EXCAVATIONS AT KOMMOS (CRETE) DURING 1981

(PLATES 48-56)

Summary
During our sixth season1 at Kommos (20 June-27 August) we studied specific Late Minoan (LM) III rooms on the hilltop but concentrated on clearing more of the Middle Minoan (MM) houses on the hillside. In the Greek Sanctuary to the south Iron Age levels around the three superposed temples discovered in earlier seasons were further investigated, and in the process a large, bone-filled altar was exposed east of Temple B. In the Minoan strata underlying this entire southern area we confirmed that in LM I the monumental Minoan buildings there faced south upon a large court, while on the north they were bordered by a wide paved road which started at the seashore.2

1 The excavation is being carried out by the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, with the cooperation of the Greek Archaeological Service. Financial support for 1981 was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Grant 410-78-0590-X3), the University of Toronto, and the Royal Ontario Museum as well as the SCM Corporation of New York and Leon Pomerance (with the cooperation of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology). Kodak Canada, Ltd. provided the requisite film.

Full-time staff during the sixth season at Kommos consisted of the Director, representing the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum; Professor Philip Betancourt, Temple University; Professor John McEnroe, University of Virginia (formerly of Indiana University); Professor Maria C. Shaw, Scarborough College, University of Toronto; Professor L. Vance Watrous, the State University of New York at Buffalo; Professor James C. Wright, Bryn Mawr College. Also present were the following former or present students at the University of Toronto: Giuliana Bianco, excavation architect and artist; Lucia Nixon (presently at the University of Cambridge), Jacqueline Phillips, and Steven Shubert. Of the above, McEnroe, M. Shaw, Shubert, and Wright worked as trenchmasters, as did Mary K. Dabney of Columbia University. George Beladakis of Pitsidia was foreman again, in charge of some twenty workmen from Pitsidia.

Major contributions were made during the summer by Katherine A. Schwab, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University (in the cataloguing department); Peter Callaghan, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne (working on pottery, along with Professors Betancourt and Watrous); Dr. Harriet Blitzer, Canisius College (studying bone, metal, and stone tools); David Reese, University of Cambridge (examining bone and shell). On the technical side were Catherine Sease, Metropolitan Museum of Art (conservation) and Taylor Dabney (photography). J. Phillips and Valerie Gilmore helped with both cataloguing and pottery profiles; Lori Grove, student with the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, specialized in profiles. During the previous winter Ms. Phillips worked as Kommos Research Assistant. Thanks are also to be extended to Professor John Gifford, University of Minnesota (geology), and Frank deMita, Haverford College, for help during their brief visits. Mary Betancourt's purchasing missions to Mires were invaluable; John Betancourt and Robin Shaw gave occasional valuable help in the storeroom.

To all the above I am deeply indebted, as I am to Marian McAllister for her careful editing of the yearly Kommos preliminary reports in Hesperia.

The plans and illustrations for this report were made by Giuliana Bianco (with the exception of Fig. 4, by Jacqueline Phillips). Object photographs and Pl. 53:f are by Taylor Dabney; the remaining site photographs were taken by the author.


The following special abbreviation will be used:
MAMAT = J. W. Shaw, Minoan Architecture, Materials and Techniques (ASAtene 33, 1971), Rome 1973
Fig. 1. General plan of the Kommos site (1981), by Giuliana Bianco
THE HILLOP
(Trenches 39A, B; Fig. 1, Pl. 50:a, b)

Only two brief probes were made on the hilltop. One, involving partial removal of an LM IIIB floor, was prompted by two chance finds within the same room (Room 13b) along the partly eroded edge of the steep seaside cliff before excavation began. The finds were a large bronze chisel (B 9 in Pl. 50:a) and a long bronze instrument (B 185) with a hole pierced in it. Perhaps the latter is a needle such as those used for mending nets or leatherworking. In the process of clearing the floor a second, smaller chisel (B 198) was found, as well as a whetstone (S 895), a fishhook (B 196), and a stone seal (Pl. 50:b), the last formed of a small beach pebble subdivided into four segments. It would seem that Room 13b (and perhaps 13a originally) was at one point a workshop facing onto the sea, where an artisan kept fishing equipment, wood- or stoneworking chisels, and a whetstone to sharpen his points or blades.

A series of probes (Trench 39B) was made within the North House, in Rooms N 3, N 13, and N 18, in order to investigate further the stratigraphic and architectural relationships between two superposed houses. One result is that we learned that the bases of the walls of the earlier building, set on bedrock, are associated with LM IA pottery, possibly giving us the relative construction date. Subsequently some rooms, such as N 13, were filled with a dump when the general level was raised for the new building. The pottery here is of LM I date with an occasional LM III A sherd, suggesting that the upper building may be slightly later than we originally thought. From this dump came sherds of a White Shaved Cypriot (?) jug (C 4651 in Pl. 50:d), the first of this type of imported ware reported from the site and perhaps from Crete itself.

THE CENTRAL HILLSIDE
(Trenches 40A and A1, 41A and A1, 45)

During the previous season, clearing east of the excavated LM I-LM IIIB house on the hillside had exposed a number of MM rooms without significant LM re-use. Our intention in continuing excavation here, especially to the north, was to expose most if not all of a single MM III house and thus finish our investigation on the hillside. Unfortunately a tangle of superposed LM and MM levels and walls do not permit the recovery of a single, coherent plan. On the other hand; a few interconnecting structures and a number of significant objects, especially pottery, were retrieved in this complex area. Also, superposition of floors provided unusually clear layers of MM occupation. Having investigated these we then turned our attention to the area south of the LM I-IIIB house, where the discovery of an entire series of some 14 MM rooms belonging to a single house fulfilled the hope that we originally had for the area east of the LM house.

---

3 See Kommos, 1978, fig. 2:c.
4 For other seals from the site see Kommos, 1978, pl. 53:d (S 78) and Kommos, 1980, pl. 51:f-h (S.713).
5 Chisels used for forming stone and wood are discussed in MAMAT, pp. 70-75.
7 Another fragment of a Canaanite jar (C 4646) was found in the east-west road south of the house (cf. Kommos, 1980, pp. 246-247). For comparative material from Cyprus and further east, see Ruth Amiran, Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, New Brunswick, N. J. 1970, p. 173; Paul Astrom, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV, IC, Lund 1972, pp. 221-225 and fig. LVIII. See also footnote 86 below.
EXCAVATION ON THE EAST (Fig. 2; Pls. 49:a, b, 50:d-h, 51:e, f)

After removal of the upper level of fill, along with a late retaining wall, we found to our surprise that essentially all the area had been re-used extensively during LM III. During that time there had been a handsome north-south stairway leading down to the south onto a landing. East of the stairway the excavated contexts are quite complex, with at least nine periods of use: MM IB, MM II (early and late), MM III (early, intermediate, late), LM IIIA2, and LM IIIB (early and late). While LM I pottery was common in the later levels, no definite level of that period was isolated, probably because of the later LM intrusions.

The three earliest levels disclosed9 are stratigraphically and stylistically definable.10 The first, MM III, is represented by a floor packing recovered when the later pithos shown in Plate 50:g, h was removed. In the deposit was only a little wheelmade pottery, handmade ware being more common. There were numerous bowls, some barbotine ware, and red and white polychrome painted sherds. The painted motifs, often angular, are relatively simple in comparison with later designs. The second deposit (Pl. 50:e), of MM IIA style, was recovered from a layer in Spaces 35 and 36; it continued below the later wall bordering Space 35 on the north (Pl. 49:a). This deposit represents the first time that a substantial level of this period has been clearly defined at Kommos, and in a general way suggests a more precise stylistic definition for this phase in the Messara than has been possible in the past. Much of the pottery, with wheelmade pieces accounting for the great majority of the fine ware, is similar to that from Room IL in the Early Palace at Phaistos, e.g. the hydria (C 4391) with dark-on-light floral designs or the type of barbotine ware (C 4394) called "barnacle work" by Evans.11 In both contexts the ornaments are simple and often rather stiff, but red and orange are already used alongside white ornament and the earliest Kamares Ware motifs have begun to appear (C 4494, C 4495 and C 4500 in Pl. 50:e). Above this deposit was a somewhat more mixed one of MM IIB date, rather like a massive dump, with many fragments of Kamares Ware with brilliant decoration including rosettes with painted petals, rows of pointed petals, dot bands, zigzags and multiple quirks.12

Most of the walls south of Room 35 (see Pl. 49:a) belong to the MM III period when Room 38 was rather like a paved platform facing east onto Room 39, itself then partly open to Space 30 on the south. To this phase belongs the group of pots, all found upside down, shown in Plate 51:a, as well as C 4680 and S 1112 (Pl. 49:b). Round, white discolorations on two of the slabs (Pl. 49:b) may have been left there by pots. Room 38 was approached from the south by a corridor (29) excavated in 1980.13 Before this passageway was blocked on the south the corridor had also led to Room 28. No floor was found in 28, however, so it is possible that one went up

---

9 Below the lowest point reached may be earlier levels, for EM pottery was found near by to the south in a deep sounding excavated during 1980 (Kommos, 1980, pp. 216-217). The general area, as well as the MM rooms to the southwest, will be described only summarily.

10 This sequence of three deposits has been studied by Philip Betancourt, upon whose preliminary study this brief description, as well as that of the other MM pottery in the area, has been based. The three deposits which help clarify connections between Kommos and Phaistos are MM IB (Kommos Deposit A-E), MM IIA (Kommos Deposit B-F), and MM IIB (Kommos Deposit B-H). According to Betancourt, the first is compatible with Period IA of the Early Palace at Phaistos; the second and third are related to successive periods within Phase IB of the same palace.

11 See Doro Levi, Festos e la civiltà minoica, Rome 1976 (Incunabula Graeca LX), pls. 83:b (cf. our C 4391), 91:c, f, and 92:f (cf. our C 4394).

