CHAPTER 5
Miscellaneous Finds

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Appendix 5.1. A Human Skull from Kommos, Crete (P. J. Anderson)

1. Glass

John W. Hayes

Almost all the inventoried glass (date of analysis: 1988) came from within the temple (Trench 29A1). It forms a fairly homogeneous assemblage of types from the late first to the first half
of the second century after Christ, including a number of restorable vessels (Table 5.1). Plain blown glass, both in natural tints and colorless, predominates. A few fragments of better-quality mold-cast colorless vessels are present, but the colored mold-cast types characteristic of the early to mid first century are unrepresented, and deliberately colored blown glass is restricted to a single item. The lime green tints of some of the natural-colored vessels are a feature of Italian products (e.g., those found at Pompeii), and Eastern Mediterranean parallels are few. The Kommos finds may therefore be largely of Italian origin, if they are not local Cretan Roman products in the Italian tradition (given that suitable sand deposits are present, along with evidence from western Crete for glassworking around the first century after Christ).\(^1\)

The fragments and vessels from Temple C (29A1/12, 27, 30, 32, 35, 37, and 40; 13–18, 20–24, 28, and 30) may go back to ca. A.D. 100, whereas the remaining material from Trench 29A1 was not deposited until the middle of the second century (compare the lamp assemblage in Hayes, Chap. 4, Section 4). Some possible joins between the two contexts, however, could indicate that the later deposit contains some residual material. In any case, the glass assemblage from the site as a whole looks distinctly later than that from Pompeii and from the classic first-century Roman sites (e.g., Vindonissa) and provides the best evidence so far for early- to mid-second-century glassware in Crete.

Many of the pieces, including those best preserved, exhibit a carbon (soot) deposit.

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### Main Deposits (29A1 and 34A)

**Mold-Cast and Ground**

1. (Mi 15). Dish, colorless, two rim fragments. Pl. 5.1. Est d 19.0. Colorless to pale lime green, with powdery white decay.


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\(^1\) (Mi 15). Dish, colorless, two rim fragments. Pl. 5.1. Est d 19.0. Colorless to pale lime green, with powdery white decay.
Miscellaneous Finds

3 (Mi 23). Small bowl (or beaker?), wall fragment. Pl. 5.1. Est d at groove 4.6. Originally colorless or opaque ivory-colored? Badly decayed, light yellow, with ivory surface film. Ground groove on lower part of wall.
Above upper slab floor (29A1/14). Form uncertain; possibly from a small hemispherical bowl similar to Berger 1960: nos. 43–46 or no. 47 (pl. 17).

Blown, Colored

4 (Mi 13). Bowl, joining scraps of rim and wall. Pl. 5.1. Est d ca. 12.5. Emerald green, translucent(?); lime green decay. Rim fire-polished, small horizontal rib on wall, with tooling marks.
On southeast bench (29A1/12). Probably to be restored as a hemispherical bowl with low footring or as an open footed chalice (cf. Alarcão 1976: 181, no. 119, pl. XXXVIII, with comments p. 174). May imitate mold-cast bowls.

Blown, Colorless

5 (under Mi 48). Dish, two base fragments, one side of profile restored. Pl. 5.1. Est d of foot 8.6. Pushed-in tubular foot.
On lower slab floor (29A1/30).
6 (Mi 33). Dish/shallow bowl, rim fragments, profile restored. Pl. 5.1. Est d 19.0. Colorless, of good quality; not decayed. Isings 1957: form 45, with wide downturned rim fold, fire-polished. Two possible wall fragments of same vessel.
Above lower slab floor (29A1/25 and 26).
Upper earth floor (29A1/22).
8 (Mi 32 and Mi 34). Unguentarium, rim fragments and base. Pl. 5.1. Est d of rim 4.2, d of base 4.9. Faint green tinge at base; surface eroded, with gold crust. Pieces probably from same vessel (rims could come from a small flask/jug). Rim cut, beveled on inside. No marks on bottom.
Above lower slab floor (29A1/25 and 30).
Upper earth floor (29A1/19).
10 (Mi 47). Handle. Pl. 5.1. Pres length 5.9. Eroded and decayed. Formed of a single trail at top, becoming double at bottom.
Above lower slab floor (29A1/25). From a small jug?

