja/35** (Pl. 3.10) probably dates to MM IB because of its coarse fabric and small size. Its splaying foot was made out of a very fine fabric, perhaps to make it less permeable to liquids or to ensure a sharp basal edge. Finally, a fragment of a so-called *olletta-teiera* ("jar-teapot"), a hybrid form of teapot and bridge-spouted jar, was recovered from the same AA construction fill (**Ja/34**; Pl. 3.10). It is datable by style to MM II (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 139–40).

Open- and Bridge-Spouted Jars (Pls. 3.1, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9)

In contrast with Phaistos, large bridge-spouted jars (h > 35 cm) are rare at Kommos, being represented by only one or two examples (**Fb/1** and possibly **Je/18**). To judge by the Phaistian finds, these jars did not undergo significant changes in the Protopalatial period (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 110–16). As a rule they have medium-coarse or coarse bodies, bridged spouts, and horizontal coil handles set at a slanted angle when seen in frontal view.

In contrast, small (h < 20 cm) and medium (h = 20–35 cm) jars of this shape are very common in Protopalatial Kommos, as they are at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 116–31). Their troughed spouts may be open or bridged. Together with conical cups, small and medium open- and bridge-spouted jars are the most sensitive chronological markers of Protopalatial Phaistos and Kommos. They are subdivided into morphological types that underwent striking and consistent changes in each ceramic phase and subphase.

In the MM IB phase, small and medium vases always have open, that is, unbridged, troughed spouts and horizontal coil handles that, when seen in side view, form as a rule an acute angle (**Ja/29, Ja/30, Jf/7, Jh/1**). Seen from the front, handles in the MM IA phase were set in an almost horizontal plane. In the MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB phases, they were placed more and more upright, and in the MM III phase they became almost vertical. Bodies may be squat or elongated ovoid. A medium open-spouted jar from Kommos with coarse body and medium-fine spout has handles set at a 45° angle, and on the basis of this and its simple polychrome decoration can be dated to MM IA–B (**Ja/30**). Its pattern of intersecting groups of white diagonal bands is similar to that of Betancourt's South Cretan White-on-Dark Ware, dated to Early Minoan III–MM I, but it has in addition a red band around rim, spout, and handles, which dates it to MM IA at the earliest (cf. Betancourt 1990: 74 nos. 139–41; 1984a: 8–9). Small MM IB vases often have medium-coarse bodies (**Ja/29, Jh/1**). One medium-coarse MM IB example from Kommos has a fine rim coil, and its upper body is decorated with barbotine prickles made of fine clay (**Ja/29**). Jars **Ja/27** and **Ja/28** are made of fine clay and may be either MM IB or MM IIA in date.

The MM IIA phase was very much one of transition for small and medium spouted jars from Kommos and Phaistos. Spouts could now be open or bridged, and there was a greater variety of handles (**Ja/31, Jf/8**). Coil handles forming an acute angle survived from MM IB and were joined by coil handles with a rounded curve (**Jf/8**). Occasionally, a jar had horizon-

tal strap handles, but, unlike MM IIB and Neopalatial strap handles, they were ungrooved (**Je/15,** unpublished C 11191).[48] Bodies were squat globular or ovoid. Elongated ovoid bodies no longer existed except among utilitarian open-spouted jars (Levi and Carinci 1988: 122). Fine fabrics were now the rule, and the wheel may be used to form small vases (**Ja/31**).

By the MM IIB phase, all small and medium jars had fine fabrics, bridged spouts, and grooved horizontal strap handles. A small but persistent distinction has been observed by Filippo Carinci between the strap handles of bridge-spouted jars from MM IIB Early and MM IIB Late contexts at Phaistos. Whereas handles from MM IIB Late destruction levels at Phaistos are flattened at their attachment to the body, those from earlier MM IIB contexts preserve their groove throughout. No such distinction can be observed among the very fragmentary MM IIB bridge-spouted jar remains from Kommos published by Betancourt (1990). In the AA construction fills at Kommos about twenty grooved strap handles of bridge-spouted jars have been found, and *all* are of the MM IIB Early variety with the groove preserved throughout **(Jd/4, Je/16**, unpublished C 11167). Bridge-spouted jars with similar handles are exceedingly common in the large MM IIB Early fill excavated east of the Classical Round Building at Kommos, but are largely unpublished (Trench 20B; see above; Betancourt 1990: 84, pl. 14, no. 264). Not a single grooved strap handle with flattened attachment typical of MM IIB Late has been found in either the AA construction fills or the fill east of the Round Building, even though together these fills include tens of thousands of pottery fragments. Flattened attachments do occur, however, on MM IIB bridge-spouted jar fragments deposited with Group 1 on top of a floor of Building AA (see Chap. 3.3). Thus the stratified remains from Building AA at Kommos confirm the chronological distinction between MM IIB Early and Late fine bridge-spouted jar handles observed by Carinci at Phaistos. Flattened attachments continue to be characteristic of fine bridge-spouted jars with grooved strap handles in the MM III and LM IA phases at Kommos and Phaistos (Bentancourt 1990: pls. 36, 37, 46, 49, 50, 52, 73, 87, 93, 101, 102, 104; Wright 1996: pls. 3.71, 3.75, 3.89, 3.90, 3.92; Levi and Carinci 1988: 131, pls. 56–58). Spouts of MM IIB Early bridge-spouted jars at Kommos tend to be long and narrow, and are as a rule set below the rim.[49] In contrast, MM IIB Late vases generally have short spouts placed at the rim.

Jugs (Pls. 3.1, 3.2, 3.9, 3.10)

MM IB–IIB Early jugs are common pouring vessels at Phaistos and come in many shapes and sizes (Levi and Carinci 1988: 50–92). The AA construction fills and other contemporary contexts from the Southern Area at Kommos published here contained many jug remains as well, but because of their highly fragmentary condition they do not contribute much to our understanding of the morphological characteristics of this shape at Kommos beyond what was known from Betancourt's (1990) publication of jugs from the residential area on the Central Hillside. They do provide, however, new information about fabric recipes employed for jugs.

There are many remains of large jugs (h > 35 cm) in the AA construction fills, but most are highly fragmentary and do not merit publication. Exceptions are large MM IB jug neck **Je/19** from an AA construction fill, which is made of fine fabric and attached to a medium-coarse shoulder, and MM II jug **Z/2** from the domestic structure to the south of Building AA, which was partially excavated and mendable. Dark-on-light patterned fragments **E/1** and **Je/23** as well as dark-painted vase fragment **Je/24** may belong to large jugs as well. It is difficult to explain why the potter cut out the base of medium-coarse vessel **Je/24** and inserted a plug of very fine clay. Perhaps the goal was to reduce the porosity of the base.

Most small (h < 20 cm) and medium jugs have globular bodies. The jugs of Group X always have medium-coarse or coarse fabrics in spite of their small size (**X/8, X/9, X/10, X/11**)[50] and are datable to MM IB. Those from the AA construction fills vary from fine (**Ja/32**) to medium coarse (**Jg/4**) and coarse (**Dc/1**). Necks and beaked spouts may be fine (**X/10, Jg/4**) or medium coarse with a fine rim coil (**X/11**). Several examples are decorated on the upper body with barbotine prickles or barnacles fashioned from a thick fine slip (**X/8, X/9, X/11, Dc/1, Jg/4**). Jugs with barbotine decoration and white- or polychrome-painted patterns on a dark ground are unequivocally MM IB in date (**X/8, X/11**), whereas those with dark-painted dots on a clay ground are actually more common in MM IIA than in MM IB contexts at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 68). All the published Kommian dark-on-light patterned examples have medium-coarse or coarse fabrics, however, and therefore may belong to the MM IB phase rather than the MM IIA phase (**X/9, Dc/1, Jg/4**). Wide-necked jug **Ja/32** with its crinkled rim and fine fabric is not more closely datable than MM IB–IIA.

Jars (Pls. 3.1, 3.2, 3.9, 3.10)

Like jugs, MM IB–IIB Early jars at Phaistos come in many shapes and sizes. Many types and subtypes can be distinguished: small to large elongated jars (Levi and Carinci 1988: 37–38); medium and large collar-necked "stamnoid" jars and pithoid jars (Levi and Carinci 1988: 11–13); and bucket jars (Levi and Carinci 1988: 15–16). Small jars include a few subtypes as well as a number of miscellaneous vases (Levi and Carinci 1988: 152–56, 162–65). A large variety of jars have been found in the construction fills of Building AA and in Group X to the east. Most are too fragmentary to be assigned to types, and many minor variants could not be published here for reasons of space. Those that are presented here have been selected because they significantly expand the known range of types and variants of this vase shape consumed at Kommos and they provide new information about the use of fabrics. Among the small jars (h < 20 cm) are several high-quality varieties hitherto unattested at Kommos (**A/9, Ja/33, Jc/1, Jd/5, Je/20, Je/21, Je/22, Jf/9**). Most bear similarities to vases from Phaistos, except for **A/9, Jc/1,** and **Jf/9**, which are unparalleled. Equally without parallel elsewhere is a small coarse jar with a coarse slip on the exterior surface of its lower body, which grades to a fine slip at midbody (C 11131; Pl. 3.9).[51] A more complete jar with this curious surface covering has been found in the MM IIB Early fill east of the Round Building (C 11959), but

it is unpublished.[52] Because of their combination of different fabric textures, these small jars probably date to MM IB or MM IIA rather than to MM IIB Early.

Among the medium jars (h = 20–35 cm) is a hole-mouthed elongated jar of utilitarian quality with a spout pulled from the rim and traces of dark paint (**Jd/6**; Pl. 3.10). It belongs to a type published by Betancourt (1990: nos. 92, 461) and known from Phaistos, but shows a new characteristic in that it combines a medium-coarse fabric with a fine rim coil. A possible fragment of a medium or large collar-necked jar (**X/13**), datable by its context to MM IB, would be the earliest example of this type at Kommos or Phaistos if its identification can be confirmed. Other finds from this MM IB context are a fragmentary cylindrical jar decorated in the South Cretan White-on-Dark Style datable to MM IA–B (**X/14**), a wide-necked jar with a ledge below the rim (**X/15**), and the base of a large jar or amphora (**X/16**).

Among the large jars (h > 35 cm), several fragmentary examples decorated with barbotine barnacles have been published by Betancourt (1990: no. 183, fig. 17). **A/8** has traces of polychrome-on-dark decoration and may be part of such a jar. Its base angle is reinforced with an added coil—a hitherto unattested feature. A very large elongated jar of utilitarian quality (**Jg/6**; Pl. 3.10) resembles in shape a smaller example published by Betancourt (1990: no. 1251, fig. 51), but its handles are placed lower on the body. It is the largest elongated jar found in Protopalatial levels at Kommos and equals in size the largest examples from Phaistos dated to MM IB and MM IIA (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 17d, f). The oblique angle of its handles is indicative of an MM II date (Levi and Carinci 1988: 37, pl. 17f–l). Finally, an unpublished neck fragment (C 10954) from Group Ja may belong to a collar-necked "stamnoid" jar of a type commonly found in MM IIB Late contexts at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 22c, e; Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]) as well as at the Kamares Cave (Dawkins and Laistner 1912–13: pl. VIIIb–c). Such jars seem to have been rare in the MM IIA and MM IIB Early phases, with only two examples reported from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 45, pl. 22d–e).

Oval-Mouthed Amphoras (Pls. 3.2, 3.10)

Levi and Carinci have published many morphological variants of Protopalatial oval-mouthed amphoras from Phaistos. The majority are characterized by a large, wide ovoid body with the maximum diameter at about two-thirds of the body height, a very short tapering neck, and thick, wide strap handles (Levi and Carinci 1988: 40–42). The Protopalatial amphoras found at Kommos are comparable to those from Phaistos (Betancourt 1990: 76, 158 nos. 178, 1254–57, figs. 16, 51). The two amphoras published here include a waster (**G/1**) and a large neck and shoulder fragment (**Z/3**) datable to MM IIA or MM IIB Early, with a dark-painted, white-bordered curvilinear design not yet attested at Kommos. Amphoras with similar white-bordered designs occur in MM IIA and MM IIB contexts at Phaistos (Levi 1976: pl. 70a, d) and at Apodoulou (Tzigounaki 1995: fig. 5α). The presence of a waster need not signify that oval-mouthed amphoras were produced at Kommos. The number of wasters found in Protopalatial contexts is quite small, and none are so deformed by overfiring that

the vases would have been unusable (cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 100; *contra* Betancourt 1990: 92, pl. 20, no. 416). Rather, they may have been produced elsewhere and distributed and used at Kommos in their overfired state.

Pithoi (Pls. 3.2, 3.11)

The pithos shape is best known in the MM IIB Late subphase in the western Mesara, since numerous pithoi were trapped in the massive final Protopalatial destruction horizon at Phaistos. In contrast, pithoi of the earlier Protopalatial phases at Phaistos and Kommos are poorly understood. Only two MM IB and three MM IIA examples have been published from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 4a–b; Levi 1976: pls. 17a, c, 41b, 44a, 49d), and a number of mostly small fragments from Kommos (Betancourt 1990: nos. 55, 56, 125–26, 236, 252, 951–53, 1110).

MM IB and MM IIA pithoi at Phaistos and Kommos do not always follow the typology proposed by the present author for MM IIB Late pithoi (Van de Moortel 1997: 192–93; cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 6–9; pls. 1–4). Whereas MM IIB Late pithoi with closed bodies always carry dark linear ornament on a light clay ground, only some MM IB (**X/17**) and MM II (**I/1**) examples do, while others have polychrome patterns on a dark ground (Levi 1976: pls. 17c, 41b), and others are unpainted (**Ba/8**). A large troughed pithos spout from the AA construction fills probably was bridged, and is decorated with white bands on a dark ground (**Ba/7**). It is the oldest spouted pithos attested at Kommos and Phaistos. If it followed the MM IIB Late typology of Phaistian pithoi, it would have had an open conical body.

Lids (Pl. 3.11)

Many types of ceramic lids have been found in Protopalatial levels at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 229–33). They range in size from small to large and are usually of utilitarian quality. Their bodies may be disk-shaped, convex, straight-sided, bell-shaped, or concave. Handles are coiled, spool-shaped, or lugs (pierced or not) and may be placed centrally or laterally. Fragments of a single unpainted straight-sided lid with a central, pierced lug were found in the AA construction fills (**Je/25**). The lid is undecorated. It resembles MM IB–IIB straight-sided lids from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 229–33, pl. 97l–p) and the Kamares Cave (Dawkins and Laistner 1912–13: fig. 6), but its central, pierced lug is thus far unique.

Tubes (Pl. 3.11)

A small fragment of a coarse fenestrated shape with open base (**Ja/36**) is likely to belong to a tube because of its narrow diameter, which distinguishes it from pedestaled bases. Its exterior is dark-coated and has a wine red vertical band next to the edge of the fenestration. If its identification is correct, this would be the earliest example of a tube to appear in the western Mesara. Several tubes were found among the MM IIB Late destruction remains of the palace (room 25) and houses at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 276, pl. 114d–e; Levi

1976: fig. 885, pl. 164a, b, i), and a number were uncovered from various MM III contexts on the Central Hillside at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 170 nos. 1555–59, fig. 57).

The function of Protopalatial tubes from Kommos and Phaistos is uncertain. Later snake tubes were sometimes found with bowls attached to the top, and it seems plausible that it was the intended function of tubes in those periods to be stands for bowls (Cadogan 1973). Some of the Protopalatial and MM III tubes are sturdy enough to have carried a bowl as well, but others seem to be too long and narrow to have provided stable support. Gesell, in her authoritative study of LM IB through LM III tubes and snake tubes from Central and East Crete, concluded that wherever it could be determined, tubes were found in association with house or town shrines (Gesell 1976). An MM III tube was subsequently found in the peak sanctuary at Kato Syme (Lembesi 1991: 322, pl. 206b). However, neither the MM III tubes from Kommos nor the MM IIB Late tubes from Phaistos come from clear religious contexts (Betancourt et al. 1983: 35). In the absence of alternative interpretations, the function of these early Kommian and Phaistian tubes must remain unclear.

Cooking Vessels (Pls. 3.2, 3.11, 3.12, 3.17)

Protopalatial levels at Phaistos have yielded several variants of Betancourt's Types A and B cooking pots (Betancourt 1980), as well as cooking jars and cooking trays (Levi and Carinci 1988: 29–34). Only one Protopalatial cooking dish, misidentified by Levi and Carinci as a clay pallet, has been published from Phaistos. It comes from an MM IIB Late destruction deposit (Levi and Carinci 1988: 279, fig. 65). The purported rarity of cooking dishes in Protopalatial Phaistos seems implausible in view of their frequent occurrence at Kommos. Their near-absence in Levi and Carinci's publication is probably due to their fragmentary preservation, since Levi and Carinci focused on complete and restorable vases. The finds from the Southern Area at Kommos show that at that site an almost equally large variety of vase shapes were employed for the cooking and heating of foods in the MM IB–IIB Early phases. Nearly all have burning marks or differential wear patterns, which indicate that they had been used before being deposited. Among the cooking pots, both Types A and B were found. Type A cooking pots have globular bodies and upturned or everted rims (**X/19**), whereas Type B vessels have cylindrical or slightly rounded open bodies with straight rims (**Ba/9, Ja/50, Ja/51, Ja/52, Jf/13, Ja/53, Ja/54, Jf/14**). Variants of Type B with looping basket handle (**Ja/38**) or flaring sides (**Ja/48, Ja/49**) are present as well. Most cooking pots are small to medium in size, but some are very large. Cooking pot legs vary in section from flat (**Je/26**) to thick oval (**Jf/10**). A number of medium and large Type B cooking pots carry impressed or incised marks and are discussed below (Pl. 3.17). There are also one or two examples of small cooking jars with tall globular bodies and everted rims (**Ja/37,** probably **X/18**).

Cooking trays are rare (**Ja/42, Jf/11**), whereas cooking dishes are quite common (**X/20, X/21, Ba/10, Dc/2, Jc/2**). The original shape of cooking tray **Jf/11** cannot be determined for certain, but its very wide diameter makes it seem likely that it was elliptical rather than

circular. The manufacture of cooking dishes is not well understood. Their very thin bottom seems to have been incapable of supporting the weight of the rim when the clay was wet. For this reason Betancourt has suggested that cooking dishes were molded inside a pit lined with a basket (Betancourt 1990: 66 no. 48); however, the absence of basketry impressions on cooking dishes makes this interpretation unlikely. Rather, given the particular roughness of the exterior base and the appearance of little folds near the edge of the dish, the pit may have been lined with a piece of skin or leather.[53] It is now well established that cooking dishes were not circular but elliptical and that their rims were upturned over most of the body, dipping down to a broad spout at one of the narrow ends (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 75; Mook 1999; Barnard et al. 2003: 82, fig. 51.1B.569; Betancourt 1980: 5; Warren 1972: 111).

Small disk **Ja/40** is made of a coarse noncalcareous red fabric and may have functioned as a cooking plate or pot stand, since one of its fragments is burnt at the edge. This shape is attested here for the first time at Kommos and does not have close comparanda at Phaistos. A fragmentary angular box or tray is made from a noncalcareous red fabric as well and may therefore have been used in relation to cooking or heating, even though it does not have any trace of burning (**Ja/41**). It is generally comparable to some rare boxes with partitions from Phaistos, although their fabrics are not specified (Levi and Carinci 1988: 227–28, pl. 96x–b').

These cooking vessels from MM IB–IIB Early levels at Kommos provide us with important new information about fabric use, surface finish, and firing practices—information that had not been systematically recorded before at Kommos or Phaistos. The most remarkable aspect of MM IB–IIB Early cooking vessels at Kommos, as exemplified by the fragments published here, is the variety of fabrics and fabric colors, which contrasts sharply with the existence of a single standardized noncalcareous coarse red fabric in the Neopalatial period. Fabrics vary from medium-coarse red (**X/20, Ba/10**) to coarse red (**X/19, Ba/9, Dc/2, Ja/37, Ja/40**), coarse brown (**Ja/38**), coarse buff (**Jc/2, Jf/10**), medium-coarse orange (**Jf/11**), and medium-fine orange (**Je/26**). The buff color must be a variant of the red, since both co-occur on the body of cooking jar **X/18**, undoubtedly as a result of differential firing conditions within the kiln. Other color differences, however, appear to be related to fabric composition. For instance, the neat color distinction between the medium-fine orange body and coarse red leg of cooking pot **Je/26** must be a result of a difference in fabric recipes between body and leg. Also, the large degree of variation of nonplastic inclusions suggests that we are dealing with a variety of cooking pot fabrics.[54]

Not only fabrics but also surface finishes of MM IB–IIB Early cooking vessels at Kommos show an unusual degree of variation. Most remarkable is the red slip that coats a number of vessels (e.g., **Dc/2, Ja/42,** body and leg of **Je/26**). Such slip has never been attested on MM IIB Late or later Minoan cooking pottery at Kommos. Macroscopically it resembles the red slip of large Protopalatial lamps **Je/27, Jf/12,** firebox **Ja/43,** and Cycladic frying pans or cooking dishes **Ja/64, Je/43,** and **Jf/23** (Pl. 3.20; see below). A number of MM IB–IIB Early cooking vessels are buff-slipped on the interior (cooking dishes **X/20, X/21, Dc/2,** box or tray **Ja/41,**

cooking pot **Jf/10**), and a cooking pot (**Ja/38**) and cooking tray (**Ja/42**) have an interior burnish.[55] Slip and burnish would have reduced the porosity of the interior surface, improving the heating effectiveness of the vessel and helping to prevent food from sticking to the surface (Schiffer 1990). The rough bottom of cooking dishes also is likely to have a thermodynamic explanation, since the roughness would have increased the surface area exposed to heat, thus facilitating heat absorption. The reasons for the much greater variation in fabric, shape, surface finish, and firing of Protopalatial cooking vessels and the switch to a highly standardized fabric in the Neopalatial period are little understood. It is possible that there were several production centers for cooking pottery in the Protopalatial western Mesara, each employing its own tradition, or that cooking vessels were acquired from different areas. A comprehensive program of petrographic and chemical fabric analyses in conjunction with a study of manufacturing practices is needed to address this question.

Lamps/Braziers (Pls. 3.2, 3.12)

Several types of lamps and braziers existed in Protopalatial Phaistos. A detailed typology was devised by Mercando (1974–75), and its chronology was updated by Speziale. According to Speziale (1993: 543–44), all small portable lamps in the MM IB–IIA phases at Phaistos have convex bodies.

Even though small portable lamps are easily recognizable even as fragments, only two MM IB–IIB Early examples were published by Betancourt from the Southern Area at Kommos. Both come from the large fill east of the Classical Round Building (Trench 20B; see above) and have been redated by the present author to MM IIB Early (Betancourt 1990: 82, 150 nos. 238, 1072, fig. 19, pls. 12, 58). Only one fragment has been identified in the construction fills of Building AA.[56] All have convex bodies. One example published by Betancourt resembles Phaistian lamps, but the other (no. 238) has a short, everted rather than incurving rim and represents a variant of the convex handheld type. Thus it appears that at Kommos, unlike at Phaistos, small ceramic lamp types were rarely used. Instead, people at Kommos must have employed conical cup and bowl fragments as lamps, as is indicated by burning at the rim.

In contrast with small lamp types, large stationary lamps or braziers were fairly common in the construction fills of Building AA and its surroundings (**X/22, Je/27, Jf/12**), and several fragments were published by Betancourt (1990: 74, 93, 95, 150, 156). Most were made of noncalcareous coarse brown fabrics, but **Jf/12** was built up with layers and coils of fine and coarse fabrics. Both it and **Je/27** were covered on the interior with a buff engobe.[57] The engobe of **Je/27** continues over its rim exterior. The surfaces of all three vessels were coated with a red slip and burnished, and they have—or had at one time—pedestal bases.

Mercando (1974–75: 96–100) makes a distinction at Phaistos between large stationary lamps with wick cuttings and stationary braziers without wick cuttings. Her lamps have thick, tapering bodies, whereas her braziers have shallow cylindrical bowls with even base

and wall thicknesses. Unlike her lamps, her braziers are red-slipped and burnished only on the interior and over the rim. They have a lower and wider pedestal base than lamps, and only the lower part of the base is well finished. **Je/27** with its even wall and base thickness and possible pedestal base, its lack of evidence of a wick cutting, its horizontal coil handles and impressed wavy-line decoration bordered by two impressed bands, as well as the lack of impressed decoration on its edge, very closely resembles Mercando's braziers. **Jf/12** with its wide pedestal also fits best into that category. There seems to be no compelling reason, however, why Mercando's "braziers" could not have been employed as oil lamps with floating wicks (Van de Moortel 1997: 211).[58] A use as lamps would explain better why, unlike Mercando's braziers, the Kommian vessels had their exterior as well their interior surfaces covered with a fine engobe and burnished to a hard sheen, so that their permeability to oil was much reduced. **Je/27** with its rim diameter of more than 38 cm is slightly larger than the largest Phaistian lamps or braziers published by Mercando. It was burnt on the interior as well as on the rim exterior, a pattern that could have been caused by burning charcoal as well as by multiple uses of a floating wick. **Jf/12** did not show any burning, but only differential use wear. Pedestal base **X/22** was burnt on the interior as well as on the exterior.

Fireboxes (Pl. 3.12)

Only one example of a firebox was uncovered from the construction fills of Building AA (**Ja/43**). The interior of its capsule and bowl is fire-blackened, indicating that it was used. With its single large central hole and its well-smoothed surfaces this firebox is datable to the Protopalatial period.[59] Fireboxes are nowhere very common on Crete. Despite the easily recognizable shape of fireboxes, only one other Protopalatial example (Betancourt 1990: 150 no. 1073, fig. 45, pl. 58) and three to four Neopalatial ones have been published from Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 170, 181 nos. 1562, 1826, figs. 58, 63; Watrous 1992: 4 no. 49; Van de Moortel 1997: 218). From Phaistos we have ten Protopalatial and three Neopalatial fireboxes (Levi and Carinci 1988: 262, pl. 113d–h; Levi 1976: pls. 37d, f, 159, 180b, 182d–f), from the Kamilari Tholos Tomb B we have seven Neopalatial examples, and from Aghia Triada we have nine (Georgiou 1986: 7–8; Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 129–79; Van de Moortel 1997: 218, 293–94). Their function is in dispute. Chapouthier (1941: 8–10) believed that they were incense burners, whereas Georgiou (1986: 10) thinks that they were used in the manufacture of aromatics. Most Phaistian examples come from palatial or official contexts; the others do not have a stated provenance (see above). **Ja/43** has an unusual clear brown fabric and is coated with a red slip. Its fabric most resembles that of vases from the Pediada region in north-central Crete (cf. **Fa/1**).

Stoppers/Ceramic Tools/Gaming Pieces(?) (Pls. 3.12, 3.13)

As many as 17 pottery fragments from the AA construction fills and Group Z have deliberately been cut into a roughly circular or oval shape. The circular ones break down into stan-

dard sizes of ca. 2.5 cm (**Dc/3, Bc/2,** C 10726, C 11010, C 11561, C 11556), ca. 3.75 cm (**Je/28,** C 11529, C 11521, C 11664 [Group Z]), and 5 cm (**Je/29** with handle stub, C 11265, C 11552, C 11680)—all multiples of 1.25 cm. The oval fragments are slightly larger and vary in size from 5.2 × 5.4 cm (**Jh/2**) to 5 × 6.5 cm (**Jd/7**) and 7 × 7.5 cm (**Ja/44**). None were made out of fine fabrics. **Dc/3** was cut out of a medium-coarse red cooking pot base; **Bc/2** and **Je/28**, of medium-coarse buff closed vases; **Ja/44** of a coarse pithos; **Jh/2** of the base of a pithos or basin; and **Je/29** and **Jd/7**, of medium-coarse oval-mouthed amphoras, both overfired and including the handle stub. They cannot be dated more closely than the Protopalatial period, on the basis of their fabric preparation and surface finish. No such pieces have been reported from Phaistos.

The function of these circular and oval fragments is uncertain. Several have fractures rounded by wear (**Bc/2, Je/28, Je/29,** and **Jh/2**), which suggests that they underwent heavy rubbing. The lack of fine fabrics likewise indicates that they were intended for heavy use. Because of their sizes, it is possible that these fragments were used as stoppers on jugs and oval-mouthed amphoras. Their somewhat irregular shapes would not pose a problem. Ceramic stoppers need not have fit very tightly into the vessel mouth but may have been used merely to hold down wet clay or organic material (e.g., cloth, leaves) pressed into the vase opening. Alternatively one could suggest that these rounded fragments were gaming pieces or informal tokens. A function as official tokens is unlikely, since it would have been all too easy to forge them.[60]

One of the possible stoppers (**Jd/7**) is distinctly more worn on one of its tapering edges and may have been used as a tool. Another fragment (**E/2**) was cut to resemble the shape of a stone scraper and shows chipping and heavy wear at its edges. Unlike the possible stoppers, **E/2** has a fine fabric. It was made from an MM IB jug fragment decorated with barnacle barbotine fashioned from an even finer slurry. The fabric is reddish with quartz inclusions and may be East Cretan. In spite of its fine fabric, its shape and differential wear suggest that **E/2** was used as a scraper. Recut pottery fragments such as this could be used for shaving, scraping, or polishing clay vases (cf. Rye 1981: 87; Rice 1987: 174).[61]

Inscribed Vases (Pl. 3.17)

As many as 14 vase fragments from the AA construction fills bear impressed or incised designs. All were found in Location 10, in soundings below the East Wing of Building AA. Ten pieces come from Group Ja, and the others from Groups Je and Jf. They can be divided into two groups: those with marks on the exterior bottom and those with marks on the rim or upper body.

Three jars (**Ja/46, Ja/47, Je/30**), a pithos (**Je/31**), and a small basin (**Ja/45**), all made from local medium-coarse or coarse fabrics, have impressed and raised designs on the bottom that were applied before firing. All were incompletely oxidized during firing and may date to MM IB or MM IIA rather than later (see above). Designs consist of crosses, lozenges with

concave sides, concentric circles, or combinations thereof. It is likely that these patterns had been impressed into potters' turntables or bats and were transferred to the bottoms of vases as they were being formed. All the vases with raised and impressed designs on their bottoms were handmade; none were wheel-thrown. Pieces of actual bats impressed with closely related designs have been found in Protopalatial and MM III contexts at Phaistos (Levi 1976: pl. 228a–f).[62] The designs of two Protopalatial Phaistian bat fragments are somewhat similar to that of pithos **Je/31**, except that they have two concentric circles instead of one. One of the Phaistian bats comes from below the slab floor of Room CVII and is datable to MM IIA (Levi 1976: 624, 853, pl. 228d), whereas the other was found among MM IIB Late destruction debris in Room IL of the Phaistian palace (Levi and Carinci 1988: 353; Levi 1976: pl. 228a). The size of their signs is not specified. Even though the Phaistian and Kommian signs are not identical in shape, they resemble each other closely enough to have carried the same meaning.[63] A similar design, consisting of a cross in two concentric circles, has been found incised on a Period V potter's disk from Aghia Eirini, made from local reddish brown micaceous clay (Davis 1986: 54, Z-31, pl. 67; Georgiou 1986: 39 no. 157, pl. 19). Even though the Aghia Eirini sign is only half the size of the Kommian design, its close resemblance to the Phaistian and Kommian signs implies a shared symbolism.

Signs located on the bottoms of storage jars and a basin were obviously not intended to be seen when those vases were holding goods. They would have been visible only when the vases were tilted, and this would have been difficult when they were filled. If these marks indeed indicated ownership of a vase, one would expect them to have been applied on a more visible part of the vase, such as the shoulder, handle, or rim, so that they could have been seen at all times. Moreover, since the signs probably were integral parts of bats, the potter would have needed a different bat to make vases for each owner. This is quite unlikely. It is more plausible that the signs on the bottoms of the Kommian vases were maker's marks and not owner's marks.[64] Such marks would have been useful if multiple potters fired their vases in a shared kiln, or if they wanted their wares to be recognized when distributed to consumers, whether to the general public or to an official authority. The "look-alike" signs found at Phaistos and Kommos may have referred to the same potter's workshop. Even though they persisted at least during the MM IIA, MM IIB, and MM III phases, the marks are exceedingly rare at Kommos and Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 297). It is unlikely that they represent a widespread system.

In contrast with this first group of inscribed vases, the second group, encompassing nine fragments, carries incised or impressed marks in highly visible places, such as at the top or exterior of the rim (**Ja/48, Ja/51, Ja/52, Jf/13, Ja/53, Ja/54, Jf/14**) or on the rim and upper body (**Ja/49, Ja/50**). (It is possible that other vases had signs on the upper body as well, but that because of their fragmentary condition these have not survived.) All nine vases are cooking pots of Betancourt's Type B with slightly convex bodies of various shapes, with the possible

Table 3.32. Inscribed cooking vessels from the AA foundation fill: comparison of marks, marking practices, fabrics, and surface finishes (cf. Pl. 3.17, Tables 3.24 and 3.29, T-Space tables).

Vase	Mark	Location	Mode	Time of Application	Fabric	Core	Surface Finish
Ja/48	Cross	Rim	Incision	After firing	Coarse red; quartz, schist, mica	Brown	Red slip?
Ja/49	Perpendicular grooves	Rim	Incision	Before firing	Coarse orange; mostly schist, mica	Redder	Interior buff slip
	Vertical groove	Upper body	Incision	Before firing			
Ja/50	Perpendicular grooves	Rim	Impression	Before firing	Medim-coarse gray-brown; schist, quartz, mica	Paler	No slip
	Vertical, slanted grooves	Upper body	Incision	After firing			
Ja/51	Perpendicular grooves	Rim	Impression	Before firing	Coarse red; mostly quartz	Grayer	Reddish brown slip?
Ja/52	Perpendicular grooves	Rim	Impression	Before firing	Coarse red; schist, quartz	Redder	Rim buff slip
Jf/13	Perpendicular grooves	Rim	Incision	Before firing	Coarse brown; mostly schist, quartz	Dark brown	White slip in and out
Ja/53	Slanted grooves	Rim	Incision	Before firing	Coarse brown; schist, mica	Paler	No slip
Ja/54	Slanted grooves	Rim	Incision	After firing	Coarse orange-brown; mostly schist	Gray	Reddish brown slip
Jf/14	Zigzag	Rim	Incision	Before firing	Coarse red; mostly schist	Gray	No slip

exception of **Ja/53,** which may be a cooking jar. Most fragments were incompletely oxidized during firing, suggesting an MM IB or MM IIA rather than a later date.

Rim designs consist of groups of perpendicular grooves, slanted grooves, zigzags, and crosses (Table 3.32). The most popular designs on rims are perpendicular grooves, followed by slanted grooves. Upper body marks consist of vertical or vertical and slanted grooves; they are combined with perpendicular grooves on the rim (**Ja/49, Ja/50**). Marks were applied

by impression or incision, either before or after firing. No clear pattern can be observed in the application methods. Crosses were incised after firing (**Ja/48**), perpendicular grooves were impressed (**Ja/50, Ja/51, Ja/52**) or incised (**Ja/49, Jf/13**) before firing, slanted grooves were incised before (**Ja/53**) or after firing (**Ja/54**), and zigzag lines were incised before firing (**Jf/14**). The upper body mark on **Ja/49** was incised before firing, as was its rim sign, whereas on **Ja/50** the upper body mark was incised after firing, but the grooves on the rim were impressed before firing.

Vase fragments with identical crosses and perpendicular grooves were found at Phaistos; the vertical and slanted grooves of **Ja/50** may be part of a double-ax sign such as those found on two Phaistian vases (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 13d; Levi 1976: pl. 227k–m, q). Like the Kommian signs, the Phaistian ones were applied on the rim and upper body. One of the Phaistian vases combines the double ax on the upper body with perpendicular grooves on the rim. Variants of the *N* sign incised on the upper body of vases from Phaistos may be incomplete double axes as well and likewise belong to this group (Levi and Carinci 1988: fig. 66; Levi 1976: pl. 227d, r). Signs on Phaistian vases are much more varied than those on Kommian vases, however, including some resembling Linear A hieroglyphic signs, all apparently incised after firing (Levi and Carinci 1988: 297). The vase types to which most of the incised Phaistian fragments belong are not specified, but to judge from rim and handle shape, many may be cooking pots or cooking jars. One is a fragmentary vat from the Grande Frana; it carries six perpendicular grooves on its rim (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 13d). Extremely few of the Phaistian fragments have been dated, but a cooking jar inscribed with an *N* sign comes from an MM IB context in Aghia Photini (Levi and Carinci 1988: 297, fig. 66), and another fragment incised with an *X* was found among MM IIB Late destruction debris in Room LXXXV of a house west of the West Court. Thus the practice of inscribing persisted throughout the Protopalatial period (Levi 1976: pl. 227q). Few of the signed Phaistian fragments have been found inside the palace (Levi 1976: pl. 227b, p). Most come from the Grande Frana (Levi 1976: pl. 227a, f, k, l, o, s) or the settlement (Levi and Carinci 1988: fig. 66; Levi 1976: pl. 227d, e, i, m, r).[65]

The nine inscribed cooking vessels from Kommos are medium or large, with rim diameters exceeding 18 cm and 30 cm, respectively. No small cooking pots from Kommos have such signs (e.g., **Ba/9**). The sizes of the Phaistian vases are not given. These cooking pot marks are likely to have had a different function from those of the first group discussed above. They are different in shape and in mode and timing of application, as well as their location on the vessel. Moreover, the parent vessels as a rule had entirely different functions. At least the upper body sign on one vase (**Ja/50**) cannot have been a maker's mark, since it clearly was incised after the pot had been burnt from use. It cuts through the blackened surface and has a red interior (5YR 6/6). The other cooking pot signs also are unlikely to have been maker's marks, because the same signs occur on vases that have different fabrics, shapes, and surface

finishes, and that probably were made at different production centers (Table 3.32; e.g., **Ja/49, Ja/50, Ja/51, Ja/52, Jf/13**). The interpretation that the signs on cooking pots are symbols of volume can be ruled out even more firmly, since the same marks occur on cooking vases of very different sizes.

Because of their strikingly high visibility to the users, in contrast with the bottom marks of the jars and basin of the first group, it is proposed here that these signs on rims and upper bodies of cooking vessels are marks of ownership. If this interpretation is correct, the multiplicity of designs would rule out the possibility that they all refer to a single official authority residing at Kommos or Phaistos. Rather, the marks may indicate private ownership. The different modes and times of application of the signs suggest an informal system of marking, which perhaps also accords better with private owners. It is conceivable, for instance, that signs incised after firing were applied as pots changed owners. Those made before firing may have been ordered by the owners from the potters (**Ja/49, Ja/50, Ja/51, Ja/52, Jf/13, Ja/53, Jf/14**), in which case it is likely that the various production centers of cooking pots were located not too far from the Phaistian or Kommian consumers. Like the vases with bottom designs, inscribed cooking vessels may have been marked for use in communal situations in which they would have been mixed up with vases of other owners. Possible occasions would have been the sharing of a food oven or the organization of communal feasts to which the owners contributed cooking vessels with food or drink. The presence of double-ax signs on some vases from Phaistos and possibly Kommos may indicate that sometimes an official authority was involved. The presence of the Linear A and hieroglyphic signs on Phaistian fragments cannot be explained without further study.

It is remarkable that the Kommian inscribed cooking vessels as a group show much less evidence for use than the other cooking vases from the AA construction fills at Kommos. Whereas the overwhelming majority of those have traces of burning as a result of use, only three out of the nine inscribed cooking vessels have evidence of burning (**Ja/50, Ja/52, Jf/14**). Four others show differential use wear (**Ja/48, Ja/49, Jf/13, Ja/53**), but two (**Ja/52, Ja/54**) have seen little or no use. Their relatively low degree of use is perhaps related to their larger-than-average size, or perhaps these inscribed vases were used only for special occasions, such as communal meals.

Further study of the distribution of those signs at Kommos and Phaistos is needed to come to a better understanding of their meaning. For instance, it is not clear at this time what percentage of medium and large Type B cooking pots of the AA construction fills the inscribed vases represent. Of Group Ja nearly all the medium and large Type B cooking vessels carry signs, but we do not know how many uninscribed examples there are in the other groups (Table 3.30).[66] No inscribed cooking pots have been reported outside the foundation fills of Building AA, but this may be because very few remains of the MM IIA and MM IIB periods have thus far been uncovered in other areas on the site. If it can be shown that the

occurrence of inscribed vase fragments is indeed limited to the foundations of the East Wing of Building AA, it could be suggested that these cooking vessels had been in use nearby and were related to the hypothetical predecessor of that building.

Final Protopalatial Period: Middle Minoan IIB Late

Stratified between the MM IA–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA and the MM III floors of Neopalatial Building T were some remnants of earthen and slab floors on top of which 39 mendable vases and a number of fragments were found. These ostensibly represent the remains of vases used in Building AA. They show close correspondences with the pottery from the final Protopalatial destruction deposits from Phaistos and can be dated to the Late stage of the MM IIB ceramic phase (Groups K–O; **C/1**; C 3352; C 9785; Pls. 3.3, 3.10, 3.13–3.17, 3.19, 3.20; Tables 3.33–3.36). This MM IIB Late pottery from Building AA is lightly to heavily worn. The large majority of mendable vases also show differential use wear. Their mendability, homogeneous date, and stratigraphic position leave little doubt that they belong to the inventory of Building AA. However, most vases were not found *in situ* but appear to have been redeposited during the construction of Building T, the Neopalatial successor of Building AA.

A large group of 23 vases comes from a partially excavated context located in the *sottoscala* space below staircase 46, in the southernmost wing of Building T (Group L; Location 12; see Chap. 1.1). The mendable MM IIB Late vases of Group L were found in a 20–30 cm thick stratum that continued below the south wall of Gallery 6 of LM IIIA2–B Building P. Excavation was halted before the deposit was completely excavated for fear that the wall of Building P would collapse. Thus we do not know for certain how the stratum of Group L related to the south wall of Building T or to the southernmost foundation wall of Building AA, but its elevation is about 10 cm lower than the projected top of the AA wall, and it probably runs into that wall. Pottery Group L was found in the *sottoscala* of staircase 46 of Building T. It covered in part a slab floor that continued under the north wall of the Neopalatial staircase and must predate Building T. This slab floor abuts a north-south spur wall to the west and a possible east-west wall to the northeast that ran along the north wall of staircase 46. Excavation was stopped at the slab floor, and we do not have the pottery from underneath to date its construction; however, the elevation of floor and walls and their stratigraphic relationship to the walls of Building T are such that they probably represent some of the few extant architectural remains of Building AA's superstructure. The slab floor stops about 30 cm short of the presumed south wall of Building AA. The pavement edge is irregular and was presumably cut into by the foundation trench for the south wall of Building T. Most vases of Group L were found in the southeast part of the *sottoscala*. They were lying partially on the slab pavement but continued beyond it to the south. Thus Group L cannot represent a floor deposit *in situ*. Since it displays the high mendability and homogeneity of a floor deposit, it

is most likely a floor deposit of Building AA that was redeposited here as a primary fill during the construction of staircase 46 of Building T. Group L was covered by a mass of mostly unmendable and very worn broken pottery fragments of MM IIB (e.g., **L/1**) and MM III date. To the west of the spur wall, below the lobby of staircase 46, was a mixed MM IIB–III construction fill that contained mendable teacup C 9785, datable by its shape and decoration to the MM IIB Late subphase (Pl. 3.17A).[67]

Farther to the west was the South Stoa of Building AA. On its earthen floor, stratified over the construction fill of Group I, was a small group of three mendable vases, including a cooking pot that was partially restored from 117 pieces (Group K; Location 9). The two other vases, Type D conical cup **K/1** and deep globular bowl **K/2**, are datable on stylistic grounds to the MM IIB Late subphase. Because of its high mendability and MM IIB Late date, Group K is likely to represent use pottery of Building AA. It may have been deposited there during the destruction of Building AA or somewhat earlier, as a fill during the construction of the stone-lined pit just to its south. This pit itself, located against the south wall of the stoa, was found filled with eight mendable vases datable to MM IIB Late and a number of fragments mostly of MM IIB and MM III date (Group M; Location 9). The function of this stone-lined pit is not entirely clear, but it may well have been a drain (Chap. 1.1).

A fourth group of mendable MM IIB Late vases was discovered on top of the slab floor of Room 5A of Building T (Group O). It consists of a conical cup, a bowl, a Type B cooking pot made up of 40–50 fragments, and five large fresh fragments of a jar or pithos. This pottery was covered by the MM III–LM IA Early east wall of the room set on top of the slab floor. The presence of mendable MM IIB Late pottery on top of the floor of Room 5A, believed to be of Neopalatial construction, is puzzling, and suggests that the deposit is secondary. It may represent a floor deposit of Building AA disturbed during later remodeling operations and moved to this location; however, in view of the pottery's high degree of mendability, one should also consider the possibility that the slab floor of Room 5A is Protopalatial in date, and that this group represents the remains of a true floor deposit. Only further excavation below the floor of Room 5A can resolve this issue.

In the East Wing of Building AA, stratified on top of an MM IA–IIB Early construction fill (Group Je) and below the west end of Room 28 of Neopalatial Building T was a small fill of unmendable ceramic fragments mixed with stones and pieces of wall plaster that were painted red or decorated with a sponge pattern (Group N; Location 10). This stratum was sealed by the plaster floor of Building T and may be destruction debris of Building AA left behind when T was constructed. The pottery of Group N is predominantly MM IIB in date and is later in character than the underlying construction fill. It is also more mendable, even though no profiles could be restored.

At the west end of the same Room 28 of Building T, a sounding below the plaster floor uncovered a 35-cm-thick stratum of black burnt earth that reached bedrock at +2.73 m and

was almost devoid of pottery fragments. Embedded in this black earth was deep globular bowl C 3352, dated by style to the MM IIB Late subphase.[68] Thus the burnt stratum must postdate the AA construction fills. It is likely to represent destruction debris of Building AA.

Finally, an intact Type J conical cup (**C/1**) of MM IIB Late style was found in the northwest part of the central court of Building AA (Location 3; below Space 9 of LM IIIA2–B Building N; see Chap. 1.1). It was found upside down between two upright stone slabs that had been set at an angle near the east end of an oval slab pavement of unknown function. The area was covered by the pebbles of Building T's central court. Conical cup **C/1** was excavated together with the underlying AA construction fill (Group C; see above) but must be distinct from it because of its intact and fresh condition. It shows differential use wear at the rim. Being narrowly datable by style within the MM IIB Late subphase, **C/1** must have been in use during the lifetime of Building AA. Its function is uncertain. Because of its location and upside-down position between stone slabs, it may have been deposited during some kind of ritual. The earth found within the cup did not contain visible traces of previous contents but has been saved for future analysis.

Group K

Date:	MM IIB
Total sherds:	161
Weight (grams):	1,850
Trench/pail(s):	93C/115
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	Fill or floor deposit outside the stone-lined pit in the southeast part of the South Stoa, from +2.72 to +2.70/2.67 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	2–5 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group I (MM II)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	MM IIB fill (93C/113 and part of 34)

Table 3.33. Pottery Group K.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	4	4	6	14	16	117
As % of total	2.5	2.5	3.7	8.7	9.9	72.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	20	10	25	510	275	1,010
As % of total	1.1	0.5	1.3	27.6	14.9	54.6

K/1 (C 10846). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.13.

Wheel-thrown. Spiraling string marks on base indicate that wheel was still in motion when cup was cut from the hump.

MM IIB. Comparanda as for **Ba/2** and **Je/2**. Cf. **O/1**.

K/2 (C 10847). Deep bowl or globular pyxis. Pl. 3.13.

Coarse body with fine rim. Inclusions small and evenly distributed, apparently as a result of careful sieving and mixing. Coil-built and drawn. Finger impressions on interior. Wheel ridges on exterior from smoothing on turntable or wheel. Two shades of red used. Most of decoration illegible. Baggy shape corresponds more to that of MM IIB globular pyxis than to deep bowl.

MM IIB. Comparanda as for C 3352. Cf. **L/16** for the use of a fine rim coil on a polychrome-painted MM IIB Late pitharaki.

K/3 (C 10265). Cooking pot, Type A, medium. Pl. 3.13.

Fine light red body with slightly redder core, completely oxidized. Medium-coarse legs. Coil-built. Finger impressions on interior near base.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 216 (MM IIB Kommos). Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 15a–e but different rims (Phaistos). Fabric combination: cf. **Je/26**.

Group L

Date: MM IIB, MM III
Total sherds: 1,370
Weight (grams): 27,080
Trench/pail(s): 90A/71, 72; 93C/117, 118, 121, 121a, 122, 124, 125, 126; 97D/17, 18 with joins in 90A/66
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; redeposited MM IIB floor deposit, part of MM IIB–III construction fill below staircase 46 of T, from +2.95 to +2.78/2.73 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 17–22 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM I fill (90A/66)

Table 3.34. Pottery Group L.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Cooking and Lamp Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	185	144	111	202	352	376
As % of total	13.5	10.5	8.1	14.7	25.7	27.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	680	510	760	6,555	8,005	10,570
As % of total	2.5	1.9	2.8	24.2	29.6	39.0

L/1 (C 10664). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.13.

Fabric less fine and surface less carefully finished than usual for Protopalatial fine pottery. Wheel-thrown. Projecting rim indicates date in MM IIB Late rather than Early.

MM IIB Late. Betancourt 1990: 89, 152 nos. 333–35, 1134, fig. 48, pl. 17; Van de Moortel 1997:

35, fig. 5 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: pl. 34q–s; Levi and Carinci 1988: 244, pl. 102v, w, z, a′ (MM IIB Early and Late Phaistos).

L/2 (C 10658). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.13.

Medium-fine fabric overfired to a greenish shade. Wheel-thrown, with rudimentary surface finish.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 99, 110, 120, 128, 173 nos. 485, 486, 625, 626, 630, 776, 872, 1631, 1632, 1962, figs. 25, 30, 37, 41; Van de Moortel 1997: 39–40, fig. 6 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 102r–u (Phaistos). Catling, Catling, and Smyth 1979: fig. 21 nos. 61–63, fig. 23 no. 168 (MM III Knossos).

L/3 (C 9919). Conical Cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.13.

Medium-fine fabric overfired to a greenish shade. Wheel-thrown. Regular contour but thick base. Spiralling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Rudimentary surface finish. Finger impressions at base.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 99, 106, 110, 111, 128, 172, 173, 185 nos. 483, 562, 563, 617, 619, 622, 642, 869, 1609, 1610, 1621, 1900, 1902; Van de Moortel 1997: 43–44, fig. 6 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: 90, pl. 34v; Fiandra 1995: figs. 3v, 4a-b, d (Kamilari; Phaistos, Period 4). Levi and Carinci 1988: 239–240; pls. 101s, 102b, n–p; Levi 1976: pls. 215h, 216e–f, m, 217l, n, c′ (Phaistos). Catling, Catling, and Smyth 1979: figs. 17, 21, 23, 28 (MM III Knossos).

L/4 (C 10267). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.13.

Medium-fine fabric. Wheel-thrown with a lot of water, resulting in lumpy surfaces. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Base cracked open during firing; unsuitable for holding liquids.

MM III. Comparanda as for **L/3**.

L/5 (C 10659). Teacup. Pl. 3.13.

Shaping techniques cannot be determined, but interior was wheel-finished before impressed decoration. Eggshell-thin wall (1.3 mm) with impressed ribs and groove lending the cup a metallic appearance. Vertical strap handle tapers towards upper attachment. Illegible traces of white and red polychromy. Well-smoothed exterior has metallic sheen. Highest-quality "Kamares" style.

MM IIA–B. Levi and Carinci 1988: 194, pls. 81i, 84g; Levi 1976: fig. 985, pl. LIb (MM IIB Phaistos).

L/6 (C 9920). Carinated cup. Pl. 3.13.

Fabric less fine and surface less carefully finished than usual for Protopalatial fine utilitarian pottery. Wheel-thrown, with lot of water. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. String cut left excess clay on one side of base. Base lightly cracked during firing but can still hold liquids.

MM IIB surface finish. Unusually high carination resembles that of earlier Protopalatial carinated cups in the western Mesara, but is also seen on unpainted carinated cups from a mostly MM IIB Late stratum at Phaistos. Fiandra 1973: pl. 34n (MM IIB Phaistos); Levi and Carinci 1988: 214–15, pl. 90l (MM IIB Early Phaistos); La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 46 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Cf. Popham 1974: fig. 6, P. 12, P. 17, P. 18; MacGillivray 1998: 82, 84, fig. 2.21.4 (MM IIB Knossos).

L/7 (C 10667). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.13.

Wheel-thrown. Shape regular, wall of even thickness. Surface heavily worn. Careful exterior finish, including exterior bottom: MM IIB Late rather than MM III. No trace of pattern-painted decoration.

MM IIB Late–MM III. Betancourt 1990: passim; Van de Moortel 1997: 101–6, figs. 17–19 (Kommos). Fiandra 1973: pls. 29c, 33c–d (Phaistos, Periods 3 and 4, and Kamilari); 1990: 122–23, fig. 33 (MM IIB Phaistos, period 3); Levi and Carinci 1988: 202–11, pls. 88g–r, 89a–b, e–l (MM IIB Late Phaistos); La Rosa 1998–2000: 54, fig. 59 (MM II Phaistos); La Rosa 1977: fig. 19c–d; 1979–80: fig. 22g (MM II Aghia Triada). Popham 1974: 186, fig. 6.21, pl. 28g, j; MacGillivray 1998: 68–72, Types 8–10, fig. 2.10.8–10; Catling, Catling, and Smyth 1979: figs. 19, V.5e, V.113, V.115, V.117, V.118, V.120 (MM IIB–IIIA Knossos). Cf. **L/8**, **L/9**, **M/1**, **M/2**.

L/8 (C 9885). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.13.

Wheel-thrown. Shape regular, wall of even thickness. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Careless surface finish, uneven bottom. Strap handle slanted and slightly twisted to the left of the viewer: typical for MM IIB–LM IB Kommian cups. No trace of pattern-painted decoration.

MM IIB Late–MM III. Comparanda as for **L/7**.

L/9 (C 9886). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.13.

Wheel-thrown. Shape regular, wall of even thickness. Diagonal stretch marks on lower body indicate that wheel turned counterclockwise. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Careless surface finish. Possible traces of white-painted decoration.

MM IIB Late–MM III. Comparanda as for **L/7** but base edge not beveled.

L/10 (C 9896). Flaring bowl, deep, medium. Pl. 3.13.

Probably coil-built and wheel-finished, remnant of MM IB–IIB Early manufacturing technique. Rim uneven, diameter not certain. Traces of white-painted decoration on interior, presumably horizontal bands. Interior fire-darkened; exterior few dark spots: used as a lamp?

MM IB–IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–25, pl. 96f (Phaistos). Cf. **A/5**, **Ja/15**, **Ja/16**, **Ja/17**.

L/11 (C 9894). Flaring bowl, shallow, medium. Pl. 3.14.

Wheel-thrown, base trimmed. Ordinary surface finish as on conical cups, unpainted. Exterior lower body covered with fine slip, thickening toward base and partially folded over base edge. Burnt rim: used as a lamp.

MM IIB Late. Levi and Carinci 1988: 225, pl. 96m; Levi 1976: fig. 541b; Speziale 2001: 166 (Phaistos). *Contra* MM IB–IIB Early flaring bowls, which are coil-built and wheel-finished: e.g., **A/5**, **Ja/15**, **Ja/16**, **Ja/17**. Cf. **L/10**.

L/12 (C 9895). Flaring bowl, shallow, medium. Pl. 3.13.

Wheel-thrown. Ordinary surface finish as on conical cups, unpainted. Uneven rim. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Two patches of burning on interior upper body and near base: used as a lamp.

MM IIB Late. Comparanda as for **L/11**.

L/13 (C 9887). Bridge-spouted jar, large. Pl. 3.14.

Coil-built, leaving slight finger impressions on body interior. Body more globular than in MM III. Slanted coil handles, more upright than on large MM IB or MM IIA bridge-spouted jars, more slanted than on MM III examples from the western Mesara (Van de Moortel 1997: 141, 363, fig. 37, C 9187). Large white spiral covering mid- and upper body, bordered below by a band.

MM IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 109–15, pls. 49f, 50a–d; Levi 1976: pls. 104c, 105b, 106b, 177 (Phaistos). Popham 1974: 188, pl. 29g (MM IIB Knossos).

L/14 (C 10662). Bridge-spouted jar, large. Pl. 3.14.

Coil-built and drawn, leaving deep vertical finger impressions on body interior (cf. Rye 1981: 72).

MM IIB. Comparanda as for **L/13**.

L/15 (C 9892). Lentoid jug, large. Pl. 3.14.

Medium-coarse body with coarse neck and handle. Coil-built, possibly wheel-smoothed, then flattened into lentoid shape. Vertical finger impressions on interior body from joining of coils. Three pointed lugs below and at either side of spout. Illegible white traces on neck and handle.

MM IIB Late–MM III. Betancourt 1990: 110, 170 nos. 615, 1549, pls. 34, 79 (MM III Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 91–92, pl. 61f–g (identified as "pilgrim flask"); Levi 1976: pls. 103b, XXXd; vertical foliate band decoration (FM 64): cf. straight-sided cup Levi 1976: pl. 127h; Carinci 1997: 319; Levi 1976: figs. 934–36; La Rosa 1998–2000: 47–50, figs. 36–37 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Evans 1928: 215–16, fig. 121a, pl. IXe; MacGillivray 1998: 169 no. 1003, pl. 149 (MM II–IIIA Knossos). Raymond 2001: 20–22, figs. 2, 4 (Miletus, Period III, MB). Caskey 1972: 375 no. C49, fig. 7 (Aghia Eirini, Period III, late EB flask); Overbeck 1989: 11, 79–80, no. AH-41, pl. 53 (Aghia Eirini, Period IV, early MB "Minoan" jug); Davis 1986: 20, 26, 45, 82 nos. C-31, E-32, E-33, E-34, U-93, U-94, pls. 23, 29, 49, 57, esp. C-31 (Aghia Eirini, Period V, late MB jugs). Cf. **L/27**.

L/16 (C 10266). Pithoid jar, piriform, pedestaled, medium. Pl. 3.14.

Holes in the rim probably for the insertion of flower appliqués. Body and large handles are medium fine, whereas rim, small handles, and remnants of appliqués at rim are made of fine fabrics. Use of fine clay enabled potter to give rim sharp metallic edges. Lower body and foot missing.

MM IIB. A complete example with rows of running and interlinked spirals (cf. FM 46), pedestaled base and flower appliqués inserted into holes in the rim was found in an MM IIB context at Aghia Triada: *AR* 1994: 72–73, fig. 63. Marinatos 1930–31: pls. 23–24 (Voroi, Tholos Tomb A).

Decoration: cf. Fiandra 1961–62: pl. MA′.4; 1973: 90, pl. 30d (Phaistos, Period 3); Levi 1976: pls. XXXc, LXXIb, LXXIV (Phaistos).

L/17 (C 10660). Bucket jar, large. Pl. 3.15.

Wheel-thrown base and lower body, leaving spiral marks. Rest of body coil-built. At least one horizontal and four vertical handles. Rim opposite handle slightly pulled, possibly intentional to facilitate pouring.

MM IIB wheel-thrown lower body, not encountered in MM IA–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA. MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. La Rosa 1998–2000: 54, fig. 58 (MM II Phaistos). Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 9, 15–16, fig. 3 (MM IIB Phaistos). Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 597, pl. 31 (MM III Kommos); Levi and Carinci 1988: 15–16, pl. 9g; Levi 1976: pl. 197e (MM III Phaistos).

L/18 (C 10663). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pl. 3.15.

Coarse noncalcareous brown to gray body and legs, with somewhat darker core. Coil-built and wheel-finished (wheel marks at rim). No spout or handles preserved. Bottom scored for attachment of leg. Oval impressions at leg attachment are decorative but also aided the making of the join and counteracted cracking during firing. Interior reddish yellow slip. Hard fired. Exterior has grayish cast from exposure to fire.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1980: 3–5; 1990: 76, 79, 87, 93, 143, 147, 150, 157 nos. 162, 213, 299–302, 424–26, 929, 1016, 1081, 1238, 1239, figs. 16, 20, 23, 43, 50, pls. 7, 10, 55, 65 (MM IB–IIB Kommos); Van de Moortel 1997: 202–4, fig. 73 (MM IIB Kommos). Oval impressions at leg attachment: Betancourt 1990: 82 no. 247, fig. 19 (Kommos, context now dated to MM IB–IIB Early). Levi and Carinci 1988: 30–32, pl. 15n, p (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 167 no. 972, fig. 29, pl. 64.13 (Knossos). Cf. **L/19**, **L/20**, **L/21**.

L/19 (C 9889). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pl. 3.15.

Medium-fine noncalcareous reddish yellow body, completely oxidized, with coarse legs. Coil-built. Rim warped, diameter varying from 26 to 34 cm, averaging roughly the same as **L/18**. Circumference warped. Spout pulled from the rim. Possible traces of pink slip on interior. Hard fired. Exterior and rim interior burnt.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Comparanda as for **L/18**. Cf. **L/20**, **L/21**.

L/20 (C 10771). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pl. 3.15.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous red fabric, completely oxidized. Coil-built. Pot presumably had spout pulled from the rim and two horizontal handles on either side. Leg scored for attachment to bottom. Medium-coarse layer added to lower body and base, its surface deliberately left rough, perhaps to facilitate heat conduction (Schiffer 1990). Hard fired.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Comparanda as for **L/18**. Cf. **L/19**, **L/21**.

L/21 (C 10665). Cooking pot, Type B, large. Pl. 3.15.

Medium-fine noncalcareous light red body, with dark gray core, incompletely oxidized. Medium-coarse rim and handles. Coarse buff clay layer added to exterior when wet, possibly covering entire area between handles; deliberately roughened, perhaps to facilitate heat conduction (Schiffer 1990).

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 593, fig. 27 (MM III Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 15o (MM IB–IIB Phaistos). Cf. **L/18**, **L/19**, **L/20**.

L/22 (C 9884). Portable conical lamp, small. Pl. 3.15.

Medium-fine reddish yellow fabric with slightly yellower core, completely oxidized. Body possibly wheel-thrown. Rim attached as a separate coil. Attachment of stick handle preserved. Wheel-finished. Slightly concentric, not spiraling, string mark on base indicates it was cut from a slowly revolving wheel. String cutting mistake above base left as a gash. Hard fired.

MM IIB Late. No comparanda published from Kommos. Mercando 1974–75: 82–90, esp. nos. 3, 18–19, figs. 72.3, 81, 134.2; Speziale 1993: pl. II.3; La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 43 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Closely related, but not identical, is a MM IIB lamp type from Knossos: Popham 1974: 189, fig. 8.9, pl. 32h; MacGillivray 1998: 86–87, Type 2, fig. 2.24.2, e.g., 150 nos. 596–600, pl. 98 (West Polychrome deposits), and 163 no. 887 from the Loomweight Basement; pl. 144j and *PM* II: fig. 176h from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen (South Polychrome deposits). Cf. **M/6**.

L/23 (C 10217). Pedestaled lamp, medium. Pl. 3.15.

Medium-coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow

body with red core, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior surfaces badly eroded and exfoliated, apparently by water. Preserved parts of surfaces and rim do not show use wear. Erosion pattern suggests that lamp had pedestaled base. Hard fired.

MM IIB Late/MM III. Betancourt 1990: 158 no. 1263, fig. 52 (Kommos MM II–III context; lamp dated by Betancourt to MM IIB). Cf. Betancourt 1990: 107, 108, 167, 170 nos. 585, 595, 1464, 1554, figs. 27, 56 (MM III Kommos). Mercando 1974–75: 109–10 no. 34, fig. 131.34; Levi and Carinci 1988: 348 (Phaistos, Grande Frana, uncertain date).

L/24 (C 9890). Pedestaled lamp, large. Pl. 3.16.

Coarse noncalcareous reddish yellow body, fired rather pale, with partial light gray core, almost completely oxidized. Body possibly wheel-thrown. Rim attached as a separate coil. Wheel-finished. Interior and exterior red to reddish brown coated. Possible traces of white paint on the interior. Hard fired. Interior on one side heavily eroded by water.

MM IB–IIB. Lack of engobe may be MM IIB Late feature. Comparanda as for **Je/27**, esp. Mercando 1974–75: 101 no. 1, fig. 94. Cf. **X/22**, **Jf/12**.

L/25 (C 9893). Slab or box. Pl. 3.16.

Handmade, of uneven thickness. Rim attached as a separate coil. Possibly spout attached to rim. Illegible traces of dark paint on both sides, as well as on rim and possible spout.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Levi 1976: pl. 164h (MM IIB Phaistos).

L/26 (C 10666). Conical bowl, medium. Pl. 3.20.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with light reddish brown core, incompletely oxidized. Many angular schist inclusions. Wheel-thrown. Interior wet-smoothed, exterior smoothed. Interior and possibly exterior pink slipped. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion turning counterclockwise. Used as a lamp.

MM IIB Late context. Provenance uncertain: East Crete (Malia)? Needs confirmation by scientific analysis.

L/27 (C 10661). Lentoid flask, large. Pl. 3.20.

Medium-coarse fabric with reddish yellow exterior, light brownish gray to light gray core, and light reddish brown ("pink") interior. Lentoid body made of two joining bowls, each coil-built and drawn. Body asymmetrical in section, one bowl being more convex than the other. Bottom of flatter bowl (d 14.6 cm) may have been cut out temporarily during vessel formation to allow passage of hand joining the two bowls (cf. Davis 1986: 82). Interior surface roughly scored at juncture of bowls, presumably by tool used to press the joining parts together. Preserved handle coarser than body. Exterior smoothed, monochrome red to reddish brown coated. Fabric, shape, and strong push-through handle not local.

MM IIB Late context. Provenance uncertain: Western Anatolia? Cyclades? Cilicia? Syria (cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 91–92)? Comparanda as for **L/15**.

Group M

Date:	Little MM IIA, mostly MM IIB, MM III
Total sherds:	351
Weight (grams):	4,215
Trench/pail(s):	93C/114, 116
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; fill of stone-lined pit in southeast part of South Stoa, from +2.74 to +2.215 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	59 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	MM III fill (93C/34)

Table 3.35. Pottery Group M.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	79	42	35	27	94	74
As % of total	22.5	11.9	10.0	7.7	26.8	21.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	345	105	145	390	1325	1905
As % of total	8.2	2.5	3.4	9.3	31.4	45.2

M/1 (C 10232). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.16.

Wheel-thrown. Thin and even-walled. Diagonal stretch marks on interior and exterior indicate that wheel ran counterclockwise. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Rim warped, pushed in by attachment of handle. Vertical strap handle, slightly slanted

MM IIB Late–MM III. Comparanda as for **L/7**.

M/2 (C 10236). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.16.

Wheel-thrown. Thin and even-walled. Rim warped, pushed in by attachment of handle. Base too eroded to show string marks.

MM IIB Late–MM III. Comparanda as for **L/7**.

M/3 (C 10238). Conical basin, medium. Pl. 3.16.

Coil-built and wheel-finished. Even wall thickness, regular shape, but warped rim. Ordinary finish.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 22, fig. 6, pl. 12g, h, k–n (MM IB–III Phaistos).

M/4 (C 10235). Milk jug, simple spouted. Pl. 3.16.

Wheel-thrown. Wheel ridges indicate that wheel turned counterclockwise. Spiraling string mark on base indicates it was cut from a wheel in motion. Spout pulled from rim. Ordinary finish.

MM IIA–B. Betancourt 1990: 95, 151 157 nos. 458, 1102, 1245, 1246, figs. 23, 47, 51 (MM IIA–B Kommos); no. 458 erroneously identified as bell cup. Levi and Carinci 1988: 218–19, pl. 93i; Levi 1976: pl. 136k (MM IIB Phaistos). MM III milk jugs at Phaistos have straight vertical instead of incurving upper bodies: Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 93f–i, 94g–h, l, m (MM IIA–B) versus pl. 94a–d, f (MM III).

M/5 (C 10239). Convex lid. Pl. 3.16.

Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Waster, but only slightly deformed. Warped rim. Handle not preserved.

MM IB–III. Betancourt 1990: 152 no. 1114, fig. 47 (MM IIA–B Kommos), 119 no. 1114, fig. 47 (MM III Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: 230, pl. 97i; Levi 1976: fig. 908 (Phaistos, Grande Frana). Cf. MacGillivray 1998: 157 nos. 744, 745, pl. 117 (Royal Pottery Stores), 163 no. 885, pl. 132 (plate fragment from Loomweight Basement, Knossos, MM IIB/III). The Royal Pottery Stores at Knossos are dated by me to MM IIA–B (Van de Moortel 2000: 608).

M/6 (C 10233). Portable conical lamp, small. Pl. 3.16.

Medium-fine body, completely oxidized. Body wheel-thrown. Rim attached as a separate coil and wheel-finished. Concentric string mark on base indicates it was cut from a slowly revolving wheel. Cut at an angle, clay dragged over edge, and not smoothed. Handle not preserved. No trace of fire.

MM IIB Late. Comparanda as for **L/22**.

M/7 (C 10234). Portable conical brazier, large. Pl. 3.16.

Medium-coarse fabric, completely oxidized. Clay "folded over" base edge. Left side of handle (seen from rear) trimmed to a straight edge. Rear indentation of rim repaired with clay patch. No trace of fire.

MM IIB sharp rear indentation. Mercando 1974–75: 111–12, 116–19, figs. 110–12, 131.24 (MM IIB and Neopalatial Phaistos).

M/8 (C 10237). Cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-fine fabric with yellowish red exte-

rior, light red to dark gray interior; incompletely oxidized. Coil-built and drawn. Vertical finger impressions on interior. Interior incompletely smoothed. Exterior smoothed; covered by coarse very pale brown engobe with rough surface, presumably to facilitate heat dispersion (Schiffer 1990); cf. **L/20**, **L/21**.

MM IIB Late context. East Cretan fabric (Malia area?). Tripod vessel with similar fabric and shape, but very pale brown slipped and with black-painted decoration, found in LM IA Final–LM IB Early context at Kommos, House X, Room 1 (C 9464). Cf. Evans 1928: fig. 253C (Knossos, House of the Frescoes).

Group N

Date: Little MM IB, mostly MM IIB
Total sherds: 143
Weight (grams): 1,250
Trench/pail(s): 86D/47 and part of Pail 49
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.1; dump or fill on top of compartment fill below east end of T Room 28, from + 3.36 to +3.26/3.23 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 10–13 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group Je (Early MM IIB)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Neopalatial plaster floor of T (86D/45)

Table 3.36. Pottery Group N.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Cooking Fabrics
Number of sherds	37	8	1	28	27	42
As % of total	25.9	5.6	0.7	19.6	18.9	29.3
Weight of sherds (grams)	100	18	2	260	570	300
As % of total	8.0	1.4	0.2	20.8	45.6	24.0

N/1 (C 11571). Closed vessel. Pl. 3.19.

Medium-coarse reddish yellow fabric with angular schist inclusions, completely oxidized. Manufacturing technique cannot be determined. Interior and exterior well smoothed; exterior very pale brown slip; red horizontal and curvilinear bands. Exterior possibly polished.

MM IIB Late context. East Cretan fabric.

Group O

Date: Some MM IB, mostly MM IIB
Total sherds: Ca. 90
Weight (grams): 4,540
Trench/pail(s): 36A/25

Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor deposit of AA, *in situ* or redeposited, on slab floor in southeast corner of T Room 5A, from +2.80 to +2.73 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 7 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM I fill (27B/38)

O/1 (C3458). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.17A.

Wheel-thrown. Differential wear: ca. 5 cm of rim very worn and chipped, presumably from use.

MM IIB. Comparanda as for **Ba/2** and **Je/2**. Cf. **K/1**.

O/2 (C3459). Convex-sided bowl, large. Pl. 3.17A.

Coil-built. Interior slipped and polished. Rim and base abraded, apparently from use. Interior bottom fire-darkened.

MM IB–IIB fabric and surface finish. Betancourt 1990: 69, 77, 151, 153, 157 nos. 90, 186, 187, 1089, 1138–39 (much smaller), 1242–44, figs. 14, 17, 46, 48, 51 (Kommos). Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 12i, 13l, m, r; Levi 1976: pls. 34l, 57d, e, g, h, 58 (Phaistos). MacGillivray 1998: 136 no. 268, pl. 68 (Knossos, West Polychrome deposits).

Ungrouped Vases

C 3352. Deep bowl or globular pyxis. Pl. 3.10.

From burnt black stratum below west end of T Room 28 (36B/31), from +3.10/3.08 to +2.73 m.

Possibly wheel-thrown. Traces of polychrome decoration on exterior. Reddish rim band is orange rather than red.

MM IIB. Closely corresponds in shape and decoration to deep bowls from the final MM IIB destruction horizon at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 174–75, pl. 78d–i; Levi 1976: pls. 120–21) but also to a somewhat larger globular pyxis from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 159, pl. 70c, Levi 1976: fig. 941). A similar deep bowl was found in an MM III context at Kommos but must be an heirloom (Betancourt 1990: 98 no. 471, fig. 24). An MM IIB Late globular pyxis from Phaistos is more baggy in shape and has a rolled-out rim (Levi and Carinci 1988: 159, pl. 70b; Levi 1976: pl. 138b). Cf. **K/2**.

C 9785. Teacup. Pl. 3.17A.

From MM IIB–III construction fill below lobby of T staircase 46 (90A/50).

Wheel-thrown. Exterior well smoothed, but fingerprints on and around handle; interior less carefully smoothed, showing faint wheel marks. At Phaistos, teacups with wavy-line patterns are of a similar quality but somewhat less carefully finished than the highest-quality class (Levi and Carinci 1988: 191; Van de Moortel 1997: 311–12). Cf. FM 53.

MM IIB Late rather than MM III: low baggy body, white-painted wavy-line pattern covering entire body instead of only the upper part. Betancourt 1990: 90–91, 104 nos. 370, 371, 517, 518, figs. 21, 26 (MM IIB Kommos); *contra* Betancourt 1990: 100, 176 nos. 494, 1715, figs. 25, 60 (MM III Kommos). Van de Moortel 1997: 81–87. Fiandra 1973: 90, pl. 30b; 1980: 183–84: pl. 40a (MM IIB Phaistos, Period 3); Levi and Carinci 1988: 189–94, pl. 84a, d, f, m; Levi 1976: pls. XLVIIIb–c, ILa, 124c, e, f; La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 53 (MM IIB Late Phaistos). Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: fig. 5 (Aghia Triada). MacGillivray 1998: 62–64, 134, 139–40 nos. 242, 341–57, 998–99, pls. 12, 30, 58, 65, 73–74, 148 (MM IIB–IIIA decorative pattern at Knossos). *Contra* Fiandra 1973: 88, pl. 27c (MM IIA Phaistos, Period 2); Evans 1928: pl. IXa (MM IIA Knossos).

THE CIVIC CENTER IN MIDDLE MINOAN IIB LATE: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Destruction Date of Building AA

The mendable vases of Groups K, L, M, and O represent only a tiny part of the material that must have been used in Building AA. Nevertheless, their presence indicates that this monumental structure came to a violent end. The remainder of the inventory of Building AA must have been removed when its walls and most of its floors were removed to make way for Building T (see Chap. 1.1). There is no good evidence for a general destruction by fire. The only location where evidence of burning was found is the thick stratum of black earth below the west end of Building T's Room 28, dated to the MM IIB Late subphase by the presence of deep globular bowl C 3352 (see above, "Ungrouped Vases").

The actual destruction date of Building AA is somewhat ambiguous, as the pottery evidence supports a date either at the end of the MM IIB Late subphase or at the very beginning of the MM III phase. The stratigraphic position of the mendable vases (Groups K–M, O) and fragments (Group N), situated directly or indirectly above the MM IA–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA, as well as the homogeneous MM IIB Late character of nearly all would suggest that the destruction of Building AA took place in the MM IIB Late subphase, contemporary in ceramic terms with the end of the Protopalatial residential phase on the Central Hillside at Kommos and the final, violent destruction of the first palaces and settlements at Phaistos, Knossos, and Malia (Wright 1996; Betancourt 1990; Carinci and La Rosa 2001; MacGillivray 1998; Poursat 1988: 74–75; Pelon 1982: 180–83).

However, together with the 23 mendable MM IIB Late vases of the *sottoscala* fill (Group L) were three conical cups of undisputable MM III date (**L/2, L/3, L/4;** Pl. 3.13). Each was mended from three or four fragments and is lightly to moderately worn. Whereas cup **L/2** preserves only its profile, **L/3** and **L/4** are largely complete. In addition, the straight-sided cups from Group L (**L/7, L/8, L/9**) and Group M (**M/1, M/2**) are of a type that occurs in both the MM IIB Late and MM III phases. In the absence of mendable MM IIB Late conical cups in Group L, one could argue that the three mendable MM III conical cups are in fact part of the displaced floor deposit of Building AA, and that Building AA was destroyed at the very beginning of the MM III phase, when the pottery in use was still largely MM IIB Late in style but conical cups were already being produced in the new, careless fashion typical of MM III. That conical cups would have been among the first vessel types to change should not cause surprise in view of their popularity and their high discard rates, as shown by their abundance in Minoan floor deposits and in dumps and fills, respectively, where they routinely represent between between one-sixth and one-third of the assemblage. If one includes the MM III conical cups **L/2, L/3,** and **L/4** with the AA floor deposit of Group L, one must consider that the destruction of Building AA may have taken place slightly later than the final

Table 3.37. Composition of Groups K, L, M, O, representing pottery used in Building AA.

Group	Conical Cups	Other Cups	Bowls	Cooking Pots	Other Shapes
K	X		X	X	
L	?	X	X	X	X
M		X	X		X
O	X		X	X	

Protopalatial destructions at Phaistos and elsewhere.[69] The destruction would still have occurred well before the MM III destruction horizon identified on the Central Hillside and in Building T at Kommos, which is both stratigraphically and stylistically later (see below).

In spite of their mendable condition, however, one could consider the mendable MM III conical cups of Group L to be part not of the AA floor deposit but of the MM IIB–III sherd fill that was deposited with it during the construction of Building T's staircase 46. Since MM III conical cups are thick walled and sturdily built, one could argue that they tended to survive better than MM IIB and other MM III vase types. In this interpretation, the date of AA's demise is maintained at the end of the MM IIB phase. This date is to be preferred if it can be proved that Building AA was destroyed by the same violent earthquake that destroyed Phaistos at the end of the MM IIB Late subphase. The evidence for such earthquake is at present not entirely convincing (La Rosa 1995).

Function of Building AA

The assemblage of 39 mendable MM IIB Late vases and possibly 3 MM III vases believed to have been used in Building AA is admittedly small. However, it shows some striking characteristics that do not accord with those of normal household assemblages and suggests that public ceremonies or rituals took place in this monumental building.

A glance at the composition of pottery Groups K, L, and O shows an interesting repetition of shapes (Table 3.37).

Small groups K and O, even though found far apart in the South Stoa and the northwest part of Building AA, respectively, are similar in composition. Both consist of a single conical cup, a medium or large bowl, and a fairly large cooking pot. They lack normal household shapes such as pouring or storage vessels. This repetition of shapes is noteworthy, but the disturbed and possibly incomplete nature of these two small groups does not allow us to attach much weight to it when considering those groups by themselves. What is remarkable, however, is that the composition of Groups K and O is repeated in Group L of the *sottoscala* deposit. In fact, Group L can be considered to be an amplification of Groups K and O, since it includes at least one conical cup (**L/1**, and possibly **L/2, L/3, L/4**), four medium bowls,

including one with a nonlocal fabric (**L/10, L/11, L/12, L/26**), and four medium and large cooking pots (**L/18, L/19, L/20, L/21**). In addition it has a high-quality teacup (**L/5**) with egg-shell-thin walls, a utilitarian carinated cup (**L/6**), three straight-sided cups (**L/7, L/8, L/9**), two large bridge-spouted jars (**L/13, L/14**), a large lentoid jug (**L/15**) and flask (**L/27**), a highly decorated pithoid jar (**L/16**), a medium bucket jar (**L/17**), a small handheld lamp (**L/22**), medium (**L/23**) and large (**L/24**) stationary lamps, and a fragment of a slab or box (**L/25**) of unknown purpose.

The composition of the pottery from Group L is peculiar and quite different from that of a normal MM IIB Late or MM III household assemblage (cf. Speziale 2001; Wright 1996). Unusual are the absence of small or medium pouring vessels, the relative scarcity of cups (5–8), and the abundance of large pouring vessels (4), cooking pots (4), and lamps (7). In addition to the three specialized lamp shapes, all four bowls from Group L have been used as lamps as well, as is indicated by their burning patterns. The pottery vessels of Group L were found together with fragments of plaster tables (catalogued as **PT10, PT11, PT12, PT14, PT15, PT16**; M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5), fragments of a quadruped and a bull figurine (**Sc9, Sc10**) (Chap. 4.6), and a fragment of a ceramic slab or box (**L/25**). It is argued here that this entire assemblage is specialized, and may be ritual or ceremonial in character.

This interpretation is further supported by the presence of three rare vase types, which seem to have had special significance. These are pedestaled pithoid jar **L/16**, lentoid jug **L/15**, and lentoid flask **L/27**. Pithoid jar **L/16** (Pl. 3.14) was carefully manufactured with a combination of fine and medium-fine fabrics and intricately decorated with white-painted spiral patterns on a black ground (cf. FM 46) and now-vanished plastic appliqués inserted into holes in the rim. A similar jar with piriform body, preserved pedestal base, and flower appliqués has been found among MM IIB destruction debris near a platform or altar, not far from the cemetery area in the northeast sector of the town of Aghia Triada, where also a fragment of a *grattugia* was found [trench M/4, stratum 30d]; (*AR* 1994: 72–73, fig. 63; cf. Carinci 1999: 121, 129, fig. 3). At least three complete examples of such pithoid jars, but without appliqués, were found outside Tholos Tomb A at nearby Voroi (Marinatos 1930–31: pls. 23–24). The complexity of these pithoid jars, together with the fact that none have been encountered in ordinary domestic contexts, strongly suggests that they were vases with a special function.

Lentoid jug **L/15** has a Mesara fabric and must have been locally produced, whereas lentoid flask **L/27** with its nonlocal fabric must have been imported from outside Crete (Pl. 3.20). The lentoid body shape may have originated in the Aegean, Western Anatolia, or perhaps the Eastern Mediterranean (see below). Lentoid jugs and flasks seem to have been newly introduced into the Central Cretan pottery repertoire in the MM IIB phase and their use may have been restricted to official contexts at Knossos, Phaistos, and Kommos. In addition to **L/15**, only one other lentoid jug has been found in a good context: Large lentoid jug F.1039, made in a local fabric, comes from a specialized, and probably cultural, assemblage in Room LV of the Phaistian palace (see below). A number of fragments and wasters belonging to

dozens of lentoid jugs of various sizes were found in a mostly MM IIB Late fill overlying the area west of the palace; decorated with similar motifs, they are interpreted by Carinci as the waste of a local pottery workshop (Carinci 1997: 319; Levi 1976: figs. 934–36). La Rosa, however, believes that they come from the Old Palace and may have been used in ceremonies (La Rosa 1998–2000: 44–50, 123–24, figs. 36–37). The stratum in which they were found, Levi's so-called Grande Frana, is reinterpreted by La Rosa as final Protopalatial destruction debris removed from the Old Palace and deposited here in LM IB in preparation for the construction of the New Palace.[70] At Knossos, all lentoid jugs and flasks are stylistically datable to the MM IIB phase and come from clean-up dumps from the destroyed First Palace. All have local fabrics. One lentoid jug was found in the South East or South Polychrome deposit (*PM* II: pl. IXe; MacGillivray 1998: 169 no. 1003, pl. 149), and three lentoid flasks in the West Polychrome deposits (MacGillivray 1998: 149 nos. 570–72, pls. 20, 94). A large lentoid jug made of a Central Cretan fabric and closely comparable to the MM IIB jugs was recently found at Miletus in an unspecified context (Raymond 2001: 20–22, fig. 2).[71]

The area in which Group L was found is located close to the South Stoa of Building AA and would have been accessible directly from the outside. If Building AA had a south entrance nearby, as did later Building T (Pl. 1.114), it is possible that the pottery of Group L, which was redeposited here, had also been in use here or nearby during the lifetime of Building AA, either in connection with a south entrance or the South Stoa. If we accept that Group L was a ceremonial or ritual assemblage, the large size of its pouring vessels and most of its cooking pots, and the absence of small pouring vases, suggest that this pottery was used in gatherings involving a sizable number of people, which thus may have been public rather than private. Group K, found in the South Stoa, and Group O, uncovered near the northwest entrance of the later Building T, with their medium-sized to large bowls and large cooking pots, also may be remnants of public rather than private rituals.

In this respect it is interesting to compare the size of large pouring vessels from Kommos and Phaistos. It appears that those from Phaistos generally are larger than their Kommian counterparts, reaching routinely 45 cm in height, and sometimes even 55–65 cm (Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 25, 27, 40, 51c). Nearly all very large pouring vessels come from the Phaistian palace, and especially from Room LV, which contained a very large bridge-spouted jar (F.1400, h 63 cm), two very large jugs (F.1041, h ca. 60 cm; F.1040, h 50 cm), and four large jugs, including the lentoid jug discussed above decorated with the same painted pattern as the bridge-spouted jar (F.1039, h 28 cm; F.1034, h 36 cm; F.1032, h ca. 35 cm; F.1589, h ca. 35 cm; F.1060, h 33 cm), and a hydria with molded shell decoration (F.1041, h 58 cm). With the lentoid jug were two large cooking pots of Types A and B (the second, F.1597, h 35 cm) as well as the well-known large krater (F.1031, h 44.5 cm) and fruit stand (F.1053, h 25 cm, d 59 cm) decorated in the Creamy-Bordered Style with rosette appliqués, and two rhyta (Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 62a, 63a; Levi 1976: pl. 115a, c, d). Very close by was the equally well-known bowl painted with images of dancers and apparently a snake goddess (Levi 1976:

97–105, pl. XVIIa; Levi and Carinci 1988: 357, pls. 10e, 11h, 15c). Being associated also with three libation tables, a terra-cotta hearth, two horned vases, a rare incense burner with an interior perforated bulge (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 112b; Levi 1976: pl. 115a, c–e), and other special equipment, this group of large vases from Room LV is thought to have been used in connection with religious ceremonies that took place either in or near this complex of rooms in the southeast wing of the Old Palace. Since this complex opened up to the lower West Court as well as the palace interior, it seems likely that these ceremonies were accessible to the public (Gesell 1985: 11–12, 124–27). The discovery of almost 90 restorable cups and over 100 mostly small pouring vessels among the pottery in the nearby *sottoscala* and other rooms of this complex also is indicative of public ceremonies (Levi and Carinci 1988: 353–58). The larger size of those Phaistian pouring vessels, then, appears to reflect the attendance of more people and the greater importance of the Phaistian palace over Building AA at Kommos.

Even though Group L has been only partially excavated, it is worth pointing out the variation in quality of its cups. Of the highest quality is a single eggshell-thin teacup with impressed decoration (**L/5**). It is followed by three straight-sided cups of somewhat lesser quality (**L/7, L/8, L/9**), and finally by one to four cups of utilitarian quality (**L/6** and possibly **L/2, L/3, L/4**). It is possible that these different levels of quality reflect differences in the social status of the participants in the ceremonies. Until the remainder of this context is excavated, however, it is hazardous to posit the existence of a hierarchy of cups, as Duhoux was able to propose for the list of LM IB vases on Linear A tablet HT 31 from Aghia Triada (Duhoux 2000–01: 56).

Other evidence of ritual or ceremonial activity in Building AA was found in the northwest part of its central court. It consists of an assemblage of two small upright stone slabs set at an angle and an intact conical cup (**C/1**) placed upside down between them, which seems to be related to the oval slab pavement of unknown use bordering it to the west (Chap. 1.1, Location 3; see above).

In contrast with **C/1** and Groups K, L, and O, Group M has a pottery assemblage that can be characterized as domestic (Table 3.37). It includes two straight-sided cups (**M/1, M/2**), a medium-sized conical basin (**M/3**) and milk jug (**M/4**) of utilitarian manufacture, a large tripod cooking pot of Type B (**M/8**), probably from East Crete, a small handheld lamp (**M/6**) and brazier (**M/7**), and a lid (**M/5**) of a medium-sized or large vase. Having been found in the filling of a pit or drain in the South Stoa of Building AA, Group M may well represent the remnants of domestic activities that were once carried out in Building AA.

In conclusion, most of the 39 surviving MM IIB Late mendable vases from the use of Building AA appear to belong to assemblages with ritual or ceremonial significance (Groups K, L, O; **C/1**). Even though they must represent only a fraction of the pottery once employed in Building AA, it is fairly safe to conclude that one of the roles of this monumental structure was the enactment of public rituals or ceremonies.

MIDDLE MINOAN IIB LATE POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Of the 39 mendable MM IIB Late vases dating to the lifetime of Building AA, 37 can be determined to have been produced in the western Mesara on the basis of fabric recipes and manufacturing practices. These represent the first sizable group of MM IIB Late mendable local pottery from good contexts found at Kommos. Betancourt published 314 MM IIB vases and sherds, but most of them were very fragmentary and came from somewhat mixed fills, dumps, or casual accumulations (Betancourt 1990). The vases and fragments published here make an important contribution to our understanding of pottery developments at Kommos in this subphase and allow more detailed comparisons with the contemporary pottery from the final Protopalatial destruction levels at Phaistos (Table 3.7).

General Ceramic Developments

In the MM IIB Late subphase, several important changes took place in the pottery production of the Phaistian area. These developments can now be better described thanks to the clear stratigraphic separation of MM IIB Late from earlier pottery deposits in Building AA. In general, there was a distinct evolution in the MM IIB Late subphase toward greater standardization in fabric use and vase shapes, a more widespread adoption of the potter's wheel, and a simplification of shapes and surface finishes. All seem to reflect a desire on the part of the potter to decrease labor-intensive practices and speed up production. Reductions in labor input were relatively small, however, and potters in the western Mesara maintained high standards of quality in the production of all vase types. It is only in the subsequent MM III phase that the desire to speed up production led to a noticeable drop in standards in this region.[72]

In terms of fabric recipes, finer fabrics were employed for larger vases than in the earlier Protopalatial phases. This is exemplified in the use of a medium-fine buff fabric for pithoid jar **L/16**, which originally must have stood about 30 cm high, and of 10% medium-coarse buff fabric for bridge-spouted jars **L/13** and **L/14** and lentoid jug **L/15**, which belong to the 25–30-cm height range (see the pottery tables in T-Space). In addition, there was a greater degree of standardization of fabric use in relation to vessel function. Fine buff fabric remained restricted to cups and small bowls, with high-quality teacups and straight-sided cups having only 1 percent or fewer inclusions. Medium-coarse buff fabrics having between 10 and 15% of inclusions were employed not only for large bridge-spouted jars and the lentoid jug but also for lid **M/5** and all medium-sized bowls, except for deep globular bowl or pyxis **K/2**, which displays the combination of coarse and fine fabrics popular in earlier phases. Coarse buff fabrics were still used occasionally for small and medium-sized utilitarian vases, such as milk jug **M/4**, medium-sized basin **M/3**, and medium-sized bucket jar **L/17**; however, none are as coarse (30%) as some of the utilitarian vases from earlier phases.

In contrast with the more standardized use of buff fabrics, the variability among cooking

pot fabrics remained the same, ranging from fine orange (1% inclusions, **K/3**) to medium-fine, medium-coarse, and coarse orange, red, or brown. That the coarseness of MM IIB Late cooking pot fabrics did not increase with vessel size is illustrated by the fact that the largest cooking pot from Group L (**L/21**) has a medium-fine fabric (5% inclusions) and the smallest one (**L/18**) a coarse fabric (30% inclusions). Unlike cooking pots, lamps seem to have been made out of more standardized fabrics: medium-fine (5–7%) for small handheld specimens (**L/22, M/6**), medium-coarse (10%) for medium-sized stationary lamps (**L/23**), and coarse (20%) for large lamps (**L/24**).

The practice of combining different fabric textures on a single vase persisted, but was now much less common. Special display vases, such as highly decorated deep globular bowl or pyxis **K/2** and pithoid jar **L/16,** still employed very fine buff fabrics in combination with coarser fabrics to create crisp rim edges and for plastic decoration, such as the appliqués of **L/16.** Also, the small handles of this pithoid jar were made out of very fine fabric. A different combination is seen on lentoid jug **L/15,** which has a medium-coarse body and a coarse neck and handle. The use of coarser fabrics for handles has a longstanding tradition in the Mesara. Its purpose may have been to create stronger handles, but since coarser clay dries faster than finer clay, it also ensured that the wet clay of the handle would dry more or less together with the leather-hard clay of the body, thus preventing the development of cracks (Van As and Jacobs 1987). Whereas engobes have not been attested among this MM IIB Late pottery, thin slips of fine buff clay are still common. They sometimes were folded over the base (**L/11**).

In terms of formation techniques, the use of the wheel was expanded somewhat in the MM IIB Late subphase. It was now employed to throw small milk jugs with coarse fabrics (**M/4**) as well as medium-sized utilitarian flaring bowls **L/11, L/12** with medium-coarse fabrics (It. *piatelli*). Even the bottom part of a medium-sized bucket jar (**L/17**) was thrown on the wheel to a height of at least 6 cm and a diameter of 18 cm; its upper parts were fashioned from coils. Wheel ridges on milk jug **M/4** indicate that the wheel turned counterclockwise, as it continued to do in the western Mesara throughout the Neopalatial period (Van de Moortel 1997). String marks on the bottom are now most often arched (**L/22**) or spiraling (**K/1, L/6, L/8, L/9, L/12, M/1, M/4**), showing that the potters as a rule cut the newly formed vases off when the wheel was still in motion. Large closed shapes were still entirely handmade, having deep finger impressions on their interior surface from the joining and perhaps drawing up of coils (e.g., **L/14**).

Standardization of vessel shapes, known before mostly for utilitarian vases, now became widespread among high-quality vases. With the appearance of teacup types (C 9785) and the standardized flaring variety of straight-sided cups (**L/7, L/8, L/9, M/1, M/2**), virtually all MM IIB Late high-quality cups belong to standard types. Among bowls, high-quality standardized types appeared for the first time with deep globular bowls (C 3352, possibly **K/2**) and simple convex bowls (Betancourt 1990: 159, fig. 52, nos. 1281, 1282). Flaring utilitarian bowls

and other earlier vase types persisted. This increased standardization of shapes can be interpreted as reflecting a concern on the part of the potter to streamline and speed up production. The deterioration in the surface finish of several vases, and most notably of straight-sided cups, can be similarly explained.

Even though very little painted decoration has survived, a certain degree of standardization and simplification can be seen in the design structure of a number of high-quality vases. Continuous circumcurrent decoration, such as horizontal rows of running spirals (**L/16**), and decorations such as wavy-line (C 9785), scale, and arcade patterns appeared for the first time in the MM IIB Late subphase (Van de Moortel 1997: 311–12). They increased in popularity in the MM III phase, and horizontal rows of running spirals became a standard Minoan motif until the end of the Bronze Age. Simultaneously with the introduction of these more standardized patterns on high-quality pottery, however, vases of top quality in the MM IIB Late subphase began to show much more complex individualized painted designs than ever before (Levi and Carinci 1988: 299; Betancourt 1990: 34–36; Van de Moortel 1997: 865–66, 882–85). The subsequent MM III phase saw an intensification of the trends toward standardization of vessel shape and decoration, increased use of the potter's wheel, more careless surface finish, and, in general, a reduction in the amount of time spent in making a vessel (Van de Moortel 1997: 228–35, 379–86, 642–48; 2002).

Overview of Vessel Shapes

Conical Cups (Pls. 3.3, 3.12, 3.17A)

Conical cups of Type A (**L/1**) and J (**C/1**) with well-developed ledge rims appeared for the first time at Kommos and Phaistos in the MM IIB Late subphase, even though a Type A cup with weakly developed rim had already occurred at Phaistos in an MM IIB Early context (Levi and Carinci 1988: 244, pl. 102v; see above). The fabric of Type A conical cup **L/1** is less fine and its surfaces less well finished than those of most MM IIB Late conical cups, and it already resembles in these respects MM III conical cups (e.g., **L/4**). It is conceivable that **L/1** was produced very late in the MM IIB phase. Type A and J cups are not very common in the MM IIB Late subphase at Kommos or Phaistos. By far the most common conical cup types at the two sites were C and D (**K/1, O/1**). Typical for the MM IIB Early and Late subphases are their sloping interior bottom surfaces and sharp, well-formed rims. None of the other rare MM IIB Late conical cup types of the western Mesara have been found in Building AA (Van de Moortel 1997: 37–38, 310–11).

Teacups (Pls. 3.13, 3.17A)

Defined as fine rounded cups with articulated rims and single vertical handles, teacups appeared for the first time in this phase. Not a single example occurs among the more than 28,000 pottery fragments of the MM IA–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA or contemporary contexts to its east and south, contradicting Fiandra's claim that this shape began

at Phaistos as early as the MM IB phase (see above). In contrast, fragments of as many as 20 teacups were found in MM IIB fills on the Central Hillside; only two with full profiles were published by Betancourt (1990: 90–91, fig. 21, nos. 370–71). In Levi and Carinci's interpretation of Phaistian Protopalatial stratigraphy, teacups also represent a new MM IIB Late cup type.

MM IIB Late teacups at Phaistos and Kommos range in shape from squat to rather tall semiglobular (Levi and Carinci 1988: 189–90, pls. 84–85f; Levi 1976: figs. 117f, 905a–b, 1091, pls. XLVII–LIc, 124b–125b, d–k, m; La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 53; Van de Moortel 1997: 81–83). Squat cups are in general of the highest quality and have eggshell-thin walls, while the taller ones are thicker walled and of a somewhat lesser quality. All are as a rule elaborately decorated with polychrome or white-painted motifs on a dark ground. Impressed designs also occur (Levi 1976: pls. 124a, 179c). There is a large variation in motifs—linear, curvilinear, spiraliform, and stylized floral—organized in ever-changing combinations and arrangements (Van de Moortel 1997: Appendix A, B).

Teacup C 9785, found in a mixed MM IIB–III fill below the lobby of Neopalatial staircase 46, is a typical MM IIB Late teacup with a squat globular body and vertical strap handle (Pl. 3.17A). The painted wavy-line pattern (cf. FM 53) covering its entire body is equally diagnostic for the MM IIB Late subphase. This pattern continued into the MM III phase, but by then it no longer reached below midbody (Van de Moortel 1997: 87).[73] C 9785 provides the best-preserved example of an MM IIB Late wavy-line pattern at Kommos.[74] However, in spite of its intricate decoration, it does not show a top-quality surface finish. Some wheel marks are visible on the interior, and the upper handle attachment is merely stuck on the body, without its clay being smoothed over the rim surface. Fingerprints were left on top of and around the handle. This observation confirms Levi and Carinci's assessment that teacups with wavy-line, scale, and arcade patterns are of somewhat lesser quality than the top-quality teacups (Levi and Carinci 1988: 191). Their lower quality did not prevent them from being exported overseas to places such as Phylakopi, Kea, Ugarit, and Tell ed-Dabʿa (MacGillivray 1998: 63).

In contrast with teacup C 9785, teacup **L/5** of Group L can be considered to belong among the top-quality "Kamares" vases (Pl. 3.13). With its eggshell-thin walls (1.3 mm), finely impressed horizontal ribs and groove, exquisitely smoothed surface, and now largely vanished polychrome decoration, it represents a considerable investment of skill and labor on the part of the potter. Its eggshell-thin wall with impressed ribs and groove and unblemished shiny black surface was undoubtedly intended to lend this cup a metallic appearance.

Carinated Cups (Pl. 3.13)

High-quality carinated cups are common in MM IIB Late destruction levels at Phaistos and in MM IIB fills in the residential area on the Central Hillside at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 97–100; Levi and Carinci 1988: 198–201), but they are lacking among the surviving use pottery of Building AA. Only one example of a utilitarian carinated cup remains (**L/6**).

Whereas MM IIB carinated cups as a rule have their carination low on the body, that of **L/6** is rather high. A number of unpainted carinated cups from a mostly MM IIB Late stratum at Phaistos have similarly high carinations, however (La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 46), and the convex lower body of **L/6** is a common feature of the MM IIB Late subphase. Its careless surface finish seems to foreshadow the MM III phase.

Straight-Sided Cups (Pls. 3.13, 3.16)

In contrast to the earlier Protopalatial phases, when straight-sided cups varied widely in shape, a real straight-sided cup *type* appears for the first time in MM IIB Late contexts at Kommos and Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 202–11, pls. 88a–h, o–r, 89a–e, g–i). The five examples found in use deposits of Building AA (**L/7, L/8, L/9, M/1, M/2**; Pls. 3.13, 3.16) can be added to the five cups with complete profiles published by Betancourt and allow us to discuss the characteristics of this MM IIB Late vase type at Kommos in more detail than was possible before (Betancourt 1990: 34–35, 90, 160 nos. 355, 357–59, 1287, figs. 21, 52; Van de Moortel 1997: 101–3, fig. 17). Standardized straight-sided cups are much more common than teacups in this subphase (Betancourt 1990: 34–35). Like the Phaistian cups, the Kommian examples are quite standardized in shape, their flaring walls varying from straight to slightly concave. Proportions show significant differences, however, ranging from squat to slender. Base edges are usually, but not always, beveled. Surfaces may be carefully finished, but more often show a lack of care, with unsmoothed wheel ridges, stretch marks, or excess clay, and occasionally a handle attachment that has not been well smoothed and reveals its seam (**M/2**). MM IIB straight-sided cups of the western Mesara and Knossos as a rule are less well finished than contemporary teacups or carinated cups and may be considered to be of somewhat lesser quality. The five straight-sided cups from Building AA are dark coated; their surfaces are too worn to reveal whether they once carried pattern-painted decoration.

In contrast to the situation at Kommos and Phaistos, at Knossos mass-produced wheel-thrown straight-sided cups appeared as early as the MM IB phase (MacGillivray 1998: 69–70, fig. 2.10.6). In the western Mesara, the flaring straight-sided cup variety continued nearly unchanged from the MM IIB Late into the MM III phase, except for a tendency toward thicker walls (ca. 3 mm) and a sloppier surface finish. With their thin walls, the straight-sided cups from Groups L and M belong to the MM IIB Late subphase rather than the MM III phase, although differences are too small to allow for a secure dating. Three have their strap handle preserved (**L/2, M/1, M/2**). All three handles have an off-center depression, and their lower parts are twisted to the left of the viewer. Identical details of shape are seen on strap handles of all local MM IIB, MM III, LM IA, and LM IB cups from Kommos and Phaistos. Because of their wide distribution and longevity, they must represent a motor habit passed down through generations of potters. Straight-sided cups always far outnumber teacups in MM IIB Late, MM III, and LM IA Early contexts at Kommos and Phaistos, perhaps

because with their simple shape they were thrown more quickly. Spiraling string marks on the bases of some cups (**L/8, L/9, M/1**) also are indicative of fast production.

Bowls (Pls. 3.13, 3.14, 3.17A)

Remains of almost thirty MM IIB bowls from Kommos have been published by Betancourt (1990), but most were small single fragments, and only four profiles were preserved. MM IIB Late bowls are much better preserved at Phaistos, where they include a wide range of shapes and qualities, going from polychrome specimens of the highest quality, made of fine fabrics, to utilitarian examples made of coarser fabrics and carrying simple or no decoration. Three high-quality subtypes can be discerned at Phaistos, and two of those are represented at Kommos. One is a highly decorated semiglobular subtype with, as a rule, eggshell-thin walls, a straight, tapering rim, and two horizontal, round-sectioned loop handles (Levi and Carinci 1988: 172–73, pl. 75g–h; Levi 1976: fig. 927, pls. XLIIIb, 122a–c). Two examples were found below spaces CH 16–17 in the residential area at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 159 nos. 1281, 1282, fig. 25). A second subtype consists of large, semiglobular bowls with flat rims and horizontal handles (Levi and Carinci 1988: 174, pl. 76b–c; Levi 1976: figs. 120, 893, pls. 160b–c, LXVIIa). It has not yet been identified at Kommos. Unlike these two subtypes, which carry their main decoration on the interior, the third high-quality subtype, made up of large, deep bowls with semiglobular or semi-ovoid bodies, offset rims, and two vertical strap handles, carries its main decoration on the exterior (Levi and Carinci 1988: 174–75, pl. 78d–i; Levi 1976: pls. 120, 121b, e, g–h). To these belong bowls C 3352 and **K/2** from Building AA at Kommos (Pls. 3.10, 3.13). Even though made of medium-coarse or coarse fabrics, these bowls carry intricate polychrome decoration on their dark-coated exteriors and must have been used as high-quality serving vessels. Neither C 3352 nor **K/2** has pattern-painted decoration preserved, but both have polychrome rim bands. **K/2** is rather large and could have been a pyxis as well. Its combination of coarse and fine fabrics is unusual in the MM IIB Late subphase.

Utilitarian bowls at Phaistos and Kommos can have fine or coarser fabrics and come in various shapes and sizes. Some have low, semiglobular bodies with thick walls and either thickened or flattened rims (Levi and Carinci 1988: 176, pl. 75k–l; Levi 1976: pls. 142p, 143o, 179n). Others have a deeper, ovoid profile and a slightly everted rim (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 75m) or deep conical bodies with straight or everted tapering rims and two horizontal coil handles (Levi and Carinci 1988: 177, pl. 76g–h; Levi 1976: pls. 117e, 121a, c). They include some subtypes such as small bowls with lug handles resembling conical cups in shape (Levi and Carinci 1988: 245–46, pl. 103m–n; Levi 1976: pl. 144p, x, z, a′, c′), large and medium-sized conical bowls with pinched-out spouts at the rim (Levi and Carinci 1988: 221; pls. 94o–t, 95a–d; Levi 1976: figs. 856b, 888c, pl. 139a, c–g, n–p), and a conical subtype with concave-flaring walls (*piatelli*) (Levi and Carinci 1988: 224–26, pls. 95a–h, p–q, 96c–n, s–v, 97a–b; Levi 1976: figs. 147l–m, 202a–d, 207, 244b, 541b, 888a-b, d, pls. 142l, q, 143a–d, g–h,

147a, c, 180d). Utilitarian bowls may be unpainted, dark-dipped, dark monochrome coated, or painted with simple light-on-dark or dark-on-light patterning.

Bowl **O/2** from Building AA is a simple convex bowl of medium size, painted on the interior and exterior with sloppy dark horizontal bands (Pl. 3.17A). Its interior was slipped and polished. It is fire-darkened on the bottom. The three other utilitarian bowls from Building AA are *piatelli* (Pls. 3.13, 3.14), the first ones to be reported from MM IIB Kommos. **L/10** with its coil-built and wheel-finished body is indistinguishable from earlier Protopalatial examples. **L/11** and **L/12** are similar in shape to MM IB–IIB Early concave-flaring bowls, but differ in that they are unpainted and wheel-thrown. Their manufacturing technique places them firmly in the MM IIB Late subphase, since not a single example of wheel-thrown concave-flaring bowls has been encountered in the MM IA–IIB Early AA construction fills at Kommos. Their lack of painted decoration also may be part of a trend among MM IIB Late *piatelli* at Phaistos and Kommos.

Basins (Pl. 3.16)

Basins are defined here as large, thick-walled open shapes, usually with medium-coarse fabrics and of utilitarian quality. MM IIB Late basins at Phaistos and Kommos can have conical, convex, or cylindrical bodies, and their rims are straight, thickened, slightly everted or overhanging (Levi and Carinci 1988: 22–27; Van de Moortel 1997: 120–22, 319–20, fig. 25). Conical basin **M/3** is the first MM IIB Late example with a complete profile published from Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 87–88 nos. 308–10, 312). It is unpainted and of utilitarian quality. It is comparable in shape to conical basins from Phaistos, which form a loose morphological type (Levi and Carinci 1988: pl. 12e–o, q).

Bridge-Spouted Jars (Pl. 3.14)

Even though high-quality bridge-spouted jars are extremely common in MM IIB Late contexts at Phaistos and MM IIB fills in the residential area at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 137–39, 321–24), small and medium-sized bridge-spouted jars are lacking among the MM IIB Late use pottery from Building AA. Instead, we have two large examples with medium-coarse fabrics from Group L (**L/13, L/14**). **L/13** provides us for the first time with a complete profile of a large Protopalatial bridge-spouted jar at Kommos. The Kommian jars are similar to those from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 110–16, pls. 49–52). Their tall ovoid or globular bodies, folded-back rims, and slanted horizontal coil handles are not specific to the MM IIB Late subphase but are found throughout the Protopalatial period at Phaistos.[75] **L/13** carries a large white-painted spiral on its upper body, perhaps as part of a bifacial design.

Jugs (Pls. 3.14, 3.16)

MM IIB Late jugs are very common and come in many subtypes at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 50–92, 217–20; Van de Moortel 1997: 324–28). With some simplification we can list

them as follows: narrow-mouthed jugs, wide-necked jugs, trefoil-mouthed jugs, ewers, "hydriai," askoid jugs, lentoid jugs, milk jugs, and juglets (h < 10 cm). At Kommos only fragments of jugs have been encountered in MM IIB fills of the Central Hillside; they include narrow-mouthed, wide-necked, and askoid jugs (Betancourt 1990: 88, 90, 158, 163 nos. 323–24, 412–13, 1259–61, 1357; Van de Moortel 1997: 149–50). Jugs range in size from large (h ca. 40 cm) to medium (h ca. 25–30 cm) and medium-small to small (h ca. 10–20 cm). They are made out of fine or medium-coarse fabrics, and may be of utilitarian or high quality (Levi and Carinci 1988: 55).

The mendable vases from Building AA include only two jug types, both previously unattested in MM IIB Kommos. Small milk jug **M/4** belongs to a slender utilitarian type (Pl. 3.16). It was mass-produced on the wheel, and its rim appears to have been deliberately deformed to facilitate pouring. MM IIA and MM IIB milk jugs at Kommos and Phaistos have incurving upper bodies, whereas MM III examples have straighter upper walls.

The only high-quality jug preserved from Building AA is tall lentoid jug **L/15** (Pl. 3.14). Its body was built up with coils and then flattened into a lentoid shape. Too little of the body is preserved to determine whether its profile was asymmetrical, as it often is on lentoid flasks and on an MM III lentoid jug from Kommos. The body of **L/15** was decorated with a large white-painted foliate band (FM 64). Its fabric is local. Lentoid jugs occurred in the western Mesara for the first time in this phase, and they seem to have been used for special functions (see above).

Lentoid jugs first appeared in the Cyclades and may have been developed as imitations of lentoid flasks. As many as eight examples of lentoid flasks and jugs have been found at Aghia Eirini on Kea, the earliest being a late EB flask of Period III (Caskey 1972: 375 no. C49, fig. 7). It had a flat bottom and a push-through handle and probably imitated earlier Anatolian models.[76] It had been made from two bowls, one deeper than the other.[77] The earliest jug with lentoid shape of the Aegean was found in Period IV at Aghia Eirini, corresponding to early MM IB on Crete (Overbeck 1989: 1, 11, 79–80, pl. 43, no. AH-41). Overbeck describes its fabric color as "brown" and considers it to be a Minoan ware, but his use of the latter term is ambiguous and does not make clear whether this jug was locally made or imported. Since lentoid jugs or flasks do not appear as part of the Minoan repertoire until the MM IIB Late subphase, as noted above, it seems more likely that early MB lentoid jug AH-41 from Aghia Eirini was a local vase imitating earlier lentoid flasks rather than a Minoan shape, as Overbeck believed it to be. As many as six lentoid jugs were found in Period V at Aghia Eirini, corresponding to the MM IIB and MM III phases on Crete (Davis 1986: 6, 82; see above, comparanda of **L/15**). All these later jugs were unambiguously identified as Minoan imports, suggesting that Cretan potters had now taken the lead in the production of this shape. Similarly, the lentoid jug from Miletus is identified by its fabric as a Central Cretan import (Raymond 2001: 20–22). With its ovoid shape, lentoid jug **L/15** is morphologically most closely related to jug C-31 from Aghia Eirini.

Unlike **L/15**, however, the bodies of the Kean and Milesian jugs were made by the joining of two bowls.

Pithoid Jar (Pl. 3.14)

Pithoid jars are quite common throughout the Protopalatial period at Phaistos, but seem to occur at Kommos only from the MM IIB Late subphase onwards (Levi and Carinci 1988: 11–13, pls. 5–6; Van de Moortel 1997: 173; Betancourt 1990). Medium-sized pithoid jar **L/16** from Building AA belongs to rare high-quality MM IIB subtype with apparently special ceremonial significance (see above). Only its upper body is preserved, but comparanda from Aghia Triada and Voroi show that it had a piriform body and pedestaled base. It was painted with an intricate light-on-dark patterned spiral design (cf. FM 46) and its rim probably had flower appliqués. It is remarkable that no pedestaled pithoid jars have thus far been reported from Phaistos. Perhaps their absence there is to be attributed to chance, because of the extreme rarity of this subtype. Levi and Carinci do not mention the combined use of different fabrics on pithoid jars, but the fine rim and coarser body of **L/16** appear to have an MM IB antecedent at Phaistos, to judge from the illustration of a fragmentary pithoid jar found to the west of the West Court (La Rosa 1998: 59, fig. 70).

Small pithoid jars or pitharakia (h < 25 cm) appear at Kommos and Phaistos from the MM IIB Late subphase onward (Van de Moortel 1997: 173–78; Levi and Carinci 1988: 166–70, pls. 71–73). The MM IIB Late pedestaled pithoid jar appears to be the predecessor of the MM III pedestaled pitharakia that were deposited in large numbers in the Kamilari tomb (Levi 1976: 722, fig. 1156, pls. 202–6) and were encountered also in floor deposits in the settlements of Phaistos and Kommos. Those MM III pedestaled pitharakia have similar bases and, being the largest pitharakia of the MM III phase, they are not much smaller than the MM IIB pedestaled pithoid jars. Likewise, several MM III pedestaled pitharakia belong to the top-quality class of that phase (e.g., Betancourt 1990: 109 no. 609, fig. 29; Van de Moortel 1997: 176–77, 370–71; Levi 1976: pls. LXXXIII, 204b, d, g, 205b, g).

Bucket Jar (Pl. 3.15)

The utilitarian bucket jar is a rare shape that begins in the western Mesara in the MM IB phase. In addition to a medium-sized bucket jar **L/17** from the *sottoscala* fill, MM IIB Late examples have been published from Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 9, 15–16, fig. 3, pl. 9d–f; Van de Moortel 1997: 183, 332, 372). Whereas most Phaistian jars are bridge-spouted and usually stand on three short feet, **L/17** has a spout pulled from the rim and no feet. It most closely resembles a fragmentary bucket jar found in a mostly MM II stratum west of the West Court at Phaistos (La Rosa 1998–2000: 54, fig. 58). **L/17** has four vertical handles and one horizontal handle opposite the spout to facilitate pouring. Its wheel-thrown base represents an advance in the use of the potter's wheel (see above). The type continued, with some changes, into the MM III phase (e.g., Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 597, pl. 31; Levi 1976: pl. 197e).

Lids (Pl. 3.16)

Ceramic "lids" continue to be common in the MM II Late subphase at Phaistos without undergoing distinct morphological changes (Levi and Carinci 1988: 229–33). In contrast, not a single lid has been published by Betancourt (1990) from MM IIB Kommos. Lid **M/5,** a fragmentary, simple convex lid with slighly upturned rim is our first example. It must have served to cover the mouth openings of medium-sized jars. It may have had a spool handle, as did a similar lid from the Grande Frana at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 230, pl. 97i; Levi 1976: fig. 908). Like the Phaistian lid it has white-painted patterned decoration on a dark ground.

Cooking Pots (Pls. 3.13, 3.15)

The MM IIB Late destruction horizon at Phaistos yielded cooking pots of Betancourt's Types A and B in various sizes and morphological variants, as well as cooking jars, cooking trays, and a cooking dish (Levi and Carinci 1988: 29–33, 279; see above). A similar variety of cooking vessels was published by Betancourt from MM IIB contexts at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 202–4; Betancourt 1990). Of the six cooking pots found in MM IIB Late contexts in Building AA, only one belongs to Betancourt's Type A (**K/3**). It combines a fine orange body and medium-coarse legs. It belongs to a hole-mouthed variety with thickened rim that is mentioned but not illustrated by Betancourt (1990: 216; cf. Betancourt 1980). One other MM IIB Type A cooking pot has been published from the Central Hillside at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 93, fig. 23 no. 423). This scarcity of Type A cooking pots in MM IIB levels at Kommos is remarkable and contrasts with their abundance at Phaistos.

The other four cooking pots from Building AA are of Type B, the most common type at Kommos throughout the Protopalatial period, and the only type to survive in the western Mesara in the Neopalatial period (Betancourt 1990: 79, 83; Van de Moortel 1997). Three vessels are quite uniform in shape, although their fabrics differ (**L/18, L/19, L/20;** see above). One is very tall and has a flattened rim (**L/21**). Both **L/20** and **L/21** have a partial coarse slip that was deliberately left rough. Its function may have been to provide a secure grip or to increase the heating surface of the vase, thereby improving its heating capabilities (Schiffer 1990).

Lamps (Pls. 3.15, 3.16)

In the MM IIB Late subphase at Phaistos, large stationary lamps continue and, according to Speziale, small convex portable lamps are joined by a new type with conical body (Speziale 1993: 543–44; Mercando 1974–75: 53–96; La Rosa 1998–2000: 50, fig. 43).[78] At Kommos, Betancourt published many more from MM IIB Late contexts on the Central Hillside than from earlier contexts, including six handheld (Betancourt 1990: 89, 95, 153 nos. 352, 457, 1146–49, figs. 21, 23, 48) and nine stationary lamps (Van de Moortel 1997: 211–12). All handheld lamps from the Central Hillside have convex bodies, and nearly all (except for Betancourt's no.

457) are of the variant with everted rim identified already in the MM IIB Early subphase at Kommos.

Conical portable lamps appear for the first time among the MM IIB Late use pottery of Building AA. The fact that not a single example was found in the MM IA–IIB Early foundation fills of AA or contemporary contexts at Kommos strongly supports Speziale's MM IIB Late dating of this lamp type. As at Phaistos, conical handheld lamps can be unpainted (**M/6**) or dark monochrome coated (**L/22**). They compare well in shape to MM IIB lamps from Trial KV and the West Polychrome deposits at Knossos, although their rims are somewhat different. Other lamp types used in Building AA are a medium-sized stationary lamp (**L/23**) and a large stationary lamp or brazier (**L/24**).

Medium-sized pedestaled lamp **L/23** is also a new shape in the MM IIB Late subphase, and has thus far been found only at Kommos. Its wide ledge rim is reminiscent of MM III lamps from Kommos and Phaistos (Betancourt 1990: 108, 167, 170 nos. 595, 1464, 1554, figs. 27, 56; Mercando 1974–75: 109–11, fig. 102 nos. 33, 35, 36, 37), but a comparable pedestaled lamp was found in a mostly MM IIB dump below spaces CH 16–17 at Kommos, and was dated by Betancourt to MM IIB, presumably on the basis of its fabric and surface finish (Betancourt 1990: 158 no. 1263). Large stationary lamp or brazier **L/24** is of a type known throughout the Protopalatial period at Phaistos and Kommos. For a discussion of the function of this shape as a lamp or brazier, see above. Its low proportions, thinner walls, and lack of engobe distinguish **L/24** from the stationary lamps of the earlier Protopalatial AA construction fills (**Je/27, Jf/12**). More data are needed to determine whether these features are diagnostic for the MM IIB Late subphase. **L/24** probably had a pedestal base (cf. Mercando 1974–75: 96–111).

Braziers (Pl. 3.16)

Like handheld lamps, handheld braziers in MM IIB Late Phaistos come in two basic types: convex and conical. Convex handheld braziers already appear in MM IB and continue through MM IIB and into the MM III phase (Mercando 1974–75: 112–16). We do not have examples from Kommos. Conical handheld braziers such as **M/7**, like conical portable lamps, appear to have originated in the MM IIB Late subphase at Kommos and Phaistos. Not a single brazier of this type was found in the AA construction fills. Also, at Phaistos the earliest stratified examples came from MM IIB Late destruction contexts (Mercando 1974–75: 116–19; Levi and Carinci 1988: 311–51). These braziers have a conical body that is sharply indented in the rear, and a single stick handle. The sharp indentation is typical for the Protopalatial period, whereas Neopalatial examples are heart-shaped with a less pronounced curvilinear indentation (Betancourt 1990: 166, 183 nos. 1461, 1838, fig. 63).

Slab or Box (Pl. 3.16)

Medium-coarse buff fragment **L/25** may be part of a slab or of a box with partitions. It may have been coil- or slab-built. Its rim was attached as a separate coil. Surfaces and rim carry

traces of dark paint. Both slabs and boxes are rare in the western Mesara, and their function is not well understood.

3. Neopalatial and Later Minoan Pottery

Jeremy B. Rutter

Introduction: History of Neopalatial and Subsequent Late Bronze Age Ceramic Studies at Kommos

Over the past fifteen years, four major studies have been devoted either wholly or in part to the description, classification, and analysis of the pottery in use at Kommos during the Neopalatial era (Table 3.38; Betancourt 1985a: 103–48). As part of his survey of the Neolithic through Middle Minoan (MM) ceramic sequence at the site, Betancourt (1990) published in detail context groups that can be assigned to the first two of the phases considered here to be Neopalatial (MM III and LM IA Early), and among the pieces included in his study from "miscellaneous contexts" are a significant number that can now be dated to even later phases.[79] Thanks to a destructive event plausibly identified as an earthquake, numerous floor deposits of MM III date have allowed this ceramic phase to be characterized in unusual detail.[80] Watrous's volume (1992) on the Late Bronze Age pottery of Kommos includes relatively little that can be closely dated to specific subphases within LM IA but incorporates substantial quantities of LM IB pottery, notably a large deposit of the earlier part of that phase.[81] Profiting from the large quantities of well-stratified LM I pottery recovered from House X in the early 1990s (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 131–61), and also benefiting from the discovery of an LM IA kiln constructed within the ruins of Building T's South Stoa, Van de Moortel has constructed an unusually sensitive, although highly localized, relative chronology for Neopalatial Kommos based foremost on the most frequently occurring single ceramic form throughout Crete in this era, the conical cup. Using changes in this form to create a chronological skeleton (1997: 32–81), she has incorporated the rest of the Neopalatial ceramic repertoire encountered at Kommos into a schema of six subphases that constitute the essence of the Neopalatial chronology that is followed here: a single MM III subphase, three LM IA subphases (Early, Advanced, and Final), and two LM IB subphases (Early and Late) (Table 3.38; Van de Moortel 1997: 225–74; 2001: 89–94). Basing her chronology to the maximum extent possible on floor deposits of whole and largely preserved vases (1997: 698–746), Van de Moortel has been able to provide individual shape histories for more than 25 of the most common vessel forms employed at Neopalatial Kommos (Table 3.38; also Van de Moortel 2001: 66–87). Through an equally detailed accounting of these same forms during the final stage of the preceding Protopalatial era, namely, the MM IIB ceramic phase (1997: passim), she has also supplied an analysis of what the principal changes were in the entire local ceramic corpus at the transition from the Protopalatial to the Neopalatial era. Thanks to an extensive investigation into ceramic developments during the same timespan (MM

Table 3.38. Publication record of Neopalatial ceramics from Kommos.

Neopalatial Ceramic Phase in This Volume	Betancourt 1990	Watrous 1992	Van de Moortel 1997	J. W. Shaw et al. 2001
Middle Minoan III	37–41; 101–23 Contexts 15–19 (Cat. nos. 463–501, 526–659, 667–730, 737–99); 131–41		38–50, 84–87, 103–6, 114–15, 117–18, 122–25, 130–31, 136–37, 139–43, 151–55, 164–67, 175–86, 188–90, 193–95, 199–200, 204–7, 213–14, 216–19, 225–35	
Late Minoan IA Early	41–46; 24–29 Contexts 20–21 (Cat. nos. 823–48, 853–90); 130–31, 135		50–57, 87–89, 107–9, 115–16, 125, 131–32, 136–37, 143–44, 156–57, 167–68, 177–78, 195–96, 200, 208, 214–19, 235–44	
Late Minoan IA Advanced	See n. 79 to this chapter	111–12	57–65, 89–90, 109–10, 116–17, 125–27, 132–33, 145–46, 157–59, 168–69, 184–85, 190–91, 196–97, 245–58	25–155
Late Minoan IA Final	See n. 79 to this chapter	111–12	65–70, 90–93, 96–97, 111–12, 117–19, 127–28, 133–35, 146, 159, 169–70, 172, 190–91, 196–97, 200, 258–67	25–155
Late Minoan IB Early		14–18 Deposits 7 and 10 (Cat. nos. 252–78, 303–5); 112–19	70–74, 93–96, 112–14, 128–30, 147–48, 159–62, 170–73, 179, 197–98, 209–10, 268–74	
Late Minoan IB Late		16–17 Deposits 8 and 9 (Cat. nos. 279–302); 112–19	74–79, 93–96, 112–14, 128–30, 147–48, 159–62, 170–73, 179, 197–98, 209–10, 268–74	

IIB–LM IB) at other sites in the western Mesara (Aghia Triada and Phaistos) as well as at the north-central Cretan center of Knossos, Van de Moortel has extended the applicability of her localized Kommian ceramic sequence throughout central Crete by establishing how her Kommian subphases relate to those so far recognized in deposits published from these other Neopalatial centers (1997: 275–663). The full publication of the LM IA kiln at Kommos and the preliminary assessment of the range of fabrics and shapes fired in it during its relatively

brief period of operation during the LM IA Advanced and Final subphases has resulted in as complete a documentation of local ceramic production during these phases as during MM III (J. W. Shaw et al. 2001).

Watrous's extensive and richly illustrated survey of the later stages of the LBA ceramic sequence at Kommos from LM II through LM IIIB (1992: 20–102, 105–10, 119–47, 200–225), supplemented by one major preliminary report (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993) and a few recently published specialized studies (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998; Rutter 1999, 2000, 2003a, 2004, forthcoming [a]), continues to be definitive for pottery of the fifteenth through thirteenth centuries B.C. A few late-eleventh-century-B.C. vessels, technically of LBA date, have been included in the pottery published from the Iron Age sanctuary at the site by Callaghan and Johnston (2000: 212–14).

Additions to this wealth of already-published ceramic data from Kommos are justifiable only when they provide new information. The pieces selected for publication here have been chosen with several different purposes in mind: first, to provide the basic evidence for the dating of specific events in the architectural history of the Civic Center at Kommos; second, to present such information as ceramics can furnish that may be relevant in establishing the functions of particular architectural spaces for specific periods of time; third, to amplify the so-far relatively skimpy record of publication for the developed and later stages of the Neopalatial ceramic sequence at Kommos (i.e., LM IA Final through LM IB Late) by presenting some stratified groups of material to support the six-subphase chronology currently in use at the site; and finally, to add to the already large corpus of ceramics imported to the site both from other regions of Crete and from other culture zones throughout much of the eastern and central Mediterranean (Watrous 1992: 149–83; Cline 1994: passim; Knapp and Cherry 1994: 138–41; Rutter 1999). In pursuit of these goals, only select pieces of the full ceramic record from Kommos's Civic Center are presented here, although every attempt has been made in what follows to quantify the total amounts of pottery recovered from the relevant excavation units.[82]

Early Neopalatial: Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan IA Early

Excavations at Kommos since 1976 have uncovered an exceptional number of floor deposits dating from the earliest stages of the Neopalatial era, in addition to some very large but chronologically homogeneous fills (Van de Moortel 1997: 225–35). Moreover, such deposits have been found in all areas of the site so far explored, from the Hilltop (Betancourt 1990: 117–21 (Context 18), 124–29 (Contexts 20–21); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 55–56, 73–75; Van de Moortel 1997: 719–21, 728–30) to the Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990: 96–116 (Contexts 15–17), 121–23 (Context 19); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 140–99, 238–41; Van de Moortel 1997: 700–19, 726–28) to the area immediately north of House X (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 134–36; Van de Moortel 1997: 698–99) to the area of the Civic Center under consid-

eration here (Van de Moortel 1997: 721–26). In view of how scarce undisturbed deposits of the later Neopalatial era have proved to be, above all in the Central Hillside and Hilltop portions of the site, it is clear that the end of the MM period and the very beginning of the LM period were comparatively eventful times at Kommos during the era when Minoan palatial culture was at its acme. The discovery of large collections of either abandoned or dumped but nevertheless complete pots throughout the Central Hillside area (most notably in the basement storage room CH25) as well as just north of House X, in combination with the evidence for collapsed floors and ceilings and immediately subsequent repairs in the form of raised floor levels and multiple blocked doorways, has suggested that the MM III town fell victim to a devastating earthquake (Betancourt 1990: 37, 41; M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 20, 56, 106, 128; Wright and McEnroe 1996: 166, 183, 189). But the existence of twin deposits of whole vases stratified on top of each other in some rooms on the Central Hillside (especially Rooms 44 and 51 of the South Building), as well as the observation that some of these early Neopalatial floor deposits were noticeably more developed in ceramic terms than others, also made quite clear that not all these deposits could have resulted from a single event, whether an earthquake or a catastrophe of some other kind.

One problem requiring resolution was whether the evidence for building repairs noted on the Central Hillside preceded the hypothetical earthquake destruction horizon or followed it (Betancourt 1990: 42). In Betancourt's opinion, the repairs were the result of the earthquake, and he went on to suggest that a number of the clusters of whole vases that he considered to be stylistically as well as stratigraphically somewhat later than the earthquake destruction were "special deposits" that might have some religious or symbolic significance (1990: 42, 46–48). Wright, on the other hand, seeing no reason to identify these clusters of pots as "special" in any way, expressed his confidence that more detailed analysis of the local MM III–LM IA pottery sequence, and especially of the numerous conical cups found on the floors in question, would ultimately clarify the sequence of events (1996: 238–39, n. 6). Van de Moortel shortly thereafter completed the requisite ceramic analysis (1997). Her findings are abbreviated here in Tables 3.39–3.41, where they are combined with those of Wright's careful stratigraphic and architectural analysis of the two extensively exposed (South and East Buildings) and the two only slightly explored (North Building, building to west of "Rampa del Mare") residential structures on the Central Hillside.[83] The following picture of events now emerges.

At least three buildings were standing on the Central Hillside when the hypothesized earthquake struck: the North, South, and East Buildings. There is no compelling evidence for the immediate reoccupation of the North Building after the earthquake caused the abandonment of a substantial floor deposit in Room 15 (Table 3.39). In the East Building, doorways were blocked and floor levels were raised in the house's excavated western portion, with the result that two phases of occupation could be clearly distinguished (Wright and McEnroe

Table 3.39. Floor deposits at Kommos resulting from probable earthquake within MM III. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997, with B and J indicating larger MM III types, and B′ and J′ indicating smaller LM IA Early types.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Central Hillside, North Building, Room 15 (9A1/36, 38, 40, 42)	B: 47, 51, 131–32; WM: 144–45, pls. 3.45–46; VM: 700–701	16 kg (—)	10 (22)	B: 3 (1) J: 1(1)	Bell cup: 1(1) Straight-sided cup: (2) Miscellaneous rounded bowl: 1 Kalathos: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: 2 Beaked jug: (1) Miscellaneous jug: (1) Alabastron-shaped rhyton: 1(1) Globular rhyton: 1 Oval-mouthed amphora: (1)
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 28, collapsed floor (35A/14, 16, 20; 40A/1-5)	B: 52, 132–33; WM: 151–53, pls. 3.49–50; VM: 707–8	25 kg (—)	10 (20)	B (?): (1) B′: 1 D: (1) F: 1(1) J: 2(1) M: 1	Bell cup: (1) Straight-sided cup: 2(3) Teacup: 1(1) Tumbler: 1	Beaked jug: 1 Globular rhyton: (1)
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 29, lower floor (35A/43)	B: 52, 121–23: Context 19; WM: 154–57, pl. 3.55; VM: 708	6 kg (151)	4 (14)	B: 1(2) C: (1) E: (1) L: (1)		Bridge-spouted jar: 2 Teapot-shaped jug: 1
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 31 (35A/35, 38)	B: 53, 134–35; WM: 158–59, pl. 3.58; VM: 709	3 kg (—)	3 (3)	B: (1) J: 1		Beaked jug: 1 Miscellaneous jug: (1) Stirrup jar: 1

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.39 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 38, "early phase" (40A/79)	B: 54, 135; WM: 161–63, pls. 3.65–66; VM: 709	20 kg (—)	4 (6)	M: (1)		Bridge-spouted jar: 2
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 44, lower floor (45A/26; 48A/34, 65)	B: 54, 136; WM: 170–72, pls. 3.71–72; VM: 711–12	25 kg (—)	4 (13)	B: 2	Miscellaneous rounded bowl: (2) Straight-sided cup: (1) Teacup: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: 1(1) Beaked jug: (1)
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 51, lower floor (48A/28, 34, 65)	B: 55, 140; WM: 172–74, pl. 3.76; VM: 715	16 kg (—)	2 (5)	C: 1 B′: 1	Straight-sided cup: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: 1 Miscellaneous jug: 1 (imported)
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 45 (41A1/32, 33)	B: 54, 137; WM: 174, pl. 3.78; VM: 713	6 kg (—)	4 (2)	A: 1	Straight-sided cup: 1	Bridge-spouted jar: 2(1)
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 46 (41A1/35, 37)	B: 54, 138; WM: 175–76, pls. 3.82–83; VM: 713	15 kg (—)	2 (8)	A: 2	Basin: (2) Kalathos: (2) Miscellaneous rounded bowl: (1)	
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 47 (41A/62, 65)	B: 54, 138; WM: 177–78, pl. 3.86; VM: 714	5 kg (—)	6 (5)			Askoid jug: 1
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 48 (41A/47, 48, 73)	B: 47, 54–55, 139; WM: 178–80, pls. 3.89–90; VM: 714	8 kg (—)	7 (5)	B: 1(1) C: (1) D: 1 J: 1	Kalathos: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: 4(1)

Central Hillside, South Building, Room 49 (41A/31, 32)	B: 55, 139–40; WM: 180–81, pl. 3.92; VM: 715	5 kg (—)	1 (1)			Bridge-spouted jar: 1
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 23 (28B/43, 44, 60)	B: 52, 132; WM: 184–85, pl. 3.101; VM: 702–3	12 kg (—)	3 (6)	B: 1	Straight-sided cup: (2) Teacup: (2)	Bridge-spouted jar: 1 Side-spouted jug (milk jug): 1
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 25 (28B/59, 62, 70; 41A/27, 29)	B: 52, 101–12: Context 16; WM: 182–84; VM: 703–07	304 kg (7,250)	67 (67)	A: 3 B: 3 C: 3(2) D: 4 J: 1 M: 1 V: (1)	Bell cup: (1) Kalathos: (1) Miscellaneous rounded bowl: 1(15) Straight-sided cup: 8(6)	Alabastron-shaped rhyton: 1 Beaked jug: 5 Bridge-spouted jar: 7(1) Conical rhyton: 1 Ewer: 1 Globular rhyton: 1 Hydria: 1 Juglet: 1 Lentoid jug: 1 Oval-mouthed amphora: 1(1) Piriform rhyton: 2 Side-spouted jug (milk jug): 1 Tubular-spouted jar: 1
Southern Area, room north of X2 (74A/46A, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52A, 52B, 53, 54, 55, 56, 56A, 56B)	VM: 698–99; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 134–36, pl. 20a		64	B: 11 C: 3 D: 6 J: 7	Straight-sided cup: 16 Teacup: 3 Tumbler: 1	Bridge-spouted jar: 1 Conical rhyton: 1 Miscellaneous jug: 1 Oval-mouthed amphora: 2
Southern Area, Building T, Room E: Group 1 (97E/55, 58, 60, 70)		4.9 kg (663)	2 (12)	B: 1(1) C: 1(3) J: (1)	Kalathos: (1) Straight-sided cup: (2) Tumbler: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1 + 1?) Oval-mouthed amphora: (1?)

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.39 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Area, Building T, Room 23, lower floor: Group 2a (97E/55, 58, 60, 70)		7.8 kg (1386)	0 (9)	A [MM IIB]: (1) C: (1) D: (1)	Kalathos: (1) Miscellaneous rounded bowl: (1) Straight-sided cup (MM IIB): (1)	Miscellaneous jug: (1) Side-spouted jug (milk jug): (1)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 24a, lower floor: Group 3a (58A/39, 42, 45)	VM: 724	4.5 kg. (ca. 480)	0 (1)			
Southern Area, Building T, Room 24b, lower floor: Group 4a (58A/41, 44; 66B/25)	VM: 725	3.4 kg (ca. 580)	1 (2)	C: 1	Bell cup (MM IIB): (1?) Carinated cup (MM IIB): (1)	
Southern Area, Building T, South Stoa, floor in south-east corner: Group 13 (90A/37, 40, 41, 42, 44)		1.9 kg (257)	1 (3)	B: (1) C: 1(1)	Straight-sided cup: (1)	

1996: 149–66, pl. 3.3–3.4). The substantial group of pots from the collapsed floor of Room 28, a smaller group from the adjacent lower floor in Room 29, and even smaller ones from Rooms 31 and 38 were all abandoned as a result of the earthquake (Table 3.39). Only very small bodies of material, unfortunately, can be assigned to the raised reoccupation floors in Rooms 29 and 38 (Table 3.40), whereas none at all can be attributed to the much higher raised floor in Room 28 that had been completely destroyed by erosion.

When the hypothesized MM III earthquake struck Kommos, the large South Building featured floors at several different levels owing to the pronounced slope in the bedrock over which it was built. Rooms at the lower level to the south and east produced substantial groups of pots abandoned after the earthquake, notably in the interconnecting Rooms 44 and 51 at the southwest as well as in Rooms 46, 47, 48, 49, and the semidetached storage rooms 23 and 25 at the far east (Table 3.39). Of all these spaces, only Rooms 44 and 51 exhibit evidence of reoccupation in the earthquake's immediate aftermath in the form of raised floors with deposits of whole or mendable pottery (Table 3.40). The remaining portions of the house appear to have been abandoned, although many of the doorways between rooms were blocked, as in the case of the repaired East Building.[84] In the northwestern part of the South Building, Rooms 7b and 8, with floors at a significantly higher level due to the rise in the underlying bedrock, were found to have been badly disturbed by subsequent LM building activity. A small group of whole vases found lying on the marl bedrock here can be dated typologically to LM IA Early (Van de Moortel 1997: 26 and n. 21; Table 3.41) and so substantially postdate the earthquake and perhaps even the initial period of reoccupation represented by the finds on the raised floors of Rooms 44 and 51 to the south (Table 3.40). Just to the east, in Room 9, a slab-paved floor was discovered overlying a second group of whole vases lying on marl bedrock that are contemporary with those from Rooms 7b and 8 (Van de Moortel 1997: 26 and n. 21; Table 3.41). Here again, the pottery dates to later than the earthquake, and the slab-paved floor must be even later, thus presumably postdating the initial reoccupation of the southwestern part of the building represented by the raised floors in Rooms 44 and 51.

Datable to the same earliest phase of LM IA as the deposits in Rooms 7b, 8, and 9 are the floor deposits from three rooms (23, 24, 28) of a single building exposed at the southern end of the Hilltop to the north, as well as a floor deposit from the other side of the "Rampa del Mare" in the Central Hillside area to the west (Table 3.41). These latter two buildings were thus also abandoned well after the earthquake. Indeed, both may have been initially constructed after the earthquake and consequently represent part of the reconstruction effort.[85] The same may also be true of the structure represented by Wall 22 and the floor surfaces on either side of it in Space 33S, southeast of the East Building, for here was found yet another substantial group of whole or largely restorable LM IA Early vases (Table 3.41).

The preceding review shows that the event that precipitated the deposition of numerous groups of MM III vases on floors throughout the Central Hillside area was of impressive

Table 3.40. Floor deposits at Kommos immediately overlying earlier floor deposits abandoned during MM III. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997, with B and J indicating larger MM III types, and B′ and J′ indicating smaller LM IA Early types.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 29, upper floor (35A/42, 45)	B: 52, 133–34; WM: 154–57; VM: 709	13 kg (—)	0 (2)			
Central Hillside, East Building, Room 38, "later phase" (40A/45, 78)	B: 54, 135–36; WM: 161–64, pl. 3.65–66; VM: 710	0.5 kg (—)	1 (1)			Bridge-spouted jar: 1
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 44, upper floor (45A/22; 48A/18)	B: 47, 54, 136–37; WM: 170–72, pl. 3.71; VM: 712	9 kg (—)	10 (4+)	B: 3(1) B′: (1) C: 1 D: 1 J′: 1	Miscellaneous rounded bowl: (2) Straight-sided cup: (1) Teacup: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: 2 Globular rhyton: 1(1) Juglet: (1)
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 51, upper floor (48A/19, 23, 61?)	B: 47, 55, 140–41; WM: 172–74, pl. 3.75; VM: 716	37 kg (—)	6 (5)	A: (1) B: 1 C: (1)	Straight-sided cup: 1(2)	Bridge-spouted jar: 2 Alabastron-shaped rhyton: 1
Southern Area, Building T, Room 23, upper floor: Group 2b (58A/54, 56, 57, 59)	VM: 724	56.9 kg (ca. 2140)	5 (10)	A: 1 B′: (1) C: 1(1?) D: 1(1) E: 1(1) ?: (1)	Teacup: (1 + 1 imported)	Juglet: 1
Southern Area, Building T, Room 24a, upper floor: Group 3b (58A/35 [part], 36)	VM: 725	5.0 kg (ca. 113)	1 (5)	A: 1 C: 1(1)	Straight-sided cup: (1)	
Southern Area, Building T, Room 24b, upper floor: Group 4b (58A/35 [part], 37, 40; 66B/24)	VM: 725	15.6 kg (>227)	0 (4)	A: (1) B: (1) B′: (1) ?: (1)		

Table 3.41. LM IA Early floor deposits from the Central Hillside, Southern Hilltop, and Civic Center at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997, with B and J indicating larger MM III types, and B′ and J′ indicating smaller LM IA Early types.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Central Hillside, East Building, Space 33S (35A2/115)	B: 53, 135; WM: 160–61, pl. 3.62–63;	20 kg (—)	9 (8)	B′: 5 J′: 1(1) P: 1 Q: 1	Miscellaneous rounded bowl: 1	Bridge-spouted jar: 1 Alabastron-shaped rhyton: (1) Globular rhyton: (1)
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 7b (9A/31, 36)	WM: 174–75, pl. 3.80; VM: 726–27	—(—)	2 (0)	D: 1 P: 1		
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 8 (2A2/40, 41)	B: 47, 51; WM: 174–75, pl. 3.80; VM: 727	—(—)	5 (2)	B′: 1 D: 1	Straight-sided cup: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1) Alabastron-shaped rhyton: 1
Central Hillside, South Building, Room 9 (2A2/48)	B: 47, 51, 131; WM: 177, pl. 3.84; VM: 727–28	2 kg (—)	3 (3)	B: 1 B′: 1 J′: (1) V: (1)	Straight-sided cup: (1)	Piriform rhyton: 1
Central Hillside, "Rampa del Mare," Space 1A (9A/39)	B: 47, 50, 130–31; WM: 168–69, pl. 3.68; VM: 726	4 kg (—)	6 (0)	B: 1 B′: 1 D: 1 J′: 2		Bridge-spouted jar: 1
Southern Hilltop, Room 23 (21A1/21, 23, 24)	B: 50, 127–29: Context 21; VM: 728–29	70 kg (350)	3 (35)	A: (1) B: (1) B′: (1) C: (2) J′: (2) W: (1)	Bell cup: (1) Straight-sided cup: (4)	Bridge-spouted jar: 1(3)

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.41 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication: Betancourt 1990; Wright and McEnroe 1996; Van de Moortel 1997	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Hilltop, Room 24 (21A1/27)	B: 50, 124–26: Context 20; VM: 729–30	4.5 kg (250)	10 (16)	B: 1 B′: 2 C: 1 J′: 1	Teacup: 1	Askos: 2 (imported) Bridge-spouted jar: (2) Ewer: 1 Juglet: 1
Southern Hilltop, Room 28 (21A1/26, 37)	B: 50; VM: 730	—(—)	6 (4)	B: 1 J′: 2	Bell cup: (2) Kalathos: 1 Teacup: 1	Bridge-spouted jar: 1
Southern Area, Building T, Room 19, first floor: Group 6 (53A/44, 45, 50; 62D/94)	VM: 723	26.5 kg (2308)	4 (9)	B′: 3(3) D: (1) P: 1	Bell cup: (1) Straight-sided cup: (2)	Ewer: (1) Stirrup jar: (1) (imported)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 42, earliest exposed floor: Group 7 (62D/92)	VM: 726	8.8 kg (ca. 500)	2 (1)	B′: 2		
Southern Area, Building T, North Stoa, east end, earliest exposed floor: Group 8 (42A/65, 67, 67A)	VM: 722	> 9.7 kg (> 900–1100)	0 (6)		Kalathos: (1)	Collar-necked jar: (1) Globular rhyton: (1) Juglet: (1) Miscellaneous jug: (1) (imported)
Southern Area, Building T, Space 36, west end, earth floor: Groups 9a–b (89C/144; 93A/2B, 5)		10.4 kg (742)	0 (13)	B′: (2) C (1) Q: (2) V: (1)	Deep convex-sided cup: (1) (imported) Straight-sided cup: (1) Teacup: (1) (imported)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1) Oval-mouthed amphora: (1)
Southern Area, Building T, Space 35, west end, earth floor: Group 10 (93A/26, 27, 28, 29)		5.6 kg (408)	0 (3)	C: (2)	Tumbler: (1)	

magnitude, whatever its precise nature. It resulted in the abandonment of some buildings as well as substantial modifications in those that continued to be occupied and may further have been the inspiration for a spate of construction of entirely new buildings. Of almost equal significance, this important event was followed shortly after by a second one, not too long afterward (perhaps only a decade or two?) that caused a second series of pottery groups to be abandoned on floors in LM IA Early. What is not altogether clear from the evidence of the Central Hillside alone is whether the secondary floor deposits in Rooms 44 and 51 of the South Building and Rooms 29 and 38 of the East Building (Table 3.40) are fully contemporary with the LM IA Early deposits listed in Table 3.41 or whether they represent a stage intermediate between the MM III earthquake (Table 3.39) and the second, LM IA Early event (Van de Moortel 1997: 27). As Table 3.40 makes clear, the smaller sizes of the dipped Type J and unpainted Type B conical cups, the particular types that distinguish LM IA Early from MM III at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 38–57), had come into sparing use by the time of the abandonment of the upper floor of South Building Room 44. Indeed, the MM III deposits resulting from the earthquake even contain an occasional example of the smaller unpainted Type B (Table 3.39: Rooms 28, 51); but none of the four secondary floors on the Central Hillside listed in Table 3.40 have produced the large numbers of small Type B's and J's characteristic of unambiguous LM IA Early deposits nor the earliest solidly coated conical cups of Types P and Q that appear at the same time (Table 3.41). Since they are now assigned to quite different chronological horizons, the groups of whole pots that Betancourt considered to be "special deposits" would appear to be ordinary floor deposits, as argued by Wright and by Van de Moortel (1997: 25 n. 19).

Group 1

Date:	MM III
Total sherds:	663
Weight (grams):	4,940
Trench/pail(s):	97E/55, 58, 60, 70
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor of east end of T Room E (below Gallery P2) at ca. +3.28 m and fill immediately above and below
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 35–40 cm (up to 25 cm above floor, 15 cm below)
Group and/or date of stratum below:	MM IIA
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 56b (LM IIIA2)

1/1 (C 10546). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.24.

Spout attached over elliptical perforation pierced from the outside and not subsequently smoothed over on interior. Handles solidly painted.

MM III–LM I. Betancourt 1990: 129 no. 890,

Table 3.42. Pottery Group 1.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	216	42	109	85	125	86
As % of total	32.6	6.3	16.4	12.8	18.9	13.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	785	90	845	695	1,710	815
As % of total	15.9	1.8	17.1	14.1	34.6	16.5

fig. 42, pl. 52; Van de Moortel 1997: 139–48, figs. 34–43; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **24/2**, **42/1**.

1/2 (C 10442). Bridge-spouted jar, tubular-spouted jar, or jug. Pl. 3.24.

Body: light-on-dark spatters overall in added white.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 111 no. 644, and 177 no. 1739 (bridge-spouted jars), 111 no. 646 (tubular-spouted jar), 121 no. 2008 (jug), fig. 30, pl. 102; Van de Moortel 1997: 139–43, 151–55, 178–79, figs. 35, 58; Table 3.39.

1/3 (C 10433). Tumbler. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 186 no. 1966, fig. 67, pl. 99; Van de Moortel 1997: 117–18, fig. 23; Table 3.39.

1/4 (C 10545). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 110 nos. 631–32, fig. 30, pl. 36; Van de Moortel 1997: 46–47, fig. 6; Table 3.39; also **5a/1**.

1/5 (C 10444). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA. Betancourt 1990: 187 nos. 1976–79, fig. 67; Van de Moortel 1997: 103–12, figs. 18–21; Van de Moortel 2001: 51, 69–70, fig. 32: 21; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **1/6**, **3b/1**, **5a/2**, **5b/1**, **6/4**, **13/1**, **17b/1**, **21/6**.

1/6 (C 10439). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.24.

Deep finger impression at very base of handle where it is attached to lower body.

MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

1/7 (C 10437). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 110 nos. 627–29, 123 nos. 811–812, 820, pls. 35–36, 48–49; Van de Moortel 1997: 40–42, fig. 6; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **1/8**, **4b/2**, **5a/6**, **5b/2**, **11/3**, **12/4–6**, **13/2**, **20/3**, **24/17**.

1/8 (C 10440). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

1/9 (C 10434). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 106 nos. 562–63, 110 nos. 617–19, 622; 172 nos. 1609–11, pls. 29, 35, 83; Van de Moortel 1997: 43–44, fig. 6; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **1/10–12**, **2a/3**, **2b/6**, **3b/4–5**, **4a/3**, **12/8–10**, **13/3–4**, **16/5**.

1/10 (C 10435). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

1/11 (C 10436). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

1/12 (C 10438). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

1/13 (C 10441). Jug or oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.24.

Lower body: partially preserved pattern, probably either trickle or a crudely executed plant motif.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 164 no. 1383, 169 nos. 1536–39, pls. 73, 78; Van de Moortel 1997: 188–90, figs. 62–63 (oval-mouthed amphoras); Betancourt 1990: 180 no. 1822, fig. 62; Van de Moortel 1997: 151–55, figs. 44–45 (jugs); Table 3.39.

1/14 (C 10443). Kalathos. Pl. 3.24 (interior rim decoration drawn flat).

Interior of rim: part of curvilinear motif (spiral?) in added white.

MM III–LM IA. Betancourt 1990: 168 nos. 1485–88, pl. 75; Van de Moortel 1997: 130–33, fig. 30; Carinci 2001: 225–26, fig. 20 (F.5233); Tables 3.39–3.41; also **2a/8**, **8/4**, **15/1**.

Group 2a

Date:	Mixed MM IIB and MM III
Total sherds:	1,386
Weight (grams):	7,765
Trench/pail(s):	93D/36, 39, 55
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor in T Room 23 at ca. +3.25/3.30 m and fill immediately above and below
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	MM II
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 2b (LM IA Early)

Table 3.43. Pottery Group 2a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	601	232	175	115	137	126
As % of total	43.4	16.7	12.6	8.3	9.9	9.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	1,620	640	1,050	1,920	1,135	1,400
As % of total	20.1	8.2	13.5	24.7	14.6	18.0

2a/1 (C 10096). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.24.

Handle solid-painted.

MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 89–90 nos. 354–69, fig. 21, pls. 17–18; Van de Moortel 1997: 101–3, fig. 17.

2a/2 (C 10097). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.24.

MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 89 nos. 333–35, pl. 17; Van de Moortel 1997: 34–35, fig. 5; also **5a/3–4**.

2a/3 (C 10098). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.24.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

2a/4 (C 10684). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 99 nos. 478–79, 481–82, 110 nos. 620–21, 623–24, figs. 25, 30, pls. 24, 35; Van de Moortel 1997: 44–45, fig. 6; Tables 3.39–3.40; also **2b/7–8**, **5a/8**, **12/11**, **21/12**.

2a/5 (C 10099). Shallow bowl. Pl. 3.24.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 106 no. 567, fig. 26, pl. 29; Van de Moortel 1997: 122–24, figs. 25–26.

2a/6 (C 10082). Side-spouted wide-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.25.

Large plastic knob applied to exterior of rim opposite handle; spout roughly pinched out and

centered between knob and handle, 90° clockwise from handle (when viewed from above). Two very large, solidly painted blobs extending from rim band to near base on either side of spout and respectively incorporating handle and plastic knob opposite.

MM III (–LM IA Early?). Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 596, 114–15 nos. 681, 687–88, 184 no. 1879, figs. 27, 33, pls. 31, 40 (MM III); Van de Moortel 1997: 118–19 and nn. 39–40, 151–55, figs. 45, 48 (MM III wide-mouthed jugs and milk jugs, MM III–LM IA side-spouted cups); Tables 3.39–3.40.

2a/7 (C 10033). Jug(?). Pl. 3.24.

Shoulder: partially preserved plant pattern (Grass FM 16?). Atypical fabric identifies this piece as an import, probably from East Crete.

MM III. Van de Moortel 1997: 236–37, fig. 81 (mistakenly attributed to LM IA Early context); for local MM III comparanda, see **1/13**.

2a/8 (C 10081). Kalathos. Pl. 3.24.

Interior rim: large leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) above a band, all in added white. Exterior body: large single rings (Circles FM 41) in added white are spaced at 90° intervals (portions of three preserved). Exterior sloping lip may have been overpainted with white.

MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/14**.

2a/9 (C 10721). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.25.

MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 87 nos. 299–302, 93 nos. 424–426, 432–433, 157 no. 1238, figs. 20, 23 50, pl. 65; Van de Moortel 1997: 202–4, fig. 73.

Group 2b

Date:	LM IA Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 2,130–2,440
Weight (grams):	56,940
Trench/pail(s):	58A/54, 56, 57, 59
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 23 at ca. +3.35 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 2a (mixed MM IIB and MM III)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 20 (LM IA Final)

2b/1 (C 10719). Teacup. Pl. 3.25.

Swelling preserved at base of upper handle attachment. Running Spirals FM 46 (smaller blob-centered spiral directly below upper handle attachment, linked by tangent to exterior coil of larger spiral to right).

LM IA Early. Cretan import. Betancourt 1990: 129 no. 886, 189 nos. 2024–26, figs. 42, 70, pls. 52, 104; Van de Moortel 1997: 87–89, fig. 12; Carinci 2001: 236–37, fig. 26 (F.2697); also **12/1**.

2b/2 (C 7510). Giant teacup. Pl. 3.25.

Large (d = 1.3–1.4 cm) imitation rivet at junction of handle and rim.

LM IA Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 87–89, fig. 12; also **21/4**.

2b/3 (C 7511). Juglet. Pl. 3.25.

Rim rises slightly away from handle, but vase lacks a genuine spout.

MM III–LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 125 no. 828 (LM IA Early), 178 no. 1760 (MM III), figs. 40, 61, pls. 50, 88; Van de Moortel 1997: 151–57, figs. 48–49; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **8/2**, **25/4**.

2b/4 (C 10686). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.25.

MM III–LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 99 nos. 485–86, 110 nos. 625–26, 630; 128, no. 872; 173 nos. 1631–32; figs. 25, 30, 41; pls. 25, 35, 83; Van de Moortel 1997: 39–40, fig. 6; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **3b/3**, **4b/1**, **5a/5**, **11/2**, **12/3**, **21/7**.

2b/5 (C 10718). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.25.

LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 125–26 nos. 836–40, 128 no. 871, 185 nos. 1916–18, 1930–34, figs. 40–41, pls. 50, 98; Van de Moortel 1997: 51–52, fig. 7; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **4b/3**, **5a/7**, **6/6**–

11, **7/1–2**, **9a/3**, **9b/6**, **12/7**, **18/2**, **21/8**, **24/18**, **52d/4**, **52e/1**.

2b/6 (C 7651). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.25.

Cut off of hump when wheel was barely moving, as indicated by very shallow arc of cutting marks on underside of base (cf. **2b/11**).

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

2b/7 (C 7652). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.25.

MM III. Comparanda as for **2a/4**.

2b/8 (C 7653). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.25.

MM III. Comparanda as for **2a/4**.

2b/9 (C 7613). Conical cup, Kommos Type E. Pl. 3.25.

LM IA Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 53, fig. 7; Tables 3.39–3.41.

2b/10 (C 7650). Conical cup, Kommos Type E. Pl. 3.25.

MM III. Betancourt 1990: 123 no. 808, pl. 48; Van de Moortel 1997: 45–46, fig. 6; Tables 3.39–3.41.

2b/11 (C 7612). Conical cup, Kommos Type C(?). Pl. 3.25.

Cut off of hump when wheel was barely moving, as indicated by very shallow arc of cutting marks on underside of base (cf. **2b/6**).

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

2b/12 (C 7654). Conical cup (type not determinable). Pl. 3.25.

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

2b/13 (C 7611). Lamp. Pl. 3.26.

MM III–LM IA Early. Mercando 1974–75: 90–95, figs. 85–88**;** Van de Moortel 1997: 214–15, 240, fig. 79.

2b/14 (C 7496). Pithos. Pl. 3.26.

Handmade: clay join between uppermost body and rim coils detectable.

MM III–LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 109 nos. 602–5, 169 nos. 1513–14, fig. 28 (MM III); Van de Moortel 1997: 193–96, figs. 65–68.

2b/15 (C 7509). Pithos. Pl. 3.26.

Handmade: clay join between coils of inwardly sloping upper body and squared, undercut lip detectable.

MM III–LM IA Early. Levi 1959: 250, fig. 29a, c; Levi 1967–68: 112–13 (F.3853), fig. 68b; Betancourt 1990: 129 no. 888; pl. 52; Van de Moortel 1997: 195–96, fig. 6; Carinci 2001: figs. 4 (F.6726–27), 6; also **3b/6**, **8/5**, **16/6.**

Group 3a: Summary

Date:	MM III
Total sherds:	Ca. 480
Weight (grams):	4,460
Trench/pail(s):	58A/39, 42, 45
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first floor in T Room 24a at ca. +3.32 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	MM IB above sterile sand
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 3b (LM IA Early)

3a/1 (C 7431). Lamp. Pl. 3.26.

MM III. Mercando 1974–75: 109–11, fig. 102; Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 595, 170 no. 1554, figs. 27, 56, pl. 31; Van de Moortel 1997: 213–15, figs. 78–79.

Group 3b

Date:	LM IA Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 113

Weight (grams):	Ca. 5,025
Trench/pail(s):	58A/35 (part), 36
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 24a at ca. +3.53 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 3a (MM III)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Ca. 10–15 cm of collapsed ceiling, then ca. 35–40 cm of later Neopalatial fill

3b/1 (C 7371). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.26.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

3b/2 (C 7370). Lamp. Pl. 3.26.
Three shallow, evenly spaced, concave grooves in upper surface of shoulder.
MM III–LM IA Early. Mercando 1974–75: 78–81, figs. 69–70; Van de Moortel 1997: 214–15, fig. 79.

3b/3 (C 7400). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.26.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/4**.

3b/4 (C 7399). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.26.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

3b/5 (C 7398). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.26.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

3b/6 (C 7397). Pithos. Pl. 3.26.
Handmade: clay join between coils of inwardly sloping upper body and swollen, flat-topped lip detectable; eight thickened vertical strap handles on shoulder spaced at roughly 45° intervals.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/15**.

Group 4a

Date:	Mixed MM IIB and MM III
Total sherds:	Ca. 580
Weight (grams):	3,440
Trench/pail(s):	58A/41, 44; 66B/25
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first floor in T Room 24b at ca. +3.32 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	MM IB above sterile sand
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 4b (LM IA Early)

4a/1 (C 7473). Bell-shaped(?) cup. Pl. 3.26.
Interior lower body: two horizontal rows of festoons (Wavy Line FM 53). Exterior lower body: single broad horizontal row of festoons (Wavy Line FM 53).
MM II(B?).

4a/2 (C 7474). Carinated cup. Pl. 3.26.
MM IIB. Levi and Carinci 1988: 214–16, pl. 90n; Van de Moortel 1997: 228 n. 117.

4a/3 (C 7472). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.26.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

Group 4b

Date: LM IA Early
Total sherds: > 227
Weight (grams): Ca. 15,625
Trench/pail(s): 58A/35 (part), 37, 40; 66B/24
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 24b at ca. +3.42 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 30–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 4a (Mixed MM IIB and MM III)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Ca. 10–15 cm of collapsed ceiling, then ca. 35–40 cm of later Neopalatial fill

4b/1 (C 7446). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.27.
MM III. Comparanda as for **2b/4** (MM III–LM IA Early); also Betancourt 1990: 128 no. 872, fig. 41 = Van de Moortel 1997: 125, fig. 27: C 6775.

4b/2 (C 7447). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

4b/3 (C 7443). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

4b/4 (C 7444). Conical cup (Type?). Pl. 3.27.
MM III–LM IA Early.

Group 5a

Date: Mixed MM IIB, MM III, and LM IA Early
Total sherds: Ca. 750
Weight (grams): 5,920
Trench/pail(s): 66B/26, 28
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first floor in T Room 25a at ca. +3.18 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 5b (mixed MM IIB, MM III, and LM IA Early)

5a/1 (C 8408). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.27.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/4**.

5a/2 (C 9461). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.27.
Width of handle tapers from 1.3 at base to 0.9 cm at preserved top.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

5a/3 (C 8409). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.27.
MM IIB. Comparanda as for **2a/2**.

5a/4 (C 8410). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.27.
MM IIB. Comparanda as for **2a/2**.

5a/5 (C 9460). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.27.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/4**.

5a/6 (C 10796). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.
Trickle of paint on lower exterior body, probably unintentional.

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

5a/7 (C 10795). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

5a/8 (C 10797). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.27.
MM III. Comparanda as for **2a/4**.

5a/9 (C 10798). Conical cup, Kommos type D(?). Pl. 3.27.
MM III–LM IA. Probably a Type D conical cup (cf. **2a/4** for a comparable profile) rather than an unpainted bell cup (for which see Van de Moortel 1997: 114–17, figs. 21–22).

Group 5b

Date:	Mixed MM IIB, MM III, and LM IA Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 100
Weight (grams):	2,430
Trench/pail(s):	66B/22
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 25a at ca. +3.43/3.50 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 25–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 5a (mixed MM IIB, MM III, and LM IA Early)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Over a meter of Neopalatial destruction debris sealed by LM IIIA2 construction debris

5b/1 (C 10829). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.27.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

5b/2 (C 8407). Conical cup, Type B. Pl. 3.27.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

Group 6

Date:	LM IA Early
Total sherds:	2,308
Weight (grams):	26,510
Trench/pail(s):	53A/44, 45, 50; 62D/94
Cross joins:	Group 8 (**6/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first floor in T Room 19 at ca. +3.12 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 5–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Ca. 5–10 cm of early Neopalatial fill on top of bedrock
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 17a (LM IA Advanced)

6/1 (C 6654). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.27.
Light-on-dark shoulder decoration: Sea Anemone FM 27 flanking one handle. Body zones: Curved Stripes FM 67 above horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.
Knossian Transitional MM IIIB/LM IA. Van de Moortel 1997: 237, fig. 81.

6/2 (C 6648). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.27.

Table 3.44. Pottery Group 6.

	Fine Buff	Tempered Buff	Coarse Red	Hearths and Vats	Clay Lump
Number of sherds	1,411	535	308	10	44
As % of total	61.1	23.2	13.3	0.4	1.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	6,180	10,415	5,840	3,875	200
As % of total	23.3	39.3	22.0	14.6	0.8

LM I. Van de Moortel 1997: 55, fig. 7; Van de Moortel 2001: 49, 66–68, fig. 32: 11–13; Table 3.41; also **19/1**, **25/3**, **27a/1**, **34/2**, **37e/4**, **40/6–7**, **46a/1**.

6/3 (C 6657). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.27.

Light-on-dark retorted Running Spiral FM 46.

MM III–LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 174 no. 1661, 186 no. 1971, 187 no. 1982, figs. 67–68, pls. 84, 100; Van de Moortel 1997: 103–9, figs. 18–20; Carinci 2001: 225–26, fig. 20 (F.4837, F.5207c); Tables 3.39–3.41; also **9b/1**, **12/2**, **21/5**.

6/4 (C 6647). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.27.

MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

6/5 (C 6662). Bell cup. Pl. 3.27.

MM III–LM IA. Betancourt 1990: 106 no. 578, 116 no. 723, 176 nos. 1723–28, 187 nos. 1988–92, figs. 34, 60, 68, pls. 29, 42, 86, 100; Van de Moortel 1997: 114–17, figs. 21–22; Van de Moortel 2001: 51, 70, figs. 25: 23, 32: 23–24; Tables 3.39–3.41; also **17a/7**, **17b/2**, **23/5**, **26/2**, **27a/2**, **27b/2**.

6/6 (C 6661). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/7 (C 6650). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.27.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/8 (C 6651). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/9 (C 6656). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/10 (C 6680). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/11 (C 6653). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

6/12 (C 6679). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.28.

Both the pronounced base with its flaring exterior profile and the rolled rim of this cup make it somewhat atypical.

LM IA Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 52–53, fig. 7; also **12/12**.

6/13 (C 6652). Ewer. Pl. 3.28.

Traces of narrow vertical bands (0.5–0.6 cm wide) in added white, spaced at 3- and 6-cm intervals and extending from level of lower handle attachment to point of maximum diameter, but overall pattern not determinable.

LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 109 no. 614, fig. 29, pl. 34 (MM III), 125 no. 829, fig. 40 (LM IA Early). Van de Moortel 1997: 151–59, fig. 49 (MM III–LM IA Advanced); Van de Moortel 2001: 58, 79–80, fig. 36: 46–49; also **12/13**, **52d/6**.

Group 7

Date: LM IA Early
Total sherds: Ca. 500
Weight (grams): 8,750
Trench/pail(s): 62D/92

Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first floor, partially slab-paved, in T Room 42, at ca. +3.075 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 8 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed MM III and LM IA Early
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 17b (LM IA Advanced)

7/1 (C 8326). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

7/2 (C 8330). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.28.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

7/3 (C 8327). Lamp(?). Pl. 3.28.
LM IA Early import.

Group 8

Date: LM IA Early
Total sherds: Ca. 900–1,100+ sherds of 42A/65
Weight (grams): 9,650+ weight of sherds from 42A/65
Trench/pail(s): 42A/65, 67, 67A
Cross joins: Group 6 (**6/1**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; clay (lepis) floor at +2.98 m (west)/3.05 m (east) in northeast portion of North Stoa and fill immediately above and below, plus fill of terra-cotta larnax embedded in that floor
Thickness of constituent strata: 10–15 cm plus 15 cm of fill in larnax
Group and/or date of stratum below: Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Ca. 5 cm of mixed LM IA fill (42A/61) below LM IB lepis floor (42A/57) below Group 43 (mixed LM IA Final to LM IB Late)

8/1 (C 4461). Globular rhyton. Pl. 3.28.
Diameter of perforation in bottom, 4.5 mm. Linear (as preserved) light-on-dark decoration on exterior.
MM III–LM IA. Betancourt 1990: 112 no. 656, 178 no. 1779, 188 nos. 2014–15, figs. 32, 69, pls. 39, 89, 103; Van de Moortel 1997: 164–70, figs. 52, 55; Carinci 2001: 229–30, fig. 24 (F.5218); Tables 3.39–3.41; also **16/2**, **37c/3**, **37e/3**, **52d/1**.

8/2 (C 4465). Juglet. Pl. 3.28.
Whether this small pouring vessel would have had a handle is uncertain.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **2b/3**.

8/3 (C 10758). Collar-necked jar. Pl. 3.29.
Series of diagonal impressions (each 8–9 × 1.5 mm) at junction of neck and shoulder, at least in part intended to enhance the quality of the coil joint here. Broad zone of spidery Ripple FM 78 on lower shoulder (unclear whether this zone was continuous or interrupted, as in some versions of Curved Stripes FM 67 [cf. **6/1**]).
MM III–LM IA Early import, probably from East Crete. A bridge-spouted bucket jar in a similar pale-slipped, medium-coarse fabric decorated with diagonal slashes on a relief band below the rim and with zones of Ripple FM 78 and light-on-dark ornament came from an LM IA Final deposit in House X, Room 1 (C 9464).

8/4 (C 11745). Kalathos. Pl. 3.28.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/14**.

8/5 (C 11746). Pithos. Pl. 3.29.
Handmade: clay joins between coils on both upper and lower body detectable at intervals of 6–7 cm.
MM III–LM IA Early. For coating of dull red paint on interior, possibly intended as a sealant, see also **16/6**. Comparanda as for **2b/15**; also Levi 1967–68: 117, fig. 68b; Sackett and Popham 1970: 229–30, fig. 19: NP121, pl. 65d.

8/6 (C 11744). Closed shape (Jug?). Pl. 3.28.
LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring import. Åström 1972: 71–72, 130–33; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 174–76, 228, 236, 309–10 (jugs featuring relatively large body diameters in Black Slip and, less commonly, Red Slip); also **MI/Cy/4**.

Group 9a

Date:	LM IA Early
Total sherds:	234
Weight (grams):	2,540
Trench/pail(s):	89C/144
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor under southwest end of Gallery P5 in T Space 36 at ca. +2.95 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 construction fill below floor of Gallery P5

Table 3.45. Pottery Group 9a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	43	31	27	36	61	36
As % of total	16.9	13.2	11.5	15.4	26.1	15.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	270	120	170	565	825	590
As % of total	10.6	5.1	6.7	22.2	32.5	23.2

9a/1 (C 8975). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.30.
Fully preserved handle tilts noticeably to left because left handle attachment is located lower on vessel body than is right attachment (cf. Betancourt 1990: fig. 68: 791). Shoulder: retorted Running Spiral FM 46 in added white. Back of handle: traces of white paint, but precise scheme of decoration uncertain.
MM III–LM IA Advanced. Betancourt 1990: 121 no. 791, 177 nos. 1733, 1735, 187 nos. 1993, 1996, figs. 38, 68, pl. 46 (MM III), 125 no. 826, 177 no. 1732, 187 no. 1994, figs. 40–41, 60, pls. 50, 101 (LM IA Early); Van de Moortel 1997: 139–46, figs. 34–43, esp. 42: C 10550 (LM IA Advanced); Carinci 2001: 225–26, fig. 20 (F.5218); Tables 3.39–3.41.

9a/2 (C 8974). Teacup. Pl. 3.30.

Shoulder: Ripple FM 78.

LM IA Early import, probably from Knossos (at which it would be dated Transitional MM IIIB/LM IA). Betancourt 1990: 100 no. 499, 107 no. 582, 179 no. 1800, figs. 25, 27, 61, pls. 26, 30, 89 (MM III); Van de Moortel 1997: 226–27, fig. 81; Popham 1984: 95SC1–2 (P292–93), 96 SC10 (P294), pls. 128c–d, 132b, 141: 8–10 (Knossos, Unexplored Mansion); Warren 1991: 330, cup type 4; fig. 10D; pl. 79G (Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum Excavations); also **32/1, 34/4**.

9a/3 (C 8976). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.30.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

Group 9b

Date:	LM IA Early
Total sherds:	508 (pure LM IA units only)
Weight (grams):	7,865 (pure LM IA units only)
Trench/pail(s):	93A/2B, 5 (uncontaminated); 93A/1B, 4, 5A, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15A (contaminated with LM IIIA2)
Cross joins:	Group 54 (**9b/1–2, 9; 54/1–2**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; earthen floor under southwest end of Gallery P5 in T Space 36 at ca. +2.95 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Thin layer of earth (93A/10–11) overlying slab-paved floor at +2.85/2.87m
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 54 (LM IIIA2)

Table 3.46. Pottery Group 9b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	60	28	63	81	174	102
As % of total	11.8	5.5	12.4	15.9	34.3	20.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	445	110	500	1,105	2,755	2,950
As % of total	5.7	1.4	6.4	14.0	35.0	37.5

9b/1 (C 9095). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.30.

Shoulder: retorted Running Spiral FM 46 in added white.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **6/3**.

9b/2 (C 9096). Deep convex-sided cup. Pl. 3.30.

Deep zone of broad, pendent triple festoons (Isolated Semicircles FM 43) covering upper half of exterior upper profile.

LM IA import from Gavdos (C. Papadaki, pers. comm.). The profile of the body is similar to that of an odd, five-handled teapot from an MM III context at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: 123 no. 819, fig. 39, pl. 49; Van de Moortel 1997: 155, fig. 47: C 2966) that has a comparably archaizing appearance in a Neopalatial context. Possibly from a cup of the same shape is another fragment from an MM III context at Kommos previously identified as a possible Cycladic import (Betancourt 1990: 121 no. 798, fig. 38, pl. 47); like

9b/2, this piece appears to be decorated with broad pendent festoons, in this case elaborated with wavy lines.

9b/3 (C 9434). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.30.

Shallow horizontal groove in exterior profile just below rim.

LM I. Van de Moortel 1997: 53–56, 70, figs. 7, 9 (LM IA); 74, 79, fig. 10 (LM IB); Van de Moortel 2001: 49–50, 66–68, fig. 32: 14–15; Table 3.41; also **9b/4**, **16/4**, **18/1**, **21/2**, **24/7**, **46a/2**.

9b/4 (C 9432). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.30.

LM I. Comparanda as for **9b/3**.

9b/5 (C 9431). Conical cup, Kommos Type V. Pl. 3.30.

A nonjoining base fragment is too distorted to be correlated with the surviving large rim fragment, hence the omission of the former from the drawing. Shoulder: in added white, retorted Running Spiral FM 46 with stubby "barb" on back of one of tangents linking a pair of spirals.

LM IA Early to Advanced. Betancourt 1990: 172 no. 1616, 185 no. 1899, pl. 97; Van de Moortel 1997: 56–57, 64–65, figs. 7–8; Van de Moortel 2001: 50, 68, and n. 87, fig. 32: 18–19; Tables 3.39, 3.41; also **19/2**, **26/1**.

9b/6 (C 9433). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.30.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

9b/7 (C 9975). Conical Cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.30.

LM IA Early–Advanced. For MM III examples of the type, see **1/7** and comparanda; for LM IA Advanced examples of the type, see **17a/4** and comparanda. Notwithstanding this form's supposed absence during the LM IA Early subphase at Kommos when Type B was the dominant variety (Van de Moortel 1997: 51–57, fig. 7), conical cups **9b**/7, **10/2**, and **10/3** can hardly be classified or dated otherwise in view of their typology and context.

9b/8 (C 9435). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.30.

MM III–LM I. Betancourt 1990: 169 no. 1536, pl. 78; Van de Moortel 1997: 189–91, figs. 62–64; Van de Moortel 2001: 68, 81–82, fig. 37: 52–53; also **30/2–4**.

9b/9 (C 9436). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.31.

Beginning of pushed-out spout preserved at rim; a short distance clockwise (when viewed from above), thickening at base of side wall indicates point of attachment of one of three legs. Single irregular vertical groove, 2–5 mm wide, in lower body to right of tripod leg's point of attachment (not shown in drawing).

MM III–LM I. Wheelmade manufacture suggests an LM I rather than MM III date (Van de Moortel 1997: 207), although even as late as LM IB the majority of such vases at Kommos were handmade (ibid., 209–10, fig. 77); Rutter 2004: 67–68, fig. 4.3, top; also **22b/3**, **24/25–26**, **37e/15**, **40/32–33**.

9b/10 (C 9430). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.30.

Tripod leg, circular in section, marked at top by three vertical incisions in an inverted triangular arrangement; fully preserved incision measures 19 mm long, up to 2 mm wide, and as much as 12 mm deep. Exterior shoulder coated with layer of very hard fired, gritty mud (cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 207, 210), possibly to combat thermal shock or simply to reduce the maximum attainable temperature on the vessel's interior.

MM III–LM I. Circular section of leg and the crude incisions at its top are suggestive of an LM I date, whereas the pronounced lip is better paralleled on MM III specimens (Betancourt 1990: 128 no. 859, fig. 41 (LM IA Early) versus 105 no. 532, 108 nos. 593–94, figs. 26–27, pls. 30–31 [MM III]), but the rarity of restorable LM IA tripod cooking pots to date at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 208) makes close dating of such vases on purely morphological grounds hazardous; the missing portion of the body should have been depicted as substantially deeper in the restoration (Pl. 3.30 vs. Betancourt 1990: figs. 26: 532, 27: 593); Rutter 2004: 67–65, fig. 4.3, bottom.

Group 10

Date: LM IA Early
Total sherds: 408

Weight (grams): 5,620
Trench/pail(s): 93A/26, 27, 28, 29
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor under northwest end of Gallery P5 in T Space 35 at ca. +2.77/2.81 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 9b (uncontaminated LM IA Early floor deposit)[86]

Table 3.47. Pottery Group 10.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	84	44	34	73	82	88
As % of total	20.6	10.8	8.3	17.9	20.1	21.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	375	105	265	910	1,105	2,860
As % of total	6.7	1.9	4.7	16.2	19.7	50.9

10/1 (C 10009). Tumbler. Pl. 3.31.

LM IA Early. This vessel is intermediate in form between the taller and slimmer tumblers of MM III (cf. **1/3**, with comparanda) and conical cup Type I of later LM IA, a deep-bodied and dipped variety that is rare at Kommos and ordinarily neither as large nor as tall as **10/1** (Van de Moortel 1997: 68, fig. 9 [LM IA Final]).[87]

10/2 (C 10008). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.31.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **9b/7**.

10/3 (C 10007). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.31.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **9b/7**.

Group 11

Date: MM III
Total sherds: 612
Weight (grams): 6,240
Trench/pail(s): 84A/22, 66, 67, 101, 102, 103, 104
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill between a flagstone-paved surface at +2.71/2.73 m and a beaten-earth surface at +2.80/2.85 m immediately south of midpoint of T's south facade
Thickness of constituent strata: 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: MM III in small sounding at southeast
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 12 (LM IA Early)

Table 3.48. Pottery Group 11.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	217	65	68	97	87	78
As % of total	35.5	10.6	11.1	15.8	14.2	12.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	860	225	810	1,245	1,660	1,440
As % of total	13.8	3.6	13.0	20.0	26.6	23.1

11/1 (C 11653). Closed shape. Pl. 3.31.
Lower body zone: Ripple FM 78.
MM III. East Cretan import. Betancourt 1990: 179–80 nos. 1799, 1803, figs. 61–62, pl. 89.

11/2 (C 9410). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.31.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/4**.

11/3 (C 9409). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.31.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7** (see especially Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 6: C 9358, also **12/5**).

Group 12

Date: Mixed MM III and LM IA Early
Total sherds: 1,604
Weight (grams): 15,740
Trench/pail(s): 84A/16, 18, 19, 96, 100
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill immediately south of midpoint of T's south facade between beaten-earth surface at +2.80/2.85 m and bottom of Building P construction debris
Thickness of constituent strata: 10–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 11 (MM III)
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIA2

12/1 (C 10477). Teacup. Pl. 3.31.
Spiral.
LM IA Early. Cretan import. Comparanda as for **2b/1**.

12/2 (C 9416). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.31.
Shoulder: traces in negative of added white retorted Running Spiral FM 46 (not indicated in drawing).
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **6/3**.

12/3 (C 9414). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.31.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/4**.

12/4 (C 9415). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.31.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

12/5 (C 9503). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.31.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7** (see especially **11/3**).

12/6 (C 9417). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.31.

Table 3.49. Pottery Group 12.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	689	166	258	204	244	43
As % of total	43.0	10.3	16.1	12.7	15.2	2.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	3,580	600	3,075	3,250	3,690	1,545
As % of total	22.7	3.8	19.5	20.6	23.4	9.8

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7** (see especially Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 6: C 9032).

12/7 (C 9563). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.31.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5** (see especially **6/8–9**).

12/8 (C 9565). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.31.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

12/9 (C 10476). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.31.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

12/10 (C 9564). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.31.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

12/11 (C 9413). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.31.

MM III. Comparanda as for **2a/4**.

12/12 (C 9412). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.31.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **6/12**.

12/13 (C 9419). Ewer. Pl. 3.31.

Traces of added white to immediate left (viewed from above) of handle scar on shoulder. Dark paint preserved over handle scars at both rim and shoulder suggest that handle was broken off before firing, the scars hastily touched up with paint, and the pot then fired!

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **6/13**.

12/14 (C 9418). Closed shape. Pls. 3.31, 3.91 at *a*.

Marked base: short linear groove on underside made first, then longer groove added at right angles.

MM III–LM IA Early. Imported fabric. Bennet 1996: 315 no. 3, pls. 4.46, 4.48 (a nonlocal conical cup probably of much the same date).

Group 13

Date: MM III
Total sherds: 257
Weight (grams): 1,855
Trench/pail(s): 90A/37, 40, 41, 42, 44
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill between a small patch of badly preserved floor at ca. +2.90 m in southeast corner of T South Stoa and bottom of Building P construction debris
Thickness of constituent strata: 20–25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIA2

Table 3.50. Pottery Group 13.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	56	23	52	44	33	49
As % of total	21.8	8.9	20.2	17.1	12.8	19.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	305	65	390	365	320	410
As % of total	16.4	3.5	21.0	19.7	17.3	22.1

13/1 (C 9787). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.32.
MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

13/2 (C 9782). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.32.
MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7** (see especially **12/4**).

13/3 (C 9789). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.32.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

13/4 (C 9510). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.32.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**.

Group 14

Date: LM IA Early
Total sherds: 106
Weight (grams): 1,040
Trench/pail(s): 93C/35
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill between packing of murex shells associated with Building AA and the bottom of the South Stoa kiln dump in a sounding between the easternmost two columns of the South Stoa
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: MM IIB
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 19 (LM IA Advanced to Final)

Table 3.51. Pottery Group 14.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	23	18	16	21	15	13
As % of total	21.7	17.0	15.1	19.8	14.2	12.3
Weight of sherds (grams)	100	65	105	275	315	180
As % of total	9.6	6.3	10.1	26.4	30.3	17.3

14/1 (C 10022). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.32.

LM IA Early. Roughly similar comparanda as for **2b/5**, but truly close parallels are restricted to **14/2**, **20/4**, and, to a lesser degree, **4b/3**.

14/2 (C 10023). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.32.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **14/1**.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN MIDDLE MINOAN III: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Evidence for a *terminus post quem* within the MM III ceramic phase for the construction of Building T, in the form of the latest material from construction fills, has been found at a number of different places within this enormous structure (Pl. 3.22)—for example, below the paving slabs at the southwest end of the North Stoa (100B/10, below Group 28b), or from the pebble layer that makes up the surface of the structure's central court at its northwest corner (100C/32, below Group 44a). The predecessor of T, Building AA, was destroyed in an advanced stage of MM IIB (Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2), and a number of strata that can be connected with T's initial use (see below) can be dated unambiguously to MM III. If Building AA was destroyed in a catastrophic fashion, whether naturally by an earthquake or artificially by either an accidental or purposeful fire, it appears to have been speedily replaced within a matter of what may well have been a period as brief as a decade or as long as a generation.

Group 1, sandwiched stratigraphically between an MM IIA fill and LM IIIA2 Early debris associated with the construction of Gallery P2 (Pl. 3.22), is presently the largest of several pottery deposits that can be connected with Building T's earliest use. It is of purely MM III date. Three smaller bodies of material (Groups 2a, 3a, 4a) from the initial floors in Room 23 in T's Northeast Wing and in the adjacent magazine-like Rooms 24a–b just to the east, provide mixtures of MM IIB and MM III pottery, which suggest that the builders of T may have here simply reused floors of Building AA for the initial floors of T in these spaces. A little to the south in another magazine-like space, Room 25a, the vases attributed to the lowest floor of Building T (Group 5a) include LM IA Early as well as MM IIB and MM III pieces, indicating that some disturbance of the lower floor deposit is likely to have taken place at or shortly before this room was abandoned in LM IA Early (Group 5b). Near the east end of the North Stoa, over 20 m to the west, a terra-cotta larnax containing pottery fragments that were part of the earliest floor deposit so far exposed in this space (Group 8 of LM IA Early) was embedded in a fill that contained quantities of large fragments of MM III conical cups, closely comparable in their types and highly variable degrees of wear to the cups that make up the majority of the inventoried pottery from Group 1. It therefore seems very likely that underlying the LM IA Early floor level represented by Group 8 is a floor deposit similar in character and date to Group 1, additional testimony from Building T's North Wing to the initial use of the structure during MM III.[88]

Underneath the LM IA Early floor of beaten earth in T Space 36 far to the south on which lay Group 9a, a layer of earth some 7–8 cm thick covers a slab-paved floor that is presumably

the original MM III floor of Building T in this part of the building. Although no inventoried pottery was recovered from this floor, the very existence of two floors here, the second of which is covered with mendable LM IA Early pottery, shows that the stratigraphic sequence in the southeastern part of the building parallels that attested in the north and northeast. Still farther south, in the southeast corner of the South Stoa, a small and badly preserved patch of floor at a relatively low level was overlain by a small group of MM III cups (Group 13), the only mendable pottery so far discovered within Building T's southern half that can plausibly be associated with the structure's earliest phase of use. Immediately beyond Building T's south wall, a fill some 10–15 cm deep over a slabbed pavement may represent refuse from activities within the building that was discarded just outside of it at a time when some remodeling was being done (Group 11).[89] This dumped fill, yet again providing evidence for Building T's initial use in MM III, is overlain by a beaten-earth floor covered in turn with masses of mixed MM III and LM IA Early ceramic debris (Group 12).

Though excavated in a fairly restricted area under the eastern end of Gallery P2, the partial floor deposit constituting Group 1 is effectively indistinguishable from the earthquake destruction deposits discovered on the Central Hillside (Table 3.39). It therefore presumably reflects the impact of the same event on the then quite freshly completed Building T. Whatever evidence for immediately subsequent activity may once have overlain this floor deposit was unfortunately removed long ago when Building P was constructed.

Groups 2a, 3a, and 4a to the northwest and the directly overlying Groups 2b, 3b, and 4b suggest that here in Building T, much as in the East and South Buildings on the Central Hillside, repairs undertaken after the MM III earthquake took a similar form in both areas: raised floors and modifications of doorways. Although in the case of T Room 23 a new doorway was opened up rather than an old one being blocked, both here and in the East Building a modification of previous circulation patterns was the net result. The pottery overlying these raised and as yet only partially cleared floors in the northeast wing of T closely resembles that from the secondary floors on the Central Hillside (Table 3.40) and once again could be argued to be of either LM IA Early (Van de Moortel 1997: 724–25) or perhaps very slightly earlier date. As in the cases of the corresponding deposits on the Central Hillside, there is sparing evidence for the introduction of the new, smaller forms of unpainted Type B and dipped Type J conical cups, but in none are they as frequent as in standard LM IA Early deposits (Table 3.41: Groups 6, 9b, 12) nor have the solidly coated Type P and Q cups appeared.[90] Thus the question remains whether these episodes of immediate repair are contemporary with, or instead preceded by some little time, the numerous LM IA Early deposits associated elsewhere on the site with a second early Neopalatial event that appears to have had a significant impact on the entire town. In no case, however, does there appear to be evidence of a sequence of three superimposed floors all attributable to either MM III or LM IA Early. Thus, at least for the time being, it seems best to view the deposits isolated in Table

3.40 as being essentially contemporary with those exhibiting more in the way of LM IA Early features that are listed in Table 3.41.

The complete or largely restorable pottery of Group 1 suggests drinking activity in Room E, not far to the south of what has been identified as a probable main entrance into Building T: only cups and pouring vessels are represented by substantial numbers of joining sherds or preserved portions of profiles. The absence of mendable cooking pottery, lamps, and pithoi here merits special attention, although only part of the complete floor of this space has so far been cleared.

Being careful to omit the remnant MM IIB pottery from consideration (**2a/1–2**, **9**; **4a/1–2**), we may assess the functional implications of the small groups of pottery recovered from the primary floors in rooms at the northeast angle of Building T rather differently. In Room 23, drinking is again prominent, although here a couple of bowls (**2a/5**, **2a/8**) suggest eating as well. The single vessels from Rooms 24a and 24b are not very informative, although the lamp fragment **3a/1** indicates a need for artificial light in what was probably a poorly lit portion of this vast building. After the MM III earthquake, the raised floor levels in Rooms 23 and 24a–b were found littered with pithos fragments (**2b/14–15**, **3b/6**, plus numerous uninventoried plain body sherds), but such debris was altogether absent from Room 25a just to the south. Another distinctive feature of the pottery found on the later floors in Rooms 23 and 24a–b is the presence of lamps (**2b/13**, **3b/2**), or conical cups and even cup fragments evidently used as lamps (**2b/11**, **4b/2**). Once again, there is no significant amount of mendable cooking pottery. Cups of various kinds are common enough, but no mendable pouring vessels apart from the tiny juglet **2b/3** were recovered, so perhaps at least the smaller cups were used to ladle out the contents of the pithoi evidently kept in these rooms, which we might therefore tentatively identify as storage magazines. In Room 25a, the disturbed floor levels and the absence of pithos fragments suggest that the pithoi that may once have been kept here, too, may have survived whatever catastrophe damaged those stored farther north and may have been subsequently dug out and removed. A conical cup from Room 25a once again used as a lamp (**5a/7**) and dating from the period of these rooms' secondary use at a higher level—the pithos horizon, so to speak—suggests that the poor natural lighting of Rooms 23 and 24a–b may have been equally true of Rooms 25a–b during this stage of use.

The MM III pottery found in the South Stoa (Group 13) and immediately outside Building T to the south (Group 11) is very similar to that of Group 1, with a pronounced emphasis on cups, as is also the MM III material from below the lowest floor so far exposed in the North Stoa (Group 8). A peculiarity of all these deposits is that the conical cups found in them in considerable numbers as well as in large fragments exhibit exceptionally varied degrees of wear, many of those in Group 1 and the North Stoa having been subject to such extreme weathering (if that is indeed what has caused this wear) that they no longer retain their original surfaces.

MIDDLE MINOAN III POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

The nature and range of MM III pottery at Kommos, encompassing both local production and imported items, were initially characterized by Betancourt (1990: 37–41) and have recently been amplified by Van de Moortel (1997: 225–35). The key features of the MM III tablewares[91] may be summarized as follows (Table 3.39): a relatively broad range of major conical cup types (unpainted Types A, B, C, and D; dipped Type J), all relatively thick-walled and, in the cases of Types B and J, appreciably larger than those of the subsequent phase; the dominance of solidly coated and light-on-dark-patterned straight-sided cups among cups furnished with handles, teacups being rare and dipped bell cups occurring in small quantities; a fairly narrow range of other open shapes including occasional dipped tumblers, both coated and light-on-dark-patterned kalathoi, and an assortment of bowls and basins; the dominance among closed shapes of bridge-spouted jars, oval-mouthed amphoras, and several different categories of jug; occasional stirrup jars, tubular-spouted jars, and askoid jugs; and several different categories of rhyton. If not provided with simply dipped rims (Type J conical cups, bell cups, tumblers, and some bridge-spouted jars), tablewares were typically decorated during this phase either with solid coats of paint or with simple patterns and/or banding in added white on a dark-coated ground. Dark-on-light patterns were restricted to Ripple FM 78 (e.g., **11/1**), always on imported vessels, and simple, large-scale plant patterns on local as well as imported jugs and perhaps oval-mouthed amphoras (Betancourt 1990: 180–81 no. 1822, fig. 62; **1/13**, **2a/7**).

The relatively small number of floor deposits of MM III date from the Civic Center (Table 3.39) confirm this picture and expand it somewhat, especially with regard to the dark-on-light plant ornament on medium-sized closed shapes, but they do not in any significant way modify it. Thus MM III continues to be a ceramic phase at Kommos within which no subdivisions can be recognized (Van de Moortel 1997: 226) in spite of the occurrence of several catastrophic events at the site just before, during, and just after it that occasioned a large amount of local building activity and the deposition of numerous ceramic groups in well-stratified circumstances within a fairly short period of time. Van de Moortel's assessment of the nature of ceramic change at Kommos at the interface between MM IIB and MM III holds as true as ever (1997: 642–48). By contrast, Carinci has recently presented some evidence from the House South of the Ramp at nearby Phaistos for two distinct subphases of MM III (2001), the later of which corresponds to what is being termed MM III here.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IA EARLY: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Evidence from pottery for the continued use of Building T in the LM IA Early subphase has so far been recovered chiefly in three areas (Pl. 3.22): first, in the northeastern corner of the

building where small floor deposits of LM IA Early date (Groups 2b, 3b, 4b) are stratified between MM III floors and deep Neopalatial fills in Rooms 23, 24a, and 24b and where pottery of LM IA Early date is also found jumbled up with earlier MM IIB–III material in Room 25a (Groups 5a–b) to the south, as well as with later LM IA pottery at the east end of Corridor 20 and in Room 21 (Groups 15–16) to the southwest and west; second, in a suite of three adjacent spaces just northeast of the building's central court (Rooms 19 and 42 and the east end of the North Stoa, from east to west), where LM IA floors littered with abundant restorable pottery including occasional cross-joining vessels (**6/1**) are the earliest of several stratified floor levels so far exposed (Groups 6, 7, and 8); and last, at the southeast end of the building's central court, where floor deposits in Spaces 35 (Group 10) and 36 (Groups 9a–b), as well as a dump of thickly packed sherds just outside the building's southern entrance (Group 12), are sandwiched between MM III strata below (Groups 9a and 12 only) and LM IIIA2 debris associated with the construction of the southernmost galleries of Building P. A half dozen or more meters to the west of these last groups a small sounding between the two easternmost columns of the South Stoa uncovered, below the kiln dump of LM IA Advanced to Late date (Van de Moortel 2001) and above an MM IIB level, an LM IA Early stratum (Group 14) whose precise interpretation (i.e., floor or fill?) is at present uncertain.

Although several of these pottery groups are diminutive, often owing to the small excavation surfaces from which they were recovered, the largest (Groups 2b, 6, 9a–b, 12) are substantial enough to provide a reasonably good picture of what makes the pottery of this phase distinctive, especially in combination with deposits of the same date from other portions of the site (Tables 3.40–3.41). Happily, these larger groups from the Civic Center also represent each of the three main portions of the building that have thus far yielded discrete strata of this phase. Neither the spaces at the northwest of the court (west end of North Stoa and Room 5) nor those below the later Galleries P1–3, especially in soundings below Gallery P3's eastern half, have furnished any undisturbed strata representing this phase.

LM IA Early floors are stratified directly above MM III floors in several cases (Groups 2b, 3b, 4b, probably also 8 and 9a), and similar superpositioning is likewise true of one major LM IA Early fill (Group 12). In several other cases, LM IA Early floors or fills are stratified immediately below LM IA Advanced floors or fills (Groups 6, 7, 14). Thus despite the absence to date of any single locale within Building T where a stratified sequence of three or more phases in which MM III, LM IA Early, and LM IA Advanced are all represented, the existence of these three phases as discrete units of time is secure.[92] The possibility that the final Neopalatial floor deposits in T's northeastern corner (Groups 2b, 3b, 4b) may represent a somewhat earlier stage of LM IA Early (Table 3.40) was discussed earlier; in the absence of more definitive evidence than at present exists, this possibility must be considered rather remote.

Turning to the implications of pottery for room function during this LM IA Early subphase, we may begin by reiterating that the concentrations of pithos fragments and lamps in

Groups 2b, 3b, 4b, and 5a–b indicate that these spaces served as poorly lit storage magazines. Whether this function should be extended backward for these spaces into the preceding MM III phase is questionable. The MM III destruction horizon represented here by Groups 2a, 3a, and 4a does not contain significant quantities of pithos fragments, although if the destruction was indeed due to earthquake, damaged and abandoned pithoi might have been expected. Moreover, the seven pithoi found abandoned after the MM III earthquake in Central Hillside Room 25 (Betancourt 1990: 109 nos. 602–8, figs. 28–29; Van de Moortel 1997: 193–95), one of them still intact and serviceable (Wright and McEnroe 1996: pls. 3.96–98), all lack the plastic and impressed ornament that is typical of the examples from Building T's North Wing (**2b/15**, **3b/6**, **8/5**, **16/6**). In other words, the pithoi from the LM IA Early destruction levels in Building T may well have been manufactured, as well as installed in T's North Wing, only after the MM III earthquake. Can it be a coincidence that one of the more striking features of the reoccupation phase following the MM III earthquake horizon on the Central Hillside was the installation of pithoi in an extraordinarily high percentage of the rooms whose floors were raised (East Building Rooms 29, 38, 39; South Building Rooms 44, 51: Wright and McEnroe 1996: 157, 164, 172–73, pls. 3.4, 17; Van de Moortel 1997: 193–95; Table 3.40)? One of these pithoi even features plastic-and-impressed "rope patterns" similar to those from Building T (Betancourt 1990: 169 no. 1522).[93]

Fifteen to 20 m west of these storage magazines, the emphasis in the pottery from Rooms 19 and 42 as well as the North Stoa's east end (Groups 6–8) is more on the consumption of food and drink. The floor deposit in Room 19 features simply decorated cups, one used as a lamp (**6/10**), and two rather handsome pouring vessels, a light-on-dark-decorated ewer (**6/13**) and an imported "bilingual" (i.e., featuring both dark-on-light and light-on-dark patterns) stirrup jar (**6/1**). The tiny group from the small vestibule, Room 42, consists of an additional pair of cups and an odd fragment decorated with a pair of plastic knobs that may belong to an imported lamp (**7/3**). Near the east end of the North Stoa, additional fancy pouring vessels such as a Cypriot Red-Slipped jug (**8/6**) and a jar possibly from East Crete (**8/3**) were found together with numerous joining fragments of a kalathos (**8/4**) and a pithos (**8/5**), as well as a terra-cotta larnax embedded in the floor and left *in situ*. The elaborately decorated pouring vessels, several of them imported, contrast with the rather plain drinking cups and serving bowls of local manufacture.[94] There is no evidence for cooking—that is, food preparation as opposed to food serving—from these spaces.

Thirty-five meters or more to the south, at the west end of Space 36, the LM IA Early pottery of Groups 9a–b consists of a mix of plain as well as decorated cups, two of them imports from elsewhere on Crete (**9a/2**) and the small island of Gavdos just to the southwest (**9b/2**), a pair of local pouring vessels in the form of a plain oval-mouthed amphora (**9b/8**) and a light-on-dark-patterned bridge-spouted jar (**9a/1**), and two tripod cooking pots (**9b/9–10**). The last pair were found in direct association with a hearth built up against the space's south wall and had evidently been used there for food preparation. The small group of

drinking cups from the tiny excavated portion of Space 35 just to the north (Group 10) are not very informative. Farther south was found a mass of dumped fine wares representing drinking cups and pouring vessels discarded just outside Building T (Group 12), very possibly the debris from celebrations held within the South Stoa or the court immediately north of it. In marked contrast with the immediately underlying fill of MM III date (Group 11), this dump contained only a minuscule amount of cooking pottery.

LATE MINOAN IA EARLY POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

The local and imported tablewares of LM IA Early at Kommos were once again initially characterized by Betancourt (1990: 41–46, "Transitional MM III/LM IA"), an assessment that has been extensively revised by Van de Moortel on the basis of the rich deposits of this phase recovered in the Civic Center (1997: 235–44, esp. 238 n. 123; 2001: 90–91). The principal changes distinguishing LM IA Early from MM III tablewares involve conical cups (Tables 3.40–3.41). The unpainted Type B and the dipped Type J became considerably smaller, thinner-walled, and more standardized in size; the unpainted Type A disappeared; the solidly coated Types P and Q made their initial appearance, possibly as a substitute for coated straight-sided cups with handles, which were more time-consuming to produce (Van de Moortel 1997: 243); and light-on-dark-patterned conical cups of Types V and W became more common, once again possibly as replacements for equivalently decorated cups with handles. Light-on-dark-patterned cups that feature hooks on the tangents linking their retorted spirals (**9b/5**) made their initial appearance in LM IA Early, even though spiral-decorated cups of Types V and W had been current at Kommos since MM III (Van de Moortel 2001: 90 and nn. 162–63). Dark-on-light patterns other than Ripple FM 78 and large plant patterns then appeared, most commonly spirals (**2b/1**, **12/1**) but also other motifs such as Wavy Line FM 53, Curved Stripes FM 67 (**6/1**), and Isolated Semicircles FM 43 (**9b/2**), but always on imported vases. The relative dearth of closed shapes from the LM IA Early deposits so far recovered makes the identification of differences between these and their MM III predecessors difficult (Tables 3.40–3.41; Van de Moortel 1997: 237–38), but aside from the increased simplification of light-on-dark ornament in LM IA Early, no obvious changes in such shapes as bridge-spouted jars, ewers, oval-mouthed amphoras, juglets, or rhyta are apparent.

Given the relative abundance of the evidence, the shortness of this list of differences, and the relative frequency with which vases from LM IA Early contexts cannot be formally distinguished from MM III specimens suggest that LM IA Early must have been a relatively short-lived phase (Van de Moortel 1997: 238). The contribution of excavations in the Civic Center has been to increase substantially the number of floor deposits documenting this particular phase (Tables 3.40–3.41), an indication in itself that an event of some importance was responsible for them. The number of imports during this phase is impressive, including a stirrup jar (**6/1**) and a teacup (**9a/2**) coming probably from Knossos, teacups decorated with dark-on-

light spirals from an unknown Minoan production center (**2b/1**, **12/1**), a collar-necked jar probably from East Crete (**8/3**), a large convex-sided cup from Gavdos (**9b/2**), and a jug from Cyprus (**8/6**). This expanded range of imports, including at least two that must have come by ship, speaks eloquently in favor of a significant rise in Kommos's overseas contacts at this time. The evidence from Building T's North Wing for the production of new pithoi in some quantity during this phase, like the immediate repairs made to the building after the damage it suffered during MM III, whether the latter was caused by an earthquake or not, indicates that the administration of this large complex rebounded strongly from the catastrophe that had damaged and destroyed a number of houses on the hillside to the north. The possibility that the LM IA Early deposits from the northeast angle of Building T may represent a somewhat earlier stage in this phase (Table 3.40) than those uncovered in the north-central and southeastern portions of the building (Table 3.41) should be kept in mind in any attempt at a historical reconstruction of this event-filled period that can surely have lasted a few decades at most. Moreover, correlating the closely spaced MM III and LM IA Early destructions at Kommos with the increasingly better understood sequences of both construction and destruction at neighboring Phaistos and Aghia Triada will permit a more broadly based and no doubt also more nuanced view of this period gradually to emerge.

Developed Neopalatial: Late Minoan IA Advanced and Final

In marked contrast with the earliest pair of ceramic stages that can presently be isolated at Neopalatial Kommos, the two that follow are represented by a much smaller number of discrete deposits. Neither one could be distinguished by Watrous in his 1992 survey of the LM ceramic sequence at Kommos, based largely on the results of excavations conducted on the Hilltop and Central Hillside portions of the site. Recognition of the two has instead depended on the discovery of substantial floor deposits within House X on the Southern Hillside, of stratified sequences of fairly small floor deposits in the north wing of Building T, and of the dump and final kiln load of a Neopalatial pottery production facility constructed in the ruins of Building T's South Stoa some time after the latter's destruction at the end of the LM IA Early subphase. Credit for the initial recognition and description of both these later LM IA ceramic phases goes to Van de Moortel (1997, 2001, 2002), whose achievement is all the more remarkable in that the complex stratigraphy of Building T's North Wing had not been entirely sorted out at the time she was conducting her groundbreaking typological analysis of the Neopalatial ceramic sequence at Kommos as well as at other major excavated sites in the western Mesara and north-central Crete. Although some minor adjustments in her published definitions of the phases she christened LM IA Advanced and Final are now required, the validity of her subdivision of the LM IA period at Kommos into three successive phases based on well-stratified deposits of all three phases is beyond question. One measure of the utility of the subdivision is that the phases she has isolated can be easily recognized in spe-

cific deposits at neighboring sites. Thus the Volakakis house at Selì is shown by numerous close correspondences between the pottery found in its ruins and that from the Civic Center at Kommos to belong to the LM IA Final subphase (La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 15–43, 94–110, 196–98), as do levels IV–III of Rooms γ and δ adjacent to and below the south side of the LM III shrine at Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1979–80: 75–83; Van de Moortel 1997: 285–88) and the final use stratum of the annex rooms outside the Kamilari tholos tomb in which the well-known and intriguing series of terra-cotta models was discovered (Levi 1961–62: 122–48). To the earlier LM IA Advanced subphase, on the other hand, can be assigned the destruction deposit from the House of the Alabaster Threshold at Aghia Triada (D'Agata 1989; Van de Moortel 1997: 282–85).

Group 15

Date:	Mixed MM II through LM IA
Total sherds:	Ca. 222
Weight (grams):	3,930
Trench/pail(s):	57A2/84; 67B/2, 3
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor near east end of T Corridor 20 at +3.27/3.34 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 25–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial debris

15/1 (C 7649). Kalathos. Pl. 3.32.

Hollowed torus foot created by folding over coil added at bottom of exterior body profile onto underside of base. Rim and uppermost body dipped in dark-firing slip that was allowed to trickle.

LM IA (Final?). Roughly similar comparanda as for **1/14**, but note also Levi 1976: 303–5, fig. 471 (F.4721) from Vano LXXIX at Phaistos (LM IB Early); Cucuzza 1993: 19 XX-2, pls. 7, 19a = La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 102 XX-17, 198, figs. 111b, 260 from the Volakakis house at Selì (LM IA Final).

Group 16

Date:	Mixed MM III, LM IA Early, and LM IA Advanced to Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 530
Weight (grams):	13,510
Trench/pail(s):	53A/39
Cross joins:	Groups 23, 24, 25, and 32 (**16/6**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor in T Room 21 at +3.14/3.16 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial lightly contaminated with Historic

16/1 (C 11013). (Collar-necked?) Jug. Pl. 3.32.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46. Midbody zone: double horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final. Levi 1959: 249, fig. 25f; Betancourt 1990: 189 nos. 2033–34, fig. 70, pl. 104; Watrous 1992: 2 nos. 15, 18, 5 no. 75, 8 no. 121, 11 nos. 176, 179, 12 no. 207, pls. 1–5; Van de Moortel 1997: 157–59, fig. 50; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-16, figs. 151, 348; Van de Moortel 2001: 56–57, 76–79, fig. 35; LM IA Final comparanda for shape and decoration include **24/24** and **24/3**, respectively.

16/2 (C 6517). Globular rhyton. Pl. 3.32.

Traces of added white on flattened upper surface of rim, in addition to line at base of short neck.

LM IA Advanced. Comparanda as for **8/1**.

16/3 (C 6519). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.32.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 54 (C 6519 mistakenly attributed to LM IA Early), 62, 68–69, figs. 8–9; also **20/1**, **25/2**, and **30/1**.

16/4 (C 6520). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.32.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 55–56 (C 6520 mistakenly attributed to LM IA Early). Comparanda as for **9b/3**.

16/5 (C 6518). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.32.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **1/9**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 239–40.

16/6 (C 7259). Pithos. Pl. 3.32.

Irregular drips of dull black paint on exterior differ markedly from washy red coating on interior (for which latter, cf. **8/5**). Exterior plastic and impressed decoration in form of, at 90° intervals on shoulder, a large retorted spiral between each pair of handles; two adjacent spirals face in one direction, two in the other.

MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/15**, **3b/6**, and **8/5**.

Group 17a

Date:	LM IA Advanced
Total sherds:	Ca. 2,141
Weight (grams):	39,130
Trench/pail(s):	53A/40, 41; 62D/88, 89
Cross joins:	Group 17b (**17a/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 19 at ca. +3.16/3.22 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 20–25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 6 (LM IA Early)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IA Final or LM IB Early

17a/1 (C 6632). Closed shape. Pl. 3.33.

Shoulder: Curved Stripes FM 67 in narrow reserved zone. Midbody: upper part of broad light-on-dark-decorated zone consists of spaced, diagonally oriented leaves painted over the lower of two bands, all above a spidery curvilinear pattern (spiral?).

East Cretan LM IA import. For the combination of dark-on-light and light-on-dark decoration in a similar decorative syntax on a closed shape of similar size, Bernini 1995: 69 no. 26, fig. 10: 26 (Palaikastro); also **24/4**.

17a/2 (C 6630). Tubular-spouted jar. Pl. 3.33.

Tubular spout (min. d 0.5 cm) inserted into a prepared hole in vessel wall and fixed in place with coil added around base of spout on exterior.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Asymmetric exterior profile and longitudinal burnish applied to exterior suggest a tubular spout attached to a closed shape rather than the bottom of a rhyton such as Betancourt 1990: 111–12 nos. 652, 654–55, fig. 31, pls. 38–39. For a precise parallel, broken in the same way and likewise burnished, see C

3174 from 35A1/63 at Kommos. Although both these spouts are comparatively long and lack a flaring tip, they probably belong to jars like Betancourt 1990: 111 no. 646, fig. 30, pl. 37 (MM III), **24/1** and **33/1** (LM IA Final); and Van de Moortel 1997: 179 C 350, fig. 58 (LM IB Late).

17a/3 (C 6631). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.33.

Exterior: irregular banding. Interior: diagonal banding of irregular thicknesses (single broad bands alternating with groups of three thin bands), possibly a late and very crude imitation of Ripple FM 78, a variant of Isolated Semicircles FM 43 (Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 230 no. 9, fig. 83, pl. 68), or an early version of the more vertical line groups on later LM IB Early bowls like **37e/8** and **38/3**.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 125–30, figs. 27–29; Van de Moortel 2001: 64 no. 62, 95–96, fig. 38; for the pattern on the interior, see Watrous 1992: 3 no. 32, fig. 12, pl. 1 (probably an in-and-out bowl rather than a teacup); also **20/2**, **22b/1**, **26/3**, **28a/1**, **29/2**, **32/2**, **37b/3**, **37e/8–10**, **38/3**, **39/4**, **40/17–18**, **41/3–4**, **44b/13–14**, **46a/5**, **46b/16**, **18**, **49/4–5**.

17a/4 (C 6645). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.33.

LM IA Advanced. Watrous 1992: 3 no. 27, 13 nos. 221–22, pls. 1, 5; Van de Moortel 1997: 57–58, fig. 8; Van de Moortel 2001: 47–49, 66–68, fig. 32: 1–7; also **17a/5**, **24/19–20, 40/20**.

17a/5 (C 6644). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.33.

LM IA Advanced. Comparanda as for **17a/4**.

17a/6 (C 6550). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.33.

LM IA Advanced. Van de Moortel 1997: 59–60, fig. 8; Van de Moortel 2001: 49, 66–68, fig. 32: 8; also **19/4**.

17a/7 (C 6551). Bell cup. Pl. 3.33.

Perhaps a handleless type when unpainted (Van de Moortel 1997: 116). Deep gouge in lower exterior body and rim pushed slightly in just above look like provisions for a handle that was for some reason never attached.

LM IA Advanced. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

Group 17b

Date: LM IA Advanced
Total sherds: Ca. 100
Weight (grams): 3,900
Trench/pail(s): 62D/83
Cross joins: Group 17a (**17a/3**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second floor in T Room 42 at ca. +3.14 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 7 (LM IA Early)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 27a (LM IA Final, possibly extending into LM IB Early)

17b/1 (C 10211). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.33.

MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

17b/2 (C 11209). Bell cup. Pl. 3.33.

Single small patch of dull, dark gray paint preserved on exterior body just below a break.

LM IA Advanced. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

Group 18

Date: LM IA Advanced
Total sherds: Ca. 290
Weight (grams): 6,720

Trench/pail(s): 52A/55, 62D/102
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; slab-paved floor at +3.02 (southwest)/3.09 (northeast) m in T Space 16 at east end of North Stoa and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 8 (LM IA Early) in Trench 42A to west
Group and/or date of stratum above: 15–20 cm of LM IA Advanced fill below Group 26 (LM IA Final)

18/1 (C 10760). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.33.
LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **9b/3**.

18/2 (C 8354). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.33.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

Group 19

Date: LM IA Advanced
Total sherds: 357
Weight (grams): 3,000
Trench/pail(s): 84C/51, 52
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of kiln dump above pebbled surface at +2.78/2.87 m attributable to Building AA at east end of South Stoa
Thickness of constituent strata: 25–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: MM IIB
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM III building debris from construction of Gallery P6

Table 3.52. Pottery Group 19.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	49	29	96	45	93	45
As % of total	13.7	8.1	26.9	12.6	26.1	12.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	220	70	430	675	1,190	415
As % of total	7.3	2.3	14.3	22.5	39.7	13.8

19/1 (C 9648). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.33.
LM IA Advanced to Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 63–64, 69–70, figs. 8–9; further comparanda as for **6/2**.

19/2 (C 9646). Conical cup, Kommos Type V. Pl. 3.33.
Shoulder: in added white, retorted Running Spiral FM 46 with hooks on the connecting tangents.
LM IA Early to Advanced. Comparanda as for

9b/5; Van de Moortel 1997: 56–57, 241 n. 130, fig. 7 (C 9646 mistakenly identified as Type W and erroneously attributed to LM IA Early context); Van de Moortel 2001: 68 n. 87.

19/3 (C 9647). Conical cup, Kommos Type W. Pl. 3.33.

Shoulder: in added white, retorted Running Spiral FM 46 with hooks on the connecting tangents.

LM IA Early–Advanced. Betancourt 1990: 172 nos. 1615, 1617–19, fig. 59, pl. 83; Van de Moortel 1997: 56–57, 241 n. 130, fig. 7 (C 9647 erroneously attributed to LM IA Early context); Van de Moortel 2001: 68 n. 87.

19/4 (C 9645). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.33.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 59–60, 65–66, fig. 8; also **17a/6**.

Group 20

Date:	Mixed MM II, MM III, LM IA Early, LM IA Advanced(?), and LM IA Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 315
Weight (grams):	4,500
Trench/pail(s):	58A/38, 43, 50, 60
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; upper fill above second floor in T Room 23, ca. +3.55/3.65–4.35 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 70–80 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 2b (LM IA Early)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 52a (LM IIIA2 Early)

20/1 (C 7631). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.33.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **16/3**.

20/2 (C 7486). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.33.

Exterior: large and dense retorted Running Spiral FM 46. Interior: diagonally pendent, three-petaled buds potentially identifiable as Lily FM 9, Crocus FM 10, Iris FM 10A, or Ivy FM 12 according to Mountjoy, who herself prefers the term "flying ivy" (Mountjoy 2003: 56 and nn. 96–98).

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **17a/3**, especially **22b/1** and **26/3**; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 120 LIII-1, figs. 108, 110; Mountjoy 2003: 76–77, fig. 4.11: 151–52 (shape), figs. 4.6: 67, 4.8: 85 (pattern).

20/3 (C 7478). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.33.

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

20/4 (C 7632). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.33.

Small, irregular splash of light red paint at one spot on exterior just below rim (not indicated in drawing).

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **14/1**.

20/5 (C 7631). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.33.

Note very low ratio of height to rim diameter relative to those standard for this type in these phases.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 65–66, fig. 9 (LM IA Final); 71–72, fig. 10 (LM IB Early); Van de Moortel 2001: 47–48, 66–67, fig. 32: 1 (LM IA Final).

20/6 (C 10766). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.33.

Horizontal rows of finger impressions on interior surface mark coil joints at junction of base and lower body (at bottom of preserved fragment) and at lightly carinated point of maximum body diameter (at top).

LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Red Slip fabric) import. Although the conical lower body and lightly carinated body profile are most characteristic of tankards (e.g., Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 194–95, 232–33, 362–65, Tomb I.649 [Black Slip], I.439 [Red (Black) Slip], I.165 [Black Slip/Proto Base Ring], I.595 [Proto Base Ring]; Quilici 1990: 96

no. 276, figs. 254, 318 [Black Slip IV]), the unpainted and indeed unfinished interior of this fragment suggest that it may rather belong to a jug (e.g., Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 177–78, Tomb I.441 and I.621 [Black Slip] or I.110 [Black Slip/Proto Base Ring], pl. 143; Quilici 1990: 34 no. 39, 96 no. 272, 105 no. 353, figs. 56, 190b, 286, 315 [Proto Base Ring, Black Slip fabric]); also **24/27–29**, **34/6**, and **40/36** (flat-based), **30/5** and **40/37** (with incipient ring base).

Group 21

Date:	Mixed MM IIB, MM III, LM IA Early, LM IA Advanced(?), and LM IA Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 280
Weight (grams):	6,650
Trench/pail(s):	57A1/81; 67B1/1, 2, 3
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor in T Room 29 at +3.20 m (southeast)/3.30 m (northwest) and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 45–55 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Neopalatial debris

21/1 (C 10822). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.34.
Underside of base unpainted.
LM IA Final. La Rosa 1979–80: 123, 128, 139, figs. 76d (HTR294), 80a (HTR293), 92a (HTR292); MacDonald 1996: pl. 5B: 5; Van de Moortel 1997: 146–48; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 122 LVI-4, fig. 124a; also **24/5**.

21/2 (C 10825). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.34.
LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **9b/3**.

21/3 (C 8136). Teacup. Pl. 3.34.
Exterior rim: Quirk FM 48 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: large Concentric Circle FM 41 groups, each elaborated with white dots on the solid disk at its core and on its broad framing ring; attached to the left of the latter at midheight is a short, broad and similarly white-dotted stem curving down from the rim band.
LM IA Final; probably a regional rather than local product, in view of the rarity of the pattern at Kommos; the unpainted interior makes this piece atypical of Knossian production. Warren 1991: fig. 10G; MacDonald 1996: pl. 6B: 3; Van de Moortel 1997: 262, fig. 82; Mountjoy 2003: 71–72, fig. 4.9: 114; for added white on a spiral pattern in the handle zone and as a discrete pattern overpainted on the rim band, see **24/9**.

21/4 (C 10827). Giant teacup. Pl. 3.34.
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/2**.

21/5 (C 7647). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.34.
Traces of added white on exterior walls at various levels, but no pattern recognizable.
MM III—LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **6/3**.

21/6 (C 10826). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.34.
MM III—LM IA. Comparanda as for **1/5**.

21/7 (C 8137). Conical cup, Kommos Type A. Pl. 3.34.
MM III–LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/4**.

21/8 (C 10823). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.34.
Two blobs of light red paint just above base, a third one-quarter of the way clockwise (as viewed from bottom) around the vase, all seemingly accidental rather than purposeful (cf. **21/12**).
LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

21/9 (C 7646). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.34.
MM IIB. Betancourt 1990: 89 no. 332, 95 nos. 444–445, 159 no. 1276, pls. 21, 68; Van de Moor-

tel 1997: 35–36, fig. 5; Van de Moortel 2002: 195–96, fig. 10.4: C.

21/10 (C 10821). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.34.

LM IA Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 65–66, fig. 9; Van de Moortel 2001: 47–49, 66–68, fig. 32: 1–4; also **21/11**, **24/21–23**, **27a/3**, **29/4**, **37c/13–14**, **49/6**.

21/11 (C 7645). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.34.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/10**.

21/12 (C 10824). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.34.

Cut off hump when wheel was barely moving, as indicated by very shallow arc of cutting marks on underside of base (cf. **2b/6**, **2b/11**). Partially preserved diagonal drip of dark grayish brown paint at rim appears accidental rather than purposeful (cf. **21/8**).

MM III. Comparanda as for **2a/4** (esp. Van de Moortel 1997: 44, fig. 6: C 9333 for the slightly everted rather than straight or incurving rim profile).

Group 22a

Date:	LM IA Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 230
Weight (grams):	6,670
Trench/pail(s):	52A/58
Cross joins:	Group 22b (**22a/2**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; lower fill below earliest identified floor (at +3.20 m) just east of north-south sill at west end of T Room 22
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Group 22b (LM IA Final)

22a/1 (C 6684). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.34.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 157–59, fig. 50; Van de Moortel 2001: 56–57, 76–79, fig. 35.

22a/2 (C 10770). Teacup. Pl. 3.34.

Shoulder: Diaper Net FM 57. Lower body zone: single broad horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 90–93, fig. 13; Van de Moortel 2001: 69 n. 89. For the profile, **2b/2** and Betancourt 1990: 187 no. 1987, pl. 100 = Van de Moortel 1997: 87–89, fig. 12: C 1073 (both LM IA Early); La Rosa 1979–80: 83, fig. 36e (Aghia Triada HTR123; LM IA Final). For the two-zone decorative syntax characteristic of LM IA Final teacups in the Mesara, with Wavy Line FM 53 in the lower zone, La Rosa 1979–80: 83, fig. 36e, **24/8**, **24/13–14**; also **29/1**. For Diaper Net FM 57 on Neopalatial teacups in the Mesara, La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 118 XLVIII-7, fig. 184a (Selì; LM IA Final?); Watrous 1992: 13 no. 231, 21 no. 345, fig. 18, pls. 5, 9 (both LM IB).

Group 22b

Date:	LM IA Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 410
Weight (grams):	8,570
Trench/pail(s):	52A/56; 56A1/102, 103
Cross joins:	Group 22a (**22a/2**); Group 23 (**23/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; upper fill below earliest

identified floor (at +3.20 m) just east of north-south sill at west end of T Room 22

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 22a (LM IA Final)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 23 (LM IA Final)

22b/1 (C 7641). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.34 (restored in drawing as 1–2 cm too shallow).

Exterior: Running Spiral FM 46(?). Interior: series of very large, upright three-petaled buds, Mountjoy's "flying ivy" pattern (cf. interiors of **20/2** and **26/3**; Mountjoy 2003: 56 and nn. 96–98; also Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 27: C 9744 [LM IA Advanced from House X Room 2]; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103 XXI-3, figs. 104–5, 246 [Selì; LM IB Early]).

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **17a/3**.

22b/2 (C 7640). Large closed shape (bridge-spouted jar?). Pl. 3.34 (to be inverted).

Lower body: spidery Ripple FM 78 above thick, irregular band.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 2001: 64 nos. 65, 67, fig. 38; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103–4 XXI-4, figs. 119, 263.

22b/3 (C 7648). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.35.

Underside of base badly spalled, presumably from use. On exterior, a little below midheight, a roughened, slightly recessed strip appears to mark the point where a band of some sort was bound around the vessel in the shaping process; below this band, the exterior surface is rougher and has a lumpier texture than it does above.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **9b/9**; also La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-19, fig. 132 (Selì; LM IA Final); Levi 1967–68: 110 F.4003, fig. 84 (Phaistos, Chalara; LM IB).

Group 23

Date: LM IA Final
Total sherds: Ca. 1,733–833
Weight (grams): 33,335
Trench/pail(s): 52A/51, 52; 53A1/71, 72, 74; 56A1/98, 99
Cross joins: Group 16 in T Room 21, Groups 24, 25, and 32 in T Room 22 (**16/6**); Group 24 in T Room 22 (**24/25**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; first identifiable Neopalatial floor at +3.20 m at west end of Room 22 and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 5–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 22b (LM IA Final)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 24 (LM IA Final)

23/1 (C 6913). Bridge-spouted or hole-mouthed jar. Pl. 3.35.

Handles probably horizontal. Exterior shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46. Interior rim: continuous series of broad transverse bars.

LM IA Final import, possibly from a site somewhere in the interior of the Mesara. Low-spouted jugs from Kythera of similar size and with comparable decoration are significantly slimmer, with much smaller bases: Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 235 D13, 239 D49, 250 E55–59, 255–56 J23–24, figs. 86, 90–91, 93, pls. 70, 79, 81. Wide-mouthed jars of LM I date from Knossos are likewise not particularly close parallels: Mountjoy 2003: 66–67, fig. 4.7: 69; 85–87, figs. 4.15: 211, 4.16: 212–13.

23/2 (C 11282). Round-mouthed(?) jug. Pl. 3.35.

LM IA Final import, probably from Palaikastro.[95] For closely comparable thin walls, pronounced wheel marks on both interior and exterior, and multiple banding of exterior on LM I jugs from Palaikastro, see MacGillivray et al. 1989: 430 fig. 9 (LM IA) and MacGillivray, Sackett, and Driessen 1998: 232, fig. 9: 3–4 (LM IB); also **23/3**.

23/3 (C 10768). Round-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.35.

Rim and neck solid-painted inside and out; traces of paint all over exterior shoulder suggest a fully coated exterior (not indicated in drawing).

LM IA Final import, probably from Palaikastro. Comparanda as for **23/2**.

23/4 (C 7633). Teacup. Pl. 3.35.

Stubby-leaved Foliate Band FM 64.

LM IA Final. For this version of Foliate Band FM 64, Van de Moortel 2001: 64 no. 62, fig. 38 (LM IA Final); La Rosa 1979–80: 82, fig. 36d, middle (Aghia Triada, LM IA Final); also **40/17** = Watrous 1992: 15 no. 266, fig. 17, pl. 4 (LM IB Early).

23/5 (C 10767). Bell cup. Pl. 3.35.

Beginning of pinched-out spout preserved 90° clockwise from handle (as viewed from above). Back of handle solidly coated, as preserved.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

Group 24

Date:	LM IA Final with some earlier Neopalatial
Total sherds:	Ca. 3,000–3,500
Weight (grams):	73,615
Trench/pail(s):	52A/43, 44, 45, 50; 53A1/67, 68, 70, 73; 56A1/92, 93, 95, 96, 96A
Cross joins:	Groups 16 (T Room 21), 23, 25, and 32 (T Room 22) (**16/6**); Group 23 (T Room 22) (**24/25**); Groups 34 and 36 (T Room 16) (**24/1**); Groups 26 and 34 (T Room 16) (**26/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; second identifiable Neopalatial floor at +3.28/3.33 m at west end of T Room 22 and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 45 cm in Trench 52A, ca. 30 cm (west) to 50 cm (east) in Trench 53A1, and ca. 25 cm (west) to 40 cm (east) in Trench 56A1
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Group 23 (LM IA Final)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Groups 31–32 (mixed Neopalatial to LM IB Early)

24/1 (C 6911). Tubular-spouted jar. Pl. 3.35.

Spout attached over previously prepared perforation in shoulder, centered between handles on one side of vase. Neck, spout, and back of handle solidly painted. Shoulder: row of unvoluted Papyrus FM 11 flowers, each opening toward lower right and furnished with a short stalk at upper left; above flowers, single row of Foliate Band FM 64 pendent from base of neck (nonjoining shoulder fragment) except directly above handles; between flowers is fill of random dots (sometimes, however, resembling a dot rosette, as on nonjoining shoulder fragment). Lower body zones: Running Spiral FM 46 above Diaper Net FM 57.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **17a/2**. For the version of Papyrus FM 11, compare that from the "Nilotic landscape" on the east wall of Room 5 in the West House at Akrotiri (Niemeier 1985: 44–45, fig. 14: 5), of closely comparable date; for the dot rosette in LM IA–B vase painting, Niemeier 1985: 88–89, fig. 33: 2, 4; for the three-zone

syntax characteristic of LM IA Final closed shapes in the Mesara, La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 101 XIX-1, figs. 146, 274; 106 XXVI-13, fig. 120 (Selì).

24/2 (C 11283). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.35.
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **1/1** (esp. Van de Moortel 1997: 146, fig. 42: C 9080).

24/3 (C 6928). Oval-mouthed amphora or jar. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46(?). Midbody zone: double-stemmed, horizontal foliate scroll (Multiple Stem FM 19).
LM IA Final. Levi 1959: 243, fig. 12a (Kannia); La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-16, figs. 151, 348 (Selì).

24/4 (C 7621). Nippled jug(?). Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: Lily FM 9 in horizontal scroll (or foliate scroll with Crocus FM 10?).
East Cretan LM IA import, probably from Palaikastro. Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923: pl. 15d; Betancourt 1990: 189 no. 2032, fig. 70, pl. 104; also **17a/1**.

24/5 (C 6927). Closed shape (bridge-spouted jar?). Pl. 3.36.
Lower body zone: triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/1**, **28b/1–2**; for the multiple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53, Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9499 (LM IA Final teacup); La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 97 XI-5, fig. 168a; 98 XII-5, fig. 167d (Selì; LM IA Final bridge-spouted jars); also **40/1**.

24/6 (C 7622). Beaked(?) jug. Pl. 3.36.
Three shallow grooves at transition from neck to shoulder. Shoulder: spidery Ripple FM 78.
LM IA Final. Identified as piriform rhyton by Van de Moortel (1997: 169–70, fig. 55). Larger and at least in part earlier are a series of ewers from Kythera: Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 117 no. 40, pl. 29; 249 E44–46, 258–59 L3, pls. 78, 83.

24/7 (C 7623). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.36.
LM IA. Comparanda as for **9b/3**.

24/8 (C 10780). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: horizontal series of large, three-petaled buds, Mountjoy's "flying ivy." Lower body zone: middle of three bands on lower body probably best identified as a horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.
LM IA Final. For the three-leaved buds, see **37a/3** (= Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1785, pl. 46), Watrous 1992: 3 no. 36, pl. 1, and Mountjoy 2003: 97–98, fig. 4.21: 295–96 (teacups), as well as **20/2** and **22b/1**, **26/3** (in-and-out bowls; for two-zone syntax of patterns with Wavy Line FM 53 in lower zone, comparanda as for **22a/2**).

24/9 (C 6935). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Lower stump of vertical strap handle preserved. Exterior rim: very finely executed Foliate Band FM 64 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: retorted Running Spiral FM 46, the tops overpainted with four to six added white blobs where they ran over the rim band.
LM IA Final. For added white on both spirals in the shoulder zone and as a discrete pattern overpainted on the rim band, **21/3**.

24/10 (C 7624). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: nonretorted spiral (part of Running Spiral FM 46?).
LM IA Final. Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 107 ζ28, 31, pl. 26; 116 η20, 25, 26, pl. 29; 121 θ7, fig. 41, pl. 31.

24/11 (C 6930). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: nonretorted spiral (part of Running Spiral FM 46?).
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **24/10**; also Quilici 1990: 126 no. 427, fig. 328; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 220 P384, P387, pls. 168–69 (all with coated interiors, from LCIA tombs in western Cyprus).

24/12 (C 6515). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: "triglyphs" of three or more vertical lines (stylized leaves?) framing "metopes" filled with single large, three-petaled buds.
LM IA Final, Floral Paneled Style. For the overall decorative scheme on teacups, Watrous 1992: 3 no. 36, 15 no. 258, 21 no. 346, 103 no. 1781, figs. 17, 18, 65, pls. 1, 6, 9, 46 (mostly LM IB Early); Palio 2001a: 252–55 and n. 38, fig. 14 (LM IB); Rutter 2004: 74–76, figs. 4.7, 4.11. For this particular variety of large bud as a LM IA Final type of plant ornament, **20/2**, **22b/1**, **24/8**, and **26/3**.

24/13 (C 6924). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.
Shoulder: "triglyph" of eight or more thin leaves preserved to one side of blank "metope"

that probably contained a floral motif. Lower body zone: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final, Floral Paneled Style. For shoulder pattern, comparanda as for **24/12**; for two-zone syntax of patterns with Wavy Line FM 53 in lower zone, comparanda as for **22a/2**.

24/14 (C 10773). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.

Shoulder: spidery Ripple FM 78. Lower body: broad horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 merging with horizontal band on lower body.

LM IA Final. La Rosa 1979–80: 83 HTR123, fig. 36e; Van de Moortel 1997: 89–93, fig. 13; for two-zone syntax of patterns with Wavy Line FM 53 in lower zone, comparanda as for **22a/2**.

24/15 (C 7625). Teacup. Pl. 3.36.

Shoulder: spidery Ripple FM 78.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **24/14**.

24/16 (C 6501). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.36.

Scar of handle preserved at rim. Reed FM 16. Base band overlaps edge of underside of base.

Knossian Mature LM IA import. Evans 1928: fig. 349g–h; Popham 1967: 339, pl. 76a; Popham 1984: 156–57, pl. 131e; Van de Moortel 1997: 564–66; Warren 1999: pl. CCVI: P2450.

24/17 (C 6500). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.36.

MM III. Comparanda as for **1/7**.

24/18 (C 6499). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.36.

Rim roughly pinched out into broad spout. Overfired.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

24/19 (C 6933). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.36.

Impression of burnt-out stalk of vegetable matter (d 2 mm, length 15 mm) preserved in lower body of cup.

LM IA Early to Advanced. Comparanda as for **17a/4**.

24/20 (C 6931). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.36.

LM IA Advanced. Comparanda as for **17a/4**.

24/21 (C 6905). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.36.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/10**.

24/22 (C 6503). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.36.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/10**.

24/23 (C 10775). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.36.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/10**.

24/24 (C 10774). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.36.

LM IA Advanced–Final. La Rosa 1979–80: 94 HTR 306, fig. 51a; for an unpainted example of the shape from an LM III context, Watrous 1992: 53 no. 929, fig. 35, pl. 21.

24/25 (C 6926). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.37.

Rim pinched out into small troughed spout at midpoint between handles; single fully preserved handle not centered over a leg; original height of legs uncertain. Spout likely to have been centered between one pair of the three legs, as well as between the handles.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **22b/3**.

24/26 (C 6937). Small tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.37.

Wheelmade base slab combined with coil-built side walls.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **22b/3**.

24/27 (C 10777). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.37.

Sloping striations in exterior surface of lower body result from attachment of initial body coil to inside of shallow base coil. Underside of base not painted.

LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Base Ring fabric) import. Comparanda as for **20/6**.

24/28 (C 10778). Jug. Pl. 3.37.

Underside of base not painted.

LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Base Ring fabric) import. Comparanda as for **20/6**.

24/29 (C 10779). Jug. Pl. 3.37.

Underside of base not painted.

LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Red Slip fabric) import. Comparanda as for **20/6**.

24/30 (C 6912). Vapheio cup. Pl. 3.37.

FS 224. Running Spiral FM 46.

LH I Mycenaean fine decorated import. Mount-

joy 1986: 15 (Type II), fig. 8: 1; cf. also **37e/16** (= Watrous 1992: 20, 155 no. 338, pls. 46, 50).

24/31 (C 7626). Amphora or giant stirrup jar. Pl. 3.37.

Scar of attachment at top to flaring rim or edge of false neck disk.

Import of unknown provenance.

Group 25

Date:	LM IA Final with some earlier Neopalatial
Total sherds:	Ca. 480–505
Weight (grams):	15,030
Trench/pail(s):	57A/21, 22, 25; 57A1/73, 75, 78
Cross joins:	Groups 16 (T Room 21), 23, 24, and 32 (T Room 22) (**16/6**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor at +3.33 m (west)/ 3.42 m (east) at east end of T Room 22, just west of T Room 29 and at roughly the same level as Group 21 within that room
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 75 cm in Trench 57A, ca. 60 cm in Trench 57A1
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Advanced to Final (57A1/26, 27)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 construction fill (Group 52d)

25/1 (C 10789). Conical cup, Type J. Pl. 3.37.

LM IA Early. Betancourt 1990: 128 nos. 873–74, 186 nos. 1956–59, 1963–64, figs. 41, 67, pls. 51, 99; Van de Moortel 1997: 54, fig. 7: C 6571.

25/2 (C 10790). Conical cup, Type J. Pl. 3.37.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **16/3**.

25/3 (C 7629). Conical cup, Type P. Pl. 3.37.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **6/2**.

25/4 (C 7630). Juglet. Pl. 3.37.

Whether this small pouring vessel would have had a handle is uncertain.

MM III–LM IA. Comparanda as for **2b/3**.

25/5 (C 10791). Conical cup, Type C. Pl. 3.37.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 57–59, 65–66, figs. 8–9; Van de Moortel 2001: 49, 66–68, fig. 32: 5–7; also **27b/3**, **29/3**, **37c/12**, **37e/12**.

25/6 (C 10792). Closed shape. Pl. 3.37 (decoration drawn flat).

LM IA Final(?). Import of unknown provenance, presumably Minoan but in fabric atypical at Kommos.

Group 26

Date:	LM IA Final
Total sherds:	Ca. 340
Weight (grams):	11,900
Trench/pail(s):	62D/78, 85, 86
Cross joins:	Groups 24 and 34 (**26/3**); Group 36 (**26/4**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; earthen floor at +3.30/

3.36 m in T Room 16 and fill immediately above

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 20–25 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 18 (LM IA Advanced) and LM IA Advanced fill ca. 20 cm thick (62D/90, 91, 99, 100)

Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 36 (LM IB Early)

26/1 (C 10749). Conical cup, Type V. Pl. 3.37.

Shoulder: in added white, retorted Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IA Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 96–97, fig. 15: C 9482 (LM IA Final deposit in House X, Room 1); Palio 2001a: 261–62, fig. 22: 12 (bottom row, middle); somewhat misleadingly termed a "rounded cup" by Van de Moortel, C 9482 is, like **26/1**, an example of a late phase of production at Kommos of the Type V conical cup (*contra* Van de Moortel 1997: 65); also **37b/1**, **39/1**.

26/2 (C 10750). Bell cup. Pl. 3.37.

No evidence for existence of handle. Only traces preserved of two broad drips on interior. Atypical fabric, hence possibly a nonlocal product.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

26/3 (C 4371). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.38.

Plastically rendered imitations of rivet heads applied to top of rim at points of handle's attachment to underside of everted lip. Exterior shoulder: single large, horizontally oriented, three-petaled bud in four panels (one under each handle, one in the middle of each side) framed by groups of large, roughly vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Exterior lower body: broad horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Interior: mostly two, but occasionally as many as three rows of large, diagonally oriented three-petaled buds arranged in what was probably a spiral extending from the rim to the base; nature of decoration at center of interior is uncertain.

LM IA Final, Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **17a/3**; for the decoration of the exterior, Watrous 1992: 3 no. 36, pl. 1 (teacup); for that on the interior, Cucuzza 1993: 22 XXI-2, pls. 3, 13d–e = La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103 XXI-3, figs. 104, 105, 246; Van de Moortel 1997: 126–27, fig. 27: C 9744 (in-and-out bowls; the buds on the second bowl, of LM IA Advanced date from House X, Room 2, differ slightly in having thin curved stems); the same three-petaled floral pattern occurs on the shoulder of an LH I narrow-necked jug (FS 111a) from Prosymna Tomb 26 (Blegen 1937: fig. 652: no. 431); this pattern was considered by Furumark to be a variant of Crocus FM 10 (1941: 658), an opinion recently followed in a Helladic context by Mountjoy (1999a: 82 and n. 246, fig. 10: 12), although in a Minoan context she terms this pattern "flying ivy" (2003: 56 and nn. 56–58); also **49/5**.

26/4 (C 8342). Basin. Pl. 3.37.

Handmade: no coil joints readily detectable, but base was broken away neatly as a single slab. Single horizontal plastic and finger-impressed bands just below rim and above base on exterior were intended to strengthen uppermost and lowermost coil joints, respectively; long diagonal incisions (3–5 mm wide) extending over bottom 12 cm of interior surface likewise were intended to enhance bonding of coil joints.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Pernier and Banti 1951: 176–77, fig. 107a (C.5843) (LM IB Late); Pelon 1966: 572–74, fig. 17 (LM IB); Levi 1976: 303–5, fig. 469 (F.4266) (LM IB Early); Betancourt 1990: 184 nos. 1876–77, fig. 65, pl. 95 (LM IA); Watrous 1992: 9 nos. 149–51, 24 nos. 416–17, 25 no. 439, figs. 16, 21–22, pls. 10–11 (LM IA–II); Cucuzza 1993: 34–35 XXXI-3, pls. 10, 29a = La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 110–11 XXXI-2, figs. 131, 271 (Selì; LM IB); Van de Moortel 1997: 134–35, fig. 32; Van de Moortel 2001: 60 no. 55, 82 and n. 132, fig. 37: 55.

Group 27a

Date: LM IA Final (into LM IB Early?)

Total sherds: Ca. 205

Weight (grams): 5,600
Trench/pail(s): 62D/79, 81, 82
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; clay floor at +3.29/3.32 m in T Room 42 and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 17b (LM IA Advanced)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Group 27b (LM IA Final, possibly extending into LM IB Early)

27a/1 (C 8247). Conical cup, Type P. Pl. 3.38.
LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **19/1**.

27a/2 (C 8248). Bell cup. Pl. 3.38.
No evidence for existence of handle.
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

27a/3 (C 8246). Conical cup, Type C. Pl. 3.38.
Rim slightly pinched out to form a very rough spout.
LM IA Final (not LM IA Advanced, as in Van de Moortel 1997: 58). Comparanda as for **21/10**.

Group 27b

Date: LM IA Final (into LM IB Early?)
Total sherds: Ca. 80
Weight (grams): 1,600
Trench/pail(s): 62D/77
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; lower fill overlying LM IA Final floor in T Room 42, from +3.37/3.44 to +3.45/3.48 m
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 27a (LM IA Final [into LM IB Early?])
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IB Early fill (62D/75)

27b/1 (C 10747). Conical cup, Type J. Pl. 3.38.
Pronounced groove in top of squared lip, beveled to slope down toward exterior.
LM IA Final (–IB Early?). Van de Moortel 1997: 68–69, fig. 9; also **40/5** (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 253, fig. 17, pl. 6) and **43/1**.

27b/2 (C 10748). Bell cup. Pl. 3.38.
No evidence for existence of handle. Distinctive soft and powdery fabric similar to that of **9b/2**, hence possibly an import from Gavdos.
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **6/5**.

27b/3 (C 8221). Conical cup, Type C. Pl. 3.38.
Rim pinched out into very slight spout; four thin horizontal grooves on interior lower body. Splash of dark brown to black paint on exterior upper body and patch of red paint on interior rim both appear accidental rather than purposeful.
LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **25/5**.

27b/4 (C 8220). Conical cup, Type F. Pls. 3.38, 3.91 at *b–c*.
Used as lamp after ca. 25 percent of rim had been chipped away to create a rough spout at the point of maximum diameter. Light bevel on interior of rim not carried consistently all around the vase.
LM IA Final. Van de Moortel 1997: 56–57, fig. 9; Van de Moortel 2001: 49 no. 10, 66–68, fig. 32: 10.

Group 28a

Date:	LM IA Final or LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 210
Weight (grams):	4,485
Trench/pail(s):	62A/13, 14; 62C/34
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; makeup of earthen floor at +2.78 m in northern part of North Stoa, at west end
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 15–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Bedrock
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IB Early fill on top of floor (37A/30, 56; 62A/10–11; 62C/33), below LM IB Early dumped fill (Groups 37a–b, d)

28a/1 (C 7693) In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.38.

Exterior: large spiral, possibly part of retorted Running Spiral FM 46. Interior: irregular splashes and spatters.

LM IA Final or LM IB Early. Watrous 1992: 8 no. 127, 11 no. 181, figs. 14, 16, pls. 3, 26; Cucuzza 1993: 27 XXVI-6, 43 XLV-2, pls. 3, 40a = La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 106 XXVI-3, 115 XLV-1, figs. 150b, 152a; Van de Moortel 1997: 128–30, fig. 29; Mountjoy 2003: 76–77, fig. 4.11: 151, 157. For spatters on the interior of in-and-out bowls, also **29/2**.

Group 28b

Date:	LM IA Final or LM IB Early
Total sherds:	128
Weight (grams):	270
Trench/pail(s):	100B/9
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of plaster and earth in interstices of slab-paved floor (top at +2.83 m) along south side of North Stoa at its west end
Thickness of constituent strata:	5–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	MM III construction fill (100B/10)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IB Early fill on top of floor (37A/56, 58), below LM IB Early dumped destruction debris (Group 37c)

28b/1 (C 10675). Closed shape (bridge-spouted jar?). Pl. 3.38.

Traces of spiral motif in main shoulder zone.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Probably from the same vase as **28b/2**, in which case both may have belonged to a bridge-spouted jar. Cucuzza 1993: 14 XIII-1, 22 XXI-3, 26–27 XXVI-4, pls. 6, 16d–e, 33e = La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 98 XIII-3, 103–4 XXI-4, 106 XXVI-13, figs. 119–20, 159d, 263; also **21/1**, **24/5**, **33/2**, and **34/1**.

28b/2 (C 10674). Closed shape (bridge-spouted jar?). Pl. 3.38.

Lower body: spidery Ripple FM 78.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Probably from the same vase as **28b/1**.

Table 3.53. Pottery Group 28b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	29	45	35	5	8	6
As % of total	22.7	35.2	27.3	3.9	6.3	4.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>
As % of total	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>	<TBD>

TBD = quantified data not available

28b/3 (C 10676). Conical cup, Kommos Type J or M. Pl. 3.38.

Interior: either a deep rim band or an overall coating.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 68–69, fig. 9: C 9520 (Type J); 63, fig. 68: C 9677 (Type M).

Group 29

Date: Mixed MM II and LM IA Final to LM IB Early
Total sherds: Ca. 180
Weight (grams): 7,250
Trench/pail(s): 36A/21, 22, 24, 26
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill overlying bedrock, the surface of which slopes down sharply from +2.49 m (east) to ca. +1.86 m (west) within T Space 5A
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10 cm (east) to 75 cm (west)
Group and/or date of stratum below: Bedrock
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IB Early fill (Group 40) redeposited in LM IIIA2 or IIIB

29/1 (C 11076). Teacup. Pl. 3.38.

Exterior lower body: trace of broad horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **22a/2**.

29/2 (C 11075). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.38.

Exterior: only banding preserved. Interior: spatters.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **28a/1**.

29/3 (C 11075). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.38.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **25/5**.

29/4 (C 11074). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.38.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **21/10**.

29/5 (C 11077). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.38.

Shoulder: undeterminable pattern. Decoration of upper part of handle back uncertain due to wear, but probably barred rather than solidly painted.

LM IA import from unknown Minoan production center.

Group 30

Date:	LM IA Advanced to Final
Total sherds:	620
Weight (grams):	10,055
Trench/pail(s):	90A/17, 18, 19, 67, 70, 73, 74 (uncontaminated); 90A/20, 69 (contaminated with LM IIIA2)
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; debris from South Stoa kiln in T Space 43 above floor of greenish gray clay laid over pebbles at ca. +2.76 m (west)–2.85 m (east)
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 25–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Mixed MM II to LM IA fill (90A/51)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IB Early floor (Group 42)

Table 3.54. Pottery Group 30.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	74	44	64	82	221	135
As % of total	11.9	7.1	10.3	13.2	35.6	21.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	295	185	275	2,150	4,340	2,810
As % of total	2.9	1.8	2.7	21.4	43.2	27.9

30/1 (C 11217). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.39.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **16/3**.

30/2 (C 11219). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.39.

Large, three-branched(?) plant motif from bottom of vase to base of neck.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Evans 1921: fig. 403A; Van de Moortel 1997: 190–91, fig. 64; Van de Moortel 2001: 60 no. 53, 81–82 and n. 130, fig. 37: 53; also **9b/8**, **30/3–4**.

30/3 (C 11185). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.39.

Large, three-branched(?) plant motif from bottom of vase to lower neck, crossing band at base of neck.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **30/2**.

30/4 (C 11218). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.39.

Traces of undeterminable pattern (possibly a large, crudely executed plant motif) in washy brown paint (not indicated in drawing).

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **30/2**.

30/5 (C 11215). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.39.

Sloping striation on exterior surface of lower body appears to have resulted from attachment of coil to originally round-based vessel. Two grooves were then impressed into this coil: a neatly made lower one that pushed out and defined the low base ring; and a much less regular and only very roughly horizontal one above that which, in tandem with the lower one, pushed up a low rib in the lowermost body profile just above the base ring. Underside of base not painted.

Cypriot LC IA Proto Base Ring (Base Ring fabric) or Base Ring I import. For flat-based comparanda, **20/6**; for an incipient ring base, as here, **40/37**.

30/6 (C 11216). Collar-necked jug or jar. Pl. 3.39.

LB Western Anatolian Reddish Brown Burnished import, a later intrusion of LM II–IIIA from one of the contaminated units in this context. Günel 1999a: 180 type YT I 4, 367, pls. 106: 1–2, 162: 1–2 (trefoil-mouthed jugs); 181 miscellaneous type XVIII 2, 378, pls. 114: 7–8 (collar-necked closed vases with sloping lips); also **56e/11**; comparanda for fabric and shape from elsewhere on Crete as for **49/8**.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IA ADVANCED: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

The floor deposits in Building T that represent a ceramic phase intermediate between the LM IA Early subphase (see Table 3.41) and the LM IA Final subphase represented by the latest stages of use of the South Stoa kiln (Van de Moortel 2001: 94–102), although small, are well stratified (Table 3.55). In three adjacent spaces in the middle of T's North Wing—from east to west, Room 19, Room 42, and the easternmost portion of the North Stoa (Pl. 3.22)—such deposits were found either overlying floor deposits of LM IA Early (Rooms 19 and 42, Groups 17a and 17b above Groups 6 and 7, respectively) or underlying floor deposits of the subsequent LM IA Final subphase (Room 42, east end of North Stoa, Groups 17b and 18 below Groups 27a and 26, respectively). The stratified succession of four floors in Room 42 in which surfaces were datable to all three LM IA ceramic phases below a terminal LM IB Early floor was particularly valuable in establishing the validity of this ceramic sequence. In all other areas of Building T so far explored, abandonment, reuse at the same level, or refurbishment have either destroyed comparable sequences or simply kept them from being deposited in the first place. Thus Rooms 23, 24a–b, and 25a–b were evidently abandoned after LM IA Early (Groups 2b, 3b, 4b), whereas the east end of Corridor 20 (Group 15), Room 21 (Group 16), and Room 29 (Group 21) appear to have been used continuously from the time of the building's construction in MM III to the time of their eventual abandonment within LM IA Final, with floors at essentially the same level throughout this lengthy period (Pl. 3.22). At the west end of the North Stoa, the earliest floor deposits that survive above bedrock (Group 28a) or MM III construction fill (Group 28b) date to LM IA Final. Either this space was reused at the same floor level for decades, as was the case in Corridor 20 and Rooms 21 and 29 far to the east, or else the west end of the North Stoa was totally refurbished in LM IA Final. In none of these spaces, unfortunately, could a period of activity restricted to the LM IA Advanced subphase be isolated, although finds likely to belong to this intermediate phase (e.g., **16/2–4**, **21/2**, **21/8**) indicate, as already noted, that several of them continued in use throughout its duration.

At the other end of the Central Court, a potter's kiln was constructed in the ruins of the South Stoa well after the beginning of LM IA Advanced and continued to function for much of the ensuing LM IA Final subphase (Van de Moortel 2001: 102). A small cluster of mendable cups (Group 19) found directly above a stratum of murex shells deposited as part of Building AA's construction in MM IIB and capped by LM IIIA2 debris resulting from the construction of Building P several centuries later is probably to be associated with either the construction or early use of the kiln to the southwest (Pl. 3.22). Indeed, this group may simply represent

Table 3.55. LM IA Advanced floor deposits and major fills from the Southern Hillside and Civic Center at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997, with A, B, and J indicating larger MM III types and A′, B′, and J′ indicating smaller LM IA types.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Area, Building T, Room 19, second floor: Group 17a (53A/40, 41; 62D/88, 89)	Van de Moortel 1997: 731	39.1 kg (ca. 2,141)	2 (5)	C: 1(1) D: 1	Bell cup: (1) In-and-out bowl: (1)	Miscellaneous jug: (1?) (imported) Tubular-spouted jar: (1)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 42, second floor: Group 17b (62D/83)		3.9 kg (ca. 100)	0 (2)		Bell cup: (1) Straight-sided cup: (1)	
Southern Area, Building T, North Stoa, east end, first paved floor: Group 18 (52A/55; 62D/102)		6.7 kg (ca. 290)	1 (1)	B′: 1 Q: (1)		
Southern Area, Building T, South Stoa, kiln dump: (ca. 130 pure excavation units: Van de Moortel 2001: 32 n. 26, 37 n. 44, 39 n. 52)	Van de Moortel 2001: 43 table 4	435.1 kg (24,564)	949 (est.)	C: 260 (est.) D: 7 (est.) E: 70 (est.) F: 80 (est.) P: 45 (est.) Q: 20 (est.) V: 25 (est.)	Basin: 10 (est.) Bell cup: 11 (est.) Kalathos: 81 (est.) Miscellaneous conical bowl: 4 (est.) Miscellaneous rounded bowl: 7 (est.) Straight-sided cup: 20 (est.) Side-spouted cup: 15 (est.) Teacup: 8 (est.)	Bridge-spouted jar: 99 (est.) Collar-necked jug: 49 (est.) Ewer: 31 (est.) Globular rhyton: 20 (est.) Oval-mouthed amphora: 66 (est.) Piriform rhyton: 3 (est.)

(*Table 3.55 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 2, first floor: (80A/66, 66A, 66C, 67, 67A, 69)	Van de Moortel 1997: 731–32	12.2 kg (1,081)	18 (9)	B′: 4 C: 7 F: 1 J′: 1 P: 1 V: 1	Bell cup: 2 In-and-out bowl: 1(1) Straight-sided cup: (2) Teacup: (5) (1 imported)	Juglet: (1)
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 2, fill above first floor: (80A/49, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65)	Van de Moortel 1997: 732–33	16.7 kg (1,820)	16 (5)	A′: 1 B′: 5 C: 6 D: 1 J′: (1) N: 1 P: 1(1)	In-and-out bowl: (1) Kalathos: (1) Straight-sided cup: 1	Collar-necked jug: (1?)

the easternmost extension of the kiln's dump into Trench 84C (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 8, Section B-B at far right).[96] It is certainly not identifiable as a true floor deposit.

Still farther south, immediately outside Building T's south wall, the deposition of quantities of drinking-related debris stopped abruptly at the end of LM IA Early (Group 12), just as did the evidence for any activity inside the southeastern portion of Building T in Spaces 36 and 35 after the abandonment of Groups 9a–b and 10. In all three of these latter areas lying outside the kiln's immediate surroundings, LM IA Early debris was directly overlain by LM III debris associated with the construction of Building P's southernmost galleries. It is just possible that evidence of later Neopalatial activity that might once have existed here was removed in the course of P's construction. But the survival of later Neopalatial deposits below Building P debris in T Space 43 (Pl. 3.22, Groups 30 and 42) suggests that the absence of such material to both north and south reflects the complete abandonment of the south-central portion of Building T after the South Stoa's violent destruction. Only with the construction of the kiln well along in the LM IA Advanced subphase is there any renewed evidence for human activity in this area, and throughout the remainder of the LM IA period such activity may well have been exclusively kiln-related (Groups 19, 30).

From a functional point of view, the relatively scanty corpus of inventoried pottery from the LM IA Advanced floors in T's North Wing (Groups 17a–b, 18) exhibits some continuity from the preceding phase in its emphasis on cups, an occasional imported pouring vessel (**17a/1**; cf. **6/1**, **8/6** of LM IA Early), and a similarly occasional serving bowl (**17a/3**; cf. **8/4** of LM IA Early).[97] Two conical cups used as lamps are somewhat unusual in featuring burning over a relatively wide expanse of their rims (50–65% for **17a/5**, **18/2** versus 10–30% for **2b/11**, **2b/13**, **4b/2**, **5a/7**, **6/10**). Since one of these (**18/2**) was found in the North Stoa—probably not a space in which artificial light would have been necessary during the day—perhaps both lamps were used in breezy conditions (hence the discoloration of half or more of their rims) and hence either outdoors or in drafty locales, perhaps at night?

LATE MINOAN IA ADVANCED POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Pottery of the LM IA Advanced subphase at Kommos has heretofore been assessed only by Van de Moortel, who based her discussions on just six deposits (1997: 245–58, 731–35; 2001: 91), two of which have since been reassigned to LM IA Final (Groups 27a–b). A brief review here of what distinguishes LM IA Advanced from the phases that precede and follow thus seems appropriate.

The definitive deposits for this stage of ceramic development at Kommos come from House X, Room 2, in the form of a substantial floor deposit and an equally large and typologically homogeneous fill deposited immediately above (Table 3.55; Van de Moortel 1997: 731–33). Both of these bodies of material consist overwhelmingly of cups accompanied by just a few bowls, with the result that developments in closed shapes and cooking pottery during

this phase cannot at present be meaningfully assessed, except insofar as the closed forms produced locally in the South Stoa kiln are concerned (Van de Moortel 2001: 54–62, 74–83). As comparison of Tables 3.41 and 3.55 makes clear, the principal distinction between LM IA Advanced and LM IA Early with regard to the most common open shapes in tablewares lies in the rise in popularity of the convex or conical but lipless Type C unpainted conical cup to a level at which it slightly surpasses in frequency the small Type B with its flat-topped and usually slightly thickened lip, the dominant local type in LM IA Early.[98] In common with the MM III and LM IA Early phases, the LM IA Advanced subphase witnessed the production of a fairly wide array of distinct conical cup types in comparison with the dramatic decline in such variety that took place in LM IA Final (Table 3.56) and LM IB Early. As was true of the earlier Type B's development from MM III (e.g., **20/3**) to LM IA Early (e.g., **20/4**), the newly popular Type C of LM IA Advanced (e.g., **17a/4–5**) is noticeably smaller and thinner walled than its MM III–LM IA Early versions (e.g., **13/3–4**). In addition, the Type J of LM IA Advanced once again became smaller, so that examples like **20/1** and **25/2** can be assigned with confidence to later LM IA, whereas the larger **25/1** belongs to LM IA Early.

Among cups with handles, dipped bell cups continued unchanged, but solidly coated straight-sided cups were no longer dominant and now shared the stage with locally produced teacups, either solidly coated themselves (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9695, C 9724) or decorated in the dark-on-light style (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9685, C 9790, C 9983) that was otherwise peculiar to in-and-out bowls (e.g., **17a/3**, a new shape in the local repertoire at that time) among open vessels.[99] Popular on both these dark-on-light shapes, and possibly universal for the teacup when so decorated, is the presence of two distinct decorative zones (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 62 [in-and-out bowl], 63 [teacup]). The range of dark-on-light patterns is broader than in the preceding LM IA Early subphase, but still quite restricted: Running Spiral FM 46, Quirk FM 48, Wavy Line FM 53, a version of Foliate Band FM 64 characterized by short and stubby leaves and no centerline, spidery Ripple FM 78, and occasionally some three-petaled buds, either on long stems as parts of flowers (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 66), furnished with short curved stems (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 27: C 9744, in multiple rows) or else altogether stemless (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9790, as fill in combination with a wavy band).

Light-on-dark ornament continued to be quite common on closed shapes, but on open vessels it was restricted to conical cups of Types V and W (**19/2–3**), deep convex-sided bowls, and kalathoi (Van de Moortel 2001: 52–54, 71–74, fig. 33). Overwhelmingly the most common pattern was the retorted Running Spiral FM 46, although Reed FM 16 and Curved Stripes FM 67 also occurred on kalathoi. Polychromy on a dark-coated ground had by this time entirely disappeared. The collar-necked jug that would become the dominant type of jug in the local repertoire at Kommos from LM IB until the end of LM IIIA made its initial appearance, possibly as a development of the earlier MM III side-spouted jug.[100]

Otherwise, there was an enormous amount of ceramic continuity between LM IA Ad-

vanced and the phases that immediately preceded and followed. That is, notwithstanding the adoption by some local potters of the new "Glanzton" technique (Van de Moortel 1997: 255–57) whereby the dark paint used for patterned decoration became lustrous and adhered far better to vessel surfaces than previously, from a purely ceramic point of view there was nothing in the developments of this phase to mark a cultural turning point as significant locally as the one that allows us to distinguish LM IA Early from MM III.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IA FINAL: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

In the course of the ensuing LM IA Final subphase, a substantial amount of building activity occurred within Building T that left its mark in the form of larger and more numerous floor deposits and fills than exist for the preceding LM IA Advanced subphase in Kommos's Civic Center (Table 3.56). A stratified sequence of LM IA Final fills and floors from the west end of T Room 22 provides the richest body of evidence available for this phase from anywhere on the site, so it seems logical to begin a review of the activity during this phase in this particular locale and then to seek to relate developments elsewhere in Building T to the stages observable here. The sequence in question begins with a fill represented by Group 22b overlying Group 22a, both subdivisions of the fill being clearly datable to LM IA Final (Pl. 3.22). The collar-necked jug fragment **22a/1** is a product of the South Stoa kiln, as almost certainly are several wasters (one inventoried as C 6685) recovered from both Groups 22a and 22b. It is therefore likely that this fill is at least in part a second batch of redeposited kiln dump, comparable in this respect to that identified by Van de Moortel to the east of T's eastern facade (2001: 40–41). From this same fill in Room 22 came two large fragments belonging to a plastically decorated pithos that, like **16/6**, may have survived the destruction of LM IA Early and so been reused for some time during later LM IA. The earliest floor so far exposed at Room 22's west end caps this fill at ca. +3.20 m. To judge from the fact that a joining sherd of the imported jar **23/1** from the associated floor deposit (Group 23) was found at the same level on the other side of the east-west wall separating Corridor 20 from Room 22, it seems likely that the earth floor in question originally extended as far north as the south wall of Rooms 19 and 42. That is, the east-west wall now subdividing Rooms 20/22 was built *over* this initial floor (Pl. 3.22). The second floor at Room 22's west end at ca. +3.28/3.33 m thus represents a raising of the floor occasioned by the construction of the dividing wall, since no equivalent second floor was found to the north of the wall. The pottery lying above this second floor (Group 24) south of the wall included substantial portions of a large cooking pot (**24/25**) to be associated with one of the two hearths built against Room 22's south wall. The discovery of a second tripod cooking pot preserved to much the same extent in the fill below the initial floor (**22b/3**) suggests that this space served a food-preparation function not only during the two periods represented by the two final floors so far cleared here but even earlier. No subsequent Neopalatial floors were identified in Room 22 at its

Table 3.56. LM IA Final floor deposits from the Civic Center at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997, with A, B, and J indicating larger MM III types, and B′ and J′ indicating smaller LM IA types.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Area, Building T, Room 22, west end, first floor: Group 23 (52A/51, 52; 53A1/71, 72, 74; 56A1/98, 99)		33.3 kg (ca. 1,730–1,830)	0 (5)		Bell cup: (1) Teacup: (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1) (imported) Miscellaneous jug: (2) (imported)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 22, west end, second floor: Group 24 (52A/43, 44, 45, 50; 53A1/67, 68, 70, 73; 56A1/92, 93, 95, 96, 96A)	Van de Moortel 1997: 735–36	73.6 kg (ca. 3,000–3,500)	3 (28)	B′: 2 C: 1(4) Q: (1)	Straight-sided cup: (2) (imported) Teacup: (8)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1 + 1?) Collar-necked jug: 1(1?) Miscellaneous jug: (5) (4 imported) Tubular-spouted jar: (1)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 22, east end, floor: Group 25 (57A/21, 22, 25; 57A1/73, 75, 78)		15.0 kg (ca. 480–505)	0 (6)	C: (1) J′: (2) P: (1)		Juglet: (1)
Southern Area, Building T, North Stoa, east end, third floor: Group 26 (62D/78, 85, 86)		11.9 kg (ca. 340)	0 (4)	V: (1)	Basin: (1) Bell cup: (1) In-and-out bowl: (1)	
Southern Area, Building T, Room 42, third floor: Group 27a (62D/79, 81, 82)	Van de Moortel 1997: 731 (“LM IA Advanced”)	5.6 kg (ca. 205)	1 (2)	C: 1 P: (1)	Bell cup: (1)	
Southern Area, Building T, South Stoa, kiln’s final load: (14 pure excavation units: Van de Moortel 2001: 28 n. 9)	Van de Moortel 2001: 43 table 4	21.0 kg (1,467)	209 (est.)	C: 50 (est.) P: 80 (est.) Q: 20 (est.)	Basin: 2 (est.) Bell cup: 9 (est.) Kalathos: 6 (est.) Miscellaneous conical bowl: 1 (est.) Side-spouted cup: 8 (est.)	Bridge-spouted jar: 17 (est.) Collar-necked jug: 6 (est.) Ewer: 4 (est.) Oval-mouthed amphora: 4 (est.)

west end, so the space appears simply to have been abandoned near or at the end of LM IA. Overlying fills (Groups 31–32) suggest that this area of Building T gradually filled up with debris during the LM IB Early period. Thus, despite an excavated depth of Neopalatial deposit of over 1.75 m in this space, the only activity represented here consists of two LM IA Final floor deposits that precede and immediately follow the construction of the thin dividing wall separating Corridor 20 and the northern suite of rooms opening off it (19, 21, and 23) from Rooms 22 and 29 to the south (Pl. 3.22).

In Room 23 near T's northeast corner, a space seemingly not used since the abandonment of its LM IA Early floor at ca. +3.35 m found covered with ca. 25 cm of contemporary fill (Group 2b), the next episode of activity attested is the deposition of some 70–80 cm of fill in LM IA Final (Group 20). At what could well have been roughly the same time, the floor in the adjacent Corridor 20 at +3.27/3.34 m went out of use (Group 15), as did the floor of Room 21 some 12 m to the west at +3.14/3.16 m (Group 16). The abandonment of all these spaces, as well as the partial filling in of Room 23, presumably occurred soon after the construction of the dividing wall between Corridor 20 and Room 22, if not as part of the same episode of reconstruction (Pl. 3.22).[101] Clearly later, although not too much later, followed the abandonment of Room 29 (Group 21) and all of Room 22 (Group 25 at the east end, Group 24 at the west).[102]

Contemporary certainly with the latest stage of Room 22's use in LM IA Final (Group 24), and possibly in use already in the earlier stages represented by Groups 22a–b and 23, were the LM IA Final floors in Room 42 (Group 27a) and the newly enclosed Room R' with its provisions for grinding (Group 26) at the east end of the former North Stoa (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; Pl. 3.22). Like the latest floor at Room 22's west end, the LM IA Final floors in these two rooms lay at around +3.30 m; sherds of the handsomely decorated bowl **26/3** and tubular-spouted jar **24/1** were found in both Room 22 and Room R', establishing beyond any doubt the contemporaneity of the abandonment of these two spaces near or at the end of LM IA Final.

At the other end of the North Stoa, the earliest surviving evidence for activity in this area after the construction of Building T in MM III dates from this LM IA Final subphase (Groups 28a–b). On the other side of the impressive north-south ashlar wall that separates the North Stoa from Building T, Room 5, a small but distinctive fill of LM IA Final date (Group 29) overlay bedrock and a small accumulation of Protopalatial pottery at the very bottom of the *sottoscala* in T Room 5A (Pl. 3.22).[103] The complete absence from this fill of MM III and earlier LM IA pottery is very odd, indicating that strata dating to those periods may have been removed by LM IA Final building activity here. The same explanation may account for the already-noted absence of any MM III–LM IA Advanced stratification in the area of the earliest surviving floors (Groups 28a–b) at the North Stoa's west end. Given the extensive evidence for LM IA Final construction attested farther to the east, it would certainly not be

unusual for there to have been a comparable spate of building activity here at the northwest corner of Building T's court.[104]

The only other area of LM IA Final activity so far identified in Building T lies at the diagonally opposite end of that same court, at the east end of the former South Stoa.[105] In addition to the final episode(s) of use of the kiln itself, a small patch of clay floor at the west end of Space 43 was found littered with mendable pottery (Group 30) that in some ways is strongly reminiscent of that from the kiln dump (e.g., **30/2–4**) but that also includes ceramic types not produced in the kiln (**30/1**, **5**) that have close parallels in Room 22 and elsewhere in T's North Wing. Unfortunately, not enough is yet known of this context for it to be more informative, but it may represent the first activity in T's southeast wing not directly related to pottery production after the destruction of the South Stoa in LM IA Early.[106]

The only spaces within Building T to have produced sufficient ceramic evidence for room function during this phase to be worthy of comment are clustered around the northeast corner of the court.[107] At the west end of Room 22, Groups 22a–b, 23, and 24 are characterized by mendable tripod cooking pots in at least two sizes, regular (**22b/3**, **24/25**) and small (**24/26**). Reminiscent of the pair of LM IA Early tripod vessels (**9b/9–10**) associated with the hearth built against T Space 36's south wall, the later LM IA Final pots in two of three cases (**24/25–26**) came from strata that once again feature hearths built up against the south wall of a gallery-like space opening at the west onto the Central Court (Pl. 3.22). This noteworthy series of correspondences is unlikely to be coincidental: Surely the cooking facility in T Room 22 just south of the court's northeast corner was a replacement for that formerly located immediately north of the court's southeast corner in T Space 36 (Rutter 2004: 67–69). The discovery of one of the LM IA Final cooking pots (**22b/3**) in the fill underlying the earlier of the two LM IA Final floors in T Room 22 raises the possibility that cooking activity in this locale may extend back into the LM IA Advanced subphase, thus bridging the temporal gap between the two hearth complexes and making even more likely the notion that the northern was a direct replacement for the southern facility, abandoned after the LM IA Early destruction of the South Stoa.

An even more pronounced feature of Groups 22a–b, 23, and 24 consists of the wealth of cups and pouring vessels (jugs and various kinds of spouted jars) recovered from these deposits. A similar emphasis on drinking was noted earlier in the cases of various LM IA Early groups. The LM IA Final groups from Room 22's west end are distinguished from most of those earlier ones, as perhaps from the small contemporary Group 25 from farther east within the same space,[108] by a remarkable number of imported vessels, both cups and jugs/jars. Among the imported cups are straight-sided cups from Knossos (**24/16**)[109] and the Greek Mainland (**24/30**), the latter being the earliest Mycenaean import so far identified at Kommos. Imported pouring vessels include linear round-mouthed jugs from Palaikastro (**23/2–3**) and a more lavishly decorated jug possibly from the same site (**24/4**), a probably spouted jar from

an unknown Minoan site (**23/1**), several jugs or tankards from Cyprus (**24/27–29**), and a jug, or possibly an amphora or stirrup jar, from yet another unknown site somewhere in the southern Aegean (**24/31**).[110] A drinking assemblage featuring significant numbers of imported pouring vessels was typical of the LM IA Early strata in Rooms 19 and 42 and at the North Stoa's east end (Groups 6–8) just to the north and northwest, so perhaps the activities attested by the vessels from Groups 22–24 are simply evidence for a direct continuation of similar activities in this general vicinity into LM IA Final. In both phases, among the quantities of drinking-related vessels occurs an occasional serving bowl (**8/4** of LM IA Early, **22b/1** of LM IA Final), but such bowls are conspicuous for their rarity in comparison with the large numbers of cups and jugs. Another conspicuous rarity is the tubular-spouted jar **24/1**, an unusual local variant of the much more common bridge-spouted jar (**22b/2, 24/2**, **28b/1–2**, perhaps also **24/5**). One significant difference exhibited by the LM IA Final drinking-related pottery from this area relative to that of the LM IA Early subphase is that drinking cups as well as pouring vessels were now imported. The significantly less common serving bowls, on the other hand, appear invariably to be local products in both phases.

To the northwest, the North Stoa at this time was subdivided into a series of rooms for the first time, at least two of them walled off from the Central Court. At the eastern end of this series, Room R' is distinguished architecturally in this phase by a series of four three-sided enclosures in a north-south row, each provided with a floor of reused plaster. To the southeast of these and built against the room's east wall is a four-sided bin ca. 40 cm deep (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2). In and near the bin were found the fragments of the basin **26/4**, and fragments of at least one more similar basin exist in the associated sherd material. Three three-sided enclosures, as indicated by the stone quern found either inside or immediately outside of each, were evidently fixtures in which grinding of some sort occurred. The presence of five querns in the room may indicate that the four-sided bin, too, served as a grinding locale. Perhaps the associated basin **26/4** played a role in this activity as well. The deep diagonal scoring in the lower body of this and comparable vessels (Watrous 1992: 25 no. 439, fig. 22; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 10–11 XXXI-2, figs. 131, 271) might, for example, have functioned to remove husks from seeds or fruits prior to their being ground or mashed. Aside from the basin, the floor deposit in this room consisted of an undistinguished pair of cups (**26/1–2**) and fragments of an elaborately decorated in-and-out bowl (**26/3**), other pieces of which were found as part of Group 24 in Room 22 but the bulk of which came from the upper fill of a pit farther west within Room R' (Group 34). From this same pit came a couple of base fragments of the tubular-spouted jar **24/1**, the bulk of which was found once again in Room 22 as part of Group 24. It is thus the elaborately decorated bowl **26/3** and jar **24/1** that provide the cross joins linking activities between Room R' and its grinding fixtures, and Room 22 and its cooking facilities. Fragments of a second tubular-spouted jar decorated with LM IA Final patterns (**33/1**) were found when the walls of a later LM IB Early construction in the

northeast corner of Room R′ were disassembled and removed. This second jar should probably be considered part of the LM IA Final floor deposit of Room R′.

The association of a tubular-spouted jar very similar to **24/1** and **33/1** with the basin form represented by **26/4** and possibly also with the activity of grinding is repeated in a remarkable way in the finds from the terminal phase of use of Annex Rooms β and γ attached to the large and well-preserved MM tholos tomb at Kamilari. Here, found at the same level in three more or less discrete clusters, were the following: three incense burners and a tubular-spouted jar so similar in shape and decoration to **24/1** and **33/1** as to suggest that it might have been made by the very same potter (Levi 1961–62: 69–70, figs. 89–90), all in Annex Room γ just east of the doorway leading into Annex Room β (Levi 1961–62: fig. 87); just on the other side of the same doorway but now in Annex Room β (Levi 1961–62: figs. 71–72), two group figurines, one of four dancers (Levi 1961–62: 67 F.2634, 139–45, figs. 174a–b) and one depicting a woman making bread or perhaps grinding something on a table as she chats(?) with a seated companion and is watched through a doorway by a child (Levi 1961–62: 67–68 F.2633, 145–47, figs. 177a–b; Rutter 2003b: 40, fig. 13), were found together with two miniature basins, one of them featuring an appliqué human figurine leaning over the basin's rim and perhaps extending his(?) now missing forearms inside it (Levi 1961–62: 68 F.2634, F.2637, fig. 83), a conical cup, and a light-on-dark-decorated krateriskos (Levi 1961–62: fig. 84a); and finally, just to the south of the last group and in the doorway leading from Annex Room β's southeast corner into a short corridor connecting with Annex Room α, a seated female(?) figurine drinking(?) from a cup mounted in the top of a tall cylinder that the figure appears to clasp at its base (Levi 1961–62: 69 F.2636, fig. 85). The tubular-spouted jar is decorated with the same large, three-petaled buds in the main body zone as is **33/1**, but on its shoulder and neck it features two separate zones of Foliate Band FM 64, the plump but small leaves of which resemble those partially preserved on the nonjoining shoulder fragment of **24/1**. The remarkable terra-cotta group figurines from Kamilari are, to be sure, not paralleled in Room R′ of Building T at Kommos, but the activities of grinding and husk removal that may be depicted in F.2633 and F.2634, respectively, may well have been precisely what went on in this room. The surprising association of multiple handsomely painted tubular-spouted jars and medium-coarse basins with plastic and impressed décor in Room R′ appears to be duplicated at Kamilari in a funerary context that must be very closely contemporary with that at Kommos.[111]

LATE MINOAN IA FINAL POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

As in the case of the preceding LM IA Advanced stage, the only overall assessments of LM IA Final pottery at Kommos so far published are those of Van de Moortel (1997: 258–67; 2001: 91–92). Her extensive analysis of the pottery of this period produced and fired in the

South Stoa kiln is definitive and makes unusually clear how uninterested at least some potters in the Mesara were toward the close of the LM IA period in the stylistic innovations being introduced both in north-central Crete at Knossos and in the east at a center such as Palaikastro (Bernini 1995). As Table 3.56 makes clear, the number of LM IA Final floor deposits that Kommos has revealed is quite limited.[112] The enormous quantity of locally produced material recovered from the South Stoa kiln and its associated dump, however, in addition to the rich stratification of this phase in T Room 22 (Groups 22–25), serve to illustrate the various ways in which the pottery found at Kommos during this phase changed from that characteristic of LM IA Advanced. Already somewhat in the majority during LM IA Advanced, the unpainted Type C conical cup now became overwhelmingly dominant. Moreover, the evidence of the kiln's final load relative to that from the necessarily somewhat earlier dump, as well as the relative popularity of the relevant subtypes in sizable bodies of material such as Group 24 or the predominantly LM IA Final dump from House X, Room 1, show that the favored version of Type C in LM IA Final had a conical profile with an occasional very slight flare at the rim (e.g., **20/5**, **21/10–11**, **24/21–23**; Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 32: 1–4) in contrast with the more convex-sided subtype featuring a rolled rim (e.g., **24/20**), the latter being characteristic of the kiln dump (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 32: 5–7) and, in a somewhat thicker-walled and so probably earlier form, among the cups from the LM IA Advanced floor of House X, Room 2. The only other common conical cup types were the solidly coated Types P and Q, although the dipped Type J continued (**25/2**) and even an occasional light-on-dark-patterned Type V still occurred (**26/1**).[113] But the days of a relatively wide range of contemporary conical cup types that began in MM III appear to have ended in LM IA Final.

Among cups with handles, straight-sided cups disappeared except in the form of occasional dark-on-light-decorated imports (**24/16**, **24/30**). Dipped bell cups (**23/5**, **27a/2**) continued unchanged, in small but appreciable numbers. The most noticeable developments occurred among teacups, which, together with in-and-out bowls, continued to be the only open shapes regularly to be decorated in the increasingly popular dark-on-light idiom. Local teacups and in-and-out bowls during this phase were still decorated with two zones of ornament as in LM IA Advanced, but the motif in the lower zone was now almost invariably a simple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 (**22a/2**, **24/8**, **24/13–14**; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9521 [teacups]; **26/3**; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9470 [in-and-out bowls]).[114] The range of motifs that now appeared in the upper zone of these teacups, or on either the interior or exterior of in-and-out bowls, expanded very slightly over those occurring on the same two shapes in LM IA Advanced: densely coiled Running Spiral FM 46 (**24/9–11**, **28a/1**), Diaper Net FM 57 (**22a/2**), Foliate Band FM 64 with very plump leaves (**23/4**), spidery Ripple FM 78 (**24/14–15)**, and stemless three-petaled buds that may have been intended either as Lily FM 9 or as Crocus FM 10 (**22b/1**, **24/8**, **26/3**).[115] New in LM IA Final was the regular combination of a pair of motifs in what merits being designated a style: Groups of from six to twelve (or

even more) vertically aligned stripes or leaves framed panels in which were placed single three-petaled buds (**24/12–13** [teacups], **26/3** [in-and-out bowl]). This composition, which I have elsewhere christened the Floral Paneled Style (Rutter 2004), may also have appeared as early as this on collar-necked jugs (e.g., **37c/1**, from an LM IB Early context), if a jug from the Volakakis house at Selì can be safely attributed to this phase (La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-12, figs. 169a, 352; Van de Moortel 1997: 262–63). The Selì jug substituted the usually somewhat later motif of a diagonal Reed FM 16 spray for the triple-petaled bud and relegated the latter to the patterned neck zone. Locally produced teacups were invariably unpainted on the interior aside from a simple rim band. Cups with coated interiors are therefore unambiguous imports (e.g., **32/1**, **34/4**). Added white appeared sparingly on the rim (**24/9**; Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 63) and body bands (**26/3**) of local teacups and bowls during this phase, as well as occasionally in the form of a highlight on a dark-on-light pattern (**24/9**), but this practice was for the time being more an exception than the rule. Otherwise, except on conical cups of Types V or W, light-on-dark ornament effectively disappeared from open shapes. Even on closed shapes, added white appears now to have been used principally as an accent in dark-on-light schemes (**21/1**; Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 65), as it had been for some time already on Knossian (**6/1**, **32/1**, **34/4**) and East Cretan (**17a/1**, **24/4**) vases. As Van de Moortel has observed, with the demise of the South Stoa kiln at some point during LM IA Final, the light-on-dark-patterned pottery tradition at Kommos came to an end (1997: 260).

As for closed shapes, the LM IA Final evidence is, as in the preceding phase, comparatively sparse. The decoration of at least some bridge-spouted jars (**21/1**, perhaps **24/5**), collar-necked jugs (**16/1**, perhaps **24/3**), and tubular-spouted jars (**24/1**, **33/1**) kept pace with that on teacups and in-and-out bowls in the shift to dark-on-light decoration; but whereas the open shapes consistently feature two patterned zones on the exterior, usually with a simple Wavy Line FM 53 in the lower, the closed shapes almost as regularly feature three zones (**24/1**), the uppermost pattern on bridge-spouted jars and collar-necked jugs typically being Running Spiral FM 46 (**16/1**, **24/3**, **34/1**) in which the outermost coils are thickened and the cores are rendered as solid blobs. The subsidiary zones feature a slightly broader range of motifs that include multiple Wavy Line FM 53 (**16/1**, **24/5**), the closely related foliate scroll of Multiple Stem FM 19 (**24/3**; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: fig. 120), and Ripple FM 78 (**28b/2**, **33/2**, **34/1**; Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 65, 67; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: figs. 119–20). Peculiar to the decoration of tubular-spouted jars among closed shapes thus far at Kommos is the use of Diaper Net FM 57 on both the shoulder (**33/1**) and lower body (**24/1**), as on the occasional teacup (**22a/2**). More striking is the appearance of what appears to be an unusually early version, at least for dark-on-light ceramic decoration, of Papyrus FM 11, together with what may be intended as dot rosettes, in the main body zone of **24/1**, a zone that appears to have been further enriched by a version of Foliate Band FM 64 at the top. This exceptional wealth of ornament for such a small vase, when considered together with the fact that all three LM

IA Final jars of this type known from the Mesara bear emphatic floral patterns (**24/1**, **33/1**; Levi 1961–62: fig. 90), makes one wonder whether vessels of this kind were expressly intended to contain a special botanical product of some sort. Could it be that this substance was actively prepared in the grinding facilities located in Room R', possibly for consumption after it had been cooked, either alone or as an additive to something else, at the hearths located at Room 22's west end? The tripod cooking pots from this space (**22b/3**, **24/25–26**) are virtually identical with earlier Neopalatial examples from the site such as **9b/9**, except for the diminutive size of **24/26**. Might the dramatically smaller size of this vessel have been somehow connected with the special plant matter perhaps being ground in Room R'?

One final dimension of the pottery of this phase recovered from the Civic Center deserves comment. The amount of imported material, although impressive in quantity, is unusually restricted from a functional point of view. No fragments of imported transport vessels or cooking pots have been identified, after all, nor any imported storage vessels or serving bowls. Instead, all the imports take the form of cups or pouring vessels, a number of them from production centers located outside the island of Crete. This is a picture similar to the one that emerged for the LM IA Early subphase, although at that time imported cups were limited to a couple of small fragments of dark-on-light-decorated teacups (**2b/1**, **12/1**), and off-island imports were equally rare (**8/6**). It is a picture of the usage of imported pottery that is quite different from the one that characterized later periods in the history of the Civic Center. What do the different sources of the drinking and pouring vessels used in Kommos's Neopalatial Civic Center imply about the nature of the building's use by the community that had built it?

Late Neopalatial: Late Minoan IB Early and Late

Like the two later stages of the LM IA period that can at present be distinguished ceramically at Kommos, the pair of stages into which the LM IB period can be subdivided are so far quite poorly attested by well-defined floor deposits or sizable and relatively pure[116] fills. Once again, this is evidently not so much the result of a decline in activity at the site as it is of a lack of disastrous events, whether natural or human, that cause buildings to be suddenly destroyed or simply abandoned. There is no shortage of LM IB pottery from the site, as Watrous's summary of over a decade ago makes clear (1992: 14–20, 113–19, 170–73). But not until after his book had appeared did excavations on the Southern Hillside in House X as well as in the Civic Center reveal large and pure enough bodies of material to allow distinct ceramic stages within the period to be identified. Van de Moortel was able to hint at the existence of these in her dissertation (1997: 28–29, 268–74, 739–46), but only in the past few years have more detailed analyses of the excavated stratigraphy in both House X and the Civic Center allowed the main outlines of discrete LM IB phases to emerge. Unfortunately, in no location so far excavated have major deposits of the two phases identified here been

found stratified directly on top of each other. Instead, groups of the earlier subphase (Table 3.61, following the catalogue entries for Pottery Groups 31–44b) have been found directly overlying LM IA Final deposits,[117] or else groups of the later subphase (Table 3.62, following the catalogue entries for Pottery Groups 31–44b) have been recovered directly below LM II deposits.[118] As a consequence, it is likely that additional subphases of LM IB that lie chronologically between the two that can presently be isolated remain to be recognized. That at least four distinct floor levels, all assignable to the later subphase, were discovered in Room 2 of House X (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 144–48; Van de Moortel 1997: 742–43) suggests that the LM IB phase as a whole lasted for a considerable number of years (Barnard and Brogan 2003: 104–9).

Group 31

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 740
Weight (grams):	24,510
Trench/pail(s):	53A1/57, 62, 63, 64
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; uppermost Neopalatial fill above ca. +3.60 m at northwest end of Building T Space 22
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 40–80 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final (Group 24)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 building fill associated with the construction of Building P (53A1/54)

31/1 (C 6901). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.39.

Low rib at base of neck; profile of neck and shoulder probably distorted somewhat in vicinity of upper handle attachment. Solidly coated neck overpainted with plump white leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Traces of dark-on-light pattern (Running Spiral FM 46?) on shoulder. Traces of white diagonal band and parallel lines overpainted on coated handle.

LM IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 159–62, fig. 51; Palio 2001a: 250–51, fig. 10 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 369–70, fig. 45l (Phaistos LM IB); Barnard and Brogan 2003: 61, 63, 95 nn. 128–29, figs. 22–23, pl. 13 (Mochlos LM IB Late); also **37c/1**, **37e/1**, **40/2–4**, perhaps also **36/1**, **37a/2**, **37e/2** (all LM IB Early).

31/2 (C 6899). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.39.

Random spatters of red paint on interior; a few smaller examples of the same on one side of exterior lower body and on underside of base; all paint appears accidentally rather than purposefully applied.

LM IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 71–72, 75–76, fig. 10; also **36/2**, **37a/5**, **37c/13–14**, **37e/11**, and **40/22**.

Group 32

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IA Final or LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 820–70

Weight (grams):	16,280
Trench/pail(s):	56A1/86, 87, 89, 91
Cross joins:	Groups 16 (T Room 21) and 23, 24, and 25 (T Room 22) (**16/6**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; Neopalatial fill above ca. +3.50 m at southwest end of Building T Room 22
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 25–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final (Group 24)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Rough surface at ca. +3.84 m, in places overlying T Room 22's south wall and itself overlain by LM IIIA2 construction fill (Group 52e)

32/1 (C 7507). Teacup. Pl. 3.39.

Shoulder: spidery Ripple FM 78.

Mature LM IA Knossian import. Popham 1984: 157, pl. 136a: 2; MacDonald 1996: pls. 3B: 1, 3C: 3; Van de Moortel 1997: 563–64; Palio 2001b: 289 no. 89, figs. 37, 44h; Mountjoy 2003: 59–60, 72–73, figs. 4.3: 35–36, 4.10: 125–126; also **9a/2** (LM IA Early), **34/4**.

32/2 (C 6448). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.39.

Exterior: large, multiply budded versions of Crocus FM 10. Interior: parts of three rows of three-petaled, stemmed buds, in section at left oriented diagonally downward but in section at right oriented more horizontally.

LM IA Final (–IB Early?). Comparanda as for **17a/3**; for the interior decoration, see **26/3**; for the exterior pattern as a version of Crocus FM 10, see Niemeier 1985: 61–63, fig. 20: 9–10; Van de Moortel 2001: 64 no. 66, fig. 38: 66 (Kommos, South Stoa kiln; bridge-spouted jar).

Group 33

Date:	LM IA Final to LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 120
Weight (grams):	2,330
Trench/pail(s):	62D/96
Cross joins:	Group 36 (**33/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; removal of walls of "platform" (bottom of south wall at +3.36 m) in northeast corner of Room 16 along with some fill below down to level of LM IA Final floor at ca. +3.30 m (Group 26)
Thickness of constituent strata:	Up to 95 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Advanced (Group 18)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Collapsed stonework at base of fill associated with construction of terrace north and northwest of Building P in LM IIIA2 (62D/ 59)

33/1 (C 8337). Tubular-spouted jar. Pl. 3.39.

Rim, neck, and spout solidly coated on exterior; band on interior rim of both spout and jar is highly irregular. Shoulder: Diaper Net FM 57. Main body zone: alternating upright and pendent three-petaled buds.

LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **17a/2** and **24/1**; for zone of Diaper Net, see **22a/2** (teacup) and **24/1** (tubular-spouted jar); for zone of upright and pendent three-petaled buds, see **37a/3** (= Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1785, pl. 46) (teacup); for overall scheme of decoration, Levi 1961–62: 61 F.2782, fig. 73a, d (Kamilari tholos; beaked jug).

33/2 (C 8338). Closed shape (bridge-spouted jar?). Pl. 3.39.

Upper body zone: undeterminable pattern (possibly part of Running Spiral FM 46?). Lower body zone: spidery Ripple FM 78.

LM IA Final (–IB Early?). Probably from same vase as **34/1**. Comparanda as for **28b/1–2**; also **21/1**, **24/5** above.

33/3 (C 10745). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.39.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 68–69, fig. 9: C 9520; also **28b/3**, **38/1,** and **40/5**.

33/4 (C 10746). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.39.

LM IA Final–IB. Van de Moortel 1997: 65, 72–73, 76–77, fig. 10: C 8043; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 100 XVIII-1, 105 XXVI-1, figs. 97e, 101f; also **37a/6**.

Group 34

Date:	Mixed LM IA Final and LM IB
Total sherds:	Minimum of 500
Weight (grams):	24,620
Trench/pail(s):	42A/50 #2, 51, 54
Cross joins:	Groups 24 and 36 (**24/1**); Groups 24 and 26 (**26/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; Space 16, deep earth fill between LM IIIA2 construction fill and 10-cm-thick pocket of LM IB Late metallurgical debris overlying lepis surface at +3.21 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 60–65 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IB Late (Group 43)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Earth fill of terrace constructed north and northwest of Building P in LM IIIA2 (42A/50)

34/1 (C 4862). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.40.

Some folding over of clay around edge of underside of base, either after or as part of which process two shallow impressions were made in the vessel's underside near its edge; like the painted dot near the underside's center, these impressions loosely resemble pot marks applied to this portion of a vase in other areas of the Aegean. Shoulder: Running(?) Spiral FM 46. Lower body zone: spidery Ripple FM 78.

LM IA Final (–IB Early?). Probably from same vase as **33/2**. Comparanda as for **28b/1–2**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 147–48, fig. 43.

34/2 (C 10755). Conical Cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.40.

LM IA Advanced–LM IB. Comparanda as for **19/1**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 73–74, 78–79, fig. 10; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 107–8 XXVII-2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, figs. 96d, 99, 101d, 234, 245; Palio 2001b: 302 no. 291, 312 no. 423, figs. 36, 46m.

34/3 (C 4863). Teacup. Pl. 3.40.

Exterior rim: series of thin diagonal bars, presumably a version of Foliate Band FM 64, overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: stubby-leaved Foliate Band FM 64 overpainted in white with pairs of short diagonal lines.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 92, fig. 13: C 9775 (LM IA Final). For the stubby leaves of the main pattern, see **23/4** and Palio 2001b: 297 no. 213, figs. 38, 45c; for the thin white diagonal leaves overpainted on the rim band, see **44b/6**, Palio 2001b: 328 nos. 680–81,

fig. 41, and the double row of even thinner leaves on **24/9**, as well as the single rows of similar leaves on LM IB Early in-and-out bowls such as **37e/8**, **10**.

34/4 (C 4864). Teacup. Pl. 3.40.

Shoulder: spiral (part of Running Spiral FM 46?).

Mature LM IA Knossian import. Popham 1984: 156–57, pls. 130a–d, 143: 1,4; Van de Moortel 1997: 563–64; Mountjoy 2003: 71–72, fig. 4.9: 114; also **32/1**.

34/5 (C 4370). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.40.

Main body zone: diagonal Reed FM 16.

LM IB. Levi 1967–68: 109, figs. 70b, 71c-I, all republished in Palio 2001b: 306–9 nos. 351–53, 355–56, 367–72, figs. 50a–c, e, h–o (Phaistos; LM IB); Palio 2001a: 245, 247, fig. 3; 258–59, fig. 20 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late).

34/6 (C 10754). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.40.

Sloping striation in exterior surface of lower body resulted from attachment of initial body coil to inside of shallow base coil. Underside of base not painted.

LC IA Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Base Ring fabric) import. Comparanda as for **20/6**, also **24/27** for similar evidence of the vessel's technique of construction.

Group 35

Date:	LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 150
Weight (grams):	2,120
Trench/pail(s):	52A/53; 62D/70
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; floor of beaten earth in T Room 42 at +3.55 m and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata:	15–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	10 cm of Neopalatial fill (62D/75) above Groups 27a–b (LM IA Final [–IB Early?])
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Up to a meter of Neopalatial fill (62D/ 56, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67)

35/1 (C 8219) Closed shape. Pl. 3.40.

Probably either an oval-mouthed amphora or a very large ewer. Underside of base not painted. Interior: traces of trickles survive at bottom of heavily worn interior.

LM IB Early. Van de Moortel 1997: 157–59 (LM IA Advanced), 190–91 (LM IA Advanced–Final), fig. 49: C 8973.

Group 36

Date:	LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 400
Weight (grams):	6,150
Trench/pail(s):	62D/74, 80
Cross joins:	Groups 24 (T Room 22) and 34 (T Room 16) (24/1); Groups 26 and 33 (T Room 16) (**26/4, 33/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; beaten-earth surface at ca. +3.50 m within "platform" in northeast cor-

ner of T Room 16 and contemporary surface to south at same level, with fill immediately above

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 20 (62D/74)–25 (62D/80) cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Part of Group 26 (62D/78) (LM IA Final)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Upper 40 cm of Neopalatial fill within "platform" (62D/72, 73); similar fill contaminated with historical pottery just to the south of it (62D/68)

36/1 (C 8282). (Collar-necked?) jug. Pl. 3.40.

Shoulder: blob-centered Running Spiral FM 46. Uppermost of thick and very irregular broad bands on body overpainted with white band.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **31/1**; also Levi 1967–68: 110, 118–19, fig. 73d–e; Palio 2001b: 298–99 no. 234, fig. 45l.

36/2 (C 8281). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.40.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **31/2**.

Group 37a

Date: Mixed LM IA Final and LM IB Early
Total sherds: Ca. 110
Weight (grams): 4,650
Trench/pail(s): 37A/27, 29
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth mixed with copious fragments of painted plaster and miscellaneous discarded ashlar blocks in south half of T Space 11 within roofed area originally part of North Stoa
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 30–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mix of Neopalatial use accumulation and MM III construction fill ca. 20 cm thick over bedrock at +2.80 (37A/30)
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIA2 fill associated with construction of Building N (37A/25, part of Group 48)

37a/1 (C 10801). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.41 (decoration drawn flat).

Shoulder: spiral (part of Running Spiral FM 46?).

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **28b/1–2**; also Watrous 1992: 12 no. 203, pl. 4 (shape), 8 nos. 125–26, pl. 3 (decoration); Van de Moortel 1997: 147–48, fig. 43; Mountjoy 2003: 66–67, fig. 4.7: 75–76; also **44b/2**.

37a/2 (C 10802). Closed shape. Pl. 3.40.

Part of either a collar-necked jug or a bridge-spouted jar, probably the former. Broken at bottom along coil joint between disk of base and heavily wheel-ridged lower body. Lower body: thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53; slightly wavy pair of bands above probably intended to be horizontal.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **31/1**; for a similar motif higher up on the lower body, **40/2** (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 264, fig. 17, pl. 6); for a contemporary foot fragment from a similarly decorated bridge-spouted jar, **40/1**.

37a/3 (C 2950). Teacup. Pl. 3.91 at *d*.

Shoulder: large three-petaled buds, alternat-

ing upright and pendent, each petal overpainted longitudinally along its center with an added white band. Lower body: thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final (–IB Early?) (= Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1785, pl. 46). For large three-petaled buds on teacups in different arrangements, see Watrous 1992: 3 no. 36, pl. 1 and **24/8**, **24/12**, **38/2**; for virtually the same pattern as on **37a/3**, save for the added white, see **33/1**.

37a/4 (C 10800). Teacup. Pl. 3.40.

Exterior rim: horizontal Zigzag FM 61 and line overpainted in white on lower rim band. Shoulder: dense Running Spiral FM 46. Interior: unusually well-preserved impression of finger pad partially obliterates drip at level of maximum diameter.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **24/10–11**; Van de Moortel 1997: 93–96, figs. 14–15; Palio 2001b: 285 no. 27, 290 no. 104, 345 no. 941, figs. 37, 43, 44d, l (Phaistos; LM IB).

37a/5 (C 10799). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.40.

Exceptionally irregular.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **31/2**.

37a/6 (C 10803). Conical cup, Kommos Type D. Pl. 3.40.

Beautifully executed hollowed raised base.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **33/4**.

37a/7 (C 2951). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.41.

Probably coil-made and subsequently wheel-finished. Shoulder: large blob-centered Running Spiral FM 46 with irregular fill of solid circles (FM 41). Midbody and lower body: triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 above quadruple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53, both executed with a multiple brush.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1819, pl. 46). For the shape, Levi 1959: 249, fig. 26a (Kannia; LM IB); Levi 1967–68: 120, figs. 70–71 (Phaistos LM IB); Niemeier 1985: 7–10, fig. 1; Watrous 1992: 7–9 nos. 115, 123, 138–40, 144, fig. 14, pls. 3, 27; Cucuzza 1993: 18 XIX-1, 30 XXVII-10, pls. 8, 12, 29b, 34b (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 101 XIX-1, 108 XXVII-16, figs. 146, 151, 274, 348) (Selì; LM IA Final); also **34/5**, **37c/15–16**, **40/28**, and **44b/16**.

Group 37b

Date:	Mixed LM IA Advanced through LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 220
Weight (grams):	8,720
Trench/pail(s):	43A/93
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth mixed with copious fragments of painted plaster and miscellaneous discarded ashlar blocks in north half of T Space 11 within roofed area originally part of North Stoa
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 40–50 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Neopalatial fill ca. 15–20 cm thick over bedrock at +2.81 (62C/33, 35)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Deep Neopalatial fill ca. 40–50 cm thick (43A/90) below LM IIIA2 building debris and LM IIIB pebbled surface of northeast corner of Court N6 (43A/88, part of Group 60)

37b/1 (C 10794). Conical cup, Kommos Type V. Pl. 3.41.

Shoulder: Panel FM 75 overpainted in white.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **26/1**; also Palio 2001b: 291 no. 116, 296 no. 195, figs. 44n, 45b.

37b/2 (C 4690). Teacup. Pl. 3.41.

Exterior rim: Zigzag FM 61 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: Quirk FM 48, overpainted with a white blob at the tips of each S-shaped element.

LM IB Early. For the shape and rim treatment, **37a/4**; for the shoulder pattern with added white embellishments on the framing bands, see Watrous 1992: 12 no. 203, pl. 4 (LM IB bridge-spouted jar); **37e/10** (LM IB Early in-and-out bowl).

37b/3 (C 4689). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.41.

Interior: thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 oscillating broadly above level of midbody. Exterior shoulder: either Quirk FM 48 or perhaps a thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53, as on the interior.

LM IA Advanced–Final. For the profile, **17a/3** and also Palio 2001b: 317 no. 506, 319 no. 539, 332 no. 728, figs. 40, 42a, 52f, p (Phaistos; LM IB); for similar decoration on a slightly shallower bowl, Van de Moortel 1997: 736, fig. 13: 8 (C 9470) (House X, Room 1; LM IA Final); La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 101 XX-5, 106 XXVI-3, figs. 150a–b (Selì; LM IA Final).

37b/4 (C 4688). Closed shape (bridge-spouted jar or oval-mouthed amphora?). Pl. 3.41.

A few lumps of excess clay left attached to interior side wall just above base; markedly flaring lower body profile on one side not matched by steeply spreading profile on opposite side.

LM IA Advanced–IB Early. Van de Moortel 2001: 54–55, 60–61, 74–76, 81–82; Palio 2001b: 316 no. 486, fig. 52d (Phaistos; LM IB).

Group 37c

Date:	Mixed LM IA Final through LM IB Late or LM II
Total sherds:	Ca. 760
Weight (grams):	35,980
Trench/pail(s):	37A/50, 51, 55
Cross joins:	Group 45 (**37c/6**); Group 46b (**37c/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth mixed with copious fragments of painted plaster and miscellaneous discarded ashlar blocks in southern part of T Space 10
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 40–50 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Slab paving at +2.83 m in southern portion of T Space 10 (Group 28b); higher lying earth fill just above and below burnt earth floor to north at +2.89 m (37A/56, 58)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Rough surface at ca. +3.30 m overlain by contaminated LM II fill (Group 46b)

37c/1 (C 3556). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.41.