12 The deposit extends into an MM 11 house on the north. Two walls of this house were found in Space 36.

Fig. 2. The Minoan hillside houses on the east, by Giuliana Bianco
one or more steps from 29 into 28. The original floor, at a higher level, has simply been eroded away.  

Long afterwards, perhaps after the LM I occupation (which has not, however, left clear stratigraphic traces), a pithos was set into Room 38 (Pl. 49:a, lower left). The jar and Space 38 were covered over, however, when in LM III the wall shown on the far right in Plate 49:a was built, as well as the stairway and landing along the west. The base of the wall was lined with vertical slabs, an impromptu dado. Within the room itself a thick, raised floor of tamped earth was laid in during this major renovation of the entire area. Pithos 4634 (Pl. 50:g, h) and a curious cylindrical vessel (Pl. 49:a, lower right, C 4633) were set into this floor, originally with their rims at floor level (as in Pl. 50:g). Both vessels were found covered with flat slabs but, unfortunately, were empty. The slab covering C 4634, however, was coated on the underside with a layer of a thick, damp, black substance, and the lower surface of the stone was somewhat eaten away, reflecting the corrosive action of the original contents of the pithos (perhaps wine that had turned to vinegar?). Found approximately in the middle of this almost square room (ca. 3.75 x 4.00 m.) was a substantial deposit of fragmentary, LM IIIB domestic pottery (including a sherd from a Cypriot White Slip II vase [C 3947]; Pl. 50:d), numerous cobbles, a whetstone (S 942), a quern (S 941), bronze instruments (e.g. a fine large chisel [B 212]), shell fragments, carbonized seeds, and much charcoal. A burnt mound of clay here certainly indicates the position of a hearth, one with numerous periods of use to judge from the multiple burnt floor levels found below it. Not far from the hearth was found a cobbble of emery (S 903), the first time that this material, probably imported from the islands to the north, has been recognized at Kommos.

The stairway (34) bordering this room on the west, built of long, irregular slabs of limestone with straight edges, has four steps preserved (Fig. 2). It descended from the north onto the paved landing which, on the east, led down three more steps into the room just described (38). To the west of the landing one walked down a rough earthen ramp into Space 21, a horseshoe-shaped room that was partly excavated in 1978.

Like the room on the east, this was also lined with slabs set on edge, a technique peculiar to LM IIIB walls in this area. The space seems to have been used for the pressing of grapes or of olives. Evidence for this function lies partly in the stone platform in the northeast corner next to the stairs, but particularly in the large, spouted stone press (S 1290, carved from a triangular slab) found tilted on its side and leaning up against the platform (Pl. 51:e). Later we repositioned the slab upon the platform (Pl. 51:f), with its spout set above a low platform of earth where the base of a storage vessel had been found, probably the same vessel that caught the liquid pouring out from the press. Remains of a tall jar (C 3883), cooking and other household pots, plus numerous carbonized olive pits complement the remains here. This situation is quite similar to that in one of the LM houses on the hilltop, although the press there was actually found

---

14 This room, as we thought when it was partially cleared during 1980, was built at least partly upon the stubs of earlier walls. Hoping that we could recover the contents of the lower room, we cleared it (as Trench 40A1), but expectations were not fulfilled since the earth throughout was MM III in date. Not even a trace of a pre-MM III floor was uncovered. After retrieving a number of mendable vessels in the fill, we terminated excavation at +9.80 m. when we reached the sand that underlies much of this part of the site. Perhaps Room 28 was first used as a cellar during MM 111, and the filling was made shortly after.

15 Another pithos, also set into a floor, was found in the neighboring LM I-IIII building to the west (Kommos, 1976, p. 230 and pl. 55:b).

16 Kommos, 1978, pp. 158-159 and fig. 3, p. 156. An industrial function was suspected at the time. A cross join between C 3883, a nearly complete LM IIIB jar found in Room 21, and pot 7, found in the eastern room near the hearth, shows that the two rooms were being used at the same time.
upon its platform. Together, the two presses add considerably to our understanding of the 
domestic economy at the Kommos site during LM III, when such items were probably rather 
common in the houses, and might be considered analogous with modern equipment in many 
Cretan village houses nowadays.

In an earlier part of its history the room with the press extended further to the west, prior 
to the time when a small, square room (19) was built over it. Room 19 may have been built when 
21 had already been filled in. On the other hand, 19 may have been in use when 21 was being 
used for the processing of wine, and thus the former, although at a much higher level, a 
may have been a storage room for grapes, wine, and wine-making equipment.

EXCAVATION ON THE SOUTH: THE "HOUSE OF THE RHYTA" (Figs. 3, 4; Pls. 48:b, 50:c, d, 
f, 51:a-d, 52:a-g)

During past seasons we had excavated along the southern border of the LM I-III house 
and had found in Space 7b an LM II dump of some importance overlying rooms of an MM III 
building then poorly defined. To the east we were fortunate to find an MM storeroom essentially 
intact, abandoned after an apparent site-wide earthquake in MM III. In 1981 with three trenches 
(41A, 41A1 and 45A) we joined these two areas and found that the MM rooms really belong to a 
single house, one significantly larger than the LM house which was later set at a higher level 
over the northernmost MM rooms.

In the upper, LM levels of the fill above the newly excavated rooms (Fig. 3; Pl. 48:b) we 
recovered more but scattered remains of the LM II dump already mentioned, as well as a fine 
double-axe of bronze (Pl. 50:f) and a small gold bead (Pl. 50:c), both probably misplaced by the 
occupants of the LM house. A number of fragments of Cypriot and Canaanite vases were 
recovered from these upper layers as well (e.g. Pl. 50:d; C 3729, C 4470, C 4580, C 4937). As 
we did not find any significant LM constructions, we were easily able to clear down to the MM 
rooms.

On the west, Space 43 (Pl. 51:b) was excavated down to bedrock. Its present western 
border is the LM retaining wall built alongside the "Rampa dal Mare", the MM/LM road along 
the edge of the cliffside. Thus when the MM house was being used 43 would have extended 
farther west, probably merging with the road itself, in an area on the hillslope outside the MM 
house. The first real "room" of this house is Room 44, Z-shaped as seen in plan (Fig. 3) and built 
up on the west by strong retaining walls that elevated its floor some 0.80 meters above the 
bedrock slope below. In its present shape (the construction of the walls along its western edge 
suggests that more than one building period is involved), the room appears rather like a long 
corridor extending eastward beyond the excavated area where it may link up with Rooms 48 and 
49, the difference of 0.50 m. in their relative heights being made up either by a ramp or a few 
steps.

---

17 Kommos, 1977, p. 119 and pl. 35:a, b.
18 The floor of 19 (at +12.75 m.) was considerably higher than that of 21 (at +11.50 m.). For Room 19, see 
Kommos, 1979, fig. 2.
19 Kommos, 1976, pp. 231-235; Kommos, 1977, pp. 120-129,165-170 (for the dump); and Kommos, 1979, 
pp. 211-218 (the storeroom).
Scattered without discernible order upon the rough floor\(^20\) of Room 44 were some 14 mendable pots, including bridge-spouted vases, one upside down in a corner (C 5099, Pl. 51:c), a number of conical cups, a jar (C 5103), a globular rhyton (C 5100), and an alabastron-shaped rhyton (C 5107), all of the same MM III (Post-Kamares) style that characterizes the final phase of the house. There was no sign of massive burning here (or in any of the other MM rooms excavated), but the southern wall of 44, which tilts inward, may be supporting evidence for the theory of earthquake collapse originally suggested to us by the condition of the storeroom (25) to the east.

On the upper level to the northeast of 44 are Rooms 7b/8,\(^{21}\) 9, 45, and 42. In 1976 a piriform rhyton was found in Room 8,\(^{22}\) and in Room 9 another rhyton was found in the midst of a substantial amount of pottery.\(^{23}\) The floor of 7b/8 has been largely eroded away, but a few slabs (Pl. 51:d, above the meter stick) may indicate its original level, some 0.35 meters higher than Room 45 on the south. The wall that separated the two rooms is largely missing now, but a cutting in bedrock may indicate its position (Fig. 3). Room 45 (Pl. 51:d), originally ca. 2.75 m. (north-south) by ca. 3.05 m. (east-west), had a floor partially formed of koûskouras bedrock, sloping down from +10.27 m. on the north to +10.10 m. on the south. Four stone cobbles were on it, while large stone slabs were set in its two southern corners, presumably serving as seats. North of each seat was an upside-down, bridge-spouted jar. In the southeastern corner was a stone bowl (S 1234) with a lovely leaf pattern around the rim. West of Room 45 is a small room, 42, which was once an accessory space for 45, but which was blocked up with a north-south wall before the time that the MM house was abandoned.

Room 46 (see especially Pl. 52:a) next door on the east was accessible from 45 before its only entrance, on the northwest, was also blocked. Before the blocking it seems to have served as a storeroom,\(^{24}\) largely cleared out before being abandoned. Along its walls we found slabs, which, given the size of the room and the position of C 5098 on a slab, probably served for resting pots, rather than for sitting. Within were found a variety of odds and ends: eight stone tools (chiefly cobbles), the base of a pithos (C 5098) and a conical cup (C 5096), both upside down, and near by a basin (C 5097). There was also a loomweight (C 4942) and part of a burnished lamp (C 5094).

Communication east of the rooms just described may have been through Room 9 into Room 27; but, for the moment at least, we do not want to undermine the LM I-III house which extends over the north side of both rooms. It is, nevertheless, tempting to suggest a doorway at that point, probably on the same line as that proposed for the entrance between 25 and 47, at the only point in Room 25 where we have not been able to excavate.