Blown, Natural-Colored Dishes and Shallow Bowls

11 (Mi 11, 14, and 17). Dish, half of rim and wall (several pieces), complete base, and some loose scraps—probably one vessel. Pl. 5.1. Restored d of rim ca. 19.2, d of foot ca. 8.2. Carbon deposit on surface. Pale grayish green; some small spherical bubbles in bottom. Isings 1957: form 43; rim folded downward, pushed-in tubular foot, large pontil scar on bottom. Applied crimped frills on opposite sides of rim (most of one, and end of the second preserved).
On southeast bench (29A1/12). For the shape of this and 12, see Price 1985: 77, 98, fig. 6:4 (nos. 41–43), with bibliography cited. Fragments of this type from the Tarrha site, in colorless metal: Buechner 1960: 112–13, pl. 36, no. 16.
12 (Mi 28 and Mi 30). Dish, rim (near-complete) and parts of wall. Pl. 5.1. D of rim ca. 19.5. Carbon deposit on underside. As 11 (Isings 1957: form 43); color and technique similar, but lacks frills on rim. Foot missing; a loose piece of center (Mi 52, from 29A1/43) may belong. A loose scrap of rim (from 29A1/26) is listed under Mi 37.
Upper earth floor (29A1/19 and 21). With loose pieces as indicated.
13 (Mi 16 and scraps of Mi 10). Dish, greater part (several pieces); some loose scraps (Mi 12) may give center of base. Pl. 5.1. Restored d 22.8–24.0, est d of foot 10.0. Pallid lime green/colorless; yellow gold crust of decay. Lancel 1967: form 25; small upward fold at rim, vertical foot with tubular bottom. Virtually no pontil mark on Mi 12.
Glass

On southeast bench (29A1/12). Italian (?) fabric tom. Four indentations on lower part; no signs of these or of wheel incisions above them on the rim fragments.

Central rectangular hearth (29A1/35). Profile not matched on first-century-after-Christ specimens of the type (e.g., those from Vindomissa and Tipasa), so presumably rather later.

Blown, Natural-Colored Deep Bowls

16 (Mi 30). Bowl(?), two-thirds of rim and upper part. Pl. 5.1. D ca. 10.4. Traces of soot deposit. Pale grayish green; rare pinprick bubbles. Hollow fold at top of wall, rim flaring, fire-polished.


Blown, Natural-Colored Beakers

18 (Mi 39). Indented type; base, nearly half of rim (three pieces), loose scraps. Pl. 5.1. Est d of rim 6.8, d of base ca. 3.8. Carbon deposit, otherwise little decay. Colorless with grayish green tint; some pinprick bubbles. Isings 1957: form 32, variant. Rim fire-polished, no pontil mark on bottom. Four indentations on lower part; no signs of these or of wheel incisions above them on the rim fragments.

Central rectangular hearth (29A1/35). Profile not matched on first-century-after-Christ specimens of the type (e.g., those from Vindomissa and Tipasa), so presumably rather later.

Blown, Natural-Colored Deep Bowls

19 (Mi 42). Indented (?) type; base, almost all of rim (in pieces), loose scraps. Pl. 5.1. Est d of rim ca. 6.8, d of base ca. 4.6. Soil deposit, with traces of soot. Light blue-green. End of indentation (?) visible above base; type perhaps as 18.

On wall bench (29A1/23).

20 (under Mi 50). Flat base, decayed, with iridescence. Pl. 5.1. D of base ca. 4.0. Pale grayish green. No indentations, no marks on bottom.

Northwestern enclosure (29A1/40). From a cylindrical type; shape approximates to first-century-after-Christ examples. Fragment of a second example from the same layer.