Shoulder: large three-petaled buds opening diagonally down to lower left, in panels framed by vertical to slightly diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Lower body zone: double, thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53(?).

LM IA Final–IB Early, Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **31/1**; for the combination of these three patterns, **26/3** (LM IA Final in-and-out bowl); for comparable decorative syntax on a collar-necked jug, Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3841 and n. 3, fig. 73a (Phaistos; LM IB); Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1801, fig. 65, pl. 45 (LM IB); Cucuzza 1993: 31 XXVII-14, pls. 12, 34a (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-12, figs. 169a, 352 (Selì; LM IA Final); Palio 2001b: 340 no. 853, fig. 43 (Phaistos; LM IB); Rutter 2004.

37c/2 (C 3552). Jug(?). Pl. 3.41.

Thickening at preserved top of sherd and scar at preserved lower left mark attachment points of vertical handle of undeterminable section and

uncertain profile. Shoulder: large blob-centered spiral.

LM IA Final–IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 330, pl. 8). Neither profile nor completely unfinished surface on such a finely decorated closed vase can be readily paralleled.

37c/3 (C 3326). Globular rhyton. Pl. 3.41.

Irregular, roughly trapezoidal reserved area around perforation in bottom; thin band overpainted in white above.

Probably LM IA (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 332, pl. 8). Comparanda as for **8/1**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 170–71.

37c/4 (C 10815). Teacup. Pl. 3.41.

Trace of handle attachment at rim on exterior at right-hand edge of sherd, thus accounting for abrupt termination of added white decoration here. Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: spiral (probably part of Running Spiral FM 46).

LM IA Final–IB Early. Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3772 and n. 5, 113 F.3789 and n. 2, figs. 79b–c (Phaistos; LM IB); Levi 1976: 471, fig. 720, upper left; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 95 IV-1, fig. 103 (Selì; LM IA Final); Palio 2001b: 344 no. 918, 345 no. 939, fig. 43 (Phaistos; LM IB); Mountjoy 2003: 99–100, fig. 4.22: 353 (Knossos; LM IB); and **40/9** (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 259, fig. 17) and comparanda for **37a/4**.

37c/5 (C 3554). Teacup. Pl. 3.41.

Shoulder: Quirk FM 48.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 327, pl. 8). For the pattern, Watrous 1992: 3 nos. 32, 34, fig. 12, pl. 1 (with or without added white), teacups according to Watrous, but bowls in Van de Moortel's opinion (1997: 128 and n. 49).

37c/6 (C 3555). Teacup. Pl. 3.41.

Shoulder: double row of double Scale Pattern FM 70.

LM IB Late or LM II (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 321, pl. 8). For similarly decorated LM II teacups, Watrous 1992: 21 nos. 347, 353, 356, figs. 18–19, pl. 9; also Watrous 1992: 16 no. 285, pl. 7, a cup from an LM IB Late deposit, and Palio 2001a: 250–51, fig. 10, a collar-necked jug from an LM IB Late context at Aghia Photini; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 117 XLVII-4, figs. 148, 252 (Selì; LM IB–II).

37c/7 (C 10810). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.42.

Lower body: spidery Ripple FM 78.

Pronounced bevel at transition from lower body to crudely string-cut, hollowed base.

Mature LM IA import, possibly from north-central Crete. Popham 1984: 157, pls. 134c: 5–6, 136a: 1, 3; Mountjoy 2003: 60–61, fig. 4.3: 44; 72–73, fig. 4.10: 127.

37c/8 (C 3321). Kalathos. Pl. 3.42.

Very thin-walled; shallow spout created by horizontal thumb impression just below rim on interior. At least two columns of vertical Reed FM 16 on both interior and exterior; one of the internal series certainly stops well below the rim, probably under the shallowly impressed spout, and the second probably does the same, to judge from the similar intersection of the uppermost preserved pair of leaves in both series.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 325, pl. 8). For the shape, **40/26–27**, and for both shape and decoration **41/2**; for the same shape and motif but decorated in a light-on-dark mode, Palio 2001a: 261–62, fig. 22: 4 (Phaistos; LM IB[?]); for the same decoration on other relatively uncommon shapes, Levi 1967–68: 111 F.3770, fig. 77d = Palio 2001b: 306 no. 344, fig. 48g (Phaistos; LM IB "candlestick") and La Rosa 1979–80: 83 HTR197, fig. 36f, pl. A: 4 (Aghia Triada; LM IA Final globular rhyton).

37c/9 (C 3327). Kalathos. Pl. 3.42.

Attached to inside face of bowl just below rim are one partially preserved and two complete miniature kalathoi, each provided with a tiny (d 2 mm) perforation at the center of the base. Scars of clay joins make clear that these miniatures were themselves attached to something else below, now missing. Miniatures solidly coated on interior, resulting in casual and probably unintentional trickle on two of the three exterior surfaces; larger kalathos decorated with interior rim band only.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 334, pl. 8). For the basic shape, comparanda as for **37c/8**; for LM IA Final vessels with human and animal attachments, Levi 1961–62: figs. 36a, 83 (Kamilari tholos); for terra-cotta models from the same context in which miniature vessels are depicted, Levi 1961–62: figs. 85, 170a–f; Novaro 2001.

37c/10 (C 3320). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.42.

Rim, as well as entire body to base, roughly

pinched out to form broad spout. Unusually variable height.

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 324, pl. 8). Van de Moortel 1997: 75, 269, fig. 10: C 9082; also **37c/11**, **40/21**, **23–25**, **41/4**.

37c/11 (C 10814). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.42.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

37c/12 (C 10811). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.42.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **25/5**.

37c/13 (C 10813). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.42.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **21/10** and **31/2**.

37c/14 (C 10812). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.42.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **21/10** and **31/2**.

37c/15 (C 3548). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 embellished with added white dots.

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 323, pl. 8). For shape, comparanda as for **37a/7**; for the combination of shape and decoration, Levi 1967–68: 109, figs. 70b, 71a, d, h = Palio 2001b: 307–9 nos. 356, 358, 371, and 355, respectively (Phaistos; LM IB); also **44b/16**.

37c/16 (C 3553). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.43 (decoration drawn flat).

Shallow horizontal groove in exterior profile of shoulder. Shoulder: spiral (probably part of Running Spiral FM 46) with undeterminable rectilinear fill.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37c/15**.

Group 37d

Date:	Mixed LM IA Final through LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 140
Weight (grams):	7,000
Trench/pail(s):	43A/94
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth mixed with copious fragments of painted plaster in northeastern portion of T Space 10 immediately east of Room N4 and within space originally roofed by North Stoa
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 55–60 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Neopalatial fill ca. 10–15 cm thick over bedrock at +2.63/2.71 m (62C/34)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Mixed LM IA through LM IIIA1 construction fill ca. 55–65 cm thick overlying a probable beaten-earth surface at ca. +3.35 m (37A/28, part of Group 46a)

37d/1 (C 4692). Teacup. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB. For the same decorative type, Levi 1967–68: 113 and n. 2 (F.3789), fig. 79b = Palio 2001b: 301 no. 277, fig. 46e (Phaistos; LM IB); Levi 1976: 375, fig. 584a (F.369), from below floor of Vano 18 of Phaistos palace; Palio 2001a: 252–53, fig. 11 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 290 no. 105, 292 no. 137, 295 no. 187, 297 no. 210, 318 nos. 518 and 522, 322 no. 586, 327 nos. 662–63, figs. 37, 38, 40, 44l, o, 45a, c, 48h, 52i, l, 53p (Phaistos; LM IB); Van de Moortel 1997: 95, fig. 14: C 7917, C 9381; **40/8**, **40/10** (= Watrous 1992: 15 nos. 261–62, pl. 6), **47/4–6**, and **52b/1**.

37d/2 (C 4691). Teacup. Pl. 3.42.

Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder, triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53;

LM IB Early. For the same decorative type, Levi 1967–68: 119 F.4093 and n. 2, fig. 80b = Palio 2001b: 299 no. 246, fig. 46b; Watrous 1992: passim, esp. 14–15 no. 257 (= **40/13**), 103 no. 1793, 117, figs. 17, 65, pls. 6, 46; Van de Moortel 1997: 95, figs. 14–15; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 100 XVI-5, 101 XX-7, 110 XXXI-1, 118 XLV-8, figs. 107, 163m, o, 250; Palio 2001a: 252–54, fig. 13: 2 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 329 no. 682, 332 no. 727, figs. 41, 42a (Phaistos; LM IB); also **37e/6**, **40/13**, **41/1**, **45/3**, **46b/7**, **50/2**.

Group 37e

Date:	Mixed LM IA Advanced to LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 440
Weight (grams):	14,020
Trench/pail(s):	37A/52, 53, 57, 59, 60 (uncontaminated); 37A/54 (contaminated with LM IIIA2)
Cross joins:	Group 49 (**37e/16**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth mixed with rubble, copious fragments of painted plaster, and miscellaneous discarded ashlar blocks over pebbled surface of Building T's court at ca. +2.82/2.89 m due south of Spaces 10 and 11
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 40–45 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Pebbled surface of court sloping down from east to west, dated to LM IA by uppermost fill in East Sounding (37A/61)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Mixed LM IB and LM II fill lying above probable surface at +3.21/3.22 m south of Spaces 10 and 11 (Group 46b)

37e/1 (C 3358). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.42.

Pronounced circular impression (d 8.5 mm) at base of handle back in imitation of metallic prototype. Neck: dark-on-light horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 above white Wavy Line FM 53(?) overpainted on band at base of neck. Shoulder: undeterminable floral motif, or perhaps pairs of antithetic pendent and upright double festoons, in panel framed by groups of thin vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Traces of white overpainted on back of handle.

LM IB Early, Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **31/1**; for the shoulder pattern on a similar jug, Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3952 and n. 3, fig. 73a = Palio 2001b: 308 no. 361, fig. 49d (Phaistos; LM IB); for the same pattern on teacups, Watrous 1992: 15 nos. 258 (= **40/14**) and 267 (= **40/18**), 103 no. 1781, figs. 17–18, pls. 6, 46; Palio 2001a: 253, 255 fig. 14: 4, 7 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 319 no. 538, 340 no. 853, figs. 43, 52o (Phaistos; LM IB).

37e/2 (C 3558). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 320, pl. 8). Comparanda as for **31/1**; for the shoulder pattern on a similar jug, Palio 2001b: 330 no. 701, fig. 42a (Phaistos; LM IB); for precisely this version of Running Spiral FM 46 on contemporary teacups, **37d/1**.

37e/3 (C 3357). Globular rhyton. Pl. 3.42.

Probably LM IA (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 333). Comparanda as for **8/1**.

37e/4 (C 3360). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.42.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **6/2**.

37e/5 (C 3359). Teacup. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: Quirk FM 48.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 102 no. 1763, pl. 45). For thinner double quirks on this shape, Van de Moortel 1997: 93, 96, 742, fig. 14: C 9041 (House X, Room 1; LM IB); for the shallow profile and relatively narrow handle zone, **34/3**.

37e/6 (C 3557). Teacup. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: multiple (two preserved) horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 319, pl. 8). Comparanda as for **37d/2**; also Levi 1976: 471, fig. 720, bottom row, nos. 3–4.

37e/7 (C 10460). Teacup. Pl. 3.42.

Shoulder: series of thin vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM IB Early, Floral Paneled Style. For LM IA Final versions, see **24/12**; for LM IB Early comparanda, Watrous 1992: 5–6, 10, 13, 15, 21–22, 103, nos. 85, 91, 164, 173, 229, 258 (= **40/14**), 346, 354, 371, 1781–83, figs. 13, 17–19, 65, pls. 2, 4–6, 9, 45–46; Palio 2001a: 253, 255 fig. 14 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 321 no. 566, fig. 53a (Phaistos; LM IB).

37e/8 (C 10820). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.43.

Exterior shoulder: large, vertically oriented floral motifs consisting of two flaring petals on either side of the central axis; the upper pair of petals run into the rim band and are overpainted at the top in white with plump, teardrop-shaped leaves (two on left-hand petal, one on right); of the stubbier, lower pair of petals, only that at the right is preserved, overpainted in white with a thin inverted U at its end. Exterior rim: overpainted in white on rim band, each set of five thin vertical leaves framing panels occupied by a shallow U. Exterior: lower body: thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Interior: sets of four vertical lines running from rim band to base and alternating with sets of three shorter lines running from rim band to slightly below midbody (two forms of Panel FM 75).

LM IA Final–IB Early. For the profile, **17a/3**; for the decoration of the interior, Watrous 1992: 8 no. 127, 15 no. 267 (= **40/18**), figs. 14, 18, pls. 3, 6, also **38/3** and **49/4**; for a light-on-dark version of the interior decoration, see the exterior of the Type V conical cup **39/1**; for dark-on-light versions of the exterior rim decoration, Watrous 1992: 21 no. 346, 103 no. 1782, fig. 18, pls. 9, 46; Palio 2001a: 255 fig. 14: 5, 7.

37e/9 (C 10816). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.43.

Clay of lowermost body folded over onto underside of hollowed wheelmade base. Exterior lower body: trace of thick horizontal Wavy Line FM 53(?). Interior: above coated bottom, continuous series of vertical Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Watrous 1992: 8 no. 133, pl. 3 (mislabeled "97"); Van de Moortel 1997: 125–27, fig. 27: C 9725 (House X, Room 2; LM IA Advanced).

37e/10 (C 3348). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.43.

Plastically rendered imitations of rivet heads applied to top of rim at points of handle's attachment to underside of everted lip. Exterior rim: thin Quirk FM 48 overpainted in white on rim band, transverse leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) across flattened top of lip. Exterior shoulder: Quirk FM 48, each S of which bears thin diagonal leaves overpainted in white at apex (2–3) and tail end (1–2). Handle: four to five transverse lines overpainted in white across back at each point of attachment; each rivet top bears traces of a simple cross overpainted in white. Interior: unintelligible assortment of crudely rendered curvilinear motifs, one of the largest of which is overpainted in white with a dense row of thin, slanting leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 331, pl. 47). For the profile, Watrous 1992: 8 no. 127, fig. 14, pl. 3; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103 XXI-3, figs. 104, 105, 246; Palio 2001b: 340 no. 856, fig. 43; also **26/3**, **46b/16**. For exterior shoulder pattern, **37b/2** (LM IB Early teacup).

37e/11 (C 10817). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.43.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **31/2**.

37e/12 (C 10819). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.43.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **25/5**.

37e/13 (C 3347). Plain rim-handled cup. Pl. 3.43.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 326, pl. 8). Probably a late variant of the locally produced LM IA Advanced–Final side-spouted

cup: Van de Moortel 1997: 118–19, fig. 223; 2001: 51 no. 25, 70–71, fig. 32: 25.

37e/14 (C 3356). Spouted Basin. Pl. 3.43.

Exterior: double, thick horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53 at base of deep shoulder zone; part of band defining base of spout preserved at top of fragment. Interior: five leaf-shaped drips or spatters in a diagonal series, with two additional small blobs at same level 30° clockwise around bowl (as viewed from above).

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 322, pl. 8). Evidently a handmade LM IB version of the deep spouted basin, or bucket jar, that became common in LM III deposits at Kommos (e.g., Watrous 1992: 40 no. 694, fig. 30, pl. 16 [LM IIIA]; 57 no. 976, fig. 40, pl. 23 [LM IIIB]), perhaps a local variant of the cylindrical bridge-spouted jar found in LM IB contexts at Phaistos (Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3776 and n. 9, fig. 76 = Palio 2001b: 306 no. 350, 368–69, fig. 48i), Aghia Photini (Palio 2001a: 246–48, fig. 5), and Mochlos (Barnard and Brogan 2003: 64–66, figs. 25–27).

37e/15 (C 3362). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.43.

Horizontal groove in exterior lower body and a second below rim mark levels of coil joints (see also **40/32**); handmade in at least three parts (cooking tray with three legs, to which upper body and then rim coils visible in section were added by hand and then finished on the wheel). Single knob-lug at rim axially placed between handles, directly opposite the missing spout (for the appearance of which, see **24/25**).

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **22b/3**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 209–210, fig. 77. Palio 2001b: 301 nos. 281–82, 309 no. 376 (= Levi 1967–68: 110 F.4003, fig. 84), figs. 46h–i (Phaistos; LM IB).

37e/16 (C 3346). Vapheio cup Pl. 3.43.

FS 224. Running Spiral FM 46 with solid circles flanking linking tangent; broad band at base extends onto edge of underside.

LH I Mycenaean fine decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 20, 155 no. 338, pls. 46, 50). Mountjoy 1986: 15 (Type II), fig. 8: 1; also **24/30**.

Group 38

Date:	LM IA Final to LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 40
Weight (grams):	700
Trench/pail(s):	44A/52
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill between pebbled surface of Building T's central court and sandy, beaten-earth floor of rectangular court added to south of North Stoa's western half under later Room N13
Thickness of constituent strata:	6–7 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Pebbled surface of Building T's central court at +2.97 m (southwest) to +3.02 m (northeast)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Surface with patches of burning and some pebbles at base of walls defining the smaller court at the south and east (exposed with 44A/51)

38/1 (C 7456). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.43.

LM IA Final–IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 303). For the profile, La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 105 XXV-4, figs. 101b, 235; also **33/3**; for the smaller size, **40/5**.

38/2 (C 7457). Teacup. Pl 3.43.

Shoulder: pendent three-petaled buds(?).

LM IA Final–IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 304). For the pattern on other teacups, Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1794, pl. 45; also **37a/3**.

38/3 (C 4859). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.43.

Exterior: on shoulder, undeterminable pattern, probably floral, in panel framed on one side by more than seven vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64); smudged, irregular banding on lower body. Interior: triple vertical Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IA Final–IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 305), Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda for exterior shoulder décor as for **26/3**; for groups of three vertical wavy lines on the interior of such a bowl, Palio 2001b: 320 no. 551, fig. 52r (Phaistos; LM IB); for the combination of the exterior and interior patterns on this shape, **40/18** (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 267, fig. 18, pl. 6).

Group 39

Date:	LM IA Final to LM IB Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 100
Weight (grams):	3,230
Trench/pail(s):	44A/49, 50
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; clayey earth fill containing much plaster above sandy surface at ca. +3.04/3.08 m, on which rest south and east walls of small court immediately south of North Stoa's western half
Thickness of constituent strata:	25–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA to LM IB Early fill below sandy surface (Group 38)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 construction fill associated with building of Rooms N12–13 (Group 49)

39/1 (C 11065). Conical cup, Kommos Type V. Pl. 3.44.

Shoulder: overpainted in white, Panels FM 75 alternating in type from a single vertical band to four vertical lines.

LM IA Final–IB Early. Comparanda as for **26/1**; for the alternation of two kinds of vertical line groups, see also the interior of **37e/8**.

39/2 (C 4343). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Exterior rim: Foliate Band FM 64 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: Isolated Spiral FM 52.

LM IA Final–IB Early. For the form of Isolated Spiral FM 52 on this shape, Watrous 1992: 5 no. 79, 10 no. 161, fig. 13, pls. 2, 4; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 95 IV-1, 106 XXVI-5, figs. 103, 165 (last three with pattern in added white over rim band).

39/3 (C 4858). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 framed between horizontal wavy lines.

LM IB Knossian(?) import (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 490). Despite the popularity of this pattern on Knossian LM II bowls (Popham 1984: pl. 53a) and jugs (Popham 1984: pls. 93a: 3, 93d, 112d: 4), it does not seem to occur on teacups or kylikes of that period.

39/4 (C 4342). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.44.

Exterior rim: horizontal Zigzag FM 61 overpainted in white over rim band. Exterior shoulder: undeterminable pattern, probably floral, in panel framed on one side by more than eight slightly diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Interior: spatters at midbody.

LM IA Final or LM IB Early, Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **17a/3** (shape), **26/3** (Floral Paneled décor on shoulder); for white zigzag overpainted on rim band on this shape, Watrous 1992: 102 no. 1774, pl. 45 (misidentified as a cup); for spattered interiors on this shape, **28a/1**.

Group 40

Date:	LM IB Early with some LM IA Advanced to Final[119]
Total sherds:	> 1,010
Weight (grams):	> 34,720
Trench/pail(s):	36A/10, 14, 15, 18 (uncontaminated); 36A/6, 9, 30 (contaminated with LM IB Late and LM IIIA); 36A/4, 5 (contaminated with LM IIIB)
Cross joins:	Groups 48 (**40/35**) and 79 (**79/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; deep fill mixed with much painted plaster within *sottoscala* (T Room 5A), potentially divisible into two discrete episodes of deposition at ca. +2.97 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 110 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final fill over bedrock (Group 29)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM III packing below floor at +3.73 m littered with LM IIIB abandonment deposit (Group 59)

40/1 (C 10841). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.44.

Lower body: multiple (three preserved) horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IA Final–IB Early. For the shape in the LM IB Mesara, Levi 1959: 251, fig. 30c (Aghia Photini); Levi 1976: 303–5 F.4044, fig. 470e (Phaistos). For Wavy Lines FM 53 in this position on this shape, comparanda as for **24/5**.

40/2 (C 2746). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.44.

Neck: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Shoulder: diagonal Reed FM 16. Lower body zone: thick, horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 264, fig. 17, pl. 6). Comparanda as for **31/1**; also Levi 1959: 249, fig. 25f (Kannia; LM IB).

40/3 (C 2752A). Collar-necked jug.

Body from base to shoulder: diagonal Reed FM 16.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 265, fig. 17, pl. 6). Comparanda as for **31/1**; for the decoration and unfinished surface treatment, cf. the kalathoi **37c/8** and **41/2** and the twin jug **40/4**; for the popularity of the reed pattern in the Neopalatial Mesara, Van de Moortel 2001: 73 n. 101.

40/4 (C 2752B). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.44.

Lower body: diagonal Reed FM 16.

LM IB Early. Twin of the preceding **40/3**.

40/5 (C 2847). Conical cup, Kommos Type J.

Hollowed raised base so thin on underside that a tiny hole (2.0 × 0.5 mm) existed in it when it came out of the kiln in fired form.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 253, fig. 17, pl. 6). Van de Moortel 1997: 77–78 (inappropriately dated to LM IB Late); comparanda as for **33/3** and **38/1**.

40/6 (C 2756). Conical cup, Kommos Type P.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 254, fig. 17, pl. 6). Van de Moortel 1997: 78–79 (inappropriately dated to LM IB Late); comparanda as for **34/2**.

40/7 (C 10840). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.44.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **34/2**.

40/8 (C 2839). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Raised base. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46. Heavily worn rim band may once have featured a pattern overpainted in white.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 261, pl. 6). Virtually identical with **40/9–10**; comparanda as for **37d/1**.

40/9 (C 2751). Teacup.

Raised base; residual clay folded over onto edge of base's underside (as on **37e/9** and **40/13**). Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder:

Running Spiral FM 46. Blob of paint preserved at base of (solidly painted?) back of handle.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 259, fig. 17). Virtually identical with **40/8**, **10**; comparanda as for **37d/1**.

40/10 (C 2884). Teacup.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 (whereas two of three blob-centered spirals have between two and three revolutions, the third has between three and four). Interior: three or four splatters below rim band.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 262, pl. 6). Virtually identical with **40/8–9**; comparanda as for **37d/1**.

40/11 (C 10839). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Shoulder: blob-centered and retorted Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB Early, probably imported from elsewhere on Crete (fabric similar to that of **37c/7**). For this version of Running Spiral FM 46 on teacups, Van de Moortel 1997: 90–93, fig. 13: C 9521 (LM IA Final from House X, Room 1) and **24/9** of the same date; also Van de Moortel 1997: 93–96, fig. 14: C206 (= Watrous 1992: 3 no. 30, fig. 12) (LM IB Early from Hilltop, Room 1).

40/12 (C 10834). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: retorted Running Spiral FM 46 with undeterminable fill.

LM IB Early.

40/13 (C 2747). Teacup.

Residual clay folded over onto edge of base's underside (as on **37e/9** and **40/9**). Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: triple horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 257, fig. 17, pl. 6). Comparanda as for **37d/2**.

40/14 (C 2749). Teacup.

Exterior rim: single row of diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: diagonally oriented, double-stemmed floral motifs (Papyrus FM 11?) in panels framed by nine to ten vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 258, fig. 17, pl. 6), Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **37e/7**; for parallels for the floral motif in the right-hand panel, **37e/1** (collar-necked jug) and **40/18** (in-and-out bowl); for a similar use of a single row of diagonal leaves overpainted on the rim band, **34/3**; also Rutter 2004.

40/15 (C 2885). Teacup. Pl. 3.44.

Shoulder: Variegated Stone FM 76.

Knossian LM IB import (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 263, pl. 6).

40/16 (C 2754). Teacup.

Neatly raised base; loop handle flattened at top and bottom for attachment.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 260, fig. 17, pl. 6). Watrous 1992: 6 no. 97, pl. 3 (mislabeled "133"); also **42/2**.

40/17 (C 2745). In-and-out bowl.

Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Exterior shoulder: plump-leaved Foliate Band FM 64. Interior: cross at bottom.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 266, fig. 17, pl. 4).

40/18 (C 2755). In-and-out bowl.

Exterior rim: on flattened top, single row of plump diagonal leaves overpainted in white. Exterior shoulder: diagonally oriented floral motifs (Papyrus FM 11?) in panels framed by eleven to twelve vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64). Handle backs: traces of transverse white bars. Interior: circle at junction of side walls with base, inscribed within which is a crude cross elaborated by a single stubby "leaf" floating in each resulting quadrant; on side walls, four Panels FM 75 consisting of three to four vertical lines each, between which are three plump, diagonally oriented leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 267, fig. 17, pl. 6), Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda for shape and use of added white decoration as for **37e/10**; for the decoration of the exterior shoulder, **37e/1** (collar-necked jug) and **40/14** (teacup); for the syntax of the interior decoration, **37e/8** and **38/3**; for the cross at the interior center, **40/17**.

40/19 (C 2818). Alabastron. Pl. 3.44.

Light rib at base of neck; two double-horned lugs on opposite sides of the shoulder.

LM IB import from unknown Minoan production center (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 270, fig. 18, pl. 6). For LM vases in fine gray ware, Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 285–87; Rutter 1979;

Watrous 1992: 163–64, 168; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1994; MacDonald 1996: 21, fig. 3; also **MI/Cr/5**.

40/20 (C 2757). Conical cup, Kommos Type C.
LM IA Advanced (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 255, fig. 17, pl. 5 [mislabeled "225"]). Comparanda as for **17a/4**.

40/21 (C 2814). Conical cup, Kommos Type C.
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 256, pl. 5). Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

40/22 (C 2817). Conical cup, Kommos Type C.
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 14 no. 252, fig. 17, pl. 5). Comparanda as for **31/2**.

40/23 (C 10835). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.44.
LM I Early. Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

40/24 (C 10836). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.44.
LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

40/25 (C 10837). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.44.
LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

40/26 (C 2761). Kalathos.
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 268, fig. 18). Cucuzza 1993: 22 XXI-4, pl. 14d (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103 XXI-2, fig. 102); for decorated versions of a similar but more slender shape, comparanda as for **37c/8**.

40/27 (C 10838). Kalathos. Pl. 3.44.
LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **40/26**; the pronounced midrib at roughly midbody is unusual.

40/28 (C 2759). Pithoid jar(?). Pl. 3.45.
Shoulder: dense, blob-centered Running Spiral FM 46, with fill of smaller spirals(?).
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 272, pl. 6). Comparanda as for **37a/7**.

40/29 (C 2758). Closed shape. Pl. 3.45.
Exterior: on shoulder, undeterminable pattern (possibly Running Spiral FM 46) with fill of concentric arcs. Interior: accidental drip.
LM IIIA. Although fills of concentric arcs are attested at Kommos as early as LM II (e.g., Watrous 1992: 25 no. 438, fig. 21, pl. 11), their usage on large closed shapes in medium-coarse fabrics first became common in LM IIIA (e.g., Watrous 1992: 43 no. 744, pl. 17).

40/30 (C 2882). Side-spouted cup. Pl. 3.45.
No surviving evidence for possible handle.
Probably LM IA Advanced or Final rather than LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 269, fig. 18, pl. 6). Comparanda as for **37e/13**.

40/31 (C 2760). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.45.
Sudden change in wall thickness in lower body indicative of two-part manufacture. Exterior of lip beveled flat in two broad, adjacent facets; folded over and undercut lip has irregular bottom edge.
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 273, pl. 7). Of almost identical size are Levi 1967–68: 110 F.4002 and n. 7, fig. 83a = Palio 2001b: 309 no. 375, fig. 49g (Phaistos; LM IB) and **45/8**; see also Warren 1981: fig. 26; Van de Moortel 1997: 209–10; Palio 2001a: 248–49, fig. 7 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late).

40/32 (C 2848). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.45 (coil joints not indicated).
Lower exterior body and underside of base left very rough. Manufactured in at least three parts: a cooking tray with three legs to which two body coils, each 6–7 cm high and visible in section above carination in lowermost body, were added by hand and then finished off on the wheel; slightly thickened and flaring rim probably added as a final coil.
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 15–16 no. 274, pl. 7). Comparanda as for **22b/3**.

40/33 (C 3534). Tripod cooking pot, Type B. Pl. 3.45 (coil joints not indicated).
Groove below handles on exterior marks uppermost coil joint (cf. **37e/15**).
LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 16 no. 275, pl. 7). Comparanda as for **22b/3**.

40/34 (C 2763). Amphora. Pl. 3.45.
Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Watrous 1992: 16, 162 no. 277 [piece labeled "277" in pl. 55 is actually C2764 = Watrous 1992: 161 no. 946]; Cline 1994: 197 no. 563). For the shape: Hope 1989: 10 Group B, 2(a), fig. 5k; Aston 1998: 470–71 nos. 1750–57, fig. 5.07. Fabric: Marl D, variant P90 in the Memphis system of classification (P. Rose, pers. comm.) For other examples of the same shape in the same fabric from Kommos, cf. **45/10**, **47/19**, **52a/9**, **52e/2**, **MI/Eg/2**, **MI/Eg/4**.

40/35 (C 2753). Spindle bottle. Pl. 3.45.

Åström form VIA1a. Body manufactured in two halves, joined at point on upper body where slight indentation exists in exterior profile and where horizontal paring marks interrupt the vertical burnish.

LC IB–IIC Cypriot Red Lustrous Wheelmade import (= Watrous 1992: 16, 156 no. 278, fig. 70, pl. 51; Cline 1994: 214 no. 717). For the ware and shape, Åström 1972: 200–203, fig. LIV: 5–8; Eriksson 1991; 1993.

40/36 (C 10833). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.46.

Underside of base seemingly not painted.

LC I Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Base Ring fabric) import. Comparanda as for **20/6**.

40/37 (C 11078). Jug or tankard. Pl. 3.46.

Åström form VI. Underside of base not painted.

LC I Cypriot Red Slip IV Handmade or Proto Base Ring (Red Slip fabric) import. Comparanda as for **30/5**.

40/38 (C 10832). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.46.

Sardinian import. Comparanda as for **59/23**; Watrous 1992: 167 no. 1561, fig. 75, pl. 58 (mislabeled "1968").

Group 41

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial to LM IB Early
Total sherds:	198
Weight (grams):	1,055
Trench/pail(s):	94A/68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; shallow fill between floor of pebbles and burnt earth and underlying plaster floor at western end of T Space 28
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated plaster floor at +2.98–3.02 m to east, earthen surface at ca. +3.00 m to west
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 Early floor of pebbles and burnt earth at +3.14/3.16 m (Group 57d)

Table 3.57. Pottery Group 41.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	51	30	17	37	42	21
As % of total	25.8	15.2	8.6	18.7	21.2	10.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	115	95	65	260	365	155
As % of total	10.9	9.0	6.2	24.6	34.6	14.7

41/1 (C 11101). Teacup. Pl. 3.46.

Shoulder: two or more horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **37d/2**.

41/2 (C 11103). Kalathos. Pl. 3.46.

Exterior and interior: spaced vertical columns of Reed FM 16.

LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **37c/8**.

41/3 (C 11104). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.46.
Exterior and interior: undeterminable patterns.
LM IB Early. For shape, Palio 2001b: 286 no. 46, 296 no. 190, 332 no. 728, figs. 37–38, 42a, 44g, 45a (Phaistos; LM IB).

41/4 (C 11102). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.46.
LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **37c/10**.

Group 42

Date: Mixed MM III, LM IA, LM IB Early, and LM IIIA2
Total sherds: > 170
Weight (grams): 1,750
Trench/pail(s): 90A/59, 60, 62, 64
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; earthen floor at ca. +3.10 m at west end of T Space 43 and fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IA Final debris from kiln in South Stoa (Group 30)
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIA2 construction fill below first laid floor of Gallery P6 (Group 55)

Table 3.58. Pottery Group 42.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	50	18	6	17	57	22
As % of total	29.4	10.6	3.5	10.0	33.5	12.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	205	75	35	230	805	400
As % of total	11.7	4.2	2.0	13.1	46.0	22.9

42/1 (C 9874). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.46.
LM I. Comparanda as for **1/1** (esp. Van de Moortel 1997: 146–48, figs. 42: C 9080, 43: C 9270).

42/2 (C 9847). Teacup. Pl. 3.46.
Carefully shaped and hollowed base.
LM IB Early. Comparanda as for **40/16**.

Group 43

Date: Mixed LM IA Final to LM IB Late
Total sherds: Ca. 230
Weight (grams): 11,650

Trench/pail(s): 42A/55
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; Space 16, lowermost fill of pit above "floor" of gray lepis mixed with some pebbles at +3.21 m
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Makeup of lepis floor (42A/57: mixture of all periods through LM IB Early) and ca. 5 cm of fill below (42A/61: mostly LM IA Early, mixed with some LM IA Final) on top of Group 8 of LM IA Early
Group and/or date of stratum above: Earth fill containing mixture of mostly LM IA Final and LM IB Early (Group 34)

43/1 (C 10752). Conical cup, Kommos Type J. Pl. 3.46.

Irregular blob of paint at center of interior.

LM IA Advanced–Final. Comparanda as for **27b/1**.

43/2 (C 10753). Conical cup, Kommos Type K. Pl. 3.46.

LM IB Late. Watrous 1992: 16 no. 279, 17 no. 297, fig. 18, pl. 7; Van de Moortel 1997: 77–78, fig. 10: C 8055A; Barnard and Brogan 2003: 37 IB.15, fig. 1, pl. 6 (Mochlos; LM IB).

43/3 (C 4866). Teacup. Pl. 3.46.

Shoulder: horizontal Reed FM 16.

LM IB Late. Pernier and Banti 1951: 364–65, fig. 229f (Phaistos); Levi 1961–62: 40 F.3217 and n. 6 (Kamilari); Levi 1967–68: 111 F.3998 and n. 4, fig. 79a = Palio 2001b: 298 no. 230, fig. 45f (Phaistos); Levi 1976: 375 F.368, fig. 584b (but here seemingly with an additional line in the lower body zone, hence probably earlier; cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 398–99) (Phaistos); Watrous 1992: 3 no. 35, 5 no. 83, 6 no. 86, 16 no. 282, 103 no. 1789, pls. 1, 3, 7, 45; Van de Moortel 1997: 94–95, figs. 14: C 9365, 15: passim; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 117 XLVIII-3, figs. 106, 247, 356 (with added white pattern on the rim band) (Selì); Palio 2001a: 252–53, fig. 12 (Aghia Photini; LM IB Late); Palio 2001b: 311 no. 399, 317 no. 498, 320 no. 554, 321 no. 567, 336 no. 787, figs. 39–40, 42b, 51h, 52f, 53a (Phaistos; LM IB); also **47/9** and **49/2**.

43/4 (C 4865). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.46.

Exterior shoulder: triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Exterior lower body: single horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Interior: undeterminable pattern (part of vertical squiggle preserved).

LM IA Final. For the shape, comparanda as for **17a/3**. For the combination of shape and decoration, Van de Moortel 1997: 90–92, fig. 13: C 9470 (House X, Room 1); Palio 2001b: 286 no. 46, figs. 37, 44g (Phaistos; LM IB).

Group 44a

Date: LM IA Final to LM IB Late
Total sherds: Ca. 65 (27B); 300 (100C)
Weight (grams): Ca. 700 (27B); 1,040 (100C)
Trench/pail(s): 27B/37; 100C/29, 33
Cross joins: Groups 44b and 46a (**44b/4**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill above patch of pebbled surface of Building T's court at +2.73 m just south of large doorway into West Wing at court's northwest corner

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 13.5 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated pebbled makeup of court surface
Group and/or date of stratum above: LM II floor at 2.86, partially slab-paved, and fill immediately above (Group 45)

Table 3.59. Pottery Group 44a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	76	26	119	32	36	11
As % of total	25.3	8.7	39.7	10.7	12.0	3.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	160	45	280	220	195	140
As % of total	15.4	4.3	26.9	21.2	18.8	13.5

Group 44b

Date: LM IA Final to LM IB Late[120]
Total sherds: 2,170 (100D) (uncontaminated units in 100D only)
Weight (grams): 12,790 (100D) (uncontaminated units in 100D only)
Trench/pail(s): 50A/79 (uncontaminated); 100D/34, 35, 36, 37, 41 uncontaminated); 100D/38, 39, 40 (lightly contaminated with LM IIIB)
Cross joins: Groups 44b and 46a (**44b/4**); Group 45 (**44b/16**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill above pebbled surface of Building T's court at ca. +2.75 m south of later south wall of Corridor N7, within angle sheltered by this wall and west wall of later Court N6
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 14 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Pebbled makeup of court surface (100D/43, 44, 45) of LM IA date
Group and/or date of stratum above: Dumped construction fill containing mixture of MM III to LM IIIA1 pottery (Group 51)

44b/1 (C 10737). Pitharaki. Pl. 3.46.

LM IB. Levi 1961–62: 50 F.2893 and n. 2, 51 F.3589 and n. 3, figs. 40d (LM IA Final), 54 (LM IB Early); Watrous 1992: 8 no. 136 (LM IA), 12 no. 214 (LM IB), 104 no. 1814 (LM IB Early), fig. 16, pls. 3–4, 47; Cucuzza 1993: 19 XX-4, 25 XXV-12, 34 XXX-7, pls. 7, 19a, 33b (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 102 XX-18, 105 XXV-9, 109 XXX-2, figs. 111a, 152e, 256–58) (Selì; LM IA Final–IB Early); Palio 2001b: 291 no. 118, 372, fig. 37 (Phaistos; LM IB).

Table 3.60. Pottery Group 44b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	566	83	837	293	193	198
As % of total	26.1	3.8	38.7	13.5	8.9	9.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	1,865	275	2,395	3,465	2,180	2,610
As % of total	14.6	2.2	18.7	27.1	17.0	20.4

44b/2 (C 6921). Bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.46.

Shoulder: spiral under handle.

LM IA Final–IB (= Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1797). Comparanda as for **37a/1**; for a full spiral in this particular location, Cucuzza 1993: 22 XXI-3, pls. 6, 16d (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 103–4 XXI-4, figs. 119, 263).

44b/3 (C 10733). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.46.

Neck: undeterminable curvilinear pattern. Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52.

LM IB Late; possibly a regional import rather than a local product, to judge from the distinctive and atypical fabric. Comparanda as for **36/1**, but note the absence here of added white and the much larger size of the spirals, isolated rather than linked/running.

44b/4 (C 2598). Beak-spouted jug. Pls. 3.47, 3.91 at *e*.

Rib at base of neck marking joint of two-part construction of vase. Single broad zone from lower body to base of neck: vertical Reed FM 16 above broad horizontal wavy band with pendent tassel, the Minoan symbol for water (Morgan 1984), on lowermost body.

LM IB Late import, probably from Knossos (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 318 and 20 no. 328, pl. 8). Pernier and Banti 1951: 175–76 no. 6 (C.3962), fig. 106 = Betancourt 1985: pl. 21A = Müller 1997: 327–28 SKa4, pl. 2. For other examples of the shape from Kommos, imported from Knossos and elsewhere, Watrous 1992: 7 nos. 111–12, 103 no. 1799 (= Müller 1997: 293 n. 1312 [i]), fig. 14, pls. 3–4, 45; for the pattern on a Knossian teacup imported to Kommos, Watrous 1992: 105 no. 1825, fig. 66, pl. 47 (= Müller 1997: 418 X O322). For the most recent discussion of the pattern and shapes on which it occurs, with references to earlier literature, Müller 1997: 138–41, 272–73. The famous jug from the east residential quarters at Phaistos was executed by another artist, as the very different renderings of both leaves and water sign make clear. The artist who painted **44b/4** was probably the same who decorated a second beak-spouted jug found in the palace at Knossos (Müller 1997: 436 X G418a–c, pl. 93 = Betancourt 1985: pl. 21B), a teacup and a jug from Kommos (Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1799, 105 no. 1825, fig. 66, pls. 45, 47), and perhaps an ovoid rhyton fragment found out of context in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Popham 1984: pl. 146d, upper right = Müller 1997: 361 X ORh118, pl. 54), an artist identified by Niemeier as "Reed Painter 3" (Müller 1997: 273 and n. 1144). Two pithoid jar fragments from Knossos attributed to this same artist by Müller (1997: 273, 351 X PAm77–78, pl. 37) seem to my eye to be products of a different hand, albeit a closely related one, and I would therefore argue for the retention of Niemeier's name for the painter of jugs and cups rather than Müller's "Painter of X PAm78."

44b/5 (C 10735). Jug. Pl. 3.46.

Upper shoulder fragment preserves wall thickening at base of handle, the two sides of which appear to have been painted to judge from the ends of two vertical bands preserved at the top of this fragment. Shoulder: fine, uniformly sized Stipple FM 77 between spaced vertical bands overpainted with either a centered white vertical band or two white lines; fragment from near handle base preserves part of diagonal dark band without any added white.

LM IB import, probably from Knossos and part of a set with **44b/13–14**; Warren 1996.

44b/6 (C 6915). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Exterior rim: single row of diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 (two and a half revolutions).

LM IB Early. Palio 2001b: 328 nos. 680–81, fig. 41 (Phaistos; LM IB).

44b/7 (C 10729). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Exterior rim: single row of plump diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 (one and a half revolutions).

LM IA Final–IB Early. For the shape, especially the somewhat biconical body profile and low point of maximum diameter, **24/8**; comparanda for decoration as for preceding, except that white leaves on rim are much plumper (cf. **31/1**, a collar-necked jug); for the smaller number of spiral revolutions as an indicator of an earlier date, Van de Moortel 1997: 92 and fig. 13: C 9481.

44b/8 (C 6916). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52 (three and a half revolutions).

LM IB Late. For the pattern, **39/2**, La Rosa 1979–80: 127–28 HTR219, fig. 80e, and Palio 2001b: 290 no. 105, 292 no. 137, 332 no. 724, figs. 37–38, 42a, 44l, o (teacups), **44b/3** (collar-necked jug); for the number of spiral revolutions as an indicator of date, **44b/7**.

44b/9 (C 10731). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52 (three and a half revolutions).

LM IB Late. Comparanda as for **44b/8**.

44b/10 (C 10736). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52 (three and a half revolutions).

LM IB Late. Comparanda as for **44b/8**.

44b/11 (C 6917). Teacup. Pl. 3.47.

Shoulder: Running Spirals FM 46 linked by groups of diagonal tangents; tangents here located just to right of handle, the proximity of which is indicated by the rising base of the rim band.

LM IA Final–IB Early. For the almost carinated, very weighed-down body profile, Van de Moortel 1997: 89–90, fig. 13: C 9724 (LM IA Advanced); for this pattern on teacups, Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 121 θ7, 124 ι8–10, fig. 41, pl. 7 (LM IA).

44b/12 (C 6920). Bell cup. Pl. 3.47.

Lower stump of vertical strap handle preserved. Shoulder: Crocus FM 10 alternating with dot triangle (simplified version of Trefoil FM 29); single broad loop running around both handle attachments.

LM IB Late. Alternating Style import, probably from north-central Crete, perhaps Knossos (= Watrous 1992: 105 no. 1835). For rare patterned bell cups of LM IB date at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 6 no. 90, 16 no. 281, 105 no. 1827, figs. 13, 18, pls. 2, 7; for similarly decorated bell cups, Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 130 μ25, 143 J80–81, 191 ω159, figs. 56, 96, pls. 33, 39, 54; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 126–27 no. 1564, pl. 86; for the dot triangle as a simplified form of Trefoil Rockwork FM 29, Niemeier 1985: 36–39, esp. fig. 10: 6.

44b/13 (C 10741). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.47.

Exterior: linear as preserved. Interior: fine, somewhat variably sized Stipple FM 77 on side walls; on bottom, "Wheel" FM 68:3.

LM IB import, probably from Knossos and part of a set with **44b/5** and **14**; Warren 1996.

44b/14 (C 10728). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.47.

Exterior: on shoulder, very broad horizontal Wavy Band FM 53 in Knossian "feathery wavy" paint. Interior: broad horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 at junction of body and base, with fine, variably sized Stipple FM 77 above this to base of rim band.

LM IB import, probably from Knossos and part of a set with **44b/5** and **13**. For the shape and exterior decorative syntax, Popham 1984: 157, pls. 130e, 143: 7 (LM IA Mature); also Warren 1996.

44b/15 (C 10738). Conical cup, Type D. Pl. 3.47.

LM IB Late. Van de Moortel 1997: 76–77, fig. 10.

44b/16 (C 6923). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.49.

Shoulder: irregularly interlocking Running Spirals FM 46 stacked at least three to four deep, each with an added white dot overpainted on the dark blob at its center; undeterminable pattern (worn Running Spiral FM 46?) overpainted in thin white lines on dark band at top of zone,

thicker horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 added over similar dark band defining zone's base.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37a/7** and **37c/15**.

44b/17 (C 10730). Trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.47.

Åström form IX; Keswani shape M. The extremely large size of this jug may explain the unusual construction of its "socket base" (Furumark 1941: 97, fig. 24): a shallow, flat-based tray was shaped to serve as the vessel's base; within this tray's raised "rim" was inserted the base of the first coil of the body (for a similar approach to the construction of bases, cf. the Cypriot Red Slipped Handmade and Proto Base Ring jug bases **24/27–29**, **34/6**, and **40/36**); additional support for the considerable pressure that the lower body of this large vessel was expected to sustain was provided by the pronounced S-curve in the lowermost body profile.

Plain White Hand-Made Cypriot import. Åström 1972: 228–30, fig. LXXII: 5; Keswani 1991: 104–8, figs. 11.1: M, 11.5, table 11.8; also **45/11**.

44b/18 (C 11085). Piriform jar or bridge-spouted jug. Pl. 3.48.

FS 20/21/25 or FS 103. Shoulder: large Sacral Ivy FM 12 leaf with swastika and dot row fill.

LH IIA Mycenaean fine decorated import. For the possible shapes, Mountjoy 1986: 22–23, figs. 16–17 (piriform jar), 26–27, fig. 24 (bridge-spouted jug); for the painted pattern, Furumark 1941: 269–70, 273 and Niemeier 1985: 72 and n. 411; for the pattern on piriform jars, Cummer and Schofield 1984: 91 no. 996, 105 no. 1195, pls. 67: 996, 76: 1195; Mountjoy 1999a: 503 no. 12, fig. 178: 12; 869 no. 8, fig. 353: 8; for the pattern on bridge-spouted jugs, Cummer and Schofield 1984: 62 no. 274, pl. 51: 274; Mountjoy 1999a: 505 no. 27, fig. 179: 27; 872–73 and nn. 67–68.

44b/19 (C 6919). Bridge-spouted jug. Pl. 3.48.

FS 103. Shoulder: Ogival Canopy FM 13.

LH IIA Mycenaean fine decorated import. Furumark 1941: 274–76, fig. 37: 1; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 51 no. 81, pl. 48: 81 = Mountjoy 1986: 26–28, fig. 24: 1 = Mountjoy 1999a: 873 no. 25, fig. 356: 25.

44b/20 (C 10734). Teacup. Pl. 3.48.

FS 211. Broad body zone: Variegated Stone FM 76. Band on foot extends as ring onto edge of base's underside.

LH IIA Mycenaean fine decorated import. For the shape, Mountjoy 1986: 32, fig. 31: 2; for the motif, Furumark 1941: 420–21, fig. 73: 1; for the two combined, Cummer and Schofield 1984: 80, pl. 59f, and Mountjoy 1985: 199 nos. 440, 444, fig. 5.25.

44b/21 (C 10742). Lipless(?) bowl. Pl. 3.48.

Sardinian import. Campus and Leonelli 2000: 188 no. 255, pl. 119: 5, 7; additional comparanda as for **59/23**.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IB EARLY: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Pottery groups attributable either as a whole or in part to the first recognizable stage of LM IB at Kommos come from a variety of contexts differentiated by what appear to be substantially different circumstances of deposition. The superposition of LM IB Early directly on top of LM IA Final strata is perhaps clearest in the rooms immediately adjacent to the northeast corner of T's court (Pl. 3.22). At the west end of T Room 22, the sequence of LM IA Final surfaces represented by Groups 23 and 24 has no LM IB Early successor, so this space appears to have been abandoned before the LM IB phase began. The gradual accumulation of debris here is documented by a few pieces of diagnostic LM IB Early pottery in Groups 31–32, directly overlying the uppermost units of Group 24.[121] All the spaces lying to the northeast and east—namely, Rooms 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29, and the remainder of 22—likewise appear to have been abandoned by this time, the latest floor material in any of them being datable to LM IA Final (Groups 15, 16, 17a, 21, and 25). Due north, however, in Rooms R' (the

enclosed east end of the former North Stoa) and 42, a beaten-earth floor level on which were found resting the lower portions of several large storage jars or amphoras (e.g., **35/1**), in tandem with the discovery of a decorated jug (**36/1**) and at least one complete cup (**36/2**) in Room R',[122] shows that the consumption of liquids continued to be a focus of activity in this portion of the building, much as it had been from MM III to LM IA Advanced. There is no indication from the pottery found in these two rooms that the grinding practiced in Room R' or the cooking conducted at the west end of Room 22 during LM IA Final continued in this vicinity.

On the contrary, such evidence as does exist for cooking in LM IB Early in Building T is concentrated far to the west in the finds from the lower fill of this period found in the stairwell (*sottoscala*) in T Room 5A (Pl. 3.22: Group 40). Three large tripod cooking pots (**40/32–33** plus one not inventoried) were found discarded in the lowest-lying LM IB fill of this space, one in each of three consecutive excavation units, as though deposited sequentially as each wore out with repeated use.[123] A fourth cooking vessel of similar type was found not far to the east (**37e/15**). A largely preserved cooking jar (**40/31**) came from the upper LM IB Early fill in T Room 5A that probably represents dump redeposited in LM IIIA2 Early from a nearby locale.[124] By LM II, cooking was being done at one or more hearths built up against T Room 5A's south wall (see below). Either the earliest of these hearths was in use already in LM IB Early or else another hearth or hearths existed somewhere nearby. Wherever in the immediate vicinity the cooking was actually performed, the concentration of cooking pots recovered from LM IB Early contexts here at the northwest corner of T's court shows that this activity had moved here during LM IB Early from its previous LM IA Final location near the west end of T Room 22's south wall. The disposal of cooking pots from this LM IB Early activity in the *sottoscala* of T Room 5A suggests that the doorway leading from T Room 5's northeast corner into the northwest corner of the North Stoa may still have been open at that time.

Aside from attesting to cooking, the pottery found in the lower fill of T Room 5A provides copious evidence for drinking, in the form of two decorated jugs (**40/3–4**), unpainted (**40/21–22**) as well as dipped (**40/5**) and solidly coated (**40/7**) conical cups, a plain and rather coarse side-spouted cup (**40/30**), and pattern-decorated teacups, both local (**40/10**) and imported Knossian (**40/15**). Distinctly unusual is a fine gray-ware alabastron (**40/19**) that must have been used as a container for some costly liquid or unguent. Without a close parallel among any of the contemporary or earlier pottery thus far found at Kommos, this small jar was probably intended to be an imitation of a container carved from a stone such as steatite (Watrous 1992: 15). Closely comparable in both its function and its uniqueness at Kommos is a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle (**40/35**), imported probably from Cyprus and found in the upper, probably redeposited fill of T Room 5A.[125] The remaining contents of this upper fill—a collar-necked jug (**40/2**), coated (**40/6**) and unpainted (**40/20**, **23–25**) conical cups, pattern-decorated teacups (**40/8–9**, **11**, **14**, **16**), and a cooking jar (**40/31**)—all have functional equivalents, and often close typological parallels as well, in the lower fill. Only in the serving

bowls that it contains, either lavishly decorated in-and-out bowls (**40/17–18**) or plain but elegantly thin-walled kalathoi (**40/16–17**), does this upper fill exhibit any functional difference from the lower fill. Similar bowls are common in the deep fills of mixed LM IA Final to LM IB Early date that overlie the LM IA Final floors at the North Stoa's west end (Pl. 3.22: Groups 37a–d) and the adjacent northern edge of the court (Pl. 3.22: Group 37e), but such bowls are notably absent, even in sherd form, from the lower fill of the Room 5A *sottoscala*. This fact suggests, as do the joins that various fragments from the upper fill have with pieces in Groups 37a–d, that the upper fill was originally deposited in close proximity to the dumped fill represented by Groups 37a–e before being moved in LM IIIA2 Early[126] to its place of eventual discovery.

The massive amounts of mixed LM IA Final to LM IB Early fill found burying the LM IA Final floor surfaces at the west end of the North Stoa (Groups 37a–d) and the pebbled surface of the court (Group 37e) testify to a major episode of deposition that included numerous large blocks and quantities of wall plaster in addition to earth and potsherds. This deposition must have taken place before the rough surface on top of this fill, sloping up from ca. +3.20 m (above Group 37e) to +3.35 m (above Group 37d) from south to north, was in use during LM IB Late or LM II (Pl. 3.22: Group 46a, perhaps also Group 46b).[127] Only some 5 m to the southwest, however, below the later Corridor N7, the original pebbled surface of T's court continued to be exposed at ca. +2.75 m until LM IB Late (Groups 44a–b), and even as late as LM II the court's surface here, now partially slab-paved, had risen only as high as +2.80/2.86 m (Group 45). Somewhere between Groups 37e and 44–45 there must have once existed a wall, presumably running north-south, that retained the fill of Group 37e at a significantly higher level and kept it from washing down toward the west (Pl. 3.22). Perhaps LM IIIA2 Early building activity such as that which resulted in the redeposition of the upper fill in the Room 5A *sottoscala* removed such a retaining wall. If so, some evidence for it may still survive under the as-yet-unexcavated southern portion of Court N6 (Pl. 3.24).

Inside T Room 5 and north of the *sottoscala* Room 5A, a relatively thin stratum of soil containing thoroughly ground-up LM IB Early pottery[128] overlies the paving slabs in this space that define its earliest floor. This layer probably represents gradual use accumulation during this phase, with the ground-up nature of the sherd material further suggesting that traffic through this space may have been fairly heavy. The gradual accumulation of soil in T Room 5 and the evidence of frequent comings and goings through it ceased before LM IB Late, since no stratum of this date can be identified within the room. One factor responsible for this change is likely to be the blocking of the original doorway leading east out of Room 5's northeast corner. This door must have been blocked before the mixed fill of Groups 37a–d was dumped into the west end of the North Stoa up to levels 50 cm above the contemporary floor level in Room 5.

The relatively brief period of activity represented by the dumping of the deep fill of Groups 37a–e may have been identical with that responsible for the deposition of the fill

containing Group 39 over the northern end of T's court farther to the southeast below the much later Room 13 of Building N (Pls. 3.22–3.23). The bottoms and tops of all these fills containing mixtures of later LM IA and LM IB Early pottery lie at significantly lower levels than the corresponding surfaces of LM IA Final and LM IB Early date in the rooms around the court's northeast corner, thus indicating a consistent slope down from east to west in the middle and late Neopalatial levels in this north-central portion of Building T. At the approximate center of its northern end, the court's original pebbled surface was covered perhaps as early as LM IA Final and certainly by LM IB Early with a shallow earth fill (Group 38) in the subsidiary court defined at the southeast by the L-shaped wall extending south from the former North Stoa. It is the western wall of this subsidiary court that presumably served to retain the dumped fill of Groups 37a–e and keep it from washing down over the court's northwest corner, where Groups 44a–b show that the original pebbled surface at +2.76 m continued in use down into LM IB Late (Pl. 3.22). This subsidiary court, with an earth floor at ca. +3.05 m along its east side that here lay some 5–10 cm above the pebbles surfacing the original court, probably served as the locus of the cooking activities during LM IB Early that had earlier been situated in T Room 22 during LM IA Final and farther south in T Space 36 during LM IA Early (Rutter 2004).

Along the court's east side, below the west end of later Gallery P3, a thin layer of Neopalatial fill covers the junction of an earth floor at the west with a plastered floor at the east in Space 28 (Pl. 3.22: Group 41). The latest material here need be no later than LM IB Early, the most distinctive single piece (**41/2**) having a close parallel from the dumped fill at the west end of the North Stoa (**37c/8**). This shallow fill and the meager amount of sherd material found in it hardly qualify as a floor deposit. It is by no means certain that this area even continued in actual use as late as LM IB Early, since here, as in T Room 22 to the north (Groups 31–32), the LM IB Early sherd material of Group 41 could represent the gradual accumulation of fill during a period of abandonment. On the other hand, Group 41 does suggest that the plaster floor beneath it, which, although often badly damaged, extends far to the east beneath LM III strata associated with the use of Building P (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2), may be dated to no later than LM IB Early at the very latest.

More than 15 m farther south, at the west end of T Space 43, an earth floor overlying the LM IA Final deposit of Group 30 is covered with a thoroughly mixed fill containing two mendable LM I vessels (Pl. 3.22: Group 42), one of them a coated LM IB Early teacup (**42/2**). This small body of material may possibly represent a later Neopalatial floor deposit disturbed by the LM IIIA2–B building activities in this area associated with the final additions to Building P, although the evidence is tenuous. The Neopalatial pottery at this end of the court is certainly plain and simple in comparison to that recovered from both the gradually accumulated and more suddenly dumped fills excavated in the building's northern wing.

The functional implications of the LM IB Early pottery recovered from the Civic Center have been frequently commented on already and so require only a brief recapitulation here.

Around the court's northeast corner, the few spaces still in use—only Rooms R' and 42—have provided evidence for drinking from conical cups filled from a couple of decorated jugs, as well as evidence for storage (of liquids?) in at least four large oval-mouthed amphoras or ewers whose lower bodies and bases alone survive (**35/1**). The last of the early Neopalatial pithoi from T's North Wing, all possibly produced in the immediate aftermath of an MM III earthquake, appear to have gone out of use in LM IA Final (e.g., **16/6**), so the large amphoras or ewers may perhaps be in some sense replacements for these. Around the northwest corner of the court, there is plentiful evidence in the form of mendable cooking pots and jars (**37e/15**, **40/31**–**33**) for the relocation of the cooking facilities housed at the west end of T Room 22 in the preceding LM IA Final subphase. Substantial numbers of decorated jugs, as well as both plain and decorated cups, show that drinking was also an important activity at this end of the former North Stoa. As in the case of the earlier LM IA Final evidence from T Room 22, imported pouring vessels (**40/36**–**37**) and drinking cups (**37e/16**, **39/3**, **40/10**, **15**) played a significant role in this activity. A single and relatively small fragment of a large closed transport vessel from Egypt (**40/34**), the earliest import from that region of the eastern Mediterranean thus far attested at Kommos, suggests that some of the beverages being consumed may have been imported from quite far afield, but the vast majority of the imported pottery continued to take the form of vessels imported for their own sake rather than as the incidental holders of more desirable contents. At least two fine closed shapes, however, a gray-ware alabastron (**40/19**) and a Cypriot Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle (**40/35**), were probably imported for their high-value liquid contents, possibly perfumed oil or even, in the case of the spindle bottle, myrrh.[129]

An important constituent of the ceramic assemblage associated with the drinking and cooking activities in and around the court's northwest corner[130] consists of bowls decorated elaborately on both the interior and exterior. As on contemporary teacups and collar-necked jugs, accents to dark-on-light motifs as well as supplementary patterns on rim bands, handles, and ceramic imitations of rivets were overpainted in a matte, light-firing clay slip ("paint"). These light-on-dark additions occur only on the exterior surfaces of the bowls. These bowls were probably used to serve food rather than drink, possibly food items that had been prepared in the tripod cooking pots and jars found in the same deposits. Aside from the evidence of context that associates this food consumption with drinking activity, the decoration of the bowls with a range of motifs that is virtually identical with that found on teacups and collar-necked jugs from the same as well as other contemporary deposits is a further clue that the functions that these three vessel types in particular served were closely linked. The production of specific sets of vessels—that is, groups of vessels of different shapes decorated with identical combinations of relatively complex painted ornament—is a natural enough extension of this functional linkage, and the finds of both LM IA Final and LM IB Early date from Building T's North Wing provide clear evidence of such sets that take at least two rather different forms (Rutter 2004). First, there are sets composed of in-and-out

bowls, collar-necked jugs, and teacups decorated in what I have called the Floral Paneled Style: for example, **26/4**, **37c/1**, and **24/12** of LM IA Final, or **40/18**, **37e/1**, and **40/14** of LM IB Early. Second, there are sets composed of in-and-out kalathoi and collar-necked jugs decorated with Reed FM 16—**37c/8** and **41/2**, **40/3** and **40/4**, only in LM IB Early—for which correspondingly decorated cups appear to be lacking in the contemporary locally produced repertoire but which may have been supplied by imported cups of the sort represented by **24/16** and other Knossian "reed cups" (Popham 1977: 194–95, pl. 30a, d; 1984: 157, 162, 274 n. 33, pls. 131d–e, 136b–c, 143: 6; Warren 1999: pls. CCVI: P2450, P2453, P2337; CCVII: P794, P796) which, at least as imported to Kommos, may have been restricted to straight-sided cups. All examples of the Floral Paneled Style, surely produced in the vicinity of Kommos if not somewhere actually on the site, are characterized by burnished surfaces and lustrous dark paint, the last often embellished with ancillary ornament overpainted in white. The jugs and kalathoi decorated with diagonal and vertical chains of Reed FM 16, however, lack added white decoration and even a burnish, so that their dark paint is relatively dull. These two rather different kinds of sets are thus differentiated by the elaboration of their décor, and they may well be the products of separate potting groups ("workshops"). Unfortunately, too little pottery of either the LM IA Final or LM IB Early subphase has yet been recovered to allow estimates to be made as to what the relative frequency of the various shapes within each of these sets may have been or even what the relative popularity of the two sets themselves was. A first impression is that the Floral Paneled Style was substantially more common at Kommos than what I call the Extended Reed group (referring only to the seemingly local jugs and kalathoi with unburnished surfaces). Within the Floral Paneled Style, teacups were certainly more common than either jugs or bowls, as one might expect. Although the comparatively modest numbers of examples of all shapes decorated in this style render any comment on the specific social significance of these sets premature, it is worth noting that they were found in ordinary domestic contexts in the town as well as in the Civic Center and that some examples of the style have also been found at neighboring sites in the Mesara such as Selì and Phaistos (Rutter 2004).

Pithoi are not alone in being poorly represented among the LM IB Early pottery recovered from the Civic Center. The tubular-spouted jars that made such a strong impression in the LM IA Final deposits near the court's northeast corner are no longer attested in LM IB Early. Lamps are represented by just one conical cup used for this purpose (**37c/11**). Although shown by several, sometimes elaborately decorated (e.g., **37a/7**), fragments to have been in use in this period, no pithoid jars that preserve a substantial portion of their original profile have been found, nor have any cooking dishes, cooking trays, or braziers. Bridge-spouted jars (e.g., **37a/1**, **42/1**) and basins (**37e/14**), likewise, occur only in the form of relatively minor fragments. The functional range of the pottery of LM IB Early date from the Civic Center unquestionably continues to be a relatively restricted one.

LATE MINOAN IB EARLY POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Any assessment of LM IB Early pottery at Kommos must start from the evidence of the comparatively rich assemblage of this material found in T Room 5A, the so-called *sottoscala* (Group 40), and work out from there (Watrous 1992: 112–19; Van de Moortel 1997: 268–74). The large dumped fills excavated farther east and north (Groups 37a–e, 39) contain mixtures of LM IA Advanced or Final through LM IB Early. The pieces from them to which an LM IB Early date is assigned here are so dated on the stylistic grounds provided by the evidence of the more extensively mendable assemblage recovered from Group 40. The few floor deposits of this phase are usually too small to add much to the picture that Group 40 by itself provides (Table 3.61).

As noted by Van de Moortel (1997: 260), conical cups changed little from the preceding LM IA Final subphase, other than generally to be made in somewhat finer pastes and with somewhat more regular wall thicknesses. The appearance of an angular profile at the interior junction of body and base on by far the most common unpainted version, Type C, distinguishes LM IB cups (**37c/10–11**, **40/23–25**) from earlier LM IA Final ones, but the other standard types, the dipped J (**33/3**) and coated P (**37e/4**, **40/6–7**), continued with little or no apparent change, other than that the dipped type may have become somewhat smaller (**38/1**, **40/5**). The last locally produced examples of the light-on-dark-patterned Types V and W probably date from this phase rather than from LM IA Final, to judge from the parallels of their paneled decoration (**37b/1**, **39/1**) with the interiors of LM IB Early in-and-out bowls (**37e/8**, **38/3**, **40/18**).

Among cups with handles, the dipped bell cup disappeared, whereas the pattern-decorated straight-sided cup continued to occur in the form of imports only (**37e/16**). Deep-bodied side-spouted cups (**40/30**), as well as shallower and possibly unspouted rim-handled cups (**37e/13**), were rare and represent the final examples of forms that were more popular during the LM IA Advanced and Final subphases. The overwhelmingly dominant type then, as in LM IA Final, was the convex-bodied teacup, still unpainted on the interior except for a rim band but typically provided with a finely burnished surface here. Cups with coated (**32/1**, **34/4**, **40/15**) or unfinished (**37e/16**) interiors are therefore easy to spot as imports. Local teacups of LM IB Early date differ from LM IA Final examples in three ways: they no longer have a pattern in the exterior lower body zone (e.g., **40/8–11**): they bear added white decoration, most often patterns overpainted on the rim band (Wavy Line FM 53 [**37a/2**, **37c/4**], Zigzag FM 61 [**37a/4**, **37b/2**], Foliate Band FM 64 [**34/3**, **39/2**]) but also fine lines on body bands (**37b/2**) and accents on the main dark-on-light patterns (**34/3**, **37b/2**), far more frequently than was the case in LM IA Final (**24/9**); and finally, the range of dark-on-light motifs changes, with spidery Ripple FM 78 disappearing and Quirk FM 48 (**37b/2**, **37c/5**, **37e/5**) and multiple Wavy Line FM 53 (**37d/2**, **40/13**, **41/1**) becoming popular alongside the continuing favorite motif,

Table 3.61. LM IB Early floor deposits and major fills from the Civic Center at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Area, Building T, North Stoa, east end, fourth floor: Group 36 (62D/74, 80)	Van de Moortel 1997: 740	6.2 kg (ca. 400)	1 (1)	C: 1		Collar-necked jug: (1?)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 42, fourth floor: Group 35 (52A/53; 62D/70)		2.1 kg (ca. 150)	0 (1)			Oval-mouthed amphora: (1?)
Southern Area, Building T, Room 5A (*sottoscala*): Group 40 (36A/4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 30)	Watrous 1992: 14–16 (Deposit 7); Van de Moortel 1997: 739–40	> 34.7 kg (> 1,010)	14 (22)	C: 5(1) J: 1 P: 2	In-and-out bowl: 2 Kalathos: (2) Side-spouted cup: (1) Teacup: 2 (7) (1 imported)	Alabastron: 1 (imported) Bridge-spouted jar: (1) Collar-necked jug: 1 (2) Miscellaneous jugs and jars: (3) (imported) Pithoid jar: (1) Spindle bottle: (1) (imported)

Running Spiral FM 46, in both regular (e.g., **40/8–10**) and retorted (**40/11–12**) versions. The very large three-petaled buds used either alone (**24/8**) or as components of the Floral Paneled Style (**24/12**) in LM IA Final disappeared in favor of more elegantly rendered floral motifs that may have been intended to represent an altogether different plant (**40/14**).[131] The burnishing of much of the coated teacup **40/16** is decidedly unusual and sets this piece apart from an otherwise similar cup like **42/2**. Perhaps the intent here was, by rendering the dark-coated surface more lustrous, to make it resemble a stone vessel, as was clearly the case with the fine gray-burnished alabastron **40/19**.

The distinguishing characteristics of LM IB Early teacups are also typical of the contemporary in-and-out bowls, although the latter tend to be somewhat more creatively decorated and so exhibit a broader range of variation (esp. **32/2**, **37e/8**, **37e/10**, **40/17–18**). Added white was limited to the exterior of such bowls, possibly for functional reasons, since the white evidently did not adhere as well to the vessel surface as did the dark paint. Floral Paneled compositions on the bowls may appear in the main zone of a bowl's exterior as a dark-on-light pattern (**38/3**, **39/4**, **40/18**), overpainted on the rim band in light-on-dark form (**37e/8**), or in an extended and almost unbounded variant on the dark-on-light-patterned interior (**37e/8**, **40/18**). New floral motifs (**32/2**), Quirk FM 48 (**37b/3**, **37e/10**), and multiple Wavy Line FM 53, the latter in vertical rather than horizontal form (**37e/9**, **38/3**), all appeared on bowls at more or less the same time as they made their initial appearance on teacups.[132] The deeper, lipless kalathoi that may be either plain (**40/26–27**), decorated inside and out with vertical Reed FM 16 (**37c/8**, **41/2**), or provided around the interior rim with miniature conical cups each perforated at its center (**37c/9**) were peculiar to this phase, although they clearly descended directly from LM IA Final types produced in the South Stoa kiln that may have been plain as well as light-on-dark-decorated (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 33: 29–33). A large fragment from an open spouted vessel with a burnished interior (**37e/14**) probably belongs to a deep convex-sided jar of a type found occasionally at Phaistos (Levi 1967–68: fig. 76) and, in a more cylindrical form, at Aghia Triada (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: fig. 16) but one that did not become popular at Kommos until LM III times. It may have served a special purpose in the context of the abundant drinking activity that evidently took place in or around the northernmost part of T's court in this as well as earlier phases, possibly as a communal mixing bowl or krater.

The most popular closed shapes were two other spouted vessel forms: the one-handled collar-necked jug and the two-handled bridge-spouted jar. The latter continued to be decorated much as it had been in LM IA Final times (**37a/1**, **40/1**), although perhaps now without the zone of spidery Ripple FM 78 typical of that phase (**28b/2**, **33/2**, **34/1**), if indeed it did not look even more antique with simply a solid coating of paint (**42/1**). The jug, on the other hand, was more progressively decorated. Newly developed in LM IA Advanced and possibly a local innovation (Van de Moortel 2001: 76–79), this low-necked form may have been decorated in the local Floral Paneled Style (**37c/1**, **37e/1**; Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1801, fig. 65, pl.

45; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-12, figs. 169a, 352) when produced as part of a set together with teacups and one or more in-and-out bowls; alternatively, it may have borne an all-over variant of diagonal Reed FM 16 (**40/3–4**) when produced as part of a rather different set to accompany similarly decorated kalathoi (**37c/8**, **41/2**). It may also have been decorated with Running Spiral FM 46 on the shoulder (**37e/2**, probably also **36/1**) like contemporary teacups (**37a/4**, **37d/1**, **40/8–10**). Finally, it may have been decorated with multiple body zones including horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 at the bottom (**40/2**, possibly also **37a/2**) in a three-zone style that recalls LM IA Final schemes of decoration on this and other closed shapes. Conspicuously absent among local products were beak-spouted jugs that, like the round-mouthed variants from LM IA Final contexts (**23/2–3**), occurred at Kommos in later LM IA and LM IB contexts exclusively in the form of imports (Watrous 1992: 7 no. 112, fig. 14, pl. 3), although in many cases from centers of production as nearby as Aghia Triada and Phaistos, where the beak-spouted type was popular (Levi 1967–68: figs. 73c, 75; La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 107 XXVI-18, fig. 116).

Two other popular closed shapes at LM IB Early Kommos were pithoid jars decorated with combinations of dark-on-light-patterned ornament (**34/5**, **37a/7**, **37c/15–16**, **40/28**) and either plain (**37b/4**) or solid-coated (**35/1**) storage vessels, probably oval-mouthed amphoras. Published parallels for the former are common from LM IB contexts at Phaistos (Levi 1967–68: figs. 70a–b, 71a–i), Aghia Triada (Levi 1959: fig. 30b), and Aghia Photini (Levi 1959: figs. 30a, d), whereas those from Selì may belong, like several of the Kommos fragments just mentioned, to either this or the immediately preceding phase (La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 101 XIX-1, figs. 146, 274; 105 XXV-15, figs. 145, 277 (linear only); 108 XXVII-16, figs. 151, 348). Owing to the lack of ornament of the plain and coated amphoras comparanda are rarely published, but roughly comparable vessels have been found in fragments at Selì (e.g., La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 109 XXIX-3, fig. 122) and in restorable form at Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1979–80: 94 HTR 276, fig. 51g: trefoil-mouthed jug). Oval-mouthed amphoras of the kind decorated with large, crudely rendered plant motifs (e.g., **30/2–3**) may have ceased to be produced locally after the South Stoa kiln went out of use during LM IA Final, since there is no clear evidence for their continued use at the site in LM IB (Van de Moortel 1997: 271).

With regard to decoration, the major innovation of LM IB Early on closed shapes was the extensive use of dark-on-light Reed FM 16, a pattern that in LM IA Final had been used only sparingly on locally produced pottery as a light-on-dark motif in vertical chains on kalathoi (Van de Moortel 2001: 52 no. 29, 72–73, fig. 33: 29) in a manner that is attested as early as MM III and LM IA Early on kalathoi at Knossos (Catling, Catling, and Smyth 1979: 32 V.135, fig. 20, pl. 5 [Deposit B]; 44 nos. 209–10, fig. 29 [Deposit E]). This pattern was exploited in dark-on-light form as early as LM IA Final at Aghia Triada in vertical chains on the shoulder of a globular rhyton (La Rosa 1979–80: 83 HTR 197, fig. 36f) and perhaps as early at Selì as well (La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 105 XXV-10, figs. 149, 347; 120 LIII-3, fig. 134). But at Kommos, vertical chains of the pattern occurred no earlier than LM IB Early, making a contempo-

rary initial appearance on both kalathoi (**37c/8**, **41/2**) and various closed shapes (Watrous 1992: 104 nos. 1802, 1806, 1820, pl. 47).[133] More common and restricted to closed shapes were long diagonal chains on collar-necked jugs (**40/3–4**) and pithoid jars (**34/5**).[134] The popularity of diagonal versions of the pattern running from base to rim on a number of different cup types, both with and without a handle, was a phenomenon of north-central Crete beginning in the preceding LM IA Final subphase that has no close analogue in the local production of the Mesara at that time.[135] Instead, perhaps the most common usage of diagonal Reed FM 16 at Kommos during LM IB Early was the employment of short lengths of the pattern consisting of from three to five pairs of leaves on the shoulders of jugs and teacups, either by themselves as a circumcurrent pattern or else alternating with clumps of vertical leaves in the Floral Paneled Style.[136] On the basis of what is currently known about Neopalatial ceramic development in the Mesara, the appearance of horizontal Reed FM 16 on teacups, either as a continuous chain (e.g., **43/3**, **45/6**, **47/9**) or as short lengths of the pattern alternating with vertical leaf clumps in the Floral Paneled Style (Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1783, fig. 65, pl. 45), does not predate the developed stage of LM IB here termed LM IB Late.[137]

Such evidence as exists for cooking pottery during LM IB Early indicates that tripod cooking pots of Type B (**37e/15**, **40/32–33**) continued unchanged from LM IA Final (e.g., **24/25**). The deeper-bodied cooking jar without legs represented by **40/31** had probably been a less common but nevertheless regular Neopalatial type of cooking vessel in the Mesara since the beginning of the era, to judge from an MM III example found on the Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990: 112 no. 659, fig. 32, pl. 39) and an LM IB example from Phaistos (Levi 1967–68: fig. 83a). What may have been new at this time was the use of the tripod pots and the deeper jars in combination, a pattern of use that became common at Kommos in LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB contexts (Rutter 2004).

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IB LATE: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

In just two findspots within the portions of the Civic Center so far excavated down to Neopalatial levels did evidence for later LM IB activity survive the destruction inflicted by massive LM III construction projects on the uppermost and hence most exposed strata deposited toward the end of the LM I period. In both cases, the latest pottery, of advanced LM IB date, was thoroughly mixed with pottery of earlier periods, with the result that neither context qualifies as a closed deposit with contents representing a relatively short period of activity. Nevertheless, between the two of them, these two chronologically mixed groups indicate that the Civic Center continued to be used in much the same fashion during LM IB Late as it had since the later LM IA period.

In the southwestern portion of Room R′ excavated in Trench 42A, the topmost fill (42A/61) containing joining fragments from the LM IA Early vessels making up the floor deposit of Group 8 also included a few sherds of LM IA Final date, to be associated with the construction of Room R′ and its initial use for grinding some sort of plant material. Directly

above was a floor composed of burnt gray lepis, the makeup of which (42A/57) contained a thorough mixture of MM II and LM IA Early through LM IB Early pottery. The next stratum, some 10 cm thick (42A/55), held a mixture of LM IA Final through LM IB Late pottery (Pl. 3.22: Group 43) accompanied by a number of artifacts to be associated with metalworking (crucibles and some stone tools; see J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2), all at a level some 30–35 cm below that of the LM IB Early floor cleared just to the east in Trench 62D (Group 36). On top of the mixed fill of Group 43 was excavated a deep earth fill, up to 65 cm thick (42A/50, 51, 54), containing a mixture of mostly LM IA Final and LM IB Early pottery (Group 34). Included in this fill were a substantial number of joining fragments of vases from the LM IA Final floor deposits farther to the east in both Room R' and Room 22 (**24/1**, **26/3**), as well as other vases closely related to vessels from those or contemporary floors (e.g., **34/1**, **34/6**). Overlying this upper fill was LM IIIA2 construction debris resulting from the large-scale building projects of this period in the Civic Center.

The chronologically inverted stratigraphy in Trench 42A beginning with the lepis floor at +3.21 m appears to be a classic instance of the reversed stratification sometimes encountered in pit fills. In addition to its chronological grading from earlier to later as one proceeded downward, the pottery density intensified noticeably with increasing depth. Thus 80 percent by weight of the more than 24 kg of pottery from the upper fill constituting Group 34 came from the lower half of this fill, some 30 cm thick. This density increased still further in the lower fill that produced Group 43, where more than 11.5 kg of sherd material was recovered in a thickness of just 10 cm. The recognition of this example of inverse stratification is of considerable importance, since it makes the important deposit of metallurgically related debris of Group 43 a discarded body of LM IB Late material rather than an LM IA Final or even earlier deposit found *in situ*. Why the debris should have been disposed of in this labor-intensive manner is an interesting question. The industrial activity that it reflects must have taken place somewhere nearby, quite possibly in the court to the south. This metalworking, however, dates to a period at least a generation or two later than the final period of the South Stoa kiln's use in LM IA Final. The pit in Room R', if correctly identified as such, must have been dug from an LM IB Late surface in this room that evidently no longer survived to be recognized during the excavation of this space. This surface must have overlain the substantial depth of LM IB Early deposit attested further east in this room by Group 36 but was presumably removed in its entirety when the downcutting operation that truncated the LM IB Early storage jars of Groups 35–36 (e.g., **35/1**) took place, most probably during the major episode of LM IIIA2 Early building in this area.

Roughly 25 m to the west and overlying the original pebbled surface at the court's northwest corner, the second locus of surviving later LM IB activity in Building T consisted of a relatively thin accumulation of earth and badly ground-up sherd material (Pl. 3.22: Groups 44a–b). The extent to which the pottery was subjected to breakage and highly variable degrees of wear is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the forty small sherds of the splen-

didly decorated jug **44b/4** that could be mended into no fewer than 22 nonjoining fragments accounting for no more than 5 percent of the original vase (Pl. 3.91 at *e*). Such severe fragmentation and highly variable wear is precisely what one might expect in the case of often very thin-walled, and hence delicate, vessels that were deposited, presumably in once considerably larger fragments, over an outdoor pebbled surface in the immediate vicinity of a major entrance to a courtyard—that is, in a location where the traffic flow was considerable. This material therefore likely represents a rather different process of deposition than that exhibited by the fills of the Room 5A *sottoscala*, for example, where individual sherds were considerably larger and the numbers of both joining and nonjoining fragments smaller. Rather than a dumped fill, the fill containing Groups 44a–b appears to have been the result of a gradual but natural accumulation of soil and broken crockery presumably once used in the immediate vicinity. The rather wide chronological range of this material, from LM IA Final to LM IB Late, is thus natural enough. There is even some slight evidence for some crude stratification of the sherd buildup here, in the form of a concentration of the earlier material in some lower-lying excavation units (especially 100D/40).

In contrast with the later sherd material of LM II date (Group 45) that directly overlay it, the fragmentary pottery of middle and later Neopalatial date here contained relatively little cooking pottery but massive amounts of conical cups (almost 40 percent by sherd count and roughly 20–25 percent by weight: Tables 3.59–3.60). In tandem with the evidence provided by numerous decorated cups and pouring vessels, the evidence for large-scale drinking activity by considerable numbers of participants could hardly be clearer. Some bowls were also present (**44b/13–14**), but relatively few in comparison with the frequency with which this shape was represented in LM IA Final and LM IB Early deposits in and around the northern end of Building T's court. Moreover, the bowls that are attested here were imported rather than locally made. It might be argued that such bowls, since they were intended for serving food rather than what was probably an alcoholic beverage (presumably wine), were less subject to breakage in the mass gatherings to which Groups 44a–b testify. But the presence in some quantity of elaborately decorated and locally produced bowls in earlier deposits reflecting much the same kind of activity in this portion of the Civic Center (listed in catalogue entry for **17a/3**) makes one wonder if some change in the dispensation of food at such gatherings occurred after the LM IB Early subphase.

The superior quality and imported status of many of the jugs (e.g., **44b/4–5**, **18–19**) and cups (**44b/12**, **44b/20**) employed in this richly documented Neopalatial drinking activity at the court's northwest corner draw attention to a characteristic of the drinking-related assemblages recovered from Building T that dates back to at least LM IA Final and perhaps even earlier (e.g., Group 8 of LM IA Early), namely, the evidence they manifest for a social hierarchy of some kind among the drinkers. The vast majority of the cups used in these Neopalatial gatherings in all phases were of the handleless, so-called conical variety. Even among these cups there appears to have existed ever since the beginning of LM IA a significant difference

between smaller unpainted examples (Types B–C) and larger coated or light-on-dark-decorated ones (Types P–Q, V–W), with dipped cups (Types J–K) usually occupying a place somewhere in between. Some unpainted cups of this kind can be fairly large (e.g., Types E–F, some examples of Type D), but these are relatively unusual (Van de Moortel 1997: 66–68). By and large, the smallest conical cups are the most simply decorated. In addition to these handleless cups, the vast majority of which are local products, the drinking assemblages attested both in garbage dumps beginning with Groups 11–12 and in floor deposits beginning with Groups 6, 8, and 9a–b also contained smaller but significant quantities of drinking cups of various types with a single vertical handle. Such handled cups likewise appear to exhibit at all times a substantial range of complexity in their decoration, from the simple coating of straight-sided cups and teacups through the dipping of bell cups and the relatively simple light-on-dark ornament of MM III–LM IA Early to the increasingly more elaborate dark-on-light decoration of LM IA Advanced through LM IB Late. From the earliest recognizable stage of LM IA, a very small percentage of such decorated cups were imports to Kommos (**2b/1**, **9a/2**, **12/1**), as were a seemingly somewhat larger proportion of the pouring vessels that were presumably used to fill them (**6/1**, **8/3**, **8/5**, **9b/2**). As time passed, the numbers of imported cups and jugs remained small, with the imported jugs and other pouring vessels seeming to remain proportionately rather more common than the cups. Thus there emerges an apparent hierarchy in drinking vessels that consists of at least three tiers: conical cup, local decorated cup with handle; imported decorated cup with handle. In fact, this hierarchy may consist of several more tiers if the different sizes and decorative categories of conical cups have any significance, not to mention the provenances of imported cups. For example, cups imported from production centers located outside the island of Crete may have had a greater social cachet than those imported from within the island. Regardless of how many tiers one is willing to recognize, the distinctions in the decorative elaboration, morphological sophistication, capacity, and provenance exhibited by the thousands of cups represented in these deposits from Kommos's Civic Center continued to be manifested without any significant changes or interruptions from LM IA Early through to LM IB Late. It is difficult to imagine that such differences, which not only persisted but in fact became increasingly more noticeable with time, failed to serve as some sort of ranking device among the individuals who used these cups.[138] Whether the various kinds of pouring vessels worked in quite the same way is debatable, since these larger and considerably less numerous containers are less likely to have belonged to individuals. Perhaps they served to mark groups, as was perhaps also the case with the serving bowls, which, at least by the LM IA Final subphase, were closely linked with jugs and teacups in the form of ornamentally distinct sets (most obviously those decorated in the Floral Paneled Style). Unlike the cups and jugs, however, the serving bowls appear to be exclusively of local manufacture, at least as late as the LM IB Early subphase, so in their case perhaps yet another level of significance was operative.

The appearance for the first time in LM IB Late of an imported set, in the form of a jug

and two bowls (**44b/5**, **13–14**), is as striking in its way as the first appearance of imported bowls that it also represents. Does this "foreign" set indicate something significant on the political level at Kommos during this phase, or is this just another indication of a change in fashion? The same kind of question may be asked about the initial appearance at Kommos in the LM IB Early subphase of a plain transport vessel from outside Crete, a vessel presumably used to import a liquid (an Egyptian beverage?) for consumption at the mass gatherings held in Building T (**40/34**). An equally plain jug from Cyprus may have served a similar purpose in LM IB Late (**44b/17**). Vessels such as these would have made an impact by virtue of their contents rather than by their aesthetic appeal as containers. Does their appearance reflect a new level of competition whereby *what* one was drinking became as important as *in what* one was consuming it or *in what quantities* one's cup would allow one to consume it?

In the present state of our knowledge, and certainly in view of the limitations of the contexts at Kommos that up to now have been the source of the basic data, our ability to ask intriguing questions about the significance of these drinking assemblages far outstrips our ability to provide satisfactory answers. It nevertheless seems legitimate to conclude that the drinking that took place at the evidently recurring, large-scale gatherings hosted inside Building T made possible, through the specific choices of the drinking equipment used, the communication of a multiply tiered social hierarchy.

LATE MINOAN IB LATE POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

A full evaluation of the evidence from Kommos for later LM IB ceramic development will not become possible until the relevant material found in House X has been studied in detail. Nevertheless, preliminary analysis of that pottery by Van de Moortel (Table 3.62) and the full presentation here of the small amount of more recently discovered evidence for this period from Building T (Groups 44a–b) allow a few comments to be made on some of the more obvious changes in the ceramic assemblage in use at Kommos at the very end of the Neopalatial era.

By far the most common single shape continued to be the conical cup, as is immediately apparent from the tabulation of inventoried vases from the sequence of LM IB Late floors in House X, Room 2 (Table 3.62) and from their overwhelming numbers in the drinking-related accumulation of sherd material from the northwest corner of T's court (Groups 44a–b: Tables 3.59–3.60). A lipless and convex-bodied version of the dipped conical cup, Type K, made its initial appearance (**43/2**) and soon supplanted the older conical Type J. At more or less the same time, both unpainted and solidly coated cups became deeper, with the result that the number of vessels classified as Type D (e.g., **44b/15**) rises (Table 3.62), and the average ratio of height to rim diameter of the coated Type P increases, with examples of this type often featuring ratios in excess of 0.60 (Van de Moortel 1997: 78–79, fig. 10: C 9284, C 9608). There is also a tendency among LM IB Late examples of the deeper unpainted Type D for vessel

Table 3.62. LM IB Late floor deposits and major fills from the Central and Southern Hillsides and Civic Center at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Area, Building T, court, northwest corner: Group 44b (50A/79; 100D/34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41)		> 12.8 kg (> 2,170)	0 (20)	D: (1)	Bell cup: (1) (imported) In-and-out bowl: (2) (imported) Teacup: (7) (1 imported)	Beaked jug: (1) (imported) Bridge-spouted jar: (2) (1 imported) Collar-necked jug: (1) Miscellaneous jugs and jars: (1) (imported) Pitharaki: (1) Pithoid jar: (2) (1 imported) Trefoil-mouthed jug: (1) (imported)
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 2, sequence of four LM IB Late floors (66A/21, 25, 28; 74B/74, 75, 76, 77, 77A, 78, 79; 80A/41, 41A, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 50)	Van de Moortel 1997: 742–43	22.9 kg (> 2,750)	30 (22)	C: 7 D: 5 J: 1 K: 2 P: 7 Q: 1(1)	Straight-sided cup: (2) (imported) Teacup: (14) (2 imported)	Alabastron: 1 (imported) Beaked jug: (1) (imported) Bridge-spouted jar: 1 Collar-necked jug: (1 + 1?)
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 11, floor at 5.00/5.05 (11A/30; 73B/107)	Watrous 1992: 17 (Deposit 9); Van de Moortel 1997: 744	6.6 kg (ca. 930)	1 (10)	C: (2) K: (2)	In-and-out bowl: (1) Teacup : (1)	Bridge-spouted jar: (1) Miscellaneous jugs and jars: (3) (1 imported) Tubular-spouted jar: 1
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, dump against south side (9A/17)	Watrous 1992: 16 (Deposit 8); Van de Moortel 1997: 745	8.3 kg (1,822)	0 (17)	C: (1) K: (1)	Teacup: (10) (1 imported)	Miscellaneous jugs and jars: (5) (2 imported)

walls to exhibit pronounced ribbing on either the interior or the exterior, perhaps reflecting an effort on the part of the potter to imitate metalwork (**44b/15**; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 10: C 9594, C 9603). Van de Moortel has also drawn attention to the possibility that the shallower unpainted Type C may have begun to be produced in a significantly larger, more convex-bodied version at the very end of the LM IB phase (1997: 76, 269, fig. 10: C 8044), a change that foreshadowed the form that unpainted conical cups would assume in the subsequent LM II period (**45/7**). Another significant difference noticeable especially among the LM IB Late conical cups from House X, Room 2, is a tendency for the undersides of bases to be more carefully finished. Rather than exhibiting string-cutting marks in the form of concentric arcs centered near the edge of the base and having a generally rather irregular and sometimes uneven surface, as was the case throughout LM IA and into LM IB Early, the underside of the base is now often shallowly but neatly hollowed and usually features spiraliform marks centered at or very near the base's center (**46a/1**). Whether the undersides of these LM IB Late cups reflect merely a new technique of string-cutting or had their undersides purposefully tooled after removal from the wheel, the net result is that they are more stable when resting on their base and convey the impression of being more carefully made. Like the ribbing noted on numerous examples of Type D and even on some of Type C (e.g., Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 10: C 8044; **45/7** of LM II), this evidence of more concern for the appearance of the mass-produced conical cup may have some deeper significance, just as may the increasing homogenization of the basic conical cup shape. Once quite distinct in terms of their morphology and size, the most common versions of unpainted, dipped, and solid-coated conical cups by the end of LM IB were beginning to look much more like very minor variations on a single theme (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 10: Types C, D, K, and P).

Among cups with handles, the semiglobular teacup continued as the dominant form; the occasional straight-sided or bell cups invariably were imports (**44b/12**, **46b/14**, **47/14**). The use of added white, especially for supplementary patterns overpainted on the exterior rim band (e.g., **44b/6–7**), disappeared in LM IB Late. Spirals continued to be the most common single pattern on the shoulder (**44b/8–10**), as in LM IB Early (**40/8–10**, **44b/6–7**), often in much the same form (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 14: C 7917, C 9381); but at some point a preference for larger, denser spirals set in, both on teacups (**44b/8–10**) and on collar-necked jugs (**44b/3**). Owing to their greater size, these new spirals lack the pronounced tails or stems of the LM IB Early spiral patterns and thus give the appearance more of Isolated Spirals FM 52 than of true Running Spirals FM 46. Quirk FM 48 seems to have declined in popularity in LM IB Late, as did multiple Wavy Lines FM 53. But various forms of horizontal Reed FM 16 or Foliate Band FM 64 became increasingly more popular as continuous circumcurrent patterns (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 14: C 9600, C 9605). The most popular of these, best described as Reed FM 16 owing to the elongated nature of its leaves and its similarity to the vertically and diagonally oriented motifs of this type in LM IB Early contexts, became a hallmark of LM IB Late not only at Kommos but throughout the Mesara (**43/3** and cited comparanda).

More angular and less organically rendered versions of this pattern survived into LM II (e.g., **45/6**, **47/9**), but the LM IB Late form is unmistakable even in deposits of mixed date (**49/2**). Although horizontal Reed FM 16 of this kind was most common as a continuous pattern, segments of such reed may have been used in rare survivals into LM IB Late of the Floral Paneled Style (Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1783, fig. 65, pl. 45). The pattern is almost never found on shapes other than teacups, but at least one example from Kommos occurs on a handleless cup with an otherwise indistinguishable profile (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 14: C 9365). In being restricted to the cup, either with or without a handle, this Mesara pattern invites comparison with the similarly but perhaps not quite as restrictively employed motif of spaced, diagonally oriented sprays of Reed FM 16 that were so popular in north-central Crete from LM IA Final through LM II (Popham 1984: 157, 162, 274 n. 33). Indeed, one wonders whether the Mesara "reed cup" was actually intended as a regional response of some sort to the morphologically broader range of Knossian cup shapes that are collectively also described as "reed cups."

A final feature of LM IB Late teacups that on present evidence appears to be limited to the very latest contexts that can be attributed to this subphase is the shifting upward of the pattern onto the uppermost shoulder so that it becomes a virtual appendage of the rim band (**37c/6**; Watrous 1992: 16 nos. 281, 283; 103 nos. 1782, 1792; 105 no. 1831; pls. 7, 45–46; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 14: C 9366). This novel approach to teacup decoration persisted locally into the following LM II phase (Watrous 1992: 21–22 nos. 345, 349, 353–56, 362, 364–66, figs. 18–19, pls. 9–10). The patterns employed all appear to have been derived from dark-on-light motifs used earlier locally: solid Circles FM 41 as on **37a/7**, Diaper Net FM 57 as on **22a/2** and **33/1**, a single or double row of Foliate Band FM 64, and one or two rows of single or double pendent semicircles or festoons (or such festoons used in an abbreviated Floral Paneled composition).[139] Whether this new decorative syntax was imitating precursors popularized elsewhere on Crete remains to be established,[140] but there is no reason why it could not have been a purely local development.

Much of the difference between LM IB Late and the preceding subphase at Kommos lies in the appearance of elaborately decorated Minoan imports in such well-known classes of the so-called Special Palatial Tradition as the Marine Style (Watrous 1992: 12 no. 209, 26 no. 447, 105 nos. 1832, 1836, 1843, pls. 5, 11, 46; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 83: C 9364, C 9397), the Floral Style (**44b/4**; Watrous 1992: 7 no. 108, 20 no. 335 [= **48/1**], 105 no. 1825, figs. 13, 66, pls. 3, 8, 46–47), and the Alternating Style (Watrous 1992: 6 nos. 93–94, 8 no. 124, 13 nos. 225, 238, 105 no. 1835 [= **44b/12**], figs. 13–14, pls. 2–3, 5; Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 83: C 9298, also upper right) only in the later subphase. As often noted by previous scholars, at least the Marine and Alternating Styles are likely to be products of the later LM IB period on the basis of the contexts in which examples of them have been found stratified at Aghia Eirini on Kea (Warren and Hankey 1989: 78–81; Van de Moortel 1997: 28–29). At Kommos, comparatively late dating within LM IB of these styles has been supported whenever examples of these

styles have been found in chronologically meaningful contexts (as, e.g., Groups 44a–b). Furthermore, contexts from the Civic Center show that LH I imports from the Greek Mainland appear in LM IA Final (**24/30**) and LM IB Early (**37e/16**) contexts, but in LM IB Late contexts such Mycenaean imports date from LH IIA (**44b/18–20**). Finally, the Cypriot Red/Black Slip IV Handmade and Proto Base Ring jugs that crop up with some frequency at Kommos in LM IA Final (**20/6**, **24/27–29**, **30/5**, **34/6**) and LM IB Early (**40/36–37**) contexts within the Civic Center disappear after LM IB Early in favor of other classes of Cypriot ceramic imports, beginning with Plain White in LM IB Late (**44b/17**) and LM II (**45/11**). Nowhere else at Kommos has a denser concentration of exotic ceramic imports, many of unusually high quality, been found than in the LM IB Late and LM II strata at the northwest corner of Building T's court represented by Groups 44a–b and 45. The location of this concentration, and the kinds of activity to which it bears witness, is surely indicative of competition for status in the context of mass gatherings in or around the court at which drinking appears to have played an important role.

The absence from the excavation units making up Groups 44a–b of teacups decorated with a relatively narrow band of ornament immediately below the rim band suggests that the stages of LM IB represented here may not include the latest manifestation of the period attested elsewhere on the site (e.g., at the base of the dump south of the House of the Snake Tube, or at the top of the sequence of LM IB floors in House X, Room 2: Table 3.62). It is unfortunately not clear from the comparatively small amount of surviving diagnostic material whether the metallurgical activity indicated by the basal fill of the pit in Room R' (Group 43) is closely contemporary with the drinking-related assemblage from the court's northwest corner (Groups 44a–b). More detailed analysis of these two contexts after the temporal subdivision of the LM IB phase at Kommos has progressed further may, however, allow this question to be satisfactorily answered in the future.

The floruit of the Floral Paneled Style appears to have passed by the LM IB Late period as represented in Groups 43–44. Occasional examples of LM IB Late (Watrous 1992: 103 nos. 1782–83, fig. 65, pls. 45–46) and even LM II (Watrous 1992: 21 nos. 346, 354, figs. 18–19, pl. 9) teacups decorated in this style can be identified, but there is no evidence for the continued production of similarly ornamented jugs or bowls, so the style presumably lost whatever significance it may once have derived from being produced in sets.[141] In the LM IB Late context that produced the pottery of Groups 44a–b, however, a couple of alternative sets appeared. The jug (**44b/5**) and two bowls (**44b/13–14**) decorated with similar blotchy but very widely spaced Stipple FM 77 belong to a class of Knossian pottery featuring this pattern that, like the earlier Floral Paneled Style of the Mesara, was evidently produced in a triad of shapes consisting of jugs, teacups, and in-and-out bowls (Warren 1996: 48 table 1). Although the teacup does not appear to be represented within the very limited area of the court in which LM IB Late use accumulation has been found preserved, it is difficult to believe that the production of two such distinctive styles at the two palatial sites of Knossos and Kommos

in later LM IA and LM IB in precisely the same ranges of shapes can be entirely coincidental. Could it be that the group of Knossian stipple-decorated vessels constituted a replacement at Kommos in LM IB Late for a functional set of decoratively related vases that was no longer being produced locally?

The discovery of fragments of a teacup (**44b/20**), a bridge-spouted jug (**44b/19**), and either another jug of this type or a piriform jar (**44b/18**) all imported from the Greek Mainland and elaborately decorated in the LH IIA style in the same deposit as the previously discussed Knossian jug and bowls raises the question of whether these Mycenaean pieces, too, should be considered in some sense a set. Comparable assortments of cups, bridge-spouted jugs, and piriform jars would not be at all out of place in contemporary high-status dwellings in the Cyclades, as the parallels for all three pieces from Aghia Eirini House A make clear. Might this be the drinking set of a Cycladic islander or even a Mycenaean from the Saronic Gulf area (coastal Attica or Aegina) who participated in the Minoan ceremonial drinking that took place in Building T? The lack of comparable Cypriot sets, either at this time or earlier, is striking, especially in view of how common imported Cypriot jugs are in LM IA Final through LM II contexts from the Civic Center.

Early Postpalatial: Late Minoan II Through Late Minoan IIIA2 Early

With the end of LM IB and the start of LM II, the principal authority on the Late Bronze Age ceramic sequence at Kommos switches from Van de Moortel (1997, 2001) to Watrous (1992). Thanks to the well-stratified and copious quantities of LM II and later Prehistoric pottery recovered during the excavations of 1976–85 on the Central Hillside and Hilltop at Kommos (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1996), the periodization set forth by Watrous in 1992 requires no major adjustments and can be used as a basic skeleton for the roughly two centuries spanned by the LM II–IIIB periods as these are represented in the Civic Center. Because of the major episode of building activity that began in the Civic Center early in the LM IIIA2 phase, pottery of this Final Palatial era (Rehak and Younger 2001: 384–85, 391 table 1, 471–72) or Third Palace period (Dickinson 1994: 13 fig. 1.2, 21–22) will be surveyed under two major headings: first, the period during which Knossos was the overwhelmingly dominant center of power on Crete (LM II to the beginning of LM IIIA2) and then the period during which, after a major destruction at Knossos, rival centers of power were established in various regions throughout the island (e.g., at Chania in West Crete, at Aghia Triada in the western Mesara, and perhaps at Tylissos in north-central Crete).[142]

From the evidence so far recovered at Kommos, the site thrived as long as did Aghia Triada, the center from which it appears to have been controlled from at least the beginning of LM IIIA onward (La Rosa 1997b). Neither site appears to have survived as an important center of population until the very end of the thirteenth century B.C., that is, roughly to the point of transition from LM IIIB to LM IIIC, although a shrine continued to function at Aghia

Triada during the final century or two of the Bronze Age (D'Agata 1999a: esp. 232–48), and there were occasional traces of human activity at Kommos during this troubled era as well (e.g., Callaghan and Johnston 2000: 211–14; J. W. Shaw 2000: 698).

During the earlier portion of the Postpalatial era when Knossos ruled supreme on Crete, a period of time variously estimated to have lasted as little as 65 years (Warren and Hankey 1989: 169 table 3.1: ca. 1425–1360 B.C.) or as long as 125–130 years (Rehak and Younger 2001: 391 table 1: ca. 1490–1365/1360 B.C.), the Civic Center certainly remained in use for roughly the first half (i.e., for the LM II period). What happened in this part of the site during the subsequent LM IIIA1 phase is unknown; but since pottery of this date turned up in the massive construction fills of the early LM IIIA2 phase deposited throughout much of the Civic Center, it is at least possible that select portions of the Neopalatial complex continued to be used until the enormous remodeling effort that converted the long-since-ruinous and partially abandoned Building T into Late Postpalatial Buildings N and P at about the same time as the great destruction of the palace at Knossos occurred.

Group 45

Date:	Mixed LM IB–II
Total sherds:	Ca. 415 (27B + 36A); 1,045 (100C)
Weight (grams):	Ca. 15,140 (27B + 36A); 5,970 (100C)
Trench/pail(s):	27B/35; 36A/1, 3; 100C/16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28
Cross joins:	Group 37c (**37c/6**); Group 44b (**44b/16**); Group 51 (**45/2**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; partially slab-paved floor at +2.80/2.86 m at northwest corner of Building T's court below later Corridor N7 and fill immediately above
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 35–55 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IB Late fill overlying court's original pebbled surface (Group 44a)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 construction fill associated with construction of Corridor N7 (27B/32, 40 below 27B/30)

45/1 (C 3550). Collar-necked jug (or cup rhyton?). Pl. 3.48.

Neck: row of solid Circles FM 41. Shoulder: Pendant FM 38 with waz-tuft fill.

LM IB Late import from an unknown Minoan production center (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 316, pl. 8). For LM II versions of the collar-necked jug, Popham 1984: 169 and pls. 62:a–b, d, 63:a, c, d, 153: 4, 6–7; Mountjoy 2003: 113; for the pattern generally, Niemeier 1985: 81–83, fig. 28; for the pattern on a beaked jug from Aghia Triada, Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 115 and n. 3, 116 fig. 81; also La Rosa 1979–80: 137 HTR335 and n. 129, fig. 90e.

45/2 (C 6835). Pithoid jar(?). Pl. 3.48.

Table 3.63. Pottery Group 45, Trench 100C (only).

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	165	88	201	108	249	234
As % of total	15.8	8.4	19.2	10.3	23.8	22.4
Weight of sherds	350	135	500	1,125	2,105	1,755
As % of total	5.9	2.3	8.4	18.8	35.3	29.4

Broad shoulder zone: undeterminable pattern (Reed FM 16?).

LM IB Late or LM II import from an unknown Minoan production center (= Watrous 1992: 107 no. 1867).

45/3 (C 10722). Teacup. Pl. 3.48.

Shoulder: triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37d/2**; cf. also Watrous 1992: 102 no. 1775, 103 nos. 1779, 1796, fig. 65, pl. 45.

45/4 (C 2878). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.48.

Shoulder: spiraliform pattern, probably Running Spiral FM 46 but possibly Lily FM 9. Handles: traces of paint at base. Interior: rim and lower body solidly painted, but shoulder too worn for certainty about nature of its treatment.

LM II (= Watrous 1992: 28 no. 487, pl. 8). Popham 1984: 164–65, pls. 52–53, 148: 5–8, 156: 13–14; Mountjoy 2003: 119–20; Watrous 1992: 23 nos. 390–91, 26 no. 451 (with coated interior), 23–24 no. 399 and 45 no. 783 (both with potentially similar spiral patterns), 45 no. 785, figs. 20, 22, 33, pls. 10–12, 18; also **45/5–6**, **46b/17**, **19**.

45/5 (C 10724). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.49.

Plain as preserved, except for painted handle.

LM II. Comparanda for shape as for **45/4**.

45/6 (C 3551). Horizontal-handled bowl (or strainer?). Pl. 3.49.

Shoulder: Foliate Band FM 64.

LM II (= Watrous 1992: 19 no. 317). Van de Moortel 1997: 172–73, fig. 56. If a bowl, comparanda for the shape as for **45/4**; if a strainer (as suggested by Watrous and Van de Moortel on the basis of the unfinished interior surface), Levi 1961–62: 37 F.2947 and n. 4, figs. 34a–b; for the decoration, Watrous 1992: 23 no. 392, fig. 20, pl. 9 (bowl), 21–22 nos. 348, 362, 103 no. 1795, fig. 19, pls. 9, 46 (teacups).

45/7 (C 10687). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.49.

LM II. For the extremely thin walls and ribbed surfaces characteristic of this and the preceding LM IB Late subphase, Watrous 1992: 21 no. 341, fig. 18, pl. 9; Van de Moortel 1997: 75–76, fig. 10: C 8044; **44b/15**. As noted by Watrous (1992: 119–20) and Van de Moortel (1997: 76), the LM II versions are slightly larger than their LM IB predecessors.

45/8 (C 2563). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.49.

LM II. Comparanda as for **40/31**, of which it is a virtual twin except for its more sharply beveled lip profile.

45/9 (C 10723). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.49.

Abrupt thickening of profile on lowermost fragment marks junction of wheelmade body with moldmade base. Drawing of relative placement of two body fragments is faulty: upper sherd belongs higher up the body, should be oriented slightly more vertically, and has a maximum diameter at the top of ca. 29 cm.

Levantine LB IIA import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**, **52c/6**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

45/10 (C 10765). Amphora. Pl. 3.49.

Egyptian New Kingdom import. For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **40/34**.

45/11 (C 3560). Trefoil-mouthed(?) jug. Pl. 3.49.

Åström shape VIII; Keswani shape N.

Handmade using coils, then wheel-finished.

Plain White Wheelmade I Cypriot import (= Watrous 1992: pl. 54 no. 1962, where these four sherds from 36A/1 are erroneously identified as the fragments of C 3350 = **57c/1**). Åström 1972: 244–49, fig. LXVII; Keswani 1991: 104–8, figs. 11.1: N, 11.5, table 11.9; also **44b/17**.

45/12 (C 10725). Closed Shape. Pl. 3.49.

Unique at Kommos in terms both of its fabric (micaceous, with numerous angular red (2.5 YR 4/6) inclusions) and its altogether unmottled, matte brown paint.

Import from unknown production center, possibly in the Cyclades (LC I matte-painted?).

Group 46a

Date:	Mostly LM IB Early, with some LM IB Late and LM II[143]
Total sherds:	Ca. 150
Weight (grams):	8,570
Trench/pail(s):	37A/28 (uncontaminated); 37A/26 (contaminated with some Historic)
Cross joins:	Groups 44a–b (**44b/4**) and 48 (**48/4**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill below southern part of later Room N4 from ca. +3.16 to +3.48 m plus fill just east in the northern part of T Space 10 from ca. +3.23 to +3.44 m
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 20–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IB Early fill in T Space 10 (Group 37d) and fill excavated in Trench 62A within Room N4
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 construction fill associated with construction of Court N6 (Group 48 and 43A/91)

46a/1 (C 11028). Conical cup, Kommos Type P. Pl. 3.50.

LM IB Late–LM II. Comparanda as for **6/2**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 78–79, fig. 10: C 9284 (LM IB Late); Watrous 1992: 21 no. 343, pl. 9 (LM II).

46a/2 (C 11024). Conical cup, Kommos Type Q. Pl. 3.50.

LM IB–II. Comparanda as for **9b/3**; also Van de Moortel 1997: 79, fig. 10: C 8041 (LM IB Late); Watrous 1992: 26 no. 440, pl. 11 (LM II).

46a/3 (C 11029). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Exterior rim: traces of unidentifiable pattern (probably either Wavy Line FM 53 segments or Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band. Exterior shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52 (three and a half revolutions). Interior: very large "drip" occupying ca. 10% of total interior surface.

LM IB Late–LM II. Watrous 1992: 16 nos. 284, 290, pl. 7, also **44b/8–10** (LM IB Late); Watrous 1992: 21 no. 346, 22 no. 368, fig. 18, pls. 9–10 (LM II); added white is unusual on teacups of either phase, being above all characteristic of LM IB Early.

46a/4 (C 11032). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: predecessor of N-Pattern FM 60 directly above Iris FM 10A.

LM II. Popham 1984: 74 N39, 161, 273 n. 29, pls. 50a, 147: 1, 164: 1; Watrous 1992: 29 no. 500, fig. 23, pl. 14 (mislabeled "450").

46a/5 (C 11027). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.50.

Thickening at base of exterior lip indicates imminence of handle, as does cessation of white leaves on rim band, at right edge of sherd. Exterior rim: plump diagonal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band. Exterior shoulder: horizontal Reed FM 16. Interior: Panel FM 75 of three (or more) vertical bands.

LM IB (Late?). For the profile and handle

placement, **26/3** (LM IA Final); for the exterior shoulder pattern, comparanda as for the teacup **43/3** (LM IB Late); for the interior pattern, **37e/8** (LM IB Early).

46a/6 (C 11033). Goblet. Pl. 3.50.

FS 254; stump of broad and thin vertical strap handle (2.4 cm wide, 0.6 thick) preserves broad arc of paint around base. Linear as preserved; a band-framed line group below the handle zone is definitely atypical.

LH IIB Mycenaean fine decorated import. Mountjoy 1986: 46–47, fig. 53 (LH IIB FS 254), 64–65, fig. 75 (LH IIIA1 FS 255). For other examples of LH IIB goblets from Kommos, Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1926, fig. 69, pl. 51 (LM IIIA1 context); C 11309 (from 93E/60, an LM II unit directly north of House X, Room 3).

Group 46b

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM II[144]
Total sherds:	Ca. 490
Weight (grams):	20,530
Trench/pail(s):	37A/48, 49 (uncontaminated); 37A/47 (lightly contaminated with LM IIIA1); 37A/44 (lightly contaminated with LM IIIB)
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth and rubble overlying LM IB Early debris immediately south of T Spaces 10–11, from ca. +3.22 m to +3.58 m
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IB Early dumped fill (Group 37e)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 Early construction fill associated with laying out of Court N6 (Group 48)

46b/1 (C 3252). Narrow-necked juglet. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: horizontal Reed FM 16 consisting of extremely long and thin leaves (larger fragment); undeterminable pattern (smaller fragment).

LM IB Late–LM II (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 329, pl. 8). Van de Moortel 1997: 159–62, fig. 51. For the shape, Levi 1961–62: 71 F.3304 and n. 2, fig. 91; for the same pattern diagonally oriented on the shoulder of larger collar-necked and beaked jugs of LM IB Early, **40/2** (= Watrous 1992: 15 no. 264, fig. 17, pl. 6) and Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1798, fig. 65, pl. 46, respectively.

46b/2 (C 11181). Collar-necked juglet. Pl. 3.50.

Imminence of handle at left edge of sherd indicated by thickening of neck and distortion of rim profile. Shoulder: Quirk FM 48.

LM IB Late–LM II. For the shape, Popham 1984: 64 M124, pl. 59.

46b/3 (C 11178). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.50.

Neck: Diaper Net FM 57 overpainted in white. Shoulder: traces only of light-on-dark pattern pendent from line at top of shoulder (Scale Pattern FM 70?).

LM IB Late–LM II import from elsewhere in Crete, to judge from atypical fabric.

46b/4 (C 11180). Closed shape (Bridge-spouted jug or stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.50.

Lower body: tentacle, fringed by solid painted suckers, of Octopus FM 21, or Seaweed FM 30.

Probably imported, whether LM IB Late Marine Style or LM II from Knossos or, more likely in view of the pale clay and high quality of the exterior burnish, LH IIA–B from the Greek Mainland. For octopi with solid-rendered suckers, Niemeier 1985: figs. 3: 6 (LM II pithoid jar from Knossos), 4: 4 (LH IIB pithoid jar from Thebes); for a bridge-spouted jug with nautili and comparable seaweed, Müller 1997: 338–39 BrKa 37 (HM 13932, from Zakro); for seaweed as a motif, Müller 1997: 186–89, figs. 104–5.

46b/5 (C 3237). Teacup. Pl. 3.50 (profile only).

Rim pulled out into slight trough-spout ca. 90° clockwise from handle, as viewed from above (cf. also **47/4**). Shoulder: Papyrus FM 11 with an occasional fill of stemmed Iris FM 10A; handle left entirely unpainted.

LM II, probably imported from north-central Crete (= Watrous 1992: 105–6 no. 1846, 120, fig. 66, pl. 48). For the iris motif, Niemeier 1985: 63–64, fig. 21: 15–17; for the papyrus motif, Niemeier 1985: 43–51, fig. 14(1): esp. 5, 9. For the motifs combined on a teacup, Popham 1984: 11 D1–D2, pls. 90b: 2–3, 111f–g, 165: 46, 48–49, 169d, bottom; second from left (LM II), 171: 14 (LM IIIA1).

46b/6 (C 11172). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: spaced spirals, probably Isolated Spirals FM 52.

LM IB Late–LM II. For the steeply incurving shoulder and offset lip, probably decorated with the same pattern, **46a/3**.

46b/7 (C 11183). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 (only one preserved, near top of zone).

LM IB–II. Comparanda as for **37d/2** (LM IB); Watrous 1992: 22 no. 370, pl. 9 (LM II); for groove at base of exterior lip, **47/7**.

46b/8 (C 11182). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Exterior shoulder: single thin horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 above horizontal row of Iris FM 10A buds. Interior: blotchy Stipple FM 77.

LM II. For the motif, particularly characteristic of horizontal-handled bowls rather than cups at Knossos, Popham 1984: 165, 274 n. 50, pls. 89k, 90a (bowls), 66d, 155: 8 (pyxis), 164: 28, 165: 30–35.

46b/9 (C 11171). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: horizontal row of dots above series of broad, thin, vertical leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM IIIA1. For the shape decorated with undotted leaves as a hallmark of LM IIIA1, Popham 1984: 181, pls. 171: 18, 172: 4–5; Watrous 1992: 37 nos. 623–24, 39 no. 678, fig. 28, pl. 15; also **51/1**, **52b/3**. The dotted version of the pattern is rarer but appears to belong to the same period: Watrous 1992: 39 no. 681, fig. 28, pl. 15; La Rosa 1979–80: fig. 119d: 6, f: 3; Mountjoy 2003: 135 no. 659, fig. 4.38.

46b/10 (C 11173). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: traces only of pattern pendent from exterior rim band.

LM II. For narrow patterns pendent from the exterior rim band as a diagnostic feature of LM II at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 21–22 nos. 353, 356, 359–360, 377; 120, fig. 19, pls. 9–10.

46b/11 (C 11175). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: traces of undeterminable pattern below rim band.

LM IB Late–LM II. For the profile, **44b/9–10** and **46b/6**.

46b/12 (C 11174). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: pendent Rockwork FM 32 flanked at left by segment of horizontal Wavy Line FM 53(?).

LM II. Possibly a Minoan imitation on a teacup of a pattern common on LH IIB Mycenaean goblets, e.g., Mountjoy 1986: 46–47, fig. 53: 4.

46b/13 (C 11190). Teacup. Pl. 3.50.

Shoulder: three-line Panel FM 75 with attached semicircular motif at left and uncertain ancillary motif at right.

LM IIIA2–B. For comparable patterns on teacups, Popham 1984: pls. 114a, 115: 5, 174: 47–48, 175: 2 (LM IIIA2); Watrous 1992: 55 no. 952, 57 no. 978, 72 no. 1206, 85 no. 1483, figs. 38, 40, 45, 56, pls. 22, 23, 28, 36 (LM IIIA2–B).

46b/14 (C 11176). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.50.

Scar of upper handle attachment at upper left. Exterior rim: double row of horizontal leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white on rim band, in addition to white band at apex of rim. Exterior shoulder: tangent-linked Running Spiral FM 46 with fill of single short arcs or commas.

LM IB Late, probably imported. For shape, size, and nature of dark-on-light decoration, Levi 1967–68: 113 F.4006 and n. 2, fig. 78c (= Palio 2001b: 302 no. 290, fig. 46l).

46b/15 (C 11189). Goblet.[145] Pl. 3.50.

Lowermost bowl and stem fragment chipped and ground down at stem end for reuse as a stopper (effective d 3–3.5 cm). Linear (two bands above single fine line) as preserved.

LM II, probably imported. For later kinds of ceramic stoppers or plugs at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 58 no. 994, pl. 24 (LM IIIA2–B disk roughed out from body sherd of a cooking pot); 75 no. 1283, 87–88 nos. 1523–25, pls. 29, 38 (LM

IIIB plugs for large transport stirrup jars); 88 no. 1526, pl. 38 (LM IIIB discoid plug for short-necked amphora); for a similarly ground-down and reused decorated LM II kylix bowl, Watrous 1992: 29 no. 498, pl. 12; also **46b/20–21**, **49/3**.

46b/16 (C 3236). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.51.

Plastically rendered imitation of rivet heads applied to top of rim at points of handle's attachment to underside of lip. Exterior rim: plump leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) overpainted in white transversely across flattened top of lip. Exterior shoulder: Quirk FM 48 with fill of groups of four to five vertical leaves per link and traces of added white elaboration of pattern. Interior: spatters or a very crude floral pattern.

LM IB (probably Early). Comparanda as for **37e/10**; for a similar use of leaves to fill the interior of links within a Quirk FM 48 composition, Watrous 1992: 5 no. 78, fig. 13, pl. 3 (LM IB teacup); for a similar use of Quirk FM 48 with added white, Watrous 1992: 3 no. 32, fig. 12, pl. 1 (LM IB teacup), 4 no. 48, pl. 1 (LM IB in-and-out bowl).

46b/17 (C 11177). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.51.

LM II. For the distinctive decoration of handles on LM II horizontal-handled bowls, Popham 1984: 164, pl. 157g.

46b/18 (C 11184). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.51 (drawn flat).

Exterior shoulder: clumsily executed Quirk FM 48(?) above a single thin, horizontal band. Interior: spatters.

LM IA Final–LM IB Early. For spatters on the interior, comparanda as for **28a/1**.

46b/19 (C 11186). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.51.

Speck of paint preserved high up in zone at edge of break (pattern not determinable).

LM II. Watrous 1992: 23 nos. 389–91, fig. 20, pls. 10–11.

46b/20 (C 11187). Goblet. Pl. 3.51.

Foot and stem fragment chipped for reuse as stopper (effective d ca. 2–6.3 cm). The single "flake" chipped off the stem may have been removed to accommodate a string or cord that was looped through the perforation in the stem (min d 3 mm).

LM II. Popham 1984: 168, pl. 160: 15–16, but especially the linearly decorated version pl. 160: 11 for the conical rather than domed hollowing of the upper foot; also **46b/15**, **46b/21**.

46b/21 (C 11188). Goblet. Pl. 3.51.

Foot and stem fragment chipped for reuse as stopper (effective d 1.8–3.4 cm). Flakes possibly removed from stem for same reason as on preceding.

LM II. Comparanda as for **46b/20**.

46b/22 (C 3318). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.51.

Disk of false neck: central dot ringed by two concentric circles, the outer fringed by diagonally oriented, plump leaves (Foliate Band FM 64).

LM II, imported from elsewhere on Crete. Popham 1984: 177, pls. 73–74; Mountjoy 2003: 117 no. 472, fig. 4.29; also **46b/23**.

46b/23 (C 11179). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.51.

Disk of false neck: precise scheme of decoration uncertain. Handle: sides painted, broad bars across back.

LM II. Comparanda as for **46b/22**.

Group 47

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM II[146]
Total sherds:	Ca. 2,600
Weight (grams):	34,200
Trench/pail(s):	27B/26, 27, 28, 31, 33, 38; 36A/4–5 (partial), 7, 8, 11, 12 (uncontaminated); 27B/29 (contaminated with Archaic–Classical)
Cross joins:	Group 51 (**47/20**); Groups 48, 50, 51, 64 (**47/21**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2; fill of earth and occasional blocks (e.g., in Pail 28, lying flat at +3.30

	m) between pebble floor at +3.73 m and flagstone-paved floor at +2.73 m in T Room 5
Thickness of stratum or strata:	100 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Slab paving at +2.73 m (no slabs yet lifted)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Pebble floor at +3.73 m littered with LM IIIB restorable vases (Group 59)

47/1 (C 2696). Oval-mouthed amphoriskos. Pl. 3.51.

Handmade: vessel constructed as miniature hole-mouthed jar with irregular opening at top (d 2.1–2.3 cm); on top of this was placed a solid, truncated cone of clay (= lower neck), subsequently pierced from the top by a cylindrical perforation (d 0.75 cm); above this was added a small conical cup lacking a base (= upper neck), subsequently deformed in plan by the addition of the handles.

LM IB–II (= Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1811, pl. 46). For the shape, Betancourt 1990: 107 no. 579, 109 no. 610, 178 nos. 1756–57, figs. 27, 29, 61, pls. 30, 33, 87; Van de Moortel 1997: 188–90 (all MM III); Popham 1984: 16 G1, pls. 98a, 152: 2 (LM II).

47/2 (C 4152). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.51.

Lower body: alternating groups of three vertical lines (Panel FM 75) and columns of large, diagonally oriented leaves (Reed FM 16).

LM IB, Floral Paneled Style. Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3960 and n. 1, fig. 74a (= Palio 2001b: 308 no. 366, fig. 49e); Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 27–28 C.3939, fig. 27; Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1804, pl. 45; also **49/1**.

47/3 (C 3549). Conical rhyton. Pl. 3.51.

Shoulder: dashed festoons(?) with fill of stacked concentric arcs (LM II–IIIA1 predecessor of Isolated Semicircles FM 43).

LM IB Late–LM II (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 307, pl. 7). Cucuzza 1993: 13 XII-1, 71–72, pls. 11, 19d (= La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 97–98 XII-1, figs. 130, 265); Cucuzza 1997 (LM IA Final); Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 288–89 C.3010, fig. 190 (LM IB Late); Popham 1984: 35 H179, pls. 65a, 154: 1 (LM II). For LM II–IIIA1 versions of the pattern, Niemeier 1985: 112–15, fig. 53; for the rarity of later Neopalatial rhyta throughout the Mesara, Van de Moortel 1997: 170–71.

47/4 (C 3542). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Portion of rim preserved is location of pushed-out, troughed spout (cf. **46b/5**). Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 312, pl. 8). Comparanda as for **37d/1**, except that links between spirals now run from upper right to lower left instead of lower right to upper left.

47/5 (C 4150). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 (portion preserved comes from just to right of handle).

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37d/1**.

47/6 (C 3537). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Unusually large estimated size probably due to distortion of rim by nearby handle attachment. Shoulder: spiral, just to left of handle (as indicated by rising rim band and cessation of pattern), probably part of Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB. Comparanda as for **47/4**.

47/7 (C 2697). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Shoulder: very thick, horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM II (= Watrous 1992: pl. 45 [mislabeled "1811"]). For the groove at the base of the exterior lip, **46a/3** and **46b/6**; for a similar use of a single row of festoons (= Joining Semicircles FM 41: 2), Watrous 1992: 22 nos. 359, 364, pl. 9; for a double row of festoons (= Scale Pattern FM 70), comparanda as for **37c/6** and also Watrous 1992: 21 no. 347, fig. 18, pl. 9; for a triple row of festoons (= Scale Pattern FM 70), Watrous 1992: 22–23 nos. 377, 398, pls. 9–10.

47/8 (C 3541). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Shoulder: diagonally oriented clumps of Reed FM 16.

LM IB (probably Late) (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 311, pl. 8). For the pattern, Watrous 1992: 15 no. 264, fig. 17, pl. 6 (= **40/2**, a collar-necked jug), 103 no. 1780, fig. 65, pl. 45 (a teacup).

47/9 (C 10944). Teacup. Pl. 3.51.

Shoulder: horizontal Reed FM 16.

LM IB Late–LM II. Comparanda as for **43/3**,

but note the extremely thin vessel wall and that the leaves in some cases touch the rim band and do not swell toward their tips, all features more typical of LM II teacups.

47/10 (C 3540). Teacup. Pl. 3.52.

Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent Iris FM 10A.

LM II import from another site on Crete, possibly Chania (= Watrous 1992: 108 no. 1896, pl. 8). For a similar profile and roughly comparable, although more simplified, pattern at Chania on an LM IIIB2 cup, Hallager and Hallager 2000: 85 77-P0542, 138, pls. 48, 71c: 1.

47/11 (C 4149). Teacup. Pl. 3.52.

Shoulder: Foliate Band composition consisting of leaves above a series of crocus buds (FM 64:1).

LM IB Knossian import. Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 125 κ2, pl. 32.

47/12 (C 3543). Teacup. Pl. 3.52.

Interior: solid-coated. Exterior shoulder: dotted Scale Pattern FM 70, with fill of Iris FM 10A.

LM IB Late Knossian import. Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 189 ω125–26, 135, pl. 53; Cummer and Schofield 1984: 56 no. 180, pl. 48; Mountjoy 1999a: 876 n. 87 (Aghia Eirini), 900 no. 33, fig. 365: 33 (Phylakopi)

47/13 (C 7825). Teacup. Pl. 3.52.

Shoulder: undeterminable pattern executed with very fine line.

LM IB–II import from elsewhere on Crete (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 306 [not illustrated; conical cup fragment on pl. 7 mislabeled "306"]).

47/14 (C 3535). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.52.

Lower body: horizontal Reed FM 16.

LM IB import from from elsewhere on Crete.

47/15 (C 4151). Closed shape (pithoid jar?). Pl. 3.52.

Handmade: lower edge of sherd marks coil joint; coil width ca. 4.5–5.5 cm. Lower body: large Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB–II. Levi 1959: 249, fig. 26a.

47/16 (C 3536). Closed shape (stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.52.

Shoulder: large Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB–II (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 315, pl. 8). Pernier and Banti 1951: 394, 396–98 figs. 259b, 260, 261 (LM IB); Popham 1984: 60 M66, 64 M118, 86 P123, 177, 278 n. 143, pls. 73a–b, 74a (LM II).

47/17 (C 3538). Closed shape (pithoid jar?). Pl. 3.52.

Shoulder: retorted Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IB–II (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 314, pl. 8). Levi 1967–68: 112–13 F.3856 and n. 1, fig. 69a (= Palio 2001b: 302 no. 288, fig. 47g); Warren 1981: 81 fig. 24 (both LM IB); Popham 1984: 36 H191, 62 M99, 83 P57, 178–79, pls. 75c–d, 77b (LM II).

47/18 (C 3539). Cylindrical stand. Pl. 3.52.

Single thin, horizontal groove in exterior surface ca. 4 cm above base.

LM IB–II (= Watrous 1992: 18 no. 310, pl. 8). Betancourt 1990: 170 nos. 1555–58, fig. 57, pls. 79–80 (MM III); Cummer and Schofield 1984: 128 no. 1581, pl. 87 (LM IB); Watrous 1992: 95 no. 1652, pl. 42 (LM IIIB).

47/19 (C 3559). Amphora. Pl. 3.52.

Hope amphora category 1a.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Watrous 1992: 28, 162 no. 488, pl. 55 [body fragment only]; Cline 1994: 198 no. 568). For the shape, Hope 1989: 92–94, fig. 1: 2, 5; also **52c/4**. Fabric: Marl D, variant P90 in the Memphis system of classification (P. Rose, pers. comm.) For other examples of the same shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see **40/34**.

47/20 (C 4576). Jar. Pl. 3.52.

Cycladic White handmade import from Cyclades, probably from Melos (= Watrous 1992: 16, 109, 154 nos. 276, 1923, 1924, pl. 50 [bottom three sherds only of those labeled "1923"; right-hand sherd only of those labeled "1924"]); also **MI/AI/1**.

47/21 (C 2816). Pithoid jar. Pls. 3.53, 3.91 at *f*.

FS 15. Single zone from shoulder to foot: complex composition combining Palm I FM 14:a, Sacral Ivy FM 12:t and 12:3, and "Sea Anemone" FM 27:10.

LH IIA Mycenaean decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 18 nos. 308, 309, 313, pls. 7–8). Niemeier 1985: 10–12, figs. 2: 8–9, 13: 1, 23: 3; Mountjoy 1986: 19–22, fig. 13; Kalogeropoulos 1998: 102 Mycenae 33, 130 Kakovatos 14–15, 168–70 (Kompositionsschema 3), 174–79, pls.

39c–d, 40b, 53b. For the combination of Palm I, Sacral Ivy, and "Sea Anemone" in a comparable decorative scheme, see also the LM IB cylindrical bridge-spouted jar from Archanes, Tourkogeitonia Room 4 (Müller 1997: 347–48 Zyl 65, pls. 32–33).

Group 48

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 440
Weight (grams):	22,470
Trench/pail(s):	37A/24, 43 (uncontaminated); 37A/23, 25 (lightly contaminated with Archaic)
Cross joins:	Group 40 (**40**/**35**); Groups 47, 50, 51, 64 (**47**/**21**); Group 46a (**48**/**4**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill below pebble packing of LM IIIB floor at +3.84 m (in T Space 10, north), +3.77 m (in T Space 11), and +3.73 m (in T Space 10, south) down to ca. +3.48 m (east) and +3.58 m (west)
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 30–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IB Late to LM II accumulation (Groups 46a–b)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Pebble packing of LM IIIB floor in northern part of Court N6 (Group 60)

48/1 (C 2948). Closed shape (ewer or beak-spouted jug?). Pl. 3.53.

Shoulder: Palm I FM 14:a and "Sea Anemone" FM 27:10. The pattern clearly extended a good deal farther up the shoulder, which must therefore have been quite flat, indicating either a beak-spouted jug (e.g., Müller 1997: pls. 2–3) or a smaller, round-mouthed ewer (e.g., Müller 1997: pls. 7–9).

LM IB Late Knossian import (= Watrous 1992: 20 no. 335, pls. 8, 46 = Müller 1997: 293 n. 1312 [f]). Watrous 1992: 7 no. 108, fig. 13, pl. 3 (= Müller 1997: 293 n. 1312 [c]). Both jugs from Kommos are likely to have been painted by the same artist who decorated a cylindrical bridge-spouted jar found in Tourkogeitonia Room 4 at Archanes and an ovoid rhyton from House B on Pseira (Müller 1997: 155–58, 347–48 Zyl 65, 361–62 ORh 119, figs. 83, 85, pls. 32, 33, 54).

48/2 (C 2934). Shallow rounded bowl. Pl. 3.53.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early (= Watrous 1992: 107 no. 1883, pl. 46). Popham 1970a: 79, figs. 7: 9, 10: 33–35, pls. 32e, g, h, 33c; Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 209 P6, 210, fig. 9: 4/6; Popham 1984: 9 C5, 183, 279 nn. 167, 179, pl. 175: 13.

48/3 (C 3218). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.53.

Rim: continuous series of dots. Shoulder: horizontal lattice ladder pattern from which are pendent a vertical row of dots flanked by vertical ladder patterns.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import (= Watrous 1992: 157 no. 1931, pl. 51; Cline 1994: 182 no. 417). For the ware and shape, Popham 1972: 447–56, 464–68, figs. 54, LXXXIII: 8, LXXXIV: 1–3; Russell 1989: 3, 135 K–AD 906–7, pl. 5; South and Steel 2001; Cadogan et al. 2001; also **51/2–3**, **60/31–32, MI/Cy/6–8**.

48/4 (C 2949). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.53.

FS 171. Linear as preserved.

LH IIIA2 Mycenaean fine decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1927, pl. 51). Mountjoy 1986: 77–79, fig. 93.

Group 49

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early[147]
Total sherds:	Ca. 270
Weight (grams):	11,380
Trench/pail(s):	44A/45, 47, 48, 51
Cross joins:	Group 37e (**37e/16**); Groups 64 and 65 (**49/8**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill below first LM III floors in Rooms N12 (at +3.65/3.73 m) and N13 (at +3.45 m)
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 30–40 cm in Room N12, 35–40 cm in Room N13
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final to LM IB Early fill (Group 39 in Room N12, Group 38 in Room N13)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	First LM III floors in Rooms N12–N13 (Group 64)

49/1 (C 7464). Oval-mouthed amphora. Pl. 3.53.

Lower body: alternating groups of vertical lines (2+; Panel FM 75) and columns of large, diagonally oriented leaves (Reed FM 16).

LM IB (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 494), Floral Paneled Style. Comparanda as for **47/2**.

49/2 (C 7462). Teacup. Pl. 3.53.

Shoulder: horizontal, or perhaps slightly diagonal, Reed FM 16.

LM IB Late (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 492). Comparanda as for **43/3**.

49/3 (C 7465). Goblet. Pl. 3.53.

LM II (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 493). Popham 1984: 165–68, esp. the large example 85 P107, pls. 54a–b, 149: 1–2 for the linear decoration of the foot and lower stem; also **46b/15** and n. 143.

49/4 (C 7458). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.53.

Exterior: on lower body, multiple(?) horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Interior: two sets of four vertical lines (Panel FM 75) crossing at bottom of bowl.

LM IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 495). For decoration of interior, comparanda as for **37e/8**.

49/5 (C 7459). In-and-out bowl. Pl. 3.53.

Thin coil of clay added at bottom of exterior and folded over onto underside of base. Exterior: two irregular bands at and just above base, the upper overpainted in white at its center with a thin horizontal line. Interior: broad band at junction of body and and base, just above which is a large, partially preserved floral motif (Crocus FM 10?) facing diagonally downward.

LM IA Final–IB Early (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 496). Comparanda as for **26/3**.

49/6 (C 7461). Conical cup, Kommos Type C. Pl. 3.53.

LM IA Final (= Watrous 1992: 29 no. 489). Comparanda as for **21/10**, esp. Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 9: C 9075.

49/7 (C 4210). Ladle. Pl. 3.54.

LM IIIA2 Early. Watrous 1992: 38 no. 658, 43 no. 742, fig. 31, pls. 15, 17; also **57d/2** (LM IIIA2 Early), **60/8** (LM IIIB).

49/8 (C 11066). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.54.

Two shallow grooves on exterior of lower neck.

Western Anatolian LB reddish brown burnished import. Mellaart and Murray 1995: 4, 24–25 shapes 14 (trefoil-mouthed jug), 28 (small jars), 29 (large jars), figs. P.19: 6, P.23: 8, P.24: 5 (Beycesultan II); Günel 1999a: 179 type S I 2, 364, pls. 103: 2, 156: 2 (small jar); 180 type YT I 4, 367, pls. 106: 1–2, 162: 1–2 (trefoil-mouthed jug); 185 type A III a, 461, pls. 136: 1, 174: 2 (shoulder-handled amphora) (Panaztepe). Comparanda from Kommos include Watrous 1992: 33 no. 557, pl. 13 (spouted jug; LM IIIA1); 40 no. 699, pl. 16 (LM IIIA2 Early); 43 no. 740, fig. 31, pl. 17 (round-mouthed jug; LM IIIA2 Early); 46, 164 no. 814, pls. 53, 56 (mislabeled "522") (LM IIIA1); 53 no. 931, pl. 21; 75 no. 1286, pl. 28 (LM IIIB); also **30/6**, **51/5–6**, **56e/11** (jug), **58b/12–13**, **66/16**, **73a/2**, **73b/2**, **MI/WA/1–4**. Comparanda from elsewhere on Crete: Popham 1984: 47 L43, 62 M105, pls. 86a–b (trefoil-mouthed jugs;

Knossos, Minoan Unexplored Mansion; LM II); Alexiou 1967: 50 no. 3a, pl. 17b, left (trefoil-mouthed jug; Katsamba, Tomb Z; LM II); Platon 1997: 366, figs. 8, 14; Kanta 1980: 116 (two trefoil-mouthed jugs; Chondros Viannou, room B1; LM IIIA1); Evans 1921: 369, 384 fig. 279: C = Popham 1964: 8, 19 fig. 4, pl. 2b: 8 (trefoil-mouthed jug; Knossos, palace; LM IIIB); Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 298 KP16, fig. 16, pl. 75e (trefoil-mouthed jug; Palaikastro, Kastri; LM IIIB).

Group 50

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early[148]
Total sherds:	Ca. 900
Weight (grams):	14,500
Trench/pail(s):	50A/69 (uncontaminated); 50A/68 (lightly contaminated with Archaic)
Cross joins:	Groups 47, 48, 51, and 64 (**47/21**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; mixture of earth and greenish gray clay with flecks of charcoal and large numbers of stones above a surface sloping up from +2.58 m at west-southwest to +2.70 m at east-northeast (50A/69) and sandy brown fill above a similarly sloping surface just to the east (from +2.64 m at west-southwest to +2.78 m at east-northeast; 50A/68), in both cases immediately south of the southern wall of Court N6, the base of which lies at +2.81 m at its western end
Thickness of stratum or strata:	Ca. 25–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	One of many constituent excavation units of Group 78 (50A/65)

50/1 (C 6791). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.54.

Scar at base of neck (1.05 cm wide as preserved) makes better sense as attachment scar for base of spout than for handle. Reddish yellow band framed by two dark reddish brown bands separating neck from shoulder; very top of another brown band preserved below alternating chain of Sacral Ivy FM 12 on upper shoulder.

Mature LM IA bichrome import from elsewhere on Crete, possibly Knossos (= Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1815). Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923: 39, fig. 27 (Palaikastro).

50/2 (C 6792). Teacup. Pl. 3.54.

Shoulder: triple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. LM IB. Comparanda as for **37d/2**.

Group 51

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA1
Total sherds:	Ca. 1,980–2,080
Weight (grams):	> 21,180
Trench/pail(s):	50A/70, 73, 74, 76, 78

Cross joins: Group 45 (**45/2**); Group 47 (**47/20**); Groups 47, 48, 50, and 64 (**47/21**)

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped construction fill in Space N9 between LM IB Late stratum associated with use of Building T and pebbled surface at +3.91 m

Thickness of stratum or strata: Ca. 100 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IB Late use accumulation over pebbled surface of Building T's central court (Group 44b)

Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIB pebbled surface in Space N9, immediately south of Corridor N7's west end (36A/20, part of Group 62)

51/1 (C 6897). Teacup. Pl. 3.54.

Unusually large rim diameter possibly overestimated owing to distortion of rim in vicinity of upper handle attachment, marked by top of broad painted loop below exterior rim band. Shoulder: Foliate Band FM 64.

LM IIIA1. Popham 1984: 181, pl. 171: 18; Watrous 1992: 39 no. 678, fig. 28, pl. 15; also **52b/3**, **46b/9**.

51/2 (C 10669). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.54.

Shoulder: horizontal lattice ladder pattern above horizontal row of dots.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import. Comparanda as for **48/3**.

51/3 (C 10732). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.54.

Shoulder: vertical ladder pattern.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import. Comparanda as for **48/3**.

51/4 (C 10744). Pithos. Pl. 3.54 (frontal view of sherd drawn flat).

Keswani Group I. Shoulder: two plain horizontal plastic ridges at midshoulder.

LC II Cypriot Plain White import. Keswani 1989: 14–15, 131 K-AD 617, fig. 16, pl. 7; Pilides 2000: 65 no. 78, fig. 7: 6; Buchholz 2000: 189 nos. 17–18, figs. 3f, 6b–e.

51/5 (C 10685). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.54.

Series of six shallow grooves at base of neck.

Western Anatolian LB reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**; possibly from the same vessel as **51/6**.

51/6 (C 10743). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.54.

Western Anatolian Late Bronze reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**; possibly from the same vessel as **51/5**.

Group 52a

Date: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2[149]

Total sherds: Ca. 1,800–2,300

Weight (grams): 27,320

Trench/pail(s): 58A/19, 21, 25, 27 (uncontaminated); 58A/17, 24 (lightly contaminated with Historic)

Cross joins: None

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped construction fill overlying earlier Neopalatial debris within T Room 23, from ca. +4.35/4.42 m upward to rough surface of LM III terrace north of Building P, here lying at ca. +5.45 m

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 100–110 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Top of earlier Neopalatial debris represented by 50A/38 (part of Group 20)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Shallow LM IIIA2 use accumulation above terrace surface (Group 58a)

52a/1 (C 7109). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.54.
Lower body: spaced columns of vertically oriented Reed FM 16.
LM IB. Levi 1967–68: 109, fig. 71c–d (= Palio 2001b: 306–7 no. 352, 309 no. 371, fig. 50b, n).

52a/2 (C 7084). Flask. Pl. 3.55 (decoration drawn flat).
Second ring of ornament: Rosettes FM 17, both framed and unframed.
LM II–IIIA. For the shape, Popham 1984: 172, pl. 92e (LM II); Watrous 1992: 42 no. 726, 134, pl. 17 (LM IIIA2); for the motif, Niemeier 1985: 84–91; for the combination of shape and motif, Tzedakis 1971: 365 no. 7, pl. 64a (LM IIIA1).

52a/3 (C 7080). Closed shape. Pl. 3.54.
Plastically decorated with two segments of thin ribbing, one roughly vertical and one curving, each solid-painted and incorporated within what appears to be Marine Style decoration (Seaweed FM 30 and Stipple FM 77).
LM II–IIIA1. Müller 1997: 186–89, figs. 104–5 (seaweed motif); Alexiou 1967: 44 no. 1, pls. 5–6; Kanta 1980: pl. 88: 5; Warren 1997: 172, fig. 27 (for LM IIIA1 jugs decorated with combination of plastic and painted ornaments).

52a/4 (C 7085). Teacup. Pl. 3.54 (decoration drawn flat).
Shoulder: horizontal chain of Bivalve Shell FM 25 with fill of concentric arcs.
LM IIIA2–B. Popham 1965: 330, fig. 8: 51, pl. 82b: 7; Popham 1984: 182, pl. 173: 14; Watrous 1992: 51 no. 890; 60 no. 1023, pl. 25; 67 no. 1124, pl. 14; 72 no. 1207, fig. 45, pl. 28; 92 no. 1608, pl. 40; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 159 84-P1629, pls. 46, 128d: 18.

52a/5 (C 7086). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.
Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44.
LM IIIA2. Popham 1984: 182, pls. 173: 25, 178d: 2; also **61/2**, **66/3**, **72/2**, **75/3** and perhaps **72/4**.

52a/6 (C 7260). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.
Exterior rim: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 overpainted in white on rim band. Exterior shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52.
Probably LM II. Comparanda as for **46a/3**; for the banding below the handle zone as an indicator of an LM II date, Watrous 1992: 120.

52a/7 (C 7083). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.
Shoulder: vertically oriented, but slightly curving, multiple Wavy Lines FM 53, to be interpreted either as a very late version of Ripple FM 78 or as a variant of later Foliate Band FM 64 composed of wavy rather than smoothly rendered "leaves" (for which see **51/1** and **52b/3**).
LM IIIA1. Popham 1984: pl. 174: between 44 and 45; Watrous 1992: 36 no. 620, 37 no. 639, fig. 27, pl. 15; Mountjoy 2003: 135 no. 657, fig. 4.37.

52a/8 (C 7077). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.
LM IIIA1. Watrous 1992: 32 no. 543, fig. 24, pl. 13.

52a/9 (C 7072). Amphora. Pls. 3.55, 3.92 at *a*.
Hope amphora category 1b.
Handle, placed relatively high on shoulder, tapers gradually in width from ca. 5 cm wide at point of upper attachment to ca. 3 cm where full width is last preserved. Two or three small drips or spatters of dull black paint preserved on largest body sherd.
Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 331; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255, fig. 253b: 3). For the shape, Hope 1989: 94–95, figs. 4: 4, 5: 4 (Amenhotep III to Akhenaten). For the fabric, comparanda as for **40/34**.

52a/10 (C 7074). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.55.
Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 336). Hadjicosti 1988; Watrous 1992: 159–61, figs. 71–72, pls. 53–54; Aston 1998: 626–77; Rutter 1999: 142–43, 171–73 table 2; also **45/9**, **52c/5–6**, **52e/3**, **52g/1–2**, **52h/1**, **55/6**, **56e/9**, **57c/2**, **57i/3**, **60/30**, **66/15**, **72/6–7**, **74/1**, **77/7**, and **MI/SP/1–11**; for the rim profile and size, especially **MI/UP/1**. Fabric: related to fabrics of Group 2 of Canaanite Am-

phora Project (Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.)

52a/11 (C 7105). Krater. Pl. 3.55.

Cypriot LC II Plain White Wheelmade import (= Cline 1994: 217 no. 750 [described as a Canaanite jar fragment because the sherd was so identified until 1997]). Åström 1972: 241–43 form VI, figs. LXII: 8–LXVI: 2; Keswani 1989: 20, 111 K-AD243, K-AD244, 125 K-AD499, figs. 46, 59, pl. XXX; Keswani 1991: 112, fig. 11.1: W; also **MI/Cy/13** below.

52a/12 (C 7073). Pithos. Pl. 3.55 (decoration drawn flat).

Keswani Form IA.

Cypriot LC II Plain White Wheelmade import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 341 [described as a Canaanite jar fragment because the sherd was so identified until 1997]). For the shape, Keswani 1989: 14 Form IA, fig. 16: 1–11; Pilides 2000: fig. 2, Group IA; for simple incised decoration on the shoulder, Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 40 no. 88, pls. XXII, XXXIX (= Pilides 2000: 68 no. 91); 1988: 122 no. 530, pls. LXXXII, CXCIV (from an LC IIIA context at Maa-Palaeokastro). A complete example of this Cypriot pithos type was found in 1991 during the excavation of Room 4 of House X at Kommos in an LM IIIA2 Early context: Rutter 1999: 170 C 9013.

Group 52b

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 915–65
Weight (grams):	18,080
Trench/pail(s):	57A2/68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 79
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped construction fill overlying earlier Neopalatial debris within T Room 29 and at the east end of Corridor 20, below a level of stone chips possibly marking the LM III terrace surface north of Building P, here in Trench 57A2 sloping up from ca. +5.20 m (northeast) to +5.33 m (southwest)
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 70–80 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Neopalatial fill (57A2/77, 80, 82, 83) overlying mixed MM II to LM IA Final floor debris (Group 15)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Fill containing early Archaic pottery

52b/1 (C 7628). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.

Shoulder: spiral (probably part of Running Spiral FM 46).

LM IB. Comparanda as for **37d/1**.

52b/2 (C 7644). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.

Shoulder: horizontal Parallel Chevrons FM 58 with fill of horizontal dot row and lunate arc.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: pl. 14c: 7 (Royal Villa); Popham 1984: pl. 122b: 17 (Unexplored Mansion); Watrous 1992: 39 no. 682, fig. 28, pl. 15.

52b/3 (C 7591). Teacup. Pl. 3.55.

Rim deformed at right-hand edge, probably into shallowly pushed out spout. Interior: Stipple FM 77 below rim band. Exterior shoulder: Foliate Band FM 64.

LM IIIA1. Comparanda as for **51/1**; for the combination of exterior and interior patterns, Watrous 1992: 37 nos. 623–24, pl. 15.

52b/4 (C 7614). Teacup. Pl. 3.55 (decoration drawn flat).

Rim band rises at left in vicinity of upper handle attachment. Shoulder: undeterminable pattern.

LM II. For the shape and general character of the pattern, Watrous 1992: 26 no. 449, fig. 22, pl. 14.

52b/5 (C 7643). Pyxis(?). Pl. 3.55.

Shoulder: Iris FM 10A framed by double horizontal wavy bands.

LM II. For the shape, Popham 1984: 172–73, pls. 154: 4, 155: 6, 8; Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 1997: 131–32, figs. 46–47; for the pattern, Popham 1984: pls. 90a: middle, 165: 32–35.

Group 52c

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	> 950
Weight (grams):	36,560
Trench/pail(s):	57A/23, 55; 57A1/45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52
Cross joins:	60A/33 (**52c/5**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill removed from above the south wall of T Room 22 and the north wall of Gallery P1 and from the narrow space between these two walls
Thickness of constituent strata:	Data not available
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated below ca. +3.40 m (57A/55)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Data not available

52c/1 (C 7445). Amphoroid krater. Pl. 3.56.

Neck: horizontal series of Papyrus FM 11(?) alternating with pairs of spaced dots at top and bottom of narrow zone.

LM IIIA1–IIIA2 Early. For the basic syntax of the decoration on this shape, Popham 1970a: pls. 8a, 34f: 1, 47c; Watrous 1992: 107 no. 1866, pl. 22; for the use of this kind of Papyrus as a filling ornament in LM IIIA1 and LM IIIA2 Early motifs, Popham 1970a: figs. 13: 53–54, 14: 88; Mountjoy 2003: 132 no. 619, fig. 4. 36.

52c/2 (C 7480). Cylindrical jar. Pl. 3.56.

Interior: small patch of trickle preserved on one edge of smaller fragment. Exterior: at midbody, retorted Running Spiral FM 46 overpainted in white below and to left of handle stump of undeterminable type.

LM IA. From a cylindrical vessel featuring either two horizontal handles (e.g., Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977: 172 no. 7, fig. 111 [LM IB]) or two vertical alternating with two horizontal handles at 90° intervals just below the rim (e.g., Betancourt 1990: 108 no. 597, pl. 31 [MM III]; Warren 1991: 322, fig. 6b, pl. 76c ["MM IIIB/LM IA Transitional"]).

52c/3 (C 7430). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.56.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 framed by horizontal wavy bands, with reserved medallion at center of each spiral filled with Trefoil Rockwork FM 29 having a "Sea Anemone" FM 27, or dot rosette, at the center.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. For the pattern on LM IIIA1–A2 Early teacups, Popham 1970a: fig. 14: 94–95.

52c/4 (C 7448). Amphora. Pl. 3.56.

Hope amphora category 1a.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Cline 1994: 176 no. 365; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253b: 1). For the shape, comparanda as for **47/19**. Fabric: Marl D, similar to fabric III.9 in the Amarna classification system (Nicholson and Rose 1985), fabric IIF.02 in the Qantir classification system (Aston 1998). For the same shape in the same fabric, see also **56a/2**, **57c/1**, **57d/6**, **57h/1**, **67b/3**, and **MI/Eg/3**.

52c/5 (C 7336). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.56.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 339). For shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: Amarna fabric III.10 (Group 1 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.). For other examples of the shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see **MI/SP/2**, **MI/SP/11**, and Watrous 1992: nos. 946, 1097, 1948, 1953, and 1957.

52c/6 (C 7428). Canaanite jar. Pls. 3.56, 3.92 at *b*.

Possible potter's mark on lowermost body in form of two oblique, elliptical impressions executed before firing.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 334). For shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: Amarna fabric V.5 (Group 2 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.).

52c/7 (C 11122). Jug. Pl. 3.56 (handle solid-coated).

Åström form IX; note that handle is socketed into hollow created on top of shoulder, not thrust through vessel wall (contrast **56e/10**).

LC II Cypriot Base Ring import. Åström 1972: 181–87, figs. LII–LIII; Russell 1989: 4, fig. 7; Vaughan 1991; also **67a/28**.

Group 52d

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early[150]
Total sherds:	Ca. 2,050–135
Weight (grams):	> 38,940
Trench/pail(s):	57A/10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 57A1/43, 44, 54, 56, 58
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped construction fill above early Neopalatial debris at eastern end of T Room 22 up to a patchily burnt pebble surface sloping down from +5.05 m (at northeast) to +4.92 m (at southwest)
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 90–105 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final debris above last Neopalatial floor (Group 25)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 accumulation above pebble surface at +4.92 m (southwest) to +5.05 m (northeast) (Group 58b)

52d/1 (C 7126). Globular rhyton. Pl. 3.56.

Nipple pierced from exterior (d of perforation 5.5 mm) and placed somewhat off-center. Added white around nipple likely (as on **8/1** and **37c/3**) but not positively identifiable.

Probably LM IA. Comparanda as for **8/1**.

52d/2 (C 7129). Horizontal-handled bowl(?). Pl. 3.56.

Shoulder: Foliate Band FM 64.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. For the shape, in this case suggested by the plain interior rather than by the vessel's size, Watrous 1992: 45 nos. 784 and 787, 127–28, fig. 33, pl. 18; for the pattern, Watrous 1992: 45 no. 786 (on bowl), **51/1** and **52b/3** (on teacups).

52d/3 (C 7340). Two-handled footed cup(?). Pl. 3.56.

Interior: concentric circles at bottom (three preserved). Underside of ring foot: small circle painted at center. Exterior: linear as preserved.

LM II–IIIA1. For the shape, rare outside Chania before LM IIIB, see Hallager 1997: 27, 29, 33–35, figs. 20, 24, 29–31. Ring bases on open shapes prior to LM IIIB at Knossos appear to be restricted to Mycenaeanizing shallow teacups: Popham 1970a: 69–70, figs. 4: 3–5, 8: 3–6, 8–9, 18; Popham 1984: 50 L99, 161, 182, 273 n. 31, pls. 79e, 80a (middle row, no. 3), 156: 6 (LM II); Mountjoy 2003: 135 no. 669, fig. 4.38 (LM IIIA1); Popham 1984: pl. 175: 8; Warren 1997: fig. 4 P196 (LM IIIA2). A somewhat higher ring base from a pure LM II context at Kommos (= C 9791 from House X, Room 10) suggests the earliest possible date for **52d/3**; an even higher conical foot from an LM IIIB context in Hilltop Room O19 (Wa-

trous 1992: 99 no. 1710, fig. 64, pl. 44) probably belongs to a two-handled footed cup like an LM IIIA1 example from Chania (Hallager 1997: 27 fig. 20).

52d/4 (C 7055). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.56.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

52d/5 (C 7128). Kylix. Pl. 3.56.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: 78–79, fig. 9: 10, 13, 15, pl. 11e; Popham 1984: 181–82, pls. 172: 10–12, 176: 7–8; Watrous 1992: 40 no. 691, 43 no. 737, 127, figs. 29, 31, pls. 16–17; Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 1997: 119–21, figs. 16, 22–23; also **56e/13** and **57d/4**.

52d/6 (C 7053). Ewer. Pl. 3.56.

Probably handmade. Junction of hole-mouthed body and cylindrical neck strengthened by addition of thick, neatly squared ledge-molding on exterior, as well as by irregular coil of clay on interior.

LM IA. Comparanda as for **6/13**, especially Van de Moortel 2001: 80 n. 125.

Group 52e

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 1,195
Weight (grams):	> 35,430
Trench/pail(s):	56A1/69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped construction fill above rough surface at ca. +3.84 m marking top of earlier Neopalatial debris in southwest quadrant of T Room 22
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 78 cm (at west)–95 cm (at east)
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IA Final or LM IB Early debris (Group 32) above last Neopalatial floor
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 surface with "roasting stand" at ca. +4.70 m sloping up from west to east (Group 58c)

52e/1 (C 7450). Conical cup, Kommos Type B. Pl. 3.56.

LM IA Early. Comparanda as for **2b/5**.

52e/2 (C 7476). Amphora. Pl. 3.56.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Cline 1994: 175 no. 350). For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **40/34**.

52e/3 (C 7440). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.56.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 340). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (Serpico, pers. comm.).

52e/4 (C 11133). Wide-bodied cup. Pl. 3.56.

Color slipped on exterior only; slightly lustrous interior features pronounced wheel marks.

Western Anatolian Late Bronze 2 import. Mellaart and Murray 1995: 8, fig. P.9: 6 (Beycesultan III); 30, fig. P.23: 9 (Beycesultan II); 62, fig. P.37: 1–5 (Beycesultan I); Günel 1999a: 178, 333, pl. 80: 3–4 (Panaztepe jar type II 1).

Group 52f

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	Ca. 12

Weight (grams):	450
Trench/pail(s):	56A1/77
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; removal of short north-south retaining wall (top at +4.69 m) running from northwest corner of Gallery P1 to east-west retaining wall along south side of Court 15, the low terrace between Buildings N and P
Thickness of constituent strata:	Data not available
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Data not available
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Wall initially exposed by 56A1/71 (part of Group 52e)

52f/1 (C 7477). Closed shape. Pl. 3.57.
Import featuring highly micaceous fabric, possibly from the Cyclades. For similar fabric on a linear closed vase, cf. C 8020 from LM IIIA2 Early context in House X, Room 6.

Group 52g

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early[151]
Total sherds:	Ca. 45
Weight (grams):	1,200
Trench/pail(s):	56A1/94, 100
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; cleaning of north face and west end of Gallery P1's north wall and of west end of T Room 22's south wall
Thickness of constituent strata:	Not applicable
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Not applicable
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Not applicable

52g/1 (C 7638). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.57.
Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 337). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: possibly Amarna fabric IV.12 (Serpico, pers. comm.).

52g/2 (C 7639). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.57.
Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 329). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: Amarna fabric IV.5 (Group 1 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.). For other examples of the shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see **52h/1**, **60/30**, and C 7115 (= Cline 1994: 173 no. 327).

Group 52h

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM II
Total sherds:	Ca. 70
Weight (grams):	4,300
Trench/pail(s):	62D/55, 56
Cross joins:	None

Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; dumped fill within T Room 42 from ca. +4.56/4.65 m up to +4.97/4.99 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 35–40 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Deep (ca. 85–90 cm) Neopalatial fill overlying last Neopalatial floor (Group 35 of LM IB Early)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Patchy surface with stone chips at +4.97/4.99 m below mixture of rubble, stone chips, and small blocks containing mixed Prehistoric and seventh-century-B.C. sherds

52h/1 (C 8053). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.57. Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 172 no. 328). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **52g/2**.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN II: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Much as is true for the preceding LM IB Late subphase, and in all probability for the same reasons, LM II activity in the Civic Center is sparsely represented by either gradual accumulations of fill representing continuous use or dumped fills marking sudden raisings of the ground level. At the northwest corner of Building T's court, the northern portion of the LM IB Late stratum here (Pl. 3.22: Group 44a) was directly overlain by a surface consisting largely of beaten earth but also incorporating an occasional stone slab. Above this had accumulated some 35–55 cm of fill containing mixed LM I–II pottery in which LM II pottery was predominant (Pl. 3.22: Group 45). In comparison with the pottery from the much shallower underlying LM IB Late stratum, that in Group 45 was broken into somewhat smaller pieces on average and featured substantially more cooking pottery and medium-coarse storage, transport, and industrial vessels (Table 3.63 versus Table 3.59). The conical cups, on the other hand, had declined by more than half by number and more than two-thirds by weight, whereas the amount of fine painted pottery had likewise diminished appreciably if not quite so markedly. These changes in the ceramic assemblage at this location are not surprising in view of the construction of a series of hearths and some adjacent built-in furniture against the south wall of T Room 5 at that time. The smaller sherd size probably reflects even more foot traffic in this area than previously. At least some of the time, the hearth in use here must have served for food preparation, to judge from the increased quantities of cooking pottery, including the large jar fragment **45/8**. This emphasis on cooking was probably a direct continuation of that represented earlier by the substantial numbers of mendable LM IB Early cooking pots found just to the north and northeast (**37e/15**, **40/31–33**). Some remodeling in this general area, possibly in connection with the raising of the floor level in T Room 5 to the north (see below), evidently necessitated the relocation of the previous cooking facility at home in this portion of Building T. The discovery of fragments of a large, plain Cypriot jug (**45/11**), a large Egyptian transport vessel (**45/10**), and a matte-painted, possibly Cycladic jar

(**45/12**) in this same deposit may perhaps also be connected with food preparation. Whether a seeming rise in the number of bowls (**45/4–6**) relative to that of cups (e.g., **45/3**, **45/7**) is also somehow related to the increased focus on cooking here is uncertain. It appears likely, however, that the consumption of food (and drink?) represented here by the hearths, cooking pots, and imported transport vessels was a continuation of the activities attested in this vicinity throughout the LM IB period. In other words, as was typically the case at Kommos, in pronounced contrast with the situation at virtually all other Minoan sites, the LM IB–II transition was marked by neither a massive destruction nor by a substantial change in activities, even if the ceramic assemblage as a whole does exhibit some noteworthy developments (see below).

To the northeast of the cooking facility, with its evidence for a rapid accumulation of use fill from the rebuilding of its hearth at a higher level (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2) and provisions made at its western end for retaining this fill at a gradually higher level, scrappy evidence for a rough surface at ca. +3.30 m was found around the southeast corner of T Room 5 near the west end of what had once been the North Stoa. Here a fine imported Knossian teacup (**46b/5**) was found almost complete beneath a seemingly fallen block, lying flat at ca. +3.40 m just 1.40 m east of T Room 5's east wall. The pottery in this area at this approximate level, although rather badly mixed (Pl. 3.22: Groups 46a–b), included a relatively high percentage of LM IB Late and LM II pieces in strata overlying LM IB Early dump (Groups 37d–e) and yet below the LM IIIA2 Early fill associated with the construction of Building N (Pl. 3.23: Group 48). The elevation of this rough surface east of T Room 5 suggests that there was initially a significant slope upward from west to east toward the east end of T Room 5's south wall; but by the end of the LM II period, the rapid accumulation of fill in and around the cooking facility near the court's northwest corner had caused this slope practically to disappear.

Just some 5 m to the north of the LM II hearths and Group 45 but on the other side of several east-west walls, a roughly equivalent raising of the ground level appears to have taken place in T Room 5 north of the *sottoscala*. Here, on top of a buildup of roughly 10 cm of ground-up LM IB sherd material overlying the original slab-paved floor at +2.73 m was found a mixed LM IB–II dumped fill some 50 cm deep. The floor at +3.30 m on top of this was marked by some patches of burning and a large block lying flat—a find reminiscent of the discovery of **46b/5** under a fallen block about 6 m southeast at roughly the same level—and was in its turn covered by a deep fill some 40–45 cm thick containing nothing obviously later than LM II (Pl. 3.22: Group 47; see n. 146 for the details of the stratigraphy). The uppermost fill here (top of Group 47) was probably deposited in LM IIIA2 Early, at the same time as the uppermost fill in the *sottoscala* (top of Group 40) was put into place immediately to the south (see n. 179 for the stratigraphic details here). That is, these two fills represent large amounts of soil containing pottery of different but in both cases substantially earlier date that were moved to their places of discovery by the LM IIIA2 Early builders as they raised

the floors in both these spaces by some 40–45 cm. The significant point in the present context is that this dumping of two batches of earlier fill in neither case sealed an LM IIIA1 level. Yet, given the interest of the builders in raising the contemporary ground level in these spaces, it is virtually certain that no intermediate floors of LM IIIA1 date would have been dug away. Thus we may be reasonably sure that no LM IIIA1 surfaces ever existed here in T Room 5. How this evidence should be correlated with that for the purposeful removal of Building T's West Wing sometime during LM IIIA1 or very shortly thereafter (see n. 146) remains to be determined.

Aside from the three cited locations at the northwest corner of Building T's court and in the immediate vicinity, no other floors or fills of LM II date have yet been identified within the Civic Center. The deep fills from within T Room 5 provide no significant information concerning the function of this space at this time. The floor level at ca. +3.30 m itself unfortunately provided nothing in the way of a floor deposit. The evidence for cooking activity supplied by Group 45 in the vicinity of the hearths has already been reviewed. The scatter of later LM IB and LM II pottery from farther east within the court (Groups 46a–b) is broadly similar, in the predominance of cups and jugs, to the makeup of Groups 44a–b of LM IB Late and supports the notion that periodic drinking and feasting events continued to take place within Building T's court at least as late as the LM II period. In this connection, imported drinking vessels of high quality from production centers such as Knossos (**46b/5**) and the Greek Mainland (**46a/6**) suggest that nothing much need have changed in the pattern of Building T's use from LM IB Late times. The discovery in the court of fragments of large transport stirrup jars (**46b/22–23**) together with the reshaped goblet feet that were evidently used to stopper such vessels (**46b/15**, **20–21**) was, however, something of a novelty.[152] A number of sherds in Groups 46b and 47 exhibit traces of burning that have nothing to do with their functions as containers (**46b/18**, **47/6**, **47/8**, **47/12**, **47/20**), yet these are all pieces that were found in locations other than immediately adjacent to the hearths south of T Room 5. When taken together with the fallen blocks lying flat on LM II surfaces, both within Room 5 and just outside it to the east, and also with the apparent cessation of all activity in this area during the ensuing LM IIIA1 phase, this burning raises the possibility that there was a destruction of some sort within the Civic Center that caused it to be altogether abandoned during LM IIIA1.[153] There is, however, no indication from the surrounding town that the site as a whole was attacked or in part destroyed at any point during LM IIIA1.

LATE MINOAN II POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Although large quantities of LM II pottery were recovered during the most recent excavations at Kommos, the vast majority of this material came from House X on the Southern Hillside and not from the Civic Center to the south of the paved road leading east from the waterfront. Table 3.64 lists those deposits on which Watrous based his characterization of

Table 3.64. LM II floor deposits and major fills at Kommos. Conical cup types as in Van de Moortel 1997.

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Hilltop, Room 3 (12A1/81, 83)	Watrous 1992: 25 (Deposit 17); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 102–5	Quantified data not available	0 (11)	C: (2) K: (1)	Goblet: (1) Horizontal-handled bowl: (1) (imported?) Blob-decorated teacup: (2) Teacup with solidly coated exterior: (1) Teacup decorated with ordinary pattern: (1) (imported) Wishbone-handled cup: (1)	
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, Room 3 (9A1/17)	Watrous 1992: 27 (Deposit 20); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 202–3	Quantified data not available	0 (1)		Goblet: (1)	
Central Hillside, Dump immediately south of House of the Snake Tube (9A/12, 15, 19, 20)	Watrous 1992: 20–25 (Deposit 16); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 210–12	145.4 kg (5,917)	2 (88)	C: 1(1) D: (1) K: (1) P: (1 + 1?)	Goblet: (2?) Horizontal-handled bowl: 1(10 + 5?) Miscellaneous cup: (2) Blob-decorated teacup: (2)	Beaked jug: (1) Bridge-spouted jar: (2) Collar-necked jug: (6) Cylindrical spouted jar (or bucket jar): (1)

					Teacup decorated in Floral Paneled style: (3) Teacup with solidly coated exterior: (4) Teacup decorated with narrow pattern near rim: (16) Teacup decorated with ordinary pattern: (10) Wishbone-handled cup: (1)	Pithoid jar: (1)
Southern Area, Building T, court, northwest corner: Group 45 (27B/35; 100C/16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28)	In part: Watrous 1992: 28 (Deposit 22)	21.1 kg (1,460)	0 (12)	C: (1)	Horizontal-handled bowl: (3) Teacup decorated with ordinary pattern: (1)	Collar-necked jug: (1) (imported) Miscellaneous jugs, jars, and amphoras: (4) (imported) Pithoid jar: (2) (1 imported)
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 1 (73A/79; 81A/15)		2.5 kg (468)	2 (2)	C: 1	Horizontal-handled bowl: (1)	

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.64 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable Vases (Inventoried Fragments)	Conical Cups [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Other Cups and Bowls [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Pouring Vessels [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Southern Hillside, House X, Room 10 (11A/19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 31, 35; 87A/34, 35, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 60, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73)	In part: Watrous 1992: 26 (Deposit 19), 29–30 (Deposit 24)	90.7 kg (ca. 6,125)	1 (88)	C: (6) K: (3) P: (1)	Conical bowl: (1) Goblet: (9) Horizontal-handled bowl: 1(7) Miscellaneous cup: (3) (imported) Straight-sided cup: (1) Blob-decorated teacup: (2) Teacup with solidly coated exterior: (3) Teacup decorated with narrow pattern near rim: (4) (1 imported) Teacup decorated with ordinary pattern: (10) (1 imported) Two-handled footed cup: (1) Wishbone-handled cup: (1)	Beaked jug: (1) (imported) Collar-necked jug: (11) Double vase: (1) Globular flask: (2) Miscellaneous jugs, jars, and amphoras: (8) (> 3 imported) Pithoid jar: (1) Pyxis: (1?) Ring vase: (1) Stirrup jar: (1)

Southern Hillside, House X, Room 11 (11A/18, 22, 23, 25, 27; 73B/100, 104)	In part: Watrous 1992: 26 (Deposit 18), 34 (Deposit 28)	9.3 kg (ca. 1,200)	0 (17)	C: (2) P: (1)	Goblet: (3) Horizontal-handled bowl: (1) Teacup decorated with narrow pattern near rim: (1) Teacup with solidly coated exterior: (1) Teacup decorated with ordinary pattern: (4)	Collar-necked jug: (1) Conical rhyton: (1) (imported) Stirrup jar: (2)

this period's ceramics (1992: 119–25), with the relevant contexts from House X (his Deposits 18, 19, 24, and 28) amplified in the light of new findings but with none of the freshly discovered deposits from House X added.[154] Since virtually all of both the old and the new material came from fills rather than true floor deposits, it is extremely fragmentary, in pronounced contrast with the abundant material of this period published by Popham from the Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (1984: esp. 159–81). The combination of the Kommian material's badly broken and all too often only partially mendable condition with the popularity of sharply everted lips on all the commonly decorated open shapes of this period—teacups, goblets, and horizontal-handled bowls—often makes the assignment of particular fragments to specific shapes more subjective than is typically the case. Thus the shape identifications of decorated open vessels in Table 3.64 should be considered approximations rather than absolutely accurate counts. Despite such qualifications, the overall picture of the period's ceramic development is clear enough. Since the contribution of findings from the Civic Center itself is fairly limited, however, the sketch of this phase presented here is brief and restricted largely to the most common open shapes and to suggesting minor adjustments to Watrous's fundamental and still very serviceable overview.

The conical cups of the period consisted almost exclusively of the unpainted Type C, represented by both strictly conical as well as more convex-sided (**45/7**) body profiles, the dipped Type K, and the coated Type P—that is, much the same mix as in the preceding LM IB Late subphase, but without so many examples of the deeper-bodied unpainted Type D. The ribbing of side walls and spiraliform string-cutting marks on the underside of sharply defined and shallowly hollowed bases likewise continued from LM IB Late, but were by no means universal.

By far the most popular cup with one handle continued to be the semiglobular teacup. Occasional straight-sided (**46b/14**, **47/14**) cups were imports (and in these particular cases probably also LM IB survivals or kick-ups). But the decoration of teacups changed significantly. The once extremely popular pattern of spirals, whether running or isolated (e.g., **47/4–6**), became relatively rare and featured very spidery spirals (**46a/3**, **46b/6**). Even less common was the long-leaved horizontal Reed FM 16 that had peaked in popularity during LM IB Late (**47/9**). Instead, the more popular patterns of the period took the form of single, double, or triple rows of festoons (Joining Semicircles FM 41: 2 or Scale Pattern FM 70) pendent from the rim band, sometimes with a single vertical bar added between the festoon loops (e.g., **37c/6**; also parallels cited for **47/7**), of Foliate Band FM 64, usually without a central line (e.g., **45/6**), or of a single Wavy Line FM 53 (**47/7**). There is usually a substantial gap between the bottom of the pattern and the banding at the base of the handle zone, which no longer consistently takes the form of a single broad band but varies from lines to bands to combinations of both. Locally produced teacups decorated in this fashion with narrow patterns displaced upward toward the rim band typically have a burnished, unpainted interior below a thin-to-medium rim band, although occasionally such a cup may have a stippled interior (**46b/8**) or even a fully coated one (Watrous 1992: 21 no. 355, fig. 19, pl. 9). The solid-

coated teacup, a regular but not particularly prominent decorative type throughout LM I at Kommos, now became more common, especially as a form that was coated on the exterior only (Table 3.64). The dipping of teacups so as to produce matching, near-hemispherical blobs of paint on both the interior and exterior was a complete novelty, as were occasional teacups that appear to be local but that have coated interiors and new forms of abstract decoration on the exterior, two features that appear to have been copied directly from Knossian models (**46a/4**; Watrous 1992: 22 no. 378, 29 no. 499, fig. 23, pls. 10, 14).[155] The overall impression conveyed by this far broader and less homogeneous array of decorated teacups is that of a disintegration of previously agreed on cultural norms and the casting around by individual potters for a new set of decorative standards. Cups imported from Cretan production centers other than Knossos that look distinctly odd (e.g., **47/10**, **47/13**), as well as cups that may be local to Kommos or somewhere nearby in the Mesara but look equally peculiar (e.g., **46b/12**), contribute to this picture of a lack of standardization in a shape that heretofore had been decoratively quite narrowly circumscribed.

The other two most popular LM II open shapes at Kommos represent more radical breaks with the past. The horizontal-handled bowl (**45/4–6**, **46b/17**, **19**)[156] is clearly the direct descendant of the local in-and-out bowl of LM IB (e.g., **46a/5**, **46b/16**, **18**), but the LM II form never bears a pattern on the interior and regularly has its two horizontal handles set at the body's point of maximum diameter on the shoulder (**45/4–5**), as on an occasional LM IB Early predecessor (**40/18**), rather than immediately beneath the everted lip (**20/2**, **26/3**, **37e/10**, **40/17**, **46a/5**, **46b/16**), as was once the norm. At least some of these new bowls are decorated in much the same way as are the local teacups (e.g., **45/6**, probably also **46b/19**), but there also appears to have been a good deal of experimentation with this shape;[157] however, the Floral Paneled Style, although it survives on an occasional teacup (Watrous 1992: 21 no. 354, fig. 19, pl. 9), no longer appears on bowls of any kind.

The shape most often taken as definitive for the LM II period, the goblet[158] or kylix, is in fact not all that common in LM II contexts at Kommos, if one relies on preserved stems or feet to identify it (Table 3.64).[159] The only Minoan examples from LM II contexts in the Civic Center are a linear bowl and upper stem (**46b/15**) and two unpainted lower stem and foot fragments (**46b/20–21**), all reused as stoppers, in two cases almost certainly for the mouths of transport stirrup jars (**46b/22–23**). As at Knossos, the vast majority of decorated goblets feature decoration derived directly from the LH IIB Ephyrean Style of the Greek Mainland (Popham 1984: 165–68). Also as at Knossos, goblet interiors are typically either coated or feature broad banding, whereas handle backs are barred (Popham 1984: 166, fig. 158: 1–3, 6; Watrous 1992: 27 no. 452, 45 no. 774, 106 no. 1863, figs. 23, 32, 66, pls. 12, 48). The two unpainted foot fragments lack a burnished surface, but such neglect of the lowermost portions of these undecorated goblets may be typical.

There are indications from both locales at Kommos where substantial quantities of LM II pottery have been discovered in deep and well-stratified dumps, namely, south of the House of the Snake Tube (Watrous 1992: 16 [Deposit 8], 20–25 [Deposit 16], 43–46 [Deposit 37]) and

north of House X as well as in Rooms 10–11 in its northeast corner (Table 3.64), that two ceramic stages within the local LM II period can be isolated. The first stage featured abundant teacups with plain burnished interiors and narrow patterns near to or pendent from the rim band in the exterior shoulder zone, and some of the new horizontal-handled bowls with unpatterned interiors, but neither plain, decorated, nor solid-coated goblets. The second stage, meanwhile, not only witnessed the appearance of the goblet in all its decorative variants but also featured a significant increase in the number of larger teacups with solid-coated interiors and broad zones of abstract ornament on the exterior shoulder, that is, cups of the sort that appear to have been standard at Knossos (Popham 1984: pls. 50, 51a–d, f, 147, 156: 1–2, 4–7). In this later subphase, the local teacups with narrow patterns near to or pendent from the rim band diminished in number as the "Knossianizing" teacups became more common.[160] How long each of these two subphases lasted is difficult to say, but the impression conveyed by the deposits thus far excavated at Kommos is that the earlier was shorter than the later one. The second clearly manifested the growing impact on regional ceramic assemblages wielded by the ceramic workshops of Knossos, an influence that overwhelmed all of Crete during the subsequent LM IIIA1 period. If this ceramic subdivision of the LM II period at Kommos can be sustained with the full publication of the evidence from House X, one natural conclusion might be that Kommos initially lay outside the sociopolitical orbit of Knossos in the immediate aftermath of the demise of Minoan Neopalatial culture at the end of LM IB. Only after a certain interval of time—potentially quite short but nevertheless detectable—was Kommos overwhelmed by Knossian LM II material culture, as most obviously represented in the ceramics of the period.

The relatively diminutive fragments as well as small numbers of pouring, transport, storage, and cooking vessels of LM II date from contexts in the Civic Center preclude any useful additions to previous discussions of the larger shapes of this period (Popham 1984: 168–79; Watrous 1992: 122).

In the case of the Civic Center's LM II contexts, as is often the case at Kommos, it is the imported vessels rather than what can be identified as local products that merit the most attention. These fall into three major categories. First, there are the substantial numbers of decorated drinking cups (e.g., **46a/6**, **46b/5**, **46b/14**, **47/10–14**) and pouring vessels (e.g., **45/1**, **46b/3**) imported from other production centers within the Aegean. In view of their context of discovery, these, as already noted, presumably represent a continuation of the festive or ceremonial events featuring mass feasting and drinking that took place within the central court of Building T throughout the preceding Neopalatial era. No matter how troubled the LM II period may have been on the island of Crete as a whole, it is evident that high-quality drinking equipment was imported in some quantities from other sites on Crete as well as from the Greek Mainland (**46a/6**) much as in the preceding LM IB Late subphase, a remarkable fact in view of how dramatic the decline in prosperity was from one phase to the next at virtually all other sites on Crete with the exception of Knossos.

A second important category of imports consisted of plain (**45/9–11**, **47/19–20**) or rather simply decorated (**45/12**, **46b/22–23**) containers that were used to transport what was either certainly (**45/11**, **46b/22–23**) or probably (**45/9–10**, **12**) liquid produce in bulk to Kommos from as far away as Egypt (**45/10**, **47/19**), Cyprus (**45/11**), and the Cyclades (**47/20**, perhaps also **45/12**). This liquid is most probably again to be identified as wine consumed during the festivities for which the lavishly decorated drinking cups and jugs were likewise imported, albeit usually from different centers.

Finally, the magnificent pithoid jar **47/21** imported from the Peloponnese stands in a class by itself as a high-status storage, and possibly also transport, vessel, associated in its region of production with élite burials (Kalogeropoulos 1998: 174–79, pls. 50–55) and on the island of Crete, above all during this particular period, with the palatial establishment at Knossos. When, in what cultural context, and by what route this large and impressive vessel arrived at Kommos can unfortunately not be readily determined, but the discovery of at least one of its constituent sherds in Trench 27B, Pail 38 indicates that it had been broken and its fragments had begun to be deposited before the end of LM IB. The remarkable fact that the cluster of three patterns with which it was decorated—Sacral Ivy FM 12, Palm I FM 14, and "Sea Anemone" FM 27—is also characteristic of the work of an LM IB Late Minoan vase painter to whose hand have been attributed two jugs found at Kommos (**48/1** with references), an ovoid rhyton from Pseira, and a cylindrical bridge-spouted jar from Tourkogeitonia at Archanes suggests that this same early Mycenaean pithoid jar found at Kommos may conceivably have inspired the work of the Minoan artist in question, all of which has been assigned to the very latest stage of the LM IB period (Müller 1997: 312 and n. 1463). Could it be that the Mycenaean pithoid jar from Kommos played a role in inspiring not only the work of a Minoan Floral Style painter of late LM IB but also the Minoan Palace Style itself that began at about the same time (Niemeier 1985)? Independent of the Mycenaean jar's possible function as a vehicle for the dissemination of new decorative styles on Crete, however, is the question of its significance as an indicator of status. Who would have brought such a vessel from the Peloponnese to the south coast of Crete and for what purpose? Is this vessel an indicator of the prestige of an individual or group who controlled the Civic Center at Kommos? Although such questions cannot be answered with the evidence presently available, it is surely significant that **47/21** is unique as a Mycenaean Palace Style jar imported to Crete and that it is one of a fairly small number of such jars to have been discovered anywhere in a nonfunerary context (Kalogeropoulos 1998: 85–179, pls. 50–55).

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IIIA1–A2 EARLY: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

The first ceramic deposits in the Civic Center after Groups 45–46 of LM II date to accumulate gradually above a floor or surface are those represented by the various subdivisions of Group 57 found below Gallery P3, small bodies of sherd material that are argued below to date to

LM IIIA2 Early. In other words, no strata unambiguously representative of LM IIIA1 activity have so far been identified within the bounds of Neopalatial Building T. Pottery attributable to LM IIIA1 on stylistic grounds is, to be sure, reasonably common within the Civic Center but is invariably found in later contexts. The earliest such contexts, to judge from the latest material that they contain, date from early in the LM IIIA2 period and constitute a series of massive building fills associated with the remodeling of T Room 5 and adjacent spaces to the east as Building N (Groups 48–51) and with the construction of the northernmost two galleries of Building P and a featureless and roughly surfaced terrace just to the north of the central 25 m of Gallery P1 (i.e., above T Rooms 21, 23–25, 29, and the eastern two-thirds of Spaces 20 and 22) (Groups 52a–d). These building fills typically contained large quantities of pottery, overwhelmingly of Neopalatial date but sprinkled with small quantities of LM II, LM IIIA1, and LM IIIA2 Early fragments that in all but a few cases consisted of two or three joining sherds at most. The latest pieces are typically fragments of fine unpainted ladles (e.g., **49/7**) and kylikes or of pattern-decorated teacups (e.g., **52a/4–5**, **7**; **52b/2**), jugs (e.g., **52c/3**), and amphoroid kraters (e.g., **52c/1**). Also present in these fills were small numbers of foreign imports, some of types familiar from LM II or earlier contexts (e.g., Egyptian amphoras or jars like **52a/9** and **52c/4**) but more often of types that are novelties: Canaanite jars (**52a/10**, **52c/5–6**); Cypriot White Slip II milkbowls (**48/3**, **51/2–3**), Plain White pithoi (**51/4**, **52a/12**) and kraters (**52a/11**), and true Base Ring jugs (**52c/7**); Western Anatolian jugs (**49/8**, **51/5–6**); and an occasional Mycenaean stirrup jar (**48/4**). In some cases, these new categories of imports represent contact with altogether new areas, such as the Syro–Palestinian Levant (for the Canaanite jars), whereas in other cases they merely consist of new ceramic types from regions with which Kommos already had long-established contacts (e.g., Cyprus or the Greek Mainland). In the case of Western Anatolia, finds from House X at Kommos as well as from elsewhere on Crete (Knossos, Katsamba) show that the reddish brown burnished jugs typical of the central and southern parts of this region began to reach Crete in some quantity during LM II (see catalogue entry for **49/8**).

As already noted, the vast majority of the pottery from these building fills dates from periods much earlier than that of the fills' deposition. This Neopalatial material presumably represents debris from earlier phases of Building T's use, much of it probably taken from areas of the East Wing subsequently overbuilt by Building P (especially those portions covered by the first two galleries to be constructed), but perhaps even more from what had once been the West Wing. The circumstances of Group 50's deposition in a location just south of what had once been the northwest corner of Building T's court (see n. 148) reveal that the West Wing is likely to have been purposefully dismantled to provide ready access to the court from the sea to the west. The process of removing the accumulated debris from this wing and dumping it as fill in new locations (not surprisingly) caused the large quantities of pottery contained in it to become thoroughly mixed and so to provide very few joins within the secondary depositional contexts from which it was recovered. In the few instances when

a number of fragments from the same vase were recognized in a single location within this fill, the sherds in question are thus arguably more likely to represent a vessel used by the work force charged with moving the fill than to be the remnants of a much earlier floor deposit. Among the dumped fills being surveyed here, four vessels immediately stand out as having been mended from five or more sherds: a ladle (**49/7**), two Western Anatolian jugs (**49/8**, **51/6**), and an Egyptian amphora (**52a/9**). The circumstances of their deposition and preservation suggest that all four may have been used as water jars and a drinking cup by the work force employed to reconstruct Kommos's Civic Center early in the LM IIIA2 period. This possibility is further supported by the association of similar Western Anatolian jugs and fine unpainted Minoan ladles in deposits at both LM IIIA2 Early—that is, contemporary—Kommos (Watrous 1992: 43 nos. 740, 742, fig. 31, pl. 17 [Deposit 36]) and LM IIIB Knossos (Evans 1921: 369, 384 fig. 279 = Popham 1964: 8, pl. 2b). Whether the fact that the water jars in these contexts at Kommos are all non-Minoan implies that the work force may have consisted, at least in part, of foreigners is an intriguing hypothesis but not one that can be meaningfully tested with the data available.

LATE MINOAN IIIA1–A2 EARLY POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

The minuscule amounts of pottery selected here for publication from the enormous quantities of pottery recovered from the construction fills associated with Building N on the one hand and with Galleries P1-P2 and the adjoining terrace to the north on the other have been chosen with three purposes in mind: first, to convey an impression of how chronologically mixed the deposits in question were by including samples from as many discrete periods as possible (especially Groups 49, 52b, 52d); second, to present significant fragments of vases imported from non-Minoan centers of production; and finally, to present the occasional Minoan piece of genuine ceramic interest that is to be found in these fills (e.g., **48/1**, **50/1**, **52a/5**). The dearth of LM IIIA1 pottery groups from the Civic Center is compensated for by the wealth of such deposits in House X.[161] The pottery of this phase at Kommos has been previously characterized in some detail by Watrous (1992: 125–30) and nothing published here, aside from the recognition as such of Western Anatolian reddish brown burnished imports (see further below) can be considered a significant addition to the ceramic portrait painted there.

Two points of a general nature merit emphasis. First, as noted by Watrous (1992: 125), numerous "deposits at Kommos were closed at the beginning of LM IIIA2," that is, at more or less the same time as the massive building fills in the Civic Center that produced Groups 48–52d were being laid down. This was clearly a time of considerable importance locally, as it was at other sites in the western Mesara (La Rosa 1997b; D'Agata 1999b, c) and indeed throughout Crete (Shelmerdine 1992), no doubt as a result of the collapse of Knossian power at this time (Popham 1994, 1997; Warren 1989).

Second, it is important for those who are presenting the ceramic evidence for the dates of major building projects, destruction horizons, and other events of similar magnitude to be explicit about their criteria for identifying specific chronological horizons. Watrous identifies at least two important features that he used to distinguish LM IIIA2 from LM IIIA1 (1992: 31): the advent of the "vertically walled cup," that is, the teacup lacking a sharply everted lip, typically in the case of LM IIIA1 what has often been termed a "ledge rim" (Popham 1970a: 68–69 Type A; Popham 1984: 181–82; Watrous 1992: 125); and the advent of the fine unpainted "goblet" (Popham's "champagne cup"), here termed a footed one-handled cup (Hallager 1997: 30). To these two criteria should be added, because of its particular relevance for the contexts discovered in the Civic Center, the advent of the fine unpainted ladle (FS 236) as represented by **49/7**, **57d/2**, and other fragments not published here.[162] Among the deposits published by Watrous from the Central Hillside and Hilltop areas at Kommos, two in particular appear to have been closed at much the same time as the LM IIIA2 Early construction fills of the Civic Center were being put into place: a deposit from below a staircase in the North House's Room N21 (Watrous 1992: 39–40, Deposit 32; M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 50–51, pl. 2.67); and a sealed fill in Hilltop Room 26 (Watrous 1992: 42–43, Deposit 36; M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 74–75).

Later Postpalatial: Late Minoan IIIA2 Through Late Minoan IIIB

The construction of Building P in at least three architecturally discernible stages (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3) generated a series of chronologically differentiable fills, gradual use accumulations, and even floor deposits within the six galleries of which it is composed. Since all but one of these galleries are as of the present publication largely unexcavated, the evidence presented here for the dating and function of these enormous spaces is in most cases only a small fraction of what still remains to be recovered. The complete clearance of Gallery P3, however, suggests that the interiors of these spaces are likely to be largely featureless, with thin and very irregular layers of use accumulation in which the pottery is extremely fragmentary and rarely mends up to any significant degree. By contrast, substantial floor deposits of largely restorable pottery have been recovered from Room 5 as well as from Corridor 7 (Group 59) and Court 6 (Group 60) within Building N. The fundamental difference in preservation between the LM IIIB ceramic evidence recovered from the final floors of Building P's galleries and the abandonment deposits in Building N could thus hardly be greater.

On the other hand, thanks to the piecemeal construction of Building P over an extended period of time and the apparent decision at some point to establish a roughly equivalent floor level throughout all its galleries during its final, LM IIIB, period of use, a number of different stages within the LM IIIA2 period have been identified in Galleries P2 and P3.

There are thus good reasons to believe that further excavations within Galleries P1, P2, P4, P5, and P6 might produce additional discrete deposits of LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB pottery that would allow these ceramic phases at Kommos to be subdivided and characterized in greater detail. Comparable evidence for stages within LM IIIA2 does not exist in the surviving portions of Building N. The evidence from the two buildings is thus nicely complementary from the point of view of the ceramic historian interested in charting developments in both the local and imported pottery during the roughly 120–140 years represented by the use deposits recovered from them. In the following catalogue, the pottery representing the LM IIIA2 (ca. 1360–1300 B.C.) construction and use of Building P is presented first, followed by that for the LM IIIB (ca. 1300–1225[?] B.C.) use of both buildings.[163]

Group 53

Date:	Mixed Protopalatial to LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	788
Weight (grams):	6,340
Trench/pail(s):	93B/41C, 42A, 42C, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53
Cross joins:	65A2/49, 51 (**53/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; LM IIIA2 construction fill below single detected floor in Gallery P4 near its west end at ca. +3.30 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 60 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Stereo (trimmed soft bedrock)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Patch of lowermost floor identified in Gallery P4 (exposed with 86F/98) and shallow level of uncontaminated Prehistoric fill above (86F/96), both in northeasternmost portion of Gallery P4 so far excavated

Table 3.65. Pottery Group 53.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	141	122	58	107	234	126
As % of total	17.9	15.5	7.4	13.6	29.7	16.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	600	295	310	1,100	2,475	1,560
As % of total	9.5	4.7	4.9	17.4	39.0	24.6

53/1 (C 10358). Horizontal-handled bowl(?). Pl. 3.57.

Shoulder: Flower FM 18 framed by horizontal wavy bands of variable thickness.

LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52d/2**; for the pattern, Popham 1970a: figs. 3: 9, 12: 33, pl. 1a (Royal Villa); fig. 15: 109, pls. 2b, 43a: 2, 43b: 1–4 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: 91 NC 12, pls. 116a: 4, 171: 17, 172: 2 (Unexplored Mansion); Warren 1997: fig. 12: P200 (Stratigraphic Museum Excavations).

53/2 (C 10359). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.57.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 of "snail-spiral" (Schneckenspirale) type with fill of crudely rendered solid Rosettes FM 17(?).

LM II–IIIA1. For the shape, Niemeier 1985: 6–13; for the spiral decoration, Niemeier 1985: 105–6, 245–48, fig. 45, pls. 18–19; for the rosettes, compare an LM II jar from the Unexplored Mansion (Popham 1984: 59 M21, pl. 71a–b); for LM IIIA Palace Style jar fragments from Kommos, Watrous 1992: 33 nos. 555–56, 42 no. 727, 43 no. 745, 45–46 nos. 797–99, 821, 48 no. 838, 107–8 nos. 1885, 1887, fig. 25, pls. 13, 17, 19, 47; also **57d/5** and **57i/2**.

53/3 (C 8203). Closed shape. Pls. 3.57 (handle only), 3.92 at *c* (handle and select body sherds only).

Handmade; very soft (low-fired?) fabric. Flaring lower portion of flat-backed vertical strap handle bears possible potter's mark in form of two deep (2.5 mm), vertical, and roughly parallel incisions made before firing; despite the number of surviving body fragments, their small size and the absence of wheelmarks preclude any reconstruction of the vessel's profile.

Fabric and shape identify piece as import, probably non-Minoan, but source unknown.

Group 54

Date:	Mixed LM IA Early and LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	1,547
Weight (grams):	23,470
Trench/pail(s):	93A/1B, 4, 5A, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15A
Cross joins:	Group 9b (**9b/1–2, 9; 54/2**); Groups 9b and 72 (**54/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; LM IIIA2 construction fill below earliest laid floor at west end of Gallery P5, at +3.21/3.31 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	ca. 40–55 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Above and partially mixed with LM IA floor deposit in T Space 36 (Group 9b)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Fill between first and last laid floors at west end of Gallery P5 (Group 72)

54/1 (C 9052). Teacup. Pl. 3.57.

No spout pushed out 90° clockwise from handle. Shoulder: composite of Quirk FM 48 and foliate scroll below horizontal row of dots.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: figs. 3: 3, 8, 12: 30–31 (foliate scroll with dots), 13: 60 (quirk with dots), pls. 1e, 2g (Royal Villa); pls. 37d: 1, 39b: 5 (Northwest House); pls. 42c: 11–12, 42f: 7–9 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: pls. 173: 33, 174: 39, 177a: 20, 178c: 7–8 (Unexplored Mansion); Warren 1997: fig. 12: P1697 (Stratigraphic Museum Excavations); also **55/1**.

54/2 (C 9063). Short-necked amphora. Pls. 3.57, 3.92 at *d*.

Scar of thickened vertical strap handle just above rounded carination where shoulder meets body; thick, secondarily applied clay lining on bottom of interior has separated from original thickness of wall. Upper body: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Lower body: vertical drips or stem of crude floral motif at base. Handle: thick ring around handle base.

LM IIIA2 (= Rutter 2000: fig. 5). Evans 1928: 627–29, fig. 392: 3; Watrous 1992: 40 no. 702, 48

Table 3.66. Pottery Group 54.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	256	109	120	315	400	347
As % of total	16.5	7.0	7.8	20.4	25.9	22.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	1,400	375	860	6,710	6,610	7,515
As % of total	6.0	1.6	3.7	28.6	28.2	32.0

no. 839, 60 nos. 1011, 1015, 68 no. 1137, 75 no. 1273, 76 no. 1305, 82 nos. 1410, 1414, 1416, 90 no. 1584, 97 no. 1677, 99 no. 1716, 109 no. 1915, 135, figs. 30, 42, 47, 59, 63, pls. 16, 19, 25, 30, 36, 40, 43; Rutter 2000; also **55/5** and **58c/3** (decorated), **57j/2**, **66/12–13**, **67a/21–22**, **71b/4**, **73a/1** (plain).

Group 55

Date: Mixed LM I and LM IIIA2
Total sherds: 422
Weight (grams): 5,160
Trench/pail(s): 90A/16, 36, 58, 61, and parts of 15, 28, and 59
Cross joins: Group 75 (**55/2, 4, 6**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; LM IIIA2 construction fill below earliest laid floor at west end of Gallery P6, at +3.20 m (west) to +3.30 m (east)
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IB Early floor deposit at +3.10 m (Group 42)
Group and/or date of stratum above: First LM IIIB floor and fill immediately above (Group 75)

Table 3.67. Pottery Group 55, Trench 90A/16, 36, 58, and 61 (only).

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	61	51	28	38	144	100
As % of total	14.5	12.1	6.6	9.0	34.1	23.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	170	150	225	635	1,900	2,080
As % of total	3.3	2.9	4.4	12.3	36.8	40.3

55/1 (C 11233). Teacup. Pl. 3.58.

Rim thickens near upper handle attachment at left edge of preserved fragment. Shoulder: alternating Iris FM 10A buds below horizontal row of dots.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: pl. 25e: 6 (= lower left) for exact parallel (Southeast Kamares Area); fig. 11: 2–3, pl. 13b: 2–3 (Royal Villa); pl. 36f: 6 (South House and South Front); pls. 42a: 3–4, 42b: 4, 7, 44e: 3 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: 91 NC 15, pls. 116a: 5–6, 116b: 3, 171: 2–3, 6, 172: 4, 177c: 1 (Unexplored Mansion); also **54/1**, **58b/4**.

55/2 (C 9511). Teacup. Pl. 3.58.

Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: figs. 12: 47–48 (Royal Villa); fig. 14: 86 (Southeast Quarter); pl. 1g (Southeast Palace Area); pl. 37b: 14–15, 17 (Northwest House); Popham 1984: pls. 173: 26, 175: 3 (Unexplored Mansion). For the treatment of this pattern around the handle as on **55/2**, Popham 1984: pl. 121c: 1; Watrous 1992: 50 no. 854, pl. 20.

55/3 (C 11234). Kylix. Pl. 3.58.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 209 P2, P4 (one-handled), P3 (two-handled), fig. 9 (Sellopoulo Tomb 4), argued by both Popham (ibid., 204–10) and B. P. Hallager (1997: 26–27) to be LM IIIA1. Profile of lip and section of handle intermediate between vessels identified as LM IIIA1 and LM IIIA2 in Popham 1984: pls. 172, 176: 7–9 (LM IIIA1), 175: 15, 176: 12 (LM IIIA2); more developed than kylikes labeled simply "LM IIIA" from Knossian palace and immediately surrounding houses in Popham 1970a: figs. 9–10; also intermediate between LM IIIA1 and LM IIIA2–B kylix profiles previously published from Kommos in Watrous 1992: figs. 27: 643, 31: 737 (LM IIIA1), 38: 943, 39: 958, 41: 996, 45: 1243, 47: 1299, 49: 1312, 67: 1878 (LM IIIA2–B); also **56e/13**.

55/4 (C 9512). Amphoroid krater. Pl. 3.58.

Thickening in lower body wall indicative of two-part manufacture (Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Rutter 2000: 179–80). Shoulder: Octopus FM 21(?).

LM IIIA2. For the combination of shape and pattern, Watrous 1992: 64 no. 1075, pl. 25 (LM IIIA2), 82 no. 1405, fig. 53, pl. 35 (LM IIIB); also **66/11**, **71a/2**, and **77/6**.

55/5 (C 11231). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.58 (only select body sherds indicated).

Vertical wiping marks on one surviving shoulder fragment indicate imminence of lower attachment of vertical handle. Thickening in body wall at midheight indicative of two-part manufacture (Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Rutter 2000: 179–80). Body: portions of very broad Wavy Line FM 53(?) preserved in fugitive paint on six of twenty surviving fragments.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **54/2**.

55/6 (C 11232). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.58.

Levantine LB IIA import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: Amarna fabric IV.1b (Group 4 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.). For other examples of the shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see Watrous 1992: 154 no. 806, pl. 50 (misidentified as "probably Cycladic") and 160 no. 1950, pl. 53; C 8069 (= Cline 1994: no. 368); C 9014.

Group 56a

Date:	LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	453
Weight (grams):	8,705
Trench/pail(s):	77A/35, 44, 46, 47, 48, 53; 94B/114, 115
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; floor of burnt earth and tiny pebbles at ca. +3.40 m (west) to +3.45 m (east), and fill of gray clay immediately above,

	toward east end of Gallery P2, but in west portion of sounding excavated at this end of gallery
Thickness of constituent strata:	15–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Construction fill containing mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 (94B/116–17, 119–20)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Steeply sloping, partially paved LM IIIB surface at east end of Gallery P2 (Group 67a)

Table 3.68. Pottery Group 56a.

	Fine Fabrics		Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	47	80	25	239	62
As % of total	10.4	17.7	5.5	52.8	13.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	245	520	475	6,585	880
As % of total	2.8	6.0	5.5	75.6	10.1

56a/1 (C 10357). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, conical subtype. Pl. 3.59.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: 79, figs. 7: 10 (Royal Villa), 9: 11 (House of the High Priest); Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 209 P1, P10–P11, fig. 9 (Sellopoulo Tomb 4); Popham 1984: 181, 183, pls. 176: 1–2 (LM IIIA1), 16–17 (LM IIIA2) (Unexplored Mansion); Watrous 1992: 31 no. 524, 36 nos. 615–16, 42 no. 729, 55 no. 940, 56 no. 966, 59 no. 1006, 77 no. 1316, 125, 132, figs. 24, 27, 31, 38, 39, 41, 49, pls. 15, 17, 22, 24, 30; also **57j/1**, **60/6–7**, and **67a/15**.

56a/2 (C 10218). Amphora. Pl. 3.59.

Hope amphora category 1a.

Egyptian New Kingdom import. For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

Group 56b

Date:	LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	356
Weight (grams):	5,070
Trench/pail(s):	97E/44, 47, 49, 68
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; floor at ca. +3.51/3.52 m at east end of Gallery P2 and fill immediately above up to ca. +3.60 m, in area to southeast of Group 56a and south of underlying north wall of T Room 27
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early

Group and/or date of stratum above: construction fill (97E/69) of variable thickness on top of MM III floor deposit (Group 1)
Steeply sloping, partially paved LM IIIB surface at east end of Gallery P2 (Group 67a)

Table 3.69. Pottery Group 56b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	92	56	25	32	101	50
As % of total	25.8	15.7	7.0	9.0	28.4	14.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	1,040	535	180	470	1,765	1,080
As % of total	20.5	10.6	3.6	9.3	34.8	21.3

56b/1 (C 10461). Collar-necked amphora. Pl. 3.59.

Shoulder: alternating Iris FM 10A buds below a horizontal row of Quirk FM 48.

LM IIIA2. For the shape, Popham 1984: 35 H171, pl. 63a (LM II); for the decoration, Popham 1970a: fig. 12: 32 (but with foliate scroll in place of the iris buds); for this ancillary usage of quirk, also ibid., figs. 14: 80, 15: 106.

56b/2 (C 10470). Closed shape. Pl. 3.59.

Probably a collar-necked jug (like **56e/1**) or amphora (like **56b/1**), but possibly a large amphoriskos (e.g., Watrous 1992: 60 no. 1013, fig. 42, pl. 24). Linear as preserved, but almost certainly an originally patterned vessel.

LM IIIA2.

56b/3 (C 10468). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.59.

Shallowly pushed-out spout at rim, probably centered between handles. Linear as preserved and in all likelihood also originally; traces of paint at single surviving handle stump, but precise nature of handle decoration uncertain.

LM IIIA2. Watrous 1992: 43 no. 738, 45 no. 787, figs. 31, 33, pls. 17–18 (LM IIIA1); 56 no. 971, fig. 39, pl. 23 (LM IIIA2); also **52d/2** (LM IIIA1), **53/1**, **57b/2**, and **57d/1** (LM IIIA2 Early), and **56f/1** (LM IIIA2).

56b/4 (C 10462). Kylix. Pl. 3.59.

FS 265. No trace of perforation at core of stem (Watrous 1992: 127; Hallager 1997: 20, 22 n. 25; Kanta 1997: 95).

LH IIIA2 Mycenaean fine unpainted import(?). For an extensive series of slightly later plain rounded kylix (FS 265) profiles, all lacking the slightly thickened and everted lip of **56b/4**, see Thomas 1992: 89, 226–30, fig. 29: 1–18 (Tsoungiza; early LH IIIB1); 317–20, 395–400, figs. 64–65 (Zygouries; later LH IIIB1). Somewhat earlier are examples of the shape classified as FS 266 from LH IIIA1 tombs in the Athenian Agora: Immerwahr 1971: 224 XXIV-15, pls. 52, 67; 234 XXXII-3, pl. 56. For unpainted Minoan kylikes with a solid stem, Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: fig. 9: 4/3, 4/8 (Knossos, Sellopoulo Tomb 4; LM IIIA1); Popham 1984: 13 E2, pl. 115: 2 (Knossos, Minoan Unexplored Mansion; LM IIIA2–B). For plain Mycenaean Kylikes imported elsewhere on Crete, Hallager and Hallager 2003: 116 84-P0255, 120 84-P0607, pls. 83, 115d: 1, 6 (Chania; LH IIIB1 examples from LM IIIB2 contexts).

56b/5 (C 10463). Wishbone-handled cup. Pl. 3.59.

Åström 1972: shape IF.

Cypriot Base Ring II import. Åström 1972: 175–78, fig. LII: 2–7; Russell 1989: 4, fig. 7, pl. II; also **MI/Cy/2** below.

56b/6 (C 10464). Lamp. Pl. 3.59.

Cypriot LC II Cooking Ware import. Russell 1989: 6, 142 K–AD 1012–13, pl. III.

56b/7 (C 10469). Carinated bowl. Pl. 3.59.

Red-slipped interior and exterior.

Egyptian New Kingdom import. For the shape, Frankfort and Pendlebury 1933: 111 shape VII.5–7; Hope 1989: 10, fig. 1p. Fabric: Nile silt B2 (D. Aston and P. Rose, pers. comm.).

Group 56c

Date: LM IIIA2
Total sherds: 301
Weight (grams): 7,880
Trench/pail(s): 97E/43, 45, 46, 48
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; floor at +3.51/3.52 m and fill of small stones above to +3.71 m in east-west strip ca. 1.00 m wide along southern face of Gallery P2's north wall at the gallery's east end (east of Group 56a, north of 56b)
Thickness of constituent strata: 20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Protopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early construction fill over 20 cm deep (97E/56, 59, 61)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Steeply sloping, partially paved LM IIIB surface at east end of Gallery P2 (Group 67a)

Table 3.70. Pottery Group 56c.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	28	33	9	17	119	95
As % of total	9.3	11.0	3.0	5.6	39.5	31.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	245	195	65	440	3,615	3,320
As % of total	3.1	2.5	0.8	5.6	45.9	42.1

56c/1 (C 10466). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.60. Flat base fragment (not indicated in drawing) may not belong to this vase. LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **56e/7**.

Group 56d

Date: LM IIIA2
Total sherds: 63
Weight (grams): 1,375
Trench/pail(s): 97E/51
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; sunken rectangular pit

	in northeast corner of Gallery P2, with base of pit at lower level (+3.45 m) than adjacent floor to west and south (+3.52 m)
Thickness of constituent strata:	15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	LM IIIA2 fill (97E/46, part of Group 56c)

Table 3.71. Pottery Group 56d.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	5	4	3	5	21	25
As % of total	7.9	6.3	4.8	7.9	33.3	39.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	25	10	80	120	840	300
As % of total	1.8	0.7	5.8	8.7	61.1	21.8

56d/1 (C 10467). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.60.

LM IIIA2 import from elsewhere on Crete, to judge from atypical fabric and unusually small and high raised base (contrast **56e/3–4** and **56f/2**).

Group 56e

Date:	LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	> 600
Weight (grams):	23,470
Trench/pail(s):	63A/63, 73, 75, 82, 83, 85
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; patchily pebbled surface of court at +3.35/3.40 m immediately west and north of entrance to Gallery P1, on top of which rest both the east-west retaining wall along the south side of Court 15 and the bonding, short north-south retaining wall linking this wall to Gallery P1's northwest corner, where it abuts Gallery P1's north wall
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 10–25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IIIA2 Early fill (63A/82, 83) above LM IB dumped fill (63A/89, 90, 91, 92, 93)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Rough surface at ca. +3.60 m overlain by LM IIIA2–B fill (63A/59, 61, 62)

56e/1 (C 8249). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.60.

Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIA2. Watrous 1992: 53 no. 927, 74 no. 1262, figs. 36, 46, pls. 21, 28 (LM IIIA2–IIIB Early); 96 no. 1662, fig. 62, pl. 43 (LM IIIB).

56e/2 (C 8250). Teacup. Pl. 3.60.

Shoulder: horizontal chain of comb pattern (stylized Iris FM 10A) framed by horizontal rows of upright and inverted commas (U-Pattern FM 45).

LM IIIA2. For the pattern, presumably a stylized version of the horizontal chain of Iris FM 10A represented, for example, on a bowl from Amnisos (Kanta 1980: pl. 14: 3, upper left), see Popham 1970a: pls. 21f: 19 (Knossos, uncertain provenance), 39f: 6 (Northwest House); for a similar use of U-Pattern in combination with another motif, Popham 1970a: pls. 37e: 3, 5, 40g (Northwest House); Popham 1984: pl. 181a, bottom row, no. 3 (LM IIIB from Unexplored Mansion); Mountjoy 2003: 144 no. 761, fig. 4.40 (South House); Watrous 1992: 69 no. 1150, pl. 27; 79 no. 1366, pl. 34 (Kommos); also **58a/2** (LM IIIA2) and **76/1** (LM IIIB).

56e/3 (C 8252). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.60.

Very slightly pushed-out spout, creating depression on interior just below rim that was then rather sloppily filled by the addition of a patch of clay.

LM IIIA2. Popham 1970a: 79, fig. 7: 11 (Royal Villa); Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 209 P13, fig. 9 (Sellopoulo Tomb 4); Popham 1984: 181, pl. 176: 3 (LM IIIA1 from Unexplored Mansion); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 120 84-P0609, 239, pls. 72, 116c: 5 (Chania; LM IIIB2); Watrous 1992: 31 no. 523, 32 no. 531, 34 no. 578, 39 no. 673, 56 no. 957, 66 no. 1112, 74 no. 1265, 125, 132, figs. 24, 26, 28, 39, 43, 46, pls. 13–15, 22, 26, 29; also **56e/4** and **56f/2** (LM IIIA2), **67a/16**, **69a/2–3**, and **75/4** (LM IIIB).

56e/4 (C 11837). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.60.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

56e/5 (C 11834). Closed shape. Pl. 3.60.

Lower body: spaced vertical bands or drips, probably the bottoms of trickle decoration.

LM IIIA2 import from East Crete, possibly Palaikastro. Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923: 112, fig. 97; MacGillivray et al. 1989: 434, pl. 66c; MacGillivray 1997: 199, "Drip Painted Style."

56e/6 (C 11836). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.60.

Hollowed disk base with spreading exterior profile set off from lowermost body by shallow groove and seemingly produced as a separate piece in the vessel's manufacture.

LM IIIA2. For the application of a pale-firing slip to a cooking pot's surfaces, **56e/8** and **56f/3**; for the shape, comparanda as for **56f/3**.

56e/7 (C 8251). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.61.

Spout located at rim on axis precisely midway between two legs and two handles possible but not actually preserved; handles and legs so positioned as to allow vessel to be easily tipped forward on two legs in direction of potential spout.

LM IIIA2. Profile intermediate between locally produced LM IIIA1 and LM IIIB examples of the form: Watrous 1992: 34 no. 581, fig. 26, pl. 14 (LM IIIA1); 78 no. 1346, 95 no. 1654, 96 nos. 1663–64, figs. 50, 62, 63, pls. 32, 42–43 (LM IIIB). Most closely comparable local specimens are Watrous 1992: 50 no. 862, pl. 20 and 53 no. 926, pl. 21, neither of which unfortunately is illustrated in the form of a line drawing; cf. also **56e/8**. Of four LM IIIA1 examples from Khamalevri, only one is closely comparable (Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 1997: 135 Π-13284, figs. 52, 54), whereas the three LM II examples published from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos are all noticeably squatter, although they have similar rim and upper body profiles (Popham 1984: 174, pls. 86f–h, 162: 9–11).

56e/8 (C 11833). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.60.

Swellings near bases of two horizontal handles preserved on two nonjoining fragments, but relationship of handle to leg placement not determinable.

LM IIIA2. For shape, comparanda as for **56e/7**; for application of slip over exceptionally coarse fabric, **56e/6** (contrast the appreciably finer fabric of **56e/7**).

56e/9 (I 47). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.62.

Complex mark crudely incised into back of handle after firing.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Bennet 1996: 317 no. 13, pls. 4.47, 4.51). For shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for marking of Canaanite jars after firing, with references to earlier literature, Hirsch-

feld 1999: esp. 243–46, 259–60 table 7.1 (11 of the 159+ Canaanite jars on the Ulu Burun shipwreck were marked), 262–77 (marks interpreted as Cypriot handlers' signs), and also **MI/SP-2**. Fabric: Amarna fabric IV.1a (Group 5 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.). For other examples of the shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see **57c/2**, **MI/SP/1**, **MI/SP/6, MI/SP/7**, **MI/SP/9, MI/SP/10,** Watrous 1992: 161 no. 750**,** C 8245 (= Cline 1994: no. 373), and C 9167 (= Cline 1994: no. 377).

56e/10 (C 8154). Juglet. Pl. 3.61 (handle solid-coated).

Rectangular vertical strap handle attached by a cylindrical tongue inserted through circular perforation (d 0.95 cm) pierced through shoulder from outside (contrast **52c/7**). Vertical wavy ribs on body, one of which continues up back of handle slightly off-center; horizontal rib at base of neck.

Åström 1972: Form IB.

Cypriot Handmade Bucchero (= vertically ribbed Base Ring II) import. Åström 1972: 426–28, fig. LXXVIII: 2–8.

56e/11 (C 11835). Jug. Pl. 3.61.

Vertical strap handle from rim to shoulder; handle scar on exterior shoulder exhibits criss-cross scoring intended to improve strength of attachment.

Western Anatolian LB reddish brown burnished import. Mellaart and Murray 1995: 4 shape 14, 7, fig. P.5: 1, 3 , pl. III no. 4 (Beycesultan III); 24 shape 14, 29, fig. P.19: 5–9 (Beycesultan II); 59, 63, fig. P.39: 6 (Beycesultan I); Günel 1999a: 180–81 Type YT I 4, pls. 106: 1–2, 113–17 (Panaztepe). Comparanda from Minoan contexts as for **49/8**.

56e/12 (C 8283). Globular alabastron. Pls. 3.62, 3.92 at *e*.

Three horizontal loop handles at 120° intervals on the shoulder. Neck: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Shoulder: Rock Pattern I–II FM 32–33, with fill of multiple horizontal wavy lines. Handles: single band across back; bases outlined by horizontal figure eight, sometimes with a pendent double triangle filling motif above.

LM IIIA2 import, possibly from Knossos. A comparably decorated shape variant featuring four vertical handles unfortunately lacks a published provenance (Hallager 1997: 16 fig. 6); possibly of identical shape is an LM III vase from Corridor E in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Popham 1984: pl. 114c, left).

56e/13 (C 11870). Kylix, two-handled. Pl. 3.62.

LM IIIA2 Early. Profile of lip and section of handle close to those of **55/3** and seemingly later than those of **52d/5** and **57d/4**, although bowl is intermediate in depth between the deep **57d/4** (LM IIIA1–IIIA2 Early) and the noticeably shallower **55/3** (LM IIIA2 Early). Comparanda as for **55/3**.

Group 56f

Date:	LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	Ca. 120
Weight (grams):	5,100
Trench/pail(s):	63A/72
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; patchily pebbled surface of court at +3.45 m and fill immediately above, directly south of the east-west retaining wall along the south side of Court 15 ca. 7 m due west of the west end of Gallery P1's north wall
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IIIA2 fill and floor deposit (63A/73, part of Group 56e)

Group and/or date of stratum above: LM IIIB (63A/70) and mixed Prehistoric and Historic (63A/65) fill

56f/1 (C 8204). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.62.

Shoulder: Bivalve Shell FM 25 chain framed by horizontal wavy lines; Parallel Chevrons FM 58 below handle.

LM IIIA2. Popham 1984: pls. 116: 10, 171: 5; For the shape, comparanda as for **56b/3**; for the motif, Popham 1970a: fig. 12: 36, pl. 14c: 1–5 (Royal Villa); pl. 37e: 4 (Northwest House); Andrikou 1997: 18–19, fig. 9: 39 (Archanes).

56f/2 (C 11839). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.62.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

56f/3 (C 8205). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.63.

Nick at interior edge of lip effected before firing, as were some vertical striations at the rim a few centimeters clockwise from the nick; both kinds of marks likely to have been produced unintentionally.

LM IIIA2. Evans 1921: 369, 384 fig. 279: B = Popham 1964: pl. 2b: 6 (Knossos School Room; LM IIIB); Watrous 1992: 68 no. 1139, fig. 43, pl. 27 (LM IIIB); also **40/31** (LM IB Early), **45/8** (LM II), and **56e/6** (LM IIIA2), **59/18**, **60/26–28**, **64/4**, **67a/25–26**, and **71a/3** (LM IIIB).

Group 57a

Date: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 23 (36B); 84 (65A2); 145 (89B)
Weight (grams): 620 (36B); 200 (65A2); 920 (89B)
Trench/pail(s): 36B/parts of 32, 34; 65A2/34, 35, 40, 41, 59, 60, 62, 63; 89B/57, 57A, 59, 60, 62, 65
Cross joins: Groups 57b and 57j (**57b/1**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill directly above plaster floor of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3) sloping down from +3.24 m (east end of Trench 89B) to + 3.02/3.05 m (at west end of Trench 65A2) over a distance of ca. 10–12 m; fill includes makeup of overlying floor consisting of black pebbles, with burning at western end of this space
Thickness of constituent strata: 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Floor of black pebbles with burning in Trench 65A2 (Group 57b), burnt earth surface in Trench 36B (Group 57c), and LM IIIA2 fill (89B/56) below initial LM IIIB floor (Group 68) in Trench 89B

57a/1 (C 11093). Closed shape. Pl. 3.63.

Extensive reddish yellow to pink staining of interior surface (5 YR 7/5) in irregular patches, evidently caused by hematite (ferric oxide) that is still attached in the form of reddish brown incrustations (2.5 YR 5.5/4) here and there on the vessel wall.

LM IIIA. Large vessel, plain as preserved, with lower body profile defining a shallow S-curve, thus probably an amphoroid jar (e.g., Wa-

Table 3.72. Pottery Group 57a, Trench 89B/57, 57A, 59, 60, 62, 65 (only).

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	31	23	4	11	53	23
As % of total	21.4	15.9	2.8	7.6	36.6	15.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	75	40	20	115	545	125
As % of total	8.2	4.3	2.2	12.5	59.2	13.6

trous 1992: 78 no. 1345, fig. 50, pl. 32 = **59/9**) or a transport stirrup jar (e.g., Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1356, pl. 31 = **59/12**).

57a/2 (C 11092). Alabastron. Pl. 3.63.

FS 81–82 or 91–92. Underside of base: Wheel Pattern FM 68: 3.

LH II Mycenaean fine decorated import. Furumark 1941: 403–5, fig. 70; Mountjoy 1986: 24–26, figs. 19, 22 (LH IIA); 40–42, fig. 43 (LH IIB).

Group 57b

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: Ca. 105
Weight (grams): 540
Trench/pail(s): 65A2/48, 52, 55, 57
Cross joins: Groups 57a and 57j (**57b/1**); Group 57d (**57b/2**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; floor of black pebbles with burning at +3.14/3.17 m and fill immediately above near west end of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3) in Trench 65A2
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early fill above plaster floor of T Room 28 (Group 57a)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Primary LM IIIB floor of gray clay (lepis) in Gallery P3 at ca. +3.23/3.30 m (65A2/32, 47, part of Group 68)

57b/1 (C 11094). Teacup. Pl. 3.63.

Shoulder: Diaper Net FM 57.

LM IIIA2 Early. Popham 1970a: fig. 13: 57, pl. 14b: 1–6 (Royal Villa); pl. 29d: 4 (North Foundations); pls. 44a: 5–6, 44c: 2 (Little Palace); Mountjoy 2003: 135 no. 648, fig. 4.37 (South House; LM IIIA1).

57b/2 (C 11097). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.63.

Shoulder: degenerate Reed FM 16.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. For the shape, compa-

randa as for **56b/3**. For the motif, Popham 1970a: fig. 13: 78, pls. 22a: 20, 22b: 8 (Southeast Stairs, Southeast House); pl. 36c: 10 (South House); pl. 36f: 12, 17 (South House and South Front); pl. 42f: 12–15 (Little Palace); pls. 45d: 1, 45e: 10 (House of the High Priest); Mountjoy 2003: 133 no. 626, fig. 437 (South House; LM IIIA1); also **57f/1**. For the combination of shape and motif, **78/17**.

57b/3 (C 11096). Brazier. Pl. 3.63.

LM IIIA. Mercando 1974–75: 119 nos. 28–32,

152, fig. 112 (Neopalatial; Phaistos); Alexiou 1967: 43 nos. 14–15, 48 no. 5, 50 no. 6, 52 nos. 10–10b, pls. 8a: 2, 4, 14c: 4, 17b: 2, 27b: 1–3 (LM IIIA; Katsamba); Watrous 1992: 55 nos. 944, 950, fig. 38, pl. 22 (LM IIIA2); 95 no. 1653, fig. 62, pl. 42 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 245 (LM IIIB2); also **66/14**.

Group 57c

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 40
Weight (grams): 1,260
Trench/pail(s): 36B/29
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill between floor of black pebbles with burning and first LM IIIB floor of gray clay (lepis) near west end of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3) in Trench 36B
Thickness of constituent strata: 7–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early fill above plaster floor of T Room 28 (36B/32, 34, part of Group 57a)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Primary LM IIIB floor of gray clay (lepis) in Gallery P3 at ca. +3.31 m (36B/28, part of Group 68)

57c/1 (C 3350). Amphora. Pl. 3.63.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Watrous 1992: 162 no. 1962, pl. 55 (mislabeled "316") = Cline 1994: 218 no. 754). For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

57c/2 (C 3351). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.64.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Watrous 1992: 160 no. 1952 = Cline 1994: 176 no. 363). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **56e/9**.

Group 57d

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 510
Weight (grams): 4,735
Trench/pail(s): 94A/51, 52, 53, 54, 66, 74
Cross joins: Group 57b (**57b/2**); Group 57j (**57d/1**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; floor of pebbles and burnt earth at +3.14/3.16 m and fill immediately above at very west end of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3) in Trench 94A
Thickness of constituent strata: 5–7 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IB Early fill overlying plaster floor of T Room 28 (Group 41)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Upper LM IIIA2 fill (94A/49) underlying primary LM IIIB floor of Gallery P3 at ca. +3.30 m (Group 68)

Table 3.73. Pottery Group 57d.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	91	167	54	49	79	70
As % of total	17.8	32.7	10.6	9.6	15.5	13.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	295	345	200	615	635	2,645
As % of total	6.2	7.3	4.2	13.0	13.4	55.9

57d/1 (C 11100). Horizontal-handled bowl(?). Pl. 3.64.

Shallowly pushed-out spout at rim, probably centered between handles. Shoulder: multiple horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 with fill of Trefoil Rockwork FM 29, some dot-centered.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **56b/3**. The motif is without good parallels at either Kommos or Knossos.

57d/2 (C 11098). Ladle. Pl. 3.64.

LM IIIA2 Early. The thick handle identifies this piece unmistakably as a ladle; comparanda as for **49/7**; for the rim profile and shallow bowl, Popham 1970a: fig. 9: 3–4 which, however, could easily belong to shallow rounded bowls like **48/2**.

57d/3 (C 11066). Kylix, one-handled. Pl. 3.64.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: 78–79, fig. 9: 8, 10, 13 (LM IIIA); Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 208 P4, 209 P2, P4, figs. 7: 3/4, 9: 4/2, 4/4, pl. 35c (LM IIIA1); Popham 1984: 181–82, pl. 176: 7–8 (LM IIIA1), but the foot profile is closer to those of LM IIIA2 kylikes such as Popham 1984: pl. 175: 15, 18; Hallager 1997: 26–28; also **52d/5**.

57d/4 (C 11099). Kylix, two-handled. Pl. 3.64.

Vertical strap handle tapers noticeably in both width and thickness from top to bottom; relatively deep bowl.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Comparanda as for **52d/5**; also Popham 1970a: 78–79, fig. 10: 28, pl. 11f (LM IIIA); Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 209 P3, P14, fig. 9: 4/3, 4/14, pl. 35c (LM IIIA1); Hallager 1997: 25–26, fig. 18.

57d/5 (C 10831). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.64.

Lower body: large, stemmed floral motif (Papyrus FM 11?) with fill of plain Tricurved Arch FM 62 net.

LM IIIA Palace Style jar. Comparanda as for **53/2**; also Niemeier 1985: 43–51, 97–98.

57d/6 (C 10065). Amphora. Pls. 3.64, 3.92 at *f* (photographed after clipping of lower left corner for fabric analysis).

Single finely incised horizontal line on lower body, dipping down at right (incorrectly shown in drawing as perfectly horizontal).

Egyptian New Kingdom import. For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

Group 57e

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 28
Weight (grams): 55
Trench/pail(s): 89B/70
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; possible surface at ca. +3.18 m or just above in immediate vicinity of westernmost base in "anchor-base colonnade" of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3)

Thickness of constituent strata: 8 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Not excavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Primary LM IIIB floor of Gallery P3 at ca. +3.25/3.30 m (89B/55, part of Group 68)

Table 3.74. Pottery Group 57e.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	18	3	2	—	5	—
As % of total	64.3	10.7	7.1	—	17.9	—
Weight of sherds (grams)	20	10	10	—	15	—
As % of total	36.4	18.2	18.2	—	27.3	—

57e/1 (C 10654). Teacup. Pl. 3.64.

Shoulder: pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43, or festoons, with fill of Concentric Arcs FM 44 between groups and a Sea Anemone FM 27, or dot rosette, at the core of each.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: fig. 11: 26, pl. 13d: 5 (Royal Villa); pl. 42e: 8 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: pl. 171: 8 (Unexplored Mansion); Mountjoy 2003: 133 nos. 637–38, fig. 4.37; Niemeier 1985: 112–15, fig. 53: 33; similar from Kommos is Watrous 1992: 48 no. 841, fig. 34, pl. 19 (Knossian); 50 no. 864, pl. 20; also **57g/1** and **58b/7**.

Group 57f

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 300
Weight (grams): 2,015
Trench/pail(s): 89A/11, 12, 13
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill from exposure of partition walls below earth surface to be associated with the "anchor-base colonnade" down to the plaster floor on which the partition walls here rest, between +3.11 m (southwest) to 3.20 m (northeast) and +3.21 m (southeast) in the western half of Trench 89A
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 8–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: Beaten earth surface at +3.19 m (west)/3.32 m (east) associated with "anchor-base colonnade" (89A/10, part of Group 57j)

Table 3.75. Pottery Group 57f.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	18	31	25	11	134	81
As % of total	6.0	10.3	8.3	3.7	44.7	27.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	55	80	65	95	1,130	590
As % of total	2.7	4.0	3.2	4.7	56.1	29.3

57f/1 (C 11095). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.65.
Shoulder: degenerate Reed FM 16.
LM II–IIIA1. Popham 1984: 169, pls. 61d–e (beaked jugs), 93e: 2 (collar-necked jug), 165: 40; Mountjoy 2003: 130 no. 608, fig. 4.35 (beaked jug); Watrous 1992: 24 no. 402, fig. 20, pl. 11.

57f/2 (C 9489). Necked jar. Pl. 3.65.
Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253c: 3). For the fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

Group 57g

Date: Mixed Neopalatial to LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 116
Weight (grams): 855
Trench/pail(s): 89A/29, 29A, 30, 32
Cross joins: Groups 57h and 57j
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill directly overlying massive north-south wall of Building AA near east end of T Room 28 (below Gallery P3) (89A/29, 29A, 30) and exposure of reddened surface exhibiting burning at +3.34 m (west)/ 3.42 m (east) to the east of this (89A/32)
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 5–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 57h
Group and/or date of stratum above: Upper LM IIIA fill (89A/25, 26, part of Group 57j) immediately underlying primary floor of Gallery P3 at gallery's east end (Group 68)

57g/1 (C 9505). Teacup. Pl. 3.65.
Thickening of vessel wall near base of handle zone at left edge of fragment indicates imminence of handle. Shoulder: pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43, or festoons, with fill of crosshatched Triangles FM 61A at the core of each.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: figs. 13: 73 (Southeast Stairs), 15: 101 (Little Palace) (= Niemeier 1985: fig. 53: 31); Niemeier 1985: 112–15; also **57e/1**, **58b/7**.

57g/2 (C 11056). Collar-necked jug(?). Pl. 3.65.
Very soft and powdery fabric. Shoulder: Run-

Table 3.76. Pottery Group 57g.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	25	20	2	4	47	18
As % of total	21.6	17.2	1.7	3.4	40.5	15.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	90	50	10	50	470	185
As % of total	10.5	5.8	1.2	5.8	55.0	21.6

ning Spiral FM 46 with fill of undeterminable type. Lower body: frieze(?) of solid Circles FM 41.

Cycladic LC II import, probably Melian. Edgar in Atkinson et al. 1904: 130–32 shape no. 2, fig. 101, pl. XXV: 4–6.

Group 57h

Date: Mixed Neopalatial and LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 41
Weight (grams): 280
Trench/pail(s): 89A/33, 35, 36
Cross joins: Group 57g
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; removal of reddened earth surface near east end of T Room 28 exposed with Group 57g (89A/33), cleaning below this down to preserved patches of Neopalatial plaster floor (89A/35), and cleaning the easternmost edge of the lower-lying plaster floor to the west (89A/36)
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 5 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above: The various subdivisions of Group 57g

Table 3.77. Pottery Group 57h.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	6	—	1	2	28	4
As % of total	14.6	—	2.4	4.9	68.3	9.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	20	—	5	15	205	35
As % of total	7.1	—	1.8	5.4	73.2	12.5

57h/1 (C 9504). Amphora. Pl. 3.65.

Hope amphora category 1a. Lip folded over on exterior.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253c: 1). For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

Group 57i

Date:	LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds:	304
Weight (grams):	3,075
Trench/pail(s):	83A/54; 83C/77, 79
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill between secondary LM IIIB floor of northern half of Gallery P3 and plaster floor toward east end of T Room 28
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 7 cm at east in Trench 83A; 10–15 cm farther west in Trench 83C
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Unexcavated
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Second sloping earth floor of Gallery P3 near and at east end of Gallery P3 (83A/46, 46A [part of Group 69a] and 83C/76 [up to 6 m toward the west])

Table 3.78. Pottery Group 57i.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	64	38	9	25	100	35
As % of total	21.1	12.5	3.0	9.2	40.5	13.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	250	205	40	645	1,310	625
As % of total	8.1	6.7	1.3	21.0	42.6	20.3

57i/1 (C 11091). In-and-out bowl(?). Pl. 3.65.

LM IIIA import from unknown production center on Crete.

57i/2 (C 11090). Pithoid jar. Pl. 3.65.

Thickening in lower body wall indicative of two-part manufacture (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139). Lower body: two superposed zones of Curved Stripes FM 67.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Comparanda as for **53/2**; also Evans 1930: 386–87, fig. 258 = Popham 1970a: pl. 7a = Niemeier 1985: 250 XVIII1, pl. 8.

57i/3 (C 10656). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.65.

Levantine LB IIA import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: Amarna fabric IV.6 (Group 2 of Canaanite Amphora Project: Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.). For other examples of the shape in the same fabric from Kommos, see **72/6**, **72/7**, Watrous 1992: 160 nos. 588 and 1949, C 6990 (= Cline 1994: no. 326), and C 9624.

Group 57j

Date: LM IIIA2 Early
Total sherds: 419
Weight (grams): 3,690
Trench/pail(s): 89A/6, 10, 25, 26, 27
Cross joins: Groups 57a–b (**57b/1**), 57d (**57d/1**), and 57g
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; earth floor at +3.19 m (west)/ 3.32 m (east) in T Room 28 to be associated with use of "anchor-base colonnade," plus fill immediately above
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 5–6 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Groups 57f and 57g
Group and/or date of stratum above: Primary floor of Gallery P3 (89A/5 and 24, parts of Group 68)

Table 3.79. Pottery Group 57j.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	18	63	17	18	147	156
As % of total	4.3	15.0	4.1	4.3	35.1	37.2
Weight of sherds (grams)	95	160	110	275	1,490	1,560
As % of total	2.6	4.3	3.0	7.5	40.4	42.3

57j/1 (C 11193). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, conical subtype. Pl. 3.66.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **56a/1**.

57j/2 (C 11194). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.66.

Thickening in lower body wall indicative of two-part manufacture (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139); Rutter 2000: 179–80.

Comparanda for shape as for **54/2**.

57j/3 (C 11195). Closed shape. Pl. 3.66.

Thickening of wall on upper shoulder indicative of imminence of handle of undeterminable type. Body too globular and thin-walled for short-necked amphora, so probably from a large jug or high-necked amphora.

LM IIIA2. Watrous 1992: 40 no. 695, fig. 30, pl. 16.

Group 58a

Date: LM IIIA2 with ca. 5 Archaic sherds
Total sherds: Ca. 40
Weight (grams): 650
Trench/pail(s): 58A/16
Cross joins: None

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill of brown earth with copious pebbles and stone chips marking the original surface of the LM IIIA2 terrace raised over T Room 23 at ca. +5.45–5.55 m

Thickness of constituent strata: 10 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 52a

Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

58a/1 (C 7033). Pyxis. Pl. 3.66.

Partially preserved circular perforation (est. d 3 mm) through lower neck, and fully preserved perforation (d 1.5–2.0 mm) through upper body, for attachment of lid, both made prior to firing. Body: series of vertical Panels FM 75 with fill of multiple horizontal wavy lines.

LM IIIA. For the shape, Popham 1984: 172–73, pl. 155: 2, 6; for a similar pattern on this shape, Popham 1970a: 77, pl. 14d: 6 (Royal Villa). For the pattern, Popham 1970a: pl. 39e: 13–14 (Northwest House); Popham 1984: pl. 174: 46 (Unexplored Mansion).

58a/2 (C 7031). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Imminence of upper handle attachment to right indicated by partially preserved broad vertical loop descending from rim band. Shoulder: horizontal chain of comb pattern (stylized Iris FM 10A) framed by horizontal Wavy Lines FM 53.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **56e/2**.

58a/3 (C 7032). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: Foliate Band FM 64.

LM IIIA2. Popham 1970a: fig. 12: 44 (Royal Villa); pl. 38f: 3–8 (Northwest House); pl. 43c: 1–3 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: pl. 173: 18 (Unexplored Mansion); Watrous 1992: 39 no. 682, fig. 28, pl. 15; for LM IIIA1 combinations of the shape and pattern, **51/1** and **52b/3**.

Group 58b

Date: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 with ca. 10 Archaic sherds in 57A/9 #3 and 57A1/39

Total sherds: Ca. 1,330–1,380

Weight (grams): 31,940

Trench/pail(s): 57A/9 #3; 57A1/39, 40, 41, 42

Cross joins: None

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill above layer of pebbles with some burning sloping up from +4.92 m (southwest) to +5.05 m (northeast) in Trench 57A and from ca. +4.95 m (southwest) to ca. +5.10 m (northeast) in Trench 57A1 to the east, both above the eastern portion of T Room 22

Thickness of constituent strata: 10–15 cm in Trench 57A, 15–20 cm in Trench 57A1

Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 52d

Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

58b/1 (C 7028). Pyxis or cup rhyton(?). Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: single row of slanting leaves (Foliate Band FM 64) separated by a band from a thin zone of solid semicircles (Rockwork FM 32). Neck: broad zone of sloppily executed Zigzag FM 61.

LM II. For the shape and comparably spidery decoration, Levi 1961–62: 37, fig. 34a–b (Kamilari tholos; pedestal-footed angular strainer); for similarly executed Foliate Band FM 64, Watrous 1992: 21 no. 348, 23 nos. 382–83, fig. 19, pls. 9–10.

58b/2 (C 7423). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.66 (decoration drawn flat).

Shoulder: foliate scroll (Quirk FM 48) below horizontal row of dots.

LM IIIA. For the pattern, Popham 1970a: figs. 3: 3, 4: 4, 12: 30, pls. 2g, 13f: 2–3 (Royal Villa); pl. 37d: 1 (Northwest House); pl. 42f: 6–8 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: pls. 93a: 7, 164: 25 (Unexplored Mansion, LM II); Watrous 1992: 38 no. 652, 52 no. 897, pls. 15, 20; also **58b/9**.

58b/3 (C 7412). Collar-necked jug. Pl. 3.66.

Neck: horizontal Wavy Band FM 53.

LM IIIA. Popham 1970a: pl. 36d: 1 (South House and South Front); Popham 1984: 183, pl. 114c: 1 (Unexplored Mansion).

58b/4 (C 7414). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: alternating Iris FM 10A buds below horizontal row of dots.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Comparanda as for **55/1**.

58b/5 (C 7413). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: Flower FM 18 to right of loop around handle base.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: pl. 43b: 8–9, 14–15 (Little Palace); Popham 1984: pl. 171: 15; Watrous 1992: 44 no. 762, pl. 17 (Knossian).

58b/6 (C 7417). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent Bivalve Shell FM 25 framed by double horizontal wavy bands.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: fig. 11: 134, pl. 13c: 1–3 (Royal Villa); pl. 25e: 10 (Southeast Kamares Area); pl. 36e: 4 (South House and South Front); pl. 42c: 2–3 (Little Palace); Mountjoy 2003: 142–44 nos. 751–55, fig. 4.40 (South House).

58b/7 (C 7420). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Shoulder: pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43 with fill of disassembled Trefoil Rockwork FM 29, linked by pendent groups of parallel chevrons.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: pl. 29g: 1 (northwest of Northwest Lustral Basin); pl. 40f: 4–5 (Northwest House); pl. 45e: 8 (House of the High Priest); Niemeier 1985: 112–15; Watrous 1992: 39 no. 683, 53 no. 928, 106 no. 1860, fig. 29, pls. 16, 21; also **57e/1** and **57g/1**.

58b/8 (C 7419). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Traces of pushed-out spout at rim. Shoulder: dot-centered Running Spiral FM 46 with dots flanking tangents, all framed by single horizontal wavy bands.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Popham 1970a: fig. 14: 94–95, pls. 36e: 2, 42a: 8–9 (South Front, Little Palace); Mountjoy 2003: 133 no. 644, fig. 4.37 (South House); Niemeier 1985: 98–104, fig. 43: 21–22.

58b/9 (C 7415). Teacup. Pl. 3.66.

Pushed-out spout at rim partially preserved. Shoulder: foliate scroll (Quirk FM 48) below horizontal row of dots.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Comparanda for pattern as for **58b/2**; for the combination of shape and pattern, also **54/1**.

58b/10 (C 7408). Teacup. Pl. 3.67.

Pushed-out spout at rim partially preserved. Shoulder: pendent Tricurved Arch FM 62 with fill of pendent triangular patches of Joining Semicircles FM 42.

LM IIIA1–A2 Early. Niemeier 1985: 112–15, fig. 53.

58b/11 (C 7030). Teacup. Pl. 3.67.

Interior: Stipple FM 77 below rim band. Shoulder: pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43(?) with Bivalve Shell FM 25(?) fill, linked by disintegrated "papyrus."

LM IIIA1. Popham 1970a: figs. 14: 91–92, 15: 99; Watrous 1992: 27 no. 464, pl. 12.

58b/12 (C 11153). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.67.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

58b/13 (C 11363). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.67.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

MI/Cy/2 (C 7407). Wishbone-handled cup. Pl. 3.89.

For full description, see below under "Miscellaneous Imports."

Group 58c

Date: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2
Total sherds: Ca. 130
Weight (grams): 2,920
Trench/pail(s): 56A1/63, 65
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill immediately north of Gallery P1 below rough surface sloping down from ca. +4.90 m (east) to +4.65 m (west) on which a pi-shaped hearth, or "roasting stand," was built
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 5–10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Group 52e
Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

58c/1 (C 7395). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.67.

Shoulder: floral spray consisting of smaller Iris FM 10A and a larger three-petaled floral motif (simplified Lily FM 9?).

LM IIIA1. For the introduction of this smaller and shallower variant of the teacup form in LM IIIA1, Popham 1970a: 69 Type C; Watrous 1992: 125–26. The floral decoration appears to be a much simplified version of sprays on LM II teacups such as Popham 1984: pl. 165: 46–49 and Watrous 1992: fig. 66: 1846 (= **46b/5**), as seen on an LM IIIA1 vase from the Unexplored Mansion (Popham 1984: pl. 171: 14).

58c/2 (C 7396). Kylix. Pl. 3.67.

Note domed profile under stem, rounded rather than angular transition to footplate, and absence of perforation under stem.

LM IIIA. Watrous 1992: 43 no. 737, fig. 31, pl. 17.

58c/3 (C 11152). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.67.

Pronounced carination detectable on interior profile at level of base of handle. Traces of broad ring painted around handle base.

LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **54/2**.

Group 59

Date: Floor deposit of restorable LM IIIB vessels mixed with substantial amounts of Neopalatial sherd material
Total sherds: Ca. 2,750
Weight (grams): 82,670
Trench/pail(s): 27B/18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25
Cross joins: Group 60 (**59/10, 59/11, 59/21**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; pebbled floor of N Room 5 and N Corridor 7 at +3.73 m and fill above to ca. +4.20 m
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 40–50 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM II fill in northern part of Room 5 (Group 47); LM IB Early dump redeposited in LM IIIA in southern part of Room 5 in area of *sottoscala*

of T Room 5A (Group 40); LM IIIA2 construction fill within N Corridor 7 (27B/30, 32) above LM II Group 45

Group and/or date of stratum above: Fill containing mix of Neopalatial and LM IIIA–B pottery (27B/15, 17, 19) below scrappy wall (27B/20) representing final Prehistoric occupation in area (27B/13, part of Group 79)

59/1 (C 2471 + C 2475). Feeding bottle. Pl. 3.67.

Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78–79 no. 1354, pl. 33). For the shape, Hallager and Hallager 2003: 227–28. For examples with similar linear syntax, Watrous 1992: 81 no. 1390, fig. 53, pl. 35; 90 no. 1580, pl. 39; 95 no. 1647, pl. 42. For the combination of shape and decoration, Kanta 1980: 281, fig. 144: 4; Watrous 1992: 95 no. 1647, pl. 42. For other examples of the shape at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 50 no. 859; 51 no. 883; 92–93 no. 1620; **59/2–3**.

59/2 (C 2474). Feeding bottle(?). Pl. 3.67.

Linear as preserved.

LM IIIA2–B. Comparanda as for **59/1**.

59/3 (C 2459). Feeding bottle(?). Pl. 3.67.

Solidly coated as preserved.

LM IIIA2–B. Comparanda as for **59/1**; for longer but also solidly coated spouts, Watrous 1992: 50 no. 859, pl. 20 (Kommos; LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 81 77-P0271, pl. 70b: 9 (Chania; LM IIIB2/C).

59/4 (C 2504). Three-handled ring-based cup. Pl. 3.67.

Spout opposite vertical handle possible, but nothing of it survives. Shoulder: horizontal Flower FM 18. Underside of base: off-center band of irregular width, possible potter's mark. Beginning of band running along back of horizontal handle preserved at surviving stump of each such handle; vertical handle flanked on surviving left side by curving vertical band, part of original loop around handle base.

LM IIIB, probably imported from Chania (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1350, pl. 33). For the shape, Tzedakis and Kanta 1978: 17, 50, fig. 26: 8; Kanta 1980: 259.

59/5 (C 2500). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.67.

Shoulder: spaced, stemless horizontal Flower FM 18.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1353, pl. 33 (mislabeled "1351"). Tzedakis 1969: tableau V: 9 (Chania; LM IIIB–IIIC Early); Kanta 1980: pl. 29: 7 (Episkopi, Khristos; LM IIIB); Rethemiotakis 1997: 316, fig. 26a, i (Kastelli Pediadas; LM IIIC); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 75 70-P0319, pl. 68e: 2 (Chania; LM IIIB2/C); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 207 n. 4, esp. 119 84-P0557, pls. 49, 113d: 7 (Chania; LM IIIB2).

59/6 (C 2460). Deep bowl. Pls. 3.67, 3.93 at *a–b*.

Raised base; body profile lightly carinated well below base of handle zone. Reused as lamp after one handle and rim above it had been broken away to make a deep, crude spout. Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44; pattern stops just to viewer's right of vertical band framing one handle's right-hand attachment; pattern also stops on opposite side of vase, just shy of the secondary spout and the former location of a second handle.

Late LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1349, pl. 32; Rutter 2003a: 199 n. 22, fig. 14: 3). For the slightly carinated profile at Chania, where this feature is considered locally diagnostic of LM IIIC on rather smaller bowls with solid-coated interiors, Hallager and Hallager 2000: 139, pl. 35; for the combination of shape and pattern, Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 2, 7, pl. 47a: 5–6 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 108 84-P1053, pls. 36, 76b: 5 (LM IIIB2/C); Rethemiotakis 1997: 313, fig. 25 (LM IIIC); also probably **75/3**. For a very closely comparable pattern on contemporary teacups, **66/2** and La Rosa 1977: fig. 39b.

59/7 (C 2472). Pulled-rim bowl. Pl. 3.67.

Beginning of pulled-out spout at rim preserved on one of two rim sherds. Rim band varies greatly in width (2–13 mm on interior, 2–18 mm on exterior) and features a partially preserved trickle on the interior.

LM IIIA2–B import from East Crete (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1357, pl. 33). Kanta 1980: pl.

59: 1 (Episkopi Hierapetras); MacGillivray 1997: 199–200 and n. 36 (Palaikastro); Tsipopoulou 1997: 233–34, fig. 38 (Petras).

59/8 (C 2495). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.67.

Lightly carinated body profile.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1347, fig. 50, pl. 32). Popham 1964: 16–17, nos. 23, 27, fig. 1c, pl. 9a–b; Popham 1969: 301–2, fig. 7; Popham 1970a: 79, figs. 16: 2, 17: 1, 2, 7; Popham 1984: 185, pl. 180: 5, 7, 8; Watrous 1992: 97 no. 1675, fig. 63, pl. 43; Popham 1997: 383, fig. 4: 9–10; Hallager 1997: 23 and n. 27, 35–37, fig. 32; Warren 1997: 179–80, figs. 19: P682, P686, P666; 28: P643; 35C, 36: P2153; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 234–35, pl. 69; also **60/9–11**, **61/3–4**, **67a/18**, **69b/6**, **71b/3**, and **78/18**.

59/9 (C 2501). Amphoroid jar.

Multiple coil joints detectable on interior. Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1345, fig. 50, pl. 32). Possibly an example of the same shape is a rim, neck, and shoulder fragment also from Kommos: Watrous 1992: 69 no. 1161, pl. 27.

59/10 (C 2503). Amphoroid krater.

Multiple coil joints detectable on interior. Neck: reserved horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24. Belly zone: horizontal chain of Papyrus FM 11 with parallel chevrons at core and concentric arcs as fill.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1355, fig. 51, pl. 33). For the shape, Popham 1970a: 76; Tzedakis and Kanta 1978: 24–25; Kanta 1980: 273–76; Watrous 1992: 133, 142–43; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 220; also **55/4**, **66/11**, **71a/2**, and **77/6**. Possibly from the same production center as a pair of globular tripod pithoi from the final occupational phase of the settlement at Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1987: pl. I: 1–2; Privitera 2001) and a globular alabastron from Pankalochori (Baxévani-Kouzioni and Markoulaki 1996: 651, pl. 52); the decoration is also comparable to that of a bathtub from the Queen's Megaron at Knossos (Evans 1930: 385, fig. 256; Popham 1970a: pl. 46g; Niemeier 1985: 111 and n. 628) and a Palace Style jar from the West Magazines at Knossos (Evans 1930: 386–87, fig. 258; Popham 1970a: pl. 7a; Niemeier 1985: 250 XVIIA1, pl. 8). For the main body pattern, Watrous 1992: 87 no. 1513, fig. 56, pl. 35 (LM IIIB conical rhyton).

59/11 (C 2469). Cylindrical bridge-spouted jar. Pl. 3.93 at *c–d*.

Hollowed base modeled over a raised mound of grits that gave the underside of the base both its shape and its coarse texture; interior of base features ca. sixty finger impressions up to 3 mm deep. Joint of first body coil to base slab improved by crosshatching diagonal incisions and further strengthened by plastic horizontal band applied just above base; a second such plastic band added just below rim strengthens joint of final coil with its heavy, squared lip. Body zone: two large, diagonally oriented Papyrus FM 11 flanking small vertical handle on one side of vase; large, vertically oriented Palm I FM 14 flanking bridged spout to right on opposite side; motif flanking spout at left not identifiable; below horizontal handles decorated with vertical bars across their backs, vertical panels containing Foliate Band FM 64.

LM II–IIIA1 (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1348, fig. 51, pl. 32). For Neopalatial predecessors of shape, Müller 1997: 54–56, fig. 16, pls. 32–33; for papyrus motif, Popham 1970a: pl. 5b; Niemeier 1985: 235–38 IIA1 and IIB1–11, fig. 14: 17, pls. 3, 10–11; for palm motif, Popham 1970a: pl. 50: 15; Niemeier 1985: 76, 239 IIIB1, fig. 24: 7, pl. 13; for the framed Foliate Band, Evans 1937: fig. 280a–b = Betancourt 1985a: pl. 28D; Niemeier 1985: 92 and nos. 533–34, fig. 37: 20–21.

59/12 (C 2470). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.68.

Shoulder: single horizontal Wavy Line FM 53 looping around base of handles and spout.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1356, pl. 31). For the shape, Haskell 1981a, b; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 214–15; for LM II versions of the shape at Kommos, **46b/22–23** and possibly **47/16**; for LM IIIB versions, Watrous 1992: 135–36, 143 and **60/14–16**, **61/5**, **62/2**, **75/5**, and **78/21**, and perhaps **59/13**, **60/17–19**, and **66/10.** For decoration, Raison 1968: 20 n. 108, figs. 11b, 12f, 15: 17, pls. XVI: 42, XCIX: 155; Haskell 1981a: 232–34 Group 4, fig. 5a, pl. 43f.

59/13 (C 2502). Closed shape (transport stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.68.

Made in two sections, joined at lower body where profile thickens abruptly.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1359, pl. 34). For similar profile, method of manufacture (Haskell 1981b: 192–95), and linear syntax, Wa-

trous 1992: 53 no. 922, fig. 36, pl. 21 (mislabeled "1550"); 75 no. 1274, fig. 47.

59/14 (C 2689). Basin. Pl. 3.68.
Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1358, pl. 31). Levi 1959: fig. 28, left; Alexiou 1967: 53 no. 27, pl. 26b, right; Watrous 1992: 75 no. 1276, fig. 47; 91 no. 1592, fig. 58; 96 no. 1660, fig. 63, pl. 43; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 46 73-P0164, pls. 63, 93f: 1 (light-on-dark), 223–24.

59/15 (C 2473). Horizontal-handled jar. Pl. 3.68.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1351, pl. 33 (mislabeled "1353"). For this shape in a pale-firing, medium-coarse fabric different from that used for standard cooking pottery, Watrous 1992: 40 no. 697, fig. 30 (LM IIIA) and also **60/25** and **64/3** (LM IIIB).

59/16 (C 2494). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.68.
Vertical groove up to 1.0 cm deep in exterior face of each leg.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1346, fig. 50, pl. 32). Watrous 1992: 95 no. 1654, fig. 62, pl. 42 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 240, pls. 73–74 (LM IIIB2); Mook and Coulson 1997: 349, figs. 16, 17: 39 (LM IIIC Early); cf. also **56e/7–8** (LM IIIA2), **59/17** and **67a/23–24** (LM IIIB).

59/17 (C 2497). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.68.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1362, pl. 34). Watrous 1992: 91 no. 1606, fig. 60 (LM IIIB); further comparanda as for **59/16**.

59/18 (C 2496). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.68.
Made in two sections, joined at lower body where profile thickens abruptly.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78 no. 1352, pl. 33). Watrous 1992: 95 no. 1655, fig. 62 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 67 71-P0193, pls. 75, 101c: 1; further comparanda as for **56f/3**.

59/19 (C 2498). Pithos. Pl. 3.69.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1361, pl. 34). Watrous 1992: 53 nos. 924, 932, figs. 35–36, pl. 21; also **59/19**.

59/20 (C 2499). Pithos. Pl. 3.69.
Coil joints clearly marked on exterior as series of irregularly spaced, horizontal grooves.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1360, pl. 34). Comparanda as for **59/19**.

59/21 (C 2476 + C 2928). Pithos (dolio). Pl. 3.69.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 77, 168 no. 1338, pl. 51; Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: 338–39 Chemical and Petrographic Groups 3 [C 2928 only]). Campus and Leonelli 2000: 602–5, pls. 355–61.

59/22 (C 6552). Jar. Pl. 3.69.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 79, 165 no. 1363; Cline 1994: 199 no. 579). Campus and Leonelli 2000: 436–49, pls. 254–57 (Vasi a collo); 494–504, 516–18, pls. 313–30, 350–54 (Olle). Uncertain whether a necked jar (as Watrous 1992: 166 no. 1423, fig. 75, pl. 53), a collar-necked jar (as Watrous 1992: 167 no. 1426, fig. 76, pl. 57; also **78/25–27**), or a swollen-lipped jar (as Watrous 1992: 165 no. 1542, fig. 74; also **75/28**).

59/23 (C 6553). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.69.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 79, 165 no. 1364, pl. 56; Cline 1994: 193 no. 519). Watrous 1992: 39, 164 no. 672, pl. 56; 82, 167 no. 1429, pl. 57, misidentified as collared jar (= Campus and Leonelli 2000: 281 Cio. 152: 2, pl. 186: 2); 89, 167 no. 1561, fig. 75, pl. 58; Campus and Leonelli 2000: 186–87, pls. 115–16 (Scod. 34 – 37A); also **40/38**, **44b/21**, **60/35**, **78/30–32**, and **MI/It/2–3**.

Group 60

Date:	Predominantly LM IIIB with some admixture of Neopalatial through LM IIIA2
Total sherds:	2,000+
Weight (grams):	104,285
Trench/pail(s):	37A/19, 20, 21, 22A, 40, 41, 41A, 41B, 41C, 42, 45, 46; 43A/63, 73, 88; 50A/24, 26, 27, 28; 51A1/65

Cross joins: Group 59 (**59/10, 59/11, 59/21**); Group 61 (**61/1, 61/2**); Groups 65, 67d, 69a, 76, and 78 (**67d/3**); Groups 67d and 78 (**60/4**); Group 78 (**78/6, 78/16, 78/32**)

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; pebbled surface of N Court 6 at +3.77 m (south) sloping up to +3.88 m (north) and to +3.91 m within N Room 4, with fill above to ca. +4.30/4.35 m

Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 50–55 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed fill of LM IIIA2 Early date (Group 48) in northern two-thirds of N Court 6; unexcavated in court's southern third

Group and/or date of stratum above: Mixed Minoan (through LM IIIB) and Historic (through seventh century B.C.) in southern third of N Court 6 (Group 61); Historic levels in northern two-thirds of court; mixed Neopalatial fill within N Room 4 (43A/71)

60/1 (C 5318). Teacup. Pl. 3.69.

Hollowed, raised base; rounded carination in body profile just below base of shoulder zone. Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44. Handle: trace of vertical framing band preserved in zone to left of handle.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 76 no. 1308, pl. 30). For a comparably spare version of this motif on this shape, Kanta 1980: 24–25, pl. 112: 3 (Foinikia, LM IIIB); for the same motif on cups and deep bowls of LM IIIB–C, Popham 1965: 331, 341 nos. 58 and 65, fig. 8: 58, pl. 83d; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 2.

60/2 (C 3217). Kylix. Pl. 3.69.

Shoulder: Palm II FM 15. Vertical band covering back of handle continues below onto lower bowl.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1314, pl. 30). For the shape, Popham 1969: 302–3, figs. 9–10, pl. 64e; Popham 1984: 185, pl. 115: 2; Watrous 1992: 48 no. 833, fig. 34, pl. 19; 52 no. 900, fig. 37, pl. 20; 81 nos. 1391, 1396, fig. 52, pl. 35; 85 nos. 1472–73, fig. 55, pls. 36–37; 89–90 nos. 1553, 1555, 1574, figs. 57–58, pl. 39; 94 no. 1644, fig. 61, pl. 42; 98 no. 1684, fig. 64, pl. 43; 108 nos. 1900–1901, pl. 108; Hallager 1997: 28 and n. 81, 31–32; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 211–14; also **60/3**, **62/1**, **67a1/11–13**. For the motif, Watrous 1992: 85 no. 1472, fig. 55 (incorrectly restored after 89 no. 1553, fig. 58, pl. 39), pl. 36.

60/3 (C 5139). Kylix. Pl. 3.70.

Shoulder: horizontal chain of floating groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44. Loop painted around lower handle attachment; handle back solidly coated as preserved.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1313). For the shape, comparanda as for **60/2**; for the motif, Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: fig. 8n, pl. 77b; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 9; Popham 1984: pls. 179: 4, 180: 2; Watrous 1992: 62 no. 1053, pl. 25; 71 no. 1195, fig. 44, pl. 28; 81 no. 1383, pl. 19; see also **78/5** for generic motif parallels, **78/12** for a potential specific one.

60/4 (C 6697). Deep bowl or small krater. Pl. 3.70.

Shoulder: antithetic Birds FM 7 flanking a broad Panel FM 75 with a fill of multiple vertical zigzags. On one side of vase, panel is framed by three vertical lines at left, four at right; on opposite side, panel appears to be unframed, unless the zigzag to the right of the surviving bird is the tail end of a second bird.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1750, pl. 44). For the shape in LM IIIC, Hallager and Hallager 2000: 146–49; for the pronounced thickening in the lower body profile as an indicator of the krater shape, cf. Hallager and Hallager 2000: pl. 41 71-P0947. For broad panels filled with multiple zigzags or wavy lines, either horizontal or vertical, on deep bowls and kra-

ters, Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 291, figs. 8q, 9r–s, y, 13, pls. 74a, 77b–d (Palaikastro, Kastri); Rethemiotakis 1997: 316, fig. 30 (Kastelli Pediadas); Borgna 1997a: figs. 23: 3, 30: 3 (Phaistos); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 110 80-P0435, pl. 77b: 6 (Chania); for similar panels on teacups, Watrous 1992: 56 no. 961, fig. 38, pl. 23; 90 no. 1566, pl. 39. For antithetic birds on LM IIIC kraters, Popham 1965: 331, 341 no. 63, fig. 9, pl. 84; Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 291–92, 299 KP 32, fig. 12, pl. 74b; Rethemiotakis 1997: 316, fig. 26d; probably Hallager and Hallager 2000: 107 84-P0719, pls. 44, 76c: 1.

60/5 (C 6627). Lug-handled bowl. Pl. 3.70.

Linear as preserved.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 50 no. 853, pl. 20; 74 no. 1260, fig. 46, pl. 29; 92 no. 1619, pl. 41; 97 no. 1676, fig. 63, pl. 21. For a possible LM IIIA predecessor of this shape from Knossos, Mountjoy 2003: 136 no. 679, fig. 4.38.

60/6 (C 5141). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, conical subtype. Pl. 3.70.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1316, fig. 49, pl. 30). Comparanda as for **56a/1**.

60/7 (I 21). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, conical subtype. Pl. 3.70.

Marked on underside of base, after removal from wheel but before firing, with a large, shallowly incised X.

LM IIIB (= Bennet 1996: 316 no. 6, pls. 4.46: 6, 4.49: 6). Comparanda as for **56a/1**.

60/8 (C 6628). Ladle. Pl. 3.70.

Thickening of lip at preserved left edge indicates imminence of handle; handle fragments attributed to this piece by Watrous do not certainly belong.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1315, fig. 49). Popham 1964: pl. 2b: 3, 5, 7; Popham 1970a: fig. 16: 4, 6, 8; Watrous 1992: 59, no. 1008, fig. 41, pl. 24; 74 nos. 1267–69, fig. 47, pl. 29; 86 nos. 1496, 1499, 1500, pl. 37; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 150 70-P0916, 151 01-P0307, 239 and n. 431, pls. 72, 126g: 5, 127c: 10; also **49/7** and **57d/2** (both LM IIIA2 Early).

60/9 (C 6395). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.70.

String-cut, solid foot.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early (= Watrous 1992: 76 no. 1309, fig. 49, pl. 30). Comparanda as for **59/8**; for the solid foot, Rethemiotakis 1997: 316–17, fig. 26b (Kastelli Pediadas; LM IIIC); Hallager 1997: 36 n. 179.

60/10 (C 6397). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.70.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 76 no. 1310, pl. 30). Comparanda as for **59/8**.

60/11 (C 6399). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.70.

LM IIIA2 (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1311, pl. 30). Hallager 1997: 30, fig. 25; Popham 1997: 383, fig. 4: 6–8; Warren 1997: 179–80, figs. 19: P687, 22: P1820.

60/12 (C 6393). Kylix, two-handled. Pl. 3.70.

LM IIIA2 Late–IIIB Early (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1312, fig. 49). Watrous 1992: 55 no. 943, fig. 38, pl. 22; 56 no. 958, fig. 39, pl. 22; 107 no. 1878, fig. 67, pl. 48; Hallager 1997: 23 and n. 88, fig. 23; Warren 1997: figs. 22: P667, 32: P45 (LM IIIA2); Watrous 1992: 76 no. 1299, fig. 47, pl. 30; Popham 1970a: fig. 17: 6 (LM IIIB).

60/13 (C 6396). Shallow rounded bowl. Pl. 3.70.

LM IIIA2 Late–IIIB Early (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1318, pl. 30). Popham 1984: 183, pl. 175: 13–14 (LM IIIA2 Early and Late types, respectively); Watrous 1992: 67 no. 1130, fig. 43; 74 no. 1258, fig. 46; 91 no. 1602, fig. 60; Sackett and Popham 1965: 293 KP3, fig. 14, pl. 73d; Popham 1970a: 29, fig. 17: 5; Popham 1984: 185 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 118 84-P0518/0605, 168 80-P1416, 236–37 and n. 413, pls. 70, 115f: 1, 133b: 7 (LM IIIB2); for the smaller size of this form and additional comparanda, also **67a/20**.

60/14 (C 6625). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.71 (decoration drawn flat).

Thickening at top of shoulder fragment indicates imminence of lower handle attachment; body made in two sections, joined at lower body where profile thickens abruptly (Haskell 1981b: 192–95). Broad body zone: two superimposed series of Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1321, pl. 31). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration, Haskell 1981b: 180–82 (in general); Watrous 1992: 53 no. 930, pl. 21; 76 no. 1300, pl. 37; 87 no. 1517, 1519–21, pls. 37–38; 93 no. 1626, pl. 41; 94 nos. 1636–37, fig. 61, pl. 41; 99–100 no. 1717, pl. 44 (Kommos).

60/15 (C 2893). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.70.

Top of false neck: Concentric Circles FM 41.

LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration of disk, Raison 1968: figs. 13: 3, 16: 23; Haskell 1981a: fig. 3c.

60/16 (C 3187). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.70.

Top of false neck: simple Circle FM 41.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1320, pls. 30–31). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration of disk, Raison 1968: figs. 11a–c, 12g, 13: 1–2, 17: 27, 18: 30, 32; Haskell 1981a: figs. 2c–d, 3a; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 214 and n. 181.

60/17 (C 6400). Closed shape (transport stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.71.

Made in two sections, joined at lower body where profile thickens abruptly. Linear as preserved.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1324). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12–13**.

60/18 (C 3189). Closed shape (transport stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.71.

Made in two sections, joined at lower body where profile thickens abruptly. Linear as preserved.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1317, pl. 31). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12–13**; also Watrous 1992: 93 no. 1625, fig. 60, pl. 43.

60/19 (C 6443). Closed shape (transport stirrup jar?). Pl. 3.71.

Linear as preserved.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1327, pl. 31). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12–13**.

60/20 (C 6444). Lid. Pl. 3.71.

Top: thin horizontal Wavy Line FM 53. Side: thicker horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1333, pl. 31). Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997: 54 no. 27, figs. 18: 1, 19, left (LM IIIA2); Tzedakis and Kanta 1978: 23–24, 45, fig. 10: 1–2 (LM IIIB); Rethemiotakis 1997: 313, fig. 17: 5; Mook and Coulson 1997: 361–62 no. 152, figs. 34, 37; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 64 80-P0087, 155, pls. 44, 66b: 22 (LM IIIC); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 229–30, pl. 66.

60/21 (C 3188). Pithos or pithoid jar. Pl. 3.72.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1330, pl. 31).

60/22 (C 6404). Closed shape (transport stirrup jar?).

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1319, fig. 49). For plain transport stirrup jars of LM/LH IIIB date, Haskell 1981a: 230 no. 10952, fig. 3d, pl. 43b (Mycenae, House of the Wine Merchant); Haskell 1981b: 87 no. 124, pl. 24c (Malia Lambda-34); 95 no. 131, fig. 1d, pl. 26b (Chania Museum 3377); 102 no. 149, pl. 28a (British Museum A714 from Palaikastro).

60/23 (C 6626). Ladle. Pl. 3.72.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 78, 159 no. 1344, fig. 70; incorrectly drawn and mistakenly identified as Cypriot Plain White amphora); other plain medium-coarse ladles from Kommos include **61/6**, **69b/7**, and **78/22**.

60/24 (C 6394). Basin. Pl. 3.72.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1323, pl. 31). Basically an unpainted version of **59/14**; also Watrous 1992: 82 no. 1418, fig. 53, pl. 36 (LM IIIB); Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 293 KP11, fig. 16 (LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 106 84-P1617, pls. 46, 75f: 7; 92 87-P0556, 87-P0557, pls. 49, 73a: 1–2; 119 77-P1562, pls. 56, 79a; 161, 171 (LM IIIC); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 243 and n. 461, pl. 76.

60/25 (C 3235). Horizontal-handled jar. Pl. 3.72.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1322, pl. 31). Comparanda as for **59/15**.

60/26 (C 6403 + C 6407). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.72.

Made in three sections, joined at shoulder and just below midbody (cf. **71a/3**).

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 nos. 1332 and 1334, fig. 49). Comparanda as for **56f/3** and **59/18**.

60/27 (C 6402). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.72.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1336, pl. 31). Comparanda as for **56f/3** and **59/18**.

60/28 (C 6442). Cooking jar.

Hollowed base; added strip of clay, trapezoidal in section, just above base on exterior.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1335, fig. 49, pl. 32). Comparanda as for **56f/3** and **59/18**.

60/29 (C 2930). Pithos. Pl. 3.72.

Horizontal plastic band on shoulder attached with the aid of a horizontal groove (2 mm wide, 1 mm deep) incised into preserved top of shoulder (and probably supplemented by a second such groove at bottom of plastic band); band decorated with series of impressed, ten-petaled rosettes. Below, a similar but wavy horizontal plastic band decorated with impressed diagonal

lines (group of 6+), shallowly curved arcs (group of 5+), and U's in three parallel rows.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 77 no. 1328, pl. 31). Popham 1984: pl. 106a, lower right. For the technique of attaching plastic bands bearing stamped patterns onto pithos bodies with the aid of incised grooves, Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997: 44–47, fig. 27 (Kera Limaniotissa; LM II–IIIA).

60/30 (C 5140). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.73.

Levantine LB IIB import (= Watrous 1992: 78, 161 no. 1341; Cline 1994: no. 382). For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **52g/2**.

60/31 (C 6743). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.73.

Rim: partially dotted. Shoulder: horizontal lattice ladder pattern above vertical ladder patterns (one complete, a second only partially preserved) framing a vertical series of short horizontal dashes.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 159 no. 1945; Cline 1994: 183 no. 429). Comparanda for ware and shape as for **48/3**; for decoration, Popham 1972: 454–56, figs. 54: 2–3, 5, LXXXIII: 8, LXXXIV: 1–3.

60/32 (C 4127). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.73.

Lower body: vertical zigzag, element of "palm tree style."

LC II Cypriot White Slip IIA import (= Watrous 1992: 78, 159 no. 1340; Cline 1994: 183 no. 432). Comparanda for ware and shape as for **48/3**; for decoration, Popham 1972: 445–47, figs. 51, LXXXII: 7–8.

60/33 (C 6444). Collar-necked jar.

Sherds attributed to this vase probably represent more than one actual pot.

Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 78, 166 no. 1343, fig. 75, pl. 56; Cline 1994: 200 no. 593). Watrous 1992: 82, 167 nos. 1426, 1428, figs. 75–76, pl. 57; 110, 167 no. 1970, pl. 56; Campus and Leonelli 2000: 516–18, pls. 350–54; also comparanda cited for **78/26**.

60/34 (C 4126). Jar. Pl. 3.73.

Sardinian import. Comparanda as for **59/22**.

60/35 (C 3199). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.73.

Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 77, 165 no. 1339, fig. 73, pl. 56; Cline 1994: 193 no. 518). Comparanda as for **59/23**.

Group 61

Date:	Mixed LM III through seventh century B.C.
Total sherds:	Not recorded
Weight (grams):	11,590
Trench/pail(s):	50A/20, 25; 51A1/59
Cross joins:	Group 60 (**61/1, 61/2**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; surface of hard-packed sand and clay at south end of N Court 6 at +4.30 m onto which tumble from collapsed rubble from walls to west, south, and east rests, with fill above to ca. +4.45 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IIIB floor deposit over south end of Court N6 (Group 60)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

61/1 (C 6354). Teacup. Pl. 3.73.

Rounded carination in body profile just below base of shoulder zone. Shoulder: pendent groups of Isolated Semicircles FM 43 with central fill of solid pendent triangle and fill between groups of Parallel Chevrons FM 58.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 54 no. 938, fig. 37, pl. 22.

61/2 (C 11083). Teacup. Pl. 3.73.

Rounded carination in body profile at level of lower handle attachment. Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 62 no. 1049, pl. 25; 66 no. 1107, pl. 26; 83 no. 1436, pl. 37 (teacups); 95 no. 1646, pl. 42 (deep bowl); Popham 1965: 341 no. 57, fig. 8: 57; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 1, pl. 47a: 2; Warren 1997: 180–81, fig. 36: P35 (teacup); Rethemiotakis 1997: 308–9, fig. 10: b, p (deep bowls); additional comparanda for pattern as for **52a/5**.

61/3 (C 11081). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.73.

LM IIIB. Comparanda generally as for **59/8**; most similar from Kommos are Watrous 1992: 59 no. 1005, fig. 41, pl. 24; 96 no. 1658, fig. 62; 98 no. 1681, fig. 64.

61/4 (C 11082). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.73.

LM IIIB. Comparanda generally as for **59/8**; most similar from Kommos are Watrous 1992: 53 no. 920, fig. 36, pl. 21; 54 no. 939, fig. 37, pl. 22; 73 no. 1231, fig. 45; 81 no. 1389, fig. 52, pl. 35; 85 no. 1470, fig. 55.

61/5 (C 6355). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.73.

Top of false neck: opposed Solid Semicircles FM 43.

LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration of false neck and handles as "specifically Cretan," Popham 1965: 320, 339 nos. 44, 46, fig. 1: K, N; also Raison 1968: fig. 14: 7; Watrous 1992: 87 no. 1520, pl. 38; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 114 84-P0183, 214 and n. 184, pl. 114a: 2.

61/6 (C 11080). Ladle. Pl. 3.73.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **60/23**.

61/7 (C 6392). Necked jar. Pl. 3.73.

New Kingdom Egyptian import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 163 no. 1965, fig. 73, pl. 54; Cline 1994: 197 no. 564; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253a: 1). Fabric: Marl D (D. Aston and P. Rose, pers. comm.).

Group 62

Date:	LM IIIB
Total sherds:	140+
Weight (grams):	7,170
Trench/pail(s):	36A/16, 19, 20
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; hard, unevenly pebbled surface in Court N9 at +3.91 m and fill above to +4.73 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 80 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA1 fill (Group 51)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

62/1 (C 2850). Kylix. Pl. 3.74.

Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52.

LM IIIB. For the shape, comparanda as for **60/2**; for the motif, Popham 1965: 339 no. 35, fig. 6: 35, pl. 83a: 3, 12; Popham 1970b: fig. 2: 23, pl. 50a: 8; Popham 1984: pl. 179: 9; Watrous 1992: 79 no. 1369 pl. 34 (teacup).

62/2 (C 2849). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.74.

Body: Cuttlefish FM 21.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 109 no. 1914). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 91 no. 1590, pl. 26; 99–100 no. 1717, pl. 44.

Group 63

Date: LM IIIB
Total sherds: Ca. 50
Weight (grams): 1,100
Trench/pail(s): 51A1/74
Cross joins: Group 78 (**63/1**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; lightly pebbled surface in Court N8 at +3.04–3.10 m, sloping down from north to south and from east to west, and fill above to +3.18–3.21 m
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IIIB
Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

63/1 (C 6737). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.74.
Shoulder: alternating Panels FM 75 and opposed Isolated Semicircles FM 43.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1744, pl. 44). For the pattern as early as LM IIIA2 in imitation of an LH IIIB pattern, Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997: 37–38, 55 no. 60, figs. 14: 5, 15; for the pattern on an LM IIIC deep bowl from Phaistos, Borgna 1997a: figs. 6: 10, 17.

Group 64

Date: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds: Ca. 490
Weight (grams): 25,890
Trench/pail(s): 44A/41, 42, 43, 44, 46
Cross joins: Groups 49 and 65 (**49/8**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; earth fill raising floor level in Room N13 from +3.45 m and in Room N12 from +3.65/3.73 m to a pebbled surface sloping up from +3.88 m (west) to +4.02 m (east) in what now becomes a single room
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 30–50 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early fill (Group 49)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Lightly pebbled LM IIIB surface at 3.88 m (west) to 4.02 m (east) (Group 65)

64/1 (C 11084). Jug. Pl. 3.74.
Linear as preserved.
LM IIIA2–B. For banding of this type on closed vases of roughly similar size, Watrous 1992: 79–80 no. 1372, fig. 51, pl. 34 (LM IIIB amphoriskos or globular alabastron); **56b/2** (LM IIIA2 jug).

64/2 (C 4141). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.74.
Raised base, slightly hollowed. Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24.
LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 60 no. 1019), probably a Chaniote import. Hallager and Hallager 2000: 48 73-P0325, 49 73-P0647, 79 71-P0244, 142, pls. 48, 61g: 5, 7, 69f: 1; Hallager and Hallager

2003: 119 84-P0555, 153 01-P0382, 157 80-P0699, 207 and n. 95, 209 n. 118, pls. 50, 52, 113d: 1, 122d: 11, 128e: 1 (Chaniote LM IIIB2); for the pattern locally on teacups, **67a/3**.

64/3 (C 4138). Jar. Pl. 3.74.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/15**.

64/4 (C 4137). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.74.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56f/3** and **59/18**.

64/5 (C 4203). Amphora. Pl. 3.74.
Hope amphora category 1a.
Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Watrous 1992: 60, 162–63 no. 1020; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253b: 2). For the shape, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

64/6 (C 6949). Closed shape. Pl. 3.74.
Though laminated in cross section, the fabric is nevertheless very hard. Markedly ribbed interior.
Pale slipped and burnished import of unknown origin, possibly Minoan. Heretofore erroneously identified as an Egyptian New Kingdom product: Watrous 1992: 60, 163 no. 1021, pl. 54; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253a: 6.

Group 65

Date: LM IIIB with slight admixture of Archaic at top
Total sherds: 270+
Weight (grams): 12,355
Trench/pail(s): 44A/37, 38, 39, 40; 51A/25; 51A1/62
Cross joins: Groups 60, 67d, 69a, 76, and 78 (**67d/3**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; pebbled surface in single room above N12+N13 sloping up from +3.88 m (west) to +4.02 m (east) and fill above to +4.20/4.29 m
Thickness of constituent strata: Ca. 30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB fill (Group 64)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

65/1 (C 6382). Closed shape. Pl. 3.75.
Coil joins near rim and base of spout or neck; near base of spout/neck on exterior, exploded pebble (6 mm), vitrified green in color. Traces of paint at preserved bases of each of the two basket handles.
Unidentified import.

65/2 (C 4130). Sloping-lipped bowl. Pl. 3.75.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 166 no. 1969; Cline 1994: 184 no. 435). Campus and Leonelli 2000: 129–32, pls. 97–102 (Conche); Watrous 1992: 61, 164 no. 1037, fig. 75, pl. 53 (= Campus and Leonelli 2000: 130 Con. 7: 1, pl. 98: 12); 82, 167 no. 1424, fig. 74, pl. 57 (= Campus and Leonelli 2000: 129 Con. 3: 3, pl. 97: 8); 88, 165 no. 1545, pl. 57; 110, 166 no. 1968, fig. 73, pl. 58 (= Campus and Leonelli 2000: 130 Con. 8: 7, pl. 100: 7); also **78/33** and perhaps **78/34–35**.

Group 66

Date: LM IIIB with slight admixture of Archaic to Classical at top
Total sherds: 4,414
Weight (grams): 64,855

Trench/pail(s): 76C/41, 43, 44, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56; 80B/51, 51A

Cross joins: None

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; final earth floor in Gallery P1 at ca. +3.55 m and fill above to ca. +3.65/3.70 m at west, +4.40 m in deep pile of debris sloping up sharply at east end of gallery

Thickness of constituent strata: 10 cm at west, 85 cm at east

Group and/or date of stratum below: Initial floor level of Gallery P1 at +3.46 m and fill immediately above, containing mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 pottery (80B/57)

Group and/or date of stratum above: Historic levels

Table 3.80. Pottery Group 66.

	Fine Fabrics		Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	530	926	333	1,512	1,113
As % of total	12.0	21.0	7.5	34.3	25.2
Weight of sherds (grams)	2,995	6,500	5,705	33,345	16,310
As % of total	4.6	10.0	8.8	51.4	25.1

66/1 (C 9045). Alabastron with vertical handles. Pl. 3.75.

Base rounded, with depressed central hollow. Shoulder: zone of opposed and interlocking solid-painted Triangles FM 61 above zone of Running Spiral FM 46. Underside of base: solidly painted circle within single ring.

LM IIIB. For the shape, Kanta 1980: 279, fig. 96: 6; for the decorative syntax and possibly also the shape, Watrous 1992: 59 no. 1001, pl. 24.

66/2 (C 9074). Teacup. Pl. 3.75.

Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44. Center of interior: small reserved circle.

LM IIIB. For the combination of shape and pattern, Watrous 1992: 94 no. 1639, pls. 26, 41; La Rosa 1977: fig. 39b; for the pattern alone, comparanda as for **59/6**.

66/3 (C 10646). Teacup. Pl. 3.75.

Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44.

LM IIIA2–B. Comparanda as for **52a**/5 and **61/2**.

66/4 (C 10648). Teacup. Pl. 3.75.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 56 no. 967, fig. 39, pl. 23 (a teacup, not a kylix); 59 no. 1010, pl. 42; 61–62 no. 1040, pl. 25; 63 no. 1059, pl. 25; 65 no. 1092, pl. 26; 69 no. 1146, pl. 27; 72 no. 1208, fig. 45, pl. 28; 73 no. 1228, pl. 29; 84 no. 1456, pl. 37; 86 no. 1609, pl. 40; 90 no. 1578, pl. 39; 93 no. 1630, pl. 41; 99 no. 1700, pl. 44; 100 no. 1724, pl. 44; La Rosa 1977: fig. 36b; Mountjoy 2003: 147 nos. 779–81, fig. 4.42; also **69b/2**. For the pattern, Popham 1965: 338 nos. 31–32, fig. 6: 31–32, pls. 83a: 1, 8, 87a: 8; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 15, pl. 47b: 6; Popham 1984: pls. 173: 31–32, 181b: 6.

66/5 (C 9388). Teacup. Pl. 3.75.

Shoulder: paired antithetic Stemmed Spirals FM 51.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 64 no. 1083, pl. 26; 71 no. 1196, fig. 44, pl. 28; 89 no. 1547, pl. 39; 100

no. 1730, pl. 44 (= **78/7**); Popham 1970b: 197 n. 10 (HM 211), fig. 2: 14, pl. 49b; also **76/3**.

66/6 (C 9389). Teacup. Pl. 3.75.
Solid-coated overall.
LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 36 no. 618, fig. 27, pl. 15 (LM IIIA2–B); 39 no. 686, fig. 29, pl. 16 (LM IIIA2); 72 no. 1209, fig. 45, pl. 28 (LM IIIB); also **67a/7–8**.

66/7 (C 9390). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.75.
Linear.
LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 35 no. 590, fig. 27; 106 nos. 1864–65, fig. 67, pl. 48 (all dated LM IIIA); La Rosa 1977: fig. 41e (LM IIIA2); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 52 70-P0261, 137, pls. 34, 62g: 1 (LM IIIC?); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 119 84-P0556, 201, pls. 47, 113d: 13 (LM IIIB2).

66/8 (C 10645). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.75.
Solid-coated overall.
LM IIIB. For earlier LM IIIA versions of the type from Kommos, Watrous 1992: 39 no. 685, fig. 29; 44 no. 757, fig. 32; also **75/2**.

66/9 (C 10647). Mug or conical bowl. Pl. 3.75.
Shoulder: Concentric Semicircles FM 43 pendent from rim.
LM IIIB. Whether a tankard (Watrous 1992: 99 no. 1713, pl. 44) or a mug (Watrous 1992: 69 no. 1158, pl. 27; 76 no. 1302, fig. 47, pl. 30), this shape is relatively rare at Kommos. The faint ribs in the exterior profile just below the rim are reminiscent of the grooves in this location on Mycenaean mugs (FS 225–26). For the frequency of pendent solid semicircles at the rim on these shapes, Hallager and Hallager 2003: 53 70-P0499, 153–54, pls. 44, 64a: 2 (LM IIIC); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 117 84-P0477, 152 01-P0318, 163 80-P0574, pls. 65, 115b: 8, 125b: 1, 131e: 12 (LM IIIB2).

66/10 (C 9273). Transport stirrup jar or rim-handled amphora. Pl. 3.75.
Part of lower stump of thickened vertical strap handle on shoulder. Linear as preserved.
LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 48 no. 835, fig. 34; 56 no. 973, fig. 40, pl. 23; 82 nos. 1409, 1412, 1415, fig. 54, pls. 35–36; 90 no. 1585, fig. 59 (rim-handled amphoras); 48 no. 834, fig. 34, pl. 19; 53 no. 922, fig. 36; 82 no. 1407, fig. 54, pl. 35 (transport stirrup jars); also **60/17–19**, **75/5**.

66/11 (C 9277). Amphoroid krater. Pl. 3.76.
Rim: transverse bars, late version of Foliate Band FM 64. Shoulder: double row of horizontal Wavy Line FM 53, probably part of an Octopus FM 21 pattern (e.g., Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 34 no. 20, pls. XVIII, XXXIV).
LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **59/10**; for combination of shape and decoration, comparanda as for **55/4**.

66/12 (C 9276A). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.75.
LM IIIB. Comparanda for shape as for **54/2**.

66/13 (C 9276B). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.75.
LM IIIB. Comparanda for shape as for **54/2**.

66/14 (C 9391). Brazier. Pl. 3.76.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **57b/3**.

66/15 (C 9398). "Syrian flask." Pl. 3.76.
Levantine LB IIB import. Amiran 1970: pl. 52: 3; Bass 1986: 291 KW 231, ill. 30; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 120 P613. For fabric, comparanda as for **55/6**.

66/16 (C 10649). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.76.
Western Anatolian LB reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

Group 67a

Date:	LM IIIB with some Archaic at top, some Neopalatial in lower units, and some admixture of LM IIIA2 at bottom
Total sherds:	544 (Trenches 77A and 77B); 3,696 (Trenches 94B and 97E)
Weight (grams):	6,735 (Trenches 77A and 77B); 89,250 (Trenches 94B and 97E)
Trench/pail(s):	77A/34, 42; 77B/92, 93, 94, 95, 107; 94B/98,

	100, 104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 122; 97E/28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; final earth floor near east end of Gallery P2 at ca. +3.65 m, sloping up abruptly toward east end where a partially paved surface with burning lies as high as +4.42 m, associated with a hearth at +4.18 m in the gallery's southeast corner
Thickness of constituent strata:	10 cm at west, 75 cm at east
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IIIA2 floor and fill immediately above (Groups 56a–c)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

Table 3.81. Pottery Group 67a.

	Fine Fabrics		Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Painted	Unpainted	
Trenches 77A and 77B					
Number of sherds	59	193	17	171	104
As % of total	10.8	35.5	3.1	31.4	19.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	320	1,105	425	3,515	1,370
As % of total	4.8	16.4	6.3	52.2	20.3

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
Trenches 94B and 97E						
Number of sherds	469	482	111	210	1,836	588
As % of total	12.7	13.0	3.0	5.7	49.7	15.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	2,730	3,070	785	7,510	57,015	18,140
As % of total	3.1	3.4	0.9	8.4	63.9	20.3

67a/1 (C 10351). Teacup. Pl. 3.76.

Shoulder: Flower FM 18.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 81 no. 1385, pl. 35; 84 no. 1459, pl. 36 (identified as Knossian); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 94 77-P1434, pls. 48, 105b: 4; also **67a/2**.

67a/2 (C 10345). Teacup. Pl. 3.76.

Shoulder: stemmed Flower FM 18, with smaller stemless bloom inserted immediately to left of vertical band framing handle.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 99 no. 1702, pl. 44 (at left; uncertain whether stemmed or stemless); 57–58 no. 986, fig. 41, pl. 23 (for stemmed type); 51 no. 885, pl. 20; 84 no. 1451, pl. 36; 89 no. 1549, pl. 39 (for fill of multiple chevrons on upright as

well as horizontal stemless flowers); also **67a/1**, **77/4** and **78/13**.

67a/3 (C 10363). Teacup. Pl. 3.76.

Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24.

LM IIIA2–B. Watrous 1992: 84 no. 1454, pl. 36 (LM IIIB); Popham 1970a: fig. 14: 86, pl. 25e: 1–2 (LM IIIA2); for the pattern on deep bowls, especially common at Chania, **64/2**.

67a/4 (C 10352). Teacup. Pl. 3.76.

Body profile lightly carinated just below base of handle zone. Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 72 no. 1210, fig. 45, pl. 28 (identified as Chaniote); 84 nos. 1449, 1453, pls. 36–37; Kanta 1980: pl. 29: 3 (HM 17197); also **70b/1**. For the pattern, Popham 1965: 324, 338; Popham 1970b: 199, pl. 47e: 11; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 64 80-P0059, pl. 66b: 8; 68 80-P0211, pls. 36, 66g: 10 (deep bowls); 72 70-P0171, pl. 68a: 4 (cup) (all LM IIIB2/C); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 94 77-P1428, 200 and n. 11, pls. 46, 105b: 1 (LM IIIB2).

67a/5 (C 10353). Teacup. Pl. 3.77.

Hollowed raised base, extremely worn on underside. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46 in the form of linked buttonhook spirals.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early. Watrous 1992: 51 no. 886, pl. 20; 70 no. 1172, fig. 44, pl. 27; 71–72 no. 1199, fig. 44, pl. 29; 84 no. 1456, pl. 37; 99 no. 1704, pl. 44. For the pattern, Popham 1965: 327, 338 nos. 28–30, fig. 6: 28–30, pl. 83a; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 17, pl. 47b: 4; Mountjoy 2003: 147 no. 783, fig. 4.42 (LM IIIB); Popham 1984: pl. 173: 30–33 (LM IIIA2); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 41 71-P0739, pls. 35, 58e: 4; 48 73-P0489, pl. 61g: 3; 81 77-P0189, pls. 35, 70b: 2 (LM IIIC).

67a/6 (C 10215). Teacup. Pl. 3.77.

Shape lacks pushed-out spout at rim 90° clockwise from handle. Shoulder: Quirk FM 48; no vertical band across handle zone on either side of handle.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 63 no. 1064, pl. 25; 73 nos. 1227, 1244, fig. 46, pl. 28; 83 no. 1435, pl. 36; 92 no. 1607, pl. 40; 94 no. 1634, pl. 41; 96 no. 16678, pl. 43 (last two identifed as Chaniote); 99 no. 1703, pl. 44. For the pattern, Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 3: 42, pl. 47e: 1–2 (LM IIIB); Popham 1984: pl. 174: 40 (LM IIIA2); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 141 n. 39 (LM IIIC Chania). This cup's atypical fabric color and the absence on it of vertical bands framing the handle suggest that it is an import from elsewhere in Crete.

67a/7 (C 10471). Teacup. Pl. 3.77.

Body profile lightly carinated at base of lower handle attachment; immediately to left of upper handle attachment, small circular hole (d 2.5 mm) perforated through vessel wall from inside, rising at an angle of ca. 30° from inside to outside; inside of perforation coated with paint, so perforation made prior to firing; no trace of second perforation on opposite side of handle. Solid-coated overall.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/6**.

67a/8 (C 10344). Teacup. Pl. 3.77.

Body profile lightly carinated at approximate midheight of vessel. Solid-coated overall.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/6**.

67a/9 (C 10364). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.77.

Solidly coated overall.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 47 no. 827; 50 no. 855; 85 nos. 1464–65, 1468, 1471, fig. 55, pl. 37; 87 no. 1510; 90 nos. 1572–73; 96 no. 1659, fig. 62, pl. 43; 91 no. 1707; Hallager 1997: 37 and nn. 190, 192, 39–40, fig. 40; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 79 71-P0247, pls. 48, 69f: 6; 92 87-P0041, pl. 72d: 8; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 172 73-P0526, 202 n. 52, fig. 134c: 11 (LM IIIB2); also **67a/10**, **69b/5**, **73b/1**, and **77/5**.

67a/10 (C 10473). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.77.

Solid-coated overall.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/9**.

67a/11 (C 10343). Kylix. Pl. 3.77.

Bowl: curve-stemmed Papyrus FM 11, one plant per side.

LM IIIB. For the shape, comparanda as for **60/2**; for the motif, Watrous 1992: 54 no. 936, fig. 37, pl. 14 (LM IIIA2); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 52 70-P0257/P0508, pls. 37, 63c: 1 (LM IIIB2/C); Mountjoy 2003: 149 no. 790, fig. 4.42 (LM IIIB).

67a/12 (C 10368). Kylix. Pl. 3.77.

Wall thickening near lower handle attachment located well above base of zone. Bowl: late unvoluted Papyrus FM 11.

LM IIIA2–IIIB. For the shape, Hallager 1997: 28–29, fig. 21; for the motif, Watrous 1992: 48 no. 833, fig. 34, pl. 19 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 93 77-P0596, pls. 54, 105d: 1 (Chania;

LM IIIB2); for plant growth at base of stem, Watrous 1992: 57–58 no. 986, fig. 41, pl. 23 (LM IIIB teacup); 94 no. 1635, pl. 41 (LM IIIB deep bowl).

67a/13 (C 10184). Kylix. Pl. 3.77.

Bowl: vertical Quirk FM 48:23 at roughly 45° intervals.

LM IIIB. For the shape, comparanda as for **60/2**; for the motif, Watrous 1992: 61 no. 1031, pl. 25; 89 no. 1556, pl. 39; Kanta 1980: 211, fig. 87: 8 (Mastampas Rethymnon); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 128 84-P1303, pls. 54, 117e: 6 (Chania; LM IIIB2).

67a/14 (C 10349). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.77.

Rounded carination in lower body profile well below base of shoulder zone. Shoulder: Multiple Stem FM 19: 36, framed above by a horizontal wavy line.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early. Watrous 1992: 81–82 no. 1400, fig. 52, pl. 35; 85–86 nos. 1483, 1485, 1489, fig. 56, pls. 35, 36, 38; 92 no. 1614, pl. 40; 100 no. 1725, pl. 44; Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 2: 18–19, pls. 47b, 49a; D'Agata 1999: fig. 4: 3.38. The peculiarly high handle, its unconventional decoration, and oddities of fabric color suggest that this bowl may be an import from elsewhere in Crete.

67a/15 (C 10350). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, conical subtype. Pl. 3.77.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56a/1**.

67a/16 (C 10346). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.77.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

67a/17 (C 10356). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.77.

The low placement of the lower handle attachment identifies this piece as a cup rather than a kylix.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 39 nos. 687–89, fig. 29, pls. 15–16; 56 no. 965, pl. 23; 85 no. 1463, fig. 55, pl. 37; Popham 1970a: 29, 62, figs. 17: 4, 10; Popham 1984: 12, pl. 115: 9–10; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 154 01-P0531, 235–36, pls. 69, 126f: 4; also **71a/1**.

67a/18 (C 10347). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.77.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/8**; most similar from Kommos are **61/4** and specific comparanda cited for it.

67a/19 (C 10355). Kylix, two-handled. Pl. 3.77.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 58 no. 996, fig. 41, pl. 24; 107 no. 1878 (unpainted!), fig. 67, pl. 48; Popham 1984: 185, pl. 180: 10; Hallager 1997: 33, fig. 28; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 233–34, pl. 68.

67a/20 (C 10354). Shallow rounded bowl. Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Hallager and Hallager 2003: 236–37 nn. 411–12 (Chania; LM IIIB2); for the larger size of this form and further comparanda, see **60/13**.

67a/21 (C 10348). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.78.

Thickening in lower body wall indicative of two-part manufacture (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Haskell 1981b: 193). Irregular patches of matte, dark brown stain (7.5 YR 4/2) all over exterior body, including handle.

LM IIIB (= Rutter 2000: fig. 1). Comparanda as for **54/2**.

67a/22 (C 10219). Short-necked amphora. Pls. 3.78, 3.93 at *e*.

Thickening in lower body wall indicative of two-part manufacture (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Haskell 1981b: 193); at the same level as this thickening, shallowly incised arcs crisscross the exterior surface, presumably reflecting a surface treatment imparted when the vessel's constituent parts were joined.

LM IIIA2–B. Comparanda as for **54/2**.

67a/23 (C 10459). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/17**.

67a/24 (C 10456). Tripod cooking pot. Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/16**.

67a/25 (C 10458). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56f/3**.

67a/26 (C 10206). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56f/3**.

67a/27 (C 10457). Pedestal-footed bowl (lamp?). Pl. 3.78.

LM IIIB. Mercando 1974–75: 111 nos. 38–40, 151, fig. 102 (Neopalatial); Alexiou 1967: 53 nos. 12, 14, and 28, pl. 26g (LM IIIA); Popham 1970c: 191–92, fig. 1B (LM IIIA2); Popham 1984: 14, pl. 115: 4 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 243, pl. 77 (LM IIIB2); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 48 73-P0061, 161–62, fig. 32: 9, pl. 46 (LM IIIB2/C).

67a/28 (C 10365). Jug. Pl. 3.78.

Åström Form IX. Handle solid-coated.

LC II Cypriot Base Ring import. Comparanda as for **52c/7**.

Group 67b

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds:	Ca. 317
Weight (grams):	8,400
Trench/pail(s):	36B/12, 13; 64A1/24; 65A4/75
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; final Minoan surface within Gallery P2 at its west end, of earth and scattered slabs at +3.42 m, and fill above to +3.60 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	10–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Earlier LM IIIB clay floor at +3.22 m (at west in Trench 64A1) to +3.35 m (at east in Trench 65A4) and fill above (Group 67c)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

67b/1 (C 7879). Teacup. Pl. 3.79.

Interior: Stipple FM 77. Exterior shoulder: Papyrus FM 11.

LM IIIA1. Popham 1970a: figs. 14: 85, 96; 15: 104; pls. 34a, 43a: 1–3; Popham 1984: pls. 116a: 1–3, 171: 14–15.

67b/2 (C 3103). Teacup. Pl. 3.79.

Shoulder: horizontal Zigzag FM 61.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 63 no. 1060, pl. 25; 72 no. 1211, fig. 45, pl. 29; 83 no. 1432, fig. 55, pl. 36; 91 no. 1598, pl. 40; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 82 77-P1449, pl. 70c: 2 (LM IIIB2/C); also **75/1** and **78/11**. For the motif, Popham 1965: 324, fig. 5: 21, pl. 81d; Popham 1970b: 199–200, fig. 3: 43; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 200 n. 15, 201 n. 27 (cups), 207 n. 96 (deep bowls).

67b/3 (C 8336). Amphora. Pl. 3.79.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 342; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253a: 5). For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4.**

67b/4 (C 8335). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.79.

FS not precisely determinable. Top of false neck disk: solid-centered group of Circles FM 41: 12.

LH IIIA2–B Mycenaean fine decorated import. Furumark 1941: 336; Mountjoy 1986: fig. 93: 3 (Melos; LH IIIA2); Mountjoy 1999a: 530 nos. 149–52, fig. 189 (Attica, LH IIIA2), 666 nos. 84–86, 88, fig. 253 (Boeotia, LH IIIA2), 710–11 nos. 52, 60, fig. 272 (Euboea, LH IIIA2–B), 1001 nos. 37, 40, figs. 405–6 (Rhodes, LH IIIA2), 1019 no. 92, fig. 415 (Rhodes, LH IIIB), 1088 nos. 24–26, fig. 444 (Kos, LH IIIA2); Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001: 151 no. 57, fig. 3: 57 (Argive LH IIIB, from Qantir).

Group 67c

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds:	200+
Weight (grams):	5,150
Trench/pail(s):	64A1/25; 65A4/78
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; clay surface at west end of Gallery P2 at +3.22 m (at west in Trench

	64A1) to +3.35 m (at east in Trench 65A4) and fill above to +3.33/3.42 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	7–11 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Earlier LM IIIB earth floor at +3.27 m and fill above in Trench 65A4 (Group 67d)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Later LM IIIB surface at +3.42 m and fill above (Group 67b)

67c/1 (C 8344). Kylix. Pl. 3.78.

FS 258A. Shoulder: hybrid Flower FM 18B with fill of Diaper Net FM 57 in stem.

LH IIIB1 Mycenaean fine decorated import. Thomas 1992: 55–56, 153 TS-127, fig. 12: 10 (Tsoungiza); 307–11, 348 Z-15, fig. 45: 3 (Zygouries); Mountjoy 1999a: 141, 222, 343, 552, 676, 768, 848, 911, 1025, 1095.

Group 67d

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds:	Ca. 80–90
Weight (grams):	3,250
Trench/pail(s):	65A4/80
Cross joins:	Groups 60 and 78 (**60/4**); Groups 60, 65, 69a, 76, and 78 (**67d/3**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; earth floor with patches of red and black at +3.27 m at west end of Gallery P2, with stone chips at this level along north face of wall separating Galleries P2 and P3
Thickness of constituent strata:	8 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Fill containing mixture of LM IA Final and LM IIIB Advanced sherds (65A4/85, 86)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Later LM IIIB surface at +3.22 m (farther west in Trench 64A1) to +3.35 m (at east in Trench 65A4) and fill above (Group 67c)

67d/1 (C 11087). Teacup. Pl. 3.79.

Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 63 no. 1061, pl. 25; 67 no. 1120, pl. 14; 72 no. 1215, pl. 28; 83 nos. 1434, 1438, pls. 36–37; 89–90 nos. 1552, 1569, pl. 39; 96 no. 1666, fig. 62, pl. 43; 97 no. 1678, fig. 64, pl. 43; 101 no. 1740 (= **78/15**); 101 no. 1753, pl. 44 (= **78/9**). For the pattern, Popham 1970b: 199, pls. 49a, bottom row, no. 2; 50a, bottom row, nos. 2–3; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 141 n. 40, fig. 31 (high wavy band on LM IIIB2/C deep bowls at Chania).

67d/2 (C 11086). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.79.

LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **54/2**; for fabric, comparanda see also **71b/4**, **73a/1**, and **75/6**.

67d/3 (C 4134). Pithos. Pls. 3.79, 3.93 at *f*.

Multiple coil joints detectable from base of neck to lower body; coil joints strengthened by means of diagonally oriented, thin raised ridges of clay at tops of coils that fit into corresponding diagonal "mortises" prepared in the bottom surfaces of superimposed coils (cf. also **77/6**).

LB import, probably from either Kythera (Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 159 ρ74, pl. 43; E. Kiriatzi, pers. comm.), although possibly from a Cycladic island (= Watrous 1992: 78, 154 no. 1342). Watrous 1992: 93, 154 no. 1629, pl. 41. For

a larger but otherwise identical pithos, Blegen and Rawson 1966: 95 no. 1147, 394 shape 55b, fig. 381 (Pylos, Archives Room 7; LH IIIB context); for the same general type in a significantly earlier context in the Cyclades, Cummer and Schofield 1984: 51 no. 84, pl. 48 = Caskey 1972: pl. 94: H30 (Aghia Eirini, House A, Room 3; mixed LM IB/LH II and LH IIIA1 context).