Rooms 24, 47, 48, and 49 (Fig. 3) form a unit to which we should also add 50, still unexcavated, in the scarp to the east. The floor of 47, of the green clayish soil (lepidolite), had little on it save a jug (C 4569), a pithos cover (C 4572), a burnished cooking pot with small feet (C 4571), and a scatter of sherds with stamped decoration (C 4570). Below the floor were earlier

\(^{20}\) Another possibility is that 44 is a platform designed, with its retaining walls, to provide support at a lower level on the south. Thus 44 might be a walled platform above the sloping hillside, below the roofed rooms to the north. Below the floor described in the text was another, partially set on bedrock (koûskouras), with mixed MM II and MM III sherds upon it as well as a loomweight (C 5035), a steatite lid for a stone jar (S 1301), a few MM III cups, and a bridge-spouted jar (C 5116).

\(^{21}\) 7a and 8 are one MM room, separated at the upper level by a later LM wall.

\(^{22}\) Kommos, 1976, pl. 53:d (C 92).

\(^{23}\) Kommos, 1977, pl. 37:b (C 123). For Room 9, see Kommos, 1979, fig. 2.

\(^{24}\) In an earlier phase 46 might also have contained a stairway leading to an upper storey or, more likely, the roof.
walls. To the south one stepped down from +10.25 m. onto a rough threshold (Pl. 52:b) into Room 48 which had slab seats and a possible partition wall, with the floor at +9.93 m.

Within Room 48 was a group of stone tools, conical cups, and bridge-spouted vases (Pl. 52:c). Bridge-spouted vase C 4241 was found upside down, upon C 4242, in the northeast corner. The other pots, as well as the stone tools in Plate 52:c, were found in or near what may have been a pit in the floor just south of the threshold25 (Pl. 52:b). All of these pots were either upside down or, as C 4436, covered by another pot. Most surprising, however, was the discovery, on the floor to the south, of a quite elegantly decorated, terracotta bull rhyton (C 4235, Pl. 52:d). Although lacking one horn and part of the face, the head is still extensively preserved and most of the polychrome decoration can be recovered through careful inspection. In Figure 4 the hatched areas indicate added red, used chiefly near the rim. White, plantlike and abstract motifs decorate the muzzle and cheeks. It seems unusual to find so fine a vase as this in an otherwise domestic context, but this is exactly what occurred in 1979 when we excavated Room 25, where numerous rhyta, often beautifully painted, were found alongside pithoi and other vessels.26

Before the doorway on the southeast was blocked, one could walk from Room 48 into 49 and thence directly into 50, where later the entrance was blocked as well. Little was found in 49 save a rough, stone platform in the northeast corner, an upside-down, bridge-spouted jar (C 4120) to the northwest and, also upside down, a tripod cooking pot (C 4119) in the southwest corner, in front of the blocked doorway.

Apparently there was no direct communication between any of these southern rooms and the major storeroom (25) on the north. One would presumably enter 25 either from above or, more likely, from the northern part of 47. The eastern half of Room 25 was excavated in 1979, and so we were not surprised when a number of vases were found in the western half. This group (Pl. 52:e-g) complements those already known. Included were a small pithos (C 3858) just projecting from the still unexcavated scarp, cooking pots (C 3854, C 3857), jugs (C 3851, C 3853, C 3855), a lamp (C 3856), and a bridge-spouted jar (C 3852), as well as some stone tools, bringing the contents of this room to more than 150 vases and sherds catalogued. This is certainly the best preserved and most varied MM III deposit discovered up to this time at Kommos.

The room's contents, with many vases decorated richly in the MM III technique, will make a useful study in the future. Fortunately the study may be advanced as we excavate other rooms of this unusually large MM house, for a number of questions still remain to be asked, if not answered. For instance, where are the other types of vessels (cooking dishes, trays, large open bowls, basins, kalathoi, askoi, braziers, etc.) that would complete an MM III pantry? Or, considering the rhyta found here, five from this room alone and five from other rooms in the house (two from Room 44, one each from Rooms 8, 9, and 41), are we simply to consider them fine ware for everyday occasions rather than religious vessels? Also, why are almost all the pots,

25 The group may also belong to an earlier floor level.
26 Professor Betancourt points out that the fabric of the bull rhyton is typical of MM IIB rather than MM III, as it is well levigated, not gritty as in MM III, and also that the good quality of the black paint suggests the earlier time period. It is possible, therefore, that we are dealing with either an heirloom or a vase which (as unlikely as it may seem to us) had been used in the construction of the walls or the floor packing. Although numerous bull rhyta are known from Crete, we are familiar with two, both from the Early Palace at Phaistos, which are comparable in form and style. One is from the "Cannale sulla roccia", from Phase III of the palace; the other is from Chalara, in a Phase III context (Levi, op. cit. [footnote 11 above], pl. 162:c and color plates 68:a and c [for the former], and pl. 220:i and color plate 84:d [for the latter]).
especially the bridge-spouted vases in other rooms of the house, found upside down, whereas in the general storeroom they were not?

One explanation could be that we are not dealing with the property of a single household but, rather, with that of a number of them and that the residents made a habit of placing pots upside down, or one covering the other, to keep dirt out of them.27 Alternatively, we could theorize that most of the vessels in Room 25 were full of produce and thus upright, perhaps covered by wooden boards which simply disintegrated along with the contents (no pithos or other stone covers were found in the room). Another question, applying generally to the house, concerns the numerous blocked doorways, for they imply that some of the rooms (e.g. 42, 46, 49, 50) went out of use even before the house was deserted, a situation similar to that occurring later in the LM North House on the hilltop. We might ask also, strictly from an architectural point of view, whether we have already found the major rooms for living, or whether there was a second storey. (No stairs have been found so far.) Finally, where was the principal entrance to the house? Perhaps some of these problems will be sorted out by major excavation on the south during coming seasons.

---

27 Upside-down vases have been found in other rooms on the hillside, as in Room 38 (Pl. 51:a); but they are not always the rule (e.g. Kommos, 1977, pl. 37:c).
THE LOWER HILLSIDE (Fig. 5; Pl. 48:a)

During the previous season we had discovered that the Classical/Hellenistic temple (Temple "C") rested upon a predecessor of Geometric-through-Orientalizing date ("B") and that this temple was built in turn upon an earlier one ("A") of Protogeometric date. It also became clear that the underlying Minoan levels here were quite important, with construction on a monumental scale similar to that of the LM I building "J" west of the temples. In 1981 our aim was to excavate on all sides of the superposed temples in order to clarify further aspects of structures and stratigraphic sequences. During this work post-Minoan levels in the immediate areas were rigorously investigated. In the case of the Minoan buildings it is clear that further excavation is necessary to understand their general configuration and original function(s).

THE MINOAN LEVELS (Lower strata of Trenches 42A, 43A, 44A and 44B)

As noted above, the prehistoric remains continue below and on all sides of the Greek Sanctuary. They form the southern, probably civic portion of the Minoan town, a town that continues at least 100 meters north of the excavation area (Fig. 1) and an unknown distance to the east and south. Only along the shoreline can we define the town's limits with any certainty.

The East-West Road (Figs. 5-7, 9, Pls. 53:a-f, 54:a, 55:f)

It was already known in 1979 that the great doorway of Building J faced upon a paved area, and it was theorized then that waves from the sea, rolling in from the west, had dislodged many of the paving slabs, causing some of them to slide down toward the beach. Some were even elevated by the waves, to be pushed eastward on top of undisturbed parts of the pavement (Pl. 53:a). Thus we were not surprised during the past summer, when we excavated a large, L-shaped trench, to find the area north and northeast of J to be paved with large, irregular slabs of limestone. It was of special satisfaction, however, that the surface turned out to be part of a wide and important east-west road. After recording and studying the bedrock slope here, part of the western section of the road has been reconstituted, often with the original slabs, up to the point to which Building J has been preserved on the west (Pl. 54:a). A heavy, modern retaining wall on the west will at least postpone further erosion.

About nine meters of the road have been exposed so far, from in front of J eastward to where the road runs below the Greek temples. The road was originally set on and into bedrock; at places bedrock even forms part of the road surface. Where slabs of the roadway are slightly higher than neighboring ones, the edges of the former are smooth and shiny, well worn by the feet of people and beasts of burden that passed to and from the seashore. Over its length, the road slopes down gradually from +2.66 to +2.57 m., toward the sea. It also has a marked inclination (average difference in elevation 0.08 m.) down to the north (Fig. 7), probably a clever part of the original design to enable run-off water to flow into the open drain, ca. 0.55 m. wide, along the northern side of the road. Including the drain, the road averages 2.85 m. in width. This drain was excavated from the bedrock and was about 0.30 meters deep. Its southern side was

---

29 J was excavated during several seasons (Kommos, 1979, pp. 237-243; Kommos, 1980, pp. 218-224).
30 Kommos, 1979, p. 239 and fig. 12.
31 It is interesting to note here that although continued use is evident from the wear, there are no traces of ruts or smoothed areas left by the passage of carts. Although we know that the Minoans possessed carts at least from as early on as MM I (MAMAT, p. 44), there seems to be no trace of them here nor do I know of any Minoan site, palatial or domestic, where cart ruts appear.
Fig. 5. General period plan of the Greek sanctuary area, by Giuliana Bianco
bordered by a rough wall of slabs upon which were set the edges of the northermost paving slabs of the road. Along the northern side of the drain was built a heavy retaining wall of slabs (Pl. 53:b) of which four courses are preserved, its construction being quite similar to the MM masonry style found elsewhere on the Kommos site. This wall was set into the bedrock slope, for at the one point tested, the bedrock on the north is 0.17 m. higher than the road itself. No trace of a floor was found within this "room" of Building K, although on the western side of a northsouth retaining wall (Pl. 53:b, left), near where the road's pavement had been eroded away, portions of a pebble floor show that there were once rooms, now destroyed by the sea, north of the road.