Blown, Natural-Colored Beakers

21 (under Mi 46). Base, splayed type. Pl. 5.1. D of base 3.7. Carbon deposit. Grayish green. Edge folded to form a low foot; no marks on bottom.

Lower slab floor (29A1/30).

22 (under Mi 54). Base, splayed type, scraps only. Pl. 5.1. Est d of base 3.6+. Colorless; thin black film and faint iridescence. As 21.


23 (Mi 46). Beaker, greater parts of base and rim (probably a single vessel). Pl. 5.1. Est d of rim 7.7, d of foot ca. 3.5. Traces of carbon deposit. Light blue-green. Fire-polished rim, kicked base with reamer mark, small tubular pushed-in foot.

Lower slab floor (29A1/30).

24 (under Mi 54). Beaker, base fragment. Pl. 5.1. Est d of foot 3.7. Light blue-green, pinprick bubbles. Type similar to 23; tubular foot slightly larger.

Lower slab floor (29A1/30).

25 (Mi 24). Base fragment of beaker (or bowl?). Est d of foot 3.6. Black deposit. Light green. Type related to 23, but foot more splayed.

Above upper earth floor (29A1/14).

26 (Mi 27). Base fragment, as 25, one side of profile restored. Pl. 5.2. Est d of foot 3.6. Yellowish green. Reamer mark.


Above upper earth floor (29A1/14).

28 (under Mi 50). Beaker/bowl, base and most of rim (probably same vessel). Pl. 5.1. D of rim ca. 7.5, of foot 4.0. Lime green, opaque ivory crust. Fire-polished rim, tubular pushed-in foot.

Northwestern enclosure (29A1/40).

29 (Mi 64). Beaker fragment, wall. Pl. 5.1. Est d at top 7.1. Colorless/light leaf green. One fine wheel-cut groove.

South of Temple C (34A/1).


Northwestern enclosure (29A1/40). Type related to 16 and 17?

Selected Finds from Other Contexts

34 (Mi 8). Flask/flagon, rim, Isings 1957: form 70 or related. Pl. 5.2. Est d 8.5. Light blue-green, good quality, thick. Rim folded, fire-polished.

Hilltop, Oblique House, Area O16 (27A/8). For the class (Eastern and Italian versions), see Hayes 1975: 37–38, class IV, with examples nos. 145–47, fig. 4, pl. 11.

35 (Mi 1). Flask, base. Pl. 5.2. Pres h 0.6, max d 5.8. Pale turquoise. Faint pontil ring on bottom.


2. Coins

Alan S. Walker

Only four coins were found in the excavations at Kommos, and, not surprisingly, they are all local issues struck in Crete. There are no new types or variants, nor are any of the coins particularly rare. The first two coins (1 and 2) were found as strays in the Hellenistic levels, and their evidentiary value is purely for their circulation in this area in ancient times. The last two (3 and 4), from within the penultimate floor of Temple C, determine the period prior to the abandonment of both the building and the sanctuary in general.


2 (B 11). Gortyn, ca. 250 B.C. or later. Pl. 5.3. D 1.3, 2.3 g. Die axis →. AE. Laureate head of Apollo right. Reverse: FO/ΩYN, bull butting to right.
Jewellery

North of Building D (28A/5). Wroth 1886: nos. 69–75; Svoronos 1890: nos. 137–40. This type has been given the traditional date of ca. 200–67 B.C., but it may be earlier, given the similarity of its reverse to silver issues of the mid third century (as Le Rider 1966: pl. XLII, 18). Since coins of this type can be remarkably poor in style (cf. SNG Denmark: 454–57), however, a date well into the second century cannot be excluded.