Group 68

Date:	LM IIIA2 Late to LM IIIB Early with scattered Protopalatial, Neopalatial, and earlier LM IIIA
Total sherds:	691
Weight (grams):	5,995
Trench/pail(s):	83A/57; 89A/3, 5, 24; 89B/47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 77, 77A
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; primary earth floor in Gallery P3 at +3.24 m (west) to +3.38 m (east) and fill above to +3.38 m (west) and +3.48 m (east)
Thickness of constituent strata:	10–15 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Upper LM IIIA fill (89A/25, 26) immediately overlying Neopalatial to LM IIIA2 Early fill (Group 57g) at east; LM IIIA2 Early floor at west (Group 57j)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Secondary earth floor in Gallery P3 at +3.35/3.45 m (west) (Group 69b) and at +3.38/3.48 m (east) (Group 69a)

Table 3.82. Pottery Group 68.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	79	99	36	45	316	116
As % of total	11.4	14.3	5.2	6.5	45.7	16.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	230	270	145	385	3,795	1,170
As % of total	3.8	4.5	2.4	6.4	63.3	19.5

68/1 (C 11088). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.80.

Shoulder: horizontal chain of Bivalve Shell FM 25(?), each shell filled with perpendicularly oriented groups of concentric arcs, or else possibly the tail of a Bird FM 7.

LM IIIA2–B. For cups decorated with more simply filled bivalve shells, **52a/4**; for patterns with similar perpendicularly oriented groups of arcs, Popham 1970b: pl. 49a, bottom row, no. 7 and Warren 1997: fig. 28: P1710; for the tail of a bird treated in much the same way, Betancourt 1985a: pl. 28C–D (the well-known baggy alabas-

tra from the Kalyvia cemetery at Phaistos) and C 7058, an imported LM IIIA1 Knossian cup from House X, Room 15.

68/2 (C 11089). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.80.

Shoulder: spiral.

LM IIIA2–B. For comparable spiraliform patterns on LM IIIB teacups and deep bowls, **66/4–5** and **67a/14**, **69b/2–3**.

Group 69a

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial through LM IIIA

Total sherds: 1,227

Weight (grams): 17,060

Trench/pail(s): 81B/73; 83A/46, 46A; 83C/81; 89A/1, 2

Cross joins: Groups 60, 65, 67d, 76, and 78 (**67d/3**)

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; secondary earth floor toward eastern end of Gallery P3 associated with clay ovens, at +3.38 m (west) to +3.48 m (east), with fill above to +3.54 m (west) and +3.69/3.88 m (east)

Thickness of constituent strata: 15–20 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Primary earth floor in Gallery P3 at +3.24m (west) to +3.38 m (east) and fill above to +3.38 m (west) and +3.48 m (east) (Group 68)

Group and/or date of stratum above: Tertiary earth floor toward east end of Gallery P3 at +3.54/3.68 m (west) and at +3.69/3.88 m (east) (Groups 70a–b)

Table 3.83. Pottery Group 69a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	133	154	76	107	561	196
As % of total	10.8	12.6	6.2	8.7	45.7	16.0
Weight of sherds (grams)	570	775	575	1,895	10,130	3,115
As % of total	3.3	4.5	3.4	11.1	59.4	18.3

69a/1 (C 9425). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.80.

Underside of slightly raised base neatly hollowed, that is, shaped from below rather than simply string-cut. Shoulder: Tricurved Arch FM 62 with fill of "Sea Anemone" FM 27: 47 and Concentric Arcs FM 44. Handle: band along middle of back; framed on either side by vertical band (adjacent to handle) paralleled by thinner line (adjacent to patterned zone).

LM IIIB, probably an import from elsewhere on Crete (= Rutter 2003a: 199 n. 22, fig. 14: 2). Watrous 1992: 83 no. 1430, fig. 55, pl. 36 (LM IIIB teacup); 95 no. 1646, pl. 42 (LM IIIB deep bowl); Popham 1984: pl. 181a: 8

69a/2 (C 9621). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.80.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

69a/3 (C 9622). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.80.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

69a/4 (C 10655). Pilgrim flask. Pl. 3.80.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253a: 3). For the shape and fabric, Hope 1989: 10, fig. 6d (Amenhotep III); Aston 1998: 65–66, 462–63 nos. 1691–93, 492–93 nos. 1944–46 (Fabrics II.D.01–02; Egyptian). Fabric: Marl D, similar to fabric III.9 in the Amarna classification system (Nicholson and Rose 1985), fabric IIF.02 in the Qantir classification system (Aston 1998).

Group 69b

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial
Total sherds: 482
Weight (grams): 6,330
Trench/pail(s): 89B/37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 71, 72, 73, 74
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; secondary earth floor toward western end of Gallery P3, at +3.35/3.45 m (west) and +3.35/3.40 m (east), with fill above to +3.50/3.60 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 15–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Primary earth floor in Gallery P3 at +3.24 m (west) to +3.38 m (east) and fill above to +3.38 m (west) and +3.48 m (east) (Group 68)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Tertiary earth floor toward west end of Gallery P3 at ca. +3.50 m (82A/40 and 82B/59)

Table 3.84. Pottery Group 69b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	39	75	22	45	229	72
As % of total	8.1	15.6	4.6	9.3	47.5	14.9
Weight of sherds (grams)	255	290	85	460	4,215	1,025
As % of total	4.0	4.6	1.3	7.3	66.6	16.2

69b/1 (C 9793). Narrow-necked closed shape. Pl. 3.80.

Possibly the spout from a fairly large but fine stirrup jar, since both the interior and exterior are partially coated with a thick white (10 YR 8/2) slip.

LM IIIB, probably an import to judge from the pale-firing slip.

69b/2 (C 9509). Teacup. Pl. 3.80.
Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/4**.

69b/3 (C 10650). Teacup. Pl. 3.80.
Shoulder: Isolated Spirals FM 52 attached to rim band.
LM IIIB. For the pattern, Popham 1970b: fig. 2: 23 = Popham 1984: pl. 179: 9.

69b/4 (C 10652). One-handled footed cup. Pls. 3.80, 3.94 at *a*.
Bowl decorated with blobs by dipping.
LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early. Watrous 1992: 90 no. 1571, pl. 37; Tzedakis and Kanta: 1978: 21, fig. 14: 14 (LM IIIB); Kanta 1980: 265; Hallager 1997: 37 and n. 191; Kanta 1997: 96; Mook and Coulson 1997: 347–48 and n. 39, 354 (Kavousi; LM IIIC); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 107 84-P0720, 137, pls. 34, 76b: 9 (Chania; LM IIIC); Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 298 KP22, fig. 15, pl. 73I (Palaikastro-Kastri; LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early); D'Agata 1999: 193 3.35 and n. 38, fig. 6 (mislabeled "3.1") (Thronos/Kephala; LM IIIC Early).

69b/5 (C 10653). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.80.
Solidly coated.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/9**.

69b/6 (C 10651). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.80.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/8**; also **60/10** and **67a/18**.

69b/7 (C 9508). Ladle. Pl. 3.80.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **60/23**.

Group 70a

Date:	LM IIIB with scattered Protopalatial and Neopalatial
Total sherds:	1,048
Weight (grams):	19,985
Trench/pail(s):	83A/38, 40
Cross joins:	Group 70b (**70b/1**); Group 71a (**70a/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; tertiary earth floor at northeast end of Gallery P3 at +3.54 m (west) to +3.88 m (east)
Thickness of constituent strata:	30–35 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Secondary earth floor toward eastern end of Gallery P3 associated with clay oven, at +3.38 m (west) to +3.48 m (east), with fill above to +3.54 m (west) and +3.69/3.88 m (east) (Group 69a)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Abandonment surface of Gallery P3 at northeast end, from +3.90 m to +4.19 m (Group 71a), sealed by collapsed rubble of the gallery walls

70a/1 (C 9587). Teacup. Pl. 3.80.
Rounded carination above base of handle zone. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46, possibly of the button-hook variety. Handle: part of vertical band framing handle at right ensures identification of shape as teacup.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/4** if spirals are simply linked or, alternatively, as for **67a/5** if spirals are button-hooked.

70a/2 (C 9583). Lid(?). Pl. 3.80.
Possibly a ground-down and reused jug base; none of the original surfaces survive.
LM IIIB.

Table 3.85. Pottery Group 70a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	81	112	38	49	605	163
As % of total	7.7	10.7	3.6	4.7	57.7	15.6
Weight of sherds (grams)	435	605	120	675	16,395	1,755
As % of total	2.2	3.0	0.6	3.4	82.0	8.8

Group 70b

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Protopalatial and Neopalatial

Total sherds: 277

Weight (grams): 6,120

Trench/pail(s): 83C/73, 73A, 74

Cross joins: Group 70a (**70b/1**)

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; tertiary earth floor at southeast end of Gallery P3 at +3.54 m (west) to +3.75 m (east) associated with stone-lined hearth in southeast corner

Thickness of constituent strata: 30–35 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Secondary earth floor toward eastern end of Gallery P3 associated with clay oven, at +3.38 m (west) to +3.48 m (east), with fill above to +3.54 m (west) and +3.69/3.88 m (east) (Group 69a)

Group and/or date of stratum above: Abandonment surface of Gallery P3 at southeast end, from +3.90 m to +4.19 m (Group 71b), sealed by collapsed rubble of the gallery walls

Table 3.86. Pottery Group 70b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	32	23	9	21	139	53
As % of total	11.6	8.3	3.2	7.6	50.2	19.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	135	120	80	315	4,710	760
As % of total	2.2	2.0	1.3	5.1	77.0	12.4

70b/1 (C 9654). Teacup. Pl. 3.80.
Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent Isolated Semicircles FM 43.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/4**.

Group 71a

Date:	LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial through LM IIIA1 and three Late Geometric sherds
Total sherds:	565
Weight (grams):	20,330
Trench/pail(s):	83A/32, 33, 35
Cross joins:	Group 70a (**70a/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; abandonment surface of Gallery P3 at northeast end, from +3.90 m to +4.19 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	25–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Tertiary earth floor at northeast end of Gallery P3 at +3.54 m (west) to +3.88 m (east) (Group 70a)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Mixed rubble and earth (83A/26, 28, 30: purely Prehistoric pottery) overlain by collapsed wall debris (83A/25)

Table 3.87. Pottery Group 71a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	41	53	14	23	358	76
As % of total	7.3	9.4	2.5	4.1	63.4	13.5
Weight of sherds (grams)	235	380	145	1,060	15,525	2,985
As % of total	1.2	1.9	0.7	5.2	76.4	14.7

71a/1 (C 9569). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.81.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/17**.

71a/2 (C 9568). Amphoroid krater. Pl. 3.81.
Top of lip: transverse bar groups (late version of Foliate Band FM 64: 22) interrupted by solid Isolated Semicircle FM 43 at handle attachment. Neck: pendent Rock Pattern I FM 32. Shoulder: curvilinear pattern, probably Wavy Line FM 53. Handle: broad ring around base.
LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **59/10**; for combination of shape and decoration, comparanda as for **55/4**.

71a/3 (C 9557). Cooking jar. Pl. 3.81.
Made in at least two sections, joined at the lower body (cf. **60/26**). Massive amounts of medium- to granule-sized grits embedded in underside of slightly hollowed, raised base.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56f/3**.

Group 71b

Date:	LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial through LM IIIA1
Total sherds:	947
Weight (grams):	24,150
Trench/pail(s):	83A/53, 55, 56
Cross joins:	None
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; abandonment surface of Gallery P3 at southeast end, from +3.90 m to +4.19 m, sealed by collapsed rubble of the gallery walls
Thickness of constituent strata:	25–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Tertiary earth floor at southeast end of Gallery P3 at +3.54 m (west) to +3.75 m (east) associated with stone-lined hearth in southeast corner (Group 70b)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Rubble and earth fill (83A/50: purely Prehistoric pottery) overlain by collapsed wall debris (83A/47: mixed Prehistoric and Archaic pottery)

Table 3.88. Pottery Group 71b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	82	96	37	51	545	136
As % of total	8.7	10.1	3.9	5.4	57.6	14.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	430	545	270	1,215	18,850	2,840
As % of total	1.8	2.3	1.1	5.0	78.1	11.8

71b/1 (C 9644). Teacup. Pl. 3.81.

Rounded carination in body profile below base of shoulder zone. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/4**.

71b/2 (C 9661). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.81.

Shoulder: U-Pattern FM 45 or Quirk FM 48.

LM IIIB. For the general pattern, Popham 1965: 327, 337 nos. 18–20, fig. 5: 18–20, pl. 82c; also **67a/6**.

71b/3 (C 9649). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.81.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/8** and **61/4**.

71b/4 (C 9662). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.81.

Made in two sections joined at lower body (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Haskell 1981b: 193).

LM IIIB (= Rutter 2000: fig. 2). For shape, comparanda as for **54/2**; for fabric, comparanda as for **67d/2**.

Group 72

Date:	LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial
Total sherds:	433
Weight (grams):	4,420
Trench/pail(s):	89C/123, 124, 125, 126, 127
Cross joins:	Groups 73a and 74 (**72/2**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; first-laid floor at west end of Gallery P5 at +3.21/3.31 m and fill above to +3.46/3.53 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	20–25 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Construction fill below first-laid floor in Gallery P5 (Group 54)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Last-laid floor in Gallery P5 at ca. +3.46/3.53 m (Group 73a)

Table 3.89. Pottery Group 72.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	37	57	14	25	200	100
As % of total	8.5	13.2	3.2	5.8	46.2	23.1
Weight of sherds (grams)	200	190	65	315	2,510	1,140
As % of total	4.5	4.3	1.5	7.1	56.8	25.8

72/1 (C 11201). Closed shape. Pl. 3.81.
Central body zone: undeterminable pattern, possibly figural. Lower body zone: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53(?).
LM IIIB(?).

72/2 (C 11196). Teacup. Pl. 3.81.
Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44.
LM IIIA2–B. Comparanda as for **52a/**5 and **61/2**.

72/3 (C 11202). Teacup. Pl. 3.82.
Once thought to have a join in Group 72, the fragments of this cup are now recognized to come exclusively from Group 73a/1 (89C/115).
Shoulder: alternating groups of Curved Stripes FM 67 and Concentric Arcs FM 44.
LM IIIB. For this combination of shape and pattern, Watrous 1992: 108 no. 1891, fig. 67, pl. 49. Atypical clay color, fabric, and pattern identify this piece as a probable import from elsewhere in Crete.

72/4 (C 11200). Teacup. Pl. 3.82.
Shoulder: probably Concentric Arcs FM 44, although possibly Tricurved Arch FM 62 or Curved Stripes FM 67.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **52a/5** and **61/2**.

72/5 (C 11203). Closed shape. Pl. 3.82.
Linear as preserved.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/12–13**.

72/6 (C 9941, C 12086). Canaanite jar. Pls. 3.82, 3.94 at *b*.

Two fragments originally thought to belong to the same jar, but now attributed to two different jars on the grounds of minor differences in fabric. Larger fragment preserves incised arc (2 mm wide, 0.5 mm deep) on lower body.

Levantine LB IIB imports. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57i/3**.

72/7 (C 10362). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.82.

Levantine LB IIB import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57i/3**.

Group 73a

Date:	LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial
Total sherds:	324
Weight (grams):	4,990
Trench/pail(s):	89C/114, 115, 116, 116A
Cross joins:	Groups 72 and 74 (**72/2**); Group 74 (**73a/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; last-laid floor in Gallery P5 at ca. +3.46/3.53 m and fill above to +3.56/3.63 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	First-laid floor at west end of Gallery P5 at +3.21/3.31 m and fill above to +3.46/3.53 m (Group 72)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Abandonment surface of Gallery P5 at +3.56/3.63 m overlain by rubble collapse of gallery walls (Group 74)

Table 3.90. Pottery Group 73a.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	24	27	4	4	235	30
As % of total	7.4	8.3	1.2	1.2	72.5	9.3
Weight of sherds (grams)	80	170	25	45	4,205	465
As % of total	1.6	3.4	0.5	0.9	84.3	9.3

73a/1 (C 11197). Short-necked amphora. Pl. 3.82.

LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **54/2**, for fabric, comparanda as for **67d/2**.

73a/2 (C 10361). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.82.

Single incised horizontal groove in shoulder.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

Group 73b

Date: Mixed Protopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds: 85
Weight (grams): 750
Trench/pail(s): 89C/128
Cross joins: None
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; use fill above +3.47/3.52 m associated with Gallery P5 just outside its west entrance
Thickness of constituent strata: 10 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: Mixed Protopalatial and early Neopalatial fill (89C/131)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Mixed Prehistoric and Historic wash dug in Trench 84E

Table 3.91. Pottery Group 73b.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	18	9	4	6	30	18
As % of total	21.2	10.6	4.7	7.1	35.3	21.2
Weight of sherds (grams)	45	65	20	45	375	200
As % of total	6.0	8.7	2.7	6.0	50.0	26.7

73b/1 (C 8932). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.82.
Solidly coated.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/9**.

73b/2 (C 8933). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.82.
Multiple horizontal grooves at junction of neck and shoulder.
Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

Group 74

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Protopalatial and Neopalatial
Total sherds: 395
Weight (grams): 6,475
Trench/pail(s): 89C/108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113
Cross joins: Groups 72 and 73a (**72/2**); Group 73a (**73a/1**)

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; abandonment surface of Gallery P5 at +3.56/3.63 m overlain by rubble collapse of gallery walls
Thickness of constituent strata: 15 cm in center, up to 70 cm at northeast
Group and/or date of stratum below: Last-laid floor in Gallery P5 at ca. +3.46/3.53 m and fill above to +3.56/3.63 m (Group 73a)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Rubble collapse of gallery walls (89C/107) containing mixed LM IIIA2–B and Archaic pottery

Table 3.92. Pottery Group 74.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	41	42	12	11	231	58
As % of total	10.4	10.6	3.0	2.8	58.5	14.7
Weight of sherds (grams)	275	160	130	380	4,315	1,215
As % of total	4.2	2.5	2.0	5.9	66.6	18.8

74/1 (C 10360). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.82.
Levantine LB IIB import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.)

Group 75

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Protopalatial and Neopalatial
Total sherds: 587
Weight (grams): 9,840
Trench/pail(s): 90A/14, 55, 56, 57
Cross joins: Group 55 (**55/4, 55/6**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; first-laid floor of Gallery P6 at +3.20 m (west) / +3.30 m (east) and fill above to +3.45 m (west) / +3.60 m (east)
Thickness of constituent strata: 25–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: LM IIIA2 construction fill (Group 55)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Last-laid floor of Gallery P6 at +3.45 m (west) / +3.60 m (east) (Group 76)

75/1 (C 11239). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.83.
Shoulder: floating horizontal Zigzag FM 61.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67b/2**.

75/2 (C 11238). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.83.
Solidly coated.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/8**.

75/3 (C 11237). Deep bowl or teacup. Pl. 3.83.
Shoulder: Concentric Arcs FM 44.

Table 3.93. Pottery Group 75.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	40	53	23	37	341	93
As % of total	6.8	9.0	3.9	6.3	58.1	15.8
Weight of sherds (grams)	175	160	160	725	7,225	1,395
As % of total	1.8	1.6	1.6	7.4	73.4	14.2

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **52a**/5 and **61/2**.

75/4 (C 9839). Conical cup, Kommos Type C, convex subtype. Pl. 3.83.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **56e/3**.

75/5 (C 11241). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.83.

Handle: broad ring around base; beginning of vertical band on back. Body: linear as preserved.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **59/12**.

75/6 (C 9836). Short-necked amphora. Pls. 3.83, 3.94 at *c*.

Made in two sections joined at lower body (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Haskell 1981b: 193). Exterior surface features patches of dark brown (7.5 YR 4.2) discolored spots arranged in rough, upward-curving rows and seemingly sealed by a light burnish (i.e., dots were generated as part of the production process, not as a result of postfiring use).

LM IIIB (= Rutter 2000: fig. 3). For shape, comparanda as for **54/2**; for fabric, comparanda as for **67d/2**.

75/7 (C 11240). Pithos. Pls. 3.83, 3.94 at *d*.

Keswani Group II(?). Shoulder: traces of broad, horizontal wavy groove below thinner horizontal groove.

LC II Cypriot Plain White import. Keswani 1989: 15–16, fig. 17; Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 1121 nos. 589, 611, pls. LXXXII, CXCIV; Pilides 2000: 6–7, figs. 2, 5: 3, 8: 3. For the type at Kommos, Watrous 1992: 157 no. 807; 158 no. 846, fig. 70, pl. 52; Pilides 2000: 48.

Group 76

Date: LM IIIB with scattered Neopalatial
Total sherds: 682
Weight (grams): 8,295
Trench/pail(s): 90A/10, 11, 53, 54
Cross joins: Groups 60, 65, 67d, 69a, and 78 (**67d/3**)
Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; last-laid floor of Gallery P6 at +3.45 m (west) / +3.60 m (east) and fill above to ca. +3.60/3.80 m
Thickness of constituent strata: 15–20 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below: First-laid floor of Gallery P6 at +3.20 m (west) / +3.30 m (east) and fill above (Group 75)
Group and/or date of stratum above: Rubble collapse of gallery walls (90A/8, 9)

Table 3.94. Pottery Group 76.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	80	77	31	38	331	125
As % of total	11.7	11.3	4.5	5.6	48.5	18.3
Weight of sherds (grams)	460	310	200	410	4,510	2,405
As % of total	5.5	3.7	2.4	4.9	54.4	29.0

76/1 (C 9820). Teacup. Pl. 3.83.

Shoulder: comb pattern (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 141 and n. 41), a late version of Iris FM 10A.

LM IIIB Late–IIIC Early. For the pattern, probably a more developed form of the curvilinear LM IIIA2 motif represented on **56e/2** and **58a/2**, Popham 1970b: 199, fig. 3: 41, pls. 47d: 7–8, 49a: 13–14 (LM IIIB); Hallager and Hallager 2000: 78 82-P1805, pls. 36, 69a: 1 (LM IIIB2/C); Rethemiotakis 1997: figs. 27i (= fig. 19, lower right), 28f (LM IIIC).

76/2 (C 11244). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.83.

Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46, possibly of the buttonhook variety.

LM IIIB. Comparanda for the pattern as for **66/4** if spirals are simply linked or, alternatively, as for **67a/5** if spirals are buttonhooked; for the distinctive linear decoration at the base of the shoulder zone (single line or thin band framed by broader bands), Watrous 1992: 55 no. 947, fig. 38, pl. 22; 65 no. 1101, pl. 26; 92 no. 1609, pl. 40; 108 no. 1891, fig. 67, pl. 49.

76/3 (C 11242). Teacup. Pl. 3.83.

Shoulder: paired antithetic Stemmed Spirals FM 51.

LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **66/5**.

76/4 (C 11387). Teacup. Pl. 3.83.

Shoulder: Tricurved Arch FM 62 with fill of Concentric Arcs FM 44.

LM IIIB. Popham 1984: pl. 177c: 2 (LM IIIA). The pattern is a curvilinear variant of a common version of Concentric Arcs FM 44: Watrous 1992: 47 no. 826, fig. 33; 66 no. 1118, pl. 26; Popham 1984: pl. 173: 24, 29; for a curvilinear version that includes small stemmed spirals as fill, Watrous 1992: 72 no. 1214, pl. 28.

76/5 (C 9490). Teacup. Pl. 3.83.

Thickening near rim at right-hand side of sherd in addition to rising base of rim band indicate imminence of vertical handle attachment at rim. Shoulder: Triglyph and Half-Rosette FM 74.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 55 no. 952, fig. 38, pl. 22; 57 no. 978, fig. 40, pl. 23; 72 no. 1206, fig. 45, pl. 28; 81 no. 1382, fig. 52, pl. 35; 94 no. 1633, pl. 41; 109 no. 1919, pl. 48; Popham 1970a: pl. 17e: 9; Popham 1984: pl. 174: 47.

76/6 (C 11243). Jug or amphora. Pl. 3.83.

Rib at junction of neck and shoulder. Handle: broad ring around base. Body: linear as preserved.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 55 no. 954, fig. 38, pl. 22; 82 no. 1409, fig. 54, pl. 36 (amphoras); 73 no. 1237, fig. 46, pl. 29 (jug).

Group 77

Date: Mixed MM III/LM IA through LM IIIB, mostly Neopalatial

Total sherds: 1,610

Weight (grams): 24,930

Trench/pail(s): 84B/26, 27, 28; 84C/33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48

Cross joins: None

Architectural/physical context: J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; fill of low terrace in front of Gallery P6 retained by blocking wall built across gallery's west end, from +3.10/3.15 m to ca. +3.75 m

Thickness of constituent strata: 60–65 cm

Group and/or date of stratum below: Debris of LM IA Advanced to Final kiln (e.g., Group 19)

Group and/or date of stratum above: Rubble collapse of gallery walls containing mixed Prehistoric and eighth-century B.C. pottery (84B/25)

Table 3.95. Pottery Group 77.

	Fine Fabrics			Medium-Coarse Fabrics		Coarse and Cooking Fabrics
	Painted	Unpainted	Conical Cups	Painted	Unpainted	
Number of sherds	220	163	186	196	565	280
As % of total	13.7	10.1	11.6	12.2	35.1	17.4
Weight of sherds (grams)	1,095	750	1,560	4,375	11,080	6,070
As % of total	4.4	3.0	6.3	17.5	44.4	24.3

77/1 (C 11139). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.
Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24, Concentric Arcs FM 44, or Tricurved Arch FM 62.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/3** or **76/4**.

77/2 (C 11137). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.84.
Shoulder: floating Multiple Stem and Tongue FM 19.
LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 72 no. 1201, fig. 45, pl. 28; 93 no. 1632, pl. 41. For the pattern, Popham 1965: 330, pl. 85c–d; Popham 1970b: 199, figs. 1: 1–2, 2: 18–21, pls. 47b: 1–4, 49a: 1, 51a, c; Popham 1984: pl. 179: 7; Borgna 1997a: fig. 8: 1; Rethemiotakis 1997: figs. 27p, 35, upper right.

77/3 (C 11138). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.84.
Shoulder: spiral or Quirk FM 48.
LM IIIB.

77/4 (C 11143). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.84.
Shoulder: Flower FM 18. Handle: at left side of sherd, curving vertical band frames a horizontal handle.
LM IIIB. For the fill of parallel chevrons at the flowers' core, comparanda as for **67a/2**; for the overall shape and design of the flowers, Watrous 1992: 68 no. 1144, pl. 27; 89 no. 1549, pl. 39 (teacups); 94 no. 1645, pl. 42 (kylix); a comparable alternation of flowers decorates a LM IIIA2 teacup from Knossos: Warren 1997: fig. 36: P1828.

77/5 (C 11136). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.84.
Solidly coated.
LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **67a/9**.

77/6 (C 11142). Amphoroid krater. Pl. 3.84.
Assembled from at least two pieces joined at lower body (cf. Popham 1984: 177 and n. 139; Haskell 1981b: 193); in addition to up to 4 mm of clay added over seam on vessel's interior, joint strengthened by means of low ribs (semicircular in section, ca. 1 mm high, 2 mm wide, and 11–12 mm long, spaced at intervals of 20–25 mm) running diagonally across the top of the lower joint surface and fitting into corresponding notches on the underside of the upper joint surface. Interior surfaces as well as fractures of most sherds

stained by red hematite. Lower body: tentacles of Octopus FM 21.

LM IIIB. For shape, comparanda as for **59/10**; for combination of shape and decoration, comparanda as for **55/4**; for the mortised joining of the two sections, compare the identical technique employed on the imported pithos **67d/3**.

77/7 (C 11141). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.84 (scale 1:6).

Levantine LB IIB import. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.)

77/8 (C 11145). Bowl. Pl. 3.84.

Sardinian import. Uncertain from portion preserved whether derived from a lipless bowl (as **40/38**, **44b/21**, **59/23**, **60/35**, **78/30–32**, and **MI/It/2–3**) or sloping-lipped bowl (as **65/2**, **78/33**, **78/35**).

Group 78

Date:	Mixed MM and LM of all periods through LM IIIB
Total sherds:	Ca. 1,065–1,145 (pure Prehistoric levels only)
Weight (grams):	31,550 (pure Prehistoric levels only)
Trench/pail(s):	50A/53, 56, 57, 59, 65; 51A1/75, 76 (purely Prehistoric); also 50A/47, 50, 52, 54, 55, 58, 62 (mixed with eighth-/seventh-century-B.C. sherds)
Cross joins:	Groups 60, 65, 67d, 69a, and 76 (**67d/3**); Groups 60 and 67d (**60/4**); Group 60 (**78/6, 78/16, 78/32**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; sloping wash levels between south wall of Court N6 and north wall of Archaic Building Q, occasionally consisting of purely Prehistoric debris but often mixed with eighth-/seventh-century-B.C. pottery
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 20–30 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA1 construction fill (e.g., Group 50)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

78/1 (C 6740). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.84.

Linear as preserved.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1749, pl. 44). Chaniote import. Watrous 1992: 52 no. 903, pl. 20; 57 no. 982, pl. 23; 80 no. 1375, fig. 51, pl. 34; 86–87 no. 1507, fig. 56, pl. 36; 100 no. 1726, pl. 44; 108 no. 1903, pl. 49 (fine Chaniote stirrup jars imported to Kommos); Tzedakis 1969: figs. 7–13; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 215–17, pls. 56–57; for the angular profile of **78/1**, akin to Furumark Shape 182, Kanta 1980: 149, 253–54, pl. 57: 1–3 (HM 7637).

78/2 (C 7880). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.

Shoulder: Flower FM 18.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1732). Watrous 1992: 56 no. 963, fig. 38, pl. 23; 69 no. 1157, pl. 27; 83 no. 1433, fig. 55, pl. 37; 84 no. 1450, pl. 36; 90 no. 1570, pl. 39; 92 no. 1617, pl. 40; Popham 1984: pls. 109c: third row, middle, 173: 20; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 177 87-P0092, 246 and n. 482, pls. 82, 135a: 1.

78/3 (C 6742). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.

Profile lightly carinated just above base of handle zone. Shoulder: Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24.

LM IIIB. For an imported Knossian teacup rim from Kommos with a slightly more naturalistic series of alternating whorl-shells, Watrous 1992: 108 no. 1890, pl. 48; Warren 1983: fig. 22: 3 (Knossos; LM IIIA2); Platon 1997: 366, fig. 10 (Chondros Viannou; LM IIIA2); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 69 71-P0892/0165, pls. 49, 97e (Chania; LM IIIB2 deep bowl).

78/4 (C 7875). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.

Shoulder: groups of Isolated Semicircles FM 43 pendent from and attached to rim band. Handle: at right-hand edge of fragment, partially preserved vertical wavy band framing vertical handle.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 100–101 no. 1731, pl. 44). Watrous 1992: 72 no. 1200, fig. 44, pl. 28; 80 nos. 1376, 1379, fig. 52, pls. 23, 35; Popham 1965: 324, pls. 82a: 3–4, 86b: 9; Popham 1970b: 199, pl. 50a, bottom row, center; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 148 70-P0460, pls. 45, 122c: 6.

78/5 (C 6712). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.84.

Either an unusually large teacup (or perhaps the rim has been deformed by the attachment of the now-missing handle, thus exaggerating the apparent rim diameter) or else a deep bowl (as Watrous 1992: 101). Shoulder: two rows of diagonally oriented, unframed groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1741, pl. 44). For a more compact arrangement of the pattern, Watrous 1992: 74 no. 1251, fig. 46, pl. 29; Popham 1970b: pls. 47a: 7–8, 50a: 2; Popham 1984: pls. 122a, lower right, 173: 23 (LM IIIA2). For other arrangements of unframed groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44, **60/3** (horizontal chain); Watrous 1992: 81 no. 1381, fig. 52, pl. 35 (horizontally linked, antithetic); Watrous 1992: 81 nos. 1384, 1392, pl. 35; Popham 1970b: pl. 47a: 9; Popham 1984: pl. 173: 22 (single row of alternating diagonal groups); **78/6** (alternating upright and pendent vertical groups); and Popham 1970b: pl. 50a: 7; Popham 1984: pl. 179: 5 (spaced, nonalternating, diagonally oriented groups).

78/6 (C 7883). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.

Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent, vertically oriented groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1734). For the pattern, Popham 1970a: fig. 13: 75 (Knossos, southeast stairs; LM IIIA). No exact parallel yet published from Kommos, comparable groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44 usually being either framed, hence "Bivalve Shells" FM 25 (e.g., Watrous 1992: 171 no. 1182, fig. 44, pl. 27), or else inserted within a broad zigzag pattern (e.g., Watrous 1992: 63 no. 1070, pl. 25; 65 no. 1101, pl. 26; Popham 1984: pls. 122a, third row, no. 5, 173: 3) or alternating with Stemmed Spirals FM 51 (e.g., Watrous 1992: 63 no. 1065, pl. 25), but see **78/5** for generic parallels.

78/7 (C 7871). Teacup. Pl. 3.84.

Shoulder: paired antithetic Stemmed Spirals FM 51.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 100 no. 1730, pl. 44). Comparanda as for **66/5**.

78/8 (C 6741). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.84.

Shoulder: alternating upright and pendent Stemmed Spirals FM 51 with hatched triangular cores.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1745, pl. 44). Watrous 1992: 72 no. 1214, pl. 28. For the pattern, Popham 1984: pls. 122a, lower left, 174: 36.

78/9 (C 7882). Teacup. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1733, pl. 44). Comparanda as for **67d/1**.

78/10 (C 6713). Teacup. Pl. 3.85.

Two body sherds pierced by circular perforations (d 2 mm), one from both inside and outside, one from outside only (in the latter case, at a slight angle rather than perpendicularly through the vessel wall), probably but not certainly for purposes of mending. Shoulder: stacked V-Pattern FM 59. Handle: traces preserved of vertical band flanking left side of vertical handle at right-hand edge of one rim.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1742). Watrous 1992: 70 no. 1173, fig. 44, pl. 27; 83 no. 1431, fig. 55, pl. 36; 84 no. 1458, pl. 37; 92 no. 1618, pl. 41; 108 no. 1889, pls. 35, 49; also **78/16**.

78/11 (C 7881). Teacup or deep bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: floating horizontal Zigzag FM 61. The unpainted interior and sudden thickening of the lower body wall suggest that this fragment may belong to a deep bowl.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1748). Comparanda as for **67b/2**.

78/12 (C 7870). Teacup. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: either floating Foliate Band FM 64: 20 or else horizontal chain of Concentric Arc FM 44 groups.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 100 no. 1729, pl. 44). For Foliate Band FM 64, itself probably a degenerate version of Quirk FM 48 (as suggested by Watrous 1992: 84–85 no. 1461, pl. 37), see Wa-

trous 1992: 73 no. 1223, pl. 29; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 65 71-P0895, 143 84-P1608, pls. 45, 121b: 7, 132e: 4 (cups) 168 84-P1322, pls. 50, 102a: 8 (deep bowl); for Concentric Arcs FM 44, comparanda as for **60/3**; compare also the groups of Concentric Arcs FM 44 used as fills in other patterns (e.g., Watrous 1992: 84 no. 1455, pl. 37; 108 nos. 1888, 1891, fig. 67, pl. 49).

78/13 (C 7872). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: stemmed Flower FM 18; nature of connection between stem and bloom uncertain.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1746, pl. 44). Comparanda for pattern as for **67a/2**.

78/14 (C 7873). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: horizontal and vertical Flowers FM 18.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1747, pl. 44). For similar floral patterns, Watrous 1992: 51 no. 885, pl. 20; 61 no. 1038, pl. 25; 73 no. 1247, fig. 46, pl. 28 (vertical flowers on teacups); 94 no. 1635, pl. 41 (horizontal stemmed flowers with U-fill on deep bowl).

78/15 (C 6711). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Rounded carination well below base of shoulder zone. Shoulder: floating horizontal Wavy Line FM 53.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1740). For the pattern, comparanda as for **67d/1**, especially those from Chania.

78/16 (C 6714). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Hollowed raised base, finished from below (i.e., not string-cut). Shoulder: stacked V-Pattern FM 59. Handle: traces of band along back of handle.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1743, pl. 44 [mislabeled "1742"]). For the pattern, comparanda as for **78/10**.

78/17 (C 6719). Horizontal-handled bowl. Pl. 3.85.

Shoulder: degenerate Reed FM 16.

LM IIIA1 or LM IIIA2 Early. Comparanda as for **57b/2**; for the pattern, Watrous 1992: 106 no. 1862, fig. 67, pl. 48.

78/18 (C 7878). One-handled footed cup. Pl. 3.85.

Exterior profile of foot and stem is ribbed.

LM IIIA2 (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1736, pl. 44). Comparanda as for **60/11**.

78/19 (C 7877). Kylix. Pl. 3.85.

LM IIIA (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1735, pl. 44).

78/20 (C 6746). Kylix. Pl. 3.85.

Lowermost bowl fragment ground down for reuse as a cap or lid.

LM IIIB. Watrous 1992: 62 no. 1042, pl. 17 (LM IIIB kylix); Hallager and Hallager 2003: 71 01-P0325/0347, 233, pls. 68, 102f: 9; 101 77-P1064, 212, pl. 109a: 9 (LM IIIB kylikes at Chania); compare the reuse of **46b/20–21** as stoppers during LM II.

78/21 (C 7874). Transport stirrup jar. Pl. 3.85.

Disk of false neck: spiral.

LM IIIB (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1751, pl. 44). For shape, comparanda as for **59/12**; for decoration of disk and upper handles, Raison 1968: fig. 17: 28; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 91 77-P0509, 93 77-P1317, 214 n. 183, pl. 105e: 1, 2.

78/22 (C 6720). Ladle. Pl. 3.85.

Fabric characteristic of cooking pots, discolored by secondary burning. Comparanda for shape as for **60/23**.

78/23 (C 6709). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.86.

FS 284. Shoulder: Paneled Patterns FM 75 with fill of crosshatched lozenges.

LH IIIB Mycenaean fine decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1739, pl. 44). Mountjoy 1999a: 556 no. 268, fig. 202 (LH IIIB2); 234 no. 194, fig. 77; 920 no. 172, fig. 375 (LH IIIC Early).

78/24 (C 7876). Stemmed bowl. Pl. 3.86.

FS 305. Shoulder: Running Spiral FM 46.

LH IIIB Mycenaean fine decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 101 no. 1737, pl. 44). Thomas 1992: 76, 190–92 TS245–52, fig. 20: 1–8 (LH IIIB1); Mountjoy 1999a: 225 no. 148, fig. 71 (LH IIIB).

78/25 (C 6695). Collar-necked jar. Pl. 3.86.

Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 165 no. 1754, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 199 no. 580). Campus and Leonelli 2000: 516 Ol. 144: 5, pl. 351: 3.

78/26 (C 6715). Collar-necked jar. Pl. 3.86.

Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 102, 166 no. 1759, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 199 no. 582). Campus and Leonelli 2000: 516 Ol. 144: 11–14, 17, pl. 351: 9–12, 15; also **60/33**, **78/25**, **78/27**, and **MI/It/1**.

78/27 (C 6696). Collar-necked jar. Pl. 3.86.

Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 165–66

no. 1755, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 199 no. 581). Comparanda as for **78/26**.

78/28 (C 6717). Swollen-lipped jar (dolio). Pl. 3.86.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 102, 166 no. 1760, fig. 73, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 194 no. 529). Watrous 1992: 82, 167 no. 1427, pl. 57; 88, 165 no. 1542, fig. 74 = Campus and Leonelli 2000: 502 Ol. 110: 1, pl. 327: 1. For Sardinian Late Bronze Age swollen-lipped jars in general, Campus and Leonelli 2000: 494–504, pls. 313–30.

78/29 (C 6718). Round-mouthed jug.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 167 no. 1971, fig. 75, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 202 no. 612; Campus and Leonelli 2000: 393 Bro. 2: 2, pl. 225: 3). For Sardinian Late Bronze Age round-mouthed jugs in general, Campus and Leonelli 2000: 393, pls. 225–26.

78/30 (C 6698). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 166 no. 1756, fig. 73, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 193 no. 520). Comparanda as for **59/23**.

78/31 (C 6904). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 168 no. 1973, fig. 74, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 184 no. 442). Comparanda as for **59/23**.

78/32 (C 6710). Lipless bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 102, 166 no. 1761, fig. 74, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 184 no. 439; Campus and Leonelli 2000: 281 Cio. 152: 1, pl. 186: 1; Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: chemical and petrographic groups 3). Comparanda as for **59/23**.

78/33 (C 6694). Sloping-lipped bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Light carination at transition from convex lower body to rounded bottom with thickened center; both stumps of one vertical handle survive.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 165 no. 1753, fig. 74, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 184 no. 437; Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: chemical and petrographic groups 3). Comparanda as for **65/2**.

78/34 (C 6738). Bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Rounded bottom with vertical burnishing on exterior changing directions at approximately 90° intervals.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 167 no. 1758, pl. 58 (mislabeled "1972" and misidentified as jug; sherd labeled "1758" is Minoan medium coarse, solidly coated loop handle); Cline 1994: 203–4 no. 614), probably from a sloping-lipped bowl like **65/2** and **78/33**.

78/35 (C 6702). Bowl. Pl. 3.86.
Sardinian import (= Watrous 1992: 101, 166 no. 1757, pl. 58; Cline 1994: 184 no. 438), possibly from a sloping-lipped bowl like **65/2** and **78/33**.

Group 79

Date:	Mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIB
Total sherds:	627
Weight (grams):	12,360
Trench/pail(s):	27B/13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20
Cross joins:	Group 40 (**79/1**)
Architectural/physical context:	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3; purely Prehistoric fill from ca. +4.25 m to +4.57/4.72/4.85 m within earlier Corridor N7, in association with zigzag wall, the base of which rises from +4.21 m to +4.35 m
Thickness of constituent strata:	Ca. 30–60 cm
Group and/or date of stratum below:	LM IIIB floor deposit in Corridor N7 and fill immediately above (Group 59)
Group and/or date of stratum above:	Historic levels

79/1 (C 2424). Stirrup jar. Pl. 3.86.

FS 174; thin, solid false neck, string-cut at bottom and inserted into hole left in uppermost body of jar (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 144–45 and nn. 68, 72); top of false neck shaped as low cone. Shoulder: Lozenge FM 73. False neck disk: dense, hollow-centered spiral. Spout: rim painted; single loop running around base of false neck and spout. Handles: outlined by loop pendent from false neck spiral; no ring around handle bases.

LH IIIC Early (= Watrous 1992: 107 no. 1881, pl. 47 exclusive of non-joining spout, originally inventoried separately as C 3544; Rutter 2003a: 199–200, fig. 14: 1). Mountjoy 1999a: 154–56, fig. 40: 311 (Mycenae); 572–74, fig. 211: 348–49, 354 (Perati); 1056, fig. 432: 209 (Rhodes). Karantzali and Ponting 2000: 227–29, figs. 6: 16778, 16780, 11 ("Rhodian A" from Pylona Tomb 4 on Rhodes) = Karantzali 2001: 59–60 nos. 16778, 16780, fig. 41, pls. 42f, 43a.

Miscellaneous Imports

The dates of contexts provided in the following catalogue entries are *termini ante quos* only, except where Iron Age contamination has been noted with the rubric "mixed LM III and Historic." In most cases, and especially in those for which an LM IIIA2 Early date has been supplied, the contexts are fills that contain a thorough ceramic mixture encompassing a wide range of dates.

Imports from Other Regions of Crete

MI/Cr/1 (C 9830). Closed shape. Pl. 3.87.

Linear as preserved.

Context: LM IIIA. Probably a jug, produced in a distinctive light red fabric coated with a pale slip.

MI/Cr/2 (C 8999). Teacup. Pl. 3.87.

Shoulder: Bird FM 7 at left, flanking partially preserved panel(?) at right, with fill of small triangular patches of dotted Scale Pattern FM 70.

Context: Historic levels. Knossian LM IIIIA1. For birds and dotted scale pattern, Popham 1970a: figs. 5: 2, 15: 115; La Rosa 1979–80: 151, fig. 104b.

MI/Cr/3 (C 7679). Straight-sided cup. Pl. 3.87.

Shoulder: Ripple FM 78.

Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Knossian LM IA Early. Popham 1977: 193–94, pl. 29b, d–f; Warren 1991: 330, fig. 9A–L, pl. 79A–D; Van de Moortel 1997: 524–27.

MI/Cr/4 (C 3282). Deep bowl. Pl. 3.87.

Linear as preserved, except for some splatters; matte paint over slipped but largely unfinished surfaces.

Context: predominantly early Neopalatial, with a few pieces of Early Iron Age. Advanced to Late LM IIIC(?). Watrous 1992: 109 nos. 1920–22, 147, fig. 68, pls. 26, 48, 49; Callaghan and Johnston 2000: 213 no. 10, pls. 4.1, 4.40; D'Agata 1999: 197–98, fig. 36.21 (Thronos Pit 36).

MI/Cr/5 (C 7691). Shallow teacup. Pl. 3.87.

Fine wheelmade gray-burnished ware.

Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Probably LM IIIA1. Watrous 1992: 30 no. 514, fig. 23, pls. 53, 56; 39, 164 no. 672, pl. 56; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1994: 47–48 and nn. 18–19, 21; Kalogeropoulos 1998: 55–56 and n. 320; also **40/19**.

MI/Cr/6 (C 7667). Palace Style jar. Pl. 3.87.

Shoulder: smaller and larger specimens of Palm I FM 14.

Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Palace Style jar of either LM II–IIIA1 or possibly LH II. Very similar to, but differing in details of fabric and decoration from, **47/21**, of which it may conceivably have been a companion piece.

MI/Cr/7 (C 8936). Closed shape (jug?). Pl. 3.87.

Linear as preserved.

Context: LM IIIA2 Early. LM IIIA(?), possibly handmade jug decorated with broad bands, perhaps of East Cretan origin; fabric loosely comparable to that of **23/2-3**.

Imports from Egypt

MI/Eg/1 (C 9837). Amphora. Pl. 3.87.

Hope category 1a. Lip folded over on exterior.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 figs. 253a: 2; 253c: 2). Context: LM IIIA. For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **52c/4**.

MI/Eg/2 (C 4574). Amphora. Pl. 3.87.

Hope category 1a. Four shallow impressions at base of handle probably intended to strengthen lower handle attachment.

Egyptian New Kingdom import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 163 no. 1964, fig. 73 [drawing incorrectly printed]; Cline 1994: 197 no. 565; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253b: 4). Context: LM IIIA. For the shape and fabric, comparanda as for **40/34**.

MI/Eg/3 (C 9100). Amphora. Pl. 3.87.

Hope category 1a. Moldmade base fragment.

Egyptian New Kingdom import. Context: LM IIIA2. For the shape, Hope 1989: 10, fig. 7b (Amenhotep III); 93–94, 102, fig. 1: 7 (Amenhotep II); comparanda for the combination of shape and fabric as for **52c/4**.

MI/Eg/4 (C 11047). Amphora. Pl. 3.87.

Egyptian New Kingdom import. Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the combination of shape and fabric, comparanda as for **40/34**.

Imports from Syria–Palestine

MI/SP/1 (C 8216). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.87.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 175 no. 352). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57c/2**.

MI/SP/2 (I 43). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Light carination detectable on interior body at lower edge of preserved fragment. Complex mark incised into back of handle after firing.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Bennet 1996: 316 no. 7, pls. 4.47, 4.49). Context: Historic levels. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the postfiring mark, also **56e/9**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **52c/5**.

MI/SP/3 (C 8244). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.87.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 177 no. 371). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/SP/4 (C 9865). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Levantine LB IIA import. Context: LM IIIA. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: related to Amarna fabric IV.8 (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/SP/5 (C 8729). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 347). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: a clean variant of Amarna fabric IV.8 (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/SP/6 (C 8728, C 12087). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Two fragments originally thought to belong to the same jar but now attributed to two different jars on the grounds of significant differences in fabric.

Levantine LB IIA imports (= Cline 1994: 175 no. 356). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda for C 8728 as for **57c/2**, but the fabric of C 12087 is unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/SP/7 (C 6839). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Levantine LB IIB import (= Watrous 1992: 110, 167 no. 1959; Cline 1994: 173 no. 333). Context: mixed LM IIIB and Historic. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57c/2**.

MI/SP/8 (C 6840). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Very thick, raised base attached to underside of wheel-thrown jar by means of additional thickness of clay applied on interior; for comparable extra thickness of clay at interior bottom, see the short-necked amphora **54/2**.

Levantine LB IIB import. Context: mixed LM III and Historic. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified fabric similar to those of Canaanite Amphora Project's Group 2 (Serpico et al. 2003; Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/SP/9 (C 8730). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 177 no. 372). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57c/2**.

MI/SP/10 (C 8144). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.88 (lower body fragment only).

Two thin-walled shoulder fragments, one thick-walled lower body fragment.

Levantine LB IIB import (= Cline 1994: 174 no. 346). Context: LM IIIB. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **57c/2**.

MI/SP/11 (C 7070). Closed shape. Pl. 3.88.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Cline 1994: 198 no. 574). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**; for the fabric, comparanda as for **52c/5**.

Imports from Cyprus

MI/Cy/1 (C 9266). Tankard or shallow cup. Pl. 3.89.

Cypriot Base Ring import. Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Probably a BR I tankard of Åström Form VIIB (1972: 162–66, fig. L: 6, 9), but just possibly a BR II shallow bowl of the form represented by Todd 1989: 106 K-AD157, K-AD158, 117 K-AD358, K-AD362, 119 K-AD376, figs. 53, 58, pls. XXVI, XXIX.

MI/Cy/2 (C 7407). Wishbone-handled cup. Pl. 3.89.

Cypriot Base Ring II import. Context: LM IIIA2 Early (= Group 58b above). Comparanda as for **56b/5**.

MI/Cy/3 (C 10298). Cup or bowl. Pl. 3.89.

Incipient ring base set off from convex profile of lower body by shallow groove below a very thin, low rib.

Cypriot Proto Base Ring import. Context: LM IA Final. Possibly from a wishbone-handled cup or bowl of the type richly represented at Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 205 [Tomb I. 232, 472, 481, 482], 238 [Tomb I. 452], 251 [Tomb II.22]); fabric and colored slip identical with those of **20/6** and **24/27-29** above.

MI/Cy/4 (C 10341). Closed shape. Pl. 3.89.

Cypriot Proto Base Ring import. Context: LM IA Final. Comparanda as for **8/6**.

MI/Cy/5 (C 10260). Closed shape. Pl. 3.89.

Exterior slip mottled, possibly due to burning. Uncertain whether linear decoration on exterior consists of fine lines (as in drawing) or of just one or two broad bands.

Cypriot White Slip(?) import. Context: LM IA Final.

MI/Cy/6 (C 9990). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.89.

Handle decoration entirely worn off. Shoulder: alternating vertical line groups of different widths pendent from rim decorated with plain horizontal line group.

LC IIC Cypriot Late White Slip II import. Context: mixed LM III and Historic. Popham 1972: 456, figs. 57: 3 (bowl type 1d), LXXXVI: 2; Russell 1989: 3, 137 K-AD927, K-AD931, K-AD932, figs. 5–6; South and Steel 2001: fig. 5.

MI/Cy/7 (C 10034). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.89.

Shoulder: horizontal lattice ladder pattern above horizontal row of dots, below which is the beginning of a second horizontal ladder lattice pattern.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import. Context: LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **48/3**, esp. Popham 1972: figs. 54: 5, 7; LXXXIV: 3.

MI/Cy/8 (C 10111). Milk bowl. Pl. 3.89.

Lower body: vertical ladder pattern.

LC II Cypriot Normal White Slip II import. Context: LM IIIA. Comparanda as for **48/3**.

MI/Cy/9 (C 4577). Bowl. Pl. 3.89.

Larger fragment broken along straight horizontal line at top, possibly marking line of carination at which a horizontal wishbone handle may have been attached.

Cypriot Monochrome import (= Watrous 1992: 109, 156–57 no. 1930, pl. 51; Cline 1994: 180 no. 404). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Åström 1972: 97–98, figs. XLV: 11–12, XLVI: 3; Russell 1989: 5–6.

MI/Cy/10 (I 50). Jug. Pl. 3.89.

Tripartite mark impressed before firing at top of handle, just below rim.

Cypriot Plain White (Handmade?) import (= Bennet 1996: 316 no. 5, pls. 4.46, 4.49). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For Cypriot Plain White jugs, Keswani 1989: 18; Keswani 1991: 104–12; also **44b/17**, **45/11**, and **MI/Cy/11**. For marked Plain White jug handles, Todd 1989: 103 K-AD129, K-AD132, 115 K-AD326, figs. 28, 29, 63, pls. XIII, XXII.

MI/Cy/11 (I 51). Jug. Pl. 3.89.

Cross incised at top of handle just below rim, probably before firing.

Cypriot Plain White Handmade import (= Ben-

net 1996: 317 no. 11, pls. 4.46, 4.50). Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Comparanda as for **MI/Cy/10**.

MI/Cy/12 (C 9196). Basin. Pl. 3.89.

Cypriot Plain White (Handmade?) import. Context: LM IIIA. Keswani 1989: 18–19, 131–32 K-AD634, fig. 20: 19–21 (medium-sized basins).

MI/Cy/13 (C 8202). Krater(?). Pl. 3.89.

Swelling at top of preserved exterior profile marks beginning of upper(?) handle attachment.

Cypriot Plain White Wheelmade import. Context: LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **52a/11**.

Imports from Western Anatolia

MI/WA/1 (C 9848). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.90.

Hollowed, raised base, biconical in profile; pronounced horizontal ribbing on interior of body.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Context: LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

MI/WA/2 (C 9863). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.90.

Angle of underside of raised base, biconical in profile, not preserved; pronounced horizontal ribbing on interior of body.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Context: LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

MI/WA/3 (C 9880). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pl. 3.90.

Hollowed, raised base, biconical in profile; pronounced horizontal ribbing on interior of body.

Western Anatolian LBA reddish brown burnished import. Context: LM IIIA2. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

MI/WA/4 (C 9926). Jar or trefoil-mouthed jug. Pls. 3.90, 3.94 at *e–f*.

Hollowed, raised base, biconical in profile; pronounced horizontal ribbing on interior of body. Probable potter's mark in form of hemispherical sinking impressed from below before firing into edge of base's underside.

Western Anatolian Late Bronze Age reddish brown burnished import. Context: mixed LM III and Historic. Comparanda as for **49/8**.

Imports from Aegean Islands Other Than Crete

MI/AI/1 (C 10454). Closed shape. Pl. 3.90.

Cycladic White import (= Watrous 1992: 109, 154 no. 1923 [in part], pl. 50 [top three sherds only]). Context: LM IIIA1. Comparanda as for **47/20**.

MI/AI/2 (C 9906). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.90.

Cycladic(?) medium-coarse micaceous import. Context: LM II. For similar incurving upper profiles on imported micaceous cooking pots, **MI/AI/3–4**.

MI/AI/3 (C 6507). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.90.

Cycladic(?) medium-coarse micaceous import. Context: LM I. Comparanda as for **MI/AI/2**.

MI/AI/4 (C 10455). Cooking pot. Pl. 3.90.

Despite extremely abraded exterior, incurving upper body profile with markedly swollen lip, slightly undercut on exterior, can be recognized.

Cycladic(?) medium-coarse micaceous import. Context: LM IIIB. Comparanda as for **MI/AI/2**.

Imports from Mainland Greece

MI/MG/1 (C 7116). Piriform jar(?). Pl. 3.90.

Probably FS 20 rather than FS 81 (large rounded alabastron), but just possibly an example of the hybrid form of these two shapes, since the pattern is at home on both the piriform jar and the hybrid but rare on the large alabastron; the shoulder seems too flat for FS 103 (bridge-spouted jug). Shoulder: probably "Sacral Ivy" FM 12 with fill of Stone Pattern FM 76.

LH IIA Mycenaean fine decorated import. Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Mountjoy 1999a: 503 no. 12, fig. 178: 12 (Thorikos; piriform jar); 869 no. 12, fig. 354: 12 (Aghia Eirini; hybrid piriform jar/alabastron); 651 no. 5, fig. 247: 5 (Thebes; alabastron); 505 no. 27, fig. 179: 27 (Kolonna; bridge-spouted jug); **44b/18**, either from a very similar vase or, just possibly, the same one.

MI/MG/2 (C 11045). Angular(?) alabastron. Pl. 3.90.

FS 81 or, more probably, 91. Shoulder: Stone Pattern FM 76.

LH IIA Mycenaean fine decorated import.

Context: LM IIIA2 Early. Mountjoy 1999a: 89 no. 31, fig. 12: 31 (Prosymna); 318 no. 12, fig. 106: 12 (Malthi); 858 no. 1, fig. 349: 1 (Skopelos) (the rounded form FS 81); 89 no. 37, fig. 13: 37 (Mycenae); 505 no. 25, fig. 179: 25 (Eleusis); 651 no. 10, fig. 247: 10 (Thebes); 872 no. 23, fig. 355: 23 (Aghia Eirini) (the angular form FS 91).

MI/MG/3 (C 4693). Kylix. Pl. 3.90.

FS 256–57. Shoulder: diagonal Whorl-Shell FM 23.

LH IIIA2 Mycenaean fine decorated import (= Watrous 1992: 109, 155 no. 1928, pl. 51). Context: LM IIIA2–B. Mountjoy 1986: 88–90, fig. 107: 6; Mountjoy 1999a: 128 and n. 609; 540, fig. 195: 193 (FS 257; Kolonna); 1090 no. 34, fig. 444: 34 (FS 256; Kos).

Imports from Italy

MI/It/1 (C 8173). Collar-necked jar. Pl. 3.90.

Sardinian import. Context: mixed LM III and Historic. Comparanda as for **78/26**.

MI/It/2 (C 10863). Cup. Pl. 3.90.

Deep groove on interior profile at approximately midheight of bowl, possibly marking coil joint.

Sardinian import. Context: Historic levels. Campus and Leonelli 2000: 184–85, pl. 113.

MI/It/3 (C 7663). Lipless bowl with vertical handle. Pl. 3.90.

Distinctive form of vertical strap handle, tapering markedly in width at midpoint.

Sardinian import. Context: LM IIIB. Campus and Leonelli 2000: 205, pl. 140; for the body profile and approximate size, **78/31–32**; for the type of handle, Watrous 1992: 80, 166 no. 1377, fig. 75, pl. 57 (small collar-necked jar from LM IIIB context).

Imports of Unknown Provenance

MI/UP/1 (C 8726). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.90.

Levantine LB IIA import. Context: LM IIIA2 Early. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/UP/2 (C 10331). Canaanite jar. Pl. 3.90.

Levantine LB IIA import (= Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 255 fig. 253a: 4). Context: mixed LM III and Historic. For the shape, comparanda as for **52a/10**. Fabric: unidentified (M. Serpico, pers. comm.).

MI/UP/3 (I 53). Horizontal-handled jar. Pl. 3.90.

Horizontal strap handle attached to body at rising angle and secured with cylindrical tenon (d 1.5 cm) inserted through perforation in body wall. At single surviving base of solidly coated handle, one complete and two partially preserved teardrop-shaped marks impressed deeply (up to 7.5 mm) into yielding clay fabric prior to firing; below these three, a larger but more shallowly impressed mark of the same general shape; interiors of all impressions coated like rest of handle.

Medium-coarse, solid-coated import (= Bennet 1996: 315–16 no. 4, pls. 4.46, 4.49), possibly Cycladic(?). Context: MM III–LM I.

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IIIA2: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

The ceramic evidence for this period from Building P comes from three very different categories of deposits (Pl. 3.23). Most common are construction fills, easily identifiable as such below the first floors in Galleries P4 (Group 53), P5 (Group 54), and P6 (Group 55), as well as below the sloping surfaces of the split-level system of terraces north of Gallery P1 (Groups 58a–c). The makeup of the earliest LM III floors identified below Gallery P3 (Groups 57a, 57f) technically also qualifies as construction fill.

A second category consists of the thin strata formed by shallow accumulations of debris representing the use of a space. At least four series of such LM IIIA2 strata have been identified below Gallery P3: first, accumulation above a floor of black pebbles marked by traces of burning below the west end of Gallery P3 in Trenches 65A2 (Group 57b), 36B (Group 57c),

and 94A (Group 57d); second, accumulation above a beaten-earth floor just to the east of the preceding in Trench 89A (Group 57e); third, accumulation above the earthen floor to be associated with the east-west row of post bases (including two reused anchors) running down the middle of the space later roofed as Gallery P3 (Group 57j); and finally, accumulations above the original Neopalatial plaster floor at the far east end of the gallery at a significantly higher level than the preceding, as well as from above the dismantled north-south wall of Building AA lying just east of the easternmost post base (Groups 57g, h, and i). The first of these series must predate the third, even though the two are linked by ceramic cross joins; but all four seem to belong to a relatively early part of the LM IIIA2 period to judge from the typology of the patterned teacups (**57b/1**, **57e/1**, **57g/1**) and horizontal-handled bowls (**57b/2**, **57d/1**), as well as fine unpainted kylikes (**57d/3–4**) that they contain.

Finally, two sets of floor deposits, one from the eastern end of Gallery P2 (Groups 56a–d) and one from the northeast corner of the court to the northwest of Gallery P1's northwest end (Groups 56e–f), are in all likelihood contemporary. They mark an episode of building in the later LM IIIA2 period when the ground level above Court 15 was substantially raised by the construction of a bonding pair of retaining walls, one running east-west along that court's southern side, and a second, very short stretch running at right angles to the first's east end and abutting the west end of Gallery P1's north wall. The latter wall (the pottery from the dismantling of which constitutes Group 52f) was built directly over one of the fully preserved cooking vessels belonging to Group 56e (**56e/7**), thus showing that the raising of the ground level in Court 15 was not part of the original construction of Galleries P1 and P2 but rather was a later event. That the short north-south retaining wall in question abuts rather than bonds with the north wall of Gallery P1 likewise indicates that the former was a later addition. At more or less the same time, the floor at the east end of Gallery P2 was raised and leveled in such a way as to bisect neatly a deposit of whole vases left *in situ* on the original LM IIIA floor (Group 56b).

In the cases of both these sets of floor deposits, what must have been perfectly serviceable whole vessels were abandoned on a lower surface and built over or buried in the process of raising the ground levels both inside Gallery P2 and just northwest of Gallery P1's northwest corner. No other floor deposits of this date have so far been found in the Civic Center. How they relate in date to the latest material from the building fills below the southern galleries of Building P (Groups 53–55) or the accumulation over the latest floor below Gallery P3, the one featuring an axially placed east-west row of post bases (Group 57j), cannot yet be as securely established as one might wish, chiefly because of the relatively scanty and scrappy nature of the diagnostic sherd material and mendable fragments recovered from the latter contexts. It is, however, clear enough that the whole and restorable vases from the abandonment deposits in Gallery P2 (Groups 56a–d) and at the northeast corner of the former court of Building T (Groups 56e–f) postdate the mendable pottery from above the earlier floor of black pebbles below Gallery P3's west end (Groups 57b–d). It therefore seems likely that the abandonment of the later LM IIIA2 floor deposits represented by the subsets of Group 56

was contemporary with the construction of Galleries P5 (Group 54) and P6 (Group 55).[164] Thus the construction date of Building P would be marked by the latest sherd material in Groups 52a–d; the period of initial use of Galleries P1 and P2 would be dated by the fills and shallow use accumulations of the outdoor space to the south below the later Gallery P3 (Groups 57a–j); and the building of the southernmost galleries of the structure would be bracketed by the latest sherd material from Groups 54 and 55, and the whole vases of Groups 56e–f, the latter having been buried when the earlier floors within Gallery P2 (Groups 56a–d) and at the court's original northeast corner (Court 15) were raised.

Two features of all the LM IIIA2 deposits associated with Building P that postdate its construction (i.e., later than Groups 52a–e) are noteworthy. The first is the frequency of bits of plain, non-Minoan transport vessels, not only Egyptian (**56a/2**, **57c/1**, **57d/6**, **57f/2**, **57h/1**) but also Syro–Palestinian (**55/6**, **56e/9**, **57c/2**, **57i/3**) and Western Anatolian (**56e/11**, **58b/12–13**). These are not a new feature, to be sure, since similar pieces from all three regions are also characteristic of the somewhat earlier building fills of Group 52. But the simple fact that substantial portions of these vases are preserved (e.g., the Syro–Palestinian jar **56e/9** and the Western Anatolian jug **56e/11**) show, as did the somewhat earlier Egyptian jar **52a/9**, that these pieces are not earlier kick-ups or survivals but rather date from this period. The influx of such large foreign containers into the harbor town at Kommos unquestionably reached its peak during LM IIIA2 (Watrous 1992: 181–82, fig. 8).

Appearing in the local ceramic repertoire only after the construction of Galleries P1 and P2, and probably inspired by the variety of different but easily distinguishable foreign transport vessels just described, was a new kind of shipping container, one modeled after the well-established oval-mouthed amphora that had served this purpose in the Mesara during both the Protopalatial and Neopalatial eras. Christened the *short-necked amphora* by Watrous (1992: 135), this new transport type was produced in the neighborhood of Kommos by the thousands, initially as both a decorated and a plain shape, but during the LM IIIB period only in undecorated form (Rutter 2000). The shape exhibited considerable variation in profile, decoration, and even fabric during LM IIIA2 (e.g., **54/2**, **55/5**, **57j/2**) before being mass-produced in a far more standardized format during LM IIIB.[165] Numerous examples of this distinctive type were recovered in LM IIIA2–B deposits on the Central Hillside and Hilltop (see catalogue entry for **54/2**), but the shape is far more frequently attested in the Civic Center than anywhere else on the site, and within the Civic Center it is above all typical of the accumulated fills and dumps within the galleries of Building P. To date, only a single example from another site on Crete has yet come to our attention—a complete amphora from the Northwest House at Knossos, in a deposit heretofore assigned to the LM I period but now to be redated (Evans 1928: 627–29, fig. 392: 3; Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 247 and n. 90; Matthäus 1980: 103 no. 55, 105; Hood and Smyth 1981a: 51 no. 221; Kilian–Dirlmeier 1993: 64–66 no. 154, n. 20).[166] The overwhelming frequency with which short-necked amphoras are found in and around Building P from the date of its initial use until the time of its abandon-

ment is, aside from the building's peculiarities of form, perhaps the most important indicator of this enormous structure's function (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3).

Further evidence for the function of certain parts of the building is provided by several of the ceramic groups that can be associated with the early stages of its use. The shallow use accumulation over the pebble floor below the western end of Gallery P3 (Pl. 3.23: Groups 57b–d) produced several highly fragmentary but mendable drinking vessels in the form of two decorated teacups (**57b/1**, **57e/1**), two fine unpainted kylikes (**57d/3–4**), and a fine unpainted ladle (**57d/2**), as well as two decorated horizontal-handled bowls (**57b/2**, **57d/1**). The fine unpainted vessels in particular are suggestive of a drinking set: one example each of a ladle, a one-handled kylix, and a two-handled kylix, all crushed into relatively small but very freshly preserved pieces (especially in the case of **57d/3**).[167] Yet in this same location were found two brazier handles (only one presented here, **57b/3**)[168] and over twenty fragments from a cooking pot of undeterminable type, ceramic forms that should perhaps be connected with the obvious traces of burning among the black pebbles making up the floor here. Also present in some quantity in this area were fragments of medium-coarse, unpainted basins. It is a bit difficult to harmonize the drinking vessels with the braziers, cooking pot, and basins, especially in the absence of a hearth or any decorated pouring vessels. These, however, are the principal ceramic indicators for the use of this space during the earliest history of Building P, before Gallery P3 was built and roofed, at a time when the surface abutting the south wall of Gallery P2 was at some point subdivided by a series of flimsy partition walls that Shaw has plausibly suggested may have been used for sorting or segregating quantities of one or more commodities, perhaps organic and hence too perishable to have left behind any significant clues as to their identity (Chap. 1.3). The braziers and basins may have served some industrial function connected with the observed burning in this area that perhaps preceded the construction of the partition walls. These latter themselves show no signs of burning and so may represent a second and altogether different usage of this area while the walls of Building T were still prominent enough south of Gallery P2 to condition how the space was subdivided (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). A fair number of the short-necked amphoras recovered here, and especially farther east below Gallery P3 in these LM IIIA2 levels (Groups 57g–h), exhibit hematite stains on the interior, but whether this hematite is to be associated with the industrial usage of this space hypothesized above cannot be persuasively demonstrated, although it is certainly possible.

The generally small size of the sherd material recovered from these levels below Gallery P3 merits comment. The average weight per sherd consistently ranges between 5 and 10 g, a significantly lower figure than the range of 8–15 g for the sherd material from the building fills below Galleries P4, P5, and P6 (Groups 53–55) and a strikingly smaller figure than the range of 14–26 g or more for the abandoned floor deposits of Group 56. As was argued for the similarly ground-up LM IB Late sherd material constituting Groups 44a–b from the northwest corner of the court, such a low weight range for the average sherd is

indicative of a significant amount of pedestrian traffic back and forth over the surfaces in question.

Each of the construction fills from below the west ends of Galleries P4 (Group 53), P5 (Group 54), and P6 (Group 55), at least insofar as these have so far been excavated, has produced a certain amount of mendable pottery that includes drinking vessels (decorated teacups **54/1** and **55/1–2**, a decorated bowl **53/1**, and an unpainted kylix **55/3**) and large closed vessels ordinarily used to hold liquids (short-necked amphoras **54/2** and **55/5**, an amphoroid krater **55/4**, a Canaanite jar **55/6**, and an imported vessel of uncertain type **53/3**). There are, of course, numerous other vessel types represented in these fills, but only these have produced significant numbers of mending sherds. It may be simple coincidence that these vessels, like the rarer mendable vessels from the very large fills associated with the somewhat earlier construction of Building N and Galleries P1-P2, regularly take the form of pouring and drinking vessels rather than cooking pots, pithoi, or unpainted basins. But whereas the earlier LM IIIA2 pouring and drinking vessels typically consisted of imported jars and plain local ladles, their functional analogues in these later LM IIIA2 building fills consist mostly of decorated drinking cups and locally made pouring vessels. It is tempting to interpret the later vessels in much the same way as the earlier ones, that is, as the water jars and drinking cups utilized by the labor force(s) that constructed the three southernmost galleries of Building P. Why the nature of the drinking and pouring vessels employed by the two or more different generations of workers should have changed from somewhat more foreign to more native assemblages is surely a question worth raising, even if any answer to it is bound to be extremely speculative with the evidence presently available. Shaw has noted considerable differences in the architecture of the various galleries (Chap. 1.3) and has attributed these principally to changes in the availability of materials. Such changes are certainly likely to have played an important role in how the masonry styles and utilization of timber varied from the initial construction of Galleries P1 and P2 through two or more subsequent stages of building. The ceramic evidence from the construction fills below the latest galleries suggests that the local Minoan population may have played a greater role in their construction than it had in the building of the first two galleries.

The pottery groups from a selection of LM IIIA2 building fills excavated north of Gallery P1 that are lumped together here as Group 58 represent the very few spots north of Building P where material distinct from that connected with the construction of Galleries P1 and P2 (that is, Groups 52a–e) but also free of extensive contamination by later Historic pottery has been found. At the west, Group 58c constitutes a shallow fill containing short-necked amphoras that is quite different from the underlying fill of Group 52e and that in turn is overlain by a surface on which a pi-shaped hearth was built. The upper LM IIIA2 fill of Group 58c may have been deposited when the ground level over Court 15 to the west was raised, that is, at about the same time as Groups 56a–f were abandoned and the building fills of Groups 54 and 55 were being deposited.

Group 58b, on the other hand, was recovered from a rather deeper fill some fifteen or

more meters to the east. It is unlikely to postdate the underlying fill of Group 52d by as much time as Group 58c follows Group 52e, but once again it is distinguished from the earlier LM IIIA2 fill below by the presence of short-necked amphoras. In its upper levels, Group 58b was contaminated by some Archaic sherds.

Finally, near the northeast corner of the large terrace covering Building T's original northeast wing and sloping up in that direction was isolated a small patch of fill characterized by small pebbles and stone chips that may have served to cap the terrace when it was originally laid out. The sherd material from this stony fill (Group 58a), once again lightly contaminated with Archaic material, includes a pair of decorated teacup fragments (**58a/2–3**) belonging to a more developed stage than those typical of Groups 52a–e and broadly comparable to those found in Groups 54 and 55. Thus this stratum of pebbles and stone chips may represent a surfacing of the terrace north of Building P put into place only when all six galleries of the structure had been completed. What is missing from this entire area north of Building P is any indication of the surface in use here during LM IIIB times. The absence of strata of this date may be an indication that this terrace was cut down a bit in Historic times when it served as part of the sacrificial area extending east of the altars located in front of the Greek temple.

Undoubtedly the most interesting of the various deposits of LM IIIA2 pottery from the Civic Center, thanks in part to the far fuller state of preservation of their constituent vessels, are the later LM IIIA2 floor deposits abandoned at the east end of Gallery P2 (Groups 56a–d) and in the court just northwest of Gallery P1's west end (Groups 56e–f). The first series includes a couple of plain conical cups (**56a/1**, **56d/1**), a plain kylix that by virtue of its solid stem may be a Mycenaean import (**56b/4**), a Cypriot Base Ring II wishbone-handled cup (**56b/5**), a simply banded horizontal-handled bowl (**56b/3**), a pattern-painted collar-necked amphora (**56b/1**) and the lower half of a second pouring vessel preserving linear decoration only (**56b/2**), a cooking jar (**56c/1**), and a plain lamp that is likely to be another Cypriot import (**56b/6**). Here an eclectic range of drinking cups (among which should be numbered the linear bowl **56b/3**, since this is provided with a shallowly pushed-out spout at the rim) was accompanied by a pair of local pouring vessels, a local cooking pot (no doubt used on the U-shaped hearth located near the gallery's south wall), and an imported lamp (appropriate enough for the dark eastern end of this enormous gallery that may well have lacked windows of any kind). This group of vases would be an altogether unexceptional domestic kitchen assemblage, were it not for the Cypriot and probably Mycenaean drinking vessels. Only a single sherd of a large, carinated Egyptian bowl made in a Nile silt fabric was recovered from the excavated portion of this floor (**56b/7**), so it is doubtful whether the large imported open shape to which it belonged should be restored as part of this unusual constellation of drinking vessels. But even if the carinated bowl is disregarded, the non-Minoan lamp **56b/6** constitutes another foreign element in this small assemblage of pots that appears to be organized around the preparation and consumption of food and drink.

The second series of LM IIIA2 floor deposits, from the northeast corner of the court onto

which Building P fronts, is remarkably similar from a functional point of view: three plain conical cups (**56e/3–4**, **56f/2**), a plain kylix (**56e/13**), and a pattern-painted teacup (**56e/2**), horizontal-handled bowl (**56f/1**), and small jug (**56e/1**), all seemingly local; a globular alabastron imported from the Knossos area (**56e/12**), a large East Cretan closed shape (**56e/5**), a Cypriot Bucchero juglet (**56e/10**), a Western Anatolian jug (**56e/11**), a Canaanite amphora bearing a probable Cypriot handler's mark incised after firing into the back of the jar's single surviving handle (**56e/9**); and finally a pair of tripod cooking pots (**56e/7–8**) and a second pair of cooking jars (**56e/6**, **56f/3**). In this instance, the drinking cups seem to be without exception local, but the pouring and transport or storage vessels are almost all imported. The cooking facility at which the jars and tripod pots were used has not been located but must surely have been somewhere nearby; perhaps it is to be identified in the pi-shaped "roasting stand" located 10–15 m farther east on the terrace just north of Gallery P1 (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). The apparent continuity in the tradition of cooking in or near a corner of the large court at the heart of the Civic Center is striking, even if it seems rather unlikely, after all the sociopolitical changes in Minoan society after the end of the Neopalatial era, that the occasions at which such cooking occurred could have been similar in the LM IIIA2 period to the sorts of events at which cooking was conducted in and around the central court of Building T from LM IA Early to as late as LM II times. As in the case of the floor deposits from the far end of Gallery P2, the multicultural flavor of the pottery is what is most striking about this pair of floor deposits from the court. In contrast with the Neopalatial drinking equipment found in and around the court of Building T, however, the jugs and cups of the LM IIIA2 groups just surveyed are relatively plain and simple, even if often rather exotic insofar as their places of production are concerned. Thus there are no later fourteenth-century-B.C. analogues for such elaborately decorated sixteenth- or early fifteenth-century-B.C. Mycenaean drinking cups as **37e/16** or **44b/20** or Minoan pouring vessels as **44b/4**. The impression created by the LM IIIA2 assemblages is that, although they may have been used by ethnically mixed groups in court-centered festivities at Kommos, they were not serving the same purpose of ostentatious display that the lavishly ornamented drinking and pouring vessels of LM I and perhaps even LM II date have previously been argued to have performed. Possibly these LM IIIA2 ceramic groups were being used by the multicultural crews of the ships that stopped in at Kommos to deliver boatloads of raw materials and to take on Minoan goods for the return trip to their home ports. Certainly the incidence of imported vessels of all kinds is higher in these groups than in contemporary domestic assemblages from ordinary households in the Central Hillside and Hilltop sectors of the town.

LATE MINOAN IIIA2 POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

In concluding his assessment of the pottery of this period based mostly on finds from the Hilltop and Central Hillside, Watrous pointed out that two chronological stages within LM IIIA2 could be recognized at Kommos (1992: 137–38): an earlier one contemporaneous with

material published from the Chalara quarter at Phaistos and with pottery attributable to the time of the great destruction of the palace at Knossos; and a later one with close parallels in Knossian "post-destruction" deposits recovered from two pits in the Minoan Unexplored Mansion (Popham 1984: 182–84, pls. 121c–d, 122, 173–76) and from the more recent Stratigraphic Museum excavations (Warren 1983: 66–69, figs. 22, 36–39; 1997: esp. 179–80). This subdivision of LM IIIA2 is well illustrated in the Civic Center by the distinction between the latest material from the fills associated with the construction of Building N (Groups 48–51) and Galleries P1–P2 (Groups 52a–e) plus material contemporary with the earliest use of Building P from below Gallery P3 (Groups 57a–e), and the abandoned floor deposits from Gallery P2 (Groups 56a–d) and the northeast corner of the court (Groups 56e–f). As previously noted, the constituent groups of the earlier subphase can themselves be further subdivided: those connected with the construction of Buildings N and P contain very little LM IIIA2 pottery of any kind and consist largely of Neopalatial debris accompanied by much smaller amounts of LM II and LM IIIA1 material; by contrast, the shallow accumulations below Gallery P3 associated with the early use of Building P contain a much higher proportion of LM IIIA material as well as substantial numbers of the earliest short-necked amphoras. Although this identification of two stages within the earlier subphase of LM IIIA2 is quite clear at Kommos, particularly in the Civic Center where short-necked amphoras are exceedingly common, the criteria that make this distinction possible are not applicable elsewhere. Not one short-necked amphora, for example, has yet been identified at either Phaistos or Aghia Triada, both relatively nearby sites where the evidence for LM IIIA2 settlement activity is copious.[169]

In spite of the substantial number of different contexts in the Civic Center to which a date of deposition within the LM IIIA2 period can be assigned, the number of mendable LM IIIA2 profiles or otherwise significant fragments that they contain is a relatively small one. Relatively few changes or updates to Watrous's extensive characterization of the pottery of this period from Kommos (1992: 130–38) are therefore required.[170] The comments that follow are restricted to shapes on which the new material from the Civic Center published here makes some meaningful contribution to what was previously known.

With the disappearance of solid-coated conical cups of Types P and Q after LM II and of dipped conical cups of Type K after LM IIIA1, the only version of the form to survive into LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB was the plain Type C, represented by both strictly conical (**56a/1**, **57j/1**) as well as more convex-sided (**56e/3–4**, **56f/2**) variants, both of them significantly larger than in Neopalatial and even than in LM II times. The few surviving floor deposits of this period from the Civic Center indicate that the conical cup continued to be very popular. In fact, Watrous's claim (1992: 130) that the decorated teacup replaced the conical cup as the most frequently occurring single shape in LM IIIA2 cannot be confirmed by finds from this part of the site.[171]

Most instructive for the difference between the early and the late stages of LM IIIA2 are the changes that took place in the exterior banding on teacups and those involving the prominence of the lip and the thickness and width of the handle on fine unpainted kylikes. As

noted by Watrous (1992: 130–31; 1997: 185ff), LM IIIA1 and early LM IIIA2 teacups typically featured a number of lines or very thin bands below the patterned handle zone (**54/1**, **55/1**, **57b/1**, **57e/1**, **58b/5, 7**), but during the course of LM IIIA2 two broad bands framing a series of fine lines became increasingly popular in this position on both teacups (**55/2**) and on horizontal-handled bowls (**53/1**, **56f/1**), even if the earlier system of lines or thin bands of uniform thickness persisted until the very end of the period on both teacups (**56e/2**) and bowls (**56b/3**). On fine unpainted kylikes, lips early in the period were quite pronounced (**52d/5**, **57d/3–4**), and handles were very thin, occasionally tapering in width from top to bottom, and often having noticeably troughed or concave backs (**57d/4**). By later on in the period, lips were noticeably less prominent and handles had convex backs and became somewhat thicker (**55/3**, **56e/13**), although the higher-swung, markedly thicker, and considerably narrower handles of the end of the period (**60/12**) had not yet appeared (Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 206; Popham 1984: pl. 175: 15; Warren 1997: figs. 22: P667, 32: P45).[172]

Watrous has suggested that the pattern-decorated deep bowl with two horizontal handles "appears toward the end of LM IIIA2, but does not become popular until LM IIIB" (1992: 134). Popham, commenting on the rarity of such bowls in LM IIIA2 contexts at Knossos (1984: 183, pls. 114b, 115: 1), notes that they appear to be altogether absent during LM IIIA1 and thus leaves open the question of whether such bowls are the direct descendants of the common LM II bowl type with two horizontal handles. Warren, on the other hand, seems prepared to derive LM IIIA2 bowls with horizontal handles from the LM II type, at the same time noting that the decorated deep bowl of LM IIIB has a significantly different upper body profile (1997: 164–65 and n. 10, figs. 13: P385, 16: P678 [LM IIIA2]; 176–77, fig. 32: P1991 [LM IIIB]). On this subject, the LM IIIA2 contexts from Kommos's Civic Center have something significant to offer, for decorated bowls are relatively common in them, both patterned (**56f/1** and **57b/2**, perhaps also **53/1** and **57d/1**) and linear (**56b/3**). Except for their handles, they closely resemble contemporary teacups in form, even featuring shallowly pushed-out spouts at the rim (**56b/3**, perhaps also **57d/1**). At Kommos, such bowls definitely existed during the LM IIIA1 period,[173] and the basic continuity of the form from the in-and-out bowls of LM IA all the way through to the bowls of the LM IIIA2 period seems undeniable. Thus the deep bowl of the LM IIIB period, despite some distinctive characteristics in its profile, should no longer be claimed to be a novel form in that period nor an example of Mycenaean influence on the Minoan shape repertoire (Watrous 1992: 141; 1997: 186).[174] Rather, it simply represents a lipless version[175] of a shape that had been moderately popular in at least some Minoan regional ceramic repertoires since early in the Neopalatial era.

The association of tripod cooking pots with deeper, footless cooking jars (**40/31–33**) and the tendency since Neopalatial times for both shapes to have been used in pairs (**9b/9–10**, **24/25–26**, **40/32–33**) are both well exemplified in the two examples of each type (**56e/7–8** and **56e/6**, **57f/3**, respectively) found among the whole or largely restorable vases in the abandoned floor deposits from the northeast corner of the court (Rutter 2004).[176] This cluster of

four large vessels probably to be associated with a single cooking facility surely argues in favor of food preparation on a far larger scale than the ordinary household level, as does the locale of these vessels' discovery in a large, presumably public courtyard. The contrast between the number and size of the cooking and pouring containers represented in Groups 56e–f and those found in Groups 56a–d from within Gallery P2 further suggests that the former may have served a far larger number of people than the latter. Is it possible that periodic feasting by large numbers of people continued to take place within the large court of Kommos's Civic Center as late as the later subphase of the LM IIIA2 period represented by Groups 56e–f?

THE CIVIC CENTER IN LATE MINOAN IIIB: A CERAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Pottery of LM IIIB date from the Civic Center, like that of the preceding LM IIIA2 phase, came from several different categories of deposits (Pl. 3.23), namely, building fills (Groups 64, 77, and probably 67b–d), gradual use accumulations over floors (Groups 60–63, 65, 68–76), genuine floor deposits (Group 59 and at least part of Group 67a), what appear to be rubbish dumps (Group 66 and part of Group 67a), and slope wash (Group 78). Among the deposits lumped together under the heading of gradual use accumulations, one should distinguish between those that appear to have formed while the site was still quite densely occupied (Groups 60, 62–63, 65, 68–70, 72–73a, and 75–76) and those that took shape after the site was largely abandoned but before the walls of the Civic Center's major buildings collapsed on top of them (Groups 61, 71a–b, 74). Chronologically connected with the last is a single example of gradual accumulation connected with some minor building activity that occurred after the large-scale abandonment of the site (Group 79). The considerable heterogeneity in the ways by which the strata containing these various pottery groups were formed has naturally resulted in significant disparities among the ceramic corpora in question. These differences may often be independent of how the architectural spaces from which the ceramic groups came were used and thus what kinds of terra-cotta containers have been found in them. Space constraints in the present publication preclude any systematic or detailed analysis of these disparities, but consultation of the summaries for each group and subgroup will quickly reveal how greatly these can differ in terms of such basic variables as absolute amount of pottery recovered, chronological mix represented, and average sherd size[177] in each of the five or six different classes into which the more recently excavated groups have been sorted for the purposes of counting and weighing (Groups 66–77). Comparison of a floor deposit such as Group 59 or part of Group 67a with the chronologically mixed and far more fragmentary pottery from a gradual accumulation is not always straightforward, even if only for the purposes of determining the relative chronology of the two. Despite the comparatively large number of LM IIIB ceramic groups from the Civic Center selected for publication here, and notwithstanding the fact that here, as in the Hilltop and Central Hillside sectors of the site (Table 3.96), several locations have furnished stratified sequences of

Table 3.96. LM IIIB floor deposits and major fills at Kommos.

Deposit: Area, Room/ Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable (Inventoried Fragments)	Painted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Unpainted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Cooking Pottery [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Hilltop: House of the Press, Court 2, lower level (5B/10, 12,13,17A; 12A5/91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98)	Watrous 1992: 58–59 (Deposit 58); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 119–23	Weight not published (557)	1 (8)	Juglet: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1) Teacup: (4) Transport stirrup jar: (1?)	Kylix, two-handled: 1 Pithos: (1)	
Hilltop: House of the Press, Court 2, upper level (5B/7; 12A5/82, 86, 89, 97; 21A/5)	Watrous 1992: 80–82 (Deposit 82); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 119–23, 136–37 ns. 80–81, pls. 2.184–187	> 31.1 kg (2,107)	8 (43)	Amphoroid krater: (2) Amphora, rim-handled: (3 + 1?) Basin: (1) Deep bowl: (1) Feeding bottle: 1 Kylix, two-handled: (3) Mycenaean stirrup jar: 1 Stirrup jar: 1 (1) Teacup: 1(10) Transport stirrup jar: (2)	Amphoroid jar: (1?) Basin: 1 Conical krater/Shallow rounded bowl: (3?) Kylix, two-handled: (3?) Ladle: (1) One-handled footed cup: 1(1) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: 2(3) Short-necked amphora: (1 + 2?)	Tripod cooking pot: (2?) Tripod cooking tray: (1)

Hilltop: House of the Press, Room 5, lower level (4A/11; 12A2/18, 19; 12A5/88, 90)	Watrous 1992: 47 (Deposit 39); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 116–19	27.3 kg (589)	0 (6)	Deep bowl: (1) One-handled footed cup: (1) Pithos: (1) Stirrup jar: (1) Teacup: (1)	One-handled footed cup: (1)	
Hilltop: House of the Press, Room 5, upper level (12A2/13, 15, 16; 12A5/80, 84, 85)	Watrous 1992: 91 (Deposit 85); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 116–19	> 7.1 kg (652)	0 (9)	Amphoroid krater: (1) Teacup: (1 + 2?) Transport stirrup jar: (2)	One-handled footed cup: (1) Shallow rounded bowl: (1)	Horizontal-handled jar: (1)
Hilltop: House of the Press, Room 8 (4A/13, 14, 18; 12A/4, 6, 7, 8)	Watrous 1992: 47–48 (Deposit 40); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 115–16, pl. 2.173	data not published	0 (5)	Amphora, rim-handled: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1) Teacup: (1) Transport stirrup jar: (1)	One-handled footed cup: (1)	
Hilltop: House of the Press, Room 10b (16A/9, 10, 11, 14)	Watrous 1992: 48 (Deposit 41); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 114–15	5.0 kg (148)	0 (5)	Kylix, two-handled: (1) Palace Style jar (pithoid jar): (1) Teacup: (1)	Short-necked amphora: (1)	Horizontal-handled jar: (1)
Hilltop: Room 3 (5B/17, 20, 22, 25, 27; 12A1/21, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77)	Watrous 1992: 83–88 (Deposit 83); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 102–5, pl. 2.164	Weight not published (4,318)	9 (102)	Amphoroid krater: (1) Amphora, rim-handled: (1) Bell krater: (1) Conical rhyton: (1) Deep bowl: (5 + 8?)	Conical cup: 1(2) Conical krater: (1?) Egyptian bottle: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (2) Ladle: 1(2 + 1?) Lid: (1)	

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.96 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/ Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable (Inventoried Fragments)	Painted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Unpainted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Cooking Pottery [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
				Kylix, two-handled: 1(6 + 1?) Lid: (2) Miscellaneous closed shape: (3) One-handled footed cup: 2(3) Stirrup jar: (3) Stand: (1) Teacup: 1(33 + 1?) Transport stirrup jar: (7)	One-handled footed cup: 1(3) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: 1(2) Shallow teacup: 1 Shallow rounded bowl: (1?) Wheelmade gray-burnished juglet: (1)	Cooking dish: (3) Horizontal-handled jar: (1) Lid: (1) Tripod cooking tray: (2)
Hilltop: Room 6 (4A2/62, 64; 11B/8)	Watrous 1992: 92–93 (Deposit 86); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 88–90, pls. 2.138–139	27.1 kg (2,076)	3 (20)	Deep bowl: (1 + 1?) Feeding bottle: (1) Linear bowl with horizontal handles or lugs: (1) Mycenaean stirrup jar (1) Stirrup jar: (2) Stand: (1) Teacup: (4) Transport stirrup jar: (3)	Horizontal-handled jar: (1) "Kytheran" pithos: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1) One-handled footed cup: 2(1) Pyxis: (1?)	Horizontal-handled jar: 1

Hilltop: Court 11 (4A2/10; 4A1/38, 40, 44, 47, 67)	Watrous 1992: 76 (Deposit 76); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 71–72, pls. 2.102–104	> 4.7 kg (425)	5 (6)	Amphoroid jar: 1 Conical rhyton: 1 Mug: 1 Transport stirrup jar: (1)	Kylix, two-handled: 1 One-handled footed cup: 1(1) Sardinian jar: (1) Shallow teacup: (1) Short-necked amphora: (1 + 1?)	
Hilltop: Room 12 (4A1/31, 43; 27A1/35)	Watrous 1992: 93–94 (Deposit 88); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 72–73, pl. 2.105	6.1 kg (346)	0 (7)	Deep bowl: (1) Teacup: (3) Transport stirrup jar: (2)	Sardinian jar: (1)	
Hilltop, Room O19 (27A1/31, 33)	Watrous 1992: 98–100 (Deposit 97); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 68–69, pls. 2.98–99	24.4 kg (1,898)	1 (29)	Amphoroid jar: (1?) Amphoroid krater: (1 + 1?) Deep bowl: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (2) Lid: (1) Miscellaneous closed shape: (1) Mug: (1) One-handled footed cup: (1) Stirrup jar: (1) Teacup: (9 + 1?) Two-handled footed cup: (1) Transport stirrup jar: (1)	One-handled footed cup: 1 Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: (1) Short-necked amphora: (1?)	Cooking dish: (2) Horizontal-handled jar: (1)

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.96 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/ Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable (Inventoried Fragments)	Painted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Unpainted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Cooking Pottery [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Hilltop: Room 14b (11B1/15, 16, 20, 21; 12A3/41, 43, 45)	Watrous 1992: 88–91 (Deposit 84); M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 87–88, pls. 2.133, 2.135	19.8 kg (1,174)	2 (50)	Amphoroid jar: (1) Amphora, rim-handled: (1) Basin: (1) Conical krater: (1) Deep bowl: (1 + 1?) Feeding bottle: (1?) Kylix, two-handled: (5) Miscellaneous closed shape: (4) One-handled footed cup: (3) Stirrup jar: (1) Teacup: 2(14) Transport stirrup jar: (2)	Conical krater: (1) Horizontal-handled jar: (1) Imported jug: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1) Loop-handled teacup: (1) Pithos: (1) Piriform rhyton: (1) Pulled-rim bowl: (1) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: (1) Short-necked amphora: (1)	Cooking dish: (2) Tripod cooking pot: (1)
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, Room 3 (information not available)	Watrous 1992: 71–75, 95, 214 (Deposits 75 and 91); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 223–25, pl. 3.142	> 53.3 kg (3,761)	5 (97)	Amphoroid jar: 1 Amphoroid krater: (1) Basin: (1) Bell krater: (1) Deep bowl: (5 + 4?)	Amphora, rim-handled: (1) Basin: 1(1?) Conical cup: (2) Egyptian amphora: (2) Kylix, two-handled: (2)	Cooking dish: (2) Tripod cooking pot: (2 + 1?)

				Juglet: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1) Linear bowl with horizontal handles or lugs: (1) Miscellaneous closed shape: (6) Narrow-necked jug: (1) One-handled footed cup: (1?) Stirrup jar: (3) Teacup: 1(36) Transport stirrup jar: (3 + 1?)	Ladle: (3) Lid: 1 Miscellaneous bowl: (1) One-handled footed cup: 1(5) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: (1 + 1?) Short-necked amphora: (1 + 1?) Shallow rounded bowl: (2) Western Anatolian bowl: (1) Western Anatolian jug or jar: (1)	
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, Room 4 (2A/4, 5; 2A2/28, 58)	Watrous 1992: 95–96, (Deposit 92); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 226–29, pl. 3.148	Weight not published (136)	6 (2)	Conical bowl: 1 Snake tube: 1	Conical bowl: 1 One-handled footed cup: (2)	Brazier: 1 Horizontal-handled jar: 1 Tripod cooking pot: 1
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, Room 5 (17A/10; 22A/16; 22A1/17, 131)	Watrous 1992: 96 (Deposit 93); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 230–32	Weight not published (810)	4 (10)	Basin: 1 Deep bowl: (1) Miscellaneous closed shape: (2) Mycenaean deep bowl: (1) One-handled footed cup: 1 Teacup: (3) Transport stirrup jar: (1)	Sardinian bowl: (1)	Cooking dish: (1) Tripod cooking pot: 2

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.96 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/ Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable (Inventoried Fragments)	Painted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Unpainted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Cooking Pottery [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Central Hillside, House of the Snake Tube, Room 12 (17A/8, 9)	Watrous 1992: 97 (Deposit 95); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 229–30, pl. 3.150	Weight not published (107)	1 (3)	Basin: (1) Linear bowl with horizontal handles or lugs: (1)	One-handled footed cup: 1 Short-necked amphora: (1)	
Central Hillside, Northeast Room (40A/42, 44, 56)	Watrous 1992: 53–54 (Deposit 47); Wright and McEnroe 1996: 220–21	Data not published	8 (8)	Cypriot milk bowl: (1) Juglet: 1 Teacup: (1) Transport stirrup jar: 2(1)	Cylindrical jar: (1) Collar-necked jug: (1) One-handled footed cup: 2 Pithos: 2 Western Anatolian jug or jar: (1)	Cooking dish: (1) Tripod cooking pot: 1(1)
Civic Center, Building N, Court N6: Groups 60–61 (37A/19, 20, 21, 22A, 40, 41, 41A, 41B, 41C, 42, 45, 46; 43A/63, 73, 88; 50A/20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; 51A1/59, 65)	Watrous 1992: 76–78 (Deposit 77)	111.5 kg (> 2,150)	0 (48)	Cypriot milk bowl: (2) Deep bowl: (2) Kylix, two-handled: (2) Linear bowl with horizontal handles or lugs: (1) Lid: (1) Teacup: (5 + 1?)	Basin: (1) Canaanite jar: (1) Conical cup: (2) Conical krater: (1) Egyptian necked jar: (1) Horizontal-handled jar: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (1)	Horizontal-handled jar: (3)

				Transport stirrup jar: (5 + 3?)	Ladle: (3) One-handled footed cup: (5) Pithos: (1+1?) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: (2) Shallow rounded bowl: (1) Transport stirrup jar: (1?)	
Civic Center, Building N, Room N5 and Corridor N7: Group 59 (27B/18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25)	Watrous 1992: 78–79 (Deposit 78)	82.7 kg (ca. 2,750)	6 (17)	Amphoroid jar: 1 Amphoroid krater: (1) Basin: (1) Cylindrical spouted jar (or bucket jar): 1 Deep bowl: (2) Feeding bottle: (2 + 1?) Pulled-rim bowl: (1) Three-handled cup: 1 Transport stirrup jar: (1 + 1?)	Horizontal-handled jar: (1) "Kytheran" pithos: (1) One-handled footed cup: 1 Pithos: (1) Sardinian bowl: (1) Sardinian jar: (1) Sardinian pithos: (1)	Horizontal-handled jar: 1 Tripod cooking pot: 1(1)

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.96 continued*)

Deposit: Area, Room/ Space (Trench/Pails)	Previous Publication	Total Weight (Total Sherds)	Complete or Fully Restorable (Inventoried Fragments)	Painted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Unpainted Fine and Medium-Coarse [Type: Complete (Fragments)]	Cooking Pottery [Type: Complete (Fragments)]
Civic Center, Building P, Gallery P1, east end: Group 66		64.9 kg (4,414)	0 (16)	Amphoroid krater: (1) Alabastron: (1) Mug: (1) Shallow teacup: (2) Teacup: (5) Transport stirrup jar: (1?)	Canaanite jar: (1) Short-necked amphora: (2) Western Anatolian jug or jar: (1)	Brazier: (1)
Civic Center, Building P, Gallery P2, east end: Group 67a		96.0 kg (4,240)	0 (27)	Cypriot jug: (1) Kylix, two-handled: (3) One-handled footed cup: (2) Teacup: (8)	Conical cup: (2) Kylix, two-handled: (1) One-handled footed cup: (1) Shallow teacup: (1) Short-necked amphora: (2) Shallow rounded bowl: (1)	Horizontal-handled jar: (2) Lamp: (1) Tripod cooking pot: (2)

between two and four ceramic groups datable to this period (e.g., in Galleries P3, P5, and P6, as well as at the west end of Gallery P2, the south end of Court N6, and the eastern half of Corridor N7), it has so far proved impossible to correlate changes in the overall ceramic repertoire at Kommos with earlier and later stages in the site's stratigraphy. That is, no criteria for the identification of a later LM IIIB phase (viz. "LM IIIB2") in locally produced pottery, much less for an incipient stage of the following LM IIIC period, can yet be cited with any confidence, despite Watrous's apparent conviction to the contrary on the basis of what was already known as early as 1985 (1992: 145–47).

As was also the case at Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1997b: esp. 255–64, col. pl. II), the great period of building within the Civic Center at Kommos was unquestionably the LM IIIA2 phase. Construction during LM IIIB was limited to minor additions and modifications to the large Buildings N and P, both of which had been effectively completed before the end of LM IIIA2. In the eastern part of the former, the floor in Rooms N12 and N13 was raised by as much as 50 cm, the dividing wall between these two spaces having first been almost completely dismantled so that the new floor covered its surviving socle and created a single, unified space (N12+13) with a roughly pebbled surface sloping up slightly from west to east. In the fill below this higher floor (Group 64) were found fragments of several Sardinian imports[178] as well as pieces of an imported Chaniote deep bowl (**64/2**) assignable to LM IIIB2 in terms of Chaniote relative chronology. Although the fill thus contained material clearly of advanced LM IIIB date, the bulk of the pottery was much earlier and included fragments of the Western Anatolian jar or jug **49/8** from the underlying Group 49, closed in LM IIIA2 Early. Sherds of this same imported closed vase were also recovered from the fill above the raised floor in Room N12+13 (Group 65). It thus appears that the floor-raising operation in this space may have involved some digging down into underlying deposits, a phenomenon that finds from several other locales in and around Building N suggest may have been quite common at this time. Instances include Room N4 (in which the Sardinian bowl rim **MI/It/3** was found below the LM IIIB floor level at +3.95 m), area N9 just south of Corridor N7 (where another Sardinian bowl rim, **44b/21**, was found as an isolated intrusion in the LM IB Late unit excavated as 100D/38), and perhaps Room N5 (where a third Sardinian bowl rim, **40/38**, was recovered in 36A/4).[179]

At some point within the LM IIIB period, a single north-south row of fieldstones was laid across the entrance into Corridor N7 from Court N6, possibly to keep higher-lying debris deposited in the court from washing or being blown into the corridor (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). The date of this minor addition cannot be determined by any associated pottery, but its resemblance to an arrangement in front of Gallery P6 suggests that the two may be roughly contemporary. Here, far to the southeast, a rough terrace wall running north-south directly west of the broad entrance into Gallery P6 can be dated by the latest material in the thoroughly mixed fill dumped behind it (Group 77), which included several painted LM IIIB fragments (**77/1–5**) as well as the only fragment of imported Sardinian pottery so far to have

been found anywhere in the immediate environs of Building P, once again a bowl fragment (**77/8**). The construction of this terrace left a rather awkward step at least 30 cm high from the surface of the terrace down onto the uppermost LM IIIB floor inside Gallery P6 immediately to the east (Group 76); but since there are at present no grounds for making a distinction in date between the pottery from Gallery P6's final floor level (**76/1–6**) and the latest pottery from the terrace fill just to the west (Group 77), there is no reason to believe that the construction of the terrace had an adverse effect on the use of this southernmost gallery. In fact, the terrace wall neatened the area to the west of the gallery by burying the unsightly mound of debris covering the LM IA kiln built above the former South Stoa of Building T and abandoned several centuries earlier.

One last area where some construction activity within LM IIIB may be documented is the west end of Gallery P2, to the south of the much later Archaic Building Q's eastern end. An earthen surface here at +3.27 m featured patches of red and black earth interpreted by the excavator as the results of burning. Along the northern face of Gallery P2's south wall, this surface was littered with stone slivers that the excavator identified as working chips from the trimming of blocks used in constructing a short western extension to the wall separating Gallery P2 from Gallery P3. The pottery found on this surface (Group 67d) included several mendable pieces (**67d/1–2**, plus a number of fragments of the same plain one-handled footed cup). Also present and of particular significance were two sherds of a patterned deep bowl or small krater (**60/4**), other pieces of which were found in Court N6 (Group 60) and in wash deposits to the south of it (Group 78), and four sherds from a large imported pithos (**67d/3**), numerous other pieces of which were found from one end of the Civic Center to the other, but never in a context predating a fairly advanced stage of LM IIIB (Groups 60, 65, 69a, 76, and 78). These distinctive deep bowl and pithos fragments indicate that the western extension of the wall dividing Galleries P2 and P3 was not built until well along in the LM IIIB period, quite possibly at the same time as the floor of N12+13 was raised and fills containing sherd material from Court N6 were evidently being moved around within the Civic Center. Above the surface covered with the pottery of Group 67d were found two additional surfaces, one of earth covered with the pottery of Group 67c, and a second of earth and scattered slabs covered by Group 67b. From these overlying LM IIIB groups, the only piece of closely datable Minoan pottery consisting of more than a single sherd was a fragmentary teacup of developed LM IIIB date (**67b/2**); the single piece of pottery of any significance from the intermediate Group 67c is a fragment of an imported LH IIIB1 Zygouries kylix (**67c/1**). All three LM IIIB surfaces isolated at the west end of Gallery P2 appear to belong to a fairly short interval of time, since the pottery from the lowermost includes fragments of vessels with cross joins from the latest Minoan contexts identified in Court N6, Room N12+13, and Gallery P6 and from the next-to-last Minoan floor level recognized in Gallery P3 (**60/4**, **67d/3**).

At the east end of Gallery P1, the final stratum of purely Minoan date increased substantially in thickness from ca. 10 cm at the western end of the 6-m-long segment of the gallery

cleared here to 85 cm at the east (Pl. 3.23: Group 66). A high proportion of the pottery recovered from this level had been secondarily burned. A fair amount of it was mendable, although the resulting fragments never constituted anything close to a complete vessel (Table 3.96). All in all, this stratum conveyed the impression of a pile of rubbish that had been heaped up at the gallery's innermost end in a fairly short period of time between the raising of its floor level toward the end of the LM IIIA2 period (a *terminus post quem* for this event being supplied by Groups 56e–f) and the abandonment of Gallery P1 at a developed stage of the LM IIIB period. From a functional point of view, a quarter of the sherd material recovered consisted of cooking pottery (no significant amount of pithos or other coarse pottery was recorded here), and 40 percent (by sherd count) to 60 percent (by weight) of pale-firing medium-coarse fabrics, the vast majority being unpainted (Table 3.80) and derived from short-necked amphoras like **66/12–13**. Among the painted medium-coarse pottery, large closed shapes such as transport stirrup jars, rim-handled amphoras, and amphoroid kraters (**66/11**) predominate. Occasional transport containers imported from beyond the island of Crete, such as "Syrian" flasks (**66/15**) and Western Anatolian jugs or jars (**66/16**), are also present. By far the most common shape among the fine tablewares is the teacup, normally of the pattern-decorated, deep-bodied type (**66/2–5**) that may also be solid-coated (**66/6**) but occasionally also of a shallower type, either linear (**66/7**) or solid coated (**66/8**). Rarities include a small alabastron (**66/1**) and a tankard or mug fragment (**66/9**). The overall impression conveyed by this rubbish deposit is that activity in the gallery was centered around plain or very simply decorated transport vessels, mostly of local manufacture. The mendable fine wares, almost without exception drinking vessels, may indicate that the contents of at least some transport vessels were being consumed on the spot or in the immediate vicinity. Large storage vessels in the form of pithoi were not present, nor were significant mendable profiles of cooking pots.

At the east end of Gallery P2 immediately to the south, a generally similar picture of use emerges from the stratum deposited above the final Prehistoric floor, a deposit that once again increased substantially in thickness from west (ca. 10 cm) to east (ca. 75 cm) over the approximately 6-m length of the gallery's innermost extent so far cleared to this level (Pl. 3.23: Group 67a). Here, however, the uppermost earthen surface at the east was partially covered with scattered stone slabs and there was a hearth preserved in the gallery's southeastern corner (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). Although the quantity of cooking pottery recovered here is slightly less than in Gallery P1, more of this cooking pottery mends up: two tripod cooking pots (**67a/23–24**) and a horizontal-handled jar (**67a/25**) as well as a pedestal-footed lamp (**67a/27**) suggest that at least some of the pottery from Gallery P2's east end stems from use of the nearby hearth and may in some sense be considered more of a floor deposit than a heap of miscellaneous rubbish. Once again, however, the majority of the pottery consists of pale-firing medium-coarse fabrics, unpainted sherds being seven or eight times as common as painted ones (Table 3.81) and belonging for the most part to short-necked amphoras

like **67a/21–22**. Fine-ware sherds closely resemble those from the rubbish dump in Gallery P1, many of them again showing signs of secondary burning that occurred after the vessels to which they originally belonged had been broken. The pattern-decorated teacup repeats as the most common single type in fine tableware (**67a/1–6**). The shape also occurs in solid-coated form (**67a/7–8**), but other open shapes are also common: two-handled kylikes, both patterned (**67a/11–13**) and plain (**67a/19**); one-handled footed cups, both coated (**67a/9–10**) and plain (**67a/18**); an occasional patterned deep bowl (**67a/14**); plain conical cups (**67a/15–16**), shallow teacups (**67a/17**), and shallow bowls furnished with horizontal loop handles (**67a/20**). The picture painted by this ceramic group is that it represents a combination of a rubbish dump very similar to Group 66 along with a small use deposit of cooking pottery (and perhaps also some drinking and eating vessels like **67a/4** and **67a/9**, perhaps also **67a/15** and **67a/20**), with the lamp **67a/27** serving to light up the dark innermost portion of the gallery in much the same way that the imported Cypriot lamp **56b/6** did in this same space during its LM IIIA2 period of use.[180] The continuity of function from LM IIIA2 to LM IIIB in the cooking facilities at this gallery's east end is worthy of note. So, too, is the very different character of the pottery from Group 67a relative to that of more or less contemporaneous date from the construction horizons at the opposite end of the gallery (Groups 67b–d).

If part of Group 67a from Gallery P2 is accepted as a floor deposit of sorts, it is a very modest one. The only large LM IIIB floor deposit in the Civic Center was that found littering the pebbled surfaces of Room N5 and Corridor N7 at +3.73 m more than 55 m to the west (Pl. 3.23: Group 59). In the approximate middle of the surviving portion of Room N5's floor, a circular patch of burning is likely to mark the location of a fire, although the absence of any stone slabs or blocks to define this area make the term *hearth* inappropriate for it. Just a meter to the north was found the cooking jar **59/8**, and large fragments of the tripod cooking pot **59/16** were located to both the north-northwest and south of this burnt area, as well as scattered along the westernmost preserved margin of the floor. The burnt patch thus probably marks a cooking area, although this usage may have been restricted to a very short interval of time during the room's very last period of use. Against the room's east wall to the east-southeast of the cooking fire was found the one-handled footed cup **59/8**, whereas the fragments of the patterned deep bowl oddly reused as a lamp (**59/6**) came from higher in the fill above the actual floor, perhaps because the lamp had originally been placed on a shelf of some sort. On the western portion of the threshold connecting Room N5 with Corridor 7 were found the bases and lower bodies of two large pithoi (**59/19–20**), seemingly buried up to 35 cm in debris shortly after their abandonment (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3), as well as the tripod cooking pot **59/17** and the deep bowl fragment **59/5**. Just to the south of these were discovered the amphoroid jar **59/9** to the west and the probable transport stirrup jar **59/13** to the east. A bit farther to the south lay concentrated fragments of the enormous amphoroid krater **59/10** and the heirloom cylindrical bridge-spouted jar **59/11** of probable LM II or IIIA1 date, pieces of both of which were also found scattered widely in the western half of Court

N6.[181] Due south of the doorway leading from Room N5 to Corridor N7 and up against the southern wall of the latter was found the imported, possibly Chaniote three-handled cup **59/4**.

The arrangement of the largely preserved vases making up this floor deposit was thus a rather peculiar one, apart from the cooking pots **59/8** and **59/16** inside Room N5. A concentration of storage vessels practically blocked the entrance from Corridor N7 into the structure's main room, and a pair of drinking cups lay against walls in two separate spaces. None of the findspots of the three Sardinian imports from this deposit—a pithos (**59/23**), a jar (**59/22**), and a bowl (**59/21**)—can be pinpointed, since not one of the three is preserved to any significant degree and none was recognized during the actual process of excavation. Given the frequency of large storage vessels in the deposit (**59/9–13**, **19–21**), the absence of mendable short-necked amphoras, a shape that was overwhelmingly dominant among the closed vessels found in great quantities in nearby Building P and also commonly found in domestic contexts from both the Central Hillside and Hilltop (Table 3.96), is rather surprising. Equally noteworthy is the discovery here in Building N, as at Gallery P2's eastern end, of a pair of tripod cooking pots (**59/16–17**) and a horizontal-handled jar (**59/18**) in cooking fabric in close proximity to a cooking fire, with evidence in both cases for an additional horizontal-handled jar from the same deposit (**59/15**, **67a/26**).[182] The two tripod cooking pots from Room N5 are considerably larger than the LM IIIA2 pair from Gallery P2 (**56e/7–8**) or the LM IIIB pairs from Room 5 of the House with the Snake Tube (Watrous 1992: 96 nos. 1663–64, fig. 63, pl. 43) or the Northeast Room just to the east of it on the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 53 nos. 926, 933, pl. 21; Wright and McEnroe 1996: 220–21, fig. 3.111).[183] The greater size of Building N's cooking pots is matched by the enormous size of the amphoroid krater **59/10**, a vase also distinguished from run-of-the-mill amphoroid kraters of LM IIIA2–B date at Kommos by its elaborate decoration. Also likely to be a ceramic indicator of status is the unusual cylindrical bridge-spouted jar **59/11**, certainly an import to Kommos and a virtual antique, some five or more generations old, at the time of its final abandonment. Other LM IIIB pottery deposits featured one or two pieces of high-status ceramics—for example, the snake tube that gave the Central Hillside's House with the Snake Tube its name (Watrous 1992: 95 no. 1652, pl. 42), or the splendid conical rhyton from Hilltop Court 11 (Watrous 1992: 76 no. 1303, fig. 48, pl. 30; M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 70–72, pls. 1.4, 2.102, 2.104), which was either an annex of the House with the Press just to the west or possibly of the Oblique House to the north (M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 68–69, pls. 2.78, 2.98–99). But no other LM IIIB deposit or group of deposits thus far excavated at Kommos can quite match the final floor deposit from Building N for the quantities of stockpiled produce that are represented by its storage vessels, the quantities of food that could be prepared in its cooking pots, or the snob appeal of its high-status mixing vessels.

Founded almost 50 cm above the pebble-covered floor of Corridor N7 is a flimsy rubble wall running in zigzag fashion roughly north-south across the corridor and evidently once abutting the corridor's original north and south walls (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). Associated

with this wall, which is itself preserved to a maximum height of some 50 cm, was a substantial amount of pottery (Group 79) that produced only one mendable vessel, a small stirrup jar imported from somewhere in the Mycenaean cultural sphere (**79/1**), probably either Attica or Rhodes in view of its closest parallels. Unfortunately, none of the associated Minoan sherd material is at all distinctive, so the relative chronological context of this interesting piece in Minoan terms cannot be more narrowly pinpointed than "later than developed/advanced LM IIIB." Mycenaean stirrup jars of this size are not all that uncommon at Kommos. Two from LM IIIA2 Early contexts are of LH IIIA2 date (**48/4**; C 11000 from House X, Room 6). Two from the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1017 [Deposit 60; Room 21]; 74 no. 1264 [Deposit 75; House with the Snake Tube, Room 3]), two or three from the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 93 no. 1621, 156 no. 1628 [Deposit 86; Room 6]; possibly 82 no. 1422 [Deposit 82; House with the Press, Court 2]), and possibly one additional fragment from the stratified construction surfaces at Gallery P2's west end (**67b/4**) all came from LM IIIB contexts and are of LH IIIB types when closely datable. But only **79/1** from above Corridor N7 can be dated as late as LH IIIC Early; aside from a single unstratified FS 242 cup rim from Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 117 77-P0088, 171, pl. 78e: 5), this stirrup jar is the only fragment of Postpalatial Mycenaean pottery thus far to have been identified at any site on Crete (Hallager 1993).

Whether the zigzag wall constructed within the ruins of Corridor N7 is to be dated to LM IIIC must remain an open question, but it is certainly not the only Minoan architecture at Kommos to have been built over an abandoned LM IIIB floor deposit. On the Central Hillside, the small "freestanding shack" represented by Room 19 (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 233, pls. 3.112, 3.117) was built just to the west of, and at a significantly higher level than, Room 21 with its abandoned stone press bed and also the contemporary Staircase 34 and Northeast Room just to the east (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 220–22, pls. 3.111, 3.135–3.140), all of which are solidly dated to LM IIIB by two separate deposits of pottery. That from the Northeast Room (Watrous 1992: 53–54 Deposit 47) has much in common with Group 59 from Room N5 and Corridor N7 in the Civic Center. That from Room 21 with its two plain short-necked amphoras, imported LH IIIB stirrup jar, and Sardinian bowl fragments (Watrous 1992: 59–60 Deposit 60) looks to be closely contemporary with the LM IIIB abandonment horizon represented both in Building N by Groups 59–60 and in the galleries of Building P. Unfortunately, no significant amount of ceramic material was found associated with the later "shack," so its date, like that of the zigzag wall founded at a high level in Corridor N7, is uncertain, since it can be provided with only a *terminus post quem* of developed LM IIIB. At the very northern end of the portion of the site so far excavated, a similar instance of stratified floors, the lower of which dates to LM IIIB, is reported in Room N17a (M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 48–49, 53–54). Once again, the parallels of the material from the lower floor with Groups 59–60 from Building N are clear enough (Watrous 1992: 57 Deposit 55), but in this case enough material was also recovered from the overlying floor to show that it, too, dates

to an advanced stage of LM IIIB (Watrous 1992: 80 Deposit 81) and likewise exhibits close parallels with Groups 59–60 from the Civic Center. It therefore seems likely that two closely spaced depositions of LM IIIB pottery are to be identified in the stratified deposits not only on the Hilltop in the North House as well as in the House with the Press (Watrous 1992: 58–59, 80–82 [Group 82 above Group 58 in Court 2]) but also on the Central Hillside and in the Civic Center, where, as in the cases of the shacklike Room 19 and the reuse of Corridor N7 at a higher level, the upper deposit can often not be closely dated because of a simple dearth of associated ceramics. The implications of the frequency with which such stratified LM IIIB groups have been found in all the discrete sectors of the Kommos site so far excavated merit separate consideration. For example, the virtual simultaneity, at least in ceramic terms, of the abandonment represented by what in stratigraphic terms appear to be two discrete LM IIIB horizons will speak to the nature of the event that caused the earlier, and ordinarily much richer, of the two LM IIIB floor assemblages to be abandoned.

Lying very slightly higher than the floors in Room N5 and Corridor N7 and sloping up somewhat toward both the north and east is the more densely pebbled exterior surface of Court N6. The pottery found overlying this surface (Pl. 3.23: Group 60) is for the most part closely contemporary with that of Group 59, as numerous cross joins between the two deposits show (**59/10**, **59/11**, **59/21**). Since fragments of the deep bowl or krater **60/4** and the imported pithos **67d/3**, as already noted, link Group 60 with the final floor over Room N12+13 (Group 65), the next-to-last-laid floor identified in Gallery P3 (Group 69a), the final laid floor in Gallery P6 (Group 76), and the construction of the western extension of the wall dividing Galleries P2 and P3 (Group 67d), these two sets of cross joins make possible the chronological correlation of strata in Buildings N and P. The pottery from Court N6 is considerably more fragmentary than that from the floor deposit in the rooms to the west. It consequently resembles casually discarded refuse, and thus a gradual accumulation, more than it does a collection of whole vases suddenly abandoned on a living surface, even if a few of the more fully preserved pieces (e.g., **60/6**, **60/12**, **60/18**, **60/20**, **60/26**) might be interpretable as the remains of a true floor deposit. At the southern end of the court, the rubble collapse of its southern enclosure wall was found lying at a level some 50 cm higher on a hard-packed surface of sand and clay. The pottery recovered above this surface (Group 61) was mixed with some Historic material and also included sherds of mendable vases from the LM IIIB refuse overlying the court (**61/1**, **61/2**). It is uncertain whether this overlying surface represents a genuine floor or is simply the result of a century or two of weathering of the ruins of Building N, consisting of a mixture of dissolved mudbrick from the original upper portions of the court's walls and windblown sand. Certainly there is nothing about the Minoan pottery found above it that marks it as a substantially later surface than the lower-lying pebbled surface, yet this upper surface lies at much the same level as would a surface associated with the later zigzag wall built within Corridor N7 and dated only by the imported Mycenaean stirrup jar **79/1**. Thus it is just possible that this unprepossessing upper surface is part of the scrappy evidence

from a number of locales within the Civic Center for a brief episode of continued occupation within this region of the site after the abandonment of the developed LM IIIB floor deposit and contemporary courtyard debris represented by Groups 59–60.

The substantial amount of pottery found above a hard pebbled surface within the angle sheltered by Corridor N7's south wall and the northern return of Court N6's west wall (Pl. 3.23: Group 62) presumably represents gradual accumulation over an exterior surface in area N9 of much the same sort and lying at much the same level as the debris over Court N6 to the north and northeast (Group 60). Perhaps not surprisingly in view of the space's rather out-of-the-way location, very little of this pottery mended up, but the two pieces inventoried (**62/1–2**) are both of types familiar from Groups 59 and 60. A much smaller body of LM IIIB material likewise found in a space adjacent to but outside Court N6's perimeter wall came from a much more exposed setting immediately south of the court's east end (Group 63). In this area between the southern margin of Building N and the north wall of Archaic Building Q, severe erosion in post-Minoan times by winter rains channeled between these two buildings destroyed virtually all Prehistoric stratification except in a narrow strip immediately south of Building N's southern wall (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). What is remarkable about the stratum from which the pottery of Group 63 came is how low it is in elevation (+3.04–3.10 m) relative to the pebbled surfaces within Court N6 (at ca. +3.80 m) and in area N9 to the west (at ca. +3.91 m). It seems highly unlikely that the LM IIIB ground level south of the main entrance into Court N6 could have lain as much as 80 cm lower than the surface of this doorway's threshold, yet there is no surviving evidence of any terrace wall or steps south of Court N6 that might provide a transition from the low-lying floor above which Group 63 was found and the much higher surfaces on top of which Groups 62 and 60 were found to the west and north, respectively. Instead, the ground surface appears to have sloped up gradually toward the west from ca. +3.10 m south of Court N6's southeast corner (Group 63) to ca. +3.30 m in the neighborhood of the doorway into the court near its southwest corner to ca. +3.90 m in the northeast corner of area N9. Thus the step up to the threshold in Court N6's southern wall appears to have been on the order of 60 cm (from +3.30–3.35 to +3.93 m)—high but not impossible. What seems odd is the reversal of the east-to-west downward slope in this area following the natural contours in Protopalatial and Neopalatial times to west-to-east during LM IIIB. This reversal suggests that massive amounts of fill may have been moved during this period, something already noted in the case of the raising of the floor in Room N12+13.

East of Court N6, the single floor over this now-unified space was covered with a fair amount of gradual accumulation but no fully restorable or even largely preserved vessels (Group 65). The bizarre rim, neck, and basket-handle fragment **65/1**, which features a vitrified greenish blister on the surface of its lower neck caused by the explosion of a pebble-sized grit seemingly exposed to a very high temperature, may conceivably be part of some metallurgical implement in light of the copious other evidence from this area for metalworking

activity (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3), although nothing comparable has been illustrated by Blitzer in her comprehensive survey of the evidence for Prehistoric metallurgy at Kommos (1995: 500–520). Aside from the concentration of copper ingot fragments in Group 65 and the underlying fill used to raise the floor level here (Group 64), a parallel concentration of Sardinian ceramics is especially worth noting.[184]

Most important for the purposes of estimating the duration of LM IIIB activity at Kommos is the succession of floor levels observed in the one thus far fully excavated gallery (P3) of Building P. It must be frankly admitted from the very outset, however, that determining exactly how many casually and very irregularly laid dirt floors existed in an architectural space as large as Gallery P3, excavated over three full seasons in several different trenches under the supervision of several different trenchmasters, is problematic. In the case of Gallery P3 in particular, these difficulties were compounded by the fact that at least two earlier LM IIIA earthen surfaces as well as a Neopalatial plastered floor underlay the LM IIIB sequence. At the gallery's western end, as many as a half dozen of these surfaces were sandwiched within 35–40 cm, and following them as they sloped slightly upward from west to east was a genuine challenge for all, from pickman to trench supervisor to ceramic analyst. As far as Gallery P3 is concerned, excavation to date has been careful and complete enough to allow the relatively scanty amounts of pottery associated with each of three putative LM IIIB surfaces to be correlated with a small number of features such as hearths and subterranean ovens (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). In the case of Gallery P2, on the other hand, the pottery to be connected with the final two Minoan stages of use was lumped together (Group 67a; see above) because it proved impossible to separate the two convincingly, thanks to the steep upward slope in the stratification at the gallery's eastern end, from which the vast majority of the pottery so far recovered from that gallery came.

The first floor of Gallery P3 to have been used after it was provided with a roof probably dates from the beginning of the LM IIIB period (Group 68), although the datable material is exiguous in quantity. From the beginning of the gallery's use as a covered space, over half the sherds discarded on its floors and close to 70% of the pottery by weight consisted of pale-firing medium-coarse vessels, the vast majority of them plain short-necked amphoras and linear transport stirrup jars. Since these shapes are far less sensitive indicators of date by virtue of their morphology and decoration than are pattern-decorated open shapes like teacups, deep bowls, and kylikes or even several of the plain shapes in fine tableware, the difficulty in dating this earliest roofed floor in Gallery P3 is hardly surprising. A second floor at a level some 10–15 cm higher features two ovens founded well below the floor but with domed tops projecting a roughly equal distance above it (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). The pottery from above this second surface (Groups 69a–b) is unambiguously of advanced LM IIIB date (**69a/1**, **69b/4–5**), has at least one cross join with Group 60 from above the pebbled surface of Court N6 (**67d/3**), and exhibits numerous parallels with that of both Group 60 (e.g., **60/23** and **69b/7**) and Group 67a (e.g., **67a/9–10** and **69b/5**). The percentage of pale-firing medium-

coarse fabrics rose slightly in terms of both sherd numbers and total weight above the already very high figures of the floor below (Tables 3.83–3.84 versus 3.82). A third floor some 15–20 cm higher still and detectable chiefly at the gallery's east end, where it is associated with a hearth in the southeasternmost corner (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3), produced pottery (Groups 70a–b) that is typologically indistinguishable from that of the preceding floor but that features a further increase in the percentages of pale-firing medium-coarse fabrics (Tables 3.85–3.86) to more than 60% by number and more than 80% by weight. At the very eastern end of the gallery, collapsed rubble from the upper elevations of the walls rests some 25–30 cm above the level of the uppermost floor on an accumulation of earth that contained purely Prehistoric pottery (Groups 71a–b) and probably represents gradual deposition of use debris above the final-laid floor. Once again, the pottery recovered at the top of the LM IIIB stratification here is typologically indistinguishable from that of the preceding two floor levels, and the very high percentages for pale-firing medium-coarse vessels characteristic of the third and final-laid floor persist (Tables 3.87–3.88). Although the quantities of closely datable pottery from these stratigraphically discrete floors in Gallery P3 are meager, the facts that several floors can be isolated and that the cross joins linking this stratification with the major floor deposit and gradual use accumulation in Building N (Groups 59–60) involve the second of the three laid floors suggest that significant activity continued in the Civic Center after the virtual abandonment of Building N. The latest floor and the final Prehistoric fill in Gallery P3 (Groups 70–71) may therefore well be contemporary with the higher-lying strata in Building N represented by Groups 61 (Pl. 3.23: Court N6, south end) and 79 (Pl. 3.23: Corridor N7). One striking difference between Building N and Gallery P3 is that, although an occasional Near Eastern ceramic import showed up in both locales in advanced LM IIIB times (e.g., **60/30** and **61/7**; **69a/4**), not one sherd of Sardinian pottery was to be found in Gallery P3, nor indeed in any portion of the six Building P galleries so far cleared.

The observed stratification in Gallery P3 helps make sense of the tangled situation at the east end of Gallery P2. In both, a horizon featuring one or more semisubterranean ovens toward the gallery's east end preceded a phase during which an open hearth was constructed and used in the southeasternmost corner (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). As already noted, it has not proved possible to separate the pottery of Group 67a into two subgroups that can be persuasively associated with the oven and hearth phases, respectively. Thus in the case of this particular gallery, at least two and perhaps more phases of LM IIIB use cannot be distinguished, although it has been possible to isolate a significantly earlier LM IIIA2 episode of use (Groups 56a–d).

Farther south, only the westernmost portions of Galleries P4, P5, and P6 have so far been cleared to the level of their earliest floors. Erosion at the entrance to Gallery P4 has been so severe that only the LM IIIA2 construction fill below its initial floor has survived (Group 53). But in the cases of Galleries P5 and P6, two LM IIIB earthen floors have been identified in each. As for the later two laid floors in Gallery P3, no chronological separation between the

pottery recovered from this pair of floors in either P5 or P6 has been possible. Once again, closed shapes in pale-firing medium-coarse fabrics were overwhelmingly dominant in the gradual accumulations over the floors of both galleries, here as elsewhere in Building P presumably reflecting the breakage of large numbers of transport vessels that were stored on a short-term basis in this facility prior to being shipped overseas. The relatively small quantities of pottery so far recovered from the lower floor in Gallery P5 (Group 72) feature amounts of medium-coarse containers consonant with the lowermost LM IIIB floor in Gallery P3 (Group 68), 52% by number and 64% by weight, with almost 90% of the sherds in question being plain. The upper floor, meanwhile, produced substantially higher percentages of such vessels, more than 73% by number and 85% by weight (Group 73a), with more than 95% of the sherds being plain. The still-higher surface onto which the rubble from the collapsing gallery walls fell, as in Gallery P3 yielding nothing later than LM IIIB pottery, featured percentages of pale-firing medium-coarse sherd material intermediate between those of the lower and upper floors below (Group 74).

In Gallery P6, the lower floor was overlain by pottery among which pale-firing medium-coarse containers accounted for more than 64% by number and 80% by weight, once again with roughly 90% of the sherds in question being plain (Group 75). But in this gallery the pottery from above the upper of the two floors recognized (Group 76) exhibited a reverse trend with respect to the popularity of medium-coarse containers: the percentages of such sherds dropped to 54% by number and 59% by weight. This change from the pattern observed in Galleries P3 and P5 may perhaps have been connected with the construction of the terrace immediately in front of Gallery P6 during its final period of use, a feature that would undoubtedly have impeded the moving of heavy transport vessels into and out of the gallery. The small portion of Gallery P6 thus far cleared has not yet revealed a still-higher earthen surface onto which the rubble from its upper walls collapsed. Instead, the rubble sealing the use deposits in the gallery appears to lie directly on the second laid floor, once again perhaps signaling a change in the gallery's final use that would have minimized the accumulation of fill above its final floor. The extremely fragmentary pottery from the use accumulations over the two floors of Building P's southernmost two galleries included a certain number of imported Cypriot, Western Anatolian, and Syro–Palestinian transport vessels (e.g., **72/6–7**, **73a/2**, **73b/2**, **74/1**, **75/7**), but no Cypriot tablewares and not a sherd of Sardinian. The discovery of a Sardinian bowl rim in the fill of the terrace immediately outside Gallery P6 to the west (**77/8**) is therefore rather striking. So, too, is the fact that the small amount of uncontaminated LM IIIB fill from the court just west of the entrance to Gallery P5 (Group 73b) contained just 42% by number and 56% by weight of pale-firing medium-coarse sherds, much less than in Group 73a excavated just a couple of meters to the east. The nature of the pottery found within Building P's galleries clearly changed rather dramatically from that found just outside.[185]

The exposure of certain areas within the Civic Center to massive erosion from slope wash

was alluded to previously with respect to the narrow east-west corridor between the southern end of Building N and the north wall of Building Q and the equivalently narrow and similarly oriented space represented by Gallery P4. Both of these became virtual drainage channels in the Historic era owing to the construction in the Archaic period of Building Q and of an unrelated east-west retaining wall abutting Building P's eastern facade (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3). The wash deposits at Gallery P4's western end have not produced finds of any particular interest, but those immediately south of Building N (Group 78) have furnished an unusual concentration of Sardinian imports (**78/25–35**; also **MI/It/1–2**), bits of two imported Mycenaean LH IIIB bowls (**78/23–24**), and a collection of pattern-decorated teacup and deep bowl fragments that number among the latest decorated Minoan fine wares attested at Kommos (**78/2–16**; Watrous 1992: 100 [Deposit 98]). All this material was presumably deposited originally in LM IIIB accumulations above the northern portion of the court onto which Building P fronted at the east. But these accumulations need not have taken the form of a dump, such as those from which Groups 66 and 67a at the east ends of Galleries P1 and P2 stem, nor need any of the decorated Minoan pieces from these wash deposits be any later than those recovered from the terminal deposits in Building P's galleries or the various subdivisions of Building N. Indeed, almost all the teacups **78/2–12** and deep bowls **78/13–16** have close parallels from late deposits on the Hilltop and Central Hillside. The clustering of Sardinian and Mycenaean LH IIIB open shapes (including the Zygouries kylix fragment **67c/1** from the entrance to Gallery P2) in this general vicinity is nevertheless an interesting one.

LATE MINOAN IIIB POTTERY AT KOMMOS: NEW EVIDENCE FROM THE CIVIC CENTER

Over the past fifteen years, the formulation of an increasingly more reliable set of criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB pottery from that of the preceding LM IIIA2 phase as well as from that of the subsequent LM IIIC period has been made possible by the publication of stratified settlement deposits, above all from the sites of Chania (Kanta 1997 supplementing Tzedakis and Kanta 1978; Hallager and Hallager 2000, 2003), Kastelli Pediadas (Rethemiotakis 1997), Knossos (Warren 1983, 1997), and Kommos (Watrous 1992: esp. 138–47; Watrous 1997). Great progress in defining the LM IIIC sequence at the first three of these sites, as well as at Kavousi: Kastro (Mook and Coulson 1997) and Thronos/Sybritos (Prokopiou 1997; D'Agata 1999d) has also been helpful in clarifying what the impact of regionalism, as opposed to simple chronology, may be on creating significant differences among assemblages of advanced LM III settlement pottery. As a consequence, it is now possible to specify with far greater confidence today how LM IIIB ceramic material is to be identified than it was when Warren and Hankey, in suggesting a set of criteria based exclusively on fine wares (1989: 89–90), conceded that they had less well stratified material to go on than was desirable. As the debates from a quite recently published conference nevertheless make clear (e.g., Hallager and Hallager 1997: 104–10, 185–92, 327–36), there is still room for considerable dis-

agreement on how to define both the beginning and the end of the LM IIIB period in ceramic terms. It therefore clearly behooves anyone seeking to attach significance to a relative chronological term such as "LM IIIB" to be as explicit and detailed as possible in defining the term.

It is already widely acknowledged that the source of such a definition must take the form of stratified settlement deposits rather than finds from multiply reused tombs where the goods deposited with individual burials ordinarily cannot be isolated. Less often explicitly recognized but of equal importance is that regional ceramic traditions were as highly variable during the later fourteenth, and especially the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. as they had been during Neopalatial times. It is therefore highly unlikely that any single set of criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB pottery from what preceded as well as followed will apply with equal utility or even validity throughout the island. A simple example is the apparent inapplicability of the distinction between LM IIIB1 and LM IIIB2 observed at Chania to any other region of the island, notwithstanding occasional claims to the contrary (e.g., Watrous 1992: 145–47; 1997: 185–87, 189; Kanta 1997: 83–84; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 211 n. 137, 262–65).

Moreover, criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB pottery from that of either preceding or subsequent phases, even if applied to the finds from just one site, will not all be of equal utility. Depending on which ceramic types are found with greater frequency or regularity, certain criteria are bound to emerge as more important than others in the sense that they will simply be usable more often. Such criteria will, of course, prove even more useful if their validity can be shown to extend to other sites within the same region or, even better, other regions. A hierarchy of criteria can thus be established with respect to applicability and utility; however, potentially quite different hierarchies may be imagined insofar as sensitivity to regional as opposed to chronological variation is concerned. In the discussion that follows, individual criteria derived from vessel morphology, decoration, and technology of production are commented on briefly with regard to their utility for relative dating at the site of Kommos. Finally, an attempt is made to correlate the stage of LM IIIB most abundantly represented at Kommos with sequences at other sites in various regions of the island.

Since by far the most common ceramic types in the settlement deposits deemed most useful for establishing a sensitive relative chronology are small open shapes, it is not surprising that the most important criteria for distinguishing LM IIIB from LM IIIA2 and LM IIIC have traditionally been ones that involve changes in such vessels (Popham 1967: 347–49; Popham 1970b; Popham 1984: 184–85; Warren and Hankey 1989: 89–90; Watrous 1992: 138–42, 145–47; Hallager 1997: 31–37; Warren 1997: 176–77, 179–81; Watrous 1997: 184–85). At the sites of Knossos and Kommos, the two locales with reference to which the bulk of the debate over how the beginning of the LM IIIB period is to be defined has focused, the principal diagnostic features for the advent of LM IIIB have been the emergence of the deep bowl[186] as a popular shape, changes in the forms of the handle and foot featured on the one-handled footed cup, and a shift in the banding below the patterned zone on both cups and bowls from a prefer-

ence for the band-framed line group or simply a group of lines to a preference for two broad bands (or even just one). Considerably less important overall because of their lesser frequency are the appearance in the Minoan vase-painting repertoire of a number of motifs either directly adopted or indirectly derived from the earlier LH IIIA2 style of the Greek Mainland: the voluted Flower FM 18, Multiple Stem and Tongue FM 19, the Whorl-Shell FM 23, and Curve-Stemmed Spirals FM 49 (Watrous 1997: 186).[187]

Solid evidence for rejecting the appearance of the deep bowl as a criterion for LM IIIB at Kommos was presented in the discussion of well-dated LM IIIA2 examples of the shape that closely resemble contemporary pieces from Knossos.[188] Moreover, the often-cited changes in the morphology of the one-handled footed cup (Hallager 1997: 23 and n. 27) and a growing preference for simple bands—usually two, but occasionally one (**59/5**, **75/1**, **78/15**[?]) and sometimes as many as three (**66/4**, **67a/5** [teacups]; **69a/1** [deep bowl])—are valid enough criteria for LM IIIB, provided it is recognized that the band-framed line group persisted in considerable numbers into LM IIIB on kylikes (**67a/12**) as well as on teacups (e.g., **60/1**, **66/3**, **67a/3**, **69b/2**, **70a/1**). It is therefore perhaps more accurate to observe that teacups and deep bowls with one, two, or three broad bands below the patterned zone are LM IIIB (or later),[189] whereas the same shapes with a band-framed line group may equally well be either LM IIIA2 or LM IIIB. The changes in the foot morphology of the one-handled footed cup appear to be similarly gradual, as Warren has argued (1997: 179–80).

The net result of these adjustments to the defining criteria for LM IIIB is to blur the distinction between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB somewhat, but perhaps enough minor criteria can be identified that the two can once more be separated with the original degree of confidence. For example, not enough has been made heretofore of the restriction of solid coatings of paint and blob decoration on one-handled footed cups to LM IIIB–C (Hallager 1997: 37 and n. 190, 39–40). Coated examples of the shape are quite common at Kommos, so this restriction is at least locally a significant one, mandating the redating of Watrous's Deposits 39 and 45 from LM IIIA to LM IIIB (Table 3.96). Two rather different varieties of coated one-handled footed cups are found at Kommos, one having a shallower and lipped bowl provided with a relatively narrow, thickened strap handle (**67a/10**) that sometimes is almost a round-sectioned loop (**73b/1**), whereas the other features a deeper, lipless bowl and a wider, thinner strap handle (**67a/9**, **69b/5**). So far as one can tell from the limited data available, the two were contemporary at Kommos. Another feature peculiar to the LM IIIB version of the one-handled footed cup at Kommos is the solid, flat-bottomed foot of the unpainted specimen **60/9**, paralleled in LM IIIC at Kastelli Pediadas (Rethemiotakis 1997: fig. 26b) and so likely to be a late LM IIIB feature as argued by Watrous (1992: 140; Hallager 1997: 36 n. 179).

Four shapes, each attested by multiple examples at Kommos, appear to be new to the site in the LM IIIB period. Although no one of them can be described as common, cumulatively they not only provide some genuinely helpful dating criteria but also inevitably prompt some speculation as to what the motivations for their addition to the Kommian shape repertoire in LM IIIB may have been. The bell krater is attested by several fragments from the Hilltop

(Watrous 1992: 57 no. 984, pl. 24; 87 no. 1512, fig. 56, pl. 38; 99 no. 1714, pl. 28[?]) and perhaps by a rather small example from the Civic Center (**60/4**). The relatively elaborate decoration of these pieces is fitting in view of how prominent this type became as a vehicle for the most extravagant displays of LM IIIC vase-painting (Borgna 1997a, 1999; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 146–49). As remarked on long ago by Kanta (1980: 272–73), this shape is more often associated with LM IIIC than with LM IIIB. The details of its origin are not altogether clear, although like the related deep bowl form the bell krater has often been connected with the Greek Mainland and derived from Mycenaean prototypes (Borgna 1997a: 292–93). In fact, it is just as possible that Minoan kraters of this sort developed directly from large LM IIIA2 horizontal-handled bowls like **56f/1** as from Mycenaean kraters of FS 281 type, particularly in view of how much the earliest such Mycenaean kraters (e.g., Mountjoy 1999a: 128 no. 209, fig. 29 [LH IIIA2]) and bowls like **56f/1** resemble each other.

The second addition to the Kommian LM IIIB shape repertoire is the stand, typically fenestrated (Watrous 1992: 87 no. 1514, pl. 19; 98 no. 1693, pl. 43; 108–9 no. 1909, pl. 49), no examples of which have so far been identified from the Civic Center. Though the existence of the ceramic stand on Crete in LM IIIA is claimed by Kanta (1980: 280–81) on the basis of the tower-like stand from Gournia dated to LM IIIA1 (Evans 1928: 134 and n. 1, 139 fig. 70 *bis*), all the remaining stands cited by her are of LM IIIB date.[190] The contemporaneous appearance of the bell krater and the stand at Kommos, as probably also at Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2003: 218–20, 229) and no doubt elsewhere on Crete, was hardly coincidental, since the stands served to hold kraters (Furumark 1941: 70–71; Evans 1928: 133–34, figs. 67a–b; Mountjoy 1999a: 543 no. 209, fig. 196). This connection between the two is established perhaps most clearly by the discovery of no fewer than six examples, five of LM IIIB date from Chania and Kommos (Tzedakis and Kanta 1978: 25, fig. 18, pl. 8: 6; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 218-19 and n. 247, pl. 57: 77-P0579, 82-P0307; Watrous 1992: 93 no. 1627, pl. 41) and one of LM IIIC date from Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 92 87-P0032, 148, pls. 49, 72f: 4) of the two shapes produced as a combined entity. Kanta's suggestion that such a krater on its stand would have served as an LM IIIB replacement for the Neopalatial pedestal-footed strainer, occasional examples of which continued to be produced into LM III times (Bosanquet 1923: fig. 85A), makes excellent sense. The appearance of the bell krater and stand at LM IIIB Kommos presumably marked a significant change in ceremonial drinking behavior.

A third new LM IIIB shape at Kommos is a lipless bowl furnished with either two horizontal lugs featuring twin vertical perforations (**60/5**; Watrous 1992: 92 no. 1619, pl. 41) or two horizontal loop handles (Watrous 1992: 74 no. 1260, fig. 46, pl. 29; 97 no. 1676, fig. 63, pl. 21). The smallest example of this shape attested may altogether have lacked handles, although its fragmentary state of preservation makes this uncertain (Watrous 1992: 50 no. 853, pl. 20). What links these somewhat different bowls is their unusual ornamentation with broad and rather irregular bands or swaths of paint in a purely linear scheme of decoration that has nothing in common with any other decorative syntax attested at Kommos during the entire LM III era. The rather unusual body profiles of these bowls and their relatively simple and

careless style of decoration are vaguely reminiscent of the odd series of so-called banded cups found at Chania in LM IIIB2 and LM IIIC contexts (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 137, pl. 34; 2003: 201, pl. 47) that, however, feature markedly flaring rims and a high-swung, thickened vertical strap handle rather than the horizontal lugs or loop handles characteristic of the Kommian bowls. If these banded cups at Chania are correctly interpreted as local Minoan imitations (B. P. Hallager, pers. comm.) of Italianizing cups in handmade burnished and wheelmade gray wares (e.g., Hallager and Hallager 2000: 165–66, pl. 51: 80-P0427, 80-P1134) also produced locally at the site, perhaps the Kommian bowls should be explained as local imitations of the imported Sardinian lipless bowls so far peculiar on Crete to Kommos.

Finally, a larger and thicker-walled form of ladle produced in a much-coarser-than-usual range of fabrics (**60/23**, **61/6**, **69b/7**), including one example in the paste typically used for cooking pots (**78/22**), appears to be a version of the shape designed expressly for some rugged, possibly industrial task. Comparanda for ladles of this sort from other sites may well exist but are presently unknown to me. These ladles may be evidence for some kind of activity new to Kommos at that time, possibly one connected with the metallic copper being brought to the site in ingot form, whether from Sardinia or from Cyprus (Blitzer 1995: 500–501).

The vast majority of the LM IIIB shape repertoire at Kommos developed directly out of that current at the site during the preceding LM IIIA2 phase. By far the most popular pattern-decorated shape was the deep teacup, roughly four to five times as common as the deep bowl (Table 3.96; Watrous 1992: 141; Watrous 1997: 186), with the latter in turn being roughly one and a half to two times as common as the decorated kylix (Table 3.96). Watrous has succinctly and accurately summarized the dimensional range and linear treatment of the patterned teacup (1992: 139). The new data from the Civic Center suggest only that the band-framed line group at the base of the zone was rather more common relative to the two plain bands in this position (ca. 6:16) than his published ratio of 8:68 indicates. Cups with reserved circles at the center of the interior (**61/1**, **67a/5**, **70b/1**) roughly equal those with a fully coated interior (**60/1**, **61/2**, **66/2**); the same is also true of deep bowls (**78/16** with, **69a/1** without). The latter, of course, not infrequently have a linear rather than a fully coated interior (**59/5–6**, **64/2**, **78/13**), a feature not certainly attested on a local teacup. The range of patterned ornament attested on teacups at first appears somewhat overwhelming (Watrous 1992: 139) but in fact reduces to between fifteen and twenty basic motifs, some of them represented by as many as a half dozen variants (Table 3.97), with combinations of two or more major motifs being relatively rare. Altogether atypical patterns stand out markedly and usually identify pieces that can be argued on other grounds to be imports (e.g., Watrous 1992: 67 no. 1134, pl. 27; 84 no. 1457, pl. 37).

The range of patterns attested on deep bowls—not surprisingly, in view of the shape's lesser frequency—is roughly three-quarters of those appearing on the cups. Although the deep-bowl motifs are drawn from the same stock as those that appear on teacups, the particular variants of these motifs are often peculiar to deep bowls (Table 3.98) and often to

Table 3.97. Motifs used on LM IIIB deep-bodied teacups at Kommos. Omitted from selected deposits: Watrous 1992: nos. 1230, 1460, both probably of LM IIIA date.

Name and FM (Popham 1970b: figs. 2–3; Popham 1984: pls. 173–74, 179)	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Watrous 1992: Deposit 86	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Iris FM 10A: 9: alternating upright and pendent buds		1213, 1220	1378	1441			1894 (unstratified)
Iris FM 10A: "comb pattern" (Popham 1970b: 41)	**76/1**	1225		1452			1150 (Dep. 72)
Flower FM 18: 108: stemless, with unbounded fringe of petals	**67a/1**	1202	1380, 1385	1437, 1459; 1430 (with fill of concentric arcs)	1549		1027 (Dep. 62), 1144 (Dep. 72)
Flower FM 18: as preceding, but with stem	**67a/2**						986 (Dep. 56)
Flower FM 18: 108: stemless, horizontal, without fringe of petals	**78/2**			1433, 1450	1570 (with bounded fringe)	1617	962–63 (Dep. 54), 1039 (Dep. 63[?]), 1157 (Dep. 72)
Flower FM 18: 65 (with sets of arcs for dot rosette): stemless, upright, unvoluted		1247					1038 (Dep. 63)
Multiple Stem FM 19: horizontal (Popham 1970b: 20–21)	**77/2**	1201					1632 (Dep. 88)

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.97 continued*)

Name and FM (Popham 1970b: figs. 2–3; Popham 1984: pls. 173–74, 179)	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Watrous 1992: Deposit 86	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Multiple Stem FM 19: pendent vertical, with fill of concentric arcs or "comb pattern" (Popham 1970b: 48–49 [without fill])					1546 (arcs), 1551 (comb)		
Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24	**67a/3**			1454			
Bivalve Shell FM 25: 13: alternating upright and pendent							1182 (Dep. 74)
Bivalve Shell FM 25: 18: horizontal chain	**52a/4**	1207		1445	1548	1608	1023 (Dep. 62)
Bivalve Shell FM 25: alternating upright and pendent, connected with zigzag							1118 (Dep. 69)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: pendent vertical	**78/4**	1200	1379				825 (Dep. 39), 1376 (Dep. 81)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: pendent vertical with fill of parallel chevrons	**61/1**						938 (Dep. 50)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: vertical, alternating (Popham 1970b: 37)	**67a/4, 70b/1**	1210		1449, 1453	1550, 1568		1062 (Dep. 65), 1143 (Dep. 72)

Isolated Semicircles FM 43: horizontal, attached to Panel FM 75 (Popham 1970b: 39; 1984: 174: 47)	**76/5**	1206	1382			952 (Dep. 53), 978 (Dep. 55), 1633 (Dep. 88)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: horizontal, attached to each other				1446	1563	
Concentric Arcs FM 44: bounded, single sets of arcs (Popham 1970b: 2, 7)	**60/1, 66/2**					1639 (Dep. 89)
Concentric Arcs FM 44: bounded, double sets of arcs (Popham 1970b: 1; 1984: 173: 25)	**61/2, 66/3, 72/2, 75/3**			1436		826 (Dep. 39), 1049 (Dep. 64), 1107 (Dep. 66)
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded arcs, horizontal (Popham 1970b: 9)	**78/12**(?)	1195, 1224(?)	1381, 1383			1053 (Dep. 64)
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded sets of arcs, diagonal (Popham 1970b: 10)	**78/5** (two rows)	1249, 1251(?)				
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded sets of arcs, vertical	**78/6**					
Concentric Arcs FM 44: alternating with vertical Isolated Semicircles FM 43				1455		

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.97 continued*)

Name and FM (Popham 1970b: figs. 2–3; Popham 1984: pls. 173–74, 179)	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Watrous 1992: Deposit 86	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Concentric Arcs FM 44: alternating with hatched Triangles FM 61A or Lozenges FM 73		1217 (lozenges), 1221 (triangles)					
Running Spirals FM 46: tangent-linked (Popham 1970b: 15; 1984: 173: 30–32)	**66/4, 69b/2, 70a/1, 71b/1**	1208, 1228		1439	1578	1609	967 (Dep. 54), 1040 (Dep. 63), 1146 (Dep. 72)
Running Spirals FM 46: buttonhook (Popham 1970b: 17)	**67a/5**	1199	1387	1456			886 (Dep. 46), 1078 (Dep. 66), 1172 (Dep. 74), 1704 (Dep. 97)
Quirk FM 48: 5 (Popham 1984: 174: 40)	**67a/6**	1227, 1244		1435		1607	1064 (Dep. 65), 1634 (Dep. 88), 1667 (Dep. 93), 1703 (Dep. 97)
Quirk FM 48: 6		1197, 1203		1440, 1461			1063 (Dep. 65)
Quirk FM 48: 8	**71b/2**						
Stemmed Spirals FM 51: horizontal, antithetic pairs (Popham 1970b: 14)	**66/5, 68/2**(?)**, 76/3, 78/7**	1196			1547		1083 (Dep. 66)
Stemmed Spirals FM 51: pendent vertical, antithetic pairs		1212					

Stemmed Spirals FM 51: horizontal, cordiform pairs with concentric arc fill (Popham 1984: 173: 16–17)		1222			1562	1141 (Dep. 72)
Isolated Spirals FM 52: 1: horizotal row (Popham 1970b: 23; 1984: 179: 9)	**69b/3**(?)			1462	1565	
Wavy Line FM 53: 14–16: horizontal (Popham 1984: 179: 17)	**67d/1, 78/9**	1215		1434, 1438, 1444	1552, 1569	1061 (Dep. 65), 1120 (Dep. 69), 1666 (Dep. 93), 1678 (Dep. 96)
Wavy Line FM 53: vertical, flanking vertical line or panel						1135 (Dep. 70)
Parallel Chevrons FM 58: 8: row of bounded vertical lozenges		1198		1443		
Parallel Chevrons FM 58: 8: row of bounded diagonal lozenges				1447, 1448		
Parallel Chevrons FM 58: 12: row of unbounded diagonal lozenges						1648 (Dep. 91)
Zigzag FM 61: 2: horizontal floating (Popham 1970b: 43)	**67b/2, 75/1, 78/11**	1211	1403	1432		1060 (Dep. 65), 1598 (Dep. 85)
Zigzag FM 61: 2: horizontal floating, with inserted single V's		1229				

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.97 continued*)

Name and FM (Popham 1970b: figs. 2–3; Popham 1984: pls. 173–74, 179)	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Watrous 1992: Deposit 86	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Zigzag FM 61: 11: multiple vertical, in panels (Popham 1984: 174: 45)					1566		961 (Dep. 54)
Zigzag FM 61: 10 (minus central zigzag): "stacked V's"	**78/10**			1431, 1458		1618	1889 (unstratified)
Triangle FM 61A: 1: multiple, alternating with pendent Stemmed Spiral FM 51							1892 (unstratified)
Tricurved Arch FM 62: 19, 24: with fill of stemmed spirals and/or concentric arcs (Popham 1984: 174: 35–36)	**76/4, 78/8**(?)	1214					
Curved Stripes FM 67: 3, 6: continuous (Popham 1984: 174: 43–44)		1223		1442			
Curved Stripes FM 67: in groups, with fill of concentric arcs	**72/3**						1891 (unstratified)
Lozenges FM 73: hatched and linked (Popham 1970b: 25)		1218			1567(?)		
Lozenges FM 73: 7: chain with dotted fill				1457			

Table 3.98. Motifs used on LM IIIB deep bowls at Kommos.

Name and FM	Analogous Motif on Teacup?	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Bird FM 7 flanking Panel FM 75: 5 with fill of multiple vertical zigzags	None	**60/4**			
Flower FM 18: horizontal and stemless, with unbounded fringe of petals	None	**59/5**			
Flower FM 18: 108 diagonal and stemless, with unbounded fringe of petals	**67a/1**	**77/4**			
Flower FM 18: alternating horizontal and vertical blooms	None	**78/14**			
Flower FM 18: stemmed, with unbounded fringe of petals	**67a/2**	**78/13**			1110 (Dep. 68), 1155 (Dep. 72)
Multiple Stem FM 19: 32–34	None			1482	
Multiple Stem FM 19: 36	**77/2**(?)	**67a/14**		1485, 1489	
Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24	**67a/3**	**64/2**			
Bivalve Shell FM 25: 13: alternating upright and pendent	None		1246		
Bivalve Shell FM 25: 13: alternating upright and pendent, connected with zigzag	Watrous 1992: 1118				1557 (Dep. 84)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: 21: alternating with Panel FM 75	None	**63/1**			
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: 23 (minus internal fringe): row of floating vertical groups	None			1491, 1492	1907 (unstratified)
Isolated Semicircles FM 43 attached to Panels FM 75 with fill of stemmed spirals and concentric arcs	Related: **78/8**; Watrous 1992: 1214			1483	
Concentric Arcs FM 44: bounded, single sets of arcs	**66/2**	**59/6**			
Concentric Arcs FM 44: bounded, double sets of arcs	**61/2, 66/3, 72/2, 75/3**				1646 (Dep. 90)
Running Spirals FM 46: 52–54: tangent-linked	**66/4, 69b/2, 70a/1, 71b/1**		1204, 1255(?)		

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.98 continued*)

Name and FM	Analogous Motif on Teacup?	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 + 91	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Curve-Stemmed Spirals FM 49: 19: twin-stemmed	None				1400 (Dep. 82)
Stemmed Spirals FM 51: upright vertical, parallel pairs	None		1205		
Stemmed Spirals FM 51: pendent vertical, continuous series	None			1495(?)	
Stemmed Spirals FM 51: 25: pendent diagonal, parallel pairs	None				1614 (Dep. 86)
Wavy Line FM 53: 14: horizontal	**67d/1, 78/9**	**78/15**			
Zigzag FM 61: 10 (minus central zigzag): "stacked V's"	**78/10**	**78/16**			1618 (Dep. 86)
Tricurved Arch FM 62 with fill of "sea anemone" and concentric arcs	Related: **76/4**	**69a/1**			
Lozenges FM 73: hatched, alternating with opposed pairs of U's	None			1493	

individual pieces, in marked contrast to the teacups, numerous examples of which often bear precisely the same pattern (Table 3.97). To what extent this difference in overall patterns of decoration was a result of the much more sparing production of bowls at Kommos, or alternatively to the fact that many of the bowls found at Kommos were imported from other locales on Crete (as is certainly the case for **64/2** and **69a/1**, for example), or to some combination of both factors, is a question for future research. The pattern range on kylikes is slightly narrower than that on deep bowls, once again as a function of the smaller number of examples recovered (Table 3.99). As in the case of the deep bowls, the pattern range on kylikes falls largely within that attested on teacups, with exceptions such as the Whorl-Shell FM 23 and voluted versions of Flower FM 18 usually being conditioned by the much broader decorative field that is a frequent although by no means invariable feature of the kylix.

The select group of pattern-decorated and linear open shapes popular at Kommos makes imported vessels in this category quite easy to spot. Thus the three-handled cup **59/4**, which could easily enough be mistaken for a small deep bowl (e.g., **64/2**) were it not for the vertical

Table 3.99. Motifs used on LM IIIB two-handled kylikes at Kommos.

Name and FM	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Iris FM 10A: "comb pattern"					1150 (Dep. 72)
Papyrus FM 11: curve-stemmed: hybrid of octopus tentacle and papyrus bud	**67a/11**				
Papyrus FM 11: 41, 43: late unvoluted: hybrid of flower and papyrus bud	**67a/12**				833 (Dep. 40)
Flower FM 18: 15: multiply voluted				1553	1900 (unstratified)
Flower FM 18: 49, 53: voluted hybrid	**60/2**		1472(?)		837 (Dep. 41)
Flower FM 18: voluted, alternating with Whorl-Shell FM 23: vertical					1684 (Dep. 96)
Flower FM 18: stemmed vertical, details uncertain			1480, 1511		1152 (Dep. 72)
Flower FM 18: horizontal and stemless, with unbounded fringe of petals					1645 (Dep. 90)
Multiple Stem and Tongue FM 19: antithetic outlined loops; central outlined element fringed with joining semicircles			1473		
Whorl-Shell FM 23: vertical		1396		1554(?)	1103 (Dep. 67), 1151 (Dep. 72[?]), 1644 (Dep. 90), 1898 (unstratified)
Linked Whorl-Shell FM 24: vertically linked pairs				1574	
Isolated Semicircles FM 43: vertical, alternating			1479		
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded sets of arcs, horizontal	**60/3**				
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded sets of arcs, diagonal		1392			

(*continued*)

(*Table 3.99 continued*)

Name and FM	Civic Center	Watrous 1992: Deposit 82	Watrous 1992: Deposit 83	Watrous 1992: Deposit 84	Elsewhere in Watrous 1992
Concentric Arcs FM 44: unbounded sets of arcs, radiating					1104 (Dep. 67)
Running Spirals FM 46: buttonhook				1555	
Quirk FM 48: 5: vertical				1556	
Quirk FM 48: 21: vertical	**67a/13**				1031 (Dep. 62)
Isolated Spirals FM 52: 1: horizontal row	**62/1**				
Wavy Line FM 53: 14			1477		
Curved Stripes FM 67: 3: continuous, floating		1391			
Curved Stripes FM 67: 6: bounded groups			1481		981 (Dep. 55)

band outlining the vertical handle on one side and just a bit of the vertical handle scar itself, is revealed as much by its shape as by its fabric to be an import, perhaps from Chania. Comparable considerations of fabric, shape, and in this case decoration mark the rim fragments **59/7** as an imported pulled-rim bowl from a locale to the east of Kommos. On the other hand, the somewhat unusual linear shallow teacup or bowl **66/7** may well be a local product to judge from LM IIIA2 parallels at both Kommos and Aghia Triada.

One additional way in which the LM IIIB painted tablewares of Kommos differ from those of earlier LM III phases lies in the rise of solid-coated open shapes. Coated teacups of both deep-bodied (**66/6**, **67a/7–8**) and shallower (**66/8**, **75/2**) types, well attested locally in LM IIIA times, now became more popular, and coated one-handled footed cups (see above and Table 3.96) and deep bowls (Watrous 1992: 86 no. 1486, pl. 26; 90 no. 1579, pl. 40; possibly also 85–86 nos. 1484, 1494) now made their initial appearance. Neither coated kylikes nor coated conical cups are attested, however, so the range of such coated shapes is fairly narrow.

Among the plain pottery, the most common open shape was unquestionably the one-handled footed cup (Watrous's "goblet" and Popham's "champagne cup": **59/8**, **60/9**, **61/3–4**), at least three times as popular in unpainted as in coated form, and as an unpainted shape at least twice as common as such other common plain forms of tableware as the two-handled kylix (**60/12**, **67a/19**), ladle (**60/8**), shallow rounded bowl (**60/13**, **67a/20**), shallow teacup (**67a/17**, **71a/1**), conical cup (**60/6**, **67a/15–16**, **69a/2–3**, **75/4**), or conical krater (Watrous 1992: 56 no. 959, fig. 39, pl. 23; 90 no. 1577). The conical cup in this period was largely unchanged from

LM IIIA2, although it did tend to be very slightly larger on average (Watrous 1992: 142) and to have somewhat shallower proportions, the ratio of the height to the rim diameter dropping from ca. 0.48–0.49 in the LM IIIA2 period (**56a/1**, **56e/3–4**, **56f/2**) to ca. 0.44 in LM IIIB (**60/6**, **67a/15–16**, **69a/2–3**).[191] The most frequently occurring plain closed shape was undoubtedly the short-necked amphora (**66/12–13**, **67a/21–22**, **71b/4**, **73a/1**), which during the LM IIIB period ceased to be produced in painted form and appears to have undergone a process of quite rigid standardization with regard to both shape and size (Rutter 2000).

Approximately half a dozen cups from the final floor deposits in Galleries P1 and P2 exhibit extremely thin white slivers among the nonplastic inclusions in their fabrics that appear to be fragmentary shell. Three of the vases in question are decorated teacups (**66/3–4**, **67a/5**), two are kylikes (**67a/11**, **67a/13**), one is a plain conical cup (**67a/15**), and one a plain shallow teacup (**67a/17**). One of the pattern-decorated teacups (**66/3**) preserves the impression of a land snail (*Hellicella* sp.) in its lower fracture,[192] and the tiny amounts of shell observed in the remainder of these pieces have therefore been assumed to be derived from land snails rather than from any marine organisms. All the vessels in question appear to be local. The shell can usually be seen with the naked eye, although a 10X hand lens was also used routinely to examine both fractures and surfaces to describe visible inclusions as accurately as possible. As far as can presently be determined, the use of a shell-containing clay for pottery production at Kommos was restricted to the LM IIIB period. What if any implications this observation may have for environmental conditions remains to be determined. Although fossil shell such as foraminifera has commonly been observed in the petrographic analysis of Minoan pottery, this may be the first documented instance of the repeated presence of snail shell in Minoan clay bodies.

The only decorated LM IIIB closed shape that merits any particular comment here is the feeding bottle (or *thelastron*: Kanta 1980: 281; Hallager 1997: 15), fragments of which turn up in surprising quantity in settlement deposits at Kommos (**59/1–2**, possibly also **3**; Table 3.96) for a form that is more typical of funerary assemblages, especially those of infants and very young children (Gates 1992; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994). The only more-or-less contemporary cultural context known to this writer in which this form is comparably popular in settlement contexts is the early Philistine culture in the southernmost Levant. In the initial strata of Iron Age settlement at both Ashdod and Tel Miqne-Ekron, feeding bottles appeared as part of the Aegeanizing ceramic assemblage considered to mark the advent of the Philistines in this region in the second quarter of the twelfth century B.C. (Dothan 1982: 155–57, fig. 32, pls. 68–69; Dothan and Porath 1993: figs. 15: 4, 10, pl. 37: 1, 3; Killebrew 1998: figs. 6: 31, 10: 20, 22; Killebrew 2000: Form AS-8a, figs. 12.2.8, 12.3.3–4). In the Philistine cultural sphere, the feeding bottle appears to have been replaced functionally at quite an early stage by the vastly more popular side-spouted strainer jug (Dothan 1982: 132–55, figs. 21–31, pls. 46–67). That the two shapes were conceived of as functionally related is surely indicated by the Philistine production of a hybrid vessel form incorporating features of both (Dothan 1982:

191–94 Type 17, fig. 59, pl. 95). Although produced at quite an early date on the Greek Mainland (Kling 1989: 158; Mountjoy 1999a: 138 no. 146, 147), the side-spouted strainer jug never seems to have caught on there, and it appears to have been altogether absent from Crete. But on Cyprus, in Philistia, and in the southeastern Aegean, the strainer jug became extremely popular during the twelfth century B.C. (Kling 1989: 153–58, Mountjoy 1999a: 1222 FS 155, FS 157). This writer has suggested elsewhere that this difference between the two regions may have something to do with the nature of the beverage that both the strainer jug and the feeding bottle may have been used to consume (Rutter forthcoming [b]). In the Levant, the strainer jug is often referred to as a "beer jug," because the multiple small perforations at the base of the spout performed the task of a filter by keeping the barley kernels floating in the liquid out of the drinker's mouth. Within the Aegean, where wine appears to have been the preferred alcoholic beverage, no comparable vessel type was in common production for the simple reason that no drinking vessel with a built-in filter was in regular demand. It seems possible that Levantine beer-drinkers may have sought out the Aegean feeding bottle as a substitute for a side-spouted vessel with a large number of perforations. The tubular spout of the feeding bottle could serve to filter out the barley kernels, even if the rate at which the beer came through the spout was considerably reduced from that made possible by the multiple openings in a typical strainer spout. Thus the frequency with which feeding bottles are found in LM IIIB contexts at Kommos may possibly reflect the local popularity of beer in some households and possibly, although by no means necessarily, the presence of immigrant Levantines. The disappearance of the feeding bottle with its singly perforated tubular spout from the Philistine ceramic repertoire at a very early stage was thus presumably a consequence of its inability to compete with the more efficient method of beverage delivery offered by the strainer jug. The early and occasional discovery of locally made strainer jugs in the LH IIIB Argolid (and so far only there in the Mycenaean world prior to the LH IIIC era) may reflect a sudden fad for beer consumption in the northeastern Peloponnese at the same time as the beverage may have become popular at Kommos. Might this fad somehow have been connected with the presence of Cypriot traders in both regions in the later thirteenth century B.C.?[193]

The pairing of tripod cooking pots and their accompaniment by one or more horizontal-handled cooking jars during earlier periods of the Civic Center's use that has repeatedly been a subject for comment (see above; also Rutter 2004) recurred there during the LM IIIB period, both in the large floor deposit in Room N5 and Corridor N7 (**59/16–17** being the tripod vessels, **59/18** the cooking jar) and at the east end of Gallery P2 (**67a/23–24** and **67a/25**, respectively). From Court N6 came fragments of two more cooking jars (**60/26–27**) and from the fill to raise the floor over Room N12+13 just to the east came another (**64/4**). In addition to the horizontal-handled jars produced in the fabric regularly used for cooking pots, three of these same contexts also yielded fragmentary jars of identical shape and general size (**59/15**, **60/25**,

64/3) that were produced in a lighter-firing but equally coarse fabric and that evidently were not used for cooking, since they lack the extensive evidence for secondary burning that discolored the cooking pots. Both the tripod cooking pots from Gallery P2 (**67a/23–24**) are somewhat larger than the pair from the LM IIIA2 cooking facility in or near the northeast corner of the court in front of Building P (**56e/7–8**), and the LM IIIB cooking jar **67a/25** is much larger than its LM IIIA2 analogue, **56e/15**; but the largest cooking pots of all are the two from Building N (**59/16–17**), even though the associated cooking jar (**59/18**) is a bit smaller than the corresponding specimen from Gallery P2 (**67a/25**). If the cooking vessels from the LM IIIA2 deposits in the court in front of Gallery P1 are considered to have served a broader public than simply the members of a single household or even an extended family, then surely the same must hold true for the groups of cooking pots from both Gallery P2 and Building N.

An interesting set of comparanda for these cooking groups comes from the House with the Snake Tube on the Central Hillside. Here, a pair of moderately sized tripod cooking pots was in use on the final LM IIIB floor in the inner Room 5 located in the house's northeast corner (Watrous 1992: 96 nos. 1663–64, fig. 63, pl. 43), a context that also produced substantial numbers of cooking dish fragments, including one largely restorable example, but no significant jar fragments (Watrous 1992: 96 no. 1670, fig. 63; 223 [Deposit 90]; Wright and McEnroe 1996: 230–32). In the same building, the outer Room 4 at the west featured a snake tube with a conical bowl discovered *in situ* on top of it against the space's east wall (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 226–29, pls. 3.112–113, 3.115, 3.143–48). To the north stood a large tripod cooking pot on one slab, and to the south rested an almost equally large cooking jar on another (Wright and McEnroe 1996: pl. 3.113 for a somewhat imaginative reconstruction). These two cooking pots are the only largely preserved specimens of their respective types that can rival **59/16–18** of Building N, although the pair from the House with the Snake Tube are, in fact, both slightly smaller. More significant is the seemingly public place of their discovery and hence, one imagines, their potentially communal function. By contrast, the much smaller cooking pots from the interior, hence more private, Room 5 would appear to have served a much smaller group of persons. Room 4 of the House with the Snake Tube has been identified with considerable plausibility as a cult space, a shrine of the LM IIIB period (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1996: 372, 389). It may well be a, or even the, replacement for the shrine of LM II–IIIA2 Early date located in Room 7 of House X. Both are quite likely to have been public facilities rather than simple household shrines. Thus the cooking pots that were found flanking the snake tube in Room 4 probably were intended to serve a larger than single-household human group. Both had evidently been secondarily burnt by use over or immediately adjacent to a fire, but clearly, this had not happened to them where they were found (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 227), so they had been brought to their final resting place from a cooking hearth or fire located somewhere else. The very large cooking pots found in Room

N5 were clearly used at the fireplace located in the center of that room. Could it be that the vessels of closely similar size and shape from the room with the snake tube had been brought up the slope to the shrine from Room N5 some 50 m away?

The date of the latest substantial ceramic deposits of the Minoan Bronze Age to be found at Kommos has been rather difficult to pin down for the simple reason that relatively few sizable deposits of LM IIIB and early LM IIIC settlement material have been published. Among the few that have, most are from Knossos, Chania, and Kommos itself, although forthcoming publications of material from Mochlos, Palaikastro, and Aghia Triada, as well as large bodies of additional material from Chania and Knossos, will soon enough have a substantial impact on the presently rather unsatisfactory state of LM IIIB relative chronology. In the meantime, it may be useful here simply to list those LM IIIB ceramic features at Kommos that appear to be indicative of an advanced, and in some cases late, date within that period. They are perhaps most conveniently considered under the distinct headings of vessel morphology and decorative treatment.

Shape Features Indicative of an Advanced to Late LM IIIB Date:

1. Solid foot on one-handled footed cup: **60/9**.
2. Light carination on lower body profile of some teacups and deep bowls (**59/6**, **61/1–2**, **67a/4**, **67a/7–8**, **70a/1**, **78/15**; Watrous 1992: figs. 46: 1213, 52: 1379, 68: 1920–21), possibly indicative of a tendency toward angularity in the profiles of open vessels generally (e.g., pulled-rim bowl **59/7**; one-handled footed cup **59/8**; medium-coarse ladle **61/6**).
3. The more careful shaping of some bases on common open shapes such as teacups and deep bowls that had previously featured only crudely string-cut, flat bases (**59/6**, **67a/5**, **69a/1**, **78/16**). A number of deep bowls from the Hilltop and Central Hillside published by Watrous are provided with genuine ring bases or feet (1992: 109 nos. 1920–22, 145, 147, fig. 68, pls. 26, 48–49), as is the imported three-handled cup **59/4**.

Decorative Features Indicative of an Advanced to Late LM IIIB Date:

1. Application of dipped blobs to one-handled footed cup: **69b/4**.
2. Solid coating of some deep bowls (Watrous 1992: 86 no. 1486, 90 no. 1579) as well as substantial numbers of one-handled footed cups (**67a/9–10**, **69b/5**, **73b/1**, **77/5**).
3. Individual motifs that look late: antithetic Birds FM 7 flanking a broad central panel on a small krater or large deep bowl (**60/4**); dotted Lozenge FM 73 chain on a probably imported teacup (Watrous 1992: 84 no. 1457, pl. 37); antithetic loops or streamers on a kylix (Watrous 1992: 85 no. 1473, fig. 55, pl. 37); opposed Isolated Semicircles FM 43 alternating with Panels FM 75 on a deep bowl (**63/1**); Running Spirals FM 46 of the buttonhook variety on kylikes (Watrous 1992: 89 no. 1555, fig. 57, pl. 39) and

teacups (**67a/5**; Table 3.97 for more than a half dozen other examples published by Watrous).

Two of the features just cited—the carinated body profile on deep bowls and the appearance of the buttonhook variety of Running Spiral FM 46—have recently been identified as defining criteria for the beginning of LM IIIC at Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 139–41), at which site many of the patterns commonly in use on teacups of the latest ceramic phase identifiable at Kommos (Table 3.97) are commonly attested on deep bowls (Hallager and Hallager 2000: fig. 31). Another site from which the published settlement pottery offers numerous comparisons with the latest Minoan pottery from Kommos lies at the opposite end of the island, on the Kastri acropolis at Palaikastro (Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 278–99). The principal feature present in significant numbers at both Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 139, pl. 35 passim) and Kastri (Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965: 283, figs. 8–9 passim) that is almost entirely absent at Kommos (Watrous 1992: 92 no. 16718, pl. 41 being a very rare exception) is the reserved line just below the rim on deep bowl interiors that is among the most common criteria for LM IIIC throughout Crete (Kanta 1997: 97; Mountjoy 1999b), although the earliest pits at Thronos/Sybritos have been dated to early LM IIIC despite the absence of this feature on deep bowl interiors during this phase (D'Agata 1999d: 193 and n. 30).

The latest substantial ceramic groups so far excavated at Kommos consequently all appear to be just a bit earlier in date than pottery of the initial LM IIIC period at Chania or the early LM IIIC floor deposits at Kastri. Possibly contemporary with the Kommos material is the pottery of Rethemiotakis's phase 1 at Kastelli Pediadas (Rethemiotakis 1997: 308–13, figs. 10–11) and of the final phase of purely Minoan occupation so far published at Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1979–80: 325–29, Saggio III, stratum V). Clearly later than the latest Minoan deposits from Kommos is the bulk of the pottery recovered from the Acropoli Mediana at Phaistos (Borgna 1997a; 1999) where both the deep bowl and the bell krater are far more abundantly attested than in any Kommian context. The popularity of deep bowls with articulated bases and feet and the popularity of tricurved arch and perhaps also antithetic streamer decoration among the pottery from the earliest LM IIIC pits at Thronos/Sybritos (D'Agata 1999d: 188–95, figs. 4–7) likewise suggests that this material is a bit later in date than the final major deposits from Kommos, although perhaps not by much.

A small amount of further confirmation for the late LM IIIB date of the final phases of significant Minoan occupation at Kommos comes from the LH IIIB imports discovered in a number of later LM IIIB groups at the site (e.g., **67c/1**, **78/23–24**; Table 3.96), none of which, however, can be dated late in the LH IIIB phase (see Chap. 3.4). Of especial significance in this regard is the LH IIIC Early stirrup jar **79/1** found in association with the latest identifiable architectural horizon in the Civic Center, a late blocking wall constructed at a high level

within Corridor N7. Also important is the pithos **67d/3**, imported from either Kythera or some Cycladic island to the northeast, which has a virtually identical although somewhat larger parallel in the form of the large pithos found in the destruction level of the Archives Room of the palace at Pylos, a context now convincingly dated by Mountjoy to the earliest phase of LH IIIC (Mountjoy 1997; Rutter 2003a).

4. Ceramic Imports at Kommos

Ceramic Imports of the Protopalatial Era[194]

Aleydis Van de Moortel

INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, a number of studies have discussed the evidence for contact between Protopalatial Crete and the East Mediterranean in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods (Crowley 1989; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; Phillips 1991; Cline 1994; Warren 1995; Betancourt 1998; Watrous 1994: 729–36; Watrous 1998; Stampolidis, Karetsou, and Kanta 1998; Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000; Karetsou 2000). This issue is particularly important with regard to the question of East Mediterranean influence on the rise of the Minoan palaces (Cherry 1986; Watrous 1998: 23–27). Whereas most authors consider the contacts of Crete as a whole, Phillips (1985; 1991) and Carinci (2000) were the first to adopt a regional approach, focusing specifically on the role of the western Mesara in these exchanges. The evidence for East Mediterranean contacts in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial Mesara is quite substantial (Carinci 2000: 31–36). For instance, Mesara tombs have yielded Egyptian scarabs and stone vases as well as local imitations of Egyptian or Syro–Palestinian scarabs, and local amulets and seals made of hippopotamus ivory imported from the Nile Delta or the Syro–Palestinian coast (Pini 2000; Sbonias 1995: 68–69; Krzyzskowska 1983). An Old Babylonian cylinder seal was excavated in Tholos Tomb B at Platanos (Platon 1969: 272, 354–57 no. 306). At Phaistos, a large number of seals have been found below Vano 25 of the palace with designs that closely resemble those of Middle Bronze Age seals from the Anatolian site of Karahüyük near Konya (Fiandra 1968; 1975). The direct object sealing system used at Phaistos has such close comparanda in the East that Weingarten believes it was adopted wholesale from that region (Weingarten 1989: 106–7). Also at Phaistos, two Minoan seals from below Room 25 of the palace carry images of the Egyptian goddess Taweret, and two grotesque figurines from the palace and the official complex of the Acropoli Mediana (Room CV) at Phaistos show strong resemblances with Egyptian *Gravidenflasche*. Egyptian affinities are likewise displayed by the well-known animal-headed genii represented in relief on a triton shell plaque (Carinci 2000: 33–36). When we look at the evidence from the East, it appears that many Kamares vases found in Egypt and the Levant (Ugarit, Byblos, Beirut) are of Mesara manufacture; also

the Kamares cup from the Middle Cypriot "Tomb of the Seafarer" at Karmi may be Phaistian (Levi and Carinci 1988: 212–13, 306). For all these reasons, Phillips (1991) sees Phaistos as playing a pivotal role in East Mediterranean trade during the Protopalatial period. In contrast, Carinci (2000) concludes that all this evidence can be explained as the result of indirect contact via Knossos and East Crete. Since not a single East Mediterranean object was found in the Phaistian palace, he believes that the Phaistian ruling elite was not interested in these overseas contacts. Rather the evidence suggests to him that the exchange of ideas took place at an informal mercantile level.

Carinci based his minimalist interpretation in part on the extreme scarcity of East Mediterranean imports known from Protopalatial contexts at Kommos, the harbor of Phaistos. If Kommos was indeed the primary port for the export of Kamares vases to the East, as Walberg has suggested (2001), one would expect to find some evidence for a return trade at this site. However, no concrete evidence for such exchange was found in the first series of excavations at Kommos. There was no trace of what must have been the most important East Mediterranean trade goods—raw copper and tin—and also prestige items and securely identified pottery fragments from the East were lacking. Betancourt's 1990 publication of Middle Minoan pottery from the Central Hillside and Southern Area at Kommos listed some 100 fragments and vases from Protopalatial contexts as having nonlocal fabrics, but only one was securely identified as coming from outside the island. It was a fragmentary Aiginetan red-slipped and burnished bowl with incurved rim, found in an MM IB fill below spaces CH 26–27 on the Central Hillside (context 6: Betancourt 1990: 71, 191–92 no. 120, fig. 15, pl. 5).[195] A fragment of a closed vase from an MM IIB fill below space CH 32 was tentatively suggested to be Near Eastern in origin, but no comparanda were listed (context 14: Betancourt 1990: 95 no. 459, fig. 23).[196]

The new excavations at Kommos still have not yielded imported East Mediterranean objects other than some tentatively identified pottery fragments. However, we can now adduce circumstantial evidence that Kommos indeed played a significant role in East Mediterranean trade. In part the dearth of tangible evidence may be due to the nature of goods traded at that time. Cretan exports such as leather goods or textiles would not have survived conditions at the site. One may hypothesize that the evidence for purple dyeing of textiles in Building AA (Chap. 4.7) is related to the export trade with the East, but one cannot prove it. Large quantities of copper, tin, or ivory from the East may have been imported through Kommos without leaving much of a trace, since these would have been converted into Minoan products upon arrival in the Mesara. Again, the presence of metalworking activity at Kommos before and during the lifetime of Building AA—as indicated by the find of crucible fragment C 11659 in Group Z and the discovery of crucible **75** in Group L (see above and Chap. 4.1)—could be related to this Eastern import trade, but there is no telling whether Kommos received these metals directly from the East or through trade with other areas. Ivory-working activity has not been identified in Protopalatial levels at Kommos, but such workshops could have been

located elsewhere in the Mesara (Pini 2000: 111). The absence of Near Eastern or Egyptian transport vessels at Kommos could mean that ceramic containers were not needed to carry imports from these regions.[197] The lack of Levantine or Egyptian prestige goods at Kommos could be explained by the razing of Building AA to make way for Building T.

In spite of the lack of well-identified East Mediterranean imports or physical evidence for exports to that region at Kommos, there are indications that Protopalatial Phaistos may well have conducted long-distance trade with the East. Interesting in this respect is Panagiotaki's finding (2000: 158–59) that faience beads from the Mesara differ from those of Knossos and other regions of Crete. Since the technology for making faience probably was imported from Egypt and the Near East, this suggests to her that the Mesara had its own contacts with those areas. Panagiotaki's conclusion is echoed by Pini's assertion that around 2000 B.C. a seal workshop in the Mesara borrowed Egyptian technology for producing scarabs with a whitish fired paste and glazed surface (Pini 2000). In addition, a category of finds usually overlooked in this debate in my opinion demonstrate the western Mesara's capability to fit out ships for long-distance trade: an MM I ivory seal from Tholos Tomb B at Platanos shows a bulky sailing ship with rounded bow and squared stern (Platon 1969: 330–31 no. 287b; Casson 1971: 32–35, fig. 34; *contra* Basch 1987 and Wedde 2000, who identify the squared extremity as the bow). This ship must be Minoan: its hull shape is found only on Crete at that time. The sail first appears in Minoan iconography on EM III seals from Palaikastro and Adromyloi showing ships with deep angular hulls (Wedde 2000: nos. 701–2). Earlier Minoan and Aegean ship representations display oared or paddled vessels with shallow angular hull profiles (Wedde 2000: nos. 401–15, 417–22; Basch 1987: 77–83). Thus it seems that maritime exchange in late Prepalatial Crete shifted toward transportation of bulk goods by heavy sail-powered vessels. Perhaps the leafy sprays shown with a few of these hulls symbolize a cargo of oil or olives. Ships with deep asymmetrical hulls comparable to the Platanos example begin perhaps as early as EM III and continue until the end of the Protopalatial period; most seals with such images come from Malia, but an early example is from Sopata Kouse in the Mesara, and a possible example from the sealing deposit below Room 25 in the Phaistian palace (Wedde 2000: nos. 703–6, 708, 711, 806, 808, 818, 844). Most interesting is the near-identical appearance of Minoan, later Theran, and Egyptian rigging, making it likely that the Minoans adopted the sail from Egypt, where it had existed since the late fourth millennium (cf. Basch 1987: 116, 121; Casson 1971: 12, fig. 6). Thus, even though Minoan ship representations on seals are small and necessarily schematic, they can safely be assumed to show seaworthy trading vessels that were in sufficiently close contact with the East Mediterranean to allow the transfer of sailing technology. Since two or three such have been found in the Mesara, it is reasonable to presume that the Mesara itself had seagoing ships and was capable of developing its own overseas contacts.

In the present chapter it will be argued, moreover, on the basis of the new evidence from the Southern Area at Kommos, that the western Mesara in the Protopalatial period indeed possessed its own maritime trade network with East Crete and the Aegean independently of

Table 3.100. Nonlocal pottery in Protopalatial Kommos.

	Southern Area, MM IA–IIB Early	Southern Area, MM IIB Late	Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990)	Total	Shapes
Totals	350+	10	ca. 100	460+	
Knossos	5–6	0	0	5–6	high-quality bowls, bridge-spouted jars
Amari Valley	2?	0	0	2?	high-quality jugs
Pediada	ca. 25	1	1 MM IIB	ca. 27	few bowls, jugs
East Crete	23	2	0	25	high-quality and utilitarian serving vessels to large transport jars
Gavdos	21	1	0	22	large utilitarian vat(s), pouring vessels, transport and storage jars
Cyclades	7	0	0	7	frying pans, spouted vessel
Aegina	0	0	1 MM IB	1	high-quality bowl
Aegean/East Mediterranean?	7	1	0	8	high-quality bowls, lentoid flasks
Unprovenanced	260+	4	ca. 98	360+	high-quality and utilitarian serving vessels to transport jars

Knossos. This means that similar contacts may have existed with the East Mediterranean as well, even if pottery imports from this region have not yet been positively identified at Kommos.[198] In sum, it now seems likely that the western Mesara was indeed an important participant in international maritime trade in the Protopalatial period, and may well have played a major role in Minoan trade with the East Mediterranean, as Phillips concluded.

The newly excavated MM IB–IIB contexts from the Southern Area at Kommos include among their ca. 28,000 vases and fragments more than 350 pieces which by their fabric, shape, formation techniques, or surface finish can be identified as not local to the western Mesara.[199] In the following, a selection of 50 nonlocal pieces is presented, most of which have been fairly securely provenanced through macroscopic observation. From the Cyclades we have 7 pottery fragments. Another 22 pieces, of which 10 are published here, come from a much closer overseas origin: the islet of Gavdos, located some 70 kilometers west-southwest of Kommos and visible from the site on clear days. Most of the remainder originate in other regions of Crete: 5 or 6 come from Knossos, and perhaps 2 from the Amari Valley to the west of the Mesara, which leads from the Libyan Sea toward the north coast of Crete; some 25 vases, of which only one is presented here, have been tentatively provenanced to the Pediada area southeast of Knossos; and 25 fragments and restorable vases, of which 21 are published here, are from East Crete (Table 3.100). Finally, three fragmentary vases are pre-

sented here that are representative of a small group of pottery of possibly East Mediterranean origin (**Da/3, H/1, L/27**).

This corpus of nonlocal vases and fragments from Kommos substantially increases the amount of known off-island pottery imports not only in Protopalatial Kommos but in the whole of Crete.[200] In addition, it establishes for the first time the presence of substantial amounts of Cretan imports in the Protopalatial period at Kommos. It testifies to the reach and nature of the western Mesara's intra-Cretan and overseas connections both before and during Building AA's lifetime, and allows us to investigate Kommos's relationship to Phaistos. Even though most macroscopic identifications look reasonably certain, they should be taken as provisional until petrographic analyses have been completed.

The large majority of this nonlocal pottery, whether Cretan or non-Cretan, was found in the foundation fills of Building AA. It must have been ubiquitous in this massive foundation platform, since it was encountered in every sounding. Other items of nonlocal pottery were found in areas to the north, east, and south of Building AA, and are dated more closely by their contexts. As many as 17 fragments come from Group X, datable to MM IA–IB, and an unpublished bowl fragment similar to **Da/3** was encountered in an MM IB context below House X, to the north of Building AA (Betancourt 1990: 65–68). Six nonlocal vase fragments were found in the MM IB/IIA fill in the structure south of Building AA (Group Y) and six more in the MM IIA/early MM IIB floor deposit or dump overlying this fill (Group Z). Among the much scarcer MM IIB Late pottery deposits dating to the lifetime of Building AA were only three restorable nonlocal vessels. Conical bowl **L/26** and large lentoid flask **L/27** come from the AA floor deposit redeposited as *sottoscala* fill below staircase 46 of Building T (Group L), and large Type B cooking pot **M/8** had been deposited with local pottery in the fill of a stone-lined pit in the South Stoa of Building AA (Group M). In addition, one unidentified fragment was found in Group K and six fragments in Group N. Autopsy by the present author of most Protopalatial vase fragments from the Central Hillside published by Betancourt as having "miscellaneous fabrics" has established, moreover, that imported pottery was not limited to the Southern Area but also occurred in relatively large numbers in the Protopalatial residential area on the hill.

These 50 nonlocal fragments and vases will be presented by origin in the following order: Knossos, Amari Valley, Pediada, East Crete, Gavdos, Cyclades, and pottery imports with uncertain provenance.

KNOSSOS (PLS. 3.4, 3.18)

Five or six very fragmentary vases can be identified as Knossian by their fabric, manufacturing technique, and details of shape or decoration (**X/23, X/24, Ja/55, Ja/56, Je/32,** and possibly **Jb/1** on Pl. 3.4). Their fully oxidized, usually rather hard fine buff fabrics with reddish core correspond to Momigliano's Fabric Group 1 identified in MM IA assemblages at Knossos (Momigliano 1991: 245). This same fabric was recognized by MacGillivray as being most

common among Middle Minoan pottery at Knossos as well (MacGillivray 1998: 55). Knossian Fabric 1 differs from the fine buff fabric of the western Mesara, which is softer and often has been fired with a gray core. One nonlocal bridge-spouted jar found at Kommos (**Ja/56**) has a whitish fabric and must be a variant of Knossian Fabric Group 1.

Knossian imports begin at Kommos at least by the MM IB phase, as is shown by the discovery of a fine bowl (**X/23**) and the spout of a bridge-spouted jar (**X/24**) in a mostly MM IB context (Group X). They show that Knossian potters were much quicker than their Mesara colleagues to fully oxidize fine vases during firing. Bowl **X/23** is wheel-thrown, which means that it postdates MM IA. Its presence in this early context illustrates that in the MM IB phase the potter's wheel was more widely used at Knossos than in the western Mesara (MacGillivray 1998: 94). The other three or four Knossian imports come from the MM IB–IIB Early construction fills of Building AA. Handmade fine bowl **Jb/1** is datable to the MM IB phase on the basis of its manufacturing technique, but the identification of its fabric as Knossian is tentative. Its surface is burnished. Bridge-spouted jar **Ja/56** is datable by its coil handles to MM IB–IIA (MacGillivray 1998: 78–79).[201] The other bridge-spouted jar (**Je/32**) is not closely datable. Features not local to the western Mesara are the deep purple hue of the reddish painted decoration on both bridge-spouted jars as well as the folded-back rim of **Je/32**. Bowl **Ja/55** is datable to MM IIA–B by its dark-painted decoration on a polished clay surface. In addition to its fabric, nonlocal features are its disk base, the location of its base band at the attachment of the disk base to the body rather than at the very bottom of the base, and its surface polish that extends over its base. No Knossian imports were identified by Betancourt on the Central Hillside. Neither did the MM IIB Late use deposits of Building AA include Knossian vases. Thus we may conclude that the presence of Knossian pottery at Kommos was extremely limited in the early Protopalatial period, and was restricted to fine high-quality tableware—small bowls with dark-painted decoration on lustrous buff-slipped surfaces, and bridge-spouted jars painted with polychrome patterns on a dark ground. We do not have securely identified Knossian pottery from MM IIB Late contexts at Kommos. No Knossian vases have thus far been reported from Phaistos or Aghia Triada (Levi and Carinci 1988; Carinci 2003).

In spite of the extreme scarcity of actual Knossian pottery imports at Kommos and the lack of evidence from the other two major western Mesara sites, there must have been contacts between the potters of the two regions in the early Protopalatial period, because there are many close similarities between their products, more than between these and the pottery of any other region of Crete. Examples of similarities are the occurrence of conical cups, straight-sided cups, convex loop-handled bowls, bridge-spouted jars, various jug types, and cylindrical spouted jars. Similarities even extend to details such as the occurrence of coil handles on fine open-spouted or bridge-spouted jars in the MM IB and MM IIA phases. However, there are many differences as well. For instance, the actual conical cup and bridge-spouted jar types of the two regions show considerable morphological differences. The angu-

lar profile of some Knossian bridge-spouted jars is unknown in the Mesara, and the spouts of fine Knossian jars are always bridged, whereas they are never bridged in the western Mesara during the MM IB phase and only part of the time in the MM IIA phase. Some time lag can be discerned in specific ceramic features as well. For instance, the western Mesara is slower than Knossos to adopt the potter's wheel and to mass-produce shapes such as standardized straight-sided cups (Van de Moortel forthcoming [c]). Thus the image one obtains of early Protopalatial ceramic production at Knossos and in the western Mesara is one of independent development in mutual awareness, similar to what is observed with regard to developments in the early palatial organization and architecture of the two regions (Van de Moortel 1997: 635–41; Dabney 1995; Driessen and Schoep 1995; Weingarten 1989; Palaima 1989b).

During the MM IIB phase there is evidence of an intensification of contacts in the form of closer correspondences in the high-quality "Kamares" pottery of both regions, including the appearance of shared painted surface decoration such as octopus designs, crosshatched loops, polychrome and reserved rosettes, hatched curvilinear shapes ending in spirals, dashed lines, petal crowns, wavy-line and scale patterns, white paint splatters, single spirals with loops, horizontal rows of running or retorted spirals, horizontal spiky foliate bands, rows of disks, solid arcs, dentate bands, rows of crescents, white dots with red centers, and other circumcurrent motifs (Van de Moortel 1997: 475–76, 635–38; Walberg 1983: 1–3). The present study of stratified Protopalatial pottery from the Civic Center at Kommos indicates that these specific painted patterns and, in general, the most dynamic designs of top-quality "Kamares" pottery, were not produced in the western Mesara until late in the MM IIB phase. According to a recent fabric study, much of the Kamares pottery consumed at Knossos may in fact have been produced in the western Mesara, which would mean that also at Knossos this pottery must date to a late stage of MM IIB (*contra* MacGillivray 1998).[202] Some rare vase shapes, such as "horned vases" and suspension pots, found both at Knossos and in the Mesara, may have been produced in the Mesara, since they occur there more frequently and, in the case of "horned vases," earlier than at Knossos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 156–259). Others, such as the carinated pyxis, are too rare in the two regions to determine their provenance (Levi and Carinci 1988: 158, pl. 69h).[203] Conversely, the western Mesara may have adopted from Knossos the production of standardized straight-sided cups and teacups as well as conical lamps and braziers. It maintained, however, a much higher standard of care in the manufacture of utilitarian vases than is seen at Knossos (Van de Moortel 1997: 638–41). The intensified contacts between the pottery production of the two regions at the end of the Protopalatial period run parallel with an increase in their degree of palatial organization. It is possible that the two phenomena are somehow related.

AMARI VALLEY(?) (PL. 3.18)

Two vases (**Ja/57, Je/33**) are tentatively identified as coming from the Amari Valley by the macroscopic similarity of their coarse fabrics to that of the shrine model of Monastiraki.[204]

Both are narrow-necked jugs. **Ja/57** can be dated to the MM IB phase by its shape, its diagonal zones of barnacle barbotine decoration, and its white-painted decoration on a dark ground. In its shape, decoration, and the combination of fine and coarse fabrics it is indistinguishable from contemporary jugs from the western Mesara (cf. **Je/19**; see Chap. 3.2). The close stylistic similarities of the Protopalatial pottery assemblages of the Amari Valley and the western Mesara have been pointed out by Levi and Carinci (1988: 307), Tzigounaki (1995), and Kanta (1999: 388–90). If the identification of **Ja/57** as an Amari vase is correct, this would mean that similarities also extend to manufacturing practices, which implies very close contacts between the potters of the two regions. Together with the similarities in the seal iconography and seal use of both regions—multiple sealings and direct object sealing—this has been taken as evidence for their close political relationship, presumably as a result of Phaistos's interest in developing a western communication route to the north coast (Kanta 1999: 390–92). No Amari pottery has been identified among the MM IIB Late use pottery of Building AA or in contexts on the Central Hillside. Neither has any been reported from Phaistos or Aghia Triada (Levi and Carinci 1988; Carinci 2003).

PEDIADA (PL. 3.20)

Some 25 highly fragmentary vases have been identified as coming from the Pediada region southeast of Knossos, to which the Minoan sites of Galatas and Kastelli belong. They consist of side-spouted wide-mouthed jugs with trefoil spouts and perhaps some bowls.[205] These Pediada vases were identified too late to be fully illustrated in the present study; only one jug fragment is shown (**Fa/1**). Their reddish fabrics vary from fine to medium-coarse, and tend to be fully oxidized. Surfaces are well smoothed and dark coated with a slip fired red to dark brown. They have a single vertical strap handle often set at a 90-degree angle to the spout. At least one Pediada jug was published, unidentified, by Betancourt from the mostly MM IIB dump below spaces CH 16–17 on the Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990: 156 no. 1222, fig. 50).

Trefoil-mouthed jugs from the Pediada are reportedly very common at Phaistos in the Protopalatial period, so much so that they have been presented by Levi and Carinci as part of the Phaistian repertoire (Levi and Carinci 1988: 217–18, pl. 92). They have been found in the palace as well as in houses. At Kommos they are less common than at Phaistos; to judge from the quantified data of Group Ja, they occur more rarely than any other jug type (Table 3.30). Also, in the Kamares Cave, a large number of Pediada vases (1 bowl, 41 trefoil-mouthed jugs, 3 small closed vessels, and a lid) have been found, representing by far the largest group of Protopalatial imports from the cave and roughly 3 percent of the total estimated number of Protopalatial vases found (Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]). Two Pediada vases have been excavated in the exterior court of the Kamilari tholos tomb (Levi 1976: pl. 136i, l). Pediada jugs first appeared in the western Mesara in the MM IB phase and continued to the end of the Protopalatial period. According to Levi and Carinci they changed little over time, except that in MM IIB Late contexts they were more often wheel-thrown, their bodies

were often more slender, and their bases more undercut. Levi and Carinci characterize the Pediada jugs as utilitarian kitchen vases, in contrast to Rethemiotakis and Christakis (2004: 169–70), who consider them to be of high quality.

On the basis of fabric analysis these Pediada vases are believed to have come from the area of Kastelli; they occur much more frequently at that site than at Galatas (Rethemiotakis and Christakis 2004: 169–70). They were produced in a variety of standardized shapes, including wheel-thrown conical cups, carinated cups, tumblers, and bridge-spouted jars. Their surface slip is usually polished to a metallic sheen and rarely carries painted decoration. The high frequency of simple Pediada jugs and bowls at Phaistos and the western Mesara is indicative of regular trade limited to a few specific shapes and of quite close contacts between the two regions throughout the Protopalatial period. No Mesara pottery has thus far been published from the Pediada region.

During the Protopalatial period the Pediada region exported pottery elsewhere as well, such as to Knossos, Poros, Gournes, Smari, Malia, the Lasithi Plain (Psychro and Trapeza Caves), Viannos-Kastri, and the peak sanctuary of Kato Syme (Rethemiotakis and Christakis 2004: 172–73). The largest amounts have been found in the palace and houses at Knossos. These imports range in date from MM IA to MM IIB (Momigliano 1991: 261–64; MacGillivray 1998: 88–89). Pediada pottery is so common at Knossos that it was categorized by Momigliano as her Fabric Group 3.[206] Unlike those in the western Mesara, Pediada imports at Knossos largely consist of small open shapes.

EAST CRETE (PLS. 3.18, 3.19, 3.20)

Another relatively large group of pottery imports in Protopalatial Kommos are 23 fragments identified by their orange fabric with phyllite inclusions and their whitish surface slip as coming from the east coast of Crete.[207] They range in date from MM IB (**Ja/58**) to MM IB/IIA (**Y/2**) to MM II (**Je/34, Jf/5**) to MM IIB Late (**N/1**). Most come from the foundation fills of Building AA and are not closely datable by style. One or two restorable vases (**M/8**, possibly **L/26**) from MM IIB Late use deposits of Building AA are East Cretan as well. Their darker fabrics suggest that they come from the coastal area of Gouves–Malia.

East Cretan imports occur in a wide variety of shapes ranging from high-quality tableware—a fine small cup or bowl (**E/3**), fine teacup (**Jf/15**), fine conical bowl (**Jf/16**), large vat (**Jf/17**), and one or two medium-coarse globular jugs with barbotine decoration (**Ja/58** and possibly **E/2**)[208]—to medium-coarse utilitarian vases—a conical bowl (**L/26**), large conical basin (**Y/2**), askoid jug (**Je/34**), large narrow-necked jug (**Jf/18**), five medium closed vases (**Ba/11, Je/35**, one in Group Bc, and two in Group Je), a tray (**Jf/21**)—and a large cooking pot of Type B (**M/8**). In addition to these ordinary household shapes, there are large closed vessels that may have been used to import commodities: a large narrow-necked jug or amphora (**Jf/19**), eight vases of undetermined shape (**Ja/59, Je/36, Je/37, Da/2, N/1**, and C 11570, C 11572, C 11573 from Group Je), and a pithos (**Db/1**). Because of their size it is likely that these large

containers would have arrived at Kommos by ship, and this would also have been the easiest route for the smaller vase shapes. A stopper of 5.5 × 4 cm (**Jf/20**), made of East Cretan fabric, may have secured the mouth of an oval-mouthed amphora during transport.

It is remarkable that in spite of the relatively large number of East Cretan imports, each of the household shapes is represented by a single example. This suggests that they were not in themselves objects of regular trade, but rather accidental by-products of exchange in a different commodity. The ten large closed vases may be remnants of a more regular exchange in specific goods. No East Cretan imports have been reported by Betancourt from the Central Hillside at Kommos or by Levi and Carinci from Protopalatial contexts at Phaistos. However, fragments of a Protopalatial tray and nine closed vases have been identified by the present author among the material from the Kamares Cave (Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]).

In ceramic terms, the presence of these East Cretan fragments from the Civic Center at Kommos informs us that, as in the Mesara, Protopalatial vases in East Crete were well made and their surfaces carefully smoothed. Not many are sufficiently preserved to determine their manufacturing technique, but it seems that in the MM IB–IIB Early phases fine small vases tended to be wheel-thrown, whereas the others were coil-built. Medium conical bowl **L/26** of MM IIB Late date was wheel-thrown, as were its contemporary counterparts from the western Mesara. Small and large East Cretan vases were occasionally burnished after decoration (**Jf/17, Je/36, Db/1,** and possibly **N/1**). The burnish is unblemished and has a more intense sheen than the polished surfaces of LM I vases in East Crete and the Mesara. Cooking pot **M/8** is covered on the exterior with a thick coarse buff engobe that was deliberately left rough. Like the coarse slips on contemporary local cooking pots **L/20** and **L/21**, this engobe may have been intended to provide a secure grip or to improve the vessel's heating capability (see above).

East Cretan pottery also has been found in Protopalatial contexts at Knossos. MacGillivray lists eight examples, ranging in date from MM IB to MM IIB (MacGillivray 1998: 89, 129, 150 nos. 146, 591–97, pls. 47, 97–98). They include a high-quality open bowl, juglets, a wide-mouthed jar, and handheld lamps.

GAVDOS (PL. 3.19)

As many as 22 fragments have been securely identified on the basis of their fabric, shape, and manufacturing technique as coming from the island of Gavdos in the Libyan Sea.[209] This Gavdiot fabric has a distinct "oatmeal" appearance with a fine buff clay matrix and quite large angular reddish temper. In contrast to the other areas of origin, Gavdos is mostly represented at Kommos by large closed shapes that would have carried trade items rather than being exchanged for their own sake: two large jugs (**Ja/60, Ja/61**), nine large closed vases (**Je/38, G/2, A/10, Ja/62**, C 11667 from Group Y, two from Group A, one in Group Je), a narrow-necked jug, jar, or amphora (**Je/39**), an amphora (**Ja/63**), a vat (**Je/41**), a vat or pithos (**Ja/40**), and six pithoi (C 11711 from Group X, C 11501, C 11502, C 11510 from Group A, C 11499

from Group Je, C 11508 from Group N). Some show an array of individual shapes that probably reflects occasional exchange, whereas eight large closed vases seem to be more uniform in shape and may be remnants of more regular trade.

Some Gavdiot imports are closely datable by their context or style. They range in date from MM IB (pithos C 11711 from Group X) to MM IB/IIA (large jar C 11667 from Group Y), MM II (large closed vase **G/2,** vat **Je/41**), and MM IIB Late (pithos C 11508 from Group N). In spite of their striking fabric, none have been reported from Phaistos or Aghia Triada. In contrast, as many as 23 vases—mostly large jars—have been identified by the present author among the Protopalatial pottery of the Kamares Cave (Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]). Morphologically, Gavdiot pottery shows some similarities with Mesara pottery, such as the narrow cylindrical neck of **Je/39**, but it also displays differences, such as the indented strap handle of closed vessel **G/2** and the wide collar neck with interior ledge of amphora **Ja/63**. The surface decoration of Gavdiot pottery is too poorly preserved to allow comparison. Most Gavdiot vases have roughly smoothed surfaces and can be characterized as utilitarian. Only jug, jar, or amphora **Je/39** is well-smoothed and of better quality. In terms of manufacturing technique, all Gavdiot pottery from Protopalatial levels at Kommos is coil-built, as are the western Mesara vases of similar size. One closed vase (**Ja/62**) has a coarse body with an even coarser handle—a feature also encountered in Mesara and East Cretan pottery at that time. This need not represent influence from the Mesara, however, since the coarser texture may simply have been chosen by the potter for this vase because the body was already rather dry when the handle was attached. The handle's coarse texture would have enabled body and handle to dry together and would have prevented cracking at the join.

CYCLADES (PL. 3.20)

A small number of vases come from much farther overseas, having been identified as Cycladic by their fabrics rich in micaceous schist. They form a highly specialized assemblage consisting of six cooking trays or pans (**Ja/64, Ja/65, Je/42, Je/43, Jf/22, Jf/23**) and one spouted vase (**E/4**).[210] **Je/43** has a smooth bottom and must belong to a tripod tray; the other pans have rough bottoms and must have been legless (Davis 1986: 87). The highly specialized nature of this small assemblage, consisting almost exclusively of pans or trays, suggests that this vessel shape itself was an object of purposeful trade. Since none of the Cycladic vases are more closely datable than MM IB–IIB Early, it is impossible to tell whether all arrived in a single shipment or as the result of a prolonged period of contact. Nearly all (except **Je/42**) show considerable use wear, and most pans or trays (except **Ja/65** and **Je/42**) have been darkened by fire. No Cycladic vases have been identified in contemporary contexts at Phaistos, Aghia Triada, or the Kamares Cave, even though a Cycladic pyxis was uncovered from a Prepalatial context at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 306). The Cycladic assemblage from Protopalatial Kommos is quite different from that found at contemporary Knossos, where Cycladic imports are largely limited to jugs and amphoras and do not include pans or trays (MacGillivray 1998: 89–90).

Cycladic pan fragments show close correspondences with Minoan cooking dishes in their profiles and the roughness of their bottom surface. Cycladic trays also resemble Minoan cooking trays. Davis has interpreted these correspondences as one of the results of widespread Knossian influence on Cycladic pottery production in the MM I–IIIA phases (Davis 1986: 86–88, Aghia Eirini Periods IV and V). However, it is conceivable that the western Mesara played some role in this transfer of shapes as well, since the pale fabric color and red slip of some Cycladic pans (**Ja/64, Je/43, Jf/23**) are closely paralleled on some MM IB–IIB Early cooking dishes and other cooking vessels at Kommos, and, like many Kommian cooking dishes, all seven Cycladic vases were incompletely oxidized during firing (see above). We are not well informed about the characteristics of Protopalatial cooking dishes and trays at Knossos. Only one cooking vessel (a cooking pot of Type B) has been published by MacGillivray, and it was made in a red cooking pot fabric (MacGillivray 1998: 167 no. 972, fig. 29, pl. 64.13). However, Knossian pottery in general was well oxidized during firing already in MM IB (see above). The presence in Period V at Aghia Eirini of a typical western Mesara jar decorated with a white-bordered dark-painted double-ax motif on a buff ground lends added support to the possibility of prolonged direct contacts between the Mesara and the Cyclades, although it could have arrived on Kea via another Minoan port (Davis 1986: no. W-5, pls. 30, 58).

POTTERY IMPORTS OF UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE (PL. 3.20)

Of the hundreds of unprovenanced nonlocal fragments and vases from Protopalatial contexts in the Southern Area, only three have been chosen here for publication because they are representative of groups of vases of possible East Mediterranean origin. Bowls **Da/3** and **H/1** resemble contemporary Cypriot bowls in fabric, shape, and surface finish.[211] However, their characteristics also resemble those of some Early Minoan bowls from the Mesara and Knossos described in the literature (Alexiou and Warren 2004: fig. 19 no. 26; Blackman and Branigan 1982: 29 [Salame ware]; Wilson 1985: 317–19). Their identification must therefore remain highly tentative until fabric analysis is completed.

Lentoid flask **L/27** is one of at least five flasks with the same fabric but of different sizes encountered in Protopalatial contexts in the Southern Area. Whereas the others come from the AA foundation fills and are preserved in fragments, **L/27** is in restorable condition and is part of Group L, which is interpreted here as a redeposited floor deposit of Building AA. **L/27** was found below the south wall of Gallery 6 of LM IIIA2–B Building P and could only be partially excavated.

It has a striking fabric that was incompletely oxidized during firing, with a reddish yellow (bright orange) exterior surface, light reddish brown (pinkish) interior, and a light brownish gray to light gray core. It is handmade, its lentoid body fashioned by the joining of two vertically placed bowls. Each bowl had been coil-built and drawn. At the juncture of the two bowls the interior surface shows scoring marks, presumably made by a tool with which the clay of the two bowls was pressed together. The lentoid body is asymmetrical in section, one bowl bulging more prominently than the other. Only one handle is preserved; it is not known

how many handles this flask originally had.[212] The handle has a coarser texture than the body, and its lower attachment has a clay tenon that was pushed through the vessel wall. The exterior surface has been smoothed, and the handle is well integrated. The surface bears traces of a red to black-brown slip, which is too worn to reveal a polish.

Research into the origin of **L/27** and the other flasks has thus far proved unsuccessful. Their fabric and shape are highly unusual and indicative of a non-Cretan provenance. Initially a Cypriot origin was suspected because their fabric bears a resemblance to that of the Cypriot Proto Base Ring fragments identified by Rutter in LBA contexts at Kommos (see below), and the much-worn reddish coating resembles the appearance of late Red-Polished Middle Cypriot pottery. However, the fabric of the imported flasks at Kommos is much softer than any South Cypriot fabrics fired to similar colors seen by the author, and the lentoid flask is unknown in Cyprus before the Late Cypriot I phase, which postdates by many years the MM IB–IIB Early and MM IIB Late contexts of the imported flasks at Kommos (Åström 1957; 1972: figs. LIV.4, LV.1 and 4). Thus a Cypriot origin seems at present unlikely.

The lentoid shape and monochrome reddish surface coating of the imported flasks from Kommos would be consistent with an MBA Syrian or Cilician origin, but the fact that the Kommian flasks are handmade makes this less likely, since the potter's wheel was already in full use in the MBA in Syria and Cilicia. Thus the most likely place of origin of the flasks, on the basis of shape, manufacturing technique, and surface finish, is the Central or East Aegean. Lentoid flasks have a long history in Western Anatolia (Troy, Yortan), going back to the EBA (Levi and Carinci 1988: 91; Bilgi 1982). They were made from two handmade bowls set vertically. Lentoid flasks made from two handmade bowls also appear already in the EBA in the Cyclades, since Caskey reports finding one in a Period III (late EB) context at Aghia Eirini on Kea (Caskey 1972: 375 no. C49, fig. 7). From the MBA at Aghia Eirini, however, only lentoid jugs and no flasks are known. The Period IV jug in a nonlocal brown fabric published by Overbeck (1989: 1, 11, 79–80 no. AH-41, pl. 43) probably is a Cycladic imitation of a flask, whereas all six lentoid jugs from Period V published by Davis, which are contemporary with the MM IIB phase and the beginning of MM III on Crete, are Minoan imports and irrelevant as comparanda of **L/15**). A more thorough study of Cycladic and Western Anatolian flasks is needed to determine whether one of these areas was the origin of the Kommian flasks.

Discussion

In sum, most of the pottery imports found in Protopalatial contexts at Kommos range in date from the MM IB through MM IIB Late phases, except for the Knossian, Cycladic, and possible Amari imports, which have not been attested in MM IIB Late contexts. The Cycladic vases and possible Amari jugs may be limited in date to MM IB, and each may have arrived as a single shipment. In contrast, the chronological range of the other imports testifies to a period of contact covering most or all of the Protopalatial period. It is now clear that Kommos

became part of an overseas exchange network already in MM IB, long before the construction of Building AA, and it seems likely that the sudden and dramatic expansion of its settlement in the MM IB phase was part of a deliberate plan on the part of the Phaistian palatial elite to become involved in and control maritime trade. Building AA's putative predecessor may have been built to administer this early maritime commerce, and this may have been the primary function of Building AA as well. The poor chronological resolution of most pottery imports at Protopalatial Kommos does not allow us to determine a change in the volume of this exchange over time. However, it can be argued that the enormous size of Building AA and its dominance of its site are indications not only of greater Phaistian power, but also of the much-increased importance of overseas trade early in the MM IIB phase.

The finds from the Civic Center at Kommos substantially enlarge our corpus of nonlocal pottery at the site and provide for the first time evidence for Protopalatial connections with Knossos, the Pediada, Gavdos, East Crete, and the Cyclades. The new evidence also allows us to evaluate the reach and nature of these outside contacts. Not all involved maritime activity. To judge from their distribution pattern in the western Mesara, the Pediada vases are likely to have come over land to Kommos via Phaistos, since they are more common there than at Kommos. Moreover, the Pediada vases consumed at Kommos are nearly identical to those found at Phaistos and the Kamares Cave, consisting almost exclusively of trefoil-mouthed jugs. Their highly restricted range and the fact that they have been integrated into the Phaistian repertoire indicate that they are the products of a long-term deliberate trade. This trade appears to have been carried on exclusively between the Pediada and the western Mesara, since the Pediada pottery shapes traded differ from those encountered at Knossos. Also, the two possible Amari vases presumably came to Kommos via a terrestrial route, and it is in the same way that Phaistian pottery styles and seal designs must have reached the Amari Valley. Whereas nothing in the types of vases imported from the Pediada indicates anything other than peaceful commercial relationships, a consideration of the larger context of these exchanges suggests that political and strategic interests may have been at work. Already Kanta pointed out that the similarities in the administration and other aspects of material culture of Monastiraki and Phaistos may reflect close political ties and an endeavor on the part of Phaistos to create a western communication route to the Aegean Sea. Similarly, it seems that Phaistos's commercial ties to the Pediada may have been accompanied by the creation of an eastern communication route to the Aegean. That such may have been the case and that both the western and eastern routes may have carried political and strategic significance, perhaps exerting a grip on Knossos, is furthermore indicated by their collapse at the end of the Protopalatial period. At that time, the Phaistian Old Palace was destroyed and it was only partially rebuilt during the subsequent MM III phase; it was left in ruins during the subsequent LM IA phase and only rebuilt in LM IB, which suggests a considerable vacuum of power at that site in LM IA (Cucuzza forthcoming). Building AA at Kommos was quickly replaced by Building T in MM III, but also this structure became a partial ruin early

in the LM IA phase and so remained to the end of the Neopalatial period. The Kamares Cave, which is the main mountain sanctuary of the western Mesara and closely linked to the Phaistian palace, saw a sharp drop in the deposition of vases after the destruction of the Old Palace of Phaistos (Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]). At the same time Monastiraki, which arguably was the political center of the Amari Valley, was violently destroyed and never again rebuilt. The pottery imports from the Pediada to the western Mesara came to a complete halt, and changes in the material culture of the Pediada indicate that during the MM III phase it was much more closely linked to Knossos than before, to the extent that it is considered by Rethemiotakis to have become a "satellite polity" of Knossos (Rethemiotakis and Christakis 2004: 174). Thus it appears that Phaistian power and influence in Crete received a series of major blows at the end of the Protopalatial period, from which it would never recover during the remainder of the Bronze Age.

Of a different nature, but of no lesser strategic importance, were the western Mesara's overseas contacts during the Protopalatial period. The Gavdiot vases are likely to have come directly to Kommos since the island of Gavdos is only 70 kilometers away and Gavdiot pottery shows considerable awareness of contemporary western Mesara styles.[213] It remains to be seen whether this island, renowned in later times for its abundant supplies of fresh water and timber, was a port of call on a longer sea route, a participant in long-distance exchange, or merely a local trading partner of Kommos.

With respect to the Cycladic, Aeginetan, and other possible Aegean or East Mediterranean pottery imports, we are now in a position to address the question whether they arrived at Kommos through Knossos, as Carinci would argue, or whether the western Mesara had established its own maritime exchange network. Since the Aegean and possible East Mediterranean vases at Kommos are relatively few, and only slightly more numerous than the Knossian imports, one could argue that they traveled via Knossos. However, several observations suggest the contrary. A comparison of Cycladic imported vases found at Knossos and Kommos shows that the two sites acquired different shapes: Cycladic imports at Knossos were largely limited to jugs and amphoras (MacGillivray 1998: 89–90), whereas at Kommos they mostly consisted of pans or trays. Lentoid flasks of the kind found at Kommos are entirely absent from Knossos. Thus there is no convincing evidence to support Carinci's claim that the Mesara received its overseas imports via Knossos.[214] What is more, the large numbers of East Cretan pottery and scarcity of Knossian remains at Kommos suggest that the western Mesara maintained its own trade routes to the Aegean and the East Mediterranean, using East Crete as a port of call—and perhaps also Malia, where a Phaistian oval-mouthed amphora was uncovered from the late MM II destruction debris of Quartier Mu (Poursat 1992: fig. 25). The existence of such independent Phaistian exchange network would also explain why many Kamares vases found in the Near East and Egypt are of Mesara origin and, if Weingarten's interpretation is correct, why Phaistos adopted direct object sealing independently from the Near East (see above). Whereas representations of merchant sailing ships on seals from the Mesara

indicate that this area itself was an active participant in maritime commerce (see above), it is conceivable, but at present unproven by finds in those areas, that middlemen from East Crete or Gavdos, or even Eastern merchantmen, also participated in this exchange.

Even though the more than 60 vases identified as coming from overseas and the more than 300 unprovenanced nonlocal vases from Protopalatial levels at Kommos are much more numerous and varied than have been reported from any other Protopalatial site on Crete, their numbers are relatively small if one considers that they span a period of a few hundred years (MM IB–IIB Late). If they came by ship, they do not need to represent more than occasional shipments. However, their great morphological variety suggests that most were not part of large cargoes of identical vases, but rather reached Kommos in small batches or as individual pieces. Only from East Crete and Gavdos do we have modest numbers of large closed vases that could have been used to transport trade goods. Thus it is likely that this imported pottery did not arrive at Kommos as a major trading item, but rather as an accidental by-product of trade in items such as metals, grain, olive products, bronze weapons and tools, as well as prestige objects such as those listed above. These main trading items were undoubtedly much more valuable to the Bronze Age economies of the East Mediterranean and the maintenance of elite power than clay vases. Only large lentoid flask **L/27**, having been found in a possible ritual or ceremonial assemblage, may have been an object of gift exchange at a high level. The high quality of the fine bowls and bridge-spouted jars from Knossos and East Crete, and the specialized nature of the cooking pans and trays from the Cyclades, suggest that these may have been gift items as well, but since they were found in secondary contexts it is impossible to test this interpretation. The imported vases show a similar degree of use wear to the local vases, which indicates that they had been used before being discarded with the local pottery. It is remarkable that all pottery imports that are likely to have come by land consist of small to medium vases (Knossos, Amari Valley, Pediada), whereas only imports from overseas include large closed shapes (East Crete, Gavdos, Aegean, or East Mediterranean lentoid flask). These differences in size undoubtedly reflect the relative ease with which large vases can be transported by ship.

The distribution of pottery imports also tells us something about the relations between Kommos and Phaistos. It is interesting to note that, unlike Kommos, neither Phaistos nor Aghia Triada has yielded pottery from Gavdos, East Crete, the Cyclades, the rest of the Aegean, Knossos, or even the Amari Valley. Neither do these two sites have imported lentoid flasks. While it is conceivable that imports from Knossos or the Amari Valley were not identified because of their similarity to Mesara vases, it is difficult to believe that easily identifiable shapes such as large lentoid flask **L/27**, micaceous Cycladic pans and trays, or the Gavdiot pottery with its large angular reddish temper would have gone unnoticed. Thus it appears that none of the pottery that must have arrived in the western Mesara from overseas, and thus through Kommos, made its way to Phaistos. Whereas most of it may not have been very valuable, other vases may have had some prestige, especially flask **L/27,** since it was

used in a possibly ceremonial assemblage (Group L). The fact that this flask and other pottery shapes of high quality did not percolate to Phaistos is suggestive of a certain degree of independence of the Kommian authority toward the ruling elite of what was arguably the political center of the western Mesara. By the same token it does not seem likely that any of these pottery shapes was a symbol of authority, or otherwise we would expect them to have occurred in the Phaistian palace or other elite contexts.

It is at present impossible to determine from the intra-site distribution of nonlocal pottery which parts of Kommian society participated in the overseas trade. Certainly, most nonlocal pieces and nearly all provenanced fragments and vases come from the Civic Center. However, the overwhelming majority of those were part of construction fills that may have been taken from other areas of the site. As many as fourteen nonlocal fragments, including a highly fragmentary Gavdiot closed vase and a large East Cretan basin fragment (**Y/1**), come from the partially excavated domestic structure to the south of Building AA (Groups Y, Z). In addition, about a hundred still unprovenanced pieces were found in the residential area on the Central Hillside. Thus, at present we cannot say that only the authority of the Civic Center consumed pottery imports; it is possible that people of lesser rank did so as well. A widespread, socially unrestricted consumption pattern certainly seems to fit the trefoil-mouthed jugs from the Pediada, which have been found in comparable numbers in offical and domestic contexts at Phaistos and Kommos.

It is interesting to note that after the destruction of Building AA and the Phaistian palace, the subsequent early Neopalatial period (MM III–LM IA Early) saw a sharp decline not only in Cretan but also in overseas pottery imports, with only seven non-Cretan pieces identified (from Cyprus, the Cyclades, and Gavdos; see Rutter, below). This sudden drop in the overseas contacts of the western Mesara parallels the loss of intra-Cretan communication routes as well as the others signs of Phaistian weakness described above, and supports the interpretation of La Rosa and his coworkers that the decades following the MM IIB destruction of the First Palace of Phaistos were ones of trouble for the western Mesara (La Rosa 1989; Van de Moortel forthcoming [b]). It was also in this early Neopalatial period that the potters of the western Mesara gave up the production of top-quality "Classical Kamares" vases and with it their leading role in Cretan pottery production. Instead, they now followed more and more the lead of Knossos (Van de Moortel 2002; forthcoming [a]).

Ceramic Imports of the Neopalatial and Later Bronze Age Eras

Jeremy B. Rutter

INTRODUCTION

Thanks principally to the pioneering efforts of L. Vance Watrous, Kommos has been recognized for over a decade as the single most important settlement not only on Crete but

throughout the Aegean for ceramics imported from outside the Minoan–Mycenaean cultural sphere during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Watrous 1985; 1989; 1992: 149–83; Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998; Cline 1994: esp. 106; Knapp and Cherry 1994: esp. 138–41; Rutter 1999: esp. 140). The following summary of the evidence for pottery imported to Kommos from centers of production located outside the island of Crete is organized according to the larger regions from which such imports came, starting in the southeast in Egypt and proceeding north and west along the Syro–Palestinian coast, then across to Cyprus, northwest to Western Anatolia, and west through the Aegean islands to the Greek Mainland. The survey concludes with the islet of Gavdos off the southwestern coast of Crete, followed by Sardinia located far to the west. The present account incorporates a substantial number of corrections to identifications previously published by Watrous (1992), Cline (1994), and the author (Rutter 1999) that have been contributed by numerous visitors to the Kommos storerooms in Pitsidia over the past decade.[215] Like all previous assessments of the ceramic imports to Middle and Late Minoan Kommos, the analysis that follows should be viewed as a work in progress rather than a final statement. For example, most of the pieces from House X cited in the tables and alluded to in the brief discussions of different groups of imports remain to be published. It nevertheless seems worthwhile to provide an overview of all the Neopalatial and subsequent LBA ceramic imports from Kommos here rather than to restrict discussion to those pieces found within the confines of the Civic Center.

EGYPT

The number of Egyptian imports identified at Kommos rose steadily during the 1990s—16 published by Watrous (1992), 25 included by Cline (1994), and no fewer than 40 reported by Rutter (1999)—but has fallen to the present level of 38 owing to the realization that several fragments once considered to come from Egyptian jars or amphoras are instead pieces of Canaanite jars.[216]

Not one of the Egyptian imports so far identified is anywhere near complete. Most consist of just a single sherd and come from mixed fills of various kinds rather than from narrowly dated deposits, whether floors or other kinds of contexts. Nevertheless, as Table 3.101 shows, the range of types represented and their dates are for the most part comparatively narrow. By far the most popular shape is the amphora (74–79%), with the pilgrim flask (e.g., **69a/4**) coming in a very distant second (11%). The only other closed shape represented is a probable necked jar (**57f/2**, **61/7**). That some pilgrim flasks are small in size suggests that different commodities were being brought to Kommos from Egypt, perhaps unguents as well as wine. At least one of these flasks was produced from a marl clay typical of Upper Egypt (C 7550 from House X, Room 8 [Marl A4 in the "Vienna System": Aston 1998: 64–65]). A few amphora fragments (C 12064 from the area of the South Stoa, C 8837 from House X, Room 2, and C 9625 from House X, Room 9), a flask fragment (Watrous 1992: 162 no. 1961, fig. 73, pl. 55), and the jar **61/7** were produced in a Marl D (in the "Vienna System") fabric that is

Table 3.101. Egyptian imports to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	23	6	6	3	38
Period					
LM IB Early	1				1
LM IB Late		1			1
LM II	2				2
LM IIIA1		2	2		4
LM IIIA2 Early	10	3			13
LM IIIA2	4			1	5
LM IIIA	2		2	1	5
LM IIIA2–B				1	1
LM IIIB	3		2		5
Historic levels	1				1
Shape					
Amphora	19	3	3 + 2?	3	28 + 2?
Pilgrim flask	1 large	1 large, 1 small	1 small		4
Carinated bowl	1	1			2
Necked jar	2				2

probably at home in the Faiyum area (Aston 1998: 65–66, 456–501). Seven pieces (**40/34**, **45/10**, **47/19**, **52a/9**, **52e/2**, **MI/Eg/2**, **MI/Eg/4**) were produced in a variant of Marl D classified as P90 in the Memphis system of Egyptian fabric classification, a fabric that appears to be closely connected with the long reign of Tuthmosis III (Rose, pers. comm.). Of potential significance is that this fabric is restricted to finds from the Civic Center at Kommos and includes three of the four earliest Egyptian imports to the site (**40/34**, **45/10**, **47/19**). One amphora fragment from the Central Hillside (C 894) is an overfired example of the Marl D fabric classified as III.6 in the Amarna system of fabric classification (Nicholson and Rose 1985: 146). But the bulk of the Egyptian pottery from Kommos was manufactured in a variant of Marl D that was particularly common in the eastern Nile delta, termed fabric IIF.02 at Qantir (Aston 1998: 66–67, 502–19).[217]

Freshly identified since 2002 at Kommos is a pair of red-slipped, carinated bowls produced in Nile silt fabrics (B2 in the "Vienna System": Aston 1998: 61), **56b/7** from an LM IIIA2 floor deposit and C 7549 from an LM IIIA2 dump in House X, Room 8. The Egyptian ceramic imports to Kommos date from LM IB Early through LM IIIB, with a pronounced spike in

frequency during the LM IIIA era, predominantly the fourteenth century B.C. More than 90 percent of these imports consist of transport vessels, among which the larger vases—that is, the vast majority—could also have served for storage. The two carinated bowls (**56b/7**, C 7549) are potentially of special significance inasmuch as they are both too large to have served as lids for the transport amphoras and jars and at the same time represent types that were not widely traded even within Egypt (Rose, pers. comm.). One came from an extremely interesting floor deposit at the east end of Gallery P2 that included Cypriot (**56b/5**; perhaps also **56b/6**) and probably Mycenaean (**56b/4**) imports in close proximity to a hearth. The second (C 7549) was found in a roughly contemporary dump in the high-status building known as House X, just across the Minoan road to the north of Building P's east end. To date, these bowls are the only open Egyptian ceramic vessels to have been identified anywhere in the Aegean. That they alone constitute sufficient evidence for the occasional presence of Egyptians at Kommos is doubtful, but they are certainly an arresting anomaly in the broader picture painted by Near Eastern ceramic imports to the site.

The numbers of Egyptian imports are not large enough to offer much weight to any interpretation of their spatial distribution within the various areas of the Kommos site until now tested by excavation. Fragments of such vessels have been found in ordinary domestic contexts on both the Hilltop and Central Hillside, albeit less frequently than in the more public area of the Civic Center, which is also closer to the shore where pottery imported from outside the island would ordinarily have made its first Cretan landfall. The comparatively high number of Egyptian vessels from House X, roughly a sixth of the total thus far known from the whole site, is noteworthy, inasmuch as this single building has furnished plentiful architectural as well as artifactual evidence revealing it to be the highest-ranking residential structure of any of those cleared at the site. In this connection, the concentration of open shapes (one of the two identified) and pilgrim flasks (two of the four identified) in this building merits particular attention.

THE SYRO–PALESTINIAN COAST

As in the case of imports identified as Egyptian, those attributed to Syro–Palestinian centers of production have steadily increased in number during the past decade. Only quite recently, however, have the pieces in question been reassessed by specialists having extensive field experience at sites in the Levant and Egypt, with an eye toward maximizing the reliability of their identifications and even attributing individual pieces to specific regions of production (Serpico et al. 2003).[218] Of the 21 pieces published as Canaanite jars by Watrous (1992: 159–61), all but two that have since been reclassified as Egyptian (C 4107, C 4646) have been confirmed as Syro–Palestinian. Of the 58 pieces identified as Syro–Palestinian by Cline (1994: 263–67 table 65), only 37 are accepted here as such, almost one-third of his total having since been reclassified as Cypriot Plain White pithoi and jugs or as Egyptian amphoras. All but four of Rutter's 54 Syro–Palestinian imports (1999: 171–72 table 2) are here confirmed as

Table 3.102. Syro–Palestinian imports to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	39	12	10	7	68
Period					
LM IB			1		1
LM IB Late		1			1
LM II	1	1			2
LM IIIA1	1		7	1	9
LM IIIA2 Early	19	7			26
LM IIIA2	4	1	1	5	11
LM IIIA		1			1
LM IIIB	7		1	1	9
Historic	6	1			7
Date uncertain	1				1
Shape					
Canaanite jar	38	11	9	7	65
Syrian flask	1				1
Juglet: brown burnished		1			1
Juglet: gray ware			1		1

such, the remainder having been reclassified as Egyptian (**MI/Eg/3**) or Cypriot Plain White (**52a/11**; **MI/Cy/10–11**).

Although the bulk of the Syro–Palestinian imports at Kommos have been recovered in the form of single sherds or relatively small fragments of much larger vases, many of them in building fills connected with the major period of construction in earlier LM IIIA2 within the Civic Center (Table 3.102), several large amphoras of the kind conventionally described as "Canaanite jars" have been found in more substantial states of preservation. The earliest of these (C 12041) was found spread through several levels of LM IB Late and subsequent dumped fill in Room 1 of House X. A second (**45/9**) was discovered overlying an LM II surface at the northwest corner of Building T's court. A third, much more fully preserved example, bearing a complex mark incised after firing in the top of its single preserved handle (**56e/9**), came from an LM IIIA2 surface near the court's northeast corner, just outside and to the north of Gallery P1. Somewhat earlier than this last must be the pieces of a fourth jar (**52a/9**) from an LM IIIA2 Early building fill dumped over Neopalatial debris in Room 23 in Building T's northeast wing. A large chunk of the lower part of a fifth jar, preserving evidence for a distinctive technique in the construction of its base, came from mixed Historic

and Prehistoric fill in the Civic Center (**MI/SP/8**). Finally, no fewer than three completely restorable jars were found in Rooms 4 (C 9167), 5 (C 8069), and 8 (C 7061; Watrous 1992: 160 no. 1951, fig. 72, pl. 53) of House X in LM IIIA2 Early abandonment contexts (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 153, pl. 26b), where they evidently served as storage containers during that building's final major period of use.

Virtually all the Syro–Palestinian ceramic imports thus far identified at Kommos occur in the form of shoulder-handled amphoras of the familiar "Canaanite jar" type (Amiran 1970: 140–42, pl. 43; Hadjicosti 1988; Bourriau 1990; Leonard 1995; Smith, Bourriau, and Serpico 2000; Bourriau and Serpico 2001). Exceptions to this rule are limited to a fine brown-burnished piriform juglet from Room 5 in House X (C 8146; Amiran 1970: 112, pl. 34: 15–16), the foot and lowermost body of a so-called Syrian flask (**66/15**; Amiran 1970: 167, 170, pl. 52: 4–5),[219] and a single body sherd from the Central Hillside possibly belonging to a Syrian gray-ware juglet (Amiran 1970: 146, 167, 170, photo 171, pls. 46: 6, 52: 2, 8).[220] The earliest LBA Canaanite jars appeared at Kommos in LM IB Early contexts (C 4771, C 12041) and continued to be imported in small numbers during LM II (**45/9**, C 10367). But clearly the peak period in their importation was the earlier LM IIIA period prior to the great destruction of the palace at Knossos (Table 3.102; Watrous 1992: 175, 181–82, fig. 8).[221] Only one of the largely preserved Canaanite jars came from a later LM IIIA2 context (**56e/9**). The number of jar fragments recovered in LM IIIB levels is, however, large enough to suggest that vessels of this type continued to be imported to Kommos during the thirteenth century B.C. That is, it seems unlikely that all eight jar fragments from LM IIIB contexts (Table 3.102; the ninth item from an LM IIIB context is the foot of the Syrian flask **66/15**) can be earlier kick-ups. Of the three atypical Syro–Palestinian shapes to have been imported to Kommos, two (the gray-ware juglet C 4582 and the brown-burnished juglet C 8146) came from LM IIIA1 or LM IIIA2 Early contexts, as did most of the amphoras. Only the Syrian flask **66/15** came from a significantly later context, overlying the latest, LM IIIB floor in Gallery P1.

The 65 different Canaanite jars so far represented at Kommos by inventoried pieces were produced in a wide variety of distinct fabrics (Table 3.103). A little more than half of this sample can be assigned to five of the six fabric groups studied in considerable detail over the past decade by the Canaanite Amphora Project (CAP) because of their popularity at the Egyptian capitals of Memphis and Amarna (Serpico 1996; Smith, Bourriau, and Serpico 2000; Serpico et al. 2003). These fabric groups have been connected not only with particular regions of production in Syria–Palestine but with the transport of specific kinds of organic contents, principally resins and oils. The only one of these six fabric groups so far unattested at Kommos, Group 3, has been shown to have been at home in an inland area of southern Syria and northern Lebanon, so its absence at Kommos is perhaps not surprising: jars in this fabric may conceivably have been distributed overland rather than by sea. This fabric is also the rarest of the groups from Memphis and Amarna so far to have been subjected to detailed analysis (Serpico et al. 2003: fig. 4).

Table 3.103. Fabrics of Canaanite jars from Minoan Kommos.[222]

	Fabric Group 1	Fabric Group 2	Fabric Group 4	Fabric Group 5	Fabric Group 6	Unidentified Fabric
Totals	11	9	5	10	1	29
Period						
LM IB	1					
LM IB Late						1
LM II						2
LM IIIA1	1	1	2			4
LM IIIA2 Early	5	2	2	6	1	10
LM IIIA2	1	2	1	3	3	3
LM IIIA						1
LM IIIB	2	3				3
Historic	1	1		1		4
Date uncertain						1

Virtually equal in popularity at Kommos were the CAP's Fabric Groups 1, 2, and 5, each accounting for about 15 percent of the jars found at the site. The first two of these groups originated in northern Israel, the first along the coastal plain south of modern Haifa and the second in the northwestern Jezreel Valley (Serpico et al. 2003: fig. 2). Jars in both fabrics were used to transport pistacia resin (Serpico and White 2000), and the ports from which they may have been shipped include such ancient sites as Tell Nami and Tell Abu Hawam. Fabric Group 5 is at home farther north along the Lebanese coast. Jars produced in this fabric were evidently used primarily to ship oil. The same contents characterize jars of Fabric Group 4, manufactured yet further north in coastal northern Syria and shipped principally, one imagines, from the well-documented kingdom of Ugarit (Serpico et al. 2003: fig. 4). The single jar so far attributable to Fabric Group 6 (C 7069 from the Civic Center) may have been produced in southern Cyprus or perhaps in Cilicia or northwest Syria; the contents of jars produced in this fabric group have yet to be determined (Serpico et al. 2003).

The distribution through time at Kommos of the major Canaanite jar fabrics thus far analyzed by the CAP shows that Group 1, in addition to being the most popular overall, was also the first to appear (Table 3.103). On the evidence presently available, Groups 4 and 5 ceased to be imported after the LM IIIA2 period, suggesting that the local demand for imported oil in the western Mesara may have declined significantly during the thirteenth century B.C., whereas that for pistacia resin continued, albeit at a significantly reduced level; however, the LM IIIB context in which the Syrian flask **66/15** was found suggests that the importation of at least some Lebanese coastal produce may have persisted into the thirteenth century B.C.

There is a clear decline in frequency of Syro–Palestinian imports at Kommos the farther one moves away from the southern area of the site, the immediate vicinity of the harbor (Table 3.102), a finding consistent with the notion that the contents of such jars were decanted shortly after their arrival for subsequent redistribution in local containers throughout central Crete. The concentration of complete vessels in House X once again, as in the case of the Egyptian imports, marks this building as being of special importance on the site, particularly during its Early Postpalatial (LM II–IIIA2 Early) phases of use. None of the jars recovered from the Central Hillside and Hilltop areas of the site amounted to more than a few sherds (e.g., Watrous 1992: 161 nos. 750, 946, fig. 71, pls. 53–54).

Aside from the three fully preserved jars from House X, the largest surviving portions of Canaanite jars came from LM II (**45/9**) and LM IIIA2 (**56e/9**) surfaces at opposite northern corners of Building T's court. Although a number of jar fragments have been found in the galleries of Building P (e.g., **72/6–7**, **74/1**), there is no indication in the form of substantial portions of such vessels that transport containers of this type were ever stored or stockpiled in this building, in pronounced contrast with the enormous quantities of locally produced short-necked amphoras that have been recovered from its ruins (Rutter 2000).

CYPRUS

Analysis of the broad range of Cypriot ceramic imports to Neopalatial through Postpalatial Kommos is best subdivided according to whether such imports served as tablewares (including all painted pottery plus the Base Ring, Monochrome, and White Shaved classes) or as transport, storage, and large serving vessels (Plain White classes). The ratio of the former to the latter was 10:1 among the Cypriot imports published by Watrous (1992: 156–59) but has over the past decade been lowered to 3:1 through the recognition of a larger number of Plain White Wheelmade, Handmade, and Partially Wheelmade vases, chiefly pithoi and large jugs (Tables 3.104–3.105).[223] The total number of inventoried imports presently identified as Cypriot now stands at 76, a moderate reduction from the 79 published by the author under this heading less than a decade ago (Rutter 1999: 167–70 table 1) owing to the removal of a number of doubtful identifications and their reassignment to a growing number of imports conceded to be from unknown centers of production (e.g., **MI/Cy/3, MI/Cy/5**, **MI/UP/3**). This reduced number nevertheless represents essentially twice as many items as the 33 pieces counted under this heading by Watrous (1992: 156–59) or the 39 pieces listed by Cline (1994: 268–70 table 66).[225]

Only a small number of these Cypriot imports are represented by more than a sherd or two, and even fewer are preserved to any substantial degree. Nevertheless, some interesting patterns emerge from a consideration of the intrasite spatial distribution of both the more fully preserved pieces and the single sherds. For example, the only two largely preserved Cypriot vessels from the houses in the town located at some distance from the harbor are a White Shaved juglet from an LM IIIA2 context in the North House (Watrous 1992: 55, 158

Table 3.104. Cypriot tablewares imported to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	27	7	15	8	57
Period					
MM III			White Painted IV: 1		1
LM IA Early	Red Slip: 1				1
LM IA Final	Proto Base Ring: 6				6
LM IB Early	Proto Base Ring: 3; Red Lustrous Wheelmade: 1				4
LM II		White Painted Wheelmade I: 1			1
LM IIIA1			White Slip II: 4	White Slip II: 1	5
LM IIIA2 Early	Base Ring I: 1(?); Base Ring II: 2; Monochrome: 1; White Slip II 3				7
LM IIIA2	Base Ring II: 1; Bucchero: 1; White Slip II: 1	Base Ring II: 2	Base Ring: 1; White Slip II: 2	White Slip II: 1; White Shaved: 1	10
LM IIIA	White Slip II: 1	White Slip II: 3; White Painted Wheelmade I: 1	White Slip II: 5	White Slip II: 1	11
LM IIIA2–B			White Slip II: 2	White Slip II: 2	4
LM IIIB	Base Ring II: 1; Proto Base Ring: 1; White Slip II: 2			White Slip II: 2	6
Historic	White Slip II: 1				1
Shape					
Milk bowl	White Slip II: 8	White Slip II: 3	White Slip II: 13	White Slip II: 7	31
Bowl	Monochrome: 1		Base Ring: 1		2
Jug/Tankard	Base Ring I: 1(?)	White Painted Wheelmade I: 2[224]			3
Carinated cup	Base Ring II: 2	Base Ring II: 1			3
Jug	Base Ring II: 2; Proto Base Ring: 10; Red Slip: 1	Base Ring II: 1			14
Juglet	Bucchero: 1		White Painted IV: 1	White Shaved: 1	3
Spindle bottle	Red Lustrous Wheelmade: 1				1

Table 3.105. Cypriot transport, storage, and large serving vessels in Plain White Ware imported to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	13	1	2	2	18
Period					
LM IB Late	1				1
LM II	1				1
LM IIIA1	1				1
LM IIIA2 Early	4	1			5
LM IIIA2	4		1		5
LM IIIA			1		1
LM IIIA2–B				1	1
LM IIIB	2			1	3
Shape					
Pithos	4	1	2	2	9
Krater	2				2
Basin	1				1
Large jug	4				4
Miscellaneous closed	2				2

no. 951, fig. 70, pl. 52) and a White Painted IV juglet from an MM III context in Room CH51 on the Central Hillside (Russell 1985; Betancourt 1990: 140, 181 no. 1835, fig. 63). Apart from these two small pouring vessels, effectively the only other Cypriot imports from these regions of the site consist of small bits of White Slip II milk bowls and occasional sherds from Plain White transport pithoi (Tables 3.104–3.105; Pilides 2000: 48).

Near the base of the hill, in House X just across the paved road from the Civic Center, the picture is somewhat different. From LM II and LM IIIA levels in Room 3 came fragments of a seemingly matched pair of very thin walled, White Painted Wheelmade I jugs or tankards (C 10209, C 10366; Åström 1972: 270–73). In the large abandonment deposit of LM IIIA2 Early date in Room 4, a complete Plain White Partially Wheelmade pithos was found among the storage vessels ranged against that room's south wall (C 9013; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 153, pl. 26a; Pilides 2000: fig. 2, Group IA). Finally, in LM IIIA2 contexts in Rooms 4 and 6 were found single fragments of a Base Ring II carinated cup (C 9382) and jug (C 12031) that may have belonged to a purposefully paired drinking set (see further below). Three small bits of White Slip II milk bowls from LM IIIA contexts in House X (C 5645 = Watrous 1992: 158 no. 1943, pl. 51; C 9567; C 9612) are similar to those found in houses

farther up the slope to the northwest. What sets the Cypriot finds from House X apart is the complete state of the Plain White pithos C 9013 and the evidence for two typologically distinct as well as temporally and also spatially discrete drinking sets: substantial portions of a pair of White Painted Wheelmade I vases in one room, and just bits of a Base Ring II cup and jug in two others.

To the south of the paved road, within the Civic Center, other significant differences in the patterning of Cypriot ceramic imports are readily discernible, in terms of both chronology and the functional range of vessels involved. In this area of the site, a substantial number of simply decorated jugs, either Red Slipped (**8/6**) or Proto Base Ring (**20/6**; **24/27–29**; **30/5**; **34/6**; **40/36–37**; **MI/Cy/4**; C 11923),[226] made their initial appearance as early as LM IA Early (**8/6**) but became particularly frequent in LM IA Final and LM IB Early contexts, especially in locales close to or actually within the North and South Stoas of Building T.[227] The rims, necks, and handles of these vessels are conspicuous by their absence; only bases and body sherds survive. In view of the numbers of the surviving pieces from a relatively restricted temporal horizon (Table 3.104), this anomalous pattern of preservation seems unlikely to be entirely coincidental. Equally striking is that all these fragments can be attributed to the same functional type, a medium-sized to moderately large pouring vessel. The only example to have survived in the form of more than a single sherd is the earliest in the series, the Red Slip jug **8/6** from near the east end of the North Stoa. Not one fragment of an open vessel in the same class of Cypriot imports has been identified in contemporary LM IA Final to LM IB Early contexts anywhere within Building T. In view of their spatial and temporal distributions, it is tempting to connect these imported jug fragments with drinking ceremonies celebrated early in the Neopalatial era in both the North and South Stoas of Building T. The peculiarly limited portions of these vessels that survive further suggest that they may have been disposed of in some fashion unique to this particular vase type.

Roughly contemporary with the latest of these jugs is the large fragment of a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle (**40/35**), a fancy, slow-pouring vessel as unique at Kommos as the already-mentioned White Shaved and White Painted IV juglets from the Hilltop and Central Hillside portions of the site.

Appearing for the first time in LM IB Late, at more or less the same time as the earliest Egyptian and Canaanite imports, was the first (**44b/17**) in a series of Plain White transport, storage, and serving vessels that were restricted to large jugs in LM IB–IIIA1 (**44b/17**, **45/11**, **MI/Cy/11**) but that from LM IIIA2 Early onward included pithoi of various types and sizes (**51/4**, **52a/12**, **52g/2**, **75/7**, C 8727), kraters (**52a/11**, **MI/Cy/13**), and a basin (**MI/Cy/12**) in addition to jugs (**MI/Cy/10**) and unidentifiable closed shapes (C 7422, C 10035). Multiple fragments of the two earliest of the jugs (**44b/17**, **45/11**) were found on surfaces at the northwest corner of Building T's court, the latter in close association with one of the earliest substantially preserved Canaanite jars from the site (**45/9**). Among the pithos fragments are examples attributable to both the smaller and squatter Group I, Form IA type (**52a/12**) and the typically

much larger, necked Group II (**75/7**). More fully preserved examples of those two forms came from House X (C 9013) and from the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 158 no. 846, fig. 70, pl. 52). The smaller pithoi of Form IA often exhibit shallowly incised decoration on the shoulder (**52a/12**; C 9013). A fragment embellished with raised plastic bands on the shoulder (**51/4**) may belong to either a Form IA pithos or to the somewhat taller Form IB (Keswani 1989: 14–15, fig. 16: 1–2, 26, pl. VII). The very thick walled body sherd with broad grooved decoration **75/7** clearly comes from the larger necked variety of Group II (Pilides 2000: figs. 5: 3, 8: 3).

Also new in LM IIIA2 Early were canonical Base Ring II cups (**56b/5**, **MI/Cy/2**), jugs (**52c/7**; **67a/28**), and a probable tankard (**MI/Cy/1**), a Bucchero juglet (**56e/10**), and a Monochrome bowl (**MI/Cy/9**). The Bucchero juglet (**56e/10**) and one of the Base Ring II cups (**56b/5**) are represented by several fragments and both came from LM IIIA2 floor deposits postdating the construction of Building P. The only two Base Ring II cups both happen to have been found in fairly close proximity to the only two Base Ring II jugs recognized in the Civic Center: at the east end of Gallery P2, the cup **56b/5** was found half-preserved on an LM IIIA2 floor, above which an LM IIIB fill contained a small piece of a Base Ring II jug (**67a/28**); and the cup fragment **MI/Cy/2** was recovered from an LM IIIA2 building fill close to that which produced the jug fragment **52c/7**. Since a similar spatial association was also noted between a pair of Base Ring II cup and jug fragments in Rooms 4 and 6 of House X (C 9382, C 12031; see above), and since these pieces are so far the only Base Ring II fragments that have been identified at Kommos, it would appear that Base Ring II cups and jugs at Kommos were regularly used in close conjunction.

The only largely preserved White Slip II milk bowl so far recovered at Kommos, decorated in the Late substyle (**MI/Cy/6**), came from mixed Historic and LM IIIB levels in the southeast part of the court in front of Building P. Small bits of seven other White Slip II milk bowls (**48/3**, **51/2–3**, **60/31–32**, **MI/Cy/7–8**) from the Civic Center, as elsewhere at Kommos, came from LM IIIA and LM IIIB contexts. These are undoubtedly the easiest of all Cypriot imports to detect, even when reduced to very small fragments, which no doubt accounts for why more than 50 percent of the Cypriot tableware continues to be attributable to this specific type (cf. Hallager and Hallager 2003: 252, 260 for the situation at Chania). What is striking is the absence at Kommos of any White Slip I, especially in view of the presence in some quantity at the site of Proto Base Ring jugs of LC IA date. Likewise noteworthy is that White Slip II appears to be represented only by milk bowls, and Base Ring II, only by jugs and carinated cups. In other words, despite what at first appears to be a broad range of different ceramic types among the Cypriot imports to Kommos, these are in the end quite narrowly circumscribed. White Slip II milk bowls and Plain White pithoi appear to have circulated throughout the site from LM IIIA1 or LM IIIA2 Early onward. Possible Base Ring II drinking sets consisting of a jug and a carinated cup are attested twice in the Civic Center and once in House X. Large Plain White jugs and open serving vessels (kraters and a basin) circulated within the Civic Center from LM IB Late onward, but on present evidence are not attested

in the town to the north. One-of-a-kind-at-Kommos juglets (including a spindle bottle) occurred in both the town and Civic Center from MM III onward, but were not common. By contrast, solidly coated jugs in a variety of fabrics broadly categorizable as Red Slip, Black Slip, or Proto Base Ring are quite frequent in LM IA to LM IB Early contexts within Building T, especially in the immediate neighborhood of its two stoas. Plain White transport vessels made their initial appearance at Kommos at about the same time as did Egyptian and Syro–Palestinian transport vessels but did not become common until LM IIIA1. Among these, the most common single form is the pithos, which, like Egyptian amphoras and Canaanite jars, declines in frequency as one proceeds outside the Civic Center and heads up the hill to the north (Table 3.105). Pilides's recent survey of Cypriot LBA pithoi has drawn attention to their fairly restricted distribution outside of Cyprus, especially toward the west (2000: 48–53). Aside from multiple complete examples retrieved from the shipwrecks excavated at Ulu Burun and Cape Iria, fragmentary examples are thus far known from Nuraghe Antigori in southern Sardinia, Cannatello in southern Sicily, Marsa Matruh on the northwest coast of Egypt, and at Kommos. The connections of this vessel type with the central Mediterranean and its discovery in substantial quantities at intermediate points on both southern (Marsa Matruh) and northern (Kommos) routes to two large islands off the west coast of the Italian peninsula are indicative of newly established contacts between Cyprus and the west beginning in the LM IIIA (or earlier LC IIC in Cypriot terms) period. It is as yet unclear whether Kommos was unique on Crete as a participant in the long-distance traffic represented by these pithoi, but to date no Cypriot pithos fragments have been reported from other major Minoan harbor sites that flourished during this period (e.g., Palaikastro, Poros, Chania).

WESTERN ANATOLIA

Owing in large measure to the lack of published indigenous pottery assemblages of LBA date from the coastal regions of Western Anatolia south of the Troad, the amount of pottery produced in this area during the second millenium B.C. that was recognized among the ceramic imports to Kommos was, until quite recently, minimal. Watrous suggested that a brown-burnished flask fragment from an LM IB context on the Hilltop might be Anatolian (1992: 156 no. 1929, fig. 69, pl. 51 = Cline 1994: 194 no. 532), but he was somewhat less sure about the Anatolian provenance of two very hard fired and brilliantly burnished bowl fragments discovered in LM IIIB contexts, one brown-slipped from the Hilltop (1992: 168 no. 1058, pls. 25, 53, 57 = Cline 1994: 183 no. 427) and the other red-slipped from the Central Hillside (1992: 168 no. 1292, pls. 48, 53 = Cline 1994: 218–19 no. 761). In his Aegean-wide survey of LBA foreign imports, Cline was able to add only two pots, a Late Helladic IIIC gray-ware stirrup jar from Ialysos Tomb 17 on Rhodes (1994: 180 no. 397 = Benzi 1992: 7, 264 no. 60, pl. 24e) that he mistakenly reported as an amphoriskos, and a jug from Eleona Tomb 17 on Kos (1994: 203 no. 616), to this meager list of Anatolian LB ceramic vessels identified in Aegean contexts (1994: 271 table 67).[228] Thanks to Günel's more recent publications of

Table 3.106. Western Anatolian imports to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	15	23	5	4	47
Period					
LM IB				1	1
LM II		6			6
LM IIIA1		6	2		8
LM IIIA2 Early	4	5		2	11
LM IIIA2	4	2			6
LM IIIA	3	3			6
LM IIIA2–B			1		1
LM IIIB	3	1	2	1	7
Date Uncertain	1				1
Shape					
Cup	1				1
Bowl			1	1	2
Basin		1			1
Jug	14	22	4	2	42
Flask				1	1

substantial quantities of Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery from Panaztepe and Limantepe (1999a passim; 1999b: 59) and the printing of Bayne's 1963 Oxford doctoral dissertation with its still useful assessment of the LBA pottery recovered from Bayrakli (Old Smyrna) (Bayne 2000), it is now possible to have a better idea of what to look for in the way of possible imports from this region. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, a class of reddish brown burnished pottery consisting overwhelmingly of fragmentary closed vessels, recognized during the 1990s at Kommos as foreign imports to Crete but not attributable at that time to any particular region (Rutter 1999: 175–77 table 4), have since been recognized as products of sites in the Gulf of Izmir or perhaps somewhat farther south (Rutter 2003c). The 16 pieces from the Civic Center and House X attributed to this class in 1999 have since grown to 38, and a half-dozen additional pieces of the same class have been recognized among the pottery published by Watrous from the Hilltop (1992: 40 no. 699, 43 no. 740, fig. 31, pls. 16–17) and Central Hillside (1992: 33 no. 557, 53 no. 931, 75 no. 1286, 164 no. 814, pls. 13, 21, 28, 53).[229]

The vast majority of these reddish brown burnished imports from southwestern Anatolia consist of jugs (**30/6**, **49/8**, **51/5–6**, **56e/11**, **58b/12–13**, **66/16**, **73a/2**, **73b/2**, **MI/WA/1–4**; Table 3.106),[230] but a couple of open shapes are represented by a large body fragment of what is

probably a cup, slipped and burnished on the exterior only (**52e/4**), and by a small rim from a probable basin from House X, Room 8 (C 11911). The fabric of all these vases is medium coarse and quite hard, the fracture usually red or reddish brown, sometimes with a somewhat darker core. Although prominent ribbing on the interior lower body of the jugs initially suggested that these vases were wheelmade (Rutter 1999: 143, 175–76), further study has shown that they were in fact coilmade and then perhaps finished on a wheel.[231] The cup **52e/4**, on the other hand, appears to have been entirely wheelmade, to judge from the fine horizontal ridging on its unburnished interior.[232] The exteriors of all these vessels are moderately to quite highly burnished, the burnish troughs being thin and long and frequently crisscrossing. In most cases, the burnish seems to have been applied directly to the exterior, with differences in color between the exterior and interior surfaces being accounted for by differential firing. In the case of the cup **52e/4**, however, a colored slip appears to have been applied to the exterior, and some jugs may have been similarly slipped prior to burnishing. The basin fragment C 11911 is presently the only example of this class to exhibit burnishing on both the interior and exterior surfaces of the vessel.

A number of shape and decorative features are peculiar to the jugs of this class at Kommos and distinguish them sharply from local products. Rim profiles typically take the form of thickened sloping lips (**30/6**, **56e/11**; Watrous 1992: fig. 31: 740). The rims may occasionally have been pinched out into small spouts opposite the upper handle attachment; the rim outline thus assumed a modified trefoil shape.[233] Necks are routinely of medium height and diameter. Six examples of handles have so far been found (e.g., **56e/11**; Watrous 1992: fig. 31: 740); in every case a fairly broad and robust vertical strap handle extends from the rim to the sloping shoulder. One rim and neck fragment from House X, Room 6 (C 10988) preserves the remains of a small circular perforation pierced vertically through the lip before firing, as well as traces of a second such perforation pierced obliquely through the lower neck some 4.5 cm directly below. These holes may have been intended to facilitate the attachment of a lid; the surviving rim and neck profile of this piece closely resembles those on which handles or handle scars (e.g., **56e/11**) survive, so this perforated fragment need not represent an altogether different closed form. Two examples of the shape preserve a semicircular lug projecting prominently downward from a point of attachment on the lower body (C 7976; Watrous 1992: fig. 31: 740, pl. 17); comparanda from other sites on Crete (see below) make clear that this subsidiary lug was located directly below the lower handle attachment. Bases are of two principal types. The first is a raised base that features a biconical exterior profile and that has repeatedly broken at the point of junction between the flat bottom and the conical or convex lower body (**MI/WA/1–3**; C 11910). The second is also raised but features a more rounded exterior profile and a drastic thickening of the vessel wall at essentially the same level on the interior (**MI/WA/4**; C 12063). The bulges on both the interior and exterior of this second variety of base are evidently coils of clay added to strengthen the join of the base slab with the lowermost coil of the body. This alternative approach to fashioning a raised

base evidently accomplished its purpose, since the fragments representing it are both broken at points nearer the center of the bottom, where the vessel wall is substantially thinner (compare **MI/WA/4** with **MI/WA/1–3**). Yet a third technique that features a thicker-bottomed but also hollowed rather than flat base, again with an added coil of clay on the interior, is thus far represented by just one example (C 11912); this appears to have been the most successful technique of all, since the base in question has survived intact, although perhaps this is simply owing to this particular base's being smaller than any of the other six surveyed. One wonders whether the evident concern for strengthening the joint between body and base, and the regular breakage of the vessels concerned at precisely this point, somehow reflects the usage of these vessels, perhaps in connection with their function as transport vessels.

Aside from recurring shape features, these jugs exhibit relatively little difference in overall size. Rim diameters range between 7 and 10 cm, maximum diameters between 20 and 30 cm (with one exception at around 17: C 11912), and base diameters between 7 and 11 cm (with one exception at around 12.5: C 11913). Decoration on vessels of this class typically takes the form of multiple shallow grooves, rounded in section, at the bottom of the neck or top of the shoulder on jugs (**49/8**, **51/5**, **56e/11**, **73b/2**) and in the flattened top of the thickened lip on the basin C 11911. A single example of a jug from House X, Room 5, bears a series of circular knobs fashioned from a noticeably coarser clay than that of the vessel body and arranged in diagonal rows across the shoulder and lower neck (C 8689); not surprisingly, in view of its decoration, this particular jug is unique in lacking the external burnish characteristic of this class of imports.

Although no single example of a reddish brown burnished import has yet been found complete at Kommos, a fair number are represented by multiple sherds, and usually also by nonjoining fragments—that is, in states of preservation that suggest they were found close to their original loci of discard and in contexts contemporary with that discard. Two such jugs came from LM IIIA2 Early building fills below LM IIIA2–B surfaces in Court N9 (**51/6**) and Rooms N12–13 (**49/8**), a third from a virtually identical kind of context in Hilltop Room 26 (Watrous 1992: 42–43 no. 740), and a fourth was part of an LM IIIA2 floor deposit just outside Gallery P1's entrance (**56e/11**). A fifth jug represented by multiple nonjoining sherds was recovered from one of several LM IIIA2–B Early floors in Room 3 of the Central Hillside's House with the Snake Tube (Watrous 1992: 71–75 no. 1286, pl. 28). The sizable cup fragment **52e/4** came from an LM IIIA2 Early building fill somewhat farther to the east of the three jugs from the Civic Center just cited; might it perhaps have originally been used in tandem with one of those jugs in a fashion comparable to the roughly contemporary Cypriot Base Ring II cup-and-jug sets discussed previously?

The find circumstances of the to-some-degree-mendable jugs just mentioned show that these southwestern Anatolian imports were in fairly common use throughout the residential and more public sectors of Kommos during the LM IIIA2 period (Table 3.106). The temporal distribution of this class at Kommos in fact extended from LM II through LM IIIA2; whether

these distinctive jugs continued to be imported to the site during the LM IIIB period is unclear, since all four pieces from contexts certainly as late as this (**66/16**, **73a/2**, **73b/2**; C 12063) could easily be earlier kick-ups. This dispersal of the southwestern Anatolian jugs throughout the settlement at Kommos from LM II through at least LM IIIA2 times is mirrored by the frequency with which complete examples of the same jug type have been reported from other Minoan sites. Popham found two in the LM II destruction horizon in Corridor L and Room M of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (1984: pl. 86a–b),[234] and Alexiou recovered a contemporary example in Tomb Zeta at Katsamba (1967: pl. 17b, left). Platon discovered another pair of such jugs in an LM IIIA1 context in Room B1 of the settlement at Chondros Viannou (N. Platon 1957: pl. 69a–b; L. Platon 1997: 367, fig. 8). Evans illustrates an example from an LM IIIB context in the so-called Schoolroom of the Palace at Knossos (Popham 1964: fig. 4, pl. 2b), and Popham and Sackett report one from an even later LM IIIC context on the summit of Kastri at Palaikastro (1965: fig. 16: P16, pl. 75e). All but one of these vessels stem from settlement rather than funerary contexts. The find circumstances at Chondros Viannou and the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos suggest that such jugs may commonly have been used in pairs. Only those from Chondros Viannou have the lug on the lower body that is twice attested at LM IIIA Kommos (C 7976; Watrous 1992: fig. 31: 740, pl. 17); those from the Knossos area are furnished with true horizontal handles in this position, whereas the LM IIIC piece from Kastri lacks any subsidiary lug or handle. Two jugs from the late LM IA volcanic destruction level at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1974: pls. 5a, 71b) appear to be of precisely the same type as the jugs from the Knossos area). If these Theran jugs are indeed of the same reddish brown burnished class as the examples from Crete cited here, they indicate that this vessel type had an unusually long lifetime of four centuries or more. Furthermore, the Theran jugs would indicate that the rim fragment **30/6** from Kommos, identified here as a probable LM IIIA2 contamination in a largely LM IA Final context, might in fact be perfectly acceptable in such an early context.

Whether or not such reddish brown burnished jugs were in fact initially exported from southwestern Anatolia as early as the middle of the Neopalatial era, and if they were, whether some examples were exported to Crete at that time (e.g., **30/6**) as well as to Thera, the fact remains that large numbers of such jugs were undoubtedly imported to Kommos in the LM II–IIIA2 Early era, that is, the roughly 75-year span of time during which the Linear B administration at Knossos was *the* dominant center not only on Crete but throughout the southern Aegean. The discovery of the bulk of southwestern Anatolian jugs thus far known from all of Crete at Kommos and in the Knossos area in particular thus supports the notion that Kommos functioned at this time as a southern harbor for Knossos, as Warren has recently suggested that the site also did in LM IA after the construction of the Villa Reale at Aghia Triada (2002: 204). Moreover, the pattern of large quantities of a single closed vessel type accompanied by just a small number of examples of other vessel forms from the same culture zone—that is, the pattern of vessel importation from southwestern Anatolia to Kom-

mos during the LM II–IIIA2 era—is remarkably similar to those exhibited by the Syro–Palestinian and arguably also the Egyptian imports to the site. One is therefore tempted to conclude that the medium-sized reddish brown burnished jug was southwestern Anatolia's preferred form of transport vessel, just as the Canaanite jar was that of the Syro–Palestinian coast, the amphora was that of Egypt, and the transport stirrup jar was that of much of the southwestern and south-central Aegean at the same time, and just as the short-necked amphora would go on to become that of Kommos and the western Mesara itself in the developed LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB periods (Rutter 2000). The Cypriot equivalent prior to the destruction of Knossos in LM IIIA2 Early would appear to have been the Plain White jug, a form remarkably similar in size and shape to the preferred southwestern Anatolian transport vessel,[235] but later in the fourteenth and throughout the thirteenth century B.C., the Cypriots appear to have turned to the pithos for this purpose instead.

The few Anatolian imports originally identified at Kommos by Watrous from both earlier LM IB and later LM IIIB contexts, although now greatly outnumbered by the reddish brown burnished medium-coarse imports of LM II–IIIA2 date derived from southwestern Anatolia in particular, should not be forgotten. They represent other periods of time, other forms of vessels, and quite possibly other regions of Anatolia. They may therefore identify exchange networks of an altogether different kind from the potentially quite short-lived but intense interregional traffic marked by the medium-sized reddish brown burnished jugs.

AEGEAN ISLANDS

Identifying ceramic imports to Kommos from southern and central Aegean islands other than Crete is neither simple nor straightforward, chiefly because the locally produced pottery on most of these islands during the period being surveyed was often modeled to some degree after Minoan prototypes and consequently can be difficult to differentiate with certainty from lesser-known Minoan styles produced in regions outside the western Mesara. Although the pieces attributed here to various Aegean island centers of production were undoubtedly all imports to Kommos, it is not impossible that a few may actually have been manufactured elsewhere on Crete, especially in the cases of some of the smaller fragments. There are nevertheless enough positively identifiable imports from the west-central (Cyclades) and western (Kythera) islands to make clear that at least a certain number of vessels were imported to Kommos from islands to the north of Kommos during the Neopalatial through Postpalatial periods. At least two important points about such imports merit immediate emphasis. First, the numbers of examples listed in Tables 3.107–3.108 are likely to represent the absolute minimum of such island imports. And second, strikingly absent from all BA contexts at Kommos are the readily identifiable products of the prolific ceramic export industry active on Aegina from the beginning of the MBA down to at least as late as the early LH IIIC phase (Lindblom 2001: 22–44).[236]

Among the painted wares (Table 3.107), closed vessels are overwhelmingly predominant,

Table 3.107. Imports from central and southern Aegean islands to Minoan Kommos: painted wares.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	3	1	4	1	9
Period					
MM III			3	1	4
LM IB Late			1		1
LM II	1				1
LM IIIA2 Early	2	1			3
Shape					
Jug or juglet, Cycladic	1		3		4
Jar, Coan(?)			1		1
Jar, medium-coarse micaceous (? source)	1				1
Closed shape, medium-fine micaceous (? source)	1	1			2
Rim-handled cup, Cycladic				1	1

either jugs (Betancourt 1990: 101 no. 501, fig. 25, pl. 26; 108 no. 592, fig. 27, pl. 30; 116 no. 730, fig. 34, pl. 42) or larger jars (Watrous 1992: 154 no. 295, pl. 50; **45/12**, **52f/1**; C 8020). The single open shape is a rim-handled cup (Betancourt 1990: 121 no. 798, fig. 38, pl. 47). Four of these pieces—the three jugs and the cup—were found in MM III contexts on the Hilltop or Central Hillside and are all likely to be Cycladic. A jar fragment from an LM IB Late deposit on the Central Hillside featuring light and dark bands has been suggested by Watrous to be Coan (1992: 154 no. 295); a second, handmade jar with dark bands in matte paint from an LM II context in the Civic Center (**45/12**) cannot be attributed to any particular island with confidence. Two medium-fine linear closed-body sherds from the Civic Center (**52f/1**) and House X, Room 6 (C 8020), as well as fragments of a probable jug in a fabric resembling a fine version of Cycladic White (**57g/2**), all came from LM IIIA2 Early contexts.

Among undecorated pottery from Aegean islands outside Crete (Table 3.108), pieces of two large handmade jars in a medium-coarse Cycladic White fabric were recovered from LM II (**47/20**) and LM IIIA1 (**MI/AI/1**) contexts, and a fragment of a third was found in mixed Historic fill over the road south of House X (C 7323). All such jars presumably came from the Cyclades, although whether from Melos or Thera or some other island is, as in the case of the decorated jugs from MM III contexts, uncertain.

A largely restorable pithos in a highly micaceous, dark-surfaced fabric from an LM IIIB context in the Civic Center (**67d/3**) is likely to be Kytheran.[237] Fragments of at least one and perhaps two more such vessels came from contexts of comparable date on the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 154 nos. 1629, 1912, pls. 41, 46; Rutter forthcoming [c]). The largest single group

Table 3.108. Imports from central and southern Aegean islands to Minoan Kommos: plain wares, micaceous cooking wares, and micaceous dark-surfaced pithoi.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	Central House X	Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	6	6	0	4	16
Period					
LM IA Final		1			1
LM II	1	1			2
LM IIIA1	1				1
LM IIIA2 Early	1	2			3
LM IIIA2		1			1
LM IIIA	1				1
LM IIIB	2			3	5
LM IIIA2–B				1	1
Historic		1			1
Shape					
Pithos (MDP), Kytheran	1			2	3
Jar, Cycladic White	2	1			3
Dish, tripod vase, strap-handled bowl (MCW), Kytheran(?)	3	4		1	8
Uncertain shape (MCW), Kytheran(?)		1		1	2

MCW = micaceous cooking ware
MDP = micaceous dark-surfaced pithoi

of Aegean island imports consists of highly micaceous, dark-surfaced vessels that for the most part are red across both fracture and surfaces but sometimes brown (**MI/AI/4**; C 8127) near and at the surfaces. The overall appearance of this fabric is very similar to that of the micaceous pithoi here attributed to a Kytheran center of production. These smaller vessels may thus also have been manufactured on Kythera. The shapes represented are cooking pots (**MI/AI/2–4**; C 8019) that at least in some cases are provided with tripod legs (C 10406), a cooking dish (C 12064), and a deep-bodied bowl with two horizontal strap handles on the shoulder (C 8127). Most of these pieces came from LM IIIA–B contexts, but the cooking dish rim C 12064 is as early as LM IA Final, and a base and lower body fragment from a mixed fill north of House X (C 10405) dates to between MM III and LM II. Although virtually all these micaceous fragments derive from shapes that are common in the locally produced cooking pottery of the western Mesara, the strap-handled bowl C 8127 from an LM IIIA2 Early context in House X, Room 6, is an anomaly. This shape is, however, closely paralleled in the micaceous cooking assemblage typical of Neopalatial and Postpalatial Kastri on Kyth-

era (Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 134 μ58, fig. 43, pl. 35; 158 ρ59, fig. 47, pl. 43), a further piece of evidence in support of a Kytheran origin for this entire ceramic group.

The total number of ceramic imports to Kommos from islands to the north of Crete presented here (Tables 3.107–3.108), although substantially larger than the fifteen suggested by Betancourt (1990: 191–92) and Watrous (1992: 154, 168) and the equal number but slightly different selection of individual pieces proposed by Rutter (1999: 183–85, table 7), is nevertheless a much smaller group than that from any other region so far considered (Egypt, Syria–Palestine, Cyprus, Western Anatolia). Part of the reason for this, as has already been suggested, is the simple difficulty in recognizing imports from such a diverse range of sources as the Aegean islands north of Crete. Moreover, though these locales are typically much closer to Crete than the aforesaid regions ringing the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the locally produced pottery from many Aegean islands is often quite poorly known. The evidence presently available suggests that a small number of decorated jugs were imported from the Cyclades in the early Neopalatial era for use in private homes in the town (Hilltop, Central Hillside), much as appears to have been the case for the Cypriot White Painted IV jug from the Central Hillside (Table 3.104). Between the late Neopalatial era (LM IB Late) and the great LM IIIA2 Early destruction of the palace at Knossos, several linearly decorated and plain jars from the Cyclades and perhaps also from the Dodecanese arrived at Kommos, with most of their few surviving fragments coming from the Civic Center and House X rather than from the town on the hillside. No painted Cycladic pottery has yet been recognized from later LM IIIA2 or LM IIIB contexts at Kommos (Table 3.107). During these later periods, island imports typically took the form of micaceous dark-surfaced pithoi and cooking pottery, with only scattered examples of the latter coming from earlier LM IA (C 12064) and perhaps LM II (C 10405) contexts. This distinctive micaceous pottery is likely to have been imported from Kythera (Rutter forthcoming [c]), a manufacturing center for storage vessels and cooking pottery whose intermediate location between the southern Greek Mainland and Crete and potentially competitive products may account for the relative dearth of Aeginetan imports to the island during both the Neopalatial and later Prehistoric era. Only three vessels imported from the Aegean islands are represented by anything more than a very few sherds mending up into one or two joining fragments: the plain Cycladic White jar **47/20** from an LM II fill in Building T, Room 5, of the Civic Center; the strap-handled cooking bowl C 8127, probably Kytheran, from an LM IIIA2 Early dumped fill in House X, Room 6; and the large, elaborately decorated pithos **67d/3**, again probably from Kythera, found in scores of fragments in contexts dating from LM IIIB to Historic times throughout the Civic Center and as far north as the northern side of the paved Minoan road.

MYCENAEAN GREEK MAINLAND

Pottery imported to Kommos from the Greek Mainland during the LBA consisted, with the notable exception of the large pithoid jar **47/21**, exclusively of tablewares and small transport

Table 3.109. Mycenaean imports to Minoan Kommos: dates of Minoan contexts of discovery and functional types.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	18	7	5	6	36
Period					
LM IA Final	1				1
LM IB Early	1				1
LM IB Late	3				3
LM II	2	2			4
LM IIIA1		1	2		3
LM IIIA2 Early	3	2			5
LM IIIA2	2	1			3
LM IIIB	5		1	5	11
LM IIIA2–B	1		2	1	4
Historic		1			1
Shape					
Vapheio cup	2	1			3
Semiglobular cup	1				1
Goblet	1	1	2		4
Kylix	3				3
Deep bowl or stemmed bowl	2		1	2	5
Pithoid jar	1				1
Piriform jar	1(?)			1	1 + 1?
Amphoroid krater		2			2
Alabastron	2	1			3
Bridge-spouted jug	1 + 1(?)	1(?)			1 + 2?
Stirrup jar	3	1	2	3	9

vessels in the form of stirrup jars. In all cases except for the plain kylix **56b/4**, the tablewares are handsomely decorated, as are all the stirrup jars. The number of these Mycenaean imports was quite conservatively assessed by Watrous, who counted just 12 of them (1992: 155–56), but this number had swollen to 33 by the end of the most recent excavation campaign at the site in 1995 (Rutter 1999: 180–83 table 6). After extensive review of the materials from the Civic Center and House X over the past five years, that number has now modestly expanded to 36 (Tables 3.109–3.110).

Of these 36 vessels, no fewer than 10, or almost 28 percent of the total, are vessels represented by multiple nonjoining sherds or substantial enough single fragments that they can

Table 3.110. Mycenaean imports to Minoan Kommos: dates of production in Helladic terms and classification by Furumark Shape.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	18	7	5	6	36
Period					
LH I	FS 224: 2	FS 224: 1			3
LH IIA	FS 15: 1 FS 20: 1? FS 81/2 or 91/2: 1 FS 103: 1 + 1? FS 211: 1	FS 103: 1?			7
LH IIB	FS 254: 1	FS 254: 1	FS 254: 1		3
LH II	FS 81/2 or 91/2: 1				1
LH IIIA1			FS 255: 1		1
LH IIIA2	FS 166/170/178: 1 FS 171: 1 FS 256/257: 1	FS 54: 2 FS 94: 1 FS 166: 1?			7
LH IIIB1	FS 258: 1				1
LH IIIB	FS 284: 1 FS 305: 1		FS 182: 1 FS 183: 1 FS 284/305: 1	FS 167/171/173/ 180/182: 2 FS 284: 1 FS 305: 1	9
LH IIIB Late				FS 174: 1	1
LH IIIA2–B	FS 265: 1			FS 37/45: 1	2
LH IIIC Early	FS 174: 1				1

FS = Furumark Shape

be categorized as "partially to largely restorable." This proportion of substantially preserved Mycenaean vessels is significantly higher than in the case of any other regional group of ceramic imports, with the rest ranging quite consistently between 10 percent and 15 percent of the total fragments identified from a given region (Egypt, Syria–Palestine, Cyprus, Western Anatolia, the Aegean islands, and Sardinia). Why this restorability figure should be so much higher for Mycenaean imports in particular is something of a mystery, since the restorable items in question do not cluster in any particular time period, functional category, or locus of discovery. They include the following pieces: the LH I Vapheio cup **37e/16**, the LH IIA semiglobular cup **44b/20**, the LH IIA pithoid jar **47/21**, the LH IIIA2–B kylix **56b/4**, and the early LH IIIC stirrup jar **79/1** from the Civic Center; an LH IIIA2 angular alabastron C 7636 from House X, Room 5; an LH IIB goblet (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1926, fig. 69, pl. 51)

and an LH IIIB stirrup jar (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1017, fig. 69, pls. 24, 50) from the Central Hillside; and an LH IIIB stemmed bowl (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1117, fig. 69, pl. 51) as well as a late LH IIIB or very early LH IIIC stirrup jar (Watrous 1992: 156 no. 1422, fig. 69, pl. 51) from the Hilltop.[238]

Three stages in the importation of Mycenaean pottery are distinguished quite sharply both by where on the site pottery of this kind was found and what forms represent it. During the earliest stage, spanning later LM IA and all of LM IB (roughly LH I–IIA in Helladic terms), Mycenaean imports were restricted to Vapheio cups (**24/30**, **37e/16**; C 8129 from a much later LM IIIA1 context in House X, Room 6), an occasional semiglobular cup (**44b/20**), fragments from closed shapes that include bridge-spouted jugs (**44b/19**; probably also **44b/18** and C 11352, the last from an LM II context immediately north of House X), alabastra (**57a/2** and **MI/MG/2**, both from LM IIIA2 contexts), and a probable piriform jar (**MI/MG/1**, again from an LM IIIA2 context), and the large and impressively decorated pithoid jar **47/21** that was perhaps not discarded until the LM II period. The overwhelming majority of these vessels, including all three that can be considered "restorable" (**37e/16**, **44b/20**, **47/21**), were found in the Civic Center, with a couple of fragments also coming from in and around House X. From a functional point of view, the bulk of these eleven vases—the four cups and three probable jugs—would have been used for drinking. The pithoid jar **47/21**, the only example so far known of a Mycenaean Palace Style jar imported to Crete, is clearly a display piece. Its highly fragmentary state of preservation and discovery in a dumped LM II fill in Building T, Room 5, unfortunately make its original place of use altogether uncertain, although it certainly would have been highly visible if positioned somewhere in that room not too far away from the wide northern doorway opening onto the main east-west paved road. The restorable cups **37e/16** and **44b/20** were both found in or near the northwestern corner of Building T's court, the latter in the same context as fragments from a couple of contemporary Mycenaean closed shapes, one certainly (**44b/18**) and one possibly (**44b/19**) belonging to bridge-spouted jugs. It seems reasonable to conclude that these lavishly decorated, imported vessels were status-marking drinking equipment, arguably used by individuals at ceremonial occasions that took place in this portion of Building T. What regrettably remains uncertain is whether the status that was being indicated by these vessels was that of a high-ranking local personage or that of a foreign visitor. The collocation of drinking cups and jugs in equal numbers suggests that these two types of crockery were intended to be used together, even if they clearly do not qualify as decorative "sets" in the sense that the painted ornament on cup and jug was formally similar in either case.[239] Whether the Palace Style jar **47/21** was in some way connected with the LM IB drinking activities in the court attested by **37e/16** and **44b/18–20** must remain an open question. The alabastron and piriform jar fragments all came from much later contexts and may represent activities of a quite different kind taking place in some other portion of the Civic Center, as the discovery of the alabastron base **57a/2** below Gallery P3 on the east side of the court in fact suggests.[240]

A second stage in the importation of Mycenaean pottery to Kommos is represented by finds of LH IIB–IIIA1 date from LM II–IIIA1 contexts. These consist of LH IIB goblet fragments from an LM II fill in the northwest portion of Building T's North Stoa (**46a/6**) and from a contemporary fill immediately to the north of Building X (C 11309), a complete LH IIB goblet profile from south of the House with the Snake Tube on the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1926, fig. 69, pl. 51), and an LH IIIA1 goblet foot, stem, and lowermost bowl fragment from the same area (Watrous 1992: 45 no. 789, pl. 18), both of the latter from contexts dated to LM IIIA1. The Mycenaean imports of this stage once again put the accent squarely on drinking, but this activity had now been for the most part removed from Building T and its court and relocated in dwellings on the Lower (House X) and Central Hillside (House with the Snake Tube) areas of the town. Moreover, the activity of drinking insofar as it involved Mycenaean containers was now represented only by the vessel type used directly for consumption (i.e., a goblet) and no longer by a combination of cup and jug. Finally, that drinking vessel was no longer a relatively small, one-handled vessel with a long-established formal pedigree in the Minoan ceramic tradition, even though the specific examples here at issue were manufactured somewhere on the Greek Mainland, but rather a comparatively large, two-handled shape, distinctively Helladic in form and capable of holding a much greater quantity of the beverage to be consumed. If evidence were wanted for the presence of Mycenaeans among the Minoan population of Kommos, it is difficult to imagine what, in the way of a ceramic type and its distribution on the site, could be a more persuasive find than this discovery of small numbers of the quintessentially Mainland Greek drinking form in scattered residential contexts[241] during precisely those periods when a Mainland Greek administration appears to have been in control of Knossos, the only palatial complex seemingly operative on Crete at this time.

A third stage in the importation of Mycenaean pottery to Kommos encompasses both the LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB phases. Characteristic Mycenaean types of this stage were, above all, small stirrup jars and kylikes: The former began as early as LM IIIA2 Early (**48/4**; C 11000 from House X, Room 6) but became much more common in LM IIIB (**67b/4**, **79/1**; Watrous 1992: 74 no. 1264, 93 no. 1621, 155 no. 1017, 156 nos. 1422, 1628, figs. 46, 69, pls. 24, 29, 41, 50–51); the latter likewise are of both LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB types, painted (**67c/1**, **MI/MG/3**) and more rarely also plain (**56b/4**). Other closed as well as open forms were less common but nevertheless expand the range considerably: a piriform jar from the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1133, pl. 51),[242] an almost complete angular alabastron from House X, Room 5 (C 7636), and pairs of amphoroid kraters (C 9126, C 12082), deep bowls (**78/23**; Watrous 1992: 156 no. 1695, fig. 69, pl. 44), and stemmed bowls (**78/24**; Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1117, fig. 69, pl. 51).[243] Mycenaean imports during this long interval of almost two centuries were quite evenly distributed all over the site, now being represented for the first time from the Hilltop (Table 3.109). The "restorable" vessels of this era are, in contrast with the previous stages, more often small to medium-sized closed shapes than open ones. An LH IIIB (Watrous 1992:

155 no. 1017) and one or perhaps two very early LH IIIC stirrup jars (**79/1**; Watrous 1992: 156 no. 1422) came from the Hilltop, Central Hillside, and Civic Center, the LH IIIA2 angular alabastron C 7636 from House X. Mendable open shapes consist of a handsomely decorated stemmed bowl from the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1117) and a plain kylix **56b/4** from an LM IIIA2 floor deposit at the east end of Gallery P2 comprising a group of pottery particularly noteworthy for its "international flavor" even at a site as full of ceramic evidence for intercultural contacts as Kommos. Within a much broader array of Helladic ceramic types that are more broadly distributed across the site than in any preceding stage, two particular patterns among these latest Mycenaean imports merit comment. First, in the only two instances where either deep or stemmed bowls of Mycenaean types have been identified, the two shapes appeared together: in Street O18 on the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 66, 97–98, 155–56 nos. 1117, 1695) and in the open area due south of Court N6 in the Civic Center (**78/23–24**), in both cases in unroofed, public spaces. Despite the pronounced decorative differences between the two vessels in question in each location, they nevertheless may have been functionally paired in some way. Second, the presence in House X of a completely restorable angular alabastron (C 7636) and of a couple of fragments from either the same or two different amphoroid kraters (C 9126, C 12082), one of them from an extremely rare example on Crete of a chariot krater (Rutter 1999: 144 and n. 45; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 59 [78-P0182], 148, pls. 48, 65c), serve as another reminder of the unusual importance of this particular building within the Minoan town at Kommos. The imported small stirrup jars from a number of different locations provide testimony for a local demand for Mycenaean perfumed oil, one of the Greek Mainland's principal exports throughout the eastern Mediterranean in this period. The fairly widespread distribution of these vessels at Kommos, and the absence of fragments from any more than two in a single context of discovery, suggest that one or two vessels of this type and their fragrant contents may have amounted to a more or less standard household supply of this commodity during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.

The chronological importance of the Mycenaean ceramic finds from Kommos is considerable. Not only is the site thus far unique on Crete in having produced Mycenaean imports that span the full range of the LBA, from LH I (**24/30**, **37e/16**) to LH IIIC (**79/1**; perhaps also Watrous 1992: 156 no. 1422, fig. 69, pl. 51), but the contexts in which these finds were made have provided welcome confirmation of the standard correlations between the Minoan and Helladic ceramic sequences: LH I with later LM IA (**24/30**); LH IIA with developed LM IB (**44/18–20**); LH IIB with LM II (**46a/6**; C 11309); LH IIIA1 with LM IIIA1 (Watrous 1992: 45 no. 789, pl. 18); LH IIIA2 with the end of LM IIIA1 (**48/4**; C 11000; Hallager 1988) and LM IIIA2 (**56b/4**); and LH IIIB with LM IIIB (**67c/1**, **78/23–24**; Watrous 1992: 155–56 nos. 1017, 1117, 1628, 1695, fig. 69, pls. 41, 50–51). Of particular importance is the discovery at Kommos of one positively identifiable, very early LH IIIC stirrup jar (**79/1**) and of a second LH IIIB2 or possibly earliest LH IIIC vase of the same shape (Watrous 1992: 156 no. 1422, fig. 69, pl. 51).[244] The first unfortunately came from a context lacking any closely datable Minoan pot-

tery, although it was found stratified directly above the developed LM IIIB Group 59 abandoned on the floor of Corridor N7. The second, quite possibly contemporary, stirrup jar derives from a Hilltop context that looks to be closely contemporary with the LM IIIB abandonment horizon in the Civic Center (Watrous 1992: 80–82). Between the two of them, these vases thus suggest that the Civic Center and portions of the town at Kommos so far excavated must have been almost entirely abandoned relatively suddenly at a time roughly contemporary with a developed stage of LH IIIB2 (to give the stirrup jar from the Hilltop dated to LH IIIB2 by style time to be imported to Kommos and used prior to its deposition in Court 2) or perhaps even as late as the earliest phase of LH IIIC (the date of **79/1** and of the context in which was found an exceptionally close Mainland parallel for the Hilltop stirrup jar just mentioned). These Mainland Greek imports thus place the date of Kommos's abandonment substantially later than heretofore maintained, close to ca. 1200 B.C. or conceivably even a decade or two later rather than "during the third quarter of the thirteenth century B.C." (Watrous 1992: 146).

The Mycenaean imports from Kommos are also impressive from a purely typological point of view. No Minoan settlement other than Kommos has yet produced a Mycenaean Palace Style jar (**47/21**), a Mycenaean chariot krater (C 9126), or multiple Mycenaean goblet fragments of the LH IIB–IIIA1 phases (**46a/6**; C 11309; Watrous 1992: 45 no. 789, 155 no. 1926). Equally noteworthy is the rather different character of the Mycenaean imports at Kommos from the hundreds of pieces, especially of LH IIIA2 and early LH IIIB date, recovered at Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2003: 249–52 [LM IIIB2 contexts only]; Hallager forthcoming) where, for example, solid-coated open vessels are far more common, notwithstanding the comparable popularity of kylikes and stirrup jars overall. The differential distribution of Mycenaean ceramic imports throughout Crete is clearly a topic that might pay rich dividends for anyone with the requisite expertise in recognizing such material who might be able to gain access to a wide selection of excavated LM assemblages from around the island.

GAVDOS

Only within the past three years have Bronze Age imports from the small island of Gavdos, located some forty miles west-southwest of the western Mesara coastline in the Libyan Sea, been recognized at Kommos.[245] So far, just a few such imports have been identified by their pale and powdery fabric, accompanied in medium-sized to large vases by large subangular and angular red, reddish yellow, reddish brown, and dark reddish brown inclusions. The only Neopalatial and later vessels in this and possibly related fabrics to have been catalogued thus far are pieces that were inventoried because they preserved a complete (**9b/2**, **28b/2**) or almost complete (C 10258) profile or were represented by multiple nonjoining fragments (C 11880) (Table 3.111). That is, unlike other groups of ceramic imports so far surveyed, Gavdiot pieces have not been singled out and inventoried on the grounds of fabric alone. It is therefore as yet uncertain how many imports from this island may ultimately be recognized in

Table 3.111. Gavdiot imports to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	1 + 1?	2			3 + 1?
Period					
LM IA Early	1				1
LM IB Early	1(?)				1?
LM II		2			2
Shape					
Large convex-sided cup	1				1
Bell cup	1(?)				1?
Oval-mouthed amphora		1			1
Stirrup jar		1			1

LBA contexts at Kommos, although the number is unlikely to be particularly large. One thing is nevertheless perfectly clear already from the few Gavdiot vases that have so far been identified: from the point of view of their decoration, these pieces are as uncanonical as they are peculiar in terms of their fabric. Thus the LM IA Early convex-sided cup **9b/2**, decorated in a dark-on-light idiom with multiple semicircle groups pendent from the rim, has no close parallel at Kommos for either its shape or its decoration. The bell cup **27b/2**, although broadly similar to local versions of the same basic type such as **27a/2**, could not be mistaken for a local product in formal terms any more than it could by virtue of its fabric. The large stirrup jar C 10258 from an LM II context in House X, Room 6, is decorated with enormous cross-hatched loops in a fashion that has no close contemporary or earlier parallels in either the Mesara or other nearby regions of Crete. Finally, the oval-mouthed amphora C 11880 from House X, Room 9, even though purely linear in its decoration, once again has no particularly close parallels in the local LM II ceramic repertoire, despite the discovery of large amounts of material of this period in the ruins of House X.

There is not much more that can be said just at the moment about this particular regional group of imports. Perhaps the most important point to note is simply that an islet as small and remote as Gavdos could nevertheless export both open and closed shapes to sites as far away as Kommos. The two closed shapes from Gavdos so far identified are especially noteworthy in two respects: first, they are both large enough to qualify as ordinary transport vessels for liquid (in the case of the stirrup jar C 10258) or other, presumably agricultural produce; and second, they both came from contexts dated securely to LM II, a period that is often recognized only with difficulty elsewhere on Crete and for which additional diagnostic

Table 3.112. Sardinian imports to Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	24	0	7	22	53
Period					
LM IIIB	22		7	22	51
Historic	2				2
Shape					
Lipless cup or bowl	4 small; 5 medium/large			1 small; 1 medium/large	11
Swollen-lipped bowl	2		1	3	6
Open shape	3		4	2	9
Jug	1				1
Collar-necked jar	5			7	12
Swollen-lipped jar	1			2	3
Closed shape	2		2	6	10
Pithos	1				1

ceramics are therefore always welcome, even if they are as unusual as Gavdiot imports of this phase are likely to be.

SARDINIA

Although the number of imports to LM Kommos recognized as the products of potters working within the boundaries of the modern state of Italy has fluctuated slightly over the last fifteen years, from the 55 counted by Watrous (1992: 163–68) and Cline (1994: 272–73 table 68) to the 57 listed by Rutter (1999: 177–80 table 5) to the 53 items identified here as of specifically Sardinian provenance (Table 3.112), there has been less change in the assessment of the quantity or principal source of this region's contribution to Kommos's overall corpus of foreign ceramic imports than there has been with respect to its date and the specific purposes served by these westernmost imports (Watrous 1992: 163, 182; Rutter 1999: 143–44, 153–54 nn. 41–43).[246] Final study of the contexts at Kommos in which pottery of Sardinian shapes (Campus and Leonelli 2000) and fabrics (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998) has been discovered has shown conclusively that this material occurs only in LM IIIB contexts, above all in the latest BA occupational strata that are particularly well represented on the Hilltop and in the Civic Center but that are significantly less abundant in the Central Hillside area and not present at all in House X (Table 3.112). It is no doubt because this Sardinian material is characteristic of so many deposits that immediately precede a long-term abandonment of

those portions of the site so far extensively excavated that a comparatively high proportion of between 25 percent and 35 percent of the Sardinian vessels recovered can be categorized as "restorable." Because these vases were often abandoned in contexts that were left undisturbed thereafter for up to two centuries, a much-higher-than-usual percentage of them are represented by multiple fragments that, even though they typically do not permit the restoration of complete pots, nevertheless reveal the former presence in such contexts of whole vases rather than just isolated sherds.

All the Sardinian BA pottery so far recognized at Kommos is handmade and dark-burnished, and its exterior surfaces typically are mottled to some degree, although a few vessels appear to have been almost entirely either brown or gray-black. Fabrics are medium coarse to coarse and almost invariably contain some sparkling black angular grits, just one of many differently colored inclusions in clays that are rich in volcanic rock fragments (Watrous, Day, and Jones: 338–39). No Sardinian vessel thus far identified at Kommos bears any kind of painted, incised, or plastic ornament. The vast majority of the more than fifty vessels represented belong to a fairly narrow range of four basic shapes (Rutter 1999: 144): jars with spreading or flaring collar-necks (**78/25–27**, **MI/It/1**; Watrous 1992: figs. 73: 1540; 75: 1343, 1423, 1428; 76: 1426), usually quite large but sometimes small (Watrous 1992: fig. 73: 1540, perhaps also fig. 75: 1377); less common, wider-mouthed jars with thickened, sloping lips (**78/28**; Watrous 1992: figs. 73: 1760; 74: 1542); bowls with simple tapering rims, sometimes quite small (**40/38**, **78/30**, **MI/It/2**; Watrous 1992: fig. 75: 1561; probably also **44b/21**), but typically medium-sized (**59/23**) to large (**60/35**, **78/31–32**, **MI/It/3**); and large bowls with swollen, sloping lips, markedly undercut on the exterior (**65/2**, **78/33**; Watrous 1992: figs. 73: 1968; 74: 1424; 75: 1037). Aside from these, single examples of a jug (**78/29** = Watrous 1992: fig. 75: 1971) and a pithos (**59/21**) may be cited.

The distribution of this material at the Kommos site is an interesting one (Table 3.113). As noted previously, no examples are attested from House X or anywhere in its immediate vicinity, no doubt because LM IIIB strata were almost entirely either naturally eroded or intentionally dug away during early Archaic times in this portion of the site. No pieces of Sardinian pottery have been found within any part of Building P so far cleared to the building's original floor levels, although a single body sherd (**77/8**) did turn up in the fill of the low terrace piled up in front of Gallery P6's west end, but substantial quantities of Sardinian pottery came from the final occupation levels of Building N (**59/21–23**; **60/33–35**; **65/2**) and from wash levels excavated to the south of Court N6 (**78/25–33**; **MI/It/1–2**).

In those areas of the site where such Sardinian pottery is relatively common, and especially where significant numbers of the vessels in question are "restorable" (Building N in the Civic Center; Court 2 and Room 3 on the Hilltop; Table 3.113), the balance between open and closed forms is striking, a phenomenon that suggested to Watrous that the bowls often served as lids for the jars (1992: 182; Cline 1994: 79; Rutter 1999: 144, 154 n. 43). The existence of two basically distinct bowl forms and two comparably distinct jar forms, along with the

Table 3.113. Distribution of Sardinian imports within Minoan Kommos.

	Lipless Cup or Bowl	Swollen-Lipped Bowl	Collar-Necked Jar	Swollen-Lipped Jar	Other
Totals	11	6	12	3	21
Period					
Hilltop, Court 2 (Watrous 1992: Deposit 82)	C 5465	C 863	C 847, C 5348, C 5464	C 5349	
Hilltop, Rooms 3 and 14b (Watrous 1992: Deposits 83–84)	C 731	C 3494	C 157, C 3311	C 3310	C 3953 (closed)
Hilltop, North House, Room 17a and to east (Watrous 1992: Deposit 81)			C 1147, C 5592		
Hilltop, Court 11 and Room 12 (Watrous 1992: Deposits 76, 78)					C 4699 (open); C 4625 (closed)
Hilltop, Street O18 and Room O19 (Watrous 1992: Deposits 96–97)					C 2189 (open?); C 2137, C 4325, C 4411 (closed)
Hilltop, Corridor O11 and Courtyard 21 (Watrous 1992: Deposit 72, above Deposit 62)		C 1520			C 1573 (closed)
Central Hillside, House with the Snake Tube Rooms 3 and 5 (Watrous 1992: Deposits 75 and 93 plus surface)		C 469			C 1854, C 1900, C 4270 (open); C 1699 (closed)
Central Hillside, East of House with the Snake Tube, Room 21 and near Room 30 (Watrous 1992: Deposit 60)					C 5123 (open); C 1769 (closed)
Civic Center, Room N5 and Corridor N7	**59/23**				**59/21** (pithos); **59/22** (closed)
Civic Center, Court N6 and Room N12+13	**60/35**	**65/2**	**60/33**		**60/34** (closed)
Civic Center, wash levels south of Court N6	**78/30–32, MI/It/2**	**78/33**	**78/25–27, MI/It/1**	**78/28**	**78/29** (jug); **78/34–35** (open)
Civic Center, contaminants in building fills in and around House N	**40/38, 44b/21, MI/It/3**				
Civic Center, fill of terrace in front of Gallery P6					**77/8** (open)

rarity of other shapes, supports the notion that these particular jar and bowl types were commonly associated as pairs, the swollen-lipped varieties of each functional form being noticeably less common than those with simple tapering rims (Table 3.113). Watrous's contention that such jar-and-bowl pairs came to Kommos as transport vessels but went on to serve as storage vessels once off-loaded from the ships in which they had arrived seems perfectly reasonable in view of the distribution of such vessels at Kommos. That is, unlike most Canaanite jars and Egyptian amphoras that remained in the immediate vicinity of the harbor and would have been reused as transport vessels (Tables 3.101–3.102) unless broken,[247] the Sardinian jars and their bowl-shaped lids appear to have lost their transport function very soon after their arrival. Although a similar conversion from transport to storage functions may also have affected a certain number of Cypriot and Kytheran pithoi (Tables 3.105, 3.108), this seems to have been a far more normal or regular occurrence in the case of the most common Sardinian vessel types. If one were to speculate as to why this should have been so, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Sardinian vessels were considered inferior transport vessels by both the Minoans and other traders who frequented the harbor at Kommos. That is, once these vases had arrived at Kommos with their original contents, whatever these may have been, either those contents were all used locally and did not continue their journey farther east or else those contents were transferred to other containers at Kommos for redistribution to other ports of trade in the eastern Mediterranean. Whether the almost complete absence of Sardinian jars from contexts in and immediately around Building P at Kommos should be taken as evidence that the jars' contents were not, in fact, transferred to other containers but were instead all locally consumed is debatable, as is Watrous's in some ways attractive suggestion that the contents of at least some of these jars are likely to have consisted of bronze scrap (1992: 182; Rutter 1999: 144, 154 n. 43). The fairly even-handed dispersal of Sardinian jar-and-bowl pairs among a substantial number of LM IIIB Kommian residential units (Table 3.113), along with the occasional jug (**78/29**) and pithos (**59/21**), suggests that vessels of these types were commonly perceived as useful by the local population at Kommos. That such vessels are not particularly concentrated in any single structure or even small number of buildings argues against these vessels' serving as markers of an immigrant population element.

Although these Sardinian containers bear a generic resemblance, especially in the technology of their production and the overall dark, although usually somewhat mottled, coloration of their surfaces, to the handmade burnished pottery found quite often in Mainland Greek settlement contexts of the early and occasionally middle LH IIIC period, it is important to remember that the Sardinian vessels are unambiguous imports, whereas all LH IIIC handmade burnished vessels to have been found in any quantity at a particular Mainland site appear to have been locally made. In both this respect as well as in the shapes represented, the Sardinian pottery from Kommos is also quite different from the handmade dark-burnished pottery of mainland Italian, Subappenine derivation found in substantial quantities in LM

IIIB2 and LM IIIC contexts at Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 165–66; 2003: 253–54) and reported in the form of single sherds from early LM IIIC contexts at Knossos and Kastelli Pediadas (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 166 nn. 309–10) and a single vase from an LM IIIB Late context at Aghia Pelagia (Hallager and Hallager 2003: 254 and n. 557).

In his petrological analysis of nineteen Sardinian fragments selected by Watrous from among those found in all areas of Kommos where such pottery has to date been recovered, Day was able to discriminate between two rather different volcanic fabrics, both of which he considered compatible with a Sardinian provenance (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: 338–39). All three samples tested from both the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 166 nos. 1293, 1296, 1968) and the Civic Center (**78/32–33**; **MI/It/1**) plus six of the thirteen samples from the Hilltop represent Day's fabric #3, and the other seven samples from the Hilltop make up his fabric #2. "They are clearly different but related clay mixes, and may represent two production centers on Sardinia" (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: 339). There is no patterning detectable in either the shapes or contexts in which these two different fabrics appear at Kommos, although the numbers of pieces that have been sampled to date are really too small to make unambiguously clear that this apparent lack of patterning is real.