As portions of the road's drain were excavated they filled up with ground water, even during the dry summer excavation season, and there is little doubt that when the channel is completely cleared in the future a trickle of fresh water will run through it, year round, down to the sea. Perhaps this same situation pertained in antiquity, with ground water flowing to the southwest above the impermeable clay bedrock (*kouskouras*) during all times of the year. A similar situation exists south of Building J.\footnote{Our geologist, Dr. John Gifford, suggests that a major function of the drain was to collect rain water from all the hillslope and hilltop paved streets that descended into this area. To catch this fresh water next to the road and southwest of J, we are in the process of building channels and catch basins. This will prevent erosion of the ancient slope and will also once more make the water, which had flowed unseen below the sand into the sea ever since the end of the Minoan period, available either for drinking or for the eventual planting of trees and shrubs on the site.} It is reasonable to expect that the road's channel served as the chief conduit that removed run-off water from this part of the hillside. It is also possible that at some point to the east the Minoans fashioned a formal catch basin for the water and that it was from there that the town drew its supply.\footnote{It is clear, however, that south of the road just described there has been a rise of at least 0.30 m. in the level of the local water table.} This might explain why wells have not yet been found at the Kommos site. In an analogous manner, but along the shore to the west, a basin could have been set to supply the ships as well as the men and beasts of burden engaged in activities there.

At some point in the history of the roadway a steep, stepped path bordered by coarse, rubble retaining walls was built up from it (Pl. 53:a-f). The rough nature of the path suggests that it served as a short-cut to the shore, used by residents of the town who lived north of the road. It would also have served fishermen or sailors coming from the sea, laden with fish or tackle. In order to get to their homes on the north they would have climbed up this path and then ascended the "Rampa dal Mare" which bordered the hillside houses on the west during the MM and LM periods.\footnote{The steep path here was discovered during the first excavation season and portions of it have been excavated since (*Kommos*, 1976, p. 223, figs. 4, 5; 1980, p. 213 and pl. 50:e). The latest sherds on and around the step blocks were of LM IIIB date (Pails 83 and 85, Trench 43A). See also below, p. 184.} The stepped path branching off from the recently discovered road may be largely LM III in construction as we see it in Plate 53:e.\footnote{*Kommos*, 1977, pp. 146-147, fig. 7 and pl. 40:e, d (Trench 14A1); see also *Kommos*, 1978, fig. 6. It was theorized in 1977 that this Minoan ramp was the chief road leading up from the harbor. This is still possible if one assumes a more imposing passage than the one found, either through or over the MM retaining wall north of the roadway. Such a passage could underlie the LM III pathway just described or, more likely, is not far to the east, below Greek Building A1. Unfortunately, A1 was founded (at this point) upon a deep layer of sand, and to avoid imminent collapse of its foundations we were forced to build a heavy wall here, with the base of the modern wall set upon the Minoan roadway (this wall is visible in Pl. 54:a). Thus the area just east of the modern wall is essentially} Below it, however, we may find earlier phases that can be linked with the MM/LM I ramp and roadway discovered just to the north in 1977.\footnote{*Kommos*, 1977, pp. 146-147, fig. 7 and pl. 40:e, d (Trench 14A1); see also *Kommos*, 1978, fig. 6. It was theorized in 1977 that this Minoan ramp was the chief road leading up from the harbor. This is still possible if one assumes a more imposing passage than the one found, either through or over the MM retaining wall north of the roadway. Such a passage could underlie the LM III pathway just described or, more likely, is not far to the east, below Greek Building A1. Unfortunately, A1 was founded (at this point) upon a deep layer of sand, and to avoid imminent collapse of its foundations we were forced to build a heavy wall here, with the base of the modern wall set upon the Minoan roadway (this wall is visible in Pl. 54:a). Thus the area just east of the modern wall is essentially}
Where the paved road disappears below the later temples, the MM retaining wall bordering it on the north juts out 0.40 m. to the south and then continues east along this line but in a slightly more northeasterly direction than before. More than likely, the road continues in this direction for some distance, as shown by the results of a deep sounding in Trench 44B, made just south of the large, rectangular hearth within the Greek Building A1, north of Temple C (Fig. 5). There we found a heavy, east-west retaining wall (top at +3.55 m.), linked on the north to a wide (1.08-1.15 m.), north-south wall of uncertain function. These walls share, as far as one can see, the new orientation of the MM retaining wall on the east. The Minoan road, one suspects, probably continues south of this retaining wall. Unfortunately the presence of the bench of A1 and the subfoundations of Temple C on the upper level prevented us from confirming this by excavating further south. As measured on a plan, however, the Minoan retaining wall here should be about 0.80 m. thick. Behind it on the north was found a mass of MM debris, similar to that behind the MM retaining wall north of Building J.

There is another strong indication that the road continues further than we have traced it, some 12 meters from where it disappears from sight below A1. In front of the later temples (Trench 42A, Fig. 5, at T, Pl. 54:b, at B), there is a heavy ashlar wall, which continues the line of the north wall of J and the wall with orthostates. This is clearly a facade wall of a building extending to the south and most likely bordered along the north by the road. Due to the importance of the Iron Age levels above this point, however, we did not have the opportunity to dig any deeper. An estimation is that the road here is somewhat under three meters wide. If it continues eastward, past the outskirts of the ancient town, it will probably narrow considerably.

Minoan Building T (Figs. 5-7, Pls. 54:b, 55:a)

Building J probably superceded earlier MM buildings in the same area. It was constructed in LM I, apparently at the time of a general leveling of the area. The road, to judge from the

---

37 We could not ascertain whether there is a floor level connected with either one of the compartments (18a, 18b; Fig. 6) north of the wall.

38 Kommos, 1980, p. 221.
MM wall bordering it on the north, may already have been used for some time, and it was to continue in use for at least two hundred years after J was built (see below p. 184). Not long after J was constructed, and probably also in LM I, Building "T" was built to the east of it. 39 T is a rather anomalous structure as far as plan, use, and possible function are concerned. This is at least partly because only three rooms, 10 and 11 on the west and 16 on the east, are known so far. 40 At least two rooms (or their equivalent in floor area just east of the modern wall is essentially closed to further excavation. We are free, however, to explore the unexcavated area north of the stepped pathway just discovered and south of the MM/LM ramp mentioned above. Space) lie hidden below the Greek temples and are essentially unreachable unless extraordinary means were employed. There are, however, a few tantalizing glimpses of their walls on the south. 41 Other rooms may be found as excavation progresses on the east. None should be found to the immediate south, however, for both 10 and 11 seem to have been open on that side, facing upon a large pebble court. Room 16, with a southern face of ashlar, bordered the same pebble court. Thus the entire southern area here was at one time open to the sky. (For the use of the court during LM III, see pp. 184-185 below).

The Orthostate Façade and LM I Rooms to the South

The most impressive part of T, then or now, is the northern wall which faces onto the east-west road. By itself, and when viewed in the perspective of the general development of ashlar construction in Crete, the wall merits a separate study. 42 To the west of the temples this wall, originally 1.25 m. wide, was entirely faced with ashlar blocks set upon a well-cut krepidoma, the height of the latter being carefully adjusted so that it equaled the combined height of the leveling course and krepidoma of Building J (0.42 m.). The wall blocks, like the facade of J, are much weathered: we estimate that they were exposed to the elements for at least six hundred years before being covered by sand and debris. Most unusual are the orthostate blocks, large rectangular slabs 0.93 m. high and of variable width. Their thickness at the one point where they could be measured is about 0.40 m. These slabs are carried up by another, lower ashlar course. At one time there were probably more courses set above it but now all one can see are rough slabs placed there during the later LM III period of reuse (Pl. 53:f). As preserved, the wall is 1.38 m. high, not including the krepidoma. The top of the wall slopes down to the west, following the gentle inclination of the road toward the sea. The krepidoma follows a parallel course. Along with the facade of J this wall helped to provide an impressive, monumental entrance into the town from the Libyan Sea.

---

39 As can be seen in Plate 53:f, T was carefully set upon J's krepidoma and follows the line of the Minoan road. One might argue, therefore, that both J and T were designed as parts of the same group. This seems doubtful to me, however, partly because the walls are not bonded nor are the courses aligned. Moreover, if Room 10 on the east were in the mind of the architect from the beginning, and were considered a closed space, then ashlar construction would probably not have been used for the northeastern side of J.

40 In this report the designation "T" is being adopted, at least temporarily, for all major LM I structures east of J. It is possible, however, that at the time J was built there was another large building some distance to the east, for the thick LM I wall in Plate 54:b (at B) is set at a slight angle to the facade with orthostates (see below). Thus the orthostate wall could have been built between two buildings in order to close off access from the road on the north. Should this or some other explanation be adopted in the future, the term "T" will become more restricted in application.

41 E.g. the corner of a room and a large column base in the scarp (Kommos, 1980, pl. 55:b, d).

42 For the more complete description and interpretation of the wall, see Shaw (A.J.A; see footnote 2 above).
Rooms 10 and 11

Rooms 10 and 11 were first discovered in 1980, upon the removal of the LM III pebble court. During 1981 we cleared the remainder of the rooms to the north, wherever later structures (LM III Room 4 on the west and the Greek temples on the east) did not interfere (Pl. 55:a).

Room 10, with its LM I floor at +2.80 m., was probably a small roofed area that faced south onto the handsome paved court. On that side there is no indication of a cross wall, although a column, the base of which may possibly be hidden below LM III Room 4, could theoretically have been used to support an east-west architrave at the point where the slabs of the court end and the rubble construction of the eastern wall begins, about 2.20 m. from the back of the northern wall. Unfortunately, little was found within the room to suggest its original function.

The wall shared by 10 and 11 is a curious one. It does not bond with the northern wall, and on the south it is made up, at least partially, of re-used ashlar blocks. Moreover, on the south there is no indication of an east-west cross wall for Room 11. Presumably it, too, was open to the south. That it was at least partially roofed, however, is suggested by the white plaster found on the walls in the northwestern corner of the room. Above the floor (+2.98 m.) were innumerable bits of colored plaster, some with veined designs, often in relief.

