CHAPTER 1
The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Civic Buildings

Joseph W. Shaw

1. Middle Minoan IIB Protopalatial Building AA and Its Predecessors
2. Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T
3. Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P
4. Architectural Blocks, Mason’s Marks, and Column Bases from the Southern Area (with L. Costaki)
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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. 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. 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). One can imagine the wall rising as it was built from the bedrock up. 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.”

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. 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. 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. 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). 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...
Middle Minoan IIB Protopalatial Building AA and Its Predecessors

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.

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<th>Name</th>
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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Events</th>
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<td>Prepalatial</td>
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<td>II: Contexts 1–4</td>
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<td>MM IB–IIB</td>
<td>Town founded, Building AA established and destroyed</td>
<td>I(2): Chap. 3.2; Chap. 6, passim</td>
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<td>Protopalatial</td>
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<td>II: Contexts 5–14</td>
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<td>V: Chap. 1.1; Chap. 3.2, passim; Chap. 5.2</td>
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<td>MM III</td>
<td>Change and renewal; Building T constructed</td>
<td>II: Contexts 15–21</td>
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<td>V: Chap. 1.2; Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5.2</td>
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<td>LM I</td>
<td>Town continues on Hilltop and hillside; Building T damaged and reused; House X built</td>
<td>I(2): Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3; Chaps. 5 and 6, passim</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neopalatial</td>
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<td>II: Contexts 20–21</td>
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<td>III: Deposits 1–15</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>V: Chap. 1.2; Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5, passim</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J. W. Shaw &amp; M. C. Shaw 1993 (House X)</td>
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<td>LM II</td>
<td>Continuing use of major areas</td>
<td>I(2): Chap. 3.3.</td>
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<td>Postpalatial</td>
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<td>III: Deposits 16–24;</td>
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<td>V: Chap. 1.2, Space 7; Chap. 3.3.</td>
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<td>LM IIIA–IIIB</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>I(2): Chap. 2, passim; Chap. 3.3; Chaps. 4, 5, &amp; 6, passim</td>
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<td>III: Deposits 25–98</td>
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<td>V: Chap. 1.3; Chap. 3.3, Chap. 5, passim; J. W. Shaw &amp; M. C. Shaw 1993 (House X)</td>
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<td>LM IIIC</td>
<td>Scattered LMIII C sherds; building of Temple A ca. 1020 B.C.</td>
<td>III: Deposit 98</td>
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<td>Sub-Minoan</td>
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<td>IV: Chap. 1.1; Chap. 3.2, Deposit 1; Chaps. 4 &amp; 8, passim</td>
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<td>V: Chap. 3.3, Group 79</td>
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original line. 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. 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). 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. 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.
Middle Minoan IIB Protopalatial Building AA and Its Predecessors

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 Phaistos19 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.
The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Civic Buildings

Trench 86E. Protopalatial Pottery Group A in Chap. 3.2.\textsuperscript{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).

   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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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<td>S 818</td>
<td>Whetstone</td>
<td>37A/63</td>
<td>4.4, 27</td>
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</table>

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. 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.

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.

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\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) 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. 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 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. West of the kiln, however, there was a pebble floor, 3–8 cm thick, laid on MM IB–IIB Early fill. 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. Between column bases and/or end piers the level was maintained. 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. 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.
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.

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
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, Je, Jf, Jg, Jh in Chap. 3.2. Those selected here:


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 loom-weights, 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)**

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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, 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
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16 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). 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 |
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). 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; 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, 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. In the Southern Area, as was the Minoan custom, 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. 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. 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. 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.

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, 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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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).

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. 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. 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, 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). 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, 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).

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 ashlars 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. 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. 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.

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. 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, 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. The resulting mass of reinforced masonry would keep the ashlar blocks below, especially the tall orthostate slabs, in position.

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. 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, 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.


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**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).
**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. 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-
Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T

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.

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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). 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.Originally, there were probably six wooden columns resting on disk-shaped stone bases, or a single pier followed by five columns farther east. 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. 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. 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). 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) 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. 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. 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). 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. 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**

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 8270</td>
<td>Loomweight</td>
<td>62D/83</td>
<td>Chap. 4.2, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 8271</td>
<td>Loomweight</td>
<td>62D/83</td>
<td>Chap. 4.2, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 8313</td>
<td>Loomweight</td>
<td>62D/92</td>
<td>Chap. 4.2, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaster group from Space 42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chap. 2.2, Table 2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faunal Group 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chap. 4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S 1544</td>
<td>Pierced stone weight</td>
<td>53A/40</td>
<td>Chap. 4.4, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2101</td>
<td>Cobble</td>
<td>53A/40</td>
<td>Not catalogued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faunal Group 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chap. 4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. 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. 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 ashlars (Pl. 1.62, left) was set east-west along the line of the colonnade. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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. 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 western 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 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.6
of North Stoa

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 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.8
North Stoa, Space 16

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).