The jewellery found in Temple A and contemporary deposits at Kommos is the only jewellery from Crete found in a securely dated Protogeometric context that is votive rather than funerary in nature. The discovery of these few pieces of jewellery as votives, however, cannot be taken as an indication of the gender of the cult at Kommos, since women may well have removed an item of personal adornment to use as a dedication at any shrine. The comparanda for the bronze ring (1) and clothing ornament (2) show that these belong to types commonly found and presumably made in Crete, although 2 is one of the earliest examples of its type found in Crete. The fabric of the clay bead (7) indicates a local production of this example, although incised clay beads found in the Knossos area are considered to be of Attic origin (Desborough 1972: 229). Scaraboid beads made of glass are commonly found in Archaic contexts in Greece, especially Rhodes, and are considered to be Levantine imports (Boardman 1968: 20–22; Skon-Jedele 1994, based on her study of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects from Rhodian Ialysos). The Kommos examples (3 and 25) are unusual because they are from an earlier context and from Crete and because the glass is banded. In this context, certainly these scaraboid glass beads and possibly the spherical glass bead (4) are Levantine imports. Faience disk beads (5 and 6) were also found in PG contexts on Rhodes and Kos, indicating an East Mediterranean origin according to Desborough (1972: 175–76). Carnelian must also have been imported from the East, although the carnelian bead (8) could have been manufactured anywhere. In conclusion, a combination of locally made and imported items has been found.

The jewellery found in Temple B and contemporary deposits at Kommos indicates a continuation of the same dedicatory practices from the Temple A period. Locally produced bronze rings (11–13) and clothing ornaments (14–17) were found in greater numbers. Three cylindrical glass beads decorated with an added glass wire (26, 27, and probably 28) and one gadrooned and segmented faience bead (30) are types not otherwise known in the Aegean area and may...
also be imports from the east. Simpler glass (29) and faience (31–35) beads are so commonly found in Crete during this period that they may have been made within the island. The mixture of locally made and imported jewellery from the Temple A period continues to be found in the Temple B period. New items in the assemblage are gold foil (9), a silver ring (10), bronze straight dress pins (18 and 19), and bronze fibulae (20–23). The increase in quantity of jewellery in the Temple B period could be attributed to the increased size of the excavated area, but the concentration (almost half) found inside Temple B in proximity to the Tripillar Shrine and west of Hearth 5 (9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 26–29, and 32–35) is distinctive.

Jewellery as a votive offering seems to be less prevalent in the Temple C period, considering the small quantity of jewellery recovered in comparison with the large size of the votive deposits excavated. Straight dress pins of bronze (39–56) predominate, but even some of these (certainly 44 and 54) were originally deposited in the Temple B period. The other finds are two bronze rings (37 and 38), one iron fibula (37), one bronze fibula or bracelet fragment (58), one silver bead (59), and one ivory bead (60). The bronze and ivory wreath (36) requires special consideration (see discussion following), as it is too large to have ever been a personal adornment. Jewellery, particularly rings and beads, continued to be used as votive offerings at the contemporary Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos while it became relatively uncommon at Kommos. This decrease in the quantity of jewellery found in the Temple C period may be one indication of a change in the local cult practices.

Several classes of jewellery found at Kommos merit specific discussion. First are the bronze clothing ornaments (2 and 14–17). The function of the Kommos examples is less problematic than for similar items found at other sites in Greece. Anthony Snodgrass (1964: 37–51) used form, attachment devices, context, and associated finds as means of interpreting the functions of similar items at individual sites. The form of 14 in the shape of a Boeotian shield makes it clear that this is a miniature shield. The identification of such ornaments as miniature shields is confirmed by the exact similarity between 16 and a miniature shield found with other miniature armor at Gortyn (see catalogue entry). All but 16 of the Kommos examples have preserved perforations, which indicate their use as ornamental attachments for clothing or furniture. On 14 and 15 the very small size of the perforations and their placement at the edges suggest clothing rather than furniture ornaments. The context of these items in a temple (15–17) or a votive dump (2 and 14) shows that they were votive offerings. The association of 15 and 16 with a full-size shield (B 21; J. W. Shaw and Harlan, Section 7, 6) further verifies that they are miniature shields. All this evidence contributes to the conclusion that the Kommos examples were clothing ornaments in the form of miniature shields used as votive offerings.