Room 16 on the East

Room 16, east of the later Greek temples, has been only partially defined, although we know its north-to-south width (ca. 4.30 m.). Its eastern wall remains unexcavated. The position of the western wall, obscured by later structures that cannot be removed (the Archaic altar and the bench outside Temple C) may never be located for certain, but the wall may lie where the ashlar masonry of the southern wall ends neatly on the west. The southern wall (Pl. 54:b at A) borders the LM I pebble court. Preserved were two courses high and 0.95 m. thick, the wall appears to curve slightly southward as it continues to the east. It is likely that the upper ashlar blocks of the facade were removed in LM 111. At that time the slabs forming the interior face were thrown into Room 16, where they proved quite difficult for us to remove. It does not seem that the wall collapsed inward as a unit.

The northern wall of Room 16 is unusually thick (1.35 m.). Its southern face, since it lines an interior, is of slab construction, so poorly bonded to the rubble core of the wall that the Minoans working or living within the room, fearing imminent collapse, built a rough buttress against it. (An earthquake might also have contributed to their concern.) From what we can see so far of the north face of the wall, where it presumably fronted upon the Minoan road, the workmanship on the blocks is superb, especially that evident in the wall on which the figure is seated in Plate 54:b, at B. The block there (top at +4.71 m.) is most carefully cut and is 2.68 m. long, by far the longest block discovered at Kommos and the third longest block reported so far.

---

43 Kommos, 1980, pp. 221-222. At that time, it seemed to us that Rooms 10 and 11 might continue to the north of J.
45 Complete excavation south of the wall will be necessary to test this theory.
46 The slabs visible on the top of the wall were set there later, either in LM III (p. 184) or during the Protogeometric period (p. 186). The dimensions of the block are 2.68 m. long, 0.45 m. high, and 0.60 m. thick. An estimate of its weight is 3,500 pounds, so heavy that it developed a crack in its center, probably when being set in place.
from Minoan Crete.\textsuperscript{47} Below the block is another, the joints between the two blocks representing the neatest style of ashlar masonry exposed on the site.\textsuperscript{48}

These two courses end uniformly on the east, at a point equivalent to the line of C in Plate 54:b. At that point there is a huge slab (B 1 in Pl. 54:b), set rather like an orthostate, that has tilted out to the north from the line of the wall. East of this block, the wall continues in a different style of masonry, one in which the tall ashlar blocks are triangular in plan. What this sudden change in construction means (a blocked opening, a gateway or entranceway blocking the road?) can be resolved only through further excavation.

Only the southern part of the original LM I floor of Room 16 could be exposed. It is of hard-packed, gray clay (\textit{lepida}), and at +3.21 was marked by patches of burning. Above it were scattered MM and LM I pottery fragments, stone tools (chiefly cobbles), and bits of plaster, as well as pieces of crucibles for bronzerworking. The last (C 4422-C 4424, C 5148) belong either to the debris from the collapsed walls or, in conjunction with the burning on the floor, indicate that Room 16 was at one time used for bronzerworking.

A sounding was made through this floor. Soon another \textit{lepida} floor, of MM III/LM I date, appeared. It lies below the level of the southern wall of Room 16 and so probably predates it. Into the floor (or on a floor not reached, further down) had been set a large rectangular basin of terracotta (Pl. 55:d). Rather like a larnax or tub, the basin is 1.26 m. long by 0.60 m. wide, with its walls preserved 0.16 m. high. Its interior lay at +2.76 m., just below the level of the water table. After we recorded the findings, the sounding was filled in.

\textit{The Southern Court} (Figs. 5, 6, Pl. 55:b)

Building T, and perhaps J,\textsuperscript{49} bordered a large court to the south, on which Rooms 10 and 11 (and probably at least one room below the later temples) faced. The court surface, which sloped down gradually towards the west, was made up of a thick layer of sea pebbles covering earlier MM structures that had been razed and leveled.\textsuperscript{50}

At some point in late LM I, or in LM II/IIIA1, "R" was constructed upon the court south of Building T.\textsuperscript{51} R rests upon a layer of hard sand above the court surface. Its wall on the east is a substantial but rough one, made up of re-used ashlar blocks and slabs. The southern wall is made up of smaller slabs; perhaps it is an interior wall. Curiously, no western wall was found for the structure, nor is there any trace of a wall that might once have been there. It is probably better, therefore, to think of R as representing not a separate building but rather an enclosure wall built upon the court in order to subdivide it into two separate areas.

\textsuperscript{47} As compared with an orthostate block, also of poros limestone, from the early West Façade at Phaistos (3.11 x 0.95 x 1.00 m.), and a sandstone block in the southeastern corner of the West Wing of the Palace of Kato Zakro (2.83 x 0.70 x 0.35 m.); see also \textit{MAMAT}, p. 44, note 1.

\textsuperscript{48} When complete the masonry at this point would probably have appeared like that in the light well of the Hall of the Double Axses at Knossos or the Southern Light Well of House A at Tylissos (\textit{MAMAT}, figs. 97 and 114, respectively).

\textsuperscript{49} At present we believe that the southern wall of Corridor 7, south of J, is of LM III date but that much of the heavy poros construction forming 7's western wall, including the large threshold (Fig. 5), can be dated to LM I. If so, then the court was at least 25 meters wide (east-to-west) and at least six meters long (north-to-south).

\textsuperscript{50} The east-to-west slope that can be measured is from +3.03 m. near the column base down to +2.75 m. (western end of Corridor 7).

\textsuperscript{51} "R" and "S" (for the latter see below, pp. 184-185) were discovered in 1981 when the area between Trenches 37A and 34A2 was opened up. The wall on the far right in Plate 55:b was then the western border of Trench 34A2. The evidence for the dating of R is the scrappy LM I pottery found in connection with its hard sand floor. Several LM II or LM IIIA1 sherds were found just above it.
The LM III Remodeling (Figs. 5, 6, Pls. 53:c-e, 55)

In early LM III a basic change was made in the prehistoric area, especially south and west of the later temples. The floor within J was raised; its entrance was shifted from north to south. Corridor 7 was created when its present southern wall was built, and the entire area south of the east-west road was raised by dumping masses of fill into and around the existing buildings. In outside areas this fill was capped with a pebble floor rather like the earlier one. It also sloped down to the west.

When the level was raised east of J, Rooms 10 and 11 were filled in. Their common wall was dismantled (down to +3.86 m.), and only the surface of one large block in it was visible during LM 111. The southern face of the wall with orthostates was also removed down to the same level. Next, the pebble floor, which we found here with a few burned patches, much charcoal, a possible waster (C 4128), and what may be a potter's tool (C 4129), was laid. At the same time Room 4 on the west was built, most likely with the very slabs removed from these early walls. This room, founded upon a heavy platform set on LM I accumulation, rose against the pre-existing wall of J (Pl. 55:a). The door was on the south, almost level with the surface of the new court. On the interior, ca. 2.22 m. (east-west) by 3.00 m. (in its first phase), and below a floor laid during the Iron Age (see footnote 59 below), were two LM III floors (the first at +3.91 m., the second at +4.42 m.). The first lacked any special features, but upon it lay a large fragment of an LM IIIA2/LM IIIB pithoid jar (C 2503) of which joining fragments had been found on the same relative level elsewhere in the area. The upper Minoan floor had a roughly built hearth at its southeast corner. At the time that the hearth was in use a rough wall, now removed, was built along the southern side of the room, blocking the door.

To the north, LM III pottery on its surface shows that the road was maintained at its original level for some time; but gradually the road was covered with earth and then drifting sand. At about this time, during LM IIIB, the later stage of the stepped pathway shown in Plate 53:e was built. The original drain of the roadway had become unusable, and an attempt was made to channel the water which would, during winter cloudbursts, come tumbling down the stepped path. Thus the Minoans built a rough drain at a higher level with slabs and blocks (Pl. 53:d, right), some distance from the original retaining wall. Eventually, but still during LM IIIB, the rubble wall of Room 4 collapsed into the sand as it can be seen in Plate 53:c. By this time the road was probably not used very often. Hundreds of years later, however, during the 8th century, the passageway was still at least partly open (p. 189).

When the LM III renovations began, or perhaps a little earlier, Building S (Pl. 55:b) was constructed south of T, above R. Of S we have partly exposed both north-south walls. The northern wall (a re-used wall of Building T?) lies below the temples. The southern wall remains unexcavated. S had two phases of use, during both of which the interior measurement east-west was about 5.15 m., a generous span in this most substantially constructed LM III building found so far at the Kommos site.

---

52 Kommos, 1979, p. 240.
53 From Building S west, the slope is from +3.82 m. to +3.76 m. East of S the slope is more precipitous (see below).
55 Thus the pebble floor was set some 0.10 m. above it. Probably at some earlier time the upper ashlars courses of the north face of the wall had already been removed.
In its first stage S had two rooms separated by a cross wall (S 1 in Pl. 55:b). On the north the floor was at varying levels from +3.68 to +3.73 m.; that in the southern room was lower, +3.57 to +3.48 m. The side walls step down in a similar way (Pl. 55:b, left). There is no trace of a doorway or a step in connection with the cross wall (top at +3.75 m.), and so it is possible that the two rooms (12 and 13) did not connect and had separate entrances at the north and south ends of the building. The latest sherds found on the floors of this first phase are LM IIIA1 in date, with the exception of one possible LM IIIA2 sherd (C 4141). It is even possible that Building S slightly predates the general remodeling of the area, for the floor levels on its interior are lower than the pebble floor on either east or west, an unusual arrangement if they are to be considered contemporary.

During its second stage of use the cross wall of S was partly dismantled and the entire floor was elevated to +3.92, higher than the pebble pavement which may have been established at this time. Despite the size of the space on the interior (5.20 m. east-west by 5.40 m. [minimum] north-south), there are no signs of interior supports. The floor is clearly marked by burning in a number of places but like its predecessor was found almost entirely empty. We cannot, therefore, ascribe functions to either stage, nor is there convincing evidence (e.g. plastered walls, fallen roof materials) that the spaces were roofed. The latest sherds found on the upper floor are LM IIIA2/B, as are those from the packing below the hard earth floor. After the building's abandonment many of its wall blocks collapsed into the interior; it was never re-used.