O F  T H E  N O R T H  S T O A  ( L M  I B ,  L A T E )

Room 16 (Pl. 1.60)
+3.21–3.25 m

Trench 42A. Pottery Group 34 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,
Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T

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. 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. 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. . . . 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 m 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, 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. 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. 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.

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.
Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T

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 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. 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. 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? Level-wise, 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.

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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.\(^\text{142}\)

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.\(^\text{143}\) 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]....\(^\text{144}\) 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. Slab floors were found in E and I. 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’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. 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.

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). 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.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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<td>97E/58</td>
<td>Chap. 4.2, 63</td>
</tr>
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<td>C 10376</td>
<td>Loomweight</td>
<td>97E/55</td>
<td>Chap. 4.2, 16</td>
</tr>
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<td>C 10377</td>
<td>Loomweight</td>
<td>97E/60</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Loomweight</td>
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<td>Schist bars</td>
<td>97E/55</td>
<td>Chap. 4.4, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2297</td>
<td>Schist bars</td>
<td>97E/58</td>
<td>Chap. 4.4, 67</td>
</tr>
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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\textsuperscript{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 hillside 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. 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. 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).

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. 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. 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. The possibility that they were discarded from copper-making operations is slight, since there is no evidence for metalworking in the immediate area. 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.
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. 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. 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), 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. Aside from the plaster fragments inventoried, there were a few possible clay mold fragments, spiral copper strips, and a fine bronze chisel.
Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan I Neopalatial Building T

**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. 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. 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. 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. 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 has a rectangular cutting (0.26 × 0.36 × 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, 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. Evidence of a foundation trench was discovered along this northern face.

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. 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. 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.

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). 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. 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). 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. 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 Kom- mian 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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 ashlers 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.

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<th>B</th>
<th>Flat strips</th>
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<td>Bowl fragment</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Chert flake</td>
<td>36A/12</td>
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<td>Cobble</td>
<td>36A/12</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Faunal Group 47</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Plaster group in Lower Deposit in Space</td>
<td>Chap. 2.2, Table 2.1</td>
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A similar miscellany of small finds comes from the fill below Court 6 and Room 4:
Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P

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

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<td>62A/8</td>
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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 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.1
s(south) and 5 n(orth)

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). 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, or within an enclosure, or within a room later filled in. 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 amorphoroid 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
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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. 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. 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 Chap. 2.2, Table 2.5
and underlying strata

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.
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**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 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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 |
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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.
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. 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). 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.

As it continues west here, the northern wall of P1 changes character dramatically, from cours ed 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. On this level 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 ashlar blocks between them. Immediately above the krepidoma a long chase was left for horizontal beams—the wall, of course, was thinner at this point. 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. The only exception to this general approach is found in the western end of the wall, where there were more large ashlar blocks than usual, without wooden framing, which were carefully squared on the west. Timber framing was used as far south as the common wall between Galleries 3 and 4 (= P3/4) after which, apparently, 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. 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. 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. 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 ashlar blocks were set above and below smaller groups of slabs (P1, Pls. 1.78A–D and 1.79), whereas in P1/2 ashlar blocks were reserved for the foundation course and the lower part of the wall (Pl. 1.99, upper right; Pl. 1.100, upper left). In P3/4 the ashlars, very neatly arranged, were also laid as part of the first course after the krepidoma. 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. 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 ashlar blocks 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).

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. 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.

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. 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). 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
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 IIIIB 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

GALLER Y 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
Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P

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:

<table>
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<th>Code</th>
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<td>B 400a</td>
<td>Chisel</td>
<td>97e/30</td>
<td>Chap. 4.1, 8</td>
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<td>B 400b</td>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>97e/30</td>
<td>Chap. 4.1, 3</td>
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<td>C 10338</td>
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<td>S 2293</td>
<td>Stone tool</td>
<td>97e/34</td>
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<td>Faunal Group 67a</td>
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The only clearly defined floors of P2 on the west were at +3.30–3.42 m (Pls. 1.68, 1.100). 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. 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 seagoing ships, and it can be shown that the stone of which they were made is not Crete but, rather, Syrian or Cypriot. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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<td>Reused anchor</td>
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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.

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:
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). 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. The ovens in P2 and P3, however, are unusually large and had much greater capacity than those elsewhere at Kommos. 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, 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.

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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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). 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.

Of P4, although its sidewalls are preserved, so its width of 5.19 m is known, only one floor
Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P

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:

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<td>Loop</td>
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**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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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
Late Minoan IIIA2–B Postpalatial Buildings N and P

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{283}

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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<td>Flake</td>
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<td>S 577</td>
<td>Rectangular basin</td>
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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 ashlers 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.) Trench 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 II/IIA2 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.
Architectural Blocks, Mason’s Marks, and Column Bases from the Southern Area

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.

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.

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 Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Civic Buildings

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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.


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.

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.

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 ashlar set above them. Perhaps the herringbone pattern occurs here in a Neopalatial context simply because of mason’s whim.

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.

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, a close parallel being one from Anemospilia, Archanes.