FINE WHEELMADE GRAY WARE

A small number of vessels produced in a fine wheelmade gray fabric include three complete or restorable vessels—an alabastron from an LM IB Early context in the Civic Center (**40/19**), a small askos from a mixed upper level above the eastern portion of House X (C 501), and a shallow teacup from an LM IIIA1 context on the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 30 no. 514, fig. 23, pls. 53, 56)—and four fragments—two juglets from the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 46 no. 803, fig. 76, pl. 53) and Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 88 no. 1544, fig. 76, pl. 58) and two other small cups, each represented by a pair of rim sherds, one from the Central Hillside (Watrous 1992: 164 no. 672, pl. 56) and a second from the Civic Center (**MI/Cr/5**). The nearly complete profile of the shallow teacup from the Central Hillside features a fairly broad and very thin vertical strap handle, whereas the much less fully preserved cup from an LM IIIA2 Early context in the Civic Center (**MI/Cr/5**) preserves a tiny, horizontally attached loop handle pressed against the uppermost part of its body profile but not rising above the rim.

For such a comparatively small number of pieces, the breadth of their chronological and spatial distribution across the site and the typological variability of the shapes represented is substantial (Table 3.114). Watrous was prepared to view most of these pieces as non-Minoan and grouped several of them among his "Italian" imports (1992: 163–64); but there is nothing in the shape, fabric, or technology of production of these vessels to link them with the handmade and often mottled, dark-burnished imports from Sardinia surveyed previously, nor do they bear any particular resemblance in their shapes to the Italian wheelmade gray ware discovered in some quantities at Broglio di Trebisacce in Calabria (Belardelli 1994) and recognized also in early LH IIIC levels at Tiryns (Kilian 1988: 145–48; Bettelli 1995, 1999; Belardelli

Table 3.114. Fine wheelmade gray ware from Minoan Kommos.

	Southern Area, Civic Center	House X	Central Hillside	Hilltop	Total
Totals	2	1	2	2	7
Period					
LM IB Early	1				1
LM IIIA1			2		2
LM IIIA2 Early	1				1
LM IIIA2				1	1
LM IIIA(?)		1			1
LM IIIB				1	1
Shape					
Alabastron	1				1
Askos		1			1
Juglet			1	1	2
Cup	1		1	1	3

1999) and Dimini (Adrymi-Sismani 2002: 100–101, fig. 14), as well as in roughly contemporary LM IIIB2 and LM IIIC levels at Chania (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 166–67, pl. 51). The fine gray wheelmade vessels from Kommos likewise do not appear to have any particular connection with northwestern Anatolian Gray Ware (Allen 1990; Schachner 1995; Bayne 2000; Pavuk 2002) nor with the occasional examples of a comparable combination of color, fabric, and wheelmade manufacture on the Mycenaean mainland (Kalogeropoulos 1998: 42–60). There seems, in fact, no good reason to reject the Kommian gray-ware vases as Minoan products, although they may well not be local to the western Mesara (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1994: esp. 47–48). Since the examples from Kommos are comparatively few in number, invariably occur in the form of small shapes, both open and closed, and exhibit considerable variety in their typology, they appear to be specialty items for which there was no especially strong local demand. Furthermore, this picture of small vessels (almost invariably cups and pouring vessels), represented at any given site by a very small number of examples, appears to be the norm for this ceramic class throughout Crete from LM I times onward, with the notable exception of the concentration of open shapes in LM IIIB2–IIIC contexts at Chania (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1994; Hallager and Hallager 2000: 166–67; 2003: 254–56). That some of these vessels feature odd lugs (**40/19**) or handles that are so closely attached to the vessel body as to resemble lugs (**MI/Cr/5**), together with their highly burnished and uniformly dark gray surfaces, suggests that, like Minoan and Minoanizing vessels from earlier contexts at Kastri on Kythera (Coldstream and Huxley 1972: 235 D9–11, 246–47 E20–26, 281,

286; Bevan et al. 2002: 77; 79 and nn. 38, 40; 93) and the nearby site of Aghios Stephanos in Laconia (Rutter 1979), these vessels may have been intentional imitations of stone vases, specifically containers made from serpentine or steatite (Rutter 1999: 154 n. 41, 180 table 5; Hallager and Hallager 2003: 255 and n. 567).

IMPORTED VESSELS OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

More than 340 vessels manufactured at locales outside the island of Crete have been attributed to specific regions of production in the preceding survey of ceramic imports from Neopalatial and later Bronze Age contexts at Kommos. A few more than thirty additional inventoried LBA pieces identified as nonlocal and in all probability non-Minoan continue to elude our attempts to pin down their places of production. Of the ten such pieces from the Civic Center, a couple of closed body sherds from chronologically mixed fills have not been considered worthwhile publishing (C 9617, C 10036). The remaining eight consist largely of fragments from medium-sized to large closed vessels, three of Neopalatial date (**24/31**, **MI/Cy/5**, **MI/UP/3**), one from an LM IIIA2 Early context (**53/3**), and two from LM IIIB contexts (**64/6**, **69b/1**). A red-slipped cup or bowl base (**MI/Cy/3**) from the LM IA Advanced to Final kiln dump within the South Stoa bears some resemblance in fabric and form to contemporary Cypriot jug bases found at Kommos (e.g., **24/28**), but the atypical shape of the vase to which it belonged renders its identification as a Proto Base Ring wishbone-handled cup of the sort found in substantial numbers at Toumba tou Skourou suspect (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 205 [Tomb I.232, 472, 481, 482], 238 [Tomb I.452], 251 [Tomb II.22]). The probable lamp fragment **56b/6** is also suspected of being Cypriot, although a compelling case for such an identification cannot yet be made.

Among already-published vessels from Kommos, the largest homogeneous group of unidentified imports came from an LM IIIA1 context on the Central Hillside just south of the House with the Snake Tube. Four of the five fragments in question clearly belong to examples of the same open shape, a shallow, thin-walled, and handmade open vessel with a highly burnished black surface and a distinctively thickened, convex base (Watrous 1992: 164 nos. 522, 812–13, 1966, fig. 73, pl. 56). Identified as "Italian" by Watrous, these pieces proved from both chemical and petrological analyses applied to two of them (C 4470, C 4936) to have been produced from clays (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: petrological Group 1; chemical Groups 1 and 3) in virtually all cases different from those typical of the later Sardinian imports (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: petrological Groups 2–3; chemical Groups 2–3). However, these pieces exhibited considerable similarity in both chemical and physical terms to the single fragment of a Western Anatolian jug (C 5731) to have thus far been analyzed in the same way (Watrous, Day, and Jones 1998: 338–39, petrological Group 4; chemical Group 1), with the result that one is tempted to suggest that these oddly shaped shallow bowls or plates may likewise have been produced somewhere along the Western Anatolian coast. But in the absence of any as-yet-compelling typological comparanda from that region, such a hypothesis can be rated as little better than a guess.

Several pale-slipped, medium-coarse open and closed shapes (Watrous 1992: 154 no. 806, 168 nos. 804–5, pls. 50, 54) from the same LM IIIA1 context cannot be placed, nor can a fine white-slipped pyxis(?) (Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1809, fig. 66, pl. 48) and a very hard fired, pale-surfaced, and complexly profiled lamp fragment (Betancourt 1990: 107 no. 585, fig. 27, pl. 30) from Neopalatial contexts on the Central Hillside. From the Hilltop, two unidentified, pale-surfaced and burnished, medium-coarse closed shapes (Watrous 1992: 155 no. 1925, pl. 50; C 10561) came from Neopalatial contexts. A pair of body sherds from a large open shape in a medium-coarse, pale-surfaced, and burnished fabric from an LM III context on the Hilltop are likewise unidentified (Watrous 1992: 168–69 no. 1974, pls. 51, 54).

This fairly disparate array of as-yet-unidentified imports is further evidence for the varied nature of Kommos's contacts with the eastern Mediterranean world outside Crete. At the same time, the fact that no more than a half dozen pieces at most can be assigned provenances other than those already discussed in some detail indicates that the regions with which those in control of the Minoan port at Kommos conducted the bulk of their intercultural exchanges have been successfully identified. Future provenance work may narrow the range of possible sites in each region from which imports came to Kommos (especially in the case of Syria–Palestine, Cyprus, Western Anatolia, the Mycenaean Mainland, and Sardinia). It may also gradually reduce the present number of unidentified imports. But it seems unlikely at this point that substantial numbers of ceramic products from altogether different regions than those already recognized will be discovered by further excavations or additional analytical work applied to pottery that has already been unearthed.

Ceramic Imports to Kommos During the Late Bronze Age: An Overview

The preceding review by region of the substantial numbers of ceramic imports to Kommos from outside Crete during the Neopalatial and subsequent Bronze Age eras has summarized the evidence in terms of such variables as date (of deposition only, in most cases), origin, state of preservation, context of discovery, and shape and imputed function of vessel. In the following discussion, an attempt is made to contextualize the importation of foreign ceramic containers to Kommos within the principal historical stages that the Kommos site underwent from the time of Building T's construction in MM III until the wholesale abandonment of the Civic Center at the end of LM IIIB. For this purpose, it seemed appropriate to isolate the following four periods of time during which activity in the Civic Center is likely to have taken fundamentally different forms as a consequence of local, regional, and islandwide events and developments:

1. Early Neopalatial (MM III–LM IA Early): the period during which Building T was constructed and utilized in its entirety as the only structure of palatial size in the western Mesara;
2. Later Neopalatial (LM IA Advanced–IB Late): the period following a major destruc-

tion of large parts, and perhaps even all, of Building T, after which significant portions of the building were abandoned and others were drastically remodeled, to the time of the destruction and subsequent abandonment of all known palatial buildings other than that at Knossos;

3. Early Postpalatial (LM II–IIIA2 Early): the period during which Knossos dominated Crete as the island's sole functioning palatial establishment and probably served as the cultural capital of the entire southern Aegean;
4. Late Postpalatial (LM IIIA2 Mature–IIIB): a period during which impressive regional centers such as Aghia Triada, Chania, and Tylissos hosted either administrative bureaucracies attested by written documents (Chania, perhaps also Knossos) or witnessed major episodes of monumental building (Aghia Triada, Tylissos) preceding a fairly sudden disappearance of such administrations and building programs toward the end of the thirteenth century B.C.

Of these four periods, the first and third were relatively short-lived (ca. 60–75 years apiece), whereas the second and fourth were substantially longer (a little over a century for the latter and somewhere between one and two centuries for the former). This difference in duration is an important factor to keep in mind in assessing on some kind of relative basis how commonly foreign vessels were imported in each of the four stages in question.

EARLY NEOPALATIAL

Despite the political and presumably also economic power implied by the construction of Building T at Kommos in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of its predecessor, Building AA, as well as of the Old Palace at Phaistos, there is little evidence in the form of foreign pottery recovered at the site for any noteworthy connections with the world outside Crete. Of the seven vessels securely identified as imports from abroad (Table 3.115), two Cypriot pieces are small to medium-sized pouring vessels (**8/6**; C 6112 = Betancourt 1990: no. 1835), as are three of the four vases recognized as Cycladic (C 181, C 3918, C 5768; Betancourt 1990: nos. 501, 592, 730, respectively). The fourth Cycladic piece is a cup (Betancourt 1990: no. 798), just as an unusually shaped open vessel from Gavdos is likely to be (**9b/2**). Thus the seven foreign ceramic imports of this period consist entirely of tablewares, for the most part attractively decorated and perhaps appearing exotic, albeit to varying degrees, by virtue of their atypical shapes. They were found quite widely distributed throughout the settlement of Kommos, with only two of the seven coming from the Civic Center. To this group may be added several strange-looking pieces whose locales of production are unknown: a fine unpainted and very hard fired lamp (Betancourt 1990: no. 585), a pale-slipped and burnished jar (Betancourt 1990: no. 1925), and perhaps also a rim-handled wide-mouthed jug in an unpainted, medium-coarse, and reddish yellow burnished ware (C 10561, from the Hilltop). Nothing about this small group of imports suggests any sort of organized trade in commodi-

Table 3.115. Comparison of frequencies of imported groups in each of four major historical stages within MM III–LM IIIB Kommos.
All percentages expressed are those of the relevant totals at the right in the first ten rows of the table.

	MM III–LM IA Early	LM IA Advanced–IB Late	LM II–IIIA2 Early	LM IIIA2–B	Poorly Dated[248]	Total
Total Vessels Represented	7 (2.0%)	26 (7.4%)	126 (35.7%)	141 (39.9%)	53 (15.0%)	353
Egyptian	—	2 (5.3%)	19 (50.0%)	10 (26.3%)	7 (18.4%)	38
Syro–Palestinian	—	2 (2.9%)	37 (54.4%)	20 (29.4%)	9 (13.2%)	68
Cypriot	2 (2.7%)	11 (14.7%)	20 (26.7%)	25 (33.3%)	17 (22.7%)	75
Western Anatolian	—	1 (2.1%)	24 (51.1%)	13 (27.7%)	9 (19.1%)	47
Aegean Island	4 (16.0%)	2 (8.0%)	10 (40.0%)	6 (24.0%)	3 (12.0%)	25
Mycenaean	—	5 (13.9%)	12 (33.3%)	14 (38.9%)	5 (13.9%)	36
Gavdiot	1 (25.0%)	1 (25.0%)	2 (50.0%)			4
Sardinian	—	—	—	51 (96.2%)	2 (3.8%)	53
Fine wheelmade gray ware	—	1 (14.3%)	3 (42.9%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (14.3%)	7
Mendable Vessels; Single Feature Sherds						
Egyptian	—; 1	—; —	—; 4	1; 5	—; 2	1 (2.6%); 12 (31.6%)
Syro–Palestinian	—; —	1; —	7; 13	2; 7	1; 4	11 (15.5%); 24 (35.3%)
Cypriot	2; —	3; 8	4; 8	4; 8	1; 8	14 (18.4%); 32 (42.1%)
Western Anatolian	—; —	—; —	8; 7	3; 2	—; 7	11 (23.4%); 16 (34.0%)
Aegean Island	—; 2	—; 1	2; 1	1; 2	—; 1	3 (12.0%); 7 (28.0%)
Mycenaean	—; —	2; —	4; 4	8; 6	—; 3	14 (38.9%); 13 (36.1%)
Gavdiot	1; —	1; —	2; —	—; —	—; —	4 (100.0%); —
Sardinian	—; —	—; —	—; —	15; 14	1; 4	16 (30.2%); 18 (34.0%)
Fine wheelmade gray ware	—; —	1; —	1; 2	—; 1	1; —	3 (42.9%); 3 (42.9%)

ties with regions outside Crete, since only one of the unidentified imports can be considered a transport vessel. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that any of these imported containers conferred any particular status on its owner. On the contrary, a single exotic jug or juglet seems to have been almost standard equipment among the MM III and LM IA Early households of early Neopalatial Kommos.

LATER NEOPALATIAL

After the destruction of much of Building T at the end of LM IA Early, the usage of foreign ceramic vessels at Kommos appears to have undergone significant change, possibly in two chronologically separable stages. As early as the latest subphase of LM IA and continuing into LM IB Early, Cypriot color-slipped jugs (here classified as Proto Base Ring) appear to have been used in some numbers in Building T, most probably in ceremonial activities that took place in its central court (**20/6**, **24/27–29**, **30/5**, **34/6**, **40/36–37**, **MI/Cy/4**, C 11923). A contemporary phenomenon was the appearance of Mycenaean Vapheio cups (**24/30**, **37e/16**; C 8129 from Room 6 in House X), one of which (**24/30**) came from the same deposit as several of the Cypriot jugs (**24/27–29**).[249] To the same LM IA Final–IB Early temporal horizon belong a linear bell cup possibly from Gavdos (**27b/2**), a Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottle from Cyprus (**40/35**), and the earliest example of an Egyptian transport amphora (**40/34**), the latter two items once again from the same deposit as one containing a couple of the color-slipped Cypriot jugs (**40/36–37**). Although all these pieces, aside perhaps from the spindle bottle, may be connected with the same activity—drinking—as the imported jugs, juglets, and cups of the preceding period, now all the evidence for the employment of foreign imports for this activity came from within Building T or from just across the road in House X (C 8129). Not one example of a color-slipped Cypriot jug has been identified among the pottery recovered from the ordinary residential architecture north of the paved Minoan road, and the same kind of spatial restriction can be suggested for LH I Vapheio cups. Notwithstanding the relatively small numbers of jugs and cups in question, this evidence suggests that a change of some kind that involved drinking had occurred in the celebration of communal activities within Building T.

Additional but as-yet-unidentified imports of this period take the form of linearly painted closed shapes (**24/31**, **MI/Cy/5**) and a red-slipped cup (**MI/Cy/3**), likewise all from the Civic Center. One more unidentified import, of a fundamentally different kind, is a white-slipped rim-handled wide-mouthed jar that bears a potmark impressed before firing on the back of its vertical handle (C 10263). The large size of this unusual piece from Room 6 of House X implies some altogether different kind of activity from that associated with the imported jugs and cups of this stage recovered in Building T.

The later LM IB phase witnessed further significant changes in the patterning of imported ceramics at Kommos. The color-slipped jugs evidently quite common in LM IA Final and LM IB Early contexts in Building T disappeared, perhaps being replaced functionally by the

earliest Mycenaean closed shapes that turned up at this time (**44b/18–19**, **MI/MG/1–2**, C 11352). Additional fragments of Egyptian amphoras appeared, for the first time in contexts outside of Building T (C 8837, from Room 2 in House X), and Canaanite jars made their debut at Kommos, once again in contexts outside of the Civic Center, both on the Central Hillside (C 4771) and in House X (C 12041). Large plain closed vases probably used as transport containers now also came to Kommos from other regions: a very large lentoid flask from Anatolia (C 3523 = Watrous 1992: no. 1929), a large Plain White Handmade jug from Cyprus (**44b/17**), and a jar decorated in a combination of the dark-on-light and light-on-dark techniques from the Aegean islands (C 4726 = Watrous 1992: no. 295). In addition, highly micaceous cooking pottery, perhaps originating on Kythera, made its initial appearance (C 12064, a cooking dish rim from Room 6 in House X). The functional range of the foreign containers imported to Kommos had clearly expanded dramatically by this time, encompassing transport containers in some numbers as well as a cooking vessel, in addition to tablewares designed chiefly for drinking. It is likely that the handsome Mycenaean pithoid jar **47/21** found in Building T also came to Kommos at this time, even though it was not deposited in the archaeological record until the following LM II phase. This particular piece, in view of its elaborate decoration, large size, and rarity as an imported type, was presumably a display piece rather than a simple transport container. It may have been made conspicuously visible somewhere in the northwestern part of Building T, perhaps flanking a major entryway into either the building as a whole (north doorway of T Room 5?) or into one of the remodeled spaces within the former North Stoa. The discovery of Near Eastern transport containers in domestic contexts on the Central Hillside (C 4771, C 3523, C 4726) as well as lower down the slope in House X (C 8837, C 12041) shows that Building T was no longer the sole destination on the site for such foreign exotica. The findspot just north of House X of the Mycenaean LH IIA piriform jar or bridge-spouted jug C 11352, lavishly decorated with a Double Ax FM pattern, is likewise outside Building T.

EARLY POSTPALATIAL

The catastrophic end of the Neopalatial era, marked by the violent destruction of both large (Malia, Phaistos, Zakro) and small (Gournia, Petras) palaces as well as dozens of "villas," ushered in a profoundly new stage of Cretan prehistory. The single surviving palace at Knossos, now with its records maintained for the first time in the Linear B script and composed in the Greek language, occupied an overwhelmingly dominant position for some 75 years. This radical change in the political organization of Crete was mirrored at Kommos by an equally dramatic shift in the nature and range of foreign ceramic imports. For the first time, large transport vessels become common: 50 percent or more of all the Egyptian amphoras, jars, and lentoid flasks, Syro–Palestinian jars, and Cypriot Plain White pithoi and large jugs known from Kommos come from contexts datable to this relatively short time span. In addition, an entirely new class of Western Anatolian transport vessels consisting of reddish

brown burnished jugs suddenly appeared, again with more than half of the more than forty examples attested at Kommos stemming from LM II–IIIA2 Early contexts. That such jugs are presently known in quantity elsewhere on Crete only in the Knossos area cannot be fortuitous. During this period, Kommos clearly functioned as a principal port of entry for the central Cretan kingdom ruled from Knossos, in all probability by dynasts of Mainland Greek origin.

The contents of the Syro–Palestinian jars were pistacia resin and a variety of oil that may not have been readily available within Crete. What the Western Anatolian jugs contained is unknown, but wine is a plausible suggestion in view of their shape. As for the Cypriot pithoi, at least one category of contents probably consisted of the attractively decorated White Slip II milk bowls that occur in substantial numbers at Kommos from LM IIIA1 onward. Perhaps packed with these bowls were other painted vessels such as the pair of White Painted Wheelmade I jugs from Room 3 in House X (C 10209, C 10366; the first to be discarded was found in an LM II context) and some Base Ring drinking sets (the earliest pair of a cup and jug in this ware, **MI/Cy/2** and **52c/7**, comes from an LM IIIA2 Early context). The contents of Egyptian amphoras may have included both wine and oil, whereas lentoid flasks from Egypt, especially when relatively small in size, may have held some more valuable liquid such as a perfume.

Transport vessels identifiable as products of other regions are few and far between, but include Cycladic White jars from the central Aegean (**47/20**, **MI/AI/1**, and perhaps also C 7223 found above the road immediately north of Building T), a linearly decorated closed shape in a fine micaceous fabric (**52f/1**), and another large closed shape decorated with matte-painted banding (**45/12**). A pattern-decorated jug in Cycladic White fabric, however, is better classed as an item of tableware (**57g/2**). Micaceous cooking pots, perhaps to be identified as Kytheran products, were found in and around House X (C 8019 and C 8127 from Room 6; C 10406 from Room 3, but perhaps of LM IIIA2 Mature date; C 10405, found north of Rooms 2 and 3), as well as in the Civic Center (**MI/AI/3**; also **MI/AI/2**, from a somewhat later LM IIIA2 context). The numbers of such micaceous cooking pots, however, are relatively small, so whatever exchange system they may represent may not have been of any great signficance.

As noted earlier, two changes in the range of Mycenaean imports merit attention. First, LH IIB–IIIA1 imports were restricted to goblets, forms of imported Mycenaean drinking vessels that for the first time were two-handled. They now appeared singly and without corresponding pouring vessels not only in the Civic Center (**46a/6**) but also in House X (C 11309) and on the Central Hillside (C 2058 = Watrous 1992: no. 789; C 5819 = Watrous 1992: no. 1926), as though each individual homeowner had one of them among the personal tablewares to be used on special occasions, in a manner possibly comparable to the usage of imported Cycladic jugs and juglets during the MM III–LM IA Early stage. Second, the first

small stirrup jars, presumably containing perfumed oils of various kinds, appeared early in the LM IIIA2 period (**48/4**, C 11000).

Chief among the imports from sources yet to be identified are a series of omphalos-based open vessels in a handmade, highly burnished and dark-surfaced ware that are so far attested only in LM IIIA1 contexts south of the House with the Snake Tube on the Central Hillside (C 4936, C 4580, C 2923, C 4470; Watrous 1992: nos. 522, 812–13, 1966, respectively). A couple of basket-handled bowls of LM IIIA2 date from House X, Room 2 (C 6968, C 6969), decorated with simple banding on both interior and exterior and with diagonal bars across the tops of their rims, have similarly rounded bottoms and may be local imitations of the handmade dark-burnished imports. If so, the foreign imports may be restored as shallow bowls provided with two small horizontal handles rising vertically from the rim. In view of their highly restricted distribution at Kommos in both temporal and spatial terms, they are best viewed as special-purpose vessels of unknown function.

LATE POSTPALATIAL

Following the collapse of the Knossian kingdom after the fiery destruction of its palace early in the fourteenth century B.C., the harbor at Kommos appears to have switched masters and to have served the interests of a less powerful series of dynasts who had established a new capital of the western Mesara at Aghia Triada, whether shortly before Knossos's destruction or immediately thereafter. The observed continuity in most categories of foreign imports during this final stage of Kommos's function as a major port of entry for foreign commodities entering Crete is about what one might expect for a harbor now serving a ruler with much the same attitude toward the importance of intercultural exchange as his Knossian predecessor but with considerably less power. Although this ruler and his successors had the resources to begin to construct Building P and to add to it gradually over the next two to three generations, the numbers of imported transport containers were appreciably fewer than they had been when Kommos was ruled from a distance by Knossos.

The one great novelty of this stage in Kommos's importation of non-Minoan ceramics is the appearance in fairly large quantities of handmade and burnished dark-surfaced Sardinian jars, along with the bowls that evidently served as their lids. As noted earlier, these vessels may have functioned as containers of scrap metal, much of it in the form of fragmentary Cypriot copper ingots, a commodity for the exchange of which there is no significant earlier evidence in the archaeological record from Kommos. A second category of transport vessel that now made its initial appearance at Kommos consisted of dark-surfaced and heavily micaceous pithoi (**67d/3**; C 4077 = Watrous 1992: no. 1629), most probably produced on Kythera and perhaps also to be connected with exchange networks directed toward the west, to judge from the discovery of an almost identical pithos in the ruins of the LH IIIB–IIIC Early palace at Pylos.

Cypriot, Egyptian, and Syro–Palestinian imports continued much as before, albeit on a reduced scale, the only changes worth noting being the discovery of a rare (at least at Kommos) White Shaved juglet in a mature LM IIIA2 context (C 4651 = Watrous 1992: no. 951) and the possible disappearance of Syro–Palestinian jars containing oil. Among the Mycenaean imports, noteworthy are the supplanting of goblets by longer-stemmed kylikes, both plain (**56b/4**) and decorated (**67c/1**, **MI/MG/3**), the continued importation of small stirrup jars all the way to the earliest phase of LH IIIC (**79/1**; C 611 = Watrous 1992: no. 1422), the possible usage of stemmed bowls and deep bowls in pairs consisting of a single example of each (**78/23–24**; Watrous 1992: nos. 1117, 1695), and the use of an extremely rare, for Crete, amphoroid chariot krater from a comparatively early LM IIIA2 context in House X (C 9126 + C 12082). A further indication of House X's relative importance at this same time, immediately prior to the collapse of at least three of its upper-storey rooms above Rooms 4, 5, and 7, is a complete angular alabastron recovered from Room 5 (C 7636).

The nature and range of foreign ceramic imports to Kommos over this period of four to five centuries are clearly anything but constant. What comes as something of a surprise is that the picture they paint of Kommos's fortunes does not correspond in any predictable fashion to that painted by the monumental architecture of the site's Civic Center. When Kommos was arguably dominant politically within the western Mesara for a brief period during MM III and LM IA Early, ceramic imports to the site from abroad were at perhaps their lowest ebb ever. The most impressive array of imported tablewares ever to be attested at Kommos comes from a period in the Civic Center's history when it stood in a semiruinous state and was probably exploited mostly for the large open area that was its central court. By far the peak period in Kommos's importation of ceramic containers from abroad corresponds with a time when the site was a dependency of a dynasty of nonresident and in all likelihood foreign rulers. When the western Mesara once again became an independent polity, its fortunes, although promising, simply do not measure up, in terms of the record of imported foreign ceramics, to those periods when Kommos was under the thumb of conquerors from outside the region.

Notes

1. Popham (1984) and Watrous (1992), to take just two examples, frequently use quite different terms for the same pattern, despite their writing in the same language within one decade of each other.

2. I would like to thank Professors J. W. Shaw and J. B. Rutter for permission to publish this material. I feel especially indebted to Professor Carinci of the University Ca' Foscari in Venice for many valuable discussions on Protopalatial pottery chronology of the western Mesara, for his generous sharing of thoughts before publication, and for giving me permission to see his unpublished pottery. I also am very grateful to Dr. Enrica Fiandra for graciously exchanging views with me on the topic of Phaistian Protopalatial chronology and for clarifying the stratigraphy of rooms XXVII–XXVIII of the Phaistian palace to

me. Finally, I feel very indebted to artist Julia Pfaff for her able assistance and valuable advice. Any remaining errors in this chapter are entirely mine.

3. This deep sounding in Trench 20B began with an area of 3.5 m × 2.5 m, but about one-third of the way down (with Pail 74) was reduced to 3.5 m × 0.65 m. It was published by Betancourt as a sequence of contexts (4, 7, 10, 11, 12) and miscellaneous contexts (Betancourt 1990: 30, 55; 1985a: 91–92).

4. Betancourt 1990: 77, fig. 17 nos. 184, 185, and possibly 193 (see below).

5. Similarities with the latest material from the construction fills of Building AA as well as the latest pottery from within the bench near the north wall of Room IL of the Phaistian palace (Levi and Carinci 1988: 301) indicate that most units of this sounding (20B/35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 56, 58, 64, 66, 67, 68, 74, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90) belong to a single MM IIB Early deposit of highly mendable vases, stratified over a thin MM IA–B stratum (20B/91, 92). For a discussion of the new subdivision of MM IIB into an Early and a Late stage, see below.

6. In the sounding east of the Round Building and in spaces CH 26–27 and CH 38 on the Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990: 52–54).

7. A *production tradition* is defined here as a body of pottery exhibiting the same manufacturing decisions with respect to fabric recipes, shape, decoration, formation and finishing techniques, drying, and firing to the extent that this pottery can be understood as having been produced by a single potter or a group of closely cooperating potters and their successors. From the information published by Levi and Carinci (1988) and my own observations on some of the Phaistian pottery, it seems to me that Phaistian and Kommian MM pottery indeed are products of the same tradition. Carinci's study of recently excavated pottery from nearby Aghia Triada shows that also this assemblage belongs to the same production tradition (Carinci 1999). However, Carinci's statement (1999: 128) that the pottery from Phaistos and Aghia Triada is identical, whereas only part of the Kommian pottery belongs to this tradition, is refuted by the fact that nearly all Protopalatial vase types from Kommos are paralleled at Phaistos, as both Betancourt's publication and the present study show. Certainly, the relationship of the Protopalatial pottery from Phaistos, Aghia Triada, and Kommos needs to be tested through a more rigorous program of analyses.

8. MacGillivray 1998: 99–102; Warren and Hankey 1989: 47–48. However, both Carinci (Carinci and La Rosa 2001: 509–11 n. 113) and I have argued that the stratigraphic basis for the dating of MM IIA and MM IIB deposits in the Knossian palace is quite tenuous (Van de Moortel 2000; Van de Moortel 1997: sec. 4.2.1).

9. A recent stratigraphic study led Carinci and La Rosa (2001) to confirm the existence of a postdestruction MM IIB architectural phase in the palace and the adjacent settlement, corresponding to Levi's phase II. This second architectural MM IIB phase would also have ended in destruction.

10. For some time Levi's phase III was equated with MM IIIA at Knossos (Speziale 1993: 544; La Rosa 1995: 889), but a most recent reexamination of stratified pottery deposits from the Casa a Sud della Rampa at Phaistos (Rooms LXXXVI–XCIV) has led Carinci to conclude that phase III encompasses two chronological stages of the MM III phase, which he labels "early" and "mature," equivalent to MM IIIA and "later" MM III at Knossos (Carinci 2001). A few Phaistian deposits of somewhat later character are assigned by Carinci to a final, post–phase III, stage of MM III, transitional to LM IA. However, it seems to me that these later deposits are contemporary with the earliest stage of LM IA at Kommos, and Levi's phase III is best considered as equivalent with the entire MM III phase in the Mesara (Van de Moortel 1997: secs. 3.3.1, 3.4.1, 4.3.1). Cf. Rutter's discussion of Neopalatial pottery chronology in this volume.

11. Betancourt, who completed his study before Levi and Carinci's revisions had appeared, equated the MM IIA phase at Kommos with the latest pottery of Levi's phase IA (Betancourt 1990: 29–30, 33). This synchronism may now be abandoned in favor of phase IB Early.

12. For Bastione II cf. Fiandra 1961–62: 117, 118, pl. KST'.2–3; 1973: pls. 23, 24, 26b–g, 34e–g (MM IB); 1990: fig. 15 (MM IIA) versus Levi and Carinci 1988: 300, 326, 328, 329, 330, 349. Both Fiandra (1973: 84 n. 1) and Levi and Carinci (1988: 302) consider the material below Room 11 to be mixed in date, except for the contents of a so-called larnax, which are datable to MM IB: cf. Fiandra 1961–62: pl. KH'.2–3; 1973: pls. 27b,

28a–b (MM IIA); 1990: figs. 26, 29, 33, 36–37 (MM IIB) versus Levi and Carinci 1988: 314, 315. See also basket jar F.1037 found, according to Levi, on top of a bench in room LV together with a large MM IIB bridge-spouted jar F.1400; all vases from this context are dated by Levi and Carinci to MM IIB (cf. Levi 1976: 102–3, pls. 116e, 103c; Levi and Carinci 1988: 152); Fiandra publishes only four vases from this context, dating the basket jar to MM IIA but the other vases to MM IIB (Fiandra 1990: 122, figs. 24, 30, 31, 39); she does not discuss bridge-spouted jar F.1400. Levi and Carinci's dates used here are limited to those given in their latest pottery lists (Levi and Carinci 1988: 311–79), even though they sometimes differ from those applied in pottery discussions of the same or earlier publications. Phase IB Final vases are dated as "IB" in this list, whereas the phase IB Early examples are labeled "IB iniz." or "IA/IB iniz."

13. The term *teacup* is used here to refer to a rounded, one-handled cup provided with either an offset everted or an outcurving rim. Body profiles can be semiglobular, semi-ovoid, or semipiriform. Fabrics are fine, and the cups are generally of a high quality.

14. Betancourt 1990: 30–36; his teacup no. 190 comes from a largely MM IIA fill below a floor in spaces CH 35–36, which appears to include some MM IIB pottery (see above); teacups nos. 227, 1039, 1040, 1041 and bridge-spouted jars nos. 264 and 1054 with grooved strap handles come from the deep sounding east of the Round Building, which is now dated to an early stage of MM IIB (Trench 20B, see above); teacups nos. 1043 and 1046 come from a largely MM IIB dump in spaces CH 16–17 (22A2/105, 108); and teacup no. 1047 from an MM IIB context with a few MM III sherds in spaces CH 26–27. The two bridge-spouted jars nos. 264 and 265 have their groove preserved down to the handle attachment—a characteristic considered by Carinci and me to be typical of the early stage of MM IIB (see below).

15. Wavy-line patterns occur only in MM III contexts published by Betancourt, but two teacup rim fragments are in my opinion Protopalatial because of their white-and-orange polychromy on a dark ground (Betancourt 1990: 104, fig. 26 nos. 517–518). The orange paint, observed by me, is interpreted as red by Betancourt and is not shown on no. 518. Betancourt's MM IIIA dating of these teacup fragments is based on their close similarities to wavy-line teacups from Knossos, then dated by MacGillivray to MM IIIA (Betancourt 1990: 100 no. 494). However, MacGillivray now dates the wavy-line pattern to MM IIB–IIIA, with a preference for MM IIB (MacGillivray 1998: 62–64), so there is no reason to maintain Betancourt's MM IIIA date. Thus far the MM III pottery phase at Kommos has proved impossible to subdivide stylistically (Van de Moortel 1997: 225–26; see Rutter, Chap. 3.3).

16. It is expected that the western Mesara sequence will be further enriched by substantial Protopalatial deposits excavated at Aghia Triada, which are still under study (Carinci 1997: 317; 1999: 117–23).

17. Phaistian lamps form the subject of separate studies by Mercando (1974–75) and Speziale (1993). Speziale's work applies Carinci's new Phaistian–Knossian synchronisms to Mercando's lamp typology.

18. One of the lamps said to have been found below the floor of Room CVII is stylistically datable to MM III (F.6263, Levi 1976: pl. 42k; cf. Speziale 1993: pl. 1.4). Either its find location is wrong, or the context was contaminated.

19. A notable exception is an open-spouted jar from the bench in Room LXIII and a bridge-spouted jar from Bastione II, dated by Levi and Carinci to MM IIA, but by Fiandra to MM IB (Fiandra 1961–62: pl. KST'.1–2). In Levi and Carinci's pottery chronology (1988: 122–31), small bridge-spouted jars with fine fabrics do not occur before MM IIA.

20. Even the floor deposit from Room β at Aghia Photini is mixed (Levi and Carinci 1988: 375). It consists of eight vases dated by Levi and Carinci to MM IIA (F.755, F.859, F.882, F.883, F.884, F.886, F.909, F.1647), five dated to MM IB/IIA (F.871, F.872, F.873, F.908, F.1648), four dated to MM IB (F.876, F.879, F.1816, F.1818), and two large pithoid jars dated to MM IIB (F.1821, F.2536). A group of eighteen vases from the destruction level in Room 9 at Apodoulou is dated by Tzigounaki (1995) to MM IIA–B, but seems to me to be of homogeneous MM IIA date. This pottery is identical in style to western Mesara pottery. However, most vases from this stratum remain unpublished.

21. Some of these stylistic features are mentioned by Levi and Carinci (1988), but they are

not explicitly dated to MM IIB Early. Professor Carinci is warmly thanked for sharing his unpublished MM IIB Early criteria with me and for generously allowing me to use this information in the present study, as it is crucial for the dating of Building AA's construction. A more refined stratigraphy was also found in the ramp between Courts LXX and I as well as in the lower levels of the Strada dal Nord, but these finds need more study (Levi and Carinci 1988: 302).

22. Levi and Carinci at one instance (1988: 301) state that the fill below the floor of Room IL is mixed Prepalatial–MM IB in date, but among the nine vases listed by them, two cups (F.94, F.276), a bowl (F.6738), and a spouted bucket vase (F.267) are dated by them elsewhere to MM IIA (Levi and Carinci 1988: 137, 176, 185, 355, fig. 37, pls. 78b, 82i; Levi 1976: fig. 58, pl. LVd).

23. Even though these differences deemed diagnostic of MM IIB Early may seem trivial, they represent consistent changes and have been amply documented in stratified deposits at Phaistos as well as at Kommos (see below). It is argued here that small but consistent morphological changes such as these represent changes in routine actions or "motor habits" on the part of the potter. Such changes may even signal the work of a different potter. For a discussion of motor habits in the manufacture of pottery and other goods, see Rye 1981; Morris 1993; Redman 1977.

24. Other contexts listed by Levi and Carinci (1988: 302) as intermediate between MM IB and MM IIB Late appear to be have been closed later, perhaps contemporaneously with the MM IIB destruction horizon: Chalara Room ζ2 and the floor deposit of Room LXXXI. Cf. deep bowls F.3513 (Levi and Carinci 1988: 174, 335, pl. 78e; Levi 1976: pl. 120a) and F.3535 (Levi and Carinci 1988: 174, 335, pl. 78h; Levi 1976: pl. 121g); bucket jar F.3532 (Levi and Carinci 1988: 16, pl. 9f; Levi 1976: fig. 1069a); and bridge-spouted jar F.5917 (Levi and Carinci 1988: 129; Levi 1976: pl. 112e).

25. Because of considerations of space, it was impossible to publish in this study pieces that are representative of each unpublished morphological or decorative variant of the MM IB and MM IIA phases. The variability during those phases is simply too enormous; however, many more pieces were inventoried than are published here, and these will remain available to future scholars.

26. The Kommian conical cup typology followed here has been developed by the present author for the MM IIB Late subphase and the Neopalatial ceramic phases at Kommos (Van de Moortel 1997: 32–81) and is here extended for the first time to earlier MM phases. It is also applicable to conical cups from Phaistos. Type D cups have a height-to-rim proportion equal to or larger than 0.60. Cups with proportions smaller than 0.60 are assigned to Type C.

27. Teapots are notoriously difficult to date because of their considerable morphological variation and longevity of shapes (Levi and Carinci 1988: 94).

28. Cf. Wilson and Day 1994. Such combinations of fine and medium-coarse or coarse fabrics on MM IA and early Protopalatial vases are not discussed by Levi and Carinci (1988) or Betancourt (1990).

29. Jug **A/6** probably has been wrongly restored as elongated globular (Pl. 3.9). Rather, it must have been squat, as are all MM IA jugs (cf. Banti 1930–31, fig. 133a).

30. E.g., two worn MM IIB conical cup rim fragments of Types C/D were found at the bottom of the largely MM IB construction fill of Group A (86E/68, 69).

31. The distribution of the 6 MM IIA bridge-spouted jars handles is as follows: 1 in Group A, 5 in Group Je (C 11191, **Je/15**). These handles are identical with the strap handle of an MM IIA fine bridge-spouted jar from Bastione II at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 123, pl. 54k; Levi 1976: fig. 257f). The 25 MM IIB Early bridge-spouted jar handles in the AA construction fills are distributed as follows: 1 in Group Bc, 1 in Group E, 1 in a sounding south of the south wall of Building AA (97A/25), 2 in Group Jb, 1 in Group Jc, 2 in Group Jd (C 11167, **Jd/4**), 5 in Group Je (C 11198, **Je/16**, **Je/18**), and 12 in Group Jf.

32. A Type J cup (**C/1**) was first thought to belong to the AA construction fills, but it is stratigraphically later, and also stylistically it appears to be later MM IIB in date (see below).

33. The bench fill of Room IL does include one Type A conical cup (F.457) but it has a weakly developed ledge rim unlike the MM IIB Late Type A and J conical cups, which have strongly projecting ledge rims (see above). The manufacturing technique of concave-flaring bowls from the bench fill of Room IL is not

clearly described by Levi and Carinci (1988: 224–25, pl. 96a; Levi 1976: pl. 142a–k).

34. Most notably they are entirely absent from the fill below Room CVII and the Bastione II at Phaistos—sizable contexts that are mixed MM IB and MM IIA in date (Table 3.4).

35. The MM IIA/MM IIB Early date of the abandonment of the plaster floor is indicated by the presence of two wheelmade conical cup fragments of Type C/D.

36. *Contra* Fiandra (1961–62), who sees evidence for MM IB and MM IIA earthquake destructions at Phaistos.

37. The presence in the foundation fills of the East Wing of Building AA (Groups Ja, Je, Jf) of jar and basin fragments with possible maker's marks and of cooking vessel fragments with possible owner's marks is suggestive of organized communal activities and perhaps can be related to the presence of an early official building (see below).

38. Fruit stands, *louteres*, clay tubes, and angular boxes have been found in household contexts at Phaistos (Levi and Carinci 1988: 311–79); clay tubes and a fruit stand fragment were found in MM III household contexts at Kommos (Betancourt 1990: nos. 1555–59, 1586).

39. Fragments of 783 Protopalatial cups and 154 pouring vessels were identified in Group Ja. For examples of Protopalatial domestic assemblages at Phaistos, see Levi 1976: 422–31, 512–61, 653–79; Van de Moortel 1997: 777–86. Proportions of drinking and pouring vessels vary widely, from 2:1 in MM IB Room CIII (Levi and Carinci 1988: 371–72) and 3:1 in the MM IB–IIA fill below Room CVII of the Acropoli Mediana, to 7:1 in the MM IIB Late deposits in official Rooms CV and CVI of the Acropoli Mediana (Levi and Carinci 1988: 374–75), and 2:1 in the MM IIB Late destruction level in the house west of the West Court (Speziale 2001). It is striking that the overwhelming majority of drinking vessels in these contexts are conical cups. Other domestic contexts as well as the MM IIB Late destruction contexts of the Phaistian palace show an almost equal proportion of drinking and pouring vessels, but the number of conical cups reported from those contexts is surprisingly low and may be incomplete, since only complete and largely intact vases from Phaistos have been published to date (Levi and Carinci 1988: 353–77). At Knossos, the most complete Protopalatial domestic context published, that of an MM IIB house at Sochara, has approximately a 10:1 proportion of cups to pouring vessels (Popham 1974; MacGillivray 1998). At Kommos, no substantial domestic floor deposits of the Protopalatial period have been found, but about thirty dating to the MM III phase were found in the residential area on the Central Hillside (Betancourt 1990: 49–56; Wright 1996); their proportions of cups to pouring vessels range from 1:1 to 6:1, averaging 2:1 to 3:1 per building.

40. Cf. Van de Moortel 1997: 690–98, 777–96; Speziale 2001). Neopalatial domestic contexts excavated at Kommos and nearby Selì contained as a rule only 3 percent jars and amphoras (Van de Moortel 2001: 102–3).

41. For domestic contexts at Kommos, see Betancourt 1990: nos. 90, 138, 235, 305, 306, 308, 309, 454. For Phaistos, see Levi and Carinci 1988: passim; Speziale 2001.

42. Some differences between the pottery of the AA construction fills and the Phaistian palace may be due to a difference in function of this hypothetical predecessor of Building AA, or merely to chronological differences. The largest pithoi from the AA construction fills have rim diameters of ca. 33–36 cm; none are as large as the largest Phaistian pithoi, which have rim diameters of ca. 45–60 cm. All the largest Phaistian pithoi come from MM IIB Late destruction contexts of the palace (Levi and Carinci 1988: pls. 1–2). Equally lacking at Kommos are a few very rare shapes found only in MM IIB Late destruction contexts of the palace: incense burners, a lentoid jug, a pedestaled vase, and a clay furnace (Table 3.31). Lentoid jugs are not attested in Minoan pottery until MM IIB Late (see below). The absence of the other shapes may be accidental.

43. I thank potter Adam Paulek from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville for this suggestion. Similar carinated cups were found in the AA construction fills (e.g., unpublished C 11229 and C 11256).

44. Cf. Betancourt 1990: nos. 228, 1318, 1320. No. 228 came from the deep sounding east of the Round Building and is now dated to MM IIB Early.

45. Cf. Betancourt 1990: nos. 225, 239, 259, 354–68, 1028, 1032, 1033, 1035. Nos. 225, 239, and 259 are now dated to MM IIB Early.

46. Cf. Betancourt 1990: nos. 370, 371. An

early example of the teacup is Betancourt's no. 227, which came from the MM IIB Early fill east of the Classical Round Building. It has the body of a teacup, but its rim is much less developed than that of the typical teacup.

47. I thank Leda Costaki for this suggestion. This *grattugia* fragment was identified by F. Carinci.

48. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 123, pl. 54k from the mixed MM IB–IIA fill in Bastione II at Phaistos.

49. Cf. Levi and Carinci 1988: 124, fig. 35, pl. 54l; Levi 1976: pl. XXXIVc from the MM IIB Early fill in the bench of Room IL of the Phaistian palace and from below Room ι′ at Chalara. I thank Filippo Carinci for graciously alerting me to this difference in handle attachments.

50. MM IA–B jug **A/6** seems to have been wrongly reconstructed in Pl. 3.9. Comparanda from Aghia Triada (Banti 1930–31: figs. 133a, 134) and Patrikies (Bonacasa 1967–68: figs. 33a, 34) indicate that this jug type has a squat globular instead of an elongated body. The banded lower body fragment must belong to a different vessel.

51. Medium jar C 11131 is described in the catalogue, where it is listed as an "ungrouped vase" of MM IA–IIB Early.

52. Jar C 11959 was found in 20B/60.

53. I thank artist Julia Pfaff for this suggestion.

54. Betancourt (1990) lists many cooking vessels under "miscellaneous fabrics" rather than under "coarse red" fabrics.

55. Whereas interior burnish is common on Phaistian cooking pots (Levi 1976: 29), it has seldom been observed on Kommian cooking pots. Since Phaistian and Kommian cooking vessels are similar in all other respects, the difference in burnishing may be a result of differential preservation.

56. The unpublished small lamp fragment was found in Group Ja.

57. Mercando likewise observed a thick fine buff layer on Protopalatial lamps from Phaistos (Mercando 1974–75: 28, 96).

58. I thank Ann Blasingham for this suggestion.

59. In contrast, Neopalatial fireboxes usually have multiple small holes surrounding the large central hole (Levi and Carinci 1988: 262; Van de Moortel 1997: 217–19; Georgiou 1973a; 1986: 4–22). As Levi and Carinci point out, two Early Minoan fireboxes from Myrtos Fournou Koriphi have multiple holes as well, and it is conceivable that these persisted in the Protopalatial period; however, thus far no Protopalatial example with multiple holes has been found.

60. Joseph Shaw is thanked for this observation.

61. In spite of the presence of a few undeformed wasters in Protopalatial contexts at Kommos, there is too little evidence to conclude that pottery was manufactured at Kommos in the Protopalatial period. If pottery production had taken place at the site, one would expect many more wasters, including heavily deformed ones, as well as remains of ceramic bats such as have been found in abundance in the vicinity of the LM IA pottery kiln at the site and in other Late Minoan contexts (Van de Moortel 2001: 88). Vases burned to wasters but otherwise undeformed could have been produced elsewhere and consumed at Kommos.

62. Levi and Carinci (1988: 280) believe that the face with the design was placed over the wheelhead, whereas the top of the bat, on which vases were formed, had a smooth surface. Their interpretation is contradicted by the discovery of similar designs on the bottoms of the Kommian jars and basin, which show that, on the contrary, the bat face with the design was facing up, so that the design was transferred to the new vase.

63. Cf. the phenomenon of "look-alikes" among Aegean seals.

64. The same conclusion was drawn by Bikaki regarding marks on the pottery from Aghia Eirini, Period IV (Bikaki 1984: 6). The practice of applying a maker's mark to a bat to transfer it to new vases persisted until recently in the western Cretan potters' village of Margarites. The present author has seen a bat with impressed design in a potter's workshop at Margarites and was told by the potter that it had been used by his father to mark the vases he produced.

65. The signs illustrated by Levi (1976: pl. 227) are said by Levi and Carinci (1988: 297) to have been incised after firing; however, several vases must have been incised *before* firing when clay was still plastic, because the incision displaced the clay, causing the formation of raised edges (e.g., Levi 1976: pl. 227k, l, m, q).

66. E.g., **Ba/8**, a large cooking pot of Type B, is uninscribed (Pl. 3.11).

67. Teacup C 9785 is described in the catalogue, where it is listed as an "ungrouped vase"

of MM IIB Late. The squatness of its body and the fact that it is entirely covered by the painted wavy-line pattern are indicative of an MM IIB rather than an MM III date.

68. The black earth with deep globular bowl C 3352 was excavated with Pail 31 of Trench 36B. Bowl C 3352 is described in the catalogue, where it is listed as an "ungrouped vase" of MM IIB Late.

69. However, five conical cups of Type C, made in the careless fashion characteristic of the MM III phase, were found together with typical MM IIB Late vases in the floor deposit of Room CV in the Acropoli Mediana of Phaistos. Thus it is conceivable that also at Phaistos the final Protopalatial destruction happened when the first MM III–style conical cups were being produced and consumed (Levi 1976: 609, pls. 143b'–d', 144l–n; Levi and Carinci 1988: 238, 244, pls. 100b', 101a–d). For changes in the pottery production of the western Mesara during the MM III phase, see Van de Moortel 1997: 225–35, 379–86, 642–48; 2002: 195–98. Like the mendable MM III vases of Group L, the unmendable MM III fragments from the MM IIB–III *sottoscala* fill and the stone-lined pit in the South Stoa (Group M) are limited to small cups: conical cups, a few fine painted straight-sided cups, and a teacup. All the other unmendable vase types from these fills are datable to the MM IIB Late subphase or, more broadly, to the Protopalatial period. If the composition of this MM IIB–III construction fill of Building T is representative of the pottery in use at that time, the construction of this part of Building T must have taken place soon after the destruction of Building AA (see below).

70. The lentoid jugs are called "flasks" by Carinci and La Rosa, but La Rosa's reference to lentoid jug F.1039 makes it clear that they are identical in shape. I thank Luca Girella for alerting me to La Rosa's (1998–2000) discussion of these jugs.

71. Lentoid jugs continued into the MM III phase in Crete, and seem to have retained a special significance, even though they now occurred in domestic contexts. One of the two MM III lentoid jugs found on the Central Hillside at Kommos was stamped with a double ax, and its interior was coated with a white substance (Betancourt 1990: nos. 615, 1549; cf. Wright 1996: 195–99).

72. In contrast, Knossian potters already had low standards in the production of utilitarian vases during the MM IIB phase (Van de Moortel 1997; 2002).

73. I agree with MacGillivray (1998: 64) that the MM IIB Late wavy-line pattern is the predecessor of the MM III "finicky style" (cf. Betancourt 1990: figs. 25, 38, nos. 494, 790). Teacup C 9785 is listed as an "ungrouped vase" at the end of the MM IIB Late pottery catalogue.

74. Two small teacup rim fragments decorated with polychrome wavy-line patterns published by Betancourt came from an MM III context, but because of the use of orange paint are most likely MM IIB in date (Betancourt 1990: nos. 517–18).

75. Large bridge-spouted jars with medium-coarse fabrics continued into the MM III phase, but their handles were placed almost vertically at the shoulder.

76. The EB III flask from Kea probably imitated Anatolian flasks, such as shape B8 of Troy II (Blegen et al. 1950: pl. 23) and shape B41 from Troy VI (Blegen, Caskey, and Rawson 1953: 60–61). A comprehensive study of second-millennium-B.C. Anatolian flasks has been published by Bilgi (1982).

77. More technical details regarding their manufacture are given by Caskey (1972: 375).

78. A conical lamp (F.5321a) found below the Central Court at Phaistos is dated by Levi and Carinci (1988: 343) to MM IB (*fase* Ia). However, the reason for this dating is unclear, since another lamp from this context (F.6119) is dated to MM IIB Late (*fase* Ib).

79. Several of the 76 pieces from Trench 47B at the southern end of the Hilltop (Betancourt 1990: 181–90 passim, fig. 9) date from as late as the phase here termed LM IA Final (e.g., op. cit., 186 no. 1968, 188 no. 2009, 189 nos. 2018, 2030, 2034, figs. 69–70, pls. 99, 102–4). The sherd material in question comes from a deep fill interpreted as a "leveling dump" on which the House with the Press was built (M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 107); for its mixed MM III–LM IA character, see also Van de Moortel 2001: 73 n. 102.

80. For the MM III deposits at Kommos, see in addition to the references in Table 3.38 the important analysis of the MM architecture and stratigraphy in the Central Hillside area by Wright (1996: 140–99, 238–41, pls. 3.1–102).

81. Watrous's Deposit 1 (1992: 1–2) contains

pieces assignable to more than one of the stages within LM IA recognized here. His Deposits 2–6 (1992: 2–14) are all mixed, as he himself recognized. His Deposits 11–15 (1992: 17–20) are republished here within Groups 37c and 37e (Deposits 14–15), Groups 44b and 45 (Deposit 13), and Group 47 (Deposits 11–12). His Deposit 7 is republished here as Group 40, his Deposit 10 as Group 38; remaining Neopalatial deposits come from outside the area of the Civic Center (Table 3.38).

82. See Chap. 3.1 for the format and drawing conventions used in the following sections for the presentation of the Neopalatial and later Bronze Age pottery.

83. Data from a number of other contexts at Kommos have been added to those from the Central Hillside houses in Tables 3.39–3.41. Aside from floor deposits in the Civic Center published here (Groups 1–4b, 6–10), these additions include three LM IA Early deposits from a building on the Southern Hilltop (Table 3.41) and a large MM III deposit from another building exposed just north of House X, Room 2 (Table 3.39). Omitted from consideration here are assemblages of pottery that appear to be the contents of fills rather than abandoned floor deposits (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 146–48 [CH Rooms 57–59], 181 [CH Space 52]; Van de Moortel 1997: 716–17; Civic Center Groups 11–14), as well as floors littered with pottery representing three or more periods that reflect serious disturbance (Civic Center Groups 5a–b, 15).

84. The lower floor in CH Room 47 is of mixed MM IIB–III date (Van de Moortel 1997: 697–98) and had in this author's opinion been replaced by the upper floor level before the earthquake.

85. Note the distinctive masonry style of the building west of the "Rampa del Mare" reported by Wright that sets it apart from the MM III buildings on the other side of the road (Wright and McEnroe 1996: 168).

86. The uppermost excavation unit of this group is sealed above by a couple of pails (93A/2B–3) of pure LM IA Early material, the upper one of which is an uncontaminated constituent of Group 9b (93A/2B). This pure LM IA Early overburden is unlikely to be *in situ*, however, almost certainly having been pushed into place during the LM IIIA2 building of Gallery P5 or by some even earlier building operation in this area.

87. The two pieces cited by Van de Moortel as LM IA Advanced examples of Type I (1997: 61–62, fig. 7) are more reasonably identified as Type J. One of them, C 3510, comes from the LM IA Early deposit in Space 33S on the Central Hillside (Table 3.41).

88. Very similar to Group 1 and to the fill underlying Group 8 in that it contains substantial numbers of MM III conical cups in relatively large fragments is a stratum directly overlying trimmed bedrock (37A/30) in T Space 11 toward the west end of the North Stoa, stratified below a fairly thick layer of LM IB Early debris (Group 37a). If the trimmed bedrock itself represents the earliest floor level of Building T in this space, then the MM III cups would, like Group 1, represent the earliest use of the building. On the basis of what has so far been cleared, however, it is not possible to exclude the possibility that this MM III material is fill from the construction of Building T (as is 100B/10 below Group 28b some distance to the southwest) rather than evidence for the date and nature of T's initial use at this locale within the North Stoa.

89. The correspondence between the compositional patterns of Groups 11 and 13—the percentages in each of fine, medium-coarse, and cooking pottery as measured by both sherd count and total weight—is sufficiently close to make the suggestion very plausible that the pottery of Group 11 is debris from activities occurring within the South Stoa where Group 13 was found.

90. Another indication that these reoccupation deposits in T's northeast angle may be somewhat earlier than the canonical LM IA Early deposits listed in Table 3.41 is the presence in the former of small numbers of Type A conical cups, a standard MM III form (Table 3.39) that disappeared completely in fully developed LM IA Early deposits (Van de Moortel 1997: 238 and n. 123).

91. Omitted from consideration here are cooking pottery, pithoi, lamps, and special-purpose forms with industrial or cultic functions such as potter's wheels, stands ("snake tubes"), and incense burners.

92. A small sounding below the LM IA Early slab pavement at +3.055/3.07 m in the southwest corner of Room 42 produced a mixture of MM III and LM IA Early pottery (62D/104) overlying sterile "bedrock" at 3.04 m. The stratification ex-

tends appreciably deeper not far to the west toward the east end of the North Stoa (below Group 8), but excavation in this area has not yet been pursued to bedrock.

93. Against the notion that pithoi decorated in this distinctive fashion should be assigned to LM IA Early, however, is the fact that a number of such pithoi have been found in phase III (i.e., MM III) destruction contexts at nearby Phaistos, most notably in the important House South of the Ramp but also in the palace (Carinci 2001: 208–11, figs. 4 [from Room LXXXIX], 6 [from Room XLIV]).

94. The sherd material from 42A/65, the principal constituent of Group 8, includes single fragments from a dark-on-light-decorated medium-coarse stirrup jar and a second pale-slipped jar similar to **8/3**—that is, pieces of two additional imported pouring vessels.

95. I am grateful to J. A. MacGillivray for showing me numerous closely comparable examples of such linear jugs from Palaikastro during a visit to the site in 1998.

96. For the removal of part of the kiln dump at its east end and its redeposition east of Building T's east facade over 50 m to the northeast, see Van de Moortel 2001: 40–41. The small deposit represented by Group 19 may well constitute the basal level of that portion of the dump that was moved.

97. The sherd material of Group 18 includes a fine monochrome-coated ewer fragment, some fine-coated bridge-spouted jar and straight-sided cup sherds, pieces of plain as well as coated kalathoi, four fragments of a crudely made but fine plain strainer, and pieces of one closed and one open small, fine dark-on-light-decorated vase, but most of the sherds come from unpainted conical cups of Types A, B, and C.

98. Van de Moortel (1997: 245; 2001: 91) speaks of the disappearance of Type B conical cups in LM IA Advanced contexts, but such a view seems to me to put undue emphasis on the finds from the kiln dump and to ignore the presence of substantial numbers of developed Type B cups in the deposits from House X, Room 2 (Table 3.55). At least three examples of Type B (C 9689, C 9690, C 9693) came from the LM IA Advanced floor deposit and another five from the fill immediately above (C 9673, C 9682, C 9683, C 9734, C 9738); in my view, these are misclassified as Type C or Type D (as Van de Moortel 1997: 731–32 in six out of eight cases) and inappropriately regarded as survivals of LM IA Early date.

99. The only closed shape produced in the Mesara to exhibit dark-on-light decoration at this stage is probably the bridge-spouted jar (Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 65–66). This shape was, however, far more often solidly coated or even light-on-dark-decorated at that time (Van de Moortel 2001: 54, 74–76, fig. 34), and solidly coated examples continued to be common as late as LM IA Final (**24/2**) and LM IB Early (**42/1**).

100. Van de Moortel 2001: 56–57, 76–79, fig. 35. The LM IA Advanced example from House X, Room 2 (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 50: C 9641) is dipped and otherwise very similar to the MM III side-spouted jug from T Room 23 (**2a/6**), which features a small rivet-like lug on the neck opposite the handle that anticipates the ledge-lugs in a similar position between handle and spout on the local collar-necked jugs of LM I.

101. At the west end of the wall dividing Corridor 20 from Room 22, a short north-south wall was eventually built across the west end of Corridor 20 that prevented continued access to both the corridor and rooms such as 21 and 23 that were accessible from it. The removal of this wall (with 52A/32) produced sherd material that included wasters once again probably from the South Stoa kiln, as well as fragments of a number of vases that could easily once have been part of the kiln's dump. In other words, the pottery recovered from the demolition of this wall was very similar in character as well as in date to that making up the fill of Groups 22a–b. The final floor deposits in Room 21 (Group 16) and at the east end of Corridor 20 (Group 15) must have been abandoned before this blocking wall was built. The filling in of Room 23 with 70–80 cm of chronologically mixed fill (Group 20), on the other hand, may well have followed the wall's construction, as must the terminal periods of use of Room 22 represented by Groups 24–25 and of Room 29 represented by Group 21.

102. Groups 23, 24, and 25 at both ends of Room 22 are linked with Group 16 in Room 21 by fragments from the same distinctively decorated pithos (**16/6**), probably a survivor of the LM IA Early destruction that put such closely related storage vessels as **2b/15**, **3b/6**, and **8/5** permanently out of commission.

103. The bulk of Group 29 was recovered

from between two short north-south walls at the bottom of the *sottoscala*, the eastern of which was built up against a sudden dip down of the bedrock surface toward the west and consequently lacks a proper east face. The association of the LM IA Final pottery with these walls strongly suggests that the construction of one or both of them played some role in the pottery's deposition. If the walls were an integral part of the construction of a staircase in or above this space, then that staircase must have been either built or at the very least substantially refurbished during or after LM IA Final.

104. The difference between LM IA Final ceramic deposits like Groups 28a–b and 29, which entirely lack MM III and earlier LM IA material, and those like Groups 15, 16, and 21, floor deposits characterized by a thorough chronological mixture of MM III–LM IA Final pottery types, is striking and must indicate that the two categories of deposit in question were generated in distinctively different ways.

105. The redepositing of kiln dump to the east of Building T's east facade in Trench 88A and the consequent raising of the ground level in this area (Van de Moortel 2001: 40–41) probably represents a single action rather than an ongoing activity.

106. The same slightly contaminated excavation unit (90A/20) of Group 30 that contained the intrusive West Anatolian jug or jar rim **30/6** also contained three fresh waster fragments that should be connected with the operation of the South Stoa kiln. These wasters thus support the notion that the amphoras **30/2–4** are likewise kiln debris.

107. The discovery of sixteen loomweights on the latest floor in Room 29 (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.2), and the conclusion that this room may have served as a storerooom for weaving equipment, unfortunately cannot be supplemented by the evidence of the pottery found here. Group 21 is a thorough mixture of pottery of numerous different periods. The estimated amount of Protopalatial pottery from the constituent excavation units of this group is as high as 20 percent of the total, and the inventoried pieces include all phases of Neopalatial from MM III through LM IA Final. Virtually no cooking pottery was found among the sherd material, in marked contrast to its frequency nearer the court and the hearths located at Room 22's west end. Cups, pouring vessels, and bowls, on the other hand, are all well represented.

108. Note, however, that the shoulder fragment **25/6** came from an imported closed vessel. The juglet **25/4** and conical cup **25/3** came from the upper fill at the east end of Room 22 and may belong to a fill dumped here later in the Neopalatial period rather than being part of an LM IA Final use accumulation in this space.

109. Contemporary Knossian teacup fragments from nearby groups should perhaps be added to this evidence for the employment of imported, elaborately decorated drinking cups in this area: **32/1** and **34/4**.

110. In addition to these inventoried pieces, among the sherd material of Group 23 are fragments of a second jar like **23/1**, another fragment of an imported East Cretan pouring vessel like **24/4**, and a fragment from a third imported straight-sided cup (this one also decorated in the dark-on-light style, with solid blobs on either side of a tangent presumably linking spirals, as Novaro 1999: fig.14). From Group 22b (56A1/102), Group 24 (56A1/96), and the unit in Corridor 20 that provided the joining sherd of **23/1** (53A1/69) came three uninventoried body sherds of Cypriot jugs or tankards like **20/6** and **24/27–29**.

111. Novaro (1999) dates the model figurines to early LM IB. For the models themselves, see Novaro 2001.

112. The large dump from the basal levels of House X, Room 1, that figures prominently in Van de Moortel's assessment of the phase (1997: 737–39) is omitted from consideration here because it includes a few later (LM IB Early) as well as earlier (MM III, LM IA Advanced) pieces. A couple of small fills from elsewhere in House X (above surface at +4.75 m in Room 6 [93E/107], and the foundation trench for the north wall of Room 3 [93E/75A]) do not make any substantive additions to the picture offered by the deposits listed in Table 3.56.

113. Van de Moortel thought these might have disappeared in LM IA Final (1997: 259), but they evidently survived in very small quantities as late as LM IB Early (**37b/1**, **39/1**).

114. A teacup of either this or the immediately preceding period from the dump in House X, Room 1 has a triple Wavy Line FM 53 in this position (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 13: C 9499), closely comparable to that on the probable bridge-

spouted jar **24/5**, but this version of the pattern is distinctly unusual in this period on an open shape.

115. These three-petaled floral motifs so popular on LM IA Advanced to Final vases of various shapes (teacups [**24/8**], tubular-spouted jars [**33/1**], but most of all on in-and-out bowls [**22b/1**, **26/3**]) are a bit of an enigma. Furumark might have classified some of them as "petaloid stamens" without anthers derived from versions of his Lily FM 9 motif (1941: 257–59. fig. 32 k–o). Alternatively, he might have inserted this motif into the early history of the pattern he classified as Pendant FM 38 (1941: 331–32, fig. 56). This latter pattern, helpfully reviewed by Niemeier (1985: 81–83, fig. 28), appears no earlier than LM IB as a ceramic motif, typically on pottery produced in the so-called Palatial Tradition both on Crete and on the contemporary LH IIA Mainland. But LM IA versions of the Pendant motif are well attested in fresco art, for example as the decoration of one of the ships' stern cabins depicted on the walls in Room 4 of Akrotiri's West House (Niemeier 1985: 81, fig. 28: 2) or in the rigging of one of the ships in the Fleet Fresco from the south wall of the adjoining Room 5 (see also Manning 1999: 58 fig. 20, 138–39). Evans even attributed one fresco version of the pattern from Knossos to MM III, although this dating has been disputed (Niemeier 1985: 81 n. 473, fig. 28: 1). Niemeier has appropriately criticized the identification of this three-petaled motif as a form of crocus (1985: 82 n. 475, as by Evans and Betancourt) and supports Furumark's derivation of the ceramic version of the motif from earlier Neopalatial jewellery. At the same time, Niemeier has drawn attention to the popularity of this motif on a number of vases of the so-called LM IB Standard Tradition, especially in the Mesara (1985: 82–83, fig. 28: 5–6). Most recently, Mountjoy has conflated occasional examples of this three-petaled motif at Knossos (2003: 65–66, fig. 4.6: 67; 69, fig. 4.8: 85) with other floral motifs (2003: 69, fig. 4.8: 86; 85–86, fig. 4.15: 197, 199, 202; 87–88, fig. 4.16: 219; 91–92, fig. 4.18: 239; 97–98, fig. 4.21: 297–301; 101–2, fig. 4.23: 358; 103–5, fig. 4.24: 391, 398) under the general heading of "flying ivy" (2003: 56 and nn. 96–98). To judge from its popularity in the LM IA Final Mesara and its comparative rarity at Knossos, this three-petaled floral motif was initially developed as an element of ceramic decoration in south-central Crete, chiefly on open shapes. It appears to have been superseded in LM IB, in both the Mesara and in the Knossos area, by other floral motifs such as horizontal Reed FM 16, Foliate Band FM 64, and Pendant FM 38.

116. By a "pure" fill is meant a stratum that contains insignificant amounts of earlier survivals (whether in the form of genuine "heirlooms" or simply remnant scraps) or later contaminations, that is, a chronologically homogeneous context whose contents represent a fairly short temporal interval in terms of both production and use.

117. Groups 31 and 32 above Group 24 at T Room 22's west end; Groups 36 and 35 above Groups 26 and 27b, respectively, in Rooms R' and 42 just to the northwest; Group 37c above Group 28b at the west end of the North Stoa; and Group 42 above Group 30 at the west end of T Space 43 near the diagonally opposite corner of T's large court.

118. Group 44a below Group 45 at the northwest corner of T's court; deposits from House X in Rooms 2 and 11 as well as immediately outside the house to the north; and a deposit from directly south of the House of the Snake Tube on the Central Hillside.

119. The pottery from this group can be assigned to one of three stratigraphically distinct subdivisions on the basis of the way in which the *sottoscala* space (T Room 5A) was excavated, the joins that exist between the excavation units, and the nature of the surviving sherd material:

(A) Pails 10 (+2.97–2.80 m), 14 (+2.80–2.73 m), and 15 and 18 (+2.73–ca. 2.60 m, the top of Group 29 of LM IA Final date immediately below):

The pottery in these units consists of a fairly even balance of fine wares, medium-coarse storage and serving vessels, and cooking pottery (except in Pail 10 where cooking pottery was noticeably more frequent). Relatively little of the fine pottery, however, is decorated, with most of it consisting of conical cups. There was a significant amount of relatively fresh MM II sherd material in Pail 14, the level just above the flagstone floor in T Room 5 to the north. A small group of mendable MM II pottery from directly on top of the slab paving was also preserved in the southeast corner of the *sottoscala* (36A/25) that may possibly be a remnant floor deposit of T's predecessor, Building AA. That is, there is a possibility that the flagstone paving of T Room 5 is part of Building AA that was reused in Building T.

The inventoried pieces from this lowermost series of units are **40/1**, **3–5**, **7**, **10**, **15**, **19**, **21–22**, **30**, **32–33**. A large fragment from a third tripod cooking pot like **40/32–33** was found in Pail 10. Not one of these vessels, which were excavated in three different units, exhibits cross joins between units, in marked contrast with the inventoried pottery from overlying levels. The date of this material is unquestionably LM IB Early, with no evidence whatsoever for later intrusions and no exotic foreign imports either. Aside from the far greater amount of cooking pottery present, this material looks very much like that typical of Groups 37a–d farther east, on the other side of T Room 5's east wall. Significantly, the lowest lying units from which this pottery came, Pails 15 and 18, extend well below the level of the paved floor at +2.73 m to the north in T Room 5, thus showing that this stairwell area was open to a lower level as late as LM IB Early and that it appears to have been used as a place of disposal for gradually accumulating refuse (hence the absence of cross joins) rather than for a one-time discarding of rubbish. At the same time, the LM IB Early debris of Pails 10, 14, 15, and 18 is sharply distinguished from the underlying LM IA Final Group 29 by the absence of painted plaster in the latter; indeed, a concentration of large fresco fragments lay at the interface between the two, according to the excavator's notebook.

(B) Pails 6 (+3.29–3.06 m), 9 (+3.06–2.97m), and 30 (+3.64–2.97 m; cleaning of stones below threshold of LM IIIB doorway between Rooms N5 and N7):

The pottery in the two principal units (Pails 6 and 9), like that below, is quite evenly balanced in its mixture of fine, medium-coarse, and cooking pottery, but it contains a vastly greater amount of decorated fine pottery. The inventoried pieces are **40/2**, **6**, **8–9**, **11**, **14**, **16–18**, **20**, **23–29**, **31**, **34–35**. Of this total of twenty pieces, no fewer than eight exhibit joins between these two units, and three of these and one other have joins in the overlying unit (Pail 5). As was true of the lower-lying Pails 10, 14, and 18, there is copious evidence here for drinking activities (jugs, conical cups, and teacups; Pail 9 also contains a substantial fragment of a second monochrome-painted teacup like **40/16**) and food preparation (the cooking jar **40/31**), but in addition there is more evidence here of an emphasis on the serving of food in fine bowls, whether plain (**40/26–27**) or decorated (**40/17–18**). The date of the vast majority of this material is indistinguishable from that of the pottery recovered from the fill just below: compare especially the teacups (**40/10** from below, **40/8–9**) from above) and conical cups (**40/21–22** from below, **40/24–25** from above), and the jugs (**40/3–4** from below, **40/2** from above); but a handful of sherds found in both Pails 6 and 9 must be later, including pieces to be assigned unequivocably to LM IB Late and LM IIIA (e.g., **40/29**). All these later pieces consist of single sherds, not of fragments that mend up from more than one piece nor of vessels represented by two or more nonjoining sherds. A second way in which the pottery from Pails 6 and 9 differs significantly from that below is in the fragments of off-island imports that it contains, the Egyptian jar **40/34** and the Cypriot spindle bottle **40/35**. Since both of these pieces are mended from joining sherds, and since neither would be chronologically out of place in an LM IB Early context, they are both considered to be part of the bulk of Group 40's earlier fill rather than one of its relatively rare, later contaminations. The tiny unit that is Pail 30, some thirty sherds derived from cleaning the north face of the stones below the threshold of the LM IIIB doorway leading south from Room N5 into Corridor N7, contains nothing obviously later than LM I; the single sherd inventoried from this unit, another Cypriot import (**40/37**), is typologically akin to other pieces from contexts of this date (e.g., **30/5**, **40/36**).

None of the few later sherds from Pails 6 and 9 need be later than LM IIIA1, and it thus seems most sensible to view them as indicators of the date at which the LM IB Early debris of these two units (none of the contents of which have demonstrable joins with that from the underlying Pails 10, 14, and 18) was redeposited here in the *sottoscala*, at the time in early LM IIIA2 when this structure was being remodeled as Building N. In support of this view, one might note that one of the joining fragments of the spindle bottle **40/35** came from a constituent unit of Group 48 (37A/23) on the other side of T Room 5's high and massive east wall, whereas a bichrome linear body sherd in Pail 6 came from the same vase as sherds from the same distinctively decorated vessel found in undisturbed LM IB Early debris in T Space 11 (Groups 37b and 37d). Both

these discoveries, but especially the latter, suggest that the fill represented by Pails 6 and 9 is redeposited or secondary rather than undisturbed or primary accumulation.

(C) Pails 4 (+3.73–3.55 m) and 5 (+3.55–3.29 m): Both these units were excavated throughout the southern portion of T Room 5; that is, they were not restricted to the *sottoscala* area, T Room 5A, for the simple reason that the wall dividing this space from the rest of T Room 5 was initially exposed with Pail 4 (the first unit to be excavated below the rich LM IIIB floor deposit of Group 59) and not considered to represent a significant room division until the base of Pail 5 was reached. Thus, aside from pieces with joins in underlying pails within the *sottoscala* (**40/8–9**, **14**, **17**) or fragments that, on the basis of discoveries in other contexts (especially one or more of Group 37's subdivisions), can be confidently identified as chronologically homogeneous with the bulk of Group 40 as already constituted (the teacups **40/12–13** and the Cypriot jug **40/36**), no pottery from Pails 4 or 5, with the single exception of **40/38** from Pail 4 (explained below), has been added to the contents of Group 40. Thus three fragments from Pail 4 (**47/1**, **7**, **12**) and one from Pail 5 (**47/21**) have been attributed to the largely LM II fill characteristic of Room 5 north of the *sottoscala*. Only the Sardinian bowl fragment **40/38**, of LM IIIB date to judge from the vast majority of contexts in which fragments of this class of pottery have been found elsewhere at Kommos, has been inventoried and included here on its own merits; like the piece of the imported LH IIIC stirrup jar **79/1** from Pail 5, it indicates that the uppermost fill in this area was contaminated during the final years of Kommos's Bronze Age occupation, probably along the westernmost preserved strip of the area being dug with Pails 4 and 5 where the overwhelmingly LM IB Early fill, redeposited early in LM IIIA2, was being eroded away owing to the pronounced slope in the surface here following the abandonment of at least this portion of the site in the twelfth century B.C.

The preceding discussion indicates that the distinction made between the strata labeled (B) and (C) is an artifact of processes of erosion and excavation rather than of deposition: the fill in the *sottoscala* containing LM IB Early debris, including large amounts of painted plaster, consists of two, not three discrete layers. The ceramic contents of the lower, some 40 cm thick, are very similar, except for their much greater concentration of cooking pottery, to those of the various subdivisions of Group 37. The upper, some 75–80 cm thick, was a fill of closely comparable character whose source is presumably somewhere very nearby—perhaps in the space that became N Room 4 when remodeled in LM IIIA2. Given the large number of joins and mendable pieces recovered from this upper fill, it cannot have been moved far, but moved it clearly was, and the date of the move is that of the construction of Building N and of Galleries P1 and P2, as well as the terrace linking these two structures.

The level at which these two discrete fills meet—+2.97 m—corresponds with the elevation of the top of the "later step" still *in situ* at the base of the southern flight of stairs in the Room 5A stairwell, as well as with the top of the projecting lower part of the ledge wall under the present west face of Room 5's east wall. Might this level of ca. +2.97 m mark a later LM IB floor level throughout T Room 5, one that was dug away when this space was refurbished as N Room 5 in early LM IIIA2?

120. The breakdown of Groups 44a and 44b by sherd count and weight is based exclusively on the excavation units in Trenches 100C and 100D. Within Group 44b, three of the nine pails (100D/38, 39, 40) were contaminated by a total of roughly ten LM IIIB sherds, most of them short-necked amphora fragments but one of which was the Sardinian bowl fragment **44b/21**. These contaminations must have been introduced into these strata not when Corridor 7 was built in LM IIIA2 but rather when the southwest corner of Court 6 was built and abutted the earlier LM IIIA2 construction. LM IIIB remodeling activities within Building N are also attested in the area of Room 4 and possibly also in the Room 5A stairwell (see n. 119 with reference to LM IIIB contaminations in the uppermost strata of Group 40).

121. The sherd material from these LM IB Early "abandonment levels" includes noticeably more nonjoining fragments of large coarse vessels (i.e., pithoi, vats, basins) than occur in the underlying LM IA Final "use levels" of this space.

122. The sherd material from 52A/53 (Group 35, Room 42) includes a fragment of a straight-

sided "reed cup" like **24/16** as well as the complete profile of a Type C unpainted conical cup of LM IB type. The sherd material from 62D/74 (Group 36, Room R') includes a number of mendable but uninventoried fragments that likewise support an interpretation of this space as one exhibiting an emphasis on drinking activity, namely, a second, somewhat larger jug of the sort represented by **36/1** (in seventeen sherds); a complete conical cup profile (Type J) with a developed rim profile like **33/3** (in six sherds); an intact and complete unpainted conical cup in the very fine fabric typical of LM IB versions of Type C; and single sherds of two dark-on-light-patterned teacups of LM IB Early type. From 62D/80, the adjacent excavation unit to the south at the same level, came the bases and lowermost bodies of three medium-coarse unpainted amphoras truncated at the same level in their profile as is **35/1** from the adjoining Room 42. That four such vases were found horizontally bisected in this fashion, with their bases lying on the underlying floor at +3.50 m and no sherds from their upper bodies, handles, or rims surviving in the same excavation units, suggests that their upper portions, and by extension the upper parts of the stratum in which they were originally deposited, were planed off by subsequent leveling operations in these spaces. There are no later Neopalatial floors at higher levels in either Room R' or Room 42. The mixed Neopalatial fill found in both rooms overlying these truncated amphoras may well have been deposited during the LM IIIA2 Early construction of Galleries P1 and P2 and the contemporary refurbishment of T Room 5 as the core of Building N.

123. **40/33** was found in the bottom Pail 18, **40/32** in Pail 14 above, and finally a large uninventoried piece in Pail 10. The absence of any cross joins between pails, in combination with the substantial numbers of sherds that make up what survives of each of these pots, suggest that the three were thrown away at intervals rather than all at once. Probably also significant is that the earliest in this series, **40/33**, has a slipped and finely wiped interior and lacks any evidence of secondary burning in the form of smoke-blackening. That is, this cooking pot may have functioned in a relatively specific and perhaps atypical way as a cooking vessel (e.g., for low-temperature use only?).

124. See n. 119 for the stratification in T Room 5A.

125. This spindle bottle is one of only four vessels of this shape in this distinctive ware so far known from the entire Aegean (Cline 1994: 214 nos. 717–20; Eriksson 1991: 90); only the example from area B7 at Gournia is anywhere nearly as early as the example from Kommos.

126. See n. 119 for the significance of the ceramic joins of pieces from Group 40's upper fill, as well as for the occasional contaminant that suggests that this fill was disturbed in LM IIIA2 Early.

127. Small amounts of later contamination (**37c/6** of LM IB Late or LM II date from 37A/51, with joins in Group 45; two sherds of LM II and LM IIIA2 date from 37A/54; and an LM IIIA2–B short-necked amphora body sherd from 37A/62) are all localized in units directly abutting the east face of the north-south wall that separates T Room 5 from the North Stoa and the north end of T's court. Either the conversion of T Room 5 into Room 5 of Building N in LM IIIA2 Early or later modifications to Building N as late as LM IIIB evidently involved rebuilding portions of this wall down to a very low level (below +2.73 m in the case of 37A/62) and consequently disturbing fills that had accumulated against it in Neopalatial times.

128. 27B/38, approximately 7 cm thick from +2.73 to +2.80 m.

129. For the contents of Red Lustrous Wheelmade spindle bottles, Eriksson 1993: 143–44; McGovern 1997: 82; Eriksson 2001: 59.

130. Note that the evidence for these activities comes either from dumped fills (Groups 37a–e; Group 40, upper fill; possibly also Group 39) or from discard locales (Group 40, lower fill), not from true floor deposits or even use accumulations. Thus the actual location of the activities in question is not altogether certain. In particular, the question of what the immediate source may have been for the large dumped fills containing Groups 37a–e is an unresolved one. If the lower fill of Group 40 is correctly interpreted as a locus of discard (i.e., a garbage dump), there is a strong likelihood that Groups 37a–e and the upper fill of Group 40 stem from comparable garbage dumps somewhere very nearby. The key point is that Groups 37a–e do not stem from primary deposits of gradually accumulated debris but rather from secondary and presumably quite

abrupt (i.e., short-term) redepositions of debris that had originally piled up elsewhere.

131. The "floral spray" in the panels of the teacup **40/14** (Watrous 1992: fig. 17: 258, pl. 6: 258) and the in-and-out bowl **40/18** (Watrous 1992: fig. 18: 267, pl. 6: 267) were probably intended to represent the same plant. Both feature sets of three paired and flaring leaves (or petals), quite plump on the cup but slimmer on the bowl. On the cup **40/14**, these leaves spring from a double curving stem; exactly how the sprays terminate at the other end on this vase is unclear owing to incomplete preservation, so the drawing presented by Watrous should be taken as no more than a suggestion. On the bowl **40/18**, the sets of leaves lack a stem altogether but terminate at the other end in a pair of thin curves that resemble the stems on the cup except for their placement. The painter of the bowl appears to have intentionally echoed the exterior sprays in a more stylized fashion with the decoration of the interior. Here, vertical sets of three very large, plump, and separated leaves (or petals) flare outward from panels of four vertical lines. These LM IB Early plant motifs from Kommos, although they do not bear any obvious resemblance to the wide array of flora illustrated in the somewhat earlier wall paintings from Akrotiri on Thera (for which see Porter 2000 and Sarpaki 2000), nevertheless seem carefully enough designed to have had some specific referent in the natural world. The emphasis on the number three is likely to be significant and suggests a possible connection with the earlier three-petaled buds so popular in the locally produced pottery of LM IA Final (e.g., **24/8**, **24/12**, **26/3**, **33/1**).

132. Note, however, the vestigial horizontal Wavy Band FM 53 on the lower exterior body of **37e/8**, an LM IA Final feature. The single broad zone on the exterior of **32/2**, like the retention of a modified version of the old LM IA Final three-petaled bud on the interior, both hark back to LM IA Final as well (for the exterior pattern, Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 66; for the interior pattern, **26/3**). Vertical multiple Wavy Line FM 53 is prefigured on the interior of an LM IA Advanced in-and-out bowl from House X, Room 2 (Van de Moortel 1997: fig. 27: C 9725) and perhaps also on **17a/3** of the same date.

133. Related but distinct is the use of one or two vertical rows of leaves in alternation with groups of vertical lines on oval-mouthed amphoras (Levi 1967–68: 110 F.3960 and n. 1, fig. 74a; Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1804, pl. 45; **47/2**) and the interiors of in-and-out bowls (**40/18**) in an elongated version of the Floral Paneled Style (Rutter 2004).

134. Most of the closed fragments from Selì decorated with diagonal Reed FM 16 probably came from these shapes: La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: fig. 166, bottom two rows.

135. Popham 1977: 194–95, pl. 30a, d; 1984: 157, 162, 274 n. 33, pls. 131d–e, 136b–c, 143: 6; Warren 1999: pls. CCVI: P2450, P2453, P2337; CCVII: P794, P796. Like **24/16**, the four such "Reed cups" from the Kamilari tholos are presumably imports from the Knossos area (Levi 1961–62: 41 and n. 6, fig. 40a, c, h, l).

136. Continuous zone of diagonal Reed FM 16 segments: Watrous 1992: 15 no. 264, fig. 17, pl. 6 (= **40/2**); 103 no. 1798, fig. 65, pl. 46 (collar-necked jugs); Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1780, fig. 65, pl. 45 (teacup); La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 135 A-5, fig., 259 (pitharaki); La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-15, fig. 169b (pithoid or bridge-spouted jar). Diagonal Reed FM 16 segments alternating with vertical leaves in the Floral Paneled Style: La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-12, figs. 169a, 352 (collar-necked jug); Watrous 1992: 103 no. 1781, fig. 65, pl. 46 (teacup).

137. The horizontal zones of much plumper and stubbier pairs of leaves that have been regularly identified here as Foliate Band FM 64 (e.g., **23/4**, **34/3**; Van de Moortel 2001: fig. 38: 62; La Rosa 1979–80: fig. 36d) are considered to be a different pattern. A single teacup fragment from the Volakakis house at Selì with what appears to be horizontal Reed FM 16 on the shoulder (La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001: 108 XXVII-9, fig. 166c) is considered to be a probable LM IB Late contamination in what is an overwhelmingly LM IA Final to LM IB Early context (Van de Moortel 1997: 404).

138. For a similar conclusion with regard to the Protopalatial period at Knossos, occasioned by the discovery of a deposit of MM IB drinking cups in the area of the Early West Magazines, see Knappett 2001: 89–93, fig. 3.

139. Such festoons were presumably derived from the single and double arcs or Us employed in Floral Paneled compositions, either pendent as overpainted in white on the rim of bowl **37e/8** or upright as on the shoulder of a collar-necked jug (Watrous 1992: 104 no. 1801, fig. 65, pl. 45).

140. A cup or goblet of probable LM IB date from Knossos exhibits a similar syntax, but how its date relates to LM IB Late at Kommos is unclear (Catling and Catling 1979: 51 V.257, fig. 37: 257).

141. An additional shape decorated in this style, the oval-mouthed amphora, is attested by fragments of probable LM IB date, to judge from their closest parallels at other sites, that were found in LM II or later contexts in Kommos's Civic Center (**47/2** and cited comparanda; also **49/1**). Whether these amphoras date from LM IB Early or LM IB Late, and exactly how they functioned in relation to the other shapes decorated in this style, is at present unclear; but the very close resemblance between the pattern preserved on **47/2** and the interior décor of the in-and-out bowl **40/18** suggests that at least these two pieces may be closely contemporary. See also Rutter 2004.

142. For the significance of the division of the so-called Final Palatial period into two different stages preceding and following the great destruction at Knossos in LM IIIA2 Early, see, for example, the selection of sources collected by D'Agata 1999c: 48 n. 7 (= 1999b: 189 n. 4); also Shelmerdine 1992.

143. This badly mixed pair of units owes its heterogeneity to the fact that it comprises the top of the LM IB Early dumped fill in this area represented by Groups 37a–e and a thin scatter of LM IB Late and LM II material (much more fully represented and stratigraphically better separated to the southwest in Groups 44a–b and 45, respectively; note the join with **44b/4**). The upper unit (37A/26) also contained a half-dozen Historic sherds, as well as a joining sherd of **48/4** either from the LM IIIA2 Early construction fill above or else introduced by the Historic contamination. Both units had joins with the overlying unit 37A/24 (part of Group 48). From this thorough mixture of LM IB Early and LM IIIA2 dumped fills, and of LM IB Late and LM II use accumulations, only those pieces plausibly associated with the LM IB Late and II surfaces that must have been respectively situated at ca. +3.30/3.35 m and +3.40/3.45 m in this area are presented here.

144. The uppermost excavation unit in this group was 37A/44, the source of the LM IIIA2–B teacup fragment **46b/13** and an LM IIIA2–B medium-coarse unpainted short-necked amphora rim and handle. The underlying unit 37A/47 contained the LM IIIA1 teacup rim **46b/9**. The vast majority of the closely datable sherds from the four constituent units of this group, however, belong to either LM IB Late or LM II. The later LM III contaminations are arguably the results of the same sort of building activities as are **44b/21** (from just west of Court N6's southwest corner) and **MI/It/3** (from well below the floor of Room N4). The latest of these intrusive sherds in each of these contexts is LM IIIB, and they probably found their way into earlier strata as a result of LM IIIB refurbishments of Building N. Many of the sherds from 37A/47 (+3.30–3.40 m) were split horizontally, an odd kind of breakage that suggests a peculiar kind of wear, possibly from being repeatedly walked over. The surface of LM II times therefore probably lay somewhere within this 10 cm spread of elevations, a figure that corresponds fairly well with the top of the LM II accumulation represented by Group 45 and with the possible LM II surface to be restored within T Room 5 (see below under Group 47).

145. For the term *goblet* as used here to describe LM II and LM IIIA1 one- and two-handled cups provided with a short stem and a disk foot, Hallager 1997: 19–21; Mountjoy 2003: 121–25. The same shape is more often termed a *kylix* by Watrous (1992: 121, 127, but see also 27 no. 452 for his use of the term *goblet*), following Popham (1984: 165–68, 181–82).

146. The fill that comprises Group 47 does not appear to have been uniform throughout its full meter of depth. In the northern half of T Room 5 dug as part of Trench 27B, the ceramic content of the bottom 10 cm or so (Pail 38 and part of Pail 33) appears to have been almost purely LM IB, the sherds being ground up into very small bits; hence, it possibly represents a gradual accumulation through use in which the pottery was crushed into ever smaller bits by foot traffic across the flagstone-paved floor. The lower portions of the next 40–50 cm (Pails 33 and 31) contained mostly Neopalatial pottery (including some LM IB Late) but also some LM II; the unit overlying these, Pail 29, was unfortunately contaminated with some Historic as well as LM IIIA pottery, the precise source of which is altogether unclear. The top of Pail 29, at ca. +3.30 m, was marked by patches of burning and by a large block resting flat, two features suggesting that this level might mark a surface of some sort. The

40–45 cm of fill above this contained pottery that appears to be largely of LM II date, although some earlier sherds (most notably a fair amount of Protopalatial material in Pail 26) do occur. In the southern part of T Room 5 dug as part of Trench 36A, the fill from the paved floor at +2.73 m up to +3.29 m was dug with Pails 12, 11, 8, and 7; its contents resemble, in their thorough mixture of all periods through LM II, with a relatively small amount of LM II present overall and a distinct concentration of LM IB at the very bottom directly over the flagstones (Pail 12), the corresponding fill below +3.30 m in Trench 27B. Above this level, the southern part of the room was dug all together, including the *sottoscala* along its southern side, with Pails 5 and 4; mendable LM IB Early pots from these pails are attributed to the *sottoscala* fill (Group 40 above), in the lower levels of which many of the pieces in question had additional joins, whereas generally smaller and less complete LM II vessels are considered to come from the fill of the main part of T Room 5 that is equivalent to 27B/26–28 farther north.

The stratification observed in this room thus suggests the following stages of use:

1. a gradual accumulation of LM IB debris over the flagstone-paved floor dug as 27B/38 and 36A/12 that produced at least two sherds of the imported Mycenaean Palace Style jar **47/21** as well as the conical rhyton fragment **47/3** and some imports that cannot be closely dated, such as **47/13** and **47/19**;
2. the deposition of ca. 50 cm of dumped fill containing mixed Neopalatial debris of all periods including LM IB Late, an occasional import of interest (e.g., **47/11**), and a small amount of LM II (**47/7**; several uninventoried pieces include a patterned flask fragment and a coated goblet rim and handle from Pail 31);
3. a floor of LM II date marked by patches of burning and a fallen block lying flat at ca. +3.30 m that matches up well with the contemporary surface at approximately the same level to the east (Groups 46a–b) and with the top of the LM II accumulation to the south under later Corridor N7 (top of Group 45);
4. a second deposition of ca. 40–45 cm of dumped fill from which came 15 of the 21 catalogued items making up Group 47 (**47/1–2**, **4–6**, **8–10**, **12**, **14–18**, **20**), including the bulk of the LM II pieces.

Since neither the hypothetical earth floor at ca. +3.30 m nor the LM IB use accumulation just above +2.73 m were isolated during excavation, and since at least one of the excavation units constituting this group is clearly contaminated with both Historic as well as later Prehistoric material (27B/29), it seemed wiser to present all this pottery together rather than to insist upon chronological distinctions only implied rather than firmly attested by the trench notebooks and surviving sherd material.

147. Of the four excavation units making up Group 49, the three from which the full range of sherd material is still available for inspection (all but 44A/51) contain a mix of LM IA Final through LM IIIA1 or early LM IIIA2 pottery, so the range of pieces presented in this particular group accurately reflects the chronological makeup of the construction fills in the Civic Center associated with the transformation of the northwest corner of Building T into Final Palatial Building N. Most of the pieces included here in Group 49 (except for **49/7** and **49/8**) were published by Watrous without illustrations as Deposit 23 of LM II date (1992: 28–29 nos. 489–96). This small and rather undistinguished group of sherds has been published here both to illustrate the chronological spread of the LM IIIA2 Early construction fills that account for a very large amount of the depth of deposit throughout the North and East Wings of Building T as well as to provide illustrations for a group of already published pottery from Kommos heretofore described in words only. Watrous's no. 491 (C 7460) has been omitted, since it is simply a coated conical cup base; his no. 490, from 44A/50, has been presented as **39/3**.

148. The western excavation unit, 50A/69, contained mixed Neopalatial pottery consisting largely of LM IB in relatively large and fresh pieces, but included an LM IIIA2 unpainted ladle handle comparable to **49/7** but finer in fabric. The eastern unit, 50A/68, held similar pottery, including a fragment of the Mycenaean LH IIA Palace Style jar **47/21**, but also contained a handful of seventh-century-B.C. sherds; the sandier consistency of the fill in this unit, which closely resembled that of the overlying unit that forms part of Group 78 (50A/65), suggests that this unit may have consisted largely of sand

washed down from upslope farther to the east, in which direction the adjoining unit, 50A/67, was pure sand containing just scraps of LM I pottery. The Historic contaminants in 50A/68 probably came from wash strata of Historic date immediately to the south, where runoff between Court N6 and Archaic Building Q after the latter's construction totally destroyed any preexisting Prehistoric stratification in this area. The sloping surface exposed beneath the two subunits of Group 50 itself looks as though it was created by erosion; at its western, or downslope, end, it lay well below the level of the original pebbled surfaced of Building T's court. The implication of this stratigraphy is that the pebbled surface of T's court had been eroded away in this area prior to the deposition of the LM IIIA2 Early construction debris associated with the construction of Building N and Galleries P1-P2. This erosion, in turn, could have taken place only when the West Wing of Building T, which had heretofore retained and preserved the relatively even court surface against the effects of erosion, was no longer in place. In other words, the West Wing of Building T south of the remains of Building N must have been removed, whether naturally or artificially, by the time the construction of Building N and the first two galleries of Building P was underway. The accumulation of LM IB Late and LM II strata (Groups 44a–b, 45, and 46a–b) at the northwest corner of Building T's court, reflecting the continuing active use of Building T during these phases, presumably indicates that the West Wing was still in place as late as LM II. Thus the removal of this part of the building can be fairly closely pinpointed in date to the LM IIIA1 or very early LM IIIA2 period, a span of time perhaps as short as 30–40 years. It seems unlikely that natural processes of erosion, even if coupled with a fairly sudden relative rise in local sea level, could have eliminated such a substantial block of megalithic (at least in parts) architecture in such a short space of time. It therefore seems likely that the West Wing of Building T was intentionally disassembled at some point in LM IIIA1 or very early LM IIIA2, in all likelihood to furnish building material for the construction of Buildings N and P. A further indication that the removal of Building T's West Wing was an artificial rather than natural process is the preservation of distinct LM II strata only north of Corridor N7's south wall (Group 45 above Group 44a), not south of it (where the LM IIIA2 Early construction fill of Group 51 directly overlay the LM IB Late fill of Group 44b). The construction of the south wall of Corridor N7 in LM IIIA2 Early evidently entailed the removal of LM II strata to the south, thus accounting for the discovery of a sherd of the LM II jar **45/2** relatively high in the construction fill represented by Group 51 (in 50A/73).

149. The certain contamination of Pails 17 and 24 and the possible contamination of Pails 21 and 25 are due to a circular well dug in this location in Archaic times (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 2000: 30, foldout plan F [in court southeast of Building V]).

150. A half-dozen or so early Historic sherds were reported from 57A/19–20 in the original pottery notes. This minor contamination could not be confirmed in the late 1990s, when all such contexts were being reevaluated, since the original context material had not been retained in storage.

151. A single sherd of Historic date was reported from 56A1/94 in the original pottery notes, but this could not be confirmed in the late 1990s, since the cleaning unit in question had been discarded.

152. Aside from these three goblet fragments, not one other goblet is attested among the pottery of Group 46b, so the association between the two reworked goblet stems and the two large stirrup jars seems unusually unambiguous in the cases of **46b/20** with **22**, and of **46b/21** with **23**. One might be tempted to make more of this absence of goblets from the drinking-related debris found in this portion of Building T's court—for example, to interpret it in ethnic terms as an avoidance by the Minoans of Kommos of the principal drinking shape to be associated with the intrusive Mycenaean overlords of contemporary Crete (e.g., D'Agata 1999c: esp. 50–54)—were it not for the discovery of the fragment of an imported Mycenaean goblet just to the north at much the same level (**46a/6**). Of course, one could argue that this goblet was in fact the drinking vessel of a visiting Mycenaean and that the Minoans at Kommos actually did avoid using foreign cup types in their community-wide drinking festivities. Whatever the social norms within Building T may actually have been, finds from houses throughout the town of

Kommos make clear that goblets produced on Crete during LM II were in regular use by the town's inhabitants.

153. Watrous (1992: 119) comments on the number of complete or near-complete vases from LM II floors at Kommos as a possible indicator of "a disruption of some sort in this period" at the site. For LM II destructions at Knossos and Malia, Popham 1984: 264; D'Agata 1999c: 50 n. 19.

154. In addition to the two from Rooms 10 and 11 listed in Table 3.64, significant deposits of LM II pottery from House X include small to medium-sized groups from Rooms 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, and 14 in addition to a very large body of material (ca. 175 inventoried items) from fills immediately outside the building to the north.

155. The Knossian models themselves frequently show up in contemporary contexts: Watrous 1992: 21 no. 357, 29 no. 500, figs. 19, 23, pls. 10, 14).

156. The shape is termed *conical bowl* by Watrous (1992: 122), simply *bowl* by Popham (1984: 164–65).

157. Watrous 1992: 122. A Knossian import from House X, Room 10, has been shown by additional joining fragments to be a bowl rather than a kylix/goblet: Watrous 1992: 29 no. 503, fig. 23, pl. 14. A number of the fragments from Watrous's Deposit 16 identified by him as kylikes (or what are here termed *goblets*) in fact more probably belong to horizontal-handled bowls (1992: 23 nos. 382–83, 385–86, figs. 19–20, pl. 10).

158. The term *goblet* is used here for one- and two-handled LM II–IIIA1 stemmed cups with short stems and disk feet in accord with the nomenclature suggested by B. Hallager (1997: 19–21) and followed, at least for LM II, by Mountjoy (2003: 121–25). The same shape is more often termed a *kylix* by specialists such as Popham (1984: 165–68, 181–82), Watrous (1992: 121, 127), and D'Agata (1999c: 48–49).

159. Not one of the kylix fragments published by Watrous from his important Deposit 16 actually preserves either its stem or its foot (1992: 23 nos. 382–88, figs. 19–20, pls. 9–10); many of these fragments are, in fact, more likely to belong to horizontal-handled bowls (see n. 157). Even when provided with a stemmed foot and an everted lip, open shapes in this period need not be goblets, as a peculiar "bowl-kylix" from Knossos shows (Popham 1984: 165, pls. 82i, 160: 12). Experimental types of this sort appear to be symptomatic of the casting around by LM II potters for a new ceramic orthodoxy to replace that of the later Neopalatial era.

160. In terms of the ceramic phasing suggested here, Watrous's Deposit 8 might be dated to the very end of the LM IB Late subphase. His Deposit 16 is very much like what is typical of the earlier of the two LM II subphases, although it appears to include a small amount of the later subphase a well (Table 3.64); and his Deposit 37 appears to be a mixture of the later LM II subphase and LM IIIA1. The LM II deposits recovered from Rooms 10–11 of House X, on the other hand, are typical of the later LM II subphase, without any evidence of LM IIIA1 admixture (Table 3.64).

161. Significant bodies of LM IIIA1 pottery from House X to be published in the future include a dump in Room 6 (> 60 inventoried pieces), a floor deposit in Room 7 (7 inventoried pieces), a floor deposit in Room 8 (> 25 inventoried pieces), a floor deposit in Room 15 (> 10 inventoried pieces), and a collapsed second-storey floor deposit in Room 16 (10 inventoried pieces).

162. A ladle handle from 50A/69 belongs to Group 50; another from 56A1/75 belongs to Group 52e.

163. For a recent detailed analysis of the evidence for the absolute chronology of the LH IIIA2 phase, broadly contemporary with LM IIIA2 (but see Hallager 1988), see Wiener 1998. The large buildings in Kommos's Civic Center appear to have been abandoned before the end of the LM IIIB period, hence the date of ca. 1225(?) B.C. supplied for the end of this phase as so far attested in this portion of the site.

164. Note in particular the resemblance between the kylikes **55/3**, **56b/4**, and **56e/13** and their distinction from the somewhat earlier examples **52d/5** and **57d/4** associated with Building P's construction and initial use, respectively.

165. The substantial differences in shape, surface treatment, and method of manufacture exemplified by **54/2** and **55/5** can be interpreted as indicative of an experimental stage in the production of a new ceramic form. The junction of the two constituent parts of **55/5**, for example, is located much higher on the vase than on LM IIIB examples (**67a/21**, **71b/4**), and the wall thicknesses of **55/5** and also **57j/2** are much less sub-

stantial than in the contemporary **54/2** and especially later versions (**66/12–13**, **73a/1**) of the shape. On the other hand, **54/2** has a second layer of clay plastered all over the interior lower body that in the vessel's present condition has separated from the outer wall thickness. This same amphora has a markedly carinated shoulder, repeated in a less pronounced fashion on **58c/3**, and lacks the exterior slip present on **55/5**. Despite such differences, petrographic analysis by P. M. Day has shown that the pastes from which amphoras **54/2** and **55/5** were produced are very similar.

166. Aside from a simply decorated pithoid jar and an oddly shaped whetstone (Evans 1928: fig. 392: 2 and 18, respectively), the context group illustrated by Evans from the Northwest House consists entirely of bronzes: an angular tripod cauldron (Catling 1968: 169 no. 3, fig. 18: 7 [Type 4a]; Matthäus 1980: 103 no. 55 [Type 6]); three double axes; four shaft-hole double-edged adzes; a long "chisel or plane" that resembles a modern crowbar; four tangless daggers featuring three rivets (Papadopoulos 1998: 4–9, 50–51 Type I, probably variant A); and a sword or dirk of a form considered by both Evans (1928: 629 n. 2) and Sandars (1961: 23 and n. 53; 1963: 124) to be ancestral to the cruciform Type Di. Although both the tripod cauldron and the daggers are of types most common in LM/LH I, both can also be paralleled in perfectly good LM/LH IIIA contexts. Similar cauldrons were found in Sellopoulo Tombs 3–4 near Knossos (Matthäus 1980: 104 nos. 64–68) as well as in chamber tombs at Chania (Matthäus 1980: 102 nos. 44–45); comparable daggers have a very long lifetime on the Greek Mainland, ranging from MH II to LH IIIA2 in date (Papadopoulos 1998: 6 nos. 19–20, possibly also nos. 15–16; 51). Thus there seems to be no particularly good reason to exclude an LM IIIA2 date for this Knossian bronze hoard in view of how well dated short-necked amphoras are at Kommos and how sparingly they seem to be attested elsewhere. The pronounced wheel ribbing of the Knossian amphora's exterior, as well as the clear indication of its two-part manufacture in the form of a shallow indentation in its lower body profile, are absolutely typical of the LM IIIA2–B Kommian amphoras of this type and unmistakably reveal this particular specimen to be an import from the western Mesara.

167. The extremely fresh surfaces of the often tiny fragments of these three plain vessels may be due to their originally being tinned (Immerwahr 1966; Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974: 206–8; Gillis 1991, 1997; Gillis and Bohm 1994).

168. A third brazier handle from Group 57f (89A/13) is probably to be connected with the other two, this being a comparatively rare form in the sandy red fabric used predominantly for cooking pottery at Neopalatial and Final Palatial Kommos.

169. I would like to thank V. La Rosa, F. Carinci, A. L. D'Agata, E. Borgna, and N. Cucuzza for confirming that examples of the Kommian short-necked amphora are not to be found in either LM IIIA2 or LM IIIB deposits at Aghia Triada or Phaistos. For the single example of this shape that has so far been identified at another Minoan site (Knossos), see the catalogue entry for **54/2** and also n. 166.

170. But note that at least three of Watrous's eight "LM IIIA2 Deposits" (1992: 47–53 (Deposits 39–46), 130) contain LM IIIB pieces in the form of solidly coated examples of footed one-handled cups (1992: 47 no. 827, 50 no. 855; cf. catalogue entry for **67a/9**) or patterned kylikes (1992: 48 no. 833; cf. catalogue entry for **67a/12**). Only his Deposits 42–44 (nos. 841–50) and the floor deposits of his Deposit 46 (i.e., nos. 863–84) have solid claims to being closed groups of LM IIIA2 material.

171. A similar disagreement seems to exist at Knossos: Popham claims that the plain conical cup continued to be the most common single type in LM IIIA2 (1984: 183), whereas Warren considers it quite rare in this period (1997: 180). It is, of course, possible that at both sites the frequency of the conical cup during this phase is subject to considerable intrasite variability.

172. In this context, note the pronounced lip on the plain ladle **57d/2**, a feature linking it typologically with the one- and two-handled kylikes from this same group (**57d/3–4**) and marking all three as products of a relatively early stage within LM IIIA2. The solid-stemmed kylix **56b/4** was omitted from the analysis, since it may well have been a Mycenaean import.

173. For example, both linear (C 7514) and patterned (C 7599) versions of the shape occurred in a substantial LM IIIA1 floor deposit from Room 8 of House X (see n. 161).

174. Indeed, one wonders whether the appearance of the deep bowl FS 284 on the Greek

Mainland, once one of the defining criteria for the beginning of the LH IIIB period (but see now Mountjoy 1986: 91; 1999a: 29, 72, 128 nos. 212–13, 1229 [listing six other examples] for the shape's appearance at the end of LH IIIA2), may have been the product of Minoan influence rather than vice versa. Watrous recognizes the substantial differences between the Minoan LM IIIB deep bowl and its Mycenaean counterpart, but in emphasizing the novelty of the former's appearance in LM IIIB nevertheless invokes the Mycenaean form as a factor in what he views as the Minoan bowl's sudden rise in popularity (1992: 141). As the Civic Center evidence published here makes clear, it is simply not accurate to say, "At Kommos the bowl shape begins without any real initial development in LM IIIA:2" (Watrous 1997: 186). The Mycenaean influence on the LM IIIC form of deep bowl claimed by Warren (1997: 182) has been refuted in some detail by Mountjoy (1999b: 512–13).

175. LM IIIB teacups, kylikes, and footed one-handled cups are likewise typically lipless, so that the disappearance of a distinct lip between LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB is a phenomenon that crosscuts most of the common open shapes of the typical LM III ceramic repertoire.

176. Watrous's assertion (1992: 136) that the deep jar was new in LM IIIA2 is contradicted by LM IB Early (**40/31**) as well as LM II (**45/8**) examples of the type. For the association of such jars with tripod cooking pots also at LM IIIB Knossos, see the floor deposit from the Shrine of the Double Axes (Popham 1964: pl. 2a). If a large rim fragment from Khamalevri (Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 1997: 135 93/13, figs. 52, 56) can be attributed to a jar rather than a tripod pot, a similar association at that site is attested in LM IIIA1.

177. Average sherd size can be assigned meaning only once the pottery has been broken down into major fabric categories. Further subdivisions according to decorative treatment (painted versus unpainted) have been provided for the more recently excavated deposits (Groups 66–77).

178. The Sardinian pieces include several sherds of two vessels initially inventoried as C 4139 and C 4140 that were later erroneously attributed to **60/33**, a Sardinian jar found broken into numerous fragments above the pebbled surface of Court N6 somewhat farther to the west. At least four additional Sardinian sherds were found in the sherd material recovered from the two uppermost excavation units of the fill, Trenches 44A/41 and 42, the same two levels that produced the inventoried Sardinian pieces as well as a copper ingot fragment (Blitzer 1995: 501 M3, pl. 8.82A; J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.3).

179. In the case of **40/38**, erosion along the west side of the area being excavated may have been responsible for the appearance of this later intrusion into a level (either Group 40 or Group 47, to both of which the finds in Trench 36A/4 contributed) below the LM IIIB floor in this area (the finds above which are represented by Group 59). Erosion in this area is likewise the probable cause of the intrusion of the spout from the LH IIIC stirrup jar **79/1** from a still higher level overlying Group 59 into an even lower level in Room N5 (Trench 36A/5).

180. It has unfortunately not proved possible to connect the pottery recovered in three different trenches supervised by three different excavators over three seasons at Gallery P2's east end with the two phases of LM IIIB use of this space identified by J. W. Shaw on architectural grounds (Chap. 1.3). The sloping stratigraphy at this end of the gallery complicated the excavation considerably, as the numbers of cross joins between excavation units for the constituent pieces of Group 67a eloquently document.

181. Single sherds of the krater **59/10** were also found to the north in Room N5 (Trench 27B/18) as well as within Room N4 some 5 m to the northeast. The seemingly wider dispersal of the constituent sherds of **59/10** is more apparent than real, one suspects, since its fragments are easy to recognize. Pieces making up the upper bodies, necks, and even rims of the plain large pithoi (**59/19–20**) are likely to have been spread over much the same area but were simply not recognized for what they were.

182. The second jar from Room N5, **59/15**, was produced in a fabric other than that ordinarily used for cooking pottery at Kommos and exhibits no traces of burning except on the back of its handle. The second jar from Gallery P2, **67a/26**, consists merely of a single rim, but from its fabric and the traces of secondary burning it exhibits, it clearly belonged to a vessel used as a cooking pot.

183. Note that the Northeast Room also featured two pithoi as part of its abandonment de-

posit (Watrous 1992: 53 nos. 924, 932, figs. 35–36, pl. 21; Wright and McEnroe 1996: 220–21, pls. 3.134, 3.137), although these were both sunk into the room's floor rather than resting on top of it. The upper portions of **59/19–20**, the two pithoi from the threshold between Room N5 and Corridor N7, should be restored to look exactly like the two from the Northeast Room and the contemporary LM IIIB pithos from Room 5 of the House with the Press on the Hilltop (Watrous 1992: 47 no. 830, fig. 33; M. C. Shaw and Nixon 1996: 116–19, pls. 2.177, lower left; 2.179, upper right), the last decorated with trickles of paint unlike the other four.

184. See n. 178 for the finds in Group 64. From Group 65 came a second ingot fragment (Blitzer 1995: 501 M2, pl. 8.82A), the Sardinian sloping-lipped bowl rim **65/2**, and four additional Sardinian sherds from two closed shapes kept with the sherd material from Trenches 44A/38 and 40. It is also possible that some of the more than fifty Sardinian sherds from Court N6 (**59/21**, **60/33–35**) represent debris from vessels orginally at home in Room N12+13. A third ingot fragment (Blitzer 1995: 501 M6, pls. 8.82A, 8.83) was found in wash levels just south of Court N6's southern wall (Pl. 3.23: Group 78 [Trench 50A/57]). The only other ingot fragments thus far identified at Kommos were all found on the Central Hillside in the vicinity of the Northeast Room (Blitzer 1995: 501 M1, M4, M5, pl. 8.82A), one of them (M4) from a unit forming part of Watrous's Deposit 47, dated here to LM IIIB (Table 3.96; Watrous 1992: 53–54; Wright and McEnroe 1996: 220–22).

185. The differences between the pottery recovered from within Building P's galleries and that found behind the building to the east in Trench 88A are even more dramatic, but this is unsurprising given that there appears to be no direct connection between the two areas at all.

186. That is, a medium-sized bowl (rim diameter in the range of ca. 12–18 cm; ratio of height to rim diameter in the range of ca. 0.50–0.90), pattern-decorated or solidly coated and supplied with two horizontal handles, round in section, attached well below the rim on diametrically opposite sides.

187. Watrous (1997: 186) also cites the carinated kylix FS 267 in this connection, a Mycenaean type that is almost invariably plain, although it may occasionally be solidly coated or even more rarely banded or supplied with a dotted rim (Mountjoy 1999a: 560 no. 277, 918 no. 246, 1061 no. 233, 1228), but that never bears a pattern. Most of the supposed imitations of this form at Kommos (Watrous 1992: 37 no. 642, fig. 27, pl. 15; 45 no. 775, fig. 32, pl. 18; 85 no. 1474, fig. 56, pl. 36) are patterned and, as Watrous himself recognized (1992: 37), better identified as unusual kinds of lids (Popham 1984: 173, pls. 59a–c, 94d [top right], 151: 13, 156: 12) probably of LM IIIA or perhaps even LM II date. A single plain carinated rim at Kommos (Watrous 1992: 38 no. 644, fig. 27, pl. 15) need not belong to a kylix, and in any case comes from a largely LM IIIA context. An undeniable FS 267 kylix from an LM IIIA1 context in Knossos's Unexplored Mansion that Watrous cites (1992: 127) is identified by Popham as a probable Mycenaean import (1984: 182, pl. 176: 9). Thus Minoan imitations of carinated Mycenaean kylikes did not certainly exist prior to LM IIIC nor, if they did, were they restricted to the LM IIIB period.

188. As noted by several authorities, the upper body and rim profiles of the LM IIIA2 deep bowls from Knossos and Kommos are quite different from those of later LM IIIB versions, so fragments of the shape that preserve both these features could probably be used as evidence for distinguishing the two periods. But the mere presence among the decorated tablewares of horizontal loop handles is not in itself enough to differentiate LM IIIA2 from LM IIIB ceramic groups. Moreover, it is unclear from the evidence so far recovered at Kommos that the relative frequency of deep bowls was significantly different in LM IIIA2 from what it went on to become in LM IIIB.

189. An exception to this rule would be the LM IIIA2 Early bowl or cup **57d/1**, but this piece was probably an import to Kommos rather than a local product. If the rule about thick banding is conceived of as applying to local ceramic production alone, the number of exceptions may thus be reducible to none.

190. Including the fragments from the Northwest House at Knossos (Popham 1970a: pl. 41a–b) that Kanta appears to date to LM IIIA (1980: 280) and has somehow confused with a complete example from the East Slope of the palace (Evans 1928: 133 fig. 67a = Popham 1964: pl. 8e; Kanta 1980: 281). B. P. Hallager also asserts the existence of the stand as early as LM

IIIA, but without citing any relevant evidence (Hallager and Hallager 2003: 229).

191. Note that these ratios apply only to locally produced conical cups. An LM IIIA2 example suspected on typological grounds of being an import (**56d/1**) has the shallower proportions of local LM IIIB products. Perhaps the latest of the LM IIIA2 conical cups from the Civic Center whose dimensions can be measured, **57j/1**, perhaps serendipitously has a ratio of 0.46, which puts it squarely between the LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB norms.

192. I am very grateful to Deborah Ruscillo for the identification of the shell that produced this impression, as well as for several enlightening conversations about land snails and their habitats.

193. Other indications of the presence of Cypriots in these two regions at this time include the discovery of Cypriot postfiring incised marks on transport vessels at Tiryns and Kommos (Hirschfeld 1993; 1996; 1999; **56e/9**, **MI/SP/2**), the discovery of Cypriot wall brackets at Tiryns (Cline 1999), and the Point Iria wreck (Phelps, Lolos, and Vichos 1999). See also Chap. 3.4 on Cypriot ceramic imports to Kommos.

194. Ever since ceramic and other imports were first recognized at Kommos, discussions of them have appeared in preliminary reports (J. W. Shaw 1979: pl. 55a, also 1981a: 245–47, pl. 60a; 1982: 170, pl. 50d; 1984b: 254, 278, pl. 49b–c, 58b, d; 1986: 239, 261 n. 87, pl. 58a, b; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 188 and n. 163), in conference proceedings (Russell 1985; Watrous 1985; J. W. Shaw 1998; Rutter 1999), in articles in journals (Watrous 1989, J. W. Shaw 1995c), in books (Knapp and Cherry 1994, Cline 1994), as well as in the series of volumes on Kommos. The first thorough substantive report was Watrous 1992, which presented the evidence through 1985, discussed the nature of the imported ceramics, and explored possible trading routes, among other matters.

We remain indebted to the many who helped us determine foreign origins for metals, pottery, and stone, giving us the benefit of their experience and knowledge, among whom are Dorothea Arnold, Marie-Pierre Aubry, George Bass, Clarissa Belardelli, William A. Berggren, Manfred Bietak, Hector Catling, Gerald Cadogan, Peter Day, Hayat Erkanal, Sevinc Günel, Linda Hulin, Vassos Karageorghis, Robert Koehl, Georgios Korres, Fulvia Lo Schiavo, Vincenzo La Rosa, Alexander MacGillivray, Andrew Miall, Robert Maddin, James Muhly, Eliezer Oren, Jacke Phillips, and Lucia Vagnetti.

195. Betancourt lists them under "miscellaneous fabrics" together with all other vases that do not belong to his three local fabric groups—fine buff, tempered buff, and coarse red. Betancourt's "miscellaneous fabrics" also include lamp fabrics, which may or may not be local.

196. The identification of the purported Cypriot sherds from an MM IB context below Building T mentioned by Watrous (1985) is still highly uncertain. Their context is now known to be a mixed MM IB–IIB Early construction fill of Building AA (Group Ba).

197. At Knossos, in contrast, a complete Red-Polished amphora has been found in the Monolithic Pillar Basement, dated by MacGillivray to MM IA–B, and fragments of multiple Near Eastern jars were excavated in Group N, dated by him to MM IIB–IIIA (MacGillivray 1998: 46, 90).

198. The possible East Mediterranean pottery imports from Protopalatial contexts at Kommos are in general highly fragmentary, and the determination of their provenance must be based primarily on scientific fabric analyses, which have not yet been completed. In June 2002, 150 thin sections were taken for petrographic analysis. A grant from the Leventis Foundation and a Solow Summer Senior Research Fellowship from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 2001 enabled me to look for comparanda in Cyprus and Turkey, respectively. My research in both regions was facilitated by many scholars, but in Cyprus above all by Dr. Vassos Karageorghis. Identifications of pottery imports from the Cyclades, Gavdos, and areas of Crete published here were the result of expertise generously shared by the following scholars visiting our storeroom in Pitsidia: Filippo Carinci, Konstantinos Christakis, John Coleman, Carl Knappett, Katerina Kopaka, Christina Papadaki, and Anna Simantiraki. A few pieces were tentatively identified as Cypriot by Vassos Karageorghis and Sturt Manning. Warm thanks go to them and to all other scholars who stopped by and were willing to take a look at my "mystery" pieces.

199. Since the local western Mesara pottery is homogeneous in its fabric recipes, manufacturing practices, shapes, and surface decoration, it

is fairly easy to spot nonlocal vessels through macroscopic observation.

200. From Protopalatial Knossos, 17 Cycladic or possible Cycladic pieces, 1 Cypriot Red-Polished amphora, and 1 fragmentary Canaanite jar have been reported (MacGillivray 1998: 46, 90, 103–7); none have been found in Protopalatial Malia (Poursat 2000).

201. In this respect Knossian bridge-spouted jars correspond to the open-spouted and bridge-spouted jars from the western Mesara, which also have coil handles in the MM IB and MM IIA phases. Open-spouted jars have not been reported from Protopalatial Knossos (MacGillivray 1998: 77–80).

202. Day and Wilson 1998. It is not made clear, however, how many vases were analyzed. A more comprehensive study of fabric, style, and technological features is needed to establish the diagnostic characteristics of the "Kamares" vases of each region.

203. All these rare vase types were found in the House of the Sacrificed Oxen dated by Evans to MM IIIB, but by MacGillivray to MM IIB–IIIA (*PM* II: figs. 176f, h, A, S, U, 180a; MacGillivray 1998: 48). Phaistian comparanda are strictly Protopalatial in date, suggesting an MM IIB date also for the Knossian examples. A squat oval-mouthed amphora from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen also resembles in shape MM IIB examples from the Mesara (Levi and Carinci 1988: 40–43).

204. This similarity was observed by the author in 2000 during a visit to the exhibit *Κρήτη–Αίγυπτος: Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών* at the Heraklion Museum, which featured the shrine model. (See Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis 2000: 63–64 no. 41.)

205. The Pediada vases have been tentatively identified by Konstantinos Christakis; they include at least one bowl: C 11446 from Group Ja.

206. Fabric Group 3 was thought by Momigliano to be from the Lassithi area, but it has now been identified as coming from Kastelli in the Pediada region (Rethemiotakis and Christakis 2004: 169–70).

207. I thank Anna Simantiraki for suggesting this identification.

208. Jug fragment **E/2** seems to have been reused as a scraper (Pl. 3.13). It may have come from East Crete as part of a jug or already cut as a stopper or scraper (see above).

209. Carl Knappett was the first to alert me to the possible Gavdiot origin of this pottery. His identification was confirmed by Katerina Kopaka and Christina Papadaki during a visit to the Kommos storeroom and by myself on a visit to the storerooms of the Gavdos Survey at the University of Rethymno. Even though no petrographic or chemical analyses have been done, the correspondences are so close that there is no doubt about the Gavdiot origin of those nonlocal pieces from Kommos. Papadaki also provided the specific dates for some of the Gavdiot pieces. I warmly thank Katerina Kopaka and Christina Papadaki for lending us their expertise and for allowing me to see their material at Rethymno.

210. The pan fragments were identified by John Coleman during a visit to the Kommos storerooms in 1998.

211. Macroscopically, the fabric of round-bottomed bowl **Da/3** resembles a Middle Cypriot fabric found at Pyrgos Mavroraki, Psematismenos Treloukkas, and nearby sites on the south coast of Cyprus. The fabric of bowl **H/1** shows similarities with Middle Cypriot Red-Polished IV Blue Core fabrics of this region. Vassos Karageorghis was the first to notice these similarities on his visit to the Kommos storerooms in 2000; he subsequently facilitated my visit to pottery collections in Cyprus. I very much thank the Leventis Foundation for their financial support of my travel. Various scholars received me graciously and allowed me to see their pottery, including Maria Rosaria Belgiorno at Pyrgos, Ian Todd and Allison Todd-South of the Vasilikos Valley project, and Robert Merrillees and the staff of CAARI at Lefkosia. Fabric samples were taken for petrographic analysis and exported with the permission of the Cypriot Directorate of Antiquities.

212. The two handles on the profile drawing of **L/27** (Pl. 3.20) were restored before the variation among flask types had been fully studied.

213. This is most evident among the Gavdiot "stamnoid" jars found in the Kamares Cave, which have identical shapes to Phaistian jars and carry the same dark-painted decorative patterns.

214. The total absence of Cycladic or Knossian imports or of imported lentoid flasks at Phaistos, moreover, precludes the possibility that these vases would have been transported from Knossos to the Mesara by land, which

would have been the shortest and most obvious route for these rather small vases. Rather, they must have reached Kommos by sea.

215. Especially helpful with particular bodies of material listed in parentheses after their names have been the following: C. Bergoffen (Cypriot); L. Hulin (Cypriot, Egyptian); D. Aston, B. Bader, and P. Rose (Egyptian, Syro–Palestinian); M. Serpico (Syro–Palestinian); V. Karageorghis (Cypriot); S. Manning (Cypriot); K. Kopaka and C. Papadaki (Gavdiot); M. Bettelli (Italian); L. Vagnetti (Italian). Many other colleagues who have looked over various subsets of our imported pottery without identifying any particular pieces have nevertheless provided us with useful comments and insights of numerous different kinds: T. Brogan, F. Carinci, N. Cucuzza, P. Day, W. Gauss, M. Guzowska, B. P. Hallager, A. Kanta, A. Karetsou, V. La Rosa, J. Moody, I. Tournavitou.

216. The pieces in question are C 1845 and C 2556 (from the Central Hillside) and C 8726, C 10331, and C 10723 (**MI/UP/1, MI/UP/2,** and **45/9**, respectively, from the Civic Center in the Southern Area). Three more pieces once identified as Egyptian (Rutter 1999: 73–74) are now classified as unidentified imports (C 3392, C 3802, C 6949 [= **64/6**]; the second is likely to be Minoan). I am extremely grateful to David Aston and Bettina Bader for reviewing all our suspected Egyptian imports in August 2002 and to Pamela Rose for a similar review in July 2003. Aside from rejecting the above eight pieces, they "discovered" a pair of previously unrecognized Egyptian carinated bowls among pieces that had been either recorded as unidentified imports (C 7549) or misidentified as coming from elsewhere (C 10469 = **56b/7**). They were also kind enough to identify the fabrics of all those pieces that they accepted as Egyptian. Not surprisingly, in view of the extremely fragmentary state of the material in question and the variety of fabrics represented, these specialists did not agree on the precise identification of every piece, but their overall assessments of the range of Egyptian imports at Kommos were very much the same. Phillips's presentation (forthcoming) of the Egyptian ceramics from Kommos is based on the identifications made by Aston and Bader in 2002, whereas that presented here incorporates the supplementary opinions expressed by Rose in 2003.

217. Rose considered the fragments attributed by Aston to his Qantir IIF.02 fabric to be simply a somewhat coarser version of the regular Marl D that occurs at Amarna (fabric III.9 in the Amarna system: Nicholas and Rose 1985: 146) and was reluctant to assign any particular geographic significance to this group.

218. All but three (C 4125, C 6840, and C 7061) of the more than seventy pieces here identified as Syro–Palestinian were examined by D. Aston and B. Bader in August 2002 and by M. Serpico and P. Rose in July 2003. I am particularly indebted to Margaret Serpico for bringing her expertise to bear on the problem of distinguishing among, and in many cases providing specific identifications of, the numerous Canaanite jar fabrics represented at Kommos.

219. I thank M. Serpico for suggesting this identification of **66/15** to me and for referring me to the two examples of this shape from the Ulu Burun wreck as parallels. For the term "Syrian flask," see Amiran 1970: 167, 170, photos 169–70, 172, pl. 52: 1, 3–7. The shape is perhaps more accurately described as an imitation of a Red Lustrous spindle bottle of the sort represented by **40/35** (Bourriau 1990: 23* and n. 17).

220. I thank Linda Hulin for singling out this piece as belonging to a gray-ware juglet and for referring me to the parallels cited in Amiran 1970.

221. Of course, a substantial percentage of the jar fragments from LM IIIA2 Early construction fills in the Civic Center could well belong to jars imported earlier during LM IB Late and LM II, but the sudden jump in popularity of such jars in LM IIIA1 contexts suggests that most of these pieces were in fact imported no earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

222. The assignment of specific jars to particular fabric groups is the work of M. Serpico.

223. I am especially grateful to L. Hulin for initially drawing to my attention the greater frequency of Plain White vessels from Cyprus among the imported LBA pottery at Kommos than had previously been recognized. Her opinions have been confirmed by subsequent visitors having extensive experience with Cypriot ceramics, among them C. Bergoffen, V. Karageorghis, and S. Manning.

224. Neither the rims nor necks of these two highly fragmentary vases are preserved, so it is not possible to be sure whether they were both tankards, both jugs, or one example of each (cf. Åström 1972: fig. LXXIII: 1 [jug], LXXIII: 2–4 [tankards]). Both, however, bear patterned deco-

ration on the lower body that corresponds in its pattern range to what is preserved on the shoulder. Moreover, no trace of any horizontally oriented pattern survives on any fragment of either vase. The decorative syntax of these vessels thus strongly suggests that they are both jugs.

225. Of Watrous's 33 items, only 30 are still included among the pieces considered here to be Cypriot products, two having been identified as fine gray ware (probably of Minoan manufacture) and one as a medium-coarse LM III ladle (Rutter 1999: 170). Of Cline's 39 items, 33 are still identified as Cypriot (all but his nos. 575, 608, 633–34, 636, and 760).

226. Most of the jugs described here under the heading of Proto Base Ring feature flat bases, although a few exhibit the very beginning of an articulated foot (**24/27–28**; **30/5**; **40/37**). Most also lack the hardness or the predominantly gray fracture of canonical Base Ring. The color of the overall coat of dark-firing slip (or "paint") on the exterior of these jugs varies from red to black, although it is usually quite consistent on any given piece. For all these reasons, Cypriot ceramic specialists who have seen this material have expressed an unmistakable lack of enthusiasm for application of the term *Proto Base Ring* to these vessels. Although it is true that the terms *Red Slip* and *Black Slip* could equally well have been used to describe these jugs, that they all appear to belong to a single ceramic category, at least *some* examples of which exhibit a clearly detectable ring base (**30/5**, **40/37**) and all of which appear to have been handbuilt in much the same way by folding over the outside rim of the circular base slab onto the bottom part of the lowermost coil used for the body (see especially **24/27** and **30/5**), has persuaded me to retain the Proto Base Ring nomenclature. One additional peculiarity of these jugs, however they are to be classified, is the fact that their undersides are reserved—that is, they regularly lack the coating of colored slip applied to the rest of the vessel exterior.

227. The base fragment **30/5** was found just east of the South Stoa, the body sherd **MI/Cy/4** within it. Base fragments **40/36–37** came from the *sottoscala* immediately south of T Room 5. C 11923 is an earlier kick-up from an LM IIIB context at the south end of Court N6 (Group 60). The remaining pieces were clustered in T Rooms 22 (**24/27–29**) and 23 (**20/6**) and at the east end of the North Stoa (**8/6**).

228. I see no reason to consider the gray-ware stirrup jar to be Anatolian; Benzi discusses fourteen examples of such gray-ware vases from Mycenaean tombs on Rhodes and refers to a further dozen such vessels from LH III tombs on Kos (1992: 7). As Benzi notes, all thirteen of the shapes represented in this class on Rhodes are typically Mycenaean.

229. The numbers of Western Anatolian imports inventoried from the Hilltop and Central Hillside portions of the site would doubtless have been substantially higher if this class of pottery had been recognized for what it is during the first decade of excavations at Kommos.

230. From various locales in and around House X came the following additional examples of jugs: C 7526, C 7570, C 7619, C 7976, C 8689, C 9192, C 10850, C 10975, C 10978, C 10988, C 11296, C 11350, C 11772, C 11851, C 11887, C 11899, C 11910, C 11912, C 11913, C 12047, C 12063, C 12080.

231. The coil joints on some of these vessels are clearly visible in cross section. Wall thicknesses at any given height on the vessel body are sufficiently variable, in the case of fragments that are large enough to preserve a substantial portion of the vessel's circumference, to support the notion that these jugs were assembled from coils attached by hand. The details of the bases' construction (see text following) are likewise indicative of the handmade manufacture, at least at an initial stage, of these jugs.

232. Not enough of the basin C 11911 survives to allow its mode of manufacture to be securely identified or to establish whether its interior was color slipped.

233. Comparanda for the shape from the Knossos area (e.g., Popham 1964: fig. 4, pl. 2b; Alexiou 1967: pl. 17b, left; Popham 1984: pl. 86a–b) regularly feature such a pinched-out spout, but the single example of a reddish brown burnished jug from Kommos to preserve its entire rim is clearly round-mouthed rather than spouted (Watrous 1992: pl. 17: 740). The trefoil mouths on two possible examples of this form from Akrotiri of late LM IA date (Marinatos 1974: pls. 5a, 71b), on the other hand, are far more exaggerated than on the later LM II–IIIB examples from Knossos, so perhaps the trefoil mouth was an early feature that was gradually deemphasized on this form as the lips gradually acquired a more strictly articulated, thickened profile.

234. Thanks to the generous hospitality of

Eleni Hatzaki and with the kind permission of the British School at Athens, I was able to examine one of the complete jugs from the Unexplored Mansion (M 105) in the summer of 2003 as well as to look through some of the unpublished sherd material retained from the excavation of that building. Among the latter were four rim and handle fragments, four rim and neck fragments, four neck and shoulder fragments, and two spouts representing as many as twelve additional jugs of this type, all recovered from LM II destruction contexts in Room H, the pillared hall. All but one of the shoulder and neck fragments came from vessels of the same basic type as the jugs from Kommos but were left unburnished, although seemingly coated on the exterior with a colored wash, often mottled from red to black. The fully preserved jug M 105 likewise lacks a burnished surface. One of the fragments from Room H, however, as well as a largely restorable example of the type from an LM II context in the Temple Tomb (TT/3 TV9 #1718; to be published by E. Hatzaki in her forthcoming full publication of the Temple Tomb) have the burnished exterior that is typical of this form of jug as it is represented at Kommos, together with a pronounced groove at the base of the neck. There may well be fragments of a number of additional jugs of this type among the sherd material retained from the Unexplored Mansion; in the limited time available to me in 2003, I was able to examine only that recovered from Rooms H and P.

235. The close resemblance between the preferred transport vessels of southwestern Anatolia and Cyprus in the later fifteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries B.C. is unlikely to be coincidental. It certainly sets these two regions apart from areas to the west where the transport stirrup jar was favored. The seeming replacement of the large trefoil-mouthed jug by the pithos as the preferred Cypriot transport vessel late in the fifteenth or early in the fourteenth century B.C. is no doubt the result of developments peculiar to Cyprus, ones that may among other things have involved changes in the bulk of the goods being exported from that island.

236. A rim and a body sherd from a red-slipped-and-burnished bowl with incurved rim (Betancourt 1990: 71 no. 120, fig. 15, pl. 5), from an MM IB context on the Central Hillside, is the only certifiable example of an Aeginetan Bronze Age ceramic import from Kommos known to me. An additional fragment cited by Lindblom (2001: 44 table 9; Watrous 1992: 168 no. 1098, pls. 46, 50) belongs to the class of micaceous cooking pottery here attributed to the island of Kythera.

237. I am very grateful to Evangelia Kiriatzi for extensive discussions on the subject of the Kytheran ceramic repertoire during the MM III–LM IIIB era (Second and Third Palace periods: Kiriatzi 2003). A program of petrological and chemical analysis currently underway at the Fitch Laboratory of the British School at Athens in connection with the Kythera Island Project (Broodbank 1999; Bevan 2002; Kiriatzi 2003) will make clear to what extent such red micaceous imports to Kommos and other southern Aegean sites from ca. 1700 B.C. onward can safely be assigned a Kytheran provenance.

238. The stirrup jar C 611 from the Hilltop, from Watrous's developed LM IIIB Deposit 82 in Court 2, has an almost perfect parallel in a seemingly local vase from an LH IIIC phase 1a context at Lefkandi on Euboea (inventory no. 64/P19). For the popularity of the dot rosette motif on stirrup jar shoulders in LH IIIB2 in particular, see Mountjoy 1999a: 414–15 no. 47, n. 345 (Elis), 678–79 nos. 159–61 (Boeotia), 709–11 nos. 59–60 (Euboea), 770–71 nos. 145–46 and 148 (Phokis), 1020–21 no. 95 (Rhodes), and 1093–94 no. 50 (Kos). This motif survived on some stirrup jars into the subsequent earliest phase of LH IIIC, Mountjoy's "Transitional LH IIIB2/LH IIIC Early" (e.g., Mountjoy 1995: 203–4 no. 47 [Thorikos]).

239. The LH I Vapheio cup **37e/16** came from an LM IB Early context, the LH IIA semiglobular cup **44b/20** and the two LH IIA bridge-spouted jug fragments **44b/18–19**) from a subsequently deposited LM IB Late context. It is thus by no means certain that the earlier cup would have been used in tandem with one of these two jugs, although this certainly *could* have been the case, the jug having continued in use for a longer period of time and so eventually having been deposited in a later context.

240. The two closed vessel fragments **MI/MG/1–2**, both single sherds recovered from LM IIIA2 Early building fills, could have originally come from almost anywhere on the site. The alabastron base fragment **57a/2**, on the other hand, was mended from five sherds and was

found in a mixed Neopalatial through LM IIIA2 Early fill stratified between an underlying Neopalatial plaster floor and a superposed burnt floor of pebbles dating to LM IIIA2. This piece may therefore actually be part of a disturbed LM IB Early floor deposit that was abandoned on the plaster floor toward the west end of Building T, Room 28, and that survives undisturbed only immediately adjacent to the court (Group 41).

241. The two residential structures in and around which LH IIB–IIIA1 goblet fragments have been found at Kommos, House X and the House with the Snake Tube, are in addition among the larger and more impressive LBA houses so far cleared at the site. The excavators of the LM III chamber tomb cemetery at Mochlos have interpreted the presence of small numbers of kylikes in select tombs as indicators that local elites sought to emulate drinking behaviors at home in the contemporary Minoan culture of central Crete at the same time as these elites were including among their grave goods traditional East Cretan drinking forms (Smith 2002: 268–73). It is certainly possible to view the LH IIB–IIIA1 Mycenaean goblets from LM II–IIIA1 Kommos in a similar way as high-status goods belonging to a local elite rather than as markers of resident aliens.

It is just possible that the alabastron base **57a/2** found below Gallery P3 is of LH IIB rather than LH IIA date, in which case the alabastron form might be a second ceramic indicator of a Mycenaean presence at Kommos during the LM II–IIIA1 era; however, in both typological and contextual terms, this closed fragment makes better sense as an LH IIA import originally abandoned in an LM IB Early context (see preceding note).

242. The linear rather than solidly painted decoration of the neck on this piece is not all that common but does occur on scattered examples of both large examples of FS 37 type (Mountjoy 1999a: 131–32 no. 221 [Argolid]) and smaller examples of FS 45 (Mountjoy 1999a: 763–64 no. 89 [Phokis]), both of LH IIIB date.

243. A handle fragment published by Watrous (1992: 155 no. 1671, pl. 51) could belong to either type of bowl.

244. See n. 238. Skepticism about an LH IIIC Early dating for **79/1** has been expressed by some (e.g., Hallager and Hallager 2003: 252 n. 534; E. French, pers. comm.). The false neck profile, as well as both the decoration and the section of the handles, seem in combination to be decisive indicators of an LH IIIC rather than LH IIIB2 date.

245. I am very grateful for the positive identification of these imports to the team of Katerina Kopaka and Christina Papadaki, who visited Pitsidia during the summer of 2001 and found quite a number of Gavdiot pieces among the unidentified imports of Protopalatial, Neopalatial, and subsequent LM date to Kommos. Credit for suspecting that such imports existed at Kommos goes to Carl Knappett. The initiative to invite Kopaka and Papadaki to Pitsidia to confirm this was taken by Aleydis Van de Moortel.

246. I am especially grateful to Fulvia Lo Schiavo for arranging to have a copy of Campus and Leonelli's comprehensive typology of Sardinian Nuragic pottery sent to me as soon as possible after its appearance in print in 2000. This publication, with its wealth of profile drawings, has been exceptionally helpful as a tool for contextualizing the highly fragmentary Sardinian imports recovered at Kommos between 1976 and 1995 within the overall framework of Sardinian ceramic production during the thirteenth century B.C.

247. The three completely restorable Canaanite jars recovered from Rooms 4, 5, and 8 of House X are clearly atypical; no jar of this type has survived in anything like complete form from other residential structures at the site (see above, "The Syro–Palestinian Coast"). That is, these particular jars may have held special contents or served some other special function in the context of the high-status function that House X appears to have served within the settlement as a whole during its entire period of use (LM IA–IIIA2 Early).

248. Counted as "poorly dated" are all pieces from Historic levels plus those from contexts whose date cannot be more closely specified than "LH IIIA" or "LH IIIA2–B."

249. The LH I Vapheio cup rim C 8129, from an LM IIIA dump in House X, is an isolated early sherd from a much later context. Its original locus of use is impossible to determine, but it could just as well be a discard from Building T as part of House X's original furnishings. It and the closed vessel fragment C 11352 found in a fill just outside House X to the north are the only fragments of Mycenaean pottery from Kommos predating LH IIB to have been found outside of Building T, located just across the road from House X to the south.

CHAPTER 4

Catalogue of Miscellaneous Finds from the Southern Area

Joseph W. Shaw, Maria C. Shaw, and Deborah Ruscillo

1. Metals and Metalworking (J. W. Shaw)
2. Loomweights and Miscellaneous Clay Objects (J. W. Shaw)
3. Items of Adornment, Seals (J. W. Shaw)
4. Artifacts of Stone (J. W. Shaw)
5. Plaster Offering Tables (M. C. Shaw)
6. Figurines and Figural Appliqués (M. C. Shaw)
7. Faunal Remains and *Murex* Dye Production (D. Ruscillo)

The descriptions and catalogues in Chap. 4.1–4.7 include a variety of materials recovered through 1997 in important stratigraphic contexts within the area of the Minoan civic buildings. The chapter contents do not include wall or construction plasters (see Chap. 2) or pottery (see Chap. 3). They may not include all minor objects found in fills. Since the studies in both parts of *Kommos* I focused on the finds from all areas through 1985, many of the objects from the civic buildings are discussed therein and are sometimes only mentioned in the present chapter. Also, some of the main studies of find categories (e.g., loomweights, metalworking, and stone tools) are in the two parts of *Kommos* I, where the objects are well illustrated. Illustrations here, therefore, have been kept to a minimum. Effort has been made to reference each object to the archaeological context within which it was found, often in the form of citation of the stratigraphy as revealed through stylistic ceramic horizons. Those from post-Minoan contexts (where some may still be Minoan) are usually to be found in *Kommos* IV, which discusses the Greek Sanctuary.

1. Metals and Metalworking (Pls. 4.1–4.13, Table 4.1)

Joseph W. Shaw

One can easily imagine the large tools used in the construction of the civic buildings, although none was actually discovered in the Southern Area. An array from other sites that suffered destruction by burning and collapse and as a result have a richer artifactual complement must replace them for us: the picks used in the quarrying of the blocks, the hammers and chisels for the finishing of ashlars; huge-toothed saws, adzes, and double axes that, along with the large chisels, cut and often squared the timbers used for framing, wall stabilization, and ceiling support.[1] Instead, we have represented in the following catalogue smaller tools used for artisan activities: blades, small chisels, nails, squared rods, a few fishhooks, a plethora of copper strips, a pair of "tweezers." As far as significant distribution is concerned, the larger proportion of objects came from between the plaster floor of T's Room F in the East Wing and the first floor of Building P in Gallery 3. Unfortunately, we do not know if this is characteristic of the eastern area in general, for only one of the long galleries of P could be cleared in its entirety. It suggests, however, that a number of implements were from limited excavation in other rooms, such as those that appeared at the eastern end of Gallery P2,[2] which makes one suspect that more would have been found if excavation had continued.

Blades

Of the four following examples, the tip of a knife and fragments of three serrated blades, the latter are of particular interest, since they are unusual by themselves and unique at Kommos to the Southern Area. Two (**1**, **2**) are from between the floors of Buildings T and P (Gallery 3) and probably reflect sawing of a fibrous material, most likely wood, above the plaster floor there.

1 (B 359a). Blade fragment. Pl. 4.1. Max pres length 1.7, max pres w 1.2, max pres th 0.2. Wt 1 g. A central piece of a double-edged blade. Serrated(?) 89A/11. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From just above the plastered floor of Building T, Room F, and below the first floor of Building P, Gallery 3, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 57f.

2 (B 358a). Blade. Pl. 4.1. Serrated blade fragment. Max pres length 2.0, max pres w 2.3, max pres th 0.1. Wt 2.7 g. Part of a saw blade that, as contrasted with the blade of many bronze knives, is uniform in thickness rather than being thicker at the center or upper edge. 89A/12. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From the same locus as **1** (B 359a).

3 (B 400b). Tip of single-bladed knife. Max pres length 1.5, max pres w 1.0, max pres th (?; triangular in section). Wt 2.7 g. 97E/30. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found in the eastern end of Gallery 2 of Building P, for which see Chap. l.3, Pottery Group 67A.

4 (B 276). Serrated blade, probably part of a saw, since of uniform thickness. Pl. 4.1. Max pres length 1.1, max pres w 0.8, max pres th 0.1. Wt 0.7 g. 57A/15. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found in the "terrace" heaped up in LM IIIA2 north of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 52d.

Table 4.1. Slowpoke analysis of folded copper strip, Kommos Trench 89A/7 from LM IIIA2 context above plaster floor of Building T, Room F, below earthen floor of Building P, Gallery 3 (J. E. Rehder).

Element	Count	Concentration
Ag	4	≤ 2.3 ppm
Al*	1	580 ± 40 ppm
As	3	1,040 ± 40 ppm
Au	3	3,900 ± 100 ppb
Br*	3	≤ 1.9 ppm
Cd	3	≤ 22 ppm
Co	3	63 ± 2 ppm
Cr*	4	160 ± 4 ppm
Cu	2	61 ± 2 %
Fe	4	1,700 ± 200 ppm
In	2	≤ 0.7 ppm
La*	3	≤ 1.1 ppm
Mn	2	22 ± 3 ppm
Na*	3	230 ± 20 ppm
Ni	4	≤ 33 ppm
Sb	4	45 ± 1 ppm
Sc*	4	91 ± 9 ppb
Sm*	3	≤ 0.33 ppm
Sn	4	7,900 ± 300 ppm
Th*	4	≤ 0.32 ppm
U*	3	37 ± 1 ppm
V*	1	58 ± 4 ppm
Zn	4	29 ± 5 ppm

There were three irradiations and four counts of the sample. The numbers in the second column indicate which count was used for that element.

Notes

1. The low copper content indicates the obvious corrosion. If all the copper was present as $CuCO_3$, then Cu = 51.4%. If all the copper was present as CuO, then Cu = 79.9%.
2. Au and Sc are in ppb.
3. Elements marked with * probably came from the storage environment and contaminated the oxide/carbonate matrix (based on sixteenth- to nineteenth-century smelted copper—so not at all certain).
4. Errors are at the 67% confidence level.
5. Eliminating elements with *, maintaining two-significant-figure accuracy, and assuming complete oxidation of the sample, the analysis shows the sample to be composed of 61.0% Cu, 1.1% of other elements, and by difference 37.9% of oxygen. The original alloy then was 62.1% of the sample.

Considering the alloy alone, its composition was Cu 98.2%, As 0.17%, Fe 0.27%, and Sn 1.3%; total: 99.94%. The level of Fe suggests that bellows were used to smelt the Cu. The level of Sn could be a result of the intentional addition of Sn or from the remelting of scrap bronze.

Chisels

All the chisels from the Southern Area were fashioned by flattening and shaping the ends of squared bronze rods that had been prepared beforehand. These likely belong to Evely Type 1 (1993: fig. 3). They might also have functioned as drills, which are similar in shape (Evely 1993: 77, Type 1a (i) and fig. 35). None of them was cast in a mold such as those found in the town to the north (Blitzer 1995: **M 61** [15.5 cm long] and **M 147** [12.3 cm long]). The most likely use for those from the Southern Area was woodworking.

5 (B 114). Chisel fragment. Pls. 4.2–4.3. Max pres length 2.3. Width of chisel point 0.55, max pres th 0.5. Wt 2.2 g. Made from a squared rod flattened at one end, with a rounded end. 36A/21. Probable latest date LM I.

From the *sottoscala* area of Building T, Room 5A, for which see Chap. 1.2. Blitzer 1995: **M 112**.

6 (B 64). Chisel. Pls. 4.2–4.3. Max pres length 8.9, max pres w 0.65. Wt 12 g. Made from squared-section rod, butt end (tapering to rounded end for possible insertion into wooden haft) fairly flat, bit end broken. 27B/35. Probable latest date LM II.

From the LM II reuse level in Space 7 of Building T, then the northwestern corner of the Central Court, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 45. Blitzer 1995: **M 97**, pls. 8.83, 8.108.

7 (B 387). Chisel. Pls. 4.2–4.3. Max pres length 5.2, max pres th 0.4, max pres w of blade 0.5. Wt 6 g. Made from squared-section rod, one end flattened into blade, the other tapering (tip of tang, for possible insertion into wooden haft, may be missing). Perhaps a tiny rivet in tang end. 93A/7. Probable latest date MM III/LM IA.

From the western end of Room I of Building T (below Gallery 5 of Building P), for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 9b.

8 (B 400a). Chisel(?). Pls. 4.2–4.3. Max pres length 3.2, max pres w 0.7, max pres th 0.4. Wt 3 g. Bronze and oxidized bronze with core of another metal (lead?). Chisel-pointed instrument with slight waist, then socket-like tang that seems to be wrapped around another metal core.[3] Probably was completely covered with bronze, which has broken away from the core. 97E/30. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found at the eastern end of Building P, Gallery 2, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 67a.

Nails

Four nails were recovered from Minoan contexts in the Southern Area. Like the chisels, all were probably made from sections of squared rods such as **16** (B 379). All the nails are short (max pres length 5.7), which implies that they were used to join relatively small objects together, such as wooden containers or furniture. Their small size excludes their use in architecture, in which joining by means of insetting or with mortises and tenons were probably the main techniques for securing timber framing and ceiling structure (J. W. Shaw 1973a: 74, 225). The nails from the settlement at Kommos, and nails from other Minoan sites, tend to support this hypothesis.[4] The date range of the Kommos nails from the Southern Area is LM I–IIIB, although there is one from the town from MM levels (Blitzer 1995: **M 100** [B 68]). Of interest is that three catalogued here (**10–12**) were found along with other metal blades and strips, which probably indicates working areas where both wood and metal were part of a manufacturing process. No nails were found in direct connection with the metalworking establishments.

9 (B 272). Nail, fragment. Max pres length 4.7, max pres th 0.4–0.5. Wt 3 g. Shaft of a bronze nail, head missing. Tapers to a point. Square in section, probably made from a rod. 50A/79. Probable latest date LM III.

From an accumulation south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Groups 50, 51. Blitzer 1995: **M 165**.

10 (B 366a). Nail. Pl. 4.4. Max pres length (as straightened) 2.9, head d 0.6. Wt 2 g. Square section, tapering to a rounded tip. Flat round head, with edge of head partially broken off. Bent at 90° about 0.7 from tip. Outer metal has come away at bend, leaving slim solid core. 89A/35. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found below the floor of Gallery 3 of Building P and above the plaster floor of Room F of Building T along with numerous other small objects of bronze, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 57f.

11 (B 396). Nail, fragment. Max pres length 5.7, max pres w 0.4. Wt 2.5 g. Long striplike fragment of what appears to have been a nail, head and pointed end missing but showing signs of having been clinched. 94B/115. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the eastern end of Building P, Gallery 2, for which see Chap. 1.3, and **12** (B 397a).

12 (B 397a). Nail, fragment. Max pres length 3.5 before cleaning, max pres th 0.6. Wt 0.3 g. Roughly square in section, made from a rod. 94B/115. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the same pail as **11** (B 396). See also strips **28** (B 397b) and **29** (B 398).

Rods

As pointed out by Blitzer (1995: 511), squared rods were used as "blanks" for the manufacturing of certain tools, such as all the chisels from the Southern Area (above).

13 (B 363b). Rod. Pl. 4.4. Max pres length 3.9, max pres d 0.6. Wt 7 g. Fragment of rod with rounded point. 89A/13. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found along with numerous other small bronze objects below the floor of P's Gallery 3 and above the plaster floor of Building T, Room F, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 57f.

14 (B 375). Rod(?). Pls. 4.4, 4.9. Max pres length 5.6, max pres w 1.3, max pres th 0.5. Wt 19 g. Thick flat plate or bar, seemingly broken at one end and slightly bent—perhaps a tang or a handle. Catalogued along with a smaller piece, probably not part of the same object. 89B/81. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From the same general context as **13** (B 363b).

15 (B 392). Rod. Pl. 4.4. Max pres length 10.7, max pres d 0.4. Wt 8 g. Slim and straight rod, with a square section in places, and then round. 93B/52. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found toward the western end of Gallery 4 of Building P, along with bronze loop **49** (B 393), for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 53.

16 (B 379). Rod fragments. Pl. 4.4. Largest max pres length 2.2, max pres w 0.4, max pres th 0.2–0.3. Wt 6 g. Six pieces, slightly flattened, probably pieces of several rods, with tapered, rounded ends. Several fresh breaks. 90A/63. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From near the western end of Gallery 6 of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3.

17 (B 135). Rod fragments. Fragment 1: max pres length 2.1, max pres d 0.6; fragment 2: max pres length 0.7, max pres d 0.6. Wt 2 g. Possible chisel end at one tip and then plain rounded at the other. 36B/16. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From above the slab floor of Building T, Room E, below the western end of Gallery 2 of Building P. Blitzer 1995: **M 119**.

Fishhooks

Fishhooks, small and large, were made from wires. Some were barbed, others unbarbed. Of the three from the Southern Area (Pl. 4.5 for two), covering a range of ca. MM III–LM I–LM III (or possibly later in the case of **18**), two preserve the tang or attachment, which was flattened, as are many hooks even nowadays. Item **18** preserves the form of the fishing string attached to the tang, a by-product of the corrosion process (Pl. 4.6). The findspots (in the eastern part of Building T, on the Central Court, and on the west in a late context in the sand above Building N) suggest that these were part of a fortuitous scatter. There is not a single hook, for instance, among the dozens of small bronzes collected from the floor of Building T's eastern Room F, for which see the entry in Chap. 1.3, Pottery Groups 57a–j. By contrast, the number of hooks found in the town (10) suggests that fishing gear was usually stored in the houses. For Bronze Age fishing at Kommos, see Rose 1995; also for discussion of fishhooks, Powell 1996: 124–28. For fishing during the Greek period at the site see Rose 2000: chap. 6.4.

18 (B 406). Fishhook. Pls. 4.5–4.6. Max pres length 3.5, max pres w 1.3, max pres d 0.25. Wt 1.9 g. Wire, round in cross section with barbed hook. Suspension end flattened. Preserves string remains replaced with corrosion products. Notebook 98. Probable latest date Greek.

Surface find in Central Court of Building T.

19 (B 60). Fishhook(?). Max pres length 2.7, max pres w 2.5, max pres th 0.25. Wt 0.5 g. Square cross section. One end pointed, one slightly flat. 27B/18. Probable latest date LM IIIC.

Found in the sand below a superficial wall, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 79. Blitzer 1995: **M 96**, pl. 8.85.

20 (B 404). Fishhook, partially preserved. Pl. 4.5. Max pres length 1.8, max pres d 0.15. Wt 0.2 g. Fine small hook with attachment end slightly flattened, barbed or unbarbed end missing. 97E/58. Probable latest date MM III/LM I.

From Building T, Room E levels below the eastern end of Gallery 2 of Building P.

Copper Strips and Wires

Strips[5] and wires are found in the town, especially on the hillside; a number are recorded in Blitzer 1995. They are especially plentiful, however, in the Southern Area. Of those inventoried here, often in groups as they were found, they range in date from MM III (**21**, one of the few) through LM IIIB (**52–53**). They are to be found thinly scattered in most areas. They appear to be concentrated, however, between the LM I and LM IIIA2 floors in Room F in the East Wing of Building T and may occur in similar positions in other rooms in T's East Wing.

Most of the strips are simply straight, thin sections of copper, ranging from very small bits to some as long as 15 cm. They range from 0.3 to 0.7 wide and are 0.5 to 1.5 cm thick, averaging 1.0. As illustrated in Pl. 4.9, they can occur as long, curling strips (**34**, **35** left), or

as strips that seem to have been folded together (**30**, **46**), or wound up into a ball (**35**, right), probably for reuse. One (**33**) appears looped around another strip, perhaps by chance. Most strips have been cut; some appear hooklike. All those in Pl. 4.9 are associated with Room F of Building T.

Chapter 1.3 lists some of the inventoried strips from Room F as connected with Pottery Groups 57a–j. Chapter 1.2 also discusses the sequences of use within the immediate area. A few of the strips (e.g., **21**), however, antedate the plaster floor, since they were found under it. The strips seem to be confined to the plastered area west of the wall of Building AA (Pl. 1.96) that was found toward the eastern end of Room F, which tends to support the idea that the two areas were separate, with a wall (with presumed doorway) between them.

As described in Chapter 1.3, some of the strips were found under or within the low partitions (Pl. 1.94) that represent a later phase of the same room. This suggests that the strips resulted from activities carried out when the entire plaster floor was in use, before the partitions and certainly before the row of bases (which includes two anchors) was set in place. This theory is reinforced by the discovery of strips within the renewals of floor plaster.

Even though the strips' context on the plaster floor can be dated to LM IIIA2 on the basis of the pottery found, the strips themselves probably date to the pre–Building P period, either to the original MM III–LM IA use of Room F or to its reuse. The former date is probably to be preferred, since the plaster floor is probably an original part of Building T.

In *Kommos* I, Part 1, Blitzer notes that the strips functioned for "the production of tweezers [like **56**] and in other undetermined activities" (1995: 511). As discussed in connection with the serrated blades and the nails, found in the same context in F, it does seem likely that the strips were associated in some way with the woodworking with which the blades and nails were probably connected. One cannot comment further at the moment, but future discoveries could well clarify the situation.[6]

21 (B 385). Copper strips. Total straightened length 0.15, max pres th 0.2–0.3. Wt 2 g. Very fine narrow strip folded irregularly into loose bundle. 86D/37. Probable latest date MM II–III.

From within a sounding below the MM III floor of Building T, Room F, for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 10.

22 (B 180). Copper strip, eight fragments, decayed. Max pres length (largest fragment) 4.3, max pres w 0.55, max pres th 0.25. Wt 2 g. Folded over and corroded fragments of strips suitable for remelting. 37A/57. Probable latest date LM IB.

From the dump of material in the northwestern corner of the Central Court, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37e. Blitzer 1995: **M 139**, pl. 8.86.

23 (B 115). Strip, with additional small nonjoining fragment, decayed. Max pres length 2.4, max pres w 0.5, max pres th 0.8. Wt 1.5 g. Coiled, as a spring. 36A/18. Probable latest date LM IB.

From within the *sottoscala* deposit in Room 5B of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 40. Blitzer 1995: **M 113**.

24 (B 390). Strips. Pl. 4.8. Max pres length ca. 5.8, max pres w 0.25. Wt 2 g. Two strips tightly wrapped with a third, the whole bundle bent into a rough semicircle. 93B/45. Probable latest date LM IA(?).

Found below the floor of the western end of

Building P, Gallery 4, in a context of Building T, Rooms G/H.

25 (B 388). Strips. Pl. 4.8. Max pres length 5.3, max pres w 0.25. Wt 2 g. Two fine bronze strips held together snugly by a third. 93A/9. Probable latest date LM IA.

From the western end of Building T's Room I (below P5) in T's East Wing.

26 (B 275). Loop. Max pres length 2.5, max pres w 0.3, max pres th 0.1. Wt 0.5 g. Small loop made from flattened thin strip, broken at both ends. Possibly a ring, for which see Dabney 1996b: **3**. 57A/9. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found in the terrace built up north of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Groups 52a–h.

27 (B 346). Strip. Max pres length 5.7, max pres w 0.45. max pres th 0.2–0.3. Wt 1.9 g. Fairly sturdy, flat strip of bronze, ends slightly rounded. 80B/56. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From near the later staircase in P1.

28 (B 397b). Strip. Max pres length 3.8, max pres w 0.7, max pres th 0.5. Wt 5 g. Flat strip, uniform width. 94B/115. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the eastern end of Gallery P2. See also nails **11** (B 396) and **12** (B 397a), from the same location.

29 (B 398). Two strips. First: max pres length 5.3, max pres w 5.0, max pres th 0.15; second: max pres length 0.6, max pres w 0.4, max pres th 0.15. Wt 3 g. Two fragments, of which the second is slightly tapered. 94B/116. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

See **28** for provenance and accompanying metal objects.

30 (B 371). Two strips, one folded and the other wrapped in a flat bundle. Pls. 4.8–4.9. The first: max pres length as straightened 5.9, max pres w 0.4, max pres th 0.1. Wt 3 g. 89B/65. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Among the many such strips, as well as a number of small tools from above the plaster floor of Building T, Room F, and below the first floor of Building P, Gallery 3. For the tools: see **1** (B 359a) and **2** (B 358a), both blades; also a nail (**10**, B 366b) and rods (**13** [B 363b] and **14** [B 375]). See also the strips following this entry and Chap. 1.3.

See also Pottery Group 57a.

31 (B 372). Two strips, one folded, and a piece of wire. First, folded, strip, as unfolded: max pres length 12.6, average w 0.5–0.6, th 0.1, of second piece 0.1. Wt 5 g. Flat strips of differing gauge, one bent, one folded in half. A tiny piece of thin wire. 89B/57A. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

32 (B 374). Strips, ten fragments and five bits. Max pres length of longest piece 4.0, max pres w ca. 0.4, max th ca. 0.1. Wt 5 g. Fragments of narrow, fine bronze strip, several pieces accreted, as if bundled together. Two such pieces bent as if part of a roll. 89B/70. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57e.

33 (B 358b). Strips, eight pieces and eleven small fragments. Pl. 4.9. Average w 0.5, th 0.15. Wt 17.5 g. Fine and sturdier strips, some doubled into a roll. 89A/12. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57f.

34 (B 359b). Strips, nine sections plus small fragments. Pls. 4.7, 4.9. Solid core. Longest piece as straightened max pres length ca. 25.0, w 4.6, th 0.1. Wt 27 g. 89A/11. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57f.

35 (B 362). Strips, six pieces and five small fragments. Pls. 4.7, 4.9. Max pres length of longest piece, as straightened 59.0, average w 4.0, average th 0.1 or less. Wt 28 g. Pieces of sturdy strips, thickness varying, and the longest in a gyroscope-like ball consisting of two separately bent strips, one ball within the other. 89A/13. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

36 (B 363a). Strips, three pieces and eight small fragments. Pl. 4.7. Longest strip, as straightened, max pres length 14.0, average w 0.3, average th 0.1. Wt 7.5 g. Narrow strips, several folded. 89A/13. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

37 (B 366b). Strip. Max pres length 2.7, max pres w 0.4. Wt 1 g. 89A/35. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57h.

38 (B 367). Strips, two fragments. Longer piece ca. 5.3, w 0.4. Wt 1.8 g. Longer piece narrow and very thin, bent at two places, almost broken through at one point. Smaller piece slightly thicker and wider, bent. 89A/31. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

39 (B 345). Two strips, both multiple. Length range 3.7–4.0, w 4.0. Wt 6 g. One, a neatly stacked bunch of strips tightly adhering at one end, slightly fanned at the other, the whole bent into a zigzag. The other, a shorter length of stacked strips of which two have been twisted out of line and possibly around others. 83A/54. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57i.

40 (B 356). Two small fragments. Larger piece, as straightened, max pres length 3.9, w 0.45, th 0.1; shorter piece length 1.7. Wt 2 g. 89A/10. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry and Pottery Group 57j.

41 (B 351). Two strips, one straight and other folded. First: max pres length 13.1; second: 1.5 (folded). W 0.5. Wt 5.5 g. First strip basically straight but gently curved about 45° at midpoint. The other rolled and twisted. 83A/58. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See entry for **30** (B 371).

42 (B 355). Strips, two small fragments. Longer piece length 2.3, w 0.6. Smaller piece length 1.2, w 0.7, th 0.2+. Wt 1 g. Fine bronze strips, bent and broken. 89A/6. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

43 (S 357). Strips, eight larger pieces and several tiny fragments. Folded strip length 2.5, w 0.3. Wt 8 g. Lump, max dim 1.8. Lumpish mass is triangular, consisting of a folded sheet and a variety of fine strips, some of which have been folded. 89A/8. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

44 (S 365). Strips, three of fairly solid metal and eight small pieces. Max pres length of straightened longest piece 5.4, w ca. 0.5, th 0.1. Wt 6 g. Thickish, sturdy metal, one piece folded double. 89A/28. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

45 (B 368). Strips, some 41 small pieces. Length of longest piece 6.7, w 2.5. Wt 7.8 g. Very narrow bronze strips, some bent. 86D/36. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

46 (B 383). Strips. Pls. 4.7, 4.9. One large raveled piece with four smaller pieces. Largest piece max pres length 10.0, w 0.4. Wt 4 g. 89A/118. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

47 (B 297). Strip. Max pres length 4.1, max pres w 0.6, max pres th 0.2. Wt 6 g. Folded, broken at both ends, rather thicker than usual. 65A/16. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

48 (B 354). Strip, two substantial fragments. The larger: max pres length 5.0, max pres w 0.7, max pres th 0.1. Smaller: max pres length 3.0, max pres w 0.5, max pres th 0.2. Wt (together) 5 g. Fairly straight fragments, the smaller with a tapered, rounded end, all others broken. The larger may have a boss or rivet. The smaller may have incised lines. 89A/5. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

See previous entry.

49 (B 393). Loop. Max pres length straightened 28, max pres d 0.5. Wt 7.8 g. Rod bent into drop-shaped loop, the ends slightly uneven in length, with one leg flattened. 93B/53. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From floor level in Gallery 4 of Building P, along with a rod (**15** [B 392]). See Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 53.

50 (B 364). Strip. Max pres length 3.5, max pres w 0.4, max pres th 1. Wt 2 g. Sturdy narrow strip. 90A/12. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From above the floor of Gallery 6, Building P.

51 (B 71). Two strips. Max pres length 0.2 and 0.3, max pres w 0.6 and 0.6, max pres th 0.25 and 0.15. Wt 1.5 g. Two flat strips, blank, hammered. 27B/33. Probable latest date LM II.

From the fill below the floor of Building N, Room 5, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 47. Blitzer 1995: **M 102**, pl. 8.107.

52 (B 269). Strip. Max pres length 1.9, max pres w 0.7, max pres th 0.3. Wt 1.8 g. Twisted, broken at both ends. 50A/68. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found in a fill of debris south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 50. Blitzer 1995: **M 163**.

53 (B 270). Strip. Max pres length 3.3, max pres w 1.7, max pres th 0.3. Wt 3 g. Flat, edges slightly curved. Both ends broken. 50A/65. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From a dump south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 78. Blitzer 1995: **M 164**.

54 (B 75). Lump. Max pres length 1.2, max pres w 0.6, max pres th 0.45. Wt 0.7. (Fragment of a rod?) 27B/20. Probable latest date LM IIIC.

Found in the sand above Building T, Room 5, below a wall dated to LM IIIC, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 79. Blitzer 1995: **M 105**.

55 (B 319). Strip. Max pres length 3.1, max pres w 0.3, max pres th 0.2. Wt 1.0. Thin, twisted. 65A3/83. Probable latest date Archaic.

From a mixed context above the MM "causeway" below the later Central Court, for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 5.

Tweezers

56 (B 156). Max pres length 6.4, max pres w 1.3, max pres th 0.2. Wt 5.7 g. Flaring ends, made from a strip. 37A/59. Probable latest date LM I.

Found in connection with an LM I dump in the northwestern area of the Central Court, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37e. Blitzer 1995: **M 126**.

Lead

57 (L 24). Hinge/hasp(?). Max pres length 5.2, max pres w 1.0. Wt 5.7 g. Thick strap of lead fanned out at one end. The other end fanned slightly and curled under. Remains of bronze (sheathing?) on sides, underside, and ends. What may be a bronze-covered rosette (of metal?) at "wrist." 76C/51A. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From a dump in the eastern end of Gallery 1, Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 66.

58 (L 14). Flat fragment. Max pres length 3.0, max pres w 0.9–1.4, max pres th 0.7. Wt 9 g. Essentially rectangular in shape, one corner rounded, broken short and bent outward slightly. 43A/94. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found in Space 10, at the western end of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37d.

Metalworking

In her detailed discussion of metalworking, Blitzer (1995) dealt with the spectrum of evidence from the Minoan levels. Our intention here is only to add to or modify what she wrote there in the light of discoveries made subsequent to her research, some of them connected with recent study of the stratigraphy within the spaces with which she was dealing.[7]

For instance, excavation has now shown that there was another locus for metalworking activity as early as MM III, if not earlier, in the southeastern area during the periods of either AA (MM II) or early in the history of Building T, Room J, below Gallery 6 of LM III Building P. This earliest area for metalworking at the site is demonstrated by a substantial portion of crucible **75** (Pl. 4.11) from the *sottoscala* area (Space 46 in Pls. 1.112, 1.114), and by a scatter of crucible fragments (**76–80**) from nearby. The actual place where the work was done, however, has not been determined, since neither evidence for extensive burning nor metal waste has been found there. The workplace could have been farther east within Room J, beyond where excavation has progressed, or even outside T to the south, as suggested in the latter

case by a tuyère fragment (**82**) from an MM III–LM I level. Crucible **75** (Pl. 4.11) may well be a portion of the pedestaled type that would later characterize the working area within the North Stoa.

As for the general North Stoa, Rutter's stratigraphic/ceramic analysis has shown that the many crucibles found there (**62–74** here) represent a reuse, probably during LM IB, of the original stoa area (Space 16). The group has now been augmented by the identification of a tuyère (**51**) found in Space 5A, the same *sottoscala* from within which crucible **72** was recovered. As Blitzer points out, no clay investment molds were found here (nor anywhere else in the Southern Area), but they did appear in LM III contexts within the houses of the town (Blitzer 1995: 506 and **M 29** [C 1645, a mold for a double axe such as **M 154** (B 220)]).

During LM IIIB metalworking in the Southern Area was centered in Building N, as demonstrated by the three ingot fragments published by Blitzer (**59–61** here). Two were found in eastern rooms 12 and 13 of that building; the third was found in the dump to the south. Study by Muhly, Maddin, and Stech (1988: 290, 292) showed that the ingots probably came from Cyprus and that they could constitute the earliest presence of Cypriot ingots in Crete. Since then, however, N. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale (1999: 272) have suggested that the earlier ingots from Aghia Triada (LM IB) and Gournia may also have come from Cyprus.

Ingots

59 (B 408). Ingot fragment. Max pres length 3.2, max pres w 3.2, max pres th 2.0. Wt 46 g. 44A/40. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From Building N, common (later) and very burnt floor of Rooms 12 and 13, along with stone Tool Group 6. See Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 65, and Blitzer 1995: **M 2**, pl. 8.82A.

60 (B 409). Ingot fragment. Max pres length 3.0, max pres w 2.5, max pres th 1.2. Wt 28.5 g. 44A/41. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From Building N, earlier floor of Room 13, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 64. Blitzer 1995: **M 3**, pl. 8.82A.

61 (B 412). Ingot fragment. Max pres length 5.0, max pres w 3.5, max pres th 2.3. Wt 128 g. 50A/57. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found in a dump south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 78. Blitzer 1995: **M 6**, pl. 8.82A.

Crucibles

62 (C 4110).[8] Crucible, rim fragment, assembled from two joining pieces. Max pres length 4.8, max pres w 4.1, max pres th 2.0. Fine pinkish buff (7 YR 6/4, light brown) clay with light chaff admixture and a few hematite inclusions. Slag and prills adhering to crucible interior, slight flat indentation below rim as if for root of spout(?). Spouted type, with perforated pedestal base. 42A/48. Probable latest date LM IB.

Like the following nine items, this crucible was found in the North Stoa, where it is to be connected with the metalworking going on there during the LM IB period, for which see Chap. 1.2. This particular item does not belong to one of the formalized Pottery Groups but is included in the entry for Groups 33 and 43. Blitzer 1995: **M 8**, pls. 8.76, 8.104.

63 (C 4422). Crucible, three joining fragments preserving rim and bowl profile, worn margins and surfaces especially on exterior. Fragment 1: max pres length 8.6, max pres w 7.0, max pres th 2.7; fragment 2: max pres length 8.6, max pres w 7.9, max pres th 2.2, h (total preserved bowl) 13.0, d (est rim) ca. 24. Lightly fired, fine buff-colored (5 YR 7/6, reddish yellow predominates) clay with chaff inclusions and occasional quartz granules. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

See Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 43 as well as the preceding entry here. Blitzer 1995: **M 9** and pls. 8.76, 8.104.

64 (C 4424). Crucible, bowl fragment, worn margins. Max pres length 4.7, max pres w 5.1, max pres th 2.4. Fine pale buff (10 YR 7/4, very pale brown) clay with no obvious inclusions except for chaff, thick clay slip on exterior surface, lightly fired. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

See previous entry; also Blitzer 1995: **M 10**, Pl. 8.76, 8.104.

65 (C 4473). Crucible, bowl fragment, fresh margins. Max pres length 9.5, max pres w 7.2, max pres th 3.3. Fine buff (10 YR 7/3, very pale brown) clay with chaff inclusions, some exterior surfaces pinkish (5 YR 6/4, light reddish brown), interior dark gray. Evidence for two separate metal melts, one above the other, each melt layer composed of slag and prills; exterior of crucible slipped with heavy chaff inclusions. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

See previous entry; also Blitzer 1995: **M 11**, pls. 8.76, 8.104.

66 (C 5148). Crucible, two joining spout fragments, worn surface. Max pres length 1.2, max pres w 3.1, max pres th 4.6. Fine buff clay with chaff temper and occasional quartz inclusions, light gray at spout margin, lightly fired. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 42A/54. Probable latest date LM IB.

See previous entry; also Blitzer **M 13**, pl. 8.76.

67 (C 6526). Crucible, bowl fragment. Max pres length 9.5, max pres w 8.0, max pres th 3.0. Fine buff to pink clay, rim and bowl, with root of spout visible on one edge of rim. Two thick clay slip layers visible on exterior, one chaff-tempered clay lining on gray exterior of bowl. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 42A/51. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found south of Space 16 (the western part of the North Stoa) on the Central Court, and no doubt to be related to the metalworking activity within the stoa (see previous entry), also perhaps connected with stone Tool Group 2 (see Chap. 4.4). Blitzer 1985: **M 14**, pl. 8.76.

68 (C 8311). Crucible, rim fragment. Max pres length 6.0, max pres w 0.46, max pres th 1.6. Two newly joined fragments. 62D/93. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found in two joining fragments in Room 42 just east of the North Stoa, and probably to be associated with the metalworking activities taking place there. See Chap. 1.2 and the previous entry here. Blitzer 1995: **M 15** and **M 17** (now joined), pls. 8.76, 8.104.

69 (C 8600). Crucible, rim fragment. Max pres length 6.7, max pres w 6.8, max pres th 2.1. Fine pink buff clay with chaff inclusions. Layers of clay slip on exterior, gray areas on interior. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 53A/39. Probable latest date LM IB.

From Room 21 east of Room 42 (see previous entry), along with **70** (C 10786), which was at a higher, later level. Blitzer 1985: **M 16**, pls. 8.76, 8.104.

70 (C 10786). Crucible, five fragments (two joining), preserving two surfaces. One is smoother, the other rough. Max pres length of two joining fragments 7.5, max pres w 4.9, max pres th 2.6. Fine clay with a few inclusions, self-slipped, exterior reddish yellow (7 YR 8/6), core gray (10 YR 5/1). The two joining fragments have a slightly curving outer surface. Est d 23, similar to **63** (C 4422). 53A/35. Latest possible date seventh century B.C. but probably belongs to the group of crucibles discussed above.

Found in a later level above **69** (C 8600) in previous entry.

71 (C 4861). Crucible, bowl fragment, worn margins. Max pres length 5.5, max pres w 4.1, max pres th 2.5. Lightly fired, fine buff clay with heavy chaff inclusions, two thin layers of clay slip with chaff inclusions on exterior. Spouted type with perforated pedestal base. 43A/93. Probable latest date LM IB.

From a floor level in Space 11, in the western part of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37b. Probably connected with the metalworking being carried out to the east, for which see **62–68**. Blitzer 1995: **M 12**, pls. 8.76, 8.104.

72 (C 2976). Crucible, fragment with part of base, handle perforation and bowl, approximately one-sixth of piece preserved. Pl. 4.10. Max pres length 9.0, max pres w 8.8, max pres th 5.5, max pres h 7.2, max pres w (perforation) 2.1, max pres th (wall) 1.5, d 9 (est rim) ca. 30,

restored d of base 10. Fine buff clay with some chaff and coarse sand to granule-sized quartz inclusions, buff pink (7.5 YR 7/2, light gray) reduced interior, lightly fired. Spouted crucible with slag and prills adhering to interior, pedestal base rising to thick high flaring walls, perforation at base for insertion of rod with irregular squared cross section. 36A/21. Probable latest date LM I.

Found in the fill of the *sottoscala* of Room 5A of Building T, below LM IB Pottery Group 40, for which see Chap. 1.2. Same type as that found in the North Stoa (above) and may be associated with the activity there. This is the best preserved of the massive crucibles of the pedestal type found at the site. Blitzer 1995: **M 7**, pls. 8.76, 8.77A–B, 8.104.

73 (C 2880). Mold/crucible fragments. Max pres length 5.5, max pres th 0.6. Curving profile and burnt interior face of smaller piece suggests curve of the side of a mold or of a spout. 36A/3. Probable latest date LM II.

From an accumulation from LM II use in the northwestern corner of the Central Court of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 45.

74 (C 2694). Spout fragment (of a crucible?). Max pres length 3.5, max pres th 1.3. 36A/1. Probable latest date LM II.

Same as previous entry.

75 (C 9881). Crucible body fragment, three sherds mended. Pl. 4.11. Max pres length 8.5, max pres w 7, max pres th 2.2 (lower part) to 1.0 (upper part). Fine medium-coarse buff clay without visible inclusions. Section of part of a hemispherical bowl. Rough, reddish brown surface (7 YR 7/8) orange pinkish core. Thickness of burning on the interior, including slag layer containing prills of oxidized cuprous material, 0.2–1.0. The cracks in the clay body suggest to conservator Élise Alloin that the crucible had been exposed to the very high temperature used for melting the metal. Est d near top 22–28, similar to the large, somewhat later, crucibles in the North Stoa and adjacent areas (e.g., **72** [C 2976]). 90A/72. Probable latest date MM III.

From the *sottoscala* deposit within Gallery 6 of Building P, probably representing a horizon between the use of Building AA and the building of Neopalatial Building T (Room J in this case), for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 12.

76 (C 9826). Probable crucible fragment. Max pres length 6.2, max pres th of curving body 4.3. Thick body 7.5 YR 7/6 on exterior but burnt to 2.5 YR 7/2 on the interior. 90A/51. Probable latest date LM IA but could be associated with earlier metalworking in the area (see previous entry).

Found below the floor of P's Gallery 6 and associated with the first floor of Building T's southernmost room (J) in the East Wing, for which see Chap. 1.2.

77 (C 10842). Crucible fragment(?). Max pres length 2.9, max pres w 2.7, max pres th 2.1. Thick fragment preserving part of the exterior flattish surface, other side broken off. Fine red clay (10 YR 5/8) with buff red slip (10 YR 8/3). 90A/46. Probable latest date MM III and can probably be associated with early metalworking in the area (see previous two entries).

From just outside (west) of Room J, the southernmost room of Building T in its East Wing, in an MM II/III context.

78 (C 9531). Probable crucible fragment. Max pres length 4.6, max pres th 4.6. Thick walled, preserving part of curve of interior surface, blackened by fire and with a fine layer of greenish metal. The metal layer has been partly covered over by a more recent application of clay, as in the case of **65** (C 4473). 84C/48. Probable latest date LM.

Found west of Gallery 6 of Building P and probably related to earlier metalworking activity in the area, for which see previous entry.

79 (C 9079). Possible mold/crucible fragment. Max pres length 4, max pres w 2.7, max th 1.0. Medium-coarse 5 YR 7/8, slipped 10 YR 7/4. Slightly curved piece with partial interior facing burnt to medium gray. 93A/12. Probable latest date fourth century B.C.

From in front (west) of Gallery 5 of Building P, from a late context but perhaps connected with the metalworking activity to the southeast (see previous entries).

80 (C 9098). Possible crucible/mold fragment(?). Roughly 8 by 8, max pres th 1. Made up of three pieces. Almost flat, lower side unfinished. "Rim"

edge rounded with parts of two diagonal slash marks. 93A/12. Probable latest date LM.

Same locus as previous entry.

Tuyères

81 (C 2977). Tuyère spout, broken at both ends. Pl. 4.12. Max pres length 15.5, max pres d: 6 (smaller end), 10 (larger end). Single large fragment of medium-coarse ware, 8.75 YR 7/6 core, becoming 7.5 YR 7/6 near surfaces. Hollow, horn shaped. Handmade. Almost circular in cross section at large end, markedly elliptical at smaller end. Made with overlapping coils clearly visible on interior, spaced 2–3 cm apart. Wall thickness noticeably greater at narrower end. Identified by J. Rutter on the basis of a complete LM I example (unpublished) recently discovered at Poros near Herakleion (Dimopoulou 1997: 435, pl. CLXIX[c]). 36A/22. Probable latest date LM IA.

From within a *sottoscala* deposit, below floor level within Room 5A of Building T, along with Pottery Group 29, and below LM I Pottery Group 43, for which see Chap. 1.2. In neighboring pails were a copper strip (**23** from Pail 18), a chisel (**5**) and a crucible (**72**), both from Pail 21. Could these have originated in the neighboring North Stoa, where numerous crucibles were found (Pottery Group 43 in Chap. 1.2)? Their context, however, is MM, and they may represent a horizon predating the stoa deposit and metallurgical activities there.

82 (C 11652). Tuyère fragment. Pl. 4.13. Max pres length 9, max pres th 1, original d at one end 5.5, internal d 3.5. Flattened edge along one side. 84A/103. Probable latest date LM I.

From a deep trench south of Buildings AA/T, suggesting that there may have been an industrial area just south of the Civic Center. For the pottery, see Chap. 3.3, Pottery Group 11.

2. Loomweights and Miscellaneous Clay Objects (Pls. 4.14–4.15, Table 4.2)

Joseph W. Shaw

Table 4.2 lists all loomweights from the Southern Area that were found in relevant Minoan contexts.[9] Dabney has already described some of them in her overall coverage of loomweights from Minoan levels on the site.[10]

Typewise, as in the houses, the discoid loomweight (e.g., those illustrated in Pl. 4.14) remains the most popular, 61 (95%) of the 64 catalogued here. The half-discoid type (Pl. 4.14 at *b*) is split evenly between the Southern Area and the houses, with five from each area (**62–64**, for three from the Southern Area[11]). Apparently, this type was restricted to the Mesara (Dabney 1996a: 244). The cylindrical, globular, oblong, or trapezoidal types reported from the houses were not found in the Southern Area.[12] As might be expected, weaving[13] was probably an activity carried out in many houses but apparently only in restricted parts of the Southern Area. The result is that more weights were found within the town itself, some 116 (63%) versus 67 (37%) of a total of 183 published from these areas.[14]

From the point of view of chronology, there is general conformity with Dabney's suggestion

Table 4.2. Catalogue of loomweights selected from contexts in the Southern Area.
Dimensions and weights in boldface are from completely preserved items. Statistics for those already published by Dabney (1996a) are adopted from that publication. Loomweight groups are nos. 2–11 (Group 1); 12–25, 63–64 (Group 2); 28–43 (Group 3); and 56–59 (Group 4). Location numbers refer to MM contexts in Chap. 3.2; pottery numbers refer to LM contexts in Chap. 3.3.

DISCOID LOOMWEIGHTS

Published Catalogue Number	Excavation Number	*Kommos* Volume and Plate Number	Percentage Preserved	H	W	Th	Wt	Holes		Top					Munsell color	
								D	No.	G	F	T	P	I	Exterior	Interior
1	C 10680		90	**5.6**	**4.8**	**2.2**	56	0.5	1	Y	N	N	N	N	—	—
2	C 8962		50	8.0	6.0	1.8	72								5 YR 6/5	—
3	C 9447		25	5.8	5.0	**1.8**	48						N	N	5 YR 7/5	5 YR 7/5
4	C 9448		60	8.1	6.7	2.2	110	0.8	1	Y	N	N	N	N	10 YR 7/3	7.5 YR 6/5
5	C 9799	V: 4.14	25	3.9	6.9	**1.5**	42	**0.6**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/6	5 YR 6/1
6	C 9805		20	5.6	4.0	**1.9**	38						N	N	5 YR 7/5	5 YR 6/1
7	C 9809		40	6.0	4.0	**1.5**	32	0.8	1				N	N	7.5 YR 6/6	7.5 YR 6/6
8	C 9813		15	3.9	3.1	1.7	18						N	N	5 YR 6/6	5 YR 6/6
9	C 9821		10	4.9	2.8	**1.8**	18		1	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/5	7.5 YR 7/5
10	C 9823	[Loom-weight(?)]	20	4.8	3.8	**1.2**	28						N	N	7.5 YR 7/5	7.5 YR 7/1
11	C 9833		20	4.9	2.9	**1.0**	13						N	N	5 YR 7/6	5 YR 5/6
12	C 10369	V: 4.14	85	**7.7**	**8.0**	**2.0**	120	1.4	1	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	
13	C 10370	V: 4.14	95	**6.6**	**6.9**	**1.4**	54	**0.6**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 7/4	
14	C 10371		100	**7.9**	**8.1**	**2.4**	**226**	**1.7**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	2.5 YR 5/6	
15	C 10373		100	**6.1**	**6.0**	**1.4**	49	**0.6**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/4	

Percentage of Inclusions*	Trench/ Pail	Latest Relative Date	Earliest Relative Date	Location	Nature	Dabney Reference
—	100B/13	MM II	MM IB	Location 2. Below Bldg T, Space 10 slab floor	Sounding	—
10	88B/53	MM IB	MM IB	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
20	80B/82	MM IB	MM IB	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
5	80B/82	MM IB	MM IB	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
10	86D/52	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
10	86D/46	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
5	86D/49A	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
3	86D/54	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
10	86D/54	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
10	86D/54	MM II	MM II	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
20	86D/55	MM II	MM IB	Alongside AA walls, Location 13	Sounding	
5	97E/58	LM IA	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/58	LM IA	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
30	97E/58	LM IA	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
30	97E/58	LM IA	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.2 continued*)

DISCOID LOOMWEIGHTS

Published Catalogue Number	Excavation Number	*Kommos* Volume and Plate Number	Percentage Preserved	H	W	Th	Wt	Holes D	Holes No.	Top G	Top F	Top T	P	I	Munsell color Exterior	Munsell color Interior
16	C 10376		40	7.6	6.0	**1.2**	55	1.4	1	N	N	N	N	N	5 YR 5/5	
17	C 10377		100	**6.5**	**7.0**	**1.3**	**54**	0.8	2	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/3	
18	C 10378		100	**6.2**	**6.5**	**2.1**	**75.5**	**0.6**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 3/3	5 YR 3/3
19	C 10413		100	**6.5**	**7.0**	**3.0**	**142**	**1.3**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	2.5 YR 5/6	
20	C 10414		30	3.9	7.2	**1.2**	38						N	N	5 YR 6/5	2.5 YR 5/5
21	C 10415		85	7.5	5.9	**2.4**	124	**1.2**	1	N	N	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/4
22	C 10417		40	8.0	8.1	1.0	70	1.2	1	N	N	Y	N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/4
23	C 10418		95	**8.0**	**8.6**	**2.1**	122	**0.9**	1	N	Y	Y	N	N	7.5 YR 7/3	
24	C 10421		90	**7.3**	**7.0**	**2.9**	142	0.8	1				N	N	2.5 YR 4/5	2.5 YR 4/5
25	C 10465		90	**6.8**	**7.2**	**2.9**	110	**1.2**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	5 YR 6/4
26	C 3531		50	8.0	10	4.0	194	**1.9**	1	N	N	N	N	N	2.5 YR 5/6	2.5 YR 6/1
27	C 8617		50	**9.0**	5.2	**2.0**	95	**1.0**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/6	7.5 YR 5/5
28	C 8101	I (2): 4.1	100	**6.3**	**6.3**	**1.6**	**60**	**0.6**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/6	7.5 YR 5/5
29	C 8102	I (2): 4.1	100	**6.2**	**6.7**	**2.0**	**70**	**0.8**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 5/6	7.5 YR 5/6
30	C 8103	I (2): 4.1	100	**6.8**	**6.9**	**1.6**	**80**	**0.6**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 7/4	
31	C 8104	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.6**	**6.9**	**1.9**	**76**	**0.6**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 4/4	7.5 YR 6/5
32	C 8105	I (2): 4.2	100	**7.9**	**8.6**	**2.4**	**160**	**0.9**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	7.5 YR 6/5
33	C 8106	I (2): 4.2	100	**5.9**	**5.9**	**1.7**	**60**	**0.7**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/5	
34	C 8107	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.7**	**6.0**	**1.8**	**70**	**0.6**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/4	
35	C 8108	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.5**	**6.5**	**1.5**	**70**	**0.7**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/6	7.5 YR 6/6
36	C 8109	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.3**	**6.6**	**1.6**	**70**	**0.6**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	7.5 YR 7/4

Percentage of Inclusions*	Trench/ Pail	Latest Relative Date	Earliest Relative Date	Location	Nature	Dabney Reference
5	97E/55	LM IIIA1	MM IIB	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/60	MM III	MM IIB	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/60	MM III	MM IIB	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
30	97E/58	LM IIIA2	MM II	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
20	97E/59	LM IIIA2	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/60	MM III	MM IIB	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
20	97E/59	LM IIIA2	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/59	LM IIIA2	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
5	97E/58	MM III	MM III	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	97E/55	LM IIIA1	MM IB	Bldg T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
10	37A/61	LM I?	MM III	Bldg T, within pebble court south of Space 10	Sounding	24
3	65A7/99	Archaic	MM III	In "causeway" fill, Location 5	Sounding	50
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	30
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	31
10	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	32
10	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	33
30	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	34
10	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	35
30	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	36
30	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	37
30	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	38

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.2 continued*)

DISCOID LOOMWEIGHTS

Published Catalogue Number	Excavation Number	*Kommos* Volume and Plate Number	Percentage Preserved	H	W	Th	Wt	Holes D	Holes No.	Top G	Top F	Top T	P	I	Munsell color Exterior	Munsell color Interior
37	C 8110	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.7**	**6.1**	**2.0**	**74**	**0.9**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/6	
38	C 8111	I (2): 4.2	100	**6.2**	**6.5**	**1.6**	**54**	**0.6**	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7.4	2.5 YR 6/6
39	C 8112		100	**6.8**	6.6	**1.4**	47	0.5	2	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/3	5 YR 6/5
40	C 8113	I (2): 4.2	90	6.4	6.6	2.3	77	0.7	1	Y	Y	N	N	Y	7.5 YR 7/3	7.5 YR 7/3
41	C 8114		80	5.5	**6.6**	**1.7**	62	0.7	1			N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	7.5 YR 7/4
42	C 8115		50	4.5	5.5	1.7	33	**0.7**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	
43	C 8116	I (2): 4.2	100	**5.9**	**6.3**	**2.2**	**70**	**0.7**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/3
44	C 8313		84	**5.5**	6.0	**1.5**	45	**0.5**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/5
45	C 8271	I (2): 4.2	100	**8.8**	**8.9**	**1.8**	**137**	**0.8**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/6	
46	C 8270	I (2): 4.2	100	**7.9**	**7.6**	**2.7**	**149**	**0.7**	2	Y	N	N	N	N	7.5 YR 5/5	
47	C 3322		20	4.6	5.3	1.3	30						N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/5
48	C 4154		50	**8.4**	4.6	**2.5**	104	0.7	1	Y	N	N	N	N	5 YR 6/6	5 YR 4/1
49	C 6906	I (2): 4.3	100	**8.0**	**7.6**	**2.3**	**129**	**0.5**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	7.5 YR 6/5
50	C 7642		100	**6.7**	**7.2**	**2.2**	**92**	**0.8**	1	Y	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/5	
51	C 7442		100	**6.7**	**6.9**	**2.0**	**105**	**0.4**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	10 YR 6/5	
52	C 8960		10	4.0	3.0	1.9	30	0.4	1	Y	N	N	N	N	2.5 YR 2/6	2.5 YR 2/6
53	C 3529	[Loom-weight(?)]	90	**4.9**	**4.8**	**1.1**	28	0.4	1	N	N	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	7.5 YR 7/5
54	C 8965		30	5.6	4.9	1.1	28	0.4	1?	Y	N	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/6	7.5 YR 7/6
55	C 3546		75	6.1	6.1	**1.6**	53	1.0	1				N	N	2.5 YR 5/5	10 YR 5/1
56	C 2929		?	4.7	3.6	1.9	36						N	N	7.5 YR 7/3	7.5 YR 6/2
57	C 3193		90	8.2	7.4	2.1	120	**0.5**	1	N	Y	Y	N	N	2.5 YR 4/6	2.5 YR 4/1
58	C 3216		75	6.2	**6.3**	**2.2**	76	**0.7**	1	Y	Y	Y	N	N	5 YR 6/4	5 YR 6/1

Percentage of Inclusions*	Trench/ Pail	Latest Relative Date	Earliest Relative Date	Location	Nature	Dabney Reference
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	39
5	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	40
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	41
30	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	42
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	43
10	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	44
20	67B1/3	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 29	Floor	45
1	62D/92	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 42	Floor	46
5	62D/83	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 42	Floor	48
40	62D/83	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 42	Floor	47
5	37A/50	LM IA	LM IB	Building T, North Stoa Space 11, Pottery Group 24b	Floor	49
3	42A/50	LM I	MM III	Building T, North Stoa Space 16, Pottery Group 6b	Floor	56
5	53A/68	LM I	LM I	Building T, Room 22	Near floor	60
5	56A1/103	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 22	Floor	29
30	56A1/75	LM IA	MM III	Building T, Room 22, west end	Fill	28
5	86F/103	LM IIIA2/B	LM I	Building T, Eastern Room G	Near floor	
1	34A3/68	LM I?	MM III	Central Court, North	Floor	25
2	86F/110	LM I	LM I	Central Court, Southeast	Floor	
10	27B/33	LM IIIA1?	LM I	Building T, Space 5, Pottery Group 37	Fill	79
5	37A/22	LM IIIB	LM IIIA2	Building N, Court 6, Pottery Group 53	Floor	134
20	37A/27, 41	LM IIIB	LM IIIA2	Building N, Court 6, Pottery Group 53	Floor	140
30	37A/42	LM IIIB	LM IIIB	Building N, Court 6, Pottery Group 53	Floor	139

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.2 continued*)

DISCOID LOOMWEIGHTS

Published Catalogue Number	Excavation Number	*Kommos* Volume and Plate Number	Percentage Preserved	H	W	Th	Wt	Holes D	Holes No.	Top G	Top F	Top T	P	I	Munsell color Exterior	Munsell color Interior
59	C 6412		90	7.7	**7.4**	**2.5**	120	**0.5**	1			Y	N	N	7.5 YR 6/4	7.5 YR 6/2
60	C 9711		15	5.0	4.9	1.3	28	0.5	1				N	N	7.5 YR 6/5	7.5 YR 6/1
61	C 9720		30	3.7	6.1	**1.2**	35	**0.7**	1	N	Y	N	N	N	5 YR 6/6	5 YR 6/2

HALF-DISCOIDAL LOOMWEIGHTS

62	C 6481		90	**5.2**	**9.8**	**1.9**	98	0.8	2	Y	N	N	N	N	7.5 YR 7/4	10 YR 7/4
63	C 10374	V: 4.14	95	**6.1**	**9.2**	**1.8**	102	**0.9**	2	N	Y	N	N	N	7.5 YR 6/5	5 YR 5/5
64	C 10416		90	**5.7**	**11**	**1.5**	139	1.2	2	Y	N	N	N	N	5 YR 6/5	5 YR 6/1

*Based on *Visual Percentage Estimation* (after Terry and Chilinger 1955).
Dabney Reference = reference to catalogued/published loomweights from M. K. Dabney, in *Kommos* I (2): 249–62
H = height
W = width
Th = thickness
Wt = weight
D = hole diameter
No. = number of holes
G = grooved top
F = flattened top
T = tabular top
P = painted
I = incised

that the single-perforated weights are common to all periods represented, and that the double-perforated weights are usually MM–LM I. The half-discoid weights in original contexts in the Southern Area are no later than LM I, whereas at least their contexts in the town can be extended into LM III (Dabney 1996a: 244–48).

There is a wide range of fabrics, with colors ranging within Munsell 2.5 YR–10 YR, with 7.5 YR in the buff range being among the most common. The range of inclusions also varies, as low as 1% to as high as 30%, with the inclusions themselves ranging from grains the size of fine sand (e.g., **18**) to reddish stone fragments 5 mm long (e.g., **40**). In some cases, especially on the larger, thicker examples, the interior can be a much darker, burnt color as a result of the firing (e.g., **26**). Only one (**18**) actually appears to have been burnt on the exterior. In other examples exterior and interior colors are more consistent (e.g., **7**, **29**). As com-

Percentage of Inclusions*	Trench/ Pail	Latest Relative Date	Earliest Relative Date	Location	Nature	Dabney Reference
5	50A/28	LM IIIB	LM IIIB	Building N, Court 6, Pottery Group 53	Floor	141
5	81B/72	LM IIIB	LM IIIB	Building N, Court 6, Pottery Group 53	Floor	
10	81B/73	LM IIIB	LM IIIB	Building P, Room 3 Pottery Group 53	Floor	
10	53A/34	LM I		Building T, Room 19	Fill	147
10	97E/58	LM IA	MM III	Building T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	
30	97E/60	MM III	MM IIB	Building T, East Room E, Pottery Group 1	Sounding	

pared with the categories used at Kommos for pottery (fine, medium, and coarse), the loomweights fall within the medium and coarse range.

Four "groups" are formed by loomweights found in proximity to one another or within similar fills. Group 1 (**2–11**) came from fills used to create the platform for MM IIB Building AA on the southeast (Chap. 1.1). Like the pottery found with them, none is entire. They only serve to confirm that there was weaving on the site previous to the first phase of AA, which was built in MM IIB. Group 2 (**12–25**, **63–64**) also did not come from floor levels. Rather, it came from a fill contemporary with the construction of Building T during MM III–LM I. Of these fifteen weights, thirteen are discoid and two are half-discoid. Their state of preservation is good—eleven are complete or almost so, which suggests that, unlike Group 1, which may have been brought from some distance, these could have been used in AA or in an early

phase of Building T. Their weights have a considerable range, from 49 to 226 g. Within that range there are three groups, four light ones (49–76 g), six medium-sized (ca. 110+–ca. 150 g), and one particularly heavy one (226 g, for which see Group 3, below).

Group 3 (**29–43**) consists of some sixteen loomweights, all discoid. It is the most informative from the point of view of preservation, relative grouping of sizes, and findspots. Twelve weights are complete, and all save one of the others is almost complete. The numbers with single and double perforations are identical, with eight each. Among them are a number of smallish, buff-colored weights with two perforations (**28**, **30**, **35**, **36**, **38**, **39**, **40**) and of similar weight (range 54–80 g), which implies that they could be from a set produced at the same time.[15] With one exception (**32**, which weighs 160 g), the others in the group fall within the same weight range. They were recovered from the floor of a small room (29) within the northeastern part of Neopalatial Building T (Pl. 1.72), in their primary point of deposition. There they were probably in storage, with weaving perhaps taking place during LM I within Room 20/22 to the west (see Chap. 1.2). The presence of the heavier weight (**32**) may be explained by Dabney (1996a: 248), who suggests that a weaver could use a few heavier weights in combination with the lighter ones to produce fabrics of differing weights and/or to maintain tension at the selvages.

Group 4 (**56–59**) consists of discoid weights found in connection with LM IIIA2–B Building N's floor, where they may have been used for weaving; their condition is fragmentary.

Other

65 (C 4976). Larnax, partial. Pl. 1.52. Max pres length 126, max pres w 60, max pres h 18–19, th 2.1. Coarse ware with black and red grits, mixed size and shape. 5 YR 7/4, like pithos fabric. Only lower part preserved. 42A/67. Probable latest date LM I.

Found sunken into the MM III–LM IA floor in Space 16 of the North Stoa. No handles preserved, apparently undecorated, rounded corners, straight slanting walls. The larnax was probably used in connection with an activity carried out in the first phase of space use there. See Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 8d. Left *in situ* and covered over.

3. Items of Adornment, Seals (Pls. 4.16–4.19)

Joseph W. Shaw

Few items of personal adornment come from Minoan levels in the Southern Area. There are a bronze and a faience bead, three pierced pebbles probably used as pendants, a soapstone pendant, and an incomplete sealstone that was in the process of being carved into a pendant. Only two of these (**3**, **6**), the only fine items, are from Neopalatial levels; the remainder are Postpalatial. All but the Neopalatial items are from the eastern half of the Southern Area, where most are stratigraphically connected with the use of Building P.

1 (B 350). Bronze bead. Pl. 4.16. D 0.6, d of hole 0.2, h 0.5. Wt 1 g. Small cylindrical bead. 83A/44. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From high in the eastern end of Gallery 3 of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3.

2 (F 15). Faience bead. Max pres length 0.25, d 0.4, d of perforation 0.1. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single plain perforation (Beck IV). 36A/3. Probable latest date LM II.

From LM II fill in Space 7 (northwestern Central Court) of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 45. Dabney 1996b: **11**, pl. 4.8.

3 (S 1601). Pebble pendant. Pl. 4.17. Max pres h 2.7, max pres w 2.6, max pres th 0.7; perforation (partly broken) 0.7. Wt 7 g. Roughly teardrop-shaped pebble, brown polished stone. Plain drop pendant (Beck L.B.2) with rounded ends and conical perforation. Pierced on one end. 64A1/25. Probable latest date LM III.

Found in LM I–III level of Central Court outside Gallery 2 of Building P. Dabney 1996b: **32**, pl. 4.9.

4 (S 2188). Pebble pendant. Pl. 4.17. Max pres length 1.5, max pres th 0.3, d of perforation 0.1. Wt 2 g. Fine-grained dark brown stone with white flecks. Perforation may be natural. 84C/48. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the court west of Gallery P6, for which see Chap. 1.3.

5 (S 2320). Pebble pendant. Pl. 4.17. Max pres length 4, max pres w 2.6, max pres th 0.9. Wt 15 g. Naturally pierced pebble (but it hangs straight!) of hard gray limestone with occasional gaps where inclusions may once have been. 86F/93. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From eroded area at the west end of Gallery 4 of Building P.

6 (S 1598). Soapstone pendant with bull's head. Pl. 4.18. Max pres length 1.8, max pres w 1.1, max pres th 0.7. Wt 3 g. Green soapstone. Bull's head pendant (Beck XXXV.B.I.a) with single plain perforation (Beck IV). Suspension loop incised with two vertical lines. 62C/33. Probable latest date LM I.

From a floor within Room 11 of Building T (the North Stoa). Bull's head pendants were found in and outside the EM II–MM II Tholos B at Platanos (ivory and steatite; Xanthoudides 1924: 122 nos. 1147 and 1252, pl. XV), in the MM IIB–LM IIIB Tomb VIIA at Mavro Spelio near Knossos (steatite; Forsdyke, Walters, and Smith 1926–27: 262, 286, 288, fig. 40 no. VIIA.17, pl. XVIII.10), and in the LM IA Tomb XXII at Mochlos in eastern Crete (amethyst; Seager 1912: 78–79, fig. 41 opposite p. 72, cat. no. XXII.a, pl. X).[16] Dabney 1996b: **29**, pls. 4.9, 4.12.

7 (S 2159). Sealstone, incomplete. Pl. 4.19. Max pres h 2.5, seal face ca. 2.4 square. Black steatite. Truncated four-sided pyramid of black steatite, in process of being carved into pendant seal. Almost square face (slight rhombus) framed into an incomplete square by three lines about 0.2 from edges. Roughly filled in with two clumps of scratched lines and (an apparent afterthought) the square frame.[17] 77A/64. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From an early sounding within Gallery 2 of Building P. The pails above and below have little datable pottery, but the level (+3.34–3.37 m) is roughly equivalent to the P2 floor identified later (and therefore the date suggested), but the sealstone may be considerably earlier.

4. Artifacts of Stone (Pls. 4.20–4.30)

Joseph W. Shaw

Stone Tools and Implements

The following catalogue lists a selected group of stone tools, implements, vases, and other stone objects from significant contexts in the Southern, Civic Area of the Kommos site. Represented are both MM and LM objects, especially those that may reflect activity in particular

areas, usually floors and courts and, occasionally, dumps. Chapter 1.1–1.3 refers to individual contexts in which they occur, and the catalogue presents those contexts in terms of specific spaces and pottery groups. Since stone tools occur more frequently in connection with the domestic economy associated with activity in houses, significantly fewer stone tools were found in the Southern Area than in the houses of the town to the north.

Stone Tools and Implements

The inclusive chapter on the stone tools from the entire site in *Kommos* I, Part 1 (Blitzer 1995: 403–535) set the typology and methodology for this presentation. The reader is also referred to Evely 1993: 108–18 for simplified categories of hand tools. Since Blitzer's study included all relevant stone tools from the site, through Trench 66 excavated in 1985, a number were described and interpreted by her earlier[18] and are summarily dealt with here. For the same reason, since her illustrations, drawings as well as photographs, are so detailed, illustrations here are minimal but still include many of the common types as well as unusual examples. Stone tools from post-Minoan contexts, especially those from the interiors of buildings, are reported in *Kommos* IV on the Greek Sanctuary (chap. 5.9).

Generally, the tool and implement types represented in Minoan house contexts also occur in the Southern Area, that is, Types 1–6 (cobbles and whetstones), a single handstone (Type 7), and a plastering tool (Type 8), although Types 9–10 (implements with ground ends, percussion-flaked instruments) are generally absent. There are three examples of perforated weights (Type 12E), including two Syrian anchors, as well as a number of stone objects with depressions, also disks, polished pebbles and cobbles (Types 14, 15, and 16C), querns (Type 17) and one mortar (Type 18), a few basins and a single spouted press bed (Types 19 and 20C). Of these, the most significant ones to which specific area activities can be attributed are the large anchors, although they are in reuse below the primary floor of Gallery 3, and the separate tool groups. Tool Group 1 (Pl. 4.20) (cobbles, disks, and a whetstone) are from a metalworking establishment in the North Stoa, with which Tool Group 2 (cobbles, whetstones in Pl. 4.21) may also be associated. Group 3 (a cobble, and the five querns in Pl. 4.22) were part of what was probably a facility for grinding grain, also in the North Stoa. Group 4 (slabs, a quern, a disk) came from Room 24b in the East Wing of Building T. Groups 5 and 6 are from inside LM IIIB Building N. Group 5 (cobbles, whetstones, and pebbles), probably was a part of the domestic equipment of N's inhabitants, and Group 6 (a core, cobbles, and a disk) was found in the same context as burning and a fragment of a copper ingot, suggesting that they may have played a part in metalworking or simply food preparation. These tool groups are discussed in connection with their individual contexts in Chap. 1.1 (Protopalatial), 1.2 (Neopalatial), and 1.3 (Postpalatial). Metalworking is also dealt with in Chap. 4.1.

Hand Tools

Type 1. Implements with Pecked and Battered Ends

1 (S 712). Cobble, oblong. Max pres length 17.0, max pres w 9.0, max pres th 7.4. Wt 1,520 g. Beige, granule conglomerate (beach rock). Pecked at two opposite ends, one face shaped roughly into a bevel. 36A/18. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found in Building T, Room 5, just south of the pier-and-door partition bases, perhaps one of the few remnants from Neopalatial activities in the room. Found with S 1486 and S 762 (**7** and **16**). See Chap. 1.2. Blitzer 1995: **GS 76**, pl. 8.5.

2 (S 981). Cobble, medium size irregular. Max pres length 11.0, max pres w 11, max pres th 7.0. Wt 940 g. Gray limestone with whitish calcite inclusions. No pecking visible, but part of one end split off through percussion. 43A/73. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found on the primary floor of Room 4 within LM IIIA2–B Building N along with Pottery Group 60, for which see Chap. 1.3.

3 (S 1000). Cobble, oval and wedge shaped. Pl. 4.20. Max pres length 11.0, max pres w 7.0, max pres th 4. Wt 440 g. Pinkish gray crystalline limestone. Wear along both edges, probably used as a pounder, since part of one end has split off through use. Part of Tool Group 1. 42A/54. Probable latest date LM IB.

From the metalworking phase (Phase 4) in Space 16 of the North Stoa, found along with other stone tools and numerous crucible fragments. See Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 43.

4 (S 1001). Cobble, small round. Pl. 4.20. Max pres length 6.0, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 3. Wt 160 g. Gray-black hard, fine metamorphic stone. Signs of wear around edge and on both ends. One edge partly broken off through use. Part of Tool Group 1. 42A/54. Probable latest date LM IB.

See **3**.

5 (S 1002). Cobble, oval. Pl. 4.20. Max pres length 12, max pres w 9.5, max pres th 4.5. Wt 610 g. Dark gray limestone. Ambiguous signs of wear along edges. Part of Tool Group 1. 42A/54. Probable latest date LM IB.

See **3**.

6 (S 1003). Cobble, half preserved. Max pres length 7.0, max pres w 7.7, max pres th 8.5. Wt 880 g. Hard, dense gray limestone, purplish at points. Rounded end battered and pecked, as well as abraded through palindromatic use. 44A/52. Probable latest date LM IA.

Found on a surface near the L-shaped wall projecting out into the Central Court south of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, in connection with Pottery Group 39.

7 (S 1486). Cobble, oblong. Max pres length 6.5, max pres w 7.0, max pres th 3. Wt 220 g. Hard gray calcite-streaked limestone. Moderate wear on two ends; no pecking obvious. 36A/13. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found in the same context as **1** (S 712), for which see the description, and **16** (S 762).

8 (S 1652). Cobble, one end preserved. Max pres length 5.5, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 5.5. Wt 240 g. Hard, fine-grained, blue-gray limestone. Pecked on preserved end and at various points along broken edge. 57A2/74. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From fill of terrace built up north of Building P. See Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 52b.

9 (S 1653). Cobble, oval. Max pres length 9.0, max pres w 5.5, max pres th 4.0. Wt 330 g. Quartzitic limestone. Pecked at one end, flattened and smoothed from abrasion at other end. 57A2/68. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

As **8** (S 1652).

10 (S 1752). Cobble, oval and flat. Max pres length 13.0, max pres w 10.0, max pres th 4.0. Wt 830 g. Hard gray limestone. Slightly pecked at both ends. 62A/7. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From within Room 4 of Building N.

11 (S 1758). Cobble, round. Max pres length 6.0, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 5.0. Wt 260 g. Hard gray limestone. Wear chiefly on the roughened end without obvious signs of pecking. 62D/86. Part of Tool Group 3.

Probable latest date LM IB.

From the so-called Bin period of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 26.

12 (S 2037). Cobble, oval and flat. Max pres length 9.5, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 1.5. Wt

150 g. Greenish limestone. Surfaces abraded along edges. 50A/57. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From dump south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 78.

13 (S 2044). Cobble, oblong and flattish. Max pres length 18.0, max pres w 10.0, max pres th 2.0. Wt 170 g. White limestone. Pecked at one end. Tool Group 6. 51A/25. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From later, upper floor of Rooms 12/13 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 65.

14 (S 2083). Cobble, large and oblong, broken at one end. Max pres length 20, max pres w 9.0, max pres th 7.0. Wt 2,050 g. Soft white limestone. Pecked at preserved end. 53A/27. Probable latest date LM I.

Building T, upper dump in Room 19.

Type 2. Implements with Pecked Circumferences and One or Two Abraded Faces

15 (S 744). Cobble, irregular triangular. Max pres length 8.9, max pres w 8.9, max pres th 3.3. Wt 405 g. Black, metamorphosed chert. Intermittent pecking on entirety of margin. 37A/42. Part of Tool Group 5. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From an accumulation on Court 6, Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60. Blitzer 1995: **GS 170**, pl. 8.8.

16 (S 762). Cobble, oval. Max pres length 14.5, max pres w 14.5, max pres th 5.5. Wt 1,775 g. Gray limestone with occasional veins of calcite. Evidence for grinding/chopping on periphery. Signs like pecking, especially on the side, which suggest that the tool was set on that side for crushing operations. 36A/13. Probable latest date LM II.

On the slab floor of Room 5 in Building T, perhaps the remains from the last use of the room before it was filled with debris in LM IIIA2, for which see Chap. 1.2 and Pottery Group 47 in Chap. 1.3. Found along with **1** (S 712) and **7** (S 1486).

17 (S 1479). Cobble, oval. Max pres length 11.0, max pres w 9, max pres th 5. Wt 700 g. Light gray limestone with calcite veins. Light signs of wear around periphery. One side is rough, having flaked away through use and/or the deterioration of the surface. 44A/48. Tool Group 6. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the common floor of Rooms 12/13 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 65.

18 (S 1493). Cobble, oval. Max pres length 6.0, max pres w 8.2, max pres th 3. Wt 280 g. Brownish gray stone, perhaps flint, with thin calcite layers. Probable abrasion on each side of wider end. 44A/38. Tool Group 6. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the common floor of Rooms 12/13 of Building N, as **17** (S 1479) above.

19 (S 1620). Cobble, flattish and thicker at one end. Max pres length 9.5, max pres w 7.0, max pres th 3.5. Wt 360 g. Gray limestone. One surface smooth from use. 50A/78. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From dump south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 51.

20 (S 2315). Cobble, small. Max pres length 5.0, max pres w 5.0, max pres th 3.5. Wt 120 g. Hard igneous stone. Abraded smooth on one side with percussion scars on one end. 86D/52. Probable latest date MM IIB.

From fill in the platform of Building AA, for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 10.

Type 3. Triangular/Trapezoidal Cobbles with Three Pecked Margins

21 (S 1005) Cobble, triangular, about half preserved. Pl. 4.20. Max pres length 8.2, max pres w 8.9, max pres th 7.4. Wt 650 g. Hard mottled and streaked gray siliceous limestone. One face worn smooth from use. Part of Tool Group 1. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found along with other stone tools and crucible fragments representing metalworking in Space 16 of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 43. Blitzer 1995: **GS 208**, pl. 8.12.

Type 4. Implements with Totally Pecked and Battered Surfaces

22 (S 640). Cobble, oval, about half preserved. Max pres length 7, max pres w 9.5, max pres th 7.5. Wt 670 g. Gray, fine-grained limestone. Cobble broken through wear; wear on preserved end as if used for hammering. Edges of original

fracture broken off through use. 27B/6. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found along with pottery and other artifacts on the floor of Room 5 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 59.

23 (S 2313). Cobble, broken. Max pres length 15.8, max pres w 14, max pres th 6. Hard metamorphic gray stone. Pecking/pounding marks along periphery, partly broken at one point through percussion. 90A/54. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found near the western end of Building P, Gallery 6, among many fragments of short-necked amphoras, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 76.

Type 5. Whetstones and Abrading Stones

24 (S 641). Whetstone, irregular oblong. Max pres length 7.6, max pres w 2.9, max pres th 1.2. Wt 40 g. Purple-red, argillaceous arkose. Beveled on two margins as a result of abrasion. 27B/18. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From Room 5 of Building N, along with a good deal of pottery, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 59. Blitzer 1995: **GS 266**, pls. 8.18A, 8.90.

25 (S 759). Whetstone. Max pres length ca. 10, max pres w ca. 1.5. Hard gray limestone. Among Tool Group 6. 37A/46. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Found along with other tools, and much pottery, on the surface of Court 6, Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60.

26 (S 817). Abrading stone/whetstone, tongue shaped. Max pres length 7.2, max pres w 3.6, max pres th 0.9. Wt 35 g. Dark gray, metamorphosed chert. Thin slab abraded to medium smoothness on both faces, rough areas in center of each face. 37A/63. Probable latest date MM II.

From a sounding into earlier MM levels and probably connected with Building AA at the western end of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 2. Blitzer 1995: **GS 276**, pl. 8.17B.

27 (S 818). Whetstone, slab, fragment. Max pres length 5.6, max pres w 7.5, max pres th 2. Wt 190 g. Gray-green, well-cemented, very fine grained sandstone. Finely ground faces and margins. One abraded face. 37A/63. Probable latest date MM II.

Found in the same context as **26** (S 817). Blitzer 1995: **GS 277**, pl. 8.14.

28 (S 864). Whetstone, flat irregular oblong slab. Max pres length 11.6, max pres w 2.5, max pres th 6.7. Wt 371 g. Gray-green, well-cemented, very fine grained limestone. Very finely ground working surface, ground depression in center of working face. 36A/15. Probable latest date LM IB.

From within the *sottoscala* deposit within Room 5A in Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 49. Blitzer 1995: **GS 279**, pl. 8.15.

29 (S 1460). Cobble, flattish. Pl. 4. 20. Max pres length 9.5, max pres w 4.5, max pres th 1.0. Wt 285 g. Fine-grained hard gray-to-brown limestone. Wear on pointed end suggests it was used for pecking. Tool Group 1. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

From within the metallurgical context (Phase 4) in the North Stoa, Space 16, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 43.

30 (S 1531). Whetstone fragment, middle of original piece. Max pres length 3.6, max pres w 2.9, max pres th 1.5. Wt 30 g. Gray, fine-grained, well-cemented limestone. One face abraded smooth. Tool Group 5. 50A/27. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From among a variety of artifacts on Court 6 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60. Blitzer 1995: **GS 298**, pl. 8.14.

31 (S 1668). Whetstone, oblong and flat. Max pres length 11.5, max pres w 4.0, max pres th 2.0. Hard limestone. 58A/17. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Within the fill making up the terrace north of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 52a.

32 (S 1753). Whetstone. Max pres length 18.5, max pres w 11.0, max pres th 5.0. Wt 1,680 g. Gray sandstone. 62A/8. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From within Room 4 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3.

33 (S 2042). Whetstone, broken at both ends. Max pres length 8.5, max pres w 4.5, max pres th 1.5. Wt 105 g. Phyllite. 50A/55. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From within the dump south of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 78.

34 (S 2068). Whetstone, oblong and flat, two joining fragments. Pl. 4.21. Max pres length 10.4, max pres w 3.5, max pres th 0.5. Wt 65 g. White sandstone. Tool Group 2. 52A/51. Probable latest date LM IB.

Found just south of the colonnade of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2.

35 (S 2070). Whetstone, oblong cobble. Pl. 4.21. Max pres length 13.0, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 1.0. Wt 185 g. White limestone. One surface abraded smooth. Tool Group 2. 52A/51. Probable latest date LM IB.

As **34** (S 2068).

36 (S 2073). Whetstone, broken at end. Pl. 4.21. Max pres length 8.0, max pres w 6.0, max pres th 2.1. Wt 195 g. Gray cherty limestone. Surfaces polished from use, edges worn. Tool Group 2. 52A/51. Probable latest date LM IB.

As **34** (S 2068).

37 (S 2322). Whetstone, oval. Max pres length 9.8, max pres w 6.2, max pres th 3.0. Wt 540 g. Gray hard metamorphic limestone. One smoothed side. 90A/50. Probable latest date MM III.

From west of *sottoscala* deposit found within Gallery P6 and probably to be associated with Room J, the southernmost in the East Wing of Building T, or possibly with MM II Building AA, for which see Chap. 1.1, Location 12.

Type 6. Rounded Pebbles with Abraded Facets and Pecked Faces and Margins

38 (S 945). Cobble. Max pres length 7.0, max pres w 6.1, max pres th 5.9. Wt 370 g. Gray limestone. Pecking on margins surrounding smoothed faces; some percussion flaking visible as well. Tool Group 5. 43A/63. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the strew on Court 6 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60. Blitzer 1995: **GS 338**, pl. 8.19.

39 (S 969). Cobble, rectangular. Max pres length 6.9, max pres w 4.1, max pres th 2.9. Wt 180 g. Gray siliceous limestone. Smoothed surfaces and pecked margins. 43A/54. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From Floor 2 of Room 4 in Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60 and thereafter. Blitzer 1995: **GS 340**.

Type 7. Handstones

40 (S 711). Cobble, oblong, fragment. Max pres length 9.0, max pres w 7.6, max pres th 6.2. Wt 840 g. Gray-green sandstone. Heavily abraded faces on both sides, one end pecked. 36A/18. Probable latest date LM IB.

Along with other stone tools and pottery, from within the *sottoscala* deposit in Room 5A of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 40. Blitzer 1995: **GS** 383, pl. 8.24.

41 (S 2064). Cobble, oval, flaked through use at one end. Pl. 4.21. Max pres length 13.0, max pres w 9.0, max pres th 6.0. Wt 760 g. Hard fine-grained blue-gray limestone. One surface polished very smooth from abrasion. Pecked at ends. Tool Group 2. 52A/51. Probable latest date LM IB.

From just south of the North Stoa, near Space 16.

Type 8. Plastering and Pigment Application/ Burnishing Tools

42 (S 1075). Cobble, flat, irregular round. Max pres length 10.5, max pres w 10.7, max pres th 5.1. Wt 840 g. Kommos beach rock (granular conglomerate), multicolored. One end pecked and battered, waterworn surface except on one face into which red ochre has been ground. 43A/93. Probable latest date LM IA.

From a probable floor surface in Space 11 in the western part of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37b. Found along with **61** (S 1076), a pebble, and **68** (S 1077), a triangular cobble. Blitzer 1995: **GS 424**, pls. 8.26, 8.94.

Type 11. Severed Cobbles

43 (S 1004). Cobble, thick, rounded. Max pres length 11.9, max pres w 9.3, max pres th 7.6. Wt 1,030 g. Gray limestone. Percussion-severed end is battered and worn; pecking at opposite end. Almost half of cobble removed in severing. 44A/52. Latest date probable LM I.

From a floor associated with an L-shaped wall projecting out from the North Stoa into the Central Court of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 39. Blitzer 1995: **GS 505**, pls. 8.36, 8.37.

Type 12E. Large-Scale Perforated Weights

44 (S 1544). Boulder, perforated, fragment. Max pres length 18.5, max pres w 6.5, max pres th 6.6. Wt 1,570 g. Beige-gray limestone. Fragment

of upper part of a weight fashioned from a boulder, pecked at top and less regularly along circumference; interior of perforation smooth. 53A/40. Probable latest date LM IA.

Found in a probable dump in Room 19 in the north wing of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, in connection with Pottery Group 6. Blitzer 1995: **GS 564**.

45 (S 2233). Roughly triangular limestone slab with rounded top and bottom, pierced by three roughly rounded holes. An anchor. Pl. 4.24. Max pres length 66.5, max pres w 57, max pres th 16.5. Wt 74 kg. The stone is a pale buff–brown foraminiferal limestone. Slab produced by natural cleavage and then fashioned to present shape. Rounded top and bottom appear to be intentional. Like the other two holes, the larger one (0.10 m in diameter) was probably cut by a chisel. As is the case with S 2234 (**46**), there is no evidence, such as circular scorings, to show that any of the holes were drilled, as was often the case in the Levant. One of the smaller holes was cut, perhaps unintentionally, at an angle. Below the smaller hole there is a mark, likely to be fortuitous. 89A/6. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

Found just below the first floor of Gallery 3 of Building P, where it was reused as a base to support a wooden superstructure discussed in Chap. 1.3, in connection with Pottery Group 57j. The complete study, in which it is argued that the anchors derive from either Cyprus or, more probably from Syria, is in J. W. Shaw 1995c. Since the publication of that article the date of the bases has been revised from LM IIIA1 to LM IIIA2. G. Kapitan has proposed the use of timbers set in each of the transverse holes (2001: 309 and n. 9).

46 (S 2234). Roughly triangular slab of limestone with rounded bottom edge and with three holes, the largest of which is roughly rectangular but with rounded corners. Pl. 4.25. An anchor. Max pres length 72, max pres w 61.3, max pres th 14.5 m. Wt 75 kg. Top carefully rounded by pecking. No tool marks apparent on either face. The natural limestone layering is less consolidated than that of S 2233 (**45**) and when found was missing part of a corner, lost during antiquity. This same tendency to fracture was noted when it was removed from the site, for some of its lower part flaked off into small slabs. The anchor had cracked into at least five pieces in reuse, probably owing to the weight of a post set on it. The squarish rope hole on an anchor is sometimes thought to reflect local style, hence origin (McCaslin 1980: 66). A possible hint of local preference may be the curving bottoms of the two Kommos anchors. In both, the curves (as seen in their plans in J. W. Shaw 1995c) are fairly regular and do not appear to be the result of wear. Since each anchor has a similar curve, it is probable that the arcs were intended. Technically, they could be the result of an arc cut by chisels on the surface of a stone face before the anchor blocks were removed from the quarry. The arc of the bottom of S 2233, as seen in plan, can be roughly duplicated if a radius is drawn from about 1.23 m on the midline of the anchor (i.e., the midline of the anchor extended vertically over the main rope hole and beyond the anchor itself). 89A/6, 93.

For date and provenance, see **45** (S 2233).

Type 13. Intentionally Grooved Objects

47 (S 1826). Stone tool (weight). Pl. 4.26. Max pres length 8.0, max pres w 5.0, max th 3.5. Wt 180 g. White sandy limestone. Grooved around middle, probably for hanging, as with a loomweight. 65A3/60. Probable latest date LM I–IIIA2.

Found below the floor of Building P, Gallery 3, in connection with a pebble surface associated with the plaster floor of Building T, Room F. See Chap. 1.2.

Type 14. Objects with Single or Multiple Depressions

48 (S 2307). Irregular oblong slab with irregularly rounded depressions in each side. Max pres length 15, max pres w 8.5, max pres th 4.7. Wt 965 g. White limestone. The indentations, about 1.5 cm deep, are on each side, as if to facilitate grasping the slab with one hand, with one or two fingers in each indentation, as suggested by M. C. Shaw. Possibly the ends were used for crushing. 90C/78. Probable latest date LM III, by context.

Found in upper fill near the LM I kiln, as was **49** (S 2308).

49 (S 2308). Cobble, oval, with a rounded depression on each side. Max pres length 16.5, max pres w 11.5, max pres th 7.0. Wt 2.225 kg. Hard metamorphic gray limestone. Rounded pecked holes in approximate center of broader sides.

Bruised section in center of both sides, like **48** (S 2307), from the same area but in an LM IA–II context. 90C/95.

50 (S 2293). Small triangular slab with shallow circular depressions 4–4.5 in diameter on either side, signs of wear, but little sign that the ends were used for grinding or crushing. Max pres length 16.0, max pres w 10.5, max pres th 4.0. Wt 1,040 g. Well-cemented white limestone. 97E/34. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the floor level of Building P, Gallery 2, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 67a.

51 (S 1592).[19] Roughly triangular road pavement slab. Max pres length 44.0, max pres w 39.0, max pres th undetermined (left *in situ*). Sandy limestone. Fifteen circular depressions arranged in a circular shape, suggesting a kernos. 60A/36. Probable latest date LM IIIA1.

On the road to the east of Building T, Space 34. H. Whittaker 1996a: 323, pl. 4.55; J. W. Shaw 1986: 255, pl. 57c.

52 (S 1609). Rectangular slab, surface worn and pitted. Max pres length 82.0, max pres w 68.0, max pres th 23.0. Sandy limestone. Twenty-one small, very shallow depressions arranged in an oval around a central depression that is larger and deeper. Another similar depression is located on the outside of the ring. 37A/25. Probable latest date LM II.

The slab is in reuse in the wall separating Spaces 10 and 11 in the North Stoa of Building T; the depressions could have been carved into the slab in its present position.

Whittaker 1996a: 323, pl. 4.56. Adjacent to **53** (S 1610).

53 (S 1610). Rectangular slab, with a large segment of one corner broken off, cracked across the middle; surface worn and pitted. Max pres length 102.0, max pres w 81.0, max pres th 24.0. Sandy limestone. 37A/25. Probable latest date LM II.

Reused in the same wall as **52** (S 1609). Whittaker 1996a: 323, pl. 4.56.

Type 15. Disks

54 (S 769). Disk. Max pres d 5.1, max pres th 1.3. Wt 50 g. Beige, sandy limestone. Steeply percussion-flaked, irregular margins; two flat natural faces preserved with some chipping on margin. 37A/50. Probable latest date LM IB.

From LM IB "Bin" period in Space 16 in the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37c. Blitzer 1995: **GS 584**, pls. 8.46, 8.47A, 8.96.

55 (S 1006). Disk. Pl. 4.20. Max pres d 9.5, max th 3. Wt 350 g. Gray quartzite. Cobble that has been split in half; two chips missing from margin. Tool Group 1. 42A/55. Probable latest date LM IB.

Among the stone tools and crucibles associated with metalworking in Space 16 of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 43. Blitzer 1995: **GS 585**, pl. 8.46.

56 (S 1017). Disk. Max pres length 40.0, max pres w 30.0, max pres th 7.7. Wt 656 g. Beige, sandy limestone. Irregular oval to rounded shape, percussion-flaked at margins. 42A/54. Tool Group 1.

Same general provenance as **55** (S 1006). Blitzer 1995: **GS 586**, pl. 8.48C.

57 (S 1073). Disk/slab. Approx. 36.7 by 35.4, max pres th 3.6. Wt 9.23 kg. Beige, sandy limestone. Irregular round to square slab with one naturally flat face and chisel marks on opposite face, percussion-flaked at margins. Tool Group 6. 44A/37. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From accumulation on common floor of Rooms 12 and 13 in Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 65.

58 (S 1661). Disk. Max pres length 14.5, max pres w 11.0, max pres th 1.0. Wt 440 g. Sandstone. Tool Group 4. 58A/39. Probable latest date MM III.

From Room 24b in the northeastern part of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 4b.

59 (S 2288). Disk. Max d 6.0 (approx), max pres th 0.6–0.7. Wt 33 g. Thin flat stone roughly shaped into a disk, possibly for stopper for vessel. 95A/207. Probable latest date LM IA.

Found on Central Court north of the pottery kiln, and possibly associated with its use.

Type 16C. Polished Pebbles and Cobbles

60 (S 970). Cobble, oblong. Max pres length 7.8, max pres w 4.4, max pres th 2.4. Wt 150 g. Gray sandstone. Polished surface, pecking on one end and at midsection of both long margins. 43A/64. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

From the second floor in Room 4 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3. Blitzer 1995: **GS 643**, pl. 8.72B.

61 (S 1076). Pebble. Max pres length ca. 4, max pres w ca. 2. 43A/93. Probable latest date LM IA.

From a floor in Space 11 of the North Stoa, along with **42** (S 1075), a cobble with ochre, and **68** (S 1077), a triangular cobble. 43A/93, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 37b. Probable latest date LM IA.

62 (S 1499). Cobble, polished. Max pres length 5.0, max pres w 6.8, max pres th 2.1. Wt 118 g. Dense gray metamorphic limestone. Wear around circumference. Might also be classified as Type 3. Tool Group 5. 43A/63. Probable latest date LM IIIB.

Among the artifacts from Court 6 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 60.

Other Small Implements

63 (S 2289). Cube with depressions. 4.5–5.5 squared per side. Friable brown stone with some fine micaceous flecks. Roughly worked; each face marked by a depression. Possibly used as a pounder(?) or multiple-faced mortar. 97A/1. Probable latest date MM III.

From the top pail of a sounding into MM levels probably associated with Building AA next to the interior face of the southern wall of the South Stoa.

64 (S 1658). Slab. Max pres length 21.0, max pres w 11.0, max pres th 2.5. Wt 940 g. White sandstone, slightly chipped, with one smooth surface. Tool Group 4. 58A/45. Probable latest date MM III/LM IA.

Along with other implements in Room 24b in the northeastern part of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 4b.

65 (S 1662). Slab. Max pres length 17.0, max pres w 14.0, max pres th 3.0. White limestone with one smooth surface. Tool Group 4. 58A/39. Probable latest date MM III/LM IA.

Same context as **64** (S 1658).

66 (S 2296). Schist bars. Pl. 4.27. (Catalogue entry by M. C. Shaw). These bars were found along with numerous loomweights in a sounding below the floor of Building P, Gallery 2, and probably below floor level of Building T's Room E in the East Wing, and are to be associated with Pottery Group 1 in Chap. 1.2. 97E/55, 58, 60. Probable latest date MM III. The schist slabs are enumerated below in groups:

1. Three edges preserved: max pres length 12, max pres w 4.4–4.7, max pres th 1.1–1.9. Wt 170 g. 97E/55.
2. Three edges preserved: max pres length 22, max pres w 4.4–4.7, max pres th 1.0–1.7. Wt 310 g. Broken narrow end has further deteriorated since retrieval. Schist is very friable and splits into thin sheets. 97E/58.
3. Two long edges preserved, top surface destroyed. Max pres length 12.5, max pres w 4.5–4.7, max pres th 2.0. Wt 150 g. 97E/58.
4. Two long edges preserved, top and bottom faces lost. Max pres length 5.8, max pres w 4.7, max pres th 0.8. Wt 20 g. 97E/58.
5. Three edges preserved. Max pres length 21.5, max pres w 4.6, max pres th 3.0. Wt 595 g. 97E/60.
6. Three edges preserved. Max pres length 11.5, max pres w 4.7–4.8, max pres th 2.0. Wt 270 g. 97E/60.
7. Three edges preserved. Max pres length 16, max pres w 4.6–4.7, max pres th 1.7. Wt 215 g. 97E/60.
8. Two long edges preserved. Max pres length 15, max pres w 3.5–4.4, max pres th 1.2. Wt 195 g. 97E/60.
9. Three edges preserved. Max pres length 10.5, max pres w 4.7–4.8, max pres th 1.5. Wt 160 g. 97E/60.
10. Three edges preserved, bottom surface missing(?). Max pres length 8.5, max pres w 4.7, max pres th 1.5. Wt 110 g. 97E/60.

All the schist bars are flat and smooth on one side ("top") and beveled and rough on the other side ("bottom"). Tool marks are visible along the preserved sides. The bars are rectangular in shape, and most preserve one of the narrow sides. Their thickness and width vary. None seems to preserve the full, original length.

Remarkable about the schist bars is the relative uniformity of their width, whereas their thickness varies. The function of the bars is unknown, as they were not found in their original place of use, and there are no exact parallels for them. Clearly, their function was decorative, if

not architectural. They most resemble strips set on or in Minoan floors to outline rectilinear geometric forms. Those strips however are made of plaster and can be left unpainted (or white) or painted red at the top. Those strips, usually narrower (3.3–3.5 cm) than the schist bars, have been found on a few Minoan sites including the staterooms in the West Wing of the Palace of Kato Zakros (J. W. Shaw 1973: 217–18). More recently they were found in the LM I House AF in Pseira (unpublished), fallen from an upper storey. They seem to have been set there on a bedding of gray phyllite, bits of which were still adhering to the bottom of the strips.

67 (S 2297) Triangular schist slab, irregular edges. Max pres length 12.5 by 12.7, max pres th 2. Wt 365 g. Found in the same context as **66** (S 2296). 97E/58. Probable latest date MM III.

68 (S 1077) Triangular cobble/slab. Sides 10.5, 10, 11, max pres th 1.8. Wt 250 g. Clayish-colored limestone, rather lumpy. No sign of abrasion on the sides, but each pointed end is rounded as if used for light percussion work. 43A/93. Probable latest date LM IA.

Found along with **42** (S 1075) and **61** (S 1076) in Space 11 of the North Stoa.

Large-Scale Implements

Type 17. Querns

69 (S 2326). Quern. Pl. 4.22. Max pres length 27.2, max pres w 18, max pres th 5.5. Wt 3.665 kg. Gritty limestone. Tool Group 3. 62D/78. Probable latest date LM I.

A quern found along with **70–73** (S 2327–2330) in relation to a series of bins in Space 16 of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 26. This one found east of southernmost (fourth) slab enclosure. J. W. Shaw 1986: 248, pl. 48f.

70 (S 2327). Quern. Pl. 4.22. Two joining pieces. Max pres length 30, max pres w 20, max pres th 8.6. Wt 4.67 kg. Beach rock. Tool Group 3. 62D/78. Probable latest date LM I.

From the same context as **69** (S 2326), but north of **69**.

71 (S 2328). Quern. Pl. 4.22. Approximate: max pres length 35.5, max pres w 19.6, max pres th 8.8. Wt 8.875 kg. Limestone. Tool Group 3. 62D/78. Probable latest date LM I.

From the same general context as **69**; from within third (from north) slab enclosure.

72 (S 2329). Quern. Pl. 4.23. Approximate: max pres length 52, max pres w 35, max pres th 20. Limestone. Tool Group 3. 62D/78. Probable latest date LM I.

From the same context as **69**; from within second (from north) slab enclosure.

73 (S 2330). Quern. Pl. 4.22. Max pres length 36.6, max pres w 11.5, max pres th 8.5. Wt 4.545 kg. 62D/78. Tool Group 3. Probable latest date LM I.

From the same context as **69**; from within first (from north) slab enclosure.

Type 18. Mortars

74 (S 1018). Mortar, break at margin. Max pres length 27, max pres w 24, max pres th 12.5. Wt 8.08 kg. Beige, sandy limestone. Pecked and percussion-flaked in depression and on margins. 42A/53. Probable latest date LM I.

From "enclosure" period within Space 16 of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 36. Blitzer 1995: **GS 683**, pls. 8.57, 8.61F.

Type 19. Basins

75 (S 577). Basin, irregular rectangular. Max pres length 44.0, max pres w 32.0, max pres th 12, max pres length (basin) 39, max pres w (basin) 25.0. Beige, sandy limestone. Rectangular depression shaped by means of chiseling and percussion flaking. 27B/20. Probable latest date LM IIIB/C.

Built into an LM IIIB/C wall (Wall 8) on sand accumulated above the southern part of Building T, Room 5, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 79. Blitzer 1995: **GS 693**, pl. 8.60C.

76 (S 2331). Basin. Pl. 4.28. 38×42 (top) with an oval depression 25×27 and 8 deep. Limestone. A channel cut on the west side from the depression to the edge of the stone is 5 long and 3 wide. 52A/44. Probable latest date LM I.

Set 5 cm into the LM IA floor southeast of the entrance into Space 16 of the North Stoa, for which see Chap. 1.2. J. W. Shaw 1986: 248, pl. 48b.

77 (S 2347). Basin carved into ashlar block. Pl. 1.25. Block top: 60×85. Depression 26×36, 7

deep (maximum). 100C/20. Probable latest date for basin LM II (LM I for reused slab).

Large reused sandstone block in Space 7 (northwestern corner of the Central Court) with oval depression. The depression is rounded and with a rough interior surface. No stone tools were found associated with it, nor is there evidence for grinding within it. It may well have been used for water for domestic animals after the ground level within Building T, Space 7, rose.

Type 20C. Spouted Press Bed

78 (S 2338). Basin/press bed. Pl. 4.29. Average d 0.85, max th 30. Interior measurement of basin ca. 70, spout 8 wide and projecting out 5 beyond the edge for pouring. No sign of wear by acid. Poros limestone. 56A1/65. Probable latest date LM I.

Found fallen on an east-west cross-wall of Neopalatial Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2 (end).

Stone Tool Groups

Group 1

Building T, North Stoa, Room 16, Phase 4 (Metallurgical). LM IB. 42A/54, 55, 59. Pl. 4.20.

S 1000 cobble (Stone B), **3**; S 1001 cobble (Stone C), **4**; S 1002 cobble (Stone A), **5**; S 1005 cobble, **GS 208** (Stone F), **21;** S 1006 disk, **GS 585** (Stone E), **55**; S 1017 disk, **GS 586, 56** (not illustrated); S 1460 whetstone (Stone D), **29.**

Group 2

Building T, Central Court south of North Stoa. LM IB. Pl. 4.21.

S 2064 cobble, **41**; S 2068 whetstone, **34**; S 2070 whetstone, **35**; S 2073 cobble, **36.**

Group 3

Building T, North Stoa, Room 16, Bin Period. LM IB, Phase 2. Pls. 4.22–4.23.

S 1758 cobble, **11** not illustrated.; S 2326 quern, **69**; S 2327 quern, **70**; S 2328 quern, **71**; S 2329 quern, **72**; S 2330 quern, **73**.

Group 4

Building T, Room 24b. LM IA. Not illustrated.

S 1656 quern, not catalogued; S 1658 slab, **64**; S 1661 disk, **58**; S 1662 slab, **65.**

Group 5

Building N, Court 6. LM IIIB. Not illustrated.

S 744 cobble, **15**; S 759 whetstone, **25**; S 945 cobble, **38**; S 1499 pebble, **62**; S 1531 whetstone, **30**.

Group 6

Building N, Rooms 12/13. LM IIIB. Not illustrated.

S 1459 cobble, not catalogued; S 1493 cobble, **18**; S 1073 disk, **57**; S 2044 cobble, **13**; S 1479 cobble, **17.**

Stone Vases

Aside from a Minoan serpentine lamp found reused within fourth-century-B.C. Temple C,[20] no entire stone vases were found in the Southern Area. Those catalogued below are small, with some larger fragments. The first group (**79–82**) is from construction fills of Building AA, therefore pre-AA (none is stratigraphically contemporary with AA's use). The second group (**83–85**) consists of fragments that are stratigraphically contemporary with Neopalatial Building T, although they may very well be earlier. Fragment **85**, from a deep bowl from near the hearths in Neopalatial T, Room 22, is the only one clearly found in an actual use context. Fragments **86–91** came from in or near the South Stoa: One is tempted to consider them as remainders connected with previous MM construction and use of the same area. It is curious, however, that five were recovered (three from the same pail!) near the pottery kiln. Fragments **92–93** are from the LM IIIA2 construction fill connected either with Building N (**92**) or the terrace north of Building P (**93**).[21] As Schwab points out (1996: 272) there is little evidence at this point to indicate that stone vases were made at Kommos, so those listed below probably were brought from elsewhere in the western Mesara.

79 (S 2216). Bowl fragment. Pl. 4.30. Max pres length 3.1, est d 14. Mottled gray and black serpentine. Convex walls and everted lip forming an oblique ledge. Smoothly polished exterior, interior less so. Probably Warren 1969: Type 8A. 80B/83. Probable latest date MM II.

From MM platform filling next to walls of Building AA, Location 10a, Group Ja, for which see Chap. 1.1.

80 (S 2217). Bowl fragment. Pl. 4.30. Max pres length 7, base d 5. Globular bowl on button-like vase. Breccia, gritty gray-white streaked. Probably Warren 1969: Type 8. 80A/83. Probable latest date MM II.

See previous entry.

81 (S 2220). Bowl fragment. Max pres length 4, max pres w 2, max pres th 0.9. Black and green-flecked serpentine. Well-polished exterior and roughly clawed interior, including part of smooth, ringless base area. Warren 1969: Type 8(?). 80B/79. Probable latest date MM II.

See previous entry.

82 (S 2246). Pyxis fragment. Pl. 4.30. H 4.6, interior d 4. Light green-gray serpentine, with white and gray veins and flecks. Slightly truncated cylindrical interior with convex exterior walls. Upper edge beveled inside and out and slightly inverted. Since both top and bottom are finished, the fragment fits well with the upper part of a pyxis. Warren 1969: Type 33D, a known Mesara type. 80D/57. Probable latest date MM II.

See previous entry. From Location 10c, Group Je.

83 (S 1599). Bowl with horizontal grooves. H 5.8, est d rim (interior) 7. Serpentine. Thick rounded rim with six horizontal grooves on exterior. Horizontal tool marks on interior. Warren 1969: Type 9. 67B/1. Probable latest date LM I.

From just above the preserved walls of Room 20, Building T, in its East Wing. Schwab 1996: **18**, pls. 4.20, 4.32.

84 (S 619). Bowl, carinated rim fragment. Max pres h 1.7, d of rim 12.0, max pres th 0.5. Gray schist. Thickened rim with convex profile sloping in toward base. Warren 1969: Type 8. 27B/27. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From LM IIIA2 filling immediately below the floor of Room 5 of Building N, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 47. Schwab 1996: **16**, pl. 4.20.

85 (S 1595). Deep bowl fragment. Height 12.5, est d of rim 14. Limestone(?). Lug near the straight rim; flat base. Burnt, causing irregular fragmentation and possible discoloration. 56A1/96. Probable latest date LM I.

Found burnt near the hearths within Room 22

of Building T, for which see Chap. 1.2, Pottery Group 49. Schwab 1996: **75**, pl. 4.30.

86 (S 2252). Rim fragment possibly of a bowl. Pl. 4.30. Max size 2 × 2, max pres th 0.4. Black serpentine. Thin-walled open vessel with delicate plain rim. Inside and out finely worked; not highly polished. 87B/116A. Probable latest date LM I.

From just northeast of LM I kiln, in the accumulation within the South Stoa of Buildings AA and T.

87 (S 2258). Base fragment. Max pres length 6.2, base d 5. Rust brown schistlike stone with broken streaks of black. Cracked and surface weathered. 87B/116A. Probable latest date LM I.

Same pail and locus as the previous entry.

88 (S 2259). Base fragment. Pl. 4.30. Max pres h 3.3, base d 4. Black serpentine with gray flecks. Flat base and lower wall of thin semiglobular vessel nicely worked but not highly polished outside and rim. 87B/116A. Probable latest date LM I.

Same pail and locus as previous entry.

89 (S 2275). Rim sherd from bowl-like vessel with an est d of perhaps 50 cm. Friable brown gritty limestone(?). Warren 1969: Type 8(?). 95A/92. Probable latest date LM IA.

From just west of the LM I kiln in the South Stoa of Buildings AA and T.

90 (S 2290). Wall sherds of fine-walled open vessel. Max pres h of larger fragment 3.7. Gray-flecked black serpentine(?). Neither rim nor base preserved. 95A/205. Probable latest date LM I.

Somewhat farther west than previous entry.

91 (S 2271). Bowl with button base, fragment. Pl. 4.30. Max pres d of base 4.2. Warren 1969: Type 8(?). 90A/69. Probable latest date LM IIIA2/B.

From the western end of Galley 6, Building P, north of the *sottoscala*.

92 (S 663). Lamp fragment. Max pres h 6.2, d of rim ca. 38, max pres th 4.1. Serpentine. Petaliform pattern, pendent handle, plain rim molding. Warren 1969: Type 24. 37A/23. Probable latest date LM II.

Found in LM I–II fill below the surface of Court 6 of Building N, for which see Pottery Group 11 in Chap. 1.3. Schwab 1996: **40**, pls. 4.24, 4.33.

93 (S 952). Bowl with handles, fragment. Max pres h 2.1, max pres d of rim 14, max pres th 0.9, th of handle 1.3. Serpentine. Rim fragment with handle stump and beginning of other handle stump. 42A/49. Probable latest date LM IIIA2.

From within filling for the LM IIIA2 terrace north of Building P, for which see Chap. 1.3, Pottery Group 52. Schwab 1996: **26**, pl. 4.22.

5. Plaster Offering Tables

Maria C. Shaw

Introduction

The term *offering tables* has been used in the past for a large category of comparable objects that come in a variety of shapes, sizes and materials.[22] Among these, "plaster offering tables"—a label to be applied to the objects from Kommos considered here—are a class by themselves. Their most distinct feature is that they are largely made of plaster built in layers over a core of various materials. The tabletop surface is variably flat, somewhat concave, or with a central depression, and attached to plaster feet.[23] In addition to being used to hold offerings, plaster tables from other sites seem to have served as hearths, as implied by traces of burning on them,[24] but no sign of burning has been found on the ones from Kommos.

Preservation is generally poor, so that, of the 29 cases catalogued below, some catalogue entries are represented by only a single fragment, whereas others are complete enough to

provide an impression of how the tables looked or were made. Of interest is that the Southern Area is the only area at the site of Kommos to have produced these objects. They mostly seem to belong to Building T and to have been used during its prime time in LM IA—before its character as a "palace" underwent both drastic architectural modifications and changes in function.

A simplified plan of T restores the building's West Wing (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Pl. 1.7), which was largely washed away by the sea in antiquity. The plan in Pl. 4.31 in this study shows the findspots of all plaster table remains, with each case labeled by the abbreviation **PT** (plaster table) followed by an Arabic numeral. Because provenance is important for interpretation, the sequence followed in the catalogue is topographical, starting with the northwest part of Building T (as preserved), and ending, clockwise, with the South Stoa. In the catalogue below, each provenance is introduced by short comments explicative of its general character, the pertinent absolute (sea) level, and the stratum's ceramic dating. These and other facts are also tabulated in Table 4.3. A more extensive discussion of the archaeological contexts and labels used here for the provenances can be found in Chap. 2.2, which deals with the discovery of all types of plasters found in the Southern Area. Tables in that section include cross references to plaster offering tables treated in this study.

Following the catalogue of the plaster tables is a discussion of their shapes, decoration, and technique, as well as their possible uses. The question of use relies on an analysis based largely on the apparently significant patterns of provenance of the fragments at Kommos and on comparanda from other sites where such tables were found. Most of the plaster tables discussed here are illustrated in drawings (Pls. 4.32–4.37),[25] and/or photographs (Pls. 4.39–4.42).[26] One of the illustrations (Pl. 4.38) offers a tentative restoration of the two main types of tables encountered at Kommos.[27]

Catalogue of the Plaster Tables Ordered by Provenance

Measurements (given in centimeters) represent maximum preservation, unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations for the provenances start with either an Arabic numeral or a letter, depending on how they were generally labeled elsewhere in the volume and on the period plan (Frontispiece A). In addition to the context dates given in the introduction to the loci, other information (such as absolute levels) appears in Table 4.3. In the few cases where there is painted decoration, color is specified using a Pantone Color Guide, as was done for the architectural plasters in Chap. 2.

Approximate matches in the *Solid to Process PANTONE Process Color Imaging Guide* (1992) for the colors encountered on painted plaster tables from Kommos.

Matches were made with the samples shown in the "4/C Process" column of the guide. The actual pigments used by the Minoan artists are analyzed in Appendix 2.2.

Abbreviations for pigments listed below: C = Cyan; M = Magenta; Y = Yellow; K = Black.

4/C Process color	*Modern pigments used to produce the color*	*4/C Process color*	*Modern pigments used to produce the color*
10 C/OEKO.C	C:0.0; M:18.5; Y:43.0; K:0.0	16 C/OZQL.C	C:0.0; M:100.0; Y:65.0; K:47.0
12 C/OJLP.C	C:0.0; M:38.0; Y:47.0; K:0.0	50 C/COOQ.C	C:11.5; M:0.0; Y:0.0; K:65.0
13 C/OSUL.C	C:0.0; M:72.0; Y:79.0; K:47.0	90 C/OAEO.C	C:0.0; M:6.0; Y:18.5; K:0.0

Locus 2 (Pl. 4.31)

The location is a small area at the northwest corner of the Southern Area, directly north of the north retaining wall of Minoan Road 17, and specifically across from the entrance into Locus 5. The three plaster feet (**PT1–PT3**) discovered there are, besides **PT17** (but this from a different location), the only table examples deriving from outside Building T, although close enough to possibly derive from it. The absolute level of **PT1–PT3** is higher here, since the location is on the slope of the hill rising to the north, which was cut by the construction of the Minoan road. The date is MM III–LM IA.

PT1 (P 65). Foot of a plaster table, in the shape of a truncated cone. Pl. 4.32 (elevation, Section B–B, and view of the underside) and Pl. 4.39 (view of underside).

Foot restored from three joining pieces (top d 13.5, bottom 4.0, h 6.0). Semicoarse fabric and smooth exterior surfaces. The walls of this hollow foot are rough on the inside where the plaster was applied over a core, made at least partially from a small mass of hard clay.

PT2 (P 66). Truncated cone foot, partially preserved. Pl. 4.32 (underside, Elevation C and Section D–D) and Pl. 4.39 (side view).

Max pres d at top 10.0, at bottom 4.0, h 4.3. Similar in fabric to the preceding foot. Contained in its core was a small kidney-shaped stone.

PT3 (P 67). Small fragment of truncated cone foot. Pl. 4.39 (side view).

Dim $5.2 \times 3.7 \times$ th 2.8. Similar in fabric to **PT1** and **PT2**.

Locus 6 (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The exact location of this fragment is in 6, directly south of Locus 11 (the western end of the North Stoa). The single fragment here was found in fill above the initial ground/floor level. The context date is LM IB.

PT4 (P 276). Fragment of a table. Pl. 4.32 (top view and Section a–a) and Pl. 4.39 (side view).

The fragment (4.5×3.5) preserves the edge and part of the rim next to a depressed area at the top of the table. The rim borders a depressed area on the top surface. The rim is fairly flat on top, and its side curves inward. Remains of a second layer of plaster are preserved on the side of the depressed area but not around the top and side of the rim, the rough surfaces of which suggest that a layer has come off. The width of the rim in that case would have been somewhat wider than the nearly 4.0 preserved. The fabric of the innermost layer is coarser than that of the added layer in the depressed area, the surface of which is polished.

Table 4.3. Data on plaster offering tables.
Dates represent the ceramic context rather than the absolute date of the plaster tables themselves. Discussions of contexts and levels appear in the introductory comments preceding the catalogue entry for each table, or fragment thereof. The Locus column further specifies locations that are not specifically labeled in the plans provided. A plan shows the distribution of the remains of plaster tables (Pl. 4.31).

Catalogue Number	Excavation Number	Trench/ Pail	Context Date	Level (m)	Locus
PT1	P 65	43A/107	MM III–LM I	4.20–4.60	2–north of Building T
PT2	P 66	43A/107	MM III–LM I	4.20–4.60	2–north of Building T
PT3	P 67	43A/107	MM III–LM I	4.20–4.60	2–north of Building T
PT4	P 276	37A?/49	LM IB (a few later)	3.22–3.58	6, north part–11 south part
PT5	P 277	44A/50	LM IB Early	2.97–3.04	12
PT6	P 275	52A/54	LM IA Final	3.16–3.24	15
PT7	P 123	52A/31	LM III Dump	3.70–3.90	22, west end–15, east end
PT8	P 252	80B/57A	MM II–LM IA	3.38–3.47	26, east end–Building T, northeast part
PT9	P 228	86F/105	8th–7th century B.C.	3.01–3.06	35, west end–Central Court
PT10	P 224	97D/18	MM IIB–III	2.78–2.85	46, *sottoscala*
PT11	P 203	97D/18	MM IIB–III	2.78–2.85	46, *sottoscala*
PT12	P 196	93C/121	MM IIB–III	2.70–2.90	46, *sottoscala*
PT13	P 215	90A/66	MM IIB–LM IB	2.95–3.10	46, west end, lobby
PT14	P 197	90A/72	MM IIB–III	2.80–2.95	46, west end, lobby
PT15	P 258	90A/72	MM IIB–III	2.80–2.95	46, west end, lobby
PT16	P 223	90A/72	MM IIB–III	2.80–2.95	46, west end, lobby
PT17	P 245	84A/103	MM III	2.68–2.79	South of 43, south of Building T
PT18	P 257	90A/40	MM III–LM IA	3.04–3.13	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT19	P 272	93C/35	MM III–LM IA	2.81–3.00	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT20	P 187	87B/118	MM III–LM IA	2.81–3.00	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT21	P 201	87B/116D	LM IA Advanced–Final	2.93–3.09	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT22	P 271	87B/116D	LM IA Advanced–Final	2.81–2.95	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT23	P 254	87B/118	LM IA Advanced–Final	2.81–2.95	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT24	P 199	87B/116D	LM IA Advanced–Final	2.93–3.09	South Stoa, east of kiln
PT25	P 255	95A/187	LM IA	2.90–3.10	South Stoa, west of kiln
PT26	P 207	97C/12	LM IA	3.04–3.15	Northwest edge of South Stoa–south edge of Central Court
PT27	P 195	97C/22	LM IA	2.99–3.10	Northwest edge of South Stoa–south edge of Central Court
PT28	P 194	95B/175	LM I–III	3.12–3.22	Northwest edge of South Stoa–south edge of Central Court
PT29	P 256	95B/173	LM I–III	3.11–3.20	Northwest edge of South Stoa–south edge of Central Court

Locus 12 (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

This is a space that was created in LM III, when walls were built over the Central Court of Building T directly south of the western part of the North Stoa. The fill is immediately above the initial floor and dates to LM IB Early.

PT5 (P 277). Fragment of a table. Pl. 4.32 (top and bottom views and Sections a–a and b–b) and Pl. 4.39 (elevation).

Part of the central section and edge of a table (8.3 × 3.8 × th 1.0), preserving a polished somewhat concave upper surface. This layer is attached to another of coarser, softer fabric (th ca. 2.0), marked by irregular projections (including a thin strip of serpentine form) and by depressions in the form of short straight lines and irregular dents that suggest a core made up of a variety of materials, perhaps including little sticks and chaff, clay, and other vegetal materials. The shape of the top makes it unlikely that the piece was part of **PT4**.

Locus 15, East End (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

Locus 15 is part of the Central Court of Building T, which continued to be used as a small court into LM III (Court 15 in the plan), when Building N was built. It is situated directly south of Locus 16, the eastern end of the North Stoa. The item came from fill over the original court surface and dates to LM IA Final.

PT6 (P 275). Fragments of a table. Pl. 4.33 (top surface and section) and Pl. 4.39 (top surfaces).

Joining fragments from the rim and corner of a table (surface 3.8 × 1.2, h of side of rim 1.3), and possibly one from the top surface. The two sides meet at right angles. Preserved is one layer of plaster of semifine fabric, th ca. 0.6–07, with a polished outer and a somewhat rougher interior surface. As preserved, the rim w is 3.0. One of its preserved ends slopes down (see section in Pl. 4.33, top left), and this is likely to be the side of a central depression at the top of the table. The table was decorated with what looks like a wavy or scalloped band that that covers the top and side of the rim, and perhaps the central part of the tabletop. The relatively smooth interior surfaces suggest that an outer layer of plaster may have been applied on another one from which it has become detached.

Locus: West End of Corridor 20/22 (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The location is directly east of Locus 15. The discovery of a fragment here suggests that the table may have been displayed along the colonnade of the North Stoa or along the open western end of Corridor 20/22. The fill overlies the initial floors up to +3.90 m; the ceramic context is LM IA Final–LM III.

PT7 (P 123). Piece made up of four joining fragments. Pl. 4.39 (top and side views).

As joined (7.2 × 3.2, th 2.6), preserving the edge of a plaster layer with a flat surface (that of the tabletop), a roughly vertical side, and a curving underside. The plaster is semicoarse and preserves impressions of organic matter, perhaps sticks or straw, which must have been part of the core. Since the flat surface is not polished, what we may be seeing is an inner layer of plaster, once coated with finer plaster with polished surfaces that has worn off. The profile resembles the upper part of **PT5**, but technical aspects are not quite the same.

Locus: East End of Locus 26/P1 (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The location is south of the staircase leading down to a well that was installed in the northeast end of LM III Gallery P1 during the space's reuse in the Greek Archaic period. It was hypothesized at the time of the excavation that the Minoan north-south Road 34 terminated at an entrance into Building T (see the restoration in Pl. 1.7). The piece was found in fill of MM–LM IA date at ca. +3.16–3.24 m, equivalent to the floor of T that sloped down from east to west.

PT8 (P 252). Table fragments. Pl. 4.33 (top view and section) and Pl. 4.39 (side views of two pieces).

There are a number of fragments, some joining (the largest being 5.4 × 5.2; th 2.5), and the remaining fifteen quite small. The most diagnostic is a piece of solid plaster preserving the edge of a tabletop, and curving underneath, like tables **PT4**, **PT5**, and **PT7**. Although the surfaces are smooth, it is not possible to tell whether an additional outer layer once covered them.

Locus: The Central Court of Building T, Directly West of the LM I East-West Wall Separating Locus 35/P4 from 36/P5 (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

During the time of Building T, the location was directly west of a space defined by two parallel walls located under the two LM III galleries noted. The level here is approximately at the base of the LM I wall, but erosion has contaminated the context, as seen by the presence in the fill of some sherds of the Greek Archaic period.

PT9 (P 228). Fragment of a table. Pl. 4.39 (top and underside).

The fragment is solid plaster and appears to be the edge of a plaster table (4.2 × 3.4; th 1.5). It preserves two surfaces meeting at right angles; the transition between them is rounded. The upper one is slightly convex, and only roughly smoothed; the one underneath is rougher and was clearly broken off from the outer side of the table. The piece was likely once enveloped by an outer layer of plaster that has come off.

Locus: The Area of *Sottoscala* 46 at West End of Locus 43/P6, East of the Lobby (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

Some of the tables may have been stored in the closet (or *sottoscala*), located under the west end of a staircase of the time of Building T, set in Locus 43/P6, and rising toward the east (see restoration in Pl. 1.7). The stored tables may have scattered to the west onto the initial steps and the "lobby" leading to the staircase, when the latter was destroyed, as further discussed in the conclusions. **PT10–PT12,** attributed here to the *sottoscala* closet, could belong to one table, but since there were no joins, the material was catalogued in separate groups. Fills here ranged from MM IIB to MM III, and the level from +2.78 to +2.90 m, **PT12** being from slightly higher, as explained below.

PT10 (P 224). Two table fragments.

These very worn fragments (the larger: 9.7 × 6.7) preserve part of a decoration in glossy black on a highly polished white surface. The appearance and quality resemble the beautifully painted **PT12**. The larger fragment consists of two

surfaces meeting at right angles, one plain (or with its top coating lost), the other and smaller side covered by black paint. Part of a curving black design appears on the smaller piece, giving us an idea of the general character of the decoration, which may again have been a wavy or scalloped band. The larger piece had to be retrieved using gauze, which now covers its other face, preventing further examination of that side, although one can note that the plaster wall was very thin. The smaller of the two pieces is also thin. The few impressions preserved make it difficult to identify what it abutted, perhaps an additional plaster layer.

PT11 (P 203). Fragmentary truncated cone foot. Pl. 4.33 (two elevations and a section with reconstruction) and Pl. 4.39 (side view).

Similar to **PT1–PT3**; could belong with **PT10** and **PT12**, since they were found in the same general location. The estimated diameter at the top is nearly 9.0, and that of the bottom 4.0; max pres h 3.5. The foot has thick walls and is partly hollow. Inside it was found a kidney-shaped impression, which may be from a pebble or small stone that fell off when the foot broke.

PT12 (P 196). Plaster table. Pl. 4.33 (two top views of painted surfaces, and a section; Sections aa and bb [bottom left] and a side view [right bottom]); Pl. 4.40 (top surface and suggested partial restoration of the painted decoration).

This is the most impressive of the plaster tables found at the site. It was discovered in the area of the *sottoscala* (Locus 46) during a sounding intended to trace more of the long east-west wall believed to belong to Building AA, the Protopalatial predecessor of Building T. While digging fill atop this wall we noted a plaster table, which was embedded within fill directly under the projecting south wall of LM III Gallery P6. This wall, partially built over the leveled south wall of Building T, clearly rested over fill that had accumulated over Building AA's wall. There were no sherds found in the small mass of earth surrounding the pieces of the table, but the fill directly under it dates to MM IIB–III.

The main piece of this table consists of two sizable surfaces that meet at right angles, and which, given their thinness (in places as thin as 6 mm, maximum), miraculously have survived. These were retrieved under difficult conditions, beneath the projecting wall.[28] The decorative patterns are preserved on the somewhat larger surface (13.0 × 17.0; th 0.4–0.5); the other side is plain or with its topmost plaster coating missing). More of the pattern is preserved on two loose pieces, one (6.0 × 4.0) with the rounded end of a white elongated form reserved in white within a black area; the other (8.0 × 7.0) features the undulating edges of two black areas on either side of a white one (Pl. 4.33, bottom left, and Pl. 4.40, top).

The decoration is likely similar to that suggested for tables **PT6** and **PT14,** namely, a black wavy or scalloped band, yet this does not quite explain all the patterns present. I offer the tentative restoration of a row of lozenge or quatrefoil motifs, with those at the two ends of the table depicting only half the motif, the other half probably continuing on the vertical sides (Pl. 4.40 top).[29]

Locus: The "Lobby," West of Locus 46 and Leading to Staircase 46 (under Gallery P6) (Pl. 4.31)

It is conceivable, as suggested above, that **PT13–PT16**, which were retrieved from this tiny space, spilled out of the *sottoscala* closet when the staircase was dismantled or destroyed, a matter further discussed in the conclusions. Once again, and using as criteria resemblances in fabric and other features, I opted to split the assemblage into groups or single items, although some of the separations may be artificial. It is now impossible to tell how many tables are represented by the pieces. It is difficult to pinpoint absolute levels for the floor during the time of Building T, and the fills containing the table fragments can best be assigned to the earliest use of that building or residual use from Building AA.

PT13 (P 215). Small piece from the edge of a tabletop. Pl. 4.39 (top and side views, left and right).

A piece consisting of two surfaces meeting at right angles (2.2 × 2.0; th 0.7), with polished surfaces bearing traces of blue/black paint. The preserved walls are clearly part of the outermost layers of plaster, as the interior surfaces bear no impressions of the coarse type of materials of the core.

PT14 (P 197). Table fragments. Pl. 4.34 (top: section; center: view of side and of top painted surface; lower left: underside with foot; bottom right: suggested reconstruction of the table); Pl. 4.40 (details of the underside of the table with foot still attached, and painted fragments of the rim).

The several fragments grouped here consist of a conical foot with parts of the adjacent and very thin underside of the table to which they were attached (the largest 13.0 × 10.0). These fragments were carefully retrieved by attaching gauze to them. Other, and likely associated, fragments have polished surfaces and belong to the edges of the table. Two of these join to form one of the table's corners where the sides met at a right angle. This suggests that the tabletop was squared, at least at this particular end. A few loose fragments of the plaster coating from the underside of the table show traces of impressions on the interior side that look like wood grain. A restoration (Pl. 4.34) shows how the table was decorated and suggests that it was quite short (somewhat taller than 10.0, including the feet). The walls of the vertical sides are somewhat thicker (0.8) than the layer at the top, which is only 0.5 thick. The estimated width of the flat part of the rim is ca. 6.5. A bend in one of the fragments suggests a depressed area at the center of the table. The painted decoration, the lustrous black color, and the quality of the surfaces compare with table **PT12**, although it is now impossible to know if they belonged to the same table.

PT15 (P 258). Table fragments. Pl. 4.35 (fragments of top surface and Sections aa and bb).

Seven fragments joined into three pieces, two likely from a dished tabletop, the third possibly from one of the outer sides (9.0 × 5.7, th 1.3; 8.2 × 4.0, th 1.1; 5.2 × 3.1, th 0.8). Of these, the pieces with a concave surface retain traces of gray/blue color; the third is white. One of the fragments at the top seems to bear impressions of the usual materials of a core, but they are not distinctive enough for us to specify further.

PT16 (P 223). Table fragments. Pl. 4.35 (fragments of top surface and rim, and Section aa); Pl. 4.40 (painted decoration on vertical side of rim [above] and on top surface [below]).

Several fragments, the most diagnostic attributable to the top and vertical sides of a table (largest two pieces: 5.9 × 4.1, th 1.2; 6.5 × 4.2, th 0.9). Somewhat concave pieces indicate a depressed area on the top of the table, as does the curve of the rim. A second piece may belong to the side of the table, which meets the rim at a right angle. The width of the rim ranges from 4.0 to 4.7. It was originally built of two layers of plaster, to judge by a partially preserved layer on the inner side of one of the fragments, the total thickness there being 1.2. Other and thinner pieces are fairly rough on the underside, which might suggest that they became detached from an additional interior plaster layer. Exterior surfaces are polished and largely covered with black paint, which in some cases preserve a rounded edge next to a white area. Presumably, this is another case of the wavy band design.

Locus: Outdoors, Directly South of the South Entrance into Building T (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The location and date suggest that the piece was deposited during the use of Building T, as confirmed by the presence of MM III pottery. This is an oddly early date, so it is possible that the context was not sufficiently large to contain later sherds. LM IA sherds in the areas of the south part of the building at related levels usually consist of a mixture of MM III and LM IA, which might suggest the early part of LM IA.

PT17 (P 245). Fragment of a table's edge. Pl. 4.35 (top and side views of painted rim, and Section aa); Pl. 4.40 (rim fragment, top view above and underside below).

The fragment's two surfaces meet at a right angle, with a rounded corner (6.5×3.2 on one side, 5.5×2.2 on the other). Outer surfaces are polished and painted blue/black (50 C/COOQ.C at its darkest); the undulating outline suggests it to be another wavy band, in this case adjacent to an area painted red (13 C/OSUL.C), instead of the usual white. The piece is hollow on the inside, but the few impressions on the inside are undiagnostic as to the makeup of the core.

Locus: South Stoa, East and Northeast of the Kiln (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

This is where the largest accumulation of substantial pieces of plaster tables was found. Many of the pieces were right next to the columns, but **PT18** was found the farthest east and well within the stoa rather than near the columns. One exciting discovery here, because of its preservation, was **PT20**. During my examination of it with the help of conservator Kathy Hall, there were some discussions about whether it might belong with pieces catalogued as **PT21**, but the decision was made to separate the two on the basis of differences in outer appearance and the hue of the plaster coating. The levels range from +2.80 to +3.09 m, and the dates from LM IA Advanced to Final. These dates mark the installation and period of use of the kiln.

PT18 (P 257). Fragments of a table. Pl. 4.40.

These very thin pieces (the largest 11.5×5.7, th 0.4–0.9) were retrieved by attaching them to gauze. Because of their thinness, they belong to the central part of the tabletop. The somewhat convex and now-visible surface and its linear impressions (from sticks, straw, and such used in the core) make it likely that we are seeing the underside of the top surface of the tabletop.

PT19 (P 272). Fragment of a table. Pl. 4.41.

This small piece (3.0×2.2) is somewhat convex on the outside (the polished surface) and concave on the inside. It is relatively thick (1.0) and may be part of a table's rim or part of the table's sides.

PT20 (P 187 and P 212). Tabletop. Pl. 4.36 (top and bottom views and related sections); Pl. 4.41 (top and bottom views on left, side view and interior of bottom layer on right).

Preserved here is nearly the entire outline of the top part of the table, parts of the top surface, and parts of the sides that curve in, like those of a bowl. The shape, a somewhat squared oval, was clearly designed to accommodate three feet, two at its broader end and one centrally at its narrower end. It is nearly 28.0 long and a maximum of 23.0 wide. Its feet are unlikely to be the short conical ones encountered before, but rather taller and sturdier, indeed of a type that seems to be represented in fragments in the assemblage to which this table belongs (cf. **PT21** and **PT22)**.

The table differs in other respects from those already discussed. For instance, its top surface is sufficiently preserved to allow us to infer that it was flat. Another distinction is that it did not receive painted decoration. Instead, more attention was paid to its shape, the graceful profile, and fine technical details such as the beveling of the junctions between top and sides. Interestingly, the table tends to be angular on the longer sides and more rounded on the shorter side. The reason must be that the sides slope sharply inward on the angular sides and are almost vertical on the rounded and shorter sides. The more vertical profile was clearly needed to connect the bowl part of the table with the feet placed on the two shorter sides.

The tabletop is now hollow, and one can see on the underside of the top surface impressions of materials like chaff, straw, and perhaps short sticks that once formed a core over which plaster was applied. There are at least two thick layers of plaster visible in the breaks. Such thickening

was necessary to model the desired shape of the tabletop by building up its outer edge with additional layers. This explains why in many cases all that is left of a table are parts of these edges, because the plaster is the only nonperishable component of these tables. There is a slight difference in the successive plaster layers; the inner layer is thicker, whiter, and of somewhat softer fabric than the outer layer. The latter has a pinkish tinge in this case (89 C/OAEO.C), perhaps the result of a slight admixture of fine aggregates to increase its hardness. A curious characteristic is that where a section of these layers is visible along the breaks, it appears that the outer surface of the inner layer is quite smooth too. This might suggest that the upper layer was a later patching or a remodeling, but I am more inclined to find the explanation in poor execution, which would explain why there are so many instances in which the superposed layers seem to have become detached.

PT21 (P 201). Table fragments. Pl. 4.36 (fragments from top and sides with restored Sections aa and bb); Pl. 4.42 (fragments from top and sides of table and detail of exterior and interior views of possible leg).

A total of 31, mostly small, fragments, a few of which join. Best preserved is what seems to be the upper part of a downward-tapering tall foot (13.0 × 11.5), and part of a rim, showing the beginning of a central depression (6.0 × 6.5). The foot is sturdily constructed, in spots made up of some four layers of plaster, the total thickness of the walls being ca. 2.0.

As already noted in the discussion of table **PT20**, there is an ambiguity as to whether the foot belongs to that or to the present table. Possibly both flat-topped tables with a depression could have this kind of foot, the latter being the one suggested in the restored drawing (Pl. 4.36). Impressions on the inside surfaces suggest a core containing organic materials. The impressions within the hollow foot are finer, resembling wood grain. The thick walls of all fragments suggest a sizable table, the same size as **PT20**.

PT22 (P 271 and P 201). Table fragments. Pl. 4.37 (fragments from top and sides, and restored Sections aa through dd) and Pl. 4.41.

Some twenty pieces, many tiny and some joining to form the largest piece (11.0 × 9.7, 2.1 th), give us information about the top, the sides, and the upper part of one of the feet of the table. The latter is sturdily constructed of at least two layers. In the interior face of some of the other pieces impressions are preserved in spots on what may be a core of chaff and straw. Less clear is the identity of what went inside the foot. All outer surfaces, both of the top and the feet, are polished.

PT23 (P 254). Two fragments of a tabletop. Pl. 4.41 (side and top views).

The two small fragments (3.0 × 1.6, th 1.2; 3.0 × 3.2; thickness varying from 0.8 to 1.5) belong, one to the edge, the other to the top surface of the table. Further layers likely covered the former piece. It has a curved profile resembling that of **PT20**. The other fragment must be from a rim (pres w 3.0) bordering a depressed area. The junction bears faded traces of black paint, unless it is soot, which would be unique among the tables found at Kommos.

PT24 (P 199). Table fragments. Pl. 4.41 (top and bottom views of two pieces from the top part of table).

Some fifteen very small to tiny fragments, some joining to form three larger pieces (6.5 × 4.9, 7.1 × 4.5, 4.5 × 2.0), that preserve edges and part of the top surface of a squared table. The walls vary in thickness from 0.5 to 0.8, except at the corners, where they are thicker. The surfaces are all polished and meet at right angles with beveled junctions. There are rather scanty impressions on the inside surfaces reflecting organic substances, as in previous cases.

Locus: South Stoa, West of Kiln (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The following catalogued item was found at a level belonging to the use of Building T. The primarily LM I fill was contaminated, perhaps because of erosion in the area, by a few later sherds.

PT25 (P 255). Table fragments. Pl. 4.41 (top views).

Of the three small fragments found (the largest 4.4 × 2.4, th 0.7), one is recognizable as part of the edge of a table. There is beveling at the junction of the two flat surfaces that meet at a right angle, and the outer surfaces are highly polished. As usual, the top part of the table was hollow, but there are hardly any impressions, which might imply that the preserved layer was originally attached to an additional one on the interior, the two having come apart with the passage of time.

Locus: The Southern Edge of the Central Court, Directly North of the Three Westernmost Columns of the South Stoa (see plan, Pl. 4.31)

The comment made earlier concerning the LM I date with later contamination applies here as well as a result of LM III activity/use that may have disturbed the earlier contexts.

PT26 (P 207). Table fragments. Pl. 4.41 (side view).

There are some nine fragments, three of which joined to form what seems to be the upper part of a table foot (8.4 × 5.2) that tapers at one side, clearly toward the bottom. The wall of this hollow foot was modeled by adding layers of plaster. The interior surface is rather rough, but there are no recognizable impressions from any core (such as one of wood) that may have been there.

PT27 (P 195). Foot of a table. Pl. 4.42.

This bottom part of a foot is practically solid may belong to the taller variety of which only the upper parts have been preserved and reviewed so far. This part of the foot is roughly shaped as a cube, but with its sides flaring outward toward the top. Of the four sides only three are preserved, all of which are painted. The best preserved one is 5.0–5.5 wide and 8.0 cm high, and its decoration is an abstract form in solid black, consisting of a rounded part at the bottom tapering in toward the top and shown against a white background. Of the remaining fragments, one is completely covered by a large round form painted orange (12 C/OJLP.C) shown against a white background visible between the curves at the two bottom corners of the foot. Of the third side and poorly preserved one, we can see a narrow vertical band in Venetian red (16 C/OZQL.C) along the edge. Interestingly, the underside of the foot was painted too, in solid yellow ochre (10 C/OEKO.C). The inside of this partially hollow foot appears to have been filled in part with a core of clay, and the now-exposed interior surfaces of its walls display linear impressions, conceivably from wood grain.

PT28 (P 194). Large fragment of a table. Pl. 4.37 (top, on left, underside, on right, and Sections aa and bb, below); Pl. 4.42 (views of underside, on left, and top surface on right).

The sizable fragment (14.5 × 10.2, th of surfaces 2.5) preserves parts of the top surface and sides of a table that has a shape similar to that of **PT20**, which is roughly oval. As in the latter, the junctions of top and sides are beveled, again with the beveling being more angular along the longer sides and rounder on the shorter sides. Outer surfaces of both the top and the sides are polished, but with no signs of color. The interior surface bears impressions that mirror the straw and chaff used in the core that that once filled the hollow interior.

PT29 (P 256). Fragments of a table. Pl. 4.42 (top view).

Four joining pieces (10.0 × 5.0), and some small loose fragments preserving part of the top surface and outer side of a table. The thickness of the walls measures a maximum of 0.8. The surface on the inside is somewhat concave, perhaps from where the plaster touched the core. The exterior surface is smooth but not polished and therefore may have become detached from an additional layer applied on top. There are impressions on the interior face, but they are hardly diagnostic.

Discussion

SHAPES, PAINTED DECORATION, TECHNIQUE

Because hardly any complete tables have been found at Kommos, inferences about the shape, decoration, and technique have to rely both on whatever inherent evidence there is both in the examples from Kommos and on comparanda from other Minoan sites in Crete.[30]

There seem to be two predominant shapes: one oval (Type A), the other squared (Type B) (Pl. 4.38). Most feet are of two kinds. In the taller kind the base is shaped like a truncated pyramid, with its four sides widening upward where they were attached to the underside of the tabletop. I am fairly convinced that this type of leg belongs to the Type A table, which, because of its shape, must have had three feet. The other kind of foot is short and is shaped like a truncated cone, resembling a conical cup. It belongs to the Type B table, which likely had four feet. An idea of how the two types of tables may have looked and suggestions about the technique used in making them can be seen from the simplified illustrations presented in Pl. 4.38.

A more detailed description of the two types follows, with examples assigned to each type, as well as comparanda. The completely round plaster table, which was so common throughout the Aegean, seems to be lacking at Kommos, but this may be due to accidents of preservation, since the scanty and scattered remains of tables seem to suggest that what we see is what remained after a cleaning operation, an explanation to be pursued below.

Type A and Possible Variations

PT20 is the only example preserved extensively enough for us to know the exact shape of the top part of the table, which is oval and flat. Its discovery in the same context with fragments of the sturdier and taller kind of foot makes it reasonable to connect the two as being part of the same table, one that would have used three such feet. The oval shape in combination with a flat top is rare elsewhere.[31] The sides of the tabletop curve inward, resulting in a form similar to that of a shallow bowl. Careful craftsmanship is evident in the polishing of the surfaces, and the beveling at the rim's edge varies somewhat between the two sides of the table, being more angular on the long sides and more rounded on the short ones (Pl. 4.36, Sections aa and bb). The difference in curvature is an adjustment dictated by the position of the table's feet and how they meet the underside of the table. The size of the tabletop is 27.5 × 22.7 cm, which falls within the range of some of the smaller round tables known from elsewhere in Crete and other areas of the Aegean.[32] This size comes close to that of the diameter of the famous fully preserved tripod table painted with dolphins from Thera (28.0 cm), and it is not unlikely that the height of **PT20** was similar, too, to that of the Theran table (30.0 cm).[33] Feet **PT21**, **PT22**, **PT26**, **PT27** (Pls. 4.36–4.37) may also have been similar to those of the Theran table.

The second best preserved example of this type is **PT28**, which confirms the described

characteristics, including the differentiation in the beveling along the longer and shorter sides of the table (Pl. 4.37, Sections aa and bb). Characteristic of both these fairly well preserved examples is that the edges of the bowl-shaped part of the table projected beyond the interior clay core of the table and were built by using several superposed layers of plaster. It is no wonder, therefore, that quite often such thick edges made of plaster are all that is preserved of the plaster tabletop. Using this criterion, we can assign a number of items to the Type A category, although we cannot be certain of how the rest of the table looked and whether it was flat at the top or had a central depression. What we can tell with a degree of assurance is that this category of tables does not show any sign of painted decoration, which seems to have been limited to Type B tables. The one exception may be foot **PT27**, which I argued previously may belong to this type, and which is decorated with simple geometric patterns on all preserved sides.[34] In addition to the feet listed above, the following are additional tables that I would assign to Type A and the variant with an upper depression: **PT4**, **PT5**, **PT7**, **PT8**, **PT9, PT23**.

TYPE B

Characteristic of tables of Type B is that the top and side surfaces meet at right angles. Because no entire table has been preserved, the question should be raised whether the top was rectangular or square, but the latter is less likely, since there are few examples known. No fragments were found that preserved both the outer vertical side and the bottom of the table, so we cannot be sure whether the two met at right angles too, although it seems rather reasonable that this was the case. It is also uncertain whether the top surface was flat or was always marked by a depressed area. Several examples make it clear that a depression was not uncommon. The rim adjacent to the depression was flat and was typically about 4.0 cm wide. The feet were tucked underneath the tabletop, as in **PT14**, where the one preserved foot was miraculously retrieved still adhering to the thin flat sheet of plaster that formed the underside of the tabletop.[35] The short feet would suggest that the upper part of the table they supported was short also, if the relative proportions were similar to those of a Type A table. In one of the examples from Kommos, the restoration led to the possibility that the table could have been as short as ca. 10.0 cm (Pl. 4.34).[36]

One other difference between Type B and Type A tables is that the Type B tables show evidence of painted decoration (aside from painted foot **PT27**, which I have suggested might belong to a Type A table). The decoration on the tabletop is generally rather simple and standardized, consisting of a band with wavy or scallop-shaped contours, what Marinatos lyrically describes as a "silent wave,"[37] known from several other sites and used on both round and square tables.[38] The spread of the decoration over the top and the vertical sides of the table could well simulate a tablecloth, if such existed in Minoan times. The simple character of the decoration at Kommos naturally pales by comparison with that of some tables from other sites, where it was applied sometimes on the top surface and the sides,

sometimes on the table's feet, and sometimes on both. In addition, besides abstract designs the decoration includes floral[39] and, rarely, other representational motifs.[40] Indeed, it must have been the suitability of plaster as a painting ground for executing the colorful designs that the Minoans so liked that made plaster a suitable material to use for the tables, not to mention the added advantage that the method of construction made these objects light and portable. Interesting, but strange, is the case of a table from Knossos, which, although made of serpentine stone carved with designs, was ultimately covered with a coating of plaster,[41] for there are cases in which the painted imitation of plaster tables simulates variegated stones, suggesting that a table in such a material was deemed fancier. Examples of painted simulations of variegated stones on offering tables occur at nearby Phaistos.[42]

Tables that can be attributed to Type B at Kommos, besides **PT14**, are **PT6**, **PT12**, **PT13**, **PT15–PT17**, **PT24**, **PT25**, and potentially **PT10**. Short feet of the kind I have associated with Type B tables are **PT1–PT3**, **PT11**, and that of **PT14**. Rather short and conical-shaped feet, similar to the ones just quoted, are sometimes associated with squat round tables with flaring sides,[43] but at Kommos, as has already been mentioned, there are yet no signs of a round table. Fragments **PT18**, **PT19**, and **PT29** cannot be assigned to any particular type of table.

TECHNIQUE

Like offering tables from other sites, the ones from Kommos were made of a combination of nonperishable and perishable materials.[44] The nonperishable material is the plaster, which was applied in layers that enveloped an interior core, and was best preserved where applied thickest along the rim of the tabletop and the table's feet, particularly the short ones attributed to tables of Type B (Pl. 4.38, left). Most vulnerable were the top and the underside of the tabletop, where plaster was generally applied in one thin layer. Surprisingly, part of the underside was preserved in one case along with the table's foot, still attached to it (**PT14**, Pls. 4.34, 4.41). The application of the plaster in layers helped model the shape. There were generally only two layers, except at the upper part of the taller feet where an additional patch was added to strengthen the foot's attachment to the main body. Fabrics varied, being softer on the interior and semicoarse to fine on the exterior, and the outer surfaces were generally quite polished.

Little can be said about the exact makeup and shape of the interior core. Best preserved is the core of Type B feet that are nearly solid and in which the small hollow space was filled with clay and small stones or pebbles (**PT1–PT2**, Pls. 4.32, 4.39). Other evidence is indirect and consists mainly of impressions on the plaster that came in contact with the core materials. Here, the present author noticed a differentiation in the character of the impressions between the interior sides of the top and bottom surfaces of the main body of the tables. The top impressions are generally much rougher and suggest the presence of perishable organic materials, such as straw and sticks, and, in one case, even what looks like a strip of cloth (**PT5**, Pls. 4.32, 4.39). Thin lines that suggest wood are, by contrast, finer and not as deep,

and these occasionally mark the interior of the table's underside.[45] Such characteristics have led me to two tentative conclusions. One is that the clay that must have served as a matrix for the mixtures of materials used in the core was rather loose, having never been baked. The other is that, if the matrix was rather loose, it would have required a solid support, perhaps a cut piece of wood, curved or square in shape, that would have acted as a tray or low receptacle holding the loose core materials of the round or square tables, respectively. This hypothetical wooden container, shown as a dark line in the restoration drawing (Pl. 4.38), would have been invisible, being contained within the plaster exterior of the table. Possibly, the suggested wooden props within the tallish feet of this type of table (Pl. 4.38, Type A) would have been attached directly to the underside of the wooden "tray," before the artisan began to apply any coating of plaster.

The idea that wood may have played a role in the construction of these tables was largely inspired by a recent study by P. Muhly on wooden furniture in the Aegean, which includes what she has identified as a small round wooden table with a "dished top" (36.5 cm across) from fragments found in one of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. This example provides valuable technical details about the method of attachment of the feet.[46] This wooden table also features a beveled edge along its rim—perhaps a crafting device associated with wood—a practice that may have inspired the beveling of the plaster tables of Type A at Kommos, if such wooden furniture existed in Crete as well. The second and equally important piece of evidence that led me to suspect the internal use of wood is that in his publication of the tables from Phaistos, Militello mentions the presence of impressions of wooden dowels on the inner side of the rims of those tables, suggesting that some wooden support was used.[47] Interior wooden props may have been inserted in the taller feet of the Kommos Type A tables, as also suggested in the reconstruction (Pl. 4.38).[48] Such wooden props may have been attached to the wooden "tray" at the beginning stage of the construction of the table, prior to the insertion of a core and the application of the plaster coating. Evidence for the exact construction of plaster tables elsewhere in the Aegean is not readily available, in most cases likely because the clay core was much more solid and the resulting better preservation of the tables prevents an examination of interior details.[49]

POSSIBLE USES

One of the aims here is to consider the plaster tables in terms of their archaeological context and the light this may shed on how they were used at Kommos. Thus, as noted in the introduction to this study, provenance plays a major role in an interpretation.

A few preliminary comments on the history of the areas involved are called for, starting with the periods to which the tables primarily belong, namely, to the Neopalatial period and the prime time of Building T, when architectural appearance and ceremony were still valued for themselves and for the impression they could convey. Used in such displays were the two large and impressively painted stoas positioned on either side of the large Central Court,

where ceremonial activities may have taken place (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Pl. 1.7). This initial character of Building T evidently changed the moment these two stoas were converted into utilitarian spaces. In both cases, most of the columns were removed. In the North Stoa, they were replaced with walls that enclosed spaces given to such activities as the grinding and preparation of foods at the eastern end in Locus 16 (Pl. 1.51). In the case of the South Stoa, columns, and even the rear south wall (the very facade of Building T) had already been dismantled when a pottery kiln was installed there in LM IA Advanced (Rutter, Chap. 3.3), as evident from the fact that the kiln was partially built over the ruined wall (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1).

One last comparison that can be made between the vicissitudes of the two stoas bears on the relative impact of their reuse on the degree of preservation of objects used at an earlier date. In the case of the North Stoa, its continued use—however debased—necessitated that such objects (now shattered) be largely removed. This explains why the plaster tables in this case are mostly represented by either a single fragment or a few fragments. Plasters from mural decoration did not fare much better, as only a number of them were allowed to remain on the ground, to be then covered by a new floor of compacted earth within the newly created room. Most of these plasters were found in Locus 11, at the western end of the North Stoa, and the new floor covering them seems to have been laid by LM IA Late to LM IB Early. In the case of the South Stoa, the situation is as follows: once the kiln was installed and the area was used both for making pots and for the disposal of the wasters, it was unnecessary to entirely remove earlier debris, so that large fragments of plaster tables were left there, likely where last used. These fragile objects, like any plaster revetment that had fallen or was removed from the walls, naturally suffered irreparably, having been crushed by the people working at the kiln. There was, however, one lucky exception, as far as the preservation is concerned: when the pit for making the fire chamber was excavated on the west side of the kiln, the fill removed was simply shoved east of the kiln structure, creating a low mound that supported the kiln's rear (east) wall. It was within this fill that a great number of sizable fragments of plaster tables were found, moved there along with the earth on which they once rested. In the case of the North Stoa, it seems reasonable to assume that the few pieces of tables left behind (like other types of plasters) were remnants of what was left from a cursory cleaning operation for the reuse of that area. Indeed, the pattern of distribution of the tables is too distinct to be haphazard, and there is a good chance that the plaster debris stayed at or near where the tables were last used.

The provenances of the plaster tables are marked on a simplified map of the Southern Area (Pl. 4.31), which, for the sake of clarity, stops at Minoan Road 17, beyond which the town part of the settlement rose to the north. It is evident from this map that the main concentrations of tables were along the two stoas: **PT4–PT7** directly south of the North Stoa, **PT18–PT29** within and directly north of the South Stoa. The third sizable group, **PT10–PT16**, was at the southwest end of Locus 46/P6, and this represents a more complicated case. In

the preceding catalogue, I distinguished between two main spaces under Gallery P6 of LM III Building P: northern Locus 43 and southern Locus 46, the latter of which I subdivided into what I labeled a "lobby" and a *sottoscala*. The former is at the very western end of Locus 46; the *sottoscala* is directly to its east. The lobby was pivotal to circulation and was controlled by doors, the one to its north leading to Locus 46, that on its west leading to the South Stoa. The door to the south led outdoors. We believe that there was a closet in the *sottoscala*, and it appears that at least some of the plaster tables may have been stored there. The only access or door to the closet would evidently have been from the north, as the staircase was built against the south wall of the building, which opens the possibility that people in charge of taking out and placing the tables in specific locations on special occasions were deliberately prevented from having access upstairs when the lobby's two doors (one from the north the other from the west) happened to be closed—if access upstairs was indeed an issue and limited to certain people. The presence of table fragments—also in the lobby—is more difficult to explain and (as in the case of the *sottoscala*) it is difficult to determine whether they belong to Building AA or the early days of Building T. One of the problems is their presence in what appear to be transitional levels; the same is true of the pottery, for this ranges from MM II to MM III and in one case contains LM IA sherds (Table 4.3). Van de Moortel opts for attributing this group to the earlier of the two buildings, but some ambiguity remains as some of the pieces may represent continuity of use in the said areas—a possibility that cannot be excluded as we are not dealing with any sealed deposits.

The apparent connection between architectural space and debris of plaster tables may be less convincing in other cases, but it is still worth discussing. Of these there are three findspots that may imply some connection between tables and an entrance or doorway. Most evident is the case of **PT8**, which was found at the east end of Locus 26/P1, where there may have been an entrance into Building T from the outside, as has been inferred from the presence of the slab-paved north-south Road 34 (Pls. 4.31 and 1.7). Another case is **PT17**, which was found outdoors directly south of one known southern entrance into the building. Naturally, the possibility remains that the piece was part of the deposit of plaster tables suggested previously to have been scattered as a result of the destruction of the *sottoscala* in which the tables were stored. The third case is that of **PT1–PT3** (all pieces of feet), again found outside the building. The pieces were found together behind the north retaining wall of Road 17 along with fragments of painted wall plaster that is not unlike that found within the building, as I discussed in Chap. 2.1–2.2. My suggestion is that the tables may derive from within Building T, either from Locus 5 where a major entrance led into the building from the road, or from the area of the North Stoa. The pieces may have been carried outside the building and conveniently disposed of a short distance away, opposite the entrance. The alternative possibility that the table feet belong to some still-unexcavated house near where they were found is naturally not to be excluded, but we noted previously that no remains of plaster tables have been found anywhere in the town area of the site.

In trying to glean the possible significance of patterns of provenance, it may be important to take into account locations where no tables were actually found. One is Room 5—unless the pieces dumped across the road (**PT1–PT3**) came from a table once set in it. No tables were found either in the Northeast Wing of the building, Loci 42, 19, 21–25, but this is perhaps to be expected, as several of these spaces seem to have been used for storage. Possible dedication to utilitarian activities of the East Wing of the building also may be a reason why tables were not found there with the exception of **PT8**, the presence of which may have something to do with the entrance—a theory I discuss further below. Here, I must again qualify my statement concerning the absence of tables by clarifying that the wing was excavated only partially. Excavation revealed most of Locus 36/P5, and most of the western and eastern ends of what appear to have been long and wide rooms, like those of the superposed LM III Building P, mostly open on the side of the Central Court. It should be added that no tables were found in the Central Court alongside the entrances to these rooms, except for one small and worn piece (**PT9**).

In the light of this survey, it is safe, I believe, to conclude that the plaster tables were used in connection with the two stoas. My suggestion that a table may occasionally have been placed near the main entrances remains more tentative. The reasoning is that placement of an offering table near areas of passage from interior to exterior makes sense if, in any way, the object expresses a plea to the higher powers that the building be protected. There are possible parallels to this notion, foremost of which is the frequent association of altars with incurved sides with doorways,[50] the best-known example being the group of four such altars that were found *in situ* at an entrance from the court into the important Minoan building at Archanes.[51]

The use of plaster offering tables in the two stoas at Kommos needs to be further pursued. It would appear that these objects might have been arranged along the colonnades, given that this is where most of the pieces were found. Although few, the pieces show enough variation to suggest that they derive from at least a small number of tables—conceivably, one placed at each intercolumniation. There are reasons to believe that the stoas at Kommos—positioned as they are across from each other on two sides of the Central Court—may have acted as quasi-theatrical areas[52] from which spectators, including elite guests, may have watched ceremonial activities unfolding in the court.[53] That people might have congregated in the stoas at Kommos is supported by the identification by Rutter of pottery in the North Stoa related to social drinking, the idea of feasting itself being supported by the presence of shells and bones in nearby rooms.[54] This finding opens the possibility that plaster "offering" tables were also used in banquets, their true religious associations with shrines notwithstanding.[55] In such cases, a better description for these objects would be that of a "standing tray"[56] on which food offerings[57] might have been placed for the gods but also consumed by participants in the occasion.

The question remains, in what way does the scenario suggested for Kommos correlate with

evidence from other Neopalatial Minoan sites where enough tables were found to be statistically useful? These sites are the mansion at Nirou Khani, the palatial building at Archanes, and the palace at Phaistos. At Nirou Khani, some forty to fifty tables were found *in situ*, as stored, stacked in rows against the walls of two rooms.[58] The excavator raised the question whether such numbers suggest that the mansion manufactured such tables for distribution to other sites.[59] The number, however, is not that much greater than that at Kommos, considering the extended reuse of Building T, which must have eradicated much of the material remains of the period in which the tables were used. That a large number of tables could be used is also suggested by the discovery of some thirty of them in the LM I complex at Archanes,[60] which was not used as long as Kommos. Here, and according to the excavators, the tables were found at ground level, fallen from an upper room where they had been stored, apparently stacked like those on the ground floor at Nirou Khani. The discovery of horns of consecration with these tables suggested to the excavators that the room upstairs may have been a sanctuary, but given the great numbers of tables in this assemblage and the stacking, it is likely that the room was used for storage of religious or ceremonial paraphernalia.

The situation at the palace at Phaistos is quite different, since, as at Kommos, its long occupation resulted in the fragmentary preservation of the plaster tables. At Phaistos, the greatest number of fragments appear to have been found in the northwest area of the palace alongside the West Court (that is, at the Bastione west of the steps, the Grande Frana, and the Casa a Sud della Rampa further south), in strata containing MM II and MM IIIA sherds.[61] In his publication, Militello followed La Rosa's theory that this fill was likely brought from elsewhere to raise the level of the area of the Protopalatial court floor prior to the construction of the later palace.[62] Yet, the West Court at Phaistos was set along the west facade of the palace and directly south of the Theatral Area, making it ideal for both the conduct of ceremony and its observation by a number of people for whom there would also be sitting accommodation—the several steps bordering the court. Thus, the great accumulation of plaster table remains in the area may not be coincidental and may represent residual use of such tables during MM II or MM III Early in the West Court itself.[63] This physical setting is not unlike that at Kommos, where, as was suggested earlier, the two stoas may have played a quasi-theatrical function for accommodating people watching special events in the Central Court. Aside from Kommos and Phaistos, and although this may reach beyond the scope of this study, it is worth mentioning the buildings at Nirou Khani and Archanes. Although we do not know where plaster tables were arrayed or displayed on special occasions at these sites, interestingly, each of these buildings was equipped with a capacious court[64] that might have lent itself to the same ceremonial uses suggested above for Kommos. Indeed, certain interesting structures found in these courts—altars with incurved sides near the court at Archanes[65] and horns of consecration in the court at Nirou Khani[66]—clearly point to permanent settings related to religious activity.

Table 4.4. Figurines and figural appliqués from the Southern Area from within the monumental buildings.

Excavation Number	Catalogue Number	Theme	Trench/ Pail	Location/Space	Date	Previous *Kommos* publication
C 2978	37	Leg of small quadruped	36A/22	5s	MM II–LM IA	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 6464	34	Horn of small quadruped	50A/31	6	LM IIIA2	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 4200	41	Tiny bird; appliqué(?)	42A/54	16	LM IA–IB	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 3275	6	Human head	34A2/59	15	LM I and Historic	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 7484	22	Head of small bull	58A/50	23	LM IA Final	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 7358	39	Tiny monkey	58A/33	24 (bottom of Greek well)	MM(?)	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 10372	Sc1	Bull's head(?) appliqué	97E/60	27/P2	MM II–III	
C 6975	36	Hollow head of small quadruped	56A/9	27/P2 under Q	LM III context	Vol. I (2) (catalogued)
C 9533	Sc2	Large animal ear	83A/53	28/P3	LM IIIA2–IIIB	Vol. I (2) (noted)
C 11439	Sc3	Small quadruped head	86D/49	28/P3	MM II	
C 9289	Sc8	Leg of small quadruped	93A/24	36/P5	MM II–III	
C 10268	Sc9	Leg of quadruped	93C/124	46/P6	MM II–III	
C 10269	Sc10	Horn of small quadruped	93C/125	46/P6	MM IIB	
C 9532	Sc11	Small solid bull	84C/48	South Stoa	LM I–IIIA2	Vol. I (2) (noted)
C 9918	Sc12	Female figurine	90C/76	T s–South Stoa	LM III–Geometric	Vol. I (2) (noted)

6. Figurines and Figural Appliqués

Maria C. Shaw

Contexts and Types

At Kommos, Minoan figurines were found mostly in the town, north of the area of the monumental buildings considered here. Those were published in an earlier volume in the present series along with a few examples that had already been found in the North Wing of monumental Building T, since it was uncertain at the time of the preparation of the manuscript how far the excavation would proceed to the south and whether another volume would be published.[67] The pieces being published here for the first time are distinguished from those already published, also from the Southern Area, by the abbreviation **Sc** (for "sculpture") before the Arabic numeral that refers to their catalogue number. Salient facts about both sets of figurines and about figural appliqués that are included in this study are tabulated in Tables 4.4–4.5. The first table lists the pieces found within the buildings; the second, those found outside but near the buildings. This broad distinction regarding location played a role in discussions of such material in the earlier study[68] and is useful to maintain here. In the

Table 4.5. Figurines and figural appliqués from the Southern Area from outside the monumental buildings.