East of Building S we have not yet found any LM III construction or re-use of buildings. The LM III pebble floor, however, continues (at +3.95 m.) and slopes up to end at a pile of rubble. To the northeast, within Trench 42A (Pl. 54:b), the pebble floor reappears significantly higher (at +4.52 m.), where it also slopes up to merge with the rubble which has filled the collapsed and now abandoned LM I Room 16 of Building T. It is probable, therefore, that the rough pebble floor east of S was simply an attempt to make the surroundings on the east more attractive and that the focus of activities was really further west, near the shore and especially within Building J.

THE IRON AGE LEVELS (Figs. 5, 6, 8, Pls. 54:b, 55, 56)

During the past few seasons we have been accumulating evidence indicating that activity in the Greek Sanctuary began as early as ca. 925 B.C. with the establishment of a small shrine, dubbed Temple A, which was succeeded in the 8th century B.C. by another shrine, B, that continued in use until ca. 600 B.C. After a lengthy hiatus, common elsewhere in Greek sanctuaries in Crete, the cult, characterized by ritual meals, was revived when Temple C was built sometime after 400 B.C. (A restored model of C and neighboring buildings, by Giuliana Bianco, can be seen in Plate 56:g.) The soundings around these superposed temples did not definitely expose any new buildings, aside from a large altar. They do, however, tend to confirm the sequences proposed earlier and give us a better grasp of the general situation.

One of the results of the season's work is that we now have a better view of how the site. must have looked when first used after the Minoan desertion in LM IIIIB. It is clear, for instance, that here in the sanctuary area (and probably elsewhere on the site as well as in areas not used by the new settlers), the walls of numerous buildings still projected above the surface level. The northeastern part of J was still over a meter high; S to the south, filled with collapsed wall

---

Fig. 8. Preliminary restored plans of Temple B and adjacent areas, by Giuliana Bianco and J. W. Shaw
material, was 0.50 m. above ground on the east; the eastern part of the roadway was like a sand-filled trough.59

The northern wall of T was of particular interest to the people of the Protogeometric (PG) period. Impressive and well preserved, it became a solid foundation for the northern wall of their first small temple, A, as had been suspected in 1980.60 The site chosen was close to the shore, where shellfish abounded and where there was fresh water. Moreover, Minoan wall debris provided a vast source of building material. There is no doubt, also, that the general area, with its immense building blocks and walls, must have filled the people with wonder if not awe. The specific orientation of A was determined by that of Minoan Building T; but it is significant that they chose to leave the building open on the east, probably so that it would face the rising sun.61

Both A and B faced eastward onto level ground. When A was founded its sill was at +4.37, with its floor and the "court" in front at +4.20 m.62 In 1981 we explored east of these temples (Pl. 54:b), although we could come no closer than about four meters to their façades.63 In general what we found was a situation analogous to that within the temples: a series of hard-packed, often burnt levels, occasionally with significant deposits of bone and pottery. On the east, these layers ran up against the mound of Minoan spill that rises here to the east and north, a pile of rubble beginning in the southeastern corner of the trench where the patchy LM IIIB pebble floor (p. 185) ends at ca. +4.52, rising to +5.10 m. on the north. Thus at the lower levels the horizontal lenses of Iron Age deposit covered less square area than those above.

Some of this Minoan rubble had perhaps been piled up on the east when the Iron Age settlers smoothed the area in front of Temple A. If so, no trace of such activity is evident, for the earliest clear court level here, running up-onto the Minoan rubble, is of the late 9th or the 8th century B.C., which could correspond to a late phase of Temple A but, considering the absolute level, more likely belongs to an early phase of B.64 This view is supported by the fact that what have been identified tentatively as fragments from Phoenician amphoras, more characteristic of the founding stages of B than of late A, were found in these lowest Iron Age levels in front of the temples.65

---

59 The Protogeometric levels in the area begin above the roadway, near J's northeastern corner, at ca. +4.00 m., 1.36 m. above the road's pavement and 1.50 m. below J's corner there. To the south, Room 4's first Iron Age pottery is at +4.75, 0.40 m. below the top of its northern wall. In S the interior level was at ca. +4.40 m., while the tops of the walls are at ca. +4.66 m. (west) and +4.70 m. (east), the PG level beginning at +4.25 m. further east. North of T, east of J, and below Greek Building A 2 (Trench 44B), Minoan levels end and PGB begins at +4.84 m., almost a meter higher above the same stratigraphic level on the west. Then, further east, and north of T (Pl. 54:b), where the top of T's northern wall is at +4.71 m., Iron Age levels continue down below to at least +4.20 m. The difference of at least 0.50 m. from the level to the west, where one would assume we would find a lower (downhill) level rather than a higher one, may indicate a room excavated by the new settlers (Pl. 54:b, right) down at least to the level of the earliest floor in Temple A, which is at +4.20 m.

61 The same orientation was maintained until Temple C was established ca. 400-350 B.C.
63 The eastern end of Temple C overlies the area immediately in front of the earlier temples. Any earlier features of the court that may remain cannot, unfortunately, be investigated.
64 The elevation of the court surface immediately in front of Temple B in its first stage and the top of the earliest Iron Age level to the east are about the same (+4.70 m.).
65 See Kommos, 1980, p. 250 and note 130. During 1981 we found similar sherds west, south, and east of the temples. A number were also catalogued from earlier trenches, and these 22 newly entered objects can usually be interpreted as belonging with the latest phase of A or the earliest of B. From west of the temples: C 3737, C 3930 (Trench 43A); C 4070, C 4072 (Trench 37A). From south of the temples: C 3722, C 3928 (Trench 44A); C 4161, C 4165, C 4227-C 4229, C 4231, C 4232 (Trench 34A2). From east of the temples: C 4058, C 4059, C 4100, C 4620,
Contemporary with this surface and north of the heavy Minoan wall T, in Space 17, was an important dump of Protogeometric B (PGB) pottery (Pl. 55:c; Pl. 54:b at C or 3), rich in a variety of pottery profiles and remarkably homogeneous in date. It also contains the largest single concentration of Phoenician amphora fragments yet found on the site. The dump, below strata of the 8th century B.C., extends down from +4.96 m., somewhat above the top of the Minoan ashlar wall, to at least as far as a surface reached at +4.25 m. 66 Although only a small area was excavated, absolute dates are provided by a few catalogued items, e.g. C 4613, a trefoil-lipped jug of local Cretan fabric which is copying an Attic type found at Knossos in a PGB context. 67 A Cycladic skyphos, C 4420, is of Atticizing Middle Geometric type which agrees completely with the other associations of PGB both at Knossos and Kommos. The pedestaled kantharos C 4615 has a low band of solid lozenges as decoration. 68 The small dipped cup is also of PG type. 69 Taken together, this evidence suggests that the entire dump belongs to the period covered by the latest phases of Temple A or the first floor of Temple B and should date solidly to the LPG-PGB period, i.e. to the latter part of the 9th century B.C. with a small extension into the early 8th.

Levels definitely contemporary with the earliest phases of Temple A have not been found either to the north or to the east of Temple C's foundations. South of C, however, there is the temple dump excavated in 1980, 70 and there are scattered sherds in the upper levels of Minoan Building S to the west. (Not long after Temple B was built, S was to be covered over completely.) West of the temples there are a number of early levels that can be associated with either late A or early B.

There are also a number of rough retaining walls in the sand that was gradually filling up the earlier two "Minoan" passages, Corridor 7 south of Building J and the east-west Minoan road to its north. In the latter, somewhat to the northeast of J, a north-south wall with a return to the west was built to retain the sand. At the higher level east of the walls (at +4.06 m.) we found traces of a campfire in the sand; to the west, at +3.80 m., there was a three-sided hearth built of upright slabs (Pl. 55:f), facing west. Later, some time after Temple B had been built, a rough, crescent-shaped wall was set almost above the hearth just mentioned. East (at +5.10 m.) and west (at +4.65 m.) of this wall there was evidence for many campfires beside which limpets and other seafoods were eaten, and fine imported Corinthian kotylai and skyphoi were used for drinking.

South of J, in 1979, two rough, post-Minoan walls had been removed during the clearing of sand from Corridor 7. The lower one, shaped rather like a Z, was set east-west in the corridor.

---

66 We were able to investigate only part of this deposit, for it extends north and east beyond the trench. It may also continue down below the surface reached. We do not know what the "surface" mentioned in the text really is, but it could well be the floor of a building of early Iron Age date, either contemporary with or predating an early stage of Temple B. If part of a building, the small slabs and blocks set upon the LM I wall of T (Pl. 54:b at E, and footnote 46 above) belong to the south wall of the Iron Age room. The comments on the Iron Age pottery found here and in front of the temple (see below) are based directly on preliminary studies made by Peter Callaghan.

67 Brock, op. cit. (footnote 57 above), pl. 109, no. 1446.

68 Ibid., Fortetsa pattern 5a (LPG-PGB).

69 J. N. Coldstream, "Knossos 1951-1961: Protogeometric and Geometric Pottery from the Town," *BSA* 67, 1972, see pl. 15, no. 26. Of patterned pieces we have C 4609, with stacked winged lozenges of a type found at Fortetsa (pattern 3 variant, LPG-PGB). In C 4563 the central panel is close to pattern 5p at Fortetsa, of the same date. C 4559, with crosshatched pendant and curvilinear triangles, cannot be dated after MG and has its best parallels in LM-EPG.

with its lowest course at +4.21 m. (Fig. 8, Phase 1). Set above it was a single retaining wall, oriented roughly north-south, that overlapped on the north J's southeast corner, its lowest course at +4.98 m. (Fig. 8, Phase 3). From the pottery recovered it is clear that the upper wall belongs to a late period of Temple B. The lower, earlier wall cannot be easily dated but it is definitely post-Minoan and may belong to the period of Temple A.