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.

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

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


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.

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.


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).

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

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). 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.

With eight (of twelve) bases preserved, they can also be studied with care. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Length* (m)</th>
<th>Depth** (m)</th>
<th>Facing</th>
<th>Intercolumniation</th>
<th>Column/ Pillar/Pier Arrangement</th>
<th>Base Diameter (m)</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aghia Triada</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LMI stoa on NE corner</td>
<td>LM I</td>
<td>Freestanding?</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>2.00–2.10</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>0.80; 1.60 at ends</td>
<td>5 square pillars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building F/G</td>
<td>LM III</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>18.20</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>2 of 7 cols. preserved</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>2 attached rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercato</td>
<td>LM IIIA2</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>45.00</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>9 columns, 8 pillars alternating</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>8 attached rooms; stairs; two storeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kommos Building T</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM II? MM III</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>23.24</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>3.25; at W end 3.71(?) at E end ca. 3.22</td>
<td>6 columns, between wall-end piers</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>No rear rooms but access From E and W rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM II MM III</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>23.13</td>
<td>5.29 average</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>3.25–3.33; at W end 3.25; at E end 3.31</td>
<td>6 columns, between wall-end piers</td>
<td>0.49 average</td>
<td>No rear rooms; interior access from E; stairs to E and W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Malia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chrysolakkos</td>
<td>MM IB/II</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>38.50</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>7 of 10 pillars preserved</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>No side walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM III?</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>27.78</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1.52–2.83</td>
<td>11 columns</td>
<td>0.53–0.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM III?</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>31.35</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>2.49–2.71</td>
<td>6 columns, 7 pillars alternating</td>
<td>0.55–0.65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Phase</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Width</td>
<td>Height</td>
<td>Depth</td>
<td>Exterior Dimension</td>
<td>Interior Dimension</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaistos</td>
<td>West side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM III</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>51.70</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>15 (of 18) columns</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>Foundations only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East side of Central Court</td>
<td>MM III</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>51.70</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>8 piers preserved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrgos</td>
<td>LM I</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rear room(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyllios</td>
<td>LM III</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>1.00; 1.20 to 2 of 7 bases preserved</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>Possible bench</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vathypetro</td>
<td>LM I</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.70; 1.94</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>Faces tripartite shrine in court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakros</td>
<td>LM I</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>Freestanding</td>
<td>9.61</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>4.14; 1.58 to 2 columns</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>Has bench</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interior dimension

*Other edge of column base/pier to inner wall
The Architecture and Stratigraphy of the Civic Buildings

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. 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.

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. 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. 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.

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.


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 publications 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 3AA2/63, 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 h), one of these definite pre-T walls is shown (it continues below both of the later walls superposed on it).

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).


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, +2.95 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. 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 un-excavated area east of the Kommos site.

47. 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).


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.


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.


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 ceramic-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.

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.


101. See Chap. 1.3.


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 west-east 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 (in Trench 62C), suggesting that another 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 p-shaped patterns seen 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
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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 1996c: 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, cobbles (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).


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. 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.

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 cobbles (S 1634 from 57A/22) and P 128 (from 57A/25), along with Pottery Group 25. There are also three loom-weights, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T room/space</th>
<th>State Plan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C = 26 = %P1</td>
<td>Foldout A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D = 51 %P1, %P2</td>
<td>Foldout A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E = 27 %P2</td>
<td>Foldout B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F = 28 P3</td>
<td>Foldout B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G = 35 %P3, %P4</td>
<td>Pl. 1.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H = 50 %P4, %P5</td>
<td>Pl. 1.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I = 36 P5</td>
<td>Foldout C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J = 43 P6</td>
<td>Foldout C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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.


170. It is tempting to connect their manufacture with bronze-working in the North Stoa during LM IB.

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.


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 on-shore 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 asharl 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 asharl blocks strewn on the higher levels were probably reused in the later structure. Distinguishing between the more carefully laid, original LM I asharl masonry and parts of walls rebuilt with asharl 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 asharl blocks were often plastered.

206. This type of finishing, unusual on the site during LM III, provides an attractive transition between asharl and slab masonry. It can also indicate a transition between an exterior (the asharl) and an interior (slabs/rubble). It may imply that the westernmost part of the asharls 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).


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) 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 $0.57 \times 0.25$ 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 Potterynear the entrance.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 9531</th>
<th>Crucible fragment</th>
<th>84C/48</th>
<th>Chap. 4.1, 78</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 9532</td>
<td>Figurine fragment</td>
<td>84C/48</td>
<td>Chap. 4.6, Sc11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S 2188</td>
<td>Pebble pendant</td>
<td>84C/48</td>
<td>Chap. 4.3, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.


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); Arkhano (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).


287. Knossos (Evans 1921: 394; 1928: 903–4, fig. 878, not defined how many side sprays); Paphos (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); Archelos (Sakellarakis and 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 Petra, 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.


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.


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
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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 façade 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 façades). 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.