Excavation Number	Catalogue Number	Theme	Trench/ Pail	Location/ Space	Date	Previous *Kommos* publication
C 9213	Sc4	Small quadruped	75A/B/38	East of 26/P1	LM I–III	Vol. I (2) (noted)
C 8987	Sc5	Small quadruped	88A/43	East of 27/P2	MM I–IIB and possible LM I	—
C 9817	Sc6	Horn of small quadruped	88A/22	East of 27/P2	LM IIIB	Vol. I (2) (noted)
C 9528	Sc7	Human figure; appliqué	83B/48A	East of 28/P3	MM II–LM I	Vol. I (2) (noted)
C 9814	Sc13	Ear of large quadruped	91A/8	South of T	MM III–LM III	Vol. I (2) (noted)

catalogue the abbreviations IMB and OMB stand, respectively, for finds inside and outside the monumental buildings. In addition, a plan (Pl. 4.43) indicates the location of the individual items.

Specifically, thirteen new pieces of sculpture are catalogued here. Along with the seven already published they add to a total of twenty. Of these, only seventeen are, strictly speaking, figurines. The remaining three are appliqués, figural ornaments in relief that were once attached to the surface of a clay vessel or other object.[69] The order of the presentation is topographical, starting at the northwest area and ending at the southwest corner of the three monumental buildings (AA, T, and N-P) that were largely built atop each other and that belong, respectively, to the Protopalatial, Neopalatial, and Postpalatial periods. The best known and the most relevant for the consideration of figurines here is Building T, which was built in late MM III. The presentation begins with a brief discussion of the previously published items, found mostly in the North and East Wings of Building T.

The first item is the solid leg of a small quadruped catalogued in the earlier publication as number **37**, and found in Room 5 at the northwestern corner of Building T.[70] The context (Rutter Pottery Group 29, MM II–LM IA) appears to be fill over bedrock, in what may have been a floorless *sottoscala* (5s), and is perhaps a leveling fill predating the construction of that area of Building T. The horn of a small bull, **34**,[71] was found during the cleaning of a scarp in Locus 6, some distance from 5s, and was associated with a few LM III A2 sherds. Its fabric and other characteristics make it unlikely that it belonged to the same animal as the previous piece (**37**). Figurine **41** is a tiny fragmentary bird, apparently with wide-open wings, and is likely to have served as plastic decoration on a pot.[72] The bird was found in Locus 16 (at the eastern end of the North Stoa) in an LM I context above a secondary floor that represents a reuse of this area of the stoa after it was remodeled as a room. Piece **6**, a much-worn human head,[73] was found in a mixed Minoan/Historic context in the upper levels, over the northern edge of the Central Court. The head of a small bull with broken horns (**22**) was found above a secondary floor in Room 23 in an LM IA Final context (Rutter Pottery Group 20).[74] There

was much debris of a destroyed ceiling in these levels, so it is quite possible that this came either from fill in the collapsed upper parts of the walls, or from the ceiling or roof structure. Equally uncertain is the character of the context of a complete figurine of a tiny solid monkey found in Minoan levels cut by a Greek well and catalogued as **39**.[75] There were only a few diagnostic sherds that dated to no later than MM.

The next area of interest is the East Wing of Building T, the rooms of which were covered later by the long consecutive galleries of LM III Building P. Here, in the western end of Space 27/Gallery P2 and under the floor of the Archaic Building Q was found figurine **36**, the last item from the previously published group. The fragment looks more like an ear (rather than a horn) and is part of the head of a quadruped. It is interesting that the head was hollow, and given the suspected size, the piece may have come from an animal rhyton, possibly a bull.[76] The piece is unfortunately from an undiagnostic context, lying under an upper layer that is LM IIIA2 in date.

The discussion of the new series of figurines and figural appliqués begins with a fragment found in Building T's East Wing, **Sc1** (Pl. 4.44, top left). This is a tiny bucranium of which less than half remains and seems to be an appliqué. It was found in an MM II–III context at the eastern end of Space 27, under Gallery P2, and either of the two dates in this range is possible, but if MM II is the correct one, the piece could be a hangover from Protopalatial Building AA, or alternatively, it could have been brought as part of leveling fill from the town to be used for the construction of Building T. The next two pieces were uncovered slightly to the south, at the eastern end of Space 28/P3. **Sc2** (Pl. 4.44, top row right and middle row) is a large solid ear of a quadruped that was found in the very top strata over the ruins of Building P, in an LM IIIA2–IIIB context (at +4.20–4.48 m). This piece has already been discussed in the earlier Kommos volumes,[77] although uncatalogued at the time. It was identified as the possible Minoan predecessor of the large hollow-made quadrupeds that first appeared in greater numbers during the Sub-Minoan and Protogeometric periods, when the first of a series of three temples was built at Kommos,[78] after the Minoan settlement came to an end. As in the case of those quadrupeds, the solid ear must have belonged to a large hollow-made animal. The next piece, **Sc3** (Pl. 4.44, bottom row left), is, by contrast, fully devoid of meaningful context. It is an extremely worn human head, with a single hair strand running down the back of the neck, and with a summary treatment of physical features. It was found in sandy fill of predominantly MM II date (at +3.09–3.30 m), a typical fill found within the "casemates"—crisscrossing walls that were used as a foundation on which Protopalatial Building AA was built. The piece may thus have been brought with fill from elsewhere.

Sc4 to **Sc7** were found directly outside the eastern limits of the northern series of east-west spaces in Building T (under Galleries P1–P3). **Sc4** (three details at the top left side of Pl. 4.46) is the second most substantially preserved figurine of a quadruped (bull or other bovid) in this area. The stubs of the now-lost legs suggest that these limbs were stretched outward,

perhaps in a flying-gallop posture. The piece was found at a relatively high level (at +3.75–3.80 m) in a mixed LM I–III context. The rear half of a smallish solid quadruped, with a curled tail and broken rear legs, **Sc5** (Pl. 4.44, bottom row right), was once painted solid black, of which only traces remain. The piece was found east of Space 27/P2, once again in a high level and in a mixed context dating to MM IB–II with possible LM IA sherds that may well represent erosion fill. **Sc6** (two details at top right of Pl. 4.45) is a horn covered in dark paint that was found in the same area as the previous piece, but at a higher level (at +4.31–4.55 m) and in a late LM IIIB context. Differences in fabric and other aspects make it unlikely that the two pieces belong to the same object. The last piece, **Sc7** (Pl. 4.45), was found east of Space 28/P3 in a ceramically mixed context (at +3.66–3.70 m, MM II–LM IA). This is clearly a molded piece that was attached to another surface, likely a vase. Its somewhat mysterious depiction of a human figure is most interesting from an iconographic point of view, as further discussed in the catalogue. The last three items were unfortunately found in levels in outdoor areas where erosion may have caused them to be carried downhill from the area of the town.

The next cluster of spaces to be examined takes us back into the interior of the building, now at the western ends of the two southernmost galleries (P5 and P6), in the area of the South Stoa of Building T. **Sc8** (Pl. 4.46, top left) is merely the lower part of a smallish quadruped leg of cylindrical shape found in an MM II–III context in Space 36/P5 at a level (at +2.69–2.87 m) consistent with Building T. Items **Sc9** and **Sc10** were both found in what has been interpreted as a *sottoscala*, labeled in the plan as Space 46 (Pl. 4.43). Of these, **Sc9** (Pl. 4.46, second in top row) is the solid leg of a medium-sized quadruped, with a nicely modeled hoof and heel. Its ceramic context is MM IIB–III (at +2.90–3.03 m). **Sc10** (Pl. 4.46, top row right) is the horn of a smaller bull that was found in the same location (at +2.80–2.90 m) in a context dated by a few sherds to MM IIB. It seems too small to belong to the same animal as the leg (**Sc9**), not too mention its different fabric and appearance. **Sc11** (second row and rest of Pl. 4.46 below) was one of the better-preserved figurines. It is a small solid bull that was found at the eastern end of the South Stoa, in a mixed LM I–IIIA2 context (at +3.10–3.20 m).

Sc12 (Pl. 4.47, two top rows) was found in a pail of mixed Iron Age and LM III pottery from an upper level that encompassed both the south edge of the South Stoa and the area outdoors, south of Building T. Its interest lies in that it is the only example of a female figurine found in the Southern Area. It is very fragmentary, preserving half of a body dressed in a bell-shaped skirt. The left arm (hand missing) is bent and held across the waist. Unfortunately, its mixed context (sandy fill at +4.18–4.24 m) clearly indicates secondary deposition. **Sc13** (Pl. 4.47, bottom row), found in a trench some distance to the south of Building T, is a nicely modeled ear of a large quadruped, likely a bull. It was found in a little-understood context but at a level likely produced by erosion, given that the ground seems to have sloped down dramatically south of Building T (at +1.41–1.52 m).

Figurines and Figural Appliqués: Catalogue

For the location of the particular examples, see plan Pl. 4.43

Sc1 (C 10372, 97E/60). Fragment of half of a small bull's frontal face preserving one horn. Photo, Pl. 4.44, top row, left.

Max h 2.5. Probably an appliqué. Clay is fine buff 7.5 YR 8/4. Painted overall in highly burnished black slip. Curving red line surrounding the base of the horn is likely a guideline for the artist.

Eastern end of Space 27/P2 (IMB). MM II–III context.

Sc2 (C 9533, 83A/53). Large left ear of quadruped. Photo, Pl. 4.44, top row right; section and drawings of view and section, Pl. 4.44, second row.

Likely the ear of a bull. Has upturned tip and deep orifice; section at root near junction to head nearly circular. Pres length 7.2 from root to tip. Naturalistic, with three radiating grooves inside. Clay coarse, buff (10 YR 7/6) with angular red-brown and dark inclusions. Self-slipped.

Eastern end of Space 28/P3 (IMB). LM IIIA2–IIIB context.

J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 291, 293; 2000: 171 n. 43.

Sc3 (C 11439, 86D/49). Human head. Drawing, Pl. 4.44, bottom row left.

H 3.7. Scar at top and back perhaps from a once-attached lock of hair. Modeling of face cursory; depressed area for eye. Concave area under neck leaves it vague if and how it may have been attached to a body. Clay very coarse, with white and gray inclusions. Traces suggest that it was once covered overall with black paint. Color of fabric varies from pink (7.5 YR 8/4) to reddish yellow (7.5 YR 8/6) on the exterior to red (2.5 YR 5/8) on the interior.

Eastern end of Space 28/P3 (IMB, in a sounding). MM II context.

Sc4 (C 9213, 75A/B/38). Solid body of a quadruped. Pl. 4.45, drawing top row left; photos, second and third rows left.

Likely a bull. Body rather long, tail (with broken tip) projecting straight toward the back. Neck and head broken off, as well as ends of legs. Length 9.9. Rear legs extending backward as in a flying gallop. Angular ridgelike spine. Clay is fine, yellowish red (5 YR 5/6–5/8). Painted overall in dark reddish brown paint (5 YR 3/2–3/3).

East of Space 26/P1 (OMB). Mixed LM I–III context.

Sc5 (C 8987, 88A/43). Small solid quadruped hindquarter section with curled tail. Pl. 4.44, bottom row, right.

D of body 2.5, pres length 5.0. Genitals in relief and muscular bulges. Clay is buff with small inclusions (10 YR 7/3). Black paint preserved over all.

East of Space 27/P2 (OMB). MM IB–II and possible LM I context.

Sc6 (C 9817, 88A/22). Solid horn of medium-sized quadruped, broken off at the base. Pl. 4.45, drawing and photo, top two rows right.

Length 3.6. Curved and hand-modeled. Clay is fine, reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); surface covered overall with paint, very dark gray (5 YR 3/1) to dark reddish brown (5 YR 3/2).

East of Space 27/P2 (OMB). LM IIIB context.

Sc7 (C 9528, 83B/48A). Human figure, preserved from neck to just above hips, rendered in relief. Pl. 4.45, drawings and photo, bottom row.

The figure's back is slightly concave with the contours somewhat raised. Height 5.8, w at shoulders 3.2. Right arm bent at elbow and raised over torso toward the face. Hand broken off. Left arm missing. Two bulging layers, clearly cloth, are wrapped diagonally around the lower part of the body, from waist to hips. Below them and fairly centrally is a vertical element with a vertical groove that, iconographically speaking, is unlikely to be the separation of the legs. The element could be the two ends of the cloth, tucked under the wrapped part and hanging down at the front of the body. The relief's front side is covered overall in fairly glossy black paint. The back is also partially covered by black paint, which must have been wet when the piece was handled, to judge by the fingerprints. Traces of fingerprints on the front side of the figure show the piece to have been at least partially

hand modeled, after receiving the impression of a mold. Of interest in this respect is the presence in two places of what seem to be artist's sketching—red lines that, like what are known as cartoons in Minoan wall painting, helped the artist position select elements in a composition for general guidance. Here, the red lines occur along the outer contour of the bent and raised arm and along the edge of a vertical groove that is more likely to be the vertical partition in a piece of cloth hanging down the front part of the body, rather than that between the now-missing legs. Clay is fine (5 YR 7/3).

The piece seems to be an appliqué, both because of the unworked back and because of a thematically close parallel from Kommos (C 539), in which an apparently similarly dressed male figure is still attached to the surface of a vase.[79]

East of Space 28/P3 (OMB). MM II–LM I context.

Sc8 (C 9289, 93A/24). Solid leg of a small quadruped, partially preserved. Photo, Pl. 4.46, top row left.

D of foot 1.5, pres length 2.8. Slightly tapered and burnt cylindrical stump, with polished finish and filed-smooth foot sole. Clay is medium fine, pale yellow (2.5 YR 7/4) with some inclusions and a gray core.

West of Space 36/P5 (IMB), in Central Court. MM II–III context.

Sc9 (C 10268, 93C/124). Solid leg of medium-sized quadruped from knee to hoof. Photo, Pl. 4.46, top row, middle.

Pres length 5.6. Bottom roughly heart-shaped and realistically indented. Clay is medium-coarse, red-brown (5 YR 6/6) with white and gray inclusions. Well modeled, and painted black overall.

West part of 46/P6 (IMB), in South Stoa. MM IIB–III context.

Sc10 (C 10269, 93C/125). Thin, solid, curved horn of small bull, preserving all but tip. Photo, Pl. 4.46, top row right.

Pres length 3.6, max th 0.5. Surface badly worn. Clay is fine buff (7.5 YR 7/6). Section of lower horn is drop-shaped.

West part of 46/P6 (IMB), in South Stoa. MM IIB context.

Sc11 (C 9532, 84C/48). Small solid bull, missing horns, rear part of body and legs. Photos and drawings, second and remaining rows in Pl. 4.46.

Length 8.1. Slim body, rather cylindrical in section with prominent spinal ridge. Roots of low-set ears and heavy horns. Muzzle flat and roughly cylindrical in section, with two depressions indicating the nostrils. No dewlap; stump of left front foot more advanced forward. Clay is coarse, reddish yellow (5 YR 6/8), full of angular inclusions. Surface worn and unslipped.

Eastern end of South Stoa (IMB). LM I–IIIA2 context.

Sc12 (C 9918, 90C/76). Female figurine, dressed in a bell-shaped skirt. Drawings and photos in two top rows in Pl. 4.47.

Only the left side is preserved, and the head is missing. The arm of the one preserved hand is bent at the waist. Body is hollow, its walls ca 0.05 thick, pres h 6.0. Clay is medium coarse, reddish brown (5 YR 5/4). Surface is worn, but traces of paint remain, varying from dark gray (5 YR 3/1) to dark reddish brown (5 YR 3/2). Paint appears to have been applied overall.

At upper levels spanning the areas of the southern edge of the South Stoa and the area south of Building T. Mixed LM III and IA context.

Sc13 (C 9814, 91A/8). Solid ear, broken off at root, at the ear's junction to the head. Drawing, section, and photo, bottom row in Pl. 4.47.

Length 5.5. Ear is shaped like a small spoon, with radiating engraved lines on interior, or concave part. Clay is fine, yellow (10 YR 7/6–7/8). Traces of paint around the base or root, varying from reddish brown (5 YR 4/3) to yellowish red (5 YR 4/4).

Isolated trench, approximately 15 m south of Building T (OMB). MM III–LM III context (cf. trench plan [Pl. 1.2]).

General Conclusions[80]

It is clear that there are few constructive conclusions that one can draw from the types or the patterns of distribution of the figurines as to their use. Militating against this goal is also

the generally meager preservation of the figurines, which raises the question of whether the often-very-small fragments found were in secondary deposition—fallen perhaps out of walls or ceilings. Indeed, none of the figurines seems to have been found on a floor. One last shortcoming is that the figurines were found mostly alone rather than as part of an assemblage of other objects that might, by association, shed light on the character of their function. One possible exception is the discovery of remnants of two quadruped figurines (**Sc9** and **Sc10**) in Space 46, a closet directly east of the South Stoa, where a third figurine (**Sc11**), perhaps a bull, was found. It is possible that the latter were stored in the nearby *sottoscala* closet in which plaster offering plaster tables were also likely stored during the use of Building T, if not in a similar space in Building AA too. One of the conclusions drawn about these tables is that they may have been used in the North and South Stoas of Building T on special occasions, when guests participated in special ceremonies.[81] If this was in fact the case, the few animal figurines found in similar contexts, close to where tables were found, could belong to ceremonial or religious paraphernalia.

The broader question of the role of the figurines at the entire site of Kommos is one that has been considered in the context of the publication of those from the Town Area[82] and more recently in a study by the present author on the subject of the conduct of Minoan religion at Kommos.[83] Two main observations that can be made about the patterns of occurrence in the two main areas of the settlement at Kommos are that there were more figurines found in the Town Area than in the Southern Area, and that the former are more varied typologically, as they include animal and human subjects in almost equal numbers. Animals seem to predominate in the area of the large buildings, although admittedly the statistical sample is too limited to draw any definite conclusions from the observation. Noticeable in the Southern Area is the absence of those distinct female figurines with varied dress patterns painted in glossy paint found in LM III levels in the Town Area but, at any rate, one would not have expected religious associations with Building P. In general, nevertheless, the impression is that the conduct of religion took different forms in the two areas, one of a more private nature in the houses and a more public and ceremonial one in the monumental buildings.

7. Faunal Remains and *Murex* Dye Production

Deborah Ruscillo

For Bronze Age flora recovered from the Kommos site, including much of the Southern Area, the reader should consult "The Modern Flora and Plant Remains from Bronze Age Deposits at Kommos," by C. T. Shay and J. M. Shay, *Kommos* I, Part 1 (1995), chap. 4, especially pp. 120–62. See also tables 4.10–4.11 and 4.13 there. Also, and by the same authors, see "Charred Seed Remains in Bronze Age Levels at Kommos," app. 7.7 in *Kommos* IV, Part 1 (2000). Burnt levels that produced significant charcoal remains were more common in the Minoan houses

in connection with cooking and other household activities than in the southern "civic" buildings. Within Buildings T and P enormous beams were used to support ceilings and strengthen walls, but over time and without a major conflagration they simply rotted away. The only evidence for their existence is usually clay and plaster impressions of ceiling beams (Pls. 2.23–2.27) and empty vertical chases in some of P's walls (Pls. 1.78A–D). A single small ceiling beam of evergreen oak was found, however, in burnt Room 25b of Building T. In the LM IA kiln in the South Stoa, we found that the fuel used, probably brush, was completely consumed, so that it became ash, and therefore its wood types were unidentifiable. (*Eds*.)

General Introduction: Minoan Exploitation of Animals in the Cretan Landscape

Through the millennia, the island of Crete with its diverse landscape has hosted a vast range of wildlife. From the thick pine forests of the west to the more naked landscapes of the central and eastern regions, Crete supports a network of ecosystems suitable to a number of species. In its 8,259 km^2 of land mass, the island supports over 1,700 species of plants, 76 of which have been introduced by humans over time (Turland, Chilton, and Press 1993). The fertile soils and temperate climate of Crete have allowed the successful introduction of these 76 floral species, which have domestic, therapeutic, and ornamental uses. Of the 1,630 indigenous plant species, 139 are endemic to Crete, creating a unique environment for humans and animals alike.

In the surrounding Aegean and Libyan Seas, thousands of marine species thrive, including sea flora, sponges, echinoderms, crustaceans, molluscs, fish, and a species of sea turtle (*Caretta caretta*). Several species of marine mammals can also be found around the island. The monk seal (*Monachus monachus*), for example, can still be spotted on some isolated beaches of Crete, and 11 species of whales and dolphins can occasionally be seen offshore. The variation between bedrock shorelines and sandy ones allows for a diverse array of sublittoral species like crustaceans and molluscs, many of which are edible.

The Minoans, as far as we can infer on the basis of zooarchaeological data, exploited marine species for food, bait, and shell ornaments. Bivalves in particular can be found in abundance in archaeological sites around Crete. Crustaceans, echinoderms, small fishes, and soft molluscs like squid, cuttlefish, and octopus are more elusive in Minoan faunal samples, likely due to poor preservation in soil; however, frescoes like the Fisherman from Thera and finds of bronze hooks attest to fishing practices in the Minoan period. The Fisherman fresco depicts a boy holding lines of dolphin fish (*Coryphaena hippurus*), indicating that this particular species was likely exploited for food by the Minoans. Naturalistic frescoes like the Flying Fish (either *Hirundichthys rondeletii* or *Parexocoetus mento*) from Phylakopi and the Dolphin fresco (*Delphinus delphis* with a mackerel or mullet-type fish) from the Queen's Megaron at Knossos show a knowledge and an appreciation of marine life. Marine Style pottery from LM IB reveals a familiarity with marine mollusc forms and diversity of both hard and soft species.

The octopus (*Octopus vulgaris*), for example, is shown commonly on pottery from this period, and more recently, a jug depicting what may be a cuttlefish (*Sepia officinalis*) has been identified by Rutter (Chap. 3.1) at Kommos. Minoans, therefore, had a close relationship with the sea and its creatures. Fish and molluscs were exploited as food resources and provided inspiration for decorative motifs on pottery and frescoes. We do not have any indications as to whether sponges and other sea plants were exploited in the Minoan period.

Four mountain ranges on Crete with fertile plains in between provide homes to hundreds of animals, indigenous and introduced. At least sixteen species of amphibians and reptiles live on Crete, mostly consisting of frogs, geckos, lizards, and snakes. Only one tortoise (*Testudo marginata*) roams the island today, a descendant of its Pleistocene counterpart *Testudo marginata cretensis* (Brinkerink 1996: 207). The Mediterranean chameleon (*Chamaeleo chamaeleon*) must have been a later introduction to the natural history of Crete, since in the Mediterranean region this species occurs only in southern Iberia and in the Canary Islands (Arnold, Burton, and Ovenden 1978: 260). Four species of snakes currently live on the island, none of which are venomous. Snake tubes and snake goddesses attest to the importance of these animals in Minoan ritual. Snake remains are occasionally found in faunal samples from Crete, perhaps suggesting that live snakes may have been kept for use in Minoan religion; however, snakes burrow, and so their remains can be intrusive in any level of occupation.

More than 240 birds, migratory and indigenous, live on Crete, including shorebirds, wildfowl, birds of prey, and passerines. Visitors like the hoopoe (*Upupa epops*) and swallows (*Hirundo rustica, H. daurica*) are summer residents (Handrinos and Akriotis 1997). Their short annual visit, however, did not go unnoticed by the Minoans, who painted graceful renditions of them on walls and pots from Crete and Thera. Who can forget the wonderful painting of hoopoes and chukars (*Alectoris chukar*) from the Caravanserai at Knossos? Doves (columbids) and owls (strigids), year-round residents of Crete, are common themes on Minoan seals. Birds of prey, particularly the eagle, may have inspired the renditions of the griffin, a royal or sacred insignia of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. Eagles indigenous to Crete include the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) and Bonelli's eagle (*Hieraaetus fasciatus*); both live on the island throughout the year.

Indigenous birds commonly hunted for consumption include anatids, phasianids, scolopacids, columbids, and turdids. These families may have been commonly exploited for food in the Minoan period, although such a practice is not clear from the scanty avian remains from sites around the island. At Kommos, Reese (1995c) and G. E. Watson identified 26 of 70 bird bones from the Minoan town as columbids, suggesting that doves/pigeons may have been kept or trapped for food by local inhabitants. The contexts of these dove remains span some 600 years of site occupation, however. In general, there do not exist a great number of archaeological bird bones to warrant the belief that birds were exploited heavily for food in the Minoan period. The absence of bird bones in some contexts may be a taphonomic problem of preservation rather than evidence for their total absence.

At least 28 species of mammals live on Crete. One suspects that there are more unreported species because there has never been a systematic study of extant small rodents (moles, shrews, mice, voles) on the island. The exception is the work done by Payne (1995), and Reumer and Payne (1986) based on archaeological remains and owl pellet examination. More work has been done on the local Pleistocene rodent remains (see Bate 1905, 1942; Kuss 1970; Mayhew 1977). A notable species of insectivore is Zimmermann's white-toothed shrew (*Crocidura zimmermanni*), which is endemic to Crete and represents a likely remnant from the Paleolithic fauna of the island (Reumer 1996). A few other introduced species of insectivore are extant today.

Apart from the domestic dog and cat, the only carnivores on the island are mustelids (*Mustela nivalis*, *Martes foina*, *Meles meles*). There are unconfirmed rumors of a local wild cat (*Catus agrius* or *silvestris*), but with so many feral domestic cats, it is hard to believe that this wild species could remain untainted through breeding with feral populations. There is zooarchaeological evidence from Kavousi that Minoans exploited mustelids for food, particularly the badger (*M. meles*) (Snyder and Klippel 1996). The red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), although common on the mainland, was apparently never introduced to the island. Other small introduced mammals found in Minoan deposits are hare (*Lepus europaeus*) and hedgehog (*Erinacaeus concolor*). These have no known predecessors in the fossil record of the island. Hare remains are commonly identified from Minoan sites, suggesting that this animal was hunted to supplement meat intake.

Most of the larger mammals are domesticated and have been introduced by humans for food, transport, traction, hunting, companionship, or secondary products such as wool, skin, horn, and milk. These introduced species include suids, cervids, equids, and bovids. Most notable of these is the wild goat known locally as the *kri-kri* or *agrími* (*Capra aegagrus creticus*). The *kri-kri* has a symbolic association with the island, although populations are dwindling in the only four conservation areas in and around Crete. The wild goat is probably not indigenous to Crete, since predecessors do not exist among Pleistocene bone remains. The earliest remains of goat on Crete come from Neolithic deposits, suggesting that early settlers brought the *agrími* to the island around 6100 B.C. (Porter 1996). The apparent introduction of this species to Crete has led Rackham and Moody (1996: 47) to believe that the *agrími* is a feral inhabitant rather than a wild one. Goat is predominant in many zooarchaeological assemblages from excavations around Crete, although distinguishing between domesticated and feral goats is not an easy task. Male a*grímia* are generally larger than domestic rams and castrated individuals, but the females of the modern breeds are within the same size range as the females of the feral breed. *Agrímia* have therefore remained elusive in the archaeological record. Only the thicker horns of the mature male *agrími* can be identified with certainty, although in a large faunal assemblage with good bone preservation, male a*grími* skeletal elements can often be distinguished from other goat bones osteometrically. The Minoans, who herded domestic sheep and goats, would not have relied on hunting feral populations

for meat. Perhaps they hunted *agrímia* opportunistically or for ritual purposes. Porter (1996) argues that the "antelopes" of the Theran frescoes are really renditions of wild goats with autumn rut fur colors. In this context, *agrímia* may actually be common or sacred symbols of harvest time.

Domestic sheep (*Ovis aries*) were introduced to Crete as early as the Aceramic Neolithic, as shown at Knossos (Jarman and Jarman 1968) and Phaistos (Wilkens 1996). There is good evidence from various sites in Crete that pigs were also herded. Large tusks found in faunal samples suggest, however, that wild boar may have been introduced, or simply that tusks were traded for industrial purposes from adjacent lands. Wild boar remains have been reported from Tylissos (Keller 1911), Phaistos (Pernier 1935), Knossos and Eleutherna (Nobis 1989, 1990), and Prinias (Wilkens 1996).

Other meat consumed on Crete was venison. At least one species of deer, *Dama dama*, was hunted by the Minoans, probably having been introduced to the island by early settlers. Cervid fossil remains from cave sites on the island include those of dwarf deer (*Candiacervus* spp.), unrelated to the red or fallow deer (Reese, Belluomini, and Ikeya 1996). There is a question concerning the presence of roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*) on the island because of the identification of a few smaller mature cervid bones and characteristic antler fragments (see Jarman 1996: n. 19), but these could also be remnants of the dwarf deer identified in the fossil record of Crete (Jarman 1996: 215). A few analysts have also reported red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) remains in some Minoan samples, such as LM IIIC Chania (Persson and Persson 2000), and the LM II Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Bedwin 1984). Such classifications are problematic because red deer is typically found only on the mainland. Identification is hindered by a size overlap between male fallow deer and female red deer, and the similar skeletal morphology, save for the antlers. We can be certain, however, that cervids were occasionally hunted by Minoans. They are accordingly found in many faunal assemblages from excavations on Crete.

Domestic cattle were introduced in the Neolithic period. It is likely that cattle were used in field traction as in modern times, although occasional butchered bones indicate consumption as well. Three subspecies of cattle have been distinguished on Crete, *Bos taurus* and a smaller, more gracile subspecies (sometimes named *B. taurus creticus*), and suspected auroch (*B. primigenius*) remains. The remains of auroch have been identified from Neolithic Knossos, Aghia Triada, Malia, Tylissos, Phaistos, and Archanes (see Jarman 1996: n. 6). These remains along with bull-leaping frescoes depicting large-sized bulls suggest that the auroch, or wild cattle, was once part of the Cretan landscape (Nobis 1996).

Equids seem to have been later introductions. No equid remains have been identified from Neolithic sites from Crete, suggesting that the Minoans introduced asses and, later, horses to the island. One exception may be a single donkey (*Equus asinus*) bone recovered from a supposed Late Neolithic context at Knossos. This sample, however, may be contaminated with material from later levels (Jarman 1996). The earliest sign of equids in Crete thereafter

comes from LM I contexts such as the donkey remains from LM I Tylissos (Hazzidakis 1912). Some archaeologists believe that horses may have been introduced by Mycenaean mainlanders in LM II (Rutter, pers. comm.). This suggestion seems to be supported by the faunal samples from the island, as few or no horse bones have been reported from contexts earlier than LM II; however, earlier seals from Knossos and Aghia Triada dating to not later than LM IB depict horse-drawn chariots of the B and C typology, indicating that horses and chariots may have been brought into Crete by Minoans perhaps as early as the later part of the MM period (see Evans 1964 [reprint]: vol. IV, pt. 2, 816 and 828). Although these seals were found on Crete, one could argue that they could have been made elsewhere and brought to the island. Equids were used primarily for human transport and as beasts of burden. There is no evidence that equids were ever eaten in Prehistoric or Historic Greece, and ethnographic information from modern Crete suggests that equids are rarely used there for field traction.

The connection of the Minoans with the landscape of Crete and the manner in which the environment of the island was altered after their arrival to suit their lifeways can be partly understood by examining the change in island fauna over time. Table 4.6 lists the indigenous mammalian fauna of Crete before the arrival of human settlers, and changes in the fauna after their arrival. The fossil information was collected from various studies of paleontological remains from the Pleistocene period (P) sites on Crete. This list of Paleolithic mammals may not be complete, since some species may have yet to be identified or discovered. The Aceramic Neolithic period (AN) marks the time of the first settlers. The mammals listed under this category have been found at the earliest human habitation sites on the island ca. 7000 B.C., such as Knossos. The following Neolithic period (N) reveals an increase in the number of human sites across the island. The Minoan period (M) marks the first settlements of people identified with the Minoan culture by their artifacts and architecture. The Historic period that follows (G) refers to Historic Greek sites from the Protogeometric to the Hellenistic periods. (RM) refers to Roman and medieval zooarchaeological information, and mammals found on the island today (T) are listed in the last column.

The list does not include flying mammals (i.e., bats) or sea mammals (seals, cetaceans), since these animals do not require human intervention to reach the island. Nor is there evidence from either faunal or iconographic sources that these mammals were exploited in any way by the human settlers.

The Pleistocene fauna found on Crete are typical of those found on islands. The larger mammals such as elephants, hippopotamuses, and deer experience island "dwarfing" over time because of the limited resources and roaming ranges (Foster 1964), and population inbreeding. On the other hand, rodents become very large, a phenomenon also typical of island populations, owing to lack of predators (Heaney 1978). *Kritimys*, for example, is a giant rodent the size of a small dog. These species, along with the otter and mouse, became extinct before the arrival of humans; there is no archaeological deposit on Crete containing anthropogenic Pleistocene mammal remains (Hamilakis 1996). The badger, the beech marten, and

Table 4.6. Mammalian presence on Crete from the Pleistocene period to the present day (after Jarman 1996).

Species	Common name	P	AN	N	M	G	RM	T
Lutrogale cretensis	Otter	•						
Elaphus creticus	Pygmy elephant	•						
Hippopotamus	Pygmy hippo	•						
Candiacervus spp.	Pygmy deer	•						
Kritimys spp.	Giant rodent	•						
Microtus minotaurus	Mouse	•						
Meles meles	Badger	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Martes foina	Beech marten	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Crocidura	White-toothed shrew	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Sus scrofa	Pig		•	•	•	•	•	•
Ovis aries	Domestic sheep		•	•	•	•	•	•
Capra hircus	Domestic goat		•	•	•	•	•	•
Bos taurus	Cattle		•	•	•	•	•	•
Canis familiaris	Dog		•	•	•	•	•	•
Capra aegagrus	Wild goat			•	•	•	•	•
Dama dama	Fallow deer			•	•	•	•	
Lepus europaeus	Brown hare				•	•	•	•
Mus musculus	House mouse				•	•	•	•
Suncus etruscus	Savi's pygmy shrew				•	•	•	•
Equus asinus	Ass				•	•	•	•
Equus caballus	Horse				•	•	•	•
Erinaceus concolor	Hedgehog				•	•	•	•
Felis catus	Domestic cat				•	•	•	•
Oryctolagus cunnilicus	Rabbit						•	•
Apodemus spp.	Field mouse					•	•	•
Mustela nivalis	Weasel						•	•
Rattus norvegicus	Brown rat						•	•
Rattus rattus	Black rat					•	•	•
Acomys cahirinus	Spiny mouse					•	•	•
Glis glis	Edible dormouse							•

AN = Aceramic Neolithic
G = Greek (Protogeometric–Hellenistic)
M = Minoan
N = Neolithic
P = Pleistocene
RM = Roman and medieval
T = contemporary

the white-toothed shrew survived any climatic or environmental change and still live on Crete.

With the arrival of humans, an influx of domestic animals occurred in the Aceramic Neolithic period, the evidence for which comes exclusively from Knossos. Pig, sheep, goat, cattle, and dog appeared for the first time on the island. Clearly, the first human settlers came with the basic necessities to ensure their livelihood. Jarman (1996) remarks on the technology and resource of the people at the time to be able to transport animals on what must have been a long journey. It is likely that these travelers knew to what conditions they were going. Mariners would have landed on the island and determined its suitability for occupation before the settlers committed themselves to a life on a new land. Pigs were brought presumably for meat, sheep and goat for their primary and secondary products, and dogs for hunting, herding, and companionship. Cattle would have been transported with the intention to cultivate fields. A large animal like a cow or bull would have been too difficult to transport only as a food resource, especially when pigs and smaller bovids had been brought over with this intention. Cattle provided traction power, load transport, and milk.

By the Neolithic period, wild goat and fallow deer begin to appear in faunal samples from the island. It is difficult to determine whether these animals were ever herded, or whether they were brought in as game (Davis 1984). Both the fallow deer and the *agrími* may have been originally herded by Neolithic peoples on the island, but feral populations during the Neolithic period may have been established by escapees from the herds. To date, there is no compelling archaeological evidence to suggest that either fallow deer or *agrími* were herded in the Minoan period. Feral populations established in the Neolithic period would have continued flourishing even after the Neolithic way of life was altered by the incoming Minoans. Of course, these species may have been originally introduced in the Neolithic period as game.

By the Bronze Age, the hare, cat, hedgehog, pygmy shrew, and house mouse had appeared. The hedgehog, mouse, and shrew may have come earlier, but they have not yet been identified from limited Neolithic samples. These small rodents were likely not introduced intentionally; they are vermin and pests to homes and crops. They would have arrived on ships transporting grains or other edibles. The Minoan period witnessed the first appearance of equids. Having horses and asses meant that people could travel farther and faster on the island and live inland as opposed to close to the shore, because of communication and trade among communities via equid transportation. Agriculture could expand accordingly.

During the Greek period, the rat first appears in faunal samples from the island, as well as other rodents. From Roman and medieval sites, there seems to have been an influx of rodents and mustelids to Crete. The weasel first appears in the faunal record at this time. The dormouse (*Glis glis*) exists in modern times on the island, but the period of its introduction cannot be ascertained owing to lack of information in the archaeological record. The Romans are notorious for their dormouse recipes, as recorded in Apicius; however, Rackham and Moody (1996) mention a Pleistocene dormouse in the faunal record of the island. If this

is true, then the dormouse may very well be indigenous to the island. All mammals mentioned seem to thrive on Crete, with the exception of the deer, which was overhunted in the past centuries, leading to the extinction of the local cervid populations. The *agrími* is following the same fate, with only about 600 individuals living today on islets around the island and in the Samaria National Park. It is known that Cretan wedding feasts traditionally included deer or wild goat in the fare offered by the bride's parents to guests. Clearly, the number of weddings, and local sport, are partially responsible for the reduced numbers of these ancient creatures on the island, as is the clearing of forests to accommodate the growing human population. In the delicate balance between humans and nature, humans affect their landscape as much as the landscape affects them.

Faunal Remains from the Southern Area at Kommos

The faunal remains from the Southern Area of excavations at Kommos represent a sample of animals available to or exploited by the local Minoan population.[84] The sample is not typical of a zooarchaeological town assemblage, for the Southern Area is not the residential area of Minoan Kommos. Rather, it is the civic area occupied by large administrative or industrial buildings. The faunal remains, as a consequence, have not been recovered from large domestic bone middens but from small dump sites. With the exception of House X, which will be published separately, the Southern Area contained predominantly public areas during the Minoan period. The houses of the Minoan town on the Hilltop and Hillside to the immediate north have been published in *Kommos* I, Parts 1 and 2, and the faunal remains from the town recovered during excavations of 1976–85 have been published by D. S. Reese (with contributions by M. J. Rose and S. Payne) in *Kommos* I, Part 1.

This report examines the animal and marine remains recovered from excavations conducted from 1990 to 1997 only. The faunal assemblages examined here originated from large Minoan buildings, specifically palatial structures AA from the MM IIB period and T from the MM III–LM II periods. The fauna from the LM IIIA2–B shipshed, Building P, and its associated "administrative" Building N are also presented. Bone and shell deposits predating the construction of AA are also examined. The present section is organized into six major parts: methods, general observations on the sample, a review of animal groups, a catalogue of the worked bone, discussions of specific issues concerning the marine remains discovered in the Southern Area, and an interpretation of space usage in the light of the faunal finds. The section includes tables listing the faunal remains from well-dated deposits from the site in correspondence with pottery groups defined by Rutter and Van de Moortel in this volume.

The overall faunal sample comprises predominantly marine remains, especially molluscs, but also includes crustaceans, echinoderms, and fishes. Bone remains were few and poorly preserved, mostly representing mammalian species with only a few avian and marine fish remains. Land molluscs were also present throughout the site. Bone and shell remains con-

temporary with the Minoan civic buildings in the Southern Area weigh 26.486 kg. Of the total weight of faunal remains, 22.246 kg is marine material, mostly molluscs, and only 4.250 kg is bone. The preservation of the marine and land snail shell is excellent mostly owing to the concentrated calcium carbonate composition, which resists deterioration in soil. The bone remains are poorly preserved by comparison because bone is generally more fragile in nature with its trabecular or spongy bone interior. Bones are broken primarily by human activities such as butchering and marrow extraction, then trampled over in antiquity, and finally subjected to soil erosion for over 3,000 years.

Methods

All faunal material was washed to remove loose soil and clay concretions. Washing was necessary for basic identification and to observe surface preservation and possible signs of polishing, gnawing, or butchering marks. Washing and general cleaning also facilitated in measuring the sample weight as accurately as possible. Each bone collection from applicable pails was measured in grams. Separate weights for bone and shell were taken from each context.

The dimensions of complete bones, using the standard measurements published by von den Driesch (1976), and shells were recorded. Almost all bones were fragmentary and as a consequence offered no complete dimensions. Intact molluscs were measured in millimeters so that a range of sizes could be established for each species. Only one measurement was taken from each shell. For valves, length was measured from the umbo to the adjacent edge of the shell, and for vertically oriented gastropods, like *Monodonta*, the breadth of the largest body whorl was measured at the widest point. For gastropods with a horizontal orientation, as in *Murex, Euthria,* and *Cerithium*, length was measured from the apex to the end of the siphonal canal. Size can aid in determining the season in which the shells were gathered (Ham and Irvine 1975). Seasonality might be of interest when examining an archaeological deposit of shells such as a midden, a kitchen area, or a ritual deposit. Calculating the average weight of complete specimens in a shell assemblage can serve in calculating the approximate number of complete shells from fragments. The average weight is then divided into the total weight of the fragments. The resulting quotient provides a minimal approximation of the original number of molluscs in an assemblage. This method is useful particularly when dealing with shell middens, where the number of specimens can help determine the amount of meat extracted from the total accumulation.

The weight of the meat contained in a valve can be estimated by first filling the shell with water and weighing it (Shackleton 1969: 408). To estimate the meat weight for a symmetrical bivalve with equal-sized valves, like *Glycymeris*, two valves filled with water should be weighed, or one valve multiplied by two, and then the weight of the shell subtracted. For asymmetrical bivalves, such as *Pecten*, only the deepest valve should be filled and weighed for the meat estimate of the whole bivalve, minus the weight of the shell. For gastropods,

water can be introduced through the aperture and then the whole weighed and the shell mass subtracted. Calculating approximate meat weight can then assist in reconstructing the event that led to the deposition of the midden, for example, estimating how many people might have dined on the snails found in it.

Ninety-nine percent of the marine remains assemblage from the site was shell. Examining and identifying marine molluscs is much easier than bone analysis simply because each species is different in texture and color, two physical characteristics that bones do not usually exhibit to help distinguish among species. Even highly fragmented shell is easily identified because texture and color can be maintained by fragments even through wear. For bivalves, hinge teeth are very diagnostic of species. Occurring on the edge under the umbo, the hinge is usually the thickest part of the shell and can withstand tremendous pressure before breaking or wearing down completely. Thus all shell fragments could be classified at least to genus level. The total number of shells retrieved from seven years of excavation in the Southern Area at Kommos totaled some 5,897 complete shells with a further 4,099 large fragments. Thousands (15,000+) of pea-sized fragments or smaller, mostly *Murex*, were also recovered. Counting fragments can offer clues about the function of shell as well. For example, the total number of *Murex* fragments strongly outnumbers the complete specimens. This characteristic of the sample suggests that the purpose of collecting *Murex* involved breaking the shell, in this case, to extract the dye gland in the creature. *Monodonta* were found usually intact, implying their use did not require breaking the shell, as in cooking and then eating the creature within, or collecting the shell as ornament. Studying fragmentation and preservation of faunal material can also help in assessing the function of the area in which they were recovered. For example, fauna recovered from a dump site will likely be better preserved than remains found on a road or in a courtyard. Fragmentation of fauna can suggest, therefore, traffic in a certain area or the taphonomic history of the bones and shells themselves.

The bone remains were scrappy at best. The age and wear of the bones from traffic, exposure, and erosion rendered the sample small and fragmentary. Only 63 complete bones and teeth, mostly phalanges and molars, and 563 other fragments were found in the whole area during seven years of excavation, despite sieving. Not a single long bone or trunk element was found intact. Even proximal and distal ends of long bones were highly fragmentary, making the task of identification tricky at times, especially when distinguishing between sheep and goat remains. Most sheep and goat distinctions were made cautiously from phalanges (Boessneck, Müller, and Teichert 1964; Wasse 1999). A few other distinctions were noted from bits of crania and horn core, and others from fragmentary distal humeri and metapodials (Payne 1969). The individuals were aged on the basis of epiphysial fusion and tooth eruption (Silver 1969), and sexed when applicable (Ruscillo 2000). In cases where other identifiable bone elements from medium-sized bovids were too fragmentary for further taxonomic identification, the common classification of *Ovis/Capra* (O/C) was assigned. Each bone was examined for traces of burning or butchery. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) was calculated for each applicable species. The MNI is a standard zooarchaeological method

of siding and counting the most common bone element in an assemblage for any given species. Because sided elements occur only once in a single skeleton, for example, left femur, a count of each element will reveal the most commonly occurring bone, thus providing an index of the least number of possible individuals for each species represented in a sample.

Most unidentifiable scraps of bone could be classified as mammalian, avian, or marine, although only five bird and six fish remains were recovered. The limited number of bones combined with their fragmentary state is a reflection of the contexts in which they were recovered. As already mentioned, this sample was produced from the public area of the Minoan town rather than from the domestic area, where meal refuse was commonly found in association with the houses. Food consumption only occasionally occurs in civic centers, let alone dumping. Dining may very well have been a common occurrence in the earlier buildings AA and T, but the refuse contemporary with these buildings may have been dumped well away from the buildings, or later construction may have destroyed these faunal remains. The sheer size of the buildings in the Southern Area indicates the amount of dirt moved and heavy weights transported over the land in the immediate area. Exposed bone remains could easily have been crushed by this amount of traffic.

Microfauna were recovered by soil sieving through a 2-mm mesh, although they were almost exclusively recovered in association with House X deposits, which are to be published separately. Faunal remains recovered through sieving techniques were emptied onto a flat tray and sorted by species. The shell and bone remains were weighed separately and recorded noting the number of fragments of each species. This recording was done for each context where soil sieving was performed. Sieving techniques increased the recovery of small and fragile fauna significantly. For example, 63% of urchin remains, consisting of spine and test pieces, were retrieved through soil sieving. Two species of marine shell reported from this sample were identified solely from sieved material; these representatives would not have been recovered were it not for soil sieving.

Unique bones or shells exhibiting rare or interesting qualities from interesting contexts were catalogued in the main Kommos cataloguing system and assigned a "Bo" number for bone, or "Sh" number for shell for future reference.

General Observations

Species represented in the faunal sample from the Southern Area at Kommos are listed in Table 4.7. The species are listed in phylogenetic order beginning with fossil invertebrates and ending with mammals.

The greatest variety of animals occurred in the class marine invertebrates. Within this class, molluscs exhibited the most diverse array of species. This finding is common to archaeological sites located near shorelines. Molluscs are readily available by the sea, either alive in the sublittoral shore or dead on the beach. Besides their availability, they are very durable taphonomically.

Table 4.7. Species in the faunal sample from the Southern Area.

Marine Invertebrates	
Fossils	
	Oyster
	Scallop
	Urchin
Mollusca	
Acanthocardia tuberculatum	Spiny cockle
Arca noae	Ark shell
Arcularia gibbosula	Southern Mediterranean nassa
Astraea rugosa	Star shell
Bittium reticulatum	Needle shell
Cassis sulcosa	Helmet shell
Cerastoderma edule	Common cockle
Cerastoderma glaucum	Greenish edible cockle
Cerithium vulgatum	Common horn shell
Charonia tritonis sequenzae	Triton shell
Chlamys varia	Variegated scallop
Columbella rustica	Dove shell
Conus mediterraneus	Mediterranean cone shell
Cypraea lurida	Lurid cowrie
Cypraea pyrum	Pear cowrie
Dentalium vulgare	Tusk shell
Donax trunculus	Wedge shell
Euthria corneum	Spindle euthria
Fascularia lignaria	Whelk
Gibbula albida	Top shell
Glycymeris violacescens	Violet dog cockle
Mactra corallina	Surf shell
Monodonta turbinata	Toothed top shell
Murex brandaris	Dye murex
Murex trunculus	Trunk murex
Nerita sp.	Nerite shell
Ostrea edulis	Common oyster
Patella caerulea	Mediterranean limpet
Patella lusitanica	Limpet
Pinna nobilis	Fan mussel
Pisania maculosa	Pisania shell
Sepia sp.	Cuttlefish

Marine Invertebrates	
Spondylus gaederopus	Thorny oyster
Tonna galea	Giant tun shell
Thais haematostoma	Rock shell
Vermetus triqueter	Worm shell
Crustaceans	
Eriphia spinifrons	Yellow crab
Echinoderms	
Paracentrotus lividus	Rock urchin

Marine Vertebrates	
Fishes	
cf. *Gaidropsarus mediterraneus*	Shore rockling
Diplodus sp.	Sea bream

Land Invertebrates
Mollusca
Clausilia cruciata
Cochlicella sp.
Eobania vermiculata
Helicella spp.
Helix aperta
Helix aspersa
Helix melanostoma
Oxychilus sp.
Rumina decollata

Land Vertebrates	
Aves	
	At least two species
Mammalia	
Bos taurus	Cattle
Canis familiaris	Dog
Capra hircus	Goat
Capreolus capreolus?	Roe deer
Dama dama	Fallow deer
Ovis aries	Sheep
Sus scrofa	Pig

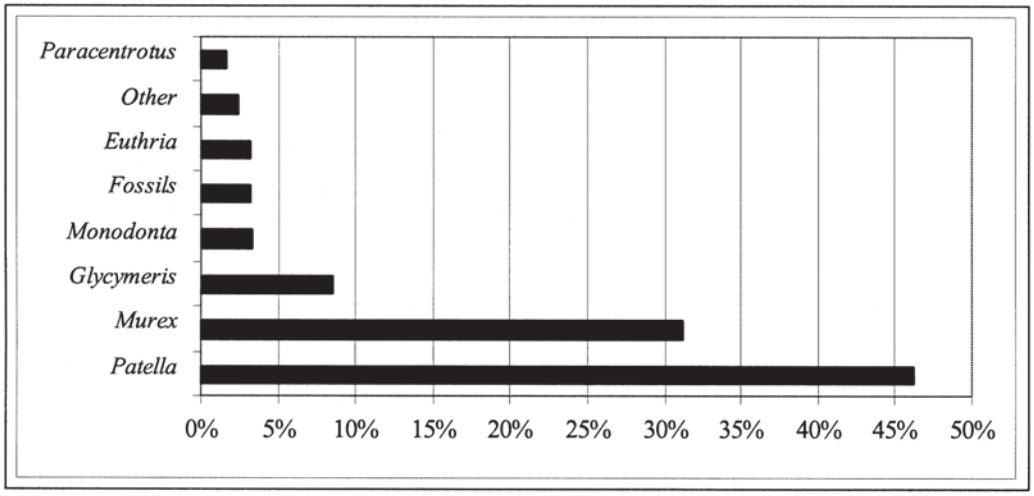


Figure 4.1. Summary of marine invertebrates from the Minoan period recovered from excavations in the Southern Area at Kommos, 1990–97.

Figure 4.1 summarizes the marine invertebrates from the Kommos sample. Limpets made up almost half (46.3%, or 3,460 shells with 564 fragments) of the invertebrate marine sample from the Southern Area. Thousands of limpets (30,457) were recovered from the Hilltop and Central Hillside excavations at Kommos, as recorded by Reese (1995d). From the Southern Area in Minoan levels from excavations prior to 1985 in the area, Reese counted 4,188 *Patella*. Together with another 3,459 from recent excavations, the sum of 7,647 limpets is a considerable number of shells, especially since the entire settled area has not been excavated.

Murex shells (31.2%, or 684 specimens with 2,033 large fragments) were commonly found on the site particularly in concentrations from certain areas, specifically around the South Stoa of Buildings AA and T. The statistics presented here for marine invertebrates do not include the thousands of tiny *Murex* pieces gathered also from excavations (15,000+). The crushed remains of *Murex* are typical of refuse from dye-extraction techniques from the MM period discussed at length below. Excavations around the North Stoa have revealed calcined *Murex* concentrations *in situ* as lime made into a plaster surface or packing of the Central Court associated with Building AA in the MM II period, perhaps as a secondary use of the dye extraction refuse.

Glycymeris make up 8.5% (393 and 343 fragments) of the marine sample, with waterworn shells recovered from all areas of the southern excavations. Collected dead, these shells present an enigma; the rationale for collecting them, particularly in the LM IIIA period, is not clear.

Euthria and *Monodonta* are equally represented in the BA shell sample with 3.2 and 3.4% of the sample, respectively. The former was found associated with crushed *Murex*, probably collected unintentionally with baited or hand-collected specimens (see "*Murex* Dye Production" in this section). *Monodonta* were likely exploited for food purposes or as ornaments.

Paracentrotus or urchins were found in a very fragmentary state owing to the brittleness of their spines and test pieces. Urchins, like fish in this sample, were underrepresented in the sample owing to the fragile nature of their remains. Although fish and urchin specimens were very scarce, it is believed that these creatures were a significant part of the Minoan diet. Evidence extends to fishing hooks found from the excavations at Kommos, and iconographic representations from Minoan Crete (see rhyton from Knossos with urchin and whelks, Evans 1964 [reprint]: vol. II, fig. 312B). A good variety of other sea creatures are represented on site indicating the close relationship the BA inhabitants had with the sea, not only for food but also for industry and ornament. Octopus, squid, cuttlefish, and other animals must have been exploited as well. Excavations from the Minoan town site on the Hilltop and Hillside at Kommos recovered the remains of at least 20 different types of fish including topes, groupers, breams, wrasses, and tunny. The fish remains from there were studied and published in *Kommos* I, Part 1, by Rose. (For the IA remains from the Greek period, see Rose in *Kommos* IV, Part 1.) The recovery of the fish assemblage from the town supports the significance of seafood in the diet of the inhabitants at Kommos.

Fossil marine invertebrates such as oysters, scallops, urchins, and gastropods were recovered at the site. These finds are usually deposited geologically rather than as a result of human activity. These petrified invertebrates come from the local fossiliferous limestone (M. D. Higgins and R. A. Higgins 1996: 206). This formation, including the underlying Neogene marl, dates to the Upper Miocene period from the Tortonian or Messinian Age (7–9 million years ago) (Gifford 1995), well before *Homo sapiens* walked the earth. It is possible, however, that fossils were collected and kept by Minoans, much as we collect them today. For example, six fossil oysters from the town site preserve the remains of hematite within them (Reese 1995a: 87). It is possible that people may have used these sometimes large shells as palettes for storing or using hematite as paint or cosmetics.

The "Other" category includes 28 other species of marine remains. These species are represented by fewer than ten complete specimens, although it should not be assumed that these species are less important. Crab, cuttlefish remains, and other fragile shells are included in this category and are underrepresented partially owing to poor preservation. Other specimens in this group that are more sturdy, such as *Arca*, *Arcularia*, *Bittium*, *Cerithium*, *Pisania*, and *Spondylus*, are rarer to find along the Kommos shoreline. These species are not traditionally known for their food value, with the exception of *Arca* shells, whose bitter meat is still edible. *Arcularia* and *Pisania*, however, are pretty and hence could have been sought as ornaments. *Cerithium* is commonly used as fish bait. Although not found in great numbers at the site, these species, exploited for ornamentation, bait, and perhaps other more obscure uses, suggest the resourcefulness of those who collected them and thus benefited from even the most minuscule of natural resources in the area.

Vertebrate animals were scanty (63 bones and 563 fragments) in comparison with the marine sample. A summary of bone remains is illustrated in Figure 4.2 to characterize the vertebrate assemblage. Unidentifiable bone remains make up 35% (219 fragments) of the bone

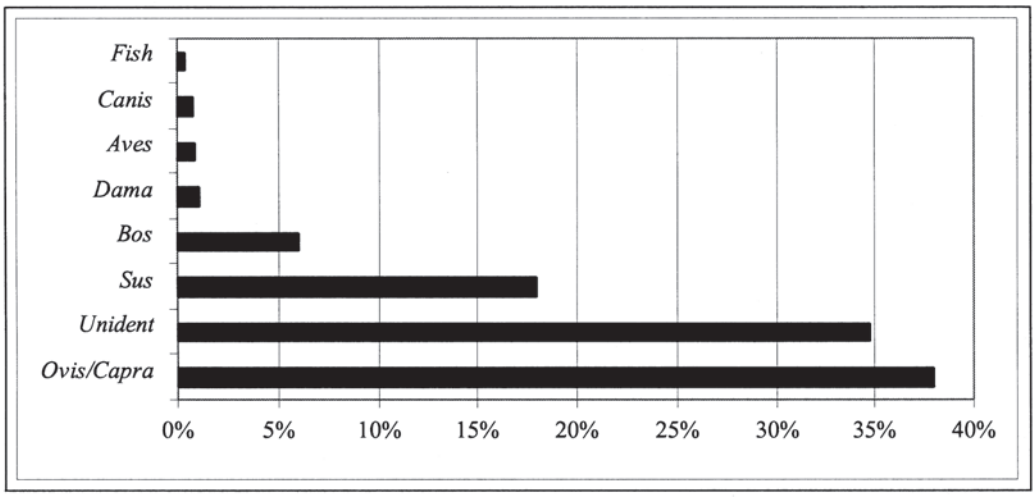


Figure 4.2. Summary of animal bone remains from the Minoan period recovered from excavations in the Southern Area at Kommos, 1990–97.

sample, although these bone slivers can be confidently classified as mammalian. Deer (1.1%) includes both *Dama dama* (fallow deer) species and one suspected *Capreolus capreolus* (roe deer), the latter represented by just two bones.

Fish and avian remains were few, probably reflecting the nondomestic nature of the Southern Area of the site, as well as their fragile character. Judging from the poor preservation of the stronger mammalian bones, the avian and marine vertebrate remains had little chance for survival. These orders of animals are better represented in earlier excavation of the domestic areas of the Hilltop and Central Hillside of Kommos. See D. S. Reese (chap. 5.3) in *Kommos* I, Part 1, and M. J. Rose (chap. 5.4) in the same volume for discussion of more extensive remains from bird and fish groups recovered from the Kommos excavations (1976–85). Micromammals are not presented in this chapter, but a good discussion of small mammals from the town site by Payne (app. 5.1) appears in *Kommos* I, Part 1.

Sheep and goat remains make up at least 38% (238 bones) of the entire bone sample. Sheep and goat distinctions could be made on only 6% (14 bones) of this collection, showing a slight bias toward goat remains. The bones, however, were too few to adequately reflect bovine herding practices of the Minoans at Kommos. Analysis showed that both sheep and goat were husbanded during the MM and LM periods at Kommos.

Pig bones are common in the sample. These, too, are highly fragmented but can be assumed to have come from domesticated animals such as those introduced to Crete in the Aceramic Neolithic period. Large tusks recovered could represent hunted individuals from a feral population, perhaps established from escapees from original herds. Pig made up at least 18% (113 bones) of the sample.

Fragments of cattle bones recovered from the recent excavations produced at least 6% (38 bones) of the sample. One head of cattle can produce four times more meat than a single

Table 4.8. Date distribution of mammal bone sample.

Date of context	Percentage of sample
MM IB	13.7
MM IB–II	13.2
MM III–LM I	6.5
MM IB–LM IA	10.4
LM I	1.7
LM II	1.3
LM III	13.2
LM IA–IIIA2/B	19.3
Mixed Minoan	20.7

sheep, so the fact that the remains are few should not detract from the possible importance of beef in the Minoan diet. Cattle were probably used for traction as well, although stress indicators on bones have been not been identified. The absence of equids in this sample further suggests that cattle were used as draft animals. The *Bos* remains are all bones of adult specimens (4+ years), supporting the traction hypothesis; meat animals are generally consumed at a younger age.

A few dog bones were also present, contributing less than 1% (4 bones) of the bone sample recovered from recent excavations.

Mammals

There are limitations on what can be said about the mammal bones from the civic buildings at Kommos. Only 4.250 kg or 615 bones and bone pieces were recovered from this area, only 65% of which were identifiable to genus and species; however, the bones can indicate the presence of certain species at specific periods or in special deposits. Bones and shells deriving from securely dated deposits are listed in Tables 4.13, 4.14, and 4.15 in accordance with the ceramic groups established by Van de Moortel and Rutter (Chap. 3). Reese studied a larger sample (9,441 bones) from the domestic quarters of the settlement, which is more representative of the diet and economy of Minoan Kommos (Reese 1995b: 165–94). The mammal bone sample from the Hillside and Hilltop of the site included hares, equids, mustelids, mice, and shrews in addition to the species identified here from the Civic Center. Hares, equids, mustelids, and small rodents were recovered from House X from the Southern Area of the site as well, which are to be published separately. The mammal bones from the civic area are grouped in Table 4.8 by date of context.

LM I bones are underrepresented in the sample because they occur mostly in mixed contexts, particularly with earlier MM material. Bones from LM II levels were heavily mixed with later material. Only one MM III pure context containing two cattle molars was identified

(81B/240 in P3). One-fifth of the sample was from mixed Minoan levels (EM II–LM IIIA2). Almost 27% of the bones came from periods prior to the building of AA in the MM IIB period, and about 17% were contemporary with the use of AA and T. Bones dating to the use of P represented approximately 20% of the sample. Notable finds and contexts are discussed in the following sections organized by mammal group.

CANIDS

Only four bone fragments of dog were recovered from this species of animal. Domestic dog remains (*Canis familiaris*) represent one individual by MNI count, but spatial and chronological examination of the finds revealed that the bones are likely remains of two or three individuals. All appear to be from adult medium-sized dogs. Two bones, a mandible fragment and a proximal phalanx, were recovered from the east of the back wall of Building T/P. These two bones date to LM IIIA according to pottery recovered with them and could be remains from the same individual. An articular rib fragment was discovered in the proximity of the southeast corner of T and was dated to the MM II–LM IB periods. A vertebral fragment from directly east of Building T/P is contemporary with the rib but was found approximately 50 m away and could represent a third individual; however, the rib and vertebral fragments could plausibly be from the same dog as well. Crushed and burnt *Murex* from MM IB/II was found in a large concentration in the same area as the rib fragment in the southeast corner of T. The only other place that *Murex* from the same date and preservation occurred was east of T/P from the same trench as the vertebral fragment (88A). It is plausible, then, to suggest that when earth was moved during the building of T or P, parts of the same dog were shifted, along with the earth and *Murex* pieces. The LM IA pottery kiln dump, found in the southeast corner of T, contained pieces of pottery that had joins found in the same area east of T/P (Van de Moortel Chap. 3.2). The earth was shifted during the construction of later buildings, and the dirt with its inclusions was secondarily deposited to the east of T/P, possibly redistributing parts of the same dog in the process.

The dog was one of the original domesticated animals introduced to Crete in the Aceramic Neolithic (Jarman 1996). Since that time, dog remains have appeared commonly at archaeological sites on Crete in all periods, both Prehistoric and Historic. Dogs were likely brought in with the first settlers to protect and attend herds, provide companionship, and help in the hunt. There is evidence, however, that dogs at Dark Age Vronda were eaten (Snyder and Klippel 1991). No evidence of canid consumption has been found from Minoan Crete.

SUIDS

Of the total sample, 18% or 113 fragments were pig bones. Pig remains were the second most common mammal group recovered. Thirty-four percent (39) of the bones were from pure MM IB contexts, and a further 22% from mixed MM contexts. Another 36% were from mixed MM and LM contexts. The remaining 8% were from LM IIIA levels. It is not clear from this

Table 4.9. Summary of suid remains from the Southern Area.

Skeletal part	Percentage of sample
Cranium/mandible	29
Teeth	29
Trunk elements	6
Anterior extremities	11
Posterior extremities	13
Metapodials/phalanges	12

sample whether pigs were hunted from feral populations or domesticated, because the remains are very fragmentary. Examination of the age range of the suid remains from the MM IB period indicated that there were remains of at least one juvenile individual, (an) individual(s) under 10 months, at least one around 17 months, a few over 3.5 years, and (an) old individual(s) over six years (6 MNI). From the variety of ages, one might argue that these pigs were hunted rather than domesticated, because no culling strategy or pattern regarding age is revealed. Unlike sheep or goats, pigs are not typically herded for their skin or milk, so one might expect a more regular culling pattern of age for domestic pigs in a meat economy. Notable was the discovery of a large male canine recovered from recent excavations, and Reese also reports one large unworn molar of a male, which could represent a wild boar from MM IB (Reese 1995b: 179). Male pigs are not usually herded owing to their fierce temperament, but they can be castrated, or one or two individuals may be kept for breeding purposes. Yet, Kommos has produced a couple of adult male individuals, even in this small sample size. Although pigs are known to have been domesticated on Crete since the Aceramic Neolithic, a feral population could easily have been established by lost or escaped individuals. Hunting feral pigs would explain the irregular culling ages found in the sample, albeit small, and the presence of large males. Table 4.9 summarizes the skeletal elements representing suids.

The distribution of bone elements from suids appears regular; all elements from the skeleton are represented. Interesting to note, however, is the paucity of trunk elements. The trunk of the skeleton includes the vertebrae (axis, atlas, cervical, thoracic, lumbar, sacral, caudal), ribs, and sternum. A skeleton of a pig, for example, contains over thirty vertebrae. Typical butchering techniques in antiquity and modern times involved splitting the carcass along the dorsolongitudinal plane, which would create at least 50 pieces of split large and smaller whole vertebrae from each skeleton. Yet, in the sample from the recent excavations, only one rib fragment and six vertebral pieces were recovered. One might expect at least twice that number in proportion to the other bones recovered. One lumbar (or lower back) vertebra was found butchered down the center—evidence that typical butchering techniques were practiced at Kommos. The underrepresentation of trunk elements could then likely be attrib-

uted to the fragile state of the vertebrae and ribs in general. Vertebrae have dorsal and lateral processes, or long, thin pieces of bones extending from the center of the vertebra (centrum), which are fragile and break easily. These processes make the whole bone vulnerable to breakage in many pieces. Ribs are long and thin, especially toward the ventral end. Another explanation is that the pork loin cuts, which are the choicest parts of a pig, were taken and disposed of elsewhere. Pork loin is cut from the center of the back between the shoulder and the pelvis.

Cranial and teeth fragments make up almost 60% of the suid sample. The pig cranium is larger and very sturdy in comparison with those of other mammals, which accounts for the adequate representation of cranial material. Teeth also survive better in the ground because of their protective enamel coating. There are 44 teeth in one adult pig mouth, so increased frequency of these elements is normal. In this sample, 9 complete teeth were found and 22 fragments. No juvenile teeth were recovered, but an erupting incisor (less than 20 months old) and two erupting molar fragments (less than 13 months old) represent immature individuals. All other teeth are fully erupted, including four worn old adult teeth (two incisors, two molars).

CERVIDS

Deer remains are few, making up only 1.1% of the bone assemblage. The faunal sample from Kommos contains seven cervid bone fragments, six of which are of *Dama dama*, or fallow deer. The seventh cervid bone is a left glenoid that could possibly be from *Capreolus capreolus*, or roe deer, from the MM IB period. This smaller deer has been identified elsewhere on Crete. *Capreolus* remains have been reported from Knossos in the MM III Western Repository (Evans 1964 [reprint]: vol. I, 496), from Neolithic Phaistos (Hutchinson 1962: 238), and from Chania (Reese 1995b: 191). Roe deer remains, however, are difficult to identify because this animal is roughly the same size as a domestic sheep. Although the legs are more gracile and longer, most fragments from the skeleton are very difficult to discern. *Dama*, on the other hand, is well known from the Greek Mainland and the islands. On Crete, fallow deer has been identified from Minoan levels and the Dark Age at Knossos (Jarman 1996), at the Dictean Cave (Boyd-Dawkins 1902), and at Vronda (Snyder and Klippel 1991).

The coexistence of both species of deer, and even a third, *Cervus elaphus*, reported from Knossos (Jarman 1996) and Chania (Persson and Persson 2000) on Crete is unlikely. Unless individuals were brought in during separate events, the resources and range limits on an island are far too restricted to support three cervid species for an extended period. Shay and Shay (1995) and Gifford (1995) state in their analyses, however, that topographic and botanical evidence from the Kommos area support the presence of a more lush forested environment in the Minoan era. Deer could easily have existed on the island with more forest cover—perhaps more than one species.

Five bones of *Dama* were found in the same area and represent different elements of the skeleton, so these remains could likely be from the same individual. The remains are from

Table 4.10. Summary of sheep and goat remains from the Southern Area.

Skeletal Part	Percentage of Sample
Cranium/mandible	11
Teeth	30
Trunk elements	13
Anterior extremities	22
Posterior extremities	18
Phalanges	6

an individual(s) greater than four years of age. The bones date from the MM IB/II period and were recovered from the area east of Building T/P. A sixth bone from a fallow deer was found in the middle of the third gallery of P with a date of LM IIIA2/B–eighth century B.C. This bone probably represents a second individual.

BOVIDS

Sheep and goat remains are prominent in the faunal sample and contribute more than a third of the specimens in the bone sample. Approximately 1.5 kg of sheep and goat bones was recovered from the site. Only 6% (14 specimens) of these bones could be distinguished as either sheep or goat. Phalanges and bits of horncore were used to separate sheep from goat bones, although a few distinctions were made from fragments of longbone ends, such as the distal humerus and distal metacarpal. Table 4.10 summarizes the sheep and goat elements preserved in the sample.

The bone elements represented in sheep and goat skeletons from the site are regularly distributed. Typical of bovid remains is the large number of teeth recovered. The reason for this is threefold. First, the mandible does not have a lot of meat; the tongue of the sheep or goat is usually taken out, but the mandible with its teeth is usually left intact. The teeth are not usually affected by the butchering of the carcass. Second, the teeth are covered in a layer of hard enamel, which protects the bone from decay; often, teeth are better preserved than skeletal elements after exposure to the same taphonomic processes. Third, a single mouth can contain 40 teeth. If one found the remains of two sheep, for example, one would have potentially 80 teeth preserved. Therefore, finding many teeth is not unusual. Phalanges, or bones of the hoof, too, are fairly sturdy, as they are compact and dense for their size in proportion to the larger longbones. Phalanges do not offer much meat and are usually discarded during the primary butchering of the carcass. A bovid skeleton has 24 phalanges, so one would expect to find more in archaeological bone samples. Because they are discarded during primary butchering, phalanges are not often thrown in the same dump as the rest of the carcass that has been eaten. The bone sample from the Southern Area at Kommos con-

tained six proximal phalanges from goat and one from sheep, plus four more fragments of other phalanges. There were no distal phalanges recovered, only proximal and medial.

The lack of trunk fragments is similar to the situation witnessed with the suid remains. Again, the underrepresentation of vertebrae and ribs is partly due to fragility. The only butchered bone found from the sheep and goat bones was a cervical (or neck) vertebra split down the middle. If the carcasses were split down the spine, the vertebrae would become even more fragile, affecting preservation. Unlike pigs, bovids do not carry choice meat along their dorsal plane. Meat on vertebrae and ribs is scarce but tasty (παϊδάκια). In any case, the whole skeleton would unlikely be butchered, consumed, and discarded all in the same location. The trunk portions of the carcasses could have been moved to another area of the site for consumption. Since the Southern Area is predominantly a public area, parts of the animals were likely consumed in the domestic quarters on the Hilltop and the Hillside.

Posterior and anterior longbones are roughly equal in number, with a slight bias in the amount of anterior elements in the sample. The longbones, particularly those that occur closest to the spine in the skeleton, such as the humerus and femur, are the most meat-bearing of all the bones. They also contain the most bone marrow. To extract bone marrow the bone must be broken. Marrow contains a high concentration of protein and is considered, even today in some cultures, one of the most desirable parts of the skeleton. Thus, bone is usually discarded in pieces. The longbone fragments from the Southern Area were shattered, more so than from simple marrow extraction. The poor state suggests major taphonomic factors affecting this bone sample, especially compounded with the age of the bones, spanning some 3,000 years. Approximately 25% of the sheep and goat remains came from the MM IB–II periods, and almost 58% from the MM IB–LM IB periods, which would establish an age for the bones of 3,900 years at the most. These bones would have been subjected to almost 4,000 years of soil acidity and perhaps the elements of climate such as sun and rain as well. The Civic Center would have been a high-traffic area after the MM II period, so some bones would have been trampled quite a bit.

Cranial pieces were few, but this is to be expected, as the cranium is thin and usually broken to extract the highly favored brain. Only two pieces of horncore were recovered, one belonging to *Ovis* and the other to *Capra*. Another cranial piece was found diagnostic of *Ovis* by the angle of the *sutura frontoparietalis* (Boessneck, Müller, and Teichert 1964; Prummel and Frisch 1986).

There are at least 239 sheep/goat bones and teeth in the total faunal sample. Within this group, 14 bones are from juvenile sheep or goat, 3 bones are from individuals less than a year old, 3 other bones are from individuals less than three and a half years old, 4 are from individuals less than four years old, and 6 bones are from old adult bovids. From bone counts of same-sided elements, the number of individuals represented in the whole sample is three juveniles, one at under three and a half years, and eight at immature or older. These figures are estimated including spatial and temporal distribution around the Southern Area

Table 4.11. Summary of chronological distribution of the sheep and goat remains.

Date of context	Percentage of sample
MM IB	16
MM IB–II	9.2
MM IB–LM IB	32.5
LM IA–IIIA2/B	6.8
Mixed Minoan	35.5

of the site. The total estimate of MNI for medium bovids at the site is twelve individuals, but this is only the smallest number of individuals the bones represent. One could also argue that each bone represents a different individual, in which case there would be a maximum of 239 medium-sized bovids represented in the site sample from the Southern Area. Table 4.11 summarizes the sheep and goat remains chronologically.

As to the chronology of the bovid finds, few contexts were pure. The majority of the sample (57.7%) was recovered from pre–LM IB levels. The only specific date found for sheep and goat remains was MM IB; the rest were unfortunately mixed. These statistics again reflect the activity on the site after MM IB. Massive building projects were undertaken in the Southern Area after this date, resulting in a mix of earlier Minoan finds. Building during the Historic period further complicated stratigraphy and interpretation of the bone material. What can be said is that sheep as well as goat were herded in Kommos at least from the MM IB period, although Reese identified five sheep/goat bones as early as EM II–III from the Central Hillside, Room 33 (Reese 1995b: 168).

There are few cattle bones in the sample. Only eight bones, comprising teeth and phalanges, were recovered, as well as thirty other fragments. All parts of the skeleton seem to be represented. Three bone specimens are less than three and a half years old, and three others are molars from old adults, identified by the substantial wear on the teeth. Only one proximal femur was found to exhibit butchering marks from a metal knife. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented in this sample is three. Since a specific bone does not occur more than once in this sample, the MNI was calculated on the basis of age groups. In this sample, there do appear to be three distinct age groups, old adult, immature or older, and under three and a half years. Juvenile bones of *Bos* are not present. Examination of the spatial distribution and date of the cattle remains suggested that the bones are more likely to represent six or more individuals. Of the total number of cattle bones, 50% came from MM IB–III levels, 26% originated in mixed MM III–LM IIIA levels, and 24% from LM IIIA levels.

The presence of bone remains from individual(s) with an age of less than three and a half years suggests that cattle could have been raised for meat, but the older individuals suggest

the use of cattle as draft animals or for milk production. The sample is far too small to speculate on the patterns or strategy of cattle herding.

DISCUSSION OF BONE REMAINS

Much of the bone material from Kommos was recovered from the MM IB period. This period predates even the earliest of the civic buildings in the Southern Area (Building AA constructed in the MM IIB period). From examining the animal remains, one can suggest that the area from which they came was used primarily for corralling animals or for industrial use like butchering and/or bone and leather working. Most of the bone remains are contemporary with the first building phase on the Central Hillside in the MM IB period, evidence for which comes from excavation of the East Building (Wright and McEnroe 1996). Reese reports a major accumulation of mammal bone fragments from this period in Room 33 of the East Building (Reese 1995b: 168). Three MM IB dumps excavated from the Lower Hillside on the northern edge of the Southern Area (Trench 11A below House X; Trench 28B, Spaces 26–27; Trench 20B east of the Round Building) comprised mostly domestic debris (Betancourt 1990). Betancourt suggests that the settlement likely expanded during the MM IB period (Betancourt 1990: 28). Domesticated animals identified from these dumps include dog, sheep/goat, cattle, and pig, all of which species would have helped support the growing population. The faunal remains recovered from excavations in the Southern Area are likely MM IB dumps associated with settlement on the hillside that were disturbed and scattered during later construction in the southern portion of the site.

The number of bone remains recovered from the Southern Area decreases for the LM period probably owing to the change in nature of the use of the Southern Area from land associated with domestic architecture to a Civic Center.

WORKED BONE

There are three pieces of worked bone from the excavations of the civic buildings at Kommos.

1 (Bo 60, 86D/52). Worked bone tool. Pl. 4.48 at *a*. MM IB–II, under floor of P3. Broken whittled piece of bone of two joining fragments. Max length 53 mm, max w 13 mm. Worked *Ovis/Capra* tibia shaft whittled into a blunt point. Concave interior worked into a smooth edge suggesting its use as a spoon, scraper, or auger. Broken at opposite end.

2 (Bo 61, 88A/37). Worked bone point. Pl. 4.48 at *b*. MM II–LM I, east of T. One fragment preserving point, broken at opposite end. Max pres length 74 mm, max w 19 mm. *Ovis* proximal metatarsal piece with shaft whittled into a point. Polished surface.

3 (Bo 62, 83A/54). Figure-of-eight piece with polished plaster surface. Pl. 4.48 at *c*. LM I–IIIA, under floor of P3. One fragment apparently intact. Max length 21 mm, max w 15 mm. Worked pendant or piece of inlay in the figure-of-eight shape with polished plaster surface on one side (not tooth enamel; scratches off and reacts to acid). Perhaps a worked piece of antler, as suggested by the longitudinal striations on the reverse side.

These worked pieces of bone represent a bone-working industry at Kommos between the MM IB and LM IIIA periods. They also show the resourcefulness of the inhabitants: Two types of tools and a decorative piece from only three examples of worked bone demonstrate the flexibility and ingenuity of the locals in the use of available resources. Bo 60 and Bo 61 may be leather-working tools, the former a scraper to separate hide from leg bones, and the latter to make holes for stitching skins together. The decorative piece (Bo 62) could have been inlaid in a worked piece of wooden furniture or may have been part of a piece of jewellery.

The bone point and spatulate "scraper" have parallels from the Minoan town site at Kommos. Thirty worked bone pieces were catalogued, including flat, thin points; thick, rounded points; spatulate implements; needles; and sheaths (Blitzer 1995: 497–500). Many tools dated to the LM II period, although a few from MM IB, LM IA, and LM IIIA2 were identified as well.

Marine and Land Invertebrates

A total of 5,897 complete shells and 4,099 large fragments describe the marine remains sample from recent excavations at Kommos. Thousands (15,000+) of pea-sized fragments or smaller, mostly *Murex*, were also recovered. There were 35 species of marine molluscs identified, as listed previously, and nine species of land molluscs. Only five genera of marine shells occur frequently. The other 28 species, constituting only 3.2% of the sample, are represented by fewer than 20 individuals for each species. Because the remains from these 28 species are so infrequent (between one to five specimens) in the Southern Area at Kommos, a species-to-species account of remains and their possible meaning or significance would be somewhat contrived. These remains do not occur in any meaningful context in the Southern Area, although these species may very well have been collected as ornaments, parts of jewellery, gaming pieces, or ritual items. This section examines the more frequently occurring shells and their implications on the environment from which they were gathered and their impact on Minoan daily life.

Shells of frequent occurrence from recent excavations are as follows, listed in order of total number of specimens: *Patella* (3,460 valves and 565 fragments), *Murex* (684 shells, 2,033 large plus 15,000+ small fragments), *Glycymeris* (393 valves, 343 fragments), *Euthria* (188 shells, 91 fragments), and *Monodonta* (184 shells, 115 fragments). The *Helix* genera of land snails were, by far, the most common land mollusc, with 449 complete shells and 231 fragments. Examining these species more closely can reveal information not only about the people who deposited them but also about the environment and the archaeological stratigraphy from which they came, to be discussed below.

Tens of thousands of *Patella* shells, or limpets, were found in various locations around the site from earlier and more recent excavations. The shells were originally collected fresh from the sea and are likely the refuse of meals. At Kommos, there are two species of limpet, *Patella*

lusitanica and *P. caerulea*. Both species seem to cohabit quite well in the same environment and can often be found adhering to the same rock in sublittoral waters. Because they must resist rough wave action, limpets are mostly muscle and as a result are very tough to chew. Nevertheless, *Patella* are a reliable food source supplying protein and a bit of calcium (Townsend 1967). One need go to only one semisubmerged sea rock to retrieve dozens. At Kommos, limpets are still found on the Papadóplaka and on the submerged rocks of the cliff south of site.

A notable concentration of limpets was exposed within the South Stoa (Trenches 95A and 95C). The assemblage contributed 55% (1,885 valves and 420 fragments) of the total limpets from excavations in the Southern Area with a date of MM III–LM IA. It is probable that this concentration postdates the use of the stoa in the Neopalatial period in early LM IA, since it is unlikely that food refuse was discarded in the stoa during its use. The concentration then predates, or is contemporary with, the construction and use of the pottery kiln built within the South Stoa during late LM IA. Limpets were not found directly around the kiln, only in the area directly west of it. The contextual evidence suggests that either the limpets were eaten when the kiln was being used and discarded nearby, or that the limpet concentration was spread underneath the stoa floor but dug out during the kiln's construction.

Monodonta contributed 3.4% of the shell sample from MM IB/II and LM IIIA2 periods with some from mixed LM/Historic levels. Concentrations of more than 20 specimens were not found, although 66 specimens were recovered in four groups of 19 or fewer in association with Gallery P3 from the LM IIIA2/B period. Perhaps these specimens had attached themselves to the hull of a ship. No barnacles have been found in the gallery, but it is plausible that *Monodonta* could have adhered to the bottom of ships and been scraped off in the gallery, if indeed Building P was a ship storage facility. They could possibly have been eaten, although the contexts and preservations could not support this suggestion. *Monodonta* is also an attractive species with its black-and-white dogtooth designs. Topshells are known to have been used in jewellery in the Aegean region (Reese 1984), but no evidence has been found to suggest that *Monodonta* was exploited for ornamentation at Minoan Kommos.

Other attractive shell species found at Kommos are *Pisania*, *Cypraea*, and *Arcularia*. These species could very well have been collected for adornment, although signs of string attachment are not always present or preserved. Seventeen *Pisania* and seven *Cypraea* (cowrie) shells were recovered from mixed levels (MM IB–seventh century B.C.). No holes were found on these specimens, although the latter genus has been considered special for use as money or amulets in some cultures (Jackson 1915: 72). These species have also been recovered from the Minoan town site at Kommos, and some have been modified (Reese 1995d: 261). Of 13 *Arcularia* shells recovered from the MM IB–LM IA periods, 10 were found pierced, suggesting their use as jewellery or dress ornamentation. Of the 120 *Arcularia* shells discovered from the Hilltop and Hillside at Kommos, over 55% were holed, further suggesting their use as

ornaments (Reese 1995d: 261). Only at Kommos in Crete are *Arcularia* commonly found both archaeologically and along the modern beach. Reese reports only one from the Royal Road at Knossos and another from Kavousi.

MOLLUSCS AS CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATORS

Although excavations at Kommos have produced a variety of marine and terrestrial molluscs, three main genera seem significant because of their repeated occurrence in substantial amounts, consistently associated with one particular period. *Murex*, *Glycymeris,* and *Helix* are most common in the shell sample from Kommos. When examined carefully, they can provide useful chronological and environmental information specifically about the site of Kommos. The following study examines the potential use of certain molluscan species as environmental and chronological indicators in archaeology when they originate from well-dated strata from a single period.

Murex

Murex shell is well known from the Aegean as the marine gastropod used to produce purple pigment, particularly for the purpose of dyeing textiles. The three most common species in the Aegean exploited for their dye production are *Murex trunculus*, *M. brandaris,* and *Thais haemastoma,* which produce dye that is purple, pink, blue, or crimson in color. Thousands of fragments from the site (12 kg) were found with a pottery date of MM IB/II. Some shells were found whole, whereas others were found crushed into bits, perhaps as a preparation for melting the shell into lime as a secondary use of the refuse. Another species of marine gastropod, *Euthria*, or *Buccinulum* as it is sometimes referred to, was also recovered in the same context with the *Murex. Euthria* was the only other species found with the *Murex* and was likely collected accidentally; it does not produce dye and occurs in the same environment, often being preyed on by the *Murex*. This combination of species associated with dye manufacturing has been found in Palaikastro in eastern Crete (Reese 1987; Reese, pers. comm.), although *Murex* dye production is known from many excavations around the Aegean. The MM IB/II date coincides with contemporary evidence for dye production in East Crete, particularly Palaikastro and Kouphonisi, and in Keos and Kythera. Dye production from *Murex* is also known from the Greek Mainland from the Middle Helladic period in the Argolid, on Aegina, and more recently, at Eleusis (Ruscillo 1995).

The fragmentary *Murex* and *Euthria* shells were discovered in a concentration at the southeast corner of the Central Court near the South Stoa of Building T. The concentration predates Building T's predecessor Building AA, built during the MM IIB period. The *Murex* debris appears to have been spread intentionally to pave the court during MM IIB, some time after the dye-extracting process. This possibility is further strengthened by the discovery of crushed *Murex* of the same date (MM IB/II) along the North Stoa of the Central Court. Evidence excavated by M. C. Shaw shows that *Murex* was melted at a high temperature to

Table 4.12. Chronological distribution of waterworn *Glycymeris* from the Southern Area.

Date of context	Percentage of sample
MM III/LM IA	5.1
LM III	8.2
LM IIIA1	9.8
LM IIIA2/B	65.8
LM III–seventh century B.C.	11.1

make a thin layer of plaster covering the court surface, with the larger fragments of shell ending up around the edges of the court. Shell lime was used for wall plaster in BA Thera and for domestic flooring in BA Cyprus (Reese 1985).

Another burnt MM IB/II *Murex* concentration was found outside the palace wall to the east, isolated from other *Murex* finds. From this distribution of *Murex*, it is likely that the debris was used secondarily as paving or packing for part of the Central Court, part of which was displaced during the movement of fill during the construction of the successive structures, particularly T and/or P. This movement of dirt is supported by the LM IA pottery joins from the area around the South Stoa with those found east of T/P.

Important to this discussion is the consistent date of these *Murex* concentrations. Even without pottery to confirm the period, it is likely that when burnt and fragmentary *Murex* debris is found in a concentration in BA levels at Kommos, the date will be MM IB/II.

Glycymeris

Another marine mollusc found in great quantities at Kommos is *Glycymeris*, or dog cockle. More than 4,800 *Glycymeris* shells were recovered from Kommos from the domestic and civic areas of the site. Approximately 1,250 valves were recovered around House X in the Southern Area alone, and another 2,800 from the other houses on the Hilltop and Hillside. More than 800 valves were recovered from the area in and around Building P.

The shells were all found waterworn and therefore must have been collected after the animals had died. Bivalves have a protective coating on the exterior of the shell called the *periostractum* while the creature is alive and secreting calcium from its gland to encourage shell growth and preservation. When the creature inside dies the bivalve opens and the shell begins eroding, mostly due to friction against the sandy bottom of the sea. The *Glycymeris* shells found at Kommos exhibit this feature.

Table 4.12 summarizes the waterworn *Glycymeris* find dates from the Southern Area. This table can be compared with table 5.28 from *Kommos* I, Part 1, for dog cockles recovered from deposits in the Minoan Town site (Reese 1995d: 255). Both tables reveal *Glycymeris* finds from consistent dates.

Clearly, the majority of the shells came from LM III contexts, particularly LM IIIA2/B. The other LM III contexts are often mixed deposits that could very well include shells from LM IIIA2/B; the pottery information does not always reflect this, but the presence of *Glycymeris* in these deposits could.

The purpose for *Glycymeris* collection on the site is mysterious. Waterworn *Glycymeris* have been found at Knossos, Phaistos, and Myrtos, although these assemblages are not contemporaneous occurrences. At Early Bronze Age Myrtos, Shackleton suggests that "*Glycymeris* appears to have been utilized as eating implements, spoons or scrapers" (Warren 1972: 325). This explanation cannot be applied to the *Glycymeris* at Kommos on the basis of the evidence. Some *Glycymeris* valves are so worn that only a small, flat object remains, hardly useful as a spoon. Moreover, the arbitrary findspots of the Kommos *Glycymeris* all over the site, even in civic areas, in rooms as well as courtyards and roads, implies that the shells were not only for domestic use.

Two other Minoan sites offer another idea that may be applied to some cockle finds at Kommos. At Phaistos, *Glycymeris* shells were found in a Neolithic deposit along with a female clay image and two shallow bowls, suggestive of a shrine. At Knossos, *Glycymeris* were found with other shells in the MM III temple repositories. At Kommos as well, the shrine located in House X had twelve waterworn *Glycymeris* found *in situ* on a stone table. Associated with the *Glycymeris* were miniature juglets, small bowls, a brazier, and a triton shell (*Charonia*). The assemblage is part of a house shrine and suggests that the *Glycymeris* shell at Kommos, particularly during the early LM IIIA2/B period, could have been religiously significant.

The shells from the temple repositories at Knossos are waterworn and hand-painted. The *Glycymeris* have "black bands painted" concentrically following the natural growth markings of the shell (Pl. 4.49; Evans 1964 [reprint]: fig. 377). Some *Glycymeris* at Kommos do exhibit concentric black lines, but the lines are not superficial; they appear as a natural character of the shell (Pl. 4.50). The black coloring, however, does not occur on all shells, and modern comparanda from the beach have not been found. It is possible therefore that the black concentric lines could have been made with an iron-based black pigment that was absorbed by the calcium carbonate, as rust can discolor marble. Future chemical analysis can support or refute this suggestion. The twelve *Glycymeris* from the House X shrine at Kommos, however, did not exhibit black coloring of any kind.

The cockles in these shrine contexts appear to have had some religious significance or symbolism. Over 1,200 *Glycymeris* were recovered from House X alone, mostly from fill deposits of the LM IIIA period. Many more were found associated with contemporary shipshed Building P. Hundreds were recovered from Gallery P3 (214+ valves), chiefly because it is the only gallery fully excavated, but the *Glycymeris* recovered from P3 have a clear date of LM IIIA2/B. In this context, *Glycymeris* appears to have had a functional use. At BA Levantine sites, *Glycymeris* valves have been found in tells by the thousands, even inland. In these

contexts, it has been suggested that these waterworn shells may have been used as floor foundations to assist in the drainage of water (Bar-Yosef Mayer 2002: 17). Waterproof flooring would have served well in a shipshed for drainage of water, for prevention of wood rot of the ships' hulls during storage, and for easier sliding of the vessels in and out of the narrow galleries.

Another possibility is that the waterworn cockles were deposited naturally. Distinctive of the valves found on the site is that they are usually larger and heavier than those found on the shore at Kommos today. These larger waterworn specimens could have come from deeper waters or could just be the average size of the species 3,000 years ago. A winter storm or a tsunami occurring at some point during the LM IIIA2/B period could have dredged up these dead cockles from the seafloor and deposited them on the flooded site. Other waterworn shell species have not been recovered with such frequency, but then again the other species that occur at Kommos are lighter and could have been retracted with the withdrawing wave. Studies of tsunami activity show that a large wave dredges up sand from deeper water and carries the contents in a powerful internal current that is unloaded after breaking on the shore (McCoy and Heiken 2000). The retracting wave will drag with it all the lighter contents of the load, leaving mostly the heavier objects in the wave zone (McCoy 2002: pers. comm.). This sorting of beach material is apparent after a storm or seismic event.

Further support for this suggestion comes from excavations in north central Israel at the harbor site of Tel Dor. During the underwater excavation season in the Tantura Lagoon in November 1995, a storm produced large waves that destroyed the scuba installation 50 m from the shoreline (Wachsman and Raveh 1996). Underwater excavations there dredged up hundreds of waterworn *Glycymeris*, many of which were subsequently deposited on the beach after the storm (Wachsman, pers. comm. 1998). This modern event can provide a comparison to what may have happened at Kommos during the LM IIIA2/B period. A storm or a seismic event produced large waves that deposited hundreds of cockles on the site in arbitrary locations. Inhabitants of the site would have found the waterworn shells around their settlement and collected some, perhaps as mementos of a tragic event to be revered lest it happen again. The environmental implications of finding 4,000 waterworn *Glycymeris* predominantly from one period are significant.

As a chronological indicator in archaeological context, when waterworn *Glycymeris* shells are found at Kommos, chances are that the associated pottery will yield a date from the LM IIIA period.

Helix

Terrestrial gastropods also useful in chronological and environmental reconstruction are *Helix* species. *H. aspersa*, commonly cooked in modern times as escargot, appeared at Kommos at the end of the Minoan era, and was flourishing by the seventh century B.C.

H. aspersa is a land snail very common in the area today; one can find them in abundance in any field or garden in Crete. Its predecessor at Kommos, however, is *H. melanostoma* (Draparnaud, 1801) (dark-mouthed *Helix*), also an edible gastropod. The diagnostic difference between the two species is that *H. melanostoma* (Pl. 4.51 at *b*) has light and thinner banding along the exterior and a reddish tint on the ventral side of the large body whorl just inside the aperture, a characteristic absent in *H. aspersa* (Pl. 4.51 at *a*). Both species have been found in contexts that could suggest they were exploited for food, but land snails are intrusive in nature and are able to burrow into stratigraphy at any time. Land snails are attracted by carrion or rotting vegetation. They hibernate in the winter under shelter of rocks, trees, and even archaeological ruins. *H. melanostoma* occurs in all levels of the site but seems to have been extirpated by the incoming *H. aspersa* in the early IA. By the fifth century B.C., it appears as if *H. melanostoma* became extinct in the area; there are no traces of them in or around Kommos now. Local villagers report that the dark-mouthed *Helix* (known locally as μπαρμπαρόυσες [*barbaróuses*]) occurs only in the areas of Kaloi Limenes and Lentas today, along the south coast of Crete. *H. melanostoma* is quite sensitive to the landscape and is considerably more "wild" in nature than *H. aspersa*, which thrives in human-altered landscapes like well-irrigated fields or gardens. With the intensification of agriculture and deforestation around Kommos in the LM period (Shay and Shay 1995), the sensitive lifeways of *H. melanostoma* were likely disturbed, so that this species could no longer prosper in the area. Meanwhile, the domestic *H. aspersa* is well adapted to living within sparse vegetation disturbed by irrigation and human passage. This suggestion is supported by John Gifford, who states that the natural vegetation in the area would have been exhausted by the late Bronze Age, leading to slope erosion and sediment accumulation (Gifford 1995).

Barbaróuses are also the snails preferred for eating. The modern inhabitants of the nearby village of Pitsidia claim that these snails are tastier than *H. aspersa* but harder to find. The combination of agriculture, human consumption, and ecological competition with the incoming *H. aspersa* eradicated the dark-mouthed *Helix* from the Kommos region. The long-term environmental impact of human occupation on the area has apparently affected the natural history of the area, particularly with respect to the *Helix* genera. The topography around Lentas and Kaloi Limenes, in contrast with the Mesara plain, presents steep slopes that are unsuitable for intensive agriculture. Perhaps the unfriendly topography and the limited human traffic around these landscapes saved *H. melanostoma* from extinction in the Lentas area.

The study of these two species of land snails is useful for chronological and environmental reconstruction, particularly at Kommos. Where *H. melanostoma* occurs in the archaeological stratigraphy, one can be confident that the levels are BA, and where *H. aspersa* occurs, the strata are IA levels. When both occur within the same context, one can be secure about a date between LM III and the fifth century B.C.

DISCUSSION OF MOLLUSCS AS CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATORS

Molluscs that occur in abundance in consistently dated strata can aid archaeologists in confirming pottery dates or can suggest dates for levels of excavation not producing datable pottery. The presence of a certain species may also extend a date range in mixed deposits where diagnostic pottery is lacking. The case examples of three genera of molluscs found with chronological depositional patterning (CDP) show that faunal materials can aid in the sometimes tricky task of dating archaeological strata. Although ceramic seriation has aided archaeologists in dating artifacts and architecture for decades, it is dependent on the presence/absence of diagnostic pottery; and although molluscs cannot fill the gaps of chronology in archaeological studies, they can nevertheless aid in the process of dating finds and architecture where diagnostic pottery is lacking. At Kommos, *Murex*, *Glycymeris,* and *Helix* are genera that provide environmental and chronological information about the site. Researchers should examine each site for similar patterning with these and other species to contribute to archaeological dating.

MUREX DYE PRODUCTION AT KOMMOS

During the 2001 study season, experiments were conducted to attempt to reconstruct components of the *Murex* dye industry at Kommos. The aims of the project were the following:

1. Conduct a thorough study of the existing literature on ancient and modern dye production from the Aegean and adjacent areas.
2. Examine archaeological remains of crushed *Murex* shells from Kommos.
3. Bait and collect *Murex* from the modern beach at Kommos and nearby Matala.
4. Experiment with modern specimens of *Murex* in dye extraction, concocting and brewing dyes, and dyeing fabrics.
5. Test other species found in association with crushed *Murex* to determine any colors produced.
6. Integrate studies of ancient and modern sources regarding the social and economic impact of dye production and dyed textile trade in the BA Aegean.
7. Investigate the possible role of purple and crimson textiles in the BA and related trade interconnections with different lands and cultures.
8. Experiment with *Murex* shell refuse to crush and melt into lime.

In this section, the preliminary findings of the experimental research are presented.

The Archaeological Material

The inspiration for this study was the archaeological find of the *Murex* debris from the MM IB/II context at Kommos, along with what resembled an industrial installation associated with the crushed *Murex* remains. The shell appears to have been melted into lime at a later date to produce plaster for paving or packing the Central Court of the MM IIB Building AA and/or MM III Building T. Only sections of this paving, particularly around the North and

South Stoas, have been found, but by no means covering the entire court area. Evidence for the plaster level was observed by the author in the scarp during excavations of a sounding along the North Stoa. At this location, a very thin layer of lime with calcined *Murex* inclusions was found intact. Maria Shaw, excavator of the trench, suggested that it may have been a layer used as bedding for a pebble paving for the courtyard. She found the same flooring (*chalikasvestos*) in the southeast corner of the court (93A/16b). Pebbles have been found in all areas of the central court, although not always associated with a plaster bedding.

Thousands of fragments of *Murex* were recovered from excavations in the southeast corner of the court covering some 42 m^2 or more, as well as in areas east of Buildings T/P, where masses of earth were presumably moved during the construction of these later buildings. Preservation of the *Murex* material ranged from small complete individuals, some with holes in the main body whorl, to large fragments and tiny crushed pieces (Pl. 4.52).

The presumed installation was found under the floor of Gallery P5 at its west end. It is characterized by a flat stone slab floor extending under the later walls, and a shallow channel 12 cm in width running east-west (Pl. 4.53). Both the slab floor, especially at the western edge, and the channel are packed with crushed *Murex*. Both the architecture and debris share the same MM IB/II date and may even predate Building AA's construction. Crushing *Murex* is an odoriferous task; if an industry was established at Kommos, an installation might have been designed to be easily washed down at the end of each session. *Murex* debris, as was discovered through experiments, attracts wasps, flies, and maggots, which can make work very difficult. The smell at times can be unbearable. An earthen floor would become saturated with *Murex* fluids and pieces and would present a formidable work hazard with pests and odors. It is therefore possible that the architectural finds here represent the earliest *Murex* dye installation found on Crete. A mass of *Murex* would be crushed, and at the end of the session, water would be poured down the paved floor; the channel provided drainage. From levels taken during excavation, the channel appears to be at least 5–11 cm lower than the associated slabs to the south. Fish shops in major towns in modern Greece demonstrate this floor design, with channels on either side of the floor to control drainage. The channel was packed with *Murex* debris toward the western end, further suggesting that there was a flow of water that carried it there. The shell fragments radiated more than 40 m^2 from the work space to the west, north, and south of the installation.

With 12 kg of *Murex* material from the sample debris left *in situ*, material still remaining in areas left unexcavated, and countless other shells melted into lime, the dye industry at Kommos must have been significant. Crushed *Murex* (4.4 kg) found along the later Archaic Building Q also resembles the MM IB/II debris, but crushed into tiny pieces along with *Thais* shells (Reese 2000: 645). One interpretation of this later material could be that the *Murex* debris was retrieved from MM IB/II middens and crushed into tiny pieces in preparation to melt it into lime. Reese suggests that it was secondarily crushed and deposited as a floor

packing in Q's Room 38. These *Murex* remains from the Archaic period therefore do not necessarily reflect dye-making activities during the historic period at Kommos.

After studying this *Murex* deposit under P5, practical questions arose concerning the making of the dye at Kommos. Where were *Murex* to be found? How were they collected? How many were needed for a garment? What were the problems of production? Why was purple textile considered precious in antiquity, traded and looted as booty from foreign lands (Reinhold 1970)? Under what conditions could lime be made? What problems were encountered during the process? Only experiments with contemporary material could answer these questions.

Background

With a postdoctoral fellowship from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), I was able to organize and fund the *Murex* Project in 2001. Assisted by a student from the University of Manitoba, Elizabeth Watson, I endeavored to reconstruct MM dye production at Kommos.

We cleared some dry brush from under the *almiríkia* trees—a hardy tamarisk—just south of the Southern Area site within the Kommos Excavation property. In anticipation of the stench associated with crushing *Murex*, we set up the new dye installation (Pl. 4.54) well away from the village of Pitsidia. Workmen, clearing the dry grass from the site, helped move large brush and rocks into place; they would unknowingly become part of the experiment later on!

BA texts, particularly the Pylos and Knossos tablets, discuss textile trade in the BA Aegean (Melena 1975). The Knossos tablets refer to *po-pu-ro*$_2$, which has been interpreted as "purple," and to *po-pu-re-ja* possibly meaning "female purple dyers" (Palmer 1963: 292, 297, 447). The term *wa-na-ka-te-ro-po-pu-re* in the Knossos tablets likely indicates textiles of "purple befitting the *wanax* (king)," producing an early beginning for what we still call today "Royal Purple." With references even in BA texts to manufacture of purple textiles, nevertheless Linear B does not give details on how purple was made. The earliest source for methods of *Murex* dye production is Pliny the Elder from the first century A.D. Pliny writes of baited baskets and baited pots to collect *Murex* (IX: 125, 133). He also discusses collecting the glands, steeping them in water for twelve days, warming the mixture on the third day. From our experiments based on his recipes, it became clear that Pliny never actually made purple himself. His recipe actually produced a color more gray in tone. Michel and McGovern (1987) examined Pliny's description of purple dyeing with the chemical aspects required for successful coloring. Pliny left out many details, the gaps in which needed to be filled by chemical and experimental testing. To begin with, Pliny did not mention, for example, where baskets and pots should be submerged. Baiting was the first issue to be resolved by experimentation.

Materials for Experimentation

Several pieces of equipment were required to perform the different phases of experimentation: procuring *Murex*, extracting glands, and dyeing fabric swatches. For baiting *Murex*, two

baskets with straight sides and three ceramic pots were required for baiting in two different areas simultaneously. Fish for use as bait were tied into the pots and baskets, and renewed each day. Baskets could take up to six fish each, tied on the sides and on the base. Pots contained one fish each, either tied up through the bottom hole for flower pots, or tied onto the side handles. Ropes were used to tie the pots/baskets together and to anchor them to rocks on the floor of the sea.

A bucket with seawater was prepared for collecting and transporting the *Murex* from the sea to the work site. It was important to keep the snails alive during transport to ensure that their dye was held within the creature until extraction time. On the site, a wooden work bench was set up to accommodate note-taking and the concocting of dye recipes. For dye extraction, metal implements were required for making holes in the shells. Since we could not find bronze tools, we used pointed brass implements. Hard rocks were used as hammers, and the needles from century plants were used for the fine work of separating the hypobranchial gland from the rest of the creature. Although century plants were not introduced into Crete until the Middle Ages (Rackham and Moody 1996), other sharp thorns or metal implements could have been used for this task. A table constructed of a large flat rock and two stone legs was set up as a breaking platform, with another two stones used as seats for the workers.

Three aluminum pots were acquired in which to steep and cook different recipes of dye concurrently. Pliny states that lead pots were used in the Roman period, and Michel and McGovern (1987) state that tin would have worked best; however, we do not know what vats were used by the Minoans. Bronze tripods found during the excavations of the Northwest House and the house southwest of the South House at Knossos (Evans 1964 [reprint]: vol. II, figs. 392 and 394) may provide clues to the metal vessels available at the time.

A propane gas stove was obtained for heating the concoctions, as well as cooking spoons. Freshwater or seawater was used in each recipe. Some of our recipes contained mordants or additives including salt, vinegar, urine, or alum, and others did not. Mordants, which are metal salts of aluminum (alum), copper, and iron, are used to fix natural dyes to fabric. The material to be dyed is first "mordanted" in the chosen metal salt, by heating in water with the mordant. Then, it is transferred to the dye bath and again heated for a permanent, rich color.

Swatches were cut from bolts of cloth, including pure and unbleached wool, cotton, raw silk, and processed silk. Pure, unaltered linen could not be found in time for the experiments, but it was hoped that the pure cotton would reflect similar dyeing properties to that of the flax composition. Each dye concoction was tried with a representative swatch from each fabric type. A drying line was prepared on which to dry the dyed swatches in the shade. Notes were taken, and video/film footage was taken of every step of the procedure.

After the field season at Kommos, testing continued in the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Experiments on dye and shell were conducted

there with the support of an INSTAP grant and the director of the lab, Dr. Sherry Fox. Chemical analyses of the purple-stained tools were performed by Harikleia Brecoulaki, a former Geoarchaeology Fellow and associate of the Wiener Lab working with ancient pigments. Microscopic analysis was performed, and further dyeing conducted on pure wool fleece and human hair. A sample of dye was dried out to establish whether the purple powder could be stored long-term and be reconstituted with water at a later time. All dyeing in the lab was performed with the use of an electrical stove top and a fume hood.

Lime experimentation followed by crushing the *Murex* debris in a large mortar. The crushed remains were put in a crucible and placed in the portable kiln in the basement of the American School. Plastic bags with zipper closures were used to store the before-and-after shell samples.

Procuring *Murex*

Besides Pliny, who described acquiring *Murex* by means of baited pots and baskets, Julius Pollux later described a series of traps attached by ropes and put in the sea:

> [The traps were] bound together by a sturdy rope so that they could be thrown in the sea, and they attached these containers (κυψέλες) made of a plant material with thick openings at regular intervals hanging like bells. They placed the containers towards the surface with the intention that the creatures could go in but not out. In order to attract the *Murex* into the traps, they placed them on the sea floor around the rocks. The rope made of a kind of cork [bound the traps which] remained overnight and most of the next day when they were retracted full of the creatures.
>
> (Pollux, *Onomastikon* i.4)

Judith Powell interpreted these traps or containers as "creels" for trapping *Murex* (1992: 308). She extrapolates these descriptions back to iconographic representations on Minoan seals from Malia that may depict creels strung together in the sea (see examples of these seals in Powell 1992: LXXVIIIe). In keeping with Pliny and Pollux, one of the baskets and a number of pots were first baited with fish and sunk at Kommos at the southern end of the beach by the cliffs (Pl. 4.55). The bay is large and unprotected, so the pots and the basket needed to be weighed down with rocks so that they would not be moved by currents. Not one *Murex* was caught in either the basket or pots at Kommos in five weeks. In fact, during a rough two days of waves, I returned to find that the pots had been smashed into pieces. This was clearly not how *Murex* were caught in antiquity. I also set up a baited pot and basket in the marina at Matala. Live *Murex* had been seen here in past years, largely owing to the fact that the fishermen, catching them unintentionally in their nets, were throwing them out in the bay. The *Murex* population was sustained here by their feeding on unwanted fish that were also thrown in the bay by fishermen. The tests of baiting in the Matala marina were successful. Overnight the baited basket caught 48 individuals, and the smaller pot caught 18, with

more than 100 others collected within a square meter of the bait (Pl. 4.56). The individuals around the pots were hand collected. We learned several things from the baiting experiments:

1. *Murex* do not circulate haphazardly on the floor of the open sea.
2. Baiting in a sheltered sublittoral environment was ideal both for baiting and hand collecting.
3. Baiting where fishing activity normally occurred allowed for preexisting populations of *Murex*.
4. *Murex* had to be attracted with bait.
5. Baiting and hand collecting was the most efficient method to collect the numbers needed.
6. Pots were easier to deal with than baskets because of anchoring problems.
7. With one baited basket left overnight, one person could collect 100 individuals in an hour.
8. More people and more baited containers would collect a proportionate amount of individuals.
9. Baiting without hand collection resulted in a 70 percent reduction in the number of individuals collected.
10. A line with a number of baited pots could be lowered by boat in a fishing area to get thirty to fifty individuals each without diving.
11. Eels, ground-feeding fish, octopi, and possibly sea turtles were also attracted by the baited pots.

Analysis of the archaeological *Murex* remains revealed that the individuals were both baited and hand collected in antiquity. There has been some debate concerning the possibility that *Murex* were raised and/or collected in holding tanks of seawater. If collecting thousands of individuals required for industrial-sized projects, a holding tank to keep individuals alive until extraction might be useful, as suggested by Spanier and Karmon (1987). Archaeological remains of such holding tanks, however, have not been recovered at Kommos.

Pliny states that "purples" can live up to seven weeks without food on their own slime and reach full size at one year (Book IX, 128). Therefore, it is possible that *Murex* could have been raised in tanks, as suggested by Columella (Book VIII, 16.7), although he suggested this specifically for locations that did not have direct access to the sea, unlike Kommos which was established right on the coast. Again, there is no archaeological evidence at Kommos for such tanks.

The presence of young *Murex* in the sample suggested the baiting practice. These small individuals (< 4 cm in length) do not yield much dye and are not worth the trouble of hand collecting and breaking. They are, however, attracted to bait and do get into the snares. Many young individuals in the Kommos sample were found intact, suggesting that the Minoans came to the same conclusion about these small creatures.

Euthria and dead *Murex* individuals were present in the archaeological samples. We col-

lected these specimens accidentally by hand. Some *Murex* were attached to *Euthria* specimens and were inadvertently collected together. *Murex* are carnivorous and prey on other shellfish, like *Euthria*, by boring holes through the shell of their prey and eating the contents with a tonguelike appendage. Many archaeological *Euthria* were found with a naturally bored hole on the main body whorl. One can be observed in Pl. 4.52 among the *Euthria* individuals on the left. Many *Euthria* were not broken within the other debris. Experiments showed that the animal inside the *Euthria* shell was orange in color but did not produce any dye.

Waterworn, sometimes-*Vermetus*-covered *Murex* shells were also recovered from the sample. The death of the creature inside halts the calcium renewal of the shell and makes it prone to wear by surf action. *Vermetus* is a parasitic crustacean that grows on rocks and other hard marine surfaces. Larvae can attach themselves on dead shells and grow in a thin tubular shell formation. The presence of *Vermetus* shell and signs of water wearing shows that a shell died in the water. Several of these specimens were found in the archaeological sample, as well as in the modern sample that we collected. We collected them unintentionally, not distinguishing them from live ones on the sea floor.

Minoans, therefore, must have manually collected as well as baited *Murex*, just as we did. The presence of young *Murex* in the sample suggests baiting, and the presence of *Euthria* and dead shells indicates hand collection. As we have seen, a combination of the two procuring techniques produces the greatest yield of individuals. The Minoans seem to have observed this as well.

A total of six dyeing sessions were conducted with *Murex*, each session using between 103 and 161 specimens. At the end of six weeks, we had collected a total of 825 specimens, enough to dye about 40 swatches as dye samples.

Extraction Techniques

After each diving session at Matala, more than 100 *Murex* individuals were transported to the work site at Kommos. The individuals were kept alive in seawater because the mucus of dead individuals tends to dry out. The shells were broken one by one using a pointed brass implement and a hard stone used as a hammer (Pl. 4.57). Breaking the individuals was difficult without first making a hole in the shell. The shell composition is so hard that its structure has to be weakened by piercing it first with hammer and point, and then hitting it with a rock. The piercing allowed us to break the shell in the correct spot to reveal the gland. The hypobranchial gland is responsible for mucus production in *Murex*. At first, it was not obvious which gland needed to be separated, because there is no purple-colored gland in the creature. After dissecting the first couple of specimens by organ, it became clear which gland was the one required to produce purple dye. The hypobranchial gland is located directly under the major body whorl. It is beige and has a black line running through it (Pl. 4.58). The mucus produced by this gland is clear, but after release, the mucus oxidizes and becomes purple, as was most evident from our fingers. The needle from the century plant was then

scraped along the bottom and sides of the gland to remove it. The glands were then placed one by one in a covered pot with a cup of water, and the rest of the creature was thrown out. The debris attracted wasps and flies and smelled very bad. Owing to the nature of their diet (carrion), even fresh *Murex* smelled rotten. Apart from enduring the stench and warding off the wasps and flies, we discovered that it was impossible to stop flies from laying their larvae in our concoction and in the debris. Although the pot was well fitted with a lid, the flies would lay the larvae on the rim of the pot and push them under the lid with their hind legs. Within minutes, the dye mixture was swarming with maggots.

After we had extracted all the glands, the mixture was left to steep for three days to extract the maximum amount of mucus, resulting in a deeper hue of purple. The debris was buried in refilled Trench 78A in the Southern Area, to be dug up in a few years to study the preservation of the shells.

Concocting Dye

Six main recipes were tried with different concentrations of water, varying steeping times, and different types of additives. The less diluted the mixture was with water, the deeper and more vibrant the purple would be. Fabric dyed with an already-used mixture was faded and flat in color. We also discovered how blues were made. If all the glands were placed in a pot and the fabrics dipped right away for ten minutes without prior steeping and then hung to dry, the swatches turned "Biblical Blue." The color range produced from our experiments was blackish purple to light purple, gray-purple to lavender, and light blue to navy blue (Pl. 4.59). Pliny's experiment turned into a disenchanting gray-purple. Clearly then, the twelve days of steeping recommended by him were not required, and heating without fabric only served to kill off the maggots in the mixture.

The mixtures, except for the blue, were heated gently to around 90°C. At this point, the heat was turned off and the swatches introduced to the mixture. The longer the fabric stayed in the concoction, the more color was absorbed. Redyeing the same swatches in the same mixture the next day resulted in only a slightly darker color. The most striking aspect of making *Murex* dye is the heavy odor. For example, one day while we were heating a dye concoction, the site workmen complained about the stench at their lunch area 50 m away. Dye installations were sure to have been established a good distance from any dwelling in antiquity. In general, from the dyeing experiments, we learned the following points:

1. *Murex* dye adheres to fabrics without the use of mordants.
2. Minimal water produces deeper colors.
3. Urine makes the purple color more vibrant.
4. Bringing the mixture to a boil produced a gray color.
5. Steeping for three days made a deep vibrant purple.
6. Steeping for more than three days was unnecessary.
7. Many shades could be produced from the same animal.
8. The odor of the mixture was even more terrible after three days.

9. Dyed swatches maintained their color and their reek even after washing.
10. Dyed hands remained colored for six weeks until the nails grew out.
11. *Murex* mucus could have been used for temporary tattooing, like henna.
12. Biblical Blue was indeed made from *Murex* species as well as Royal Purple.
13. Wool absorbed the most dye and attained the deepest shades.
14. Pure cotton, and probably linen, does not retain a nice color.
15. Processed silk produced the nicest colors, by today's standards.
16. Lots of perfume would have been required on new garments.

To make a sample of Royal Purple took a minimum of four days, not including the airing-out period. We calculated that if a piece of wool 125 cm square required 200 *Murex* to make a deep purple color, than a whole wool cloak would require at least 5,000 *Murex* for a nice even color. This estimate is considerably lower than what was originally calculated by scholars: sometimes as many as 20,000 individuals just for the trim of a garment. Procuring 5,000 *Murex* was no easy task, however.

Summary

Murex-dyed textiles were "precious" in the ancient world and worn only by officials and rulers for a number of reasons. First, the sheer amount of labor involved could be devoted only to persons of influence. Slaves, as opposed to specialists, may have made Royal Purple simply because of the danger involved in procuring *Murex* from the sea, the difficulties associated with insect infestation and stinging wasps, and the extremely dense and unpleasant smell of the *Murex* dye itself. Slaves, in this case, would be distinguishable by the color of their hands. The suggestion has been made that textile dyeing was performed by women referred to by the term *po-pu-re-ja* in the Knossos tablets, "female purple dyers" (Palmer 1963). Ethnographic studies in Asia and Africa have repeatedly shown that collecting shellfish is considered the work of women and children (Claassen 1998). Perhaps local or slave women at Kommos were ordered to produce *Murex* dye in the MM period for the elite at Phaistos. One can only speculate.

From the comparison of archaeological debris and modern *Murex* debris, it appears as if *Murex* was procured by baiting and manual collection. Ceramic pots, as opposed to reed baskets, were likely baited, because baskets were very difficult to keep anchored. Ceramic pots could have easily been strung in a series with rope and sunk in the harbor. A harbor or fishing boat marina would have been ideal for *Murex* collection because of the precondition of available food there for *Murex*. The Papadopláka islet, which was more extensive in the BA at Kommos (Gifford 1995), would have provided shelter for a natural harbor. This is likely where the Kommos *Murex* were acquired in antiquity.

The MM IB/II architecture in the area under P5 in the Southern Area of the site likely represents a dyeing installation. The distance of the installation from the contemporary town site is adequate to keep the dense odor of the dyeing away from the domestic area. The proximity of the installation to the harbor at Kommos is convenient for procuring and trans-

porting *Murex* to the work site. Furthermore, the installation is surrounded by contemporary *Murex* debris, some filling drainage channels emanating from the work area. This dyeing installation, then, is the earliest found on Crete, and one of the earliest Royal Purple industrial areas in the Mediterranean Basin.

Metal cauldrons were likely used for concocting, steeping, and/or heating dye mixtures. The production of bolts of purple textile in industrial quantities, perhaps for trade, tribute, or by commission, would have required the procurement of thousands of *Murex* individuals. Seawater would have been used in the mixture, and perhaps human urine or vinegar as an additive for colorfastness or color enhancement. We found that no mordant was required for colorfastness, although additives like salt, vinegar, and especially urine contributed to the color enhancement during our experiments.

The debris from *Murex* dye production was then ground up into small fragments and heated in a kiln at over 900°C for more than five hours to produce lime for making floor and wall plaster. The only evidence for *Murex* floor plaster has been found at Kommos.

Interpreting Space Usage

Through analysis of the spatial and temporal distribution of the faunal remains, the use of rooms and spaces in associated contexts can become clearer. In the case of the Southern Area, massive building projects occurred in the same location between the MM IIB and Hellenistic periods, causing significant movements of earth. Pure deposits containing fauna are especially rare because the Southern Area was always used as a civic center rather than as a domestic district. Therefore, the majority of the bone remains in dumps were deposited prior to the construction of the buildings in the Southern Area in the MM IIB period.

Pure levels dating to the MM IB period were excavated under the floors in P1 at the building's east end. A dump from this period was found under P1 containing pure MM IB pottery and bones from bovids and suids. Shells were also recovered represented by *Murex* and *Euthria* fragments, pieces of Triton shell (*Charonia*), and a few *Monodonta* and *Patella* shells. Five fossil oysters and three land snails (*Helix melanostoma*) were also uncovered, probably occurring naturally in this early stratigraphy. This assemblage of bone and shell remains is typical of a general refuse dump. The few bits of *Murex* with *Euthria* known elsewhere from the site as dye industry refuse, and the three pieces of Triton shell also producing dye, suggest that this refuse was not exclusively from a kitchen site. Rather, it appears as if the site was used over the period of years for all types of garbage rather than from one event, and represents refuse from settlers on the Central Hillside. The findspot under the floor of P1 is probably not the primary location of the dump. Rutter and Van de Moortel have identified this feature as part of a construction fill during the building of AA or T. A similar dumping site was found to the east of T/P, discussed previously in relation to *Murex* debris. The faunal finds to the eastern extent of the site represent, again, a general dump secondarily

deposited as construction fill. The dates from this dump are consistently MM IB/II. The refuse contains the same species profile as the dump under P1, that is, bones from bovids and suids, a few pieces of *Murex* and *Euthria*, *Charonia*, and a couple of *Monodonta* and *Patella* shells.

BUILDING AA

Identifying and interpreting spaces in Building AA are two different problems. AA is the earliest structure uncovered in the Southern Area, and therefore its associated finds are the most difficult to distinguish of all the overlying buildings and occupation debris. Building T, its successor, reused much of its architecture and, hence, many of the same spaces, a pattern followed with the later LM III Building P. Thus, AA also suffers the disadvantage of having had a succession of massive construction projects occur directly above its own structure, upsetting any floor deposits and much of the stratigraphy associated with its construction and use.

Thirty-two pottery deposits and subdeposits from AA have been identified by Van de Moortel (Chap. 3.2). Table 4.13 lists the pottery groups associated with faunal remains. Where faunal remains were not recovered, the listing appears as "No fauna"; in terms of identifying space usage, finding no faunal remains can be as indicative of space usage as finding them. In the "Location" column, directions have been abbreviated with the letters N, S, E, W, representing north, south, east, and west, respectively. The species are presented in phylogenetic and alphabetic order. Therefore, the fossil oysters are listed first, followed by the marine remains in alphabetic order, and the mammalian remains are alphabetized according to species and bone element. Whenever animal bones were too fragmentary to identify to genus, the term "Mammal bone" appears under "Species." No fish or bird remains were recovered from MM deposits in the Southern Area. In the "Comments" column, the age, sex, and notable preservation is provided (butchered, burnt). Most bone remains are assigned the age "Immature +." This age category is indicated diagnostic information is not preserved to indicate more specific age, and where juvenile cortex is absent in the bone.

Most of the fauna from AA and pre-AA contexts actually date to a time prior to the use of the building. Van de Moortel believes that some of these remains are related to pre-AA occupation rather than to simple construction fill for the building. Perhaps the Southern Area was occupied in the MM IB period, indicated by the earthen floor found below the level of the "causeway" in the center of the AA/T court. Otherwise, the MM IB–IIB Early faunal remains could represent refuse associated with contemporary houses on the Hilltop and Central Hillside. The phases of AA have been separated by pottery groups as follows:

Building AA construction fill:	Groups A–Ji
Building AA use deposits:	Groups K–O; 2a, 4a, 5a, 21 (Rutter [Chap. 3.3])
Pre-AA deposits:	Groups X–Z

Table 4.13. Pottery groups from Building AA with associated faunal remains (MM IB–IIB). See Chap. 3.2 for discussion of the pottery groups.

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
A	Sounding north of Q	Fossil oyster	0	1	
		Ovis/Capra mid metatarsus	0	2	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra molar	0	1	Immature +
Ba	East sounding southeast of J	Reese (1995e)			
Bb	West sounding southeast of J	Reese (1995e)			
Bc	Sounding below T10	No fauna	0	0	
Bd	Sounding below North Stoa	Reese (1995e)			
C	Oval pavement J	No fauna	0	0	
Da	Sounding below west P4	No fauna	0	0	
Db	Court west of P5	No fauna	0	0	
Dc	Sounding below slabs in P5	No fauna	0	0	
E	Southwest part of South Stoa	Fossil oyster	0	3	
Fa	Southwest part of South Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
Fb	Floor packing east of South Stoa	*Euthria*	0	1	
		Fossil oyster	0	1	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
G	East of columns of South Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
H	East of drain in South Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
I	East of drain in South Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
Ja	Casemate below P1	Fossil oyster	3	12	
		Bittium	0	1	
		Charonia	0	3	Burnt
		Euthria	2	1	
		Glycymeris	1	1	
		Monodonta	5	7	
		Murex trunculus	4	75	Burnt
		Patella caerulea	16	7	
		Euconulus	2	0	
		Helix melanostoma	7	4	
		Oxychilus	1	0	
		Bos proximal L femur	0	1	< 3 years
		Bos proximal L femoral epiphysis	0	1	< 3 years

(Table 4.13 continued)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Bos or *Equus*	0	4	Immature +
		Capreolus(?) L glenoid	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal mid scapula	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal mid tibia	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal bones pieces	0	7	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra atlas	0	3	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra coronoid process	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra proximal L femur	0	1	Juvenile
		Ovis/Capra L glenoid	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra distal L humerus	0	1	> 8 mos
		Ovis/Capra mid humerus	0	1	Immature+; butchered
		Ovis/Capra mid L mandible	0	2	> 1 year
		Ovis/Capra mid L mandible	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra mid R mandible	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra anterior mandible	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra molar	1	2	> 1 year
		Ovis/Capra mid scapula	0	2	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra proximal L tibia	0	1	> 3 years
		Ovis/Capra mid R tibia	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra proximal L ulna	0	1	< 3.5 years
		Ovis/Capra vertebra	0	1	Adult
		Ovis/Capra vertebra	0	2	< 4 years
		Ovis cranium	0	1	Immature +
		Sus acetabulum	0	1	> 6 mos
		Sus cervical vertebra	0	1	< 4 years
		Sus cranium	0	1	Immature +
		Sus mid R femur	0	1	Immature +
		Sus mid R humerus	0	1	Immature +
		Sus mid ilium	0	1	Immature +
		Sus incisor	0	1	< 1 year
		Sus incisor	0	1	> 1 year
		Sus ischium	0	1	> 6 mos
		Sus lumbar vertebra	0	1	< 4 years

(*continued*)

(Table 4.13 continued)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Sus anterior mandible	0	1	> 1 year
		Sus mid R mandible	0	2	6–8 mos
		Sus mid mandible	0	3	< 8 mos
		Sus mid mandible	0	1	> 8 mos
		Sus maxilla	0	1	Immature +
		Sus molar	0	1	> 1 year
		Sus metapodial	0	1	< 2 years
		Sus proximal phalanx	0	1	< 10 mos
		Sus proximal phalanx	1	0	> 10 mos
		Sus articular rib	0	1	Immature +
		Sus supraorbital torus	0	1	Juvenile
		Sus mid R scapula	0	1	Immature +
		Sus mid tibia	0	1	Immature +
		Sus proximal R tibia	0	1	Immature +
		Sus mid L tibia	0	1	Immature +
Jb	West of casemate below P2	*Helix aspersa*	1	1	
		Helix melanostoma	1	0	
		Mammal bones	0	17	
		Murex trunculus	0	36	
		Patella caerulea	0	1	
		Ovis/Capra second premolar	1	0	> 1 year
		Ovis/Capra mid L radius	1	0	< 3 years
		Sus occipital condyle	0	1	Immature +
Jc	Casemate below P2	Mammal vertebra	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra second molar	1	0	> 1 year
		Ovis/Capra mid radius	0	1	Immature +
		Sus maxilla	0	1	> 6 mos
		Sus medial phalanx	1	0	> 6 mos
		Sus first premolar	1	0	> 6 mos
		Sus mid radius	0	1	Immature +
Jd	Sounding below P3	No fauna	0	0	
Je	Casemate below P3	Fossil oyster	0	2	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	1	
		Ostrea	0	1	

(*Table 4.13 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Bos tarsal	0	1	Immature +
		Bos mid tibia	0	1	Immature +
		Bos proximal R ulna	0	1	< 3.5 years
		Bos or *Equus* piece	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra R calcaneum	1	0	> 3 years
		Ovis/Capra mandible diastema	0	1	Adult
		Ovis/Capra R maxillary molar	0	1	Adult
		Ovis/Capra mid metatarsus	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra mandibular premolar	1	0	> 1 year
		Ovis/Capra mid radius	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra mid rib	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra distal R tibia	0	1	> 2 years
		Ovis/Capra mid tibia tool (Bo 60)	0	2	Worked
		Sus maxilla	0	1	6–8 mos
		Sus maxillary molar	0	2	Adult
		Sus mandibular molar	0	1	> 1 year
		Sus mandibular second premolar	1	0	> 1 year
		Sus mid scapula	0	1	Immature +
Jf	Strata east of P1, P2, and P3	Fossil oyster	0	3	
		Bittium	0	1	
		Charonia	0	2	
		Euconulus	1	1	
		Euthria	3	0	
		Glycymeris	1	1	Burnt
		Helix	0	1	
		Helix melanostoma	21	2	
		Monodonta	6	1	
		Murex trunculus	1	75	Some burnt
		Patella caerulea	6	0	
		Patella lusitanica	2	0	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.13 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Bos medial phalanx	0	2	> 10 mos
		Dama proximal L metatarsus	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal bones	0	8	Immature +
		Ovis/*Capra* distal L humerus	0	1	> 6 mos
		Ovis/*Capra* R mandible	0	1	> 1 year
		Ovis/*Capra* posterior L mandible	0	1	< 1 year
		Ovis/*Capra* maxillary second molar	1	0	Adult
		Ovis/*Capra* mandibular molar	0	3	Immature +
		Ovis/*Capra* R third molar	1	0	< 2 years
		Ovis/*Capra* distal metapodial	0	1	Juvenile
		Ovis/*Capra* mid rib	0	2	Immature +
		Ovis/*Capra* distal L tibia	0	1	> 2 years
		Ovis/*Capra* mid L ulna	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis distal L humerus	0	1	> 6 mos
		Sus mandibular canine	0	1	♀ > 1 year
		Sus cranium	0	3	Immature +
		Sus distal R humerus	0	1	> 8 mos
		Sus mid L humerus	0	1	Juvenile
		Sus mandibular incisor	1	0	< 1 year
		Sus mandibular incisor	1	0	> 1 year
		Sus R mandible	0	1	♂ adult
		Sus mandible	0	2	Immature +
		Sus mid mandible	0	1	< 2 years
		Sus maxilla	0	1	< 2 years
		Sus maxilla	0	1	Adult
		Sus proximal phalanx	0	1	> 10 mos
		Sus mandibular second premolar	1	0	> 1 year
		Sus mid scapula	0	2	Immature +
		Sus vertebra	0	2	< 4 years

(Table 4.13 continued)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
Jg	Surface below road of T, North Wing	No fauna	0	0	
Jh	Sounding below road of T, North Wing	*Cerithium*	0	1	
		Murex trunculus	0	2	
		Patella caerulea	0	1	
		Patella lusitanica	2	0	
		Bos or *Equus*	0	1	Immature +
		Capra mid horncore	0	2	> 1 year
Ji	Soundings below T24a	Reese (1995e)			
K	Fill or floor deposit outside drain in South Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
L	*Sottoscala* below P6	*Euthria*	4	1	
		Euconulus	2	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	22	Some burnt
M	Fill of drain in South Stoa	*Euconulus*	3	0	
		Euthria	46	0	
		Helix melanostoma	17	55	
		Murex brandaris	3	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	140	
		Patella caerulea	1	0	
		Patella lusitanica	1	0	
N	Small fill below P3	Mammal bone	0	1	
O	Paved floor of Room T5A	Reese (1995e)			
X	Fill between north-south paved	Reese (1995e)			
Y	Fill on earliest floor south of AA	Fossil oyster	0	3	
Z	Floor deposit south of AA	Fossil oyster	0	1	
		Bittium	0	1	
		Euthria	0	1	
		Murex trunculus	0	3	
		Bos or *Equus*	0	1	
		Mammal bone	0	3	

Reese (1995e) = *Kommos* I (2), chap. 5, "The Minoan Fauna"

Most remarkable about this group of fauna is that most of the MM fauna from the Southern Area comes from Van de Moortel's Location 10, represented by Groups Ja–Ji. These groups all contain pottery dating to the MM IB–IIB Early period. Marine remains as well as bovids and suids were found here, attesting to an MM dumping ground or a pre-AA occupation.

The presence of animals of all ages, juvenile to old adult, suggests that the dump site from which this fill was acquired did not contain the refuse from one event but rather was an accumulation from over time. The inclusion of cervid remains (Jf and possibly Ja) in this area indicates hunting by the locals in the early MM period. Only one bone for each cervid species survives. Perhaps the rest of the cervid and other animal remains are still in their original dumping location (prior to AA casemate filling) or have been identified by Reese in the Minoan Town fauna. Association between skeletons in the Southern Area and elsewhere on the site, however, cannot be made given the state of preservation. Such an association would suggest that the Southern Area was merely a dumping site in the early MM period for the Minoan town at Kommos.

Many deposits containing significant amounts of *Murex* remains date to pre-AA periods on the site (Ja, Jb, Jf, Z). This is to be expected, since we have already established the date for the original *Murex* dye industry to be MM IB/MM II. Finds in Groups L and M, identified with periods of the use of AA, have been found with significant numbers of *Murex* and *Euthria*. The contents of the *sottoscala* below P6 (Group L), and the fill of the drainage channel close to the South Stoa (Group M), gives a date from the MM IIB late period. Could, then, the *Murex* dye industry have been contemporary with the early use of AA in the late MM IIB period? Could Building AA have had a direct relation with the industry?

In general, not many "edibles" were found in AA use contexts, suggesting that a kitchen or dining area was not recovered from excavations of this early building.

BUILDING T

Faunal assemblages from areas within Building T, contemporary with its construction and use, have been distinguished by Rutter from his analysis of the pottery in this volume (Chap. 3.3). The following pottery groups define deposits dating from the end of the MM III period through LM II. Specific areas and periods, identified through ceramic provenance by trench and pail numbers, have been associated with the faunal remains found in these contexts. The fauna are presented along with their relevant pottery groups in Table 4.14. Where trench numbers were of pre-1990 excavations (< Trench 70), faunal lists produced by Reese during his analysis have been referred to. These lists are referred to as "Reese" in the first line of the "Comments" column, where applicable. Excavations in the Southern Area between Trenches 11A and 70A were studied by Reese but not published because of the geographic focus of the previous *Kommos* volumes on the Minoan Town site and the later Greek Sanctuary. Not all earlier trenches in the Southern Area had fauna, and many pails were integrated into larger groups, so that individual pails could not be separated out again. Cases such as these

Table 4.14. Pottery groups from Building T with associated faunal remains (MM III–LM II). See Chap. 3.3 for discussion of the pottery groups.

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
1	Initial use floor of T under P2	Mammal vertebra	0	1	Immature +
		Sus medial phalanx	1	0	> 10 mos
		Sus mid radius	0	1	Immature +
2a	T23, first floor	No fauna	0	0	
2b	T23, second floor	*Euthria*	1	0	Reese
		Glycymeris	0	1	
		Helix	1	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Pisania	1	0	
		Mammal bones	0	6	
3a	T24a, first floor	*Murex trunculus*	0	1	Reese
		Paracentrotus spine	2	0	
		Fish bone	2	0	
		Rodent bone	1	0	
3b	T24a, second floor	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
4a	T24b, first floor	*Murex trunculus*	0	1	Reese
		Mammal bone	0	1	
4b	T24b, second floor	*Murex trunculus*	1	0	Reese
		Mammal bone	0	3	
5a	T25a, first floor	No fauna	0	0	
5b	T25a, second floor	No fauna	0	0	
6	T19, floor	Fossil oyster	0	5	Reese
		Bittium	2	0	
		Cerithium	3	0	
		Columbella	1	0	
		Conus	1	0	
		Monodonta	13	0	
		Murex trunculus	6	1	
		Patella	496	0	
		Pisania	1	0	
		Crab	0	2	
		Land snail	19	0	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.14 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Mammal bone	0	18	
7	T42, floor	*Murex*	1	0	Reese
		Patella	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	4	1 burnt
8	T North Stoa, Space 16, floor	No fauna	0	0	
9a	Southwest end under P5, T floor	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
9b	Southwest end under P5, T floor deposit	Fossil oyster	2	0	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	3	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Canis mid rib	0	1	Immature +
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
10	Northwest end under P5, T floor	*Euthria*	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	2	
11	South facade of T	*Euthria*	10	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex brandaris	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	26	
		Patella caerulea	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	
12	South facade of T, fill above surf	Glycymeris	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
13	Southeast corner of T South Stoa	*Euthria*	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
		Patella caerulea	2	0	
14	T South Stoa, below kiln dump	No fauna	0	0	
15	T corridor 20, east end	No fauna	0	0	
16	T21, floor	*Conus*	1	0	Reese
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex	3	0	
		Patella	2	0	
		Land snail	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	

(*Table 4.14 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
17a	T19, floor	Fossil oyster	0	5	Reese
		Bittium	2	0	
		Cerithium	3	0	
		Columbella	1	0	
		Conus	1	0	
		Monodonta	13	0	
		Murex trunculus	6	1	
		Patella	496	0	
		Pisania	1	0	
		Crab	0	2	
		Land snail	19	0	
		Mammal bone	0	18	
17b	T42, earthen floor	*Columbella*	1	0	Reese
		Patella	99	0	
		Mammal bone	0	3	
18	T North Stoa, Space 16, floor	No fauna	0	0	
19	T South Stoa, east of kiln	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Bittium	1	0	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Monodonta	2	0	
		Murex trunculus	2	0	
20	T23, fill	No fauna	0	0	
21	T29, floor	Mammal bone	0	1	Reese
22a	T20/22, west end fill	Fossil oyster	2	0	Reese
		Gibbula	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	10	
22b	T20/22, west end, upper fill	*Murex*	1	0	Reese
		Land snail	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	14	4 burnt
23	T20/22 west end, floor final use	*Bittium*	1	0	Reese
		Fasciolaria	1	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Patella	180	0	
		Mammal bone	0	16	1 burnt

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.14 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
24	T20/22 west end, floor	*Monodonta*	1	0	Reese
		Murex	2	0	
		Patella	6	0	
		Land snail	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	27	2 burnt
25	T22, east end floor	Mammal bone	0	1	Reese
26	T Space 16, earth floor with bins	Mammal bone	0	2	Reese
27a	T42, floor	*Paracentrotus* spine	1	0	Reese
		Mammal bone	0	1	Burnt
27b	T42, fill above lepis floor	No fauna	0	0	
28a	T North Stoa, northwest corner	*Murex*	0	1	Reese
		Mammal bone	0	1	
28b	T, North Stoa, sounding below paving	No fauna	0	0	
29	Fill, *sottoscala* in J	No fauna	0	0	
30	Under P6, green-gray floor	*Murex trunculus*	1	0	
		Euconulus	1	0	
31	T22, north half, fill	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
32	T22, west end, fill	*Euthria*	1	0	Reese
		Monodonta	4	0	
		Murex	2	0	
		Patella	1	0	
33	T Space 16, removal of platform	No fauna	0	0	
34	T Space 16, northeast North Stoa fill	No fauna	0	0	
35	T42, earth floor	*Cypraea*	1	0	Reese
		Mammal bone	0	1	
36	T Space 16, northeast section of North Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
37a	T, North Stoa, northeast section, east of pier	No fauna	0	0	
37b	Space 11 fill, T North Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
37c	T, North Stoa, northwest section, west of pier	No fauna	0	0	
37d	T Space 10, fill from floor	No fauna	0	0	
37e	Over pebble court, south T, North Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
38	Fill over pebble court, under floor	No fauna	0	0	
39	Fill over LM IB floor	No fauna	0	0	
40	Fill of *sottoscala*, Space T5B	No fauna	0	0	
41	Fill below P3, west end	No fauna	0	0	

(Table 4.14 continued)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
42	Floor under northwest P6	*Glycymeris*	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	1	
43	Space 16, northeast section of North Stoa	No fauna	0	0	
44a	J Corridor 7, dumped fill	No fauna	0	0	
44b	Space N9, dumped fill	Mammal bone	0	12	Reese
45	Fill on slab floor, west J Corridor 7	No fauna	0	0	
46a	Surface under North Court 6	No fauna	0	0	
46b	Fill over pebble court	No fauna	0	0	

Reese = faunal list produced by David S. Reese (pre-1990 excavation)

have a "No fauna" listing under "Species." The lists provided from these earlier trenches did not identify each animal bone. Instead, "Mammal bones" is recorded in the species section, although some of these may actually be identifiable to genus.

The faunal assemblage associated with Building T is minimal in contrast with the sample excavated from Building AA construction fill deposits. There are few deposits yielding significant amounts of fauna in T to warrant speculation into the whereabouts of kitchens, dining rooms, and dumping areas. The exception to this conclusion could be spaces T19 and T42, where significant amounts of shellfish remains were recovered; these are discussed below. Otherwise, meat may not have been prepared and/or eaten in or around Building T. Further investigations can be made by examining fauna recovered from different phases of the building.

The deposits associated with Building T are divided into six different phases:

Building T construction (MM III–LM IA Early):	Groups 1–15
Building T continued use (LM IA Advanced):	Groups 16–19
Building T continued use (LM IA Final):	Groups 20–30
Building T continued use (LM IB Early):	Groups 31–42
Building T continued use (LM IB Late):	Groups 43–44b
Building T end (LM II):	Groups 45–46b

Bone and shell remains from the construction of T (Groups 1–15) show a predominance of marine remains. The presence of *Murex* and *Euthria* fragments in these groups suggests the contamination of these deposits with MM II B material. The record of *Glycymeris* in some of these groups also suggests contamination from LM IIIA2 levels. Rutter notes this contamination in some groups (e.g., 9b). The remainder of the material after these species are extracted leaves only a few scraps of bone and single occurrences of shell species. It is doubtful that

any of the fauna from these contexts are meaningful to the construction of the building, except in showing that these construction fills are composed of earlier material. There do not appear to be any fauna from these groups that can be directly associated with the construction of T.

Groups 16–19 from the LM IA Advanced period produce one of the most convincing cases for dining in a specific room. Groups 17a and 17b from the floors of Room T19 and adjoining T42 produced almost 600 limpets, 21 mammal bones, and crab remains. These species are certainly edible and were excavated from pure contexts. Other interesting species from these floor deposits include pretty shells like *Columbella*, *Conus*, and *Pisania*. These small marine gastropods are known not for their food value but rather for their attractiveness. Perhaps they were shucked from the rocks along with the limpets, or they fell off the decorations on the clothing of a worker or diner in these rooms.

Fauna from the LM IA Final period of T's continued use reveals patterns identified in adjacent Rooms 19 and 42. In Corridor 20 and adjoining Room 22, a total of 67 mammal bones with seven burnt specimens were found from the floor fill and the floor use. Also, 186 limpets were recovered from the floor deposits. Contemporary floors in Rooms 19 and 42 did not produce mammal bones and limpets. Perhaps this pattern shows that the function of Rooms 19 and 42 changed in the LM IA Final period, and dining continued in the vicinity across the corridor in Room 22. The presence of burnt bones in T20/22 suggests food preparation in the vicinity as well. Burnt bones were not identified from the floor deposits in T19/42.

Almost no bone and shell remains were recovered from LM IB Early deposits. The only notable find that may be associated with this period of use of T is the cowrie shell found on the earthen floor in T42. The cowrie is a lovely shell, often used as an ornament in antiquity as well as in modern times. From the rest of this assemblage, no evidence of meal preparation or refuse is clear from any of the applicable deposits.

Even less bone and shell was recovered from LM IB and LM II deposits. The only exception seems to be in the fill of Space N9 to the west of T. This deposit produced 12 animal bones. Because of the deposit's nature as fill, it is likely that the bones therein date from an earlier period.

In general, meal activity seems to have been restricted to the LM IA Advanced/Final period in the northeast section of T, specifically Rooms 19/42 and 20/22. Unfortunately, much of the West Wing of the building has not been preserved.

BUILDING P

Building P, with its six galleries, produced fauna from the different phases of construction, use, and abandonment. Only Gallery P3 has been excavated in its entirety, so much of the bone and shell information comes from this space. The interpretation of the building as a shipshed coincides with lack of fauna remains. Clearly, this was not a building meant for

human habitation. The bone and shell remains from Building P deposits are listed in Table 4.15.

There is a notable predominance of marine remains from Building P, just as was previously noted for Building T. The main difference is the smaller amount of animal bones overall and the presence of fossil oyster in a good majority of the deposits. *Murex* is still appearing but in fewer numbers, and *Glycymeris* is predominant in many contexts. Most of the deposits in P contain fill from earlier periods and include contemporary material as well. The significant numbers of fossil oyster pieces reflect the digging of foundation trenches, which could be associated with either P or its predecessor T. The earth was clearly repacked after the completion of the construction of P. New surfaces were produced during the use of the building using the recycled fill from previous constructions. The phases of P have been separated by pottery groups as follows:

Building P construction fills (LM II–IIIA2 Early):	Groups 47–55
Building P use deposits (LM IIIA2):	Groups 56a–58c
Building P use deposits (LM IIIB):	Groups 59–78
Building P end (LM IIIC):	Group 79

The construction fills from P represented by the first sixteen pottery groups contain species that have been identified with earlier periods. This finding is to be expected, since construction entailed the mass moving of dirt that merged with contemporary materials. There is a repetition of species in these deposits, which suggests that the fauna are not meaningful or exclusive to the spaces in which they were found. Most species represented here have been recovered from previous fills, or underlying geologic layers containing fossils. *Glycymeris*, as mentioned previously, is also a feature of the LM IIIA2/B period, so it is not surprising to find many of them. One deposit worth discussing is the fill above Room 42 (Group 52h). Here 22 animal bones were recovered, more than in all the other construction fill deposits for P. This fill may have been acquired from another area of the site, perhaps an area used as a dump in the MM period. A more likely scenario is that P levels were mixed with the underlying levels of T during construction. Room T42, as previously mentioned, was found to contain quite a number of bones in the LM IA period. Rutter mentions that this group was contaminated with material from MM III–LM II. It is therefore improbable that this assemblage of animal bones is contemporary with the use of P.

The use deposits of P (Groups 56a–58c) show much of the same pattern of faunal remains as the previous groups. Some fossils and *Glycymeris* appear with some intrusive land snails but not much else to indicate that meal preparation or consumption occurred in or around P during its use.

Later use deposits of P produced more marine remains than were previously found in P. With the exception of Groups 60 and 66, the deposits show much the same species. Group 60, the floor of N4 and Court N6, produced 21 limpets, urchin and fish bits, 99 animal bones,

Table 4.15. Pottery groups from Building P with associated faunal remains (LM IIIA2 Early–IIIB). See Chap. 3.3 for discussion of the pottery groups.

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
47	Fill below abandonment floor, T5	Fossil oyster	3	0	Reese
		Glycymeris	2	0	
		Monodonta	0	1	
		Murex	0	1	
		Patella	8	0	
		Paracentrotus spine	9	0	
		Fish bone	0	11	
		Mammal bone	0	4	
48	Fill below North Court 6	No fauna	0	0	
49	Fill below floor in N12 and N13	No fauna	0	0	
50	Fill below open court N8	*Euthria*	1	0	Reese
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	9	
51	Fill below surface of N9	*Glycymeris*	4	1	Reese
		Helix	1	0	
		Murex	1	7	
		Patella	3	0	
		Mammal bone	0	3	
52a	Fill above T23	*Eobania*	1	0	Reese
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	26	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	1	
		Patella	12	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Helix	2	0	
		Mammal bone	0	9	
52b	Fill above T29, east end of Corridor 20	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
		Glycymeris	8	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	2	
52c	Fill between T22 and P1	*Euthria*	1	0	Reese
		Glycymeris	8	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Patella	65	0	

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
52d	Fill above T22, east end	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
		Fossil scallop	1	0	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	9	0	
		Monodonta	1	1	
		Murex	0	4	
		Patella	21	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Paracentrotus spine	1	0	
52e	Fill N of P1 in south part of T22	No fauna	0	0	
52f	Removal of west wall, north of P	No fauna	0	0	
52g	Scarp cleaning north of P1's north wall	No fauna	0	0	
52h	Rubble fill above Room 42	Mammal bone	0	22	Reese
53	Fill below first floor in P4	*Glycymeris*	7	0	
54	Construction fill under floor of P5	Fossil oyster	2	0	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	3	0	
		Murex	0	1	
		Patella	1	0	
		Canis mid rib	0	1	
		Mammal bone	0	1	
55	Fill below first floor in P6	Fossil oyster	2	0	
		Glycymeris	1	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	3	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Euconulus	1	0	
		Helix	1	0	
		Mammal bone	1	0	
56a	Floor in east end of P2	Fossil oyster	2	0	
		Glycymeris	6	0	
		Patella	2	0	
56b	Floor near east end of P2	Mammal bone	0	1	
56c	Floor near east end of P2	No fauna	0	0	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
56d	Rectangular pit of northeast corner, P2	No fauna	0	0	
56e	Pebbled court surface west of P1	No fauna	0	0	
56f	Pebbled court surface south of Court 15	No fauna	0	0	
57a	Fill below burnt floor, west end P3	Fossil scallop	1	0	
		Glycymeris	6	0	
		Patella	7	0	
		Ostrea	0	1	
		Eobania	1	0	
		Helicella	2	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	
57b	Black pebble surface, west end	No fauna	0	0	
57c	West end P3, fill below plaster floor	No fauna	0	0	
57d	Floor above burnt earth and pebbles	*Glycymeris*	10	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex brandaris	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	
57e	Floor with walls at west end P3	*Patella*	3	0	
57f	Partition wall horizon in center P3	*Glycymeris*	3	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
57g	Removal of fill over east end P3	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Glycymeris	3	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
57h	Fill where plaster floor is cut	*Glycymeris*	1	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	
57i	Fill below first floor P3	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Sus mandibular incisor	0	1	Immature +
57j	Floor associated with anchor bases	*Glycymeris*	18	0	
		Ostrea	0	4	
		Pinna	0	2	
		Spondylus	0	1	
58a	Fill above terrace surface, north of P	*Glycymeris*	2	0	Reese
		Patella	2	0	
58b	Fill north of P, over T22 east end	*Glycymeris*	22	0	Reese

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex	1	0	
		Patella	20	1	
		Mammal bone	0	4	
58c	Fill associated with "roasting stand"	No fauna	0	0	
59	Floor of J, Room 5A and Corridor 7	No fauna	0	0	
60	Floor of N4 and Court N6	Fossil oyster	16	0	Reese
		Fossil scallop	1	0	
		Glycymeris	9	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex	0	3	
		Patella	21	0	
		Paracentrotus test	0	1	
		Cochlicella	41	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Helix	4	0	
		Fish bone	0	3	
		Lepus	0	1	
		Mammal bone	0	99	
61	Abandonment surface, South Court N6	Fossil oyster	0	3	Reese
		Fasciolaria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	1	0	
		Monodonta	19	0	
		Patella	53	0	
		Helix	3	0	
		Mammal bone	0	7	
62	Pebbled surface in Space N9	No fauna	0	0	
63	Pebbled court surface in N8	No fauna	0	0	
64	First floor in Rooms N12–13	No fauna	0	0	
65	Second floor of Rooms N12–13	Fossil oyster	1	0	Reese
		Glycymeris	1	0	
66	Final floor in P1	Fossil oyster	10	0	
		Arcularia	1	0	
		Columbella	2	0	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Glycymeris	15	1	
		Monodonta	5	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	7	
		Patella	42	0	
		Pisania	1	0	
		Eriphia claw	0	1	
		Euconulus	1	0	
		Helix melanostoma	1	0	
		Ovis/Capra mid humerus	0	1	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra mid metatarsus	0	2	Immature +
		Ovis/Capra fourth premolar	0	1	> 1 year
		Mammal bone	0	3	Immature +
67a	Final floors at east end of P2	Fossil oyster	2	0	
		Charonia	0	1	
		Glycymeris	6	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Spondylus	1	0	
		Helix melanostoma	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
67b	Final floor at west end of P2	No fauna	0	0	
67c	Lepis floor at west end of P2	*Glycymeris*	5	0	Reese
67d	Surface with porous working chips	No fauna	0	0	
68	Initial floor in P3, over anchors	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Glycymeris	2	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
		Ostrea	1	0	
		Patella	3	0	
69a	Second floor in P3, eastern part	Fossil oyster	3	0	
		Glycymeris	3	0	
		Monodonta	3	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Euconulus	1	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
69b	Second floor in P3, western part	Fossil oyster	0	2	
		Bittium	1	0	
		Glycymeris	4	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Ostrea	0	4	
		Patella	3	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
70a	Final floor in P3, Trench 83A	Fossil oyster	0	1	
		Glycymeris	14	0	
		Monodonta	5	0	
		Murex trunculus	1	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Sepia	1	0	
		Helix aspersa	1	0	
		Ovis/Capra cf. mid longbone	0	1	Immature +
70b	Final floor in P3, Trench 83C	Fossil oyster	0	3	
		Glycymeris	1	0	
		Helix melanostoma	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
71a	Abandonment surface, P3 north half	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Glycymeris	3	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Helix melanostoma	2	0	
71b	Abandonment surface, P3, south half	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Glycymeris	1	0	
		Monodonta	2	0	
		Paracentrotus test/spines	0	60	
		Helix melanostoma	2	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	Immature +
72	Fill between two floors in P5	Fossil oyster	1	0	
		Glycymeris	7	0	
		Patella	1	0	
73a	Final floor in P5	Fossil oyster	1	0	

(*continued*)

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
		Glycymeris	2	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Patella	5	0	
		Helicella	2	0	
73b	Use fill of P outside P5	*Glycymeris*	2	0	
74	Abandonment surface in P5	Fossil oyster	0	3	
		Glycymeris	2	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Euconulus	1	0	
		Helicella	1	0	
		Helix melanostoma	15	0	
75	Fill between floors in P6	Fossil oyster	0	2	
		Astraea	1	0	
		Glycymeris	8	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	2	
		Patella	1	0	
76	Final floor in P6	Fossil oyster	0	3	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	4	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex	1	0	
		Patella	1	0	
		Euconulus	1	0	
		Oxychilus	1	0	
77	Fill of terrace in front of P6	Fossil oyster	0	2	
		Arcularia	1	0	
		Euthria	1	0	
		Glycymeris	5	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Murex trunculus	0	2	
		Euconulus	3	0	
		Helicella	2	0	
		Helix melanostoma	1	0	
		Mammal bone	0	1	

(*Table 4.15 continued*)

Pottery Group	Location	Species	Complete	Fragments	Comments
78	Wash levels between N6 and Q	Fossil oyster	1	1	Reese
		Cerithium	1	0	
		Glycymeris	11	0	
		Monodonta	1	0	
		Patella	44	0	
		Spondylus	1	0	
		Helix	2	0	
		Mammal bone	0	21	
79	Uppermost levels above J	No fauna	0	0	

Reese = faunal list produced by David S. Reese (pre-1990 excavation)

and many land snails. The presence of land snails could indicate a dump of some kind, since snails are attracted to carrion or rotting vegetation. Building N, considered a possible administrative building associated with P in its early stages therefore exhibits evidence of human habitation, or at least dumping activity. Group 66, the final floor in P1, also produced 42 limpets, a crab claw, and sheep/goat bones. These contexts are the only cases in which evidence for eating or discarding meal refuse was found in P or N. These remains could be contemporary with the structures or represent squatter activities immediately after the building was abandoned.

The wash levels and the LM IIIC deposits reveal nothing remarkable about the local inhabitants in the area at the time. Limpets, *Glycymeris*, and 21 animal bones in the wash zone between N6 and Building Q (Group 78) resemble the assemblage found in adjacent N6 from a slightly earlier date.

Conclusion

The faunal remains from the Southern Area at Kommos tell us several things about the occupation of the site.

1. The site was not intended for extensive human domestic habitation after the MM IB period.
2. The MM IB deposits contain the largest concentrations of animal bone, suggesting that either the Southern Area was inhabited at that time or that dumping from the Minoan town to the north occurred here.
3. Buildings AA, T, P, and N were likely public buildings.
4. The massive movement of earth during the construction of the large buildings resulted in a mixing of levels, which hinders clear interpretation of spaces.

5. Eating activity or meal refuse was found in significant quantities in Rooms T19, T20, T22, and T42, dating from the use of T.
6. Eating activity or meal refuse was found in significant quantities in Room N4, Court N6, and the final floor in P1, dating from the period during or immediately after the use of P.
7. *Murex* occurs throughout the Southern Area, clearly associated with an early MM dye industry.
8. This dye production industry at Kommos is one of the earliest installations for Royal Purple textile manufacture in the ancient world.
9. *Murex* was melted into lime and used secondarily in Central Court paving in the MM III or early LM IA period.
10. Waterworn *Glycymeris* was found throughout the site in the LM IIIA2/B period, probably deposited initially through natural events and later collected by site inhabitants.
11. The exclusive presence of *Helix melanostoma* among *Helix* species up until the LM IIIA2 indicates an agricultural community of modest proportions.
12. The exclusive presence of *Helix aspersa* in the Historic period indicates a long-term consequence of agriculture in the area.
13. The inhabitants of Kommos exploited domestic and marine animals for food and labor.
14. Settlers came to Kommos with domestic animals also found at other sites in Crete.

Although the faunal assemblage from the Southern Area of Kommos is not extensive, much about the use of the site and its inhabitants can be learned from a study of temporal and spatial contexts.

Notes

1. J. W. Shaw 1973a: 45–47 (double axes; see also Blitzer 1995: **M 154** for a double ax from the Kommos hillside); 47–49 (picks, mattocks, adzes); 52–55 (hammers); 55–58 (toothed saws); 70–75 (chisels).

2. **3** (a knife tip), **8** (a chisel), **11–12** (nails), and **28–29** (strips); **16** (rod fragments) was found at the western end of the same space.

3. We are indebted to Kathy Hall, conservator, for these observations.

4. For nails from other sites see J. W. Shaw 1973a: 74 n. 3. Recently, however, nails of LM II date as long as 15 cm have been reported from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Popham et al. 1984: pl. 196 [h, i, j], 203 [**10–14**]). Other nails from Kommos are described in Blitzer 1995: **M 100** (B 68) and **M 101** (B 69), the largest of which is 2.9 cm long. Large iron spikes 15–20 cm long were used during the Greek period to secure the timbers of Temple C (J. W. Shaw 2000: chap. 5.8.)

5. These strips are probably copper rather than bronze, for which see Table 4.1. For other strips from the Southern Area see Blitzer 1995: **M 108** (B 94), **M 118** (B 133), **M 123** (B 146) and her pls. 8.86, 8.107. The author is indebted to Niki Holmes Kantzios for her careful cataloguing of many of the strips and some of the other bronzes.

6. Similar strips of metal (copper?) were recovered at Akrotiri on Thera (Michailidou 1995: 173, pl. 24a) where it is suggested that they might have been used to bind molds but could have been used for other things as well. H. W. Catling and E. Catling note those from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos as well as from the Menelaion near Sparta, identifying them as "mould wire" (1994: 218). No crucibles, slag or molds, representing actual metalworking, however, were found in Room F of Building T. Evely (2000: 362) mentions such "binding" strips also from Malia,

Gournia, and Pseira. Those analyzed (Gournia, Knossos, Kommos, and Malia) are of copper, without tin.

7. For crucibles see also Evely 2000: 346–52, which incorporates new information from Knossos and elsewhere.

8. The descriptions of the crucibles discovered through 1985 are taken largely from Blitzer 1995, but sometimes with added information on date and stratigraphy. Cecile Oberweiler of the Université Paris I—Sorbonne has made suggestions that have been incorporated in the text.

9. For those from Greek contexts, some no doubt Minoan, see *Kommos* IV.

10. Through Trench 65B1, through 1985. Dabney 1996a: 244–62.

11. To these should be added Dabney 1996a: **152–53**.

12. Although some of these types were found in House X, north of the east-west road, they were not found within the area circumscribed by the outline of Building T (the "Southern Area" here).

13. Other uses such as fishing cannot be excluded. In 1996 a Pitsidia fisherman, Theocharis Spinthakis, recovered loomweight C 11063 (in Pl. 4.15) from the sea. It had been caught up in one of his nets at a depth of 40 m off the point of land directly west of Kaloi Limenes and south of Matala (at "Kephala"). As far as we know, there is no ancient settlement in the immediate area, so the possibility that it was originally used as a line or net weight is increased. See also *Kommos* I (2): 381. The weight is probably Minoan, for its size is similar to our MM **14**, **19**, and **26** here. Its fabric, with dark gray angular inclusions, matches that of the same three, so it may be MM as well. Statistics for this loomweight from the sea (C 11063) are given here in the form of the catalogue in Table 4.2: Preserved: 95%; h 7.75; w 7.6; th 2.3; wt 118 g; d of hole 1.8. Holes: 1; G: N; F: N; T: N; P: N; I: N. Color of exterior and interior clay: 5YR 5/5. Inclusions: 30%. For the probable use of loomweights for fishing, see also Powell 1996: 116–18 and figs. 74, 76.

14. The number 183 is derived as follows. There are 167 listed in Dabney, but this number should be reduced by 1, to 166, since her **133** (C 3545) was found by us to join her **140** (C 3193, our catalogue number **57**). To this 166 should be added the 31 discovered in the Southern Area after 1985, giving a site total of 197. Our total of 183 in the text does not include 14 found in connection with Roads 17, 33, and 34 (Dabney 1996a: **1**, **57–58**, **75–78**, **100**, **105**, **106**, **112–14**, **163**), for our list focuses on the interiors of the civic structures. To our catalogue total here of 64 from the Southern Area should be added Dabney's **53**, **152**, and **153**, giving the total of 67 cited in the text.

15. These are similar to **13**, **15**, and **17** in Group 2.

16. Entry taken from Dabney 1996b: 268.

17. Catalogued by Niki Holmes Kantzios.

18. She also lists a number from the Southern Area, which are not included here. The few examples of chipped stone (CS) from the Southern Area are dealt with in the same chapter. The dates of those published by her and listed in the catalogue below have often been changed, since the archaeological contexts are better understood at this point.

19. The following three items were not part of the original Blitzer typology but were published separately by Whittaker (1996a: 321–23), where she notes that they may have been for offerings or for games. They are included here for the sake of completeness.

20. Schwab 1996: **42** (S 283).

21. Other fragments of Minoan vases were found in Greek contexts in the Southern Area. None were found in interiors, so they were presumably not in reuse. They are Schwab 1996: **2**, **14**, **27**, **44**, **54**, **57**, **69**, **64**, and **78**. We found **31** when building a wall along the western periphery near Building T, Room 5. It appeared below the level of the pebble court, so it may well belong to the first group associated with MM Building AA.

22. For a valuable review of the full range of "offering tables," see Gesell 1985: 15, 33, 51, which is particularly useful, as it places their use both contextually and diachronically. Here I also take the opportunity to thank those who helped me with various aspects of this study: P. Muhly and P. Militello for their expert opinions on the subject; conservators Cap Sease, Barbara Hamann, Kathy Hall, Élise Alloin, as well as Teresa Hancock for her assistance with the preparation of illustrations, tables, and charts.

23. A particularly useful technical study is that of tables found at Phaistos (Militello 2001: 182–84). For tables characterized by a tall pedestal, see Platon and Pararas 1991; and for My-

cenaean examples, see Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1982.

24. For the use of tables as hearths, see Metaxa-Muhly 1984.

25. **PT1–PT2** were drawn by G. Bianco, the remainder by Julia P. Pfaff.

26. **PT1–PT3**, and **PT7** were photographed by Edwin Burke, the remainder by Taylor Dabney.

27. Reconstructions by the author redrawn by G. Bianco.

28. I am indebted to workman Euripides Lykardopoulos for his carrying out the preliminary excavation with care, and in the uncomfortable position of lying on his back with his head facing up in the tight spot under the LM III wall. The pieces of the table were eventually retrieved by attaching them to a backing of gauze before removing them. This delicate operation was undertaken by conservator Kathy Hall, who also consolidated what was left from this table and who constructed a mount as support for the piece with the painted surfaces.

29. For such a design on pottery, see Betancourt 1985a (on the book jacket), an MM II cup from Kommos.

30. I found the comments in the following two publications to be the most helpful: Xanthoudides 1922: 15–16, and Militello 2001: 182–84, 199–200.

31. The only match I could find is a stone tripod object found on Thera, which, however, is not flat on top and has been described as a grinder by the excavator (Marinatos 1968: 57–58, figs. 84–88).

32. See Militello 2001: 183 n. 224, for a listing of types of offering tables from these areas and what appears to be a usual range of diameters, namely, 30.0–60.0.

33. Information provided in Doumas 1992: 183; measurements given in the caption for figs. 142–44.

34. The shape seems to me to most resemble Militello 2001: 171, fig. 40, 1c, which is a drawing reconstructing a number of types. For painted table feet from Phaistos, see pls. XII, 1–2, col. pls. B, 3, 5 and C, 5, 10, and 11. Of these, the last two feature abstract patterns, one resembling that on **PT27** from Kommos.

35. The shape is not dissimilar to that suggested for some examples from Phaistos (Militello 2001: 171, fig. 40, 2a).

36. The estimate is not far off the lower part of the range (15.0–20.0) quoted for tables (even of the round kind) from Nirou Khani (Xanthoudides 1922: 16).

37. For such decoration, see two examples from Thera, with the term used in the captions of their decoration: Marinatos 1971: pls. 81 and 82.

38. See, for instance, examples from the palace at Phaistos (Militello 2001: pls. VIII 6–7).

39. See examples from Phaistos (Militello 2001: pl. C, 5) and some of the tables from Thera noted above.

40. As can be seen in an example from Mycenae, where a helmet was depicted on the leg of the table (Wace 1921–23: 224–26, pl. XXXVII, a and d).

41. See Baker 1966: 245 n. 12. The reference was obtained from Muhly 1996: 204.

42. For a decoration on feet that includes abstract designs and even imitations of variegated stones, see examples from Phaistos in Militello 2001: pl. XII, 1–2, pl. B, 3, 5, pl. C, 11.

43. For the particular shape see the tables from Archanes in Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: vol. II: 505, fig. 494.

44. The reconstruction offered by Militello for a type of table found at Phaistos that comes closest in shape to the Kommos Type A was very helpful (2001: 199–200 and pl. XVI, 1–5).

45. My main evidence for this comes from loose fragments of **PT14**, which are definitely part of the table's underside.

46. Muhly 1996: 197–206.

47. Militello (2001: 184). That dowels were used on other occasions in association with plaster is suggested by similar impressions noted by Cameron in wall revetment that consisted of thick layers of plaster, leading him to the conclusion that the purpose was to help prevent a collapse of the thick revetment. This observation and a photo of an example were conveyed in the past to J. W. Shaw (1973a: 215, and 212, fig. 243).

48. The feet, according to Muhly (1996: 198), were attached to the convex underside of the wooden tables by means of tenons, mortises, and pegs.

49. According to a recent communication from Militello, the clay cores of tables from Phaistos were never found adhering to the interior of the plaster coating. The use of such cores is attested there by loose fragments in the storeroom boxes with finds from the old excavations of a mixture made of mud, little broken stones, and pebbles.

Among the best-preserved tables in Crete are those from Nirou Khani and at Archanes, to be discussed below.

50. For such a possible role, see M. C. Shaw 1986.

51. See Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: vol. I: 84, fig. 65. Although this is a speculative thought, I would like to suggest that if the find spot of the actual table **PT9** is close to where the one preserved piece was found, directly west of the LM III wall that separates Loci 35/P4–36/P5, the table may have been positioned on the little plaster platform, set centrally at the entrance to Locus 36/P5.

52. This view was argued recently by the present author, along with the possibility that there may have been a second storey with colonnaded balconies over both the Kommos stoas, the purpose of which would have been to increase viewing capacity, especially for those who wished or had to watch such events from more private quarters (M. C. Shaw 2003a). For the theatrical aspect of Minoan ritual and spaces from which it was formally "watched," see: La Rosa 2000c: 137–52; Palyvou 2002: 167–77, pls. LVI–LIX (with special emphasis on the role of the Central Court.

53. That the stoas at Kommos were properly appointed to receive people of some importance and in some numbers is clear both by their impressive depth (5.50–5.60 m) and their mural decoration, with its imitations of fancy stonework in a dado of panels, and its painted floors (Chap. 2).

54. Rutter 2004. On the other hand, the dining itself, as I propose in Chap. 2.2 here, may have taken place in Room 19, where the greatest deposit of food debris was found.

55. As, for instance, in the so-called Temple at Malia in MM II (Rutkowski 1986: 159–61), and in the LM III shrines at Gournia and at Knossos, respectively, in Gesell 1985: 90–92, 200, fig. 118 and 72, 200, fig. 119.

56. Here, I agree with P. Muhly (pers. comm., March 13, 2003) that these tables do not by themselves have a religious function, exclusively as offering tables. Her arguments can be found in her discussion of the little wooden tables from Mycenae, as well as one from Akrotiri at Thera, reconstructed from its imprint in the ash, that may have been used in banquets (Muhly 1996: 202–4).

57. Small quantities of agricultural produce such as fruits and grains may have been placed on the plaster tables (as suggested in Xanthoudides 1922: 16).

58. Xanthoudides 1922: 8 and 15–16, figs. 8, 12, in Rooms 17 and 18. For a handy plan of the building, see Gesell 1985: 116, fig. 60. For a possible tripartite shrine set in the court, see J. W. Shaw 1978a: 446 n. 32.

59. Xanthoudides 1922: 16.

60. The tables were found in Hall 10. For a plan and other information, see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: vol. I: 79, 98–100, and vol. II: 504–5.

61. Militello 2001: 87, 91, 94–97. For the presence of MM II and III sherds in some of the layers containing the plasters, see his p. 92.

62. For a discussion of this theory, see La Rosa 1998–2000 and Militello 2001: 97. For more specific information about the archaeological context and a catalogue of the tables concerned, see Militello 2001: 91–96.

63. After several discussions, some as recent as May 2005, Militello himself has come to agree that this is a definite possibility, with such use occurring both in MM II and MM III (pers. comm., May 10, 2005).

64. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: vol. I: 141, drawing 30.

65. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: vol. II: 504–5, fig. 494.

66. Xanthoudides 1922: 2–3, Plan A.

67. For the earlier publication, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1996: 282–302 and a table (on p. 291) that tabulates the provenances of all pieces known at the time from both the town and the area then exposed to its south. Excluded from that publication were figurines from House X, which was still incompletely excavated and which will be published in a separate volume. Some examples from that house have appeared in the meantime in a preliminary excavation report (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 131–61).

68. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 291, table 4.2

69. For Minoan appliqués, see Foster 1982.

70. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 301, pl. 4.40.

71. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 300.

72. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 301 (quoting a parallel), pls. 4.40 and 4.44.

73. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 295, pls. 4.36, 4.42.

74. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 299, pls. 4.38, 4.44.

75. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 301, pls. 4.40, 4.44.

76. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 300–301, pl. 4.40. For the size I have in mind, see a bull askos from Pseira (Betancourt 1985: pl. 19 B).

77. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 291, 293; 2000, 171 n. 43.

78. For the temples, see J. W. Shaw, chap. 1, in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 2000: 1–100.

79. C 539 has been published by Betancourt (1990: 155, cat. no. **1205**, fig. 49), where it was interpreted as wearing a kilt, although the bulging part above the "kilt" may be part of the costume, as in **Sc7**, rather than evidence for Minoan obesity. This piece was found in one of the houses on the Hillside Area of the town of Kommos, in a dump that accumulated from LM I through LM III times. The date of the specific context is not clear, since the pieces were discovered while the side of a wall associated with the dump was being cleaned.

80. The discussion here concentrates on the figurines. The scanty number of the appliqués, as well as the fact they were found detached from the surface to which they were originally attached, allows little room for interpretation, further than what was offered above.

81. M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2.4.

82. J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) 1996: 288–94.

83. M. C. Shaw 2004.

84. I would like to express my gratitude to Joseph and Maria Shaw for support and interest through my twelve years of working with them. I would not have had the pleasure of the Kommos experience or the chance to examine this material without their invitation. They also provided valuable feedback on ideas presented here as well as resources with which to perform the faunal analyses and experiments over the years. Jeremy Rutter and Aleydis Van de Moortel provided information and engaging discussion about pottery sequences and deposits and space usage in the southern excavations at Kommos. I am grateful for their input and camaraderie. To Niki Holmes Kantzios, I am indebted for her organization of all materials. Leda Costaki and Marie Goodwin also provided logistical support and supplies from the apotheke in Pitsidia in later years. William Taylor Dabney provided some photographs, and Kathy Hall, Alexander Shaw, and others helped in the tedious task of sorting sieved material. The *Murex* experiments, generously funded by a fellowship from the INSTAP foundation in 2001, were a success thanks to the assistance of Elizabeth Watson. I am grateful to Malcolm H. Wiener for his interest in my work and his generous support through the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies and INSTAP. John Younger was helpful in answering queries regarding Minoan seals. I am indebted to the people of Pitsidia for information on local fauna and for support. I also wish to acknowledge my dear husband, Michael Cosmopoulos, who kindly read through sections of this manuscript and offered comments, as did Joseph and Maria Shaw, and Jeremy Rutter.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusions: The History and Functions of the Monumental Minoan Buildings at Kommos

Joseph W. Shaw, Maria C. Shaw, Jeremy B. Rutter, and Aleydis Van de Moortel

1. Introduction
2. Architectural Forms and Their Uses (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw)
3. The Harbor Town and Its International Connections (J. W. Shaw, A. Van de Moortel, and J. B. Rutter)
4. Kommos in the Mesara Landscape (J. W. Shaw)

1. Introduction

Chapter 1 in this volume described materials and building forms as they were used during Middle Minoan IIB through Late Minoan IIIB in the Civic Center at Kommos. At the same time the chapter focused on the material evidence for use as represented by courts, interior spaces, successions of floor levels, and other stratigraphy, drawing when possible from more detailed discussions in other chapters dealing with pottery, plasters, and miscellaneous finds. Chapter 2 discussed the types and forms of both painted and unpainted plasters used to decorate and strengthen walls, floors, and ceilings. Chapter 3 delineated the varieties of pottery and decorative styles of more than five hundred years of Bronze Age occupation and use. The analyses there, sometimes definitive enough to isolate previously unnoticed stylistic changes, provided much of the relative sequencing in Chapter 1, aside from furnishing evidence for area use. Chapter 4, on miscellany, contributed to the latter as well.

By contrast, this chapter first attempts (Chap. 5.2) to elicit from the architecture, stratigraphy, and finds the possible significance of building forms, their intended uses, and how they may fit into already partly defined contexts. It also explores (Chap. 5.3) Kommos as a harbor

and some aspects of the evidence for visitors and traders from abroad, as is demonstrated most clearly by the imported foreign pottery delineated typologically and chronologically by Aleydis Van de Moortel and Jeremy Rutter. Chapter 5.4 focuses on Kommos as part of an often-dynamic, changing harbor town, the fortunes of which were closely linked during much of the second millennium B.C. with those of the neighboring inland centers of Aghia Triada and Phaistos.

2. Architectural Forms and Their Uses

Joseph W. Shaw and Maria C. Shaw

Building AA (Pl. 1.5)

Of the monumental civic buildings, "civic" to the extent that they must represent major regional socioeconomic outlay, MM IIB Building AA was probably the first to be constructed at Kommos. It was set on a huge artificial terrace retained around its periphery by broad walls of medium-sized horizontal slabs (Chap. 1.2). The construction is unusual in that the walls, of which one is the widest on the Kommos site, are so massive. Moreover, on the east, linked walls were used to form compartments containing fill brought in from elsewhere. There are at the moment no clear large-scale parallels for this technique on Crete, although a partial platform can be pointed out at Knossos,[1] and the creation of courts adjacent to built spaces by cutting huge "steps" into hillslopes was a common approach.[2] Another unusual feature is that the overall plan of AA, at least on the east and south, probably on the north, and possibly on the west, was a huge rectangle (Pl. 1.5). The same concept is reflected in the plan of Building T (Pl. 1.7), which reused the same raised platform. The usual palatial facades, with their projections and recesses, are simply lacking in both cases.[3] One cannot know the cause of this departure from the usual approach. Did, for instance, the rectangular shape of the platform dictate the overall shape of the buildings? Was it simply a solution arrived at by the engineers and apparently not used elsewhere? Or could the Egyptian custom of building a huge platform, often of mud brick, have served as inspiration?[4]

As already mentioned, AA was built in MM IIB Early, after the time (MM IB) that major palaces such as Phaistos and Knossos had already been founded. Might there have been a predecessor to AA at Kommos? Possibly, if we consider the long, broad "walkway" (Pls. 1.63–1.64) as evidence. That it predates the pebble court, and therefore is earlier than AA, seems more than likely. Also, such walkways, as pointed out in Chap. 1.2, characterize palatial west courts and not central courts. It is possible, therefore, that the walkway led up eastward from the sea to a building no longer visible but once located at a point in about the middle of the East Wing of AA. Perhaps remnants of it still lie undiscovered below the later walls and floors there, but then any such structure may have been razed when AA's platform

was constructed. Thus one could argue that Kommos might have played a role in the building program of earlier, MM IB times when the Phaistos palace was founded.

Unfortunately, save for AA's general outline, its razing when T was set in left little to provide material for an extensive discussion of its function. That there was a central court with at least one, and probably two, stoas is nevertheless clear. There is one significant use deposit, just east of the South Stoa in a *sottoscala* (Chap. 1, Location 12; Chap. 3.2, Group L). This deposit is characterized by large-sized vases and an unusually large number of cooking pots and lamps while lacking small pouring vessels and sizable numbers of cups, suggesting to Van de Moortel that the building perhaps had a ritual or ceremonial function (Chap. 3.2). The plaster tables in the same deposit, some of which may go back to that period, hint further at ceremony (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5). Of particular interest there is the large lentoid flask imported from somewhere in the Aegean or the East (**L/27** in Pl. 3.20), the earliest foreign pot found in a use deposit (as opposed to a fill) on the Kommos site, suggesting foreign contacts connected with AA's use. In a similar vein, the appearance of Cycladic, possible South Anatolian and other foreign sherds used in the fills of AA (Van de Moortel, Chap. 5.3) is evidence for seaborne commerce even before AA was constructed. Here one must inquire into the origins of the fillings within the foundation of AA, the most obvious answer being the area of the town.[5] Although similar in context to the AA construction material, however, the fresh nature of the pottery there makes it unlikely that a source for the AA filling is there. Alternatively, the source may have been from within the putative predecessor of AA. The point to be made here, in any case, is that from an early date (MM IB) interchange involving trade with East Crete, the Cyclades, and other areas was ongoing, hinting that at least one of AA's roles may have been to service that interchange.

Building T (Pl. 1.7)

As mentioned already, T's overall shape is largely based on that of AA, save that T's roofed area in its East Wing was extended farther east. Neopalatial T, with its massive orthostate facade, also seems to have introduced coursed ashlar masonry to the site. Not all of T can be inspected, however, either because sections remain covered by later building that cannot be removed or, on the west, have been destroyed by the sea. Nevertheless, one is still surprised by the lack of entrances. Only two are known: a single door into T5 on the northwest (Pl. 1.34) and another (Pl. 1.114) leading into Room J (Space 43) on the southeast. A possible entrance has been restored in T's northeast corner (Pl. 1.7), perhaps explaining the shifting of the eastern boundary of T to the east of AA's roofed area. To this extent T's plan differs from other palatial plans, where there are wide, often unroofed corridors leading into the central courts from outside the palace periphery (Knossos, on the north; Phaistos, on the west; Malia and Kato Zakros, on the south). Nor at Kommos are there broad stairways leading from the Central Court into room complexes on the upper floors in the various wings.[6]

Surely this arrangement in T was intentional and if "read" correctly can be used to discuss the intended use of the building. The lack of a welcoming entry, combined with the austerity of the monumental facades must reflect, for instance, a desire for security, for protection of the contents and the activities carried out within. Only on special occasions, one is led to conclude, were the Central Court and its adjacent stoas the scenes of large gatherings. Various considerations could have led to such a situation, for instance, hostile forces that might have swept in easily from the adjacent sea, although there is no sign, aside from the monumental exterior walls themselves and the limited entrances from the outside, that T was in any way a "fortified" structure.

Another major consideration is the relation between the town and the Civic Center. For instance, at most of the other palatial establishments the palaces with their courts lie surrounded by houses of the communities that erected and used them. That at Gournia is perhaps the most completely preserved example, with the palace there being set at a high point within the town landscape. At Kommos, however, the palace was deliberately isolated from the town by a broad east-west street (Frontispiece A, 17), and it lies at the lowest point of the settlement yet excavated, closest to the sea.

One must also compare T, with an estimated overall size[7] of some 5,120 m^2, and the Neopalatial town with an estimated size of 35,000 m^2. This gives a proportion of 5,120/40,000 or about 1:7.[8] By comparison, some of the palatial sites of which the town size can be estimated are 1:21 (Gournia); ca. 1:45–1:60 (Knossos); 1:46 (Malia); 1:53 (Phaistos), and 1:23–1:28 (Kato Zakros).[9]

	Palace	Town	Proportion
Gournia	1,800 m^2	38,200 m^2	1:21
Knossos	13,200 m^2	600,000–800,000 m^2	1:45 1:60
Kommos	5,120 m^2	35,000 m^2	1:7
Malia	10,000 m^2	460,000 m^2	1:46
Phaistos	8,300 m^2	450,000 m^2	1:53
Zakros	3,250 m^2	75,000–90,000 m^2	1:23 1:28

As compared with the size of its town, Building T appears "oversized," even if we have considerably underestimated town size. T is at least three times the size of Gournia's palace and almost four times that of the palace structure at Petras (1,400 m^2, approximated from Tsipopoulou 1999), both of which are related to moderate-sized towns like that at Kommos.

This, combined with the fact that T (and its predecessor, AA) were set next to (but not within) their respective settlements, as most other palatial centers were, suggests that the building may have functioned somewhat differently than the others, and that its relative size and unusual plan may be attributable to commercial and political aspirations and its position at the gateway by sea to south-central Crete. The ambitious architectural form, contrasting with the simpler forms and materials used in the houses of the contemporary Kommos town, suggests that T (and AA, by inference) could very well represent not so much the economic resources of its nearby community but, rather, those of the controllers of the western Mesara (J. W. Shaw 1984b: 286). By analogy one could consider whether Knossos chose a similar approach and established a special "gateway" structure at either of its two harbor towns, Katsamba and Amnisos.[10]

Because of later LM III building over much of T, partial destruction and desertion in the northeast and east, and reuse (e.g., of the North and South Stoas), T's original spaces remain difficult to interpret. If we begin, for instance, with the West Wing, we have a room that appears rather like a lobby leading to a series of rooms as well as, via a stairway, to an upper floor (Pl. 1.35). A doorway on the northeast led into an area perhaps originally enclosed on at least two sides, the north and east. The arrangement suggests a desire for security.

The two stoas, North and South, unusually deep and with a daring intercolumniation (Chap. 1.4), could only have been intended for the comfortable gathering of groups for various purposes. The plaster tables (Pl. 4.38) found associated with both stoas suggest ceremonial, perhaps ritual, occasions (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5, and 2004, passim), as do the "drinking services" found (Chap. 3.3, Groups 1, 6–8, 9a–b, 12, and 23–24, and Rutter 2004). Cooking often accompanied such activities, as shown by the cooking pots sometimes associated with the drinking vessels. (For more evidence of food preparation, including grinding and cooking, as well as consumption, see M. C. Shaw 1990.) These cooking vessels cover the span of the LM IA–II periods, occurring first on the south, in Room I in LM IA Early (Chap. 3.3, Groups 9a, 9b), then near the North Stoa area in Room 22 during LM IA Final (Chap. 3.3, Groups 23–24), then during LM IA Final–II in Space 7, in the area of the northwestern corner of the Central Court (Groups 37e, 40, 44a, 44b, and 45). Remains of food in Space 42 (a pantry?) and in 19 raise the question of whether the latter room served as a dining area, given its fine mural decoration (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2.2).

East of the North Stoa, substantial pithos fragments in Room 25 indicate storage in a secure part of the building during T's early history. There is also evidence for weaving in the form of the many loomweights from Room 29 (Pl. 1.72). It is a pity that more of T and its contents are not preserved; but we should recall that we are dealing with an area that went through a number of phases and was probably cleaned out before it went out of use even during LM IA. Then it was reused sporadically, rather than suffering destruction at the end of LM IB similar to that at nearby Aghia Triada, which was still vibrant and, because of destruction by fire apparently during a time of use, was found with much of its material intact.

Perhaps the greater mystery of Building T lies in its East Wing (Spaces C–J in Pl. 1.7). These spaces, lying as they do below walls and floors of LM III Building P, have only been glimpsed. Their floor levels, when preserved, are often only centimeters below the later ones. Of the former at least one (E, Space 27 in Pl. 1.88) was completely paved, another (I, Space 36 in Pl. 1.106) at least partly paved, and another (F, Space 28 in Pl. 1.92) was floored with plaster, either plain white or blue depending on the time of renewal. Few groups of finds can be associated with them aside from, in F, small tools and intriguing copper strips that suggest that some kind of artisan work was going on, an activity that eventually blended in, but still within LM I, with the subdivision of the floor space into low compartments that perhaps were used for the segregation of produce. As to the general forms of Rooms C–J, the east-west walls are the best known (a few have not been seen), suggesting that the wing was made up of long parallel spaces terminated on the east by the facade wall. As to the rooms' terminations at the Central Court to the west, it would appear that one room (J) was lightly closed by a wooden framework set between pillars. For the other spaces there are no identifiable remains of closure.

We should also summarize here T's reuse even during LM I, a matter dealt with in more detail in Chap. 1.2 and brought up in other chapters that deal with the evidence for its reuse or architectural modification. This reuse is most clearly seen in the South Stoa where a pottery kiln was installed, presumably after the stoa had already collapsed and the southern wall had been partially dismantled. The sequence of reuse in the North Stoa was more complex, for the stoa was roughly converted into at least three separate spaces (Pls. 1.55a, 1.55b). One of them, obscured below Greek Temple C, has not been seen. Another, to the east, was used as a grinding establishment; later it was used for the disposal of metalworking debris. All three activities (pottery making, grinding, metalworking) are probably not to be associated with the original use of the stoas. Even later, during LM II, the northwestern corner of the Central Court (Space 7 in Pl. 1.36) and probably the interior of Room T5 were used for cooking and associated activities.

Building P (Pl. 1.12)

With slabs and ashlar blocks from T's walls, many of which were razed in the process, a new building, P, was constructed in LM IIIA2 on T's East Wing (Chap. 1.4). P was apparently built in stages, beginning with P1 and P2, over a number of generations, that continued into LM IIIB, when the building was completed (see Rutter, Chap. 3.3).[11] P was almost square, being about 38.51 m east-west by 39.60 m north-south. It consisted of six broad spaces, which we have called "galleries," oriented east-west and facing west toward the shore. According to our estimates, most of T's West Wing (except for less exposed parts of T5) had already been destroyed by the sea, perhaps even partly quarried by the builders of P1-P2 and Building N, so the way to and from the shore was now open. The galleries, as far as one can tell

(the central and eastern parts of Galleries 4–6 have not been excavated) averaged 5.44 m in width, although the sixth one, the last to the south, was narrower (4.43 m) (Pl. 1.68).

As documented in Chap. 1.3, P's floors were uniformly of earth rather than being floored with slabs or occasionally plastered, as T's had been. These earthen floors, with evidence for multiple renewals, are characterized by burning—some had hearths, and at least one had ovens set into the floors in LM IIIB (Pl. 1.98). Characteristic of the pottery, invariably in fragments, are the ubiquitous short-necked amphoras, often stained by hematite on their interiors, a form of vessel introduced at Kommos in LM IIIA2. As Rutter has suggested in detail (Chap. 3.3 and 2000), at least part of the explanation of P's function(s) lies in the use of these transport amphoras. Their identification at other Cretan sites (now minimal) and abroad (an ongoing project) would certainly enhance further interpretation.

Concerning the primary use of these galleries, the detailed argument has already been made that they were shipsheds that housed ships during the winter, nonsailing months.[12] That argument has been based on a number of grounds: (1) The form of the galleries, long and broad, suggests storage, as shown by analogies within Minoan as well as other Mediterranean cultures.[13] (2) The unprecedented breadth and length of the galleries, as compared with other Minoan storage facilities (e.g., the West Magazines at Knossos or those in the East Wing of the Malia Palace, both about 2 m wide, and both designed for pithos storage), must be explained. This size, combined with the lack of pithos fragments in P, suggests that P's storage functions were unusual in the present Minoan archaeological record. (3) The lack of closure with doors and walls, pillars, or columns in five of the six galleries (with the exception of the sixth, discussed above, with its later blocking/retaining wall [Pl. 1.110] and the mound of the LM IA kiln [Pl. 1.125] in front of its entrance) suggests that whatever was stored was accessible but not easily portable. (4) P was next to the shoreline at a known harbor town. (5) Similar, but rock-cut, installations are near Nirou Khani, presumably of BA date (J. W. Shaw 1990; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1999 offer comparative documentation). (6) Finally, the closest well-known parallel to such an architectural form is the Classical Greek shipshed built to house military vessels (triremes).[14] The P galleries are comparable to these Classical *neosoikoi* in size and proportion; also, the galleries are parallel to one another and face the sea. The major difference is that the seaward ends of the Greek examples were set slanting down into the water so that the ships could be drawn up and then, when the time came, launched more easily. This was possible because, partly for military considerations, the Greeks often chose naturally sheltered harbors that could be partially enclosed by fortification walls, with towers at a harbor entrance that could be linked by chains. During the Aegean BA, however, open shorelines, often in combination with a small offshore islet, were chosen as harbor sites, so any buildings along the shore might be exposed to almost the full force of waves driving onshore. Since Minoan building technique had not reached the point at which jetties and quays could be built, all structures near the sea would by necessity have had to be situated some distance back from the highest onshore wave reach, which, in the

case of Building P, was not far west of the western edge of the former Central Court of Building T (Pl. 1.4). That ships would actually be drawn up on the shore is shown in the miniature fresco from Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1974, col. pl. 9) as well as in a passage in the *Iliad* (ll. 1. 485–86):

> 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.[15]

Published reception of the proposed identification of P as shipsheds has generally been positive (e.g., Warren 2000a: 24 ["probable"]). On the basis of plan and location, colleagues have recently identified Hawes's "Shore House" at Gournia as performing a shipshed function.[16] Moreover, Doumas has concurred (pers. comm.) with M. C. Shaw's identification of the possible shipshed in the LM IA fresco from the West House at Thera (M. C. Shaw 1985: 23, pl. IIIb). As argued by Georgiou (1993: 360), a BA ship emptied of cargo and ballast could surely be dragged up on shore. This would happen only once a year, with the help of log rollers on which the ships could also slide, with numerous people pulling ropes to drag the ships, and with some props to keep the ship level. As proposed by Gifford (1995: 76–81), local relative sea level in the Kommos area has continued to rise, so that at its present level P's floor is at +3.30 m. During the time that P was used, with an approximate difference of 2–3 m in sea level between now and then, the same floor level was at +5.30–6.30 m. This means that the building was not threatened by the waves, which would have reached then not much higher than +4.00 m. The distance from P to the shoreline was about 130 m, calculated as the distance from it to the present shoreline (80 m) plus the 30 to 50 m to be added for the ancient shoreline that was farther out.

The preceding proposal for P is based, as has been seen, on architectural form and relative size, location, and analogy. It remains to be proved, however, by definitive discovery of sufficient nautical equipment connected with such galleries. Also, at least at the moment, this type of building remains clearly defined only for the LM III period. Possibly, like megaron-like LM IIIA2 Building ABCD at Aghia Triada, it will remain unique to the Postpalatial architectural resurgence in the western Mesara. However, the analogous building at Gournia, mentioned above, along with others still undiscovered, could extend the range back into Neopalatial times. One must also consider earlier iconography that may reflect actual building tradition, as in the LC IA miniature fresco from Thera, mentioned above, as well as the LC I frescoes from Kea (J. W. Shaw 1990: 422, fig. 2 for the latter).

In this connection it is worth introducing the issue of whether the potentially equally long but narrower rooms (C–J) of Neopalatial Building T (Chap. 1.2) were the predecessors of P either in shape or function, or in both.[17] An argument that they were could be based on the fact that in these only partially excavated rooms there is so far no evidence that cross walls interrupt their length, aside from possible small rooms at the back, on the east. Also, aside

from Room J in Gallery P6 (a wooden frame[?] set into the sides of two opposed pillars),[18] there is little clear sign of closure along the east side of the court. An argument that the rooms are not analogous with P, and therefore functioned otherwise, can be based on the significantly greater width of P's galleries and the obvious differences in floor material (slab-paved areas and, especially, delicately plastered floors that would seem unsuitable for ship storage). Possibly a form used for one purpose in Building T was adapted through enlargement for another purpose in a succeeding structure (P). It is probably best to leave this question unanswered until further excavation at Kommos or elsewhere provides material affecting the argument.

Building N (Pl 1.9)

N was set above the northwestern corner of T, reusing T's ashlar blocks for its eastern facade as well as some of its southern walls. Threshold S 2332 (Pls. 1.21, 1.133) was removed from its former position between T5 and T10 for reuse at a higher level between N5 and N7.[19] The reuse of wall blocks was similar to that in P save that N's walls, unlike P's, did not incorporate vertical or horizontal timbers, perhaps because N was built on a smaller scale and architecturally was less adventurous. General construction style, however, and the ceramic chronology based on the fills associated with N and P1-P2 (Chap. 3.3) suggest that both buildings were constructed early in LM IIIA2, and thus they may well be associated in original concept.

The floors and court of N were elevated about 40–50 cm higher than those of P, presumably because N was closer to the shore, where the relative sea level had gradually risen during LM IIIA1 (above; Chap. 1.1–1.3), and old floor levels were inundated during a heavy surf pushed eastward by offshore winds. Farther to the east, however, removed some distance from the wave reach, P's floors almost coincided with earlier ones of T. Some of N's walls relied on the original walls of T5; the remainder (N4, 6, 12, 13) were newly founded on fill brought in from somewhere nearby. Thus N's plan, aside from part of its northwestern corner, was largely original to the extent that it reflected a new design rather than simply a rearrangement of earlier walls.

Most of if not that entire plan is known, at least on the east.[20] N was a single-storeyed building with one covered room (5) opening onto a partly open space (7) on one side of an open, pebble-paved court (6), with three (later reduced to two) rooms bordering the court on the east. A small room (4) was set into the northwestern corner of the court. The only entrance known (there might have been another farther west somewhere) led upslope, then through a door built in the southwestern side of the court (Pl. 1.10). The plan is an unusual one, perhaps unique so far in the archaeological record for LM III, but probably reflecting, although on a vastly reduced scale, the plan of Building T, with rooms on the side of a rectangular court oriented north-south.

As to room function, as discussed in Chap. 1.3, N12 and 13 were at least partly work areas

(metalworking, possibly food preparation) during two successive periods. The combined area N5 and 7, as based largely on the LM IIIB pottery accumulation on its floor, consisting of many large storage vessels and cooking pots, was ostensibly used for domestic purposes. It is tempting, nevertheless, to envision N and P, built and apparently deserted at the same time, as both related to harbor functions. That of P has already been argued. As for N, it could also have had a specialized function (J. W. Shaw 1984b: 287), perhaps that of an administrative structure, during its first phases, used by supervisory personnel monitoring P's use. To that extent it may reflect the role of previous T5 and connected rooms, directly below. N's unusual feature of a closed court, and the privacy offered by the southern entrance, are rather reminiscent of that in Room T5, which was interpreted in Chap. 1.2 as a probable security arrangement. In contrast with T, however, in which T5 was entered from the north, is the fact that N, turning its back on the great east-west road, was entered from the south. N's siting and access thus focused on the area directly in front of P's galleries.

3. The Harbor Town and Its International Connections

Joseph W. Shaw, Aleydis Van de Moortel, and Jeremy B. Rutter

The Kommos Harbor

Joseph W. Shaw

During the Aegean BA mariners often chose two types of harbors for anchorage and/or for beaching their ships (J. W. Shaw 1990). The first, like that of Aghia Irini on Kea,[21] was on both sides of a peninsula, with the town occupying all or at least part of the peninsula. This arrangement provided two harbors, of which one might be preferred depending on wind conditions. It also allowed for the possibility, as at Kea, of protecting the town from the landward side by a fortification wall built across a narrow part of the headland. Such a peninsular town is probably depicted in the "Arrival Town" in the well-known miniature fresco from the West House at Akrotiri on Thera, a depiction that by chance, design, or pictorial custom may well mirror the positioning of the actual Akrotiri settlement.[22] The second preferred harbor type was one featuring an offshore islet that provided at least some shelter for ships approaching the coast. Two examples of this are Amnisos, a harbor town of inland Knossos (Schäfer et al. 1992) and Kommos, the *epineion* of Aghia Triada and Phaistos.[23] "Inner harbors," excavated out of the shoreline itself, such as those known along the Nile in contemporary Egypt, or along the Palestinian coast of the Mediterranean, have not yet been confirmed for the Aegean.[24]

From what we understand of the early MM settlement at Kommos, the first inhabitants built their houses on the hillside with their few small structures scattered south of where the great east-west road was to be set later. The hillside was probably preferred, since houses

there would be protected from the prevailing northwest winds. There was still room for expansion, however, to the north, east, and south—the beach and the cliffside limited it on the west. Excavation has not progressed farther east than shown in Frontispiece A, so we do not know the situation there. On the south, however, any expansion of the settlement was cut off when Building AA was constructed in MM IIB: The Civic Area had been established and, in one form or another, would remain there until ca. 1200 B.C. when the site was abandoned in LM IIIB (see Chap. 3.3). Thus by MM IIB, if not earlier (see Chap. 1.1), the pattern for the Kommos town was set, probably with house blocks separated by roads to the north of the east-west road and with a large, formal building or buildings to the south of there, next to where ships could be beached (see also Chap. 5.2).

Throughout its history, this shoreline served local fishermen, who simply pulled their boats up far enough to be secure, the distance probably depending on the weather and the season. Evidence for their fishing during the Minoan period is plentiful, including numerous bronze hooks (Pl. 4.5), barbed and unbarbed, from all parts of the site, especially from the houses on the Hilltop and Central Hillside, where many of the fishermen no doubt stayed.[25] "Loomweights" (Pl. 4.14) may also have been used as line weights.[26] As Rose describes the fishery from the evidence of the remains found throughout the site (1995: 204–39), the fish (e.g., bream, wrasse, parrotfish) were caught mainly in the shallow coastal waters, but tuna and grouper from deeper water are represented as well.

Aside from this local fishing industry, there is a good deal of evidence for actual interchange, by means of larger seagoing vessels between Kommos and areas outside Crete, both local (the Cyclades and the Greek Mainland) and international (Anatolia, Cyprus, Syria/Palestine, and Egypt to the east and Italy/Sardinia to the west). Also to be considered is an inscription on a funerary monument of Amenhotep III (1402–1365 B.C.) at Kom el-Hetan, which lists various Aegean towns in the itinerary of a voyage that also mentions Phaistos, no doubt visited by travelers after they landed at Kommos before their short trip inland.[27]

Of actual material evidence for such interchange at the Kommos site are an Egyptian glass vessel from an LM IIIA2 context in House X (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 154, pl. 27c) and the fragments of copper ingots, probably all Postpalatial, of which some number are from Building N (Chap. 4.1, **59–60**). Of special importance are the two three-holed anchors reused as bases for construction in LM IIIA2 Building P (Pls. 4.24–4.25, Chap. 4.4, **45–46**; J. W. Shaw 1995c). The anchors provide prime evidence to show that large ships were arriving at and leaving Kommos, for the anchors are of sufficient weight to make it extremely doubtful that they would have been brought to Kommos by land. Moreover, they can be shown to have been quarried in Syria or Cyprus. By far the best gauge for interconnection, however, are the foreign pottery vessels, both open and closed, found in numerous contexts throughout the Southern Area as well as in the houses of the town. In varying numbers and with varying origins, these occur in contexts ranging from MM IB through LM IIIB. They are described and interpreted in Chap. 3.4 and below.

Although the evidence for exchange at Kommos can be presented, a considerably more complex and vexatious subject concerns the sponsors who organized or carried out the trade itself. This subject applies to the Minoans who were receiving and sending goods or to others elsewhere who were carrying goods to Kommos and elsewhere in Crete and the Aegean, hoping to return with a cargo of sufficient value to make the hazardous voyage profitable. In the case of Kommos, it is proposed in detail elsewhere here (Chap. 5.2) that the raison d'être for the civic buildings rests not simply with the adjoining town but with its strategic position at the best available harbor site that could function as an *epineion* for an inland center. It might follow, therefore, using a model of centralized area control (by, say, Knossos during the early Neopalatial period) or one of localized control (by, say, Phaistos during the Protopalatial period) that at least on the Minoan side, those in charge of the region could establish and maintain control, if not a monopoly, over exchanges that took place.[28] This scenario could also be consistent with what has been termed "ceremonial or gift exchange" (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 128) in which valuable raw materials and/or elite manufactured items could be exchanged between rulers who would expect reciprocal response. It does not rule out, however, the possibility of freelance or entrepreneurial trade on the part of local merchants, an activity attested elsewhere in the Near East (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 142–45).

Although sponsors for exchange might vary, whether the trade originated locally or internationally (or a combination of the two), the actual state and appearance of the Kommos civic buildings, as first seen on landing on the shore, differed from one period to the next. The buildings must have been most impressive and functioning during MM IIB (the lifetime of Building AA), MM III–LM IA Early (Building T), and LM IIIA2–B (Buildings P and N). There were, however, also periods when little in the way of formal, roofed architecture was available for storage or for harborside formalities, in particular, MM I[29] and during LM IB–II–IIIA1 when areas of T were probably deserted, in ruins, or in informal reuse. Of some interest in this case is that during those very periods of disuse there is still ample evidence, in the form of non-Cretan pottery, to show that ships were arriving,[30] especially from Cyprus and farther east.

Ceramic Evidence for External Contact: Protopalatial (Pls. 3.18–3.20)[31]

Aleydis Van de Moortel

Whereas the first series of excavations in the Central Hillside and Civic Center published by Betancourt (1990) yielded little concrete information about Kommos's external connections in the Protopalatial era, the results of the present study indicate that this principal maritime port of the western Mesara was indeed actively engaged in overseas trade with nearby destinations as well as the Aegean, and probably also with the East Mediterranean. Pottery imports show that Kommos's participation in maritime commerce began at its foundation in the MM IB phase and continued throughout the Protopalatial era. Images of Minoan-type cargo ships with Egyptian-type rigging on Late Prepalatial and Protopalatial seals from tholos tombs in the Mesara provide evidence that this area was an active participant rather than

a passive recipient of this trade. It seems highly likely that the sudden expansion of the settlement at Kommos in the MM IB phase as well as the construction of the large and impressive Building AA early in MM IIB—and perhaps its predecessor in MM IB/IIA—were the results of the Phaistian ruling elite's interest in this overseas trade and its desire to control it.

The new excavations at Kommos have yielded over 35 fragmentary vases identified as coming from outside Crete—more than have been reported from any other Protopalatial Minoan site.[32] A comparison of Aegean and East Cretan pottery imports at Kommos and Knossos reveals that the two sites imported different vase shapes and thus likely maintained their own separate trade networks (Chap. 3.4). Thus it appears that Phaistos was capable of developing its own maritime contacts with the East Mediterranean, and there is some evidence that it did so, even though securely identified Eastern imports at Kommos are still lacking. The best evidence for direct Phaistian contacts with the East are Panagiotaki's finding (2000) that faience makers of the Mesara and Knossos borrowed different techniques from Egypt or the Levant and Pini's conclusion (2000) that a Mesara workshop borrowed Egyptian technology for manufacturing glazed scarabs. Phaistos may also have adopted Egyptian rigging for its ships independently from Knossos, since the earliest Minoan sailing ships on seals come from East Crete (especially Malia) and the Mesara, but not Knossos (cf. Wedde 2000: nos. 701–845). Thus it seems that we now have sufficient evidence to reject Carinci's (2000) hypothesis that Phaistos was entirely dependent on Knossos for its East Mediterranean imports. The presently available data rather support Phillips's (1991) assessment that Phaistos played a pivotal role in East Mediterranean trade. This implies that Phaistos and Knossos may have borrowed different Eastern ideas when developing their palatial societies.

We remain largely in the dark about the nature and intensity of Phaistos's overseas exchanges with the Aegean and the East Mediterranean in the period of the Old Palace. Certainly, the impressive size of Building AA at Kommos suggests that large quantities of goods were stored in this building on their way into or out of the Mesara. Copper and tin must have been major import items needed on a regular basis for the manufacture of weaponry and tools. Bronze seems to have been worked at Kommos both before and during the lifetime of Building AA, as remains of crucibles indicate. Hippopotamus ivory and Egyptian as well as Near Eastern scarabs, seals, and amulets found their way to the Mesara as well, but their quantities are relatively modest and need not indicate busy trade connections (cf. Krzyszkowska 1983). Of other Eastern goods imported at Kommos in later times, such as oil, pistacia resin, or wine, there is no trace in the Protopalatial era. As for Phaistian return trade, it is not likely that it consisted only of Kamares vases. However much *we* appreciate their artistic value and labor intensivity, these vases may not have been considered particularly valuable or socially prestigious in the East. For instance, in Egypt they are not found in elite areas but in middle-class contexts (Kemp and Merrillees 1980: 285 and passim; for short overviews of Minoan pottery imports in the Levant, see Betancourt 1998: 6; Watrous 1998: 20 n. 7). Minoan imports mentioned in royal correspondence of Zimri-lim from Mari and in documents from Ugarit—if one accepts the identification of Kaptara and Kaphtor as Crete—

are weapons, clothing, leather goods, grain, oil, and a fermented beverage (Heltzer 1989: 13–15; Knapp 1991: 37–38; Wiener 1991: 327–29; Buchholz 1999). Some or all of these goods may have been exported from Phaistos, but no clear trace of their passage has been found at Kommos, except perhaps the evidence for purple dyeing in Building AA (Chap. 4.7), which may have served in part to prepare textiles for export. Being located inside AA, the purple dye industry probably was under official control. With regard to Phaistos's relations with the Aegean, Cycladic pans and trays found at Kommos show specific technical correspondences with Mesara cooking vessels, suggesting more than casual contacts. Nevertheless this Cycladic pottery as well as the Aiginetan bowl and the possibly Aegean lentoid flasks are few and are unlikely to have been the main objects of trade. Rather, it may have been Phaistos's objective to obtain lead, copper, and silver from the Cyclades. Melian obsidian seems to have been of little interest, since it is rarely found in the western Mesara. Phaistos may have sought to acquire products from other areas in the Aegean as well. The discovery of a lentoid flask with Mesara fabric in the recent excavations at Miletus could signify that Phaistos took an interest in this access route to the minerals of the Anatolian plateau, but more evidence is needed (Raymond 2001: 20–22, figs. 2, 4).

In addition to this far-flung maritime trade, pottery evidence indicates that Phaistos maintained overseas ties also with nearer destinations such as East Crete and the islet of Gavdos. From East Crete we have a variety of high-quality and utilitarian household pottery—probably again by-products of exchange—as well as a number of containers that may have transported more regular trade items. From Gavdos we mostly have transport jars. In neither case do we know what commodities were carried in those vessels. The scarcity of Protopalatial floor deposits in Building AA and in the settlement at Kommos does not allow us to determine which social classes were recipients of foreign ceramics in this period. The absence of any pottery coming from overseas at Phaistos, on the other hand, suggests that the harbor authority at Kommos may have enjoyed a certain independence vis-à-vis the Phaistian ruling elite.

Finally, pottery movements show that Kommos and Phaistos also developed inland relations with other areas of Crete, which are of interest for geopolitical reasons. By establishing close administrative ties with Monastiraki in the Amari Valley in the west and a commercial relationship with the Pediada region in the east, the ruling elite at Phaistos in effect created two communication routes to the north coast that not only were independent of Knossos, but encircled that site, and may have been directed against Knossian interests. Contacts between the western Mesara and Knossos did exist, as is evidenced by similarities in their ceramic styles, but if pottery movements are any indication, actual exchanges were rare until an advanced stage of MM IIB, when Knossos imported large amounts of Phaistian Kamares pottery.

Of considerable significance are the developments in pottery imports at Kommos and Phaistos at the end of the Protopalatial period. When the Old Palace and settlement at Phaistos was destroyed, it was more than a mere collapse of buildings. Phaistos's failure to erect again a complete palace until LM IB, the short lifespan of Building T at Kommos, and the sudden decline of activity at the Kamares Cave sanctuary were accompanied by the break-

down of Phaistos's inland connections with the Amari Valley and the Pediada. Monastiraki was destroyed for good, and Pediada pottery imports to the western Mesara came to a complete halt. On top of this one sees a drastic decline in Kommos's overseas pottery imports. All these developments, happening simultaneously, certainly appear to indicate a major weakening of Phaistos's influence. The agent of Phaistos's distress may well have been Knossos, which in the Neopalatial period established very close ties with the Pediada, seemingly breaking Phaistos's eastern route to the north coast. Knossos may likewise not have allowed the rebuilding of Monastiraki in the Amari Valley. In the Neopalatial period, Knossos definitely emerged as the dominant palatial society on Crete, its cultural, if not political, influence being felt all over the island, including at Phaistos.

From a methodological viewpoint the described drop in pottery imports at Kommos and Phaistos after the destruction of the Phaistian Old Palace are interesting as well, since they appear to match closely the fortunes of the Phaistian polity. Thus it seems that pottery imports, even if relatively rare, can indeed be sensitive indicators of economic as well as political connections.

Ceramic Evidence for External Contact: Neopalatial and Postpalatial

Jeremy B. Rutter

In the preamble to his detailed assessment of the nonlocal pottery recovered from Late Bronze Age levels at Kommos, Watrous presents a cogent rationale for not putting too much weight on the evidence of ceramic imports in coming to conclusions concerning the kinds of trade in which Kommos participated during this period. Although his points are as valid today as they were when initially published, the more comprehensive analysis of this evidence made possible by a half dozen additional seasons of excavation, the examination of the material by a large number of additional specialists, and fuller study of more Neopalatial deposits in particular warrant a more positive approach to the topic.

Ceramic containers, of course, constitute merely one kind of evidence for the nature and degree of external contacts. They obviously cannot provide much information about exchanges in raw materials like ivory and stone, or processed substances such as glass, that did not require containers for transport. Moreover, only some ceramic vessels served as transport containers in the first place; a fair number were exchanged for their own sake rather than for their contents. Yet, even though imported pottery cannot tell anything approaching the *whole* story of a culture's interactions with neighboring regions, it surely furnishes more evidence for external contacts during an era such as the second millennium B.C. than any other class of material that one can expect to find in the excavation of on-land sites in the Aegean basin. Although these vessels may not reveal the cultural identity of those who brought them to Kommos, they do identify at least some of the cultures with which the inhabitants of Kommos were ultimately, even if sometimes indirectly, in contact; and the relative numbers of the vases in question, when compared diachronically with the finds from earlier or later

phases at the site or synchronically with other sources of similar items, surely have something to say about differential levels of intercultural exchange either through time or across space. Written documents may provide more specific information about many aspects of trade, but they are all too rarely available or intelligible, and in most cases they describe only portions of a culture's overall range of exchange networks and are therefore no less incomplete as a source of evidence than are imported pots or any other category of raw or manufactured material. Only ongoing and repeated considerations of *all* the possible sources of evidence, whether these are the physical imports themselves or texts and pictorial depictions relevant to the exchange of goods, will gradually lead to a fuller and more complete story of the trade and exchange networks in which Kommos played a part during the Bronze Age.

Since the publication of Watrous's *Kommos* III: *The Late Bronze Age Pottery* in 1992, several new sources of imports to Kommos have been identified. Perhaps the most important of these is Western Anatolia, which appears suddenly to have emerged as an important trading partner in the LM II period.[33] From what has been learned about the political geography of Anatolia from contemporary Hittite documentary sources, the region from which Kommos was probably receiving this material is likely to have been the kingdom of Arzawa, at least during the fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries B.C. A couple of other important trading partners have been more narrowly identified in both spatial and temporal terms. For example, "Italy" no longer properly describes Kommos's principal trading partner in the far west nor did contacts in that direction begin as early as LM IIIA1. This partner may now be more precisely described as Sardinia (indeed, perhaps southern Sardinia only) and the duration of the trading relationship with Kommos limited to the LM IIIB period, that is, the thirteenth century B.C. Approximately half of all the Syro–Palestinian jars found at Kommos may now be shown to have originated in the central and northern Levant, between the northern coast of Israel and the northwestern coast of Syria. None of the remaining Syro–Palestinian imports need have come from the southern Levantine coast, but where they did in fact originate remains to be established. Relatively minor sources of imports have been recognized on the tiny, nearby islet of Gavdos southwest of Kommos as well as on the larger island of Kythera, a good deal farther away to the northwest.

It is now also possible to identify with some confidence which areas of the central and eastern Mediterranean that were active participants in intercultural exchanges in the LBA are *not* represented by ceramic imports to Kommos. Nothing identifiable as Trojan (or northwest Anatolian) has been found at the site, nor anything from the Italian peninsula. With respect to contacts with Mainland Greece, nothing from farther north than Boeotia or central Euboea can be identified, and certainly nothing Macedonian, Thessalian, or Thracian. Somewhat surprisingly, nothing at all of MM III or later date from the island of Aegina in the center of the Saronic Gulf has yet been recognized at Kommos, despite the fact that Aegina was a major exporter of numerous different classes of pottery throughout the west-central Aegean during that period.

What substances were traded to Kommos during the LBA, and where did they come from? The list can be only a partial one, of course, but a number of the items are nevertheless of interest. From coastal Lebanon and northern Syria came oil (in Syro–Palestinian jars), perhaps beginning no earlier than the end of the fifteenth century and possibly ending as early as the end of the fourteenth B.C. Since imported olive oil is unlikely to have found much of a market in the Mesara, oil is more likely to have been made from some other plant, probably sesame. From coastal northern Israel came pistacia resin (again in Syro–Palestinian jars), a commodity that initially appeared at Kommos before the end of the Neopalatial era (late sixteenth or early fifteenth century B.C.) and that continued to find a market in the Mesara until well along in the thirteenth century B.C. Metal scrap, most or perhaps even all of which came from Cypriot sources, reached Kommos by way of Sardinia in the thirteenth century B.C. Decorated tablewares were imported from Cyprus in small quantities from the very beginning of the Neopalatial period but enjoyed local peaks in popularity during LM IA Final–IB Early and again from LM IIIA1–IIIB. Small amounts of Mycenaean tablewares arrived at Kommos from the late Shaft Grave era (Late Helladic I) onward, almost invariably, as in the case of the analogous Cypriot imports, in the form of drinking and pouring vessels. Occasionally, a piece intended primarily for display purposes was imported from the Mainland (probably the Argolid), such as an LH IIA Palace Style jar **47/21** or an LH IIIA2 amphoroid chariot krater (C 9126 is the shoulder fragment, C 12079 probably the base of the same vase). Perfumed oils came to Kommos from both Egypt (in small but plain lentoid flasks) and the Greek Mainland (in small, handsomely decorated stirrup jars), beginning in the later fifteenth century but with increasing frequency during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. Wine was perhaps also imported to Kommos, most notably from the Arzawan kingdom in western Anatolia but perhaps also from Cyprus, in both cases in plain jugs. Cypriot pithoi could have contained all types of materials, but at least in some instances they are likely to have been the containers in which Cypriot tablewares arrived on Crete. Only after the destruction of Knossos ca. 1375 B.C. does Kommos appear to have become a net exporter of raw materials or agricultural produce. A new form of transport container, the short-necked amphora, was designed for this purpose (Rutter 2000). Kommos's Building P is likely to have been the major distribution point of these vessels and whatever they may have contained. In at least some cases, the substance being shipped in these amphoras was hematite, or red ocher, but they could equally well have been used for liquid produce such as olive oil.

Categorizing the kind of trade in which Kommos participated continues to be extremely difficult. Current evidence suggests that large-scale exchanges of organic commodities such as oil, resin, and wine were a phenomenon principally of the LM II–IIIA2 Early ceramic phases, when Kommos served as a funnel for the entry and distribution of such substances throughout much of central Crete under the umbrella of the Greek administration centered at Knossos. It may be that when the dynasts resident at Aghia Triada took over the management of Kommos's harbor in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., more in the way of

such organic produce began to leave Kommos in short-necked amphoras than was coming in, whether in amphoras from Egypt, Canaanite jars from Syria, Lebanon, and northern Israel, jugs from western Anatolia and Cyprus, or transport stirrup jars from other regions of Crete. The market for fancily decorated tablewares seems always to have operated on a fairly small scale. During the MM III–LM IA Early stage of Kommos's history, such imports were either Cycladic or Cypriot, but from the later LM IA period onward this trade was split between Mycenaean (chiefly Argive) and Cypriot sources of supply. Kythera seems to have been the source for a similarly small-scale traffic in specialized cooking pottery. The trade in valuable liquids such as perfumes appears likewise to have been relatively minor, with earlier containers coming from Egypt (C 288 = Watrous 1992: no. 1961; C 8006) and Cyprus (**40/35**) and later ones coming mostly from the Greek Mainland. How much of Kommos's supply of copper and bronze during the thirteenth century B.C. was provided by the site's contacts with Sardinia is impossible to estimate, since the percentage of imported scrap relative to imported ingots at that time cannot be determined; but the importing of metal in scrap form from a totally new source of supply presumably signals problems with the traditional supply networks involving this material.

Who were the carriers of all these trade items? They certainly need not have been the same people as those responsible for the preparation and packaging of the substances being exchanged. Given the wide variety of different goods being brought to Kommos, one is tempted to conclude that no single ethnic group can have been responsible for the delivery of all of them. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that the pottery being surveyed here is evidence for only those imports that required packaging of some kind. Numerous other kinds of goods—exotic stones, woods, ivory, and metals, for example—would have been distributed via Kommos throughout central Crete without leaving any sign of their passage. The international character of the only early floor deposit so far recovered from within Building P (**56b/1–7**) and of a contemporary deposit found just outside Gallery 1 to the northwest (**56e/1–13**) suggests that multiple ethnic groups were involved, even if Cypriots and other islanders from within the Aegean played a greater role than most. Oddities like the two Egyptian carinated bowls thus far recognized at Kommos (**56b/7**; C 7549) or the western Anatolian cup (**52e/4**) and basin (C 11911), ceramic types that are almost never found outside their region of production and that cannot have served as transport containers, are further evidence that foreigners from a number of different homelands came to Kommos for short periods of time. Thus far, however, no compelling evidence has been located anywhere on the site that a group of foreigners actually took up residence there. The discovery of imported containers throughout the town of Kommos in ordinary domestic contexts may be interpreted as evidence that the inhabitants of Kommos itself may have been important participants in overseas exchanges, especially from LM II onward.

One final aspect of the imported pottery at Kommos that merits greater attention than it has attracted is the evidence it furnishes for helpful cross dating of major cultural horizons

at the site with those of neighboring as well as of comparatively distant regions. In this regard, the very early LH IIIC date for one or perhaps two of the Mycenaean stirrup jars recovered (**79/1**; C 611 = Watrous 1992: no. 1422) is of particular importance inasmuch as it requires lowering the date for Kommos's rather sudden and widespread abandonment from roughly the middle of LM IIIB to the very end of that phase. Few other classes of imported pottery at Kommos can be as narrowly dated as can Mycenaean fine wares, so it is unlikely that the find contexts of Cypriot, Egyptian, Syro–Palestinian, western Anatolian, or Sardinian imports will allow the Minoan ceramic sequence to be more precisely correlated with the ceramic sequences in these areas. Moreover, most of the pottery imported from these latter areas consists of long-lived, usually undecorated types that do not lend themselves to fine chronological distinctions (e.g., Cypriot White Slip II milk bowls, Base Ring cups and juglets, Plain White pithoi and jugs; western Anatolian reddish brown burnished jugs; Canaanite jars; Egyptian amphoras and lentoid flasks). Nevertheless, the opportunity for such more refined chronological correlations does exist, and in the case of the Sardinian imports in particular may prove to be of considerable value.

4. Kommos in the Mesara Landscape

Joseph W. Shaw

Numerous explorers first discovered and then excavated major Minoan sites in the western Mesara, which is defined for our purposes here as the area west and south of Gortyn, and north of Matala and the Asterousia range of hills.[34] Among the explorers were Federico Halbherr, Luigi Pernier, and Enrico Stefani of the then-nascent Italian School of Archaeology. Beginning in 1900 (after Crete was opened up to archaeological investigation), they cleared large portions of Phaistos and Aghia Triada. During the same formative phase Stephanos Xanthoudides introduced the scholarly world to an array of Early Minoan tholos tombs (1924).[35] After this first wave of investigation, Luisa Banti contributed major studies of Aghia Triada (1930–31, 1941–43) and, after World War II, was able to complete publication, naming Pernier, who died in 1937, as coauthor of volume II in the Phaistos series (1951) of which Pernier had already written the first volume (1935). Among other notable scholars was Doro Levi, who arrived in Crete in 1922. Levi was to add considerably to the vocabulary of sites in the surrounding area, especially the country mansion at Kannia (1959) and, to date, the best preserved tholos tomb in the Mesara at Kamilari (1961–62); but his greatest achievement was to excavate, below earlier excavators' dumps, the huge and well-preserved western wing of the First Phaistos Palace, which he published in massive detail (1976–81).[36]

A third wave of exploration, in which many still living have had the privilege to participate, has featured reevaluations, detailed study of architecture and artifacts from earlier excavations, stratigraphic investigations focusing on chronology, exploration of new sites, and

regional surveys. Chief among the reevaluations were the responses to Levi's interpretations of the Old Palace sequencing, which are commented on here by A. Van de Moortel (Chap. 3.2). Of special importance has been Levi and Carinci's publication (1988) of the pottery and numerous other clay artifacts from the First Palace excavation as well as Carinci's and others' further revisions (e.g., Carinci 1989), which brought Levi's Phaistian chronology into line with that of Evans, which is used for much of the rest of Crete. For Aghia Triada, Luisa Banti filled a gap created by incomplete publication when she published much of the earlier investigations (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977). Extremely important since then has been Vincenzo La Rosa's formative work at Aghia Triada, for he conducted yearly excavation and soundings to review and establish appropriate sequences of already-explored areas (1977, 1979–80, 1985a, 1989, 1997a, 1997b). He also has encouraged numerous students, many now professionals, from the Italian Institute of Archaeology at Athens to restudy and publish old and new materials from the same site (among them, Cucuzza 1997b; Militello 1998).

Concerning new western Mesara sites outside the confines of the Phaistos–Aghia Triada ridge, the Italian School explored houses at Selì near Kamilari (La Rosa 1972–73, 1973–74; Cucuzza 1993, La Rosa and Cucuzza 2001). The Greek Archaeological Service is in the process of clearing the finely crafted mansion at Plakes near Pitsidia (Hatzi-Vallianou 1989: 438–41). Since 1976 our Canadian/U.S./international team has been excavating Kommos. The last is partly reported in this volume, but for its history see J. W. Shaw 1995a and 1995b. Allied with these initiatives, but with the aim of coming to a better understanding of the density of settlement patterns during different periods in the entire western part of the Mesara Plain, were two extensive surveys, the first to take place in the area.[37] The earlier (Hope-Simpson 1995) included an area of roughly 25 km^2 around Kommos (from Matala on the south, north to Kalamaki, and east to Kamilari). The second (Watrous et al. 1993) covered some 22 km^2, extending north from where the Kommos survey ended, to Aghia Triada and then Voroi, then east to Kalivia and south to Kouses.[38] Thus the entire area, from Matala north to Voroi, and from the Libyan Sea east to Kalivia (Kalivia is east of Phaistos) has, for the first time, been examined carefully by interdisciplinary surveys that reported on visible remains, especially sherd scatters and excavated and unexcavated building remains from all past periods of habitation.

These survey activities helped promote the examination of individual sites within their broader geographic landscapes. Ongoing reevaluation of neighboring sites, especially of Phaistos and Aghia Triada, also invited new observations concerning their relative roles over a long period of time. Moreover, study often focused on the development of pottery shape and decoration with the propitious result that phases of relative ceramic stages became more identifiable (Levi and Carinci 1988; Betancourt 1990, Watrous 1992, Van de Moortel 1997, also Chap. 3.2 and 3.3 by Van de Moortel and Rutter, respectively). These results, combined with study of architecture and further excavation, have allowed closer definition of relative prosperity at and around particular sites. Consequently, we are for the first time in a position

to begin to chart that material prosperity and, by inference, aspects of the socioeconomic welfare of individual communities. This study has led to comparisons of Kommos with Aghia Triada and Phaistos, especially during their Proto-, Neo-, and Postpalatial phases.

The first clear manifestation of that line of ongoing inquiry was a small conference that took place in Toronto in 1984 during the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, in which Canadian, U.S., and Italian colleagues offered possibilities. The proceedings were published as *A Great Minoan Triangle* (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw [eds.] 1985), the title reflecting the geographic positioning of the sites, with Aghia Triada and Phaistos set on an east-west line as two of the three points of the triangle, and with Kommos to their southwest, the third point of the triangle.[39] At that conference, also devoted to site definition, M. C. Shaw first proposed that the galleries of LM III Building P, still only partially excavated at the time, were shipsheds sheltering the area's vessels. Also, L. Vance Watrous examined the significance of varieties of imported foreign ceramics at Kommos, finds almost unknown at inland Phaistos and Aghia Triada. Philip Betancourt then asked provoking questions, among them: Was Kommos a dependency of Protopalatial and Neopalatial Phaistos, and then of Aghia Triada during the Postpalatial period? Could it have been a palatial center in its own right in LM I? Finally, Vincenzo La Rosa suggested that "the knot to untie is mainly of a political nature, one connected, that is, with the identification of a centre of power and with the determination of the influence of such power on the architectural, urbanistic features and artistic production of the other settlements" (1985b: 46; see also now 1995), a theme pursued further below.

Such frank discussions, combined with the nature of contemporary research mentioned above, have led to our Table 5.1 here, a tentative, joint effort to place the three sites and their vicissitudes in a diachronic array, an array that will no doubt change as new approaches and perceptions develop and as new discoveries shift the balance of power and/or the order/nature of apparent building, destruction, and disuse this way and that. It is beyond our purpose here to provide full explanations and documentation for all aspects of Table 5.1, for that would constitute a volume in itself.[40] Rather, it is probably more appropriate simply to remark on some of the suggestions therein, by relative palatial period.

Protopalatial

There seems to be general agreement that during this period the Phaistian hegemony in the western Mesara was complete (La Rosa 1985b: 47). There was little activity at Aghia Triada. During MM IIB, the period when all of the first Phaistos palace was in use, Building AA was constructed at Kommos. On the basis of the argumentation in Chap. 1.2 and 1.3, AA resulted from a regional effort. It follows, then, that AA can probably be connected with the general affluence of the time and, specifically, with decisions reached by rulers at Phaistos. We would propose, based on the evidence of East Cretan, Cycladic, and other imported pottery in the

Table 5.1. General historical developments in the western Mesara at the Minoan sites of Aghia Triada, Kommos, and Phaistos: Final Neolithic through Sub-Minoan.

Period	Kommos Southern Area	Kommos Town	Kommos House X	Phaistos	Aghia Triada	Other Sites in Region
FN		Scattered sherds		Acropolis and eastern slopes of the hill (Chalara) settled		
EM I–II	Scattered sherds only; settlement (and cemetery?) located nearby to southeast at Vigles			Acropolis and surroundings settled	Scattered settlement Tholos Tomb A in use (EM IIB)	
EM III				Settlement; early paved walkway	Tholos Tomb A in use	
MM IA				Extensive settlement Early paved walkway reused	Scattered settlement and acme of depositions in Tholos Tomb A Cult area south of Tholos A: baetyls wall	Patrikies Potter's storage site or sanctuary
MM IB	Scattered building; early paved walkway	Dense occupation of Central Hillside, perhaps also of Hilltop		Construction and early use of Old (First) Palace: Levi Phase Ia Houses west of Palace and at Aghia Photini	Possible settlement on the northern and western slopes of the hill Construction of Tholos Tomb B and last use of Tholos Tomb A Continued use of cult area.	Kamilari Tholos Tomb 1 constructed
MM IIA				Extensive settlement Changes in Old Palace structures Levi Phase Ib early (deposits in Bastione II, Vano CVII, etc.)	Possible settlement on the northern and western slopes of the hill Continued use of cult area	

MM IIB	Construction of Building AA Building AA destroyed at end of period (by earthquake?)	Continuing occupation of houses		Extensive settlement Last phase of Old Palace (Levi Phases Ib/Late II) Construction of "shrine" on the West Court and potter's kiln west of Palace; first phase of town south of the ramp Old Palace destroyed at end of period by earthquake	Settlement, likely on the northern and western slopes of the hill; paved areas and roads At end of period, probable destruction of settlement; substantial numbers of dumps and fills in the settlement area and "Settore Nord Est"	
MM III	Construction of Building T5, then remainder of T Laying of new floors in Rooms T23–25 before end of period, possibly associated with postearthquake repair	Destruction of houses in Central Hillside at end of period (by earthquake?)	Earlier MM house partly below House X destroyed and abandoned Construction of House X now or somewhat later	MM III Early: Tentative attempt to rebuild parts of Old Palace in northern and western parts (deposit under a slab in Vano 50; Vano 11; Vano 18, building northeast of Palace [with Phaistos Disk room]) House rebuilt south of ramp Settlement at Chalara and in Acropoli Mediana House south of ramp destroyed at end of period by earthquake	Construction and initial use of Villa (foundation deposit in Corridor 74) as a unified complex Houses in the settlement with orientation different from that of Villa End of period: destruction of "Casa della Soglia Alabastrina"; fill under northern wall of Villa (Rooms 62, 65, 66)	Acme of depositions in Kamilari Tholoi 1–2
LM IA Early	Major damage, including burning in northeast wing, suffered by Building T South Stoa and much of northeast wing abandoned	Damage to several houses on Southern Hilltop and Central Hillside, resulting in their abandonment	Tentative date for construction of earliest version of House X	Palace not in use Houses south and southwest of Palace continue in use	Continued use	Selì: construction and initial use of Volakakis house

(*continued*)

(*Table 5.1 continued*)

Period	Kommos Southern Area	Kommos Town	Kommos House X	Phaistos	Aghia Triada	Other Sites in Region
LM IA Advanced	Construction and use of kiln in South Stoa. Building T reused on a reduced scale	See preceding and following phases	First discrete use deposits from House X, Room 2	Scanty remains	Continued use of Villa Deposits Delta IV and Gamma III under the Shrine	Kannia: construction of Mansion now or in subsequent phases
LM IA Final	Final use of kiln Phase of the bins in North Stoa, Space T16, in concert with extensive use of cooking facilities in Room T22 Extensive remodeling within North Stoa area	Major rebuilding of town initiated by now, if not already in the previous phase	Earliest use material in Room X1	Building of the Mansion at Chalara, perhaps that of Aghios Georghios, and of the house at Aghia Photini Destruction levels of Rooms LXXII–LXXIV south of the Palace	Second phase of Villa, now or in subsequent period Deposits Delta III under the later Shrine Destruction of Edificio Ciclopico at end of period	Selì: final use of Volakakis house Pitsidia: construction of Plakes Mansion Kamilari: horizon of the group of figurines in Tholos Tomb 1; or perhaps the following period
LM IB Early	Deposition of major dumps of pottery and plaster in T10 and T11 and adjacent area of court at end of phase Abandonment of T22 as a major cooking facility Area of Room F below P3 in East Wing for artisanal activity (bronze strips, tools)	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Continued use of house but no major depositions of occupational debris	Deposit in the Casella of Vano 50 Phaistos New Palace constructed	Continued use of Villa Kiln on the slope east of the Villa Numerous buildings now orientated as Villa (Bastione, Stoa 10, Casa del Lebete, Casa del Pistrinum, Casa dei Fichi, Complesso della Mazza di Breccia, so-called Tomba degli Ori)	Selì: construction of Sifakis House

LM IB Late	Relocation of major cooking facilities to NW corner of court Slab floor of Room T5 gradually covered with use accumulation Deposition of metallurgical debris in pit in Room T16	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Repeated relaying of floors in Rooms X2 (4), X3 (2), X11 (2)	Great destruction of New Palace by fire and earthquake(?), the Mansion at Chalara and the house at Aghia Photini, at end of period Kiln in Court 90	Continued use of the Villa Settlement with the same orientation as the Villa Kiln on the slope east of the Villa Destruction by fire and earthquake(?) of Villa and settlement at end of period Villa unplundered Destruction, not by fire, of buildings in Settore Nord Est (Complesso della Mazza di Breccia and so-called Tomba degli Ori)	Selì: Sifakis House abandoned Kannia Mansion abandoned
LM II	Continued use of cooking facilities in NW corner of court Remodeling of interior of Room T5 and laying of new floor; northeast door blocked now if not already earlier in LM IB(?)	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Abandonment of House X as a residence and installation in Room X7 of public shrine Gradual burial of Room X10 under garbage dump Earliest periods of use of Rooms X8 and X9	Scattered sherds, also at Chalara	Scattered sherds, provisional structures (platform, or bema, on altar) Probably a building in northern area	
LM IIIA1	Use of space below P3 as an industrial facility toward end of period	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Floruit of public shrine Shrine and associated storage facilities in Rooms X4–X5 Collapse of second storey into Rooms X4 and X16 Final floor deposit in X8 Abandonment of Rooms 4, 5, 7	Partial “reoccupation” of Mansion at Chalara Scattered sherds around the Palace area	First phase of urban development of the Mycenaean settlement Reuse of Tholos Tomb B	Cemetery at Kalyvia: Warrior Tomb

(*continued*)

(*Table 5.1 continued*)

Period	Kommos Southern Area	Kommos Town	Kommos House X	Phaistos	Aghia Triada	Other Sites in Region
LM IIIA2 Early	Construction of Galleries P1-P2 and refurbishment of Room T5 of northwest portion of Building T, as Building N			House over the Chalara Mansion Structures in Acropoli Mediana	Second phase of urban development: Megaron ABCD, small stoa and shrine in the southern area now or in previous phase Construction and initial use of the Tomb of the Sarcophagus End of period: profanation and destruction of the Tomb of the Sarcophagus and tipping of its contents into nearby so-called Tomba degli Ori Intentional destruction of some buildings in the settlement (Casa delle Camere Decapitate)	Reuse of Kamilari Tholos Tomb 1 Continued use of Kalyvia Cemetery

Period	Kommos Southern Area	Kommos Town	Kommos House X	Phaistos	Aghia Triada	Villas and Minor Settlements
LM IIIA2 Mature	Use of Galleries P1-P2; relaying of floors in those galleries at the end of the period and construction of Galleries P3–P6	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Partial use of this area at a higher level, badly destroyed by seventh-century-B.C. activity in the same area	Occupation at Chalara continues Structures in Acropoli Mediana still in use	Third phase of urban development Houses of the settlement overbuilt with large buildings: Northwest Building, Megaron P, Large Stoa (Agora), and Casa dei Vanni aggiunti progressivamente. Bastione reconstructed	

LM IIIB Early	Initial use of Galleries P3–P6	Continued use of houses on Hilltop and Central Hillside	Out of use		Continued use of all major buildings Larnakes between the Tomb of the Sarcophagus and Tholos B now or in subsequent phase	Cemetery at Liliana Kannia shrine in reused spaces of earlier mansion
LM IIIB Late	Abandonment of Buildings N and P	Abandonment of most houses			Abandonment of all major buildings	
LM IIIB Final	Flimsy wall built over N7 now or in LM IIIC	Sparse evidence for continued occupation		Palace built over (altar in northwestern corner of central court) Open-air sanctuary(?) Mycenaean ramp; pottery deposits under Houses AA, BB, CC, O now or in subsequent phase		Patrikies reoccupied
LM IIIC	Scattered sherds	Deserted	Scattered sherds	Extensive settlement: house west of theater and large deposit in Acropoli Mediana	New open-air sanctuary (Piazzale dei Sacelli)	
Sub-Minoan	Temple A constructed			Fortification wall in Acropoli Mediana Tomb near the mill	Shrine continues in use	

Compiled by J. W. Shaw after consultation with F. M. Carinci, V. La Rosa, J. B. Rutter, M. C. Shaw, and A. Van de Moortel.

Kommos area even before AA was built (Chap. 3.2), that Kommos was already functioning as a harbor for arriving and departing ships, and thus a monumental complex of "palatial" character was designed and built to grace the western entranceway by sea to the Mesara. In this connection, it is probably not by coincidence that the earliest Minoan remains in Egypt known to archaeologists are Phaistian Kamares pottery (MacGillivray 1998: 107; Carinci 2000: 37). Minoan pottery appeared in Cyprus perhaps even earlier, in the form of an EM III–MM IA bridge-spouted jar from Lapithos (Grace 1940: 30) and an MM IB carinated cup from Karmi (Stewart 1963).[41]

At the end of MM IIB, the Phaistos Old Palace was destroyed, probably by an earthquake (Levi 1964: 9; La Rosa 1995, 2002), a seismic event for which there is evidence at Knossos as well (MacGillivray 1998: 102). If such an event actually did occur, it should also have affected Kommos. We propose, therefore, that AA, built in MM IIB, also went out of use at the end of the same period (Chaps. 1.2 and 3.2, supported by the *sottoscala* deposit below P6). Of AA, however, little save foundations remains. If the building was, indeed, completed (and we have no reason to think that it was not), then its destruction by earthquake would then seem plausible,[42] with the tumbled, uncut[43] slabs from the upper structure probably being reused for inner and upper walls when Building T was constructed in the Neopalatial period.

Neopalatial

In MM III there was one or more destructions by earthquake. One apparently prevented completion of any restoration work at Phaistos (Levi's Phase III) and may have affected Aghia Triada as well as Archanes (La Rosa 1995: 889; MacGillivray 1998: 79). We also suspect one or more at Kommos (Gifford 1995: 74; J. W. Shaw 1996b: 392; Rutter Chap. 3.3, passim). Building T at Kommos was built during this period (Chaps. 1.3 and 3.3).[44,45] Apparently, the Villa Reale at Aghia Triada was constructed during the same, MM III, period, as suggested by a foundation deposit discovered there by La Rosa and his colleagues (1995: 889; 2002: 72; pers. corr.).

During LM IA the Phaistos palace may still have been in ruins, and the splendid building as we see it now may actually date to LM IB (Carinci 1989: 79–80; Palio 2001b: 384, 422; La Rosa 2002: 83). Its architectural opulence was paralleled by that at Aghia Triada until the end of LM IB, when both sites were destroyed by earthquake(?) and fire. At Kommos in the meantime, while the settlement apparently flourished, Building T went into decline during early LM IA, after which portions of the East Wing went out of use, and the two spacious stoas were used for pottery and, probably, limited food production.

Notable in Table 5.1 are the newly introduced subdivisions of LM IA and LM IB. These are based on work by Van de Moortel (1997), also on her chap. 2 in J. W. Shaw et al. 2001, and on Rutter in Chap. 3.3. There is reason to be confident that the same relative subdivisions

can be discovered at other Mesara sites, but only further research can show to what extent the subphases are, indeed, relatively uniform among sites.

Our colleagues at Aghia Triada and Phaistos, noticing the unevenness of building activities at Phaistos and the concomitant rapid and high-quality construction at Aghia Triada, have suggested that the importance of Aghia Triada increased during MM III–LM IA to the point that rule passed peacefully from Phaistos to it (La Rosa 2002: 95). This suggestion is based on the contraction of the size of the New Palace at Phaistos, the absence of Neopalatial settlement in areas that were previously settled, and the scarcity of finds of special value (e.g., pictorial frescoes, quality stone vases, tablets) in the Phaistos palace, as compared with Aghia Triada's prosperous settlement and the plethora of tablets, metals, and other artifacts found in the building (La Rosa 1985b: 47–49; 1997; 2002). This perception has been incorporated into our Table 5.1.

Postpalatial

During the past years, studies at Knossos, Kommos, and Chania have shown conclusively that LM II pottery represents a separate chronological period at sites where the ceramic assemblage appears to be widespread (Popham 1984; Betancourt 1985a: 149; Hallager 1997; Watrous 1992). At Kommos major deposits occur in a dump south of the House with the Snake Tube (Watrous 1992: Deposit 16), in various places in House X (Watrous 1992: Deposits 18–19), and in the court in the northwest corner of Building T (Watrous 1992: Pottery Group 22; also Chap. 3.3 here with Group 45). This sitewide use of LM II pottery at Kommos contrasts with the situation at other Mesara sites, for instance, Chalara on the eastern side of the Phaistos acropolis (Levi 1967–68: 140, 142, 144), and Aghia Triada (La Rosa 1997b: 251), where LM II remains are found. How does one explain this phenomenon?

If potters in the Knossos area developed the ceramic assemblage, which combines Mainland and Cretan traditions, then sent their products south by land into the Mesara, one would expect more examples to have appeared at the inland sites, even if only in modest dwellings (like those at Kommos, where they do appear) not affected by the conflagrations that engulfed the palatial structures at Phaistos and Aghia Triada. An explanation may lie in drawing on the analogy of the foreign, non-Cretan wares brought into Kommos by ship, wares rarely sent inland (Watrous 1992, passim; Cline 1994; Rutter 1999). A link by sea with the north coast of Crete, presumably with the Knossos area and its ports, Katsamba and Amnisos, would probably fit the evidence. This may help explain why, outside the general Knossos area, LM II pottery tends to appear in sufficient number only at seaside towns that would be visited by trading vessels (Pelon 1970 [Malia], B. P. Hallager 1990 [Chania], MacGillivray 1997 [Palaikastro]).[46]

After the LM IB destructions at Aghia Triada and Phaistos the palace of phaistos lay essentially abandoned, and Aghia Triada may have had a building in the north area, whereas at

Kommos, which had not been visited by a similar devastation by fire, occupation continued in the houses of the town. For reasons still to be determined, perhaps the demise of Knossos, in late LM IIIA1/A2 Early, there was a major regional renaissance at both Aghia Triada and Kommos—Phaistos apparently lay almost deserted at the time. At Aghia Triada were built a freestanding shrine, a presumably administrative building (ABCD) bordered on the south by a large court, a small stoa (EF), an immense stoa of unprecedented design (the Mercato), as well as other structures (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977; La Rosa 1977, 1985b, 1997b; Hayden 1981; Cucuzza [1997b] places them in sequence). At about the same time Building P, also a "public" structure, appeared at Kommos, as well as Building N, already described and interpreted here in Chaps. 1.3 and 5.2.

With the exception of the Aghia Triada shrine, all these buildings were found devoid of finds that could reveal their exact use (there were a few storage pithoi in the large stoa, however). Their relative shapes suggest, however, that they are of complementary natures: administration (ABCD, after the possible model of a Mycenaean structure with an axial entrance [J. W. and M. C. Shaw 1997]; also N at Kommos, which may have housed guardians/supervisors of Building P's activities); religion (the freestanding Aghia Triada shrine, for which there was no equivalent then at Kommos); public gatherings (confined to the court alongside ABCD and two stoas at Aghia Triada), and commerce/storage (implied by the portico and rear storage rooms of the large stoa at Aghia Triada and by the shape and location of Building P at Kommos). The lack of evidence for maritime commerce at Aghia Triada, compared with the plentiful material at Kommos (imported pottery, anchors) suggest that we are dealing with differing but appropriate venues for internal, overland, and short-range versus external and long-range maritime exchange.

Given this combination at two neighboring sites, and assuming a lack of separate religious and social/communal structures at Kommos, there seems little doubt that if the two complementary groups of buildings functioned in tandem, Aghia Triada would have been in charge of regional decisions (as per La Rosa 1985b; also J. W. and M. C. Shaw 1997: 434), just as during the later Greek period when inland towns connected with a harbor town along the shore (Phaistos and Matala and, later Gortyn and Matala/Leda) were the seats of decision-making.

How do the Knossian Linear B tablets affect the above picture? Certainly they show production attributed to specific sites in the Mesara (e.g., pa-i-to [Phaistos?] and da-wo [Aghia Triada, Kommos?]), and it is tempting to conclude that the western Mesara was subject to Knossos, at least until its "final destruction" in LM IIIA2 Early.[47]

To arrive at an understanding of the LM IIIA2–B period in the Mesara, the dating of at least some of the Knossos Linear B tablets is crucial, although that matter cannot be decided definitively at this point. From the point of view of architecture there is no doubt that the unusual Aghia Triada and Kommos structures already mentioned represent innovations without parallel in Crete, far different from the rest of the island, where the pattern at most sites is the reuse of previous spaces by subdivision and/or extension. Apart from these two

Mesara sites, there are few sites where there was significant new building.[47] The LM IIIA2–B period was also apparently one when the population was expanding (Watrous et al. 1993: 228).

At least at this point in discovery, there are no monumental buildings at Knossos that can be pointed to as having been constructed during this period. Is it realistic, therefore, to suggest that Knossos, if it were in charge of the Mesara during LM IIIA2–B, would commission massive architecture elsewhere when it was not building up the home base but, rather, reoccupying the ruins of an earlier palace? Thus a strong case can be made that this late development in the Mesara was largely independent of what was happening to the north. Shelmerdine, reviewing the recent evidence showing that the Knossos Linear B tablets are from different time periods, came to the conclusion that the main Knossian archive should be dated to LM IIIA1/A2 Early, and that, after the major destruction at that site, LM IIIA2–B was a period of "dispersed authority" with "increased autonomy," rather than one with a dominant administration center (1992: 585–587).[48] Merousis recently proposed a similar situation, with a decentralized administration during LM IIIA2 followed by regionalism (2002: 167–69).

Notes

1. At Knossos, part of the northwestern area was set on a partial platform retained by a massive slab-built wall retaining fill (Catling 1974: 34, dated there to EM III [Prepalatial]), but see also MacGillivray 1994: 49–51, who also cites MM IA and IB as possibilities suggested by others.

2. At Knossos, in the area near the Grand Staircase in the East Wing, the Neolithic tell was cut into to a depth of at least 8 m, and a massive north-south retaining wall was built to support the Central Court on the west and to accommodate the residential area on the east (Evans 1921: fig. 247). At Phaistos a similar cutting was made into the southwestern slope, with a resulting difference of at least 6.20 m between the Central Court and the lower floors of the Protopalatial storerooms (Levi 1976: vol. I(2), pl. L). A similar method was used to set in the lower rooms of the Aghia Triada "Villa" complex west and north of the large court there (Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977, foldouts 2 and 3, a difference of about 3.5 m).

3. The form of the west "wings" of both buildings, now washed away by the sea, however, remains unknown.

4. Such platforms were often partly of thick mud-brick walls that underlay the walls projecting above ground level, as in Bietak 1996: fig. 56 (early New Kingdom palatial fortress at Avaris). At Early Bronze/Middle Bronze Marki Alonia in Cyprus builders constructed a frame of walls that served as the bases for the main part of a building, and after the interior of the frame was filled with rubble and debris, the lighter walls were built on the level thus created (Frankel 1998: 246).

5. In a deep sounding north of the east-west road and east of the Classical Round Building was a large pottery deposit dating to an early stage of MM IIB (contexts 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12 [Trench 20B] in Betancourt 1990, dated there to MM IIA; see Chap. 3.2). Being largely mendable and homogeneous in date, this pottery is very different in character from the largely unmendable, mixed MM IB–IIA–IIB Early pottery in the construction fills of Building AA, and cannot have been the source. Another consideration is the amount of *kouskouras* clay bedrock found in so many of the AA fillings. Some would, of course, be available from the bedding trenches excavated in the Southern Area for new walls, but certainly less than was needed. It is doubtful that this clay was removed from the enclosed AA area, since the aim of the builders was to

create a platform by elevating a preexisting slope. Could the clay have been excavated from a slope to the east, presently under meters of sand? It may have come from excavation for even further building (of houses?) north of the east-west road, an area where the Protopalatial levels are relatively unknown at this point.

6. Concerning upper floors in T, we believe there was one above T5, as indicated by the stairway there (Pl. 1.34). The stairway in the southwest corner of the Central Court (Pl. 1.130) suggests that most of the largely missing West Wing had two storeys, and that the two stairways mentioned (rather than a third, leading up from the Central Court in the destroyed part of the West Wing) serviced that wing. Although an argument can be made that the two stoas (especially the South Stoa) had an upper floor, this remains unproved. There was probably not a second floor in the East Wing, where only one narrow stairway (in Room J, in Pl. 1.114) has been discovered; perhaps it provided access to the roof.

7. As restored, T measured about 97 m west to east and 52.76 m north to south. See also J. W. Shaw 1996a: 7, which also discusses the rationale for a size estimate. A more relevant comparison might be between Protopalatial Building AA and its surrounding community, but there is more information in this case for the Neopalatial period.

8. Note that the ratio (unlike the proportion) is of the palace area to the settled area outside.

9. For the estimates see the more general comparisons of palatial centers to towns in J. W. Shaw 2003b.

10. At Katsamba (Poros) excavations have revealed tombs and manufacturing facilities (Dimopoulou 1997, with references to earlier work). Much of the town lies submerged in the shallow water offshore as well as below modern construction. At Amnisos (Karteros) to the east, there are partly submerged Minoan houses along the shore, and excavation has exposed a Neopalatial villa as well as a long ashlar structure alongside the western side of the hill there (summarized and illustrated, with earlier bibliography, in J. Schäfer et al. 1992; see also J. Schäfer 1991).

11. Rutter has pointed out recently that the latest pottery in fill below the initial floors of Galleries P3–P6 is LM IIIA2 in date, whereas the earliest floor pottery associated with those gallery floors is of LM IIIB vintage. One explanation may be that the four southern galleries, although built in LM IIIA2, were not used until significantly later. It seems doubtful, however, that such enormous spaces, once constructed, were not used. More likely, given the ceramic evidence, is that all of Building P, perhaps including the floors, was laid out in LM IIIA2 but that the walls and roofs of the southern galleries were completed later, after P1 and P2 had already been in use. Such an explanation could also account for the numerous irregularities in construction seen there (e.g., in use of timbering, masonry, care in building) already pointed out in Chap. 1.3.

12. M. C. Shaw 1985, J. W. Shaw 1986: 262–69; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1999, also with references to possible ship sizes.

13. For a variety of them drawn at the same scale see J. W. Shaw 1986: fig. 11.

14. For detailed discussion of Greek shipsheds, see Blackman 1968.

15. Translation from R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer*, Chicago, 1951.

16. Hawes et al. 1908: 19; Fotou 1993: 98, pls. XX–XXI. Watrous and, subsequently, Rutter and Van de Moortel, have inspected the building, which is quite eroded where it is next to the sea and still partly exposed on land. Of the three to four possible galleries, two are about 4 m wide. The building, oriented north toward the sea, was at least 15 m long, but boulders in the water suggest that another 10 m could be added to that length. Watrous reports (pers. comm.) that LM IB pottery was found associated with it.

17. Dario Puglisi (2001b) has recently made the proposal, one that would certainly have been recast had this volume been available to that author at the time, that Building T originally consisted of ten long galleries facing the sea, without stoas and without rooms to the west (e.g., T5). As has been shown here, T5 actually preceded the building of the rest of T, as did the original (AA) form of at least one of the two stoas. Thus Puglisi's argument must be based on only eight of the galleries, the floor of one of which was plastered. Also, *contra* Puglisi, there is no evidence that the kiln in the South Stoa produced amphoras for trading abroad.

18. P6 was also closed on the west.

19. Rutter has suggested that the blocking

here may have been made as early as LM II, which would imply that the threshold mentioned in the text was removed earlier and was not placed in its present position until LM III.

20. We do not know if N extended farther to the west, only that Room 5 probably had a western north-south wall set on the now-missing western wall of Room T5 (Chap. 1.2, 1.3). Compare Pl. 1.34.

21. For the plan, see J. W. Shaw 1990, fig. 2.

22. J. W. Shaw and M. Luton 2000. At the Theran Congress on wall painting, the authors argued that the Akrotiri settlement was established on a peninsula now masked by volcanic pumice. Recent excavation for setting in vertical supports for the new roof covering the site, especially those just east of Ashlar 4, revealed that the building was constructed on the edge of a steep slope down to the east, presumably leading down to the shore of the hypothesized eastern harbor of the settlement (C. Doumas, pers. comm.).

23. See also J. W. Shaw 1990, where other possible landing spots along shorelines are discussed.

24. Such an enclosed harbor has been proposed by Raban for Malia (1983: 239 and fig. 11; 1991: 139; but see J. W. Shaw 1990: 428, and Hue and Pelon 1991: 123 and n. 49). Further investigation of the possibility of a channel leading into an inland harbor was to be carried out by Alain Dandrau (pers. comm.). A possible enclosed port in a natural depression has been reported near Pylos in Messenia, but little evidence for dating and actual use has been furnished (Zangger et al. 1997: 617–23, 626).

To our knowledge, no one has yet suggested such an inner harbor at Kommos. If one were to do so, two major problems would have to be dealt with. The first is that, as in Pl. 1.3, the bedrock at Kommos is now at groundwater level (close to sea level) about 20 m south of the civic buildings. To replicate ancient conditions, when sea level during the Minoan period was some 1.5–2.5 m lower than now, the same ground level, given a similar slope, would be some 35 m farther south, leaving only about 50 m between that point and the corresponding hillslope farther south free (north-south) for an inner harbor. The second problem is silting, since the harbor mouth would have to be dredged continuously to remove the sand being carried southward by the wind and the waves along this part of the coast.

25. For Minoan fishhooks and bone tools that may have been used for net mending and manufacture, see Blitzer 1995: 497–500, 510–16. A number from House X (including a group of six barbed hooks corroded together) will be published together with the house. There are some from the civic buildings (Chap. 4.1, **18–20**). For evidence for fishing during the ensuing Greek period see Rose 2000, passim.

26. Dabney 1996a: 245; van Effenterre 1980: 76.

27. For the many discussions of this monument see Hankey 1981: 45–46, Warren 1995: 13–14, and references therein, and Warren 2000a: 25. For connection with Kommos see Banou 2000 in Karetsou, Andreadaki-Vlasaki, and Papadakis, eds. 2000: 246–49 (catalogue).

28. One can only introduce the subject here, for which the reader is referred especially to detailed discussions in Knapp 1993 and Knapp and Cherry 1994 (especially 126–46), as well as in Rehak and Younger (1998: 136–40) who reviewed the subject most recently. See also Watrous 1994: 750. The best discussion, not by the excavators themselves, of Kommos as a port town is in Knapp and Cherry 1994: 138–41, where it is presented along with Ugarit in Syria and Enkomi in Cyprus. There it is suggested that the immediate Kommos area "enjoyed an independent existence, at least from LM I onwards." Although independence remains a possibility, as pointed out in the text, however, there are reasons for considering Kommos during most periods as a satellite of one of the major inland sites.

29. Unless there was a building at the time (Chap. 1.2).

30. Given the nature of much of the foreign pottery, everyday rather than special, its relative date in primary contexts at Kommos probably comes close to the date when it was imported.

31. See n. 194 to Chap. 3 for a listing of publications discussing ceramic and other imports found at Kommos.

32. Acknowledgment of those scholars who have helped us identify the foreign origins of pottery as well as metal and stone artifacts found at Kommos is made in n. 194 to Chap. 3.

33. The term *trading partner* here should not be understood necessarily to imply that the inhabitants of Kommos ever established direct contact with the producers of the western Ana-

tolian pottery imported to and eventually deposited at the site. The identity of the carriers of not only this but all other classes of imported pottery must remain unknown until such time as evidence bearing directly on it is discovered.

34. For a detailed map of the Mesara, where many of the sites discussed are indicated, see J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.), 1995, frontispiece.

35. S. Marinatos (1924–25) also excavated a house at Kouses. Unless specified otherwise, the dates of publication are given rather than those of the fieldwork.

36. For a more complete recounting of Italian archaeological activity in the Mesara and Crete in general, see Di Vita, La Rosa, and Rizzo 1984, passim; also La Rosa 2000a for Phaistos and Aghia Triada.

37. Outside the western Mesara proper, in the bordering area of the Asterousia range of hills, a valuable survey had already taken place. This was directed by Blackman and Branigan (1975, 1977; see also Bintliff 1977: 605–41).

38. As this volume was going to press, L. V. Watrous and others completed publication of *The Plain of Phaistos* (2004), which carries forward the survey published in 1993.

39. An unproved assumption inherent in the title is that there are no other "major" Minoan sites in the western Mesara. A "major" site might be defined as one of perhaps 30,000 m^2, which is somewhat smaller than Kommos (40,000 m^2). The Kalamaki area, never excavated on a large scale, remains a possibility (for the area, see Hope-Simpson 1995: 367–74), as does that of Kamilari (Watrous et al. 2004: 278 and fig. 10.1).

40. Especially important is the just published monumental Watrous et al. 2004, which includes detailed surveys of the western Mesara during both the Prehistoric (Part III, Chaps. 7–10) and Historic (Part IV, Chaps. 11–14) periods.

41. I am indebted to Aleydis Van de Moortel for the information.

42. Since, however, MM II levels on the Hilltop and Hillside have not been broadly examined because of superposition of later structures, there is no evidence from the Kommos site to corroborate the suggestion.

43. AA's wall blocks would probably be indistinguishable from among other slabs in T, since there is insufficient evidence to show that any cut ashlar blocks are in secondary use in the original construction of T, for which see Chap. 1.3 and 1.5.

44. We originally set T's construction during early LM I, but recent study places it somewhat earlier (J. W. Shaw 1986: fig. 6A; J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 161; see Rutter, Chap. 3.3 here).

45. In Chap. 1 we noted a burning in the East Wing of Building T, in Rooms 25a and b, and surrounding area, which may be associated with earthquake damage during late MM III–LM I Early (see Rutter, Chap. 3.3).

46. See also Knapp and Cherry (partly after Renfrew) 1994: 142.

47. Bennet has noted (1985: n. 84) that we are unsure of the nature of the control that Knossos may have exercised over sites it names in its archive.

48. Reused blocks were used at both sites, however, especially at Kommos. For LM III construction of quality outside the Mesara, but on a small scale, one must consider the small Tylissos stoa (Hayden 1981: 44, 49; 1984: 41–43) and the Gournia House (Hawes et al. 1908: House He on p. 23; Oelman 1912; Hayden 1984: 45).

49. This also represents a reconsideration of some of the views expressed in J. W. Shaw 1996b: 397. Bennet (1985: 249) reflected the view that the majority of the Knossos tablets date to the very end of LM IIIA1 or the beginning of LM IIIA2 but allowed the possibility that the Knossian system might also apply to the subsequent period as well.

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Abbreviations of journals follow the conventions suggested by the *American Journal of Archaeology* 104 (2000): 10–24.

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C 6393	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/12**
C 6394	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/24**
C 6395	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/9**
C 6396	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/13**
C 6397	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/10**
C 6399	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/11**
C 6400	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/17**
C 6402	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/27**
C 6403	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/26**
C 6404	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/22**
C 6407	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/26**
C 6412	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **59**
C 6414	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/20**
C 6442	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/28**
C 6443	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/19**
C 6444	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/33**
C 6448	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **32/2**
C 6481	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **62**
C 6499	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/18**
C 6500	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/17**
C 6501	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/16**
C 6503	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/22**
C 6507	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/AI/3**
C 6515	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/12**
C 6517	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/2**
C 6518	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/5**
C 6519	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/3**
C 6520	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/4**
C 6526	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **67**
C 6550	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/6**
C 6551	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/7**
C 6552	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **59/22**
C 6553	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **59/23**
C 6625	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/14**
C 6626	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/23**
C 6627	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/5**
C 6628	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/8**
C 6630	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/2**
C 6631	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/3**
C 6632	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/1**

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C 6644	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/5**
C 6645	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17a/4**
C 6647	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/4**
C 6648	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/2**
C 6650	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/7**
C 6651	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/8**
C 6652	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/13**
C 6653	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/11**
C 6654	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/1**
C 6656	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/9**
C 6657	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/3**
C 6661	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/6**
C 6662	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/5**
C 6679	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/12**
C 6680	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **6/10**
C 6684	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **22a/1**
C 6694	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/33**
C 6695	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/25**
C 6696	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/27**
C 6697	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/4**
C 6698	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/30**
C 6702	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/35**
C 6709	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/23**
C 6710	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/32**
C 6711	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/15**
C 6712	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/5**
C 6713	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/10**
C 6714	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/16**
C 6715	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/26**
C 6717	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/28**
C 6718	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/29**
C 6719	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/17**
C 6720	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/22**
C 6737	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **63/1**
C 6738	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/34**
C 6740	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/1**
C 6741	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/8**
C 6742	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/3**
C 6743	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/31**
C 6746	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/20**
C 6791	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **50/1**
C 6792	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **50/2**
C 6835	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/2**
C 6839	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/7**
C 6840	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/8**
C 6897	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/1**
C 6899	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **31/2**
C 6901	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **31/1**
C 6904	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/31**
C 6905	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/21**
C 6906	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **49**
C 6911	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/1**
C 6912	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/30**
C 6913	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **23/1**
C 6915	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/6**
C 6916	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/8**
C 6917	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/11**
C 6919	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/19**
C 6920	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/12**
C 6921	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/2**
C 6923	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/16**
C 6924	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/13**
C 6926	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/25**
C 6927	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/5**
C 6928	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/3**
C 6930	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/11**
C 6931	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/20**
C 6933	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/19**
C 6935	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/9**
C 6937	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/26**
C 6949	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **64/6**
C 7028	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/1**
C 7030	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/11**
C 7031	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58a/2**
C 7032	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58a/3**
C 7033	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58a/1**
C 7053	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/6**
C 7055	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/4**
C 7070	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/11**
C 7072	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/9**
C 7073	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/12**
C 7074	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/10**
C 7077	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/8**
C 7080	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/3**
C 7083	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/7**
C 7084	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/2**
C 7085	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/4**
C 7086	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/5**
C 7105	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/11**
C 7109	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/1**
C 7116	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/MG/1**
C 7126	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/1**
C 7128	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/5**
C 7129	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/2**
C 7215	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/2**
C 7216	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/1**
C 7217	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/3**
C 7224	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/5**
C 7230	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/8**
C 7232	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/6**
C 7233	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/9**
C 7236	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/10**
C 7240	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/7**
C 7259	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/6**
C 7260	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52a/6**
C 7336	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/5**
C 7340	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52d/3**
C 7370	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/2**

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C 7371	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/1**
C 7395	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58c/1**
C 7396	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58c/2**
C 7397	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/6**
C 7398	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/5**
C 7399	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/4**
C 7400	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3b/3**
C 7407	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/2**
C 7408	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/10**
C 7412	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/3**
C 7413	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/5**
C 7414	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/4**
C 7415	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/9**
C 7417	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/6**
C 7419	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/8**
C 7420	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/7**
C 7423	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/2**
C 7428	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/6**
C 7430	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/3**
C 7431	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **3a/1**
C 7440	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52e/3**
C 7442	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **51**
C 7443	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4b/3**
C 7444	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4b/4**
C 7445	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/1**
C 7446	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4b/1**
C 7447	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4b/2**
C 7448	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/4**
C 7450	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52e/1**
C 7456	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **38/1**
C 7457	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **38/2**
C 7458	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/4**
C 7459	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/5**
C 7461	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/6**
C 7462	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/2**
C 7464	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/1**
C 7465	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/3**
C 7472	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4a/3**
C 7473	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4a/1**
C 7474	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **4a/2**
C 7476	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52e/2**
C 7477	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52f/1**
C 7478	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/3**
C 7480	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/2**
C 7485	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/5**
C 7486	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/2**
C 7493	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ji/1**
C 7496	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/14**
C 7507	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **32/1**
C 7509	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/15**
C 7510	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/2**
C 7511	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/3**
C 7591	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52b/3**
C 7611	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/13**
C 7612	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/11**
C 7613	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/9**
C 7614	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52b/4**
C 7621	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/4**
C 7622	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/6**
C 7623	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/7**
C 7624	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/10**
C 7625	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/15**
C 7626	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/31**
C 7628	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52b/1**
C 7629	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/3**
C 7630	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/4**
C 7631	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/1**
C 7632	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/4**
C 7633	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **23/4**
C 7638	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52g/1**
C 7639	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52e/2**
C 7640	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **22b/2**
C 7641	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **22b/1**
C 7642	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **50**
C 7643	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52b/5**
C 7644	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52b/2**
C 7645	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/11**
C 7646	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/9**
C 7647	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/5**
C 7648	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **22b/3**
C 7649	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **15/1**
C 7650	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/10**
C 7651	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/6**
C 7652	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/7**
C 7653	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/8**
C 7654	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/12**
C 7663	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/It/3**
C 7667	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/6**
C 7679	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/3**
C 7691	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/5**
C 7693	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **28a/1**
C 7825	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **47/13**
C 7870	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/12**
C 7871	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/7**
C 7872	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/13**
C 7873	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/14**
C 7874	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/21**
C 7875	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/4**
C 7876	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/24**
C 7877	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/19**
C 7878	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/18**
C 7879	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67b/1**
C 7880	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/2**
C 7881	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/11**
C 7882	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/9**
C 7883	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **78/6**
C 8053	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52h/1**
C 8101	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **28**

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C 8102	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **29**
C 8103	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **30**
C 8104	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **31**
C 8105	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **32**
C 8106	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **33**
C 8107	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **34**
C 8108	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **35**
C 8109	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **36**
C 8110	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **37**
C 8111	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **38**
C 8112	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **39**
C 8113	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **40**
C 8114	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **41**
C 8115	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **42**
C 8116	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **43**
C 8136	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/3**
C 8137	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/7**
C 8144	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/10**
C 8154	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/10**
C 8173	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/It/1**
C 8202	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/13**
C 8203	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **53/3**
C 8204	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56f/1**
C 8205	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56f/3**
C 8216	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/1**
C 8219	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **35/1**
C 8220	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27b/4**
C 8221	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27b/3**
C 8244	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/3**
C 8246	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27a/3**
C 8247	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27a/1**
C 8248	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27a/2**
C 8249	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/1**
C 8250	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/2**
C 8251	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/7**
C 8252	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/3**
C 8270	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **46**
C 8271	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **45**
C 8281	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **36/2**
C 8282	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **36/1**
C 8283	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/12**
C 8311	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **68**
C 8313	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **44**
C 8326	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **7/1**
C 8327	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **7/3**
C 8330	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **7/2**
C 8335	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67b/4**
C 8336	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67b/3**
C 8337	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **33/1**
C 8338	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **33/2**
C 8342	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **26/4**
C 8344	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67c/1**
C 8354	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **18/2**
C 8407	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5b/2**
C 8408	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/1**
C 8409	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/3**
C 8410	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/4**
C 8600	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **69**
C 8617	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **27**
C 8619	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/5**
C 8620	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/4**
C 8622	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/5**
C 8624	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/17**
C 8625	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/15**
C 8726	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/UP/1**
C 8728	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/6**
C 8729	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/5**
C 8730	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/9**
C 8932	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **73b/1**
C 8933	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **73b/2**
C 8936	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/7**
C 8960	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **52**
C 8962	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **2**
C 8965	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **54**
C 8969	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/7**
C 8974	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9a/2**
C 8975	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9a/1**
C 8976	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9a/3**
C 8987	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc5**
C 8999	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/2**
C 9045	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/1**
C 9052	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **54/1**
C 9063	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **54/2**
C 9079	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **79**
C 9095	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/1**
C 9096	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/2**
C 9098	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **80**
C 9100	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Eg/3**
C 9196	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/12**
C 9200	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/8**
C 9213	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc4**
C 9266	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/1**
C 9273	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/10**
C 9274	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/2**
C 9276A	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/12**
C 9276B	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/13**
C 9277	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/11**
C 9289	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc8**
C 9388	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/5**
C 9389	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/6**
C 9390	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/7**
C 9391	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/14**
C 9398	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/15**
C 9409	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **11/3**
C 9410	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **11/2**
C 9412	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/12**
C 9413	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/11**
C 9414	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/3**

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C 9415	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/4**
C 9416	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/2**
C 9417	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/6**
C 9418	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/14**
C 9419	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/13**
C 9425	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69a/1**
C 9430	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/10**
C 9431	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/5**
C 9432	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/4**
C 9433	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/6**
C 9434	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/3**
C 9435	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/8**
C 9436	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/9**
C 9447	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **3**
C 9448	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **4**
C 9450	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/8**
C 9452	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/17**
C 9460	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/5**
C 9461	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/2**
C 9489	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57f/2**
C 9490	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/5**
C 9503	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/5**
C 9504	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57h/1**
C 9505	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57g/1**
C 9508	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/7**
C 9509	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/2**
C 9510	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **13/4**
C 9511	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/2**
C 9512	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/4**
C 9528	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc7**
C 9531	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **78**
C 9532	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc11**
C 9533	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc2**
C 9557	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71a/3**
C 9563	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/7**
C 9564	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/10**
C 9565	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/8**
C 9568	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71a/2**
C 9569	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71a/1**
C 9583	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **70a/2**
C 9587	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **70a/1**
C 9621	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69a/2**
C 9622	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69a/3**
C 9644	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71b/1**
C 9645	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **19/4**
C 9646	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **19/2**
C 9647	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **19/3**
C 9648	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **19/1**
C 9649	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71b/3**
C 9654	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **70b/1**
C 9661	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71b/2**
C 9662	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **71b/4**
C 9711	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **60**
C 9720	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **61**
C 9758	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/5**
C 9770	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/4**
C 9771	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/10**
C 9782	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **13/2**
C 9785	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, ungrouped
C 9787	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **13/1**
C 9789	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **13/3**
C 9793	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/1**
C 9799	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **5**
C 9805	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **6**
C 9809	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **7**
C 9813	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **8**
C 9814	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc13**
C 9817	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc6**
C 9820	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/1**
C 9821	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **9**
C 9823	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **10**
C 9826	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **76**
C 9830	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cr/1**
C 9832	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/1**
C 9833	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **11**
C 9836	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/6**
C 9837	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Eg/1**
C 9839	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/4**
C 9840	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/1**
C 9843	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/4**
C 9845	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/6**
C 9847	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **42/2**
C 9848	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/WA/1**
C 9850	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/5**
C 9851	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/2**
C 9856	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/9**
C 9860	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/3**
C 9863	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/WA/2**
C 9865	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/4**
C 9866	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/27**
C 9868	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/25**
C 9869	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/2**
C 9873	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/10**
C 9874	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **42/1**
C 9880	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/WA/3**
C 9881	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **75**
C 9884	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/22**
C 9885	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/8**
C 9886	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/9**
C 9887	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/13**
C 9889	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/19**
C 9890	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/24**
C 9892	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/15**
C 9893	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/25**
C 9894	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/11**
C 9895	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/12**
C 9896	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/10**

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C 9906	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/AI/2**
C 9918	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc12**
C 9919	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/3**
C 9920	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/6**
C 9926	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/WA/4**
C 9941	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/6**
C 9975	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **9b/7**
C 9990	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/6**
C 10007	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **10/3**
C 10008	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **10/2**
C 10009	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **10/1**
C 10022	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **14/1**
C 10023	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **14/2**
C 10024	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Da/1**
C 10029	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Da/3**
C 10032	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **G/1**
C 10033	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/7**
C 10034	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/7**
C 10043	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Fb/1**
C 10065	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/6**
C 10066	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/3**
C 10081	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/8**
C 10082	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/6**
C 10096	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/1**
C 10097	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/2**
C 10098	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/3**
C 10099	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/5**
C 10111	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/8**
C 10121	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Dc/1**
C 10184	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/13**
C 10206	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/26**
C 10211	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17b/1**
C 10215	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/6**
C 10217	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/23**
C 10218	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56a/2**
C 10219	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/22**
C 10232	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/1**
C 10233	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/6**
C 10234	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/7**
C 10235	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/4**
C 10236	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/2**
C 10237	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/8**
C 10238	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/3**
C 10239	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **M/5**
C 10260	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/5**
C 10265	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **K/3**
C 10266	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/16**
C 10267	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/4**
C 10268	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc9**
C 10269	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc10**
C 10298	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/3**
C 10331	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/UP/2**
C 10341	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/4**
C 10343	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/11**
C 10344	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/8**
C 10345	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/2**
C 10346	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/16**
C 10347	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/18**
C 10348	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/21**
C 10349	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/14**
C 10350	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/15**
C 10351	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/1**
C 10352	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/4**
C 10353	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/5**
C 10354	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/20**
C 10355	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/19**
C 10356	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/17**
C 10357	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56a/1**
C 10358	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **53/1**
C 10359	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **53/2**
C 10360	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **74/1**
C 10361	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **73a/2**
C 10362	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/7**
C 10363	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/3**
C 10364	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/9**
C 10365	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/28**
C 10368	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/12**
C 10369	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **12**
C 10370	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **13**
C 10371	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **14**
C 10372	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc1**
C 10373	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **15**
C 10374	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **63**
C 10376	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **16**
C 10377	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **17**
C 10378	J. W. Shaw. Chap. 4.2, **18**
C 10413	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **19**
C 10414	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **20**
C 10415	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **21**
C 10416	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **64**
C 10417	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **22**
C 10418	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **23**
C 10421	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **24**
C 10433	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/3**
C 10434	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/9**
C 10435	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/10**
C 10436	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/11**
C 10437	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/7**
C 10438	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/12**
C 10439	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/6**
C 10440	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/8**
C 10441	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/13**
C 10442	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/2**
C 10443	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/14**
C 10444	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/5**
C 10454	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/AI/1**
C 10455	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/AI/4**
C 10456	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/24**

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C 10457	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/27**
C 10458	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/25**
C 10459	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/23**
C 10460	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37e/7**
C 10461	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/1**
C 10462	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/4**
C 10463	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/5**
C 10464	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/6**
C 10465	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **25**
C 10466	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56c/1**
C 10467	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56d/1**
C 10468	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/3**
C 10469	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/7**
C 10470	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56b/2**
C 10471	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/7**
C 10473	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67a/10**
C 10476	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/9**
C 10477	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **12/1**
C 10545	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/4**
C 10546	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **1/1**
C 10645	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/8**
C 10646	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/3**
C 10647	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/9**
C 10648	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/4**
C 10649	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **66/16**
C 10650	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/3**
C 10651	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/6**
C 10652	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/4**
C 10653	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69b/5**
C 10654	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57e/1**
C 10655	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **69a/4**
C 10656	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57i/3**
C 10658	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/2**
C 10659	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/5**
C 10660	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/17**
C 10661	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/27**
C 10662	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/14**
C 10663	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/18**
C 10664	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/1**
C 10665	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/22**
C 10666	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/26**
C 10667	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/7**
C 10669	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/2**
C 10674	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **28b/2**
C 10675	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **28b/1**
C 10676	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **28b/3**
C 10677	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Bc/1**
C 10679	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Bc/2**
C 10680	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.2, **1**
C 10684	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/4**
C 10685	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/5**
C 10686	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/4**
C 10687	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/7**
C 10718	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/5**
C 10719	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2b/1**
C 10721	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **2a/9**
C 10722	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/3**
C 10723	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/9**
C 10724	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/5**
C 10725	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/12**
C 10726	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **C/1**
C 10728	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/14**
C 10729	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/7**
C 10730	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/17**
C 10731	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/9**
C 10732	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/3**
C 10733	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/3**
C 10734	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/20**
C 10735	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/5**
C 10736	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/10**
C 10737	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/1**
C 10738	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/15**
C 10741	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/13**
C 10742	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/21**
C 10743	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/6**
C 10744	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **51/4**
C 10745	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **33/3**
C 10746	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **33/4**
C 10747	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27b/1**
C 10748	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **27b/2**
C 10749	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **26/1**
C 10750	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **26/2**
C 10752	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **43/1**
C 10753	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **43/2**
C 10754	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **34/6**
C 10755	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **34/2**
C 10758	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **8/3**
C 10760	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **18/1**
C 10765	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **45/10**
C 10766	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **20/6**
C 10767	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **23/5**
C 10768	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **23/3**
C 10770	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **22a/2**
C 10771	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **L/20**
C 10773	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/14**
C 10774	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/24**
C 10775	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/23**
C 10777	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/27**
C 10778	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/28**
C 10779	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/29**
C 10780	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/8**
C 10786	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **70**
C 10789	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/1**
C 10790	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/2**
C 10791	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/5**
C 10792	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **25/6**
C 10794	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37b/1**
C 10795	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/7**

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C 10796	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/6**
C 10797	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/8**
C 10798	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5a/9**
C 10799	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37a/5**
C 10800	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37a/4**
C 10801	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37a/1**
C 10802	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37a/2**
C 10803	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37a/6**
C 10810	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/7**
C 10811	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/12**
C 10812	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/14**
C 10813	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/13**
C 10814	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/11**
C 10815	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37c/4**
C 10816	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37e/9**
C 10817	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37e/11**
C 10819	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37e/12**
C 10820	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **37e/8**
C 10821	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/10**
C 10822	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/1**
C 10823	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/8**
C 10824	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/12**
C 10825	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/2**
C 10826	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/6**
C 10827	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **21/4**
C 10829	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **5b/1**
C 10831	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/5**
C 10832	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/38**
C 10833	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/36**
C 10834	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/12**
C 10835	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/23**
C 10836	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/24**
C 10837	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/25**
C 10838	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/27**
C 10839	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/11**
C 10840	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/7**
C 10841	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/1**
C 10842	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **77**
C 10844	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **E/4**
C 10846	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **K/1**
C 10847	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **K/2**
C 10848	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **E/1**
C 10863	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/It/2**
C 10864	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/43**
C 10867	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/21**
C 10868	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/24**
C 10869	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jb/1**
C 10870	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/13**
C 10873	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/18**
C 10875	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/16**
C 10876	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/34**
C 10878	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/19**
C 10888	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/39**
C 10890	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/23**
C 10895	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/30**
C 10896	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/27**
C 10897	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/28**
C 10898	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/20**
C 10899	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/15**
C 10900	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/14**
C 10912	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/2**
C 10921	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/9**
C 10937	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/25**
C 10938	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/41**
C 10941	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/12**
C 10942	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/63**
C 10943	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/62**
C 10944	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **47/9**
C 10952	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/3**
C 10953	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/29**
C 10964	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/22**
C 10965	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/7**
C 10969	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/57**
C 11013	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **16/1**
C 11014	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/55**
C 11015	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/37**
C 11016	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/40**
C 11019	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/26**
C 11022	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/36**
C 11023	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/38**
C 11024	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/2**
C 11027	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/5**
C 11028	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/1**
C 11029	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/3**
C 11032	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/4**
C 11033	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46a/6**
C 11034	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/9**
C 11035	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/32**
C 11039	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/44**
C 11040	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/31**
C 11041	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/35**
C 11045	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/MG/2**
C 11047	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Eg/4**
C 11048	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/42**
C 11050	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/6**
C 11052	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/11**
C 11056	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57g/2**
C 11058	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ba/11**
C 11065	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **39/1**
C 11066	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **49/8**
C 11074	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **29/4**
C 11075	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **29/2**
C 11076	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **29/1**
C 11077	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **29/5**
C 11078	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **40/37**
C 11080	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **61/6**
C 11081	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **61/3**
C 11082	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **61/4**

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C 11083	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **61/2**
C 11084	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **64/1**
C 11085	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **44b/18**
C 11086	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67d/2**
C 11087	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **67d/1**
C 11088	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **68/1**
C 11089	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **68/2**
C 11090	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57i/2**
C 11091	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57i/1**
C 11092	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57a/2**
C 11093	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57a/1**
C 11094	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57b/1**
C 11095	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57f/1**
C 11096	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57b/3**
C 11097	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57b/2**
C 11098	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/2**
C 11099	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/4**
C 11100	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57d/1**
C 11101	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **41/1**
C 11102	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **41/4**
C 11103	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **41/2**
C 11104	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **41/3**
C 11122	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52c/7**
C 11129	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/7**
C 11131	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, ungrouped
C 11132	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/6**
C 11133	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **52e/4**
C 11136	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/5**
C 11137	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/2**
C 11138	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/3**
C 11139	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/1**
C 11141	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/7**
C 11142	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/6**
C 11143	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/4**
C 11145	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **77/8**
C 11150	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/19**
C 11151	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/24**
C 11152	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58c/3**
C 11153	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/12**
C 11155	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/5**
C 11156	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/7**
C 11157	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/22**
C 11158	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/3**
C 11159	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/6**
C 11160	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/8**
C 11163	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/21**
C 11164	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/20**
C 11166	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/32**
C 11168	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/4**
C 11169	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/1**
C 11171	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/9**
C 11172	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/6**
C 11173	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/10**
C 11174	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/12**
C 11175	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/11**
C 11176	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/14**
C 11177	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/17**
C 11178	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/3**
C 11179	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/23**
C 11180	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/4**
C 11181	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/2**
C 11182	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/8**
C 11183	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/7**
C 11184	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/18**
C 11185	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/3**
C 11186	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/19**
C 11187	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/20**
C 11188	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/21**
C 11189	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/15**
C 11190	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **46b/13**
C 11192	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/15**
C 11193	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57j/1**
C 11194	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57j/2**
C 11195	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **57j/3**
C 11196	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/2**
C 11197	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **73a/1**
C 11199	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/18**
C 11200	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/4**
C 11201	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/1**
C 11202	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/3**
C 11203	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **72/5**
C 11204	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/16**
C 11205	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/26**
C 11207	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/28**
C 11208	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/29**
C 11209	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **17b/2**
C 11212	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/7**
C 11213	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/23**
C 11215	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/5**
C 11216	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/6**
C 11217	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/1**
C 11218	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/4**
C 11219	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **30/2**
C 11220	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/9**
C 11221	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/14**
C 11223	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/13**
C 11224	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/4**
C 11230	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/11**
C 11231	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/5**
C 11232	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/6**
C 11233	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/1**
C 11234	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **55/3**
C 11237	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/3**
C 11238	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/2**
C 11239	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/1**
C 11240	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/7**
C 11241	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **75/5**

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C 11242	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/3**
C 11243	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/6**
C 11244	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/2**
C 11264	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/12**
C 11282	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **23/2**
C 11283	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **24/2**
C 11344	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/1**
C 11347	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/56**
C 11361	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/17**
C 11363	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **58b/13**
C 11370	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Fa/1**
C 11372	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **H/1**
C 11379	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/64**
C 11380	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/65**
C 11387	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **76/4**
C 11408	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/8**
C 11439	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.6, **Sc3**
C 11444	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/42**
C 11449	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/41**
C 11452	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/33**
C 11454	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/59**
C 11455	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/35**
C 11480	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/58**
C 11481	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **E/2**
C 11482	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **E/3**
C 11498	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/61**
C 11500	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/39**
C 11504	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **G/2**
C 11505	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/60**
C 11506	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/38**
C 11509	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **A/10**
C 11518	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/43**
C 11522	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/5**
C 11528	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/20**
C 11530	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/10**
C 11531	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/8**
C 11535	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/4**
C 11536	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/6**
C 11537	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/21**
C 11539	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/12**
C 11540	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/17**
C 11543	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/1**
C 11546	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/2**
C 11547	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/3**
C 11550	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/19**
C 11553	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/23**
C 11554	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/11**
C 11555	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/16**
C 11557	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/18**
C 11558	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/15**
C 11560	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/22**
C 11561	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Dc/3**
C 11562	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Dc/2**
C 11567	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/34**
C 11568	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/36**
C 11569	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/37**
C 11571	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **N/1**
C 11585	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/33**
C 11586	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/5**
C 11621	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jc/2**
C 11640	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **I/1**
C 11647	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Db/1**
C 11651	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jc/1**
C 11652	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **82**
C 11653	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **11/1**
C 11663	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Y/2**
C 11668	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Y/1**
C 11670	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Z/3**
C 11671	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Z/2**
C 11672	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Z/1**
C 11680	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jh/2**
C 11682	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jh/1**
C 11684	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/1**
C 11685	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/2**
C 11686	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/6**
C 11689	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/10**
C 11690	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/1**
C 11691	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/11**
C 11692	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/16**
C 11693	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/4**
C 11694	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/6**
C 11695	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/24**
C 11696	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/12**
C 11697	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/19**
C 11698	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/20**
C 11699	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/21**
C 11700	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/22**
C 11707	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/13**
C 11715	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jg/3**
C 11717	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/2**
C 11718	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/3**
C 11720	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/9**
C 11721	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/7**
C 11722	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/18**
C 11724	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/14**
C 11725	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **X/23**
C 11731	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Da/2**
C 11744	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **8/6**
C 11745	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **8/4**
C 11746	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **8/5**
C 11773	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/3**
C 11774	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jd/2**
C 11833	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/8**
C 11834	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/5**
C 11835	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/11**
C 11836	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/6**
C 11837	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/4**
C 11839	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56f/2**

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C 11870	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/13**
C 11915	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/40**
F 15	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.3, **2**
I 21	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **60/7**
I 43	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/SP/2**
I 47	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **56e/9**
I 50	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/10**
I 51	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/Cy/11**
I 53	Rutter, Chap. 3.3, **MI/UP/3**
I 106	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.4, **20**
I 107	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.4, **21**
I 123	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1.4, **19**
I 126	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/45**
I 127	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/53**
I 128	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/47**
I 129	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/52**
I 130	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/51**
I 131	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/50**
I 132	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/48**
I 133	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/54**
I 134	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/46**
I 135	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Ja/49**
I 139	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/14**
I 140	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Jf/13**
I 141	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/31**
I 142	Van de Moortel, Chap. 3.2, **Je/30**
L 14	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **58**
L 24	J. W. Shaw, Chap. 4.1, **57**
P 7	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **12**
P 8	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **24**
P 9	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **4**
P 11	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **6**
P 12	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **3**
P 14	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **5**
P 17	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **11**
P 18	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **11**
P 19	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **10**
P 20	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 21	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **34**
P 24	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **30**
P 25	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **23**
P 28	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **18**
P 29	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **19**
P 30	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **20**
P 31	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **49**
P 37	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **68**
P 39	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **69**
P 40	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **34a**
P 42	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **7**
P 43	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **75**
P 44	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **77**
P 45	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **76a**
P 46	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **76a**
P 48	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **82**
P 49	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **37**
P 50	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 51	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 52	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 53	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 53	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **25**
P 54	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **26**
P 55	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **25**
P 56	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 57	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 58	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **28**
P 59	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 60	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **25**
P 61	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **24**
P 62	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 63	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 65	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5, **PT1**
P 66	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5, **PT2**
P 67	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5, **PT3**
P 69	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **53**
P 70	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 71	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 73	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 74	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **32**
P 75	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **9**
P 76	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **11**
P 78	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **11**
P 79	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **17**
P 80	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 81	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 82	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 83	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 84	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **24**
P 85	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 87	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **29**
P 88	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **30**
P 89	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **28**
P 90	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 91	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 92	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **30**
P 93	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **35**
P 94	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **33**
P 96	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **31**
P 97	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **30**
P 98	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 99	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **28**
P 100	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **28**
P 101	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **24**
P 102	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 103	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **27**
P 104	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **30**
P 105	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **89**
P 107	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **88**
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P 110	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **25**
P 111	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **54**
P 112	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **55**
P 113	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **56**
P 114	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **14**
P 116	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **21**
P 118	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **79**
P 120	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **82a**
P 121	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **59**
P 122	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **62**
P 123	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 4.5, **PT7**
P 124	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **61**
P 125	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **58**
P 126	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **93**
P 127	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **84**
P 129	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **57**
P 130	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **60**
P 135	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **94**
P 136	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **81**
P 138	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **8**
P 139	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **60**
P 140	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **22**
P 141	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **90**
P 142	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **92**
P 144	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **80**
P 145	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **4**
P 146	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **73**
P 149	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **78**
P 150	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **5a**
P 152	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **83**
P 153	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **86**
P 154	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **85**
P 155	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **85**
P 156	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **86**
P 159	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **74**
P 160	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **72**
P 161	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **71**
P 162	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **51**
P 163	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **48**
P 164	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **50**
P 165	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **47**
P 166	M. C. Shaw, Chap. 2, **70**
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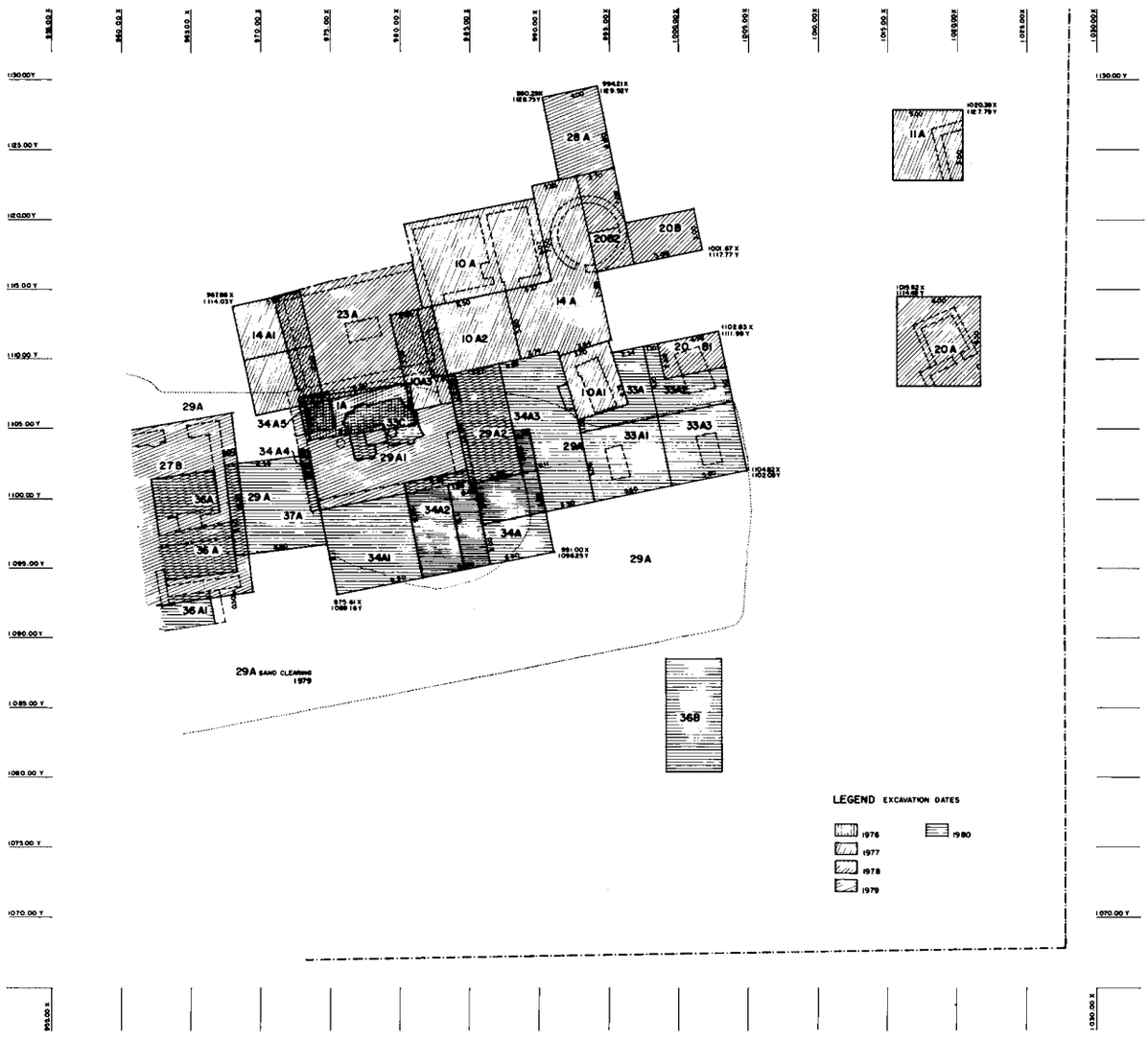
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Plates

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KOMMOS
SOUTHERN AREA

TRENCH PLAN

Plate 1.1. Plan of upper trenches, Southern Area.



Plate 1.2. Plan of lower trenches, Southern Area.

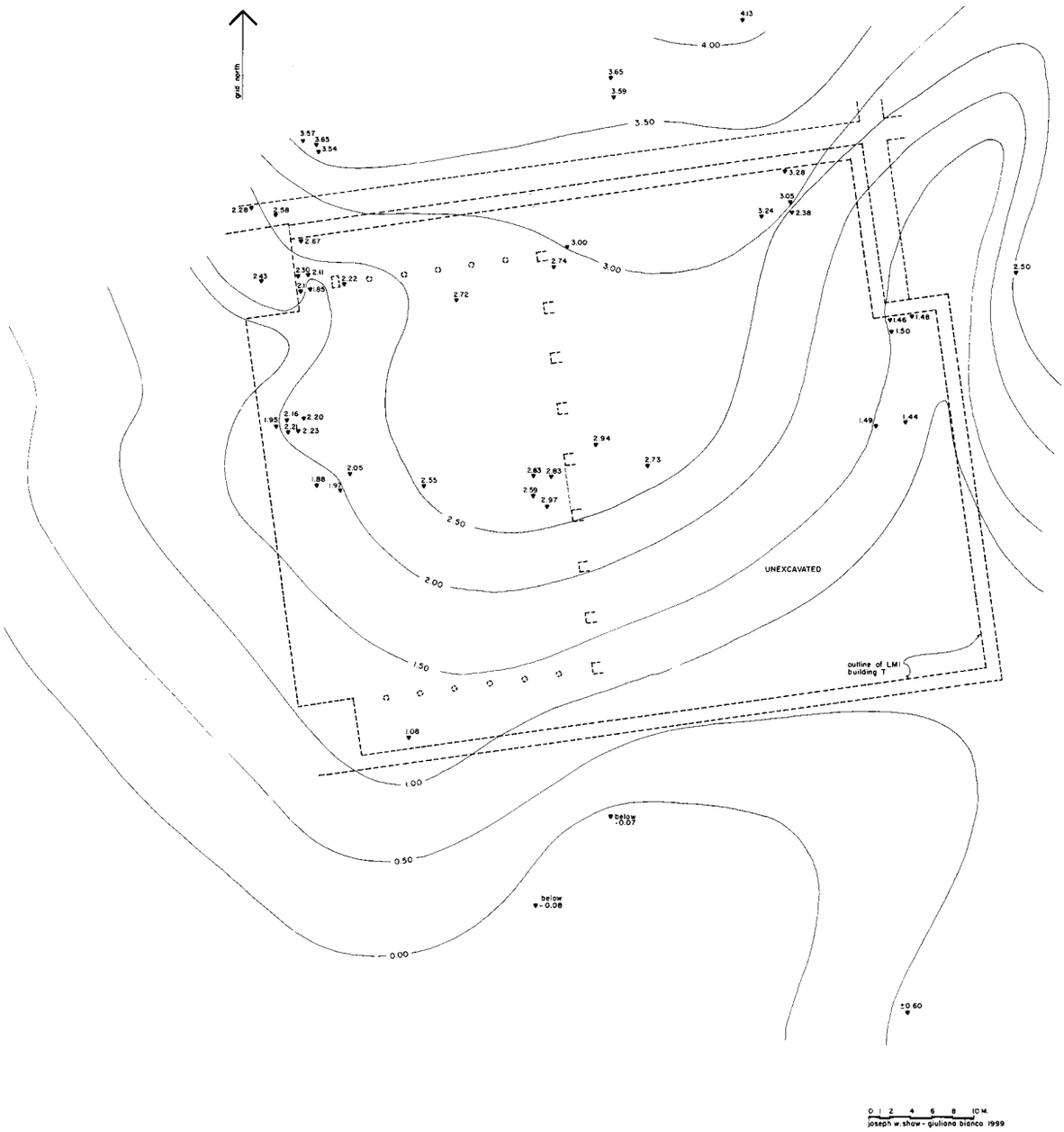


Plate 1.3. Contour plan of Southern Area, showing bedrock, with outline of LM I Building T superposed.

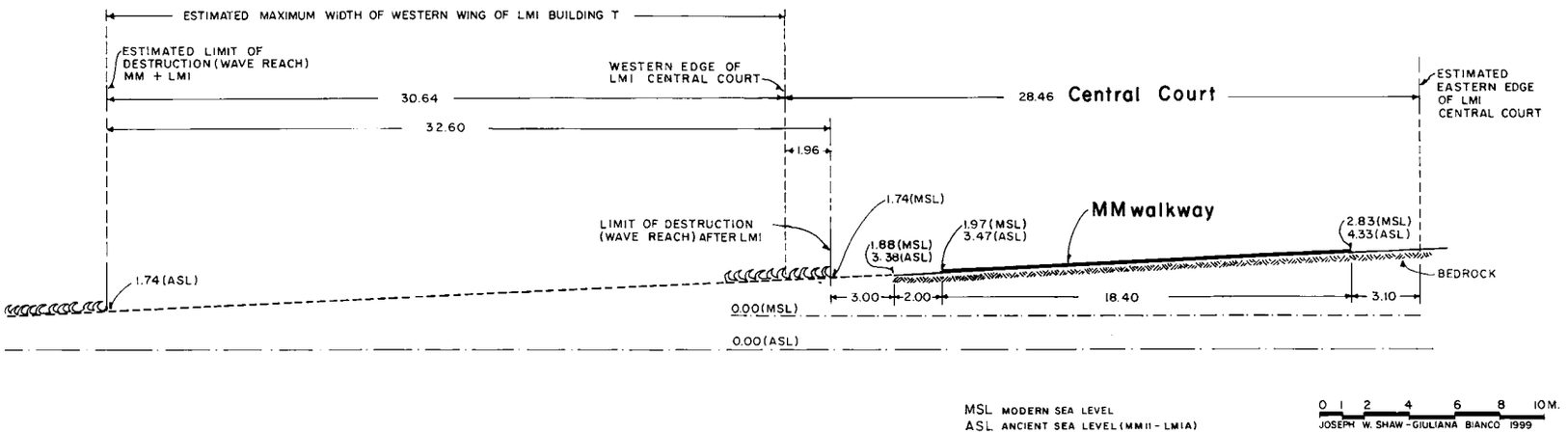


Plate 1.4. Schematic estimate of limit of wave destruction along the shore in the Southern Area.

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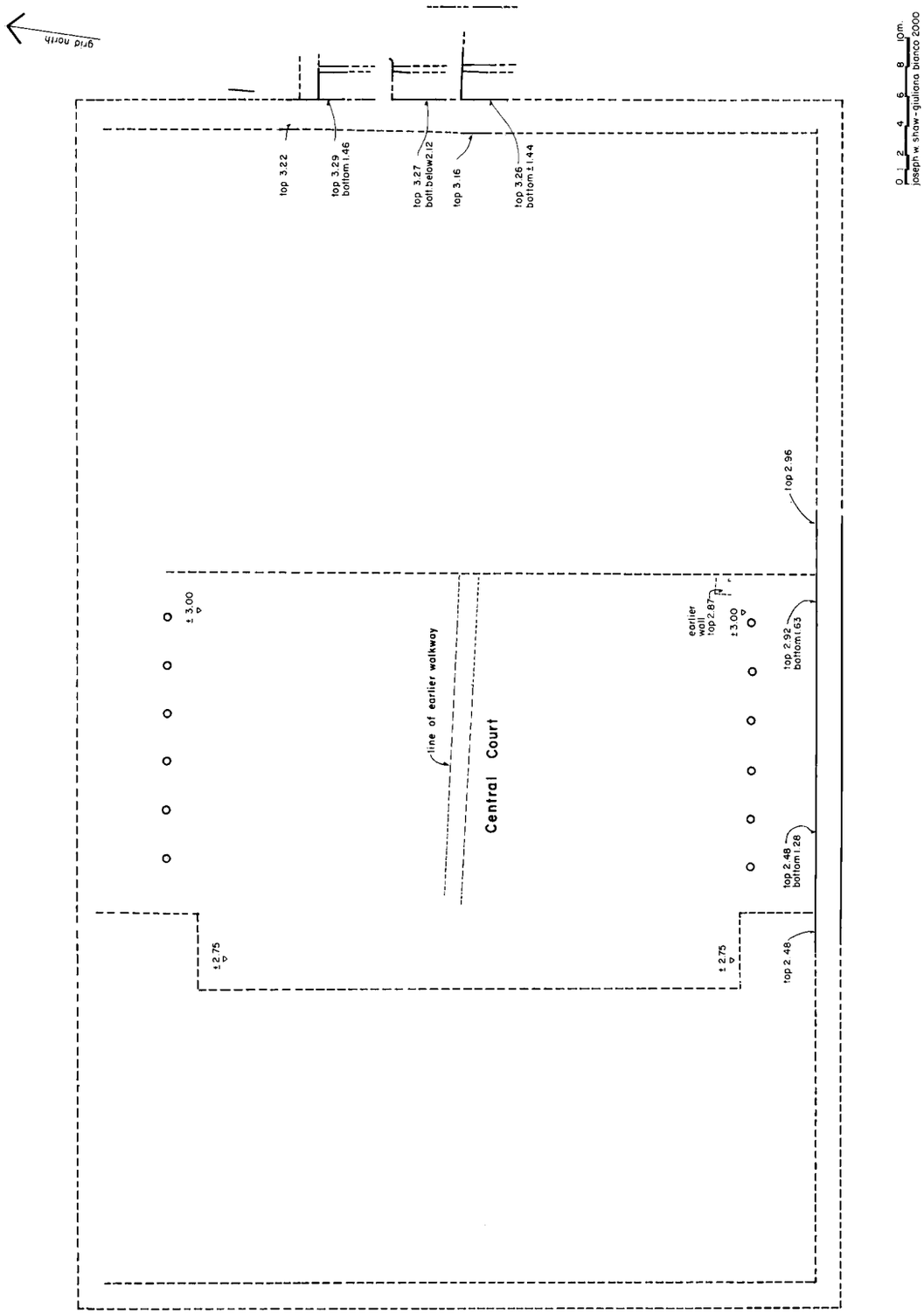


Plate 1.5. Schematic restored plan of Protopalatial Building AA.