TEMPLE B (Figs. 5, 8, Pls. 55:c, e, g, 56:a-c, e, f)

The earliest phases of Temple B,\(^{71}\) a larger building than A, are accompanied by evidence of seafood meals, especially of limpet, sea urchin and crab, eaten both in the open air west of the temple and, to judge from remains in front of the temple, within it as well.\(^{72}\) As time went on earth, ash, and debris accumulated around the building, forming multiple levels of use. Traces of other activities, still to be explained, are not uncommon, for instance the small, three-sided slab enclosures west and east of the temple which do not seem to be hearths.\(^{73}\) There are also, from levels generally associated with Corinthian and Orientalizing pottery, occasional patches of lavender, orange, and white material found now on all sides of the temple.\(^{74}\) On the west we have found pot bases,\(^{75}\) cut away intentionally from the vessels' walls, set upside down on burned surfaces. One of the two contained what may be limonite.

East of Temple B the accumulation of layers of earth, ash, bone, and 8th-century pottery eventually covered over Minoan Building T. The same happened to the south, where the heap of Minoan rubble was masked, and a surface that is remarkably even from north to south, despite the slope downhill (+5.22 m. on the north to +4.87 m. on the south), was created. At about this time the large, late-8th-century altar (Altar "U") (Pl. 54:b at D and Pl. 55:g at A) was built, its base upon the sloping Minoan rubble and its blocks and slabs supplied by near-by structures.\(^{76}\)

---

\(^{71}\) The position of the south wall of Temple B was confirmed in 1981 with the discovery of a substantial stretch of it in Trench 44A (Pl. 55:e), where two neat courses of slabs are preserved. The block on the far left of the photograph is part of the foundation of Temple C. (For the continuation of the wall of B to the east see Kommos, 1980, p. 233.) The northern part of the west wall of B was exposed where the foundations of B and C merge (Pl. 55:a); the builders of C re-used the northwest corner in their own work, as was suspected in 1980 (Kommos, 1980, p. 233).

\(^{72}\) The seaside location of the temple may at least partly account for the popularity of the site. The remains of shells and crabs suggest that at that time, perhaps even more than at present, great slabs of beach-rock were exposed along the shore. Upon these slabs the limpets could be found, and between them the crabs could take shelter.

\(^{73}\) Kommos, 1980, p. 235 and pl. 54:c. Two such small enclosures were found east of the temples in 1981, one with its slabs set on a burned surface at +5.05 m. (just to the southwest of the altar), the other at +4.67 m., further south. So far we have found four, all connected with phases of B. Three are open to the west, one to the north.

\(^{74}\) Kommos, 1980, p. 235 (west of the temples in Trench 37A). These pigments (?) have now been found to the north of the temples at about +5.00-5.30 m. in Trench 43A; and at +5.25 m. in Trench 44B; south of the temples at +4.65 m. in Trench 44A; and now east of the temples, at +4.80 m.; and north of the wall of Building T there at +4.62-4.85 m.

\(^{75}\) C 3922B, C 4302.

\(^{76}\) Four altars have been found on a higher level in the court of the Classical/Hellenistic sanctuary, but Geometric Altar U is the oldest exterior altar found at Kommos and may be the earliest of its kind found in Crete. The amount of burning within and around Temple B is really quite surprising. Perhaps it began in B with a small rough hearth which was later partly replaced by Altar U. That burning continued within B, however, is clearly shown by the many layers of burned surfaces found there as well as by the two hearths belonging to the third and last phase of B, Phase "B 3". One of these hearths is rectangular, its sides formed with slabs set on edge (Kommos, 1980, pl. 56:c), a type that appeared about the same time at Prinias (and earlier, perhaps, at Dreros). Later it was to
The altar is 0.50 m. high on the south, its original lateral dimensions being 1.50 m. (south), 1.35 m. (east), 1.74 m. (north), and 1.47 m. (west). Within it were found thousands of burnt bones (Pl. 56:a) now being studied; they were left from the sacrifices that took place prior to the ritual meals within the temple. At about the same time a small platform (for sitting?), composed of a single line of slabs, was laid some distance to the south. Not much later the Geometric altar was extended westwards by means of a rough platform of slabs and small blocks built up against it, increasing the dimensions to 2.05 m. on the south and 2.30 m. on the north.

Most likely the altar was constructed at the beginning of Phase 2 of Temple B. 77 It remained in use as long as the temple, until about 600 B.C. From the founding level of the altar and on the west side of the temple were recovered fragments of Corinthian vessels, chiefly jugs and kotylai used for pouring and drinking (Pl. 56:c). Some 22 were catalogued in 1981, adding to the numbers found in 1980 in contiguous strata within and south of the temple.78

The final phase of B (or "B 3") occurred some hundred years after the altar had been set in and when the court level had risen so that the altar was almost covered by debris. Then another short platform, built of two courses of slabs, was set just south of the altar, resting on a surface at +5.20 (Pl. 55:g). A great deal of pottery was found on the court surface, as well as a fine saddle quern (S 890) (Pl. 56:e, background; Pl. 56:f). Most of the pottery belongs to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., forming a Geometric/Orientalizing/Archaic dump of some interest. The accumulation of pottery here, much of it mendable, may be a one-period throw-out resulting from a thorough cleaning of the pottery connected chiefly with the meals in the temple, for there were many hydriai, large jugs, dishes, cups and pitharakia. Presumably these were hurled out of the temple. A few of these pots are illustrated in Plate 56:f. Pots with late features include C 4030, a bowl with a rosette in the tondo and little rosette dots on the outer body wall. This bowl may be an import, possibly of the early 6th century B.C. Also, there is C 4121, the upper part of a black-glazed jug with trefoil spout and decoration in white overpainting. The shape is derived from Early Orientalizing originals and is closely related to many from Knossos which have been dated to ca. 610 B.C. 79

Found in close association with this mass of pottery were numerous bits of metal, including bronze and iron nails and blades, as well as slag. One impressively large and heavy piece of iron lay outside the general strew of pottery, on the southeast. Shaped, as shown in Plate 56:b, somewhat like a Maltese cross, it may be a collection of iron ingots packed together, perhaps a dedication, or even an anvil. It may also indicate ironworking in the vicinity. Pieces similar to the sections of which it seems to be made were found in the same stratum.

---

78 On the south side the base of the altar is at +4.97 m., which is equivalent to the surface created when the retaining wall was set in at the entrance to Temple B (Kommos, 1980, p. 235). Now one had to step down (from +4.99 to +4.66 m.) in order to enter the temple. By this time the floor of the temple's interior had risen to the top of the base slab of the tripillar shrine. A small auxiliary hearth had also been built between the pillar at the entrance to B and the tripillar shrine further west. No doubt there was a general cleaning-out of the temple, the refuse from which could have been used to build up the outside level marked by the base of Altar U.
80 B 201; Mi. 77, Mi. 79.
81 B 190; Mi. 88, Mi. 89.
TEMPLE C (Fig. 5, Pls. 55:g, 56:d, g)

East of the temple, the thick layer of working chips from the construction of C (from +5.60 m. on the north to +5.30 m. on the south) effectively sealed over all the earlier remains on that side. The foundations of C were set about 0.30 m. into these levels. The chips covered most of the area excavated, except just east of the temple where there was a surface of lepida clay. Pottery immediately above and at the level of the chips is of predominantly Classical date (4th century B.C. and earlier), reinforcing the presumed date of C.

During previous excavation seasons a slab enclosure dating to the early period of C was found just south of the entrance.² In 1981, opposite the slab enclosure and on the other side of the doorway, outside the temple, we discovered a well-cut, rectangular block of limestone (Pl. 56:d and Pl. 55:g at D), 0.44 x 0.49 m. wide and 0.30 m. high. Into its upper surface was cut a cylindrical socket, 0.13 m. in diameter and 0.05 m. deep. A shallow, rough-cut, circular depression 0.30 m. in diameter surrounds the socket, suggesting that a round base (a dedicatory column or, more likely, a perirrhantieron?) had once been secured on it with a dowel stabilized by lead. The bottom of this base rests at the top of the stone-chip level (+5.50 m.) and thus most likely belongs to the first architectural phase of Temple C. Now that the original court level in front of this temple seems certain, we can suggest that the threshold, now missing, constituted a step of ca. 0.30 m. up into the temple, then down onto the slab floor at +5.66 m.

As the same trench in front of the latest temple revealed the level of the earliest court, we also noticed the time when the temple was built, there were probably no benches either to the north or south of its entrance (Pl. 54:b). Then, when the level had risen to the top of the squared block just described, a rough stone bench was added on the north (top at +6.00 m.). After further build-up of fill in the court, at a time when Room A 1 on the north was constructed, another bench was added above the northern one (top at +6.32 m.). At about the same time a bench was built south of the temple entrance (top at +6.43 m.), with its foundations resting on the sand.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: MINOAN LEVELS

With six seasons of excavation behind us, and after extensive exposure of Minoan remains on the hilltop, hillside, and in the Greek Sanctuary area, we are now in a position to sort out the basic Minoan contexts. We now know, for instance, that Minoan habitation at Kommos clearly spans the period between MMI and LM IIIB. We are also now arriving at more specific ceramic definitions, as on the hillside where, during 1981, we were able to distinguish MM IB, MM IIA, and MM IIB, although the original objective here of completing the excavation of one large MM house was not achieved. Within the LM contexts, where the masses of pottery are often mixed and fragmentary, as a result of building re-use and the gradual withdrawal of the populace, we are still trying to define more clearly the local development during the Late Minoan period, especially during LM IIIA2 and IIIB.