The clay bead (7) must be a bead, not a spindle whorl, because it is too small (less than 2.0 cm in diameter) and light (less than 10.0 g) for spinning (Carington Smith 1975: 80). Even though it is not incised, it fits into the range of dimensions for clay beads found in a PG context at Ayios Ioannis (see comparanda under 7). The local production of clay beads may
Jewellery seem surprising, but consider in this connection the presence of only one bead made of stone (8) at post-Minoan Kommos, especially in contrast to the probable local production of stone beads at Minoan Kommos (see Dabney 1996b: 263, 266–67).

The criteria for distinguishing bronze straight dress pins from bronze spikes and nails used for the construction of buildings or furniture seem open to discussion. The overall dimensions do not seem to be significant factors. Bronzes up to 16.5 cm in length have been classified as spikes (D. M. Robinson 1941: 310–23, cat. nos. 1361–1485, pls. XCI–XCIV), for bronze spikes could have been driven into prebored holes without bending. Slenderness is also not a decisive feature, for bronzes with upper shanks up to 0.40 cm in diameter have been classified as pins (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984: pls. 29, 33, 64, 102; cat. nos. 957, 1003, 1989, 4315) because of their elaborate heads. Nor need the elaboration of the head or shank be a criterion, as plain heads of the type found at Kommos were classified as pins by James Brock (1957: 195). Although never explicitly stated, the feature that most consistently distinguishes pins and nails is the shape of the lower shank in section: The lower shanks of pins are round in section, and the lower shanks of spikes and nails are square in section. This is the sole criterion used in the present study for the functional classification of these objects as pins.

The wreath (36), with an estimated minimum diameter of 24.34 cm, is certainly larger than life-size and therefore could never have been worn as an item of personal adornment. It may have been made specifically as a votive offering, but another possibility should be considered. Perhaps it was made to adorn a larger-than-life-size cult statue. Vassos Karageorghis (1966: 253) suggested that a similar wreath found in the “Cenotaph of Nicoreon” at Salamis on Cyprus (see comparanda under 36) adorned one of the statues found in the same context. The context of one fragment of the wreath and the date of the comparanda suggest that the Kommos wreath dates to as early as the founding of Temple C. Either as an adornment for the cult statue or as a special votive offering, 36 as a wreath of laurel indicates the worship of Apollo at Kommos (Blech 1982).

H. C. Beck’s (1928) classification system for describing the shapes of beads is used throughout the catalogue entries. The lengths for pins are the restored maximum preserved lengths as if the pins were preserved straight instead of bent. Actual dimensions of the pins as preserved can be ascertained from the drawings. Wherever possible, the selection of comparanda has been limited to examples found in Crete.

Temple A and Contemporary Deposits

Ring, Bronze

1 (B 126). Ring, intact. Pl. 5.4. D 2.20, th 0.30. Bronze. Circular with slight thickening at joined ends, circular in section.

Temple A (34A2/37). Similarly constructed bronze rings were found in several PG tombs at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos (Boardman 1960: passim, especially pp. 141–42, cat. no. VIII.19, fig. 9, pl. 39) and in the PGB–Early Geometric Tomb F10 at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 71, cat.

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 241, where it is attributed to early (?) Temple B.

**Clothing Ornament, Bronze**

2 (B.234). Clothing (or furniture?) ornament, completely restorable, three-quarters preserved. Pls. 5.4, 5.9. D 3.80, of perforation 0.25; th 0.15. Bronze. Flat round clothing ornament with round raised central boss. Single perforation just off center.

Found in the PG (ninth-century-b.c.) dump above the Minoan Road 17 (47A/39). A similar bronze clothing ornament with a rivet through the central boss was found in the Late Protogeometric–Orientalizing Tomb P at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 137, cat. no. 1588). Other comparable for this object have been presented and exhaustively discussed by Snodgrass 1964: 37–51, but few of the examples from Crete were found in contexts as early as 2.


**Beads, Glass**

3 (Mi 93). Bead, intact but surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 1.45; d 1.25–1.00, of perforation 0.30. Black and white banded glass. Scaraboid bead (Beck XXXVI) with single plain perforation (Beck IV).