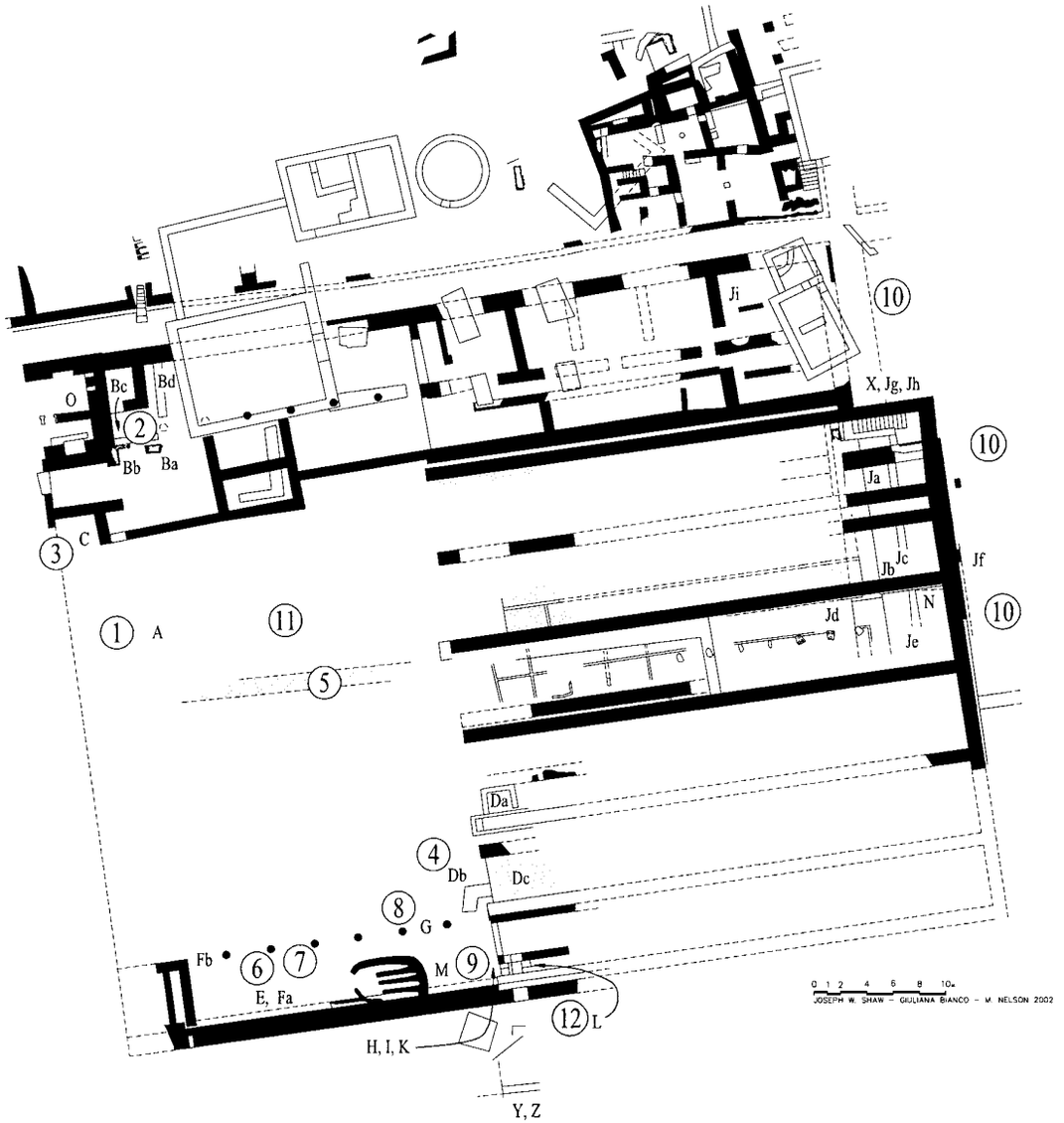


Plate 1.6. Locations of numbered areas discussed in Chap. 1.1 in connection with Protopalatial Building AA, with outlines of selected later buildings superposed. Locations are circled. Letters indicate pottery groups discussed in Chap. 3.2.

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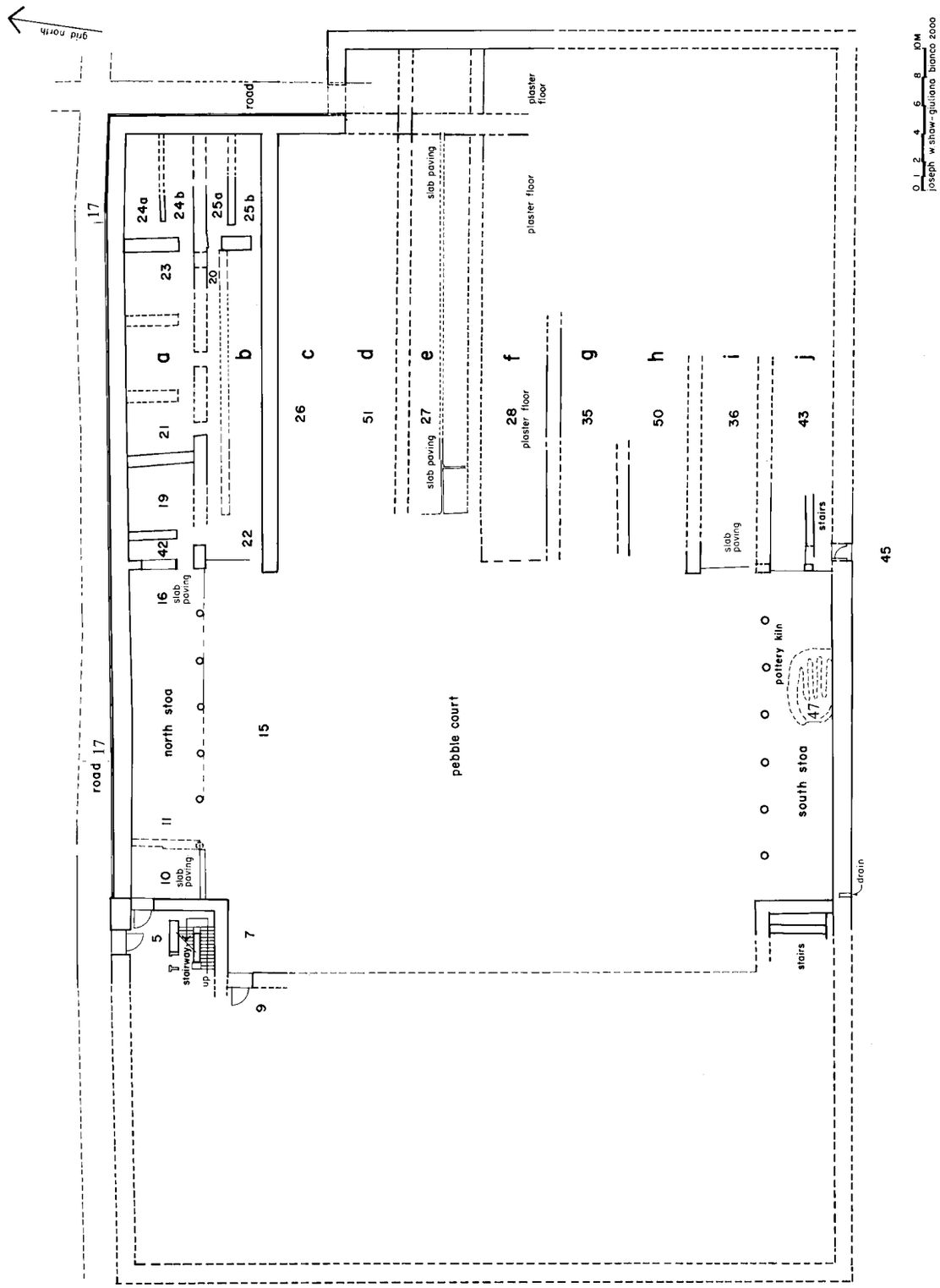


Plate 1.7 Restored plan of Neopalatial Building T in early LM IA.

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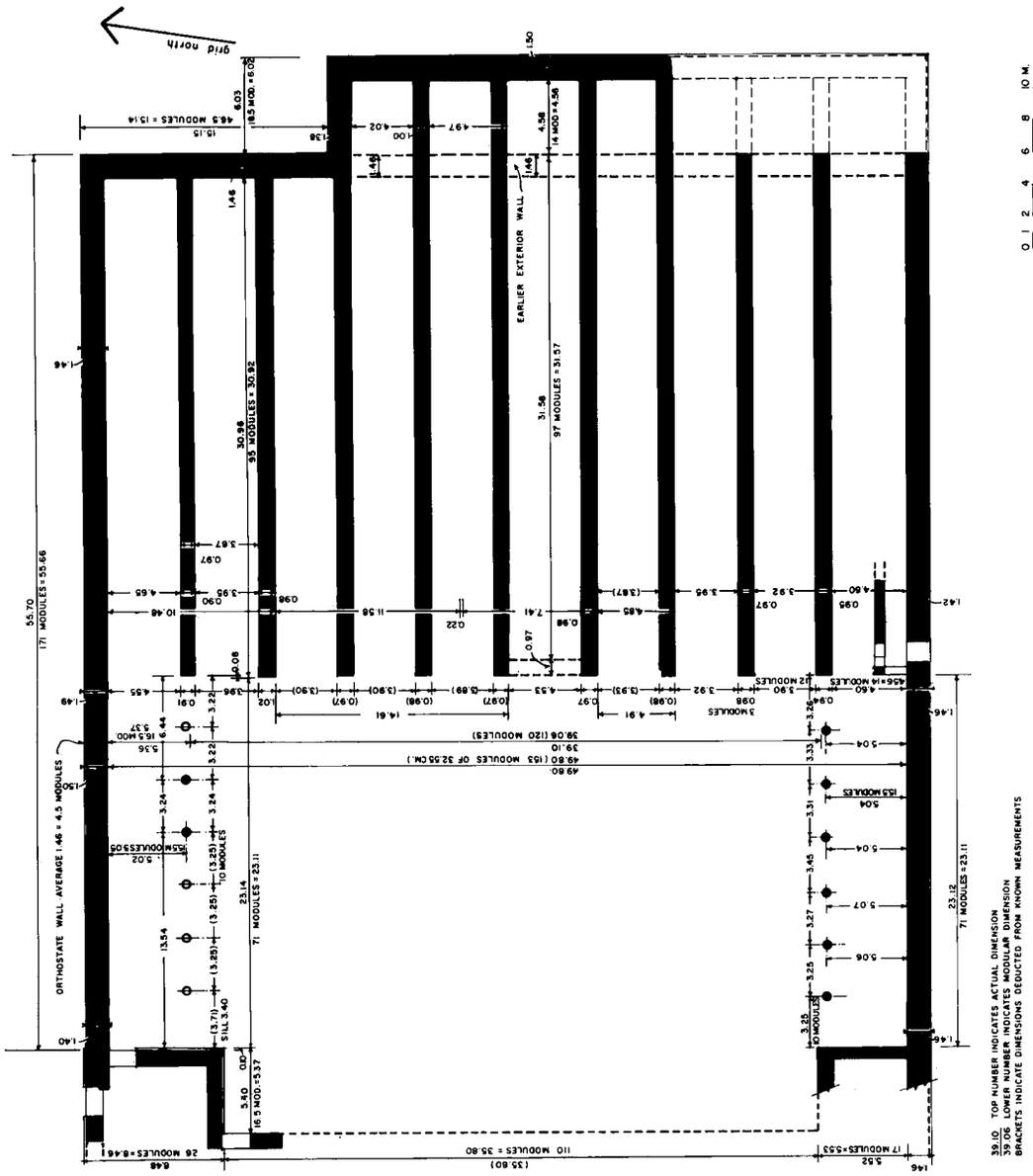


Plate 1.8. Restored plan of Building T, with general dimensions as well as possible units of measurement (single unit = 32.55 cm) as proposed by G. Bianco.

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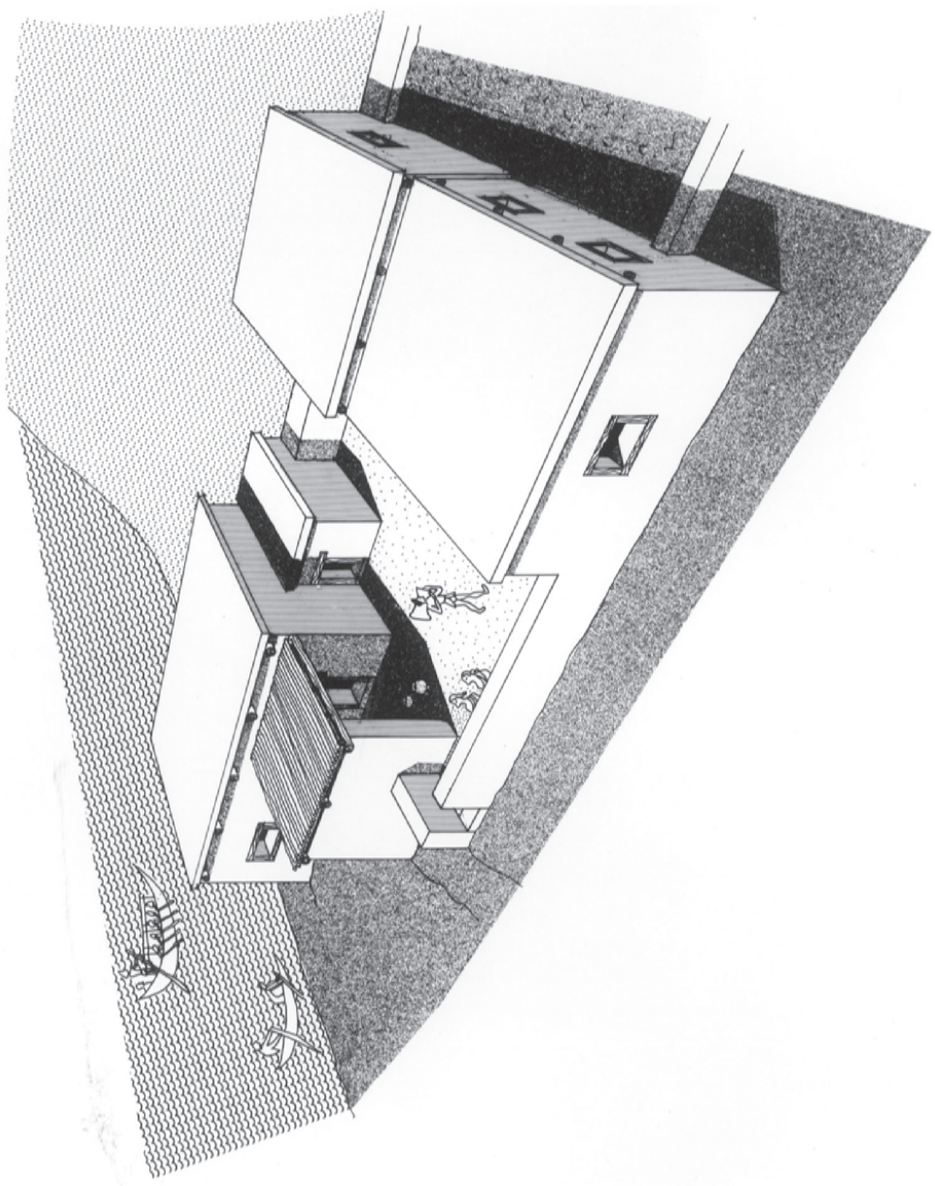


Plate 1.9. Restored view of Building N, looking northwest.

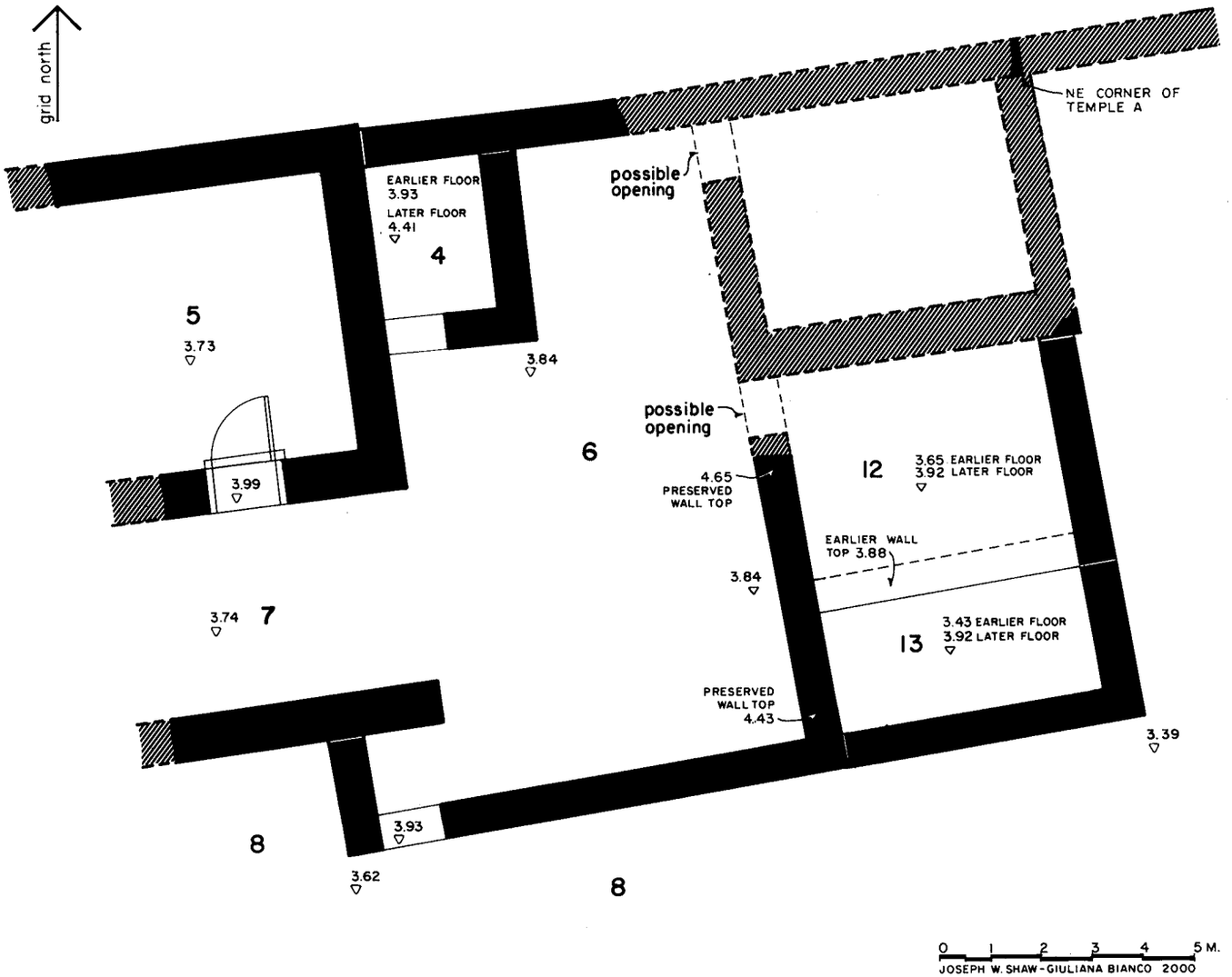


Plate 1.10. Restored plan of Building N.

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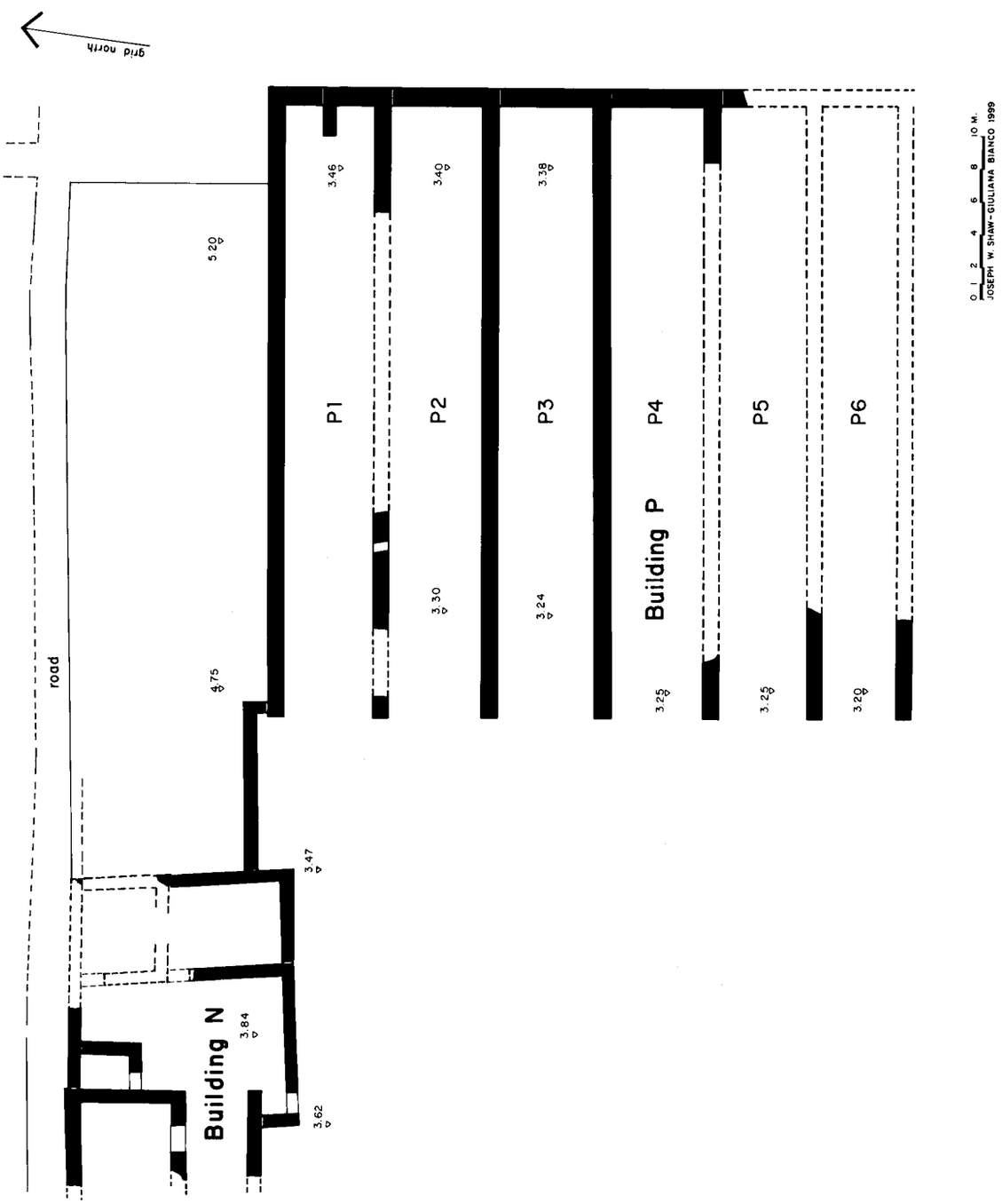


Plate 1.11. Restored plan of Buildings N and P.

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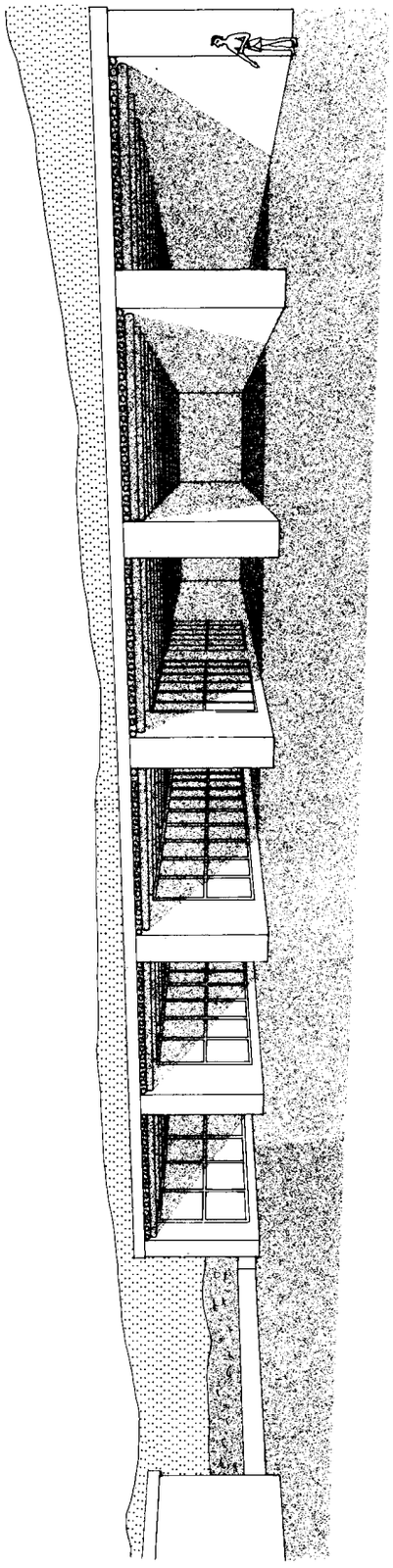


Plate 1.12. Restored view of Building P, looking east.

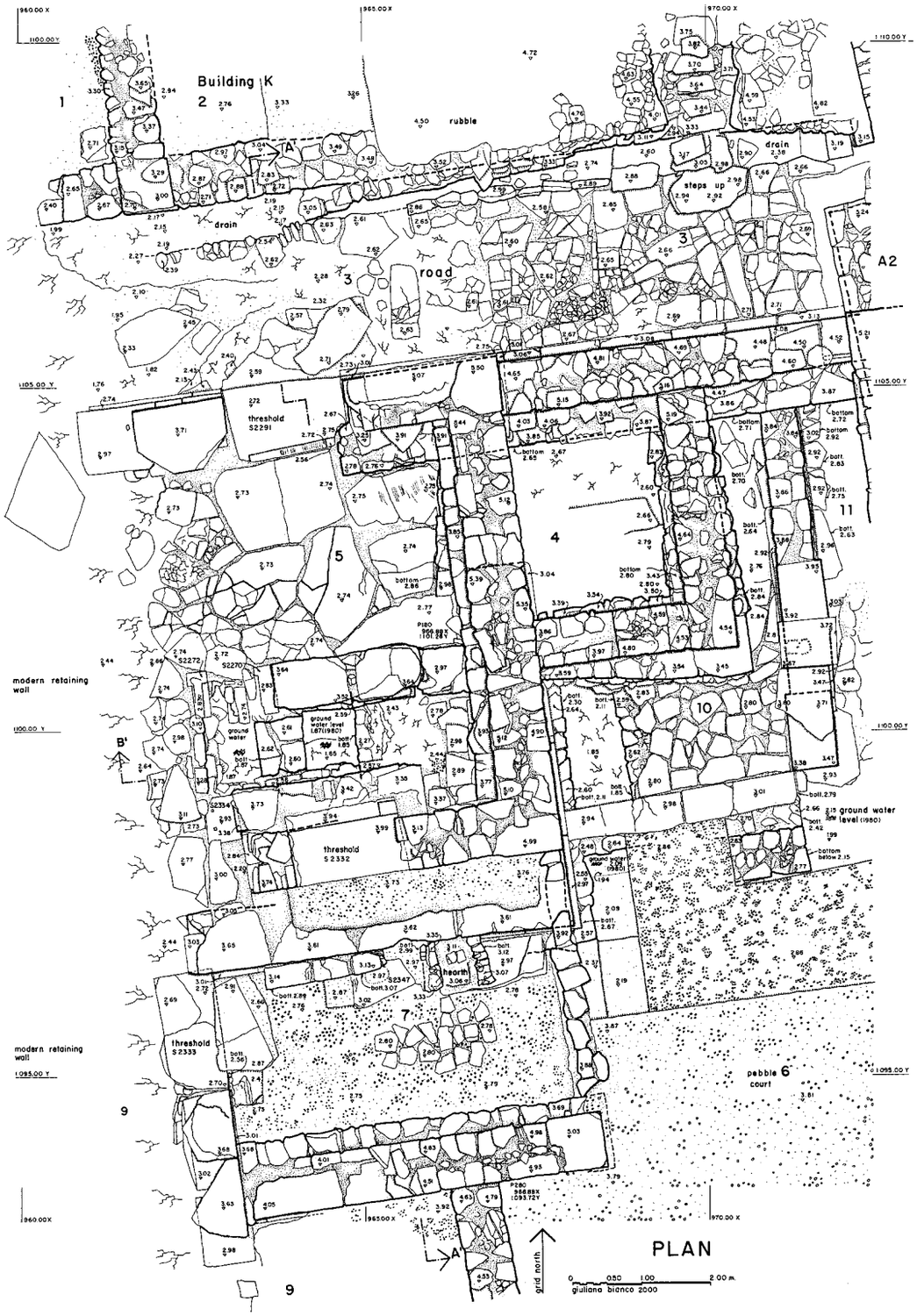


Plate 1.13. State plan showing soundings in stairway of Building T, Spaces 5 and 10, and plan after clearing upper LM III level in Space 7.



Plate 1.14. General view of Southern Area, from south-southwest.



Plate 1.15. General view of Southern Area, from southwest.



Plate 1.16. Southern wall of unexcavated structure K, from south.





Plate 1.17. (above left) West wall of MM ramp (*a*), later LM I wall (*b*), and western wall with foundation of Hellenistic Room A1, from southwest.

Plate 1.18. (above right) LM III steps leading north from slab-paved east-west Minoan road.

Plate 1.19. (below) Building T, Room 5, showing upper LM III floor level, partially blocked doorway into Room 5 (lower left), with line of original LM I slab floor just visible on lower right, from northwest.





Plate 1.20. Northwestern ashlar facade of Building T, with entrance into Room 5, from northwest.



Plate 1.21. Building T/N, Space 7, with LM III pottery *in situ*, from south.



Plate 1.22. Building T, Space 5, complete to LM I level, from west.



Plate 1.23. (above) Building T, Room 5, gamma- and T-shaped pier-and-door partition bases (S 2270, left, and S 2272, right), from north. See also Pls. 1.13, 1.132.



Plate 1.24. (right) Building T, Room 5, northeastern interior corner, showing end of V-shaped facade block cut down to accommodate later LM III floor, and (below) a portion of an earlier wall, from south.

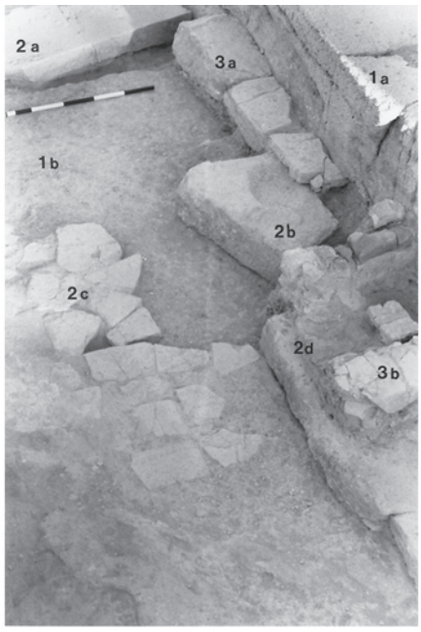




Plate 1.25. (above left) Space 7, showing sequence of LM I–II use. Phase 1: southern wall of T, Room 5 (*1a*) and Central Court surface (*1b*). Phase 2: slab (*2a*), block with gourna (S 2347, at *2b*), partial slab floor (*2c*), and hearth (*2d*). Phase 3: slab platform (*3a*) and hearth (*3b*). From southeast. See also Pl. 1.36.

Plate 1.26. (above right) MM slab pavement south of later Space 7 and below later Central Court, from east, with MM IIB conical cup C 10726 in center foreground. For location, see also Pl. 1.32.





Plate 1.27. (above left) Western ashlar border (*a*) and krepidoma (*b*) of Neopalatial Central Court above earlier MM wall (*c*), from south.

Plate 1.28. (above right) MM wall (left) and later blocking (right) below Neopalatial Central Court, from east.



Plate 1.29. (above) View from southeast of eastern facade of Building T, Room 5 (left, center), Central Court (lower left), and LM III Room 4 with its foundations set on pavement of the western end of North Stoa.

Plate 1.30. (below left) View from south of same area shown in pl., 1.29 showing wall between spaces 10 and 11 of the North Stoa, and column or pier sub-base at *a*. Scarp of Greek temples on right.

Plate 1.31. (below right) View from southeast of blocked doorway in northeastern corner of Building T, Room 5, taken from within LM III Room 4. Note end of eastern wall of Room 5 at *a*.





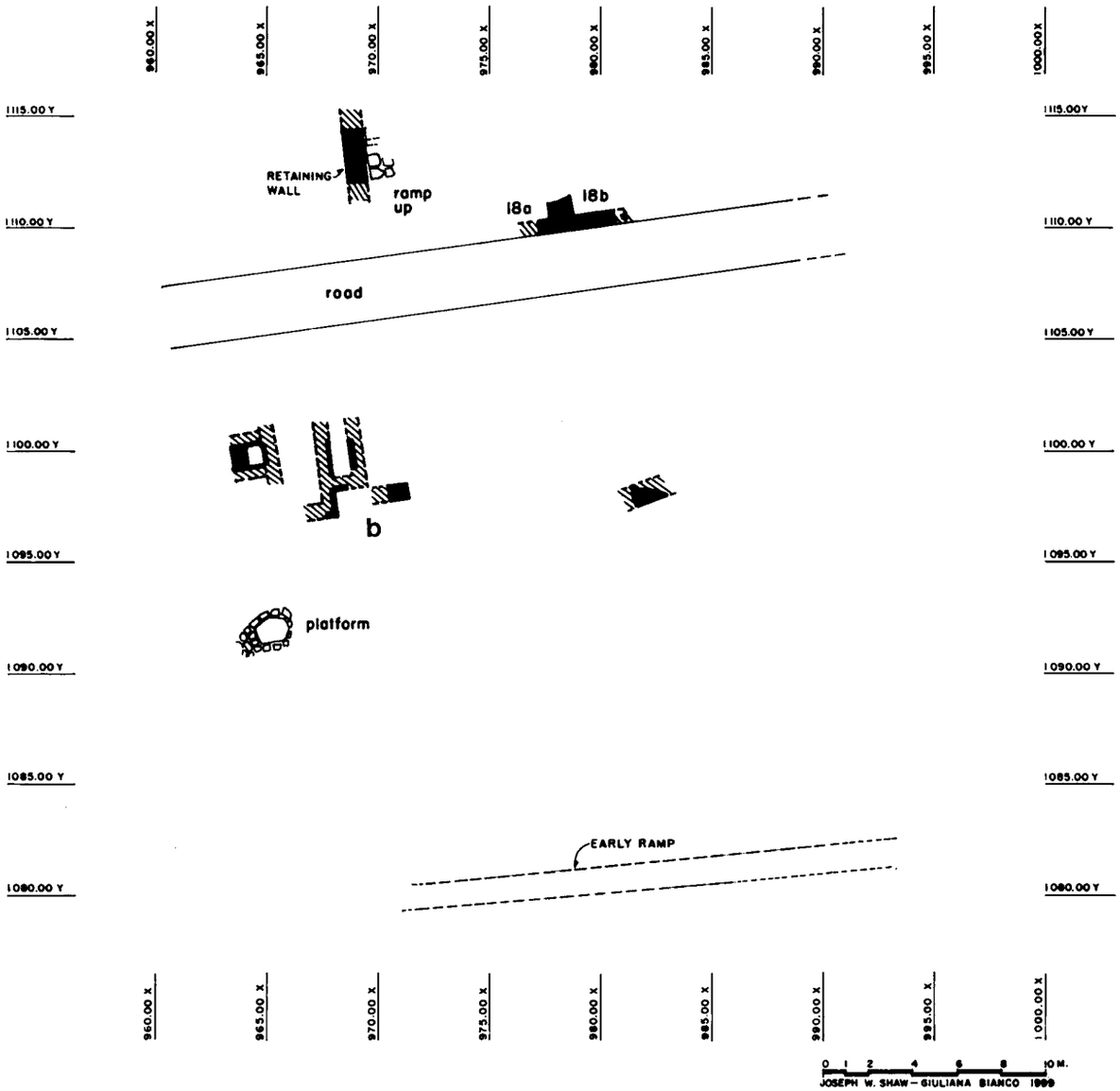


Plate 1.32. Plan showing MM walls and slab platform in northwest area.

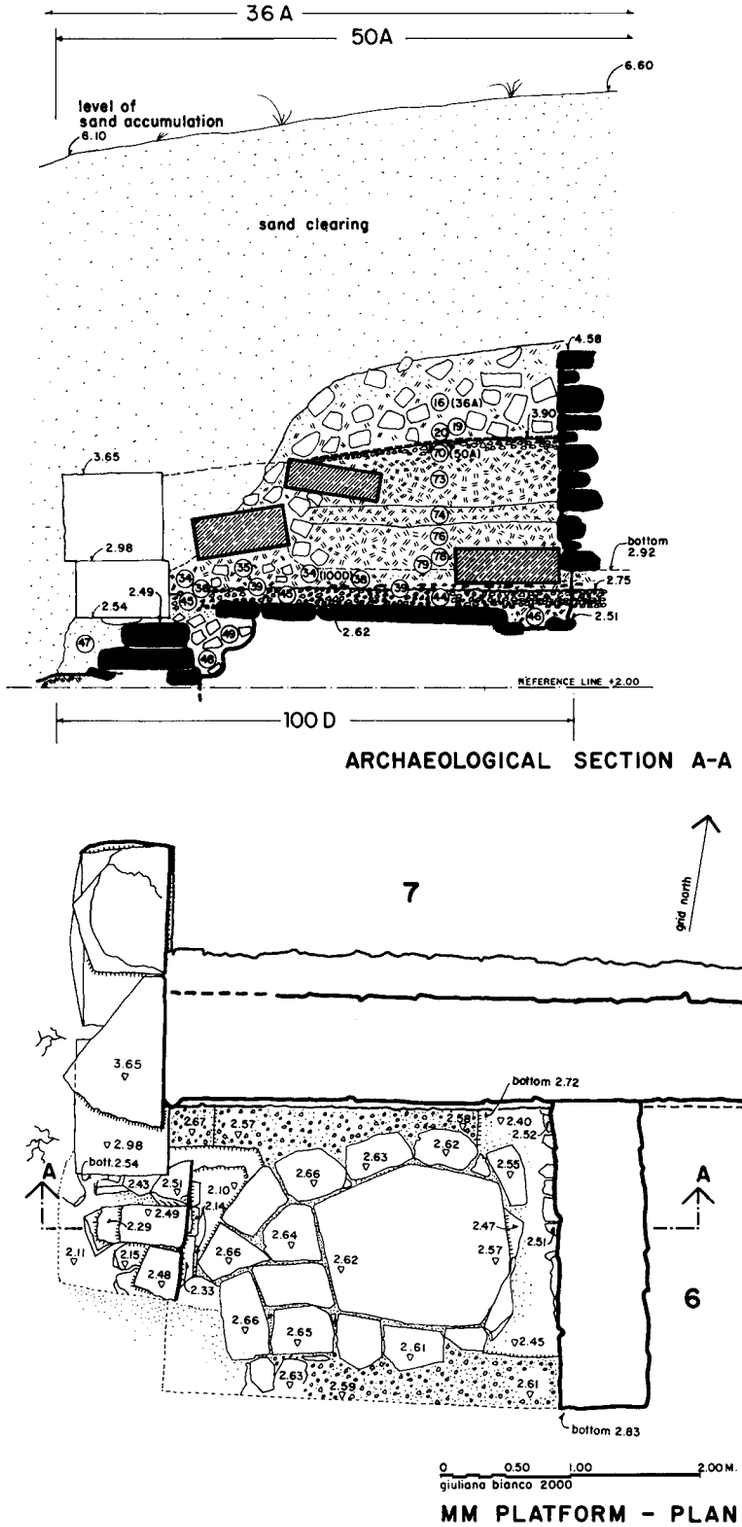


Plate 1.33. Plan and archaeological section of MM slab platform and neighboring walls.

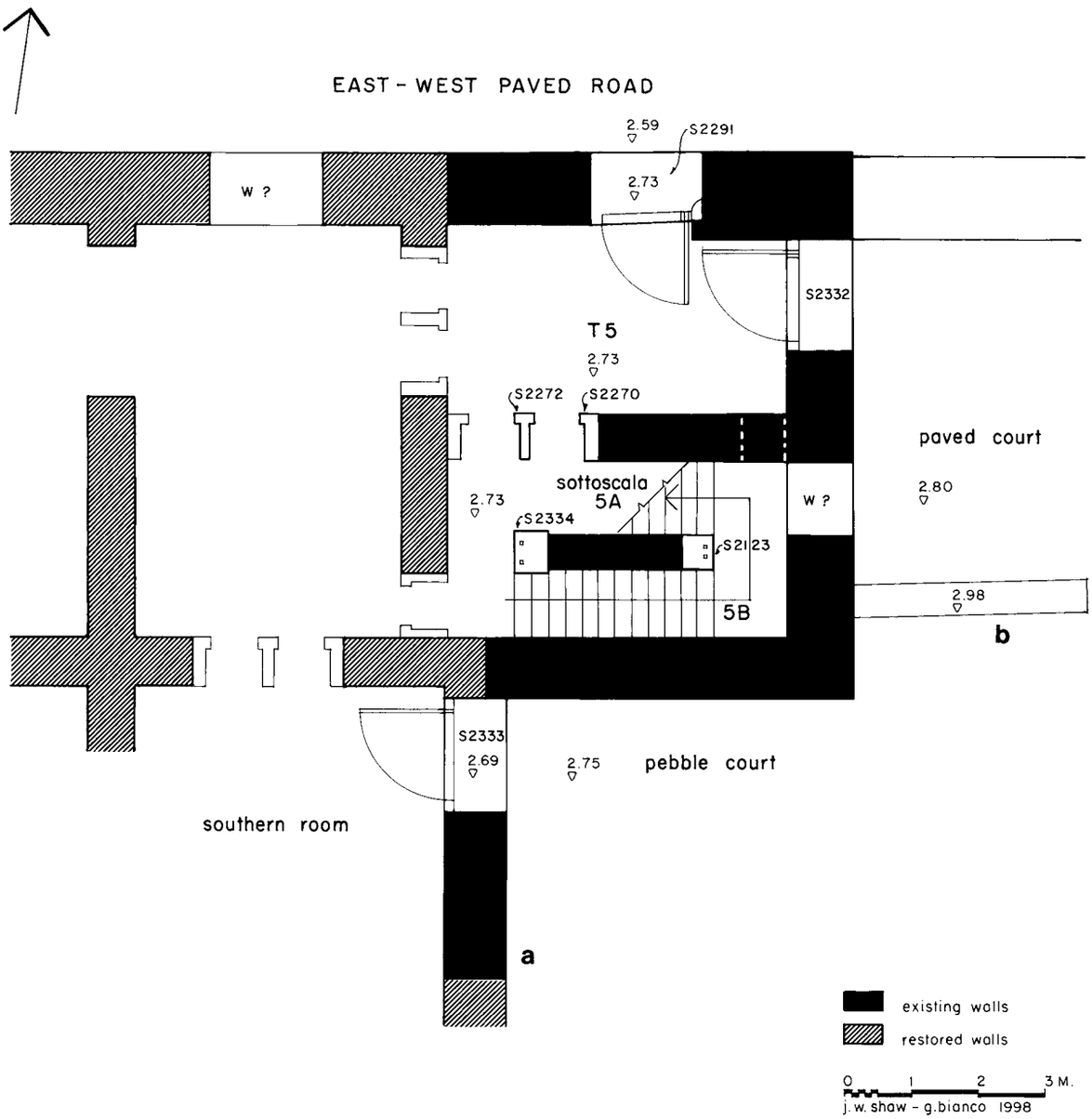
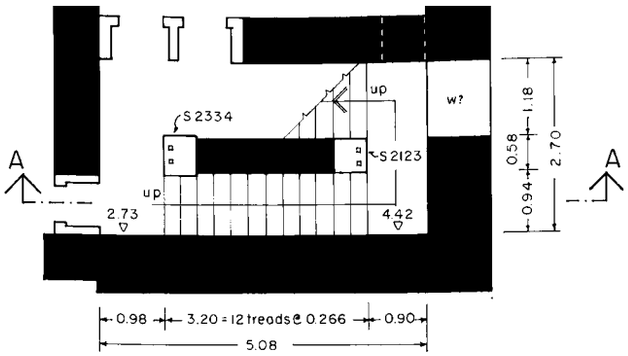
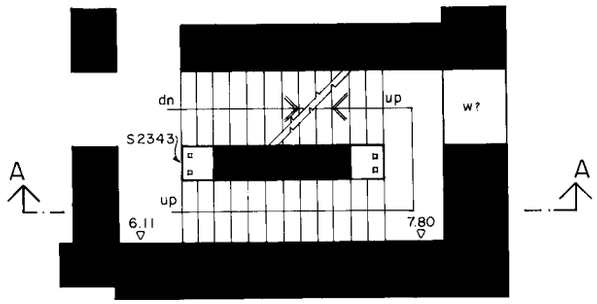


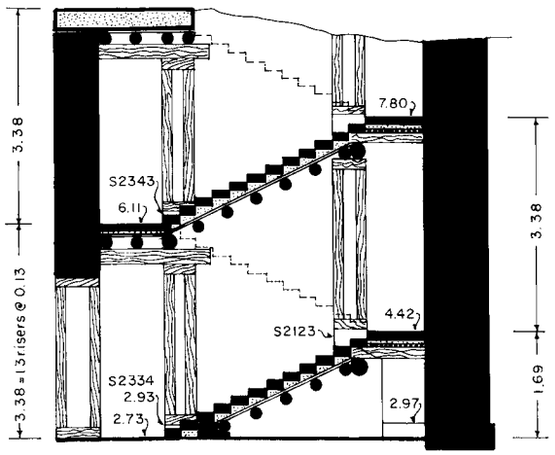
Plate 1.34. Conjecturally restored early plan of Rooms 5A and 5B of LM I Building T.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN



SECOND FLOOR PLAN



SECTION A-A looking north

0 1 2 3 M.

j.w. shaw - g. bianco 1998

Plate 1.35. Restored stair plans and section of stairs in Spaces T5A/5B.

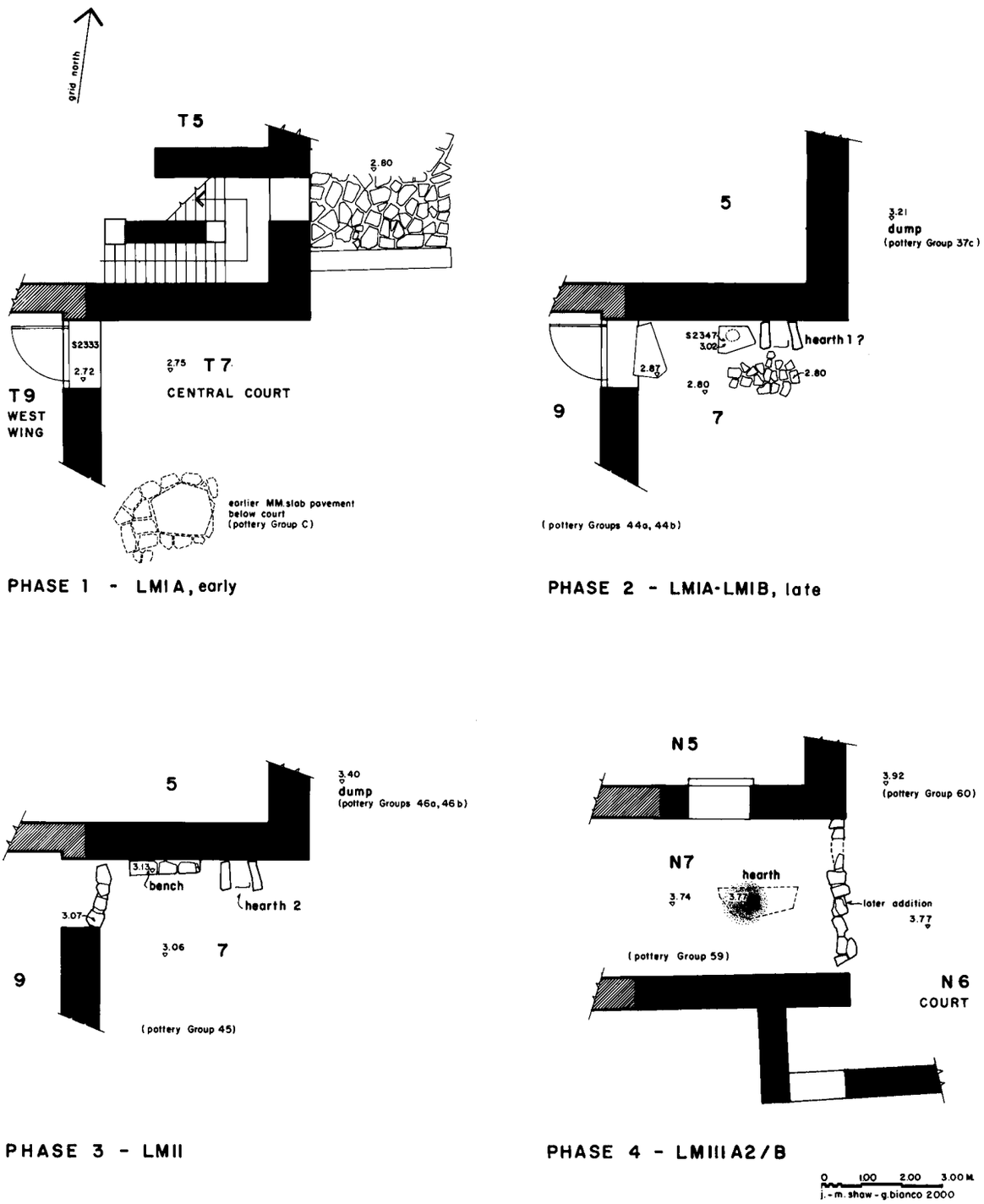


Plate 1.36. Phase plan of installations in area of Space 7 (MM II–LM IIIA2/B).

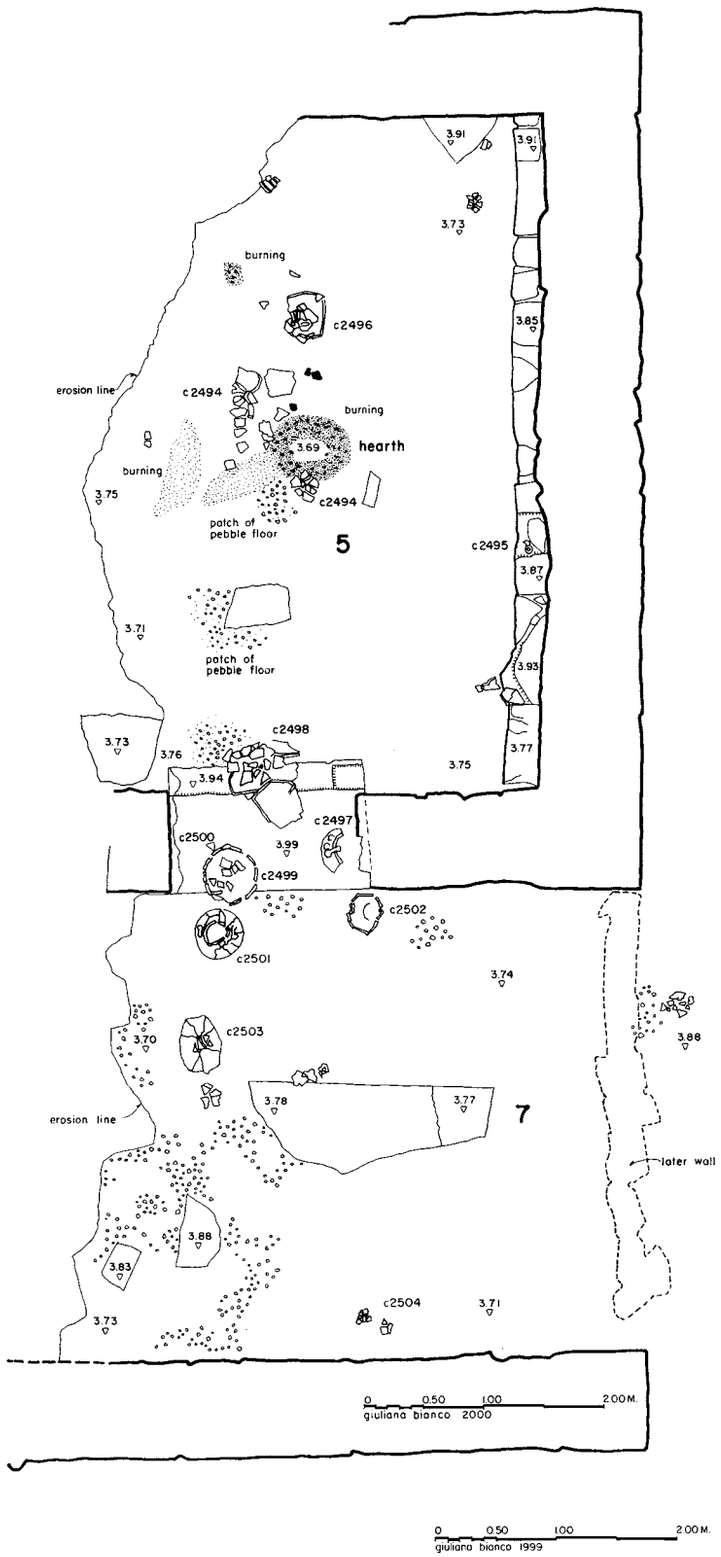


Plate 1.37. LM III B floor deposit in Building N (earlier Spaces T5, T7).

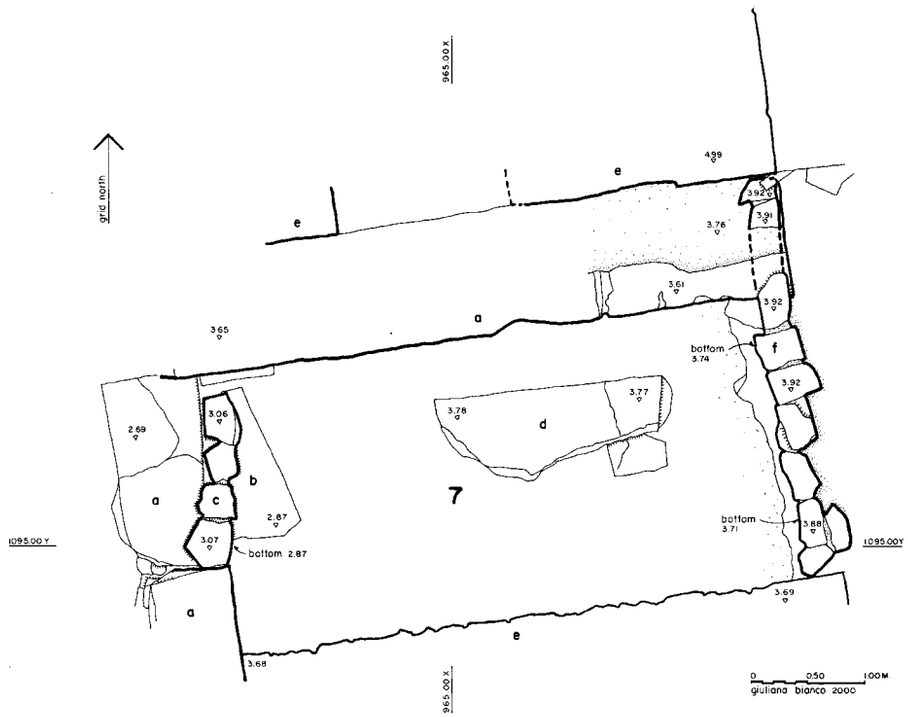
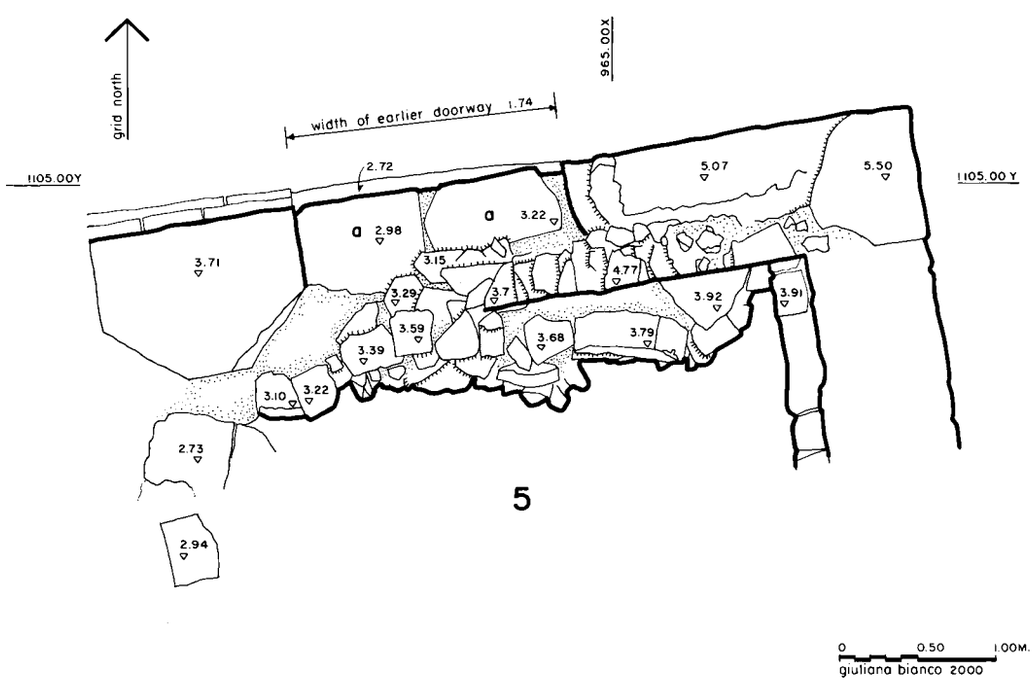


Plate 1.38. Later blocking walls (*c*, *f*) in Space 7, Building T: *a* = walls of Building T; *b* = later slab on LM I floor; *d* = block removed from southern facade of T5; *e* = LM III walls of Building N.

Plate 1.39. Northern wall of T5, showing top of wall (*a*, *a*) blocking its northern entrance.



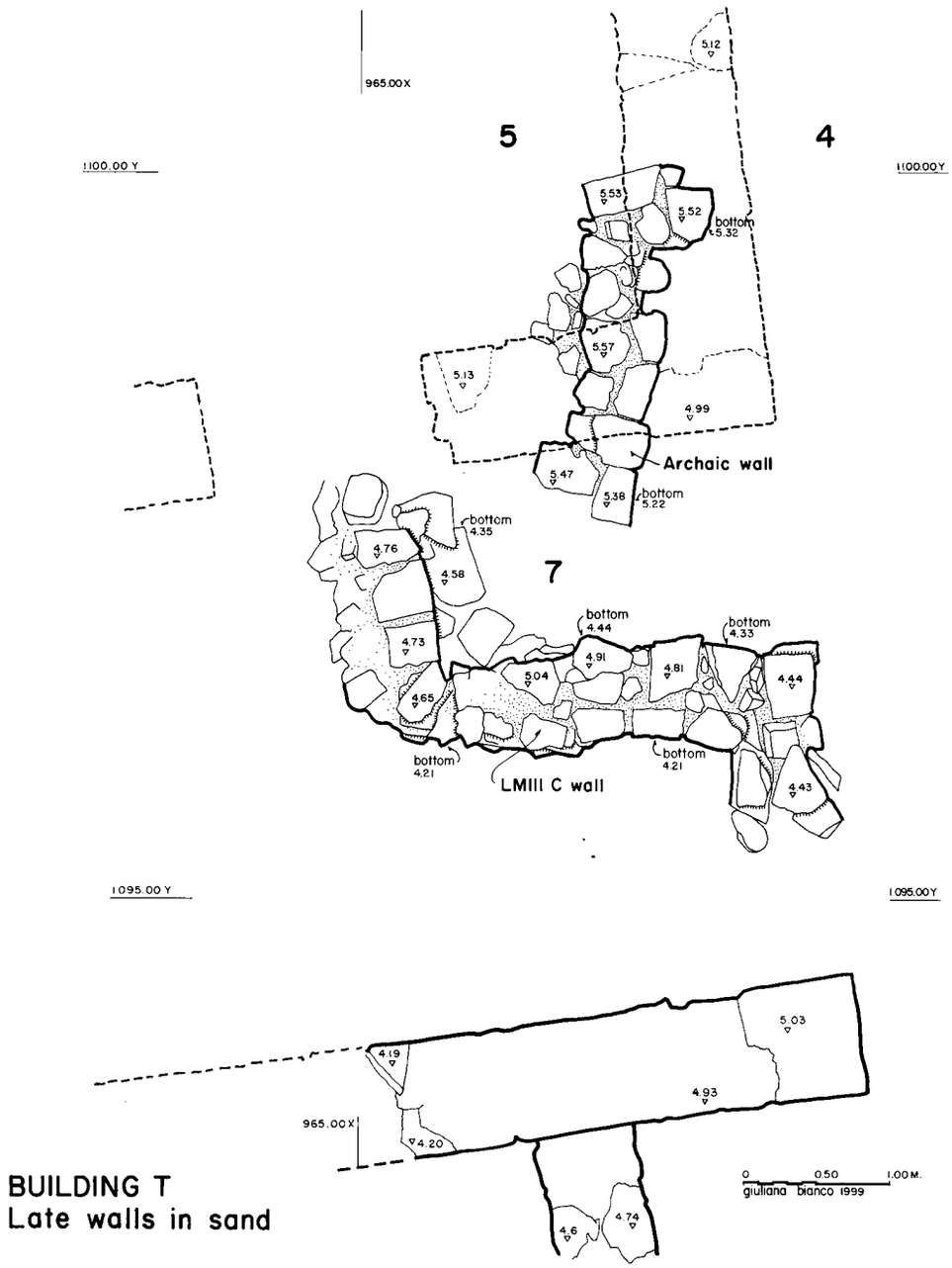


Plate 1.40. Later walls above Spaces T5 and T7.

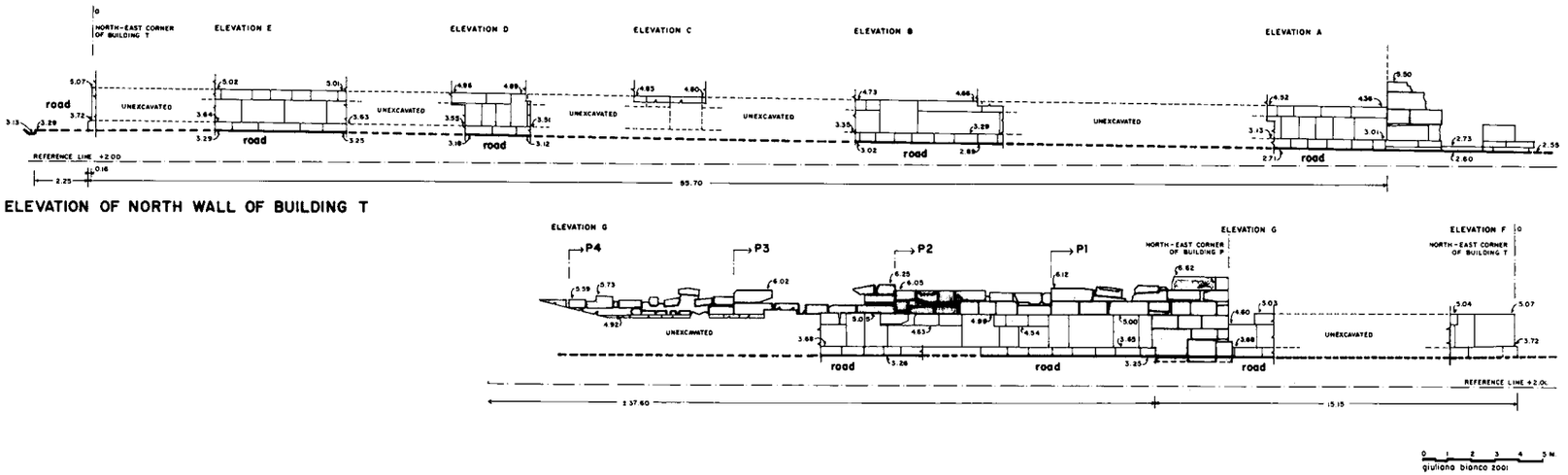


Plate 1.41. Elevation of northern and eastern facades with orthostates of Neopalatial Building T.

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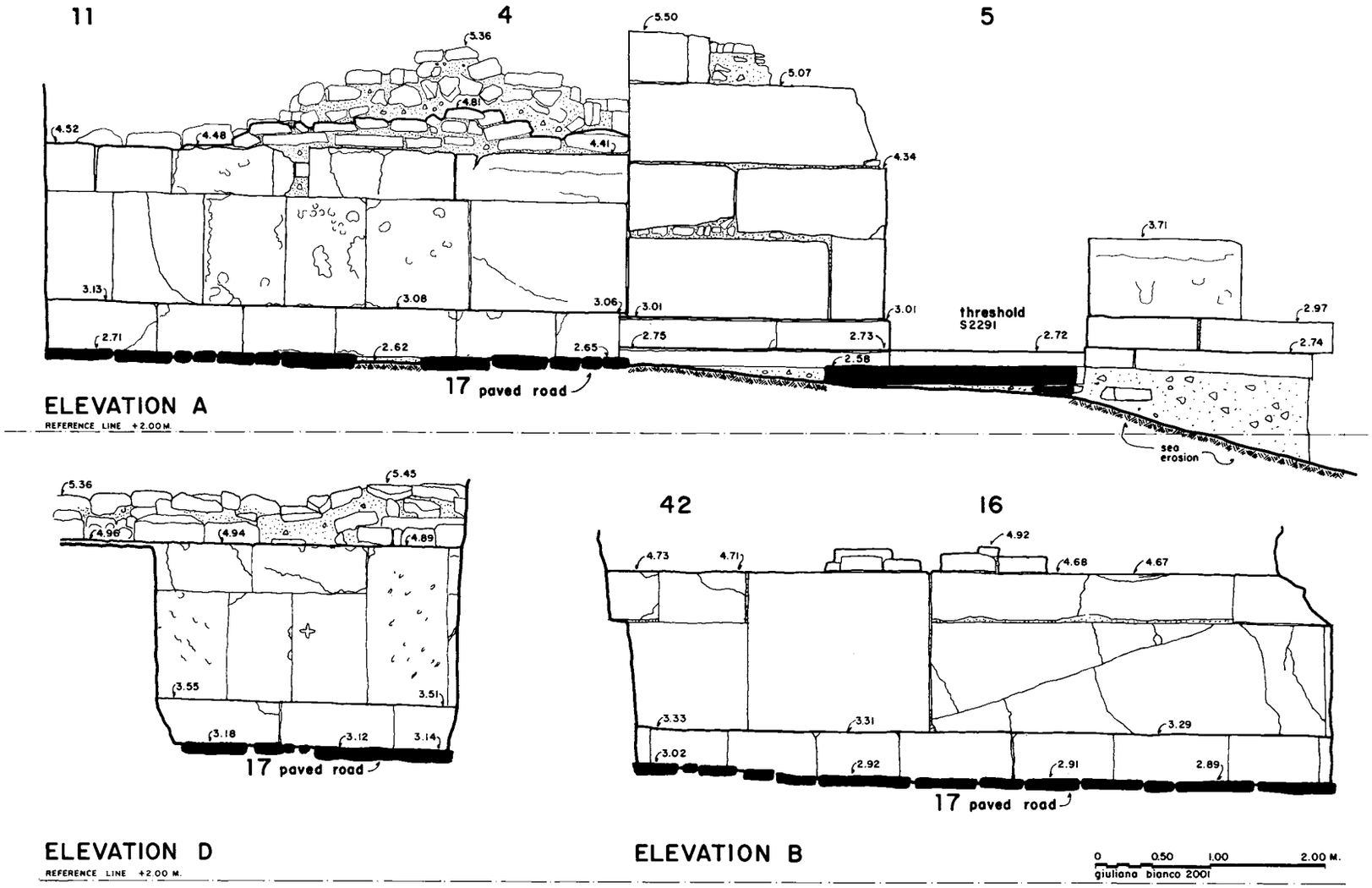


Plate 1.42. Detail of Pl. 1.41, northwest.

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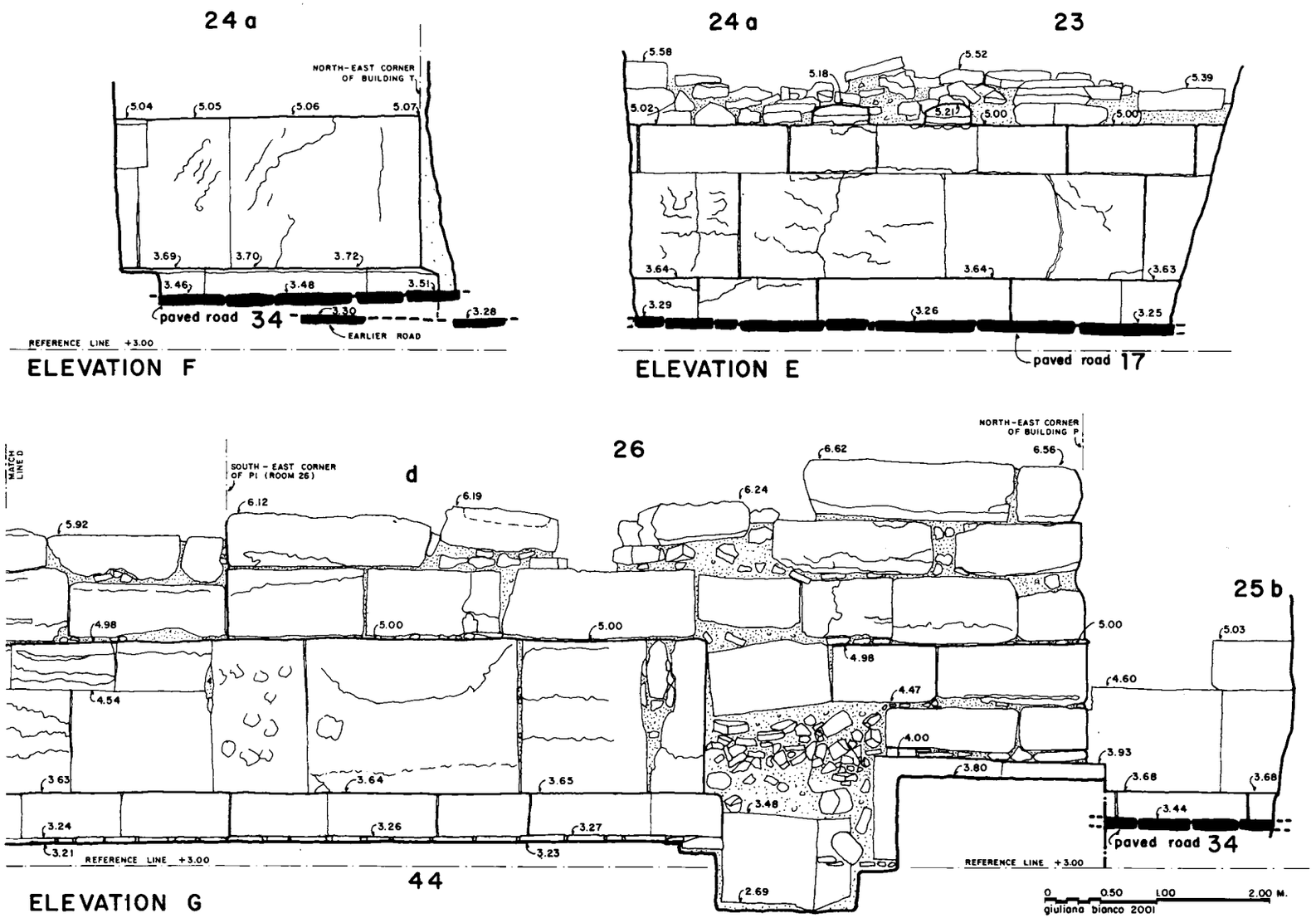
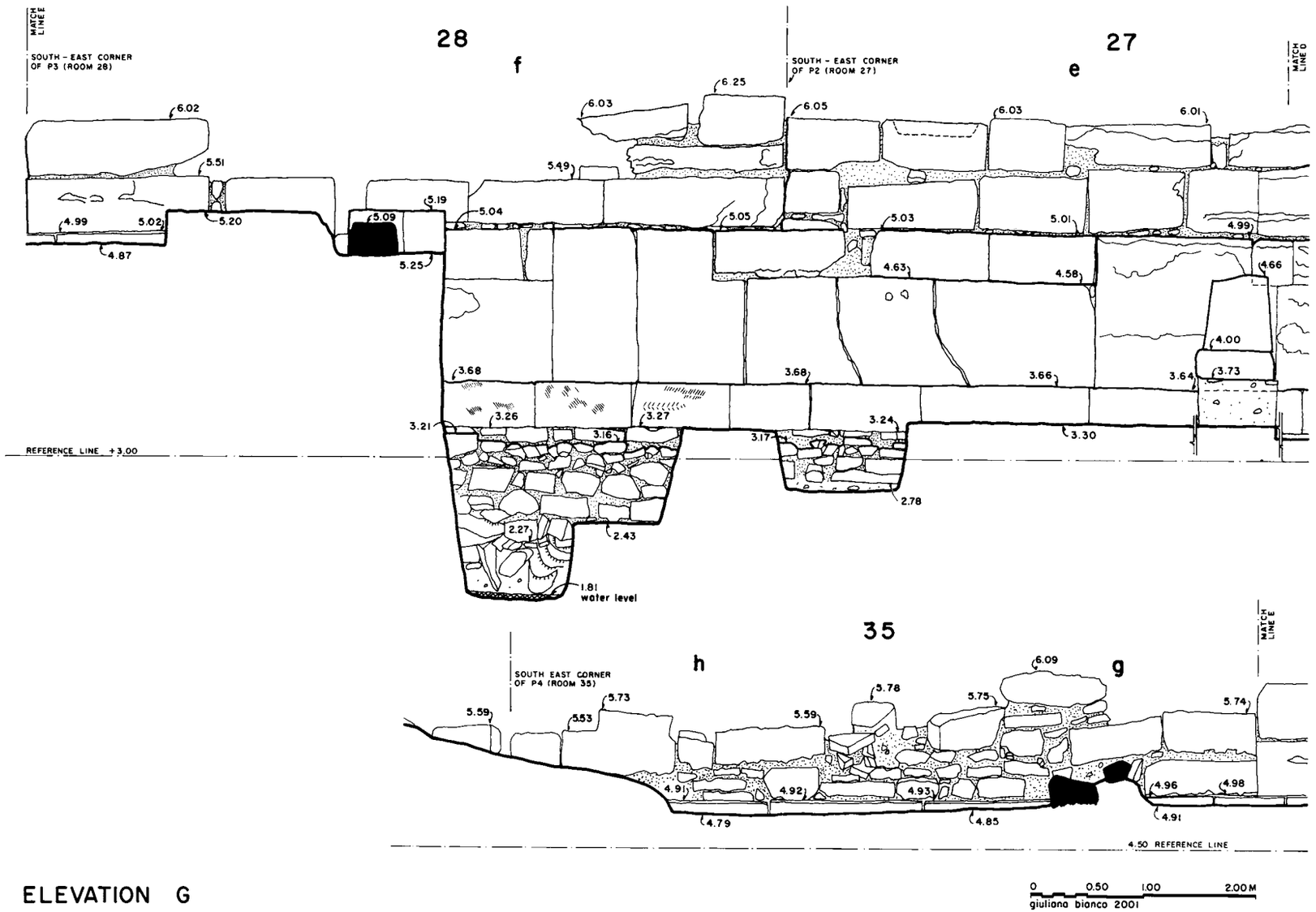


Plate 1.43. Detail of Pl. 1.41, north and northeast.

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ELEVATION G

Plate 1.44. Detail of Pl. 1.41, southeast.

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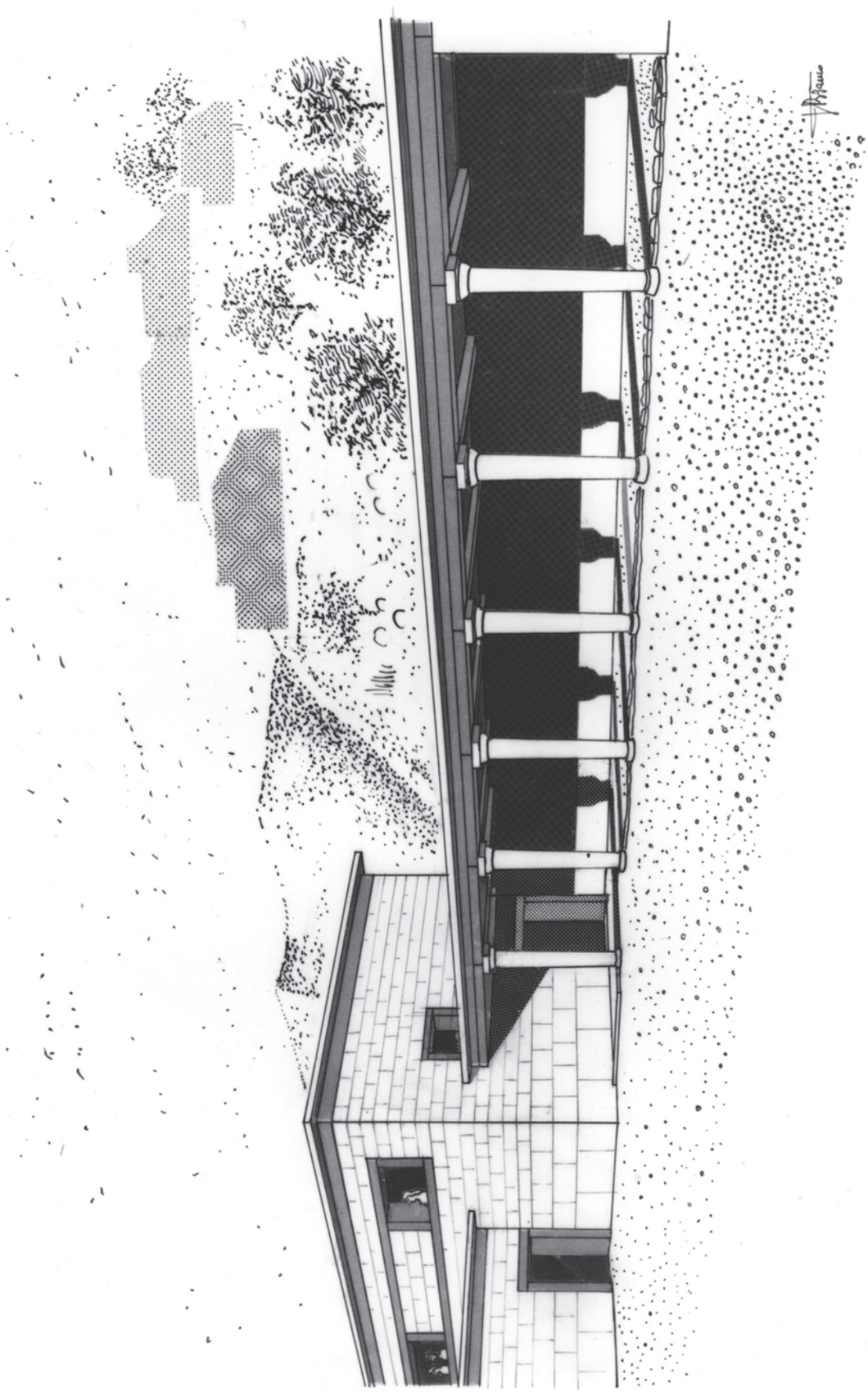


Plate 1.45. Restored view of North Stoa.





Plate 1.46. (above left) Walls of LM III Building N (Rooms 12, 13) set over later LM I wall set above Central Court, from south.

Plate 1.47. (below) View from south of southern border of North Stoa showing column base S 2335 at *a*, "stylobate" slabs, also walls of reused ashlar (*b*,*c*), and position of column base S 2342 (at arrow).

Plate 1.48. (above right) Detail of column base S 2335 with sub-base (at *a*), corner of LM I wall of reused ashlars (*b*) with eastern wall of LM III Building N (Rooms 12, 13) on left, from south.



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Plate 1.49. (above left) View from southeast showing original location of easternmost column base of North Stoa below later LM I wall of reused ashlars (at *a*). Also, broken column base as found (S 2336, at *b*), later doorway (*c*) into reused North Stoa, and stone basin (S 2331 at *d*) in northeastern corner of Central Court.

Plate 1.50. (above center) Eastern end of North Stoa (Space 16) from south, showing later entrance (lower right) and later enclosure (*a*), from south.

Plate 1.51. (above right) View south within Space 16 of North Stoa, with original slab pavement (left) and later bins (right).

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Plate 1.52. (above left) Larnax (C 4976) set in floor of Space 16, North Stoa, with foreman Sifis Fasoulakis.

Plate 1.53. (below) Eastern wall of North Stoa, showing piers to left and right, with blocked window (left, center) and doorway (right, center) between, from west.

Plate 1.54. (above right) Part of Building T's facade with orthostates north of the eastern end of the North Stoa, with the excavator, Maria C. Shaw, from east. The wall above is Greek.



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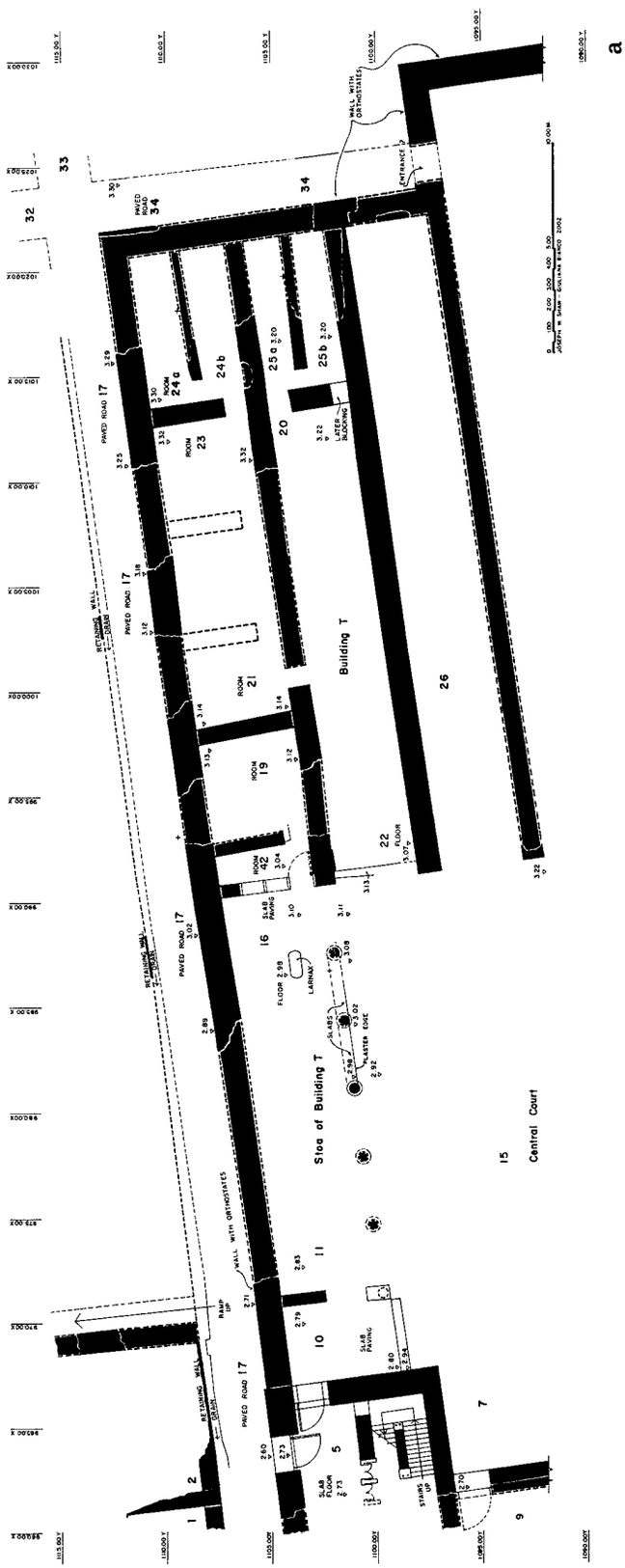


Plate 1.55A. First phase of North Wing of Building T during the Neopalatial Period.

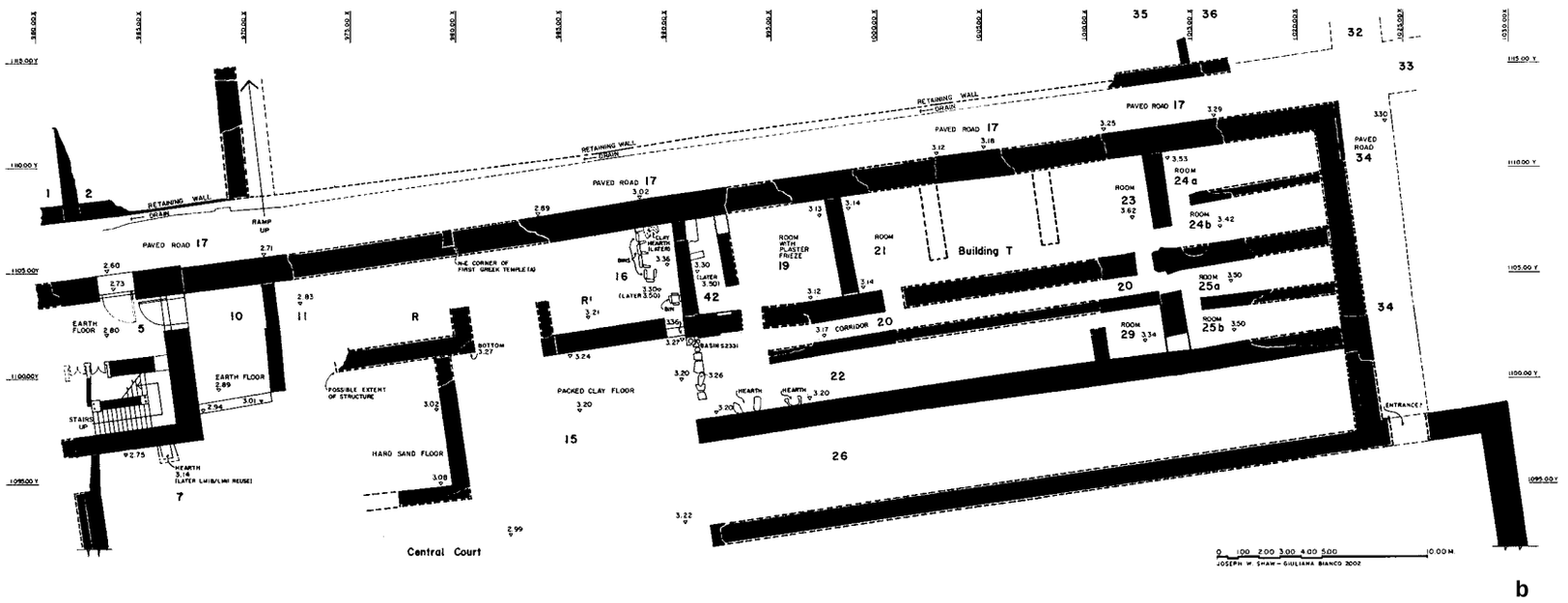


Plate 1.55B. Second phase of North Wing of Building T during the Neopalatial Period.

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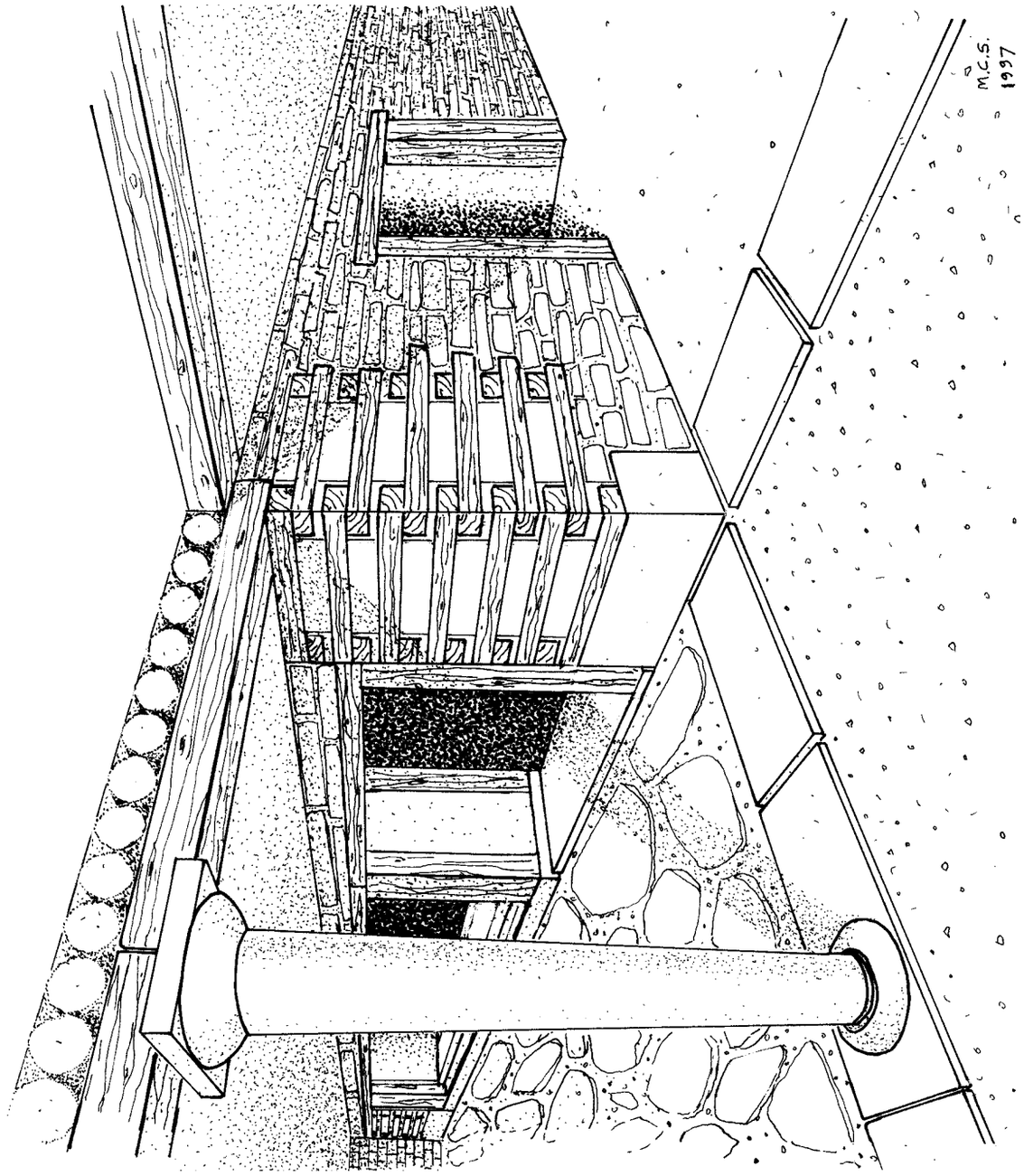


Plate 1.56. Restored window at east end of North Stoa, from west.

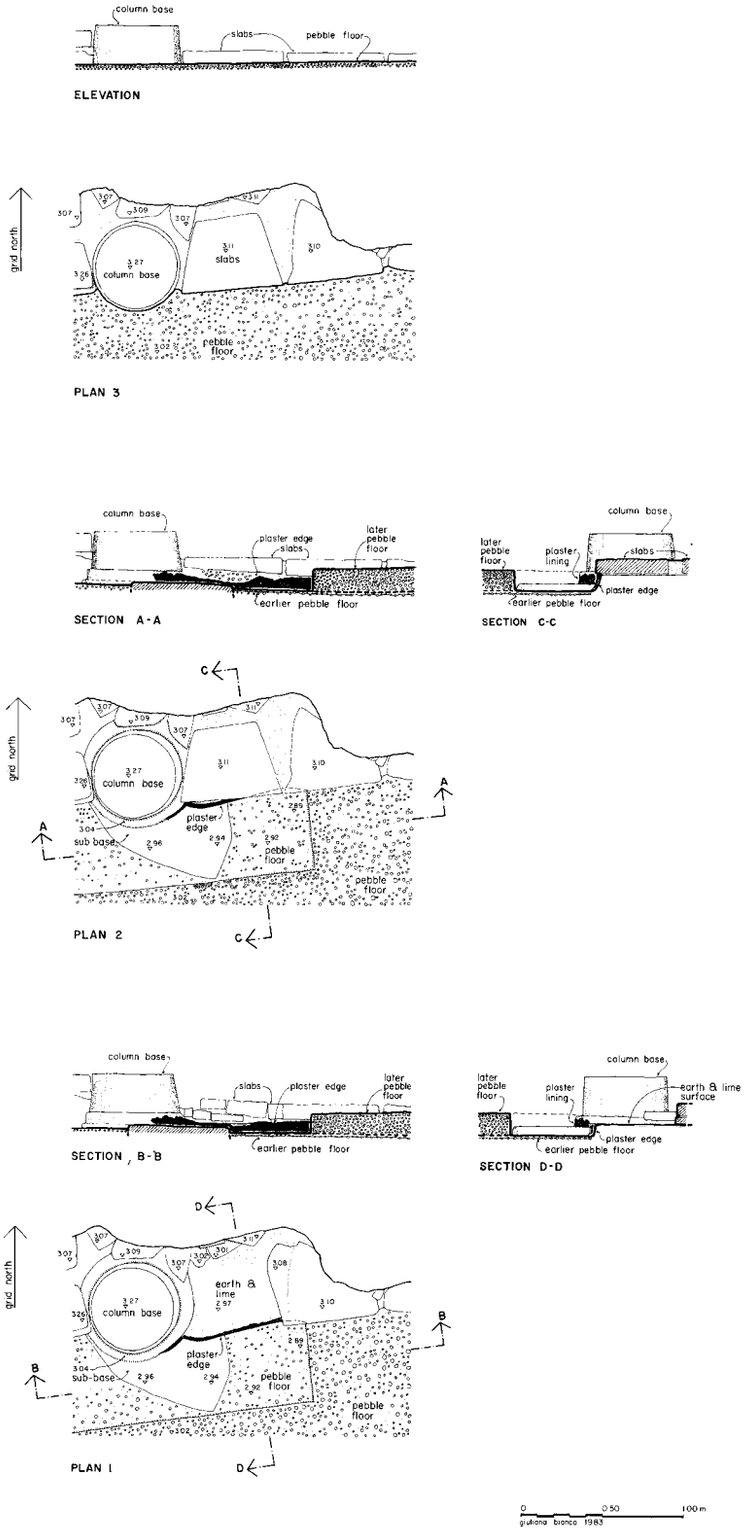


Plate 1.57. Plans and sections of area near Column Base S 2335, showing phases.



Plate 1.58. Schematic development of eastern area of North Stoa, showing three phases. (1) Larnax, slab-floor period (LM IA, Early and Advanced); (2) compartment/bin/cooking installation period (LM IA Final/IB Early; and (3) enclosure period (LM IB Early). Later metallurgical period (LM IB Late) not shown.

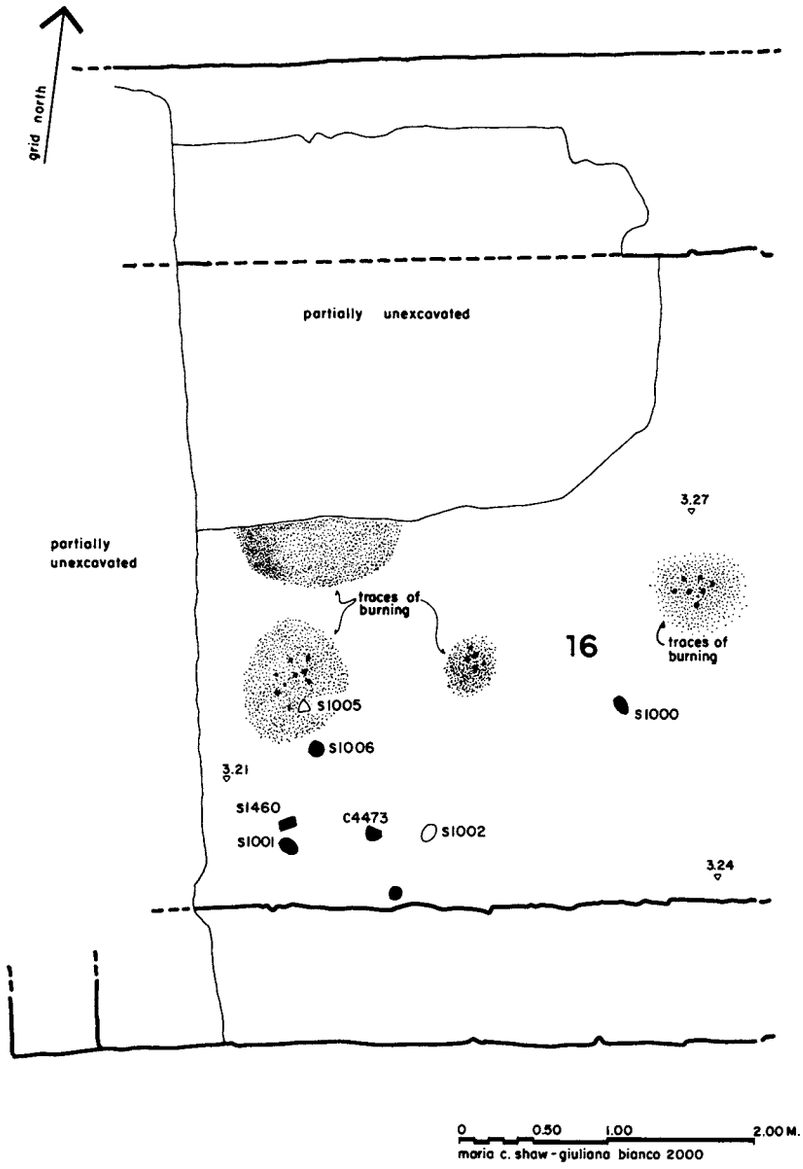


Plate 1.59. Plan of Floor Deposit with crucibles and stone tools in North Stoa, Space 16.

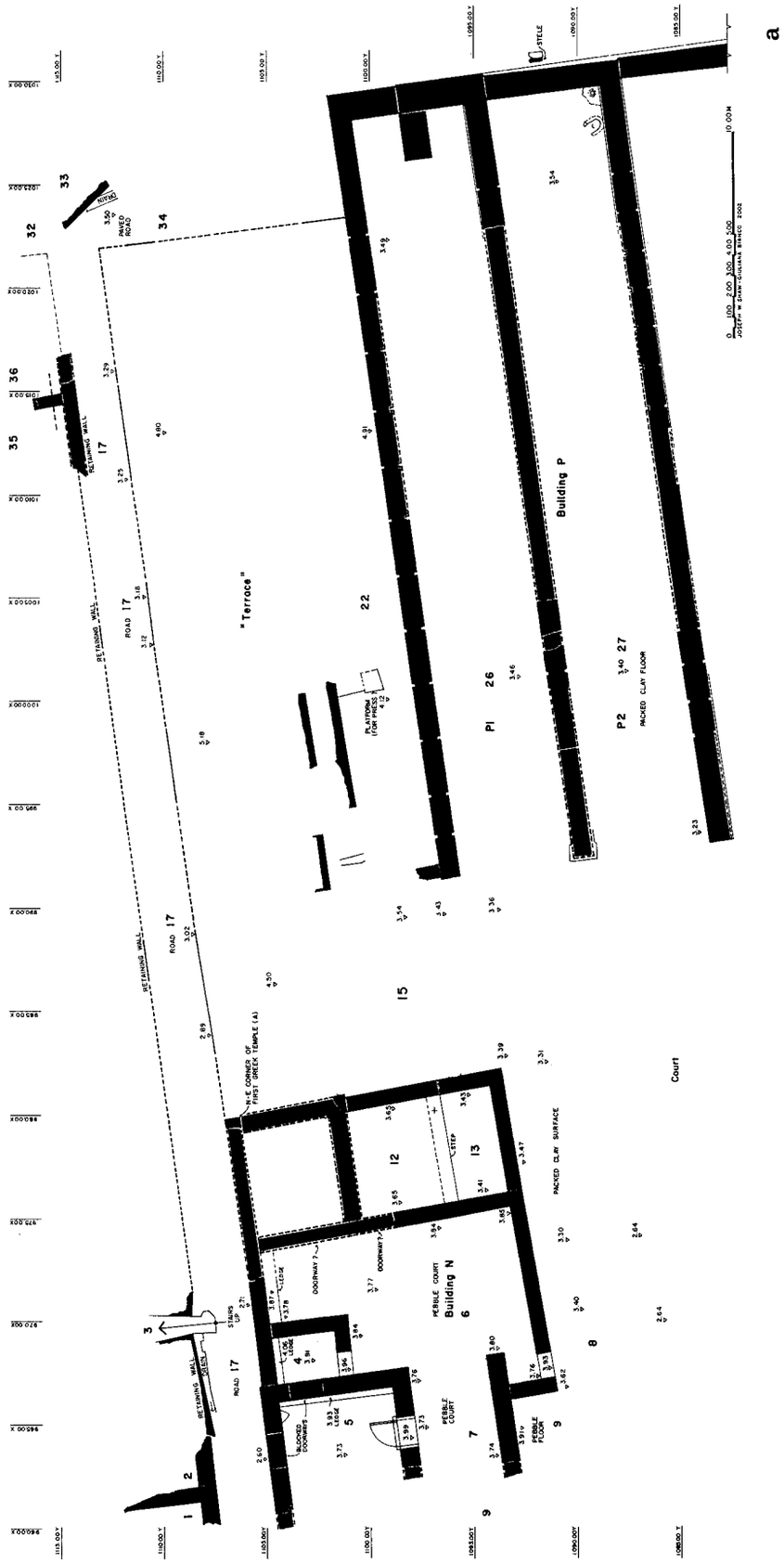


Plate 1.60A. First phase of Buildings N and P during LM IIIA2.

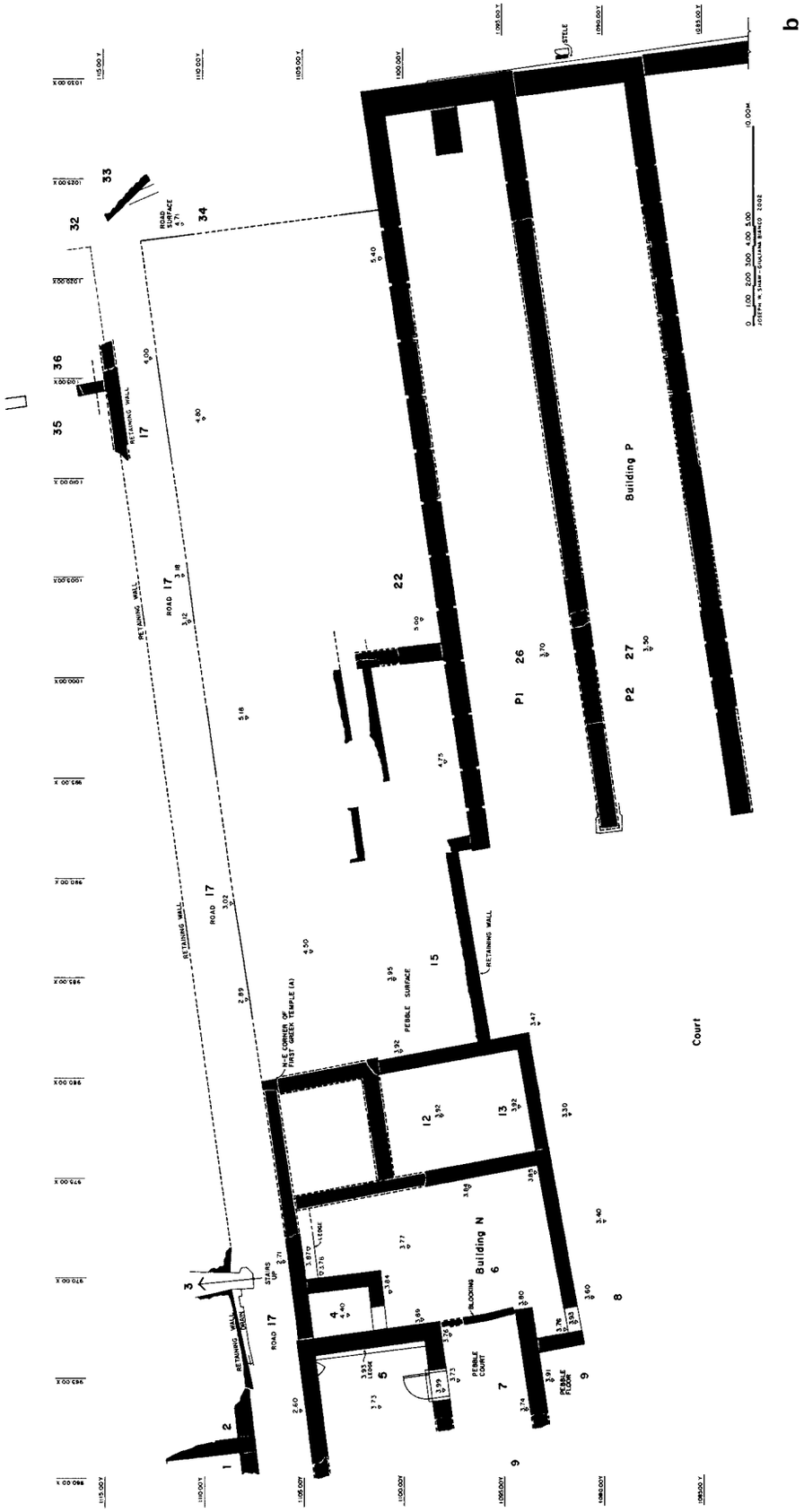


Plate 1.60B. Second phase of Buildings N and P during LM IIIA2/B.

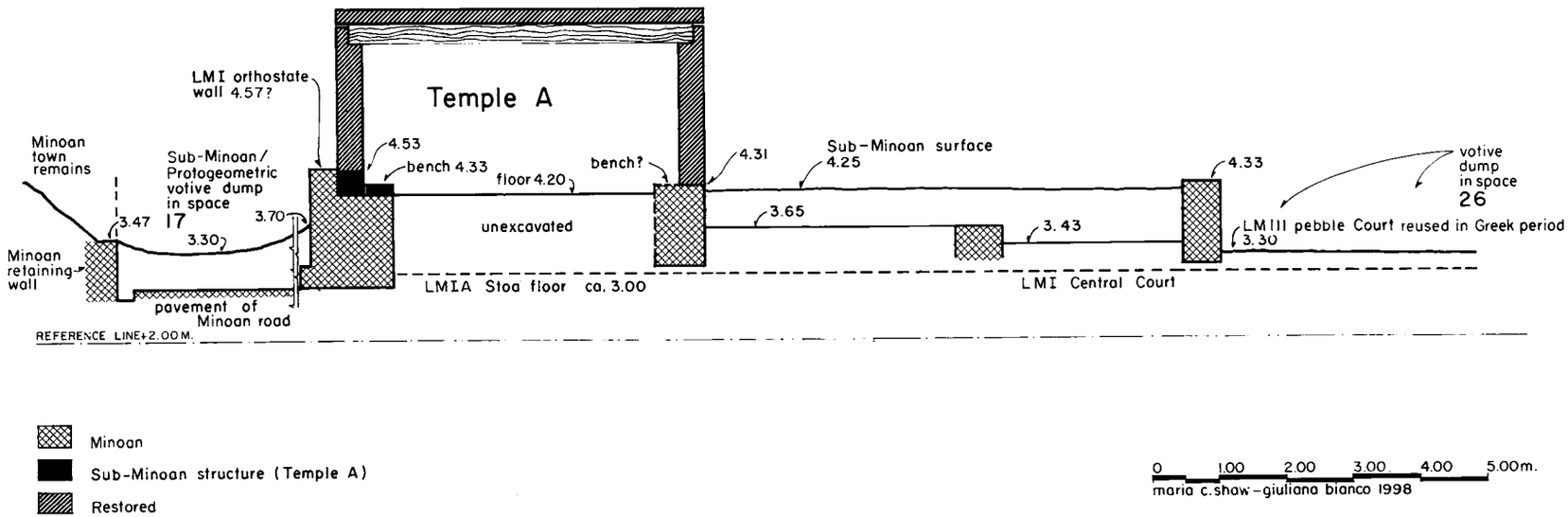


Plate 1.61. North-south conjectural section through N12–13 and overlying Greek temples, looking west.

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Plate 1.62. Central Court area, with wall of reused masonry along line of North Stoa (left), line of LM III retaining wall (center), and western end of northern wall of Building P (right, background), from west.

Plate 1.63. Central Court area, Archaic Building Q (left), and MM paved walkway, from west.



Plate 1.64. Detail of MM paved walkway south of Archaic Building Q, from southeast.

Plate 1.65. Building T, Room 42, from north.



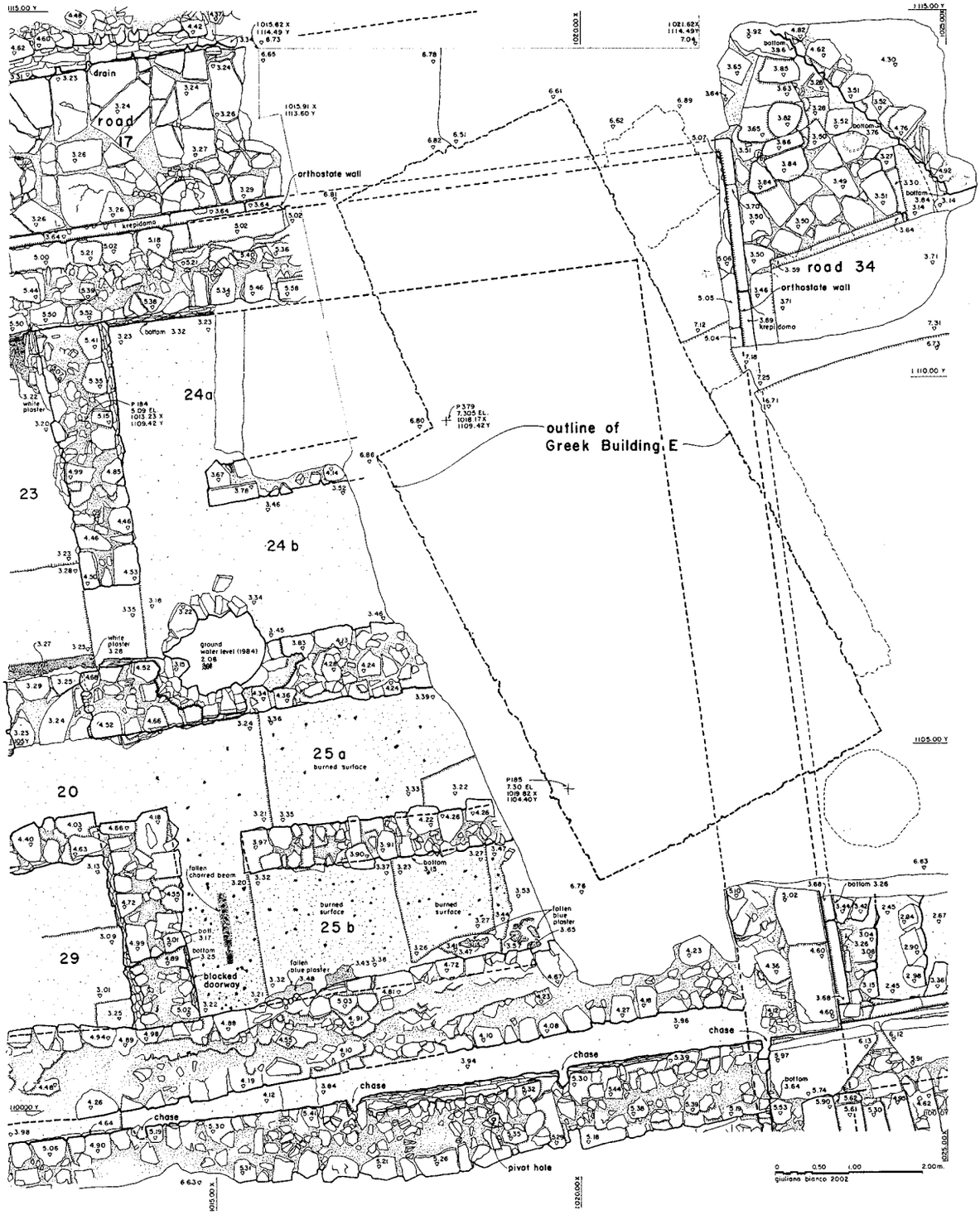


Plate 1.66. State plan of part of northeastern area.

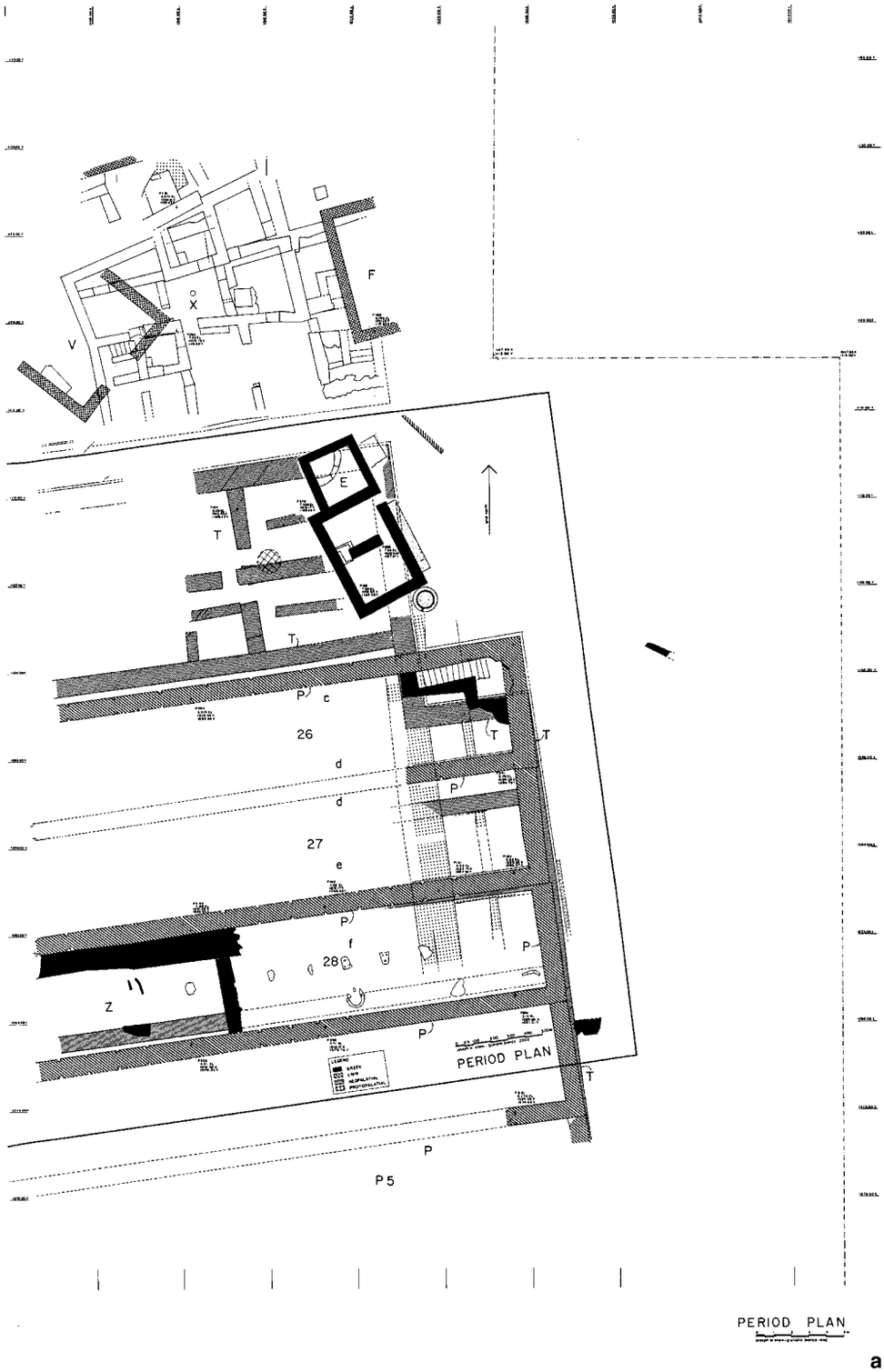
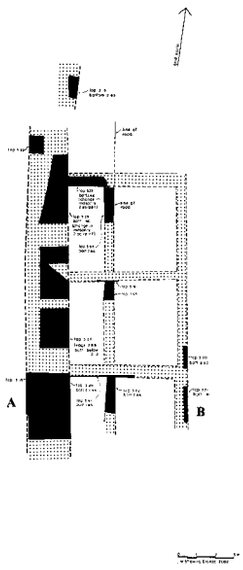
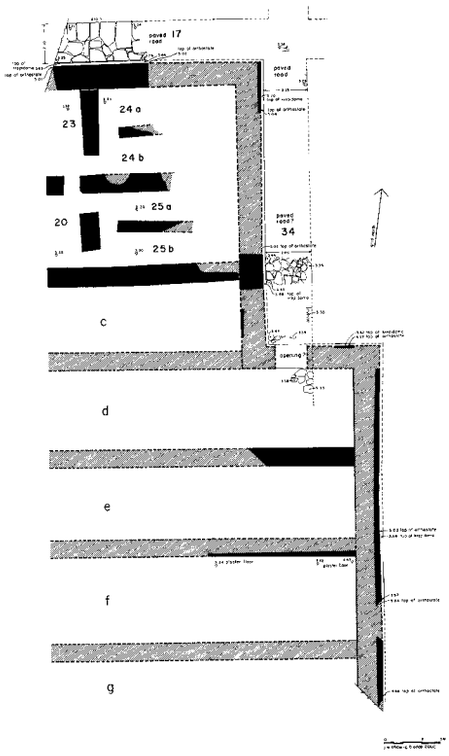


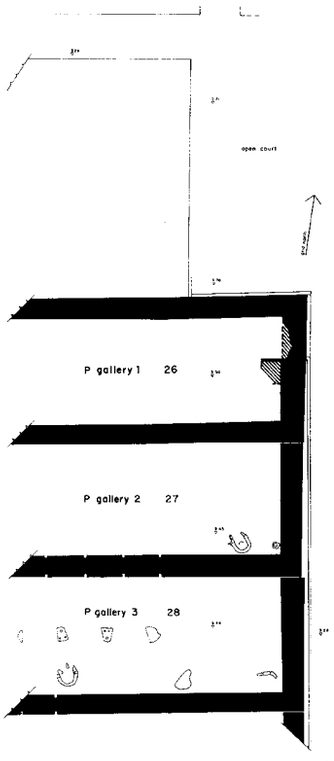
Plate 1.67. Phase plans of northeastern area indicating *a*, all periods; *b*, MM; *c*, Neopalatial; *d*, LM III; *e*, Archaic/Hellenistic.


A
B

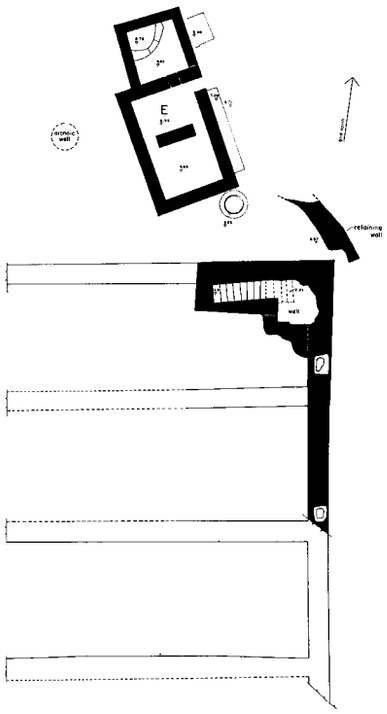
b


paved road 17
24 a
23
24 b
25 a
20
paved road 34
25 b
c
d
e
f
g

c


open court
P gallery 1 26
P gallery 2 27
P gallery 3 28

d


E
chronos's well
retaining wall
wall

e

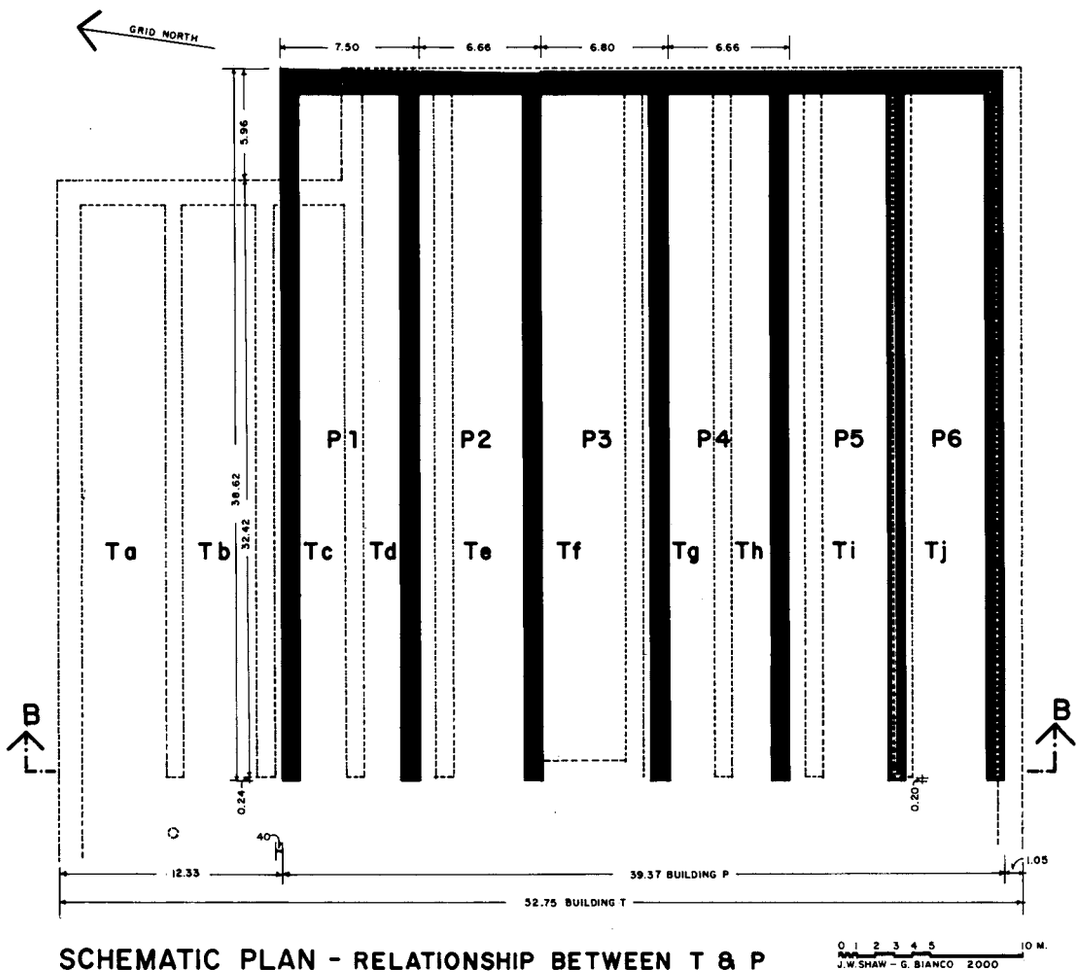


Plate 1.68. (above) Plan showing relationships in Building T (black walls) and superposed Building P (dashed lines). (below) Schematic section showing vertical relationships between walls and floors of P (above) and T (below); no vertical scale.



Plate 1.69. Building T, Rooms 19–21, from south.

Plate 1.70. Building T, Rooms 23, 24, 29, and 25a, from south.

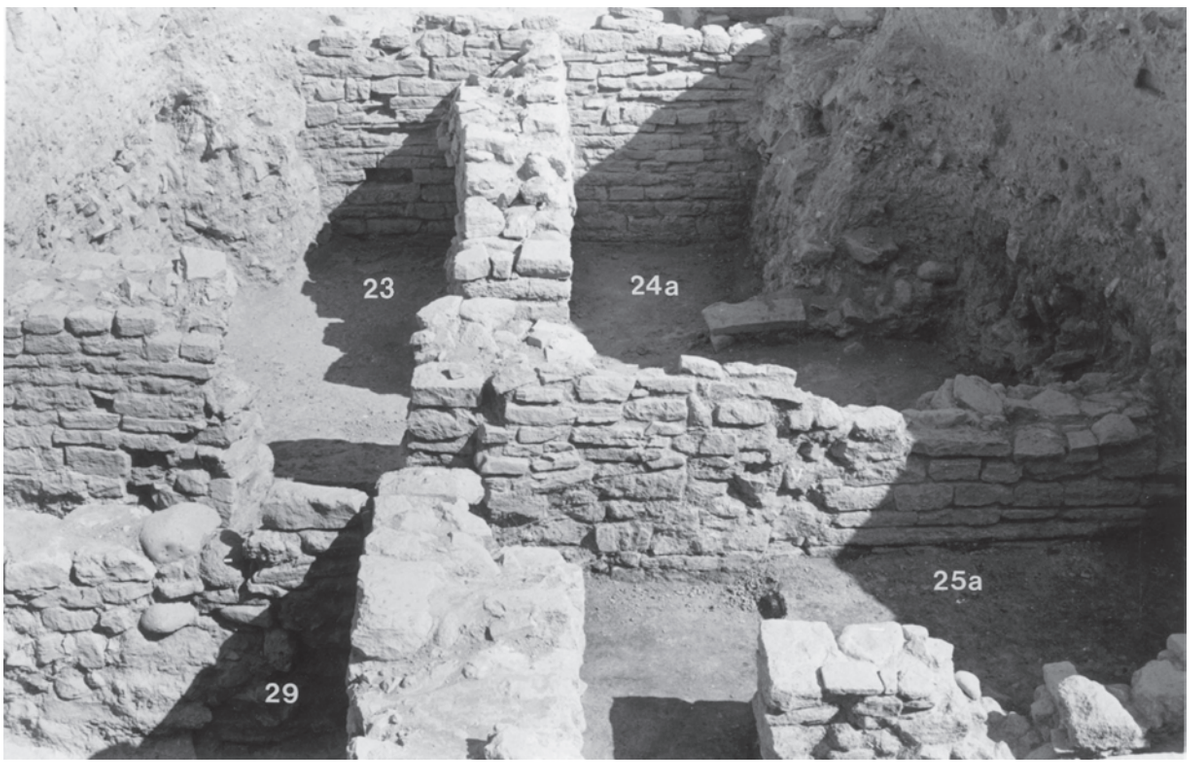




Plate 1.71. Burnt levels in Building T, Rooms 25a–b, from southeast.

Plate 1.72. Loomweights in Room 19.



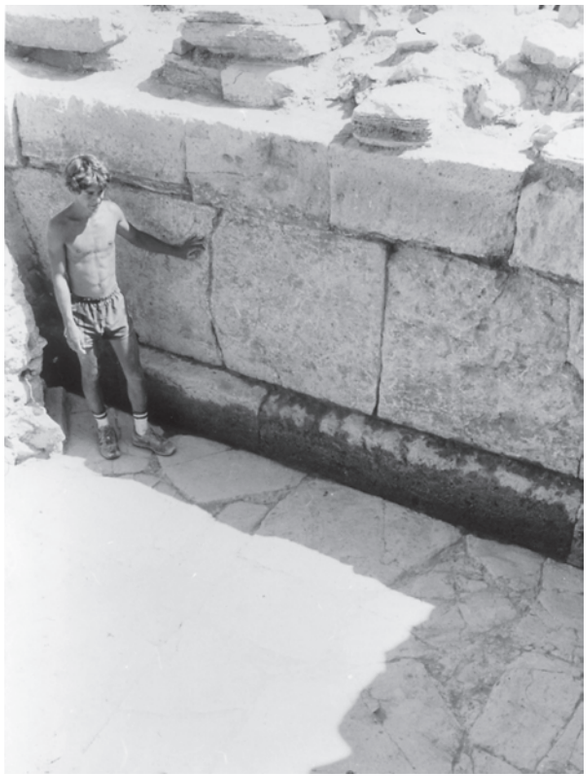


Plate 1.73. Building T, north facade on the slab road, north of Rooms 23 and 24a, with Alexander C. Shaw, from northwest.

Plate 1.74. East-west cross wall of Building T, with LM I hearths (foreground) and east-west northern facade wall of LM III Building P, with vertical chases for timbering (above), from north.

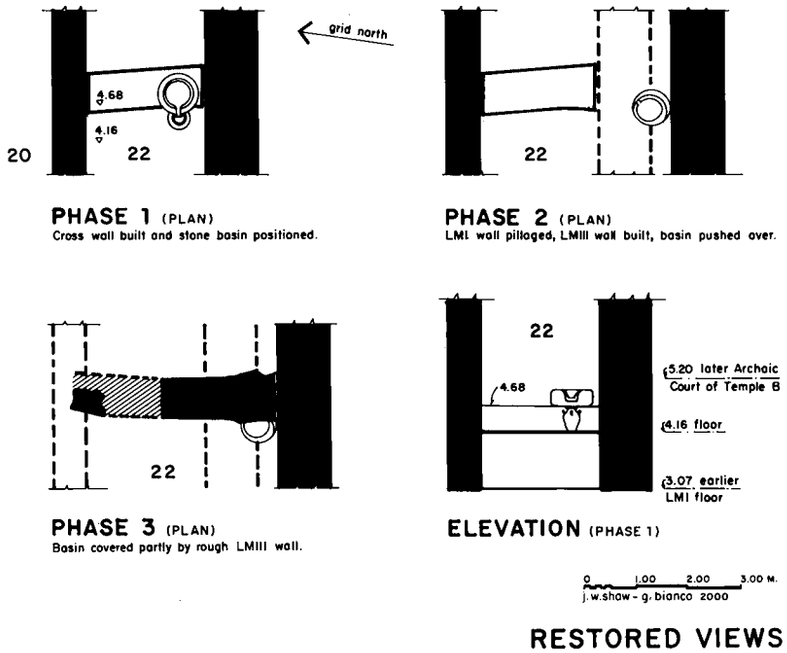




Plate 1.75. East-west cross wall of Building T (left, at *a*) and western, ashlar end of the northern wall of Building P, from west. Oval hole in P's ashlar block is natural.

Plate 1.76. Large bowl (S 2338) that was pushed off its platform (*a*) above robbed-out east-west wall of Building T (*b*) next to north facade wall of Building P (upper right), from west.





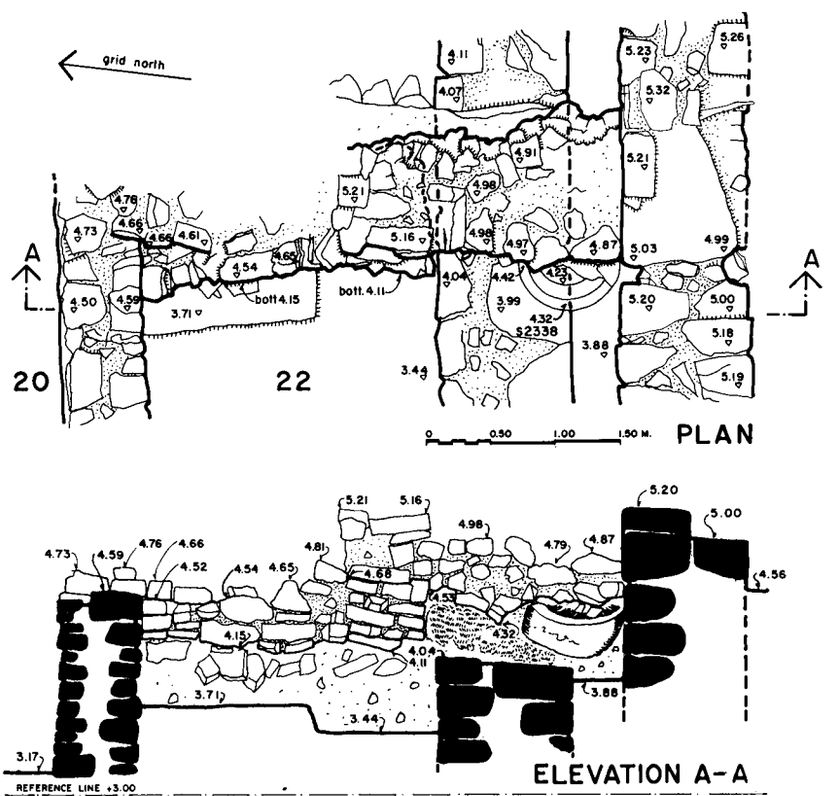


Plate 1.77. Restored views of press area with bowl S 2338, with plan and elevation below.

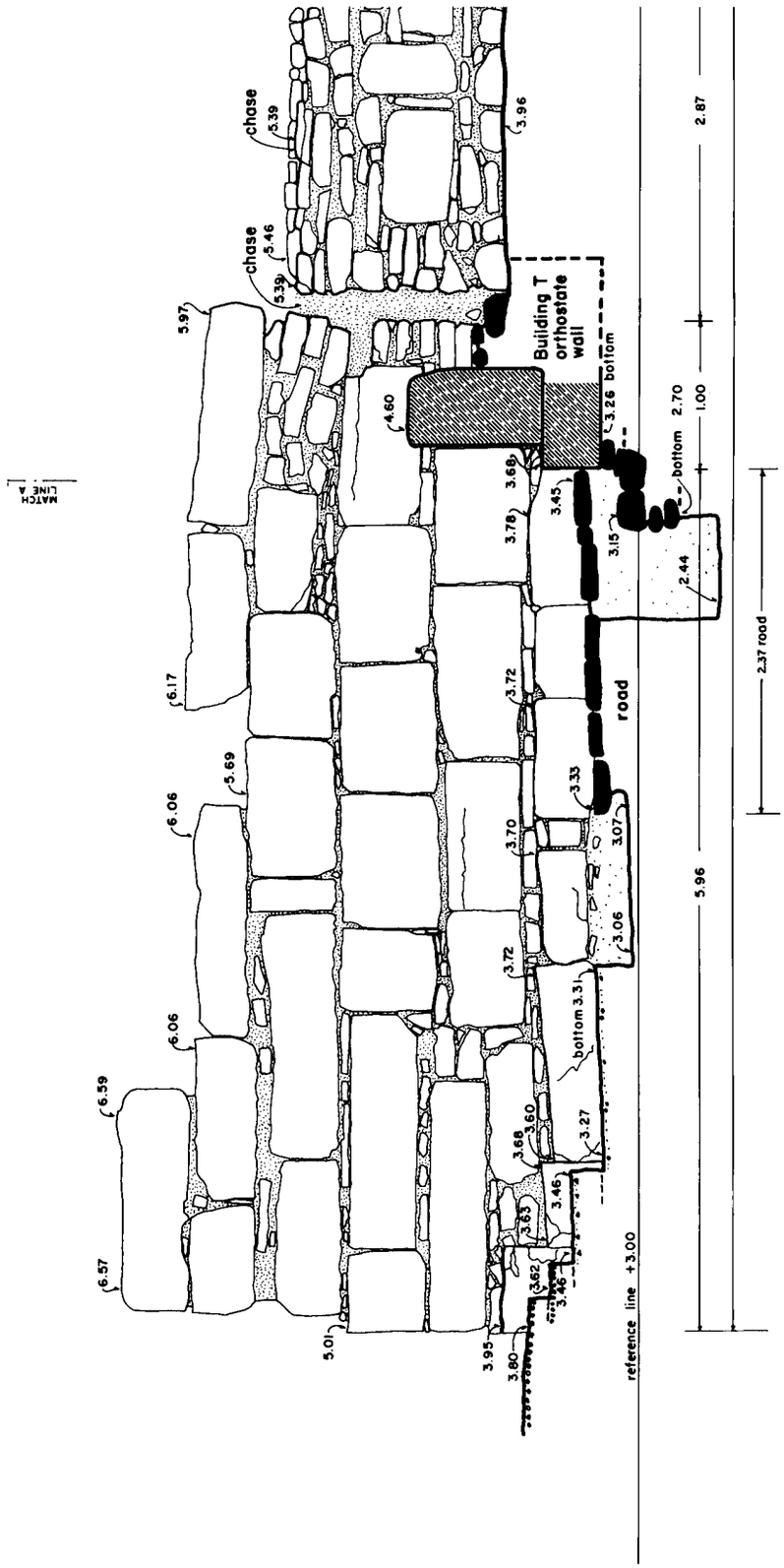


Plate 1.78A. Elevation of northern face of the north wall of Building P, from north.

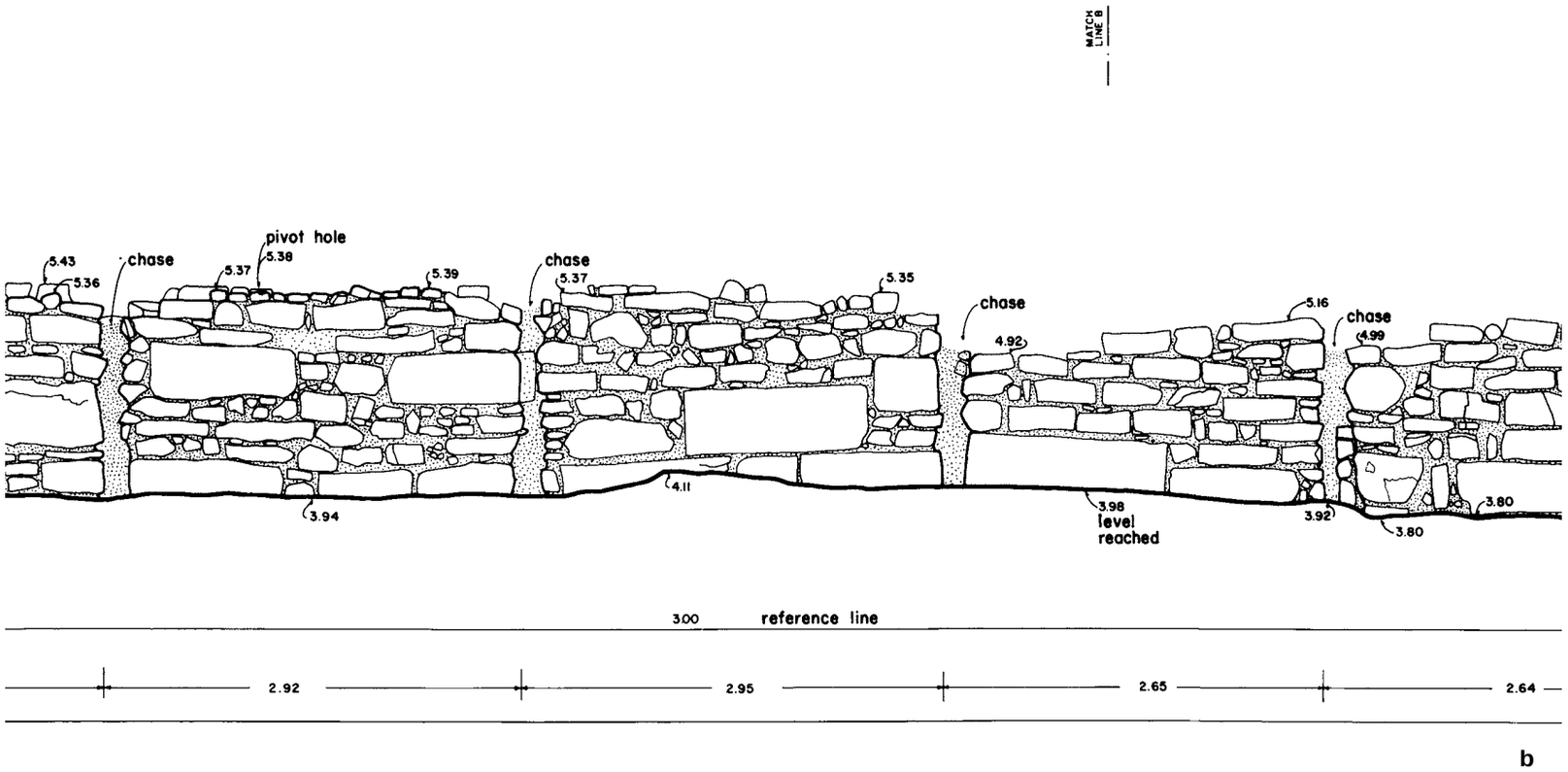


Plate 1.78B. Elevation of northern face of the north wall of Building P, from north.

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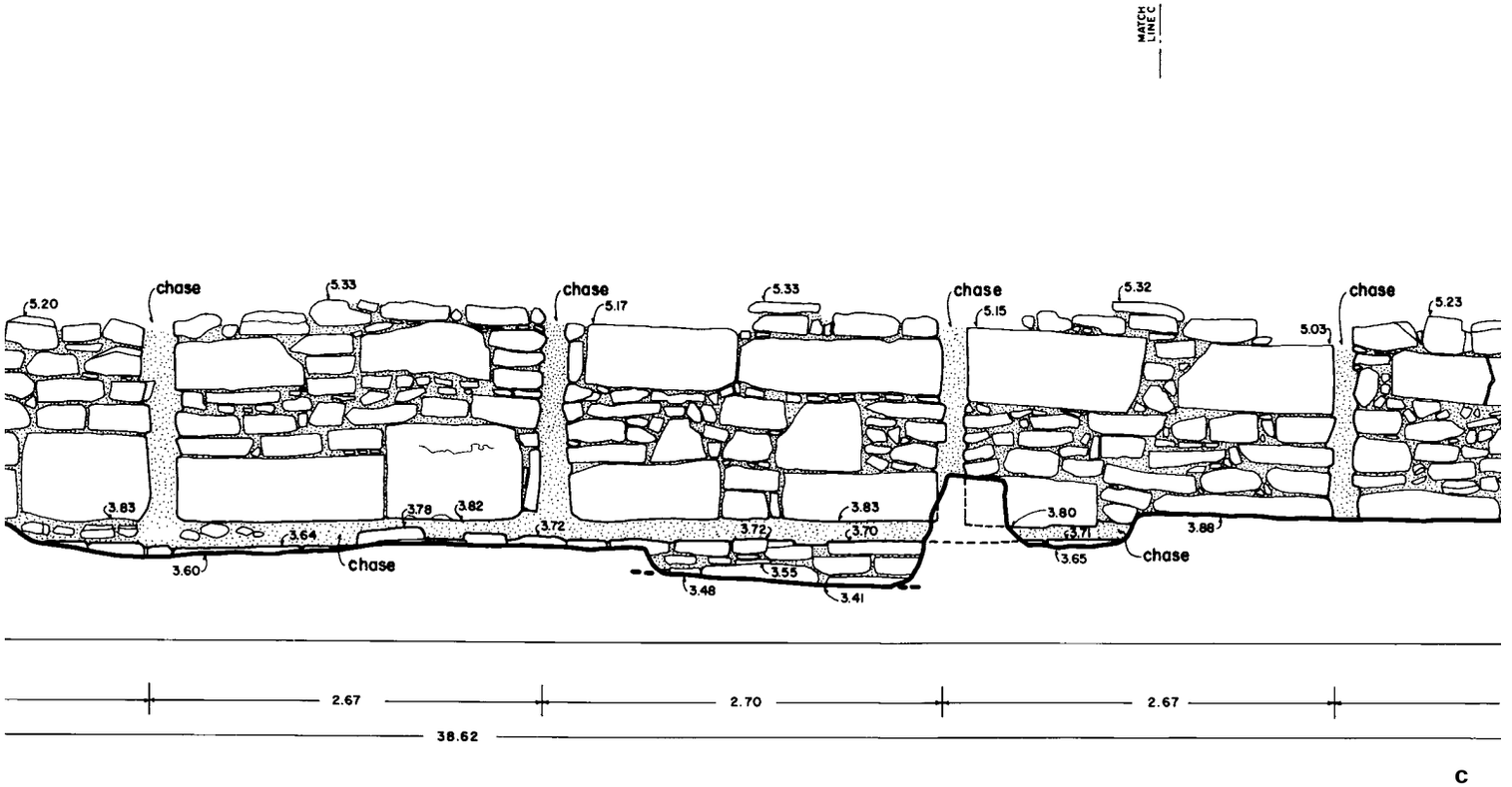
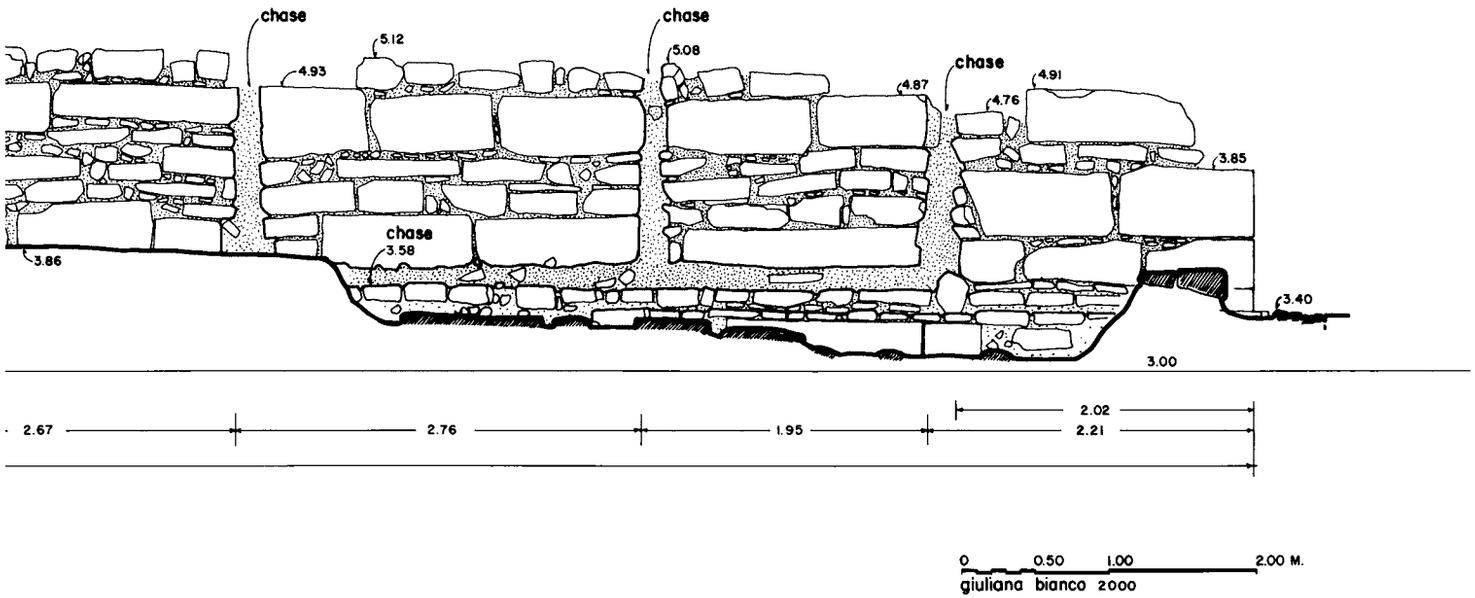


Plate 1.78C. Elevation of northern face of the north wall of Building P, from north.

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d

Plate 1.78D. Elevation of northern face of the north wall of Building P, from north.

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Plate 1.79. "Compartment" of reused masonry between chases for wooden beams of north wall, Building P, from north.



Plate 1.80. LM I paved road next to northeastern corner of Building T, with diagonal blocking wall, from south.

Plate 1.81. Northeastern corner, Building P, showing masonry style, above Building T's wall (*a*) and bordering paved road surface (*b*), surface of LM III fill (*c*). Note stepped inset for facade wall (*d*), from northeast.







Plate 1.82. (left) Eastern facade of Buildings T and P. The lower two courses and krepidoma are Neopalatial; above them the blocks belong to LM III Building P. From southeast, with LM III stela in foreground.

Plate 1.83. (right) LM III stela east of P facade. The block in front and slabs behind functioned as supports below the LM III ground level. From southeast.



Plate 1.84. (left) Gallery P1, northeast corner, with later Archaic Greek walls around well chamber.





Plate 1.85. (left) Greek well (foreground) with steps down from Archaic ground level (center) before removal of fallen blocks, from east.

Plate 1.86. (right) Corner orthostate of Building T (left) on krepidoma (below) on which the southern wall of the Archaic well was constructed, from north.







Plate 1.87. (above left) Gallery P2/3, western end of east-west wall, showing three levels of pebbles in Central Court, from south.

Plate 1.88. (above) Gallery P2, earlier slab pavement of T at west end, showing east-west channel (center), and narrower north-south channel in front of excavator Barbette Spaeth, from west. On right is the south wall of P2.

Plate 1.89. (left) Gallery P2. Earlier remains below LM III floor in east part of gallery P2, showing base of north-south facade wall of Building AA (at *a*), smaller north-south wall (*b*), Neopalatial east-west wall of Building T (shared wall of Rooms D and E) (*c*), paving at *d*, and east-west walls of Gallery P2 (*e*, *f*), from east.

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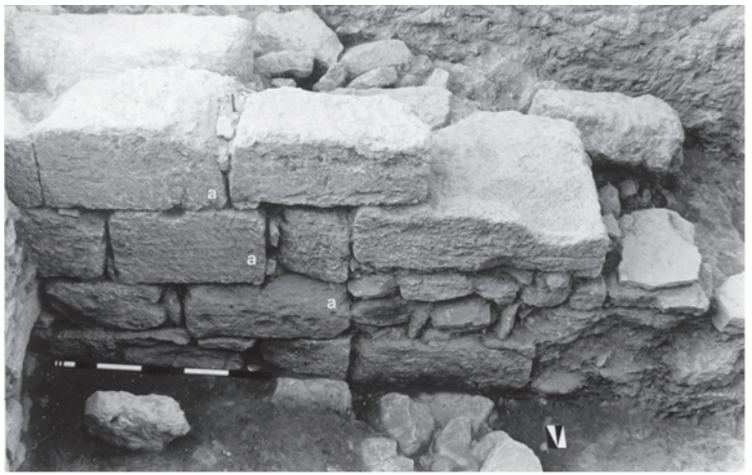


Plate 1.90. Gallery P2, east end, south wall, showing early phase in construction (at *a*, *a*, *a*).



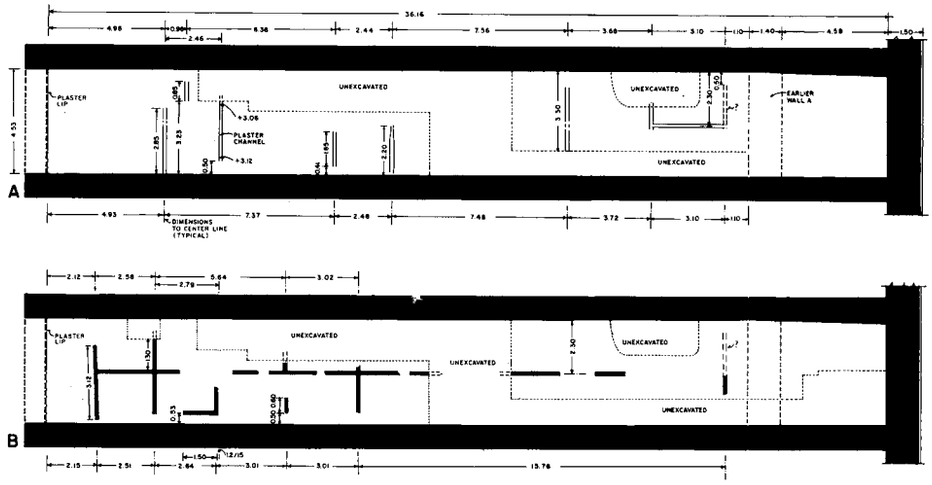
Plate 1.91. Gallery P3 during excavation, with fallen blocks of north wall, from east.



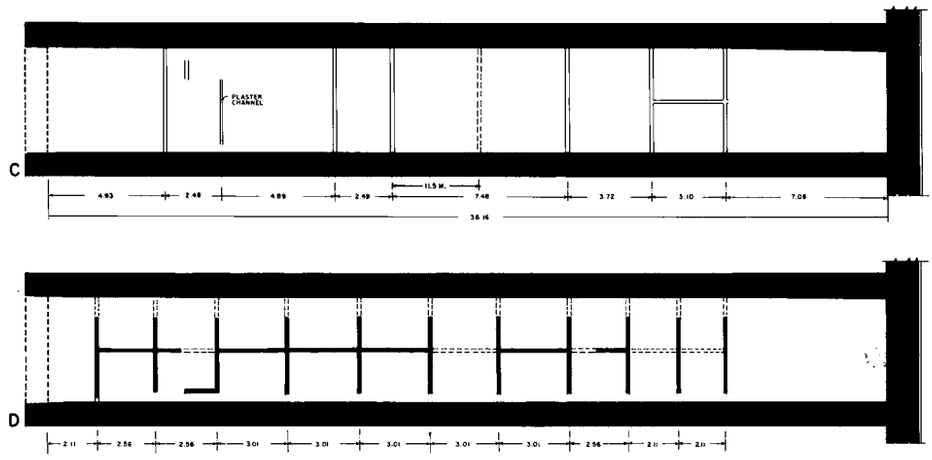
Plate 1.92. Gallery P3, eastern part, showing field stones of "compartments" set on plaster floor with channel (*a*) and fragment of U-shaped hearth (*b*), from southeast.



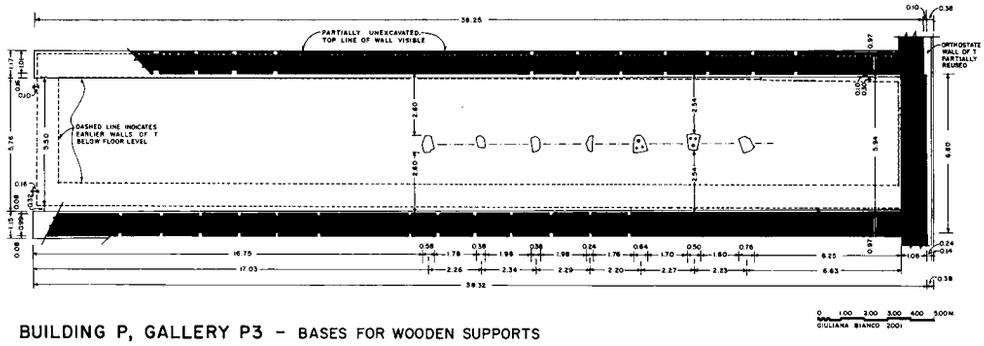
Plate 1.93. Gallery P3, central part, showing stones of compartments (*a*), foundations of Building T's wall (common wall of Rooms F and G) at *b*, and southern wall of P3 (*c*), from west.



BUILDING T, ROOM f – A: SURVEY OF CHANNELS AS DISCOVERED
B: SURVEY OF COMPARTMENTS AS DISCOVERED



BUILDING T, ROOM f – C: CHANNELS AS RESTORED
D: COMPARTMENTS AS RESTORED



BUILDING P, GALLERY P3 – BASES FOR WOODEN SUPPORTS

Plate 1.94. Building T, Room F below Building P, Gallery 3. Plastered channels as found (A) and partially restored (C). Later compartments created by low field-stone walls as discovered (B) and as partially restored (D). Bottom, plan showing chases in walls and seven stone bases for supporting timber.





Plate 1.95. Gallery P3, floor (left, at *a*). In sounding below floor are visible the earlier facade wall ("Wall A") of MM Building AA with superposed wall A1 (*b*, left), a north-south MM wall (*c*), and an east-west wall of Building T (*d*), from east.

Plate 1.96. Gallery P3, detail of area in previous plate, showing width of MM facade wall A of Building AA (*a*, *a*), plaster floor of Building T (Room F), packing below floor (*c*), foundation of the north wall of Room F (*d*), north wall of P3 (*e*, *e*), and floor of P3 (*f*), from east.

Plate 1.97. Gallery P3, east, showing fallen masonry of northern wall (*a*), floor (*b*), anchors used as bases (*c*, *c*), and position of hearth (*d*), from west.



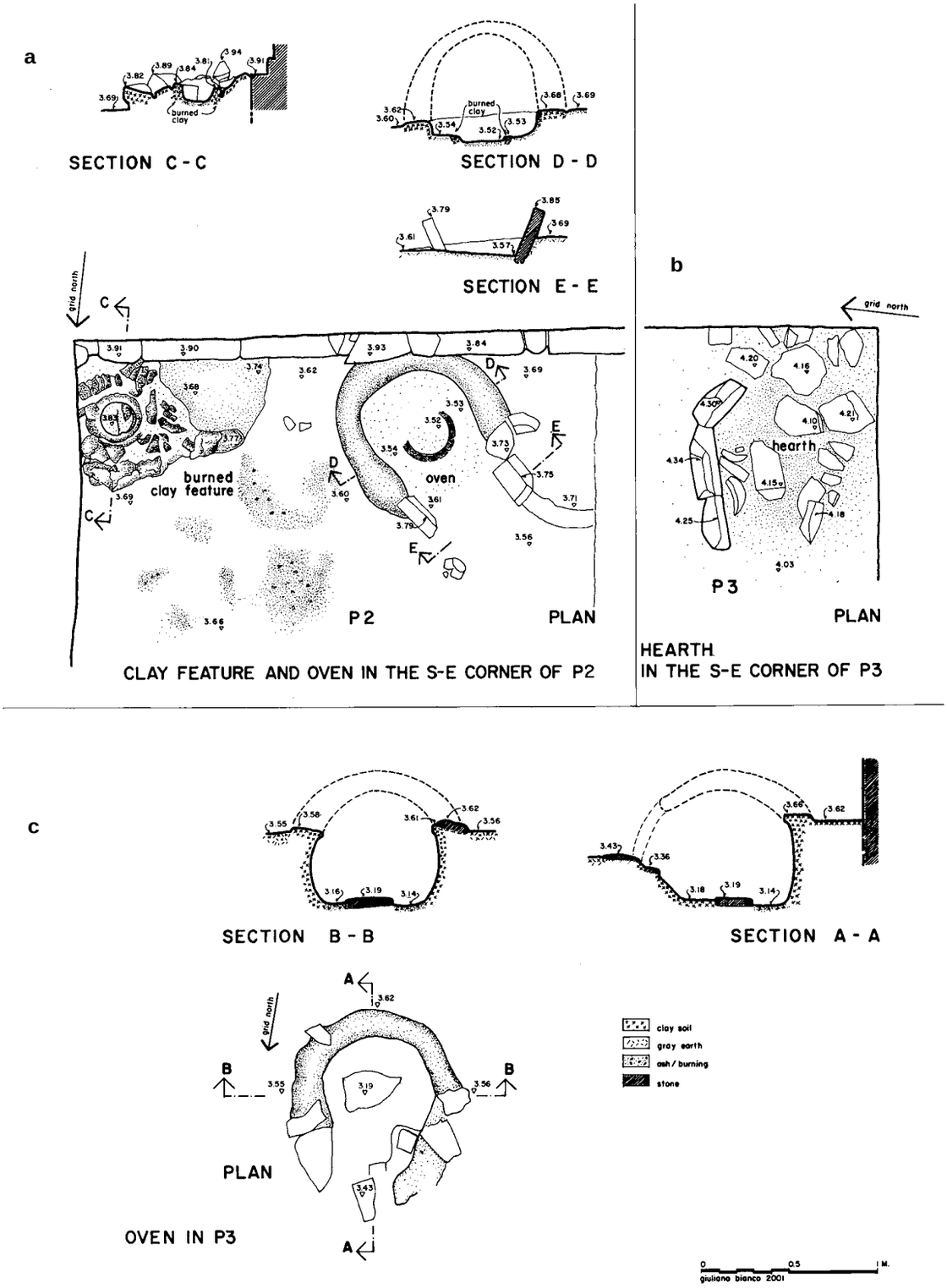


Plate 1.98. (a) Oven and burnt feature at eastern end of Gallery P2. (b) Hearth at eastern end of Gallery P3. (c) Plan and restored sections of western oven in Gallery P3.

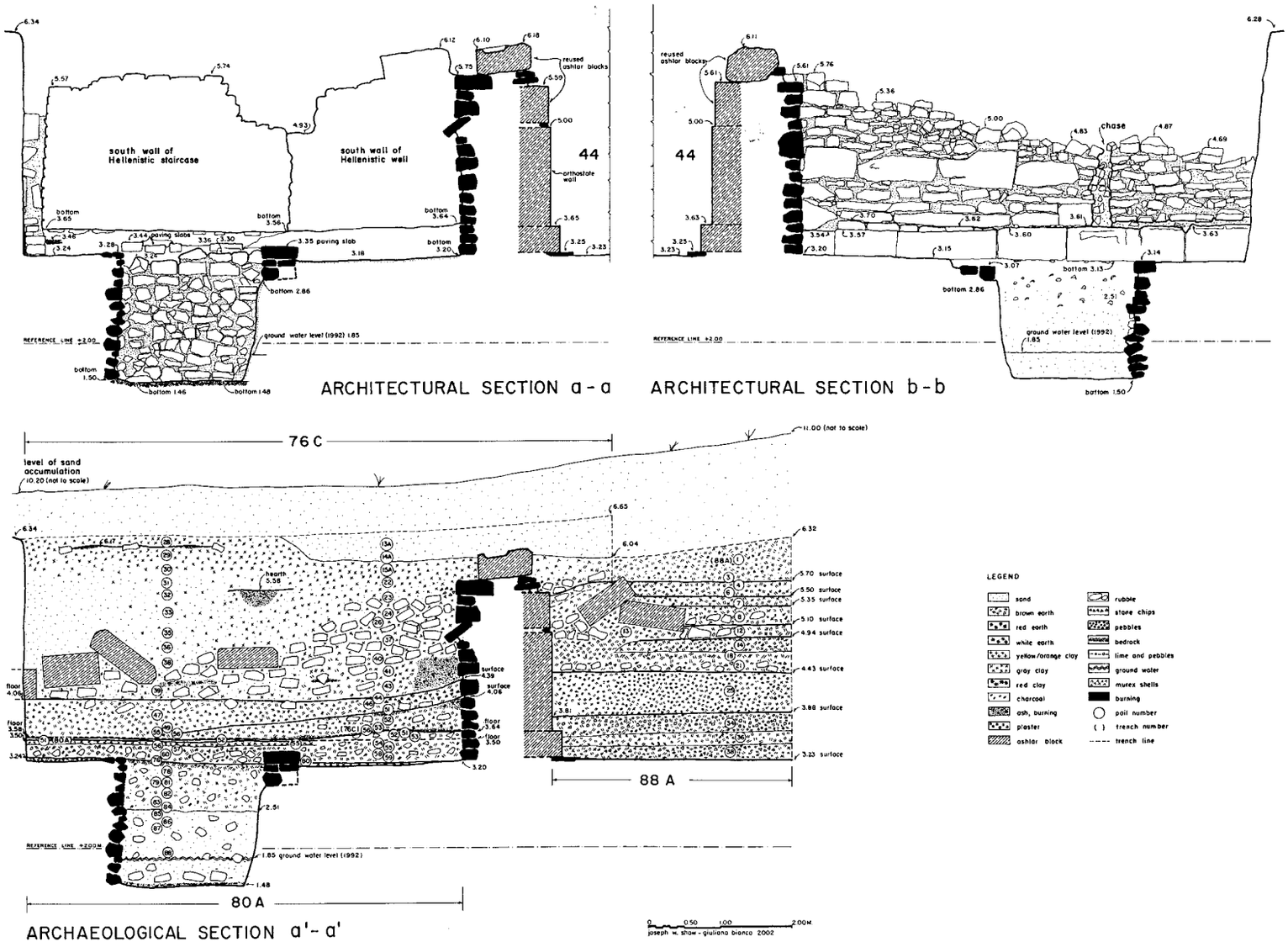


Plate 1.99. Gallery P1 (Building T, Room D). Architectural and archaeological sections. For positioning see Foldout A.

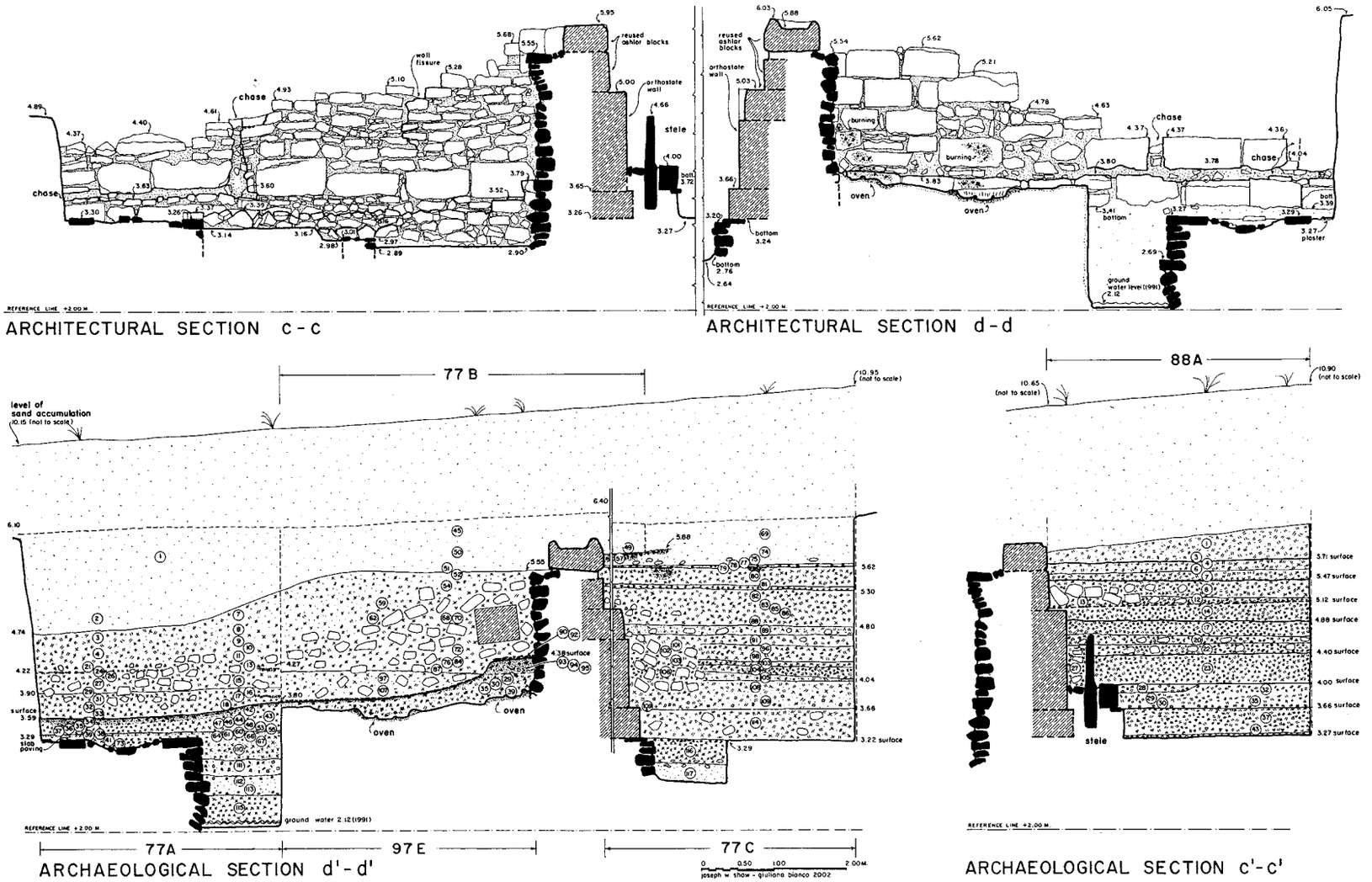


Plate 1.100. Gallery P2 (Building T, Room E). Architectural and archaeological sections. For positioning see Foldout A.

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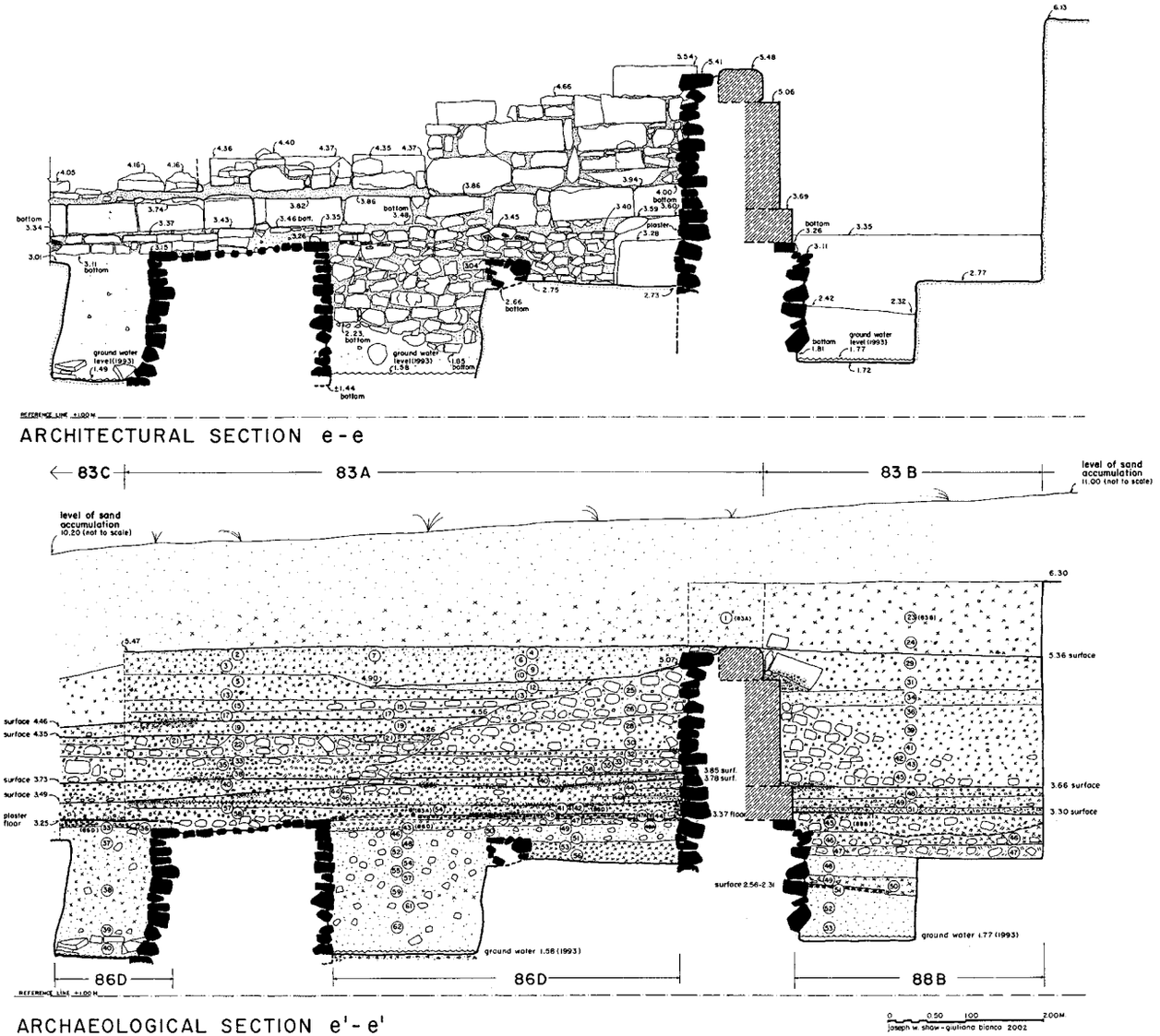


Plate 1.101. Gallery P3 (Building T, Room F). Architectural and archaeological sections. For positioning see Foldout B, Part 2.

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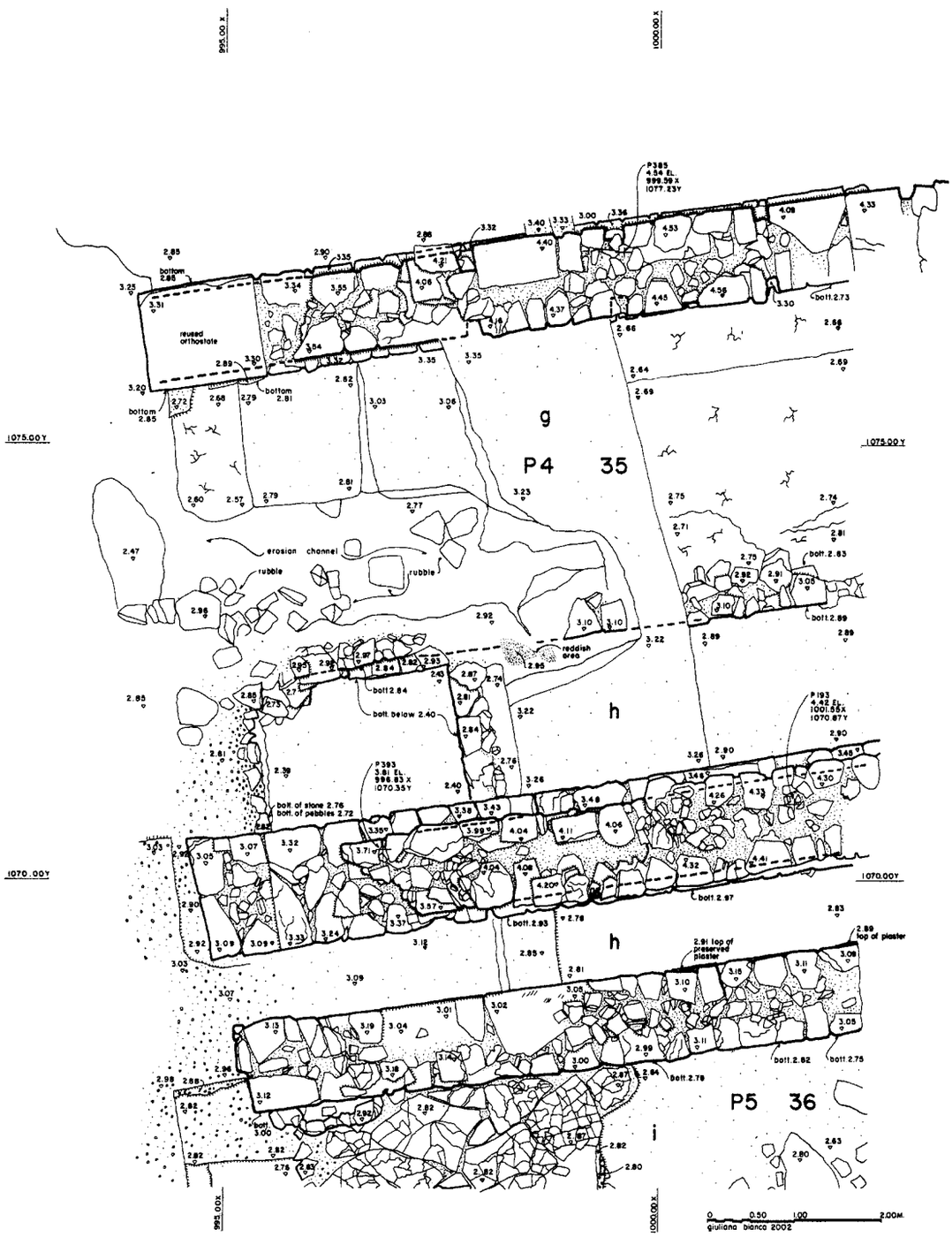


Plate 1.102. State plan of western end of Gallery P4 and part of P5.

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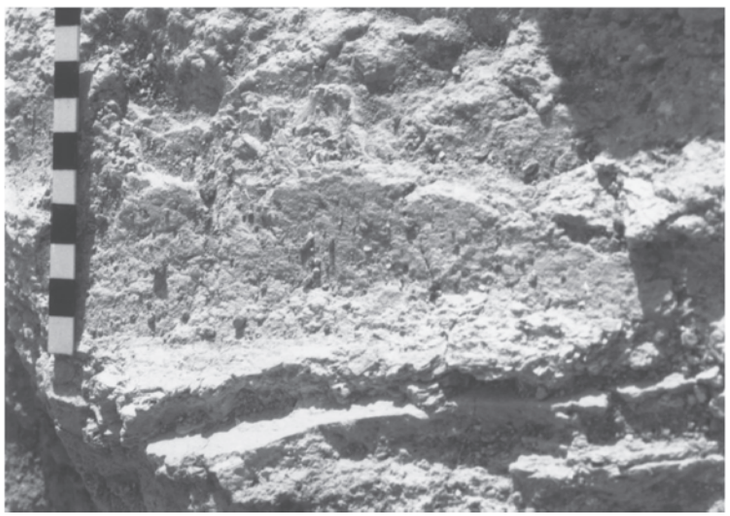


Plate 1.103. (above left) Gallery P4, sounding exposing MM walls, with Mila Bianco, from west.

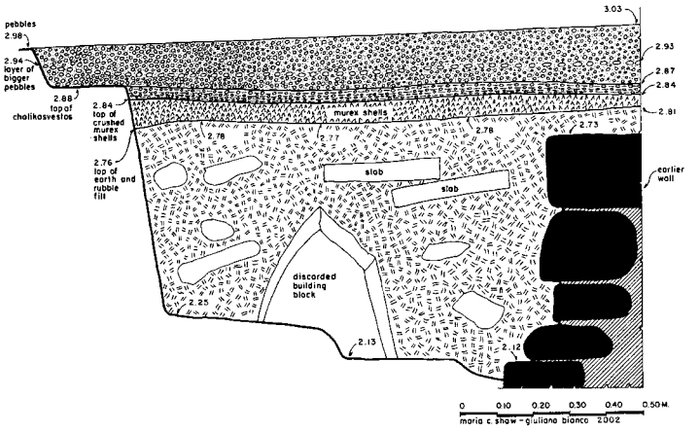
Plate 1.104. (above right) Galleries P5 (left) and P6 (right) bordering South Stoa, from northwest.

Plate 1.105. (below left) "Lip up" of plaster layers at western end of Gallery P3 (Building T, Room F).

Plate 1.106. (below right) Sounding below floor of P5, from west, showing court surface (*a*), earlier MM wall (*b*), north wall (*c*), slab surface (*d*), and plaster feature (*e*) of Room I, Building T.







ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION f'- f'

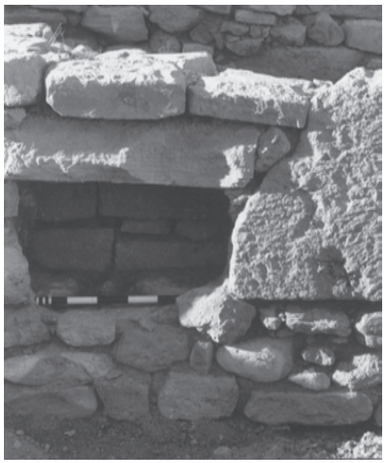


Plate 1.107. (above left) West-east section f′-f′ near western end of Gallery P5, indicating stratigraphy at and below the Minoan Central Court level. For positioning see Foldout C.

Plate 1.108. (above right) Shared wall of P5/6, from west, showing ashlar end of northern wall of earlier Building T, Room J, after partial removal of LM III masonry.

Plate 1.109. (below left) Portion of southern wall of Gallery P5, showing ashlar face of Room I of Building T, after partial removal of slabs, from north.

Plate 1.110. (below right) Gallery P6 before removal of north-south LM III retaining wall, from northwest.

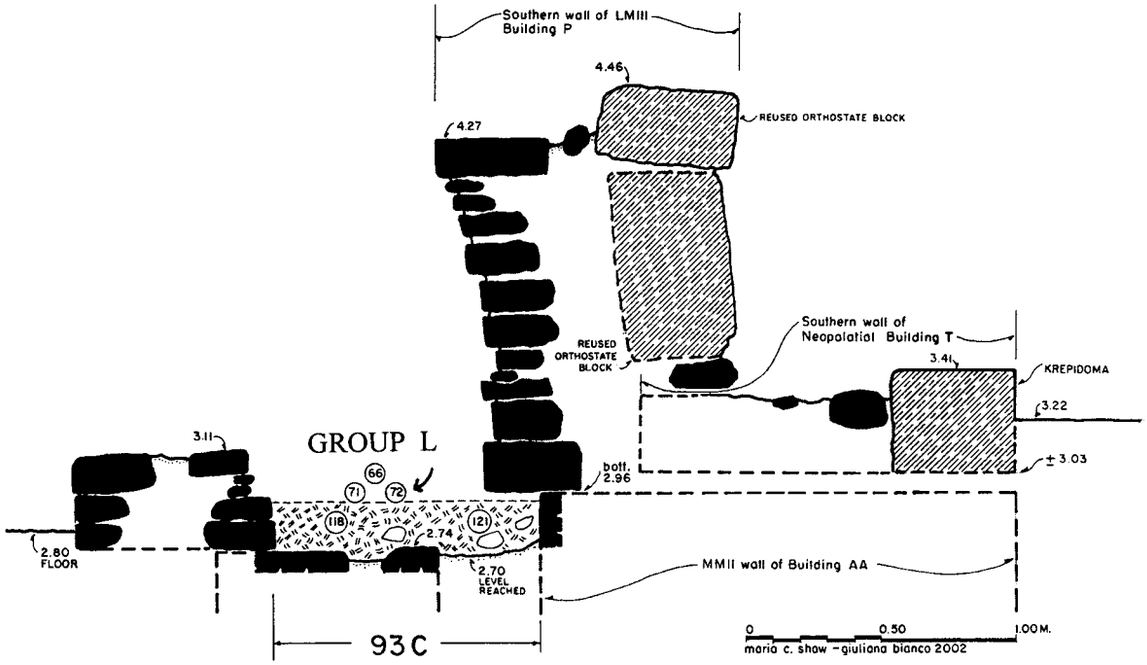




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Plate 1.111. Gallery P6, after removal of floor. MM pottery Group L found at *a*.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION h'-h'

Plate 1.112. North-south section h′-h′ in Gallery P6 showing position of MM II Pottery Group L. For positioning see Foldout C.

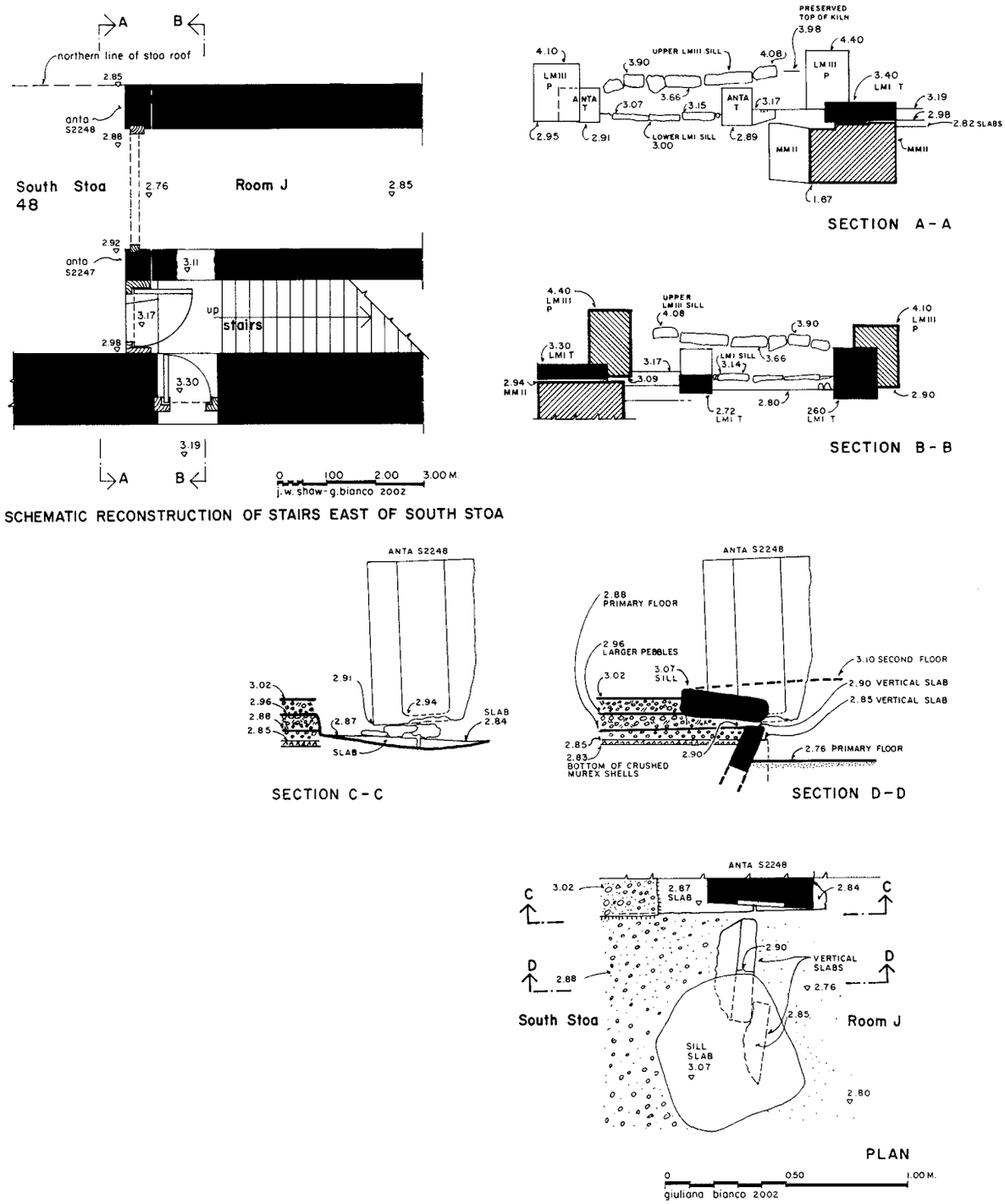


Plate 1.113. Restored plan of western end of LM I Building T's southern Room J, east wing (upper left). To right is section AA, schematic section looking east from within the same room showing LM III "sill" and other features. Section BB shows same relative area but looking west. Views below show (section CC) northern anta of same room as related to pebble court and (section DD) layers of pebble court laid up against tilted slabs at entrance to room. Below, plan of area near anta.

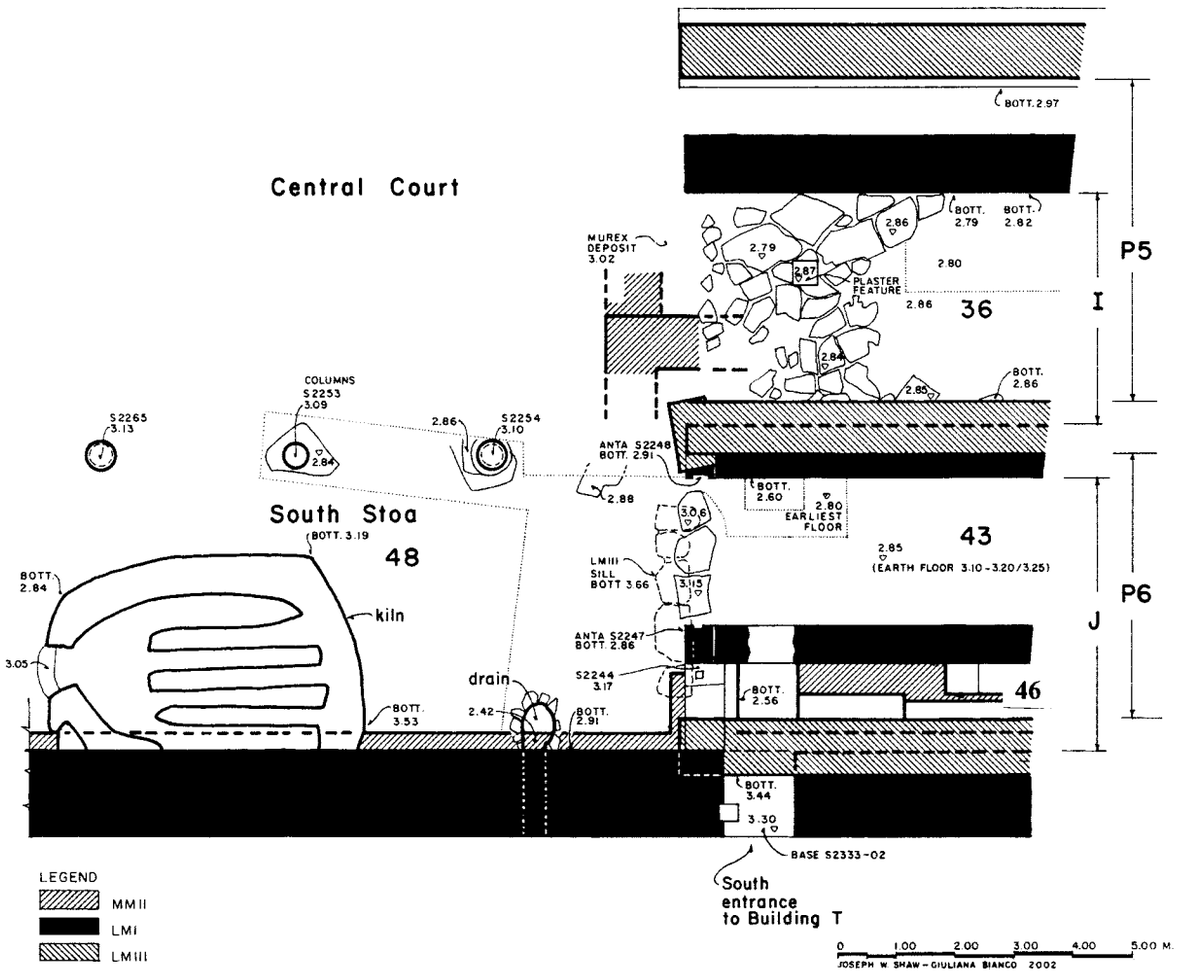


Plate 1.114. Schematic plan showing features in southeastern area of Central Court.

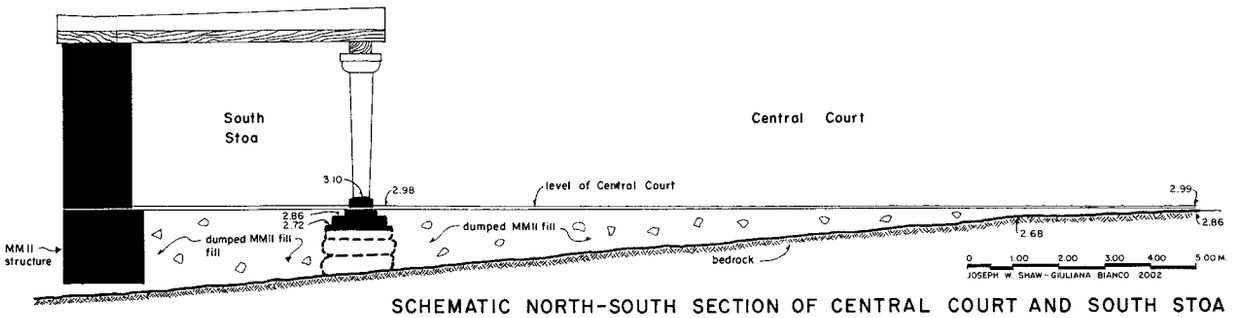


Plate 1.115. Schematic north-south section of Central Court and South Stoa.

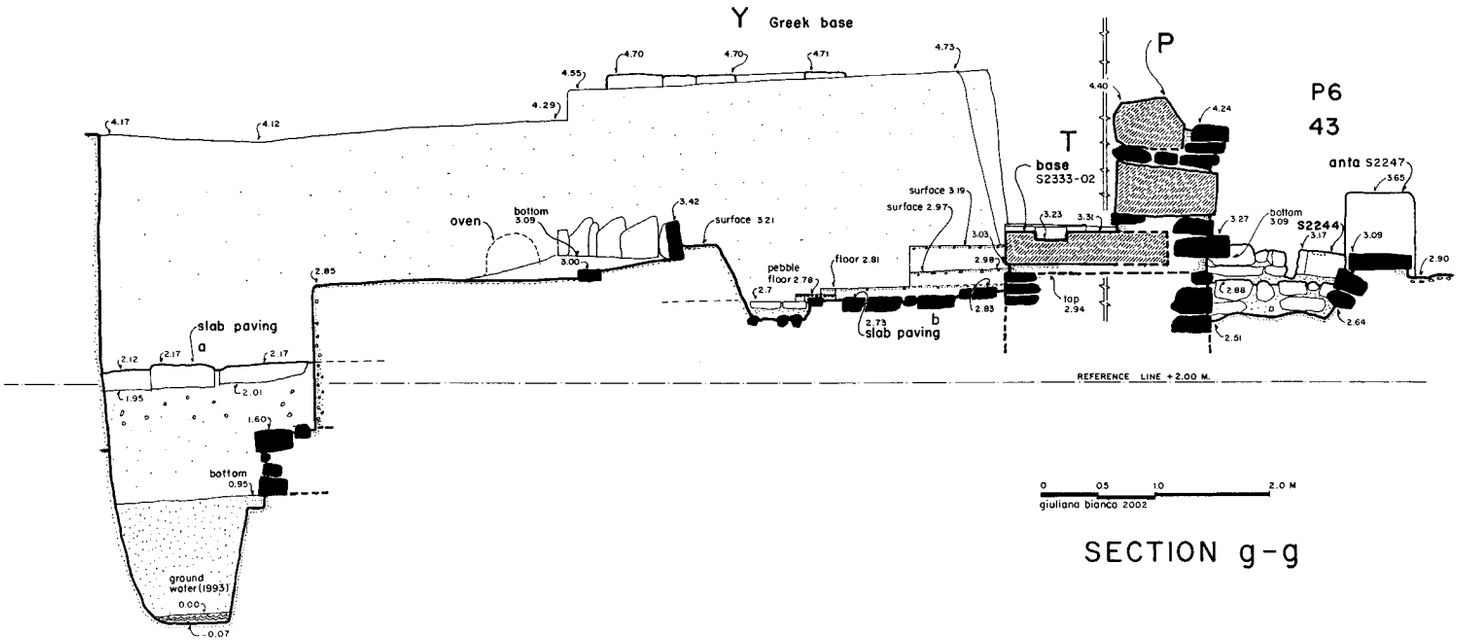
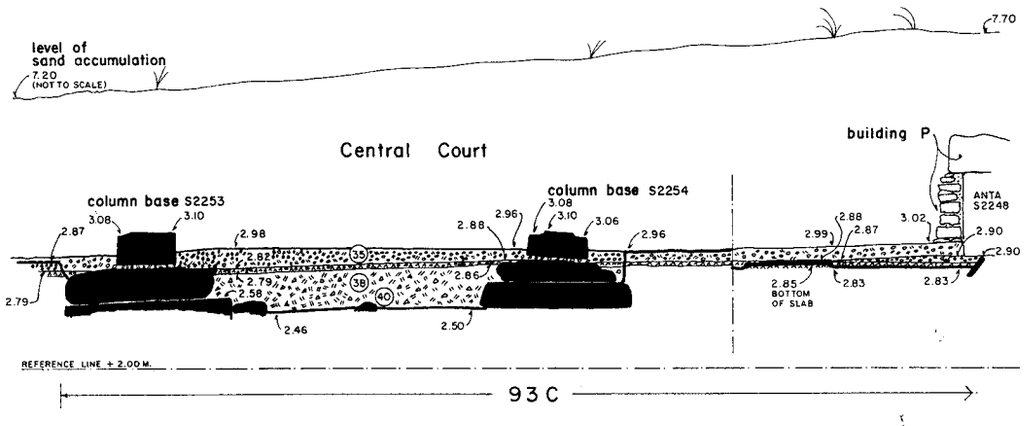


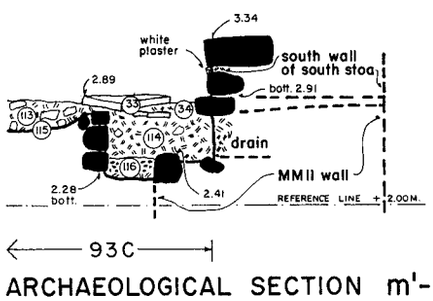
Plate 1.116. North-south section g-g through and south of P6, looking west. For positioning see Foldout Plan C.

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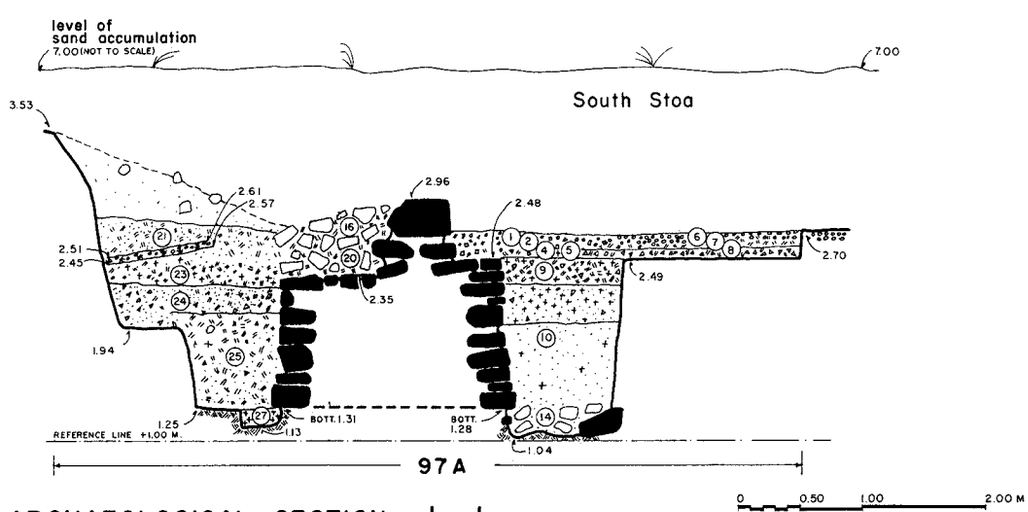
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION o'-o'

Plate 1.117. East-west section o′-o′ through column bases, looking north. For positioning see Foldout C.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION m'-m'

Plate 1.118. North-south section m′-m′ looking east through possible drain in South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION n'-n'

Plate 1.119. North-south section n′-n′ looking west through south wall of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C.

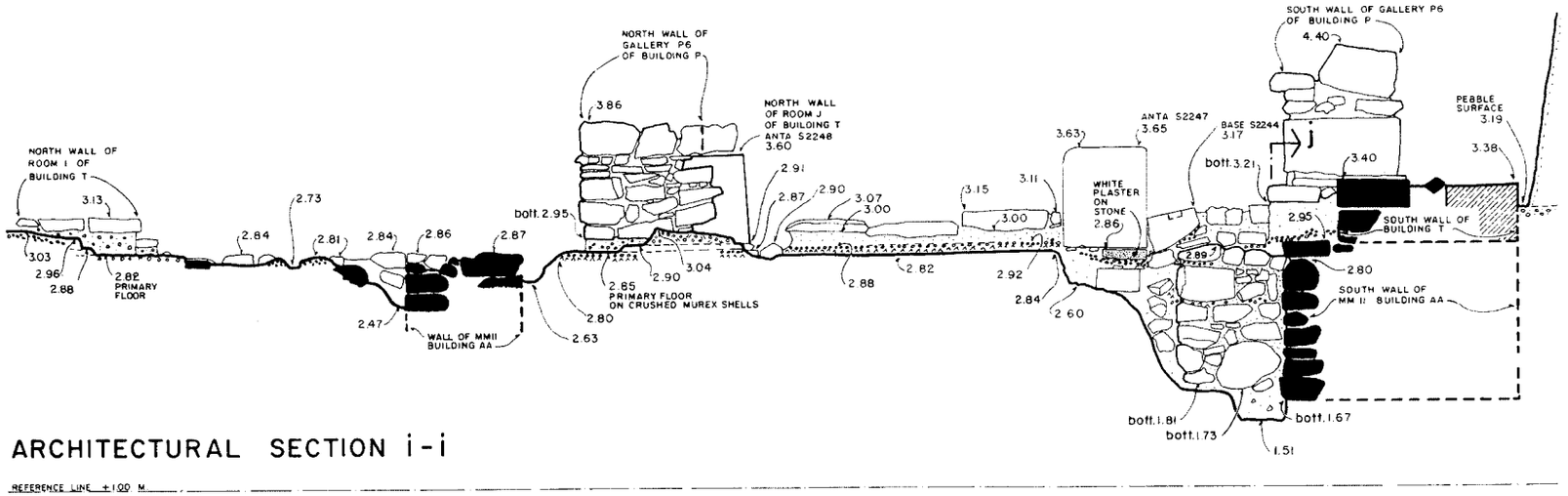


Plate 1.120. North-south section i-i looking east through south wall of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C.

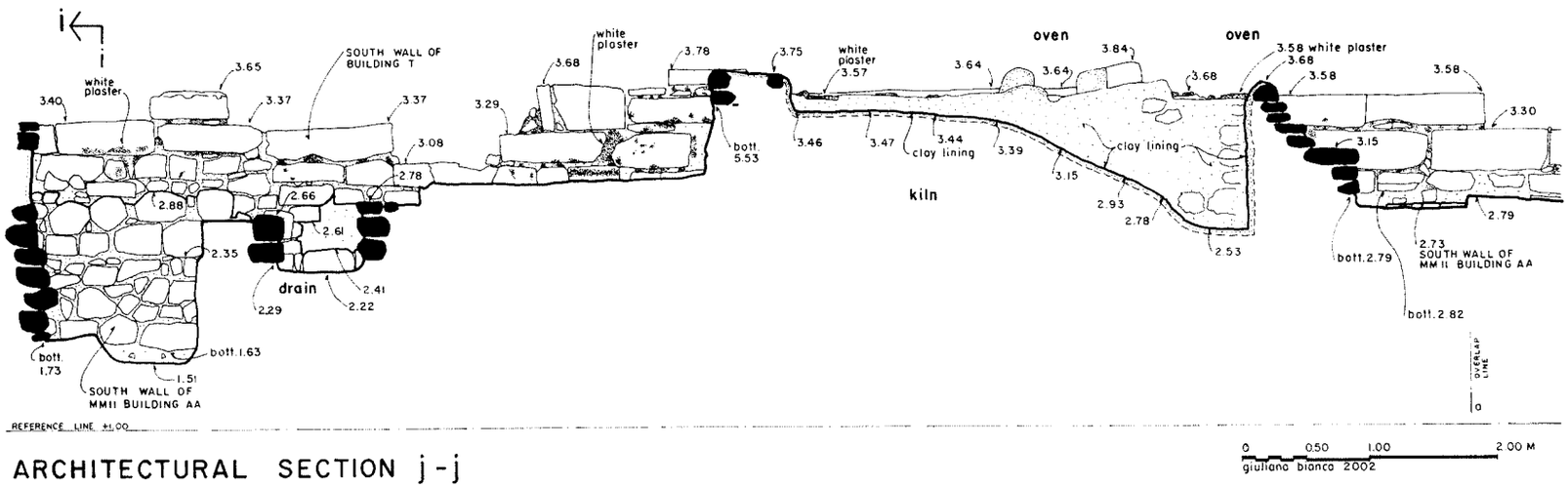
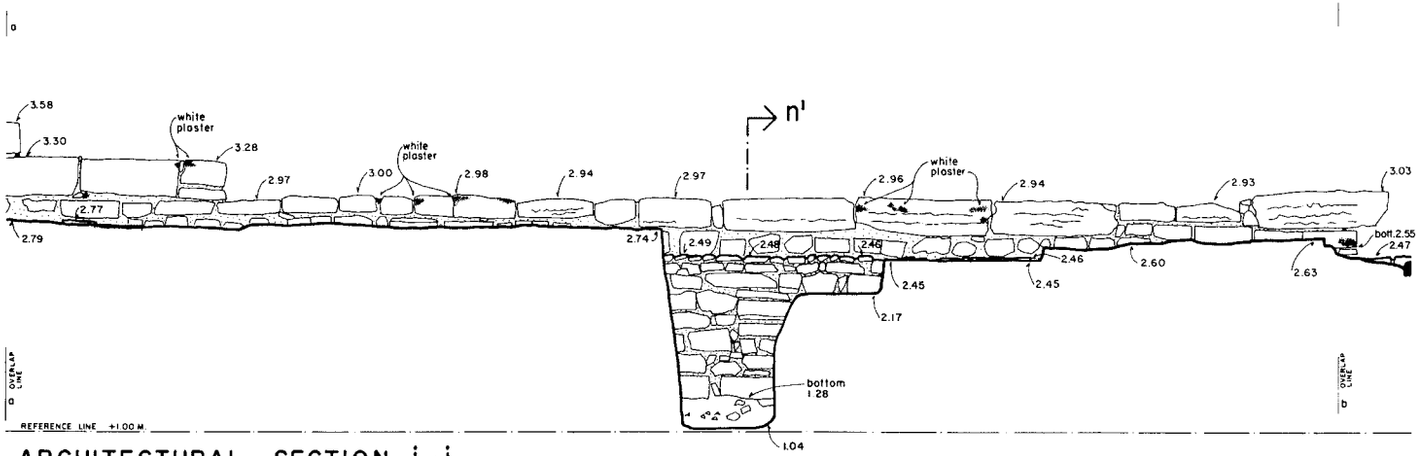
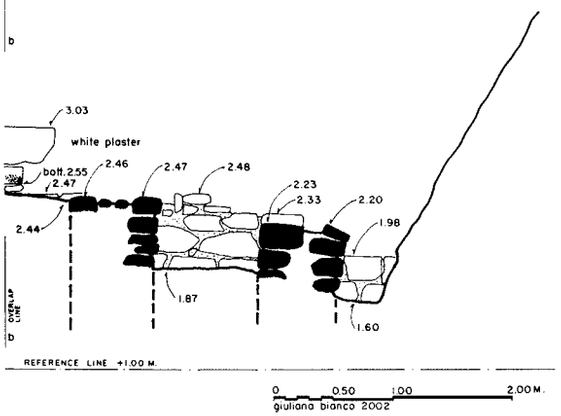


Plate 1.121. East-west section j-j looking south along length of South Stoa. For positioning see Foldout C.

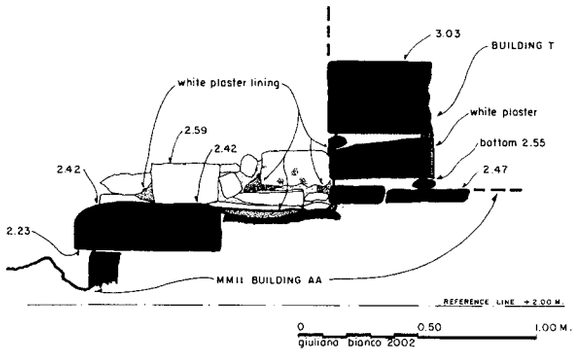
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ARCHITECTURAL SECTION j-j



ARCHITECTURAL SECTION j-j



DRAIN DETAIL SECTION k-k

Plate 1.122. North-south section j-j looking west toward southern wall of South Stoa. Continued from pl. 1.121 and also below. (below right) North-south section k-k showing details of bottom of vertical roof drain in southern wall of South Stoa. For positionings see Foldout C.

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Plate 1.123. (above left) Lowest course of southern ashlar wall of Building T south of P6, with square socket, from west.

Plate 1.124. (above right) As Pl. 1.123, but from southwest, showing superposed southern wall of LM III Building P.

Plate 1.125. (below right) South Stoa area, with pottery kiln, from southeast.

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Plate 1.126. (above left) South Stoa area from northwest, with remains of staircase (right).

Plate 1.127. (above right) Sounding around column bases S 2253 and S 2254, from east.

Plate 1.128. (left) South Stoa area, showing MM wall of Building AA on which was superposed the southern wall of Neopalatial Building T, from north.



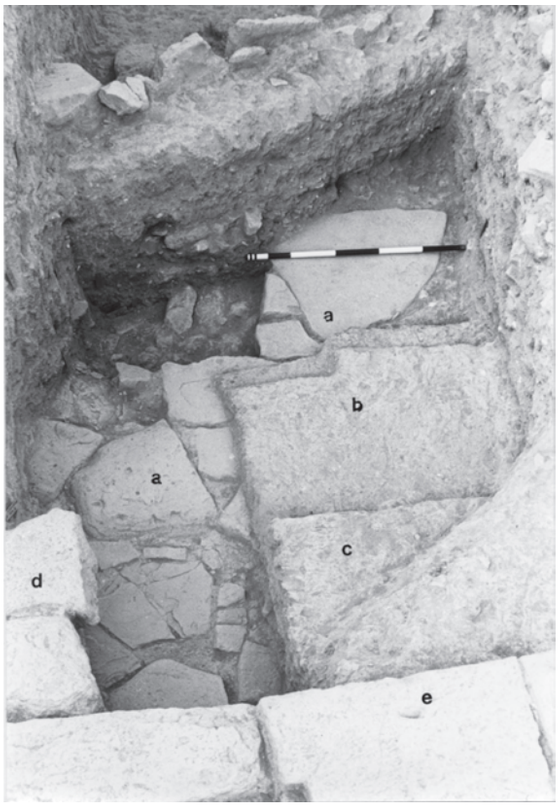
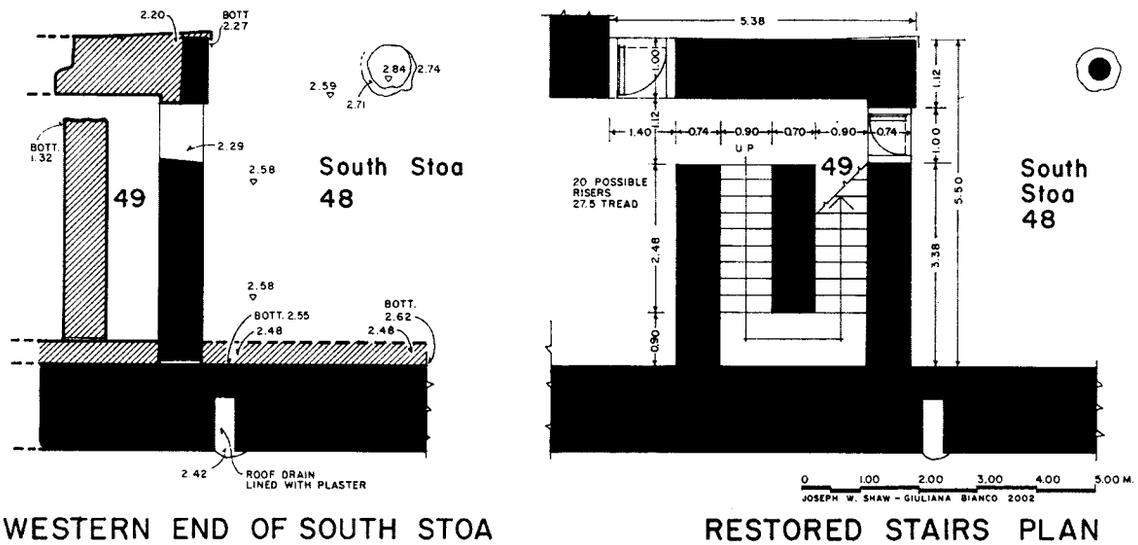


Plate 1.129. (above left) South Stoa, stone-lined pit (drain?) next to southern wall, from west.

Plate 1.131. (above right) Strata immediately south of Building T, showing MM slab paving probably contemporary with Building AA (*a*), intermediate surface (*b*), surfaces associated with Building T (*c*, *d*), and south wall of Building T (*e*).



WESTERN END OF SOUTH STOA RESTORED STAIRS PLAN

Plate 1.130. Southwest stairway, state (left) and restored plan (right).

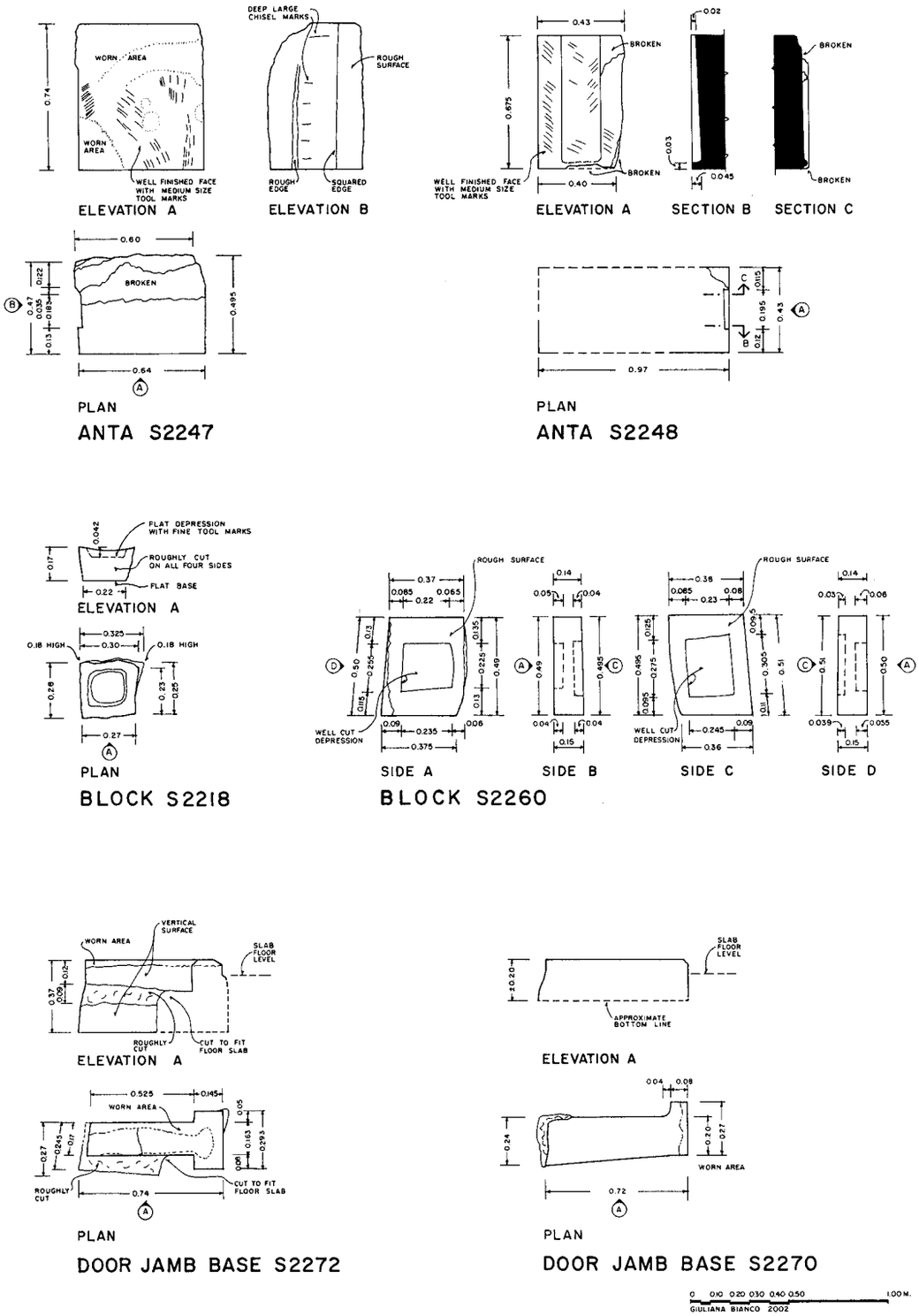


Plate 1.132. (top) Anta bases S 2247 and S 2248 from western entrance into Building T, Room J. (middle) Slab S 2260. (bottom) T- and gamma-shaped jamb bases S 2272 and S 2270 from Building T, Room 5. See Chap. 1.4. **13, 12, 31, 2, 1,** respectively.

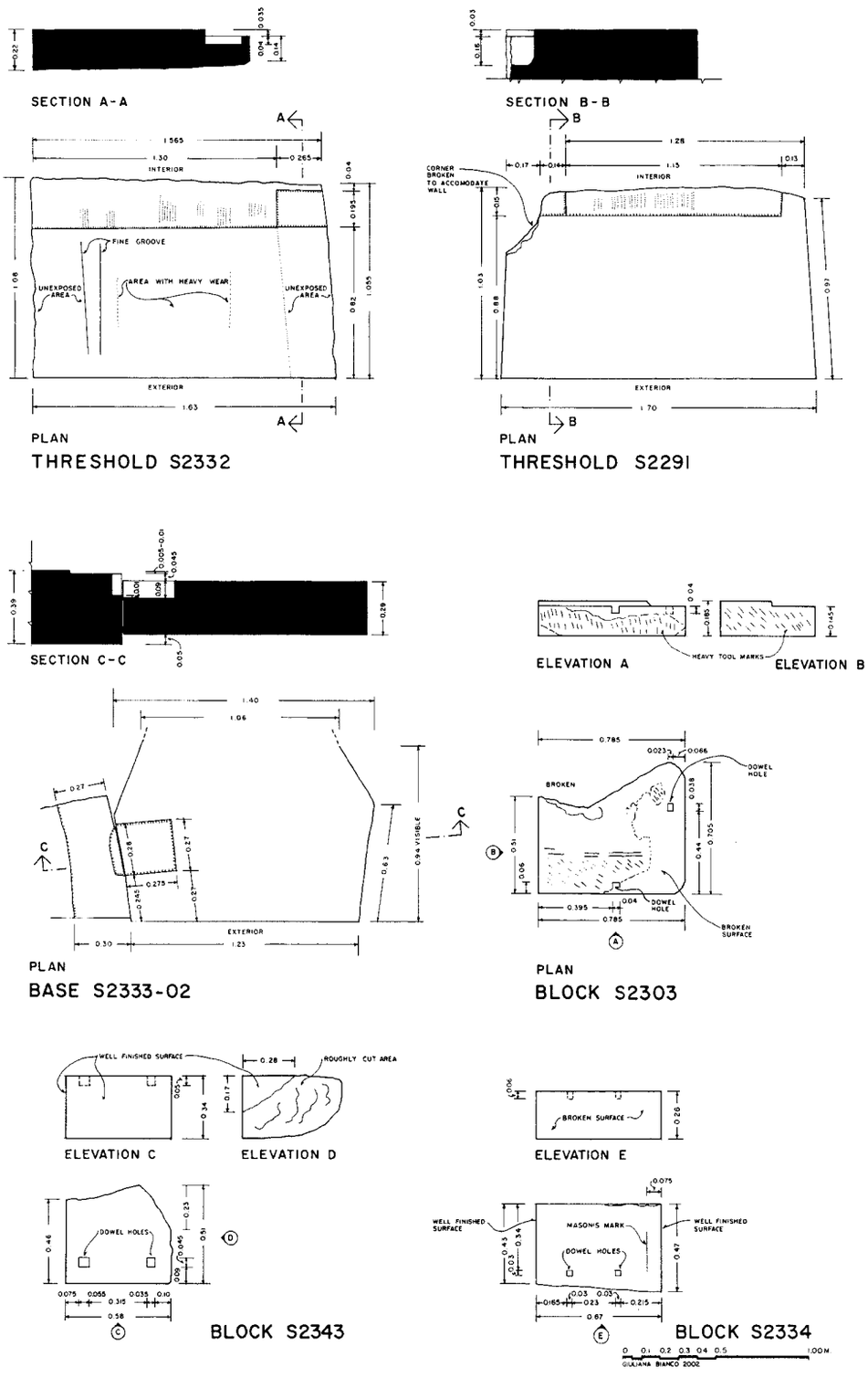


Plate 1.133. (top) Threshold blocks S 2332 and S 2291 from Building T, Room 5. (center) Base S 2333-02 from southern entrance into Building T, Room J; also Base S 2303. (bottom) Staircase blocks S 2343 and S 2334 from Building T, Room 5. See Chap. 1.4. **5, 4,** unlisted, **14, 10, 8,** respectively.

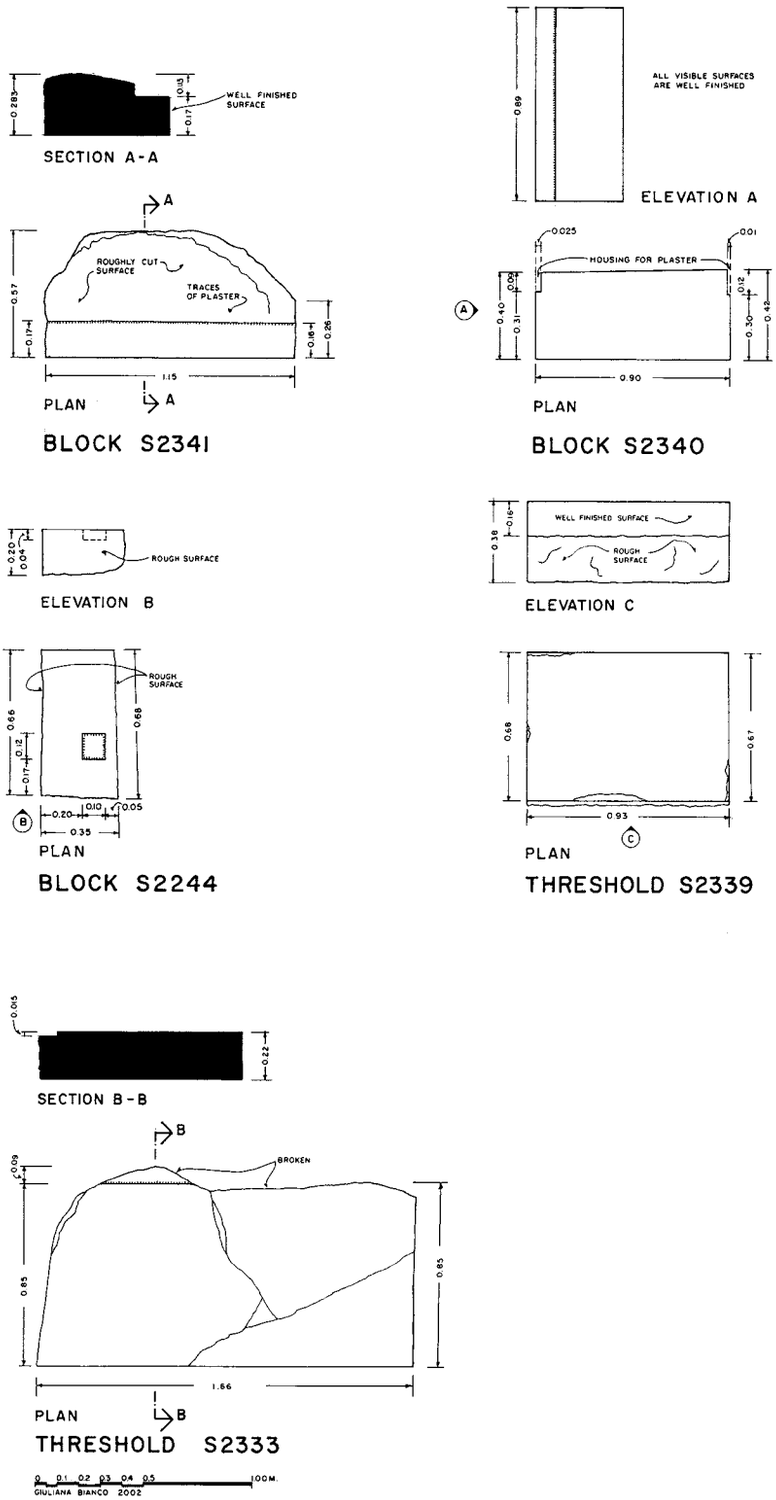


Plate 1.134. (top left) Block S 2341 (windowsill?). (top right) Wall-end block S 2340. (center) Jamb base block S 2244. (center right) Threshold S 2339. (bottom) Threshold S 2333. See Chap. 1.4. **15, 11, 3, 7, 6,** respectively.

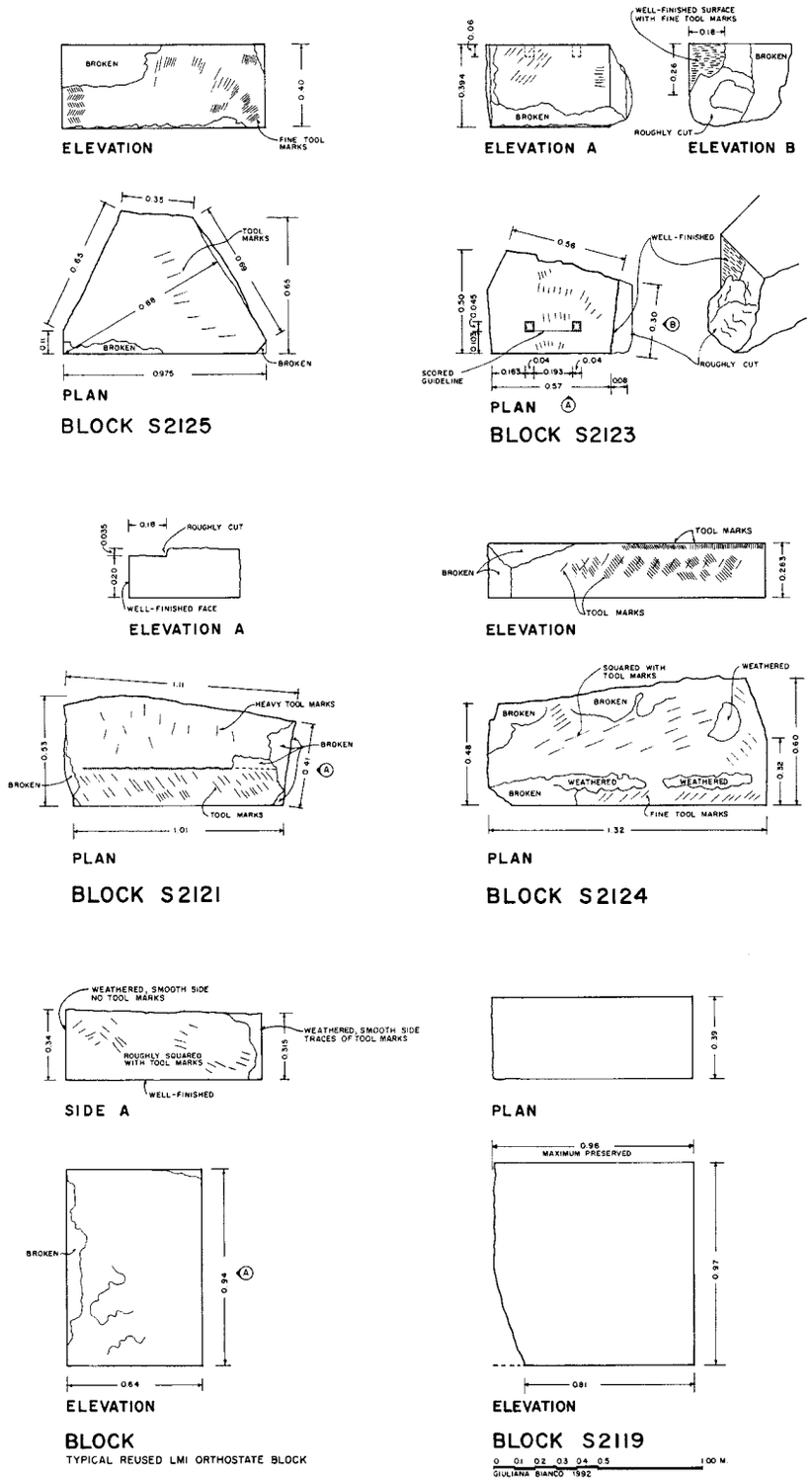


Plate 1.135. Miscellaneous blocks. (top) Wall block S 2125 and staircase block S 2123. (center) windowsill(?) block S 2121 and block S 2124; (bottom) Probable reused orthostate blocks. See Chap. 1.4. **17, 9, 16, 18,** respectively.



a



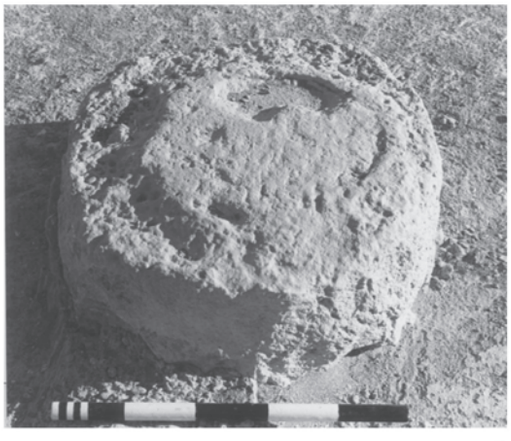
b



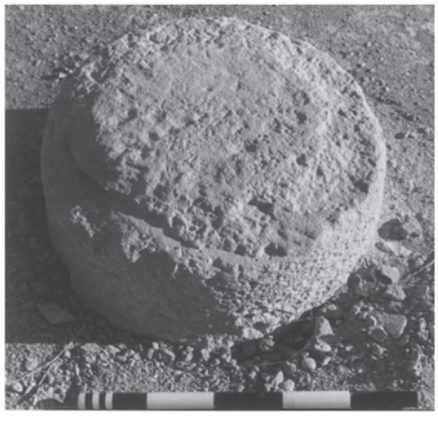
c



d

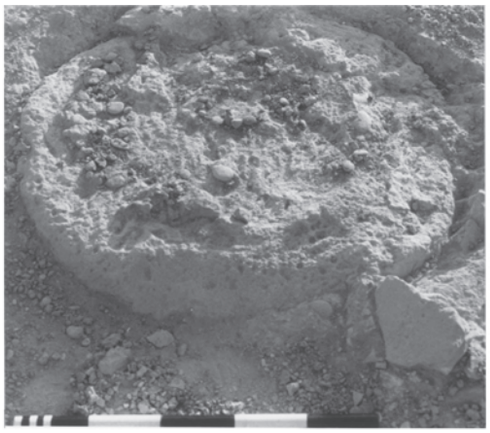


e



f

Plate 1.136. Column bases. West to east, North Stoa. (*a*) Base 4 (S 2335); (*b*) Base 5 (S 2342); (*c*) Base 6 (S 2336, not *in situ*). West to east, South Stoa. (*d*) Base 2 (S 2267); (*e*) Base 3 (S 2266); (*f*) Base 4 (S 2265). See Chap. 1.4. **22–24, 26–28**.



g



h



i

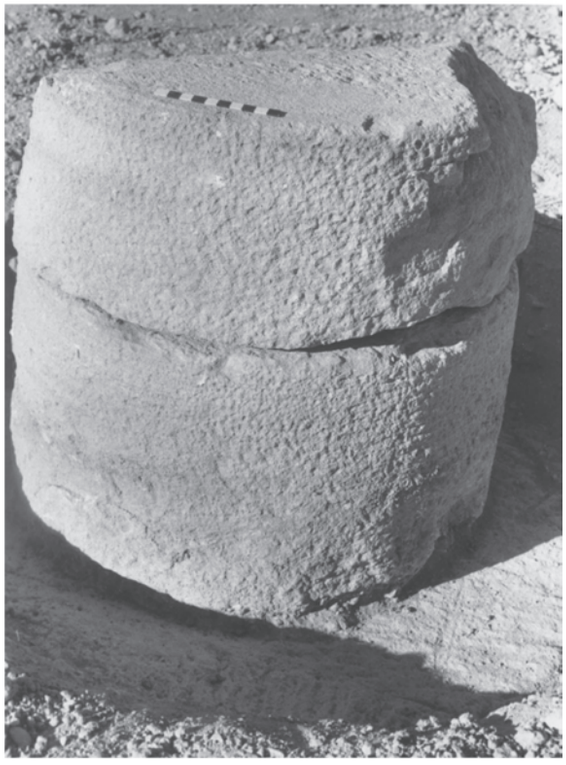


Plate 1.136. *(continued)* Column bases. West to east, South Stoa. (*g*) Base 4 sub-base after removal, showing pebbles; (*h*) Base 5 (S 2253); (*i*) Base 6 (S 2254). See Chap. 1.4. **28–30**.

Plate 1.137. (right) Column base S 2236 from the North Stoa placed upon S 2253 from the South Stoa, showing difference in height but similarity in tool markings.

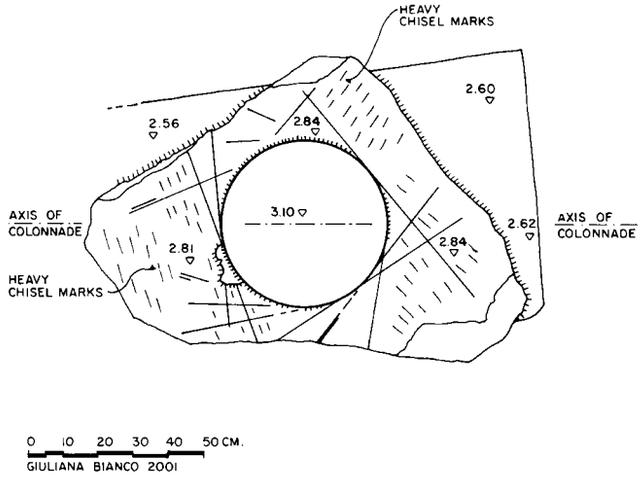
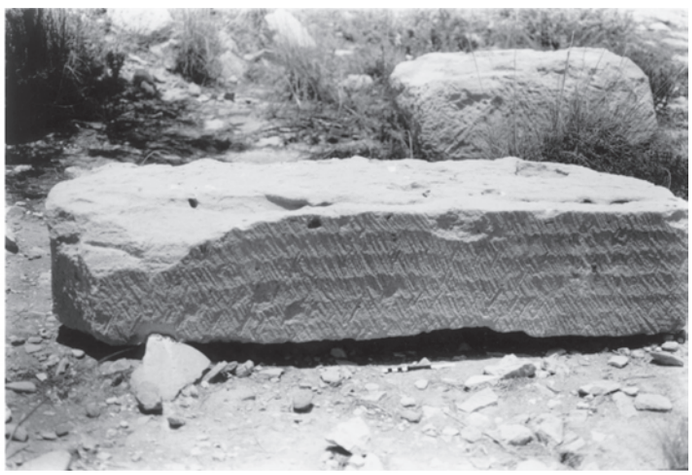


Plate 1.138. Drawing of mason's lines on column foundation block of South Stoa with column base S 2253.

Plate 1.139. Selected ashlar blocks from Neopalatial Building T. (*a*) Windowsill(?) S 2341; (*b*) S 2124, block with unusual parallel tool markings. See Chap. 1.4. **15** and **18.**

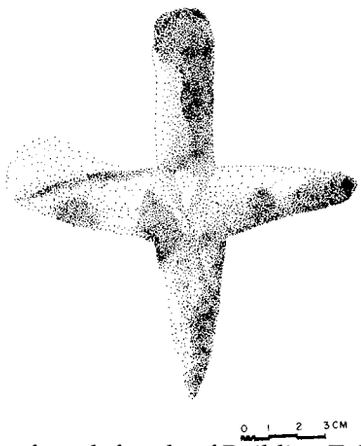


a



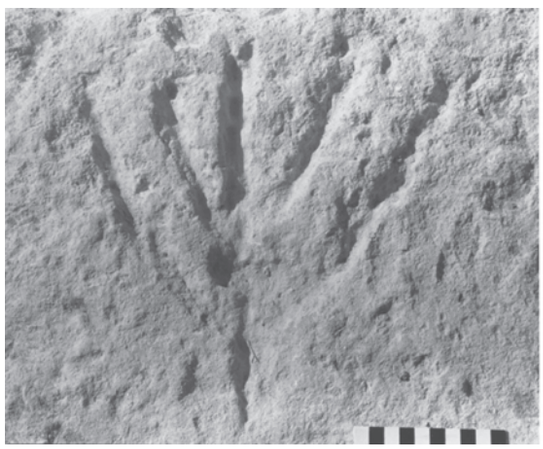
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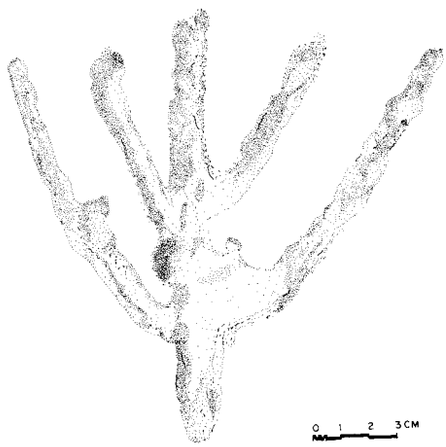

a



b

Plate 1.140. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 123 on orthostate block of north facade of Building T. See Chap. 1.4. **19**.

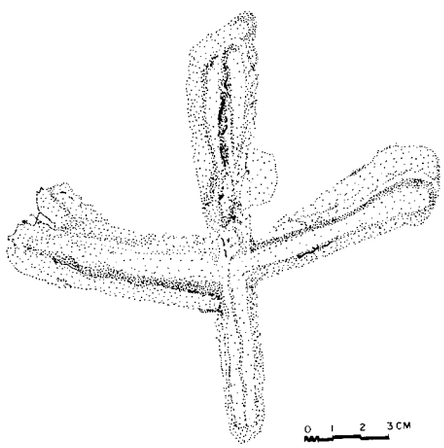

a



b

Plate 1.141. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 106 on reused Minoan block. See Chap. 1.4. **20**.

Plate 1.142. (*a* and *b*) Mason's mark I 107 on reused ashlar block. See Chap. 1.4. **21**.



a


b

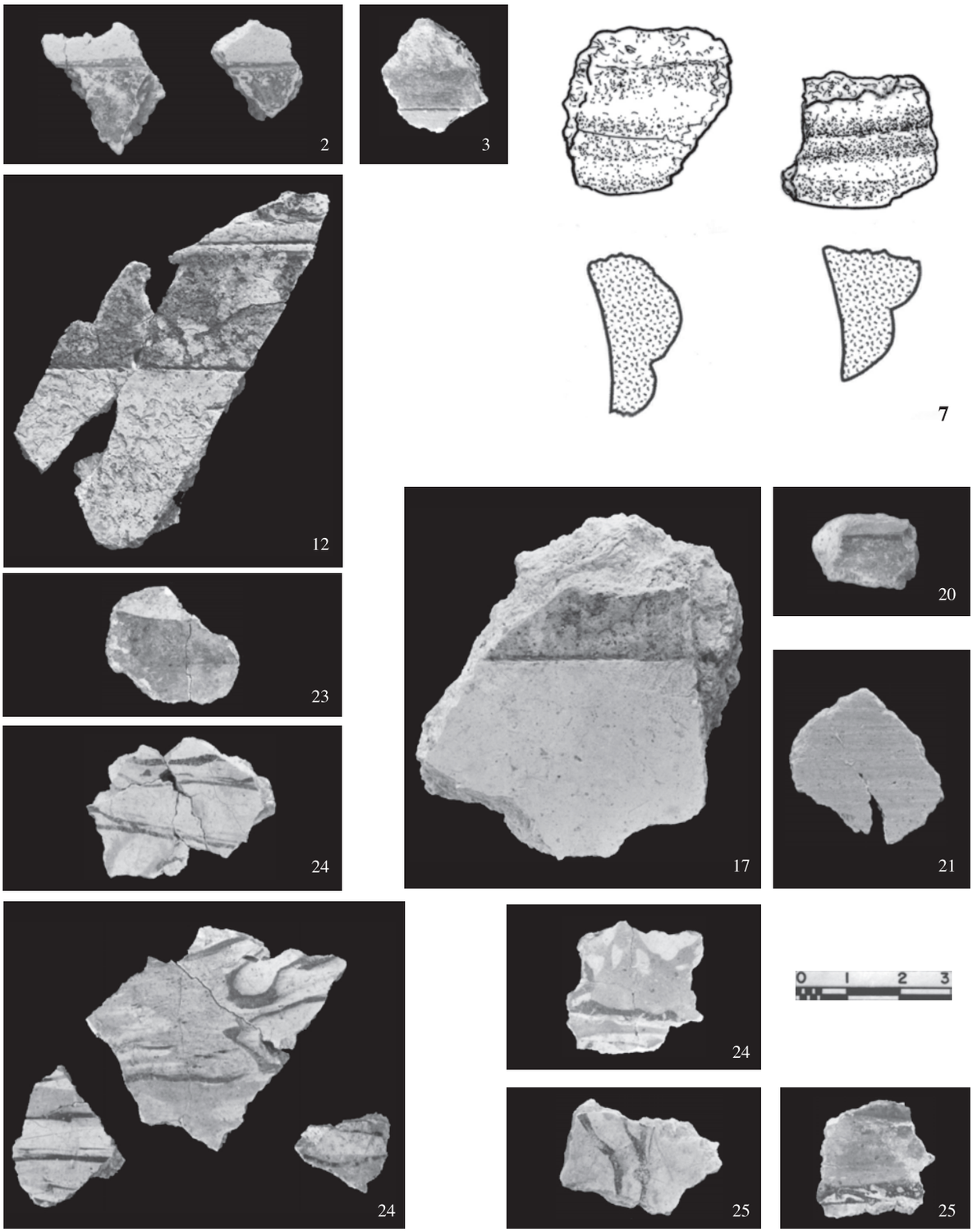
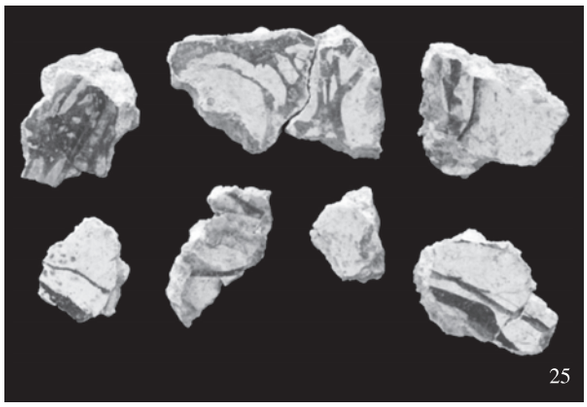
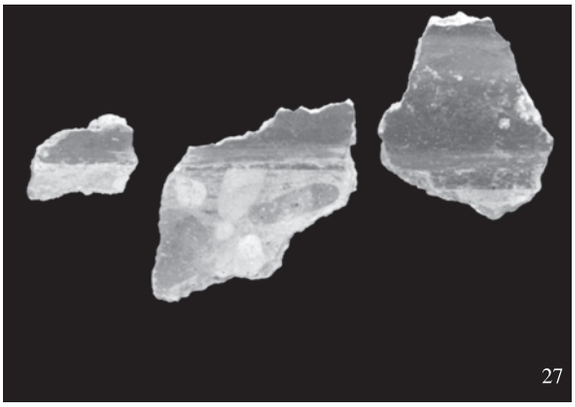
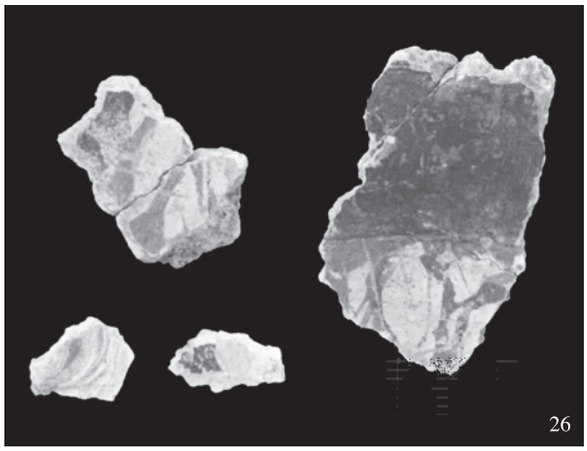
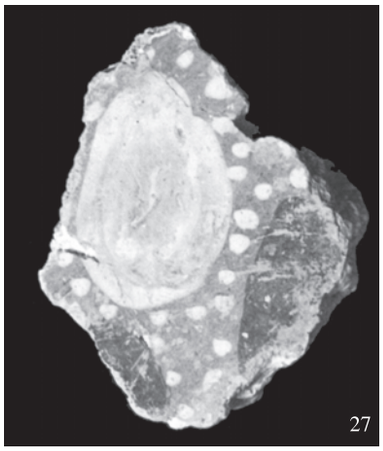


Plate 2.1. Wall plasters.







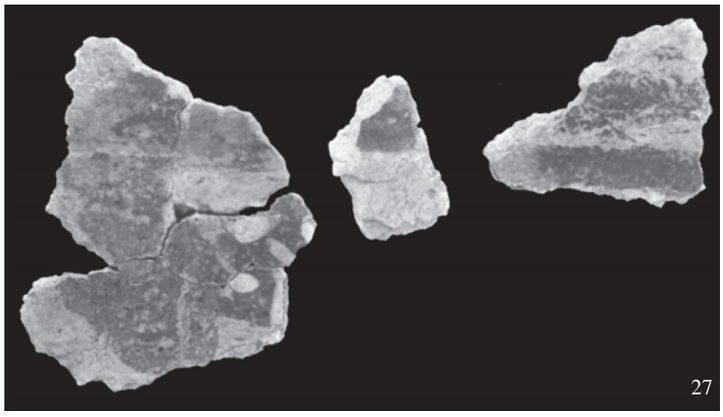






26a





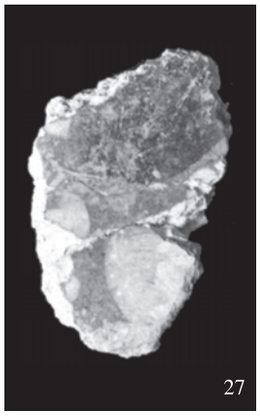
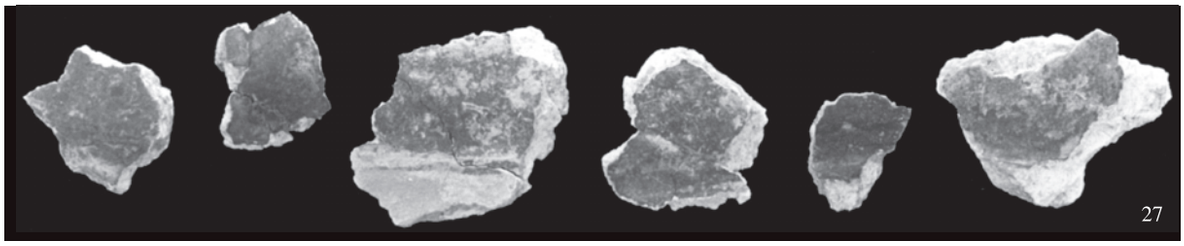
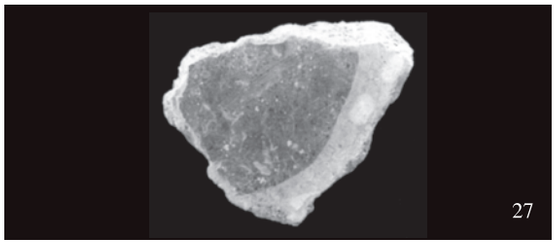




Plate 2.2. Wall plasters.







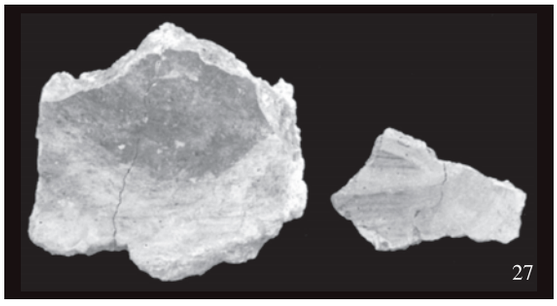
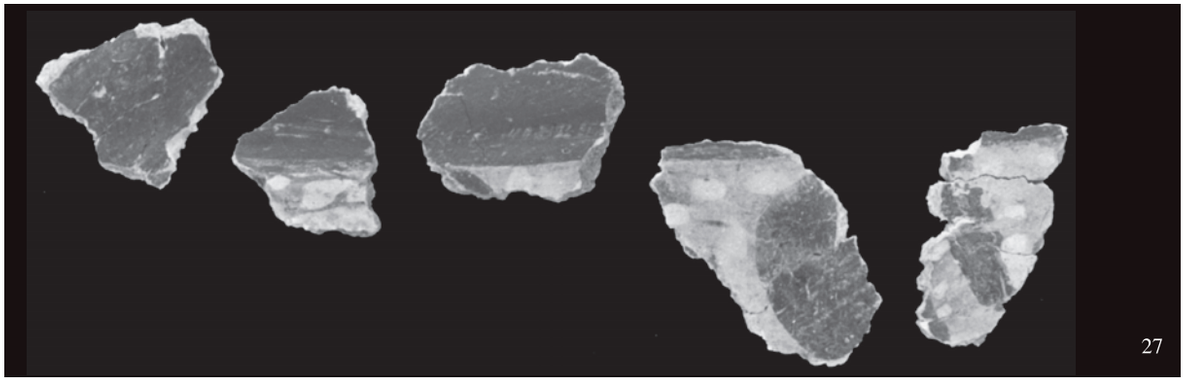


Plate 2.3. Wall plasters.



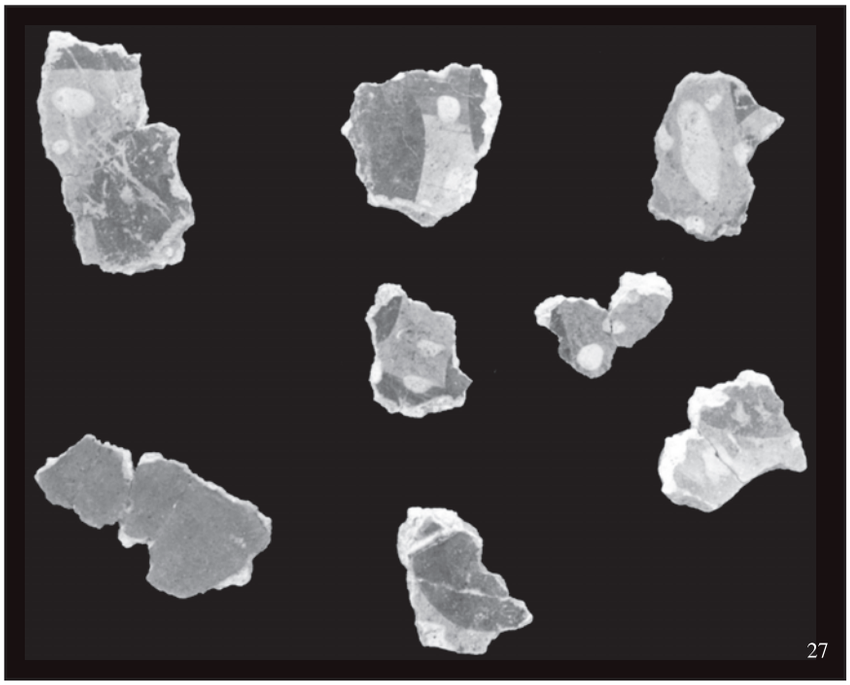
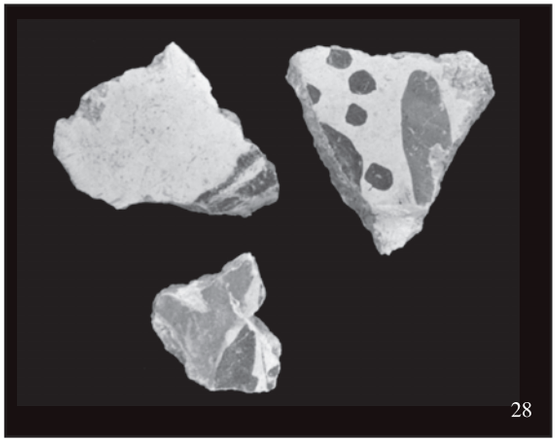
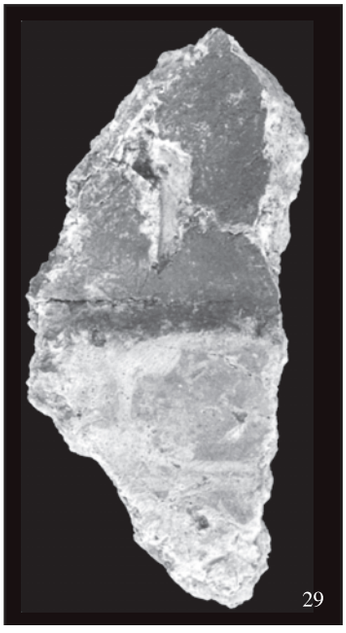
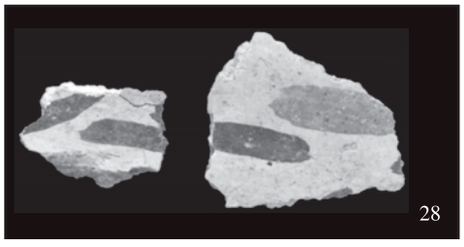


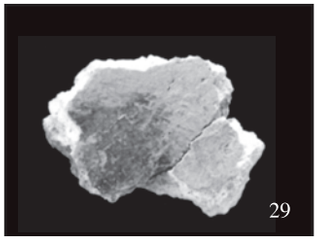
Plate 2.4. Wall plasters.

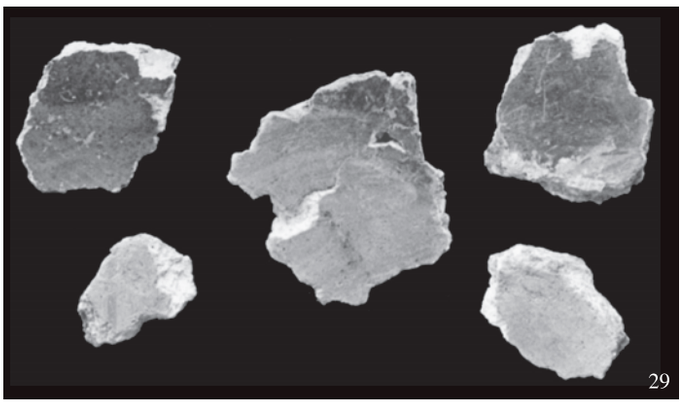


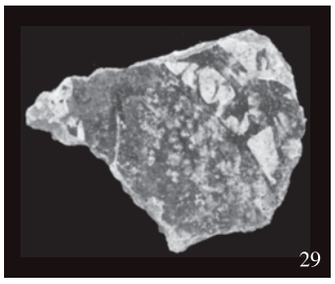




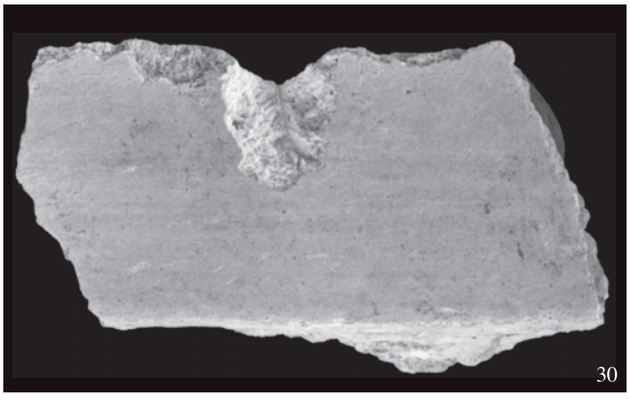


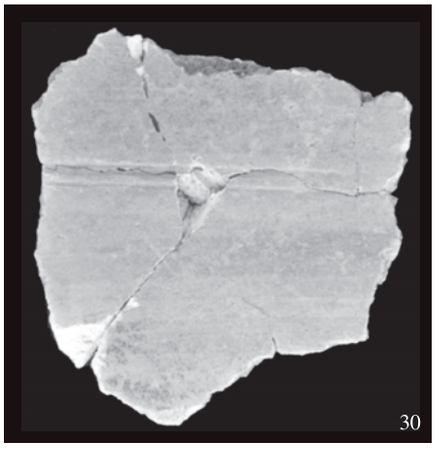












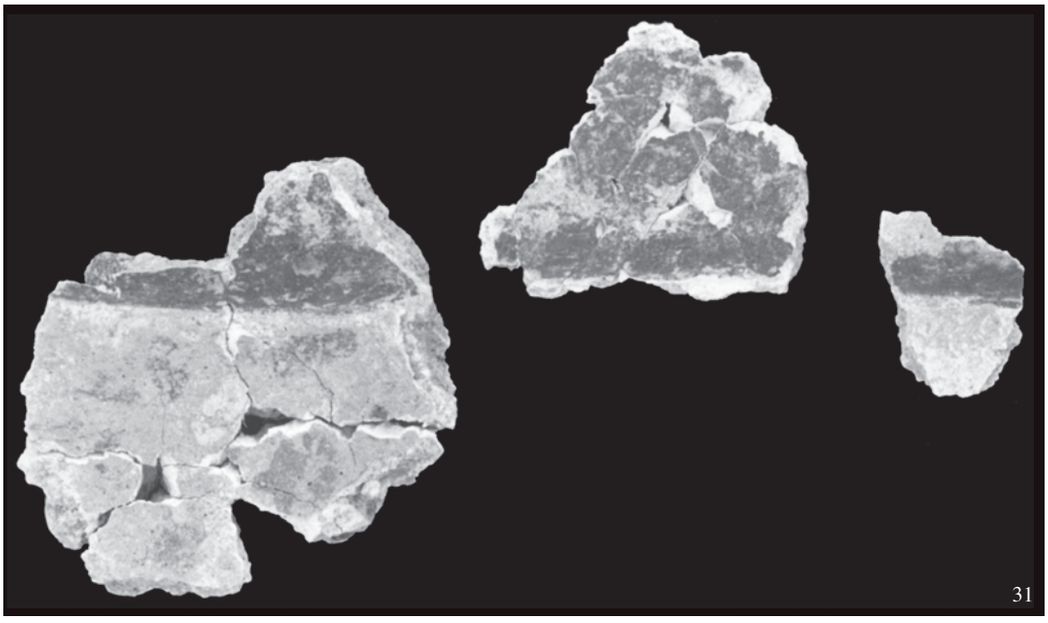
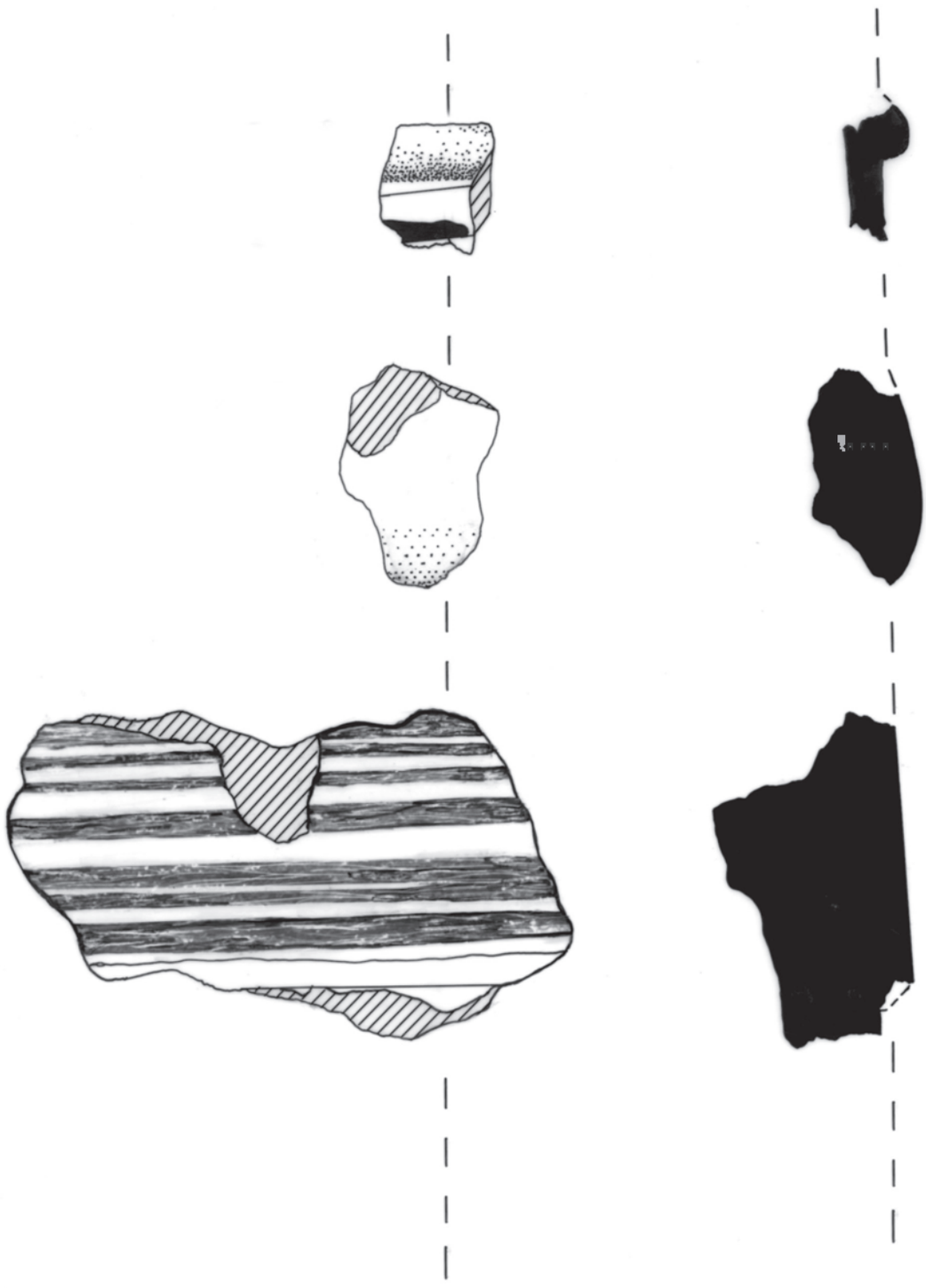
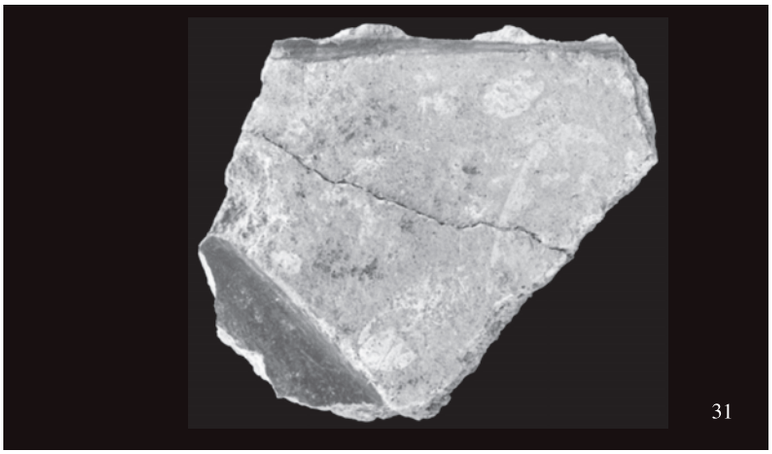


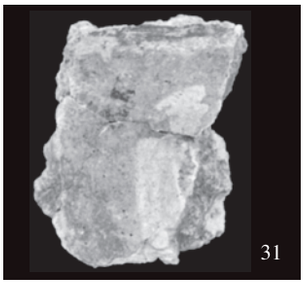
Plate 2.5. Wall plasters.



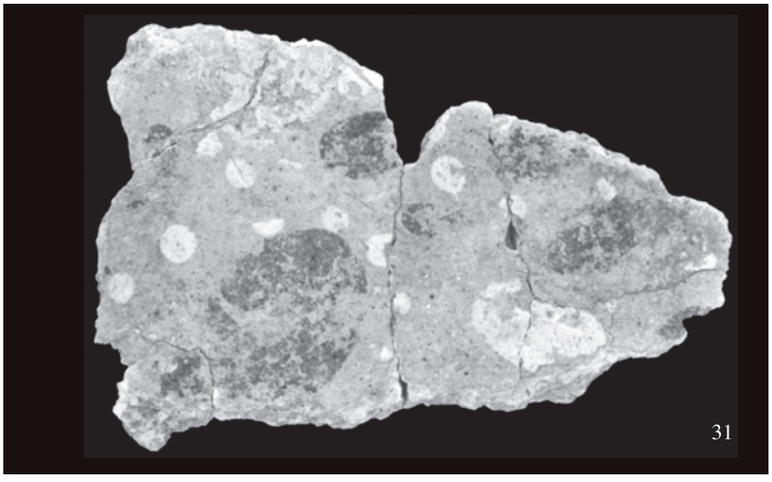
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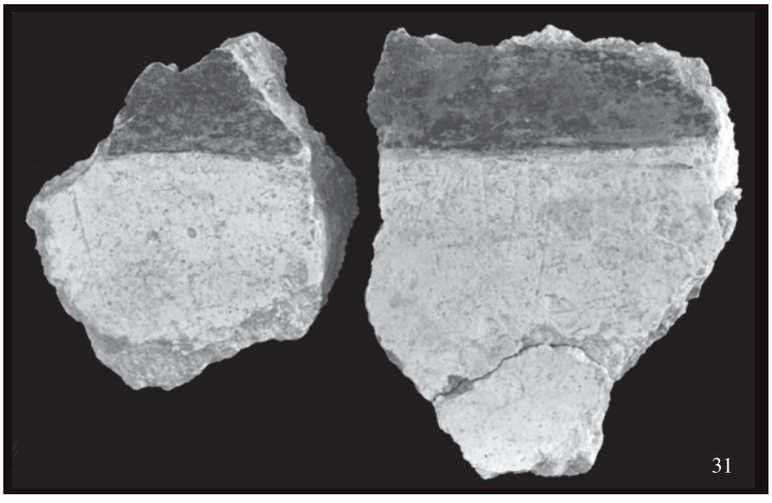
Plate 2.6. Wall plasters.











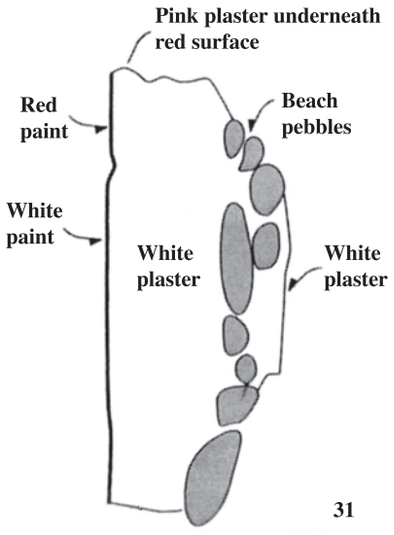
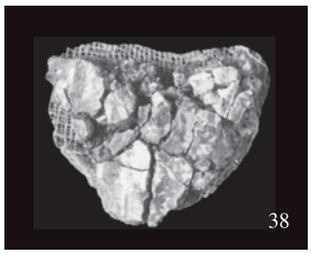
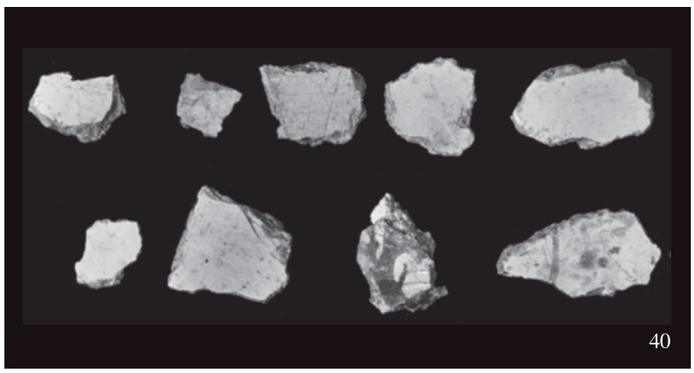
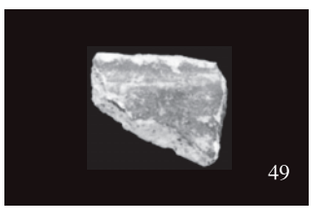


Plate 2.7. Painted floor plasters.

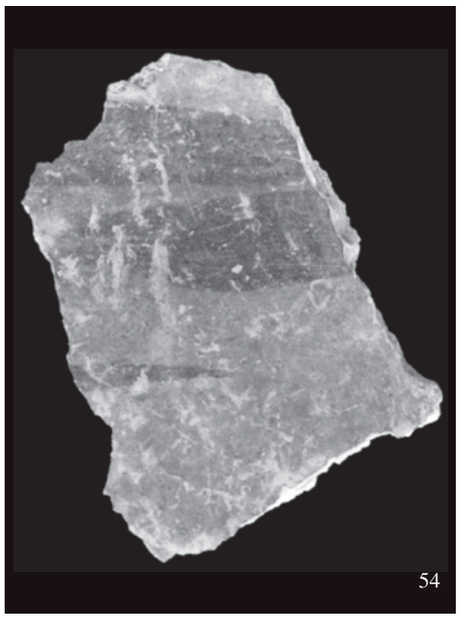


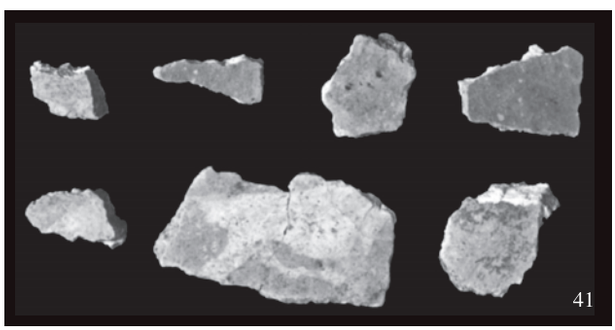












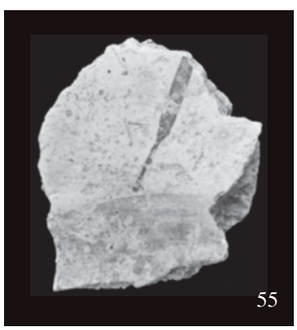
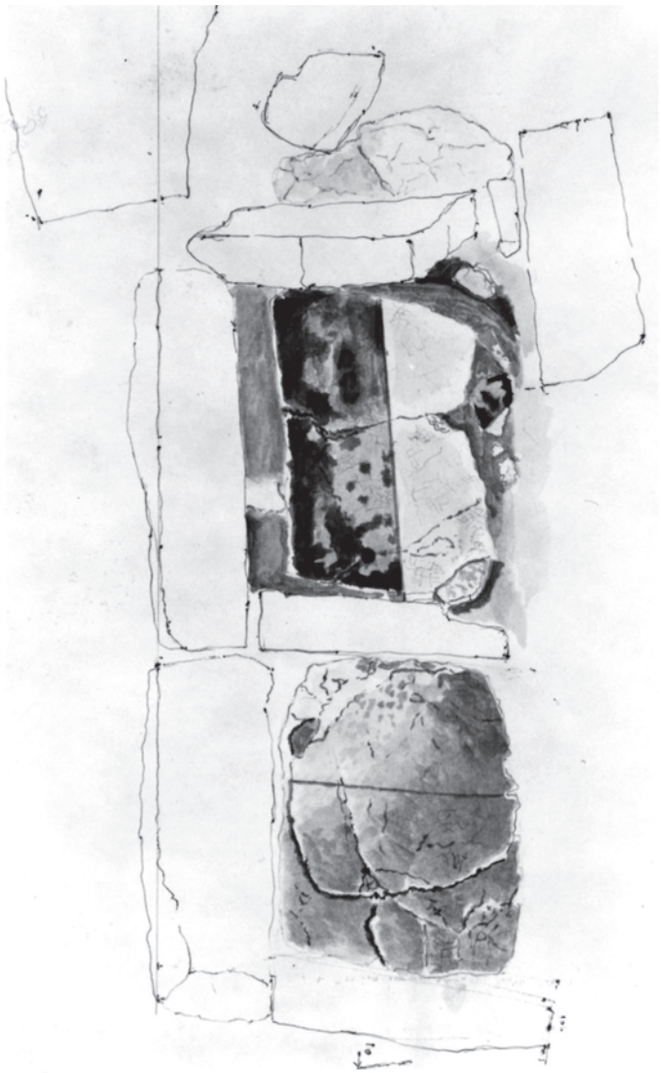


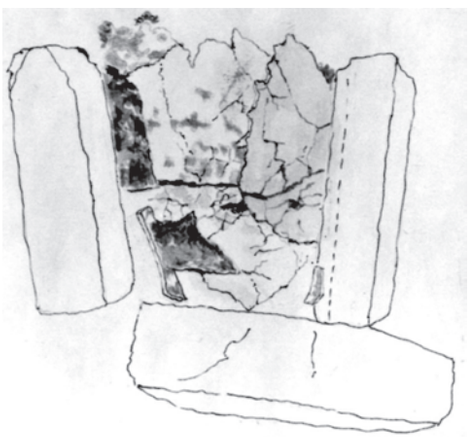
Plate 2.8. Wall plasters.



46a

46b

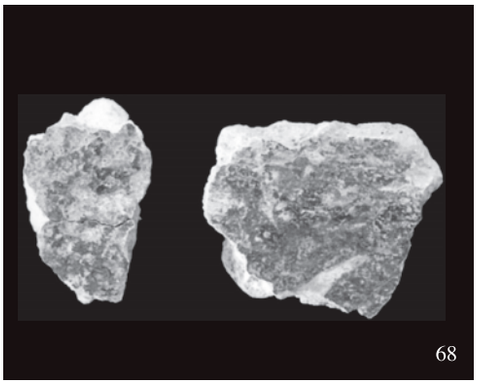
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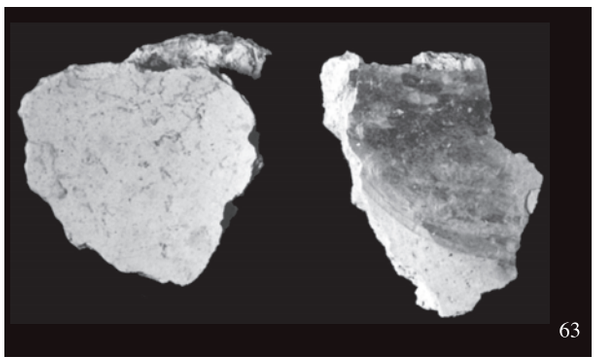


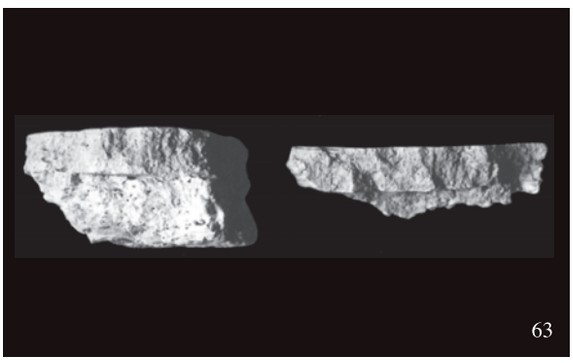
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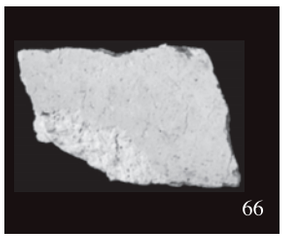
Plate 2.9. Slab bins lined with wall plasters.

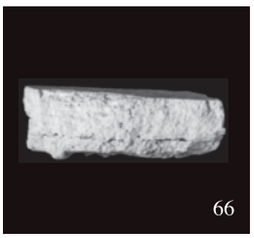


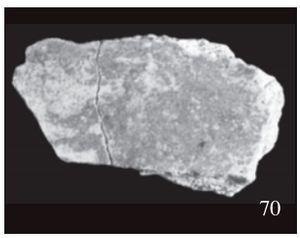


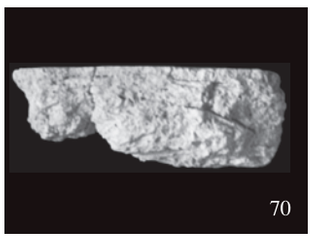




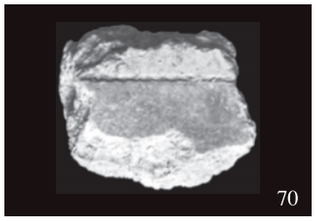


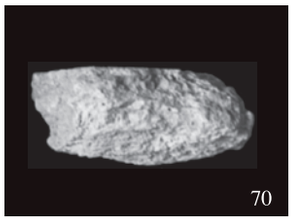












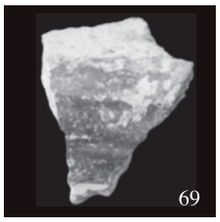
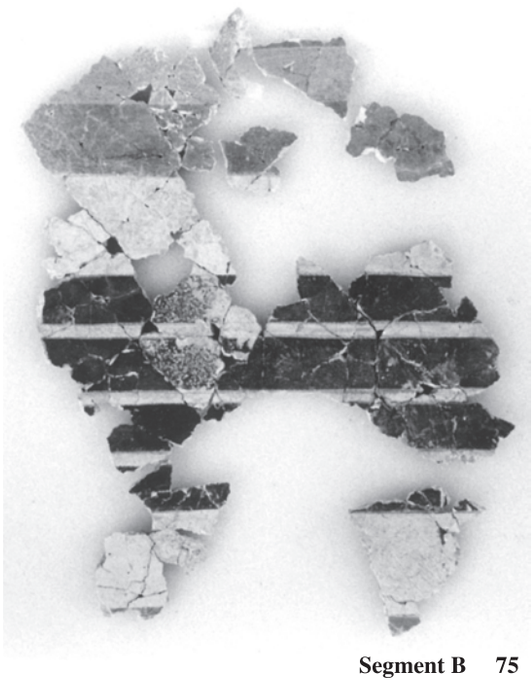


Plate 2.10. Wall plasters.

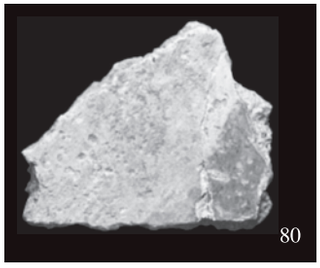


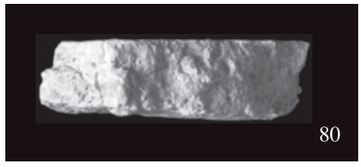
Segment A 75

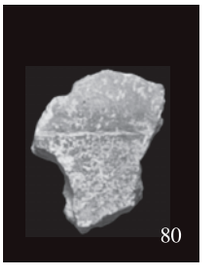


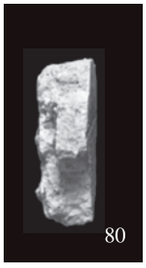
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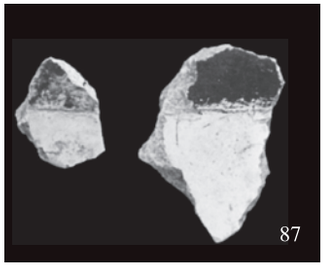
Plate 2.11. Wall plasters.











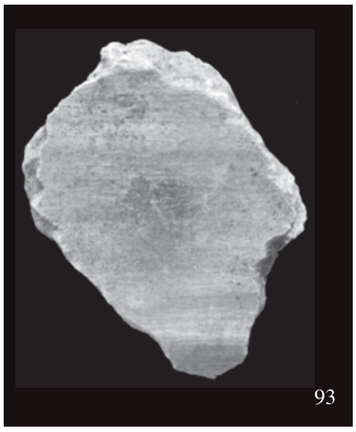
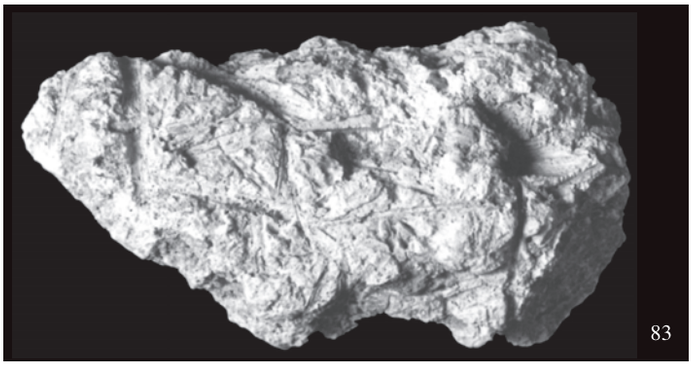
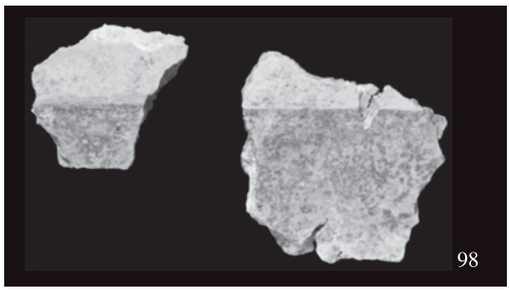




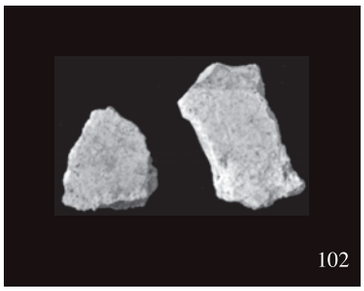


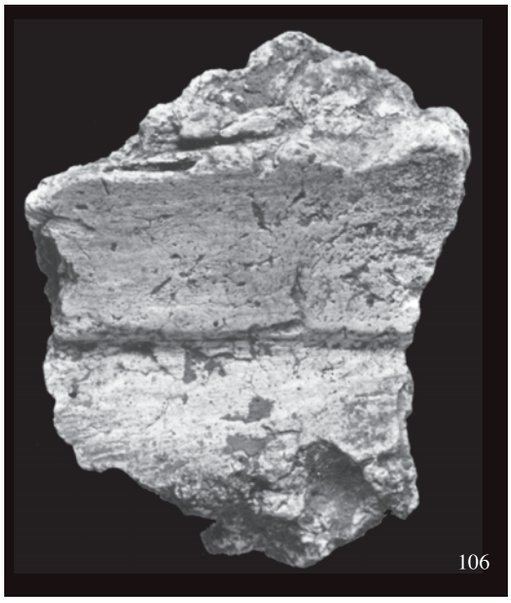
Plate 2.12. Wall plasters.

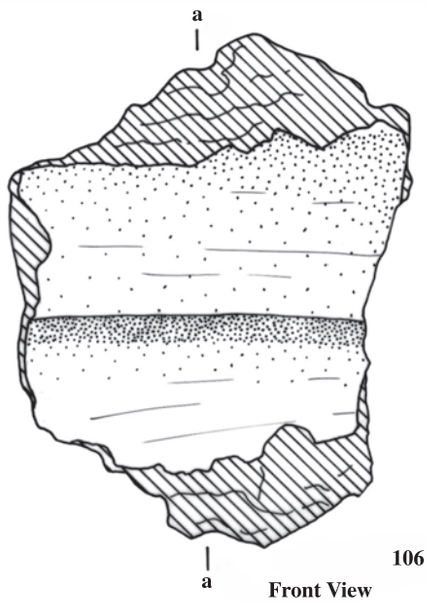


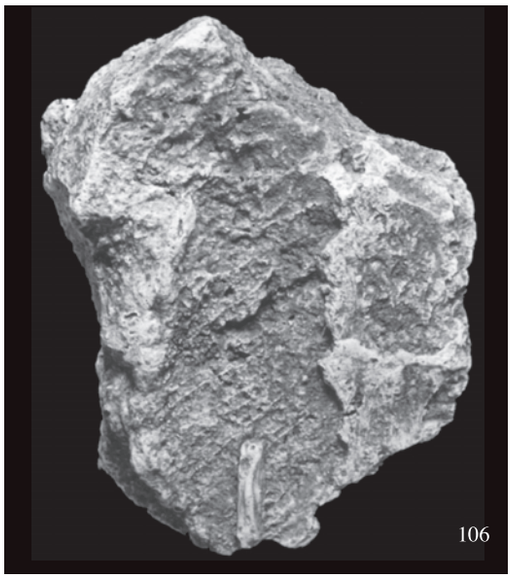












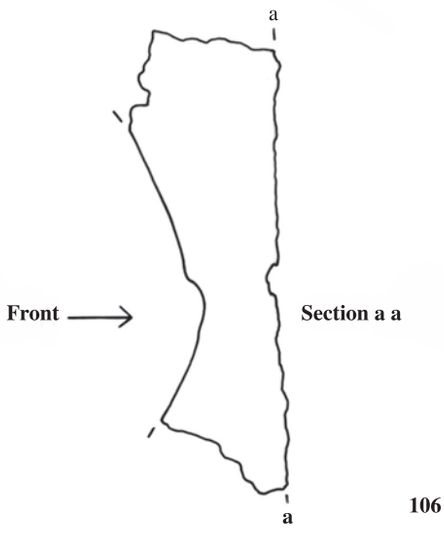


Plate 2.13. Wall plasters.

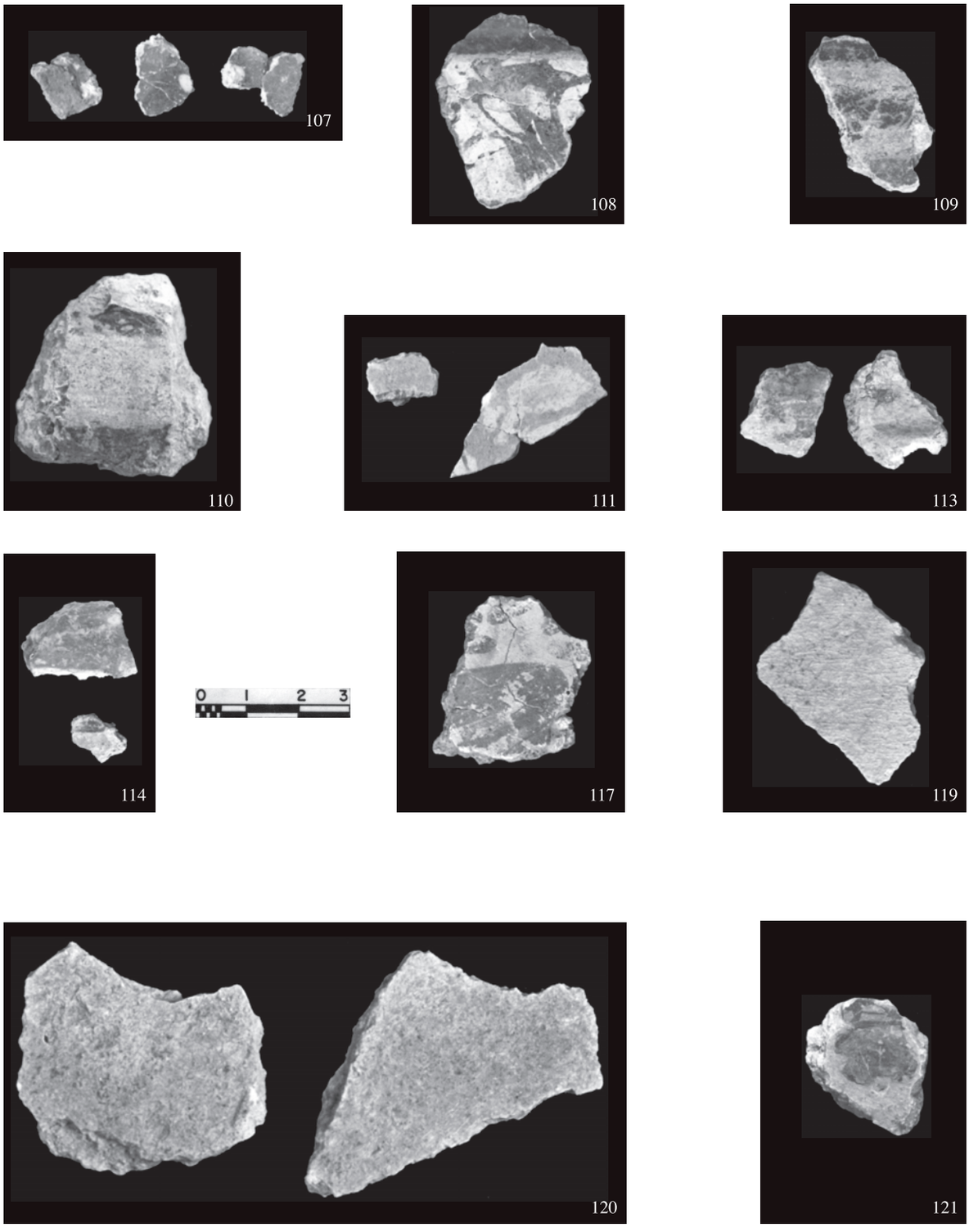
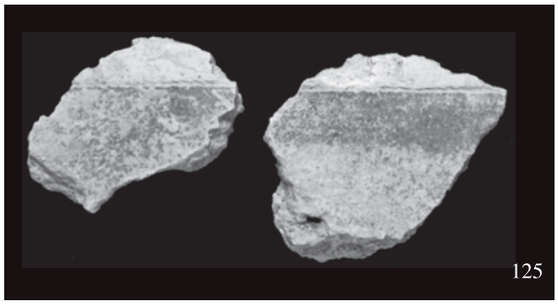
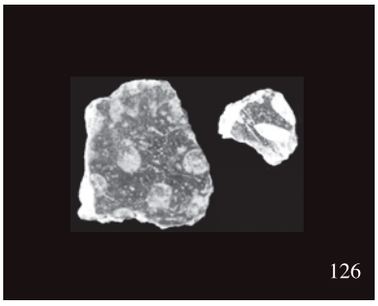
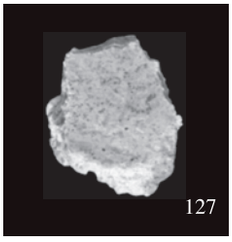


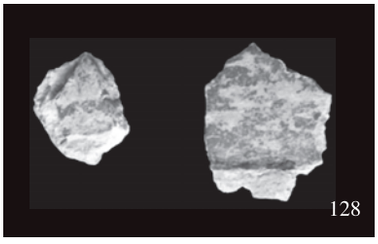
Plate 2.14. Wall plasters and painted floor plasters.

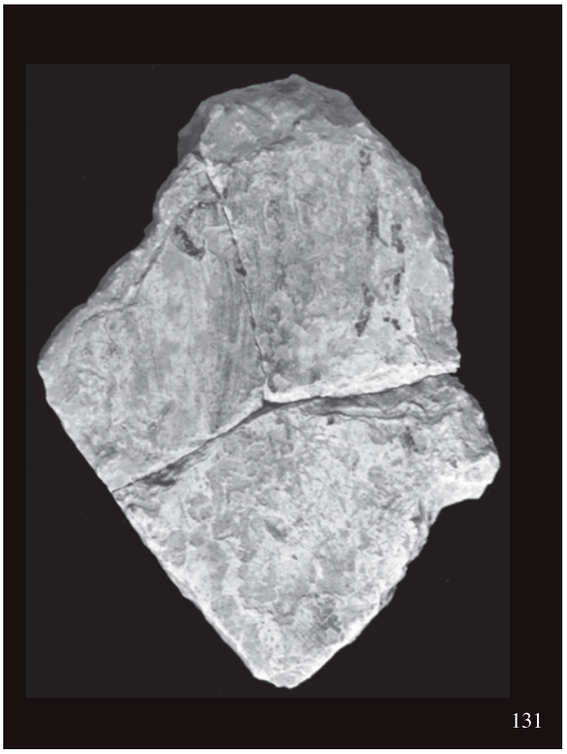


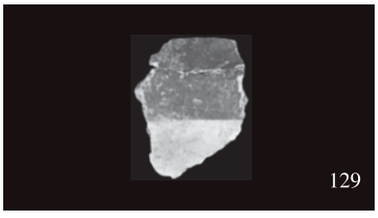












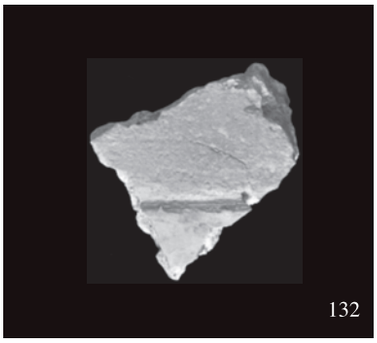


Plate 2.15. Wall plasters.





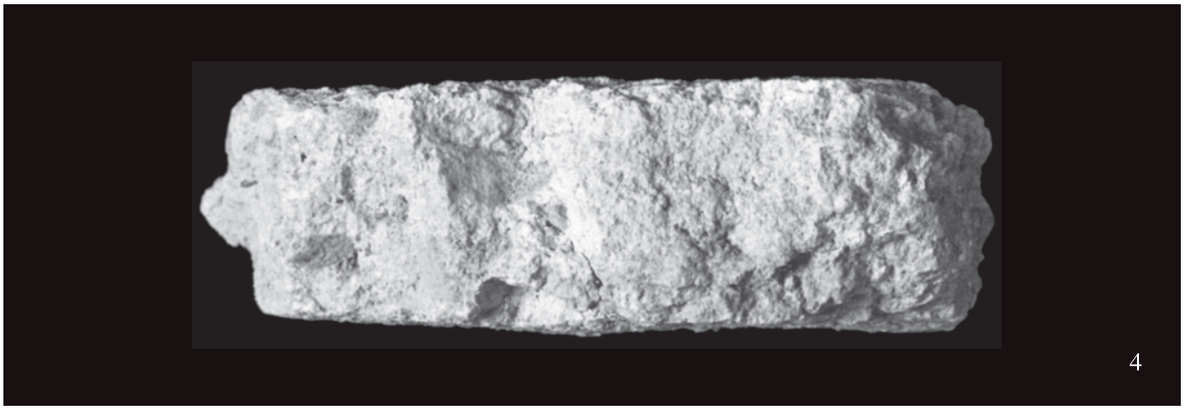
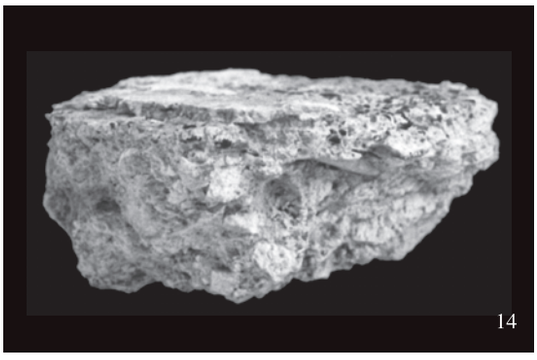
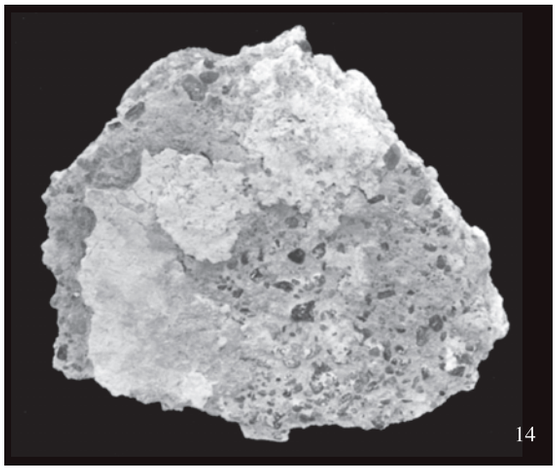


Plate 2.16. Floor plasters.

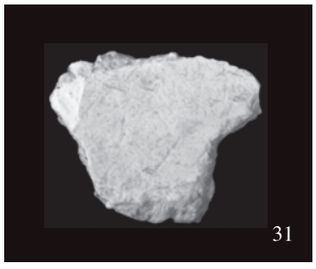


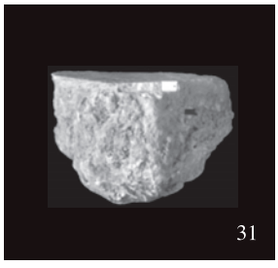












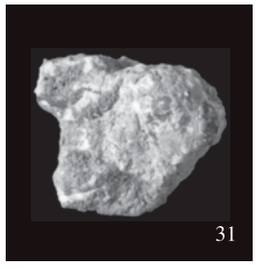


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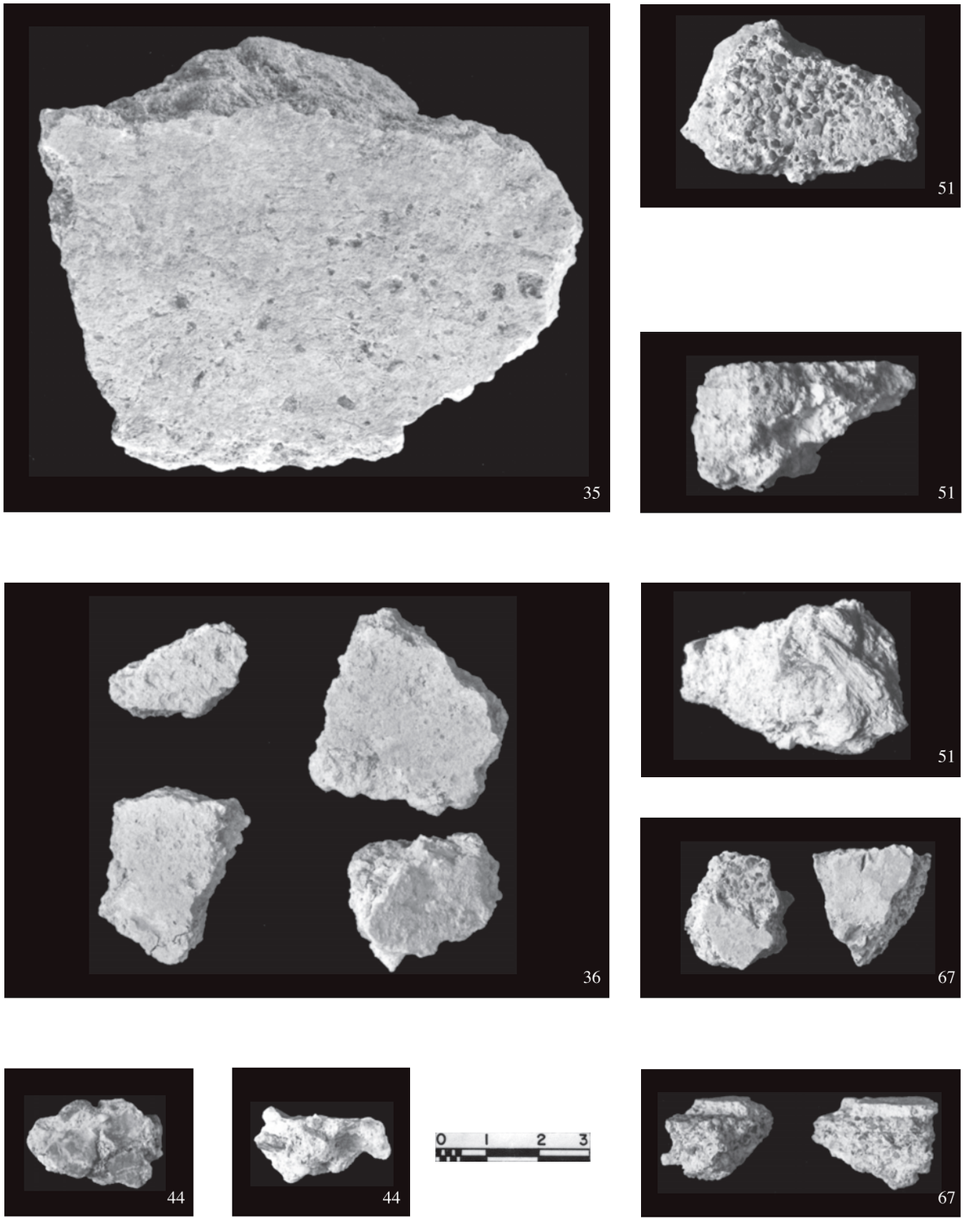
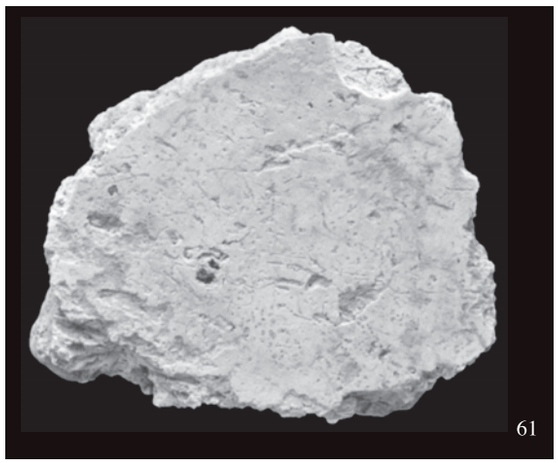
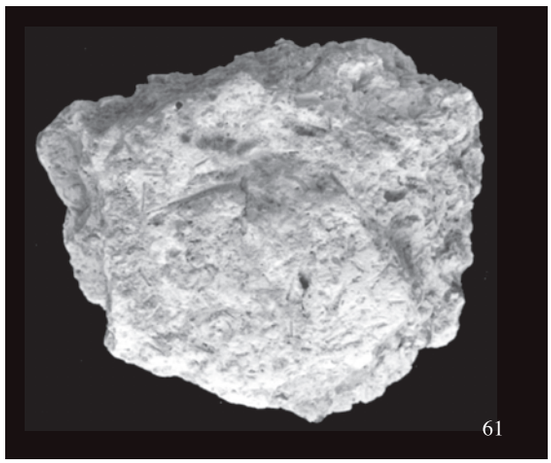
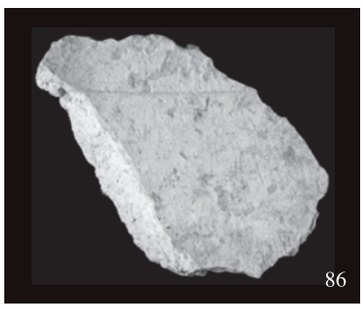


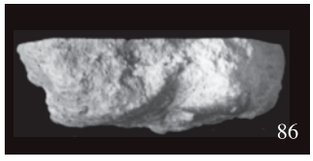
Plate 2.18. Floor plasters.