Our ceramic studies may be advanced by further excavation below the Greek Sanctuary, but at the moment it does not appear that the buildings there will produce substantial deposits: there does not seem, to have been a destruction in LM I of the type of rather complete destruction that we are accustomed to find on many other Minoan sites during this period. Perhaps the buildings at Kommos were incomplete at the time, or were simply abandoned, or they continued in use until the time came that they could no longer serve their original purpose(s). During LM III, the area was re-used at a higher level, but at least one new major structure (Building S) was

built, the last a phenomenon unusual for Crete but similar to what was happening at near-by Hagia Triada where a large stoa and other buildings were erected in LM III.

Excavation within these large, perhaps civic, buildings of the Minoan town will continue after some pause for study. They were constructed at a time when the ashlar technique had been perfected and, as in the case of the wall with orthostates, they even demonstrate a structural development not yet reported in Crete.

Most important for understanding the town in its various aspects has been the discovery of the east-west road. From the point of view of town planning it separates the northern residential area from the more opulent ashlar buildings. It is reasonable to think of it as perhaps the main way out of town, also that it will be joined by minor paths and streets leading to all parts of the site. Most surprising is the road's width at the point uncovered, for at an average of 2.85 m. it is wider and more carefully made than any other on the Kommos site\(^\text{83}\) and in Crete comparable only to those leading to and from the palaces.\(^\text{84}\)

We do not know where the road proceeds as it extends eastward, but unless it served as a monumental way leading into a palatial building complex, which at present seems doubtful, it should narrow and, after being joined by other roads, lead to Phaistos; from there one could travel to many other parts of Crete, in particular to Knossos. The Phaistos-Kommos connection, however, should be emphasized at this point. It strengthens the theory that since Kommos is the only large Minoan town that was next to the sea along the entire north-south coast of the Messara Plain, Kommos served as the major (but not only) entry by sea to the Messara and, by inference, to south-central Crete.\(^\text{85}\)

In the reconstruction in Figure 9, one sees the road where it skirts the monumental, orthostate facade and Building J, to continue in the direction of the sea. Beyond the point where it is preserved it probably led to a place where ships of various kinds could be loaded or unloaded, those at anchor or those beached.\(^\text{86}\) The drawing also depicts the small island, called

---

\(^\text{83}\) While occasionally a road at Kommos seems wide at one point, it usually narrows considerably, e.g. the road east of Houses N and O which is 2.00 m. wide at one point and just to the north only 1.25 m. wide.

\(^\text{84}\) 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 John Craig McEnroe, Minoan House and Town Arrangement, Toronto 1979, passim (unpublished doctoral dissertation). 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 (A. Evans, The Palace of Minos at Knossos II, London 1928, p. 155, where, however, he gives the width as 3.60 m.). The closest parallel to the road at Kommos is the "Harbor Road" leading to the northeast corner of the Palace of Kato Zakros, a road varying from 1.70 to 2.60 m. in width and which has been followed now by Professor Platon for at least 40 meters from the palace itself (N. Platon, Zakros, New York 1971, pp. 89-93; Πρακτικά 1969 [1971], p. 200; Πρακτικά, 1973 [1975], pp. 154-156; Πρακτικά 1975, pp. 369-371; Πρακτικά 1977, p. 434). This road, as the one at Kommos, is set into a hillside, with the open drain of the road cut into the bedrock along its north, uphill side. The roads cited at Zakros and Knossos, as well as many others, had a paved way of light-colored limestone slabs running along their centers, unlike the road at Kommos.

\(^\text{85}\) Hagia Triada is now, and no doubt was then, some kilometers from the seashore. The Geropotamos River (the ancient Lethaios) near the site may have been wider at the time, but surely navigation of the river by ships of any size would have been difficult, especially in the shoals at the river's mouth.

\(^\text{86}\) A preliminary treatment of the question of trade and related "interconnections" during this period is given in Kommos, 1980, pp. 245-247 and, more lately, in Shaw, ROM Archaeological Newsletter (footnote 2 above). During 1981 additional sherds of imported Cypriot pottery (all but C 4249, C 4577, and C 4734 are shown in Plate 50:d) were found. Fourteen new sherds were catalogued: 2 from the hilltop, 10 from the hillside, and 2 from Minoan strata in the Sanctuary Area. Of these, 6 are Base Ring ware, 7 White Slip II ware, and 1 is probably a White Shaved jug. During 1981 we were also fortunate to identify at least 8 more sherds from Canaanite transport amphorae, including 1 from the hilltop, 4 from the hillside, and 3 from the Sanctuary Area (C 4064, C 4107, C 4125, C 4203, C 4527, C 4646, C 4726, C 5140). Once more, the distribution is site-wide, but with a predominance in the hillside.
the "Papadoplaka" (the "slab of the priest"), about 300 meters offshore. More exactly, 348 meters from the permanent pin set into the western wall of Greek Building A 1. The center of the islet is due west of the same spot. See also Kommos, 1976, p. 203, note 10.

88 A minimum estimate of the change in sea level, a matter which will be more completely documented in a later report, is 2.00 m. To be added to the height of the islet during Minoan times, also, is the amount of the erosion caused by waves during 3,500 years, plus the destruction caused, according to the Pitsidia villagers, by bombing practice carried out by both Nazis and allies during World War II. Together, the evidence suggests that the Papadoplaka was at least four meters above sea level and significantly larger then than now.

Errata and corrigenda to previous reports

Hesperia 49, 1980 (Kommos, 1979)
  p. 231, note 51: for "Misc. 63" read "Misc. 62"
  p. 241, note 78: for "footnote 75" read "footnote 74"

Hesperia 50, 1981 (Kommos, 1980)
  p. 226, line 21: read "probably"
  p. 228, line 19: for "Pl. 58:d" read "Pl. 58:e"
  p. 229, line 22: for "Layer 000" read "Layer 2"
  p. 247, line 2: for "13" read "15"
    line 3: eliminate Pl. reference
    note 115: add to the end of the list: C 3559, C 3560

houses. Also catalogued was a Mycenaean deep bowl (C 4271) and what might be an imported Minyan vase (C 4582). In connection with LM IIIB dark, handmade and burnished pottery, a recent unpublished talk by Birgitta Palsson Hallager suggests that such ware found at Chania (also found by us at Kommos) may have been imported from Italy.

JOSEPH W. SHAW

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Department of Fine Art
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1A1
Fig. 9. Conjectural reconstruction of the western end of the Minoan road, by Giuliano Bianco and J. W. Shaw
CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

VOLUME 50, No. 4.
Thomas W. Jacobsen, "Franchthi Cave and the Beginning of Settled Village Life in Greece"

p. 308, line 9 from bottom: for "piviotal" read "pivotal"
p. 313, line 9 from bottom: read "Carneiro and Hilse, 1966"
p. 316, line 19: read "Carniero, Robert L. and Daisy F. Hilse"
   line 21: read "pp. 177-181"
p. 317, line 6 from bottom: for "in press" read "1981"
   line 4 from bottom: add "pp. 79-101"

Thomas D. Boyd and Michael H. Jameson, "Urban and Rural Land Division in Ancient Greece"

p. 327, footnote 4: for "Ithanos" read "Itanos"
p. 332, line 4: for "500,000" read "N/5-00,000"
   line 10: for "500,000" read "N/5-00,000"
   line 14: for "0.255" read "0.295"
p. 334, line 3 from bottom: for "2" read "/2"
   line 15 from bottom: for "2" read "N/2"
a. General view of Kommos site from south

b. Minoan hillside houses, general view from east
a. Rooms in easternmost house, from east

b. Room 38 with pithos buried in floor, from west
a. Bronze tools from Hilltop Room 13b

b. Stone seal from Hilltop Room

c. Gold bead from the Central Hillside

d. Imported eastern wares from Minoan levels

g. C 4634 as found, with covering slab removed, from north

h. Pithos after removal

e. Minoan IIA pottery from Hillside deposit

f. Bronze double-axe from Hillside houses, top and side views
a. MM vases in front of later steps in Room 38

b. MM Rooms 43 and 44 from southwest

c. MM III pottery deposit on floor of Room 44, from southeast

d. MM Rooms 45 and 46 from south

e. Spouted stone vessel as found in Room 21, from east

f. Spouted stone vessel as replaced on built platform, from east
a. MM Room 46 from south

b. MM II vases as found in Room 48, from south

c. Bridge-spouted vessels, conical cups, and stone tools from floor deposit in Room 48

d. Bull rhyton from Room 48

e. Floor deposit in Room 25, from north

f. Vases and stone tools from Room 25

g. Detail of floor deposit in Room 25, from southeast
a. East-west Minoan road, LM I entrance to Building J (right), and wall with orthostates, from northwest

b. Gutter in front of MM retaining wall, from south

e. Stepped path leading north from Minoan road, from south

c. Tumbled LM III masonry in sand above road surface, from east

d. Minoan road from east. At right, stepped path (foreground) and gutter (background)

f. Stepped path (center), Minoan road, and wall with orthostates, from north
a. Minoan road after consolidation and restoration, from west

b. General view, from northeast, of area excavated east of temples: Minoan walls (A, B), location of Protogeometric deposits (C), and Archaic/Orientalizing altar (D)
a. Area east of Building J and west of temples, from south

b. LM walls built upon earlier LM I court south of later temples, from south

c. Protogeometric group from north of heavy Minoan wall T

d. MM tub (foreground) set into floor of Room 16, from northwest

e. Side of southern wall of Temple B, from south. Foundation of Temple C at far left

f. Late hearth in sand accumulation above Minoan road

g. Archaic/Orientalizing altar (A) with platform (B) in front of later Temple C (C) with its newly discovered base (D). From northeast
a. Fragments of bone from within Archaic/Orientalizing altar

b. Iron object from Archaic/Orientalizing level not far from altar

c. Corinthian pottery from near altar

d. Base block in front of Temple C, from southeast

e. Pottery strew south of altar, from south

f. Archaic/Orientalizing pottery from altar strew

g. Model by Giuliana Bianco of a late phase in the Classical/Hellenistic sanctuary