Bands of glass form wire-drawn chevrons (Beck 1928: 66, fig. 72 on p. 67).

Found in the PG (ninth-century-b.c.) dump south of the north wall of Minoan Building T (42A/73).

4 (Mi 69). Bead, almost completely preserved in two fragments. Pl. 5.4. Length 1.00; d 1.50, of perforation 0.25. Yellowish white and brown (burnt) glass. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single plain perforation (Beck IV).

Found in the PG (ninth-century-b.c.) level just outside the doorsill of Temple A (33C/86). Spherical glass beads were found in the PG–EG Tombs LST5 and F10 at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 40, 71, 208, cat. nos. 404, 798).

**Beads, Faience**

5 (F.24). Fourteen beads, intact but surface eroded on some. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.30–0.40; d 0.90, of perforation 0.20–0.25. White faience with traces of colorless glaze. Circular short cylindrical beads (Beck I.B.2.b) with single plain perforations (Beck IV).

Found in the PG (ninth-century-b.c.) level just outside the doorsill of Temple A (33C/85). Similar beads were found beneath the bronze area near the Early Protogeometric Tomb VIb at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 14, cat. no. 102), in the PG Tomb V at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos (Boardman 1960: 134, 148, cat. no. 37, pl. 39), and in the PG Chamber Tomb 1 at Vrokastro in eastern Crete (Hall 1914: 136–37, cat. no. 3, pl. XXXVI).

6 (F.25). Two beads, intact but surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.20–0.25; d 0.80–0.85, of perforation 0.20–0.25. White faience. Circular barrel discoid beads (Beck I.A.1.b) with single medium large plain perforations (Beck VI.a).

Found on and above the PG (ninth-century-b.c.) Floor 2 of Temple A (33C/81). For comparanda, see 8.

**Bead, Clay**

7 (C.3051). Bead, complete profile preserved in two-thirds of bead restored from two joining fragments. Pl. 5.4. Length 1.63; d 1.95, of perforation 0.57, wt 2.50 g. Light brown to dark gray (burnt, 7.5 YR 6/4 or N4) fine clay. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single medium large plain perforation (Beck VI.a).

Found in PG (ninth-century-b.c.) fill south of Temple A (34A2/37). Clay beads with incised decoration were found in the PG Tomb V at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos (Boardman 1960: 134, 146–48, cat. no. 35, fig. 10 on 147, pl. 39) and the PG Tomb J at Tekke near Knossos (Catling 1977: 13).

**Bead, Stone**

8 (S.773). Bead, intact but chipped and worn. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.66; d 0.75, of perforation 0.10–0.20. Orange carnelian. Circular short barrel bead (Beck I.B.1.b) with single conical perforation...
Jewellery

(Beck III). Dark vein in stone runs around diameter of bead. Found on and above the PG (nineth-century-B.C.) Floor 2 of Temple A (33C/81). Carnelian beads were found in the EPG Tomb Xf6 at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 22, cat. no. 194b), in the PG Tomb J at Tekke near Knossos (Cattling 1977: 12), and in the PG Chamber Tomb J at Vrokastro in eastern Crete (Hall 1914: 136–37, cat. no. 3).

Temple B and Contemporary Deposits

Foil, Gold

9 (G 1 and G 7). Two fragments. Pl. 5.9. Max dim. 0.65, 1.06; th less than 0.01. Gold foil. Fragments with fold lines. Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century-B.C.) level west of Hearth 5 in Temple B (29A1/68).

10 (A 1). Ring, intact but original surface lost when cleaned. Pls. 5.5, 5.9. D 2.30, w 0.30, th 0.20. Silver. Circular with slight thickening at joined ends, triangular in section with flat facet inward. Decorated with fine vertical ridges. Found in the Floor 3 (seventh-century-B.C.) level west of Hearth 5 in Temple B (29A1/68). Silver rings were found in Geometric—Orientalizing Crete in Tombs 10 and 28 at Praisos (Marshall 1905–6: 63, 64) and Tomb M at Arkades (D. Levi 1927–29: 308, pl. XII-TM) and in the Hellenistic votive Deposit D at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (but considered an eighth-century type; Coldstream 1973a: 134, cat. no. 32, fig. 29 on 132, pl. 85).