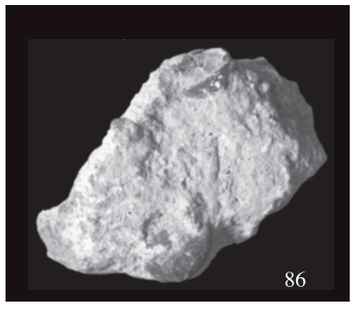


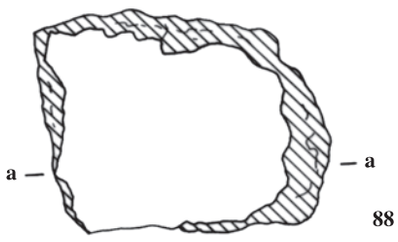


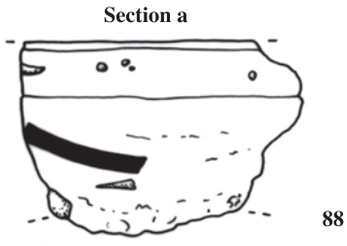












Scale 1:1



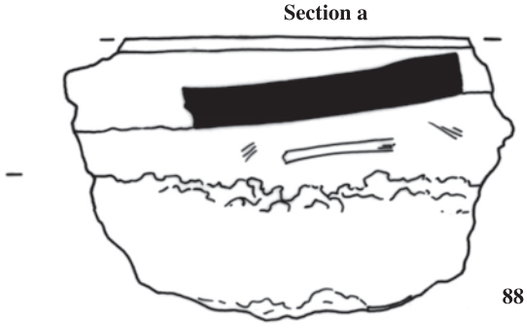
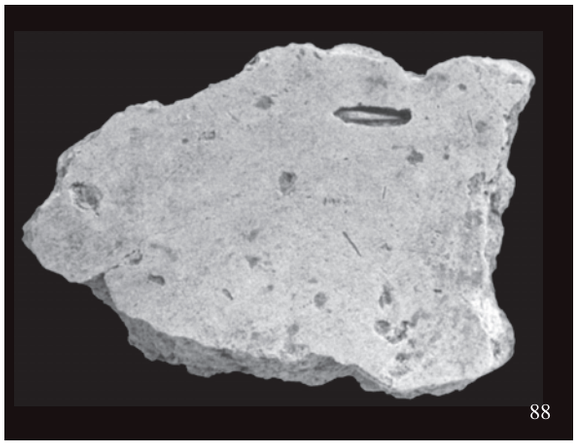
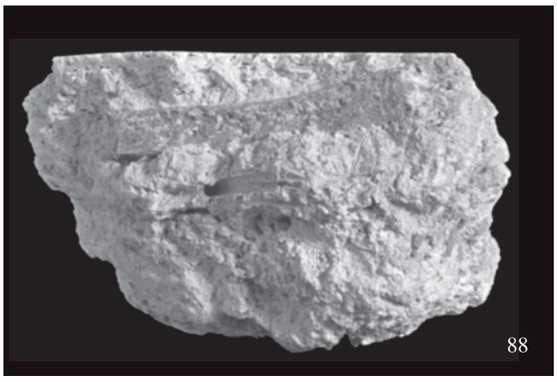


Plate 2.19. Floor plasters.

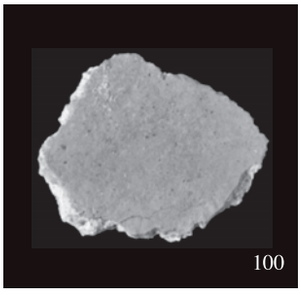


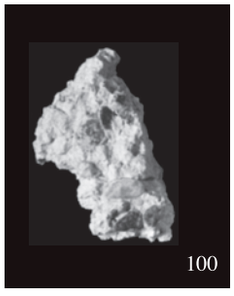












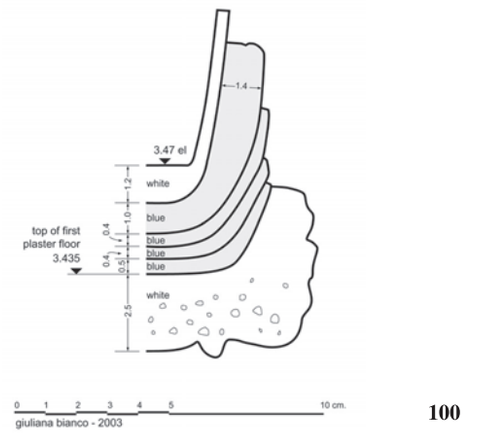
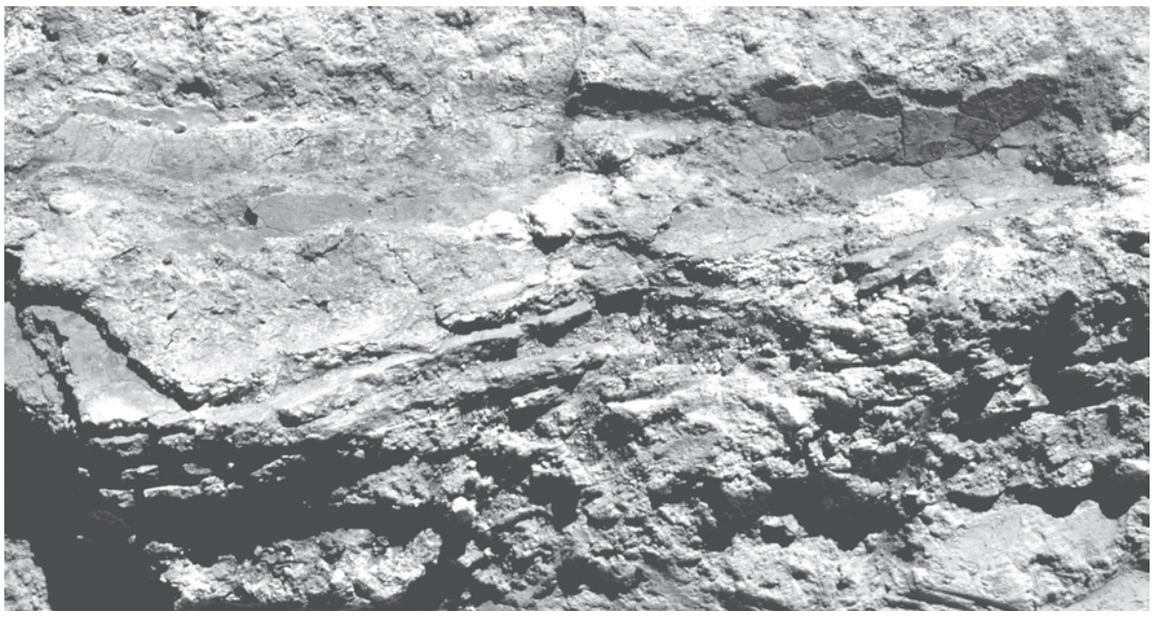
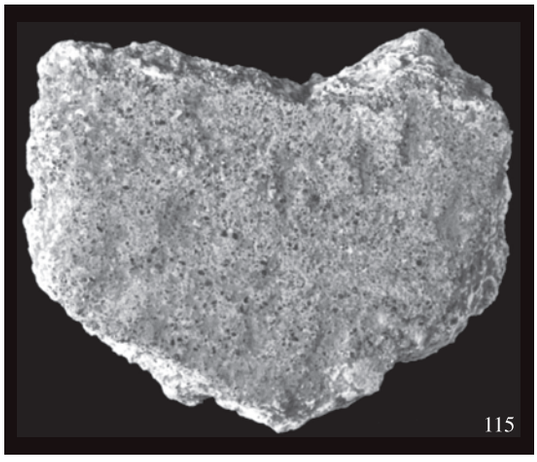
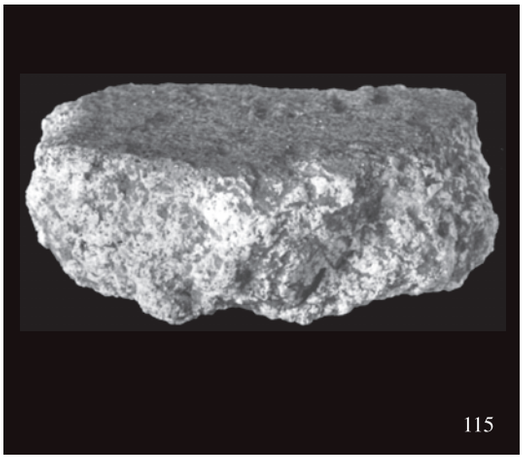


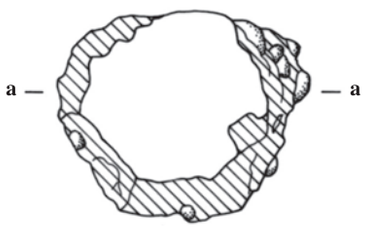
Plate 2.20. Floor plasters.



100

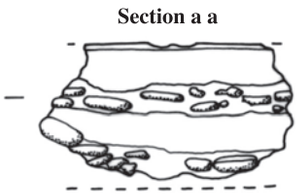






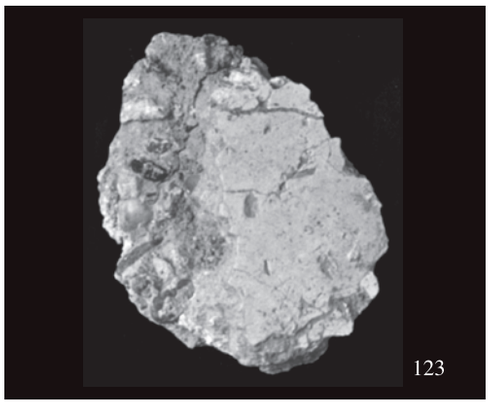
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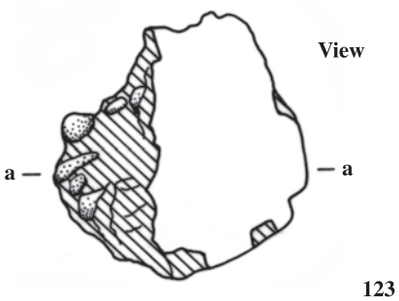




122

Plate 2.21. Floor plasters.

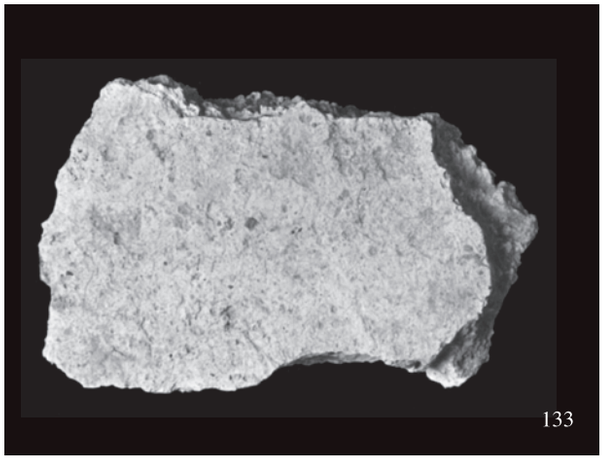


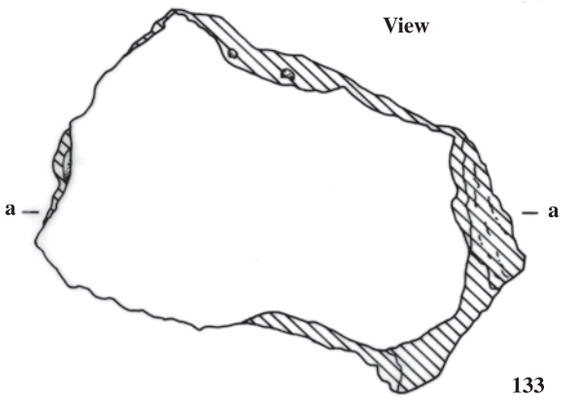


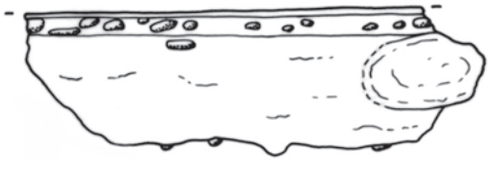
Section a a



123





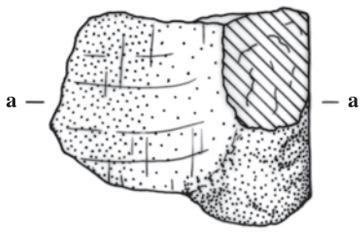


Section a a

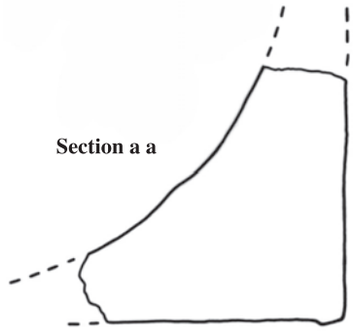
133



Plate 2.22. Floor plasters.



5

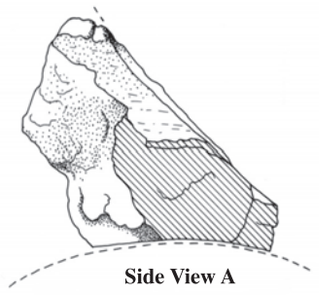


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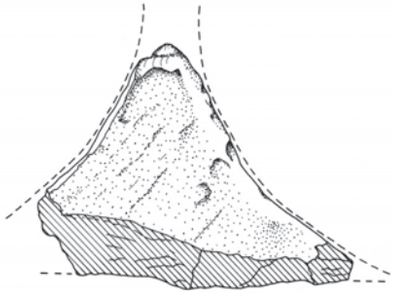




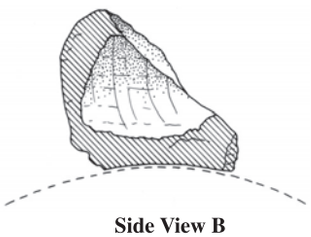




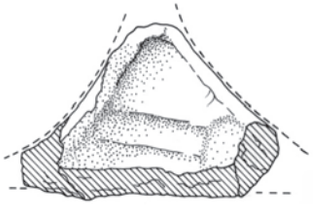
Side View A 22



View A 22

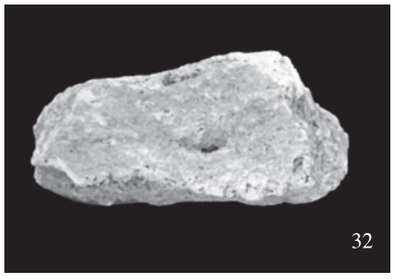


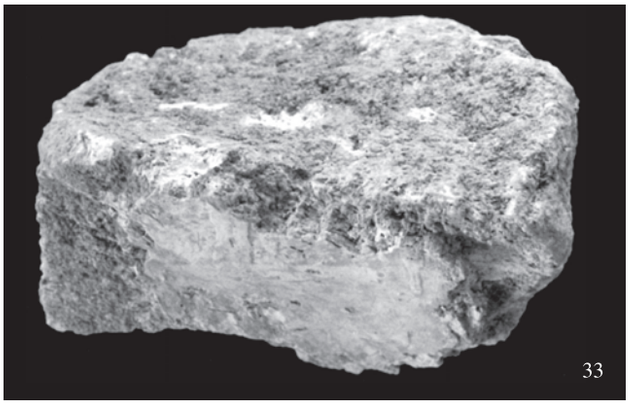
Side View B 22



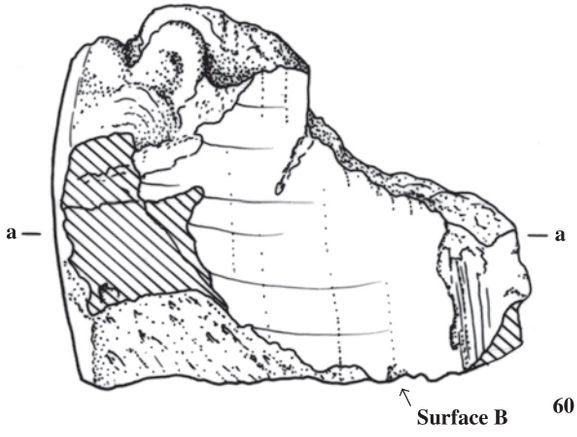
View B 22

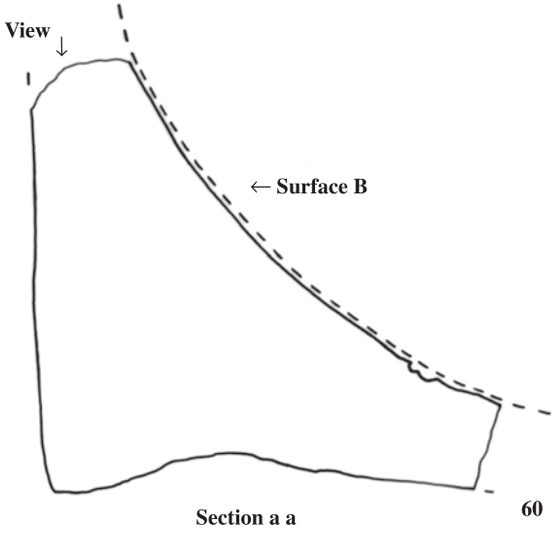
Plate 2.23. Ceiling plasters.

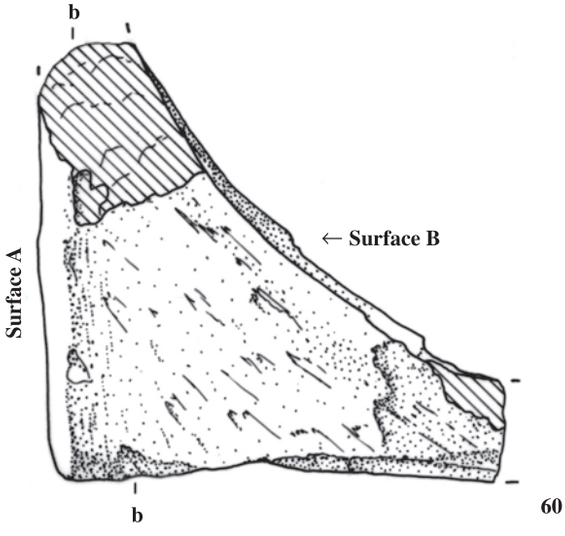












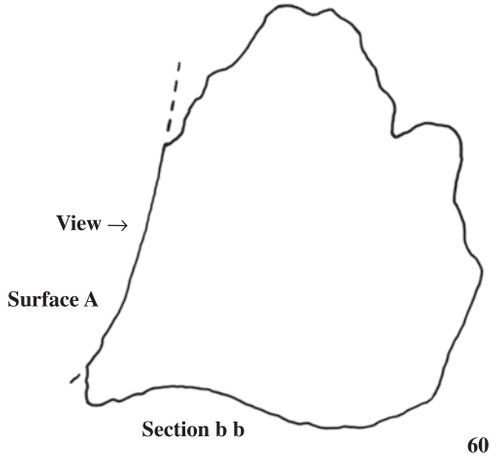
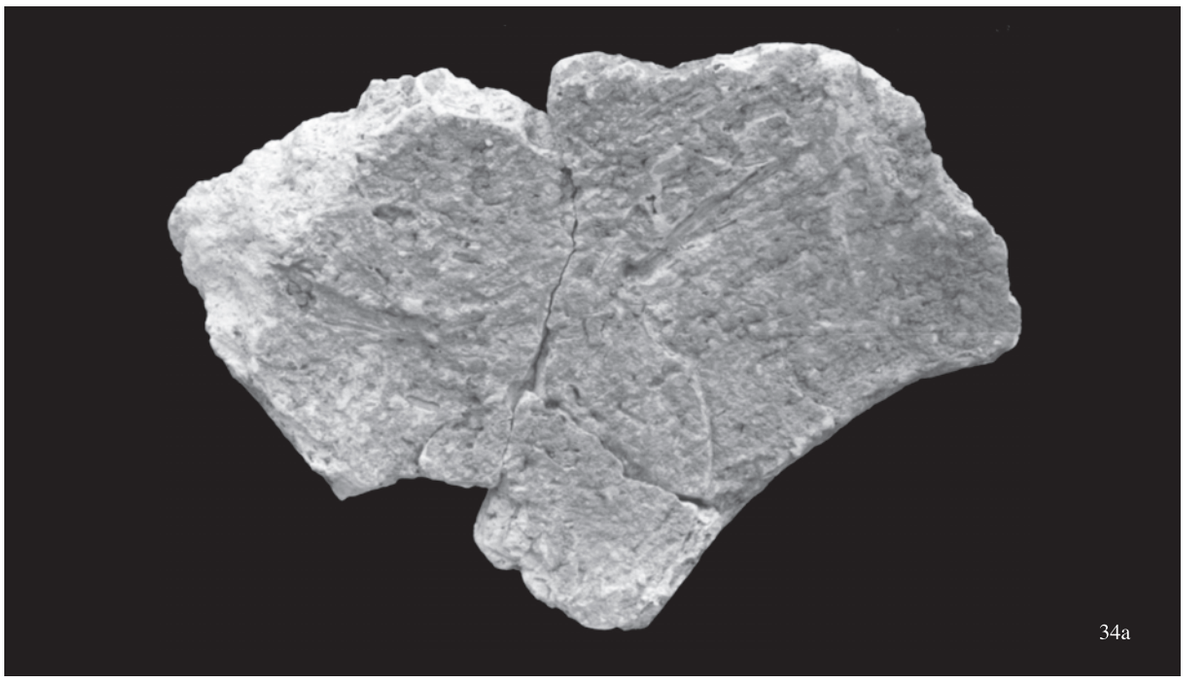
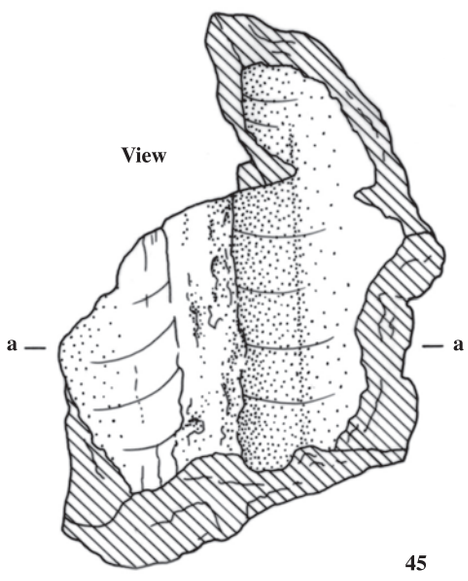
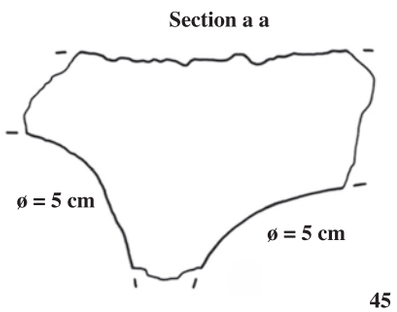


Plate 2.24. Ceiling plasters.









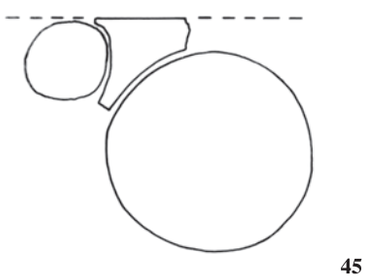
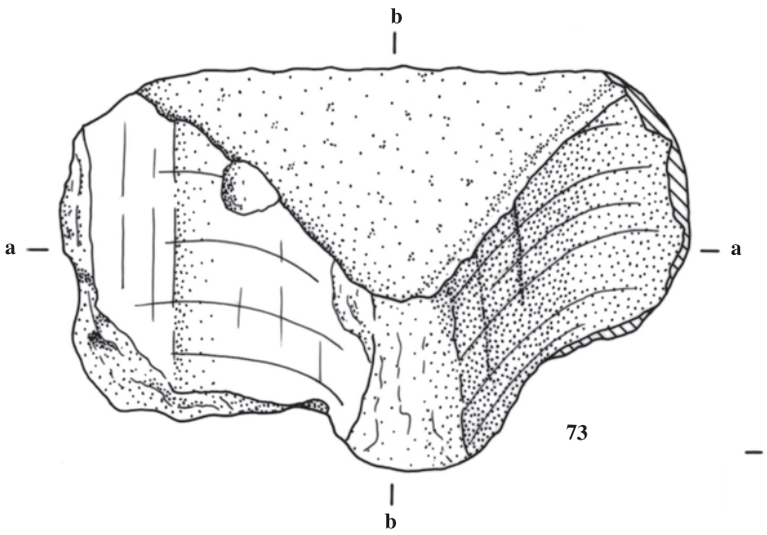
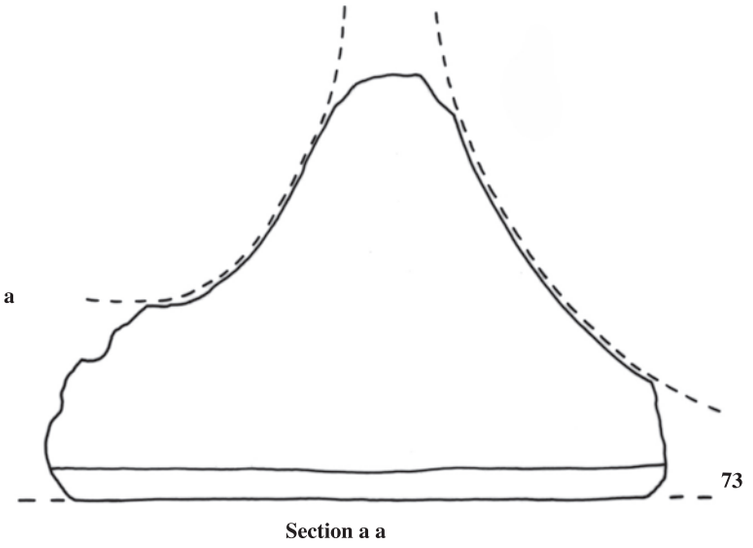


Plate 2.25. Ceiling plasters.





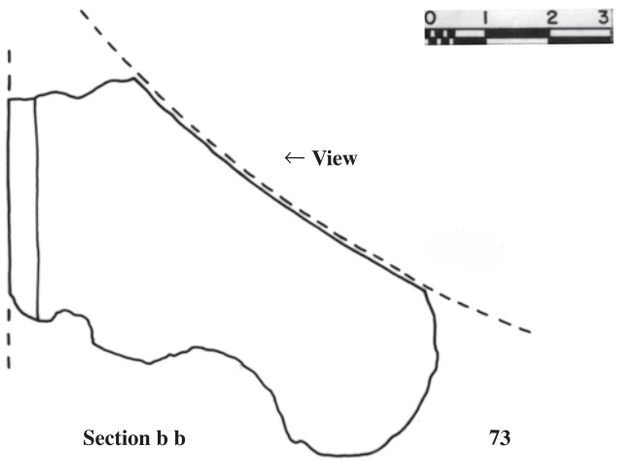
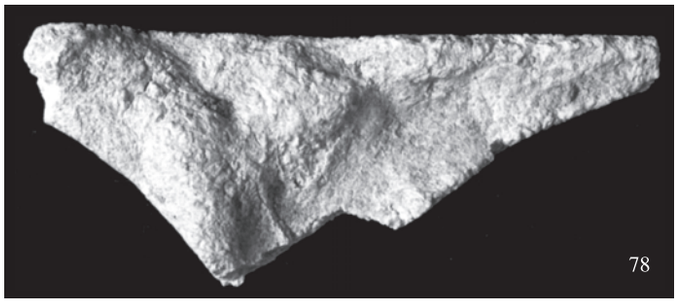




Plate 2.26. Ceiling plasters.

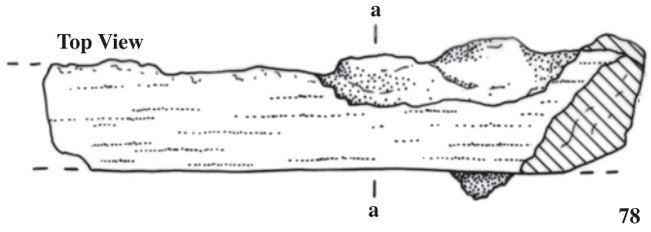
Kommos V Ch2 art plates 8/17/05 5:10 PM Page 1066

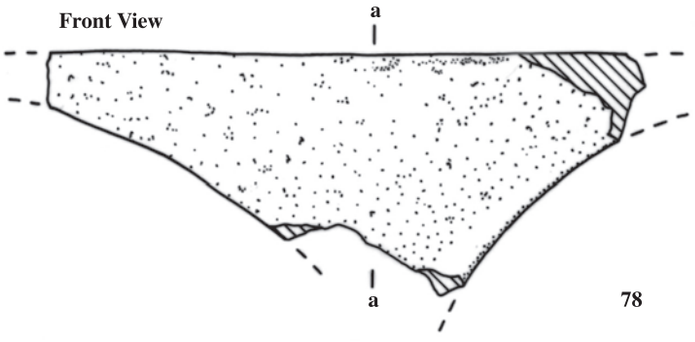


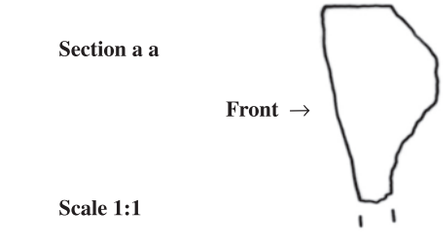


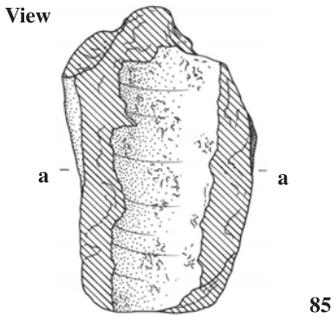
Scale 1:1











Scale 1:2

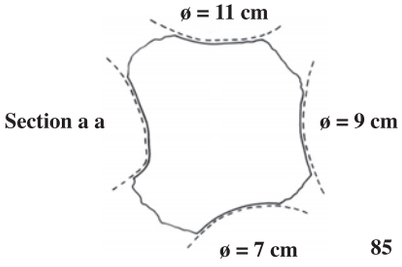


Plate 2.27. Ceiling plasters.

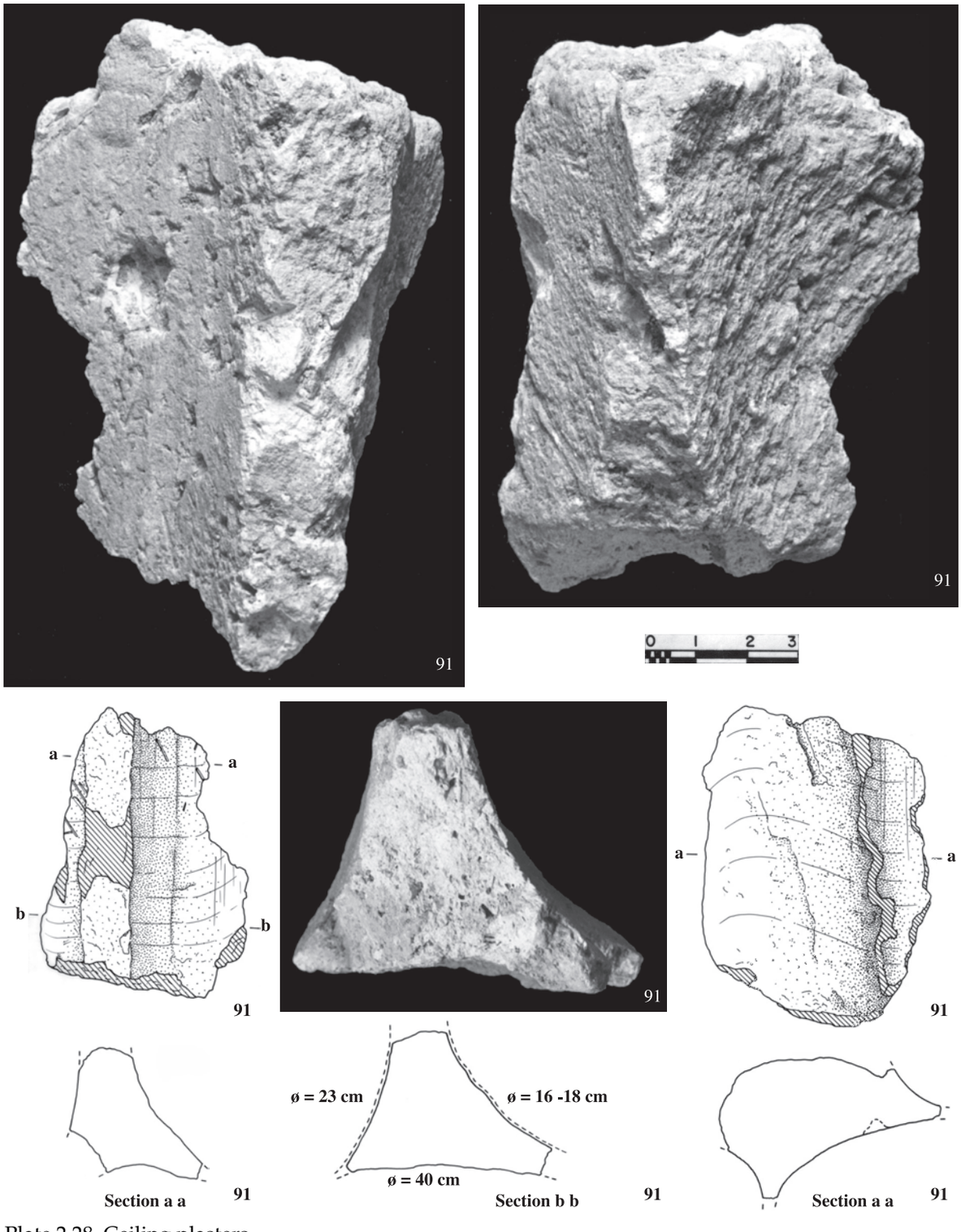
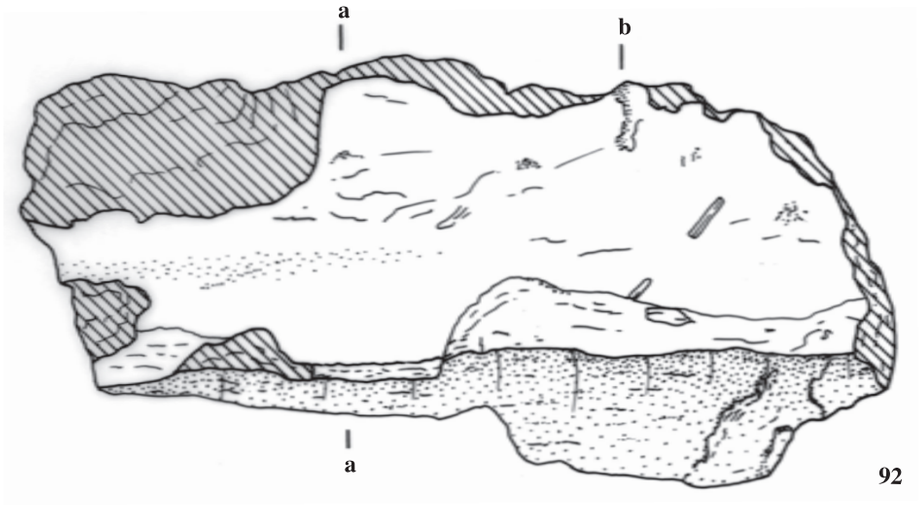
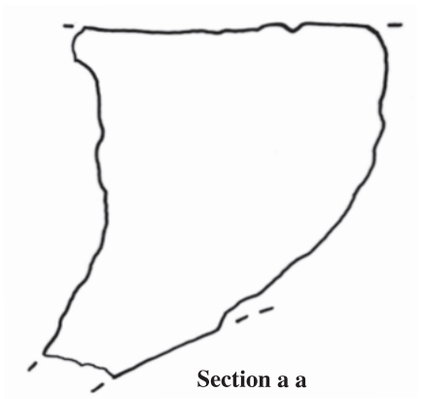
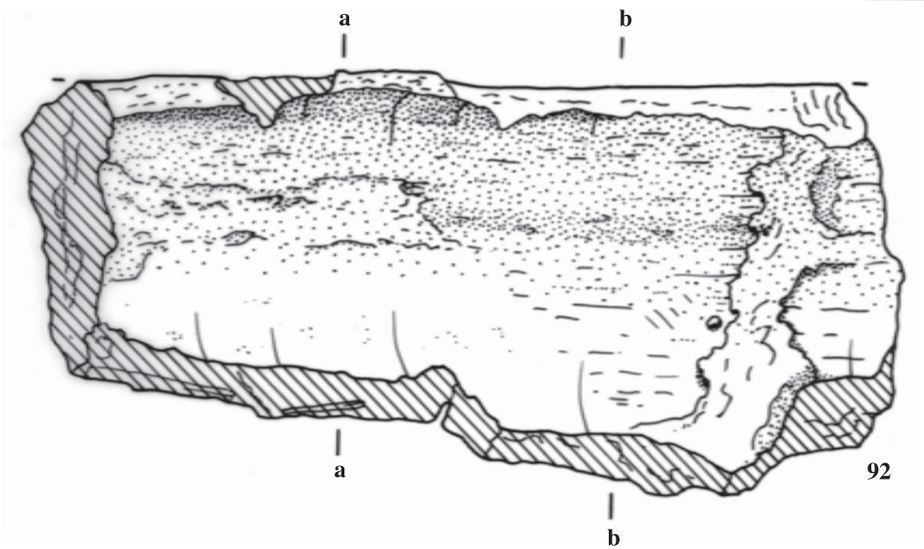


Plate 2.28. Ceiling plasters.









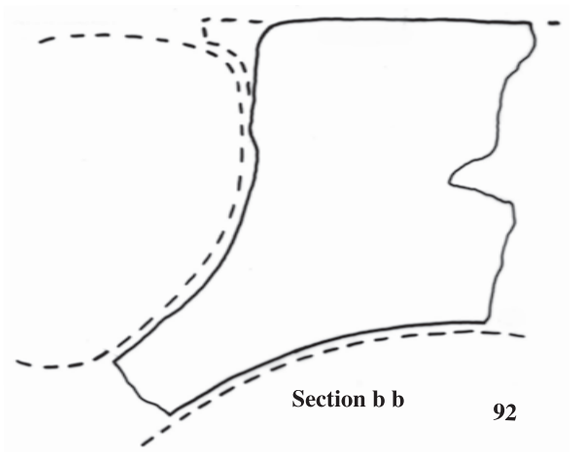
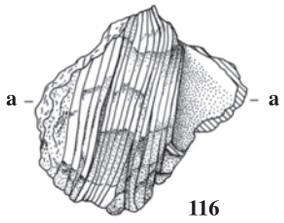
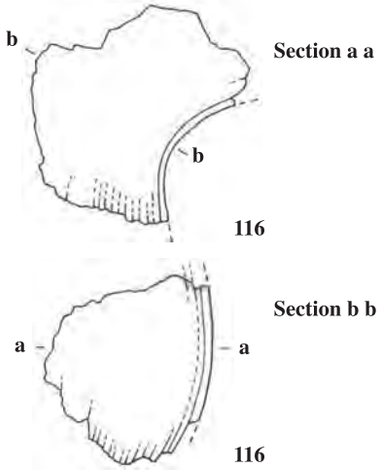


Plate 2.29. Ceiling plasters.

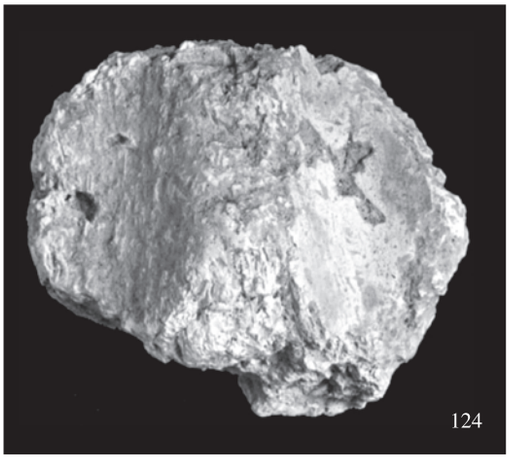
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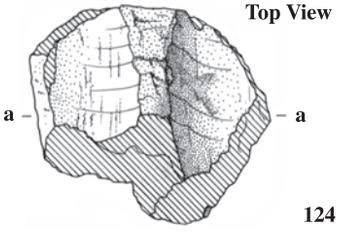


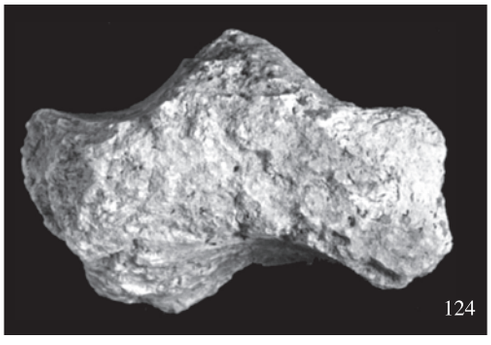


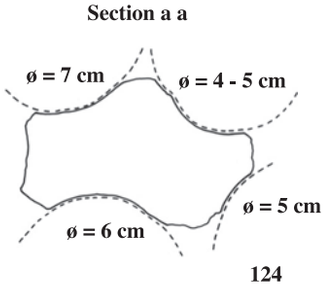












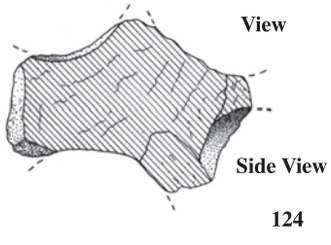
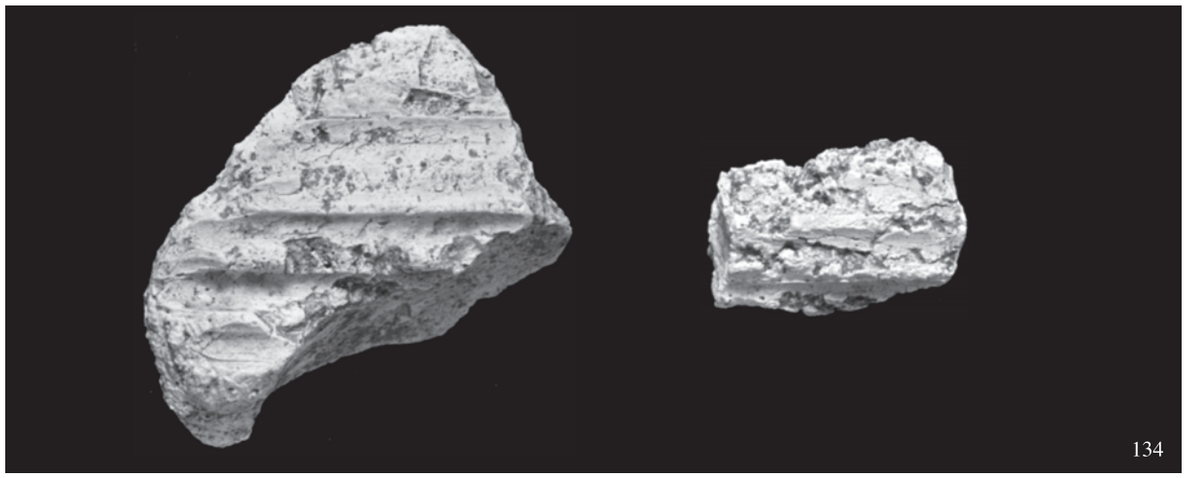


Plate 2.30. Ceiling plasters.



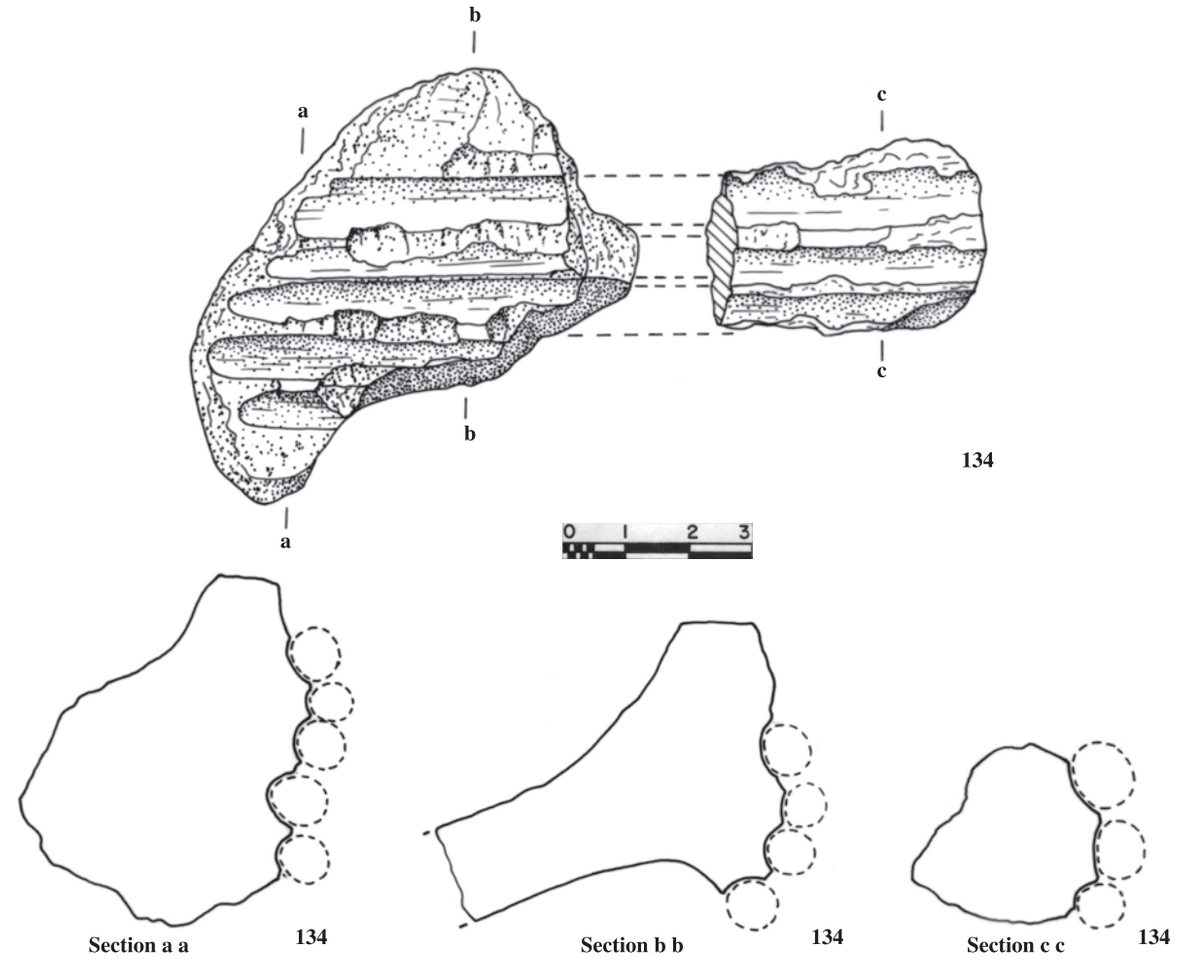
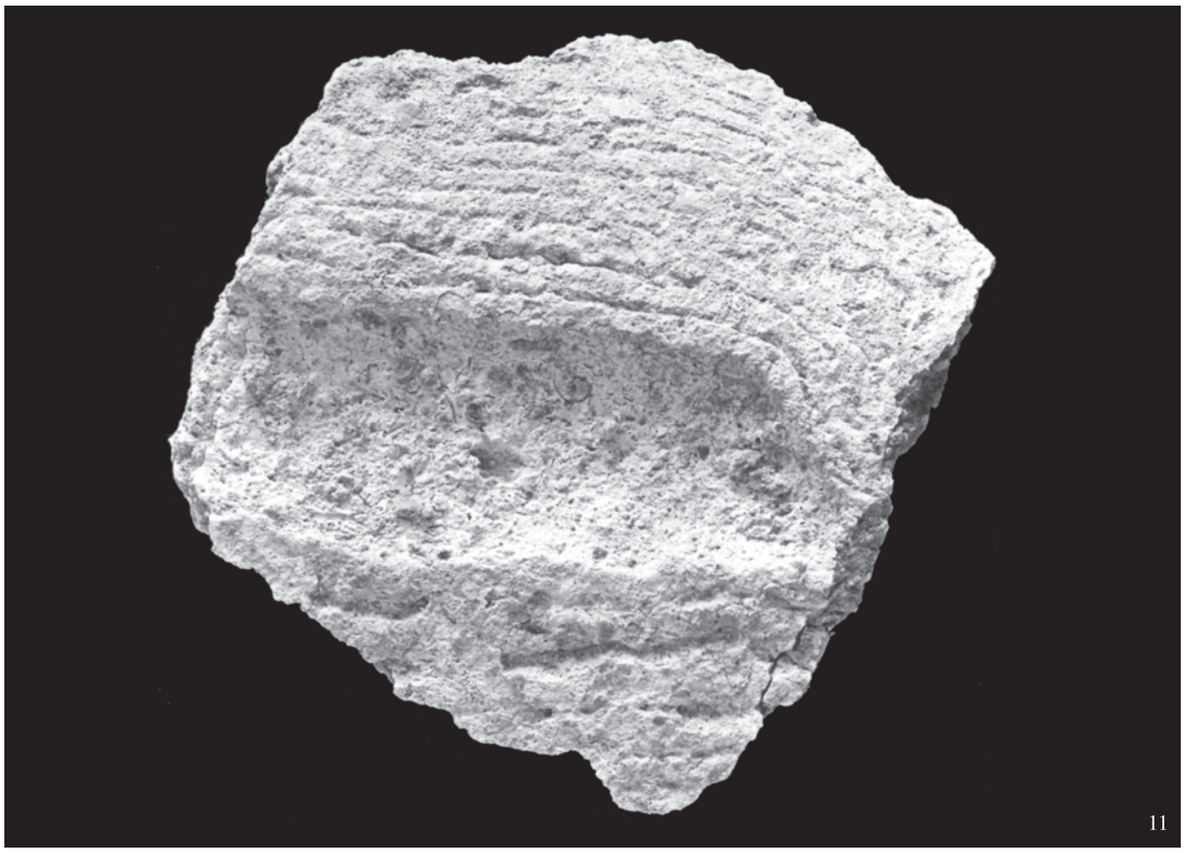


Plate 2.31. Ceiling plasters.



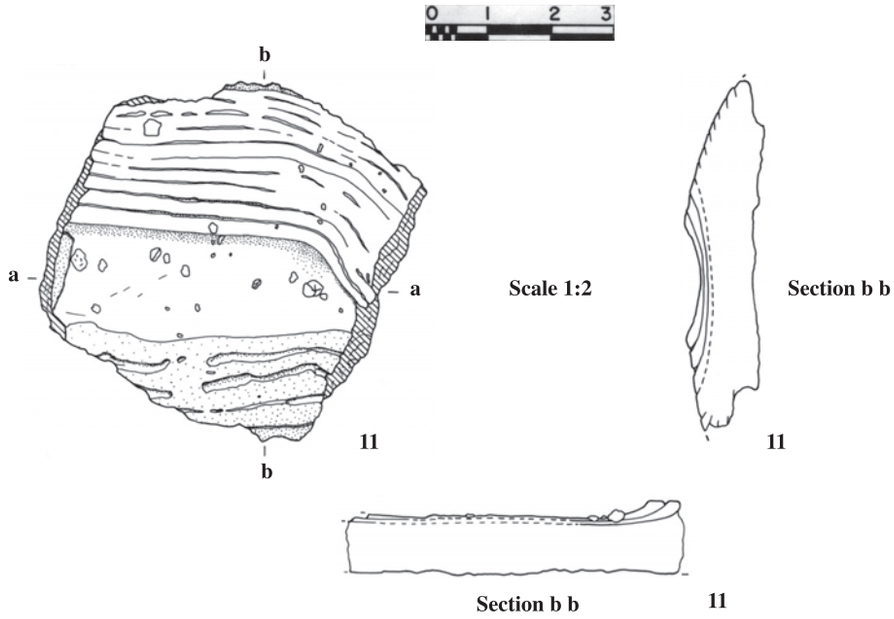


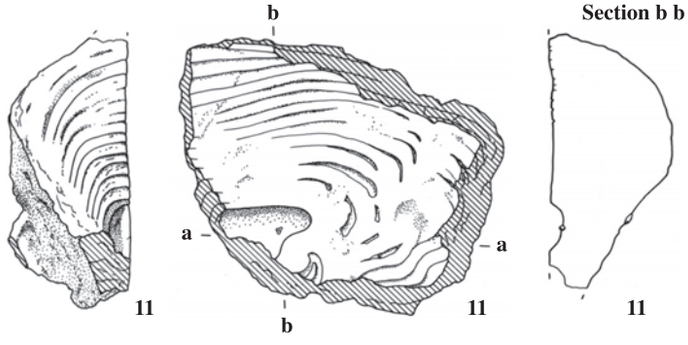
Plate 2.32. Other plasters.



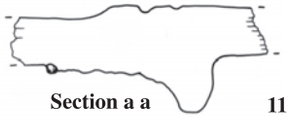


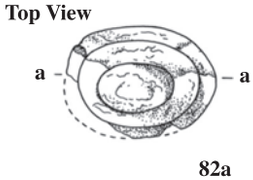






Scale 1:2





Scale 1:2

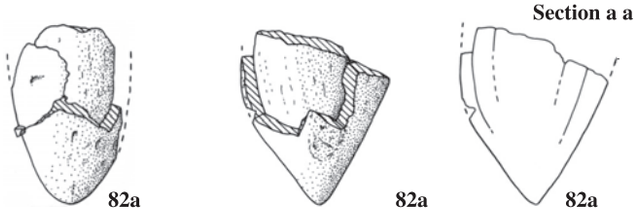


Plate 2.33. Other plasters.

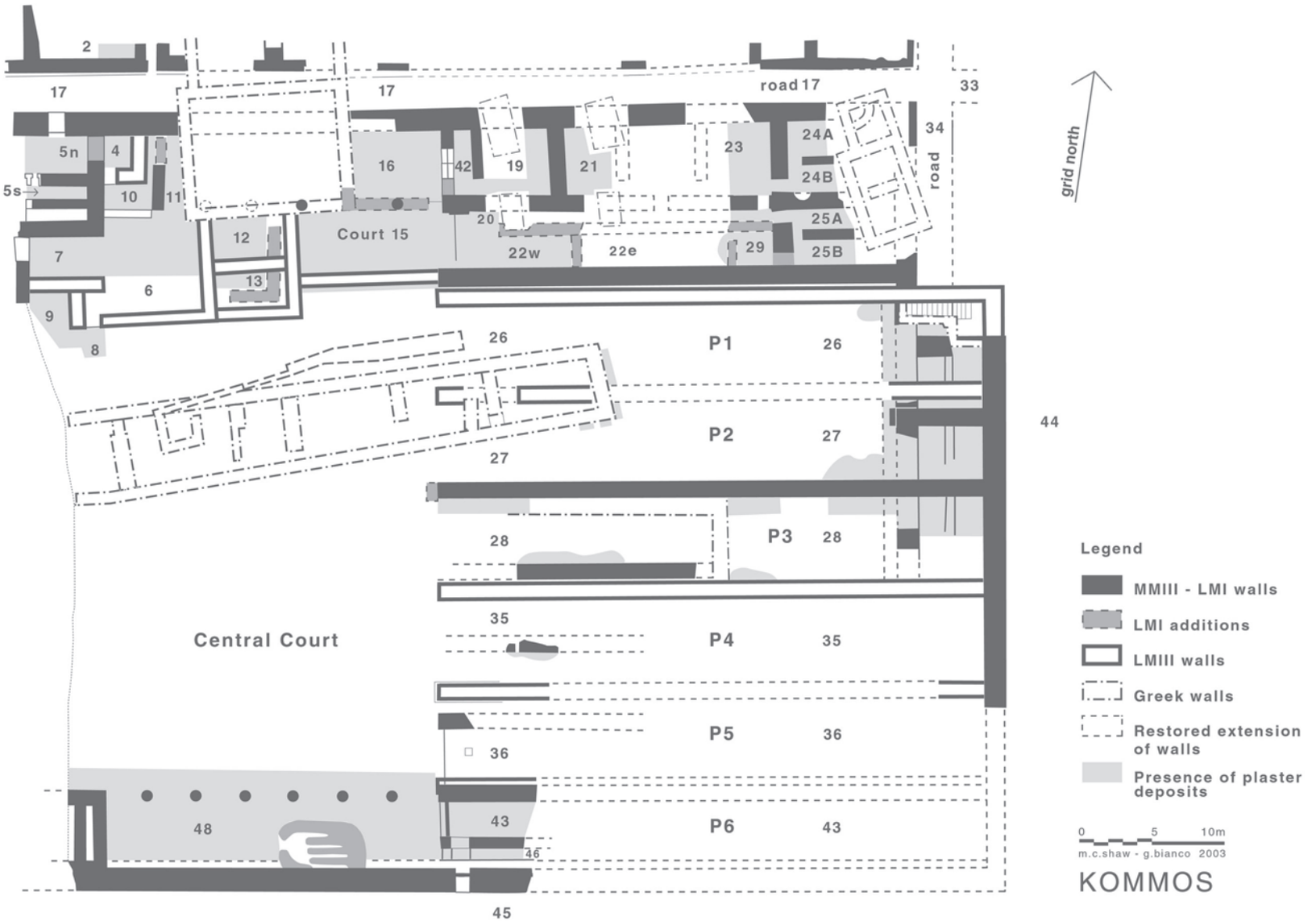


Plate 2.34. Plan. Plaster deposits (shaded areas).

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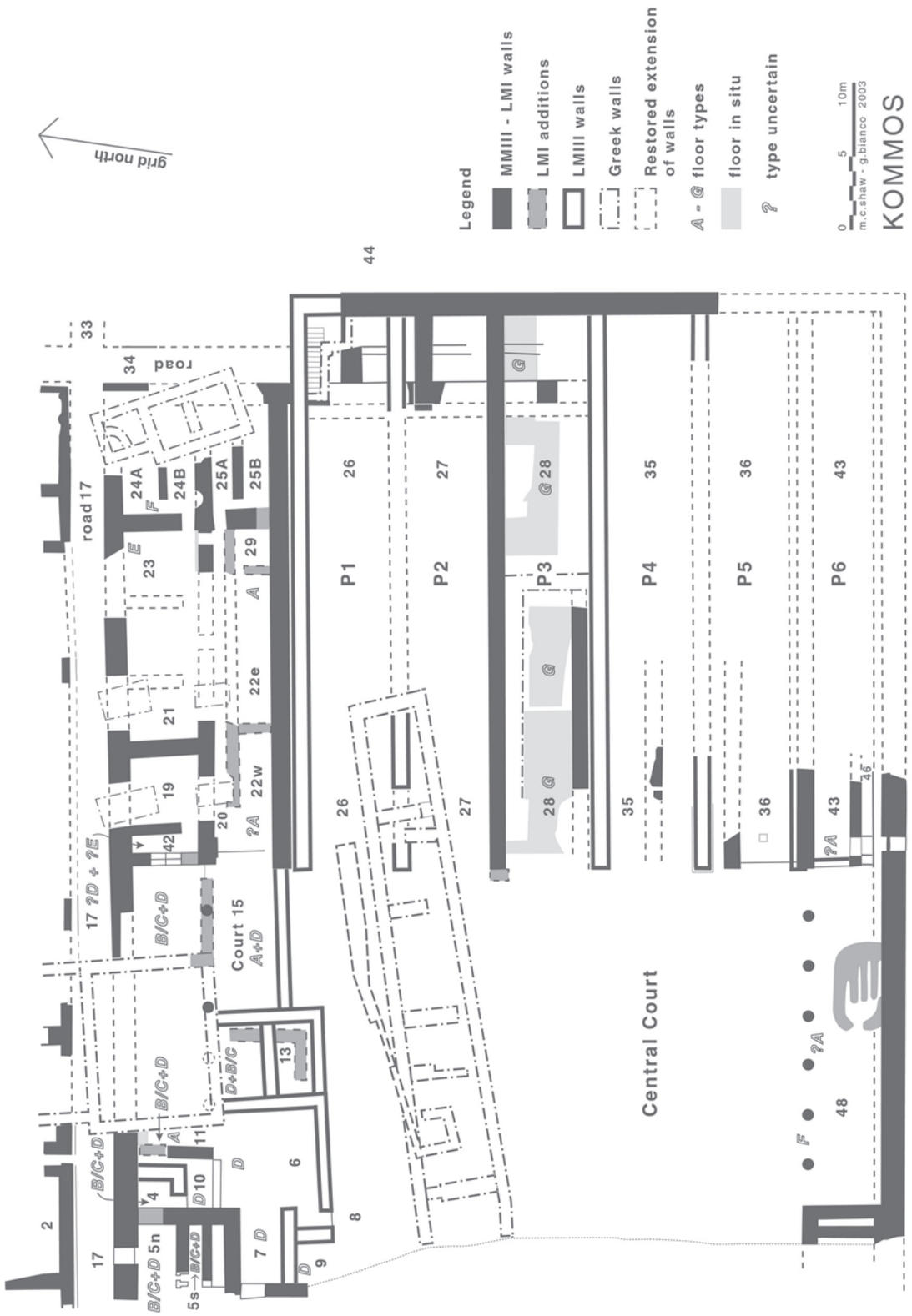


Plate 2.35. Plan. Floors *in situ* (shaded areas) and types of flooring plasters.

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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black

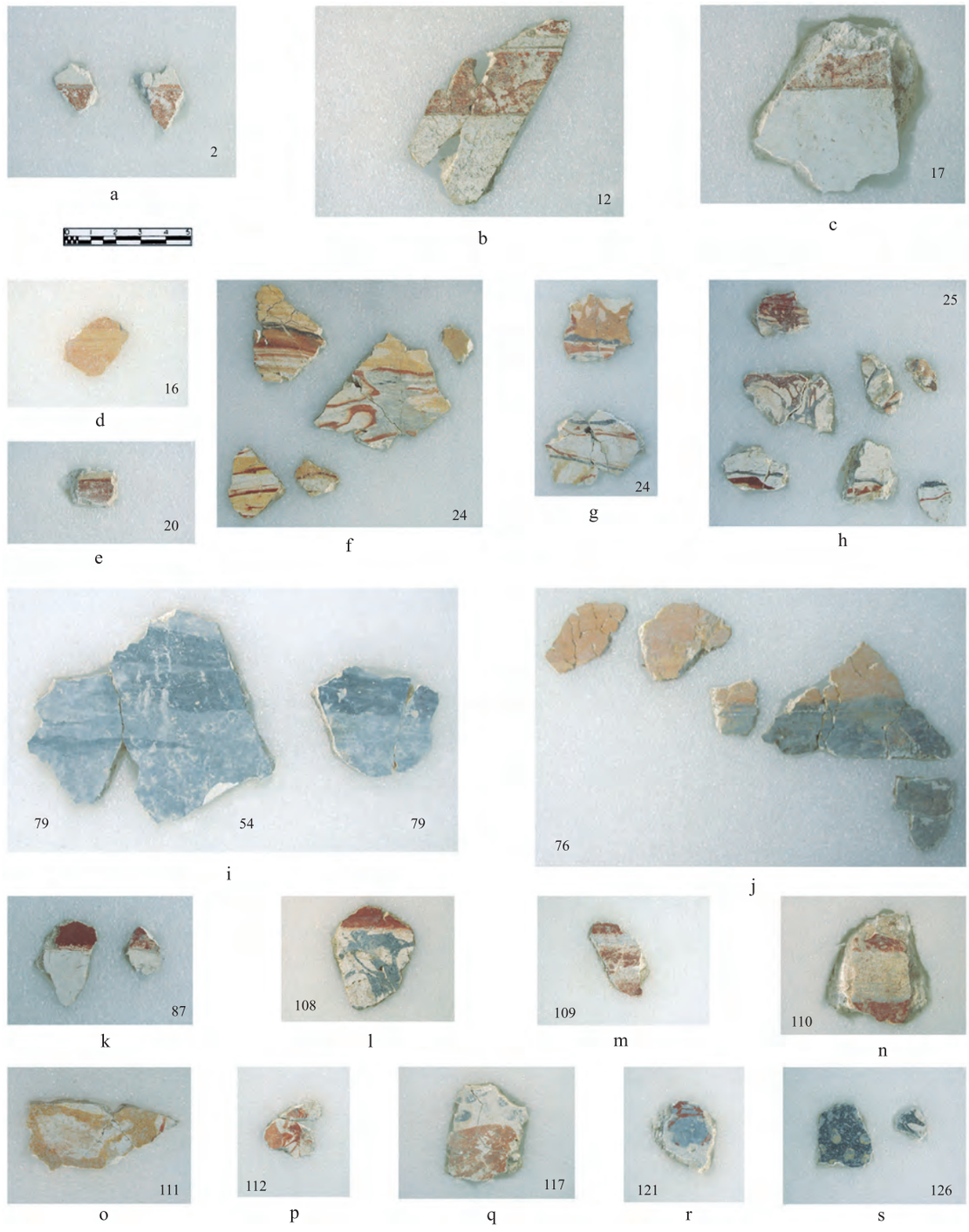


Plate 2.36. Wall plasters and floor plasters.

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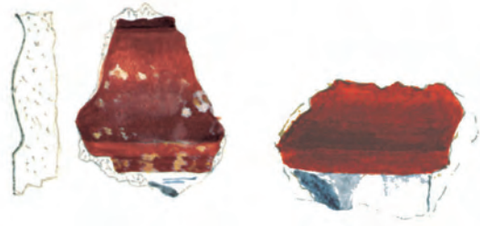
Cyan Magenta Yellow Black



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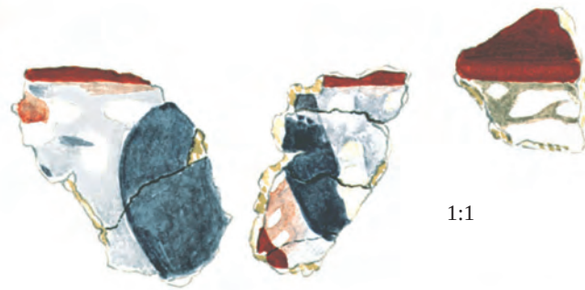


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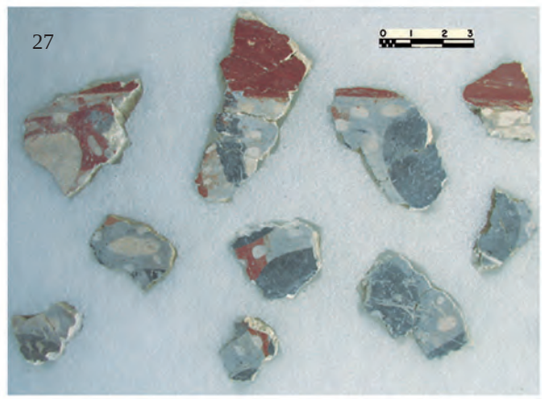


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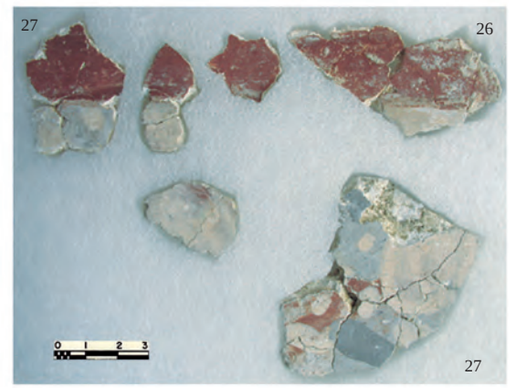
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1:1



d



e



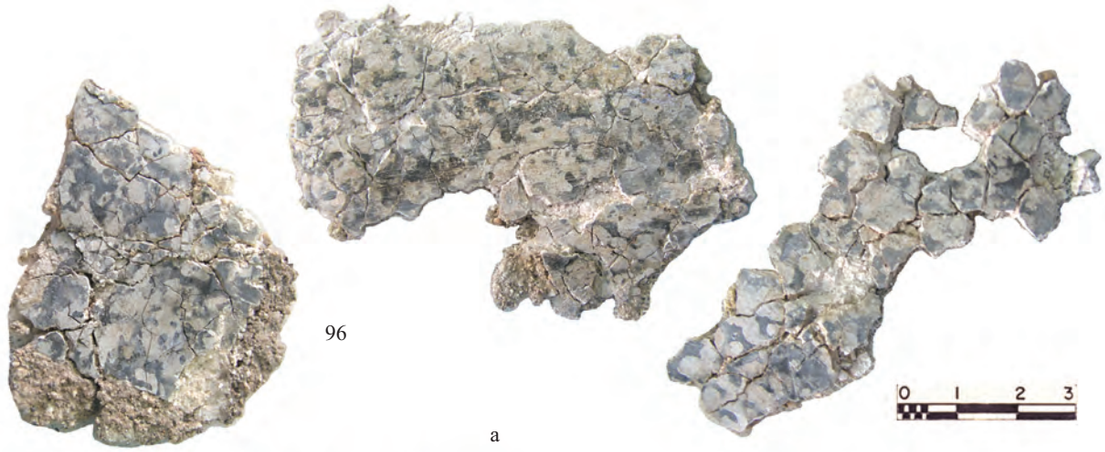
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Plate 2.37. Wall plasters.

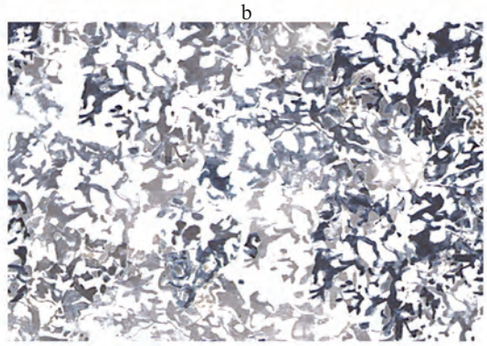
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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black



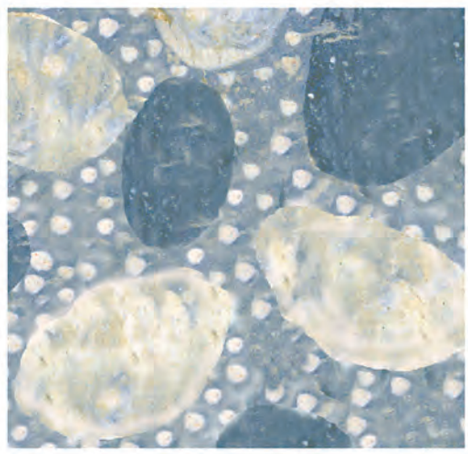
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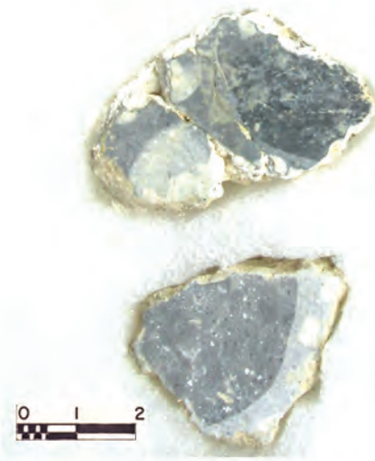


c



d





27

Plate 2.38. Wall plasters.

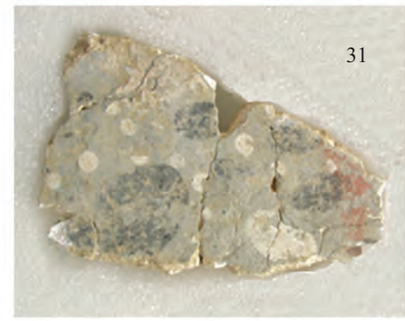
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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black

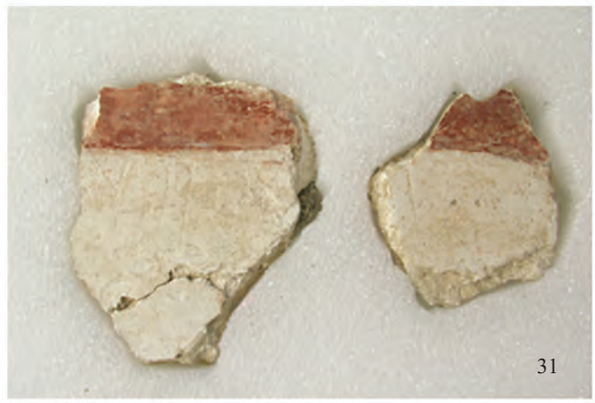


a

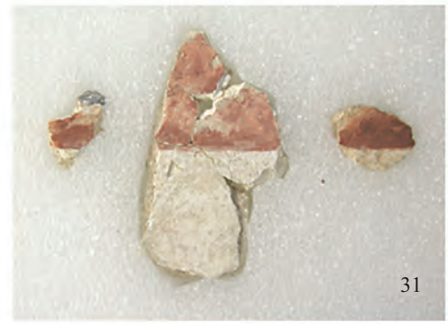


b





c



d

e



Plate 2.39. Painted floor plasters. Reconstruction of possible spiral frieze.

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1080
TJ302-9-2005 IMUS 7/FRA0001
1080
TJ302-9-05 P1076-1081 CTP 27/10/05 3:36 AM Page 1080
Cyan Magenta Yellow Black



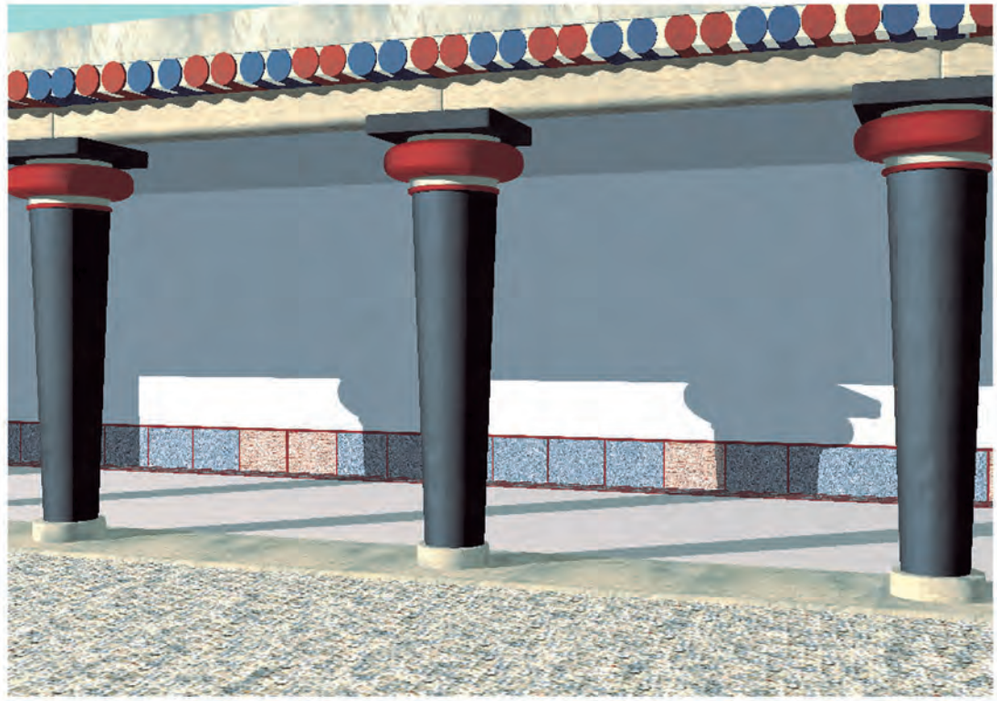
75

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Plate 2.40. Wall plasters. Reconstruction of painted frieze.

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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black



Digital Reconstruction: C. Dietrich

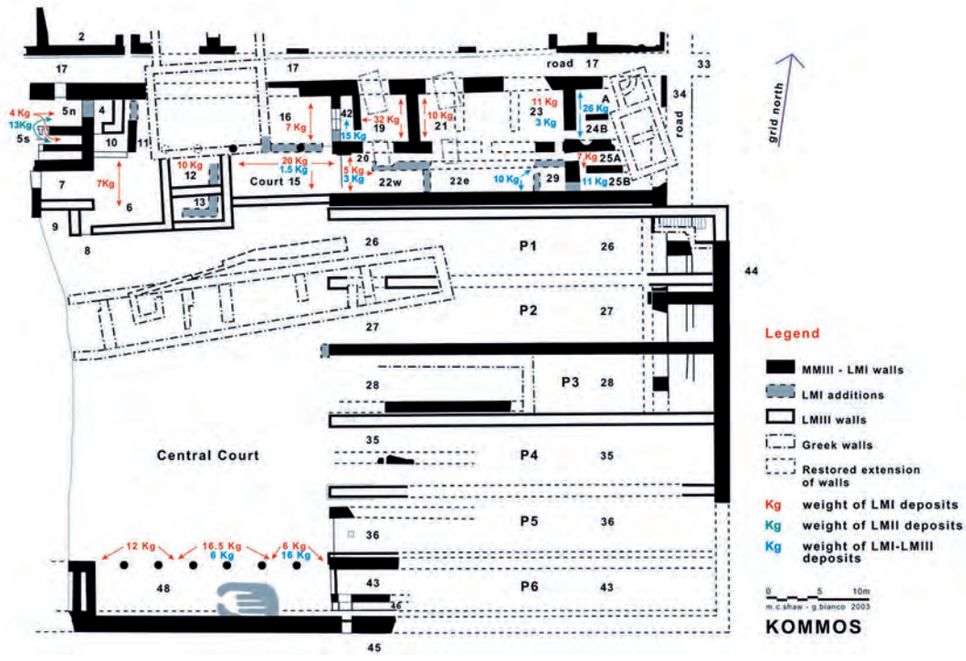
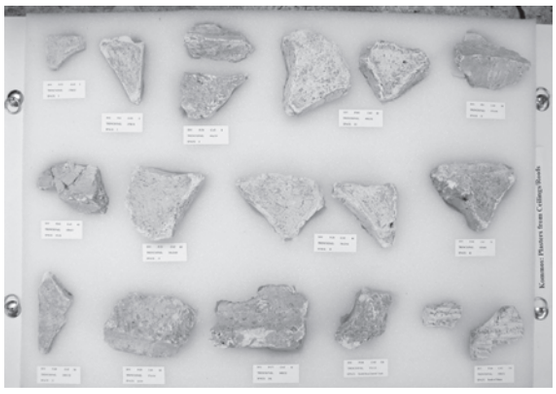


Plate 2.41. Reconstruction of the North Stoa (top); plan with distribution of plaster fragments according to date and weight of deposits (bottom).

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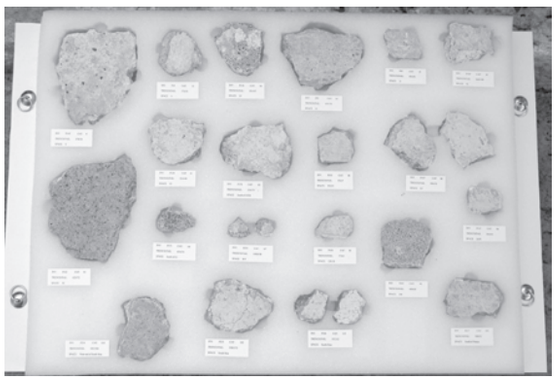


Plate 2.42. Conservator Élise Alloin with panel of painted wall plasters (top); panel with display of ceiling plasters (left); panel with display of floor plasters (right).

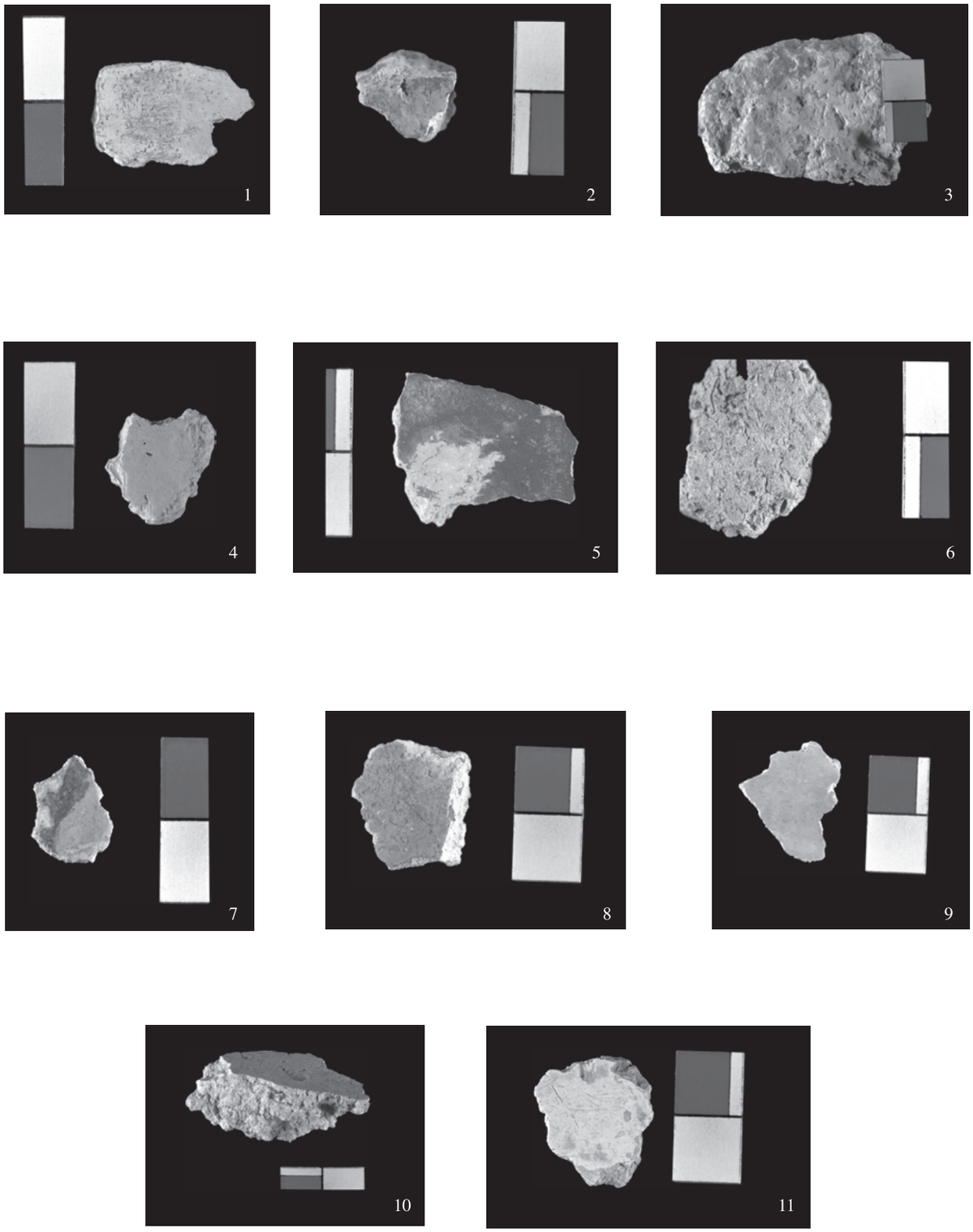


Plate 2.43. Fragments of analyzed samples of wall plasters (samples 1–2, 4–5, 7–9, 11), floor plasters (samples 6, 10), and ceiling plaster (sample 3).

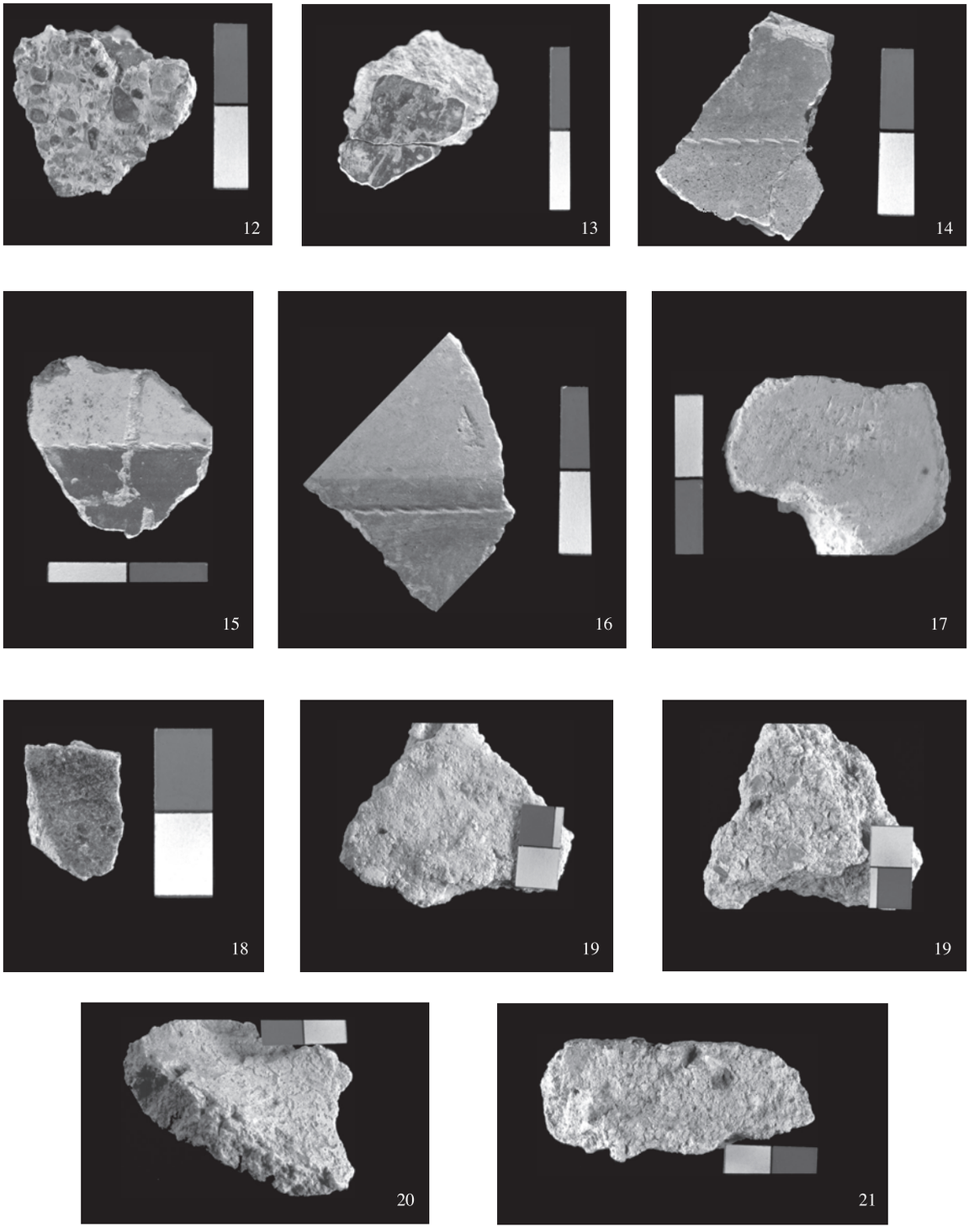


Plate 2.44. Fragments of analyzed samples of wall plasters (samples 13–18), floor plasters (sample 12 and sample 19, two views), and ceiling plasters (samples 20–21).

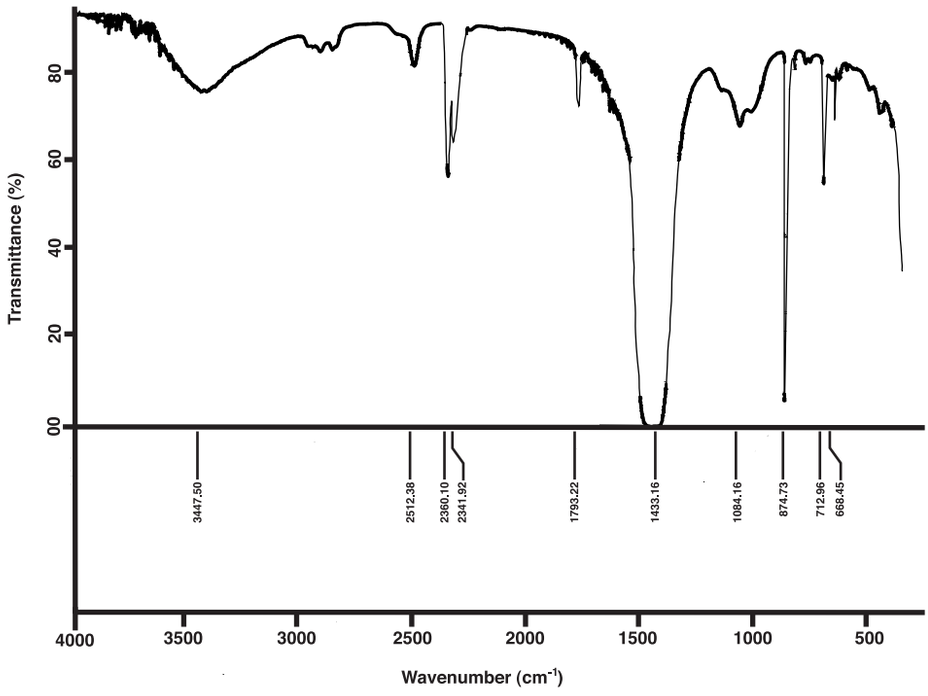


Plate 2.45. Characteristic IR spectrum of wall plaster (sample 11).

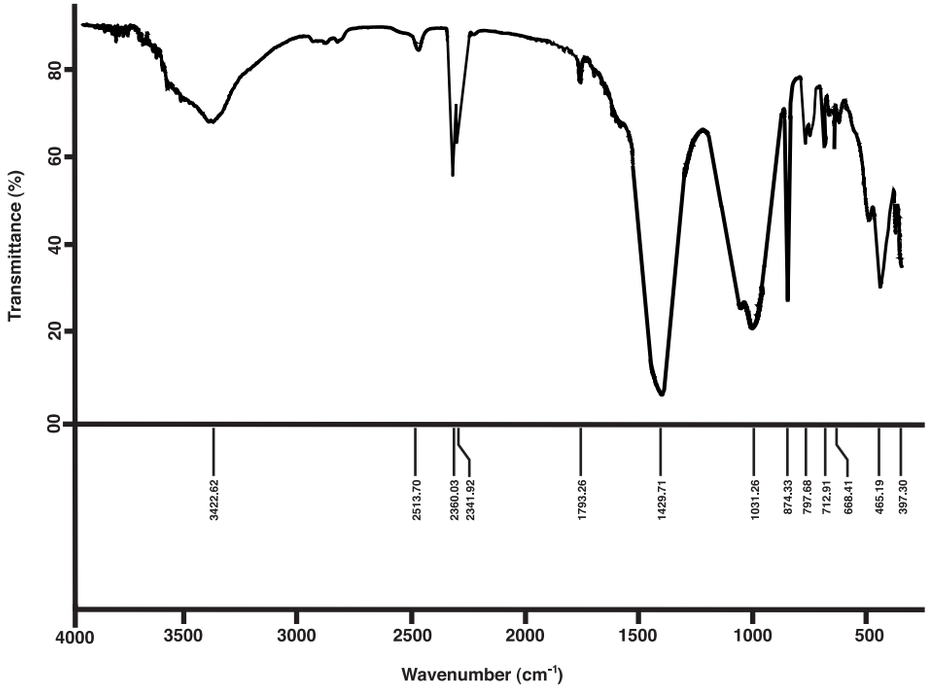


Plate 2.46. IR spectrum of floor plaster (sample 6).

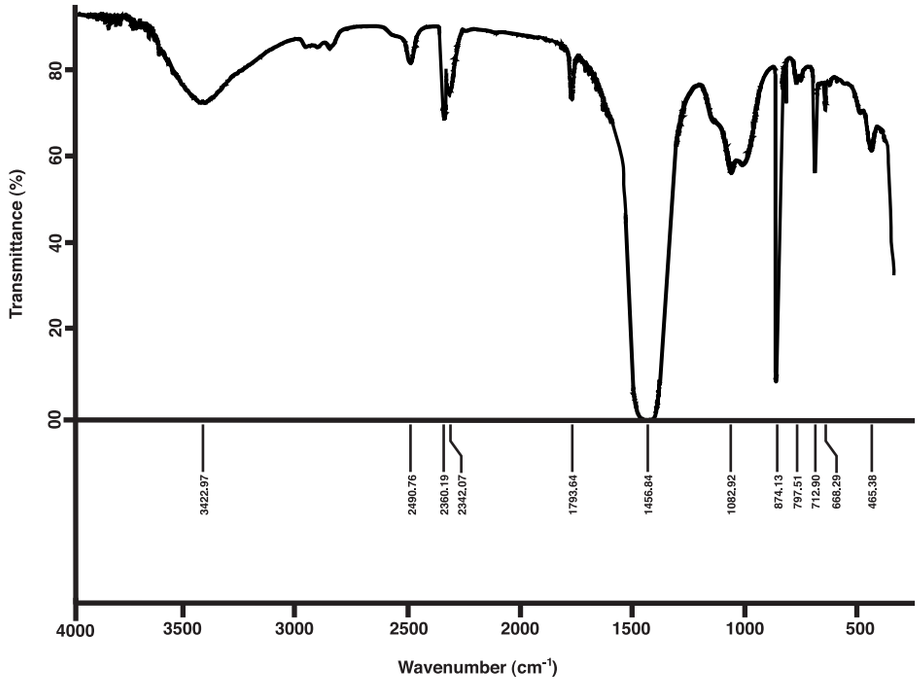


Plate 2.47. Characteristic IR spectrum of construction plaster (sample 21).

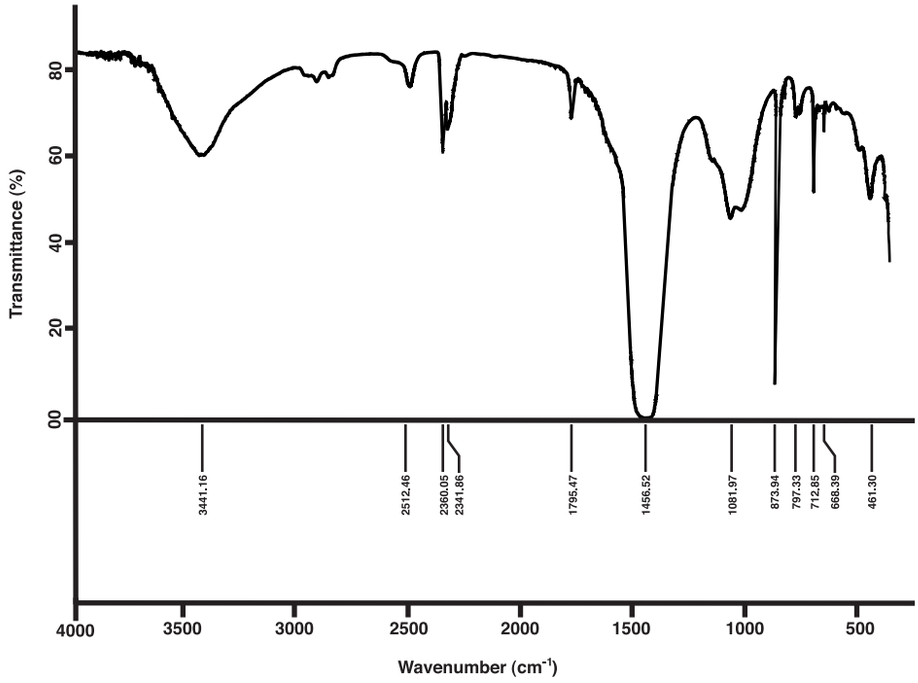


Plate 2.48. Characteristic IR spectrum of floor plaster (sample 10).

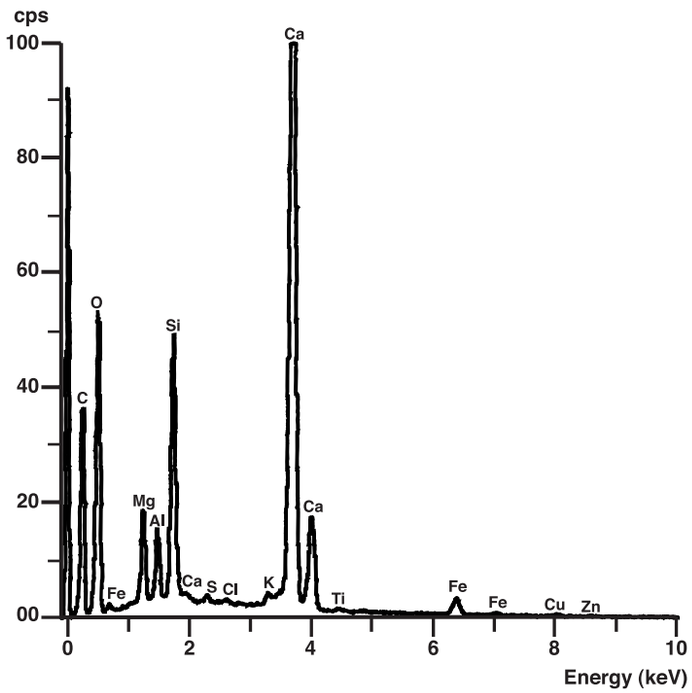


Plate 2.49. XRF spectrum characteristic of white pigment of wall plaster (sample 15).

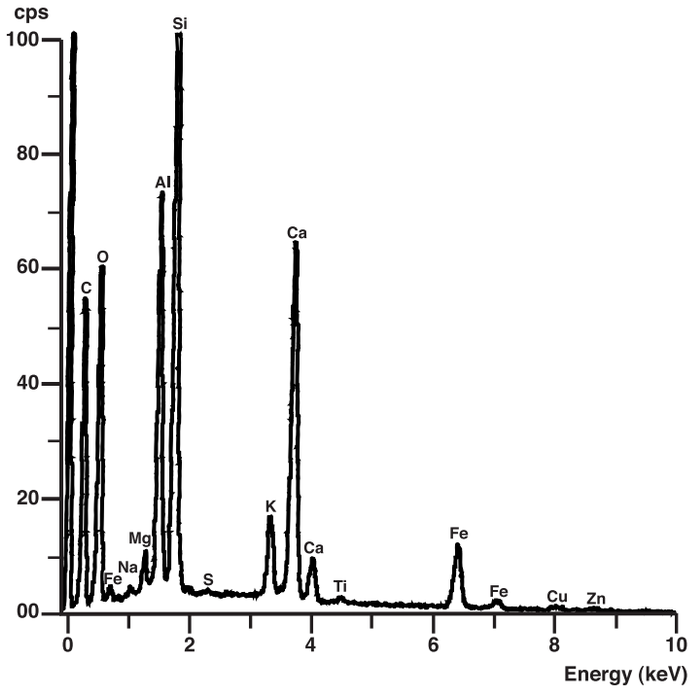


Plate 2.50. XRF spectrum characteristic of yellow pigment of wall plaster (sample 9).

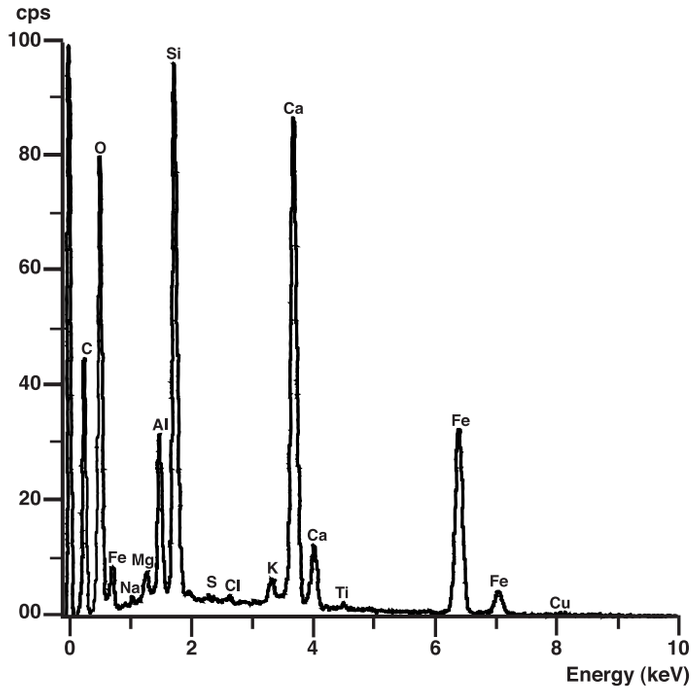


Plate 2.51. XRF spectrum characteristic of red pigment of wall plaster (sample 5).

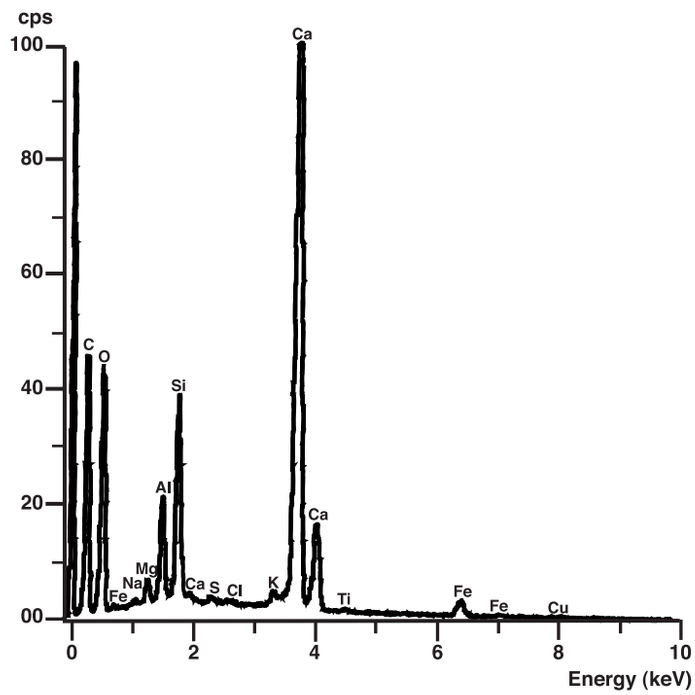


Plate 2.52. XRF spectrum characteristic of the "salmon" pigment of wall plaster (sample 17).

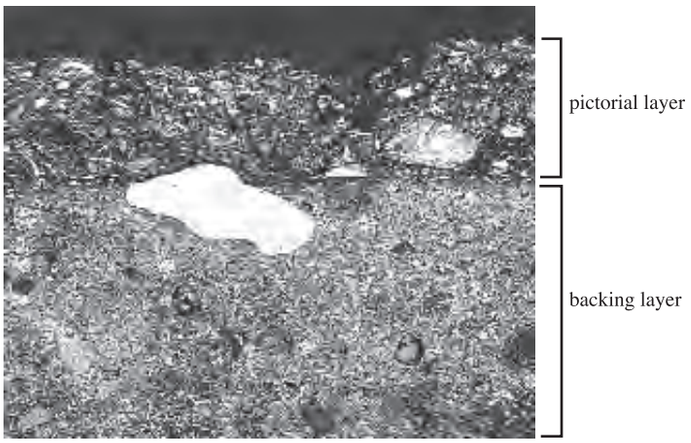


Plate 2.53. Section of wall plaster (sample 2) seen by SEM (magnified).

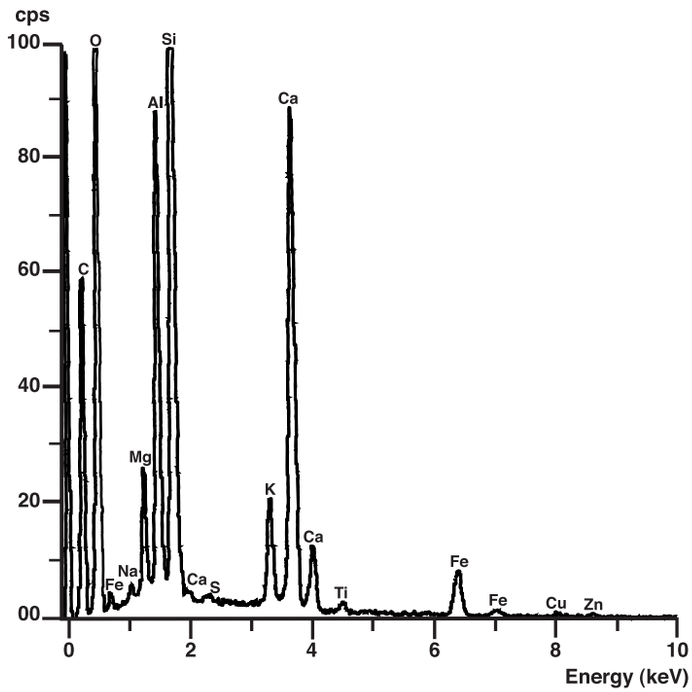


Plate 2.54. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's lavender blue pigment (sample 8).

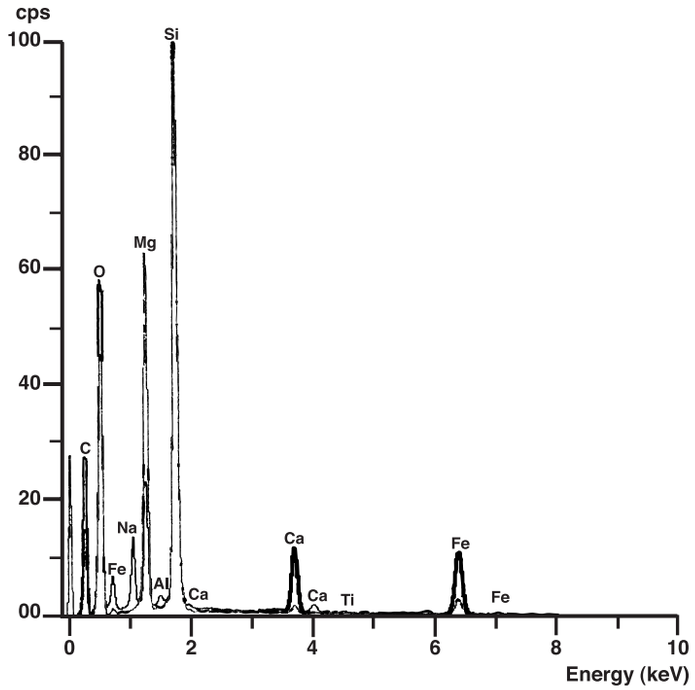


Plate 2.55. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's light blue pigment (sample 14).

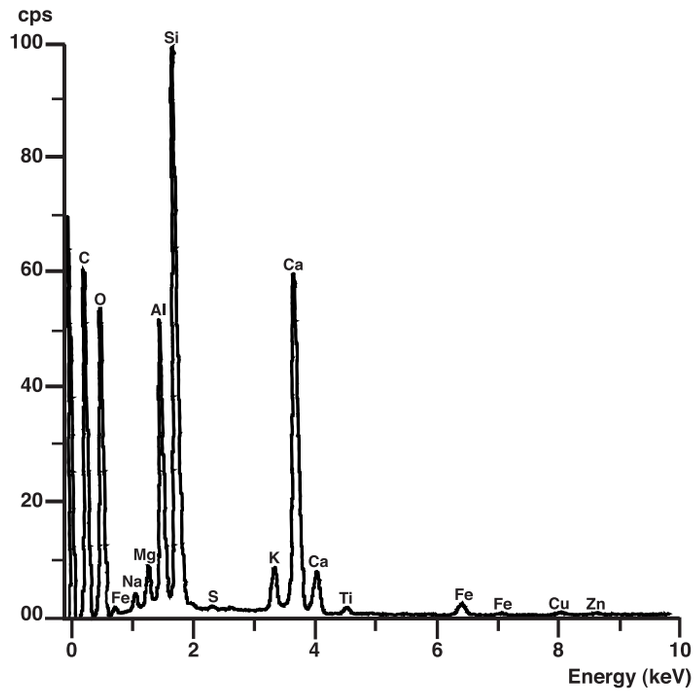


Plate 2.56. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's blue/black pigment (sample 13).

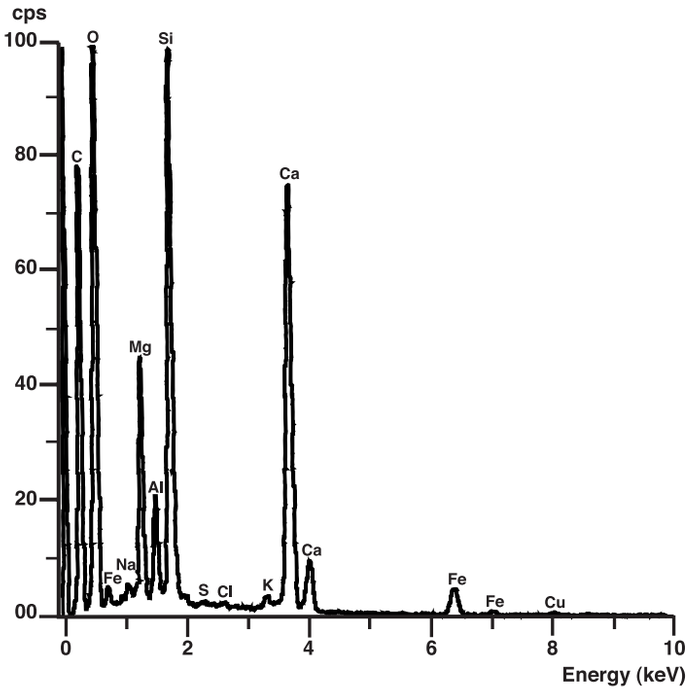


Plate 2.57. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's gray pigment (sample 2).

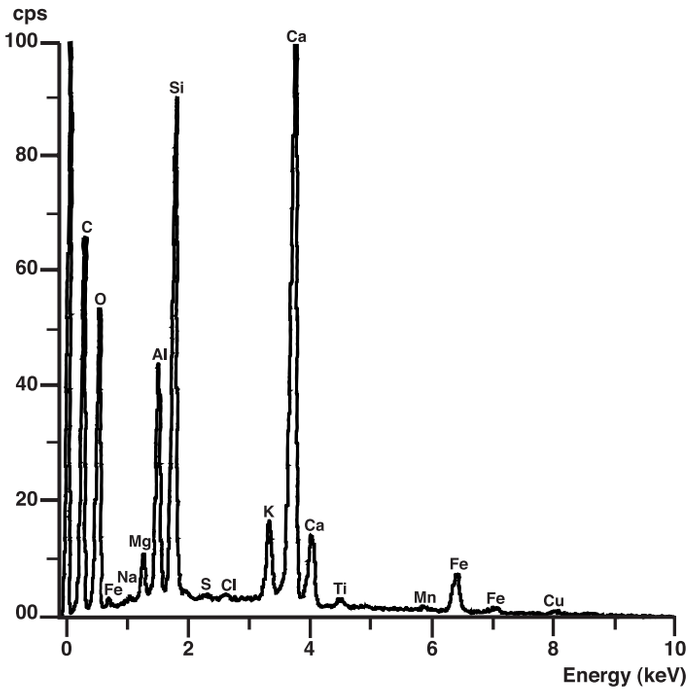


Plate 2.58. XRF spectrum characteristic of the wall plaster's black pigment (sample 18).

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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black

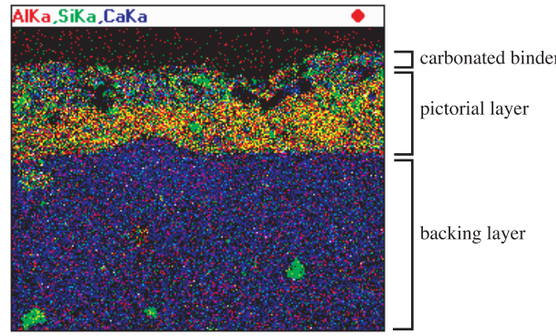


Plate 2.59. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 2) seen by SEM (magnified).

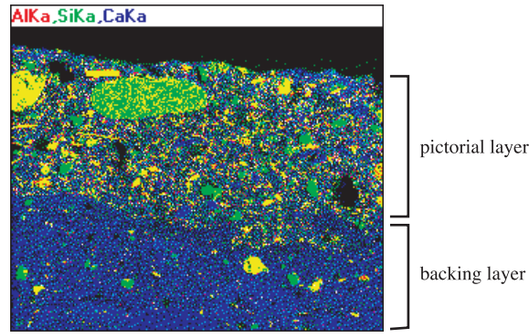


Plate 2.60. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 17) seen by SEM (magnified).

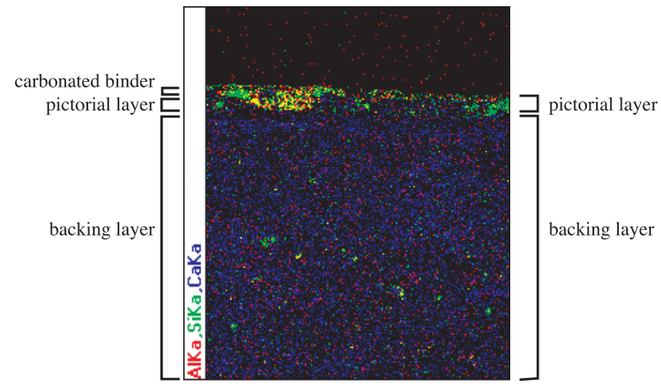


Plate 2.61. Elementary cartography of wall plaster (sample 13) seen by SEM (magnified).

TJ380-10-2005 IMUS 7/FRA0001 Kommos (CTP) W8-1/2" x H11" 175L 130 M/A Magenge

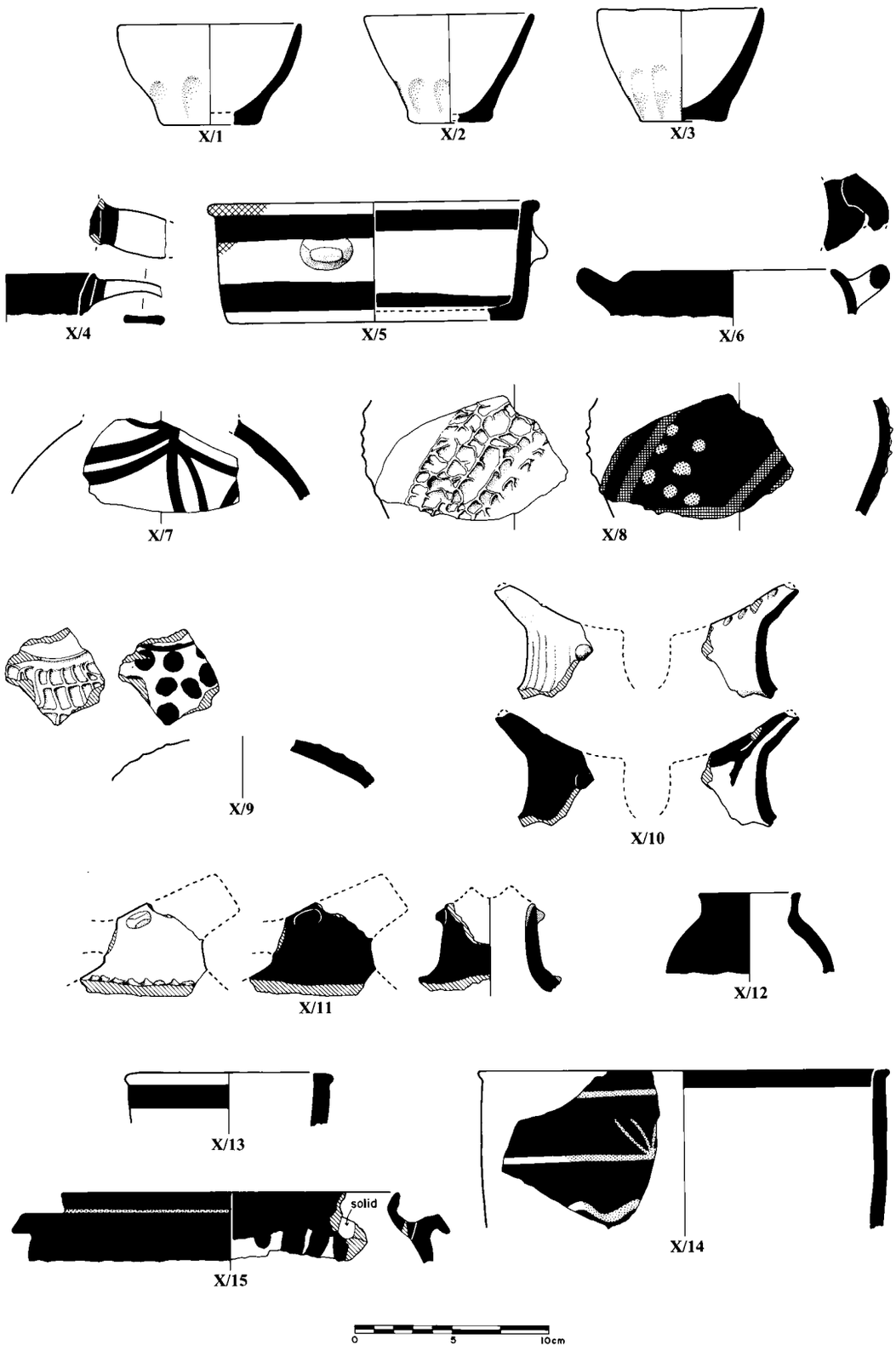


Plate 3.1. Pottery from Group X. Scale 1:3.

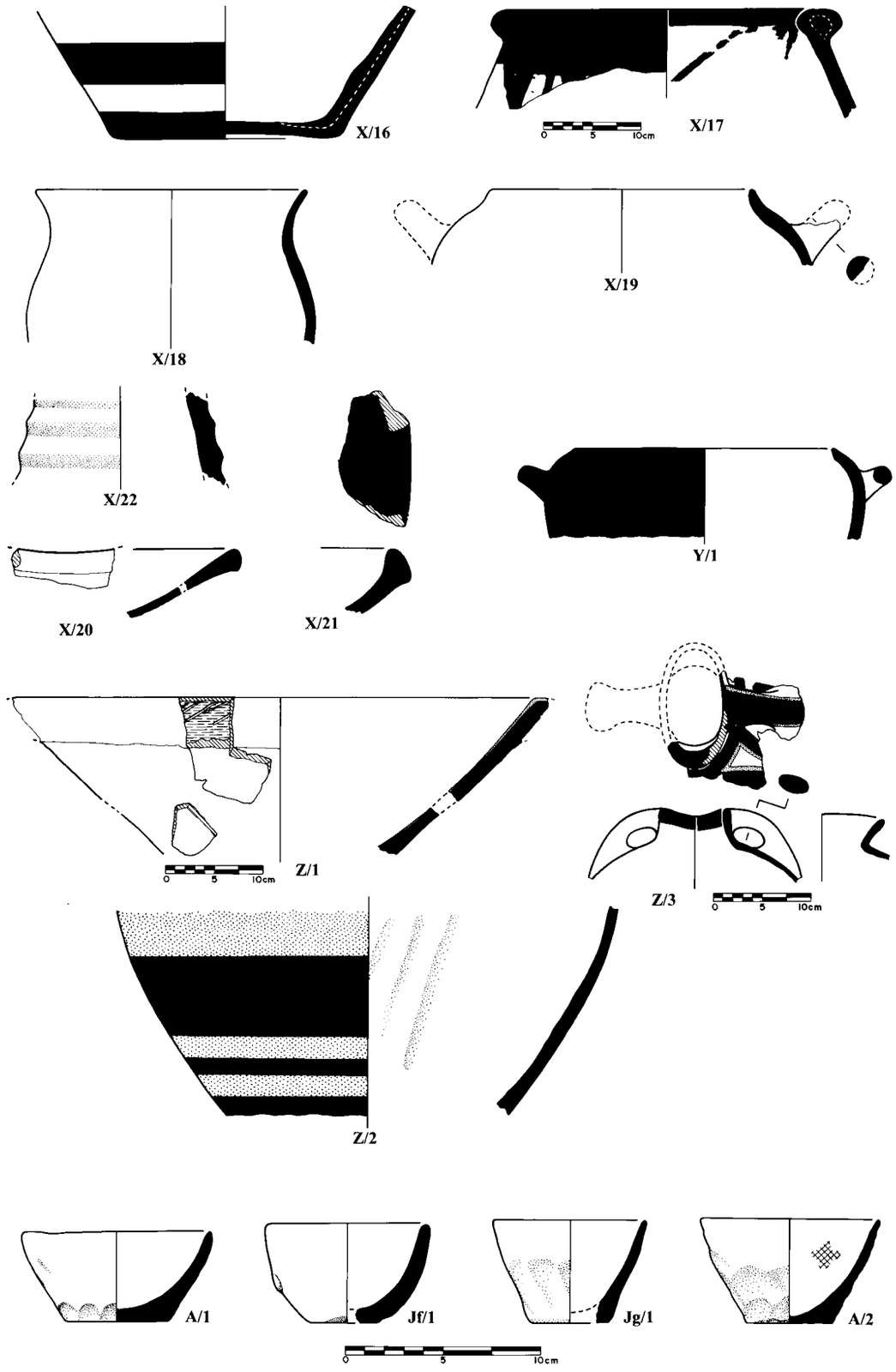


Plate 3.2. Pottery from Groups X, Y, and Z, and conical cups from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **X/17, Z/1,** and **Z/3,** which are at 1:6.

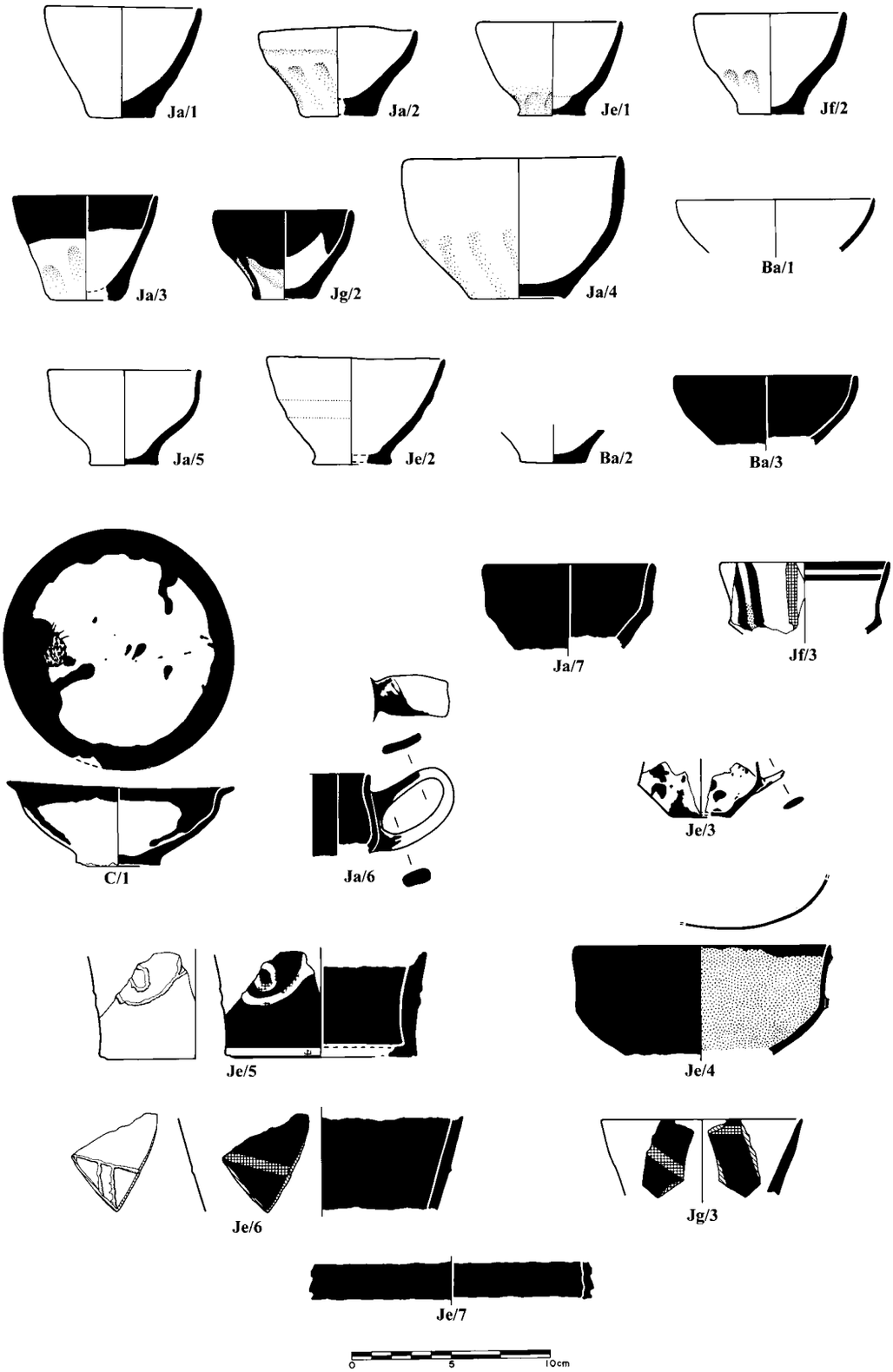


Plate 3.3. Conical cups, carinated cups, and straight-sided cups from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

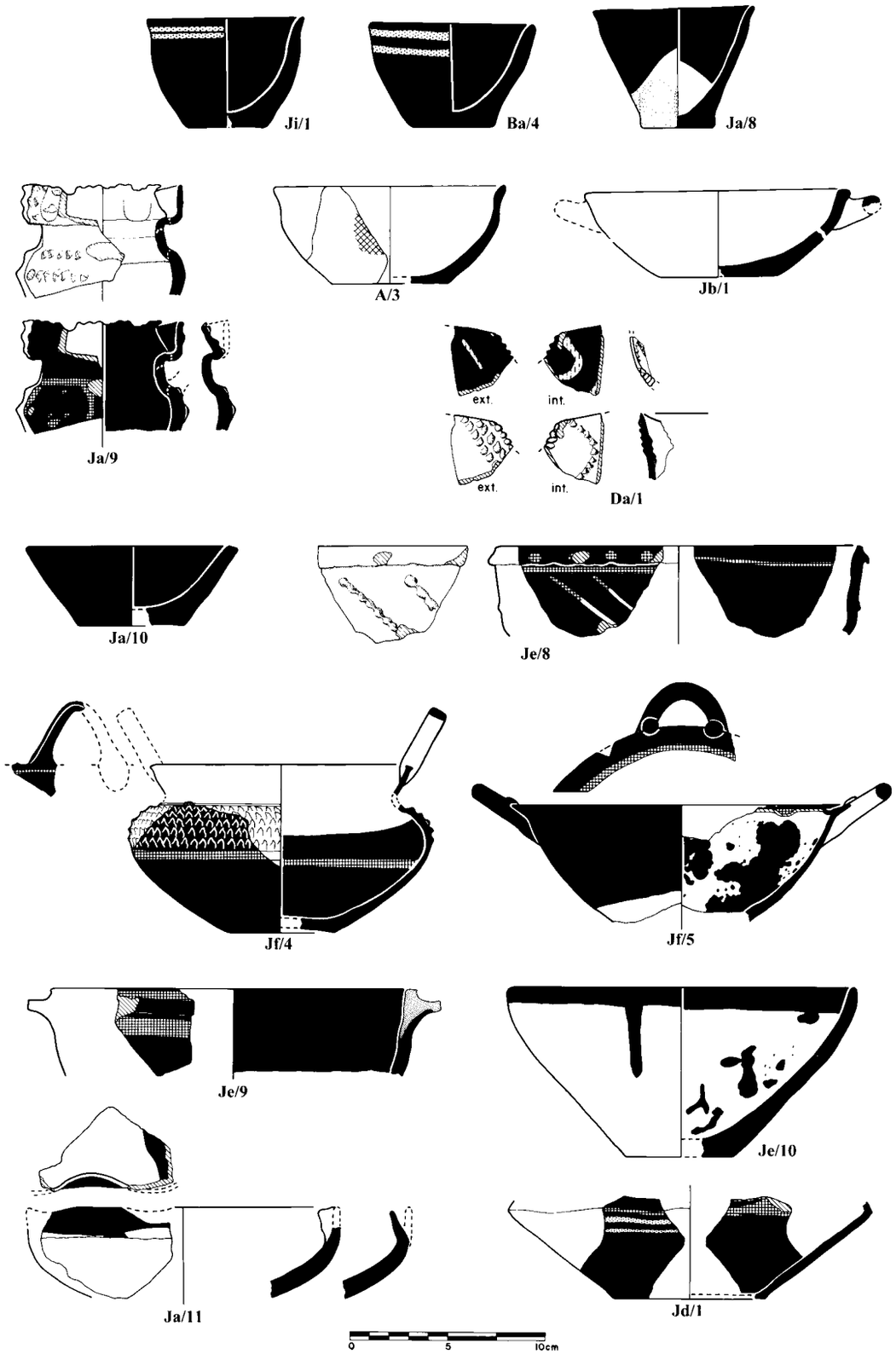


Plate 3.4. Tumblers and bowls from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

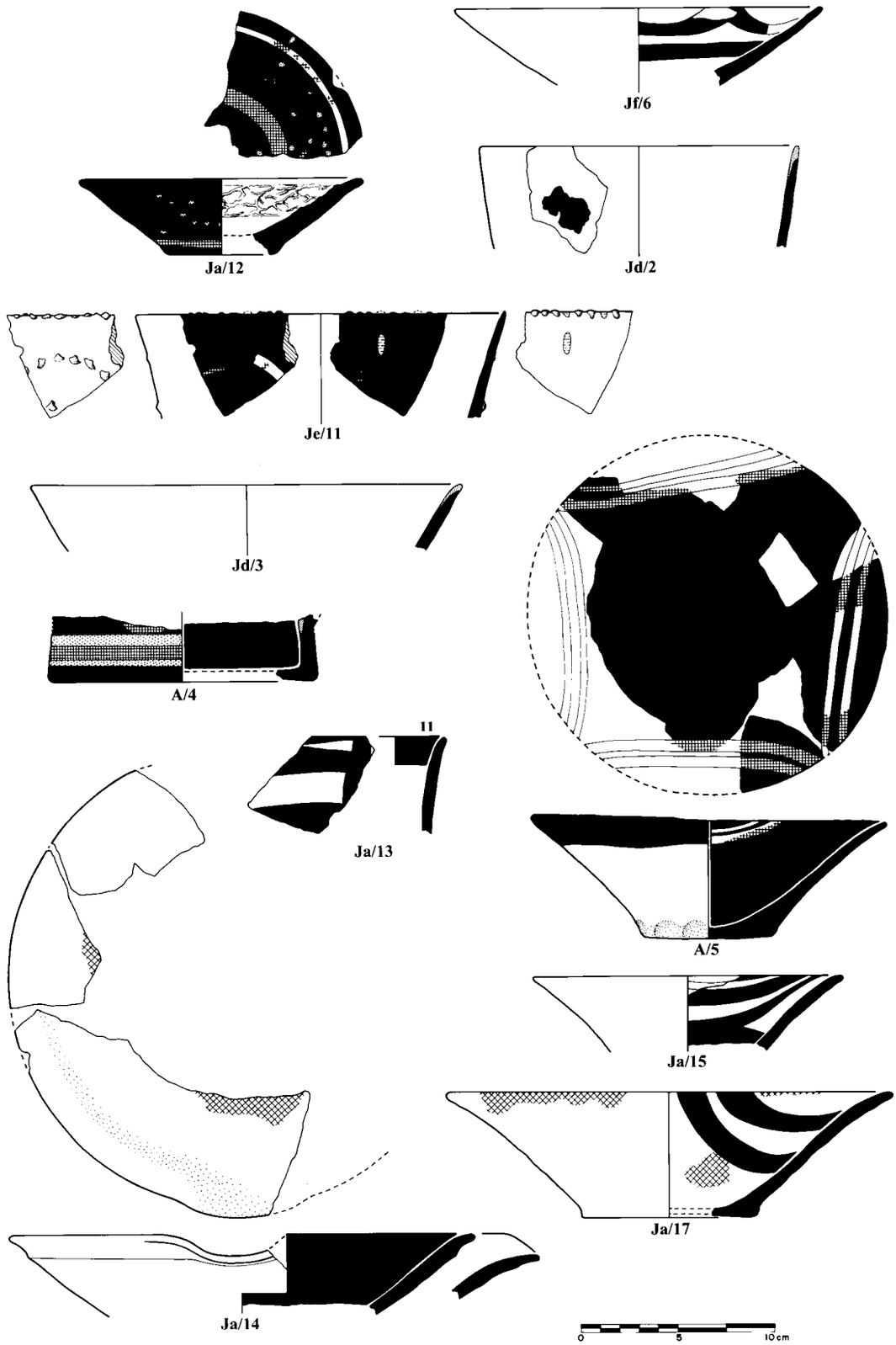


Plate 3.5. Bowls from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

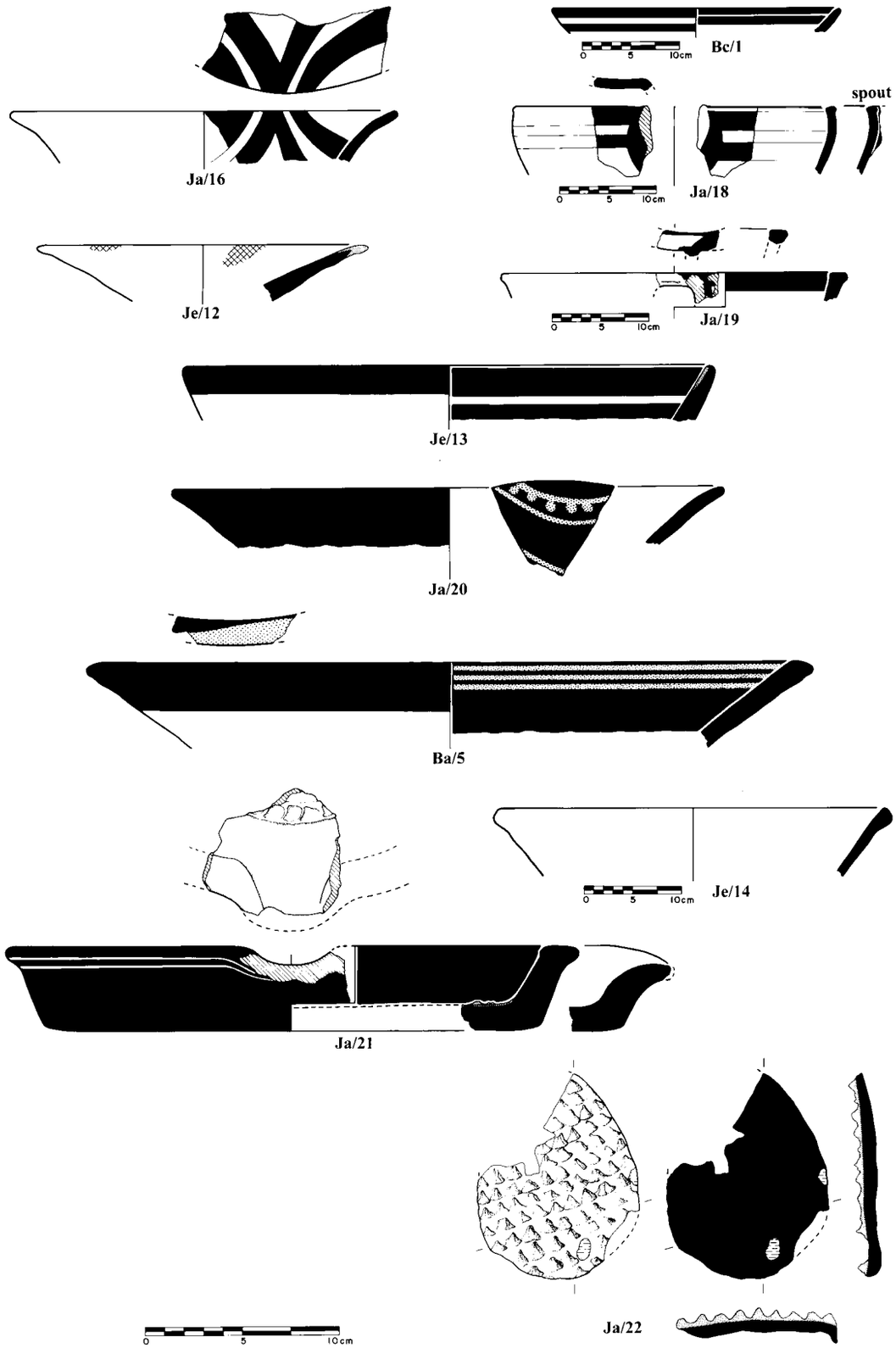


Plate 3.6. Bowls, basin, and *grattuge* from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **Bc/1, Ja/18, Ja/19,** and **Je/14,** which are at 1:6.

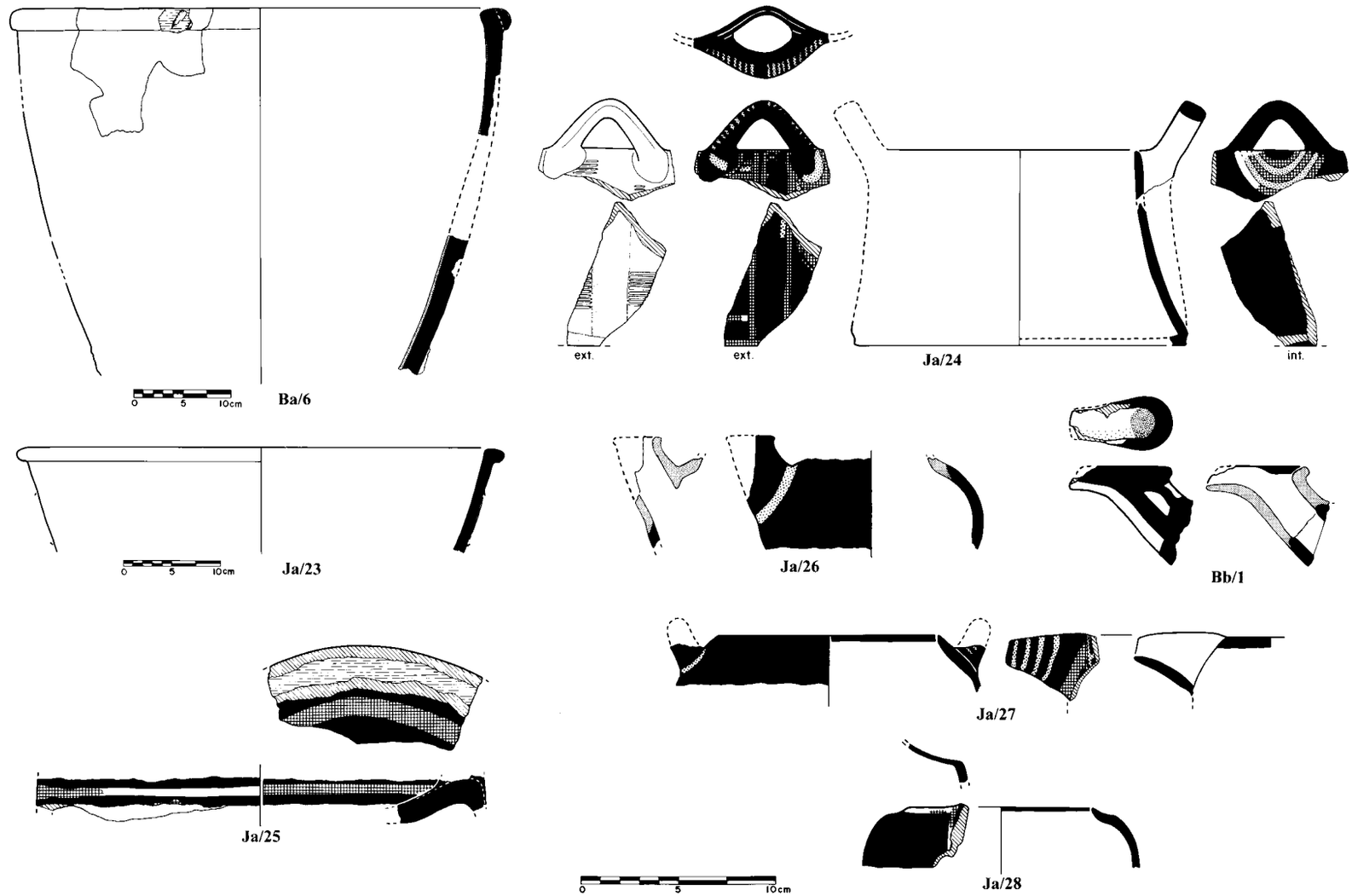


Plate 3.7. Vats, bucket, pedestaled bowl, teapots, and small open-spouted jars from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **Ba/6** and **Ja/23,** which are at 1:6.

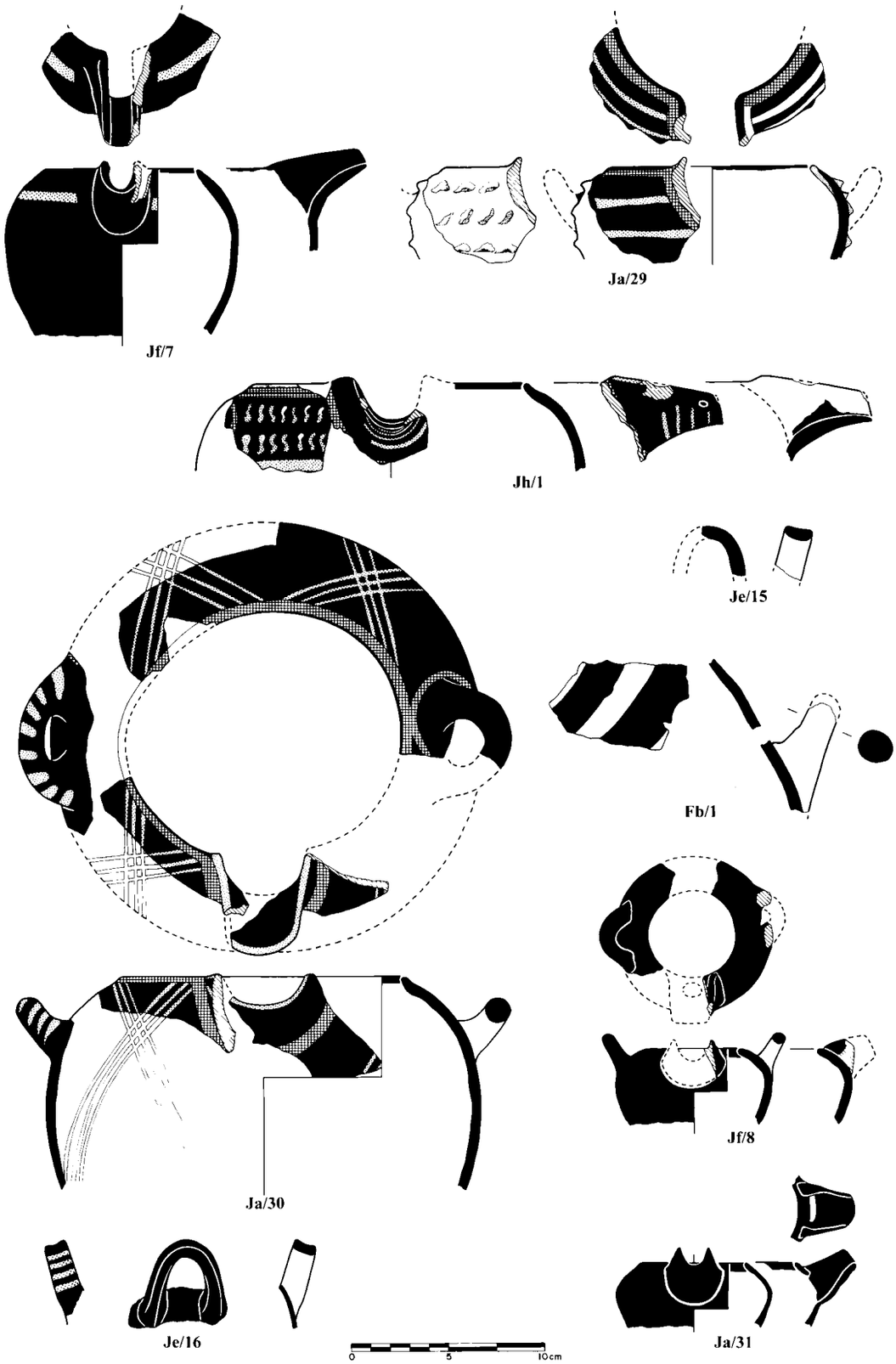


Plate 3.8. Open-spouted jars and bridge-spouted jars from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

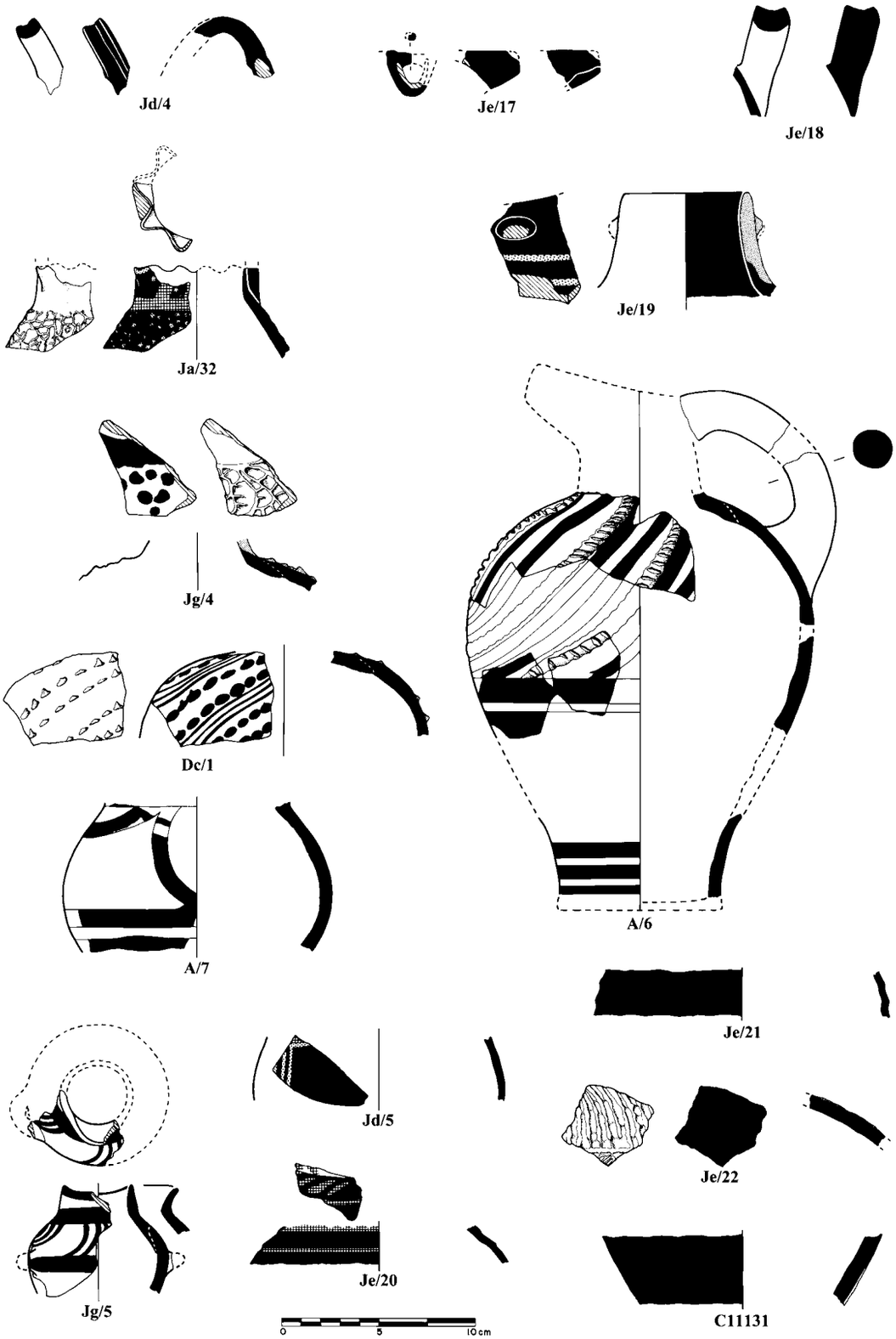


Plate 3.9. Bridge-spouted jars, jugs, and miscellaneous closed vessels from Groups A through Ji, and uncatalogued C 11131. Scale 1:3.

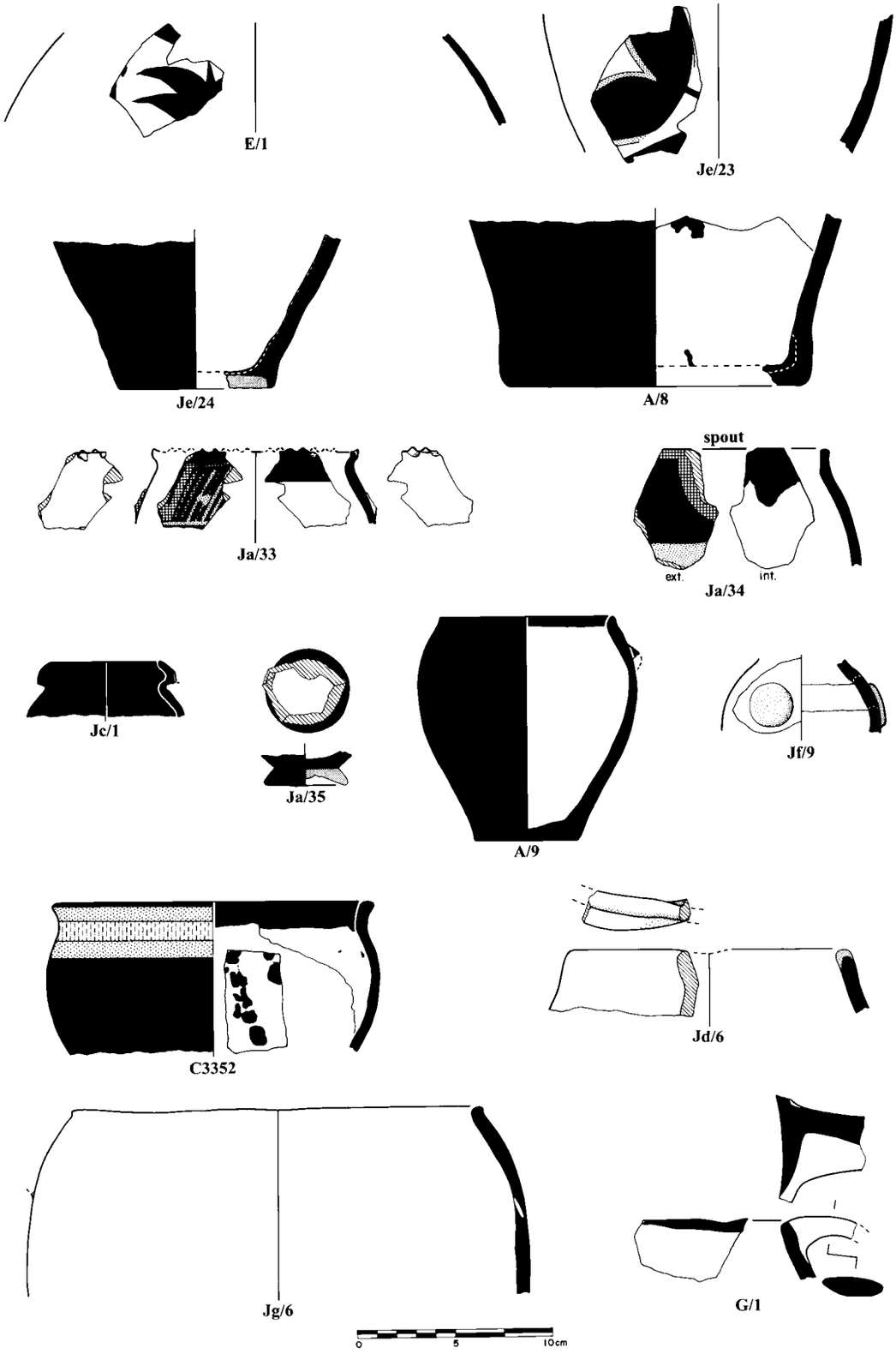


Plate 3.10. Miscellaneous closed vessels, jars, and oval-mouthed amphora waster from Groups A through Ji, and uncatalogued C 3352. Scale 1:3.

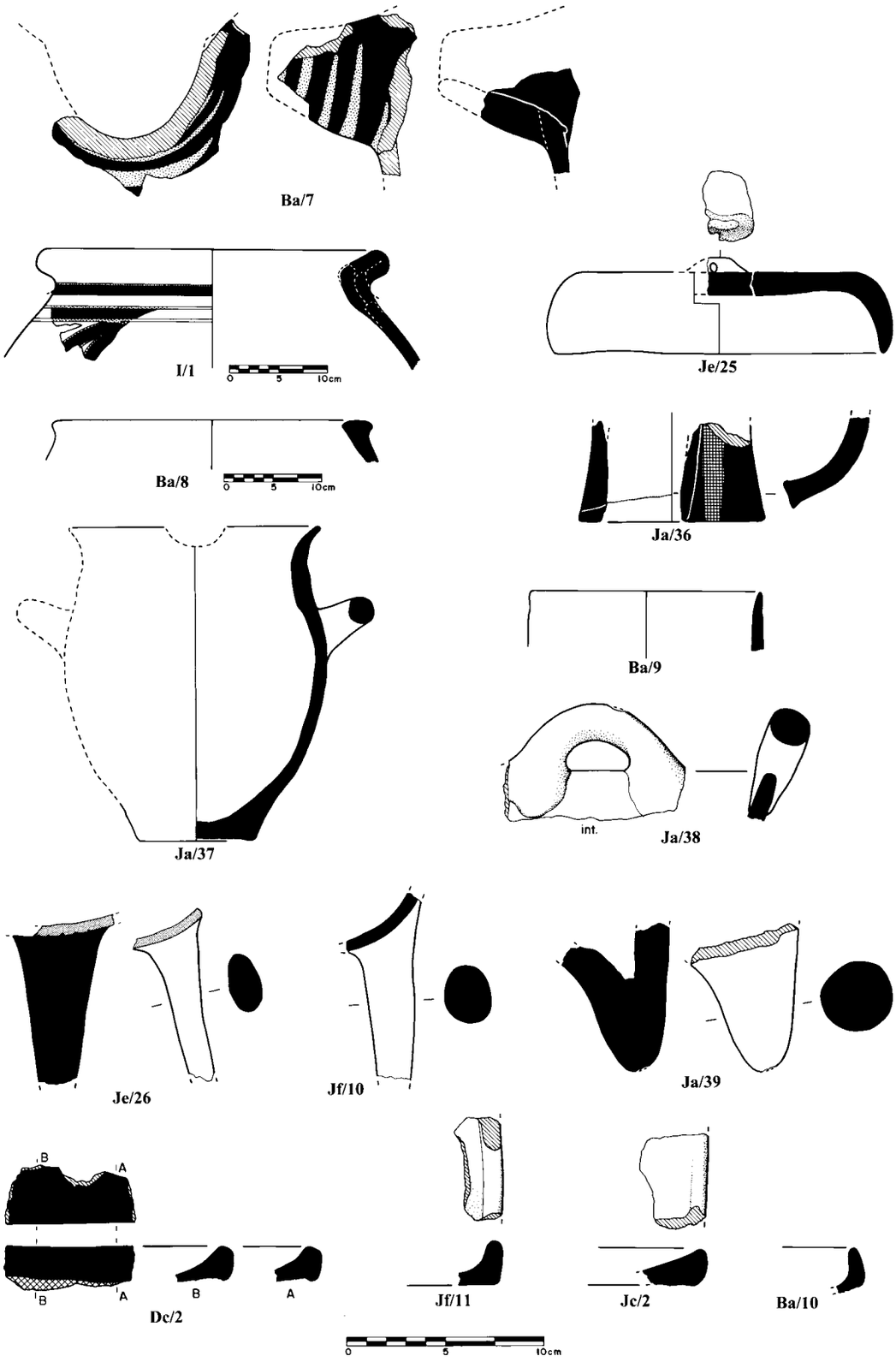


Plate 3.11. Pithoi, lid, stand, cooking pots, and cooking dishes from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3, except for **I/1** and **Ba/8,** which are at 1:6.

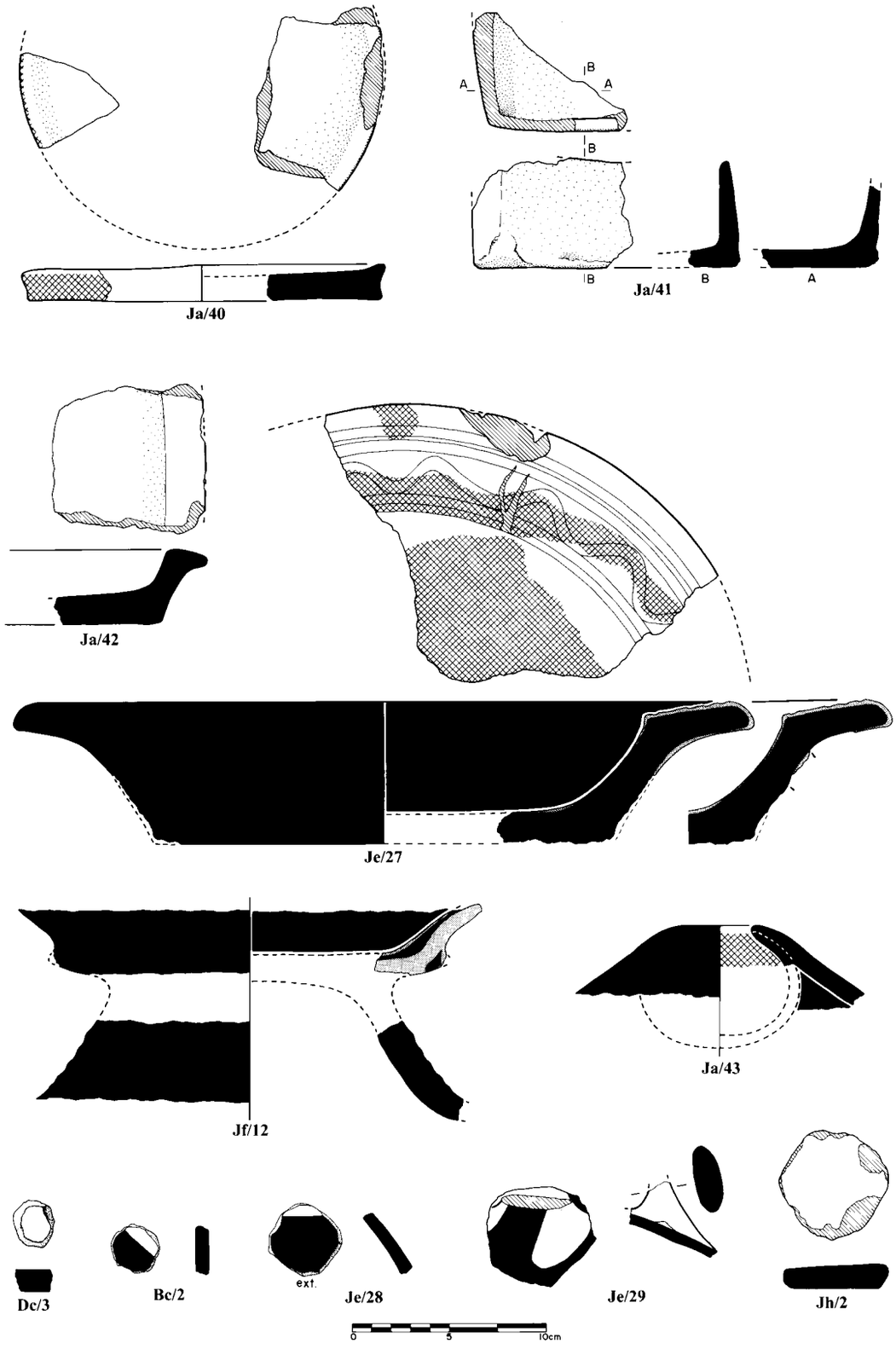


Plate 3.12. Cooking dish, tray, lamps, firebox, and stoppers from Groups A through Ji. Scale 1:3.

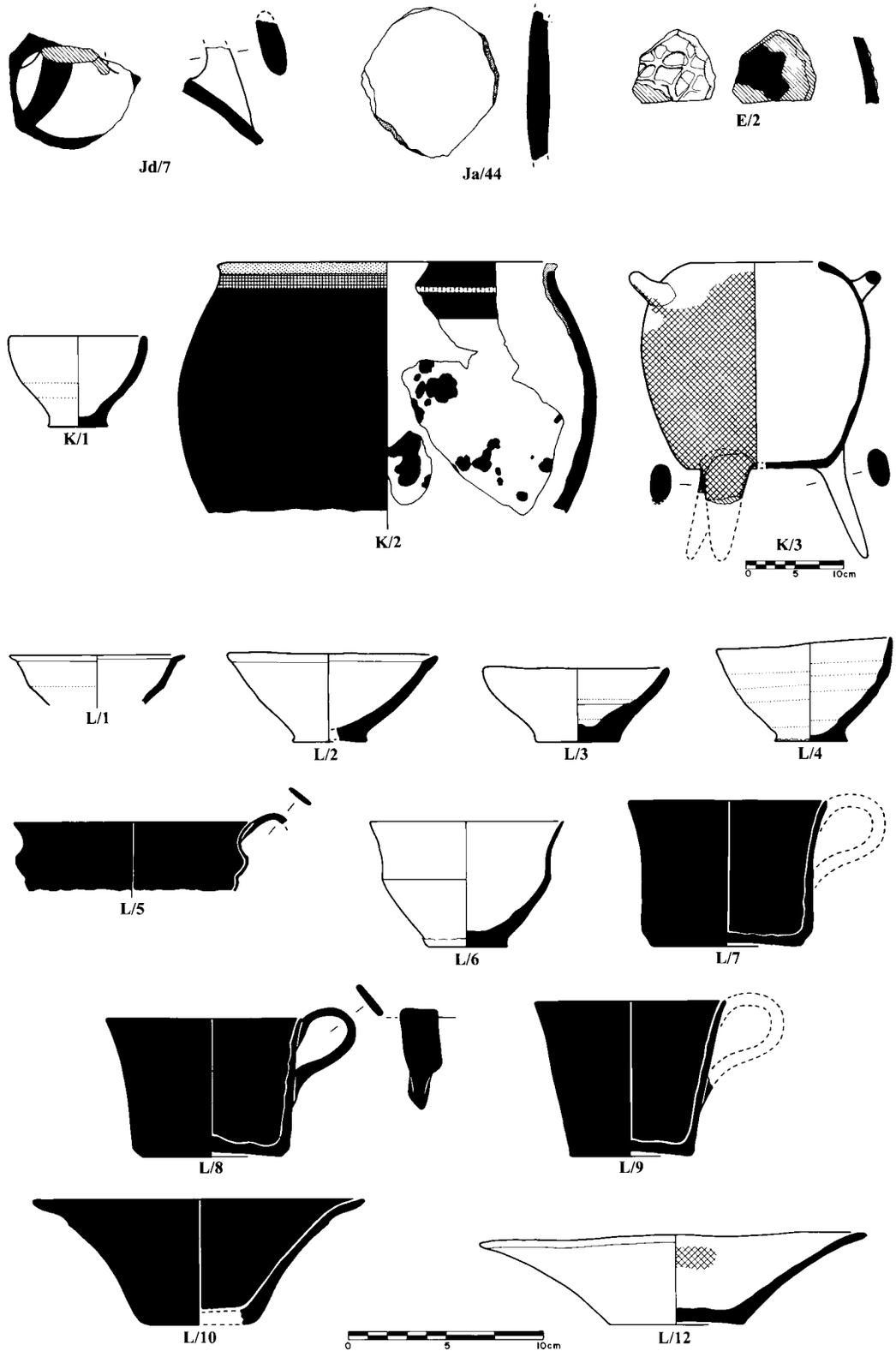


Plate 3.13. Stoppers and possible scraper from Groups A through Ji, and pottery from Groups K and L. Scale 1:3, except for **K/3,** which is at 1:6.

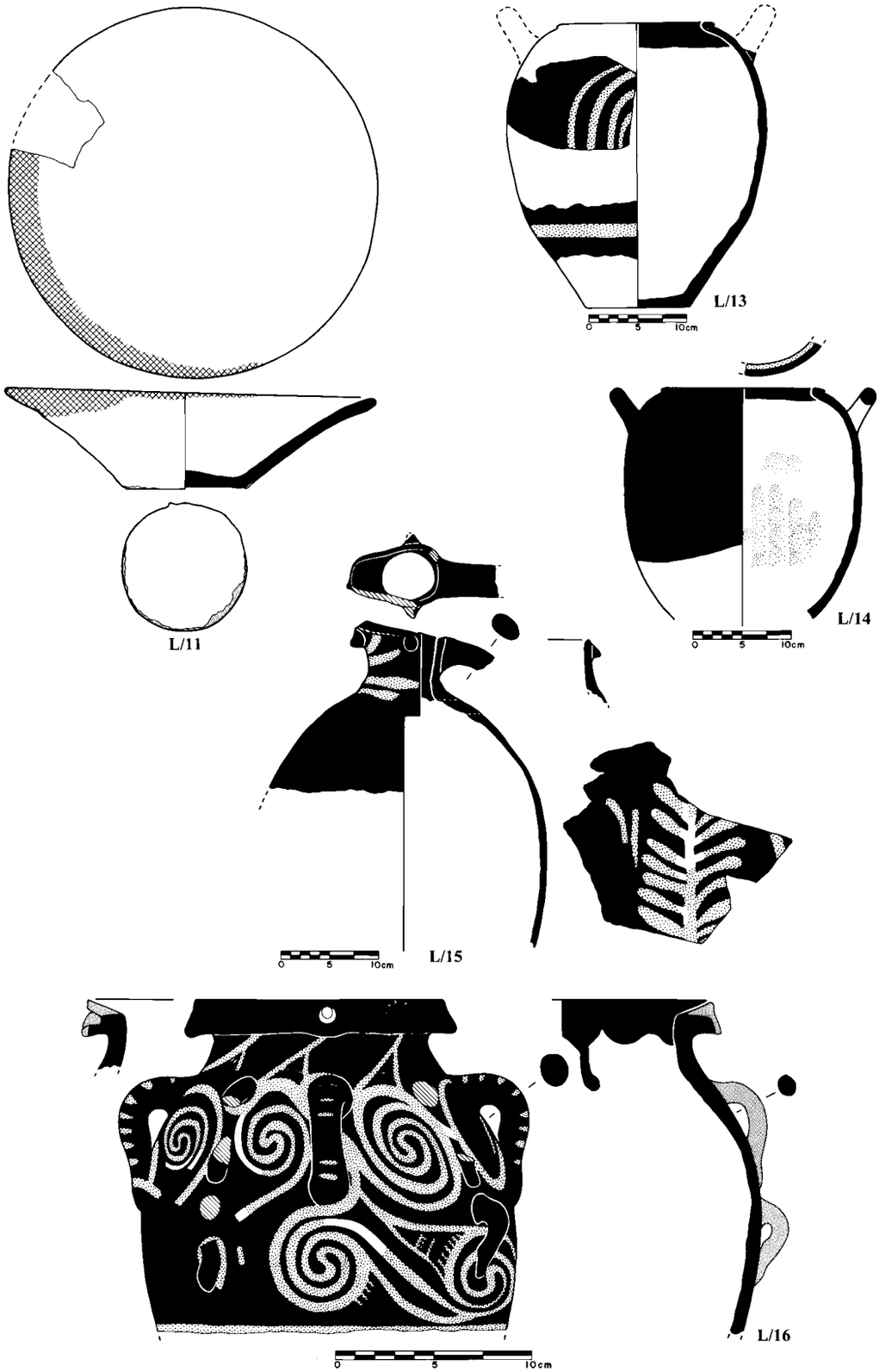


Plate 3.14. Pottery from Group L. Scale 1:3, except for **L/13, L/14,** and **L/15,** which are at 1:6.

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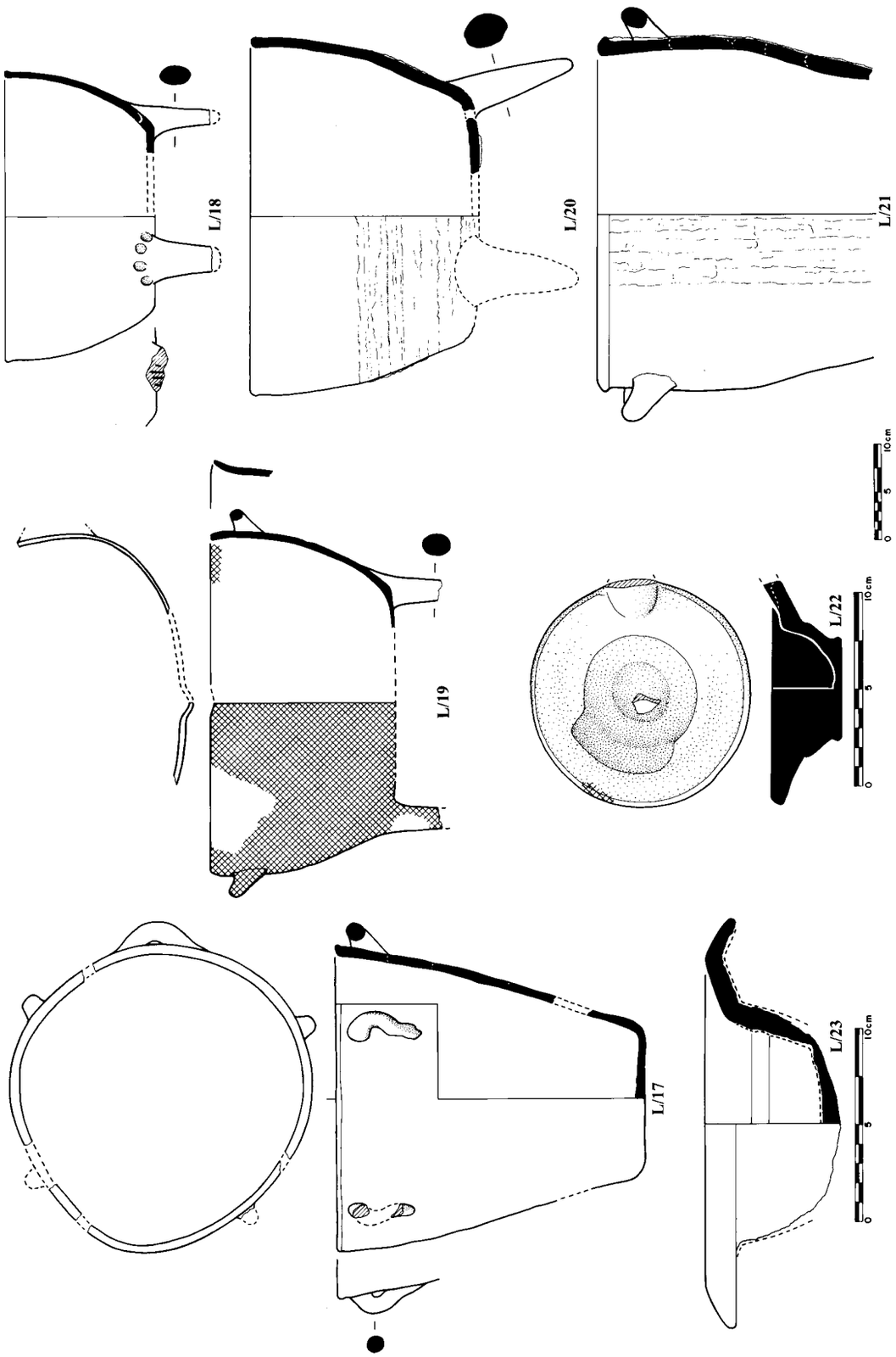


Plate 3.15. Pottery from Group L. Scale 1:6, except for **L/22** and **L/23,** which are at 1:3.

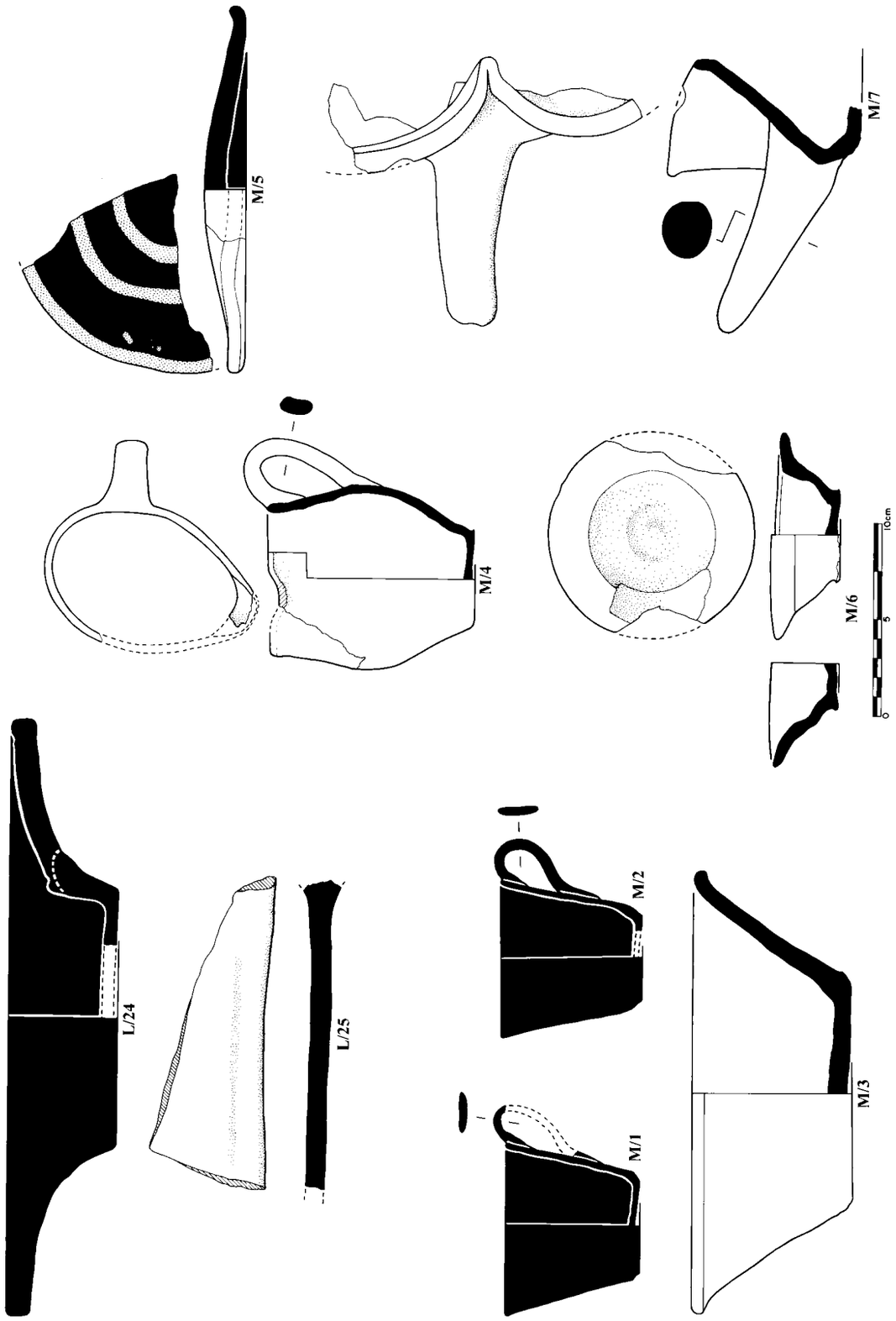


Plate 3.16. Pottery from Groups L and M. Scale 1:3.

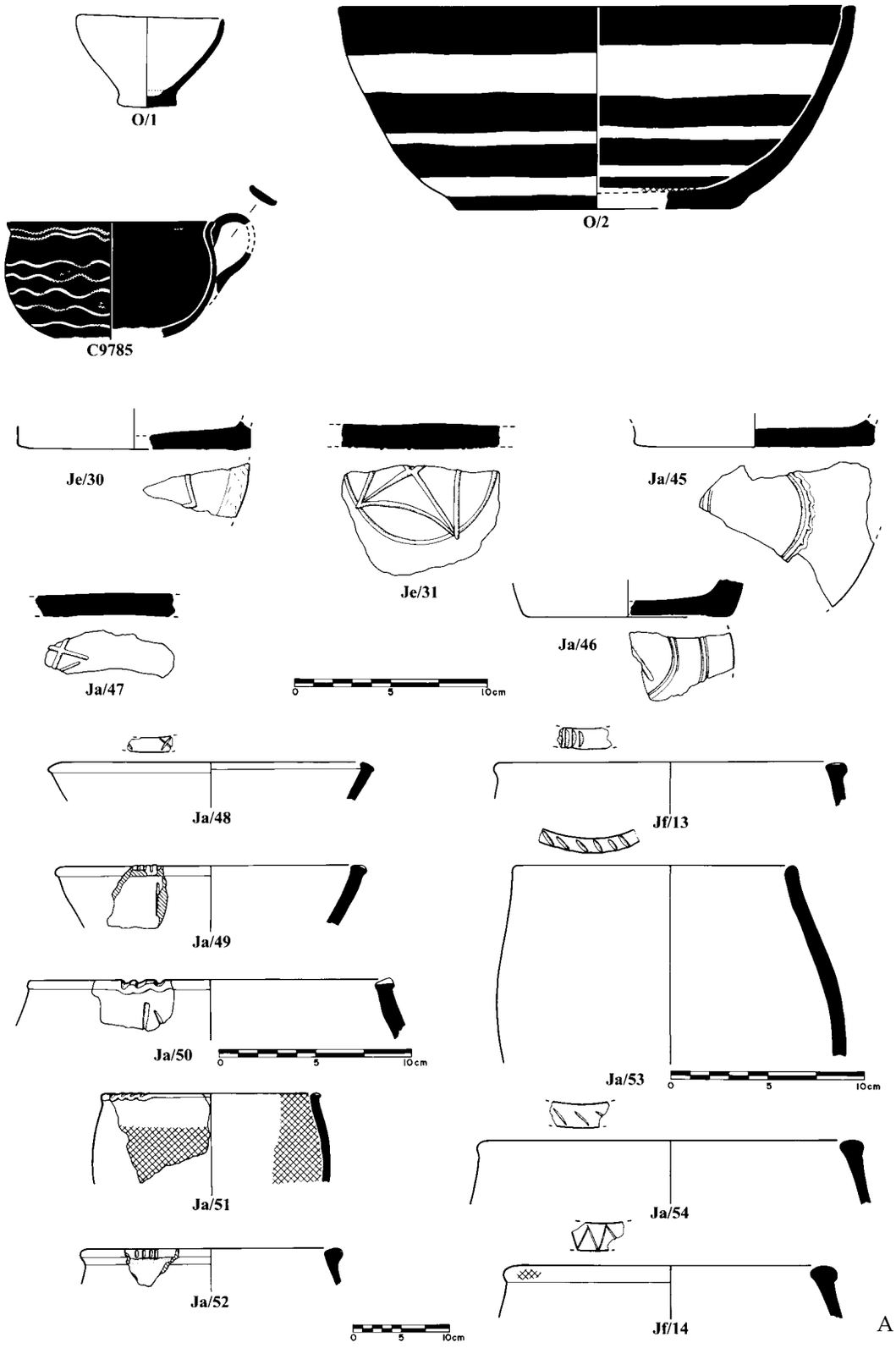
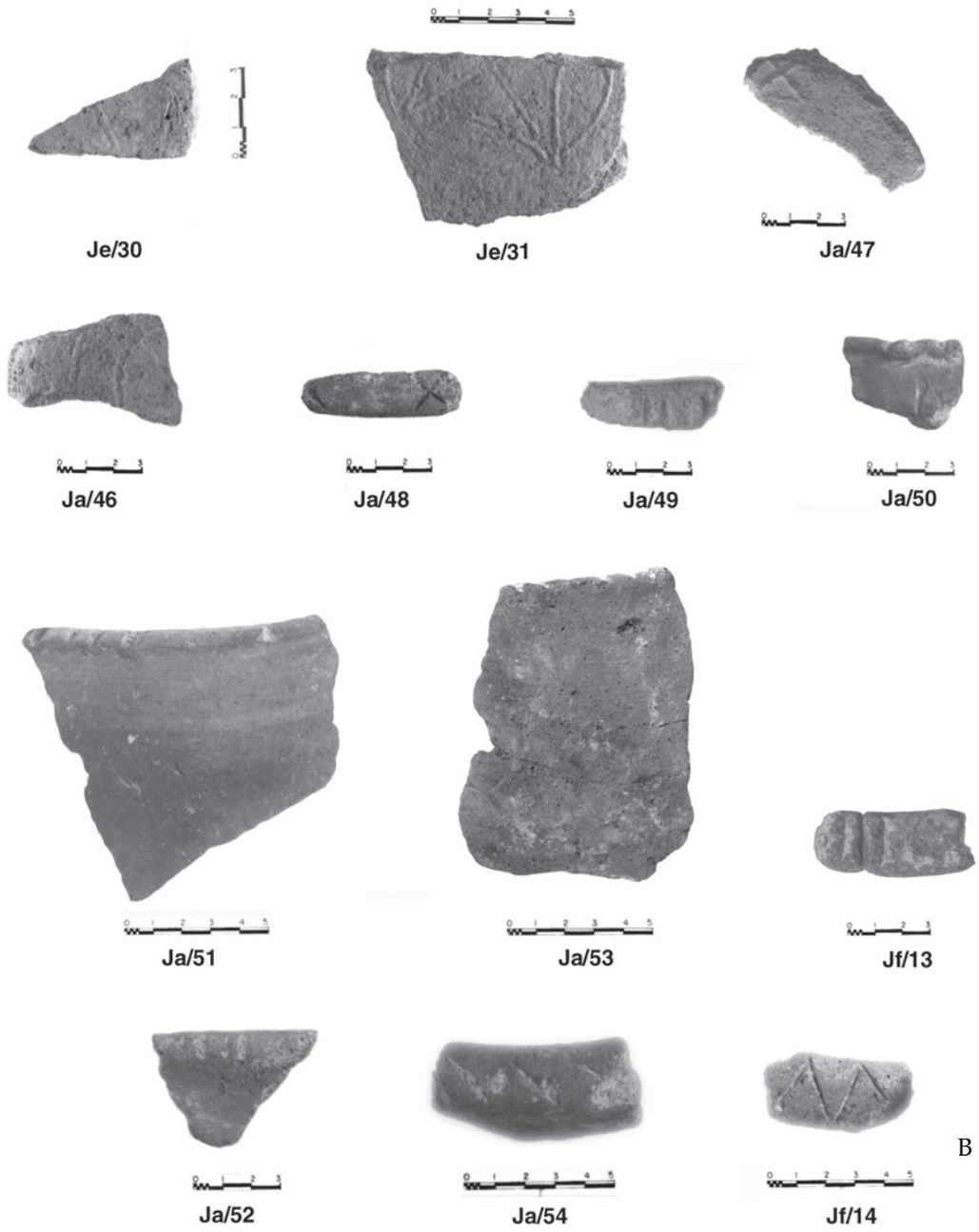


Plate 3.17A. Pottery from Group O, uncatalogued C 9785, and fragments with potmarks from Groups Ja, Je, and Jf. Scale 1:3, except for **Ja/48, Ja/49, Ja/51, Ja/52, Ja/54, Jf/13,** and **Jf/14,** which are at 1:6.



B

Plate 3.17B. Fragments with potmarks from Groups Ja, Je, and Jf.

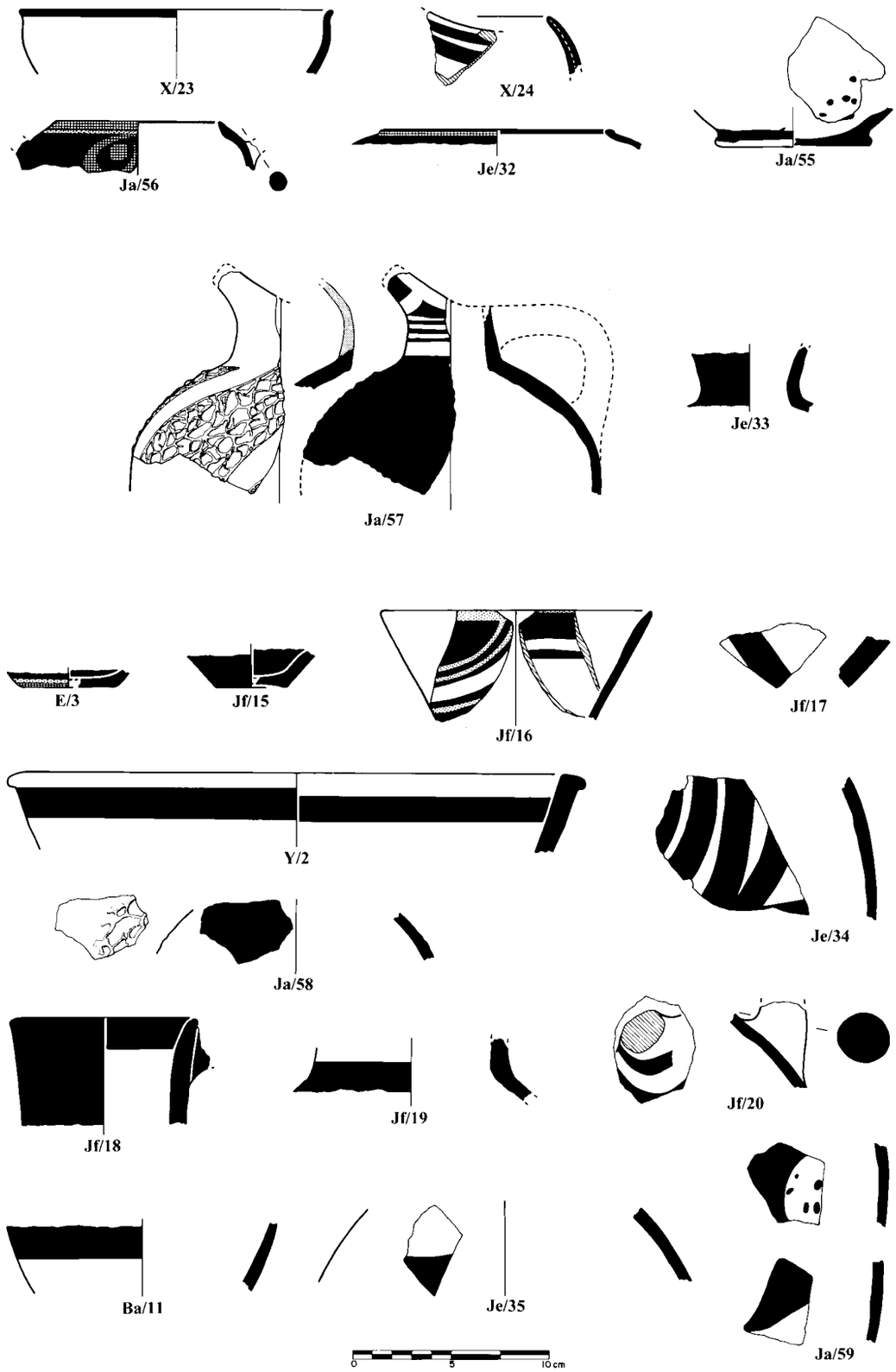


Plate 3.18. Pottery imports from Knossos, the Amari Valley, and East Crete associated with Building AA. Scale 1:3.

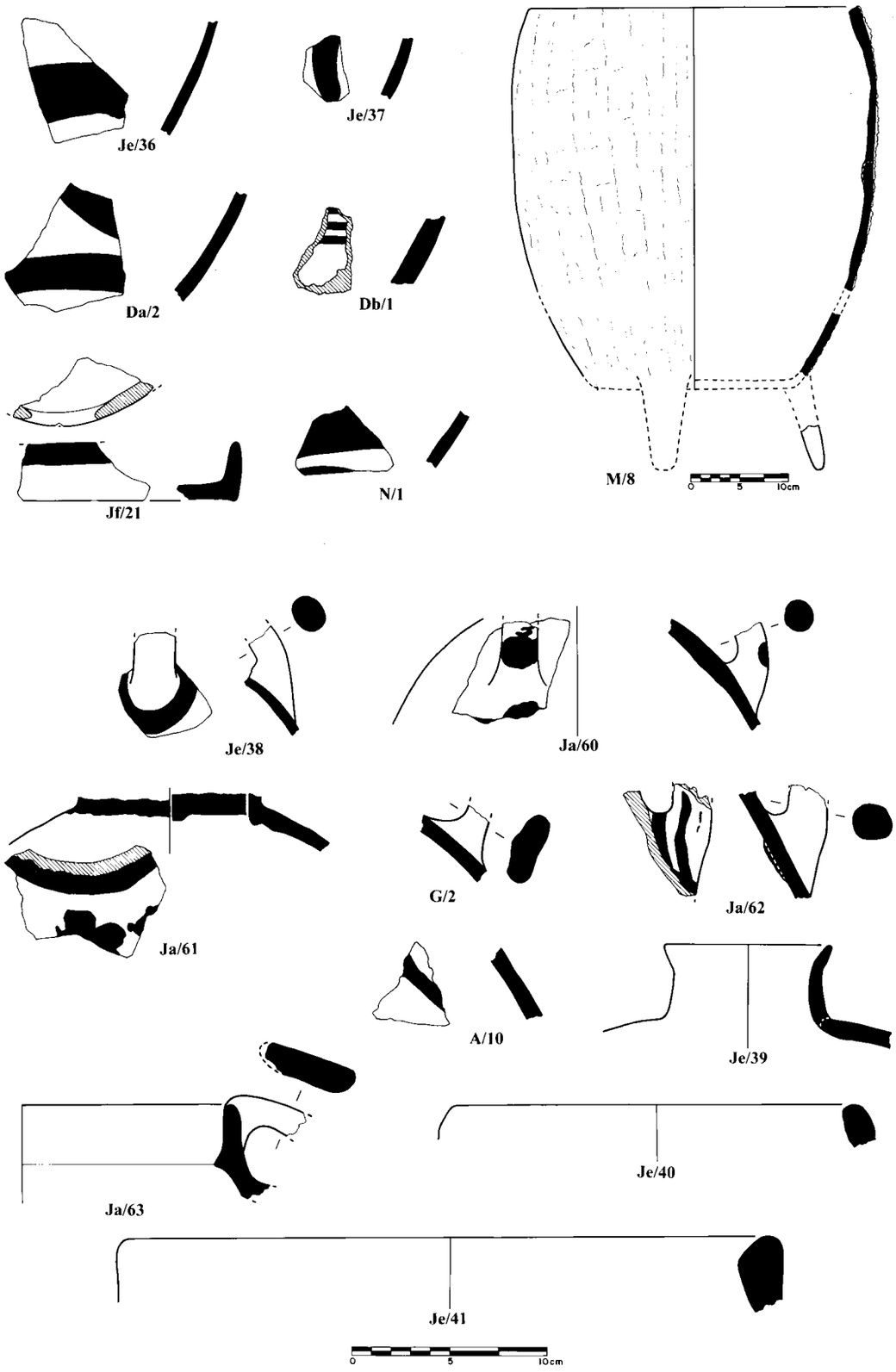


Plate 3.19. Pottery imports from East Crete and Gavdos associated with Building AA. Scale 1:3, except for **M/8,** which is at 1:6.

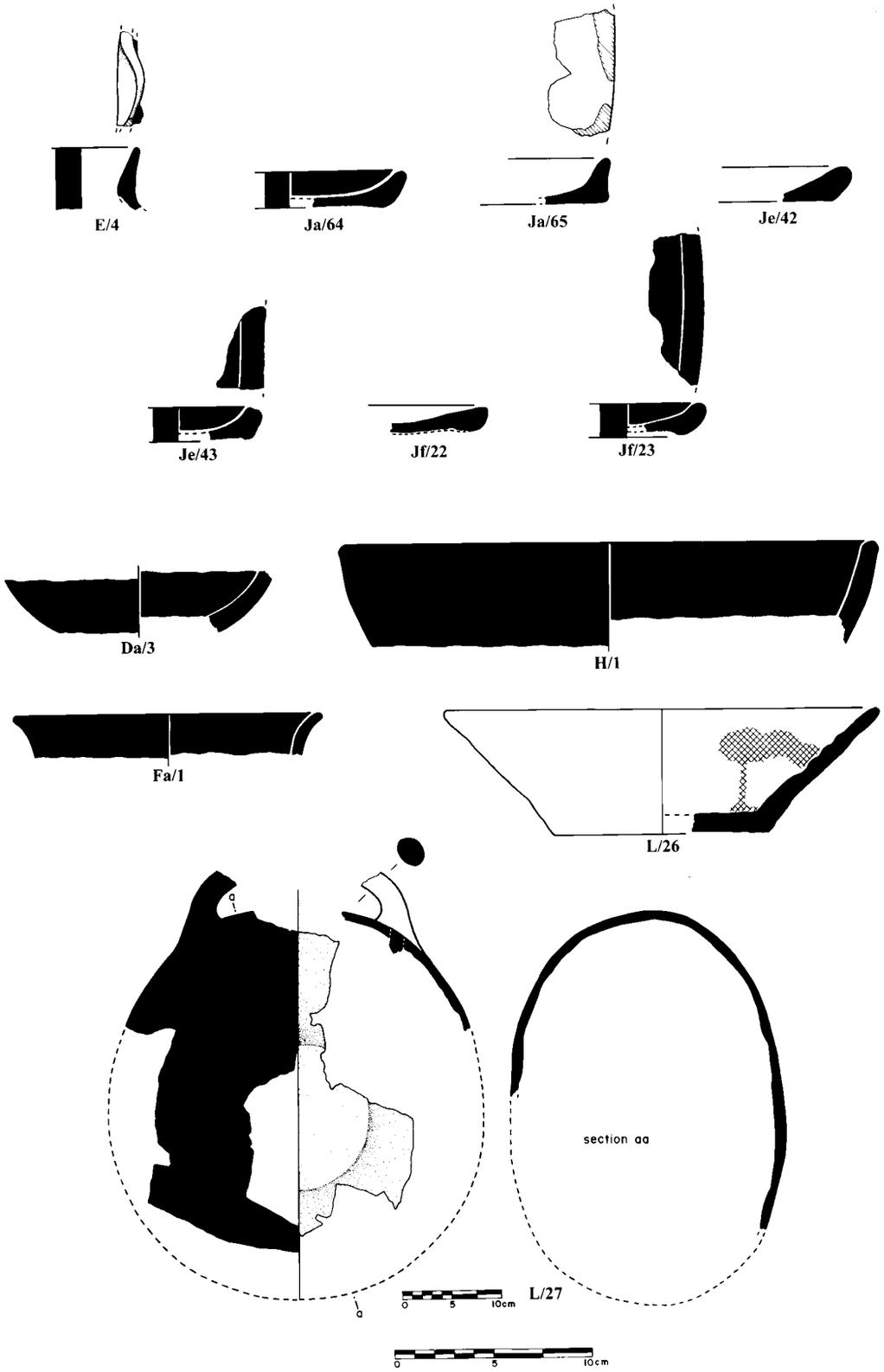
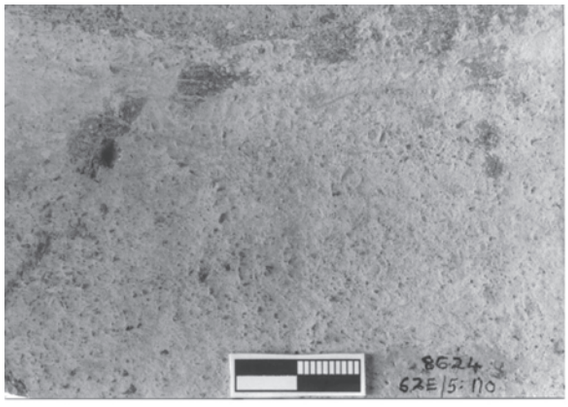
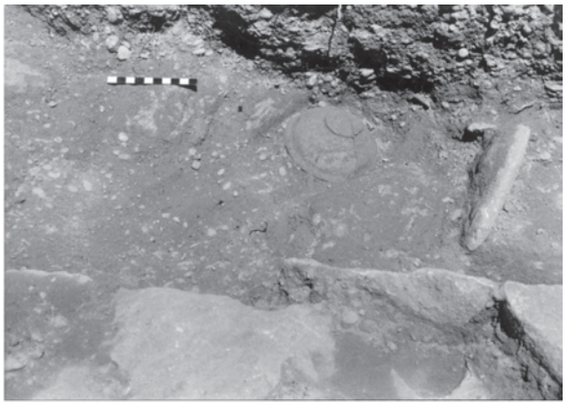


Plate 3.20. Pottery imports from the Cyclades and uncertain origins associated with Building AA. Scale 1:3, except for **L/27,** which is at 1:6.



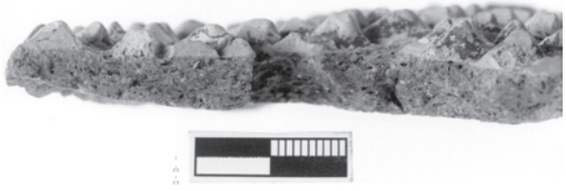
X/17



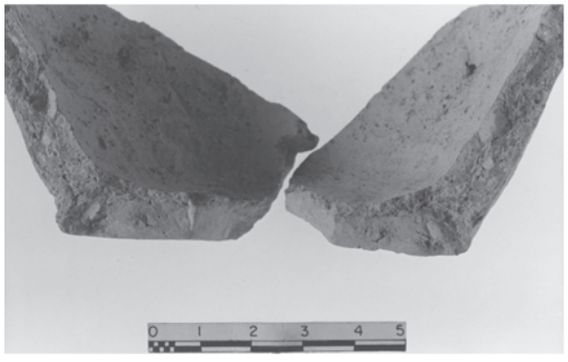
C/1



Je/13



Ja/22



Je/24



Je/27

Plate 3.21. Interior surface of pithos **X/17;** conical cup **C/1** *in situ;* section of bowl **Je/13;** section of centerpiece of *grattugia* **Ja/22;** base of jar **Je/24;** section of lamp **Je/27**.

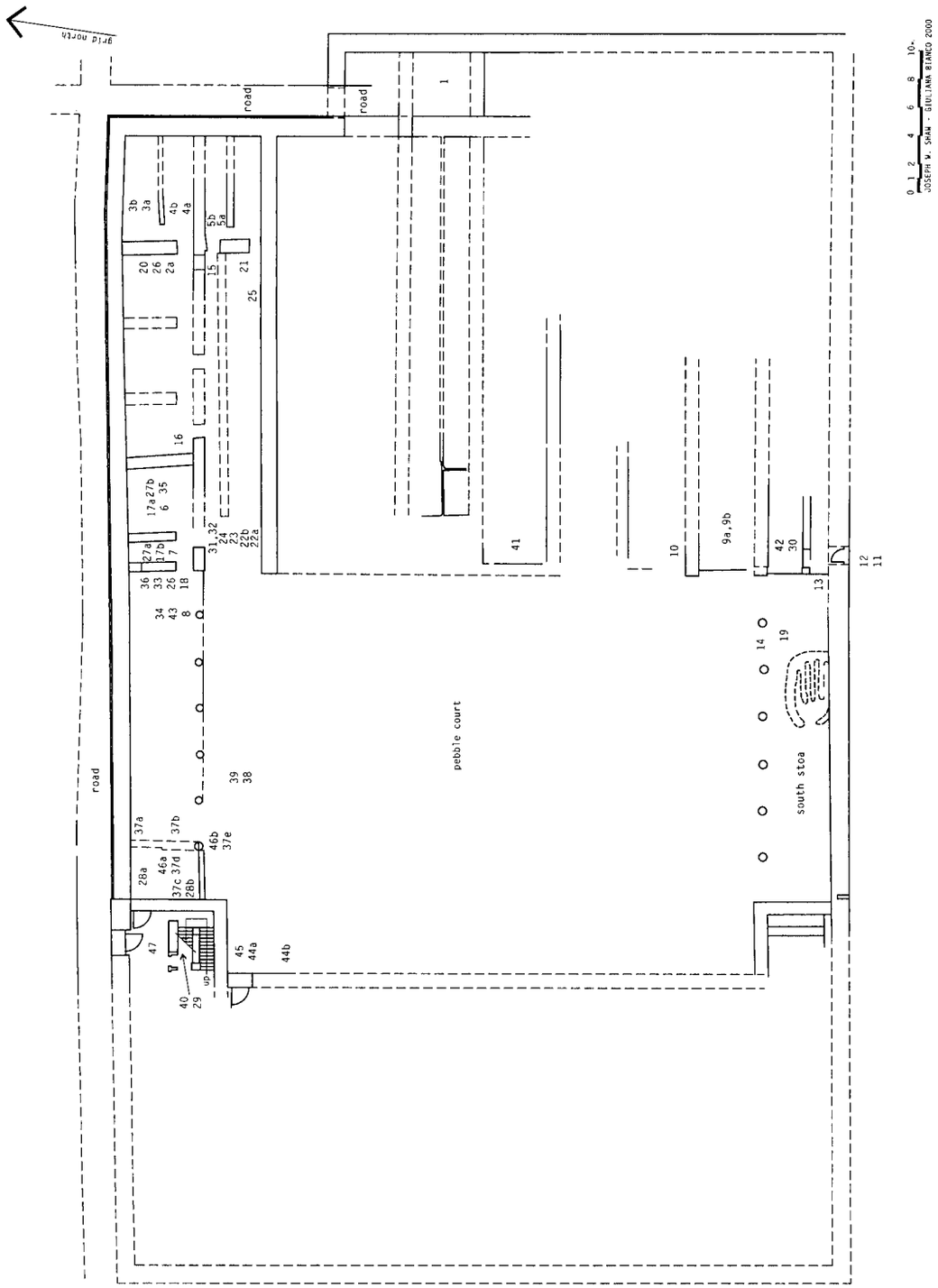


Plate 3.22. MM III–LM II Pottery Groups 1–47. Stratified groups are shown in descending order, with the top number indicating that at the highest level.

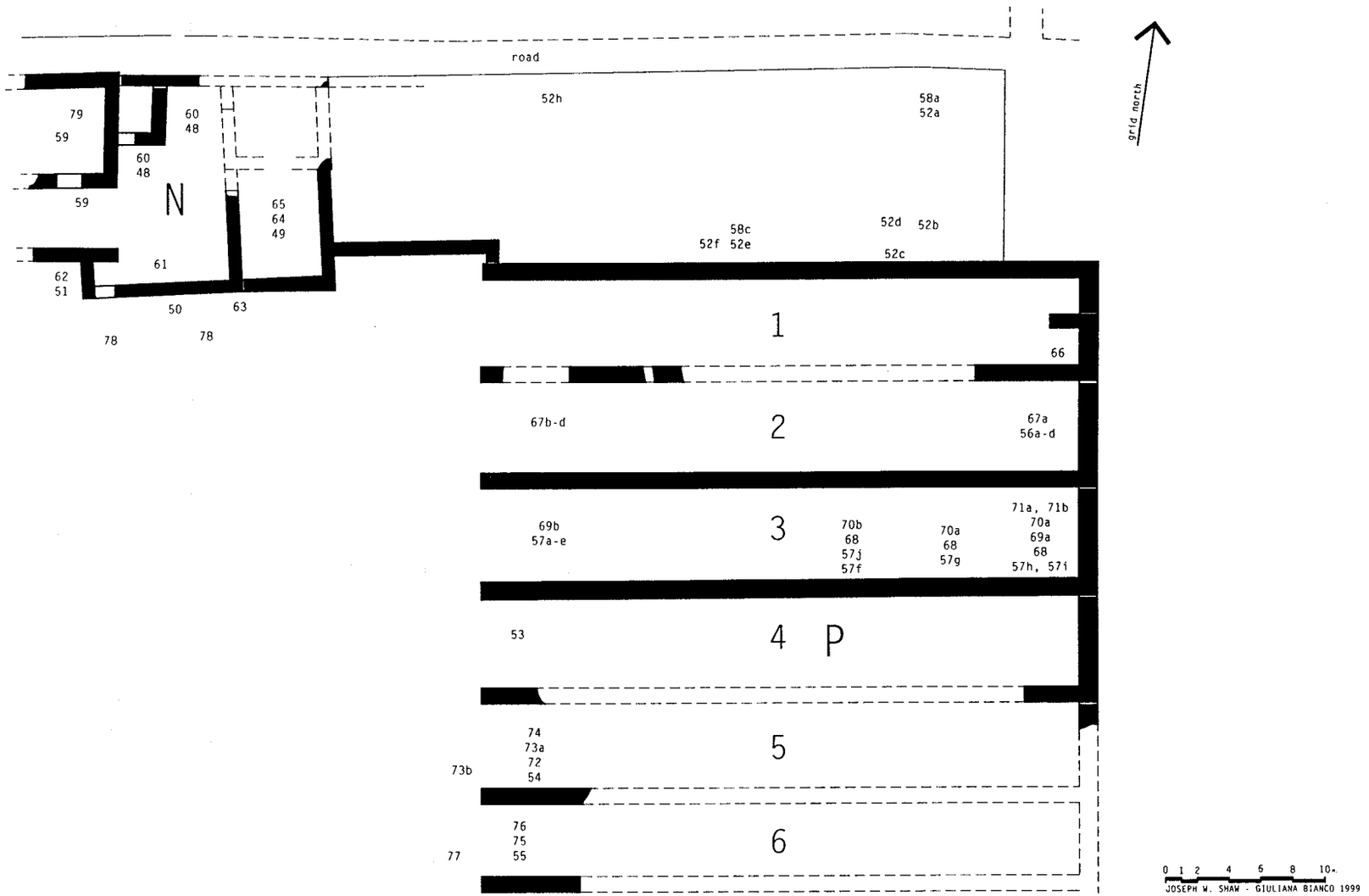


Plate 3.23. LM IIIA2–B Pottery Groups 48–79. Stratified groups are shown in descending order, with the top number indicating that at the highest level.

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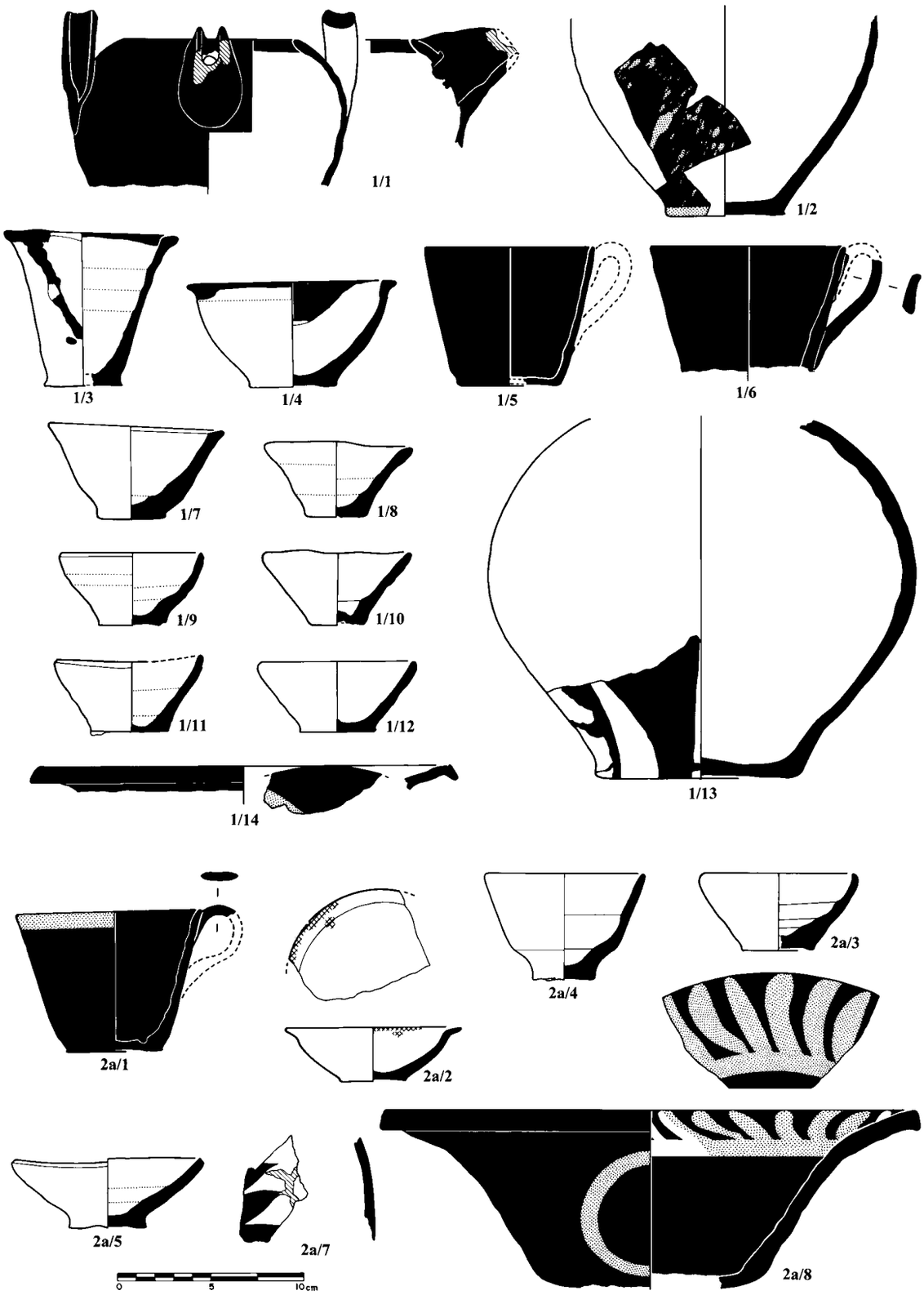


Plate 3.24. Pottery from Groups 1 and 2a. Scale 1:3.

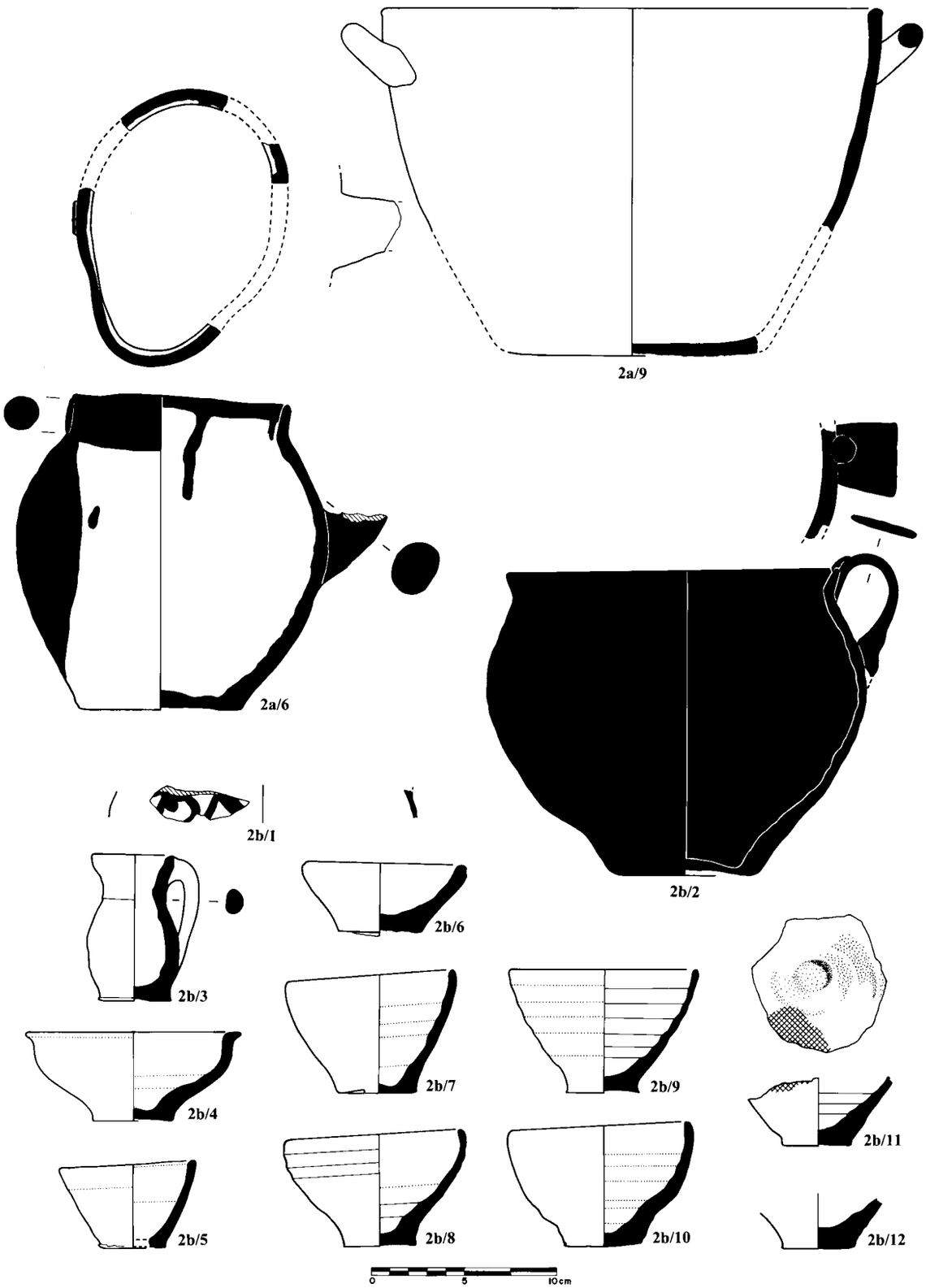


Plate 3.25. Pottery from Groups 2a and 2b. Scale 1:3.

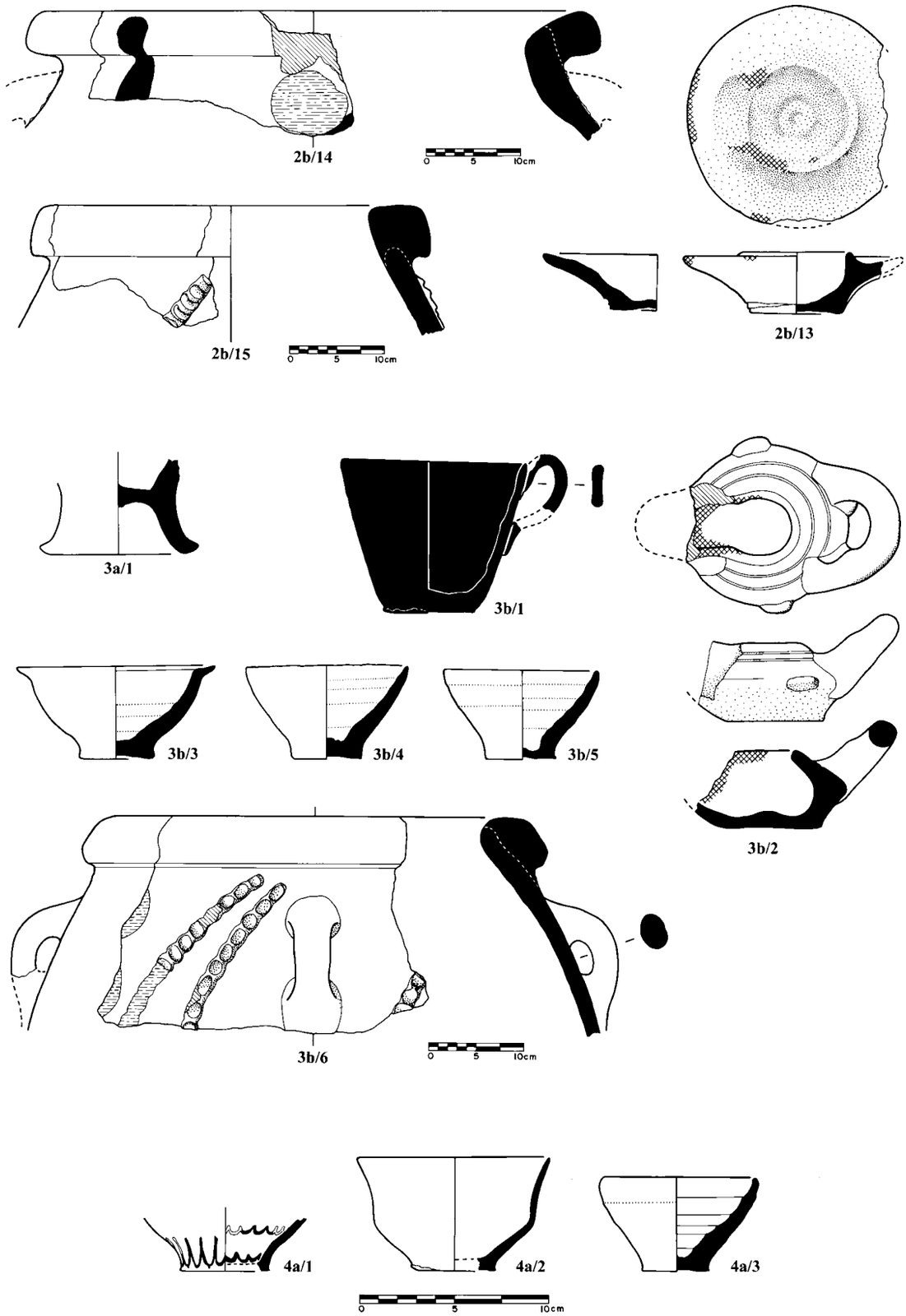


Plate 3.26. Pottery from Groups 2b, 3a, 3b, and 4a. Scale 1:3, except for **2b/14, 2b/15,** and **3b/6,** which are at 1:6.

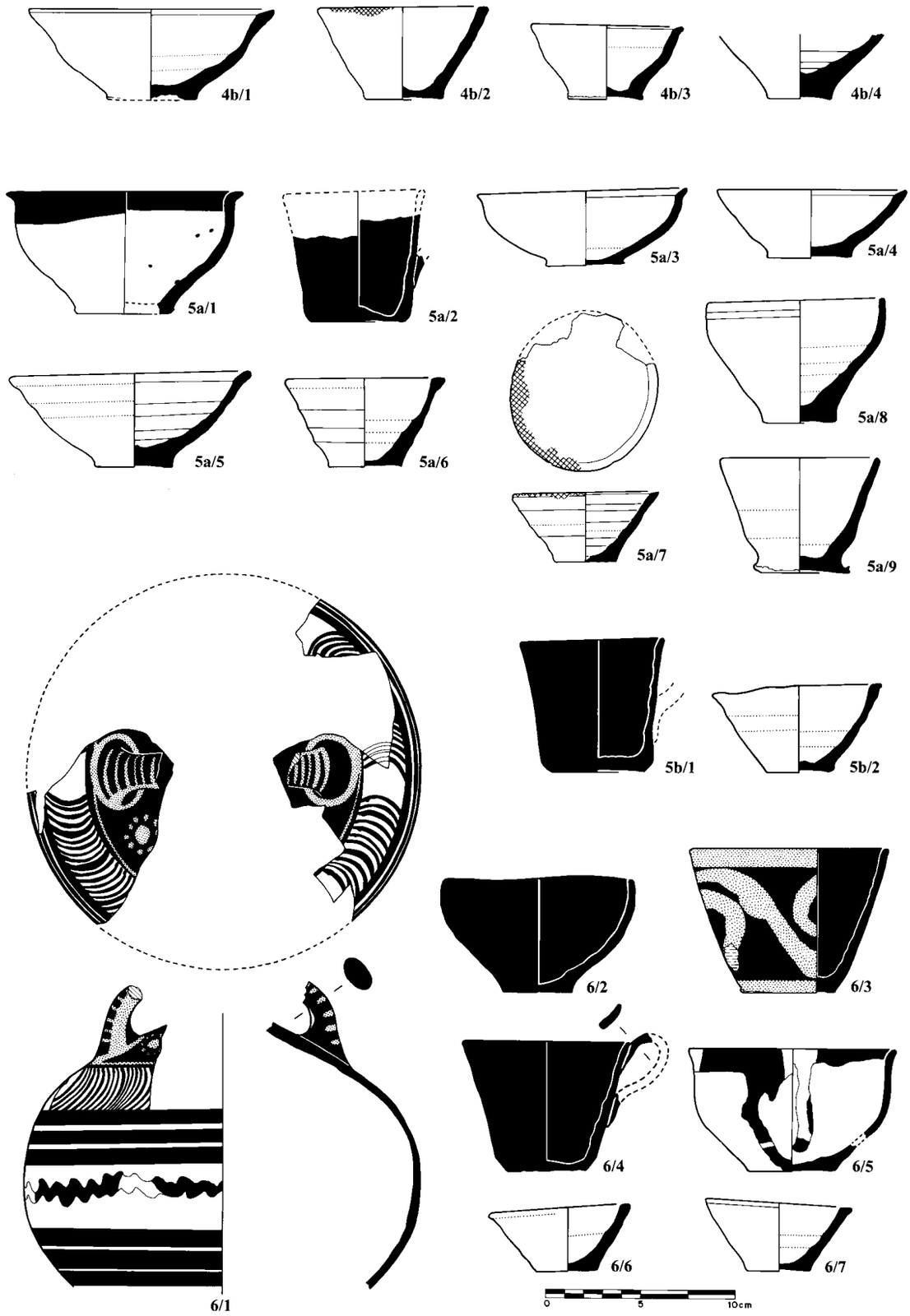


Plate 3.27. Pottery from Groups 4b, 5a, 5b, and 6. Scale 1:3.

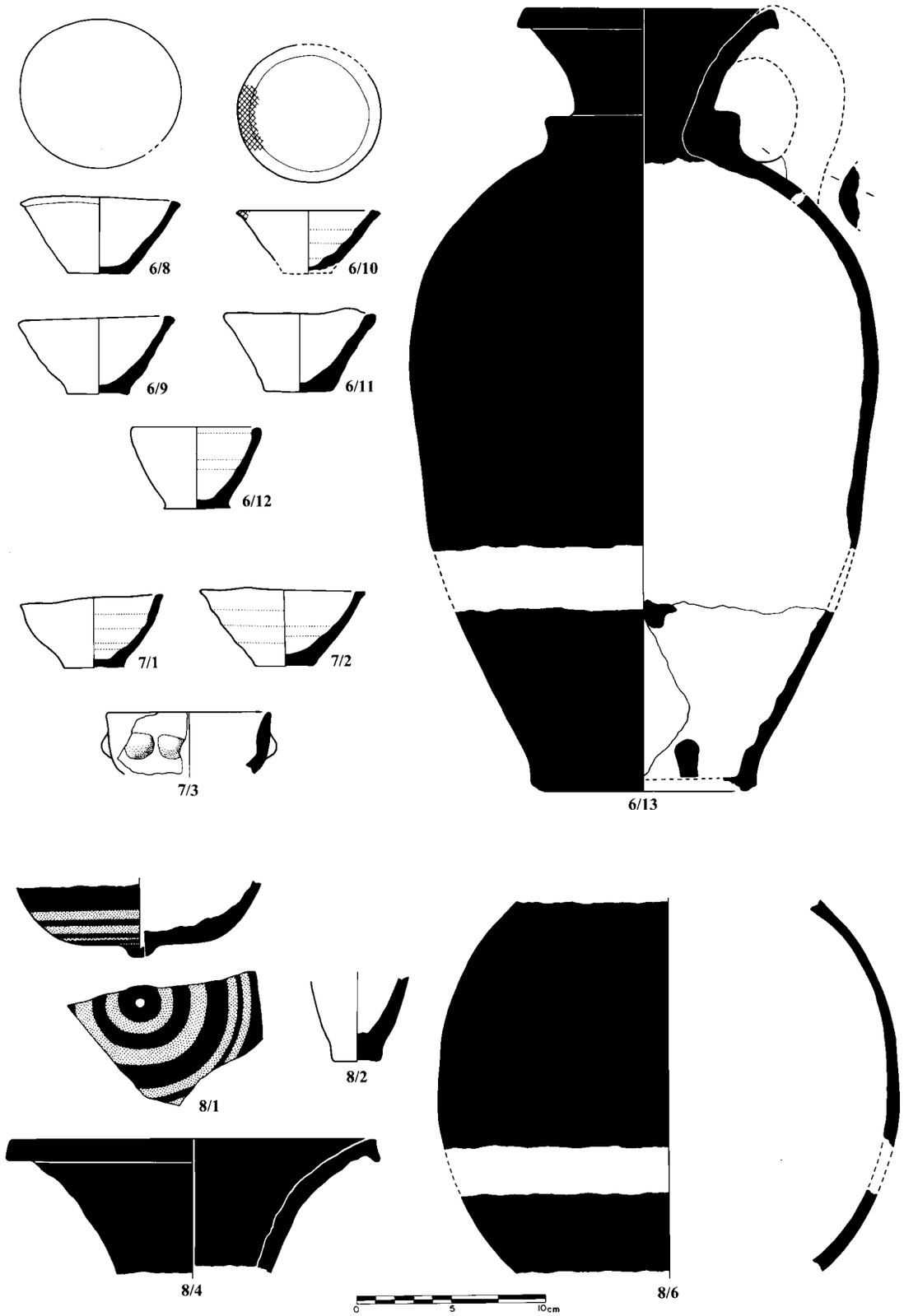
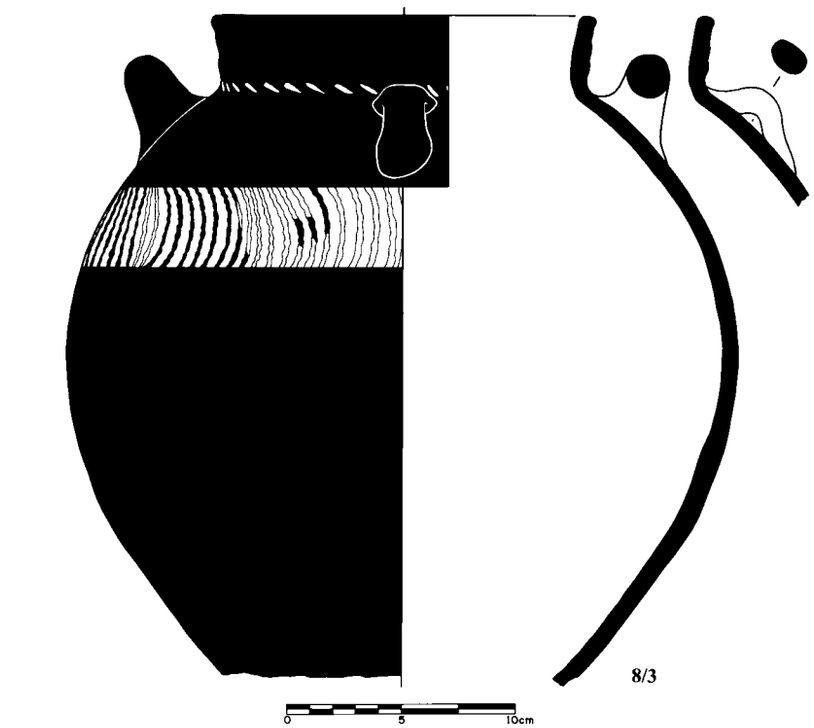


Plate 3.28. Pottery from Groups 6, 7, and 8. Scale 1:3.



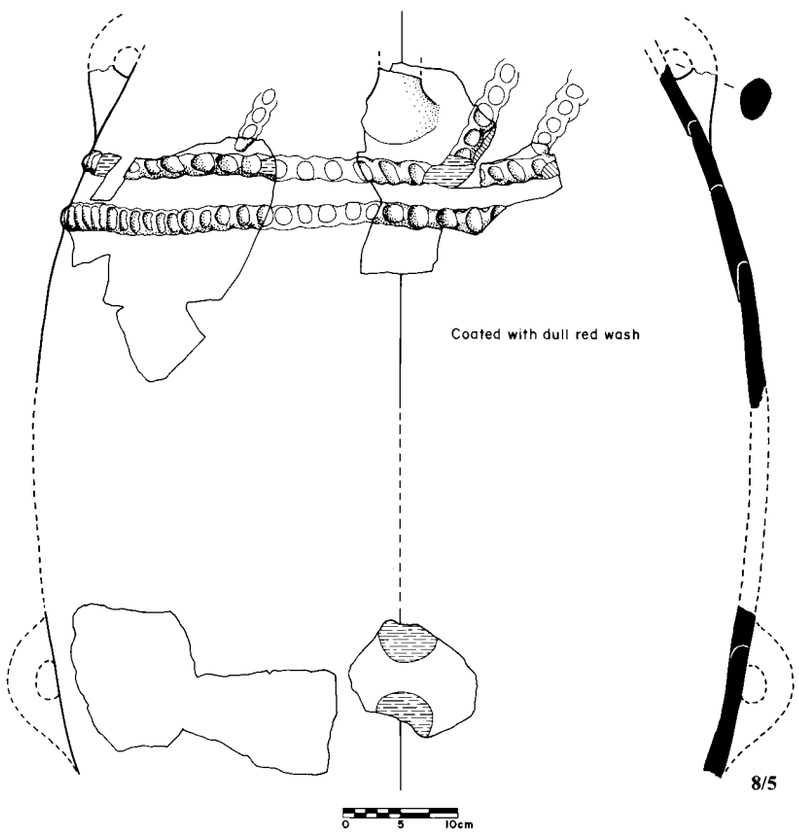


Plate 3.29. Pottery from Group 8. Scale 1:3, except for **8/5,** which is at 1:6.

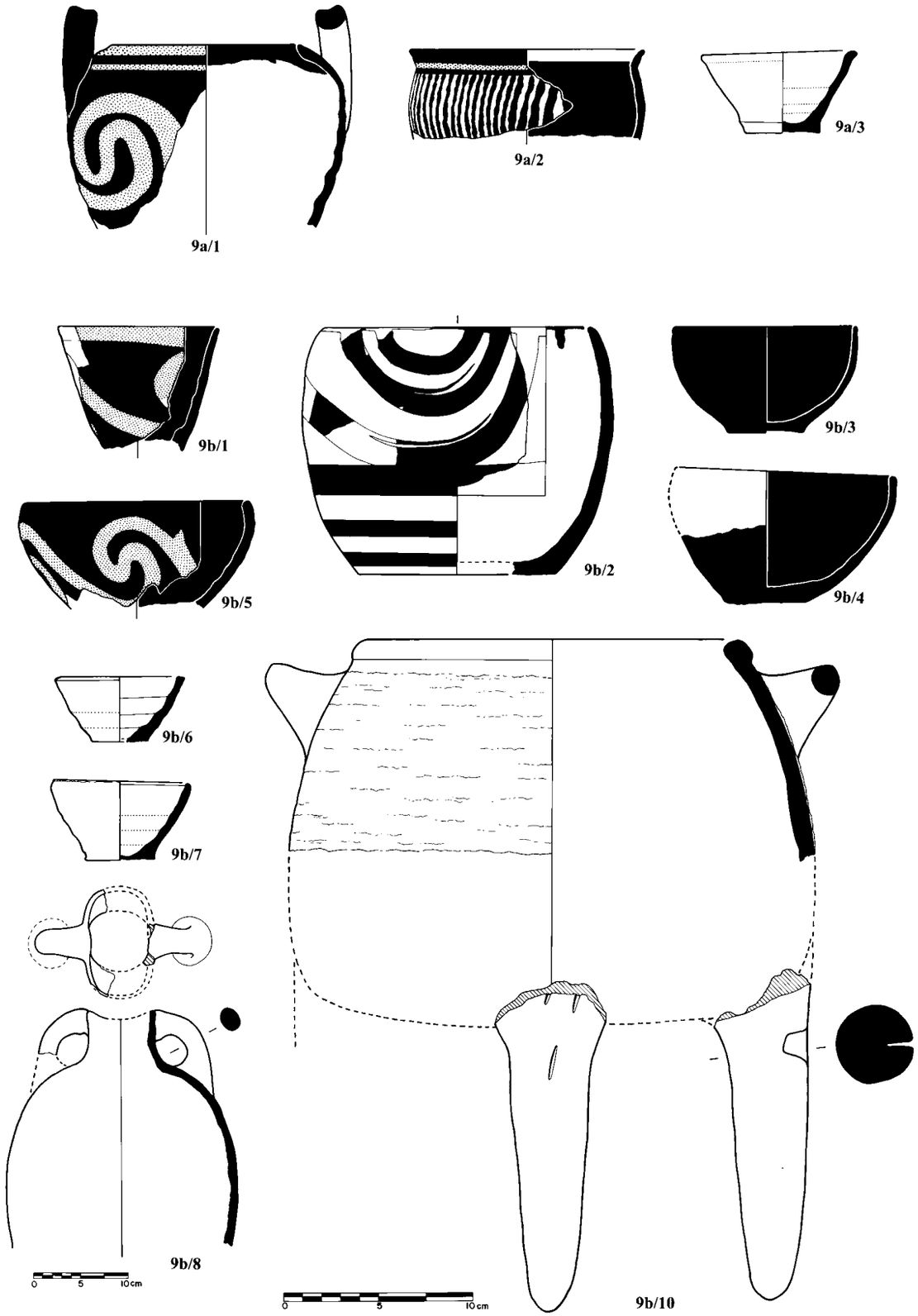


Plate 3.30. Pottery from Groups 9a and 9b. Scale 1:3, except for **9b/8,** which is at 1:6.

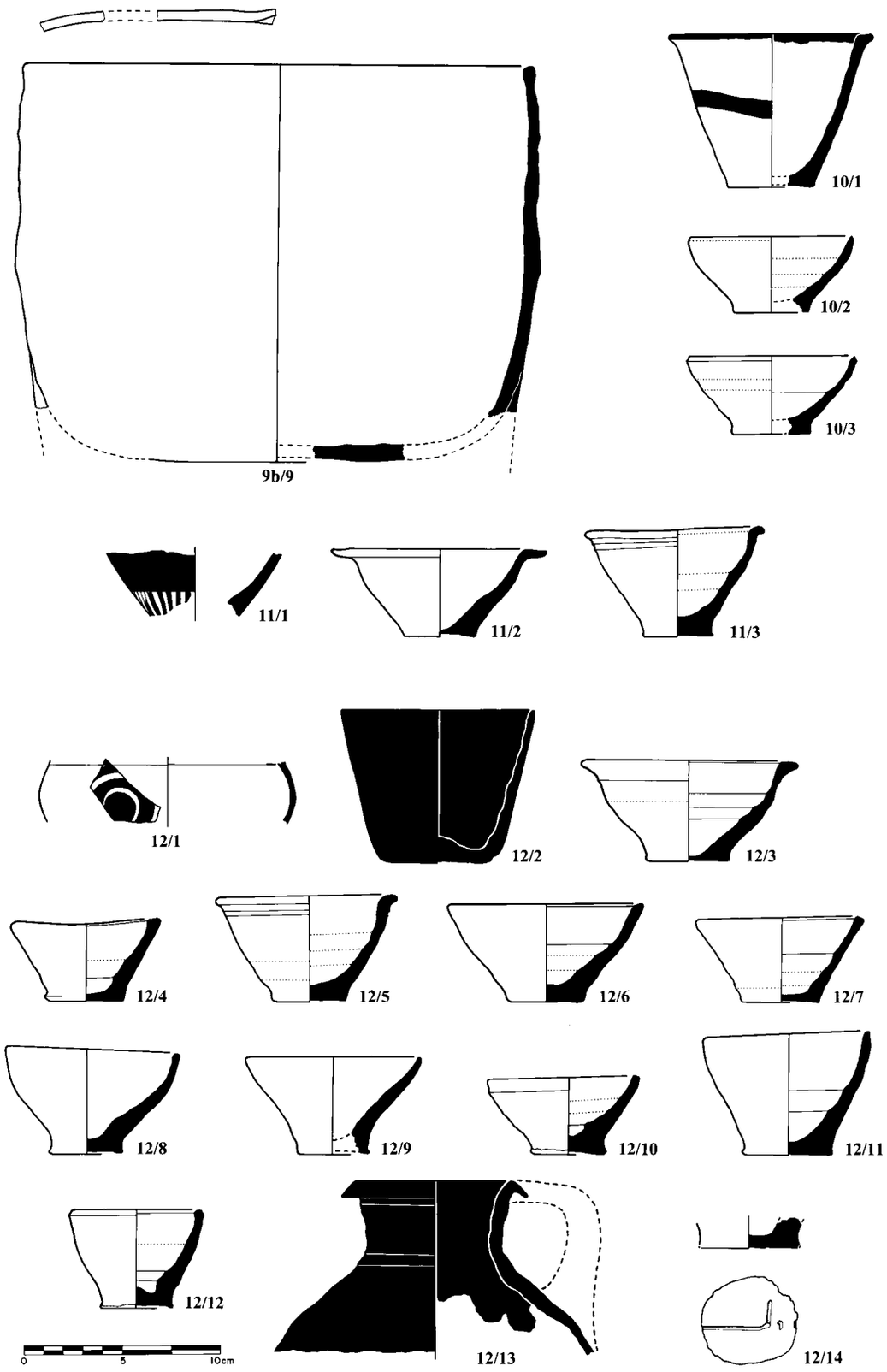


Plate 3.31. Pottery from Groups 9b, 10, 11, and 12. Scale 1:3.

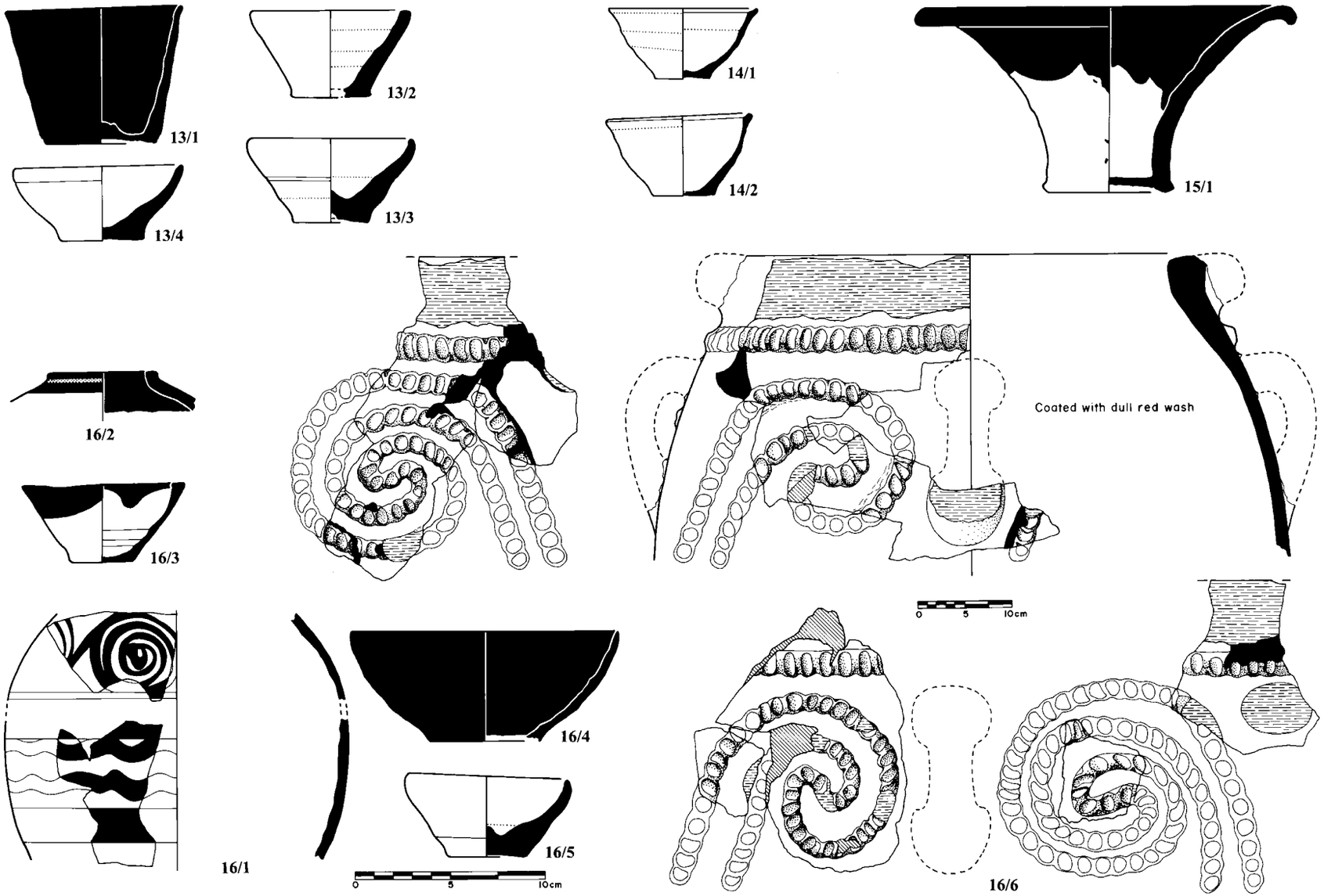


Plate 3.32. Pottery from Groups 13, 14, 15, and 16. Scale 1:3, except for **16/6,** which is at 1:6.

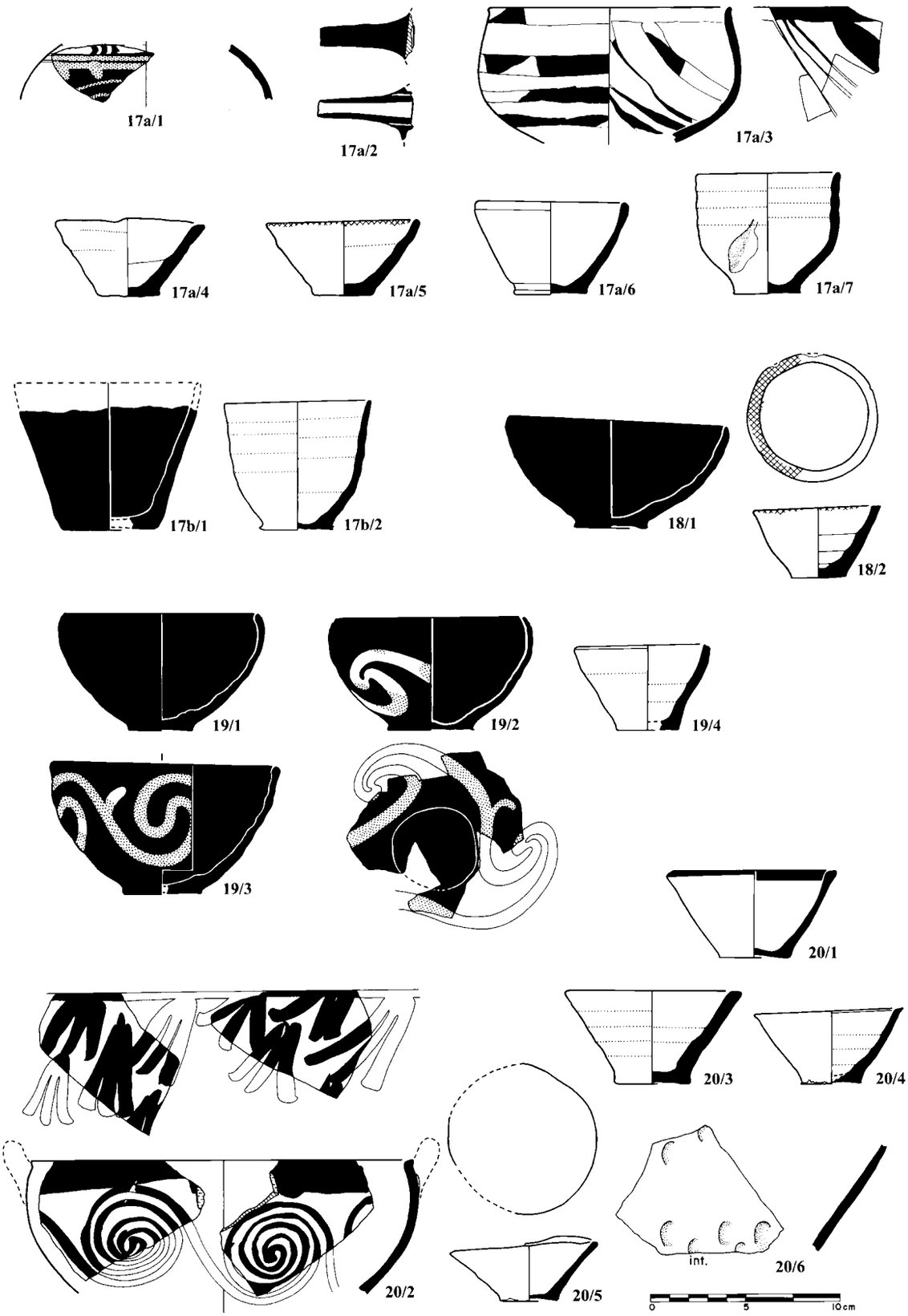


Plate 3.33. Pottery from Groups 17a, 17b, 18, 19, and 20. Scale 1:3.

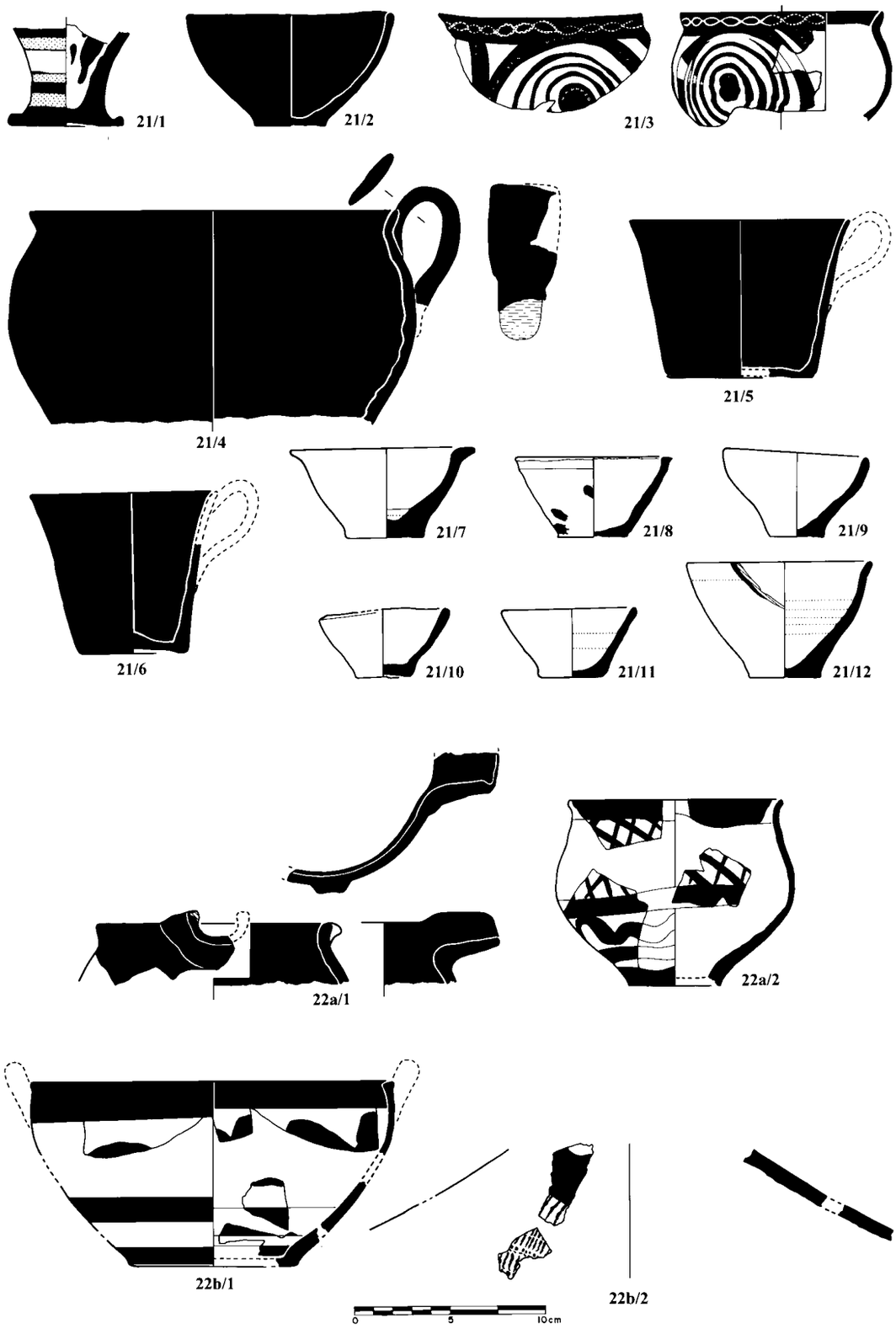


Plate 3.34. Pottery from Groups 21, 22a, and 22b. Scale 1:3.

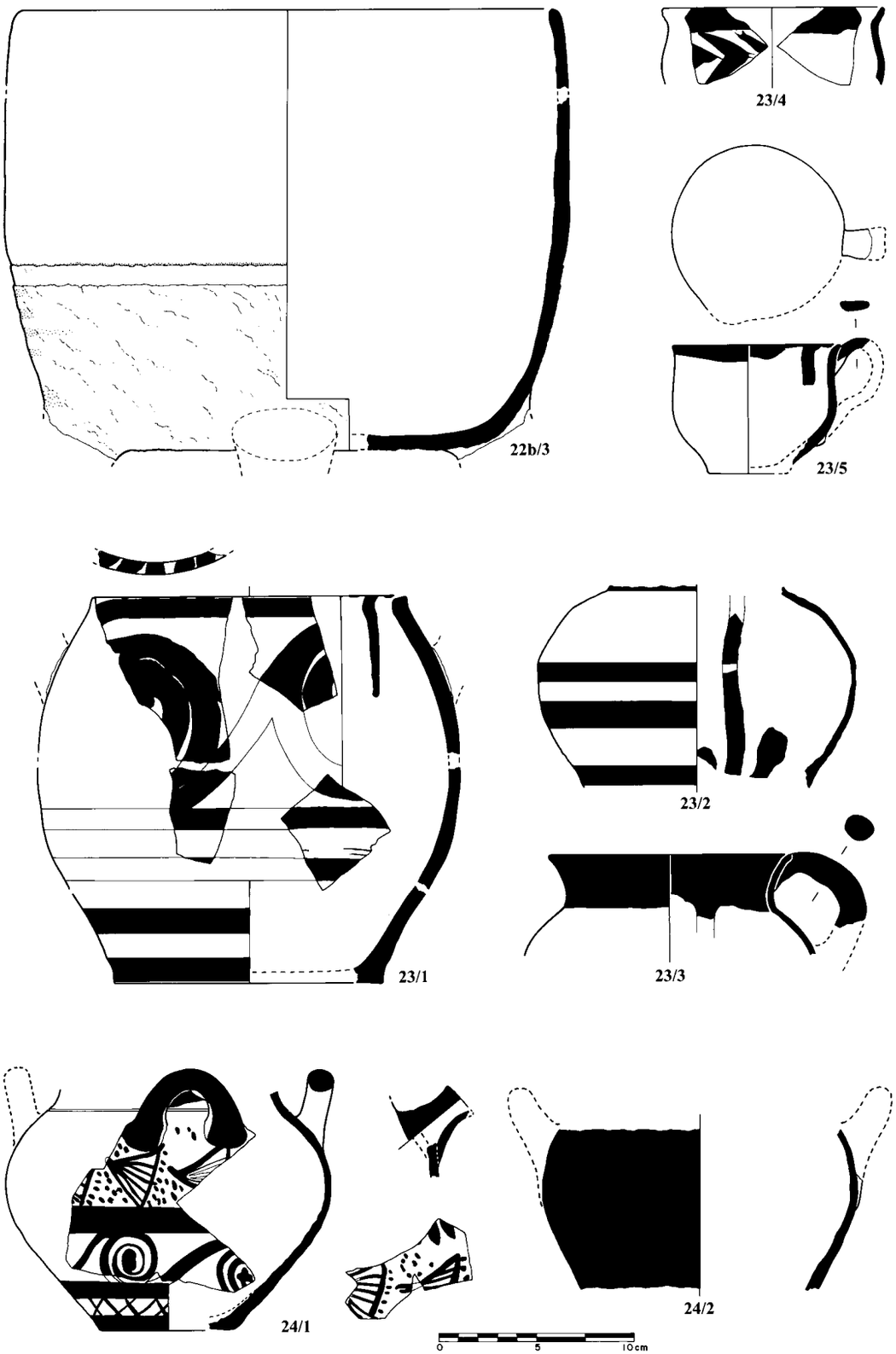


Plate 3.35. Pottery from Groups 22b, 23, and 24. Scale 1:3.

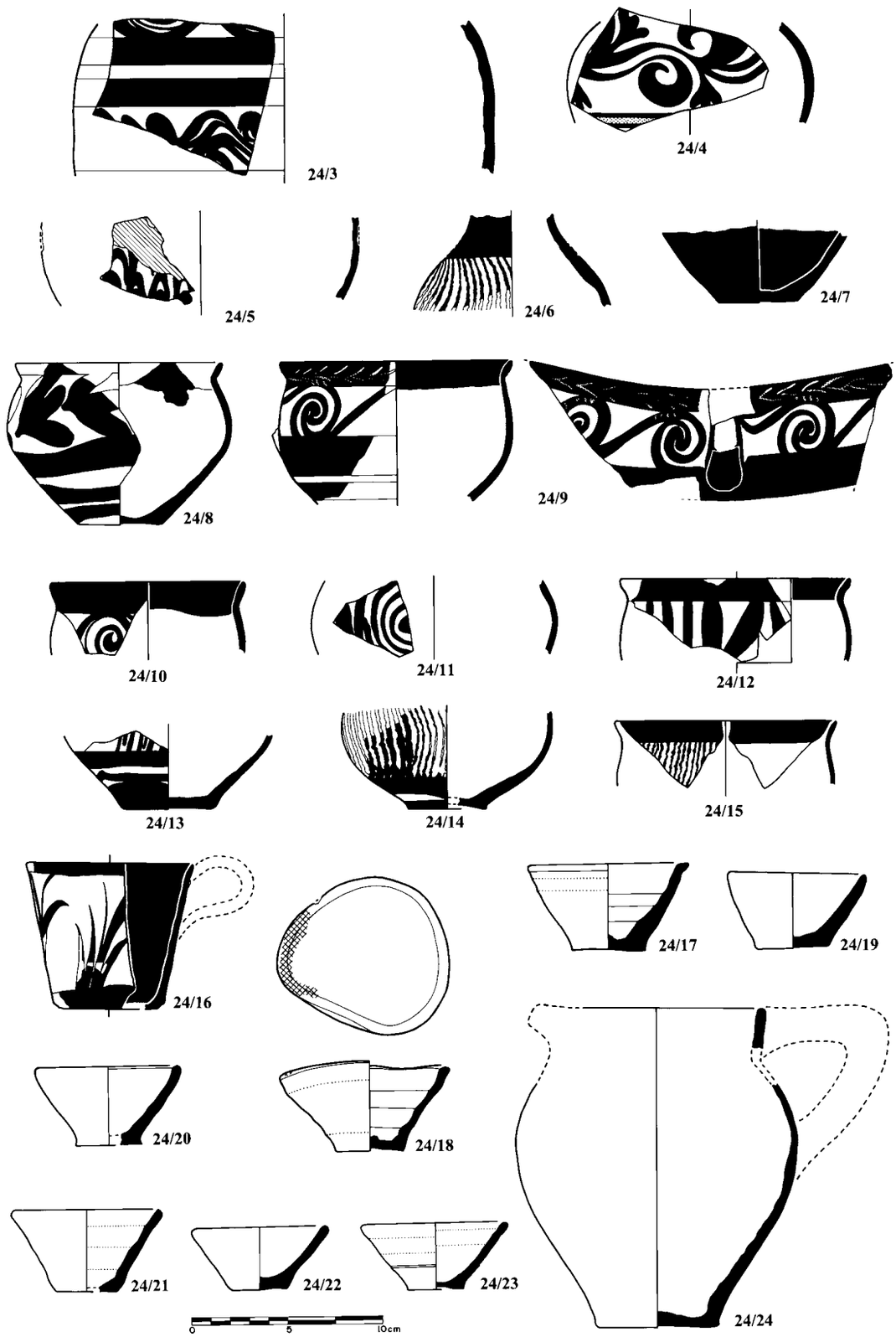


Plate 3.36. Pottery from Group 24. Scale 1:3.

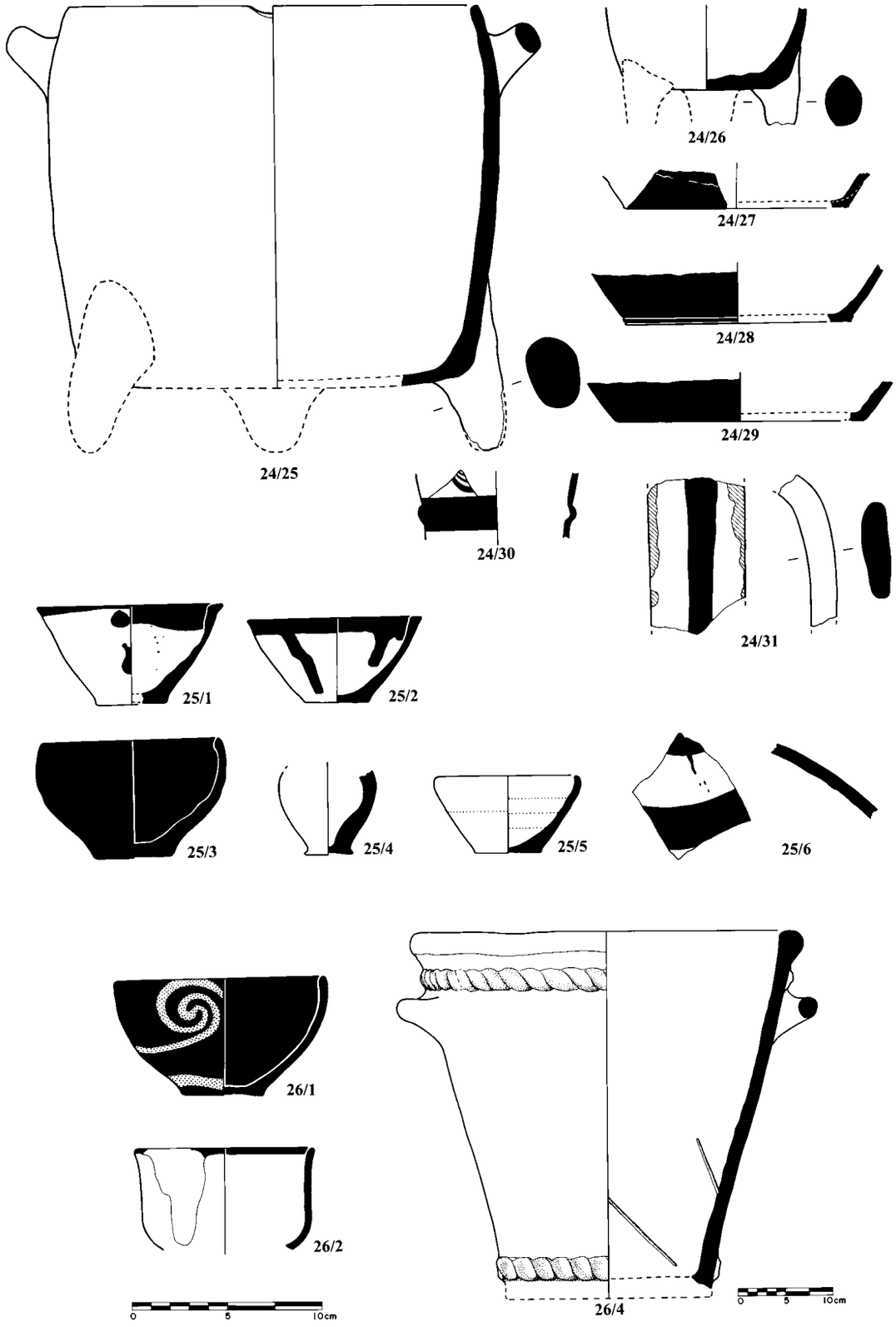


Plate 3.37. Pottery from Groups 24, 25, and 26. Scale 1:3, except for **26/4,** which is at 1:6.

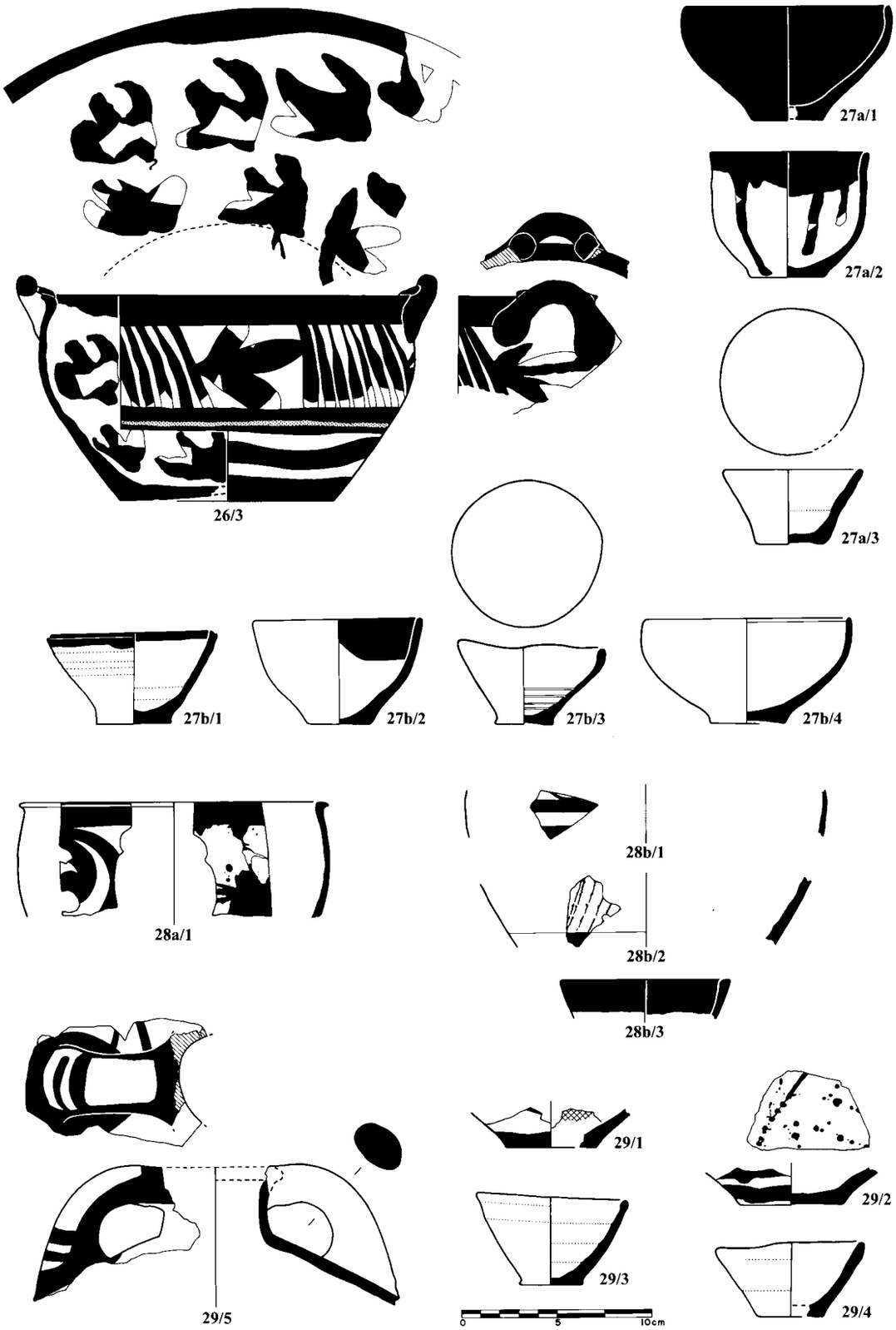


Plate 3.38. Pottery from Groups 26, 27a, 27b, 28a, 28b, and 29. Scale 1:3.

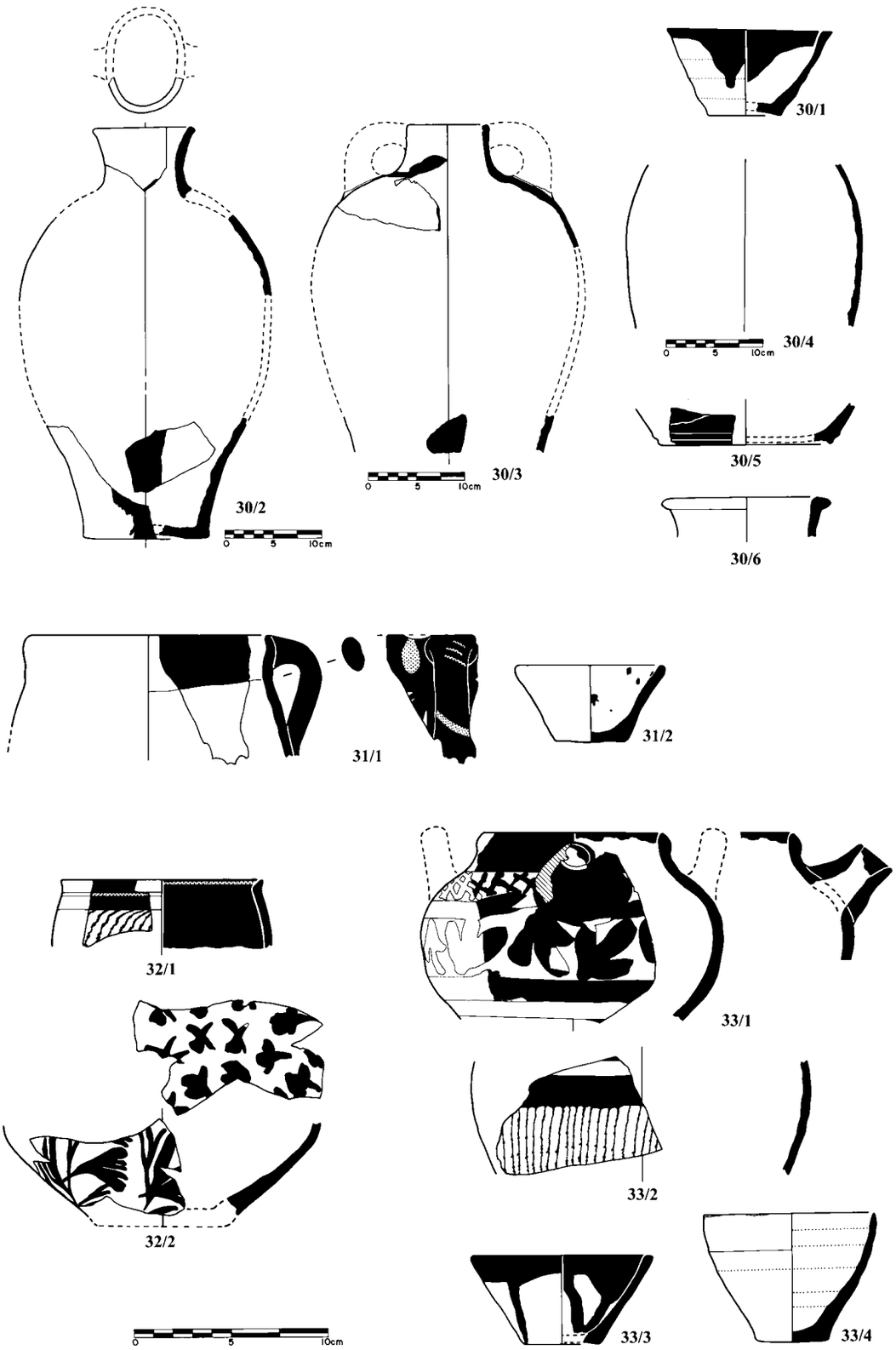


Plate 3.39. Pottery from Groups 30, 31, 32, and 33. Scale 1:3, except for **30/2, 30/3,** and **30/4,** which are at 1:6.

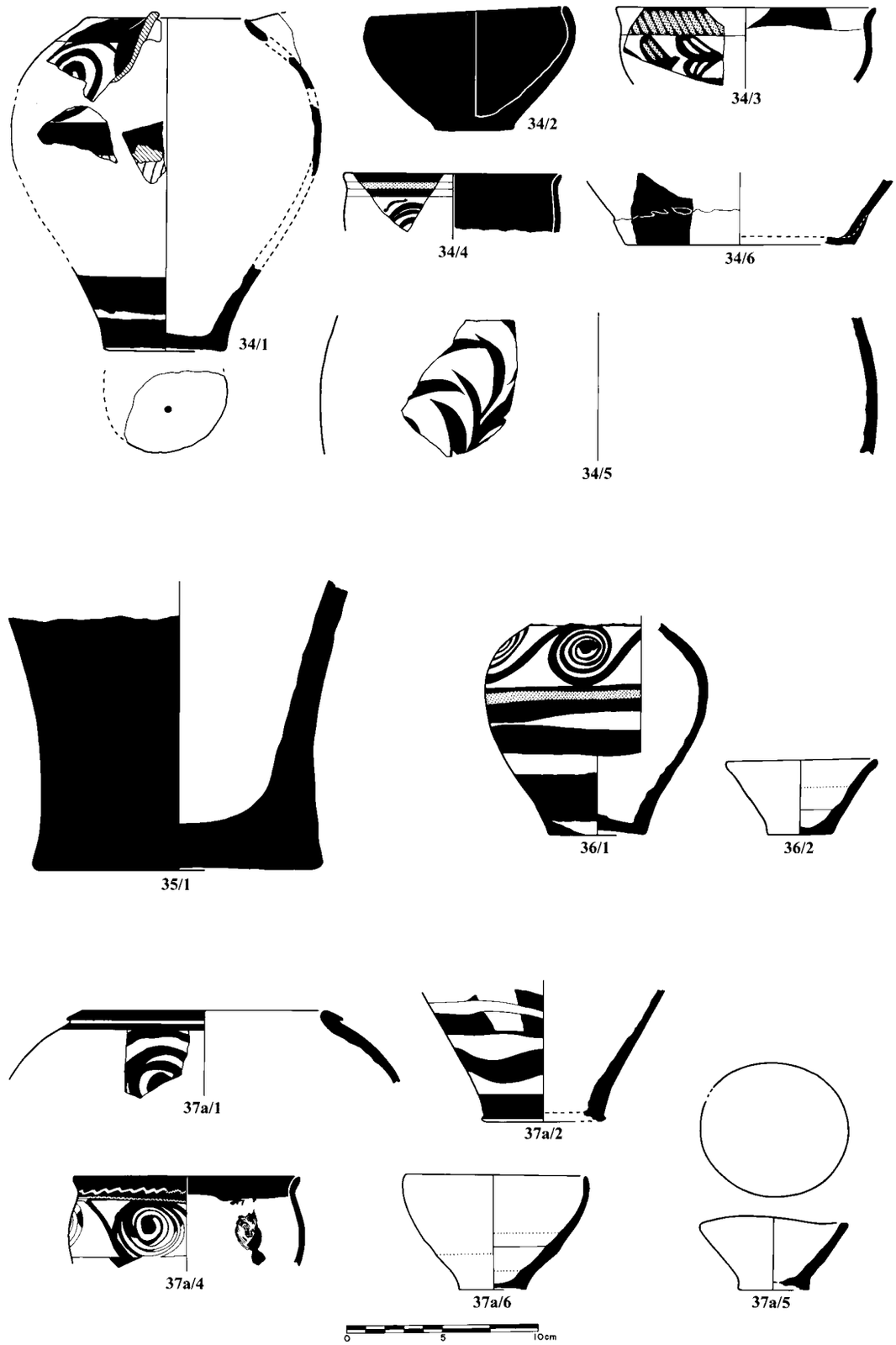


Plate 3.40. Pottery from Groups 34, 35, 36, and 37a. Scale 1:3.

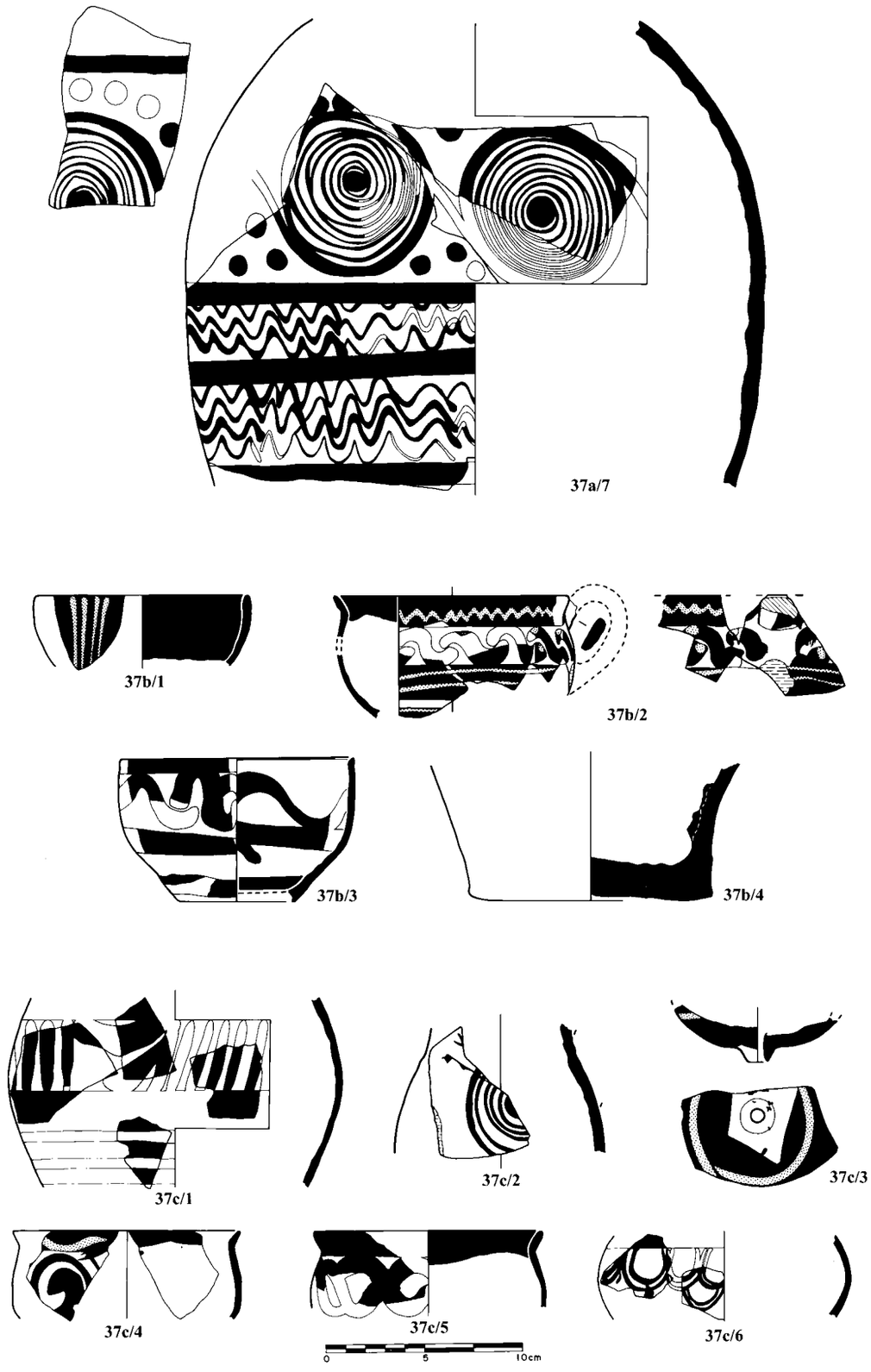


Plate 3.41. Pottery from Groups 37a, 37b, and 37c. Scale 1:3.

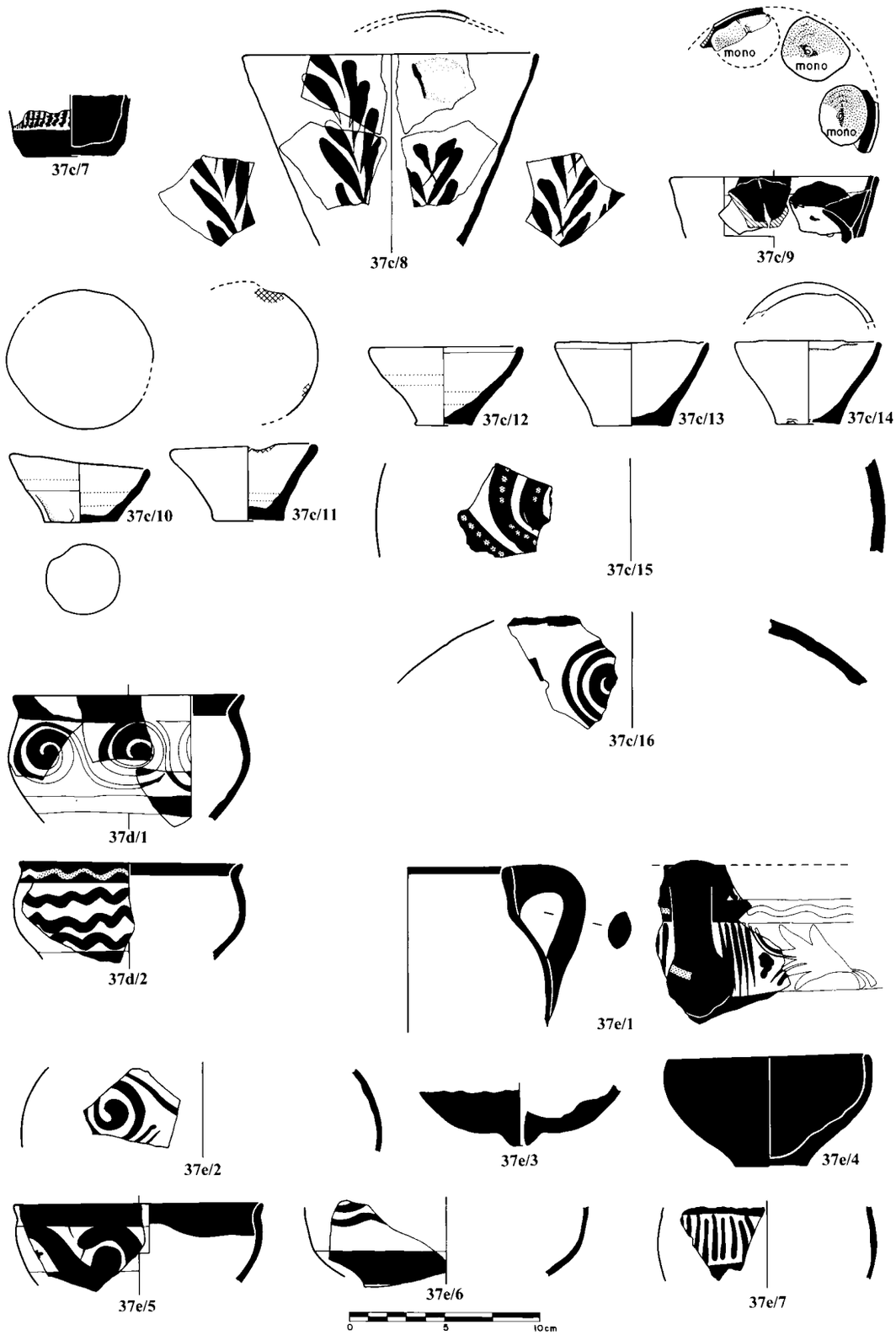


Plate 3.42. Pottery from Groups 37c, 37d, and 37e. Scale 1:3.

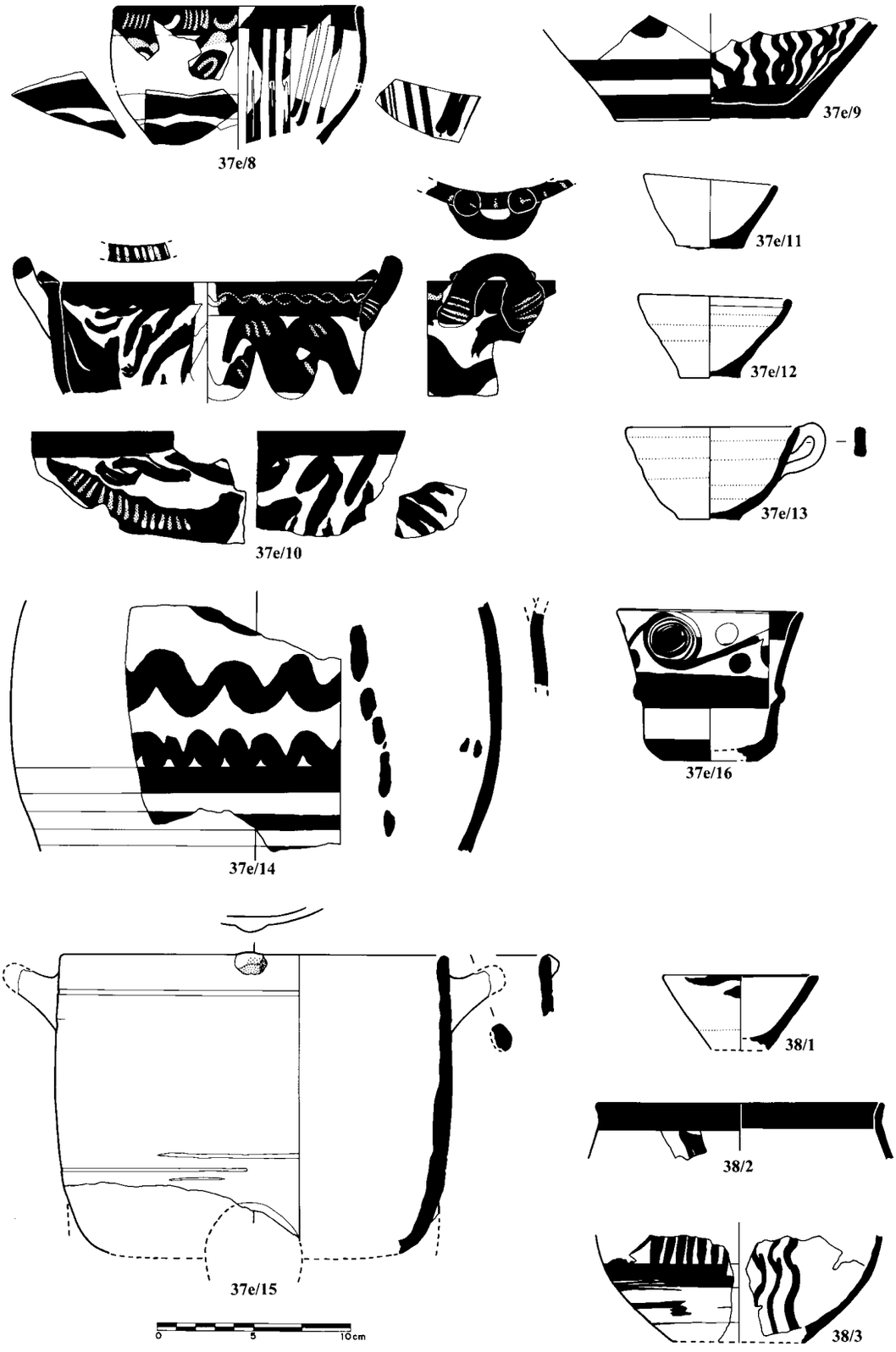


Plate 3.43. Pottery from Groups 37e and 38. Scale 1:3.

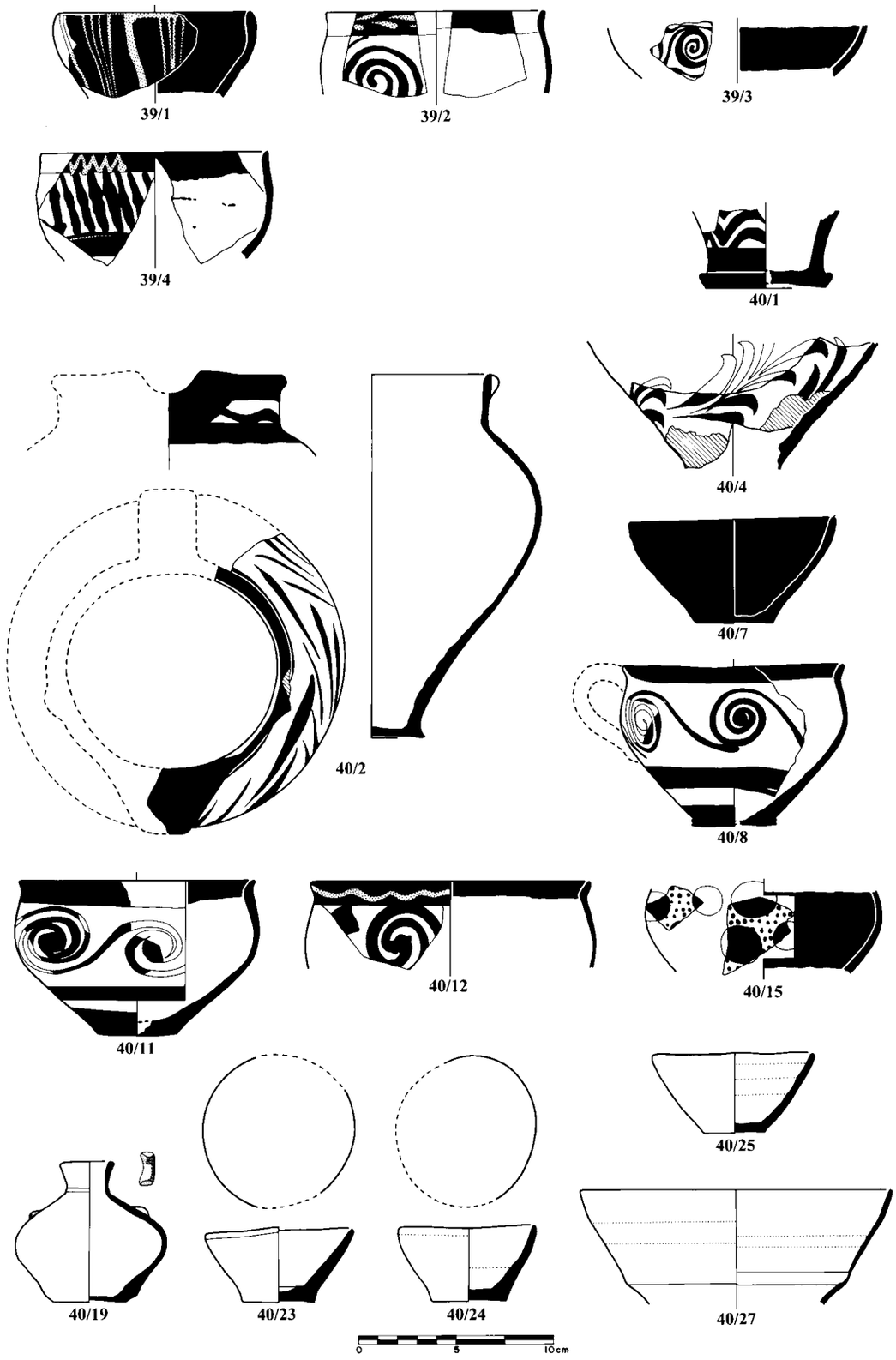


Plate 3.44. Pottery from Groups 39 and 40. Scale 1:3.

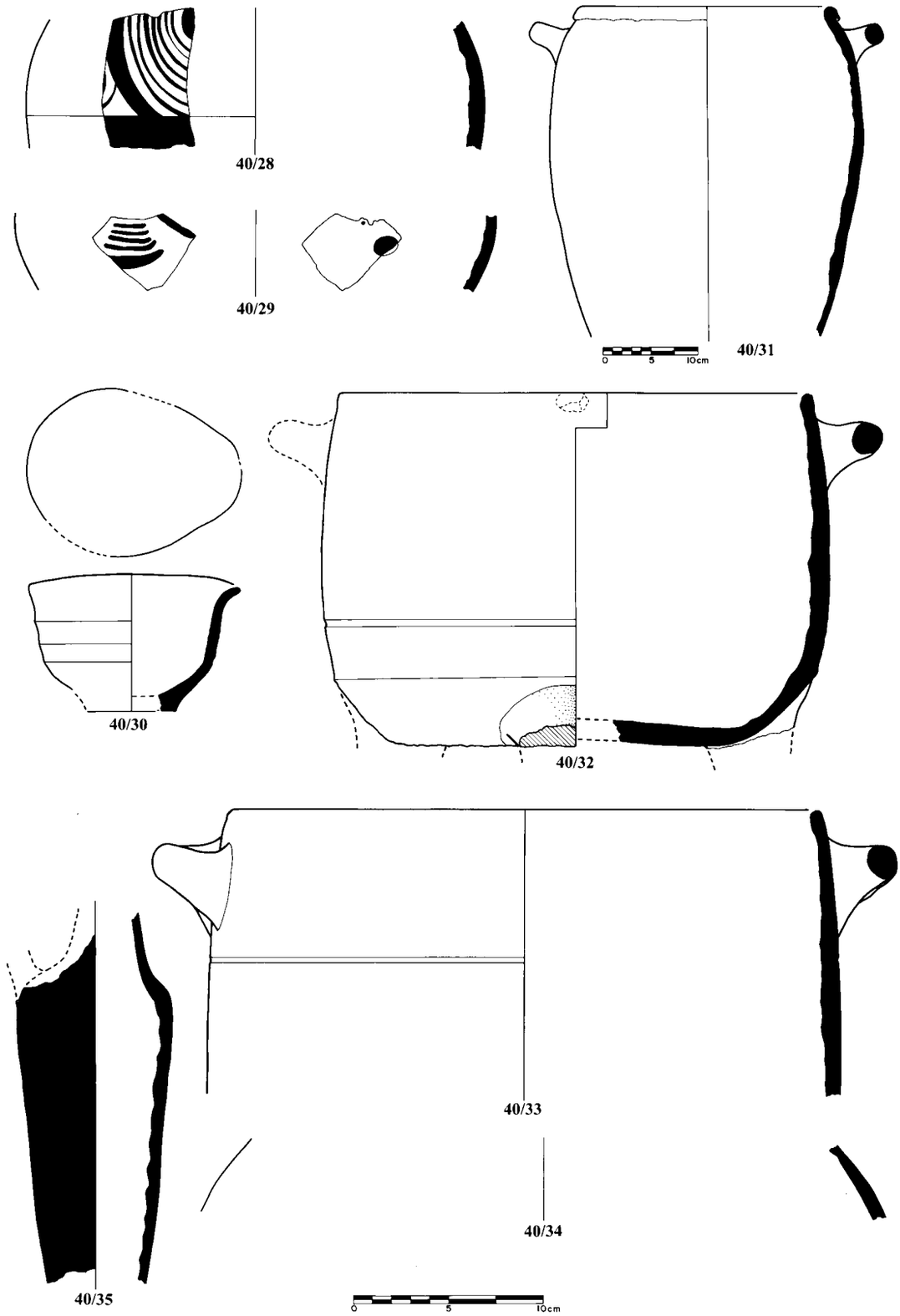


Plate 3.45. Pottery from Group 40. Scale 1:3, except for **40/31,** which is at 1:6.

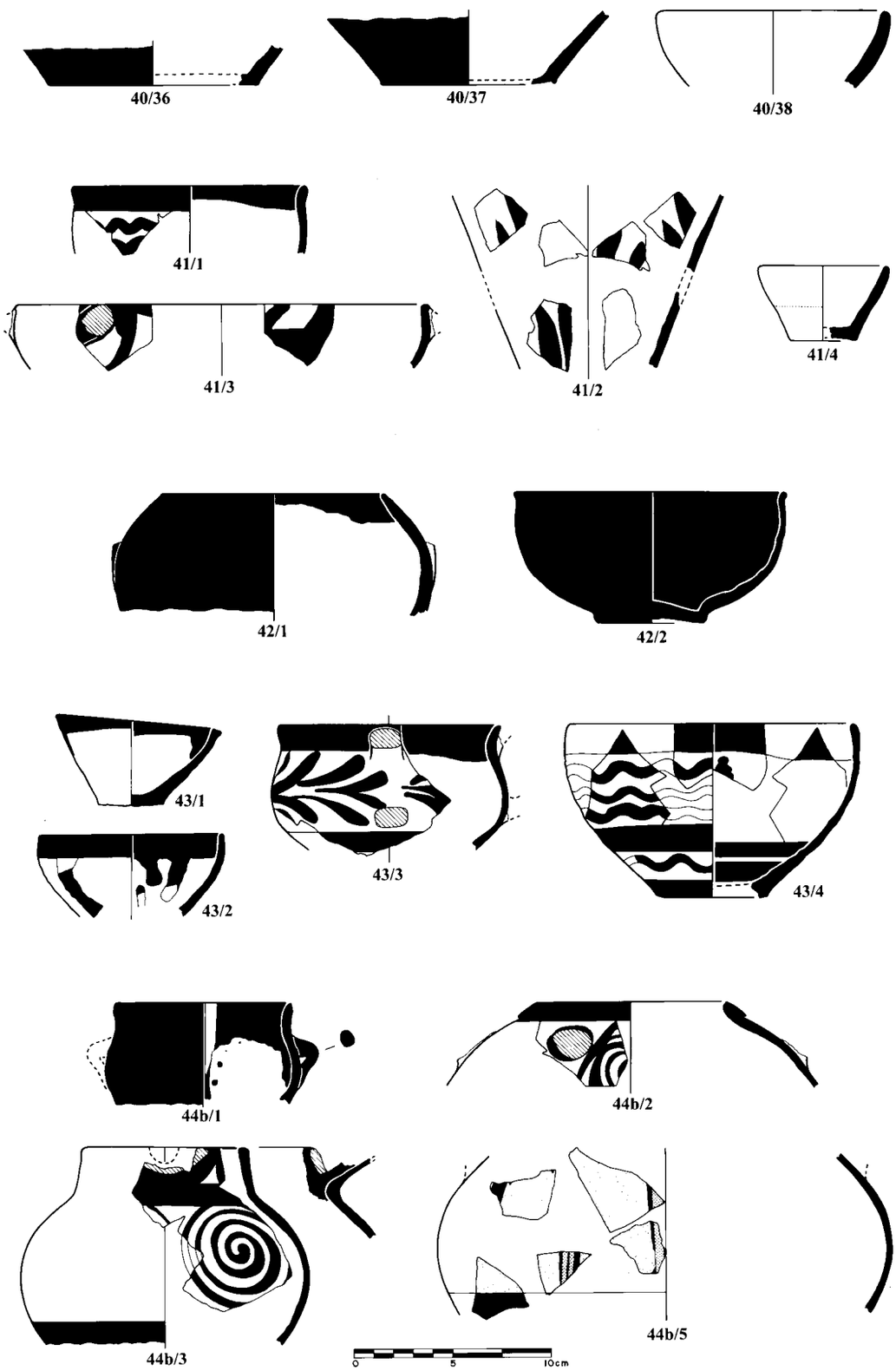


Plate 3.46. Pottery from Groups 40, 41, 42, 43, and 44b. Scale 1:3.

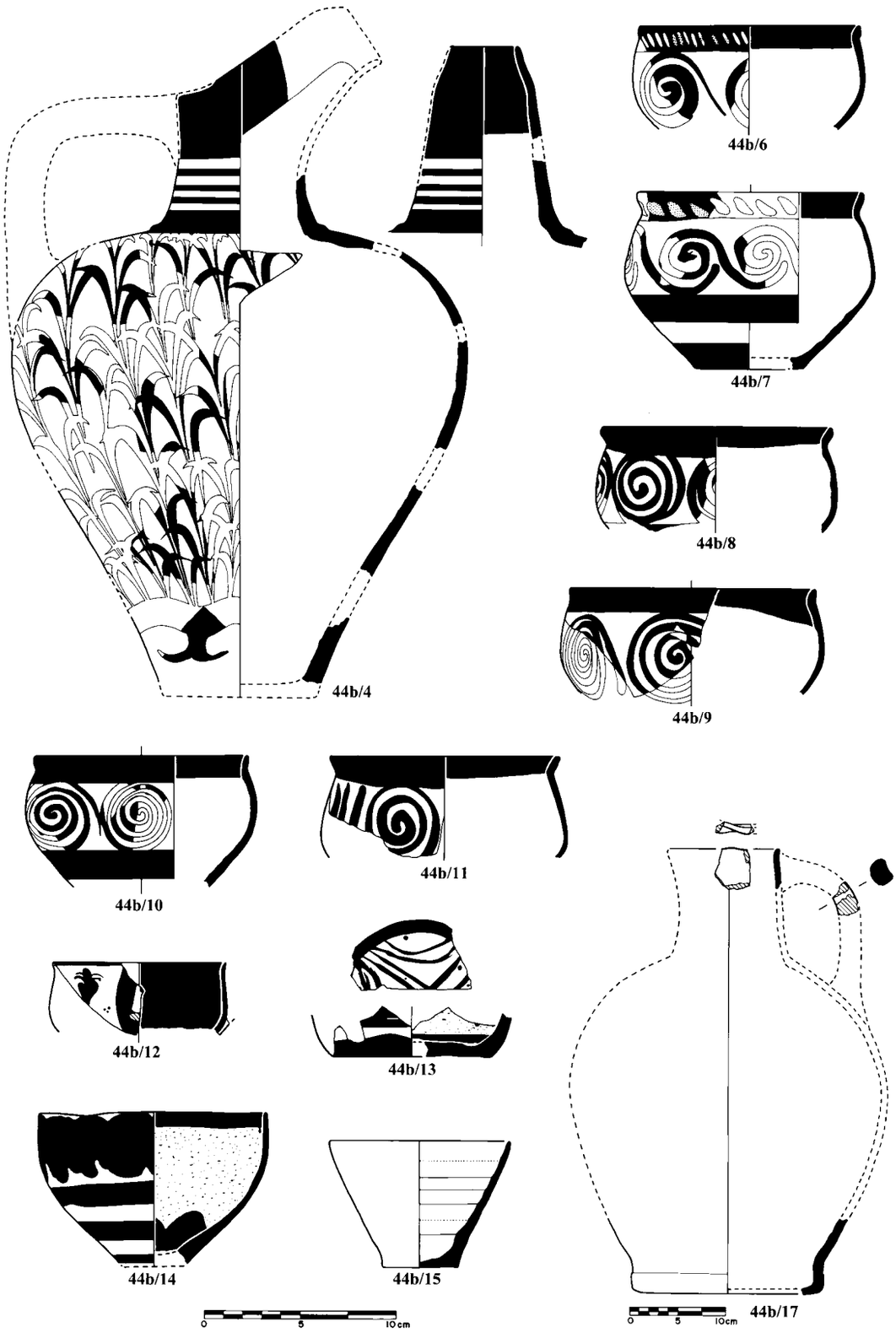


Plate 3.47. Pottery from Group 44b. Scale 1:3, except for **44b/17,** which is at 1:6.

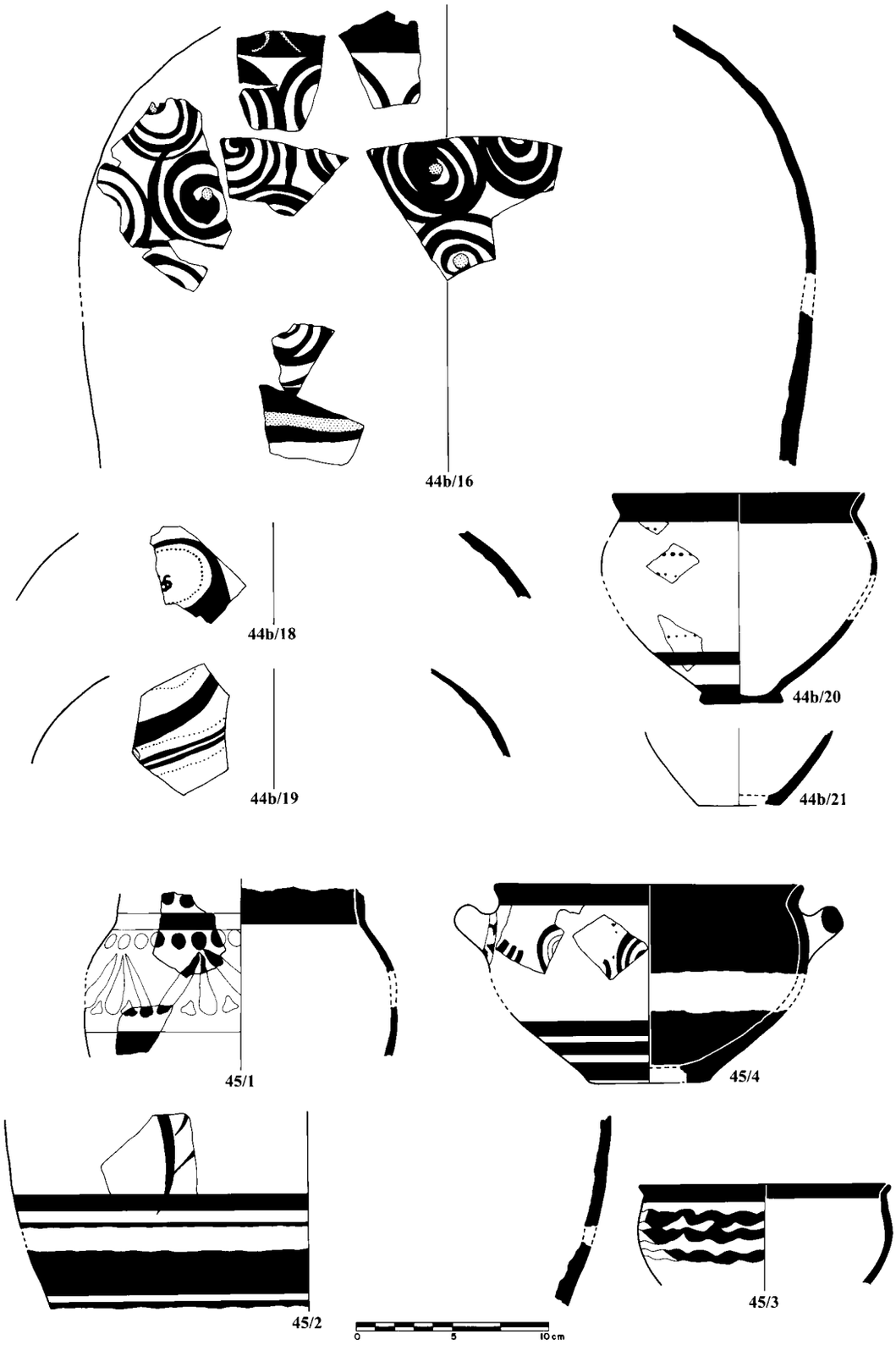


Plate 3.48. Pottery from Groups 44b and 45. Scale 1:3.

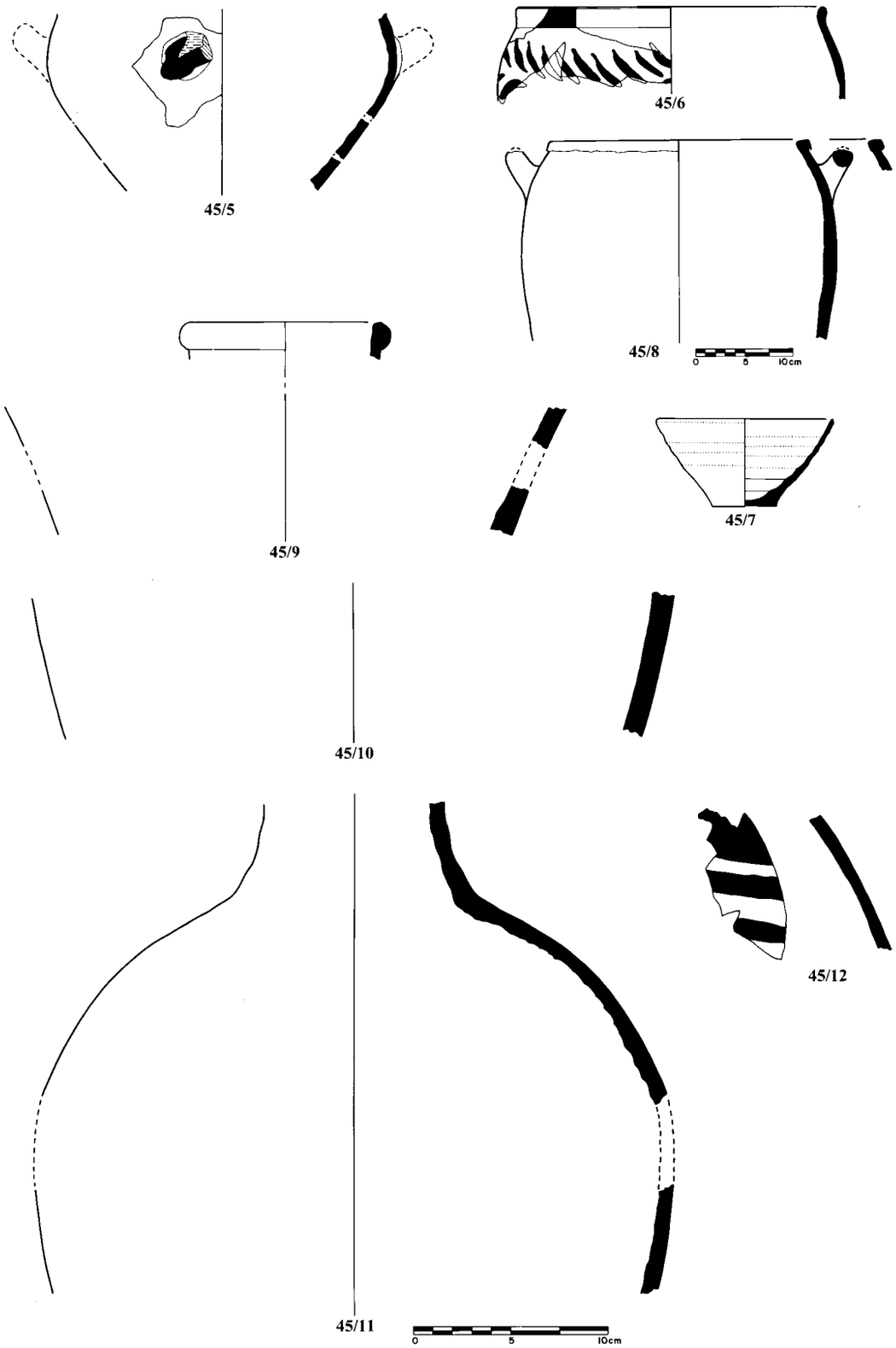


Plate 3.49. Pottery from Group 45. Scale 1:3, except for **45/8,** which is at 1:6.

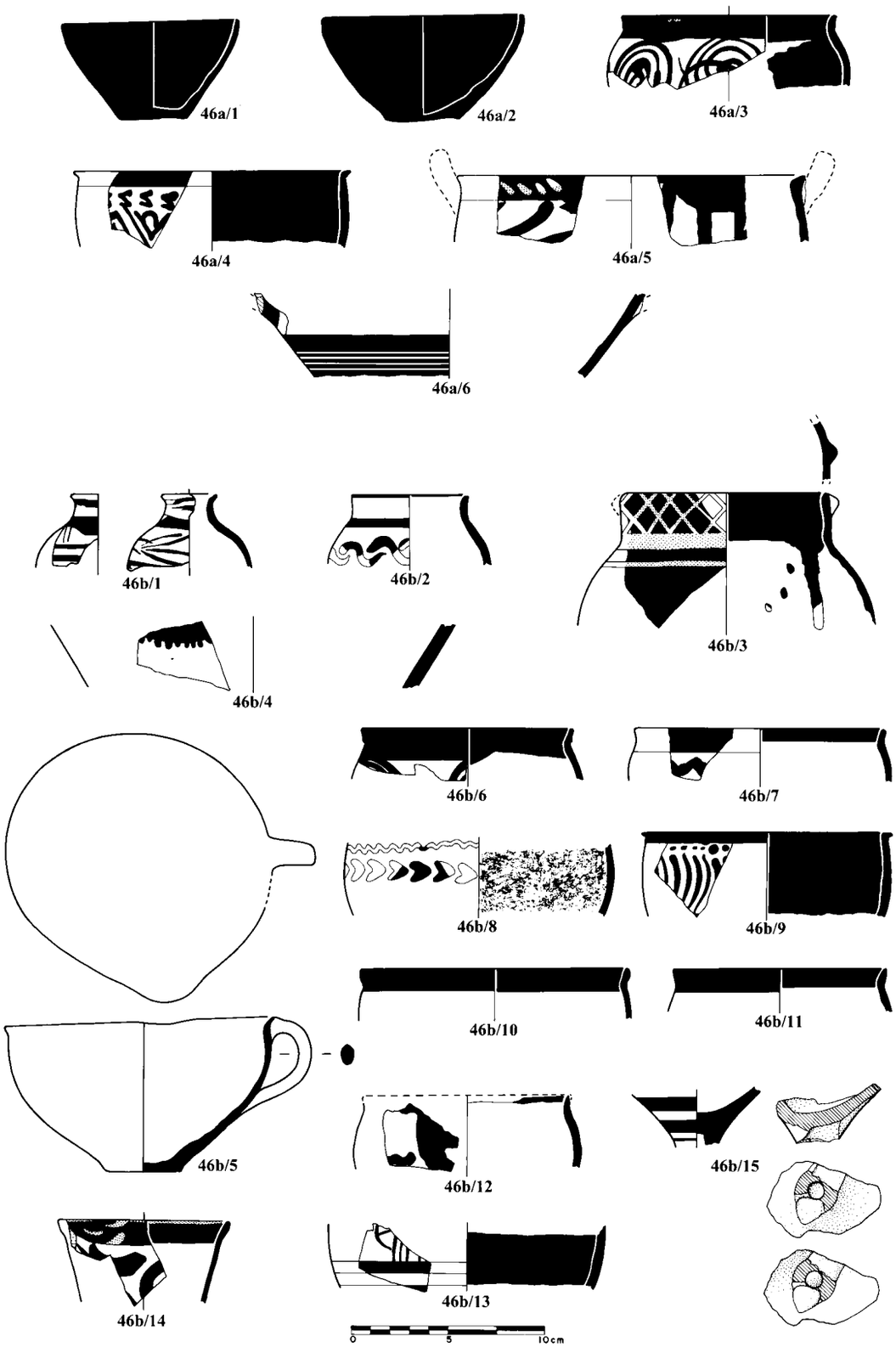


Plate 3.50. Pottery from Groups 46a and 46b. Scale 1:3.

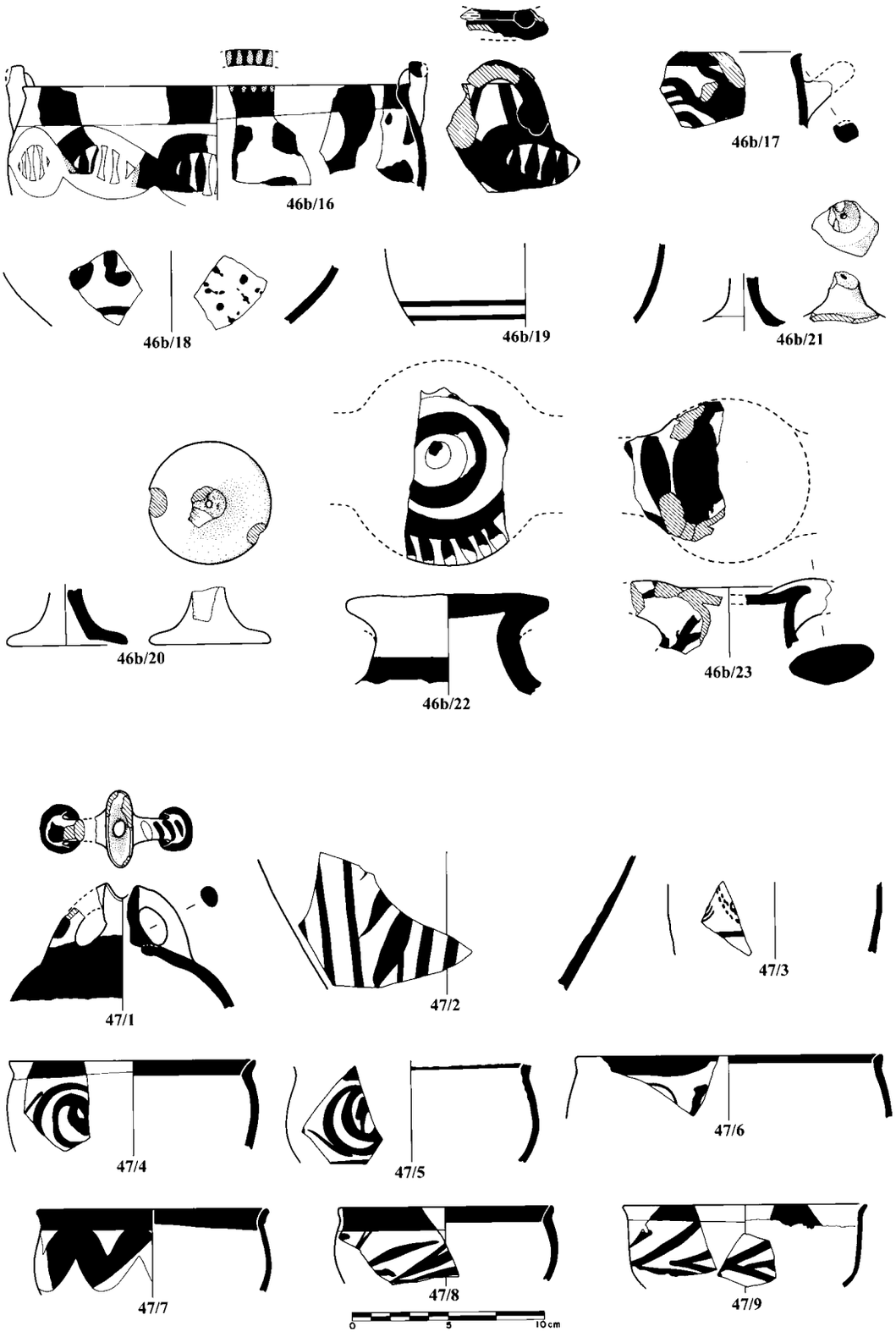


Plate 3.51. Pottery from Groups 46b and 47. Scale 1:3.

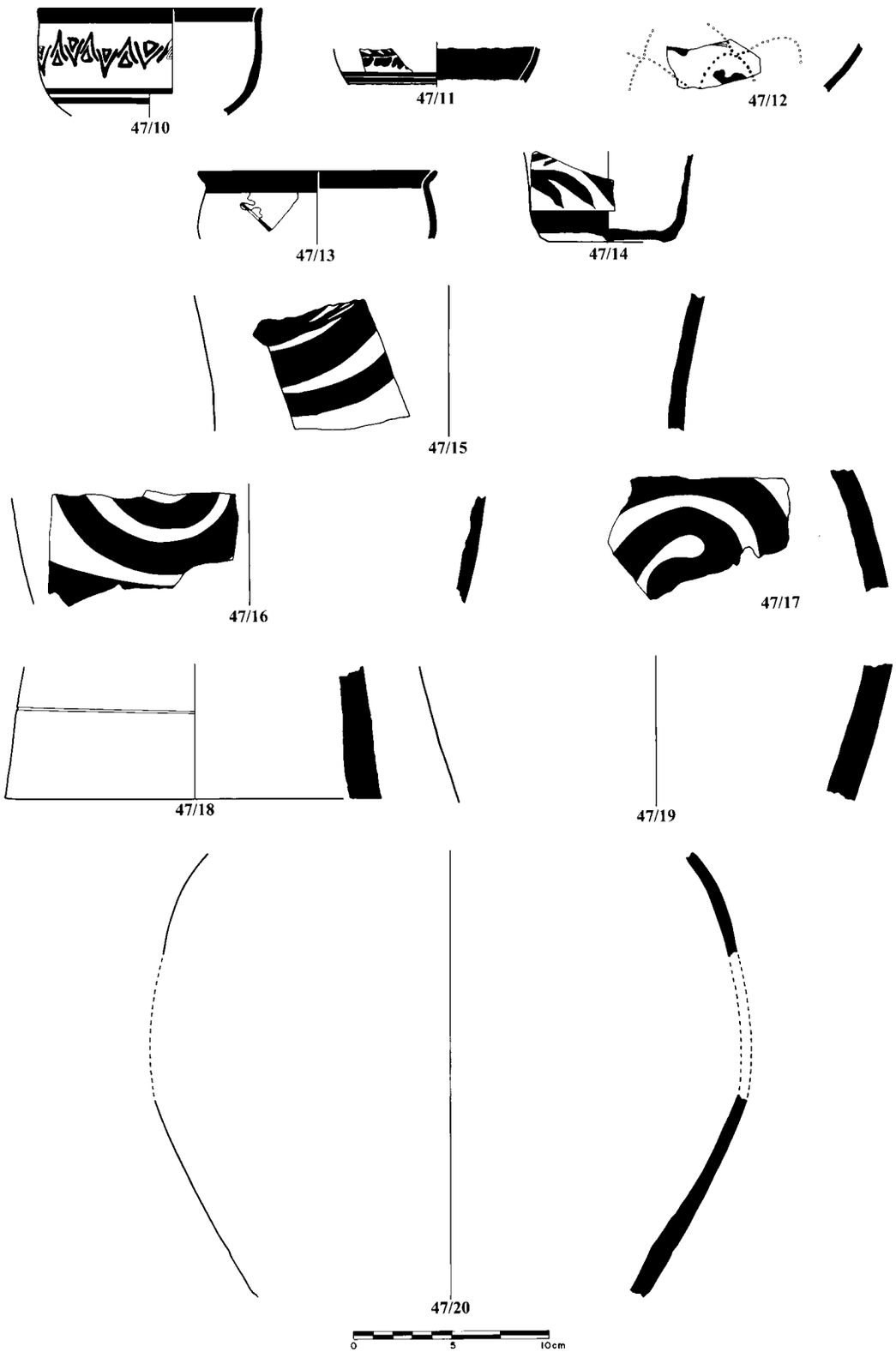


Plate 3.52. Pottery from Group 47. Scale 1:3.

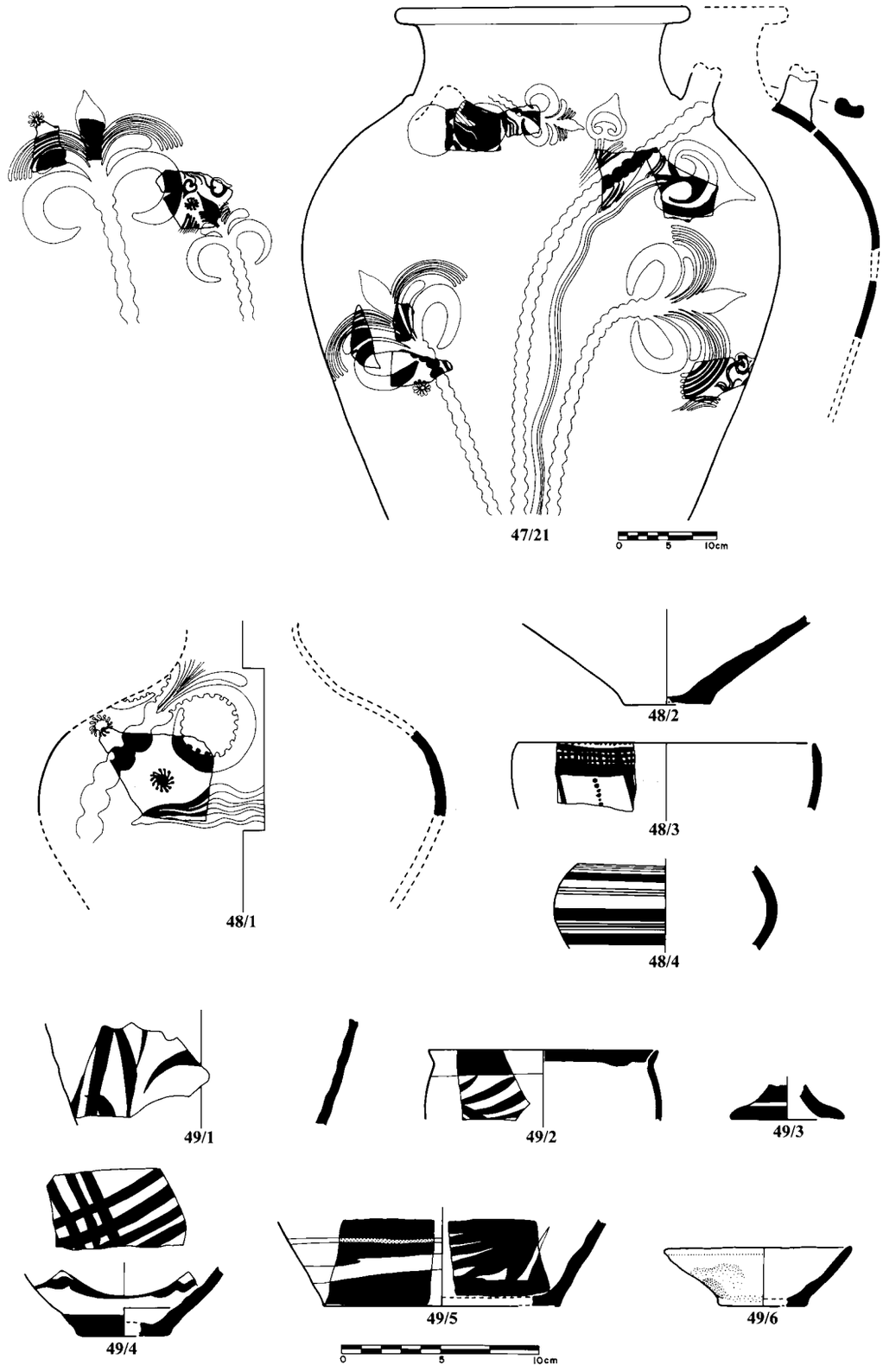


Plate 3.53. Pottery from Groups 47, 48, and 49. Scale 1:3, except for **47/21,** which is at 1:6.

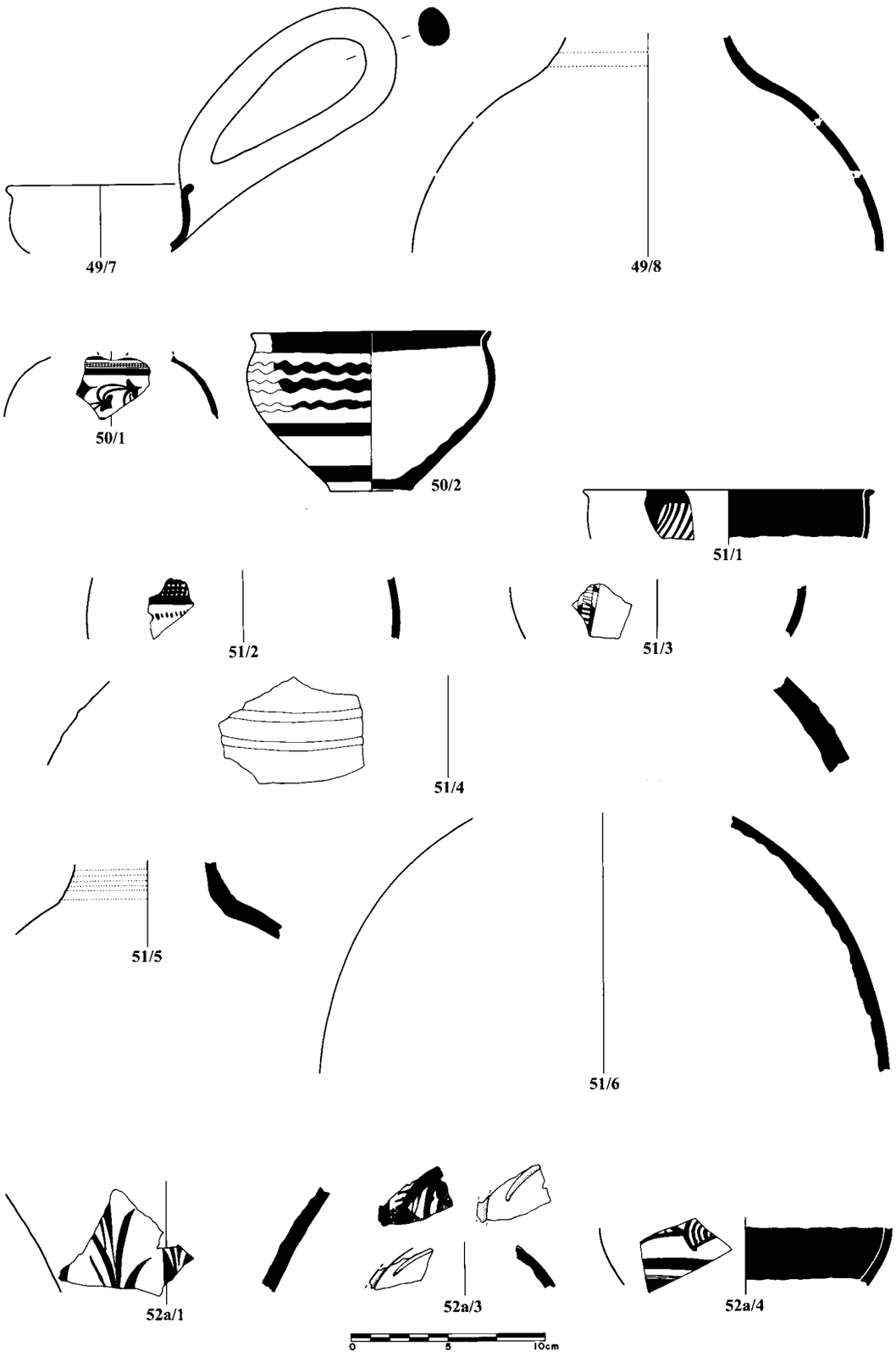


Plate 3.54. Pottery from Groups 49, 50, 51, and 52a. Scale 1:3.

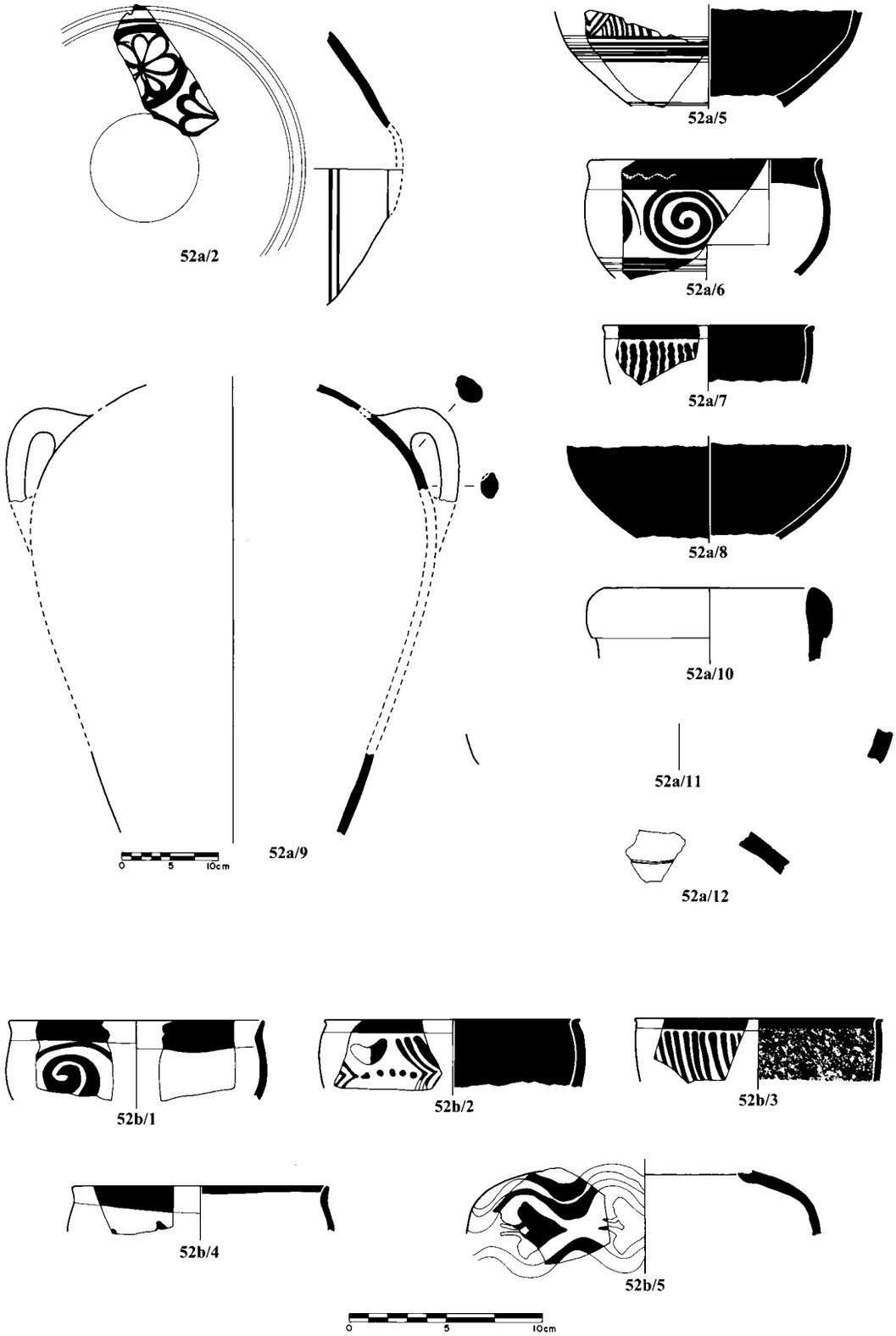


Plate 3.55. Pottery from Groups 52a and 52b. Scale 1:3, except for **52a/9,** which is at 1:6.

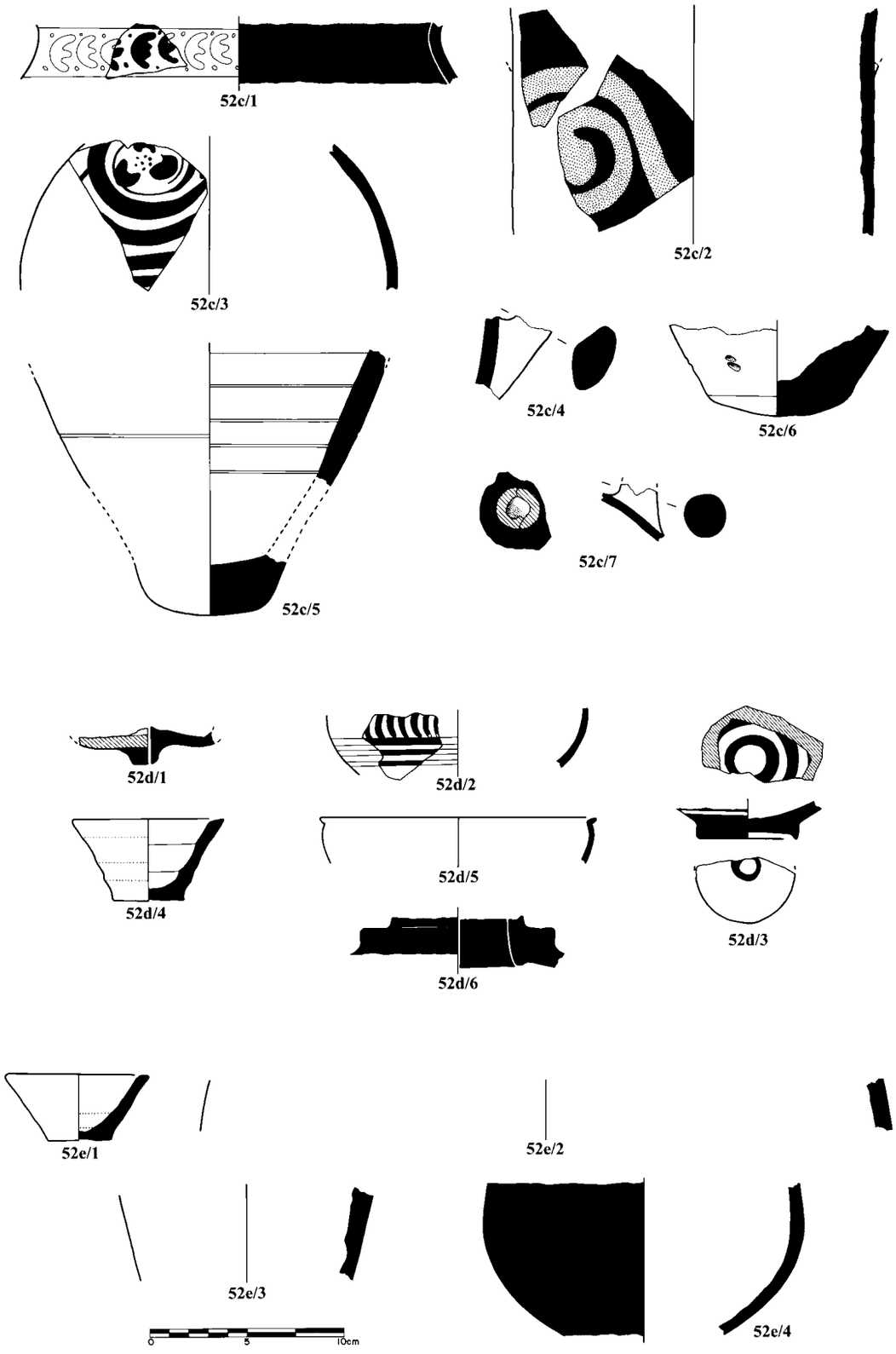


Plate 3.56. Pottery from Groups 52c, 52d, and 52e. Scale 1:3.

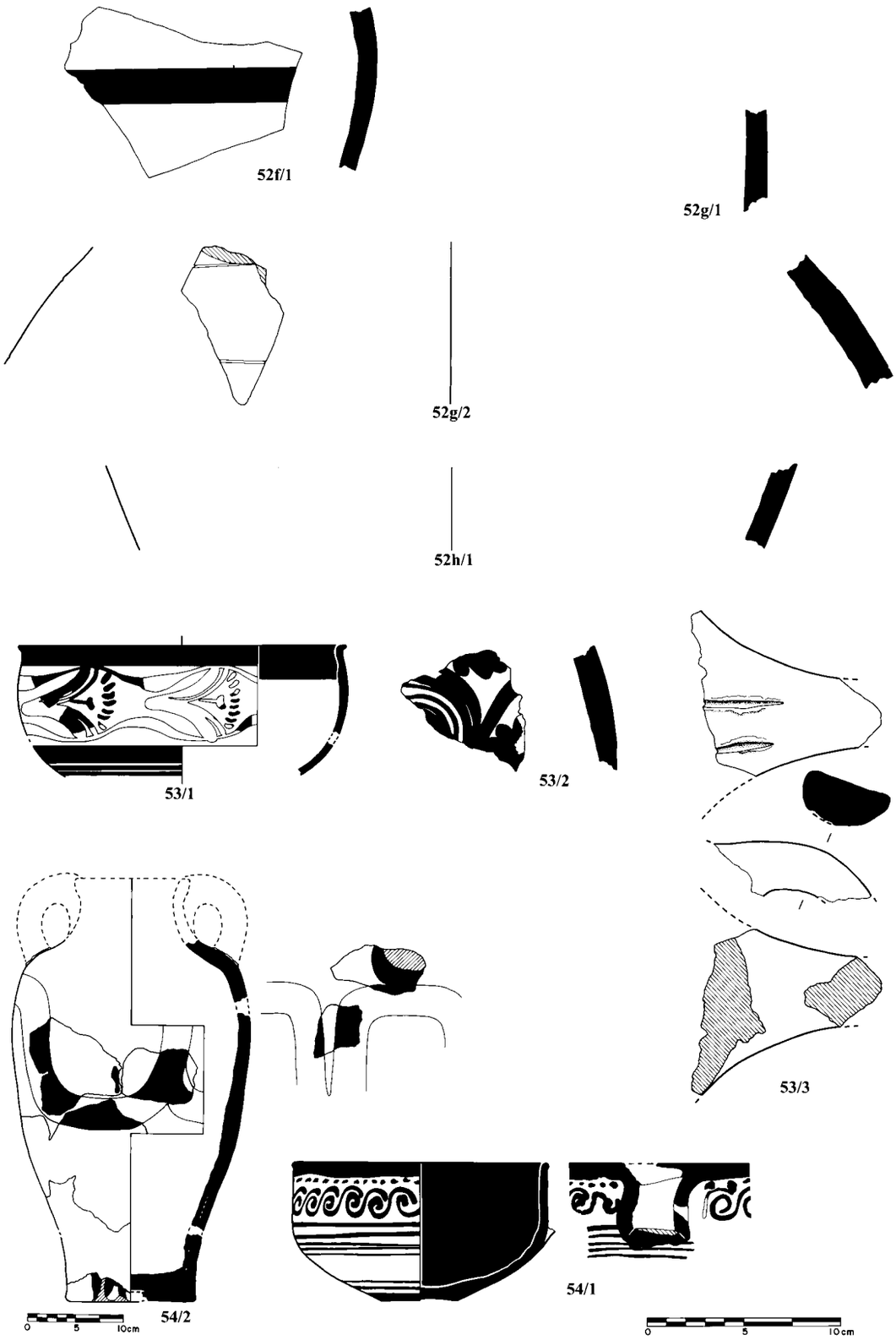


Plate 3.57. Pottery from Groups 52f, 52g, 52h, 53, and 54. Scale 1:3, except for **54/2,** which is at 1:6.

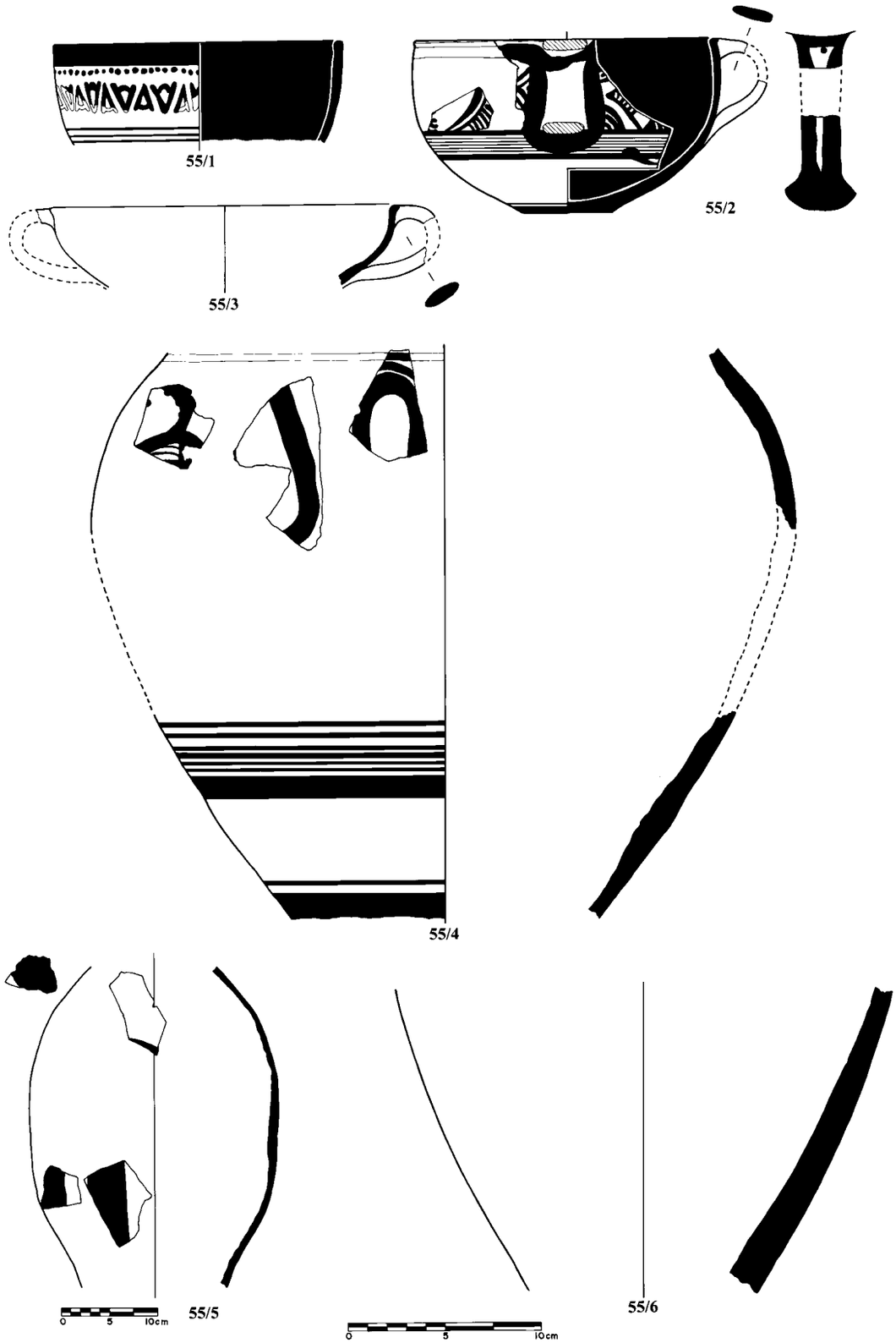


Plate 3.58. Pottery from Group 55. Scale 1:3, except for **55/5,** which is at 1:6.

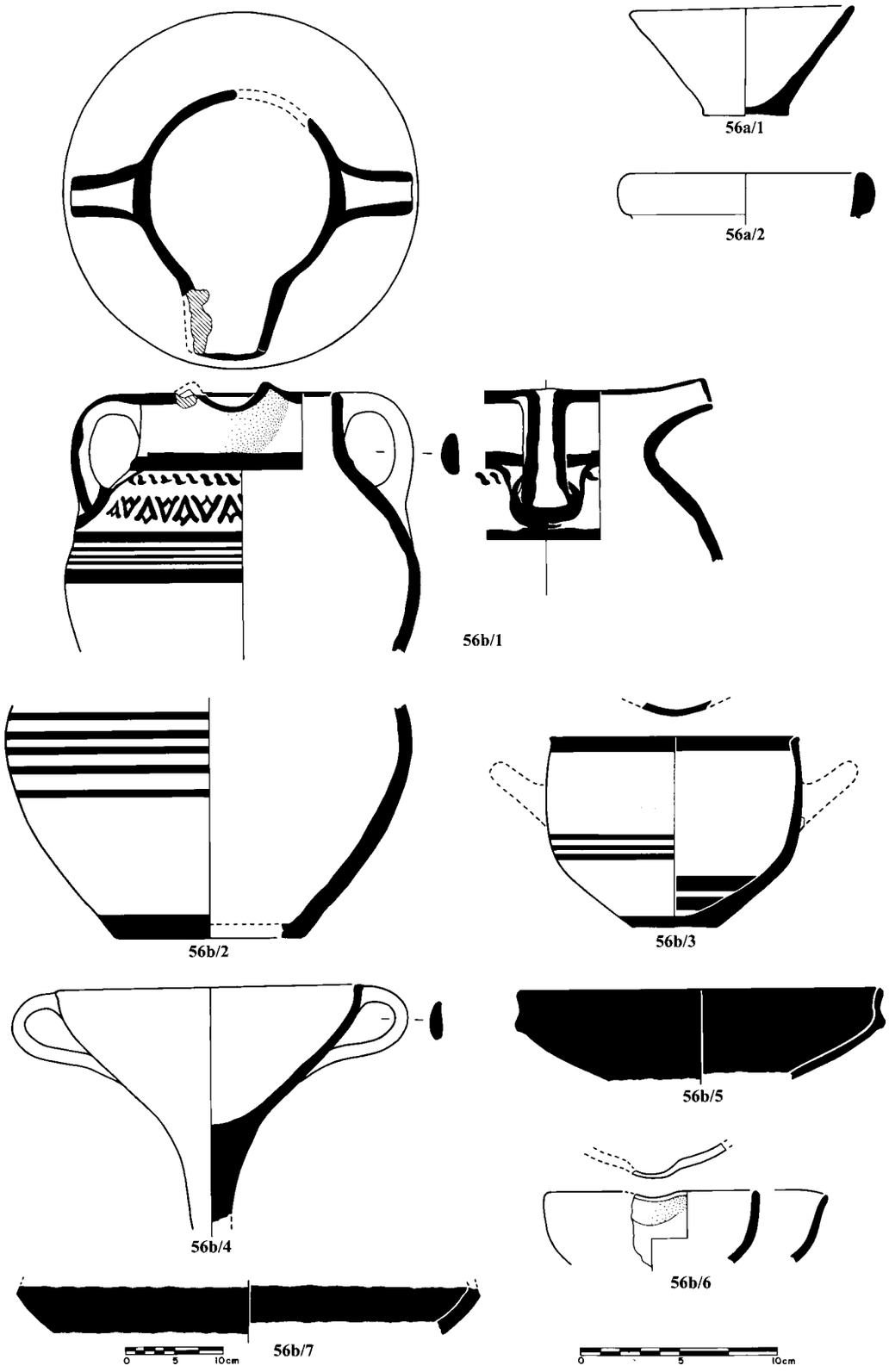


Plate 3.59. Pottery from Groups 56a and 56b. Scale 1:3, except for **56b/7,** which is at 1:6.

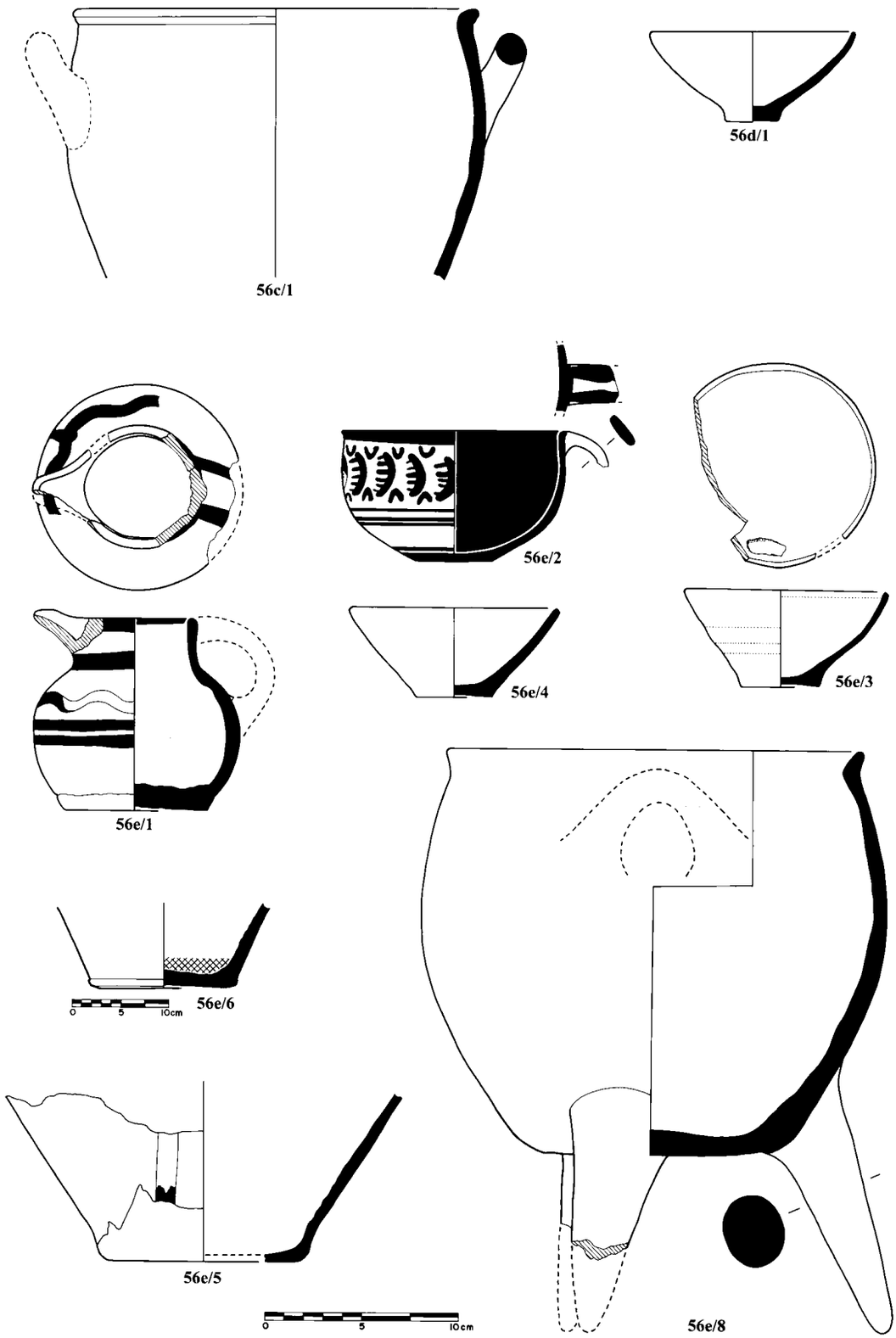


Plate 3.60. Pottery from Groups 56c, 56d, and 56e. Scale 1:3, except for **56e/6,** which is at 1:6.

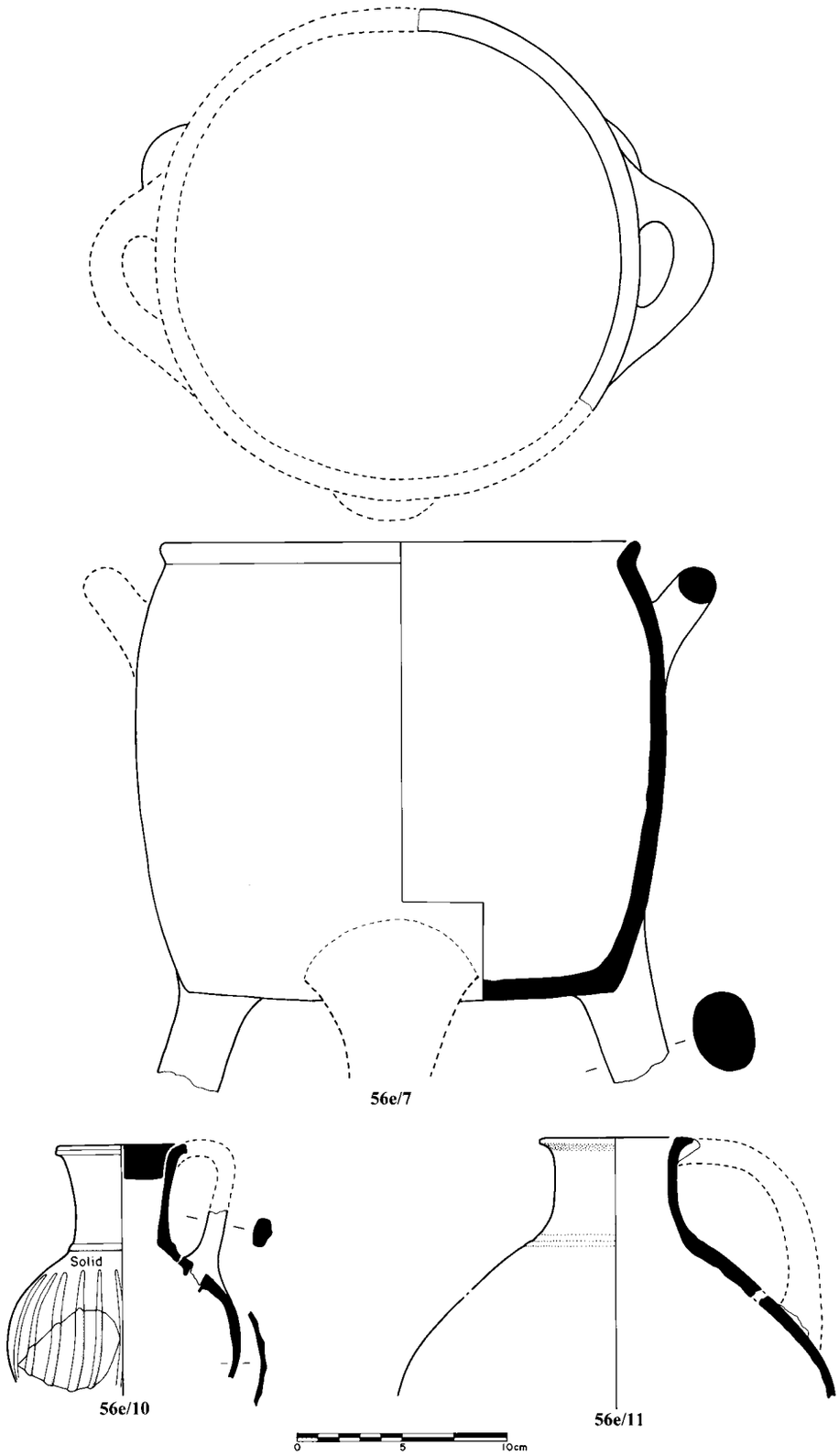


Plate 3.61. Pottery from Group 56e. Scale 1:3.

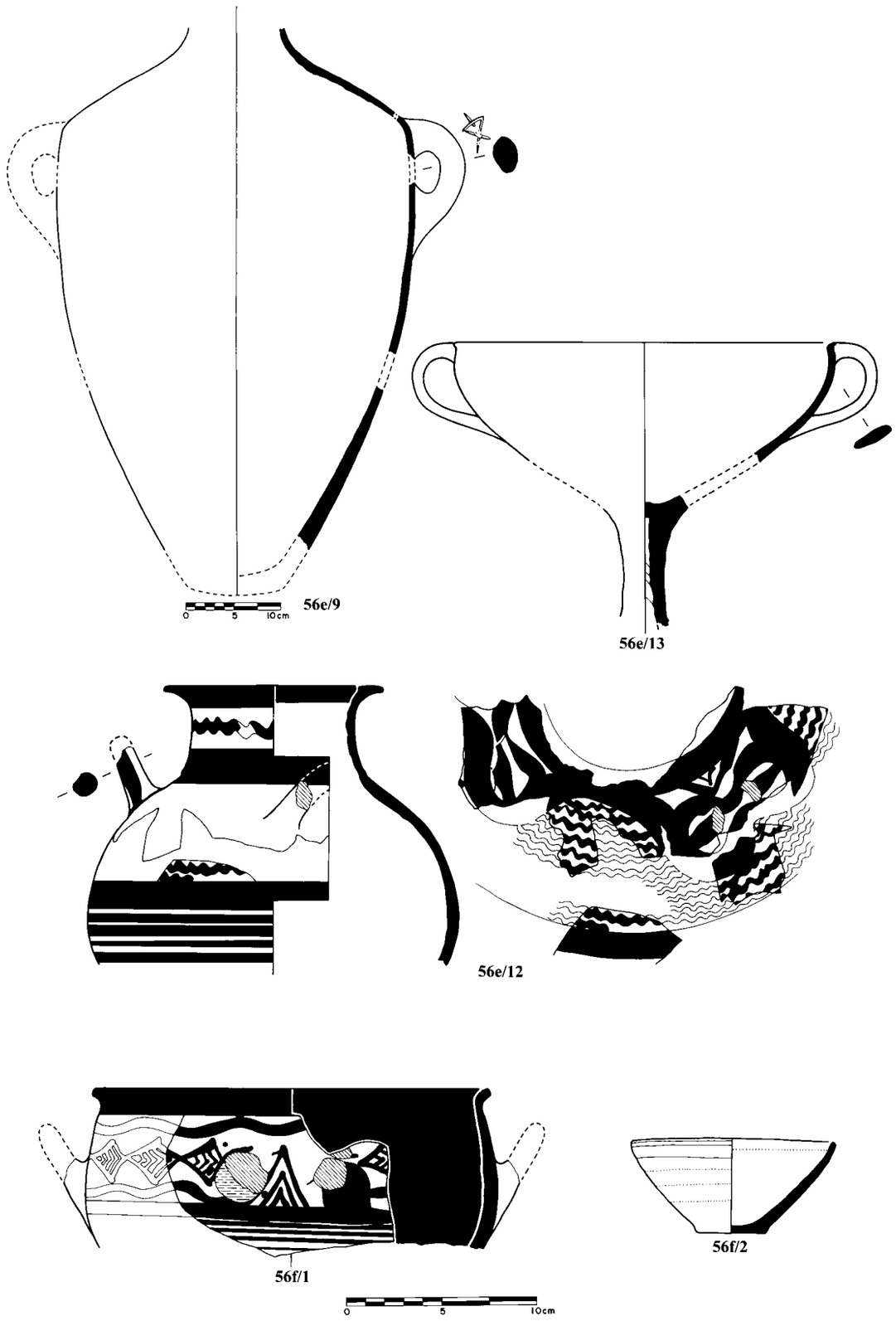


Plate 3.62. Pottery from Groups 56e and 56f. Scale 1:3, except for **56e/9,** which is at 1:6.

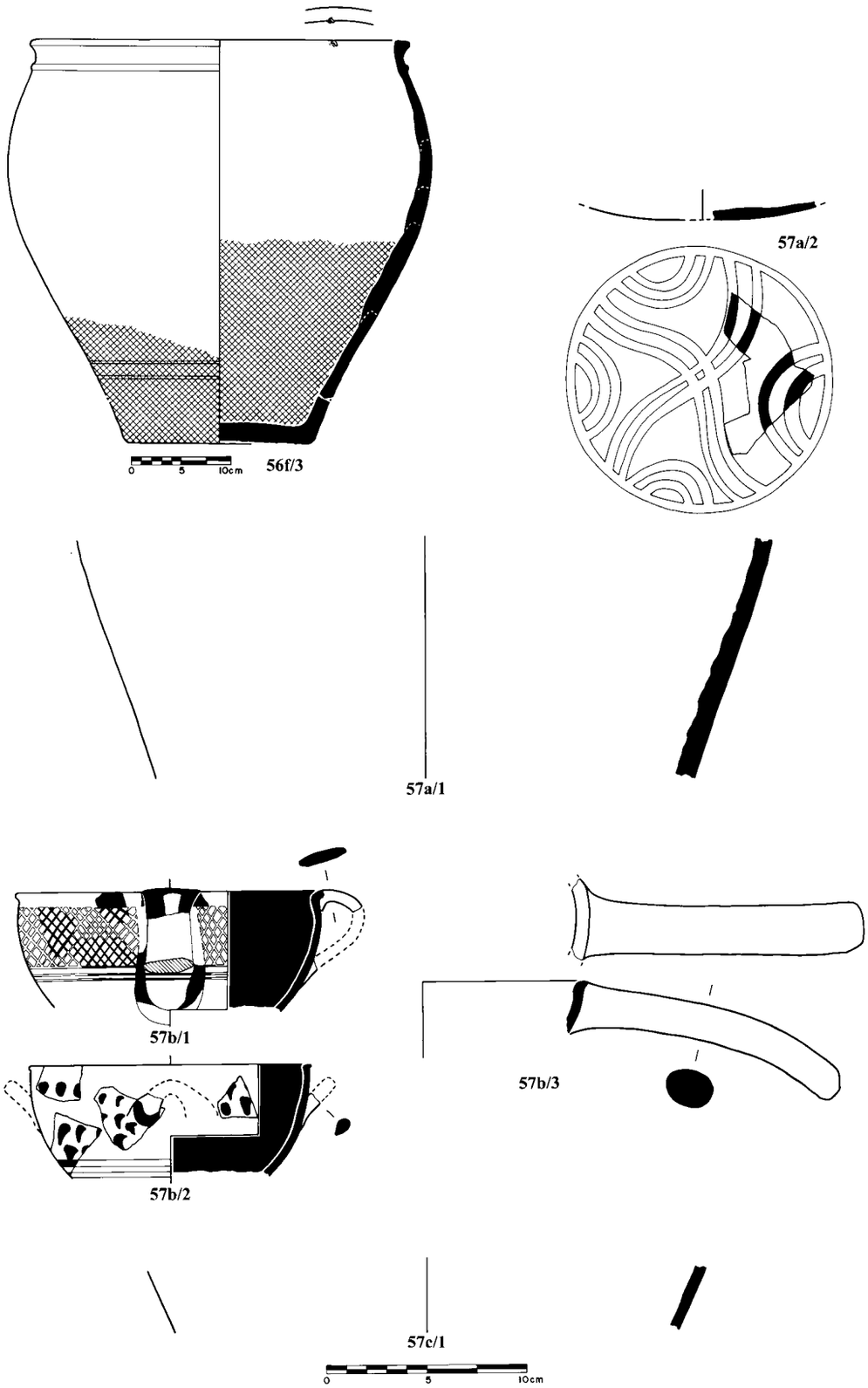


Plate 3.63. Pottery from Groups 56f, 57a, 57b, and 57c. Scale 1:3, except for **56f/3,** which is at 1:6.

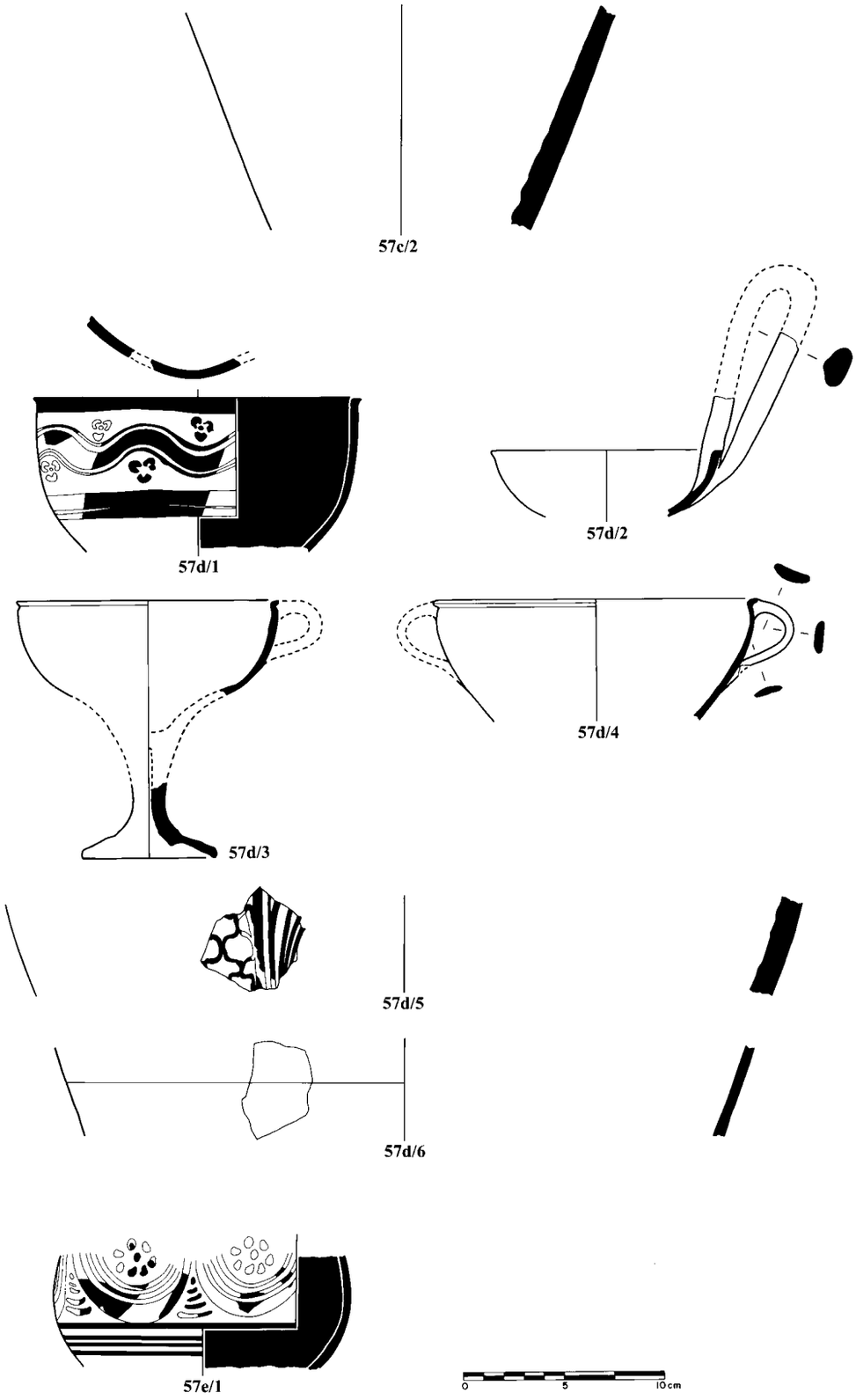


Plate 3.64. Pottery from Groups 57c, 57d, and 57e. Scale 1:3.

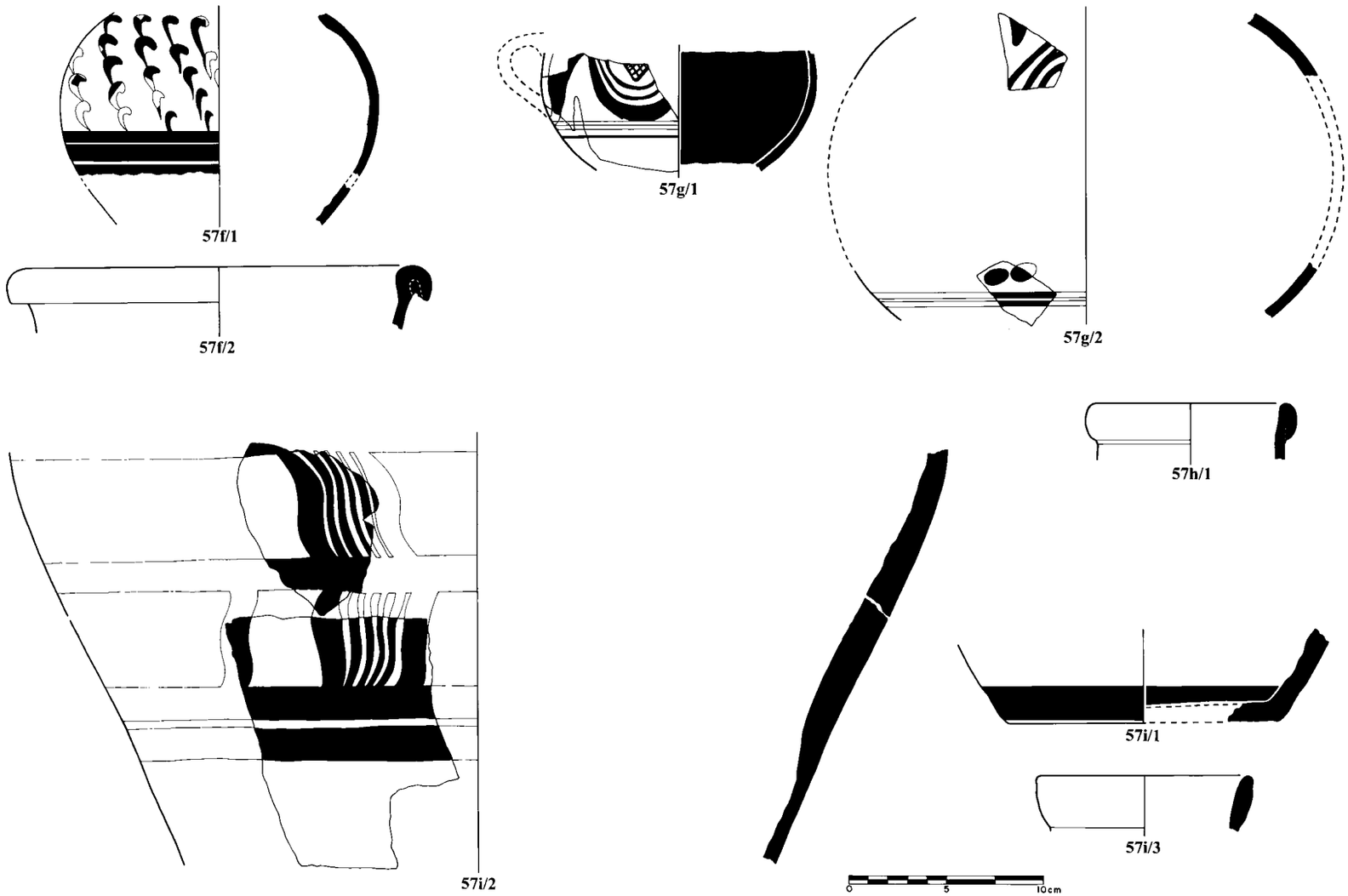


Plate 3.65. Pottery from Groups 57f, 57g, 57h, and 57i. Scale 1:3.

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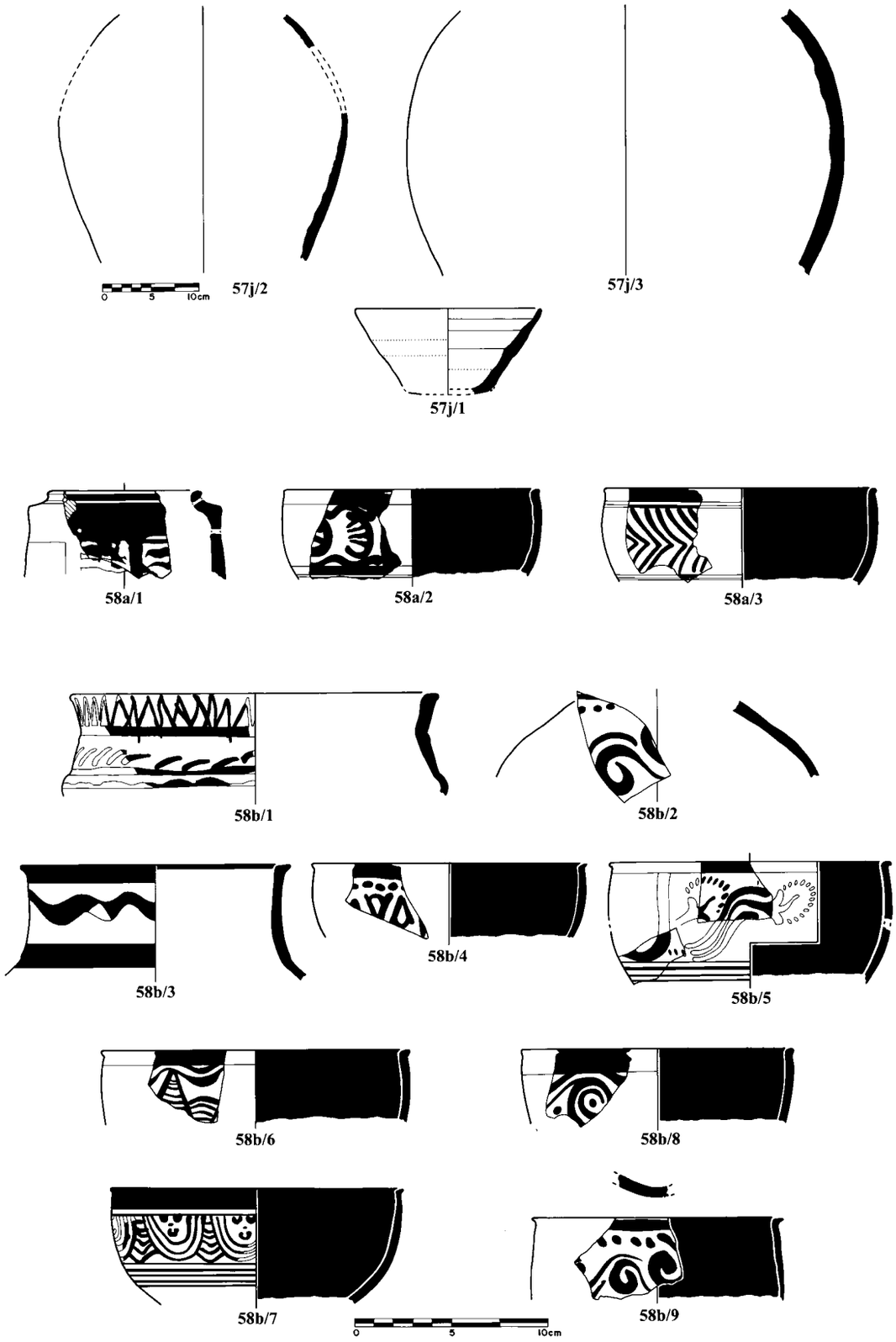


Plate 3.66. Pottery from Groups 57j, 58a, and 58b. Scale 1:3, except for **57j/2,** which is at 1:6.

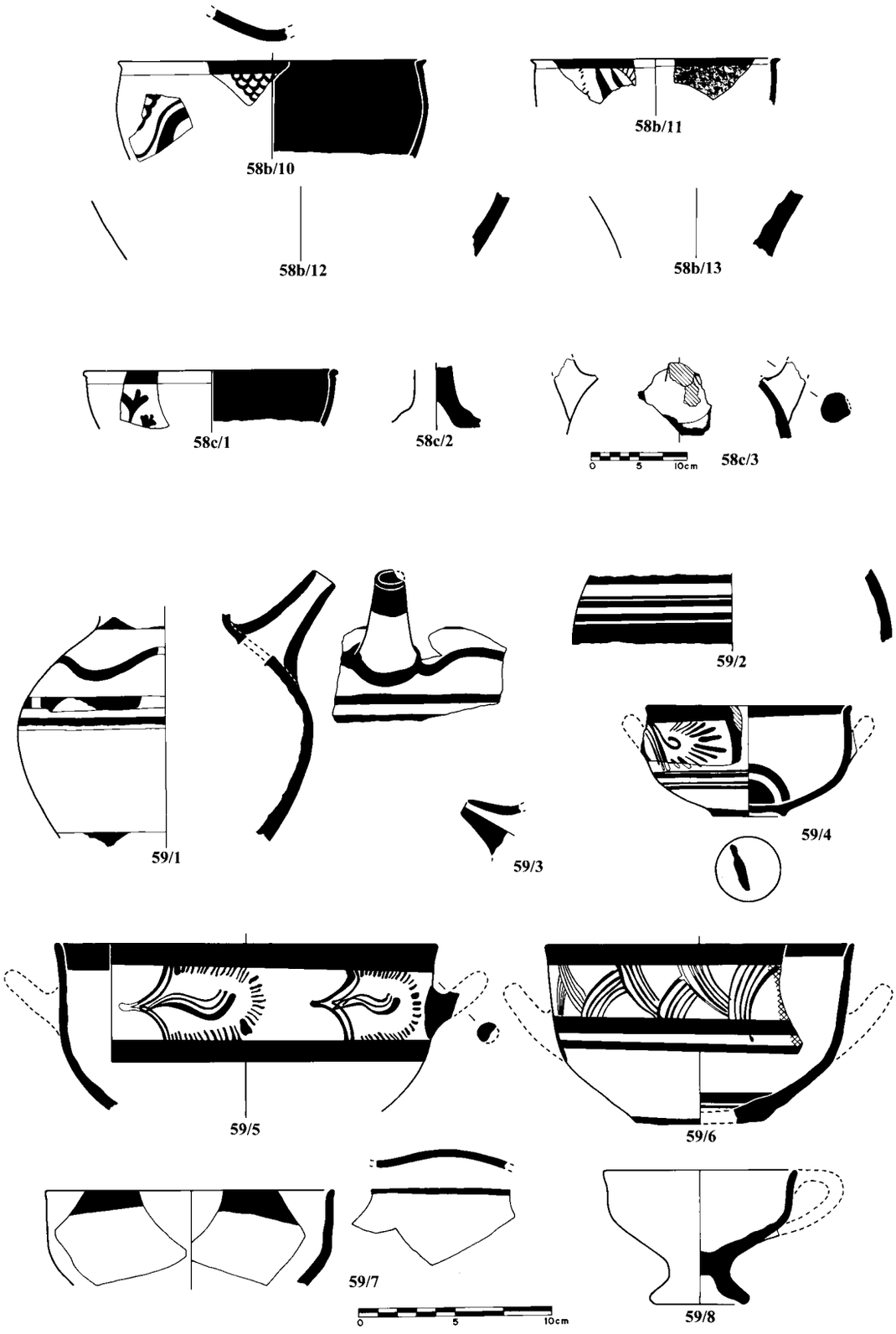


Plate 3.67. Pottery from Groups 58b, 58c, and 59. Scale 1:3, except for **58c/3,** which is at 1:6.

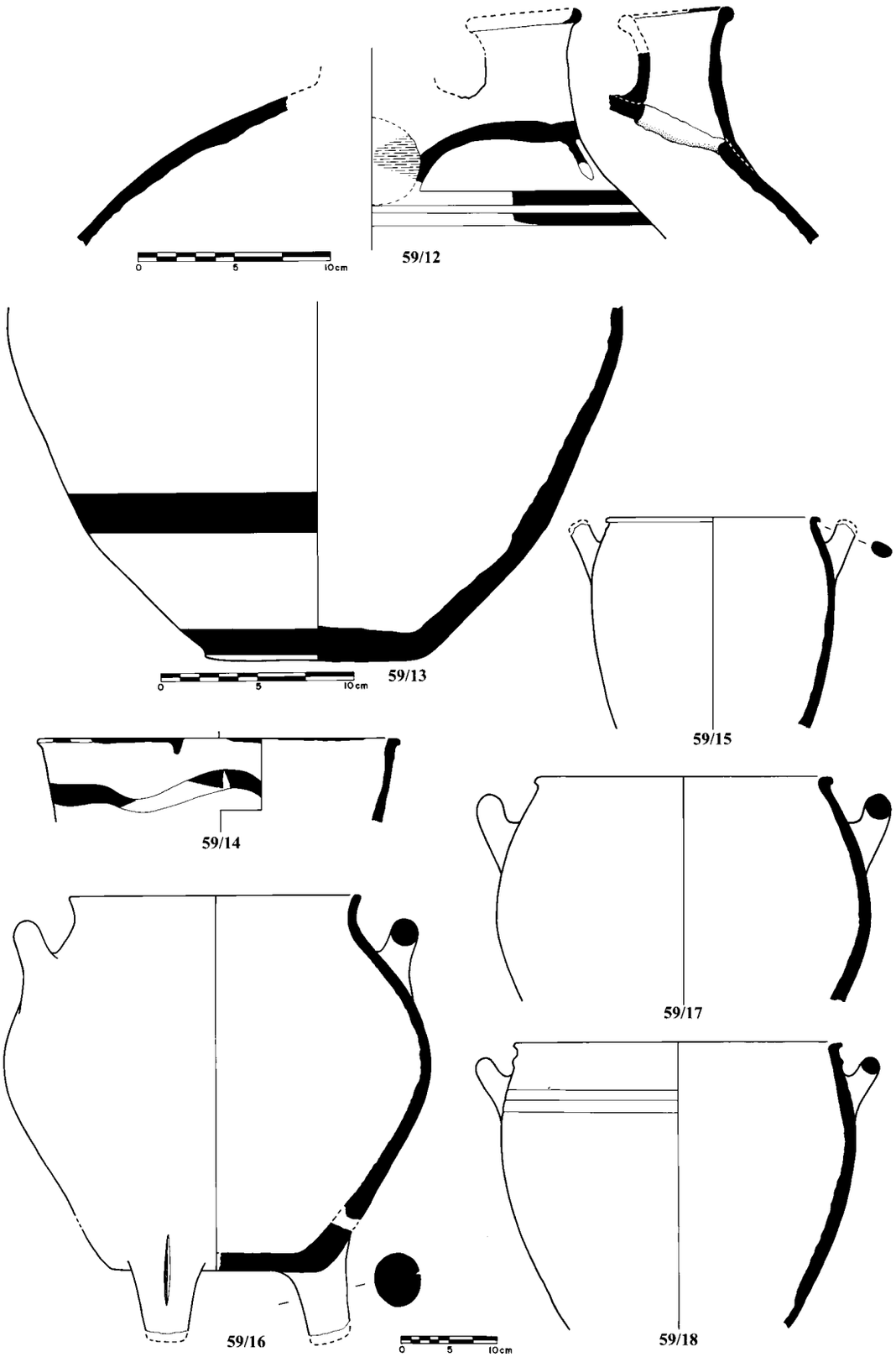


Plate 3.68. Pottery from Group 59. Scale 1:6, except for **59/12** and **59/13,** which are at 1:3.

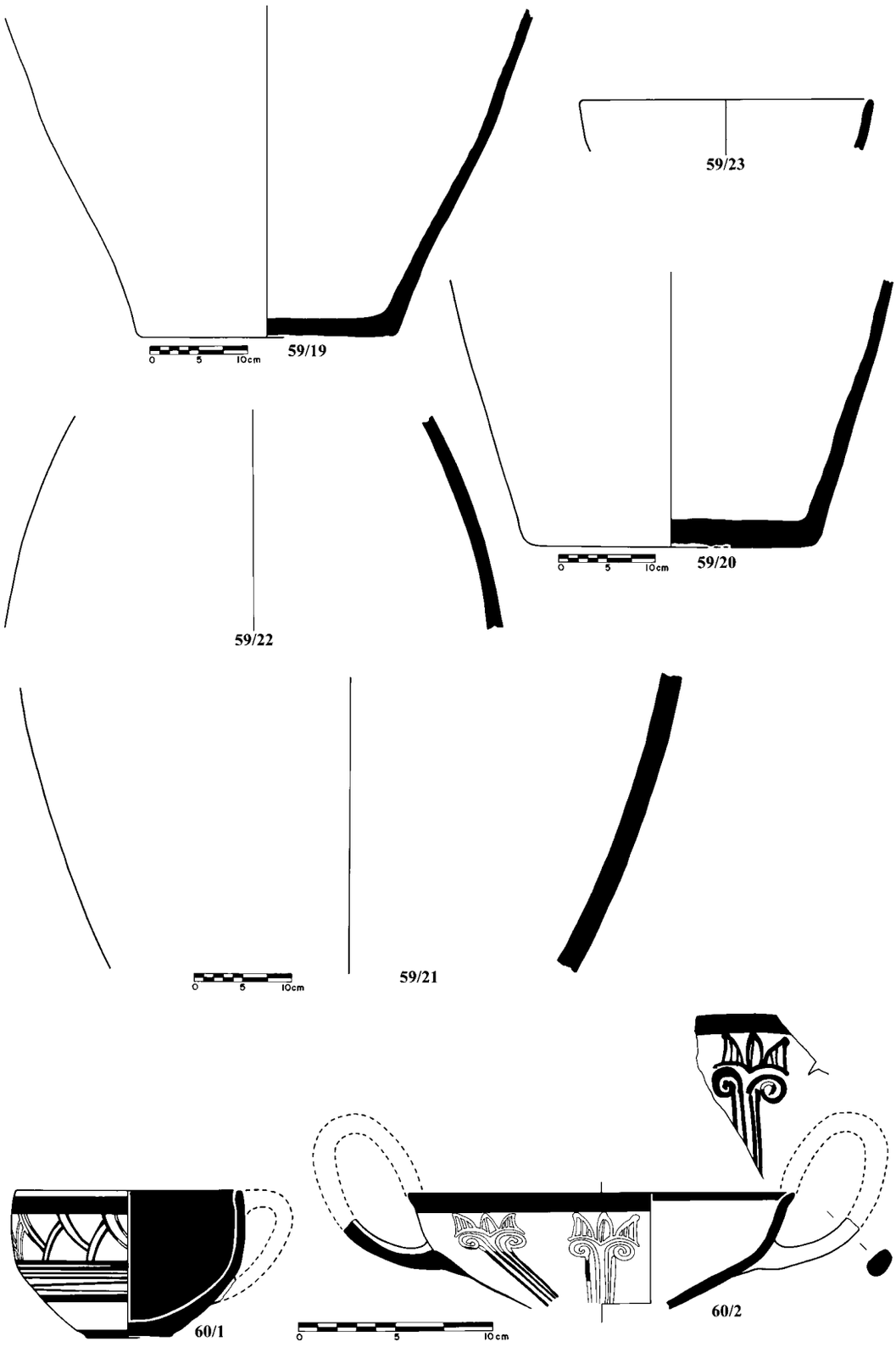


Plate 3.69. Pottery from Groups 59 and 60. Scale 1:3, except for **59/19, 59/20,** and **59/21,** which are at 1:6.

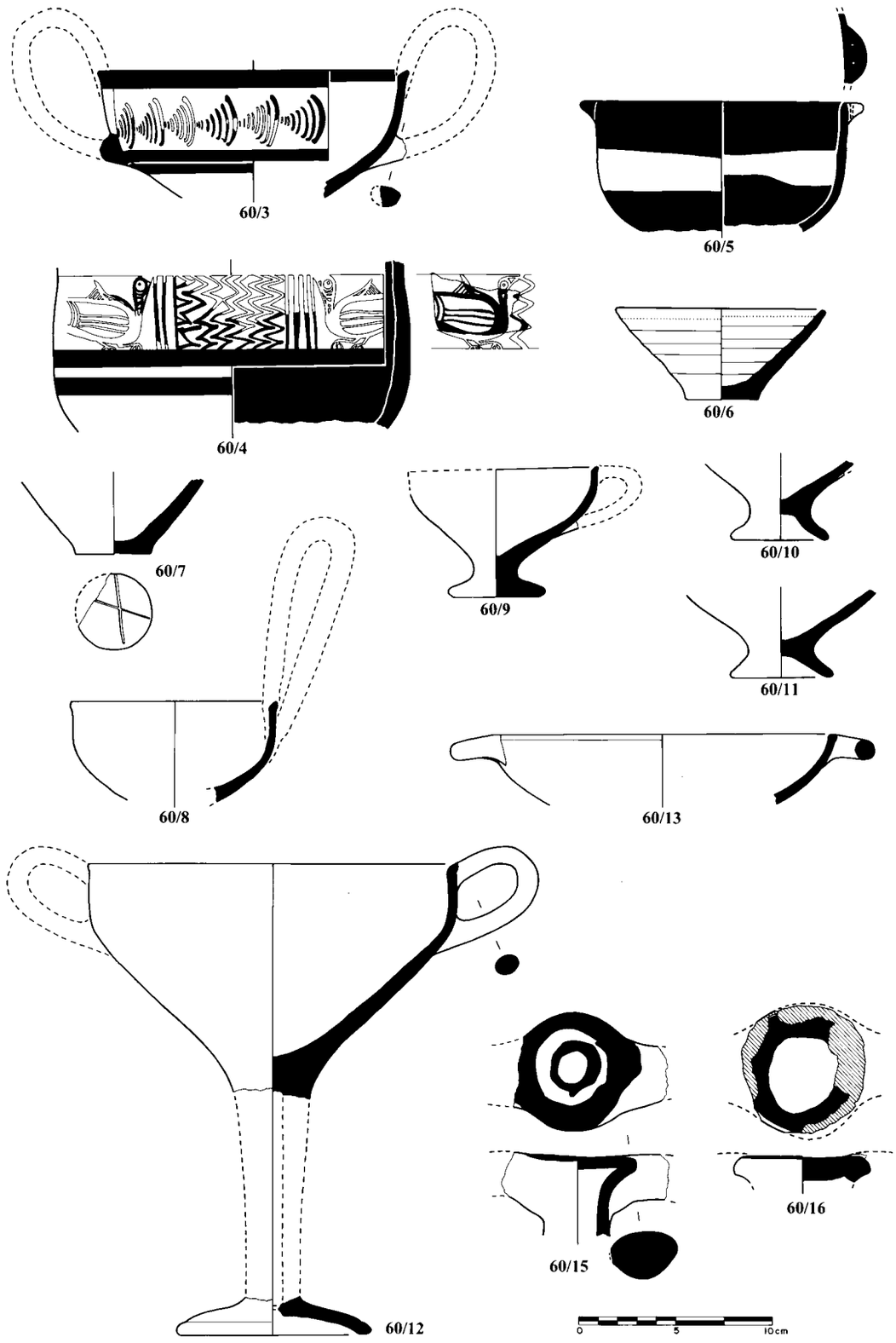


Plate 3.70. Pottery from Group 60. Scale 1:3.

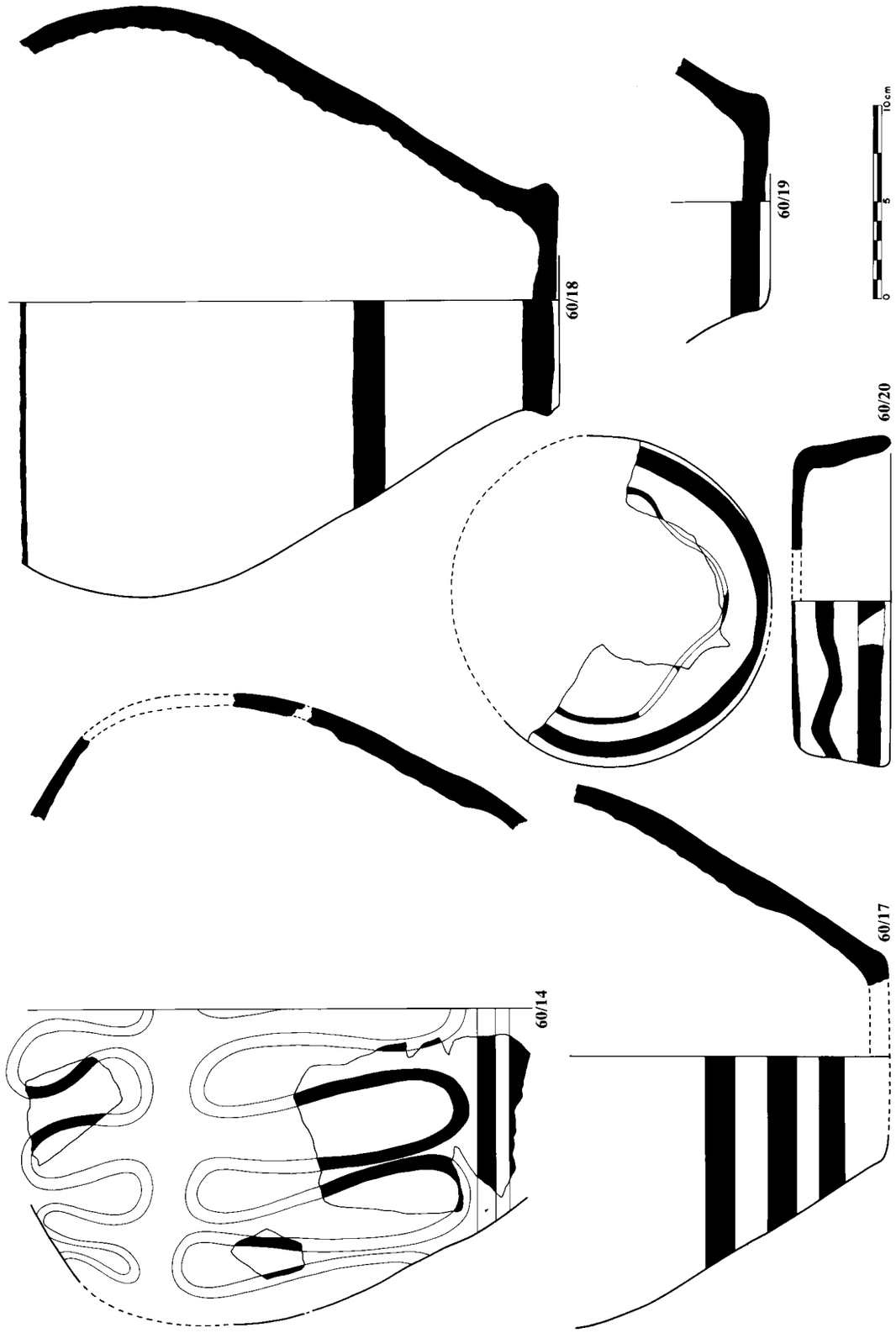


Plate 3.71. Pottery from Group 60. Scale 1:3.

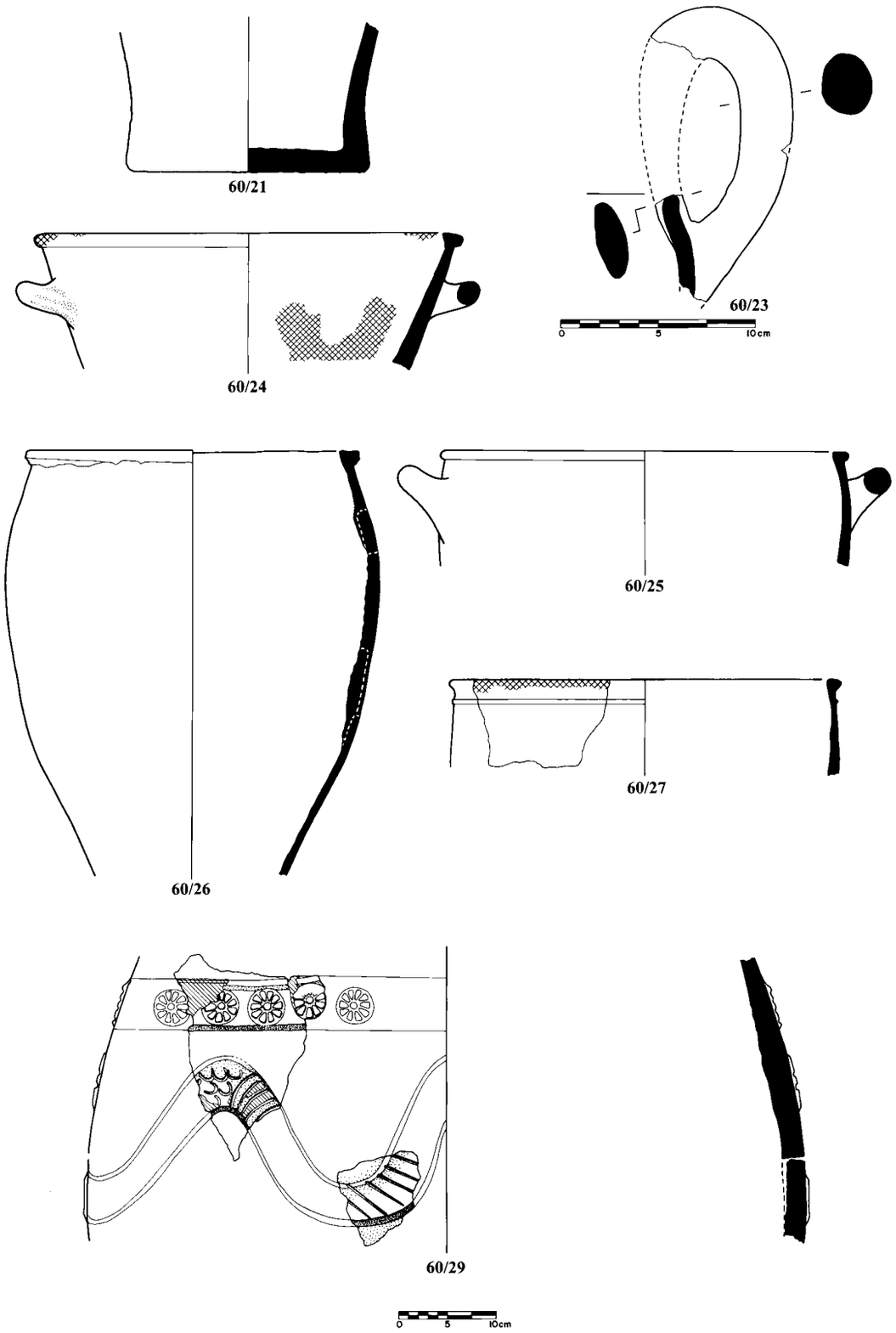


Plate 3.72. Pottery from Group 60. Scale 1:6, except for **60/23,** which is at 1:3.

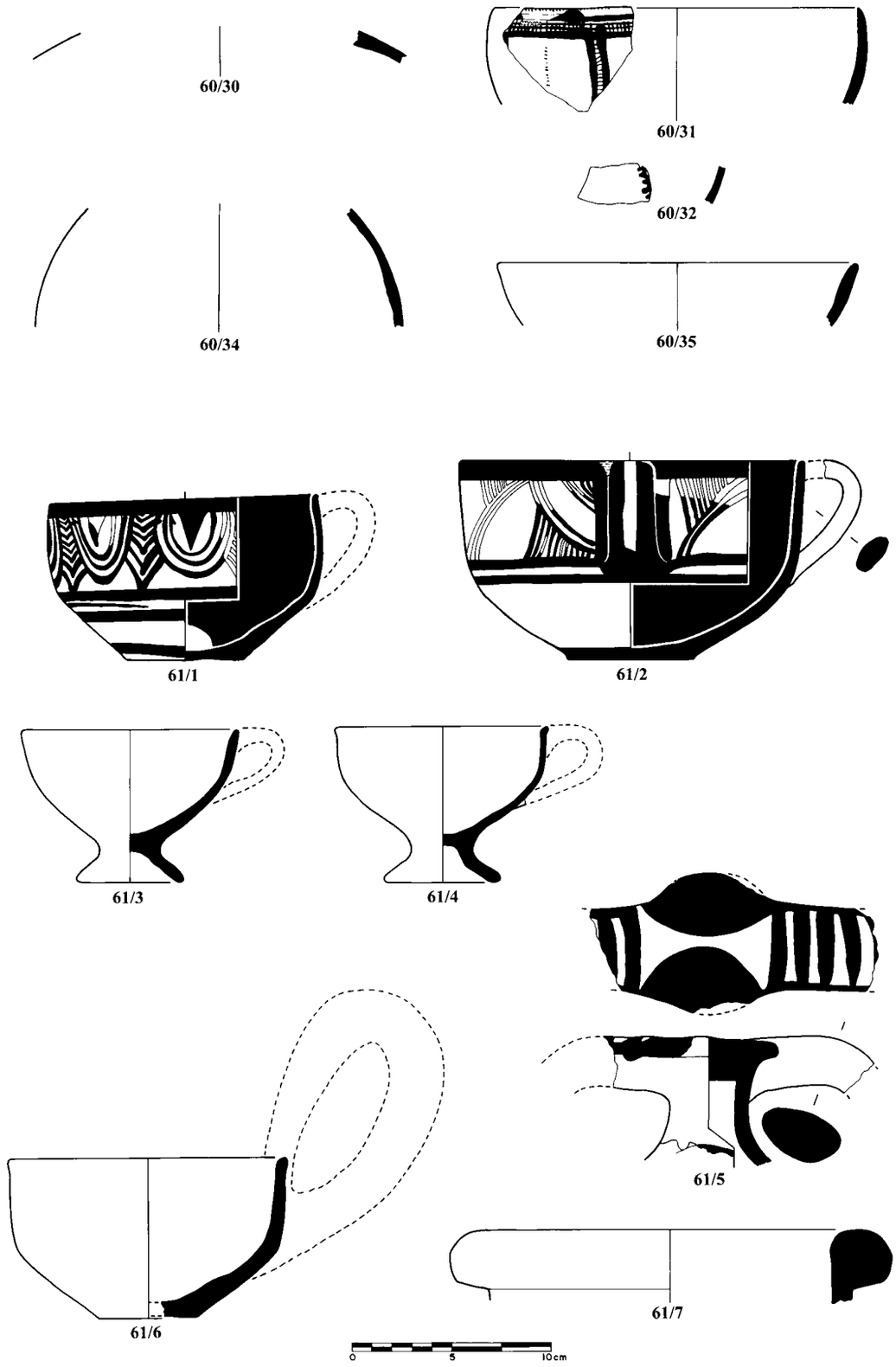


Plate 3.73. Pottery from Groups 60 and 61. Scale 1:3.

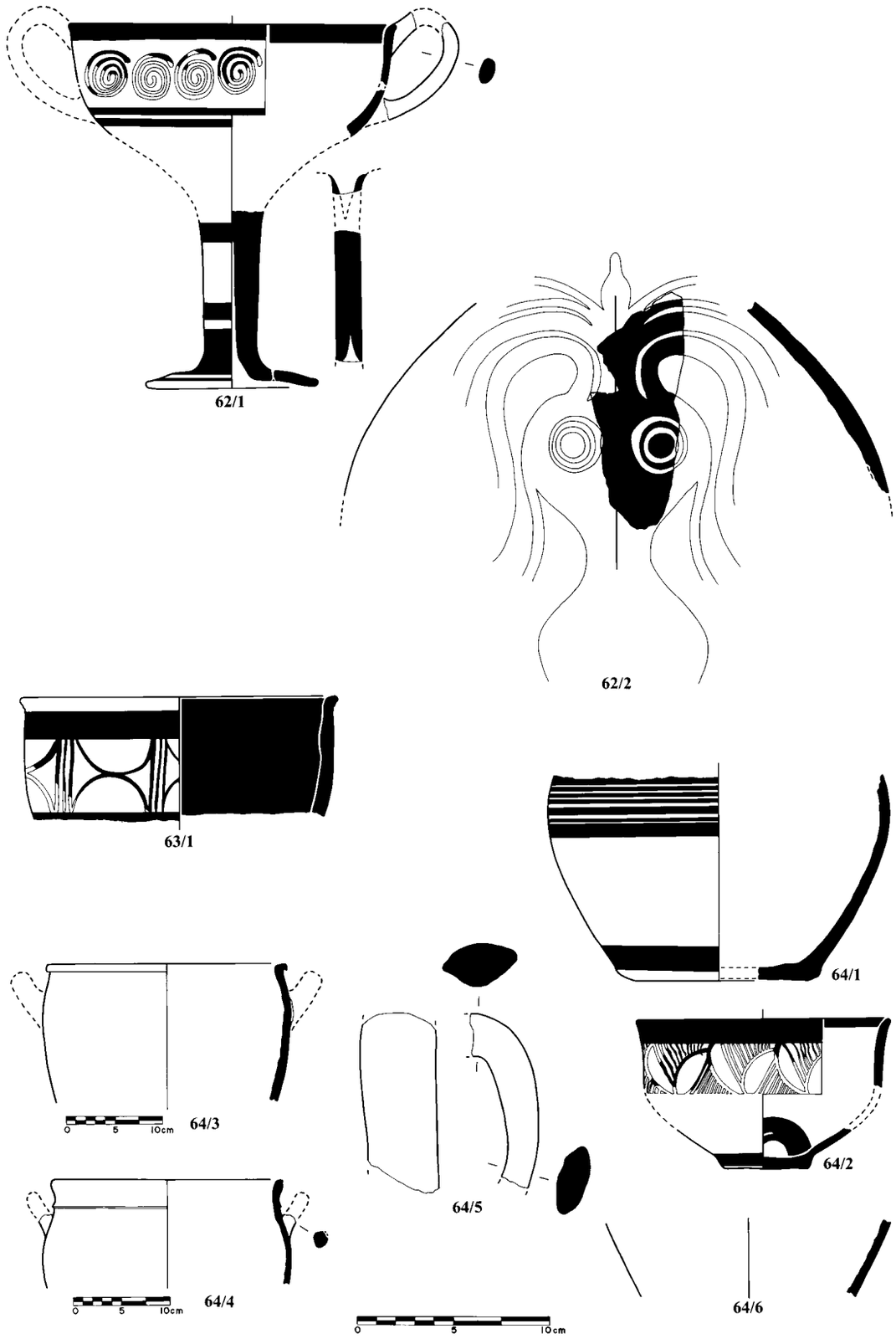


Plate 3.74. Pottery from Groups 62, 63, and 64. Scale 1:3, except for **64/3** and **64/4,** which are at 1:6.

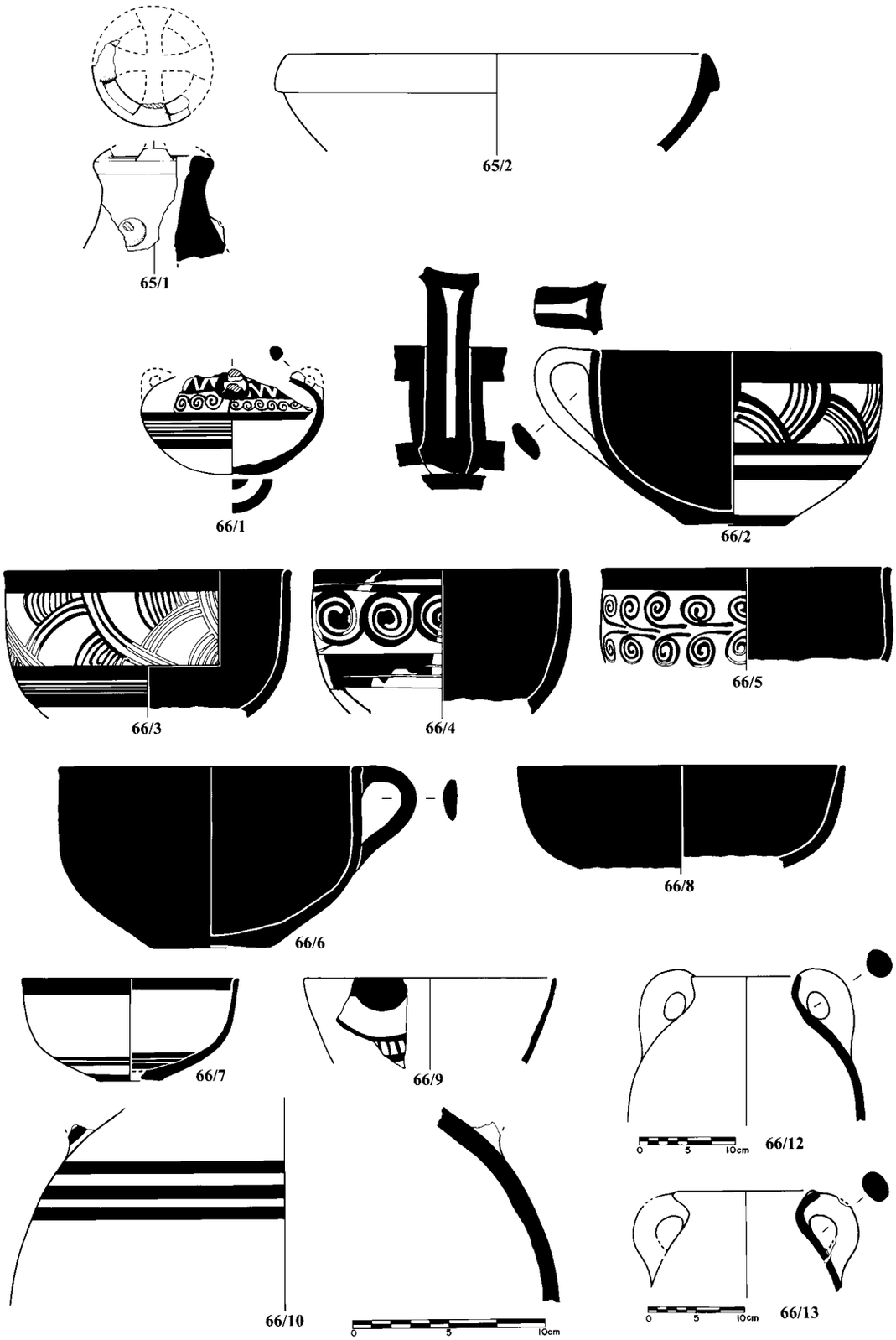


Plate 3.75. Pottery from Groups 65 and 66. Scale 1:3, except for **66/12** and **66/13,** which are at 1:6.

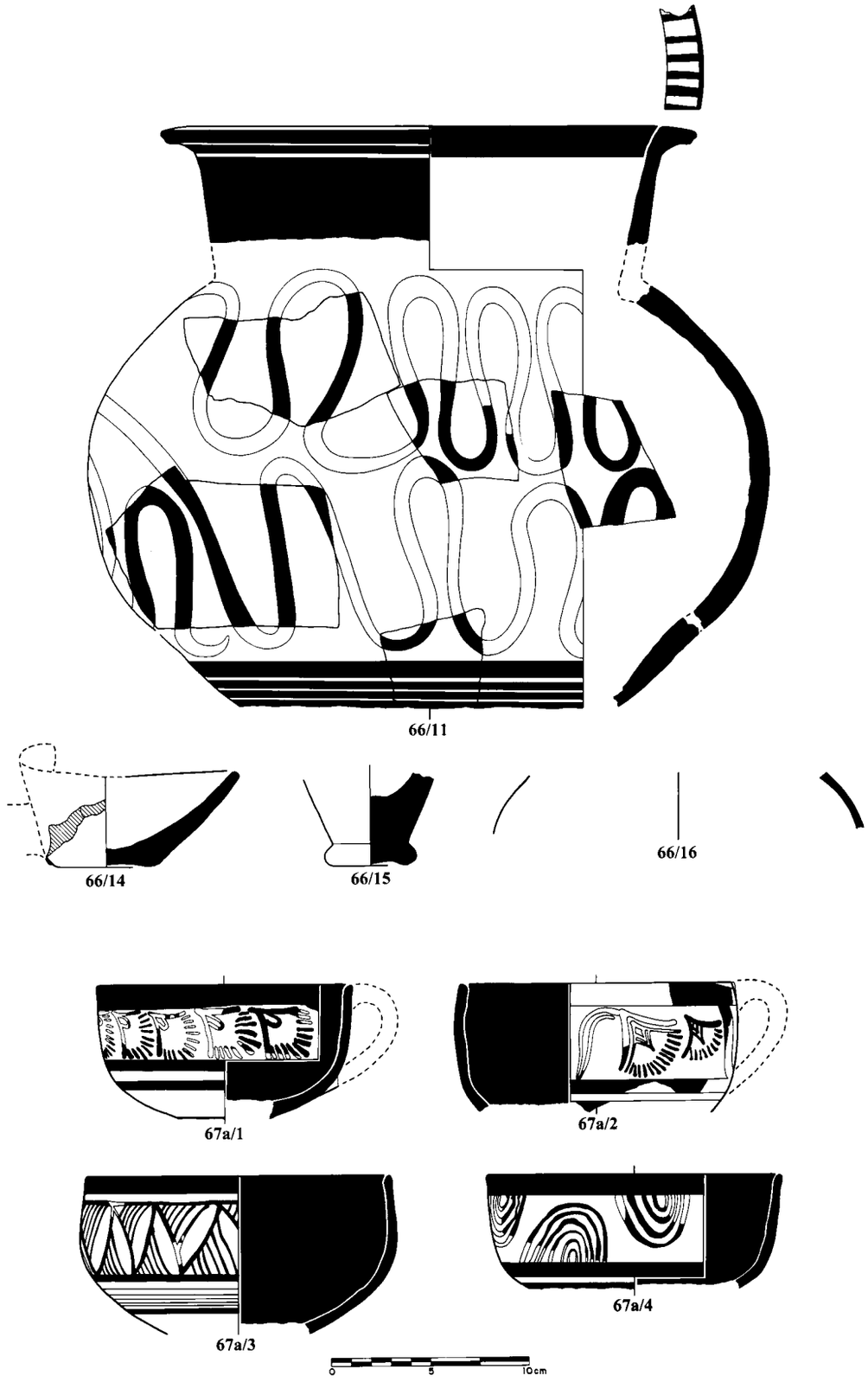


Plate 3.76. Pottery from Groups 66 and 67a. Scale 1:3.

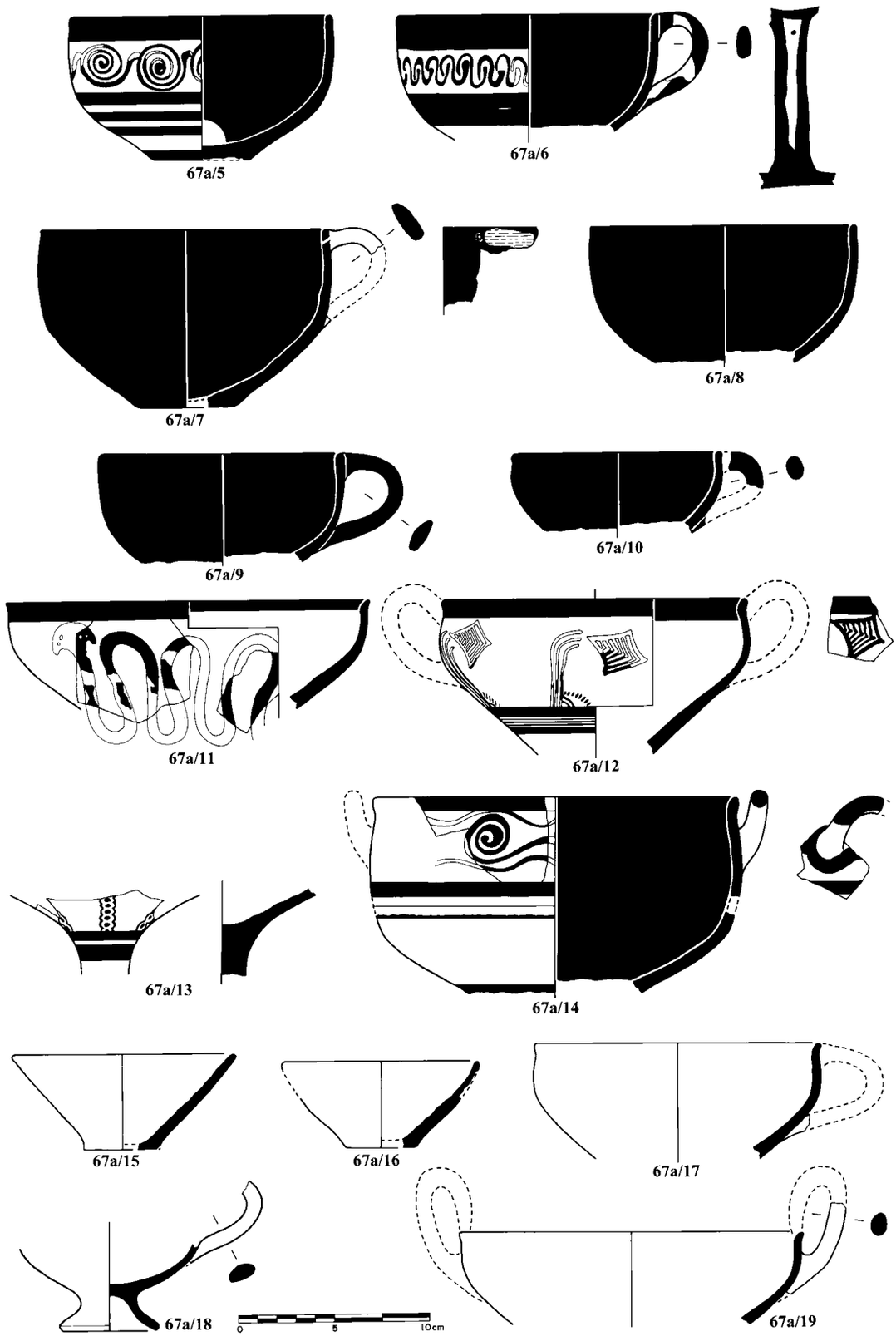


Plate 3.77. Pottery from Group 67a. Scale 1:3.

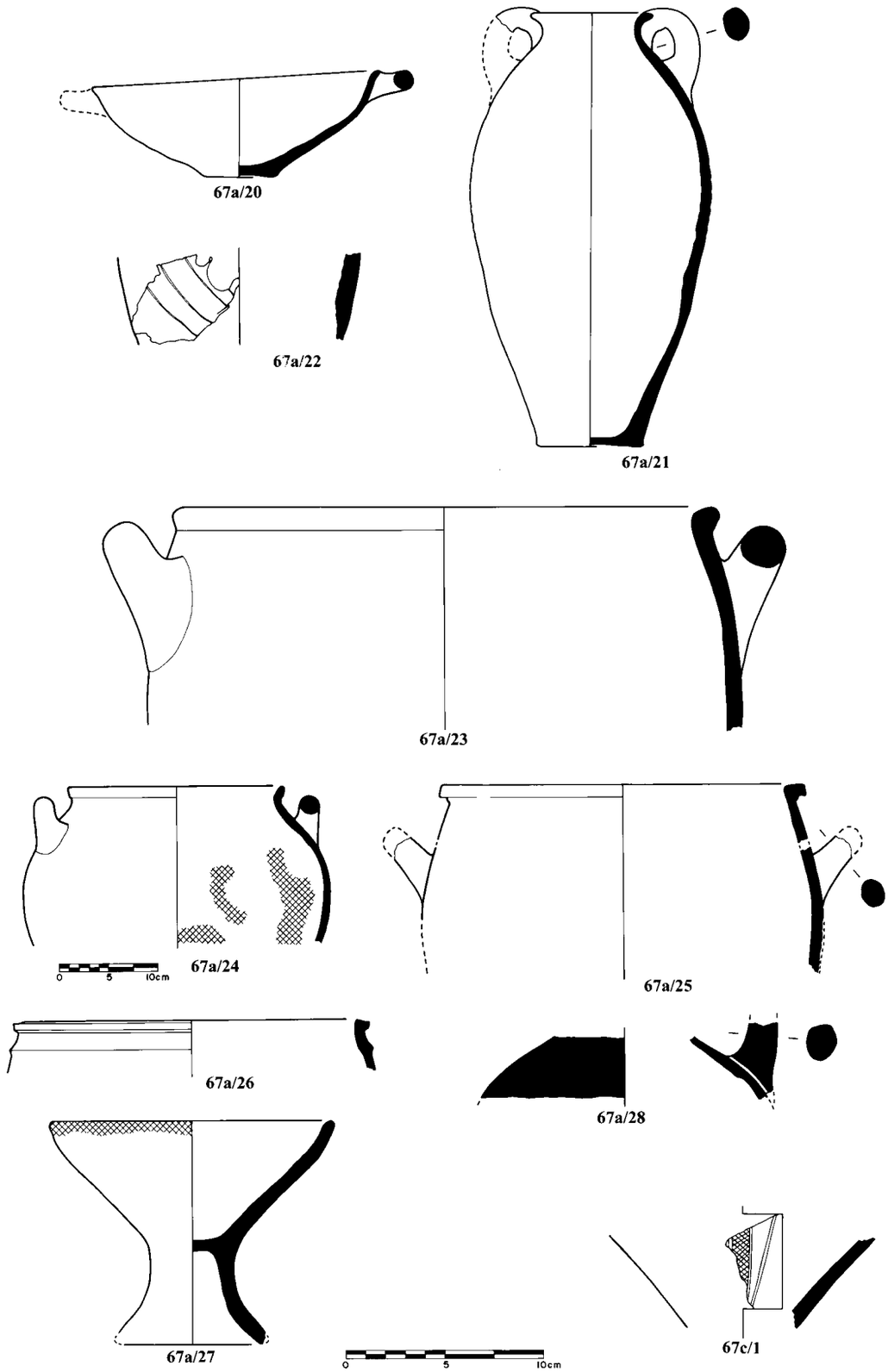


Plate 3.78. Pottery from Groups 67a and 67c. Scale 1:3, except for **67a/21, 67a/22, 67a/24, 67a/25,** and **67a/26,** which are at 1:6.

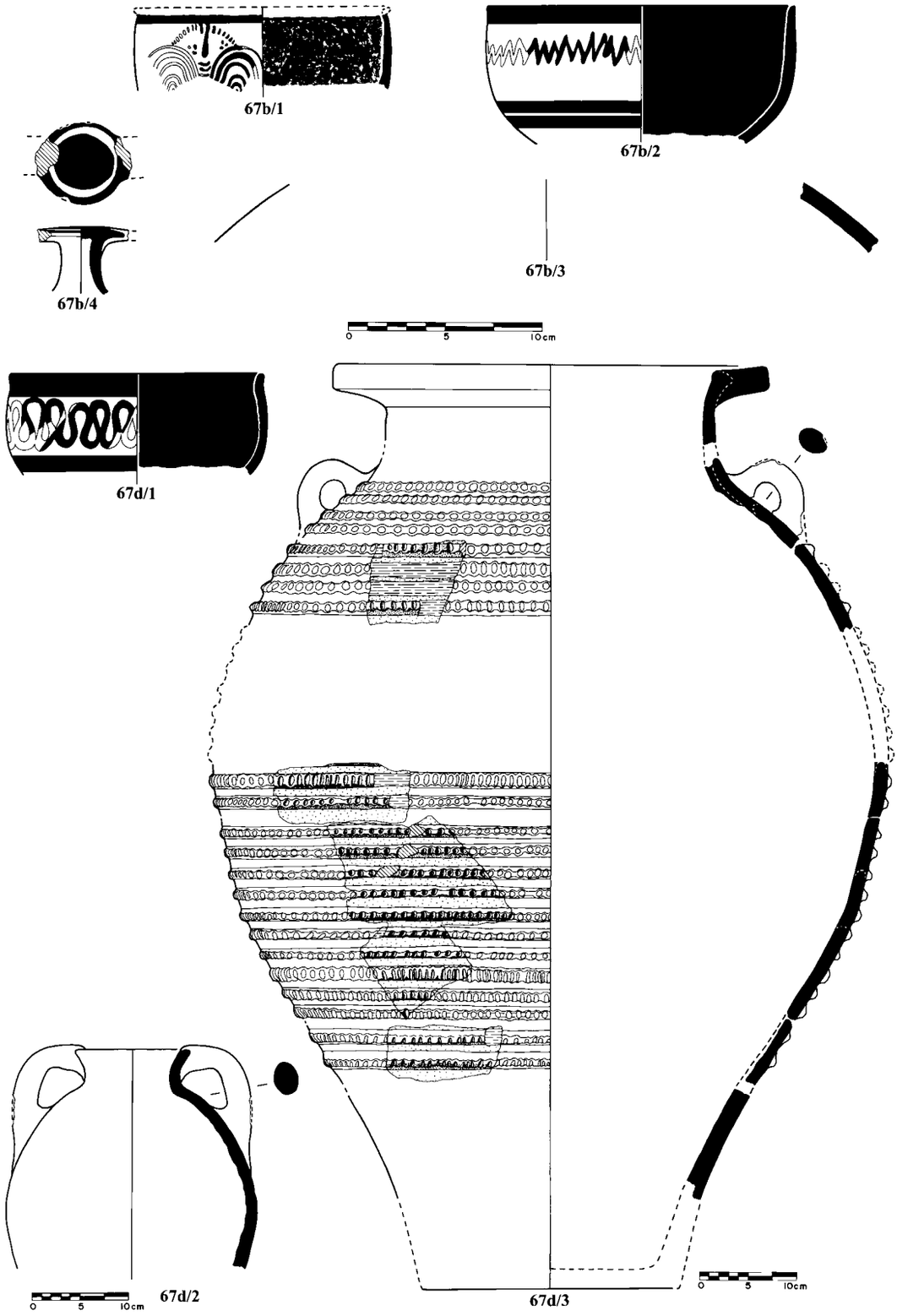


Plate 3.79. Pottery from Groups 67b and 67d. Scale 1:3, except for **67d/2** and **67d/3,** which are at 1:6.

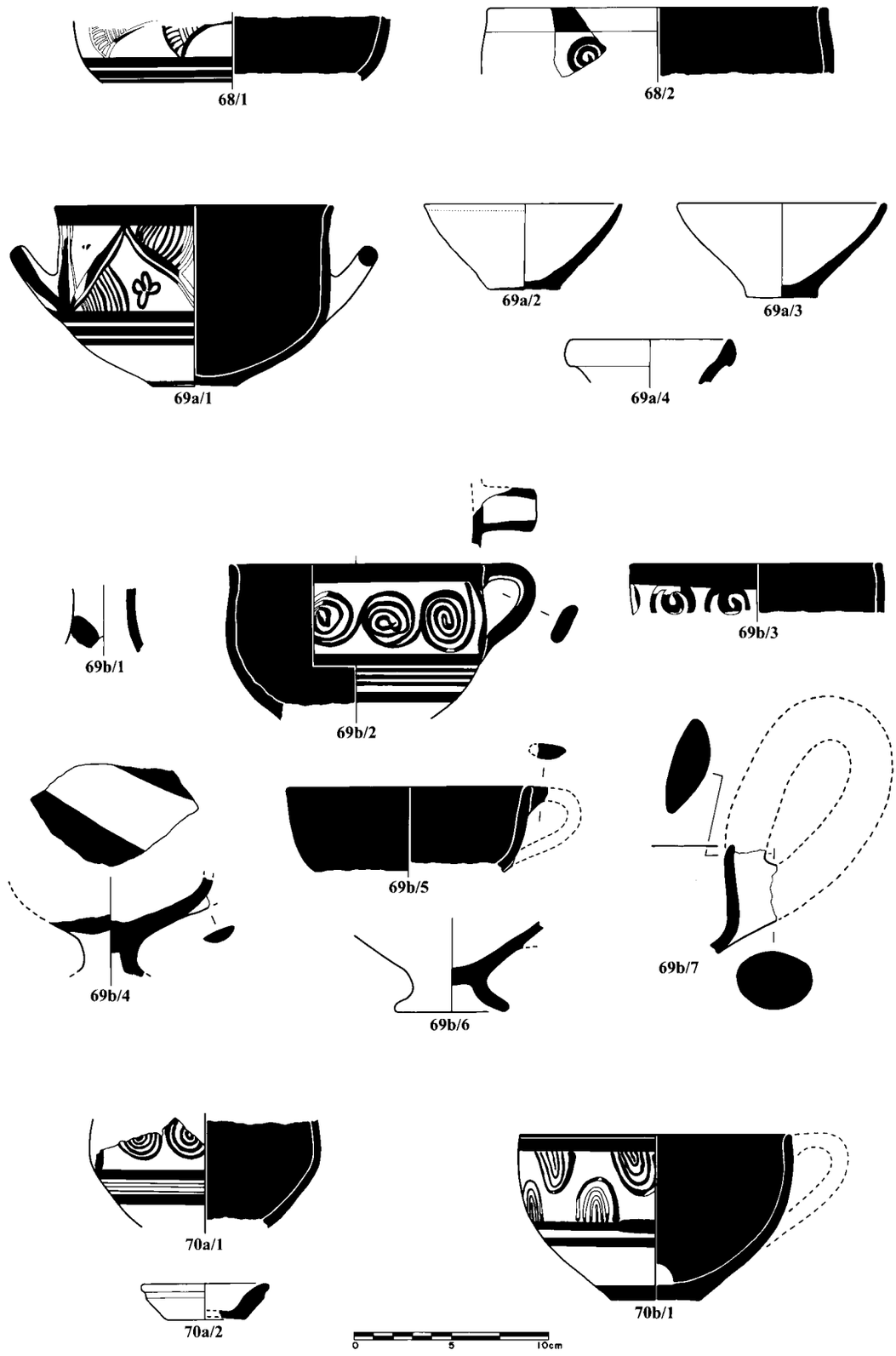


Plate 3.80. Pottery from Groups 68, 69a, 69b, 70a, and 70b. Scale 1:3.

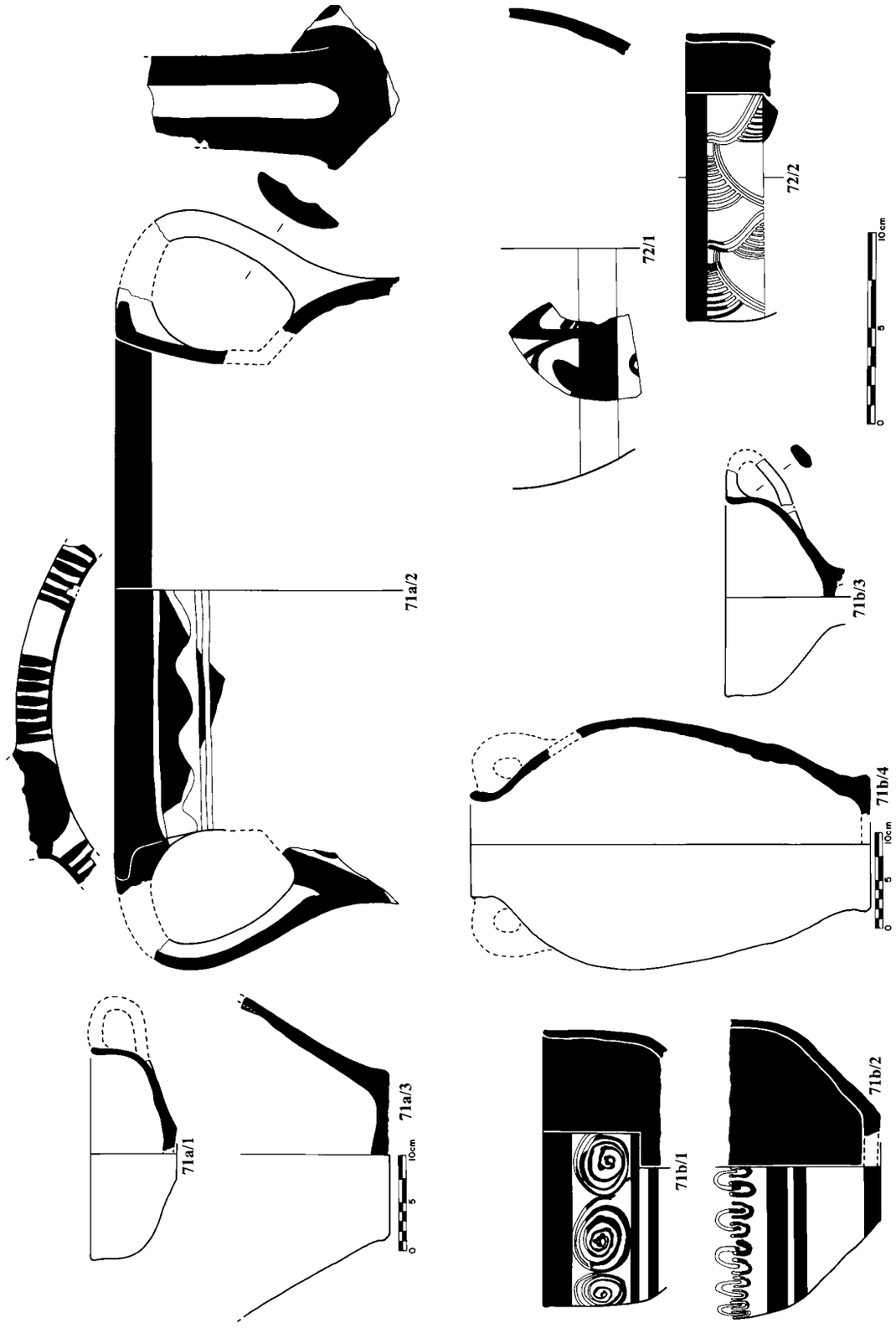


Plate 3.81. Pottery from Groups 71a, 71b, and 72. Scale 1:3, except for **71a/3** and **71b/4**, which are at 1:6.

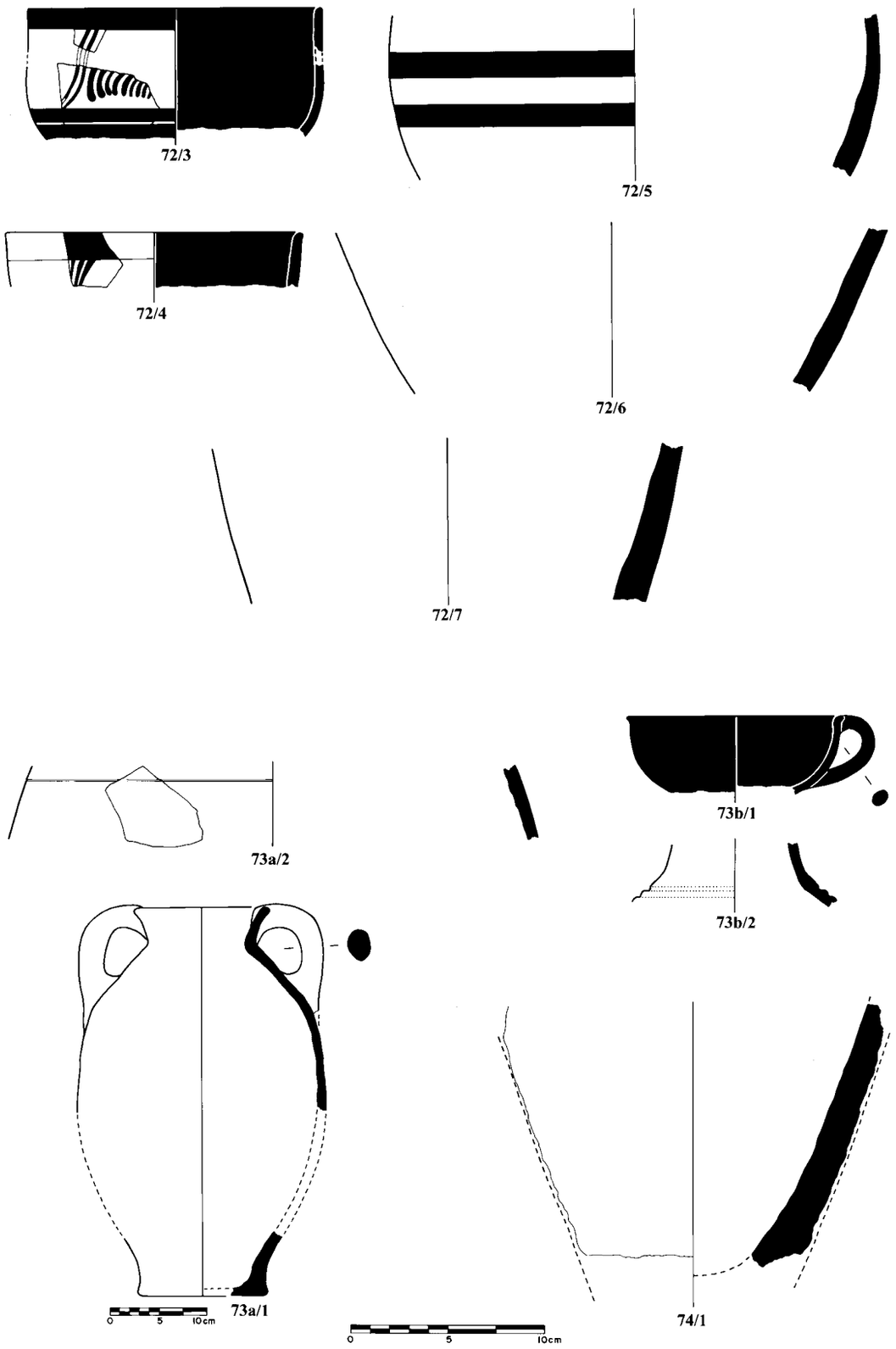


Plate 3.82. Pottery from Groups 72, 73a, 73b, and 74. Scale 1:3, except for **73a/1,** which is at 1:6.

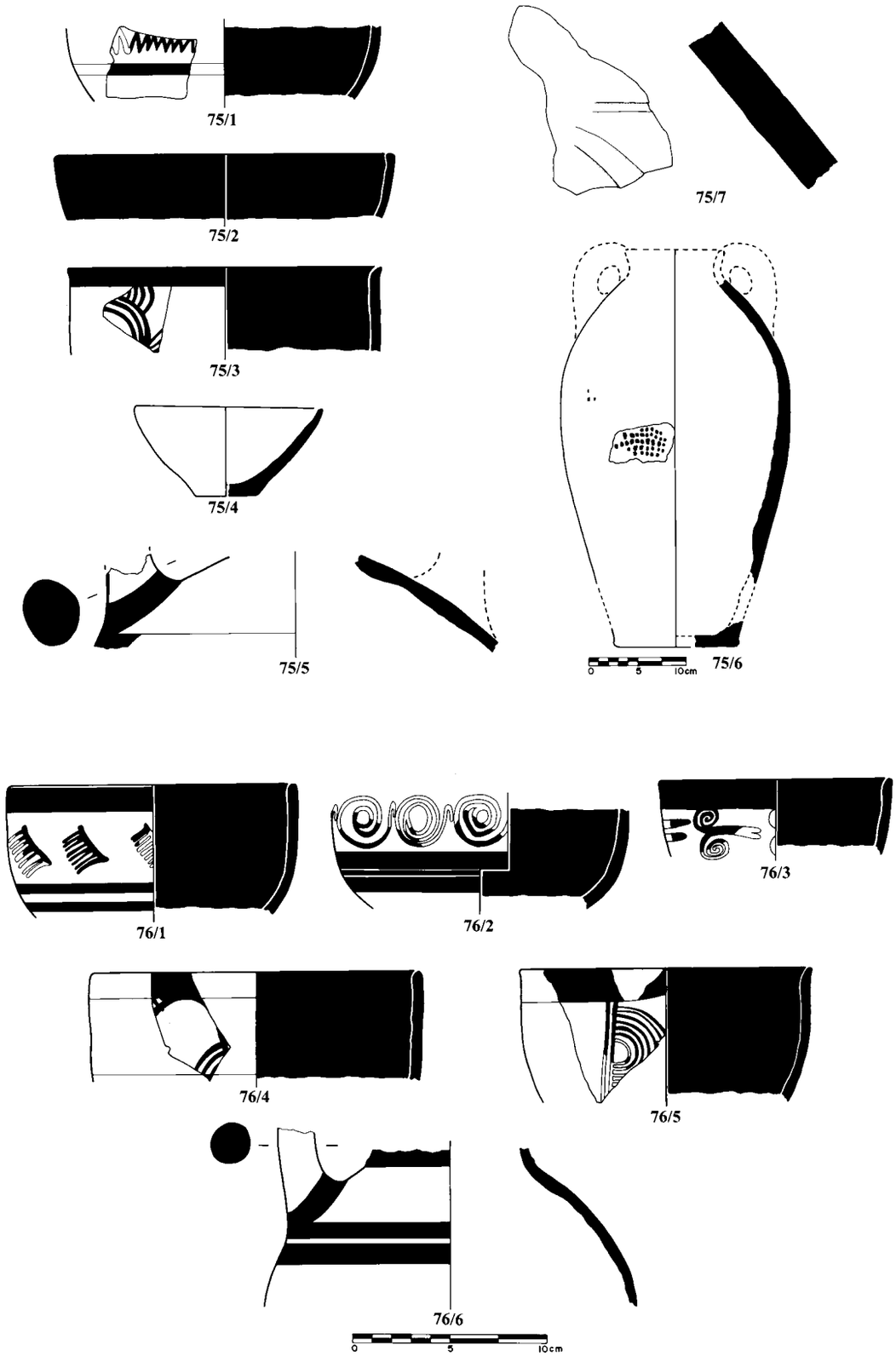


Plate 3.83. Pottery from Groups 75 and 76. Scale 1:3, except for **75/6,** which is at 1:6.

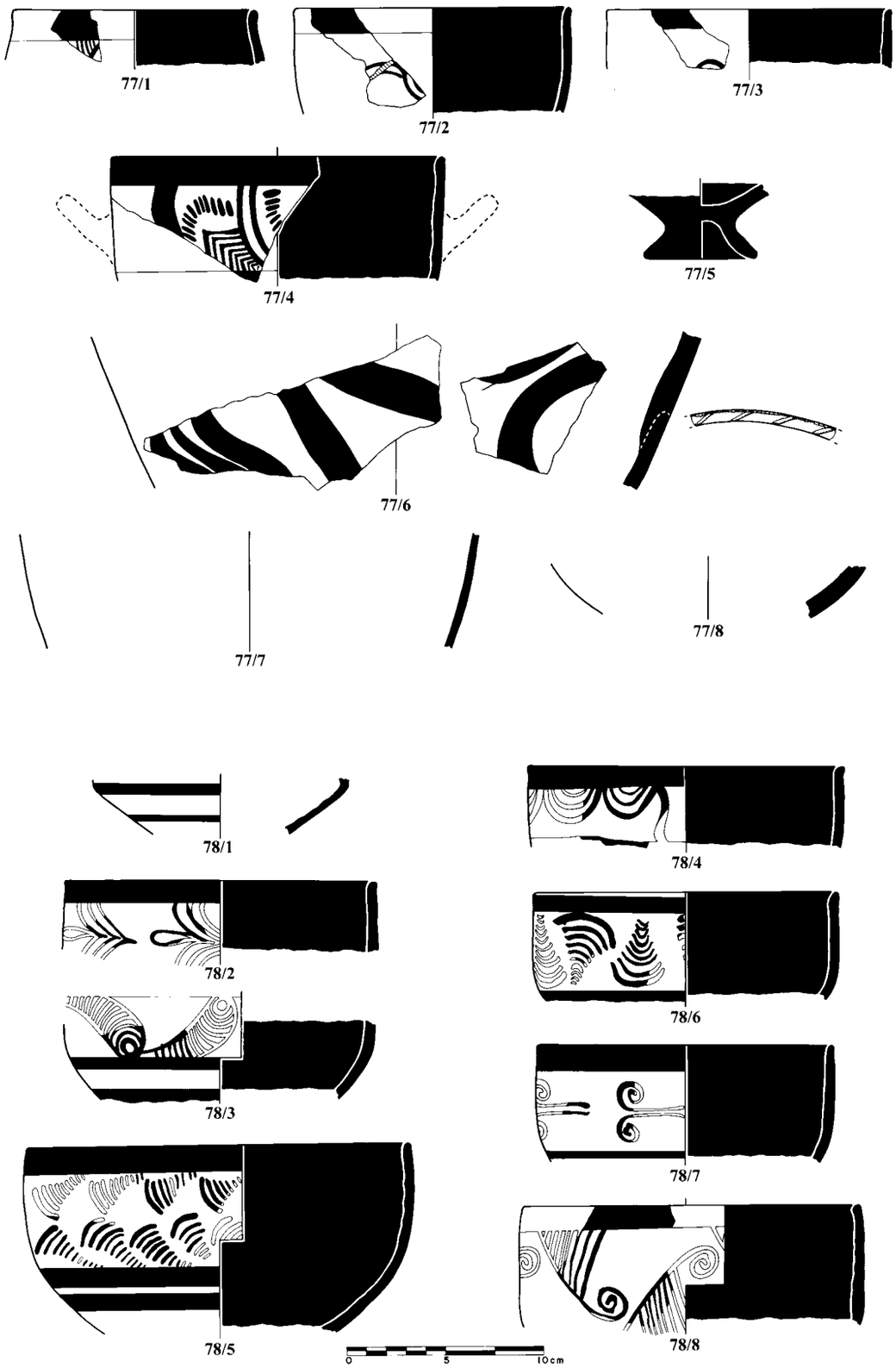


Plate 3.84. Pottery from Groups 77 and 78. Scale 1:3, except for **77/7,** which is at 1:6.

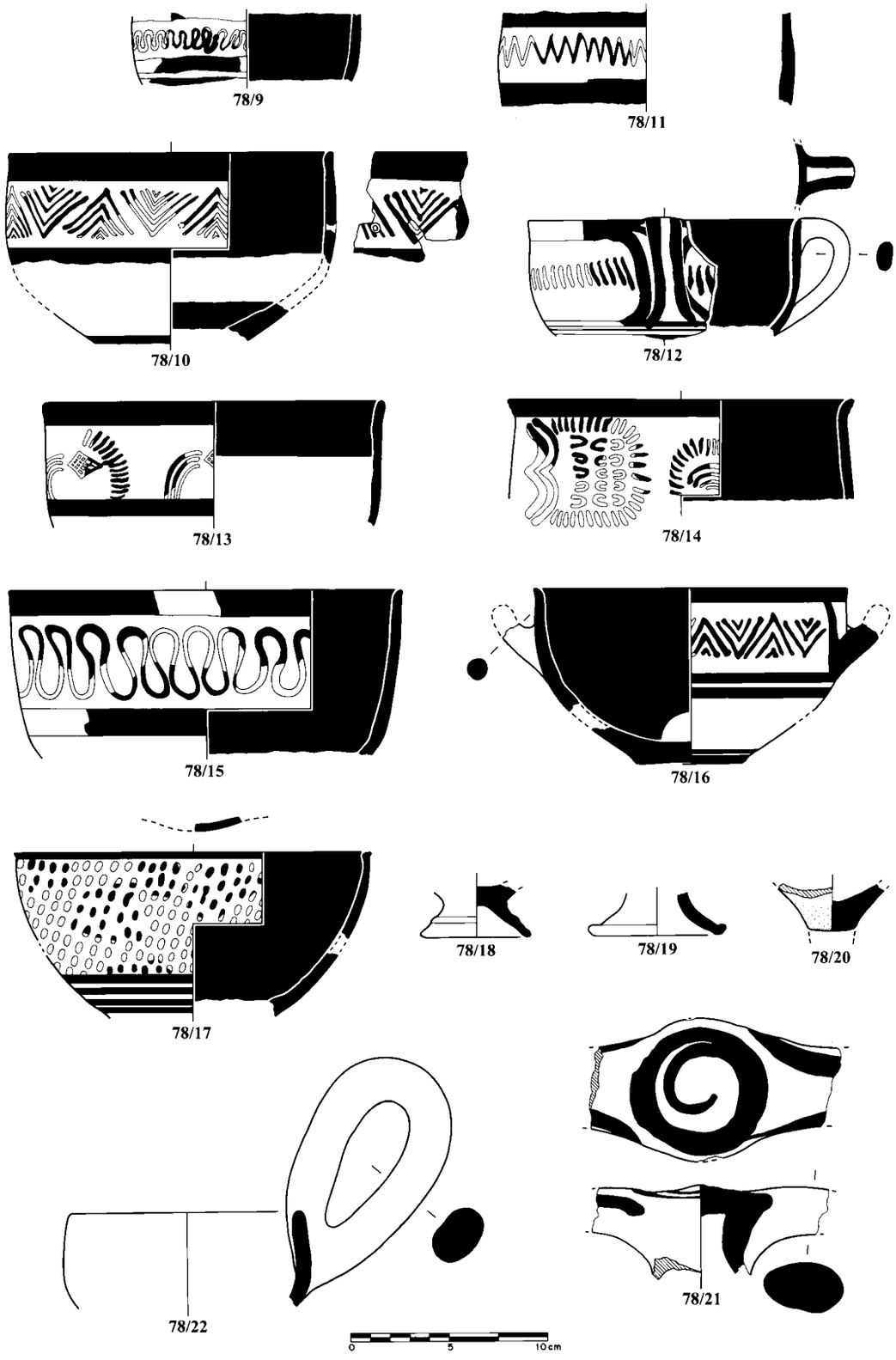


Plate 3.85. Pottery from Group 78. Scale 1:3.

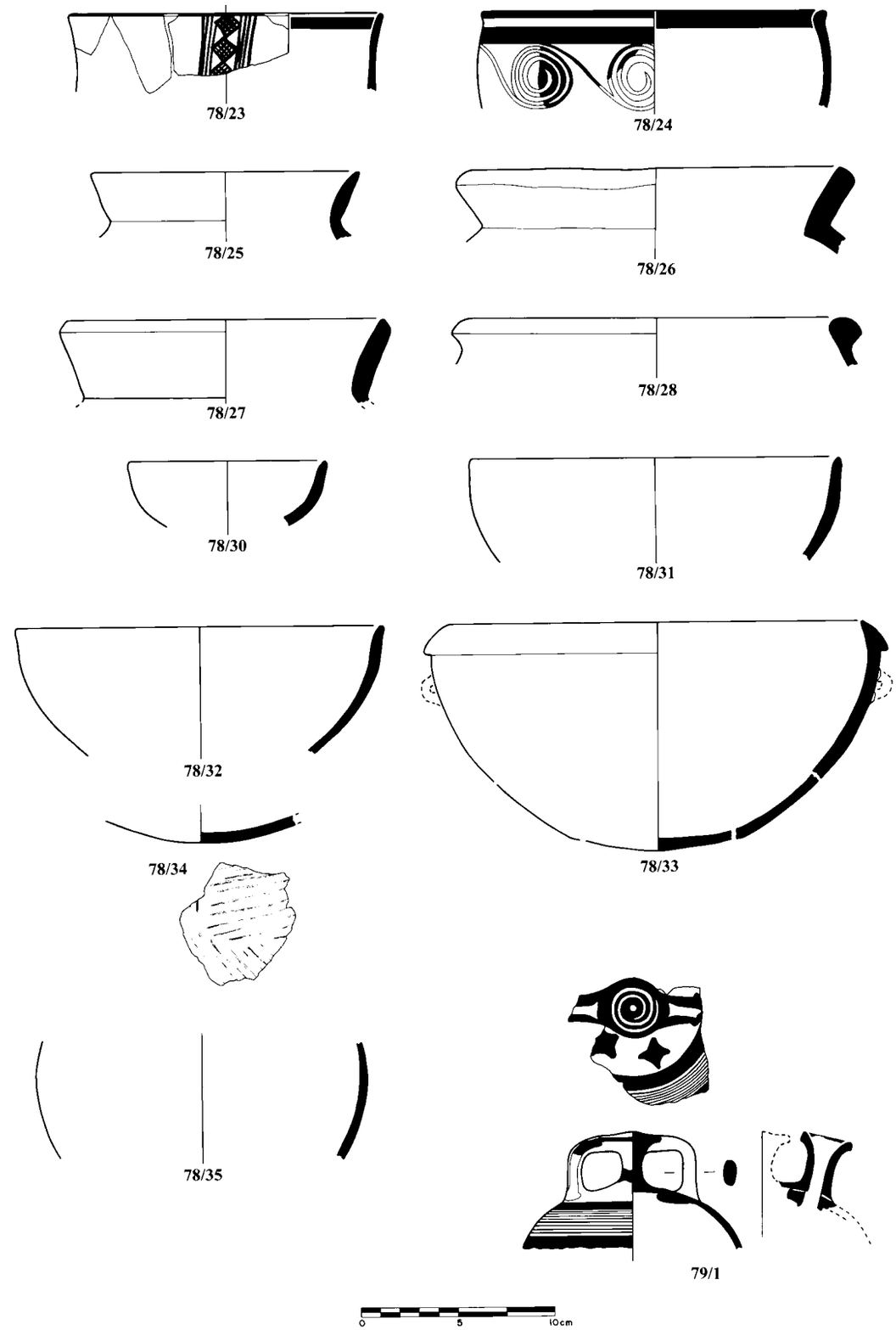


Plate 3.86. Pottery from Groups 78 and 79. Scale 1:3.

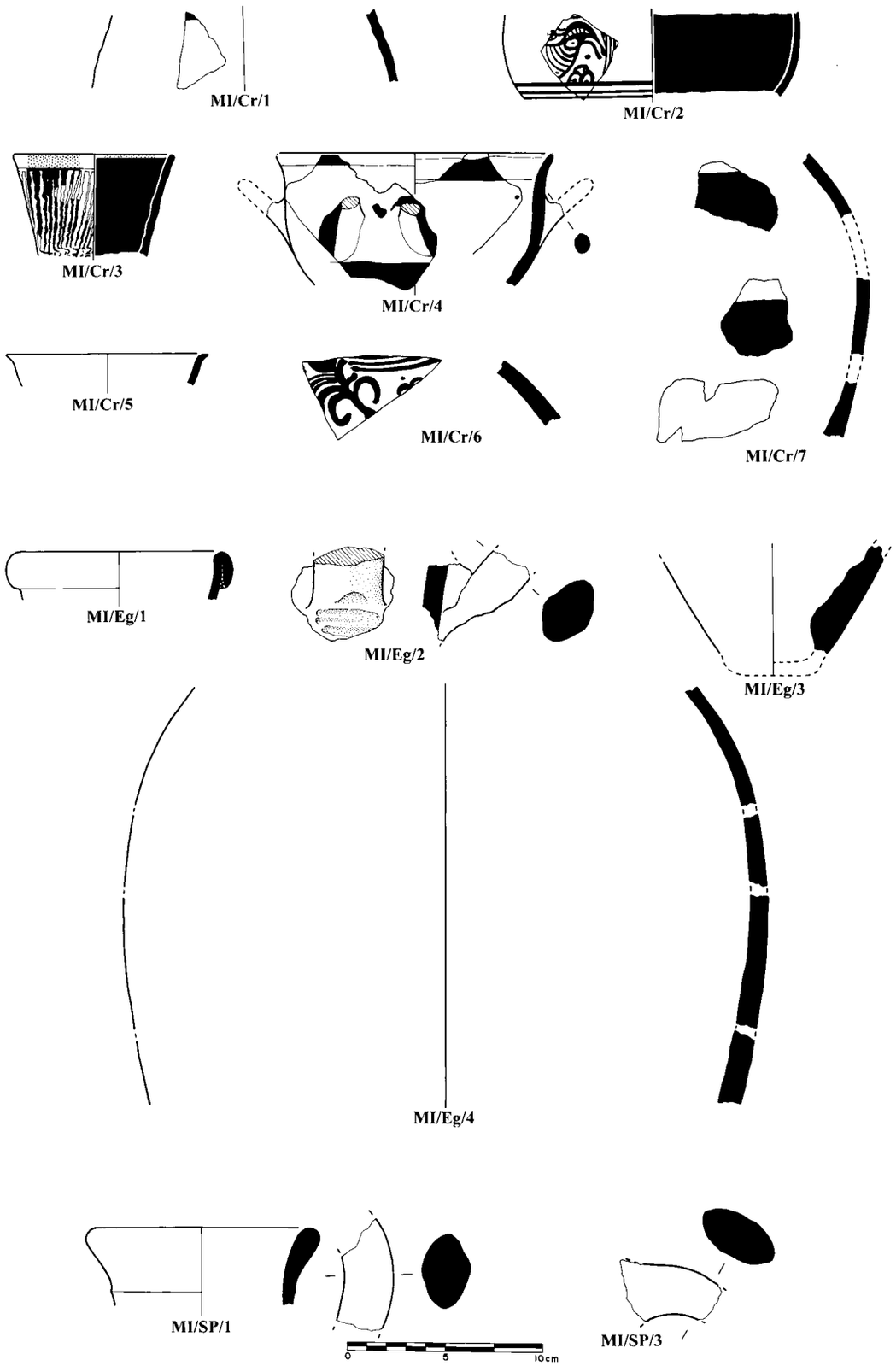


Plate 3.87. Miscellaneous imported Minoan, Egyptian, and Syro–Palestinian pottery. Scale 1:3.

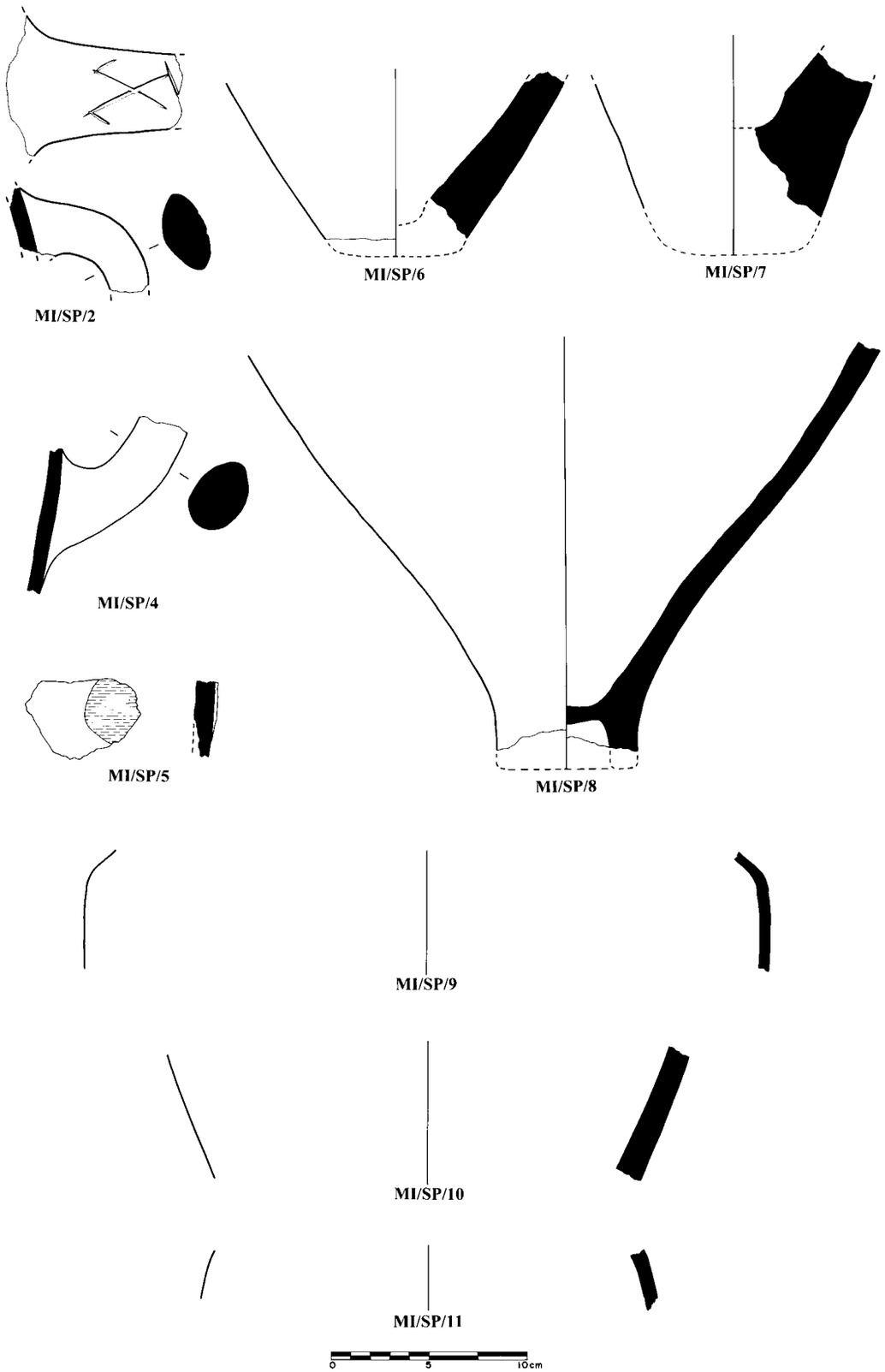


Plate 3.88. Miscellaneous imported Syro–Palestinian pottery. Scale 1:3.

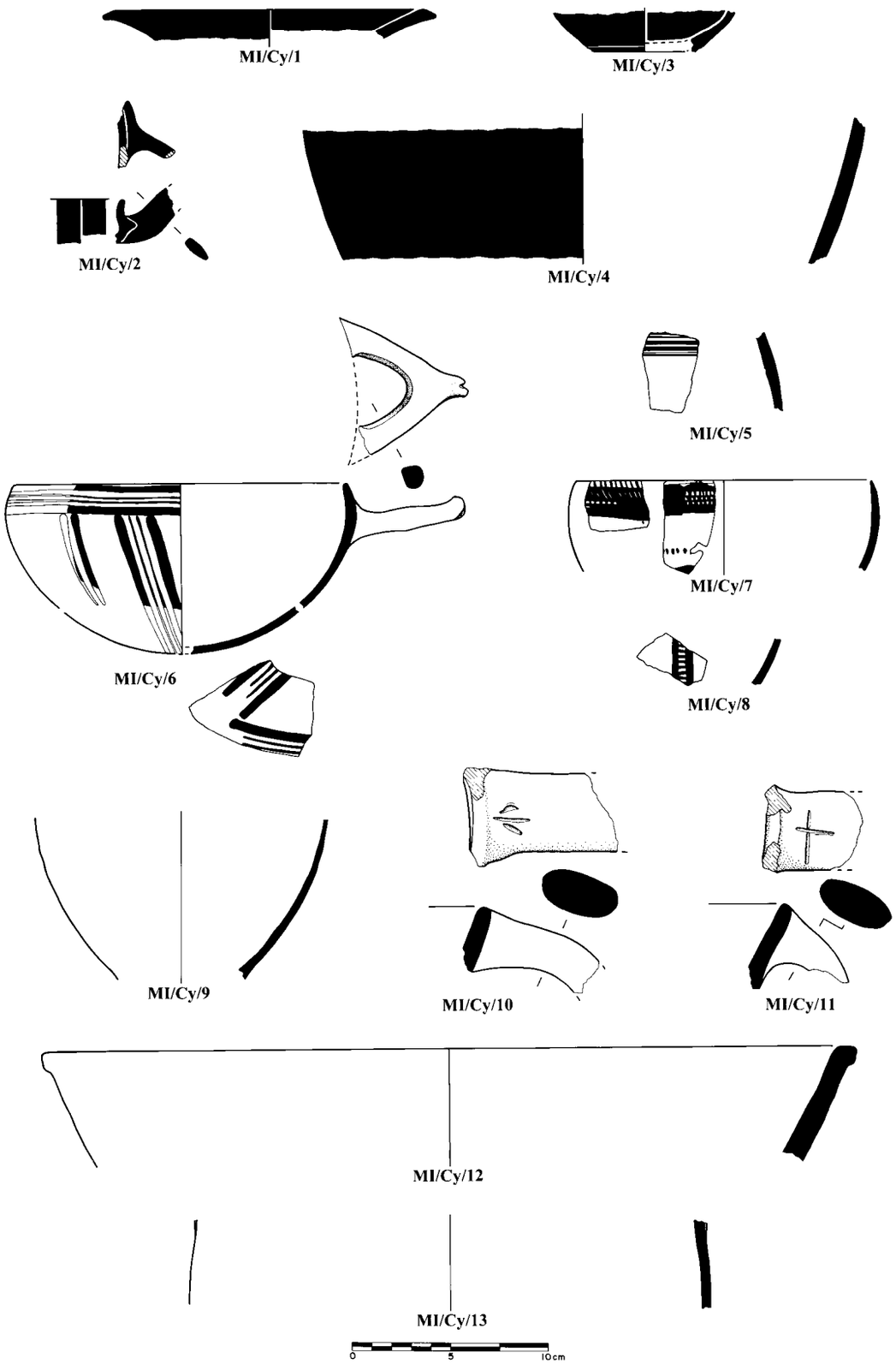


Plate 3.89. Miscellaneous imported Cypriot pottery. Scale 1:3.

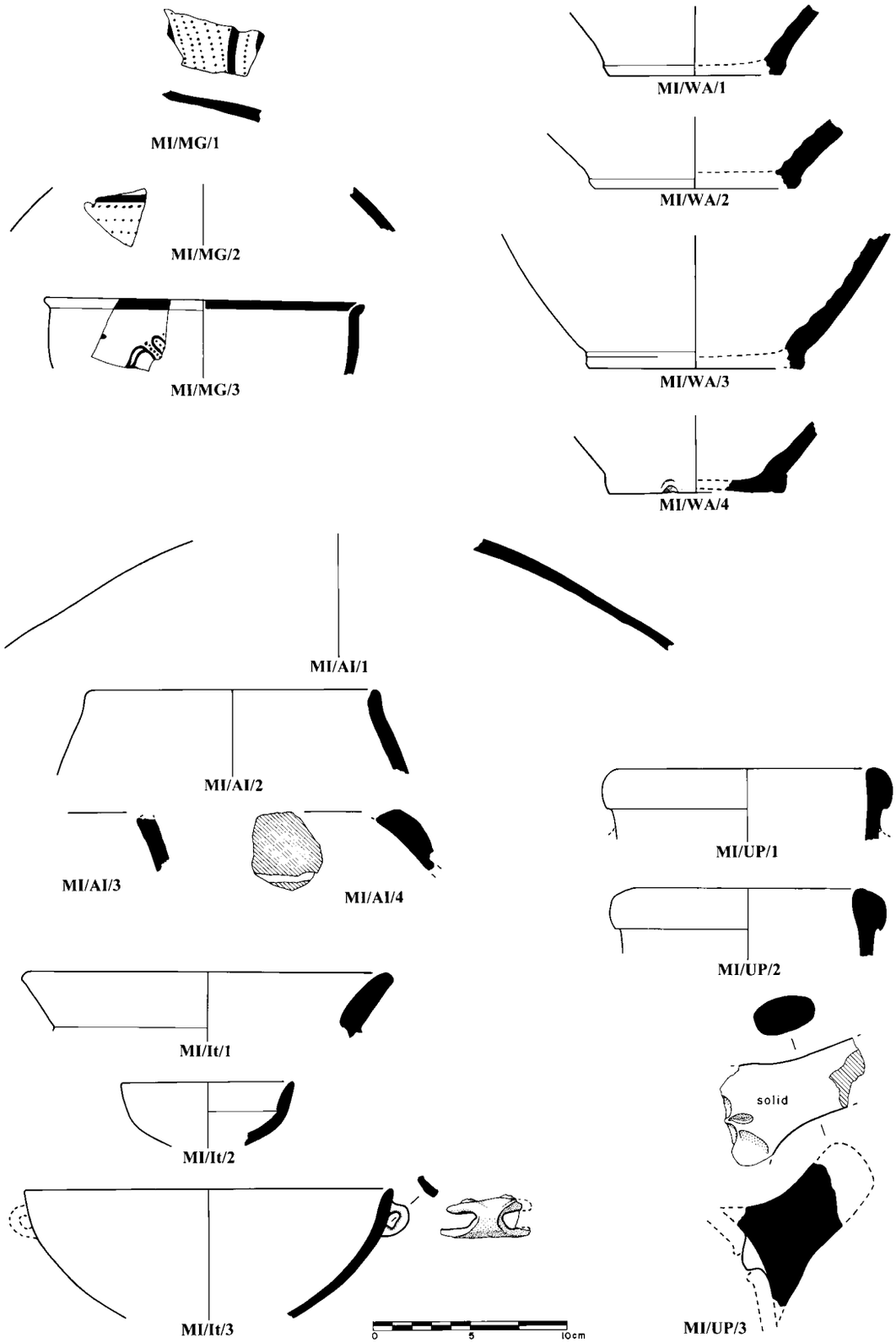


Plate 3.90. Miscellaneous imported pottery from Mainland Greece, Western Anatolia, the Aegean islands, Sardinia (Italy), and unknown sources. Scale 1:3.

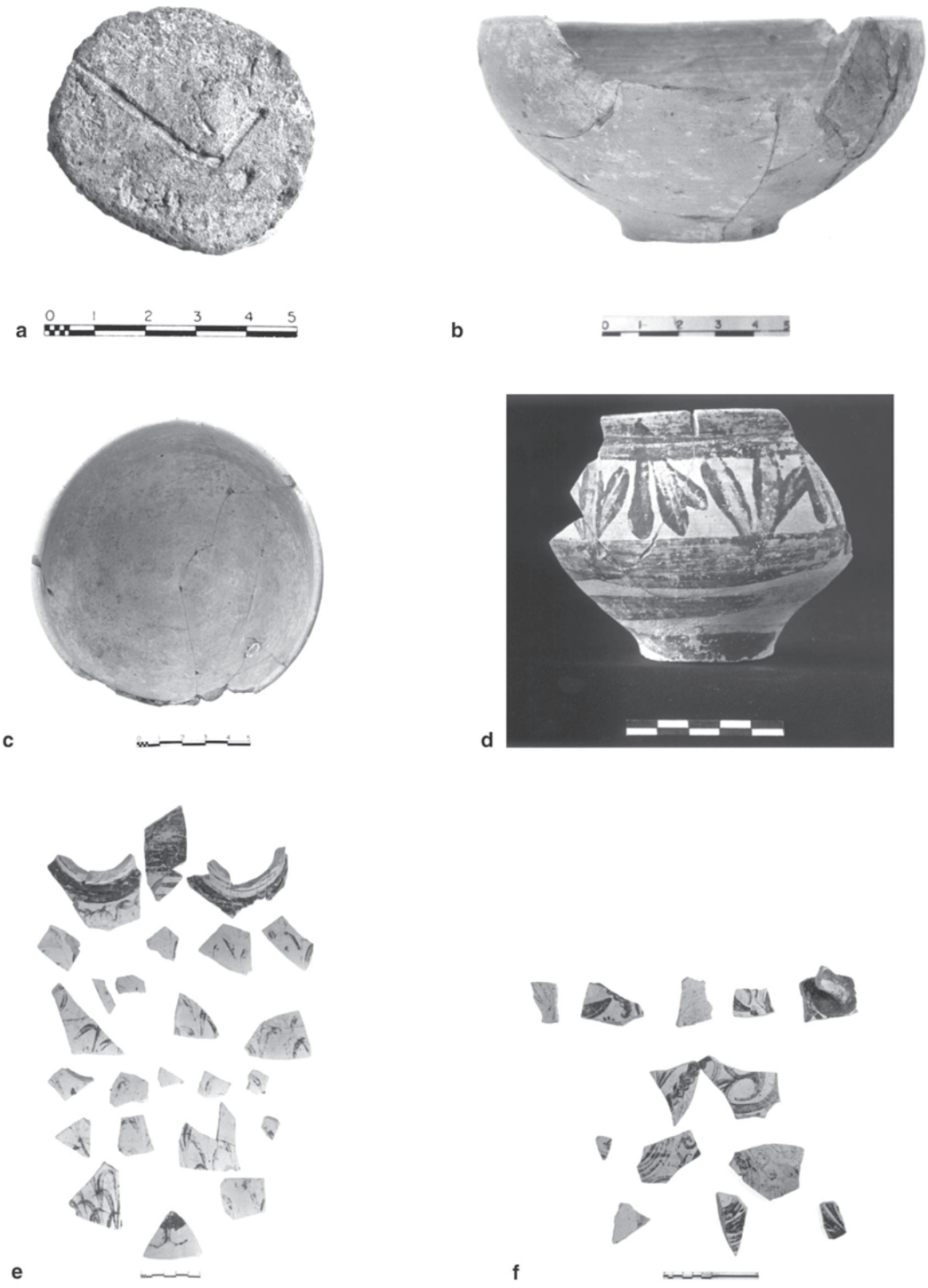


Plate 3.91. (*a*) MM III closed shape with possible potter's mark **12/14**; (*b* and *c*) LM IA Final conical cup reused as lamp **27b/4**, side view, and interior; (*d*) LM IA Final/IB Early teacup **37a/3**; (*e*) imported LM IB Late beak-spouted jug **44b/4**; (*f*) imported LH IIIA Palace Style pithoid jar **47/21**.

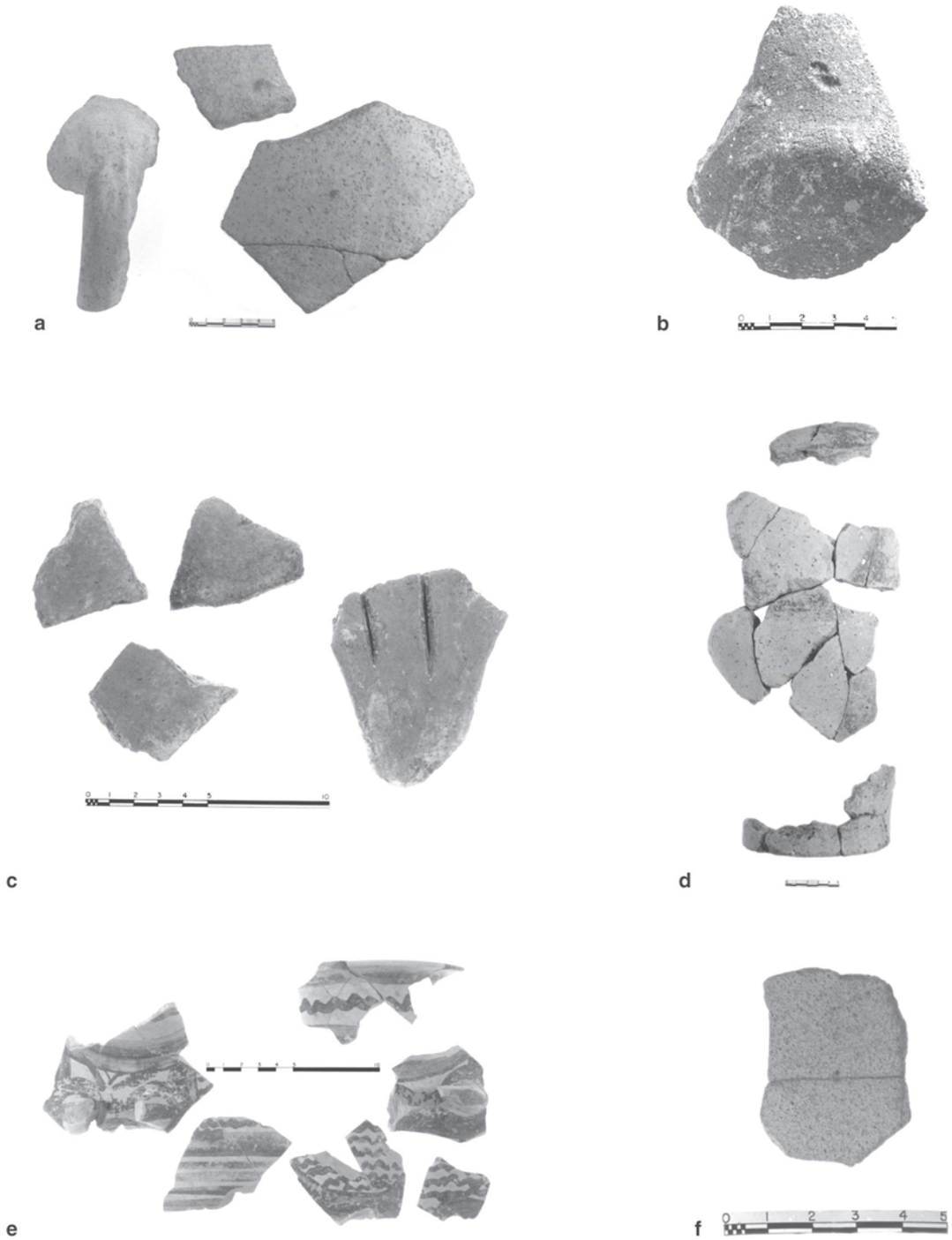


Plate 3.92. (*a*) Imported Egyptian amphora **52a/9**, largest body fragment bearing two or three drips of black paint; (*b*) imported Canaanite jar bottom with possible potter's mark **52c/6**; (*c*) imported LM IIIA2 closed shape with possible potter's mark **53/3**; (*d*) short-necked amphora **54/2**; (*e*) imported LM IIIA Knossian globular alabastron **56e/12**; (*f*) imported Egyptian amphora with possible potter's mark **57d/6**.

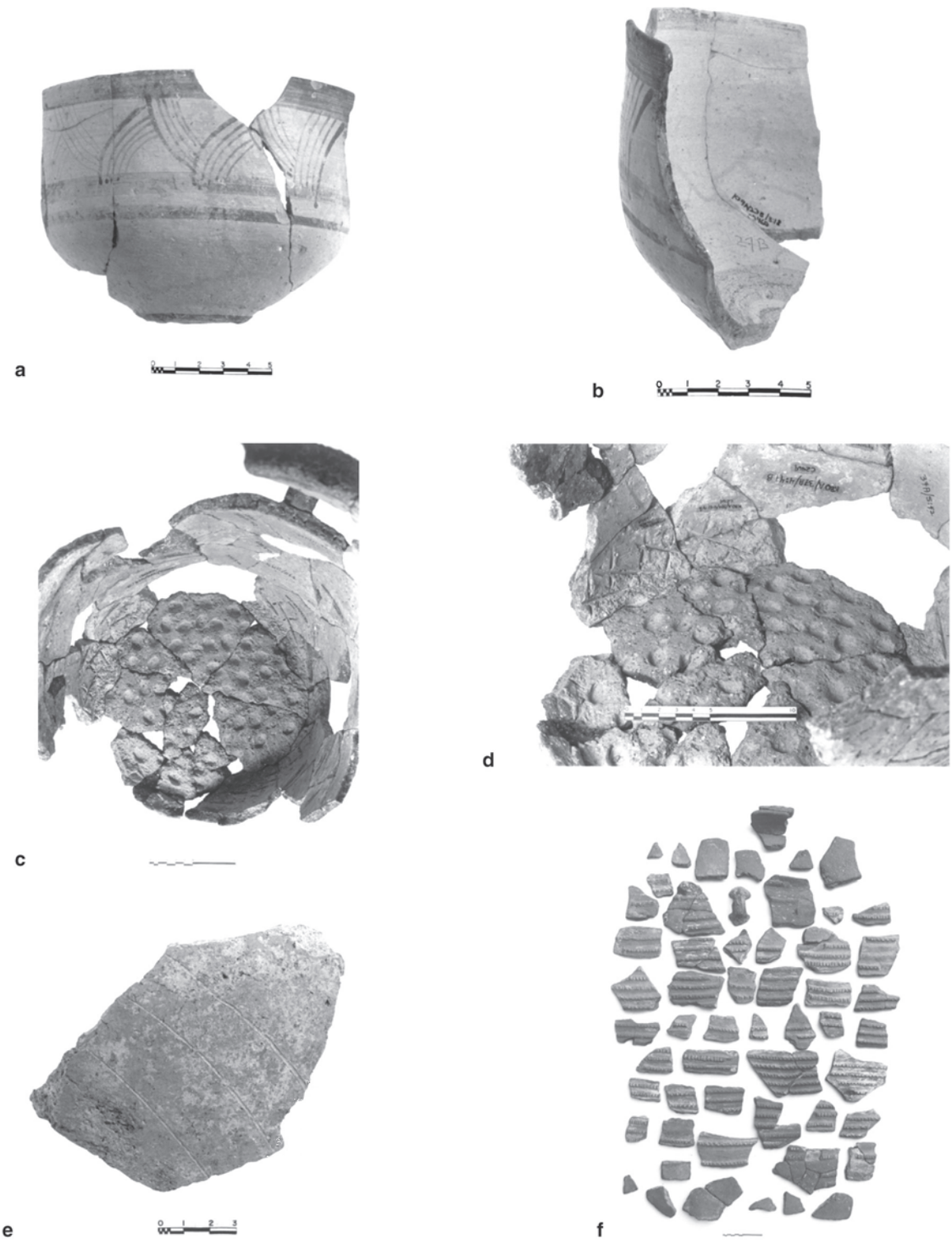


Plate 3.93. (*a* and *b*) LM III deep bowl reused as lamp **59/6**, side view, and side view showing interior; (*c* and *d*) LM III cylindrical bridge-spouted jar **59/11**, view of interior, and detail of interior; (*e*) LM IIIB short-necked amphora incised across lower body to enhance joining of two halves of body **67a/22**; (*f*) imported Kytheran(?) dark-surfaced micaceous pithos **67d/3**.

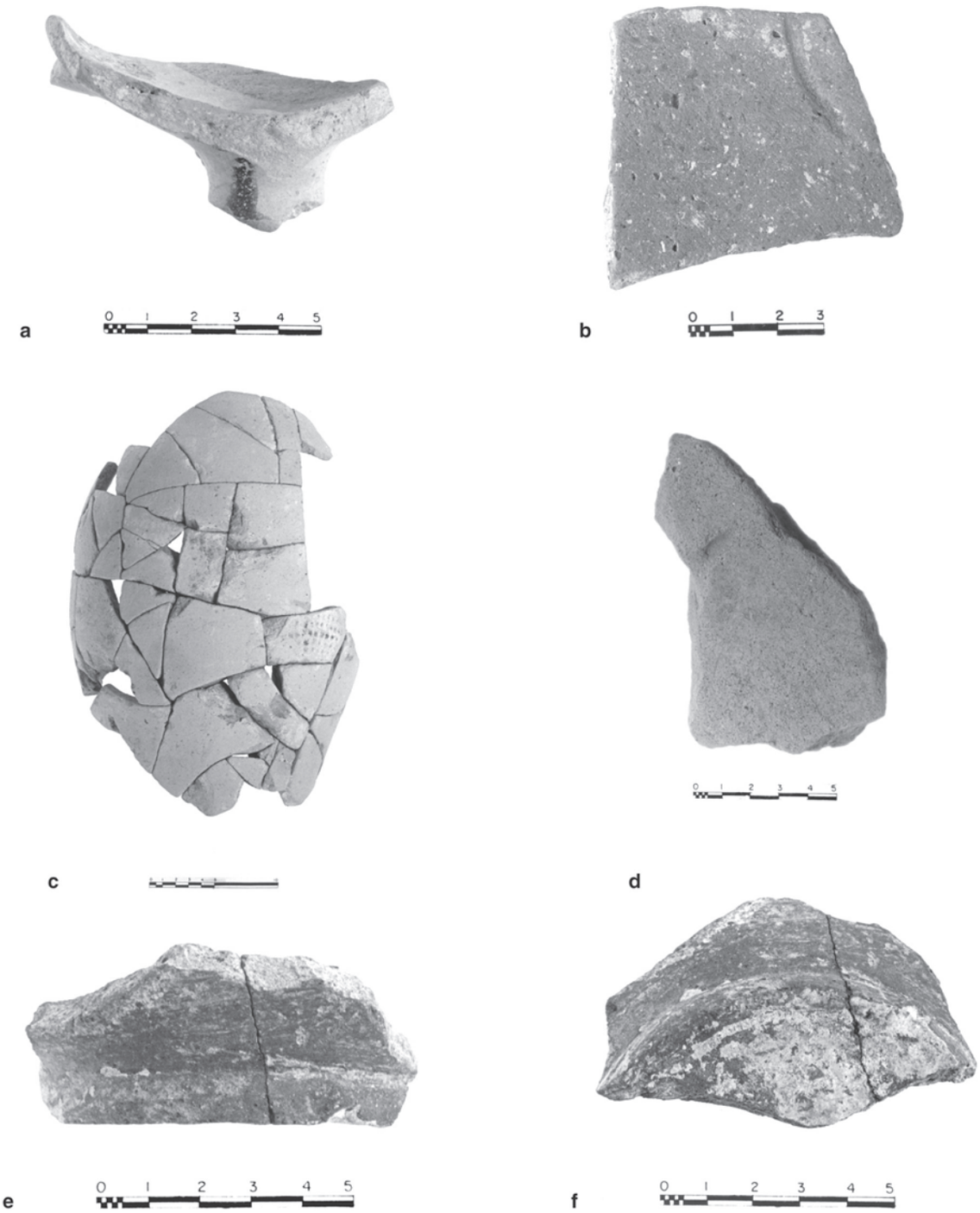


Plate 3.94. (*a*) LM IIIB blob-decorated one-handled footed cup **69b/4**; (*b*) imported Canaanite jar fragment with possible potter's mark **72/6**; (*c*) LM IIIB short-necked amphora with pattern of dark brown stains on exterior body **75/6**; (*d*) imported Cypriot pithos fragment with shallow grooves **75/7**; (*e* and *f*) base of imported Western Anatolian jug with possible potter's mark impressed in edge of base **MI/WA/4**, side view, and view of base.

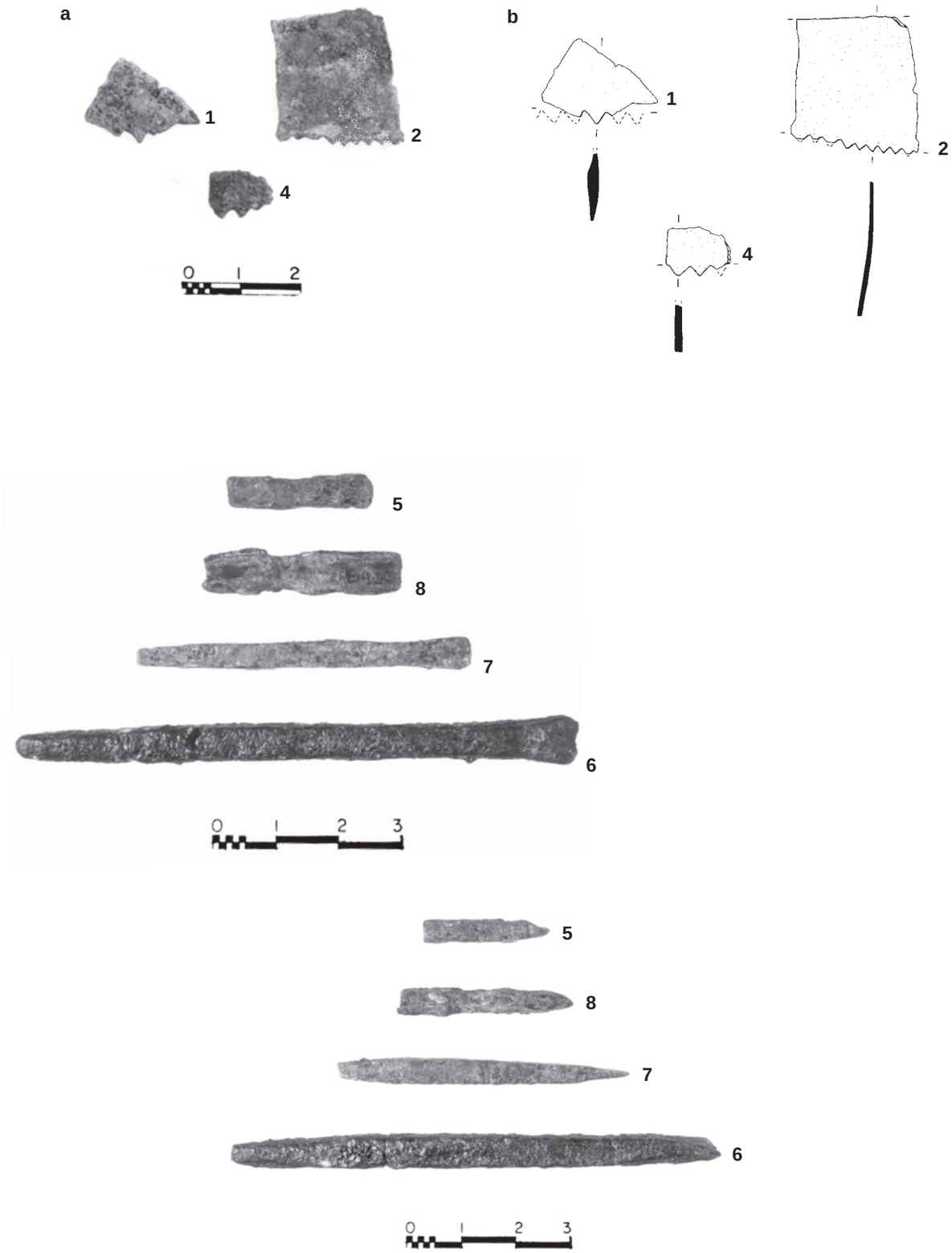
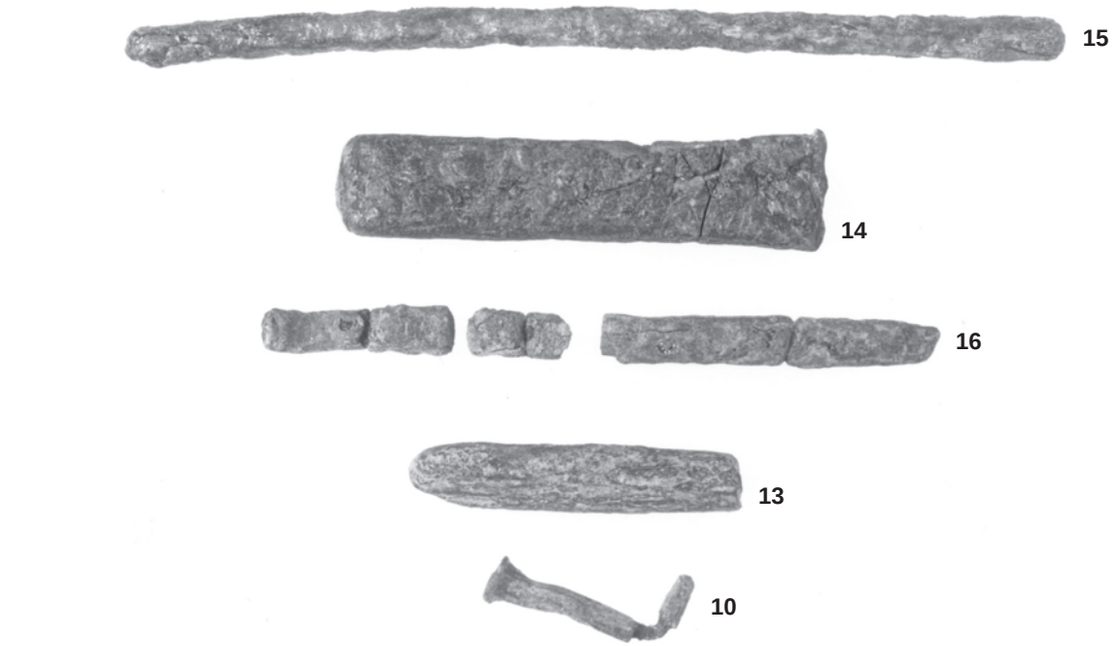


Plate 4.1a and b. Photo and drawing showing serrated blades from the Southern Area. Scale 1:1.
Plate 4.2. Chisels. Scale 1:1.
Plate 4.3. Side view of objects in Pl. 4.2. Scale 1:1.



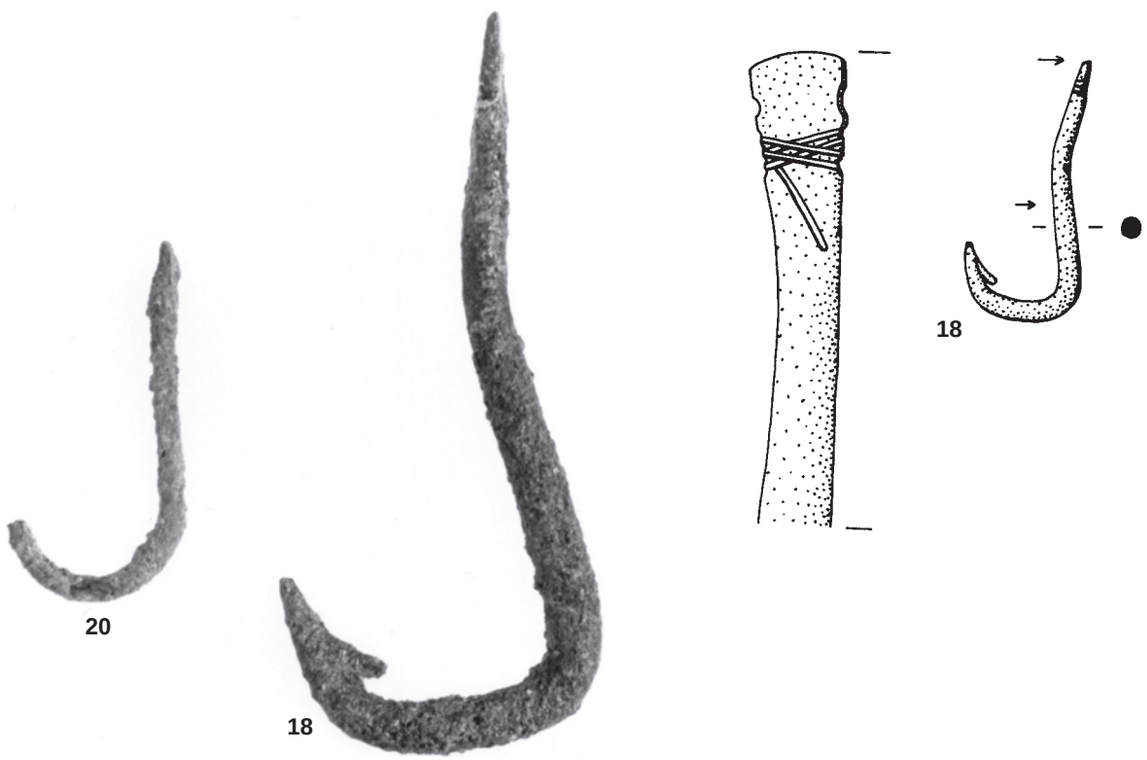


Plate 4.4. Rods and a nail. Scale 1:1.

Plate 4.5. Two fishhooks. Scale 3:1.

Plate 4.6. Detail (scale 3:1) of the chemically preserved remains of the fishing line fiber attached to fishhook **18**, also **18** itself (scale 1:1).

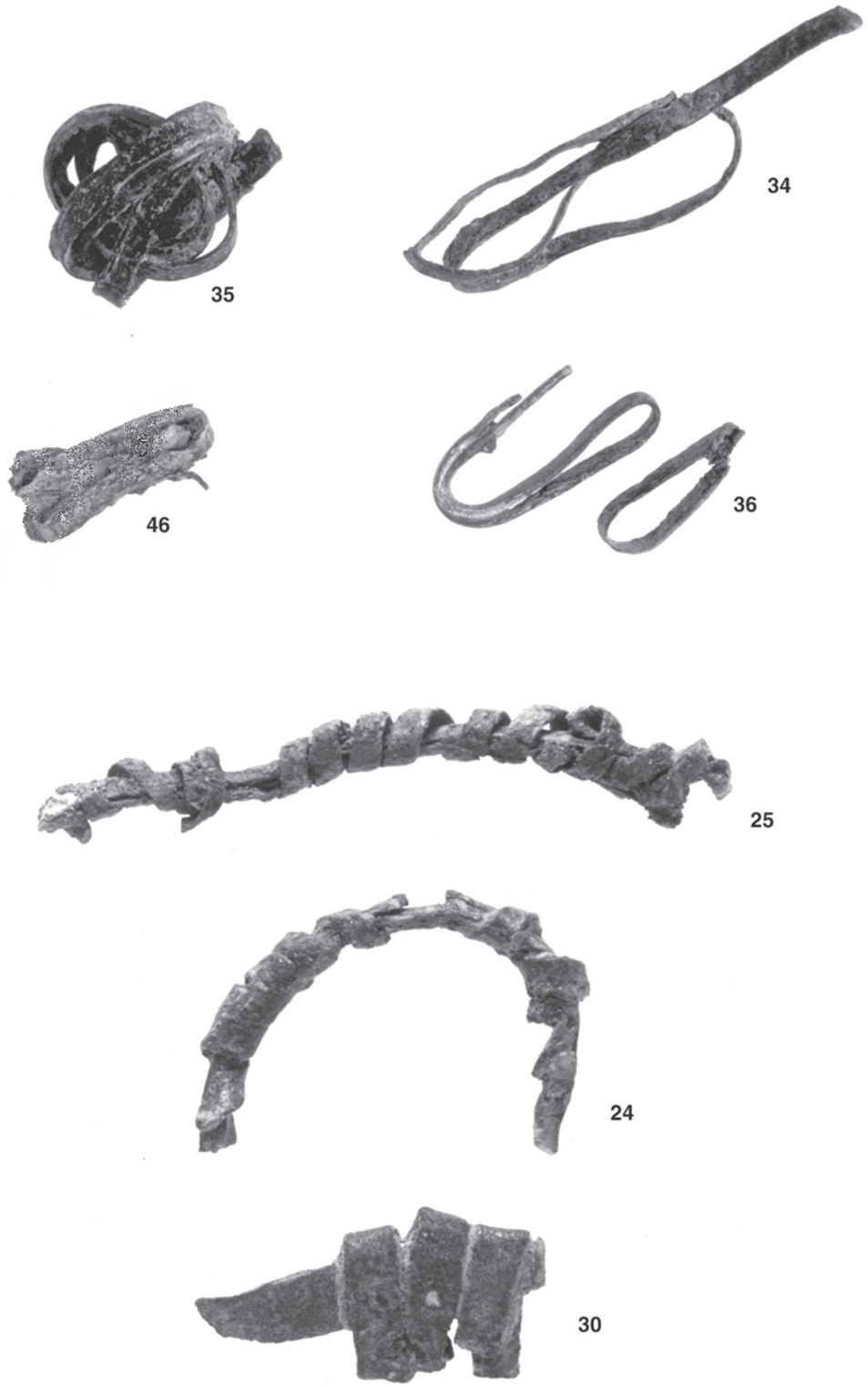


Plate 4.7. Copper strips, including a roll. Scale 1:1.
Plate 4.8. Copper strips wound about other strips. Scale 2:1.

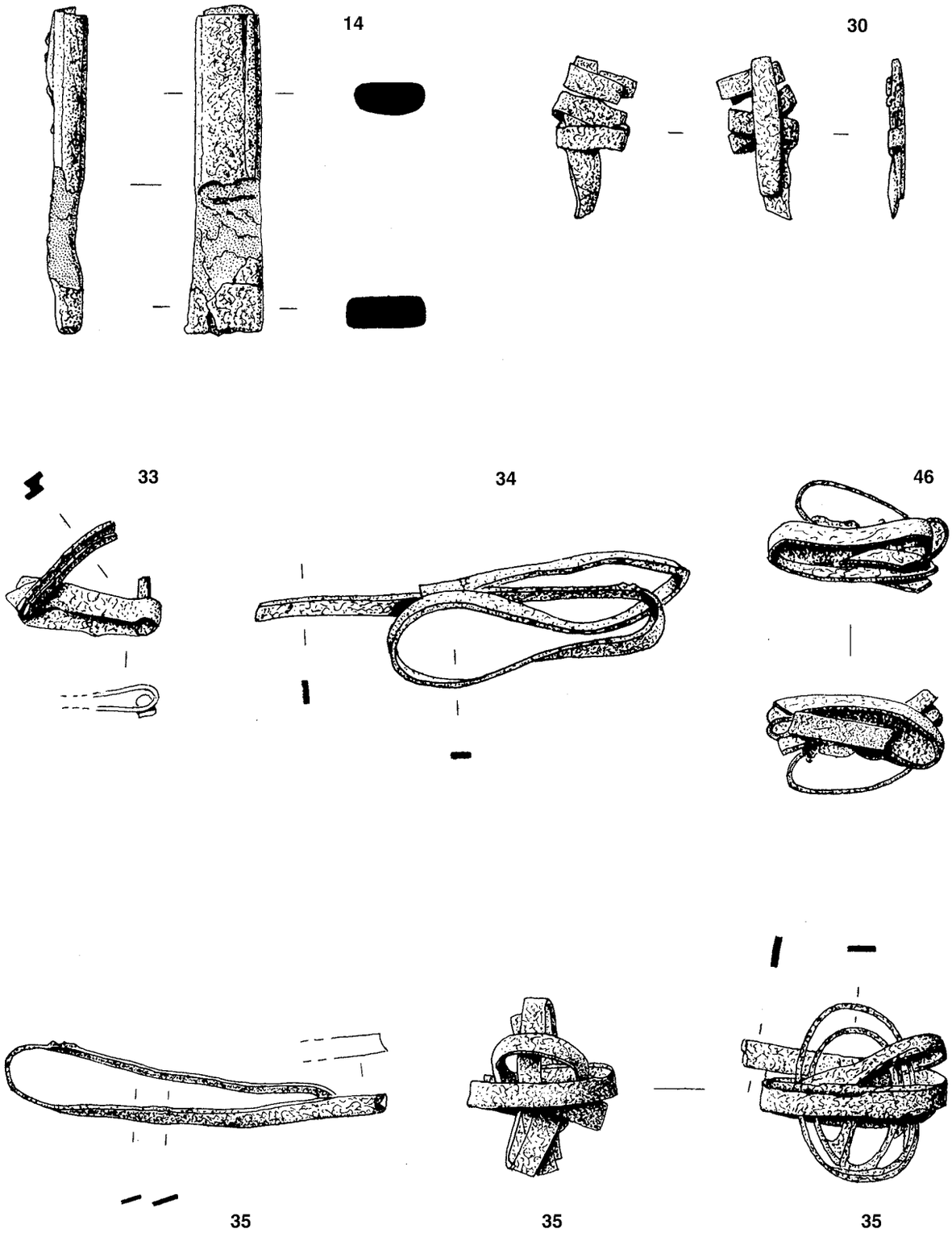
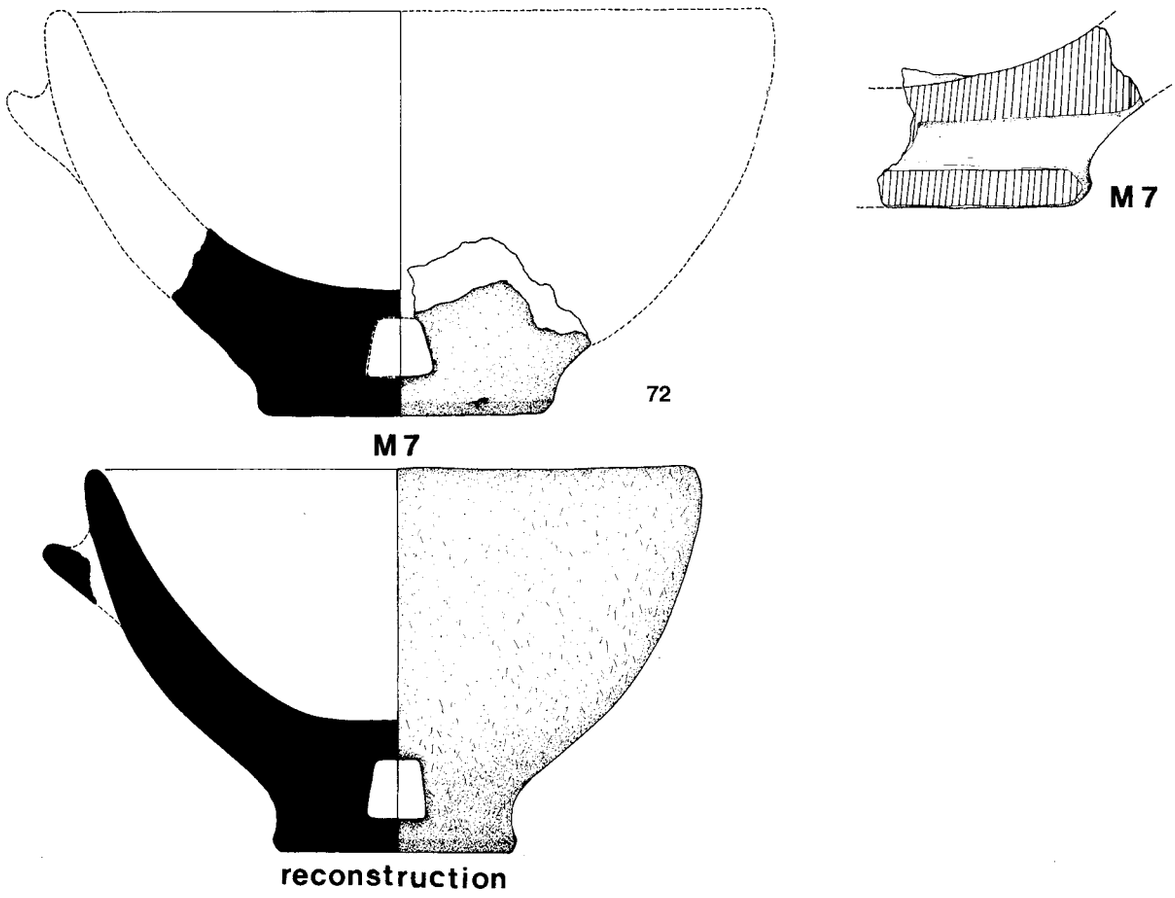


Plate 4.9. Rod and strips. Scale 1:1.



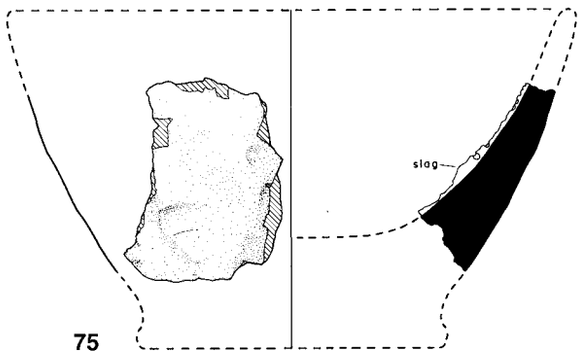


Plate 4.10. Crucible **72** (from Blitzer 1995, **M 7**, pl. 8.104). Scale 1:3.
Plate 4.11. Section of crucible **75**. Scale 1:3.

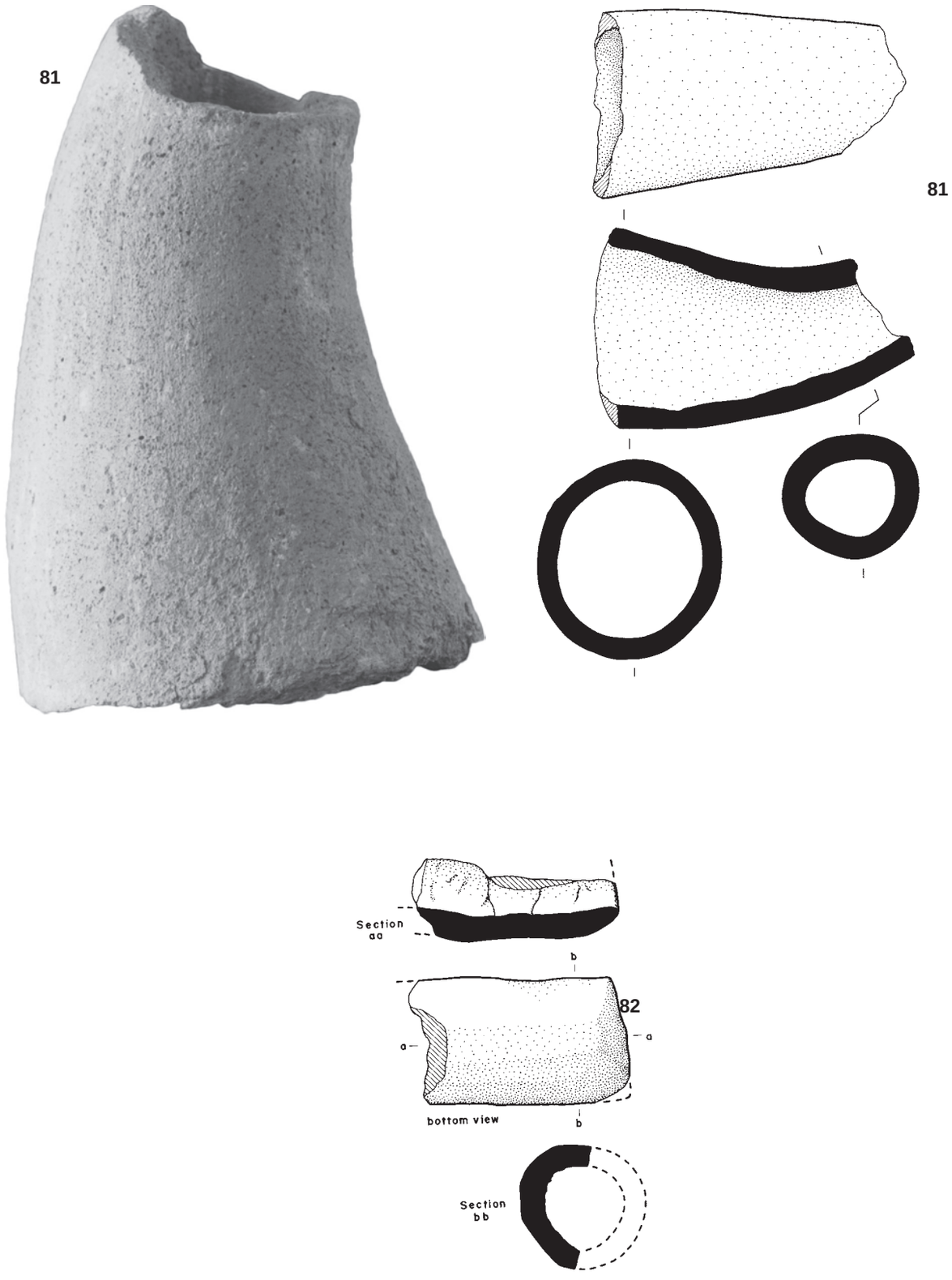
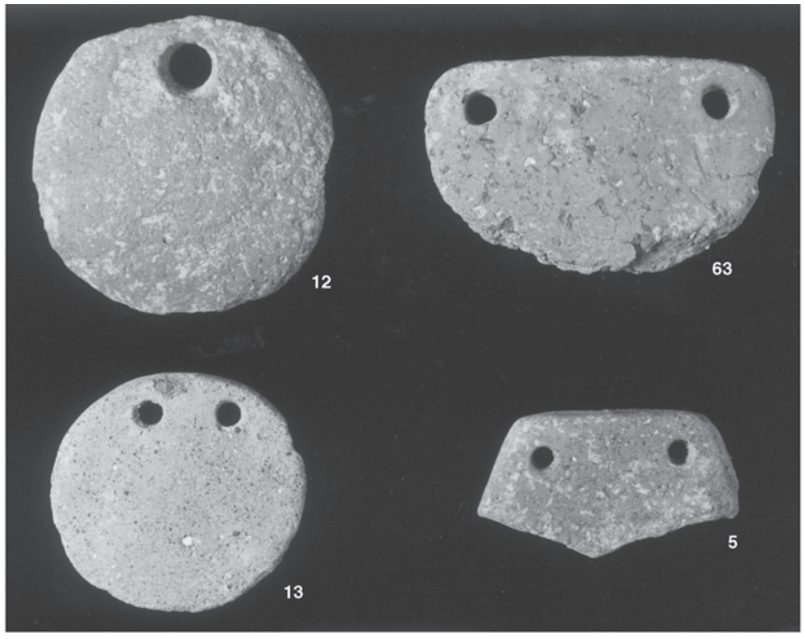


Plate 4.12. Tuyère **81**, view and section. Scale 1:3.
Plate 4.13. Tuyère **82**, view and section. Scale 1:3.



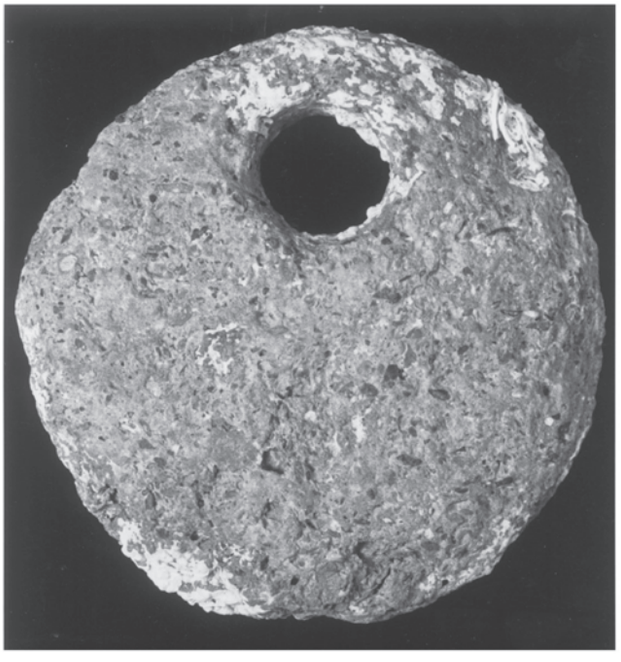


Plate 4.14. Examples of loomweight types from the Southern Area. Normal discoid with single perforation **12**; half discoid with two perforations **63**; discoid with two perforations **13**; discoid with flat upper edge **5**. Scale approx. 2:3.
Plate 4.15. Discoid weight, found in deep water and probably used for fishing. Middle Minoan(?). Scale 1:1.

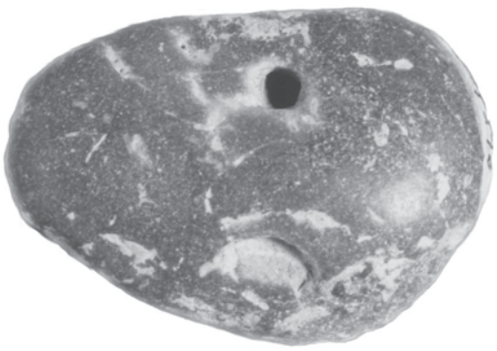


1

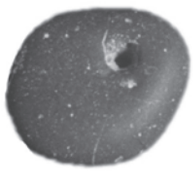




3



4



5

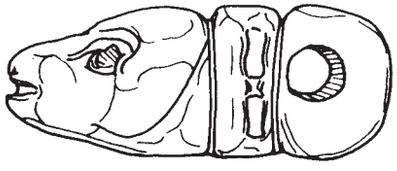






6





6

Plate 4.16. Bronze bead. Scale 1:1.

Plate 4.17. Pendants. Scale 2:1.

Plate 4.18. Soapstone pendant with bull's head. Photo, scale 1:1. Drawing, scale approx. 3:1.





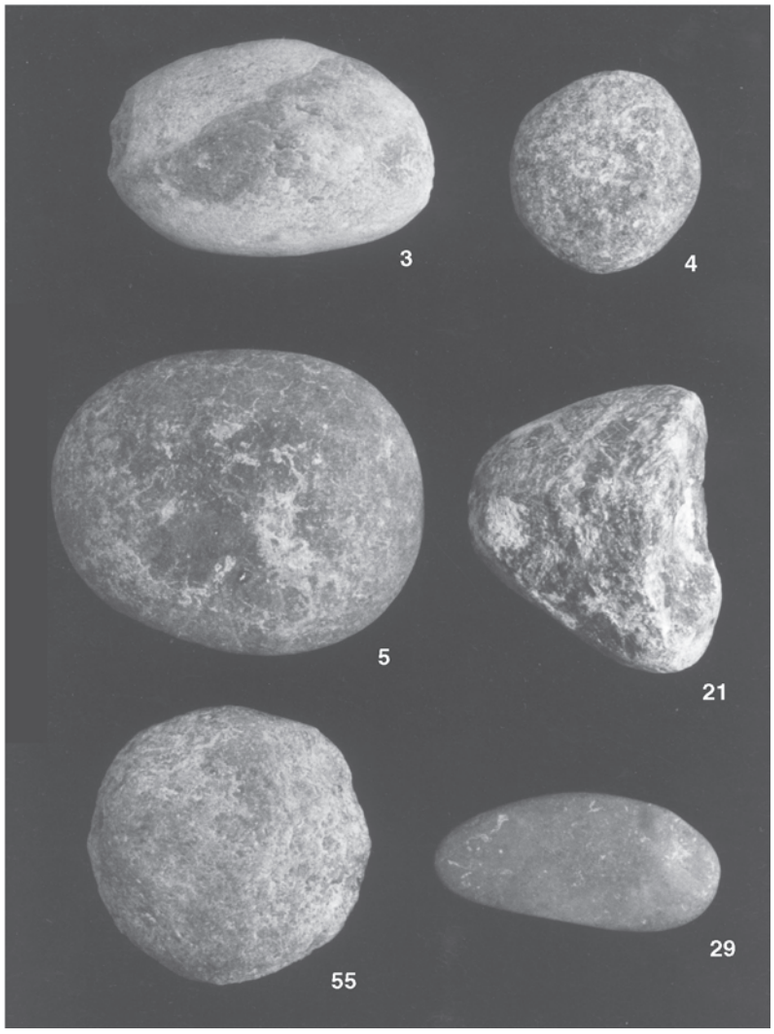
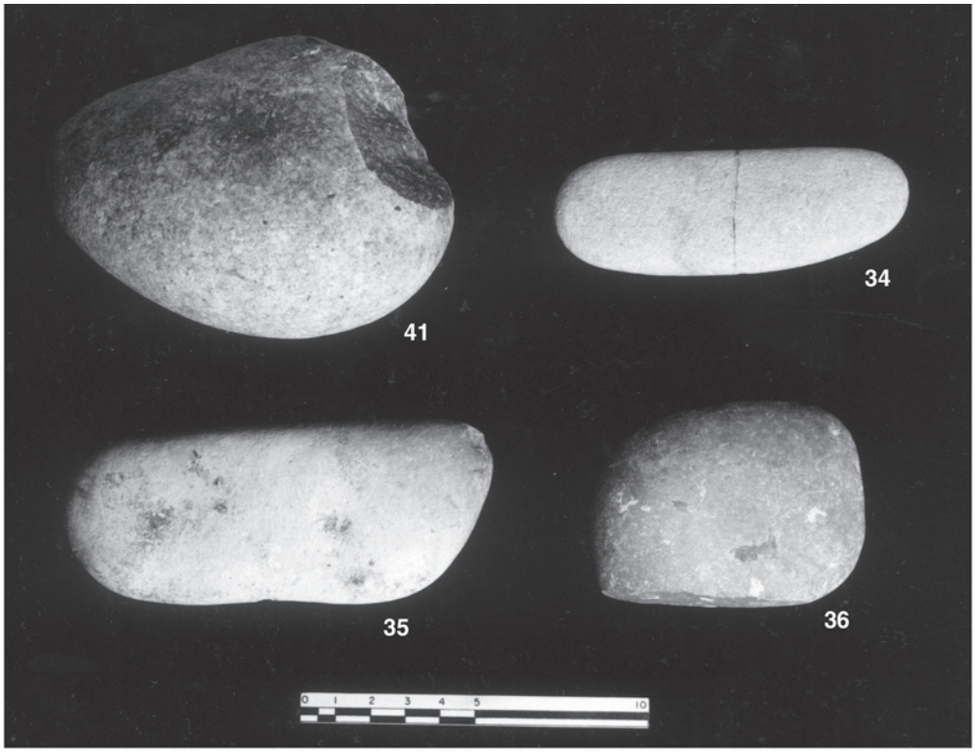


Plate 4.19. Incomplete sealstone. Scale 2:1.
Plate 4.20. Stone Tool Group 1. **56**, a disk, is missing, but see Blitzer 1995 pl. 8.48C. Scale 1:2.5.



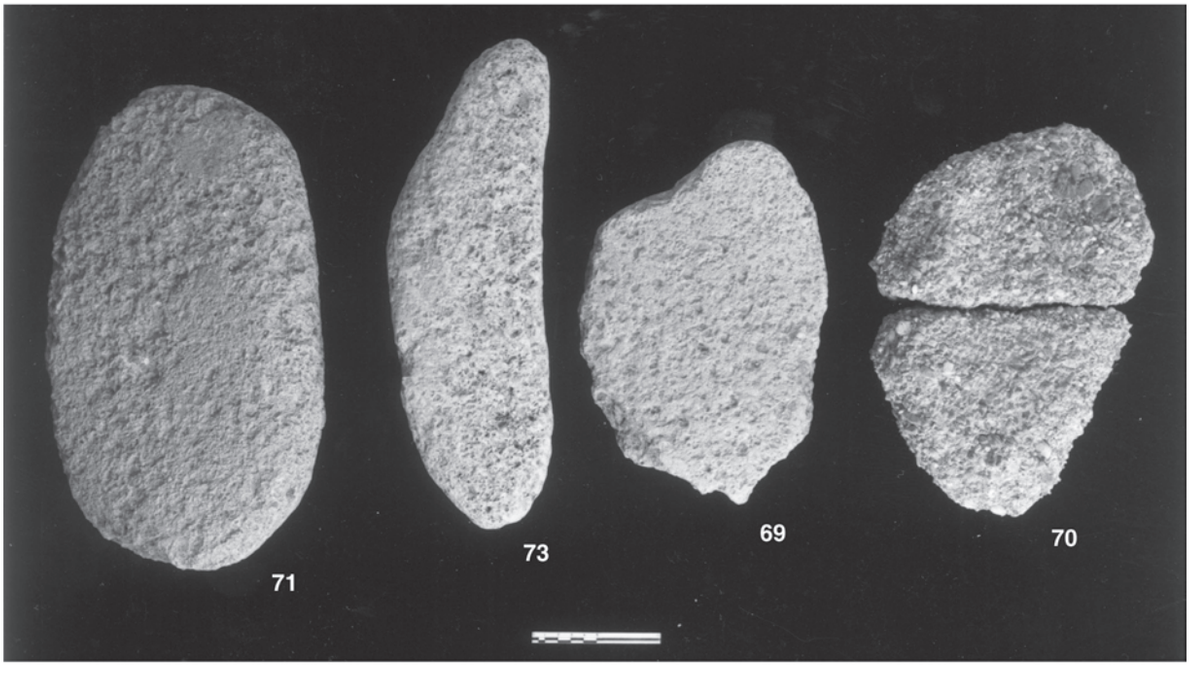
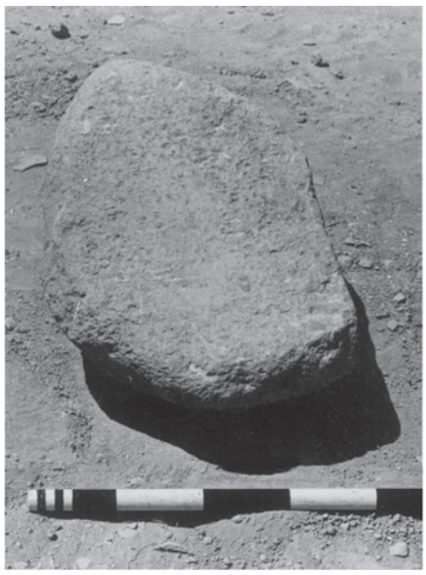
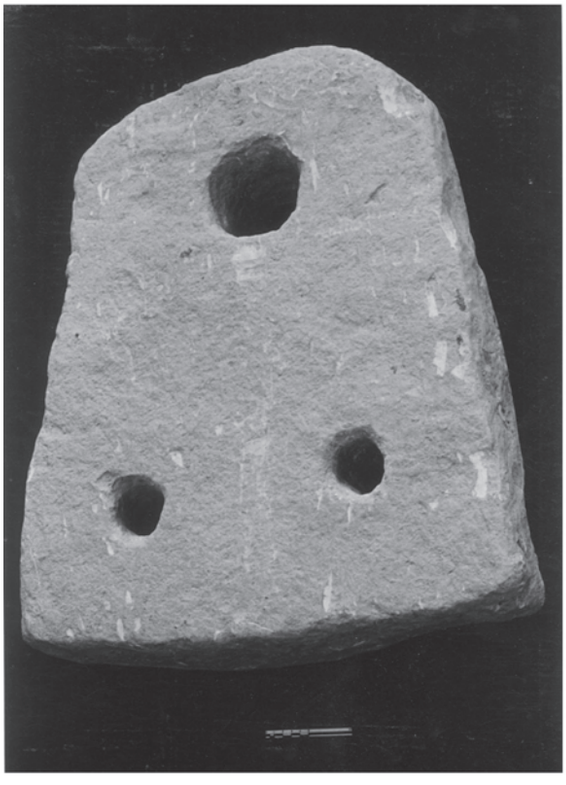


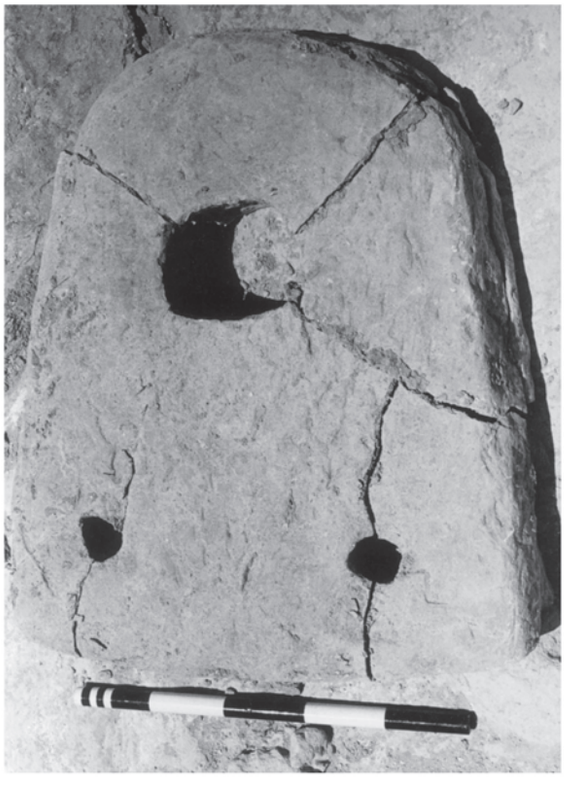
Plate 4.21. Stone Tool Group 2.
Plate 4.22. Stone Tool Group 3.



72



45

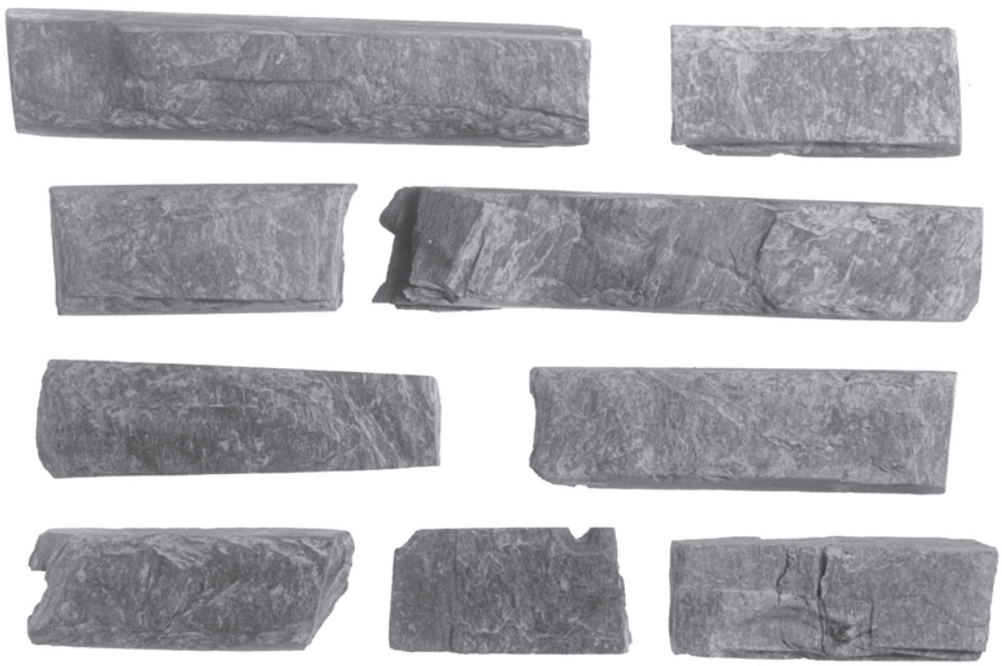


46

Plate 4.23. **72** from Stone Tool Group 3.
Plate 4.24. Anchor **45**.
Plate 4.25. Anchor **46**.



47



66

Plate 4.26. Grooved stone/weight. Scale approx. 1:1.75.
Plate 4.27. Schist bars. Scale 1:3.





Plate 4.28. Basin.
Plate 4.29. Press bed.

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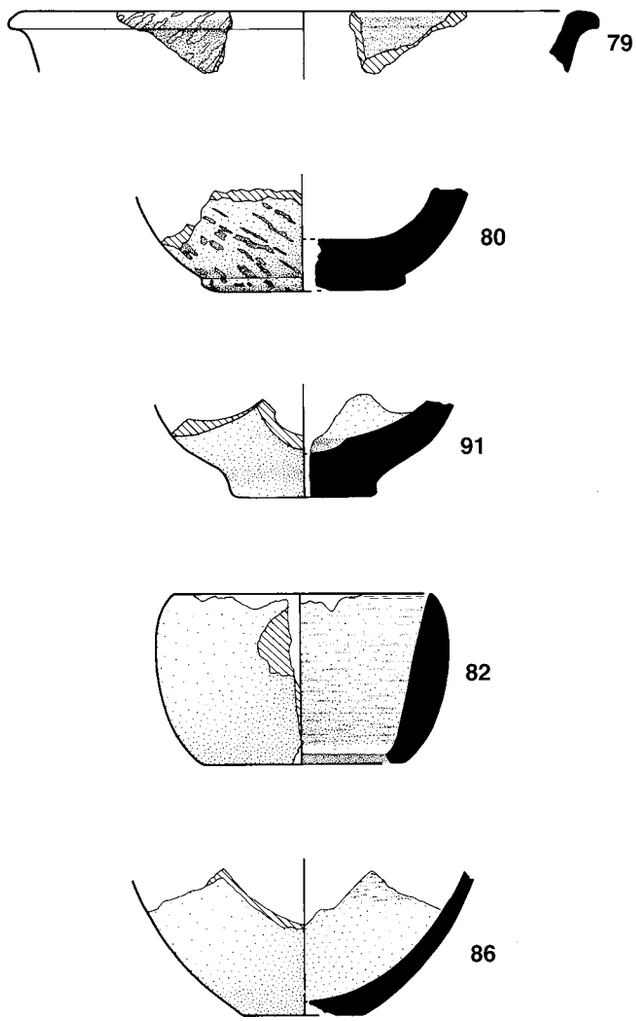


Plate 4.30. Profiles of significant stone vases not illustrated in Schwab 1996. Scale 1:2.

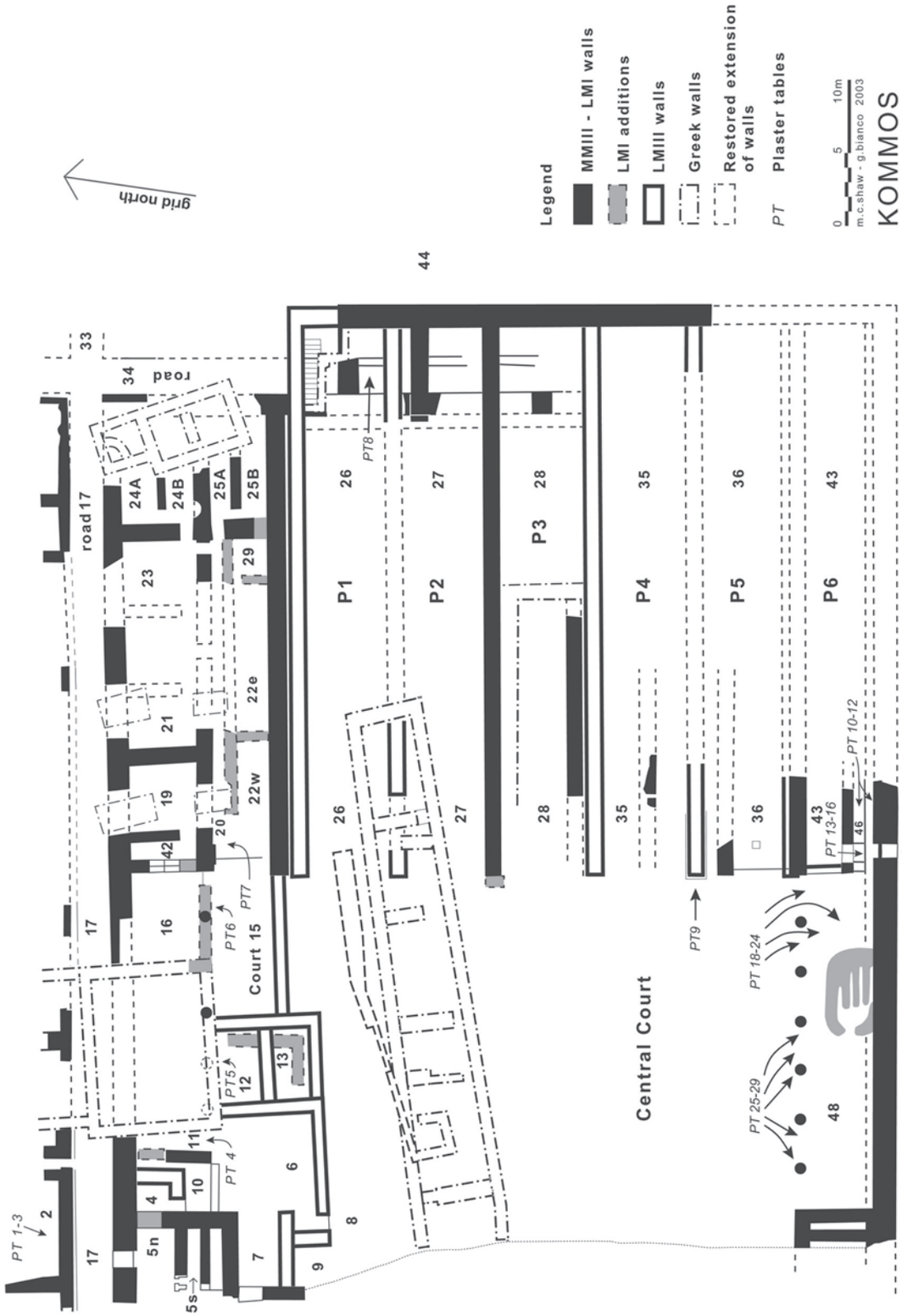


Plate 4.31. Distribution plan. Plaster tables.

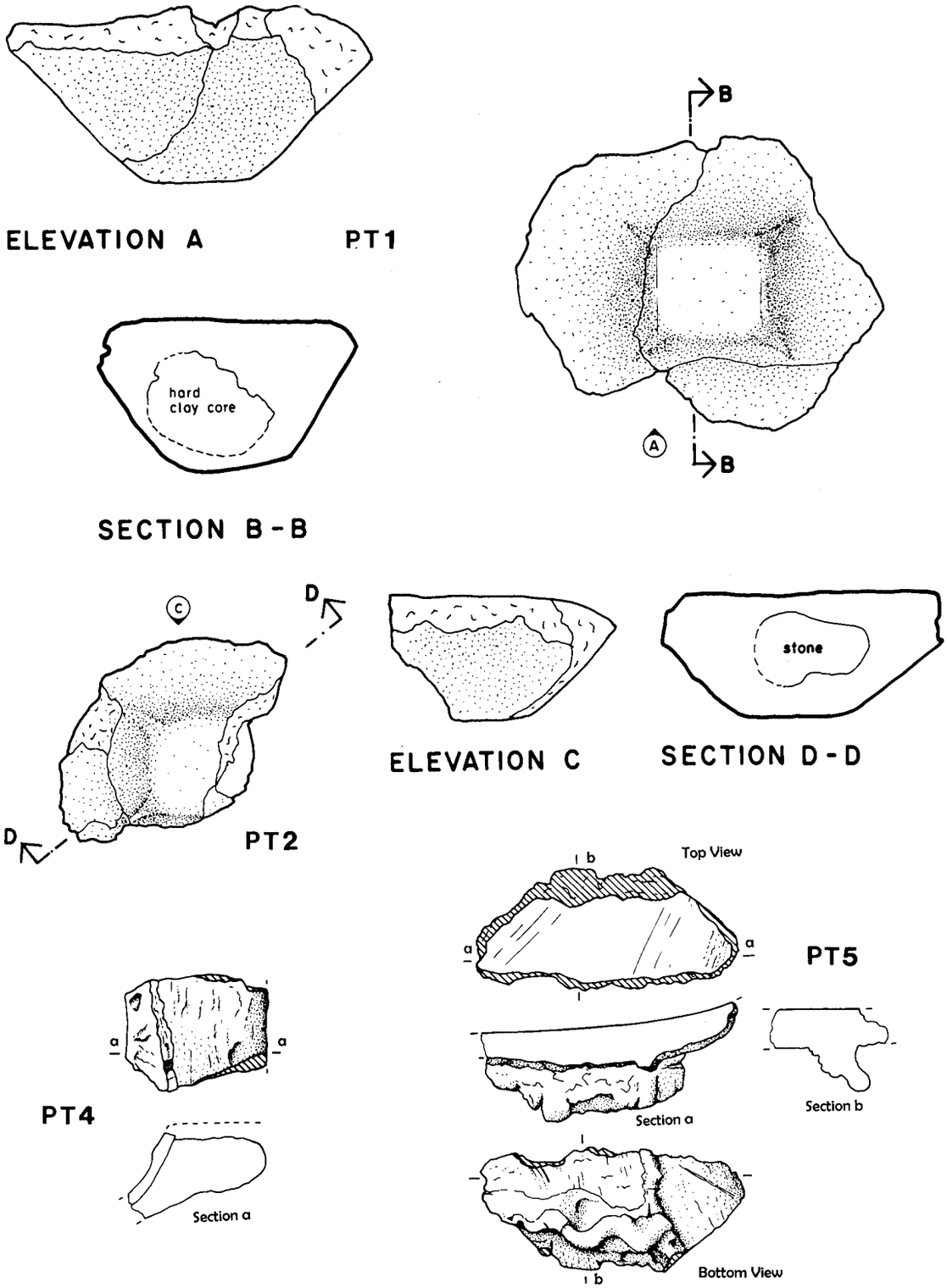


Plate 4.32. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2.

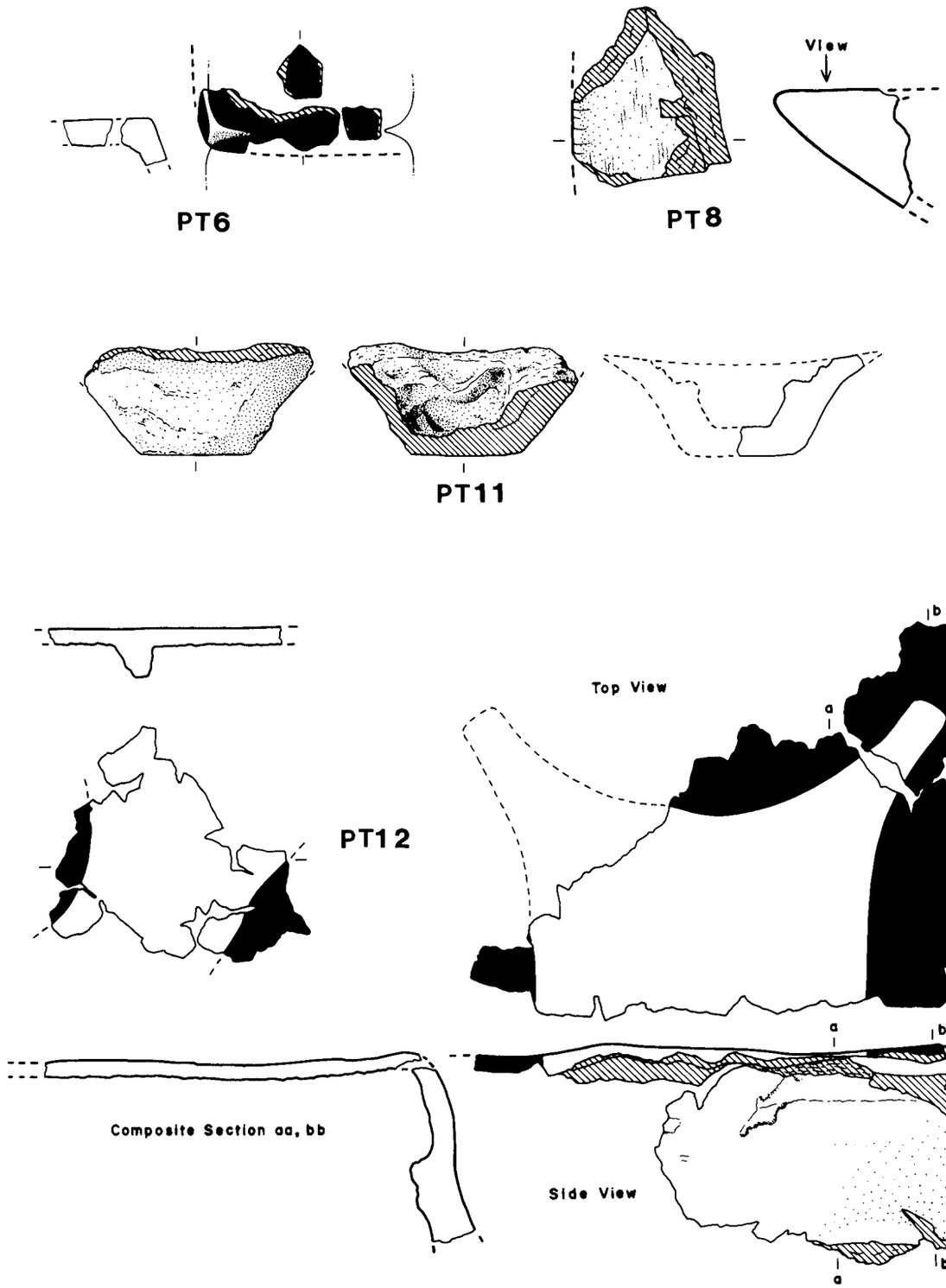


Plate 4.33. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2, except for **PT12,** which is at 1:3.

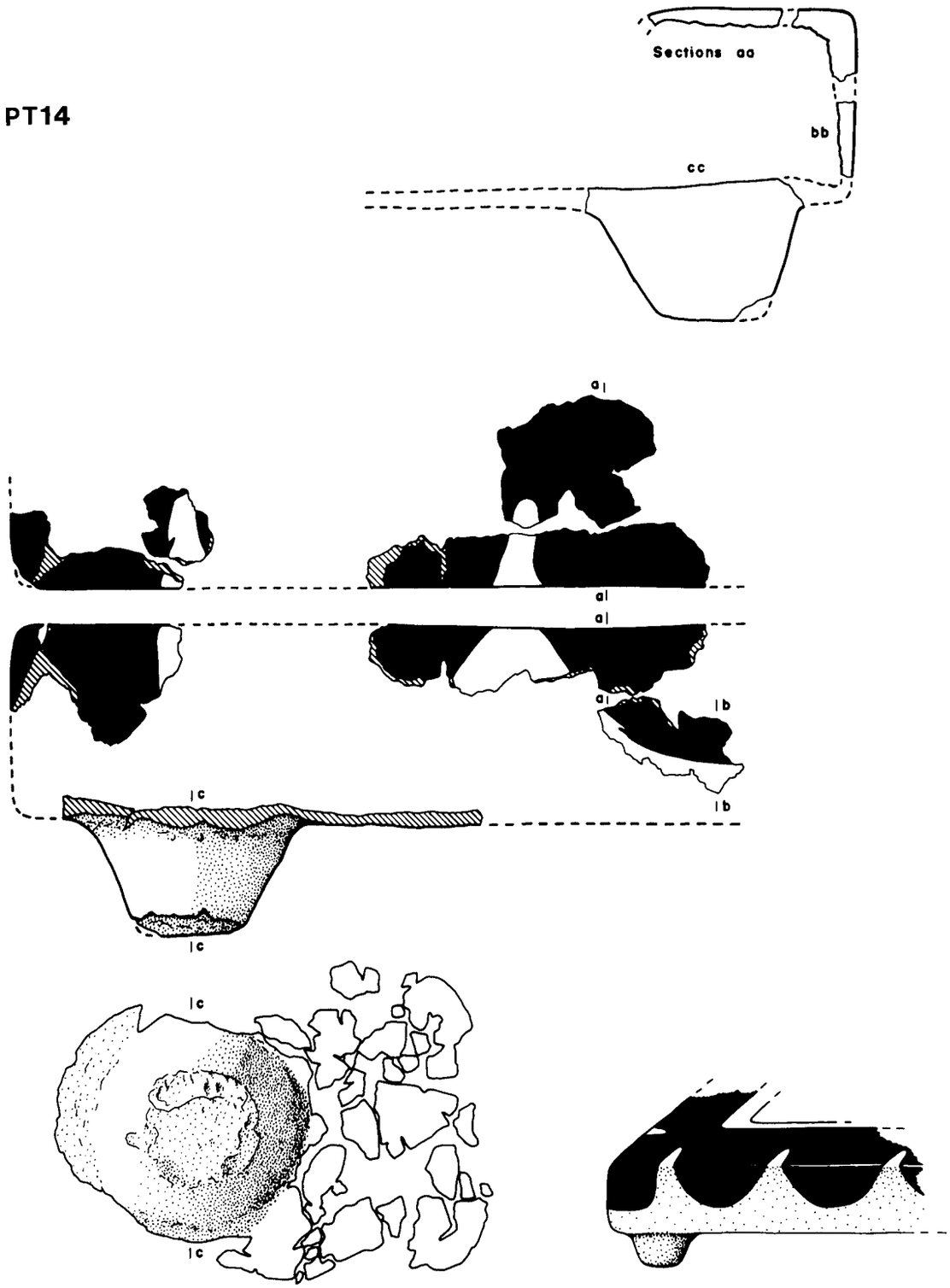
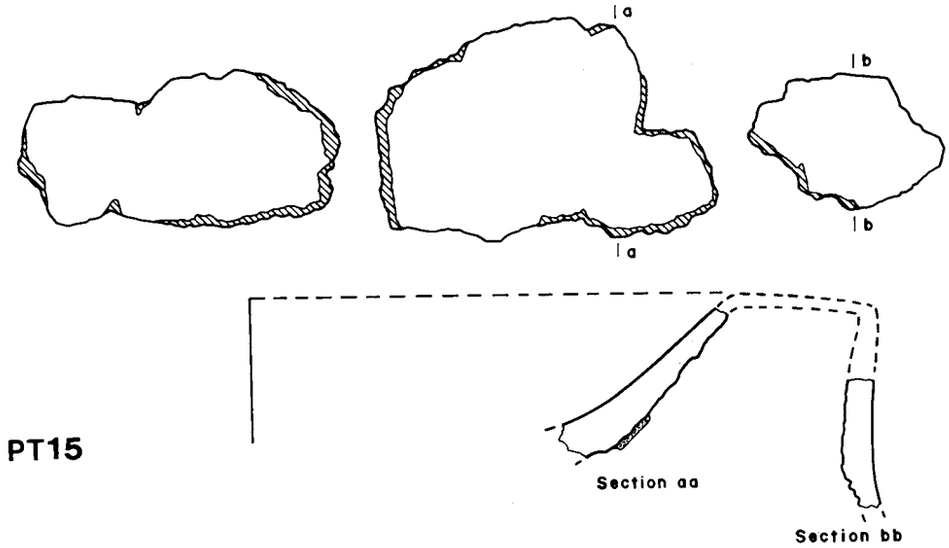
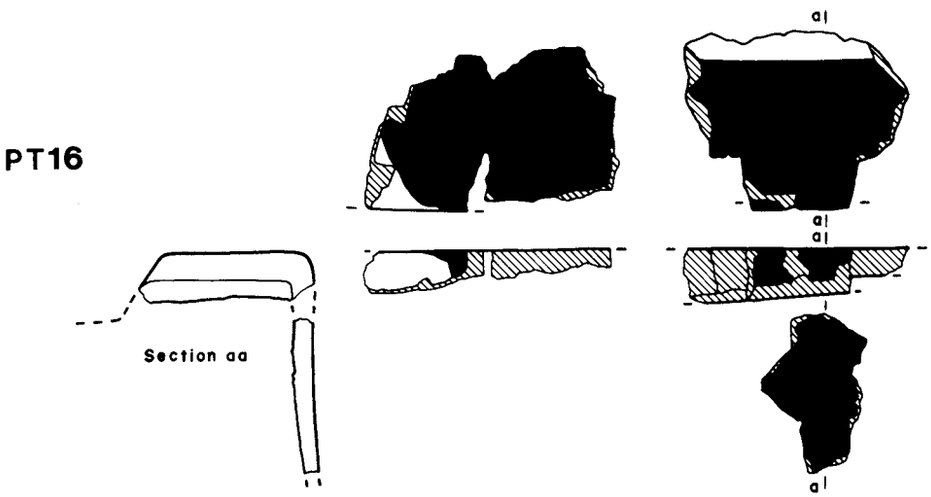


Plate 4.34. Plaster table. Scale 1:2.





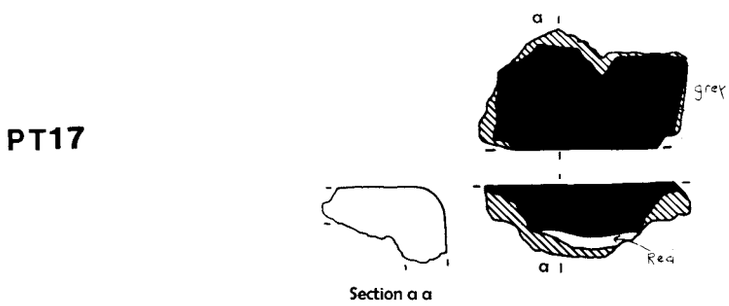


Plate 4.35. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2.

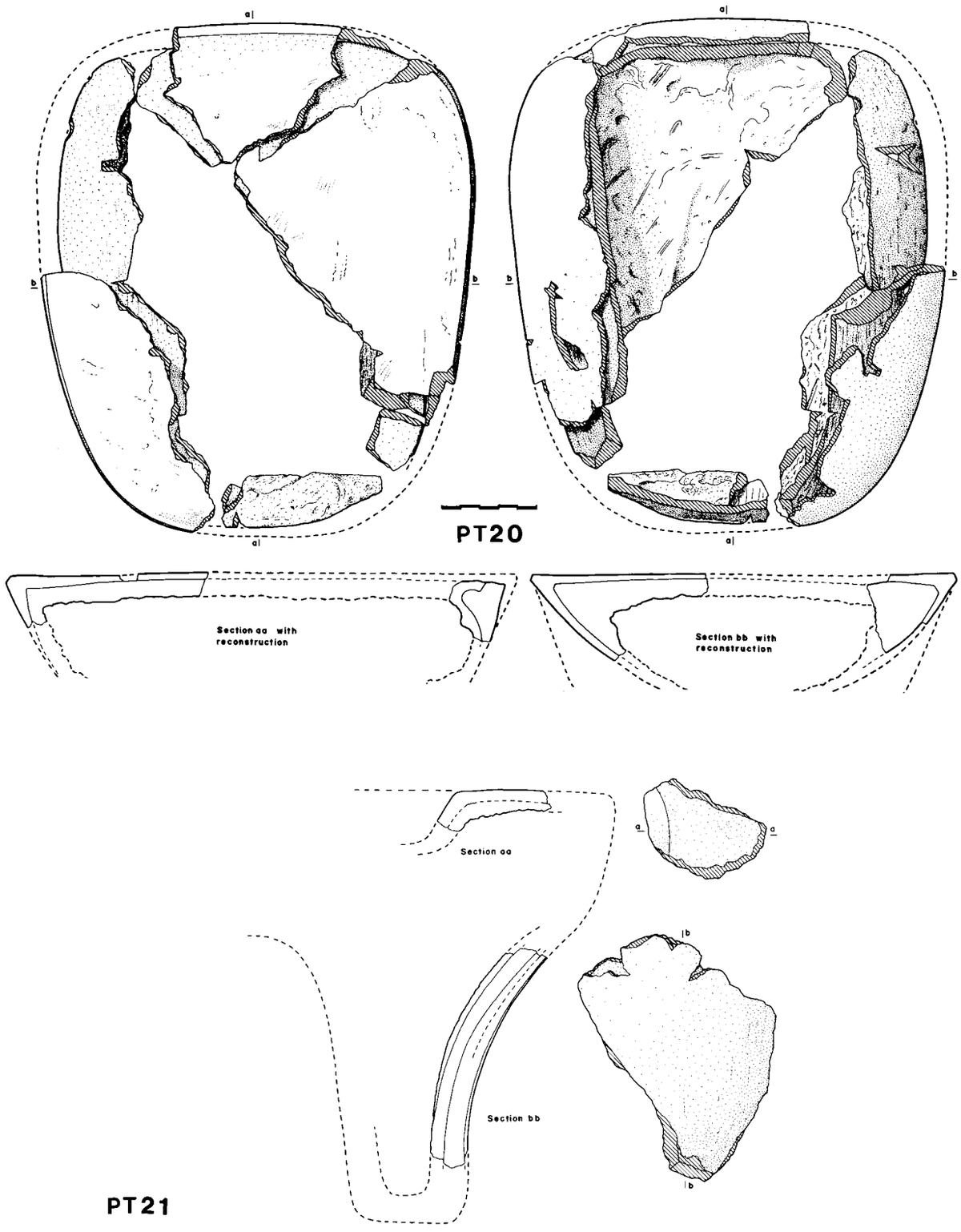


Plate 4.36. Plaster tables. Scale of **PT20** 1:3, of **PT21** 1:2.

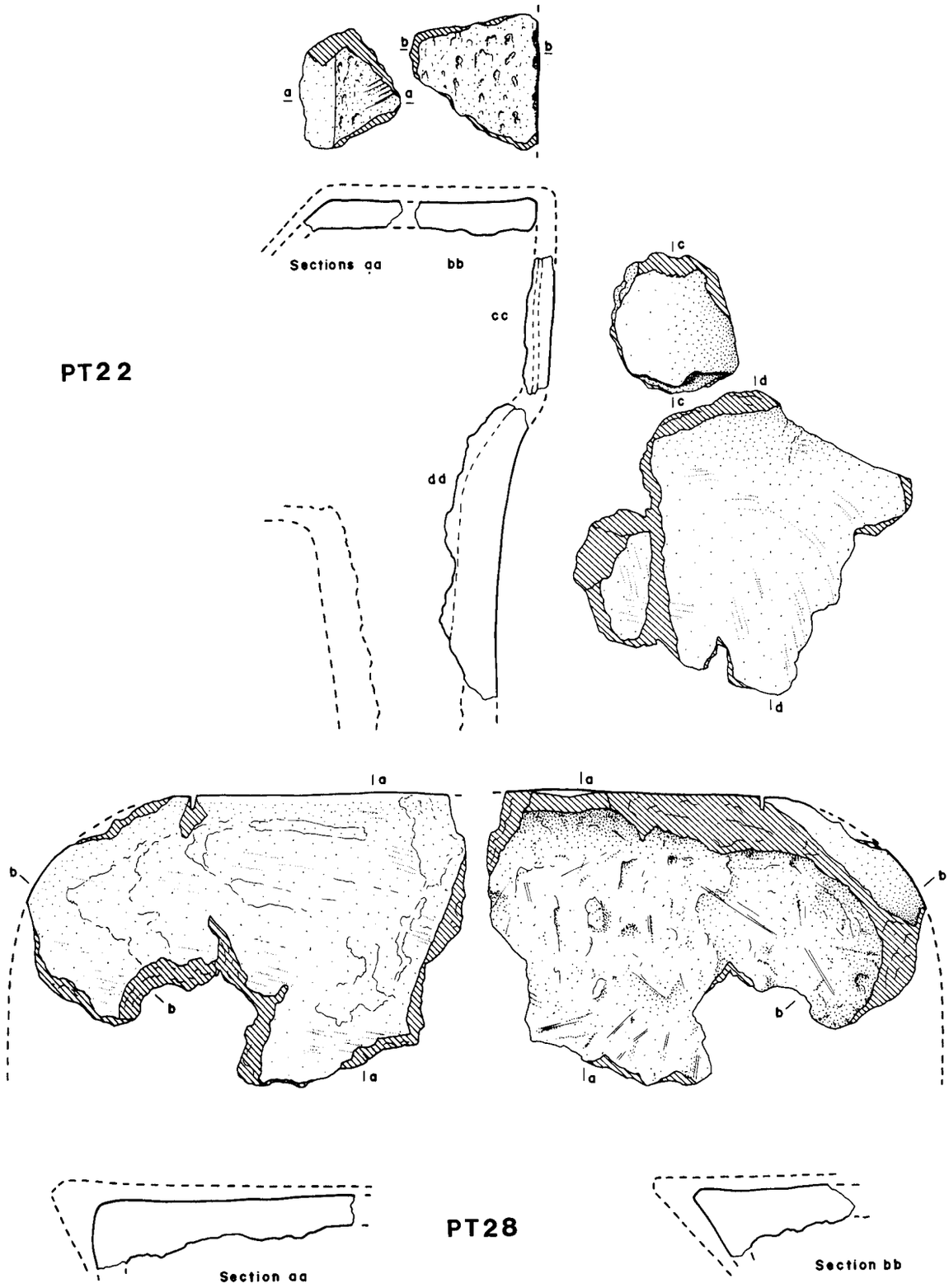


Plate 4.37. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2.

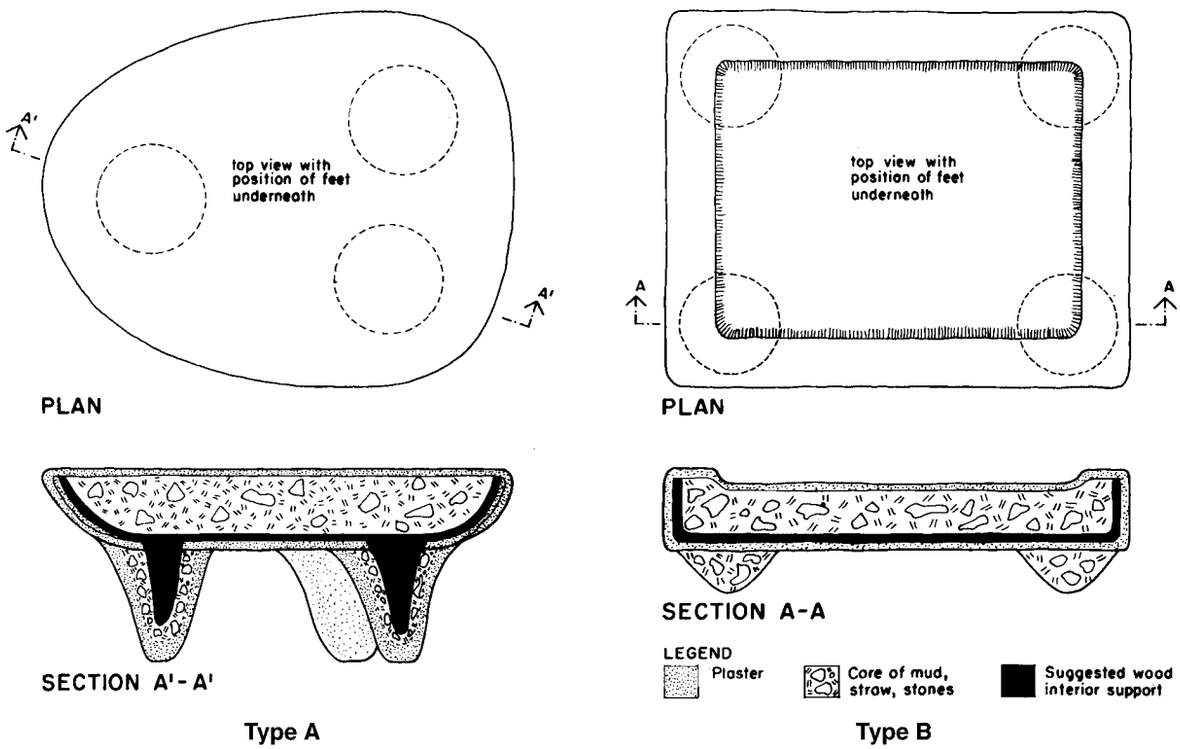


Plate 4.38. Restoration of Types A and B plaster tables at Kommos. Not to scale.

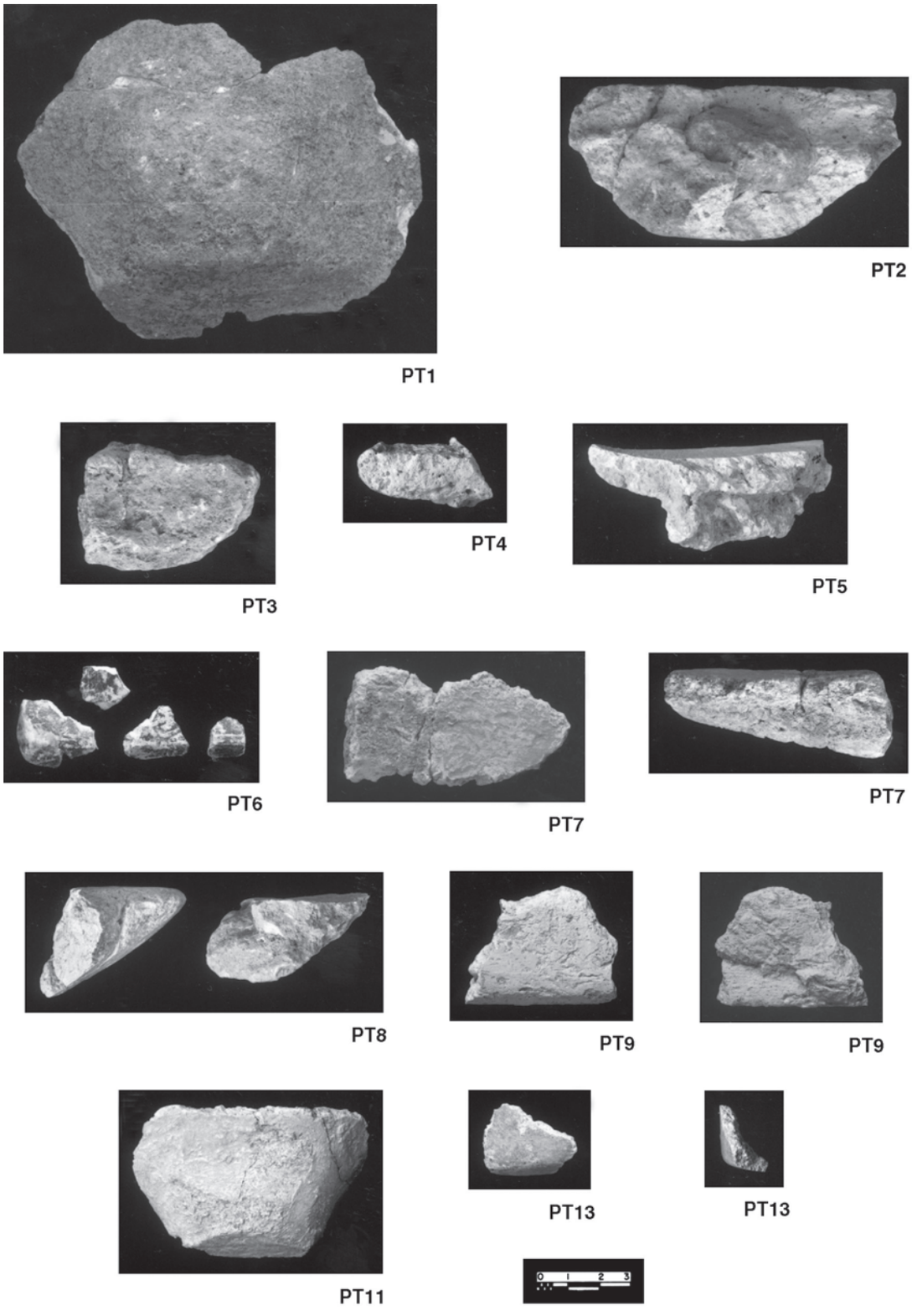
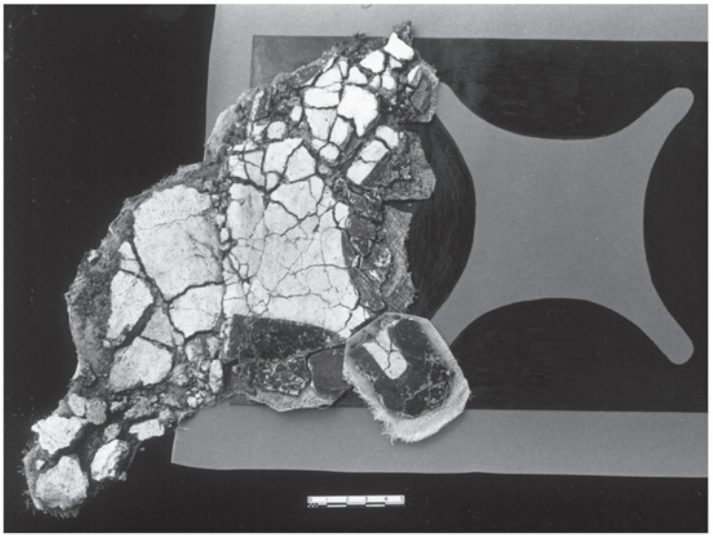
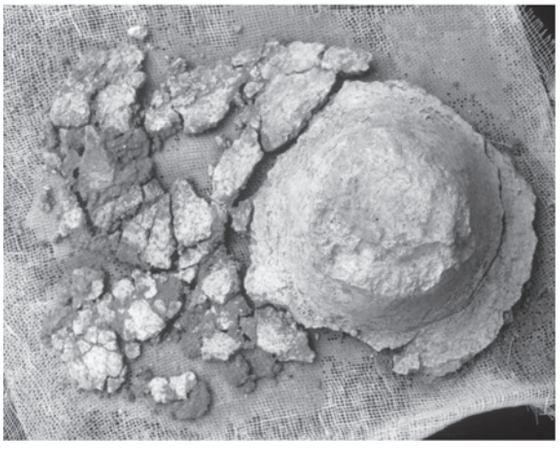


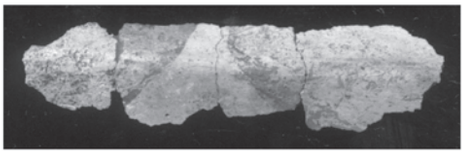
Plate 4.39. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2.



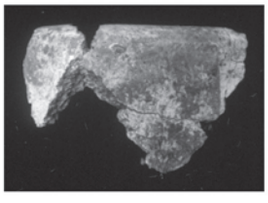
PT12



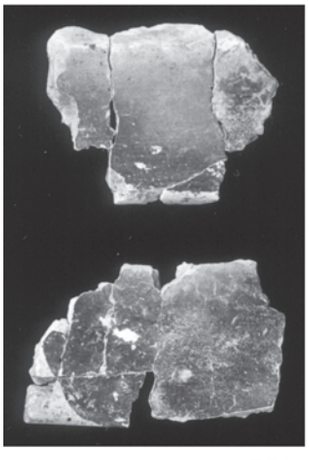
PT14



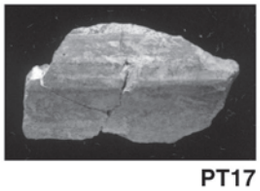
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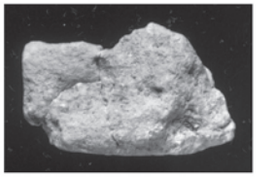
PT14



PT16



PT17



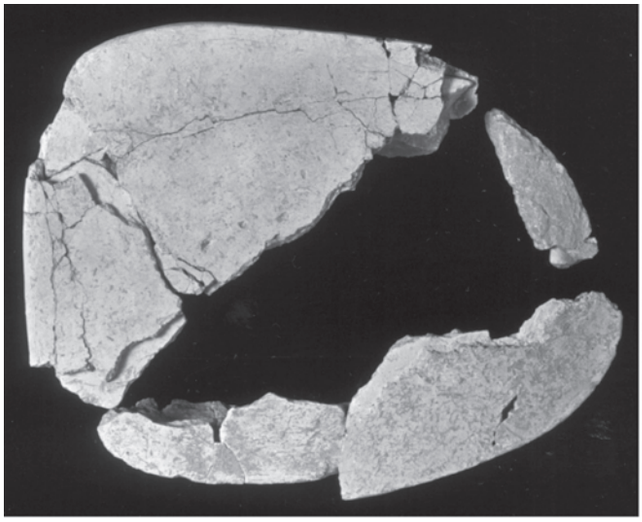
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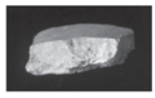


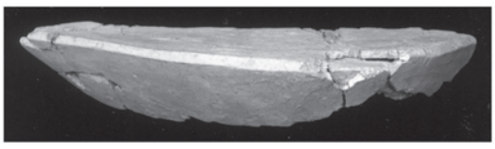
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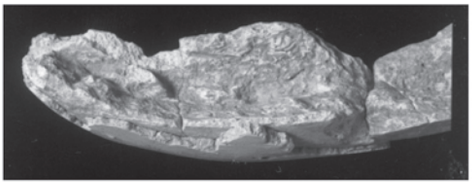


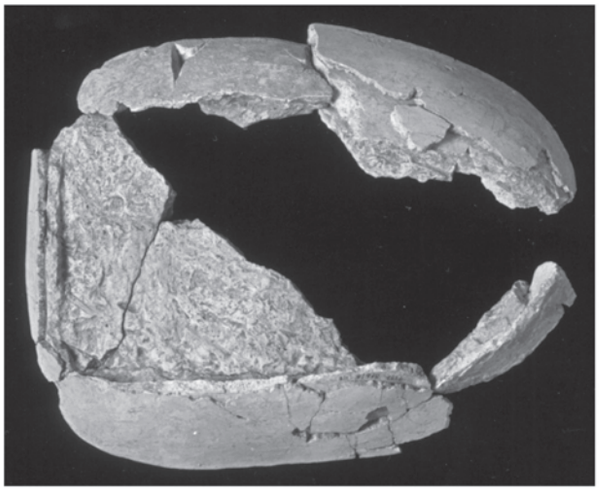
Plate 4.40. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2, except for **PT12,** which is at 1:3.

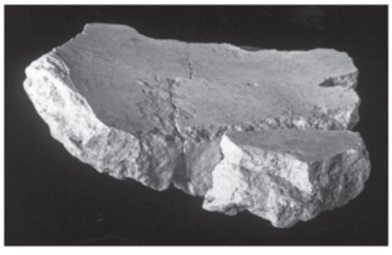

PT20

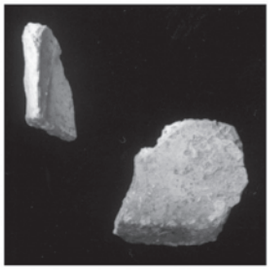

PT19

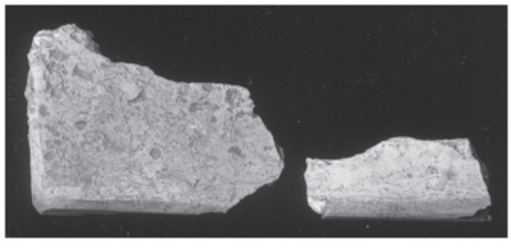

PT20

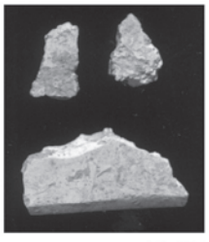

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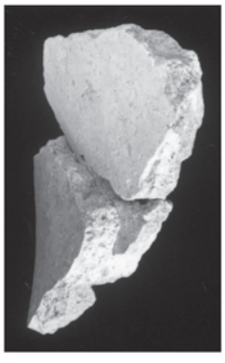

PT20


PT22


PT23


PT24


PT25


PT26

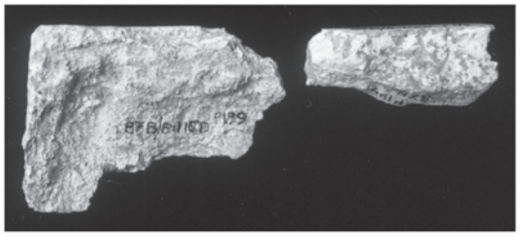

PT24



Plate 4.41. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2, except for **PT20,** which is at 1:3.

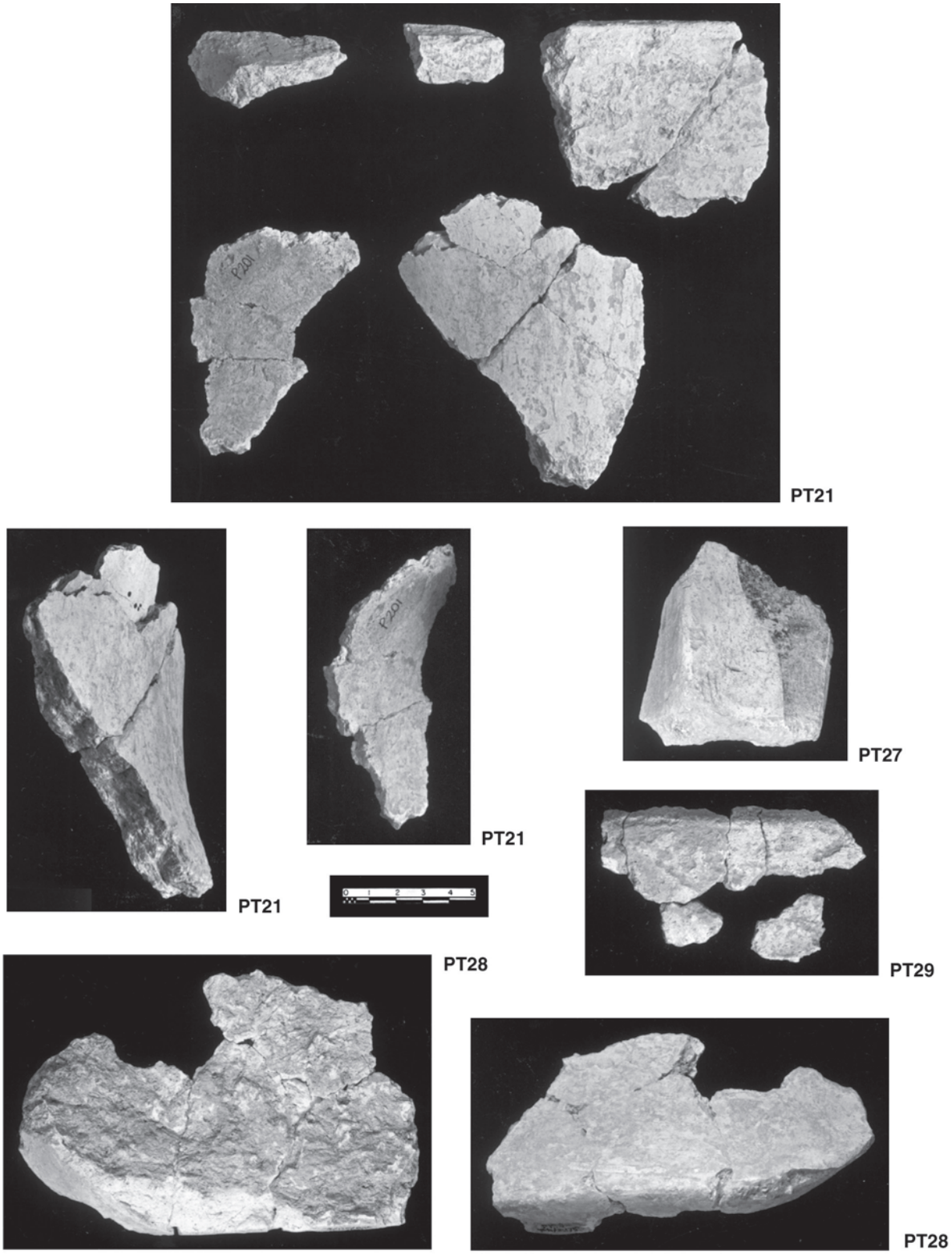


Plate 4.42. Plaster tables. Scale 1:2.

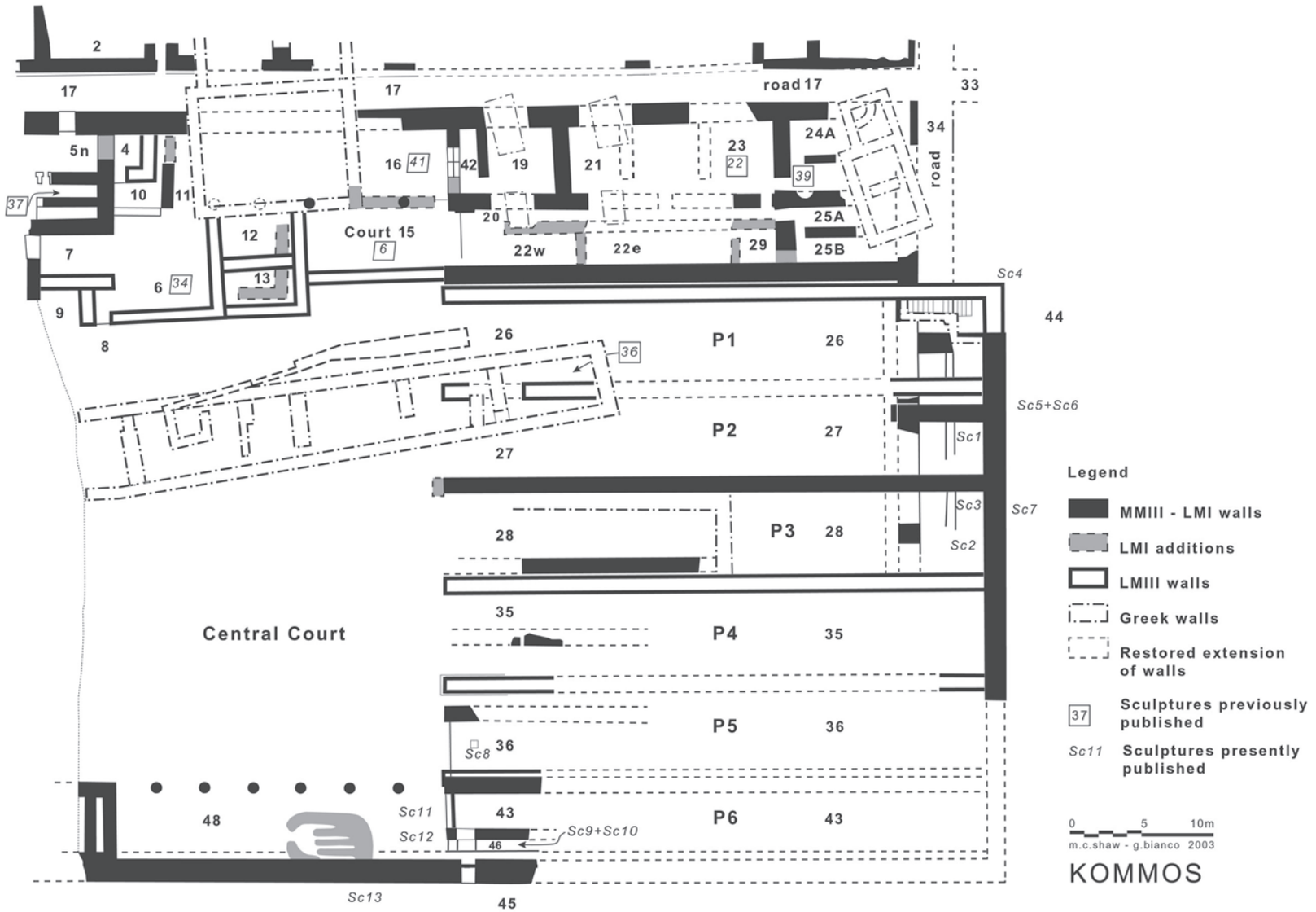
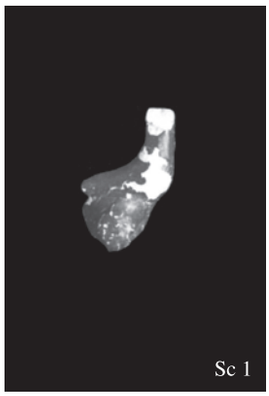


Plate 4.43. Distribution plan. Figurines and figural appliqués from the Southern Area.

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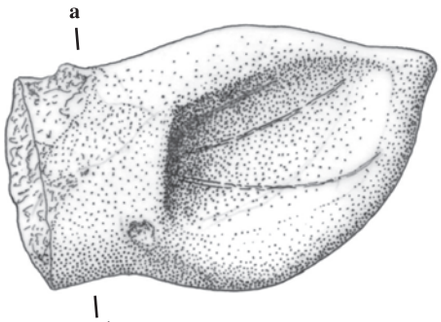








Section a a´





Sc 2





Sc 3

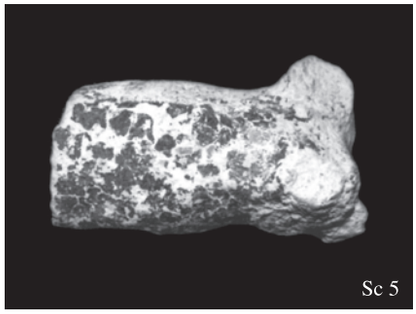


Plate 4.44. Figurines. Photos and drawings. Scale 1:1.

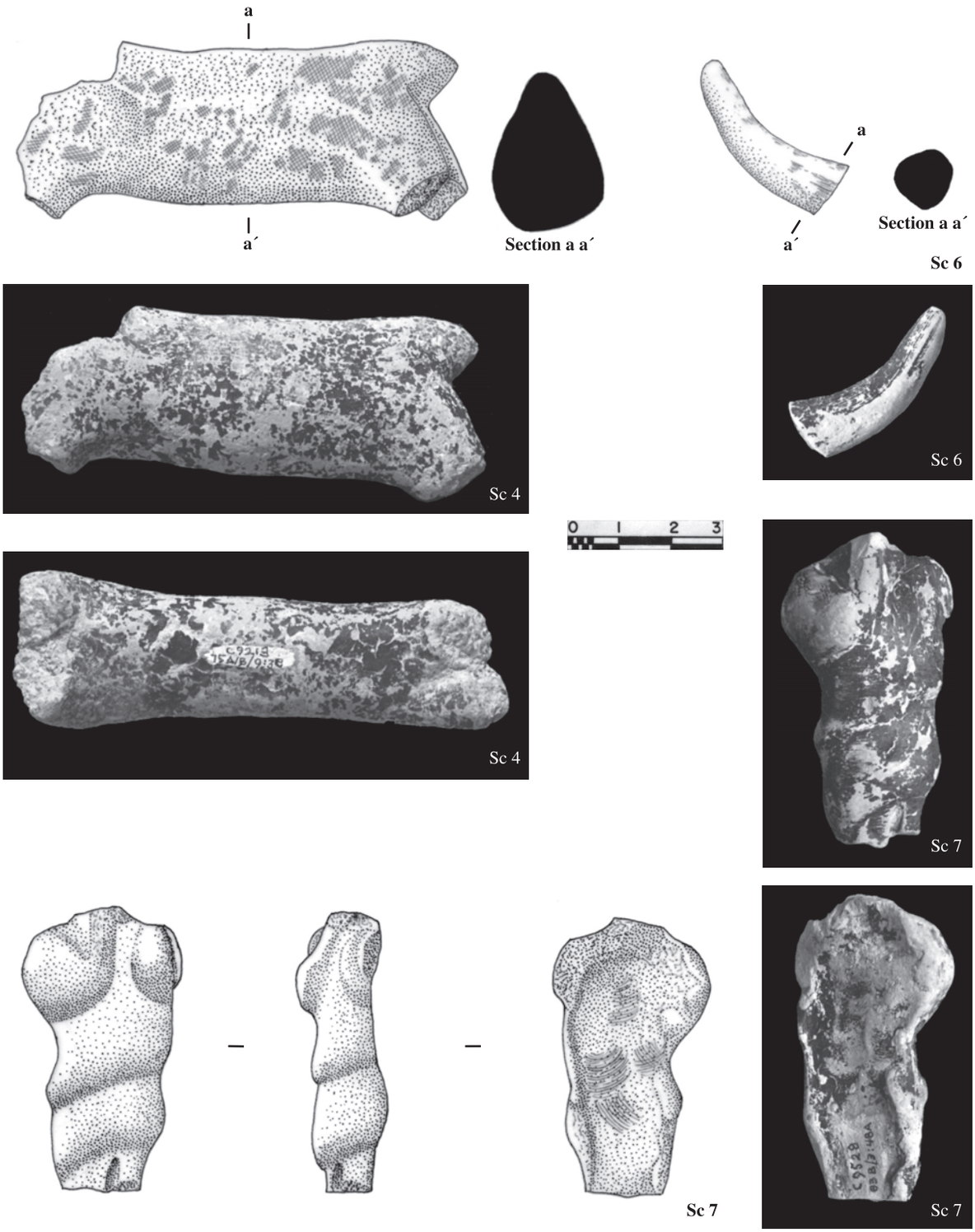


Plate 4.45. Figurines. Photos and drawings. Scale 1:1.



Sc 8

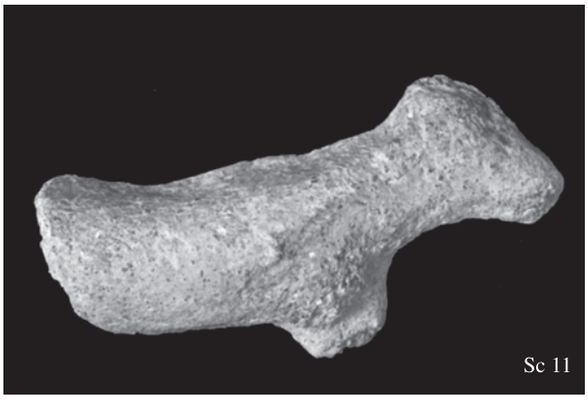


Sc 9

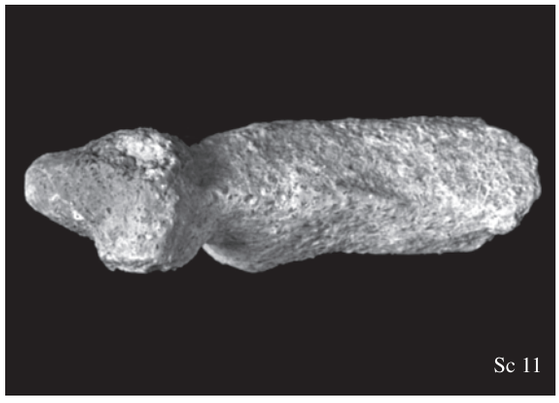


Sc 10

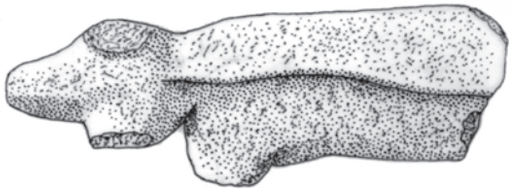




Sc 11



Sc 11



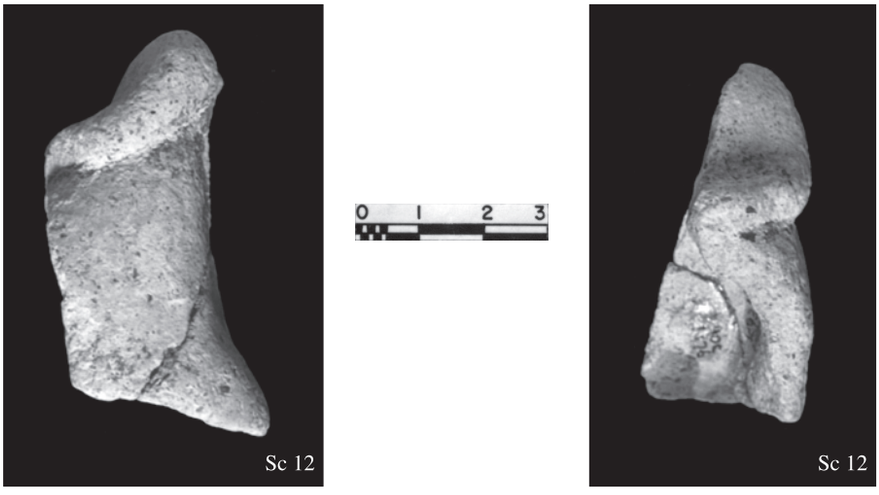


Sc 11

Plate 4.46. Figurines. Photos and drawings. Scale 1:1.



Sc 12



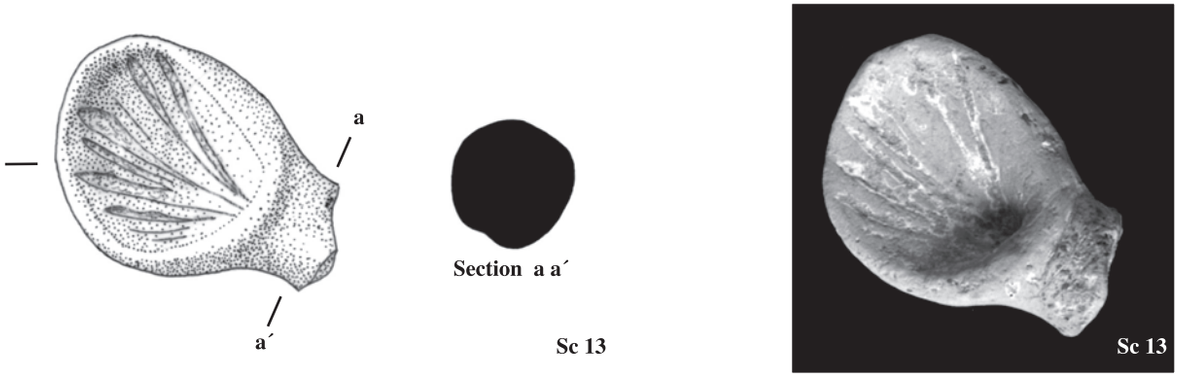


Plate 4.47. Figurines. Photos and drawings. Scale 1:1.

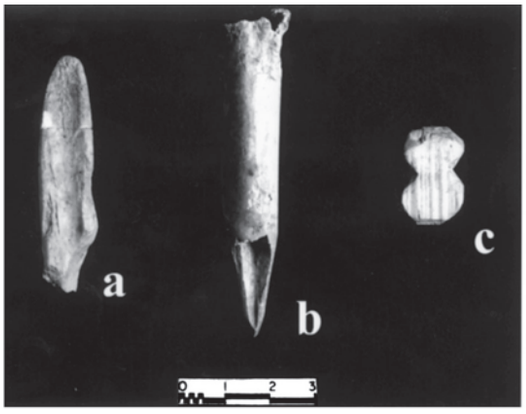


Plate 4.48. Worked bone. (*a*) Bone tool made from the diaphysis of an *Ovis/Capra* tibia; (*b*) bone point made from a proximal metatarsal piece; (*c*) figure-of-eight piece with polished plaster surface, perhaps a piece of inlay.



Plate 4.49. *Glycymeris* (*a*) and *Acanthocardia* (*b*) valves with painted black and red lines from temple repositories at Knossos. (after Evans 1964 [reprint], vol. IV, fig. 377)

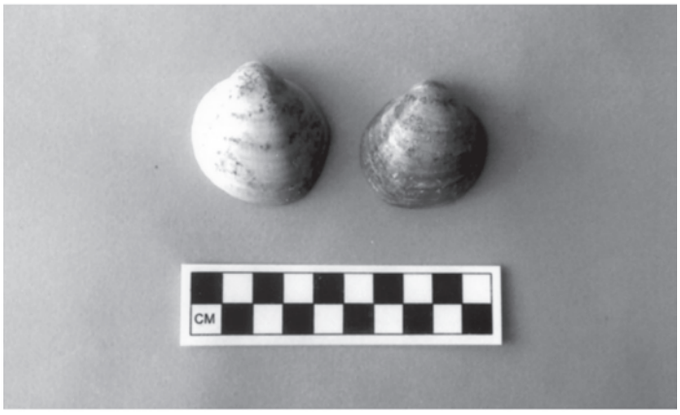


Plate 4.50. *Glycymeris* with black lines from Kommos.

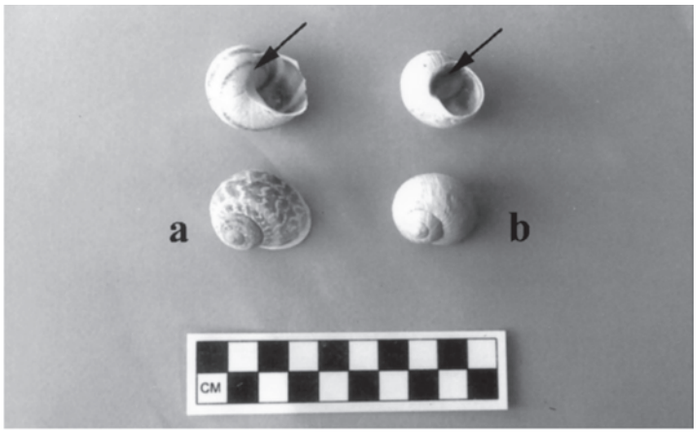


Plate 4.51. *Helix* spp. found from excavations at Kommos. (*a*) *Helix aspersa;* (*b*) *Helix melanostoma*. Arrows indicate diagnostic color differences around the apertures.

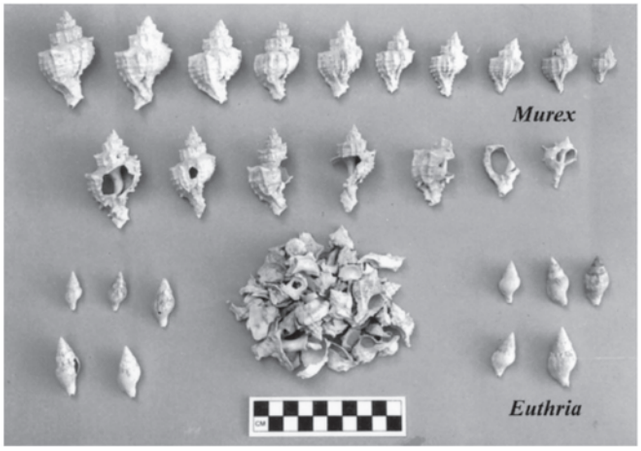


Plate 4.52. Sample of *Murex* debris from the Southern Area with *Murex* spp. and *Euthria*.



Plate 4.53. Architectural plan of the *Murex* dye installation in the Southern Area.



Plate 4.54. Work site at Kommos for *Murex* dye manufacture experimentation in 2001.



Plate 4.55. D. Ruscillo setting up baited pots on the seafloor at Kommos.



Plate 4.56. Baited basket and pot containing *Murex* on the seafloor in the marina at Matala.

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Cyan Magenta Yellow Black

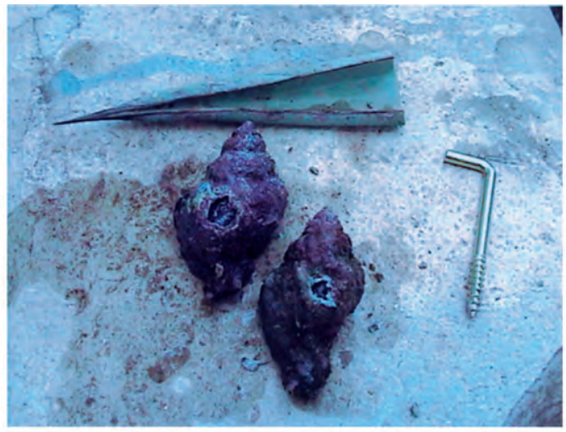


Plate 4.57. *Murex* specimens with holes in the main body whorl, and tools.



Plate 4.58. Hypobranchial gland inside *Murex trunculus* (indicated by arrow).

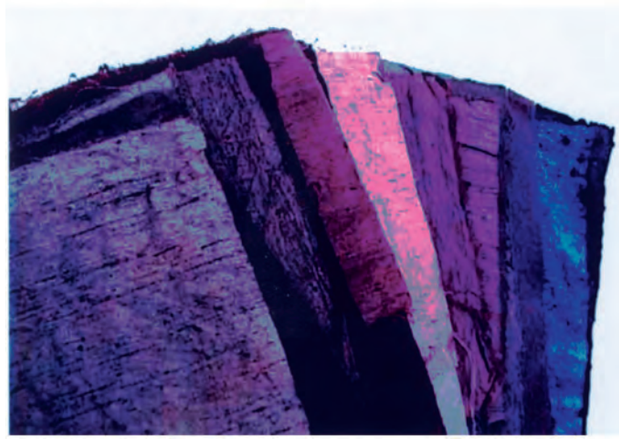


Plate 4.59. Color range produced from *Murex trunculus* on wool, on silk, and on cotton swatches.

TJ380-10-2005 IMUS 7/FRA0001 Kommos (CTP) W8-1/2" x H11" 175L 130 M/A Magenge

1222



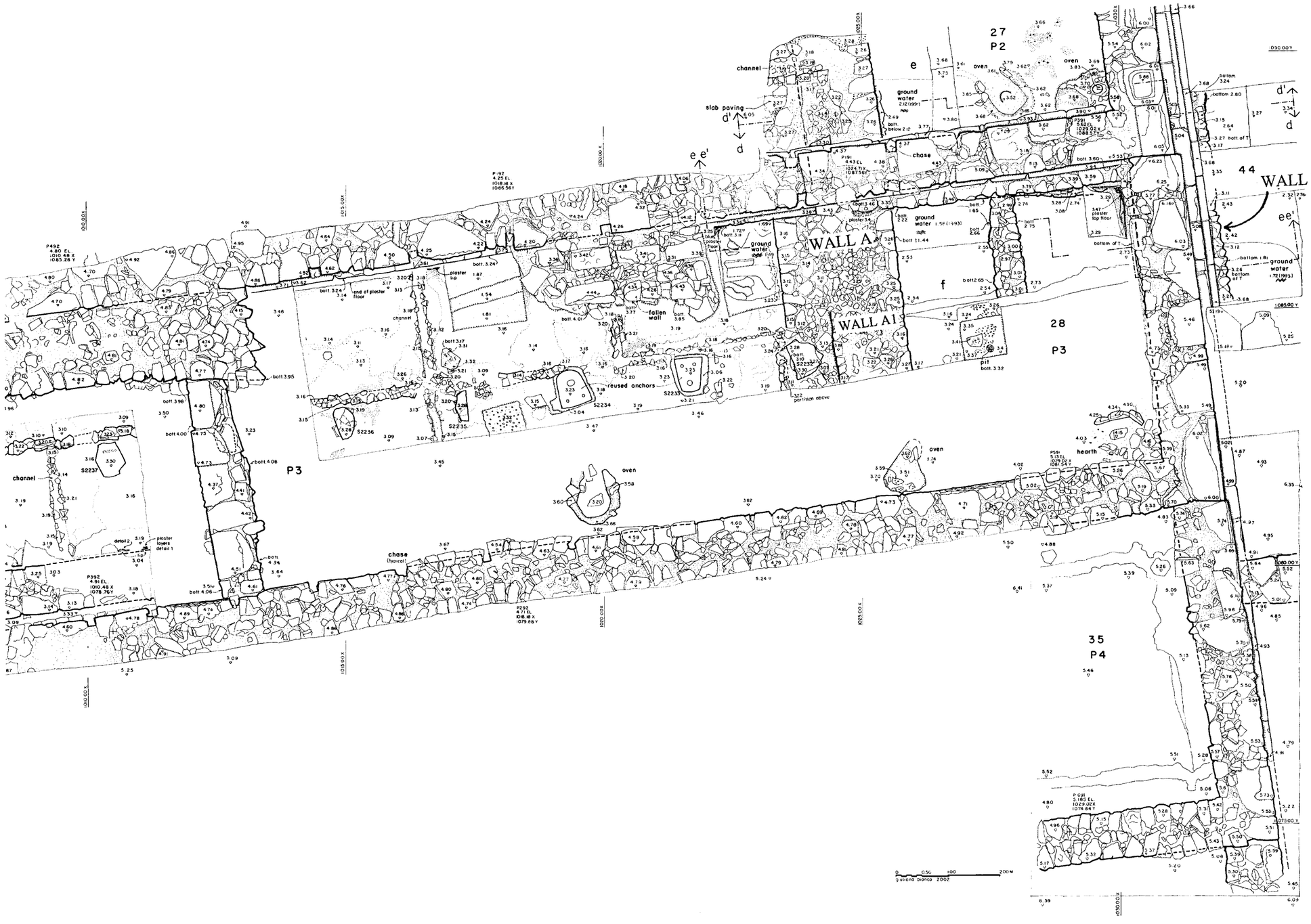
BUILDINGS T & P
galleries P1 and P2

Foldout A. State plan, northeastern area including eastern parts of Galleries P1 and P2.

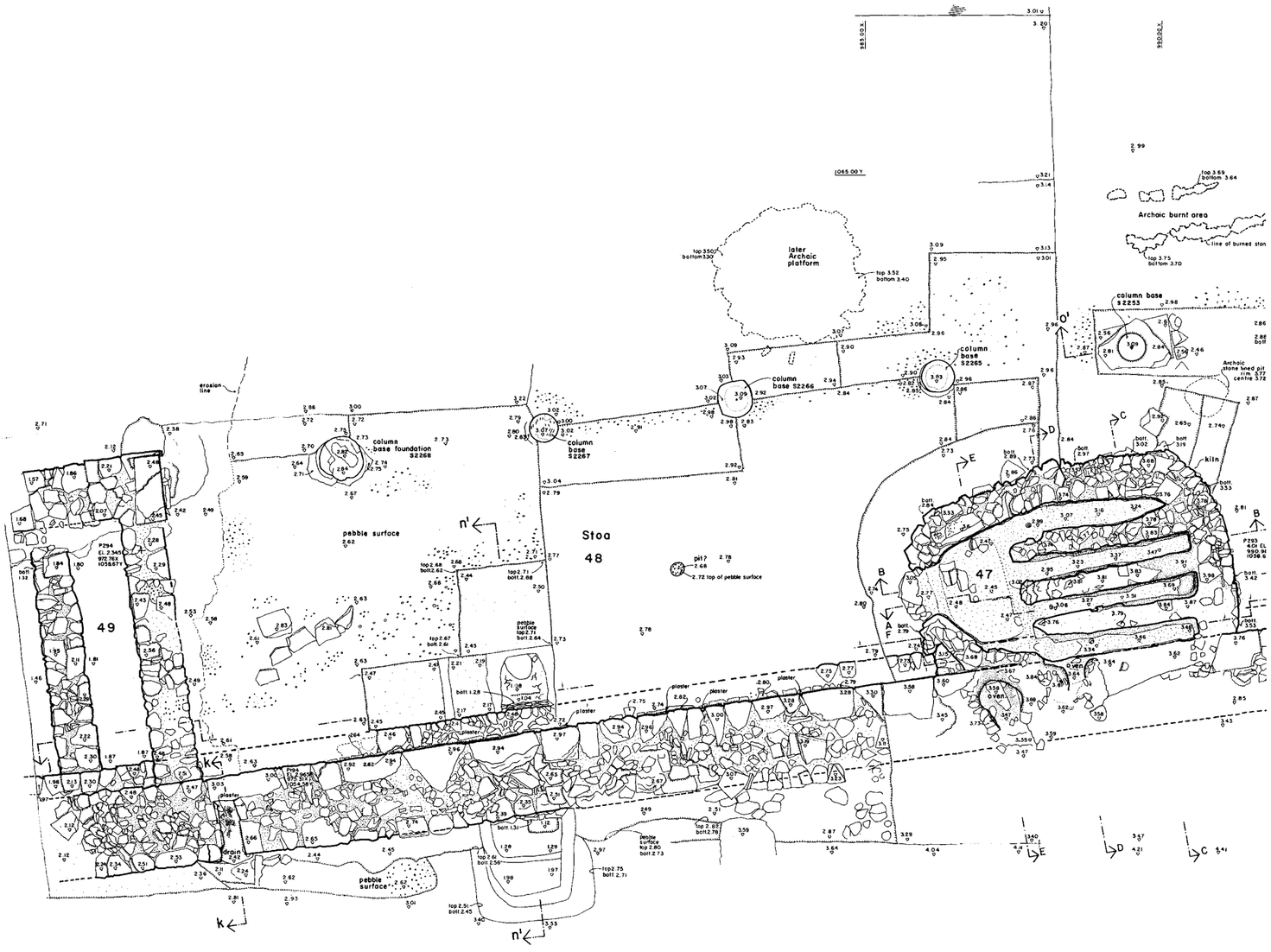


Foldout B, part 1. State plan of western part of Galleries P2 (upper left) and P3.

Kommos Foldouts 8/23/05 10:06 AM Page 3



Foldout B, part 2.
State plan of eastern part of Gallery P3.



Foldout C, part 1. State plan of western part of South Stoa, with pottery kiln.



Foldout C, part 2. State plan of eastern part of South Stoa, with pottery kiln.