Clothing Ornaments, Bronze

14 (B 295, HM not numbered). Clothing ornament, intact. Pls. 5.5, 5.9. Length 7.40, w 4.90, th 0.20, d of perforation 0.20. Bronze oval clothing ornament with C-shaped cutouts at center of sides, that is, Boeotian shield shape. Small raised dots overall. Single perforations at both ends. Found in a primarily LPG dump on a later Geometric surface north of Building Q (63A/25). A bronze clothing ornament was also found in a PGB dump at Kommos (see 2). Similar gold foil Boeotian shield-shaped ornaments from the Sideropilia cemetery at Prinias (Rizza 1978) are on display in the Heraklion Museum (unpublished, HM 1057–58).

15 (B 227). Clothing ornament, completely restorable from five joining fragments, part of rim missing. Pls. 5.5, 5.9. D 5.50, of perforation 0.12, th 0.15. Bronze. Flat round clothing ornament with round raised central boss. Small raised dots around edge and midway between edge and boss. Single perforation at edge. Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century-B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/71).
able except missing perforation, two-thirds preserved in three joining fragments. Pl. 5.5. D 7.20, th 0.10. Bronze. Convex round clothing ornament with flaring rim.

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/76). An identical bronze votive miniature shield was found along with other miniature armor at Gortyn (Hoffmann 1973: pl. 41:4, lower right).


17 (B 151). Clothing ornament, completely restorable, three-quarters preserved in three joining fragments. Pls. 5.5, 5.9. D 3.80, of perforation 0.23, th 0.06. Bronze. Flat, slightly convex round clothing ornament. Raised dots around edge. Single perforation at center.

Found set in the late-ninth–early-eighth-century B.C. Floor 1 of Temple B (33C/79).


Pins, Bronze

18 (B 204a). Pin, shank bent, point possibly missing. Pl. 5.6. Length 8.60; d of head 1.50, of shank 0.60–0.23. Bronze. Rounded disk head and shank, round in section, tapering to point at end.

Found on a late-eighth-century B.C. exterior surface south of Temple B (44A/26). Plain bronze pins with heads like nails were found in the PG Tomb III and the Early Orientalizing Tomb F1 at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 28, 71, 195, cat. nos. 249 and 790).

19 (B 204b). Pin, shank bent, point missing. Pl. 5.6. Length 5.80; d of head 1.4, of shank 0.70–0.40. Bronze. Rounded disk head and shank, round in section, tapering toward end.

Found on a late-eighth-century B.C. exterior surface south of Temple B (44A/26). See 18 for comparanda.

Fibulae, Bronze

20 (B 254, HM not numbered). Fibula, intact except missing pin. Pls. 5.6, 5.10. H 5.00, w 1.90, length 8.30. Bronze. Arched symmetrical fibula with buttons. Low triangular catchplate. Single bead molding with fillet above and below divides both plate and bow, and bow and stem. Wide, flat, solid bow incised with two lateral and three central lines. Short stem and large spring, both square in section.

Found with late-eighth-century B.C. finds in a possibly seventh-century dump south of Temple B and north of Building Q (51A/21). This fibula belongs to Christian Blinkenberg's (1926: 68–69, fig. 46) type II.12.b, represented by a partially preserved example from Vrokastro in eastern Crete. The features of 20 belong to both Eli Sapouna-Sakellarakis's (1978) types IVb and IXa, except the flat shape of the bow, which suits neither type. The incised linear decoration on 20, however, suggests a classification in type IXa. In any case, both types were of probable Attic origin and were found in other Geometric–Archaic contexts in Crete (see comparanda in Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978: 69–73, 105–6).

J. W. Shaw 1984a: 278.

21 (B 250). Fibula fragment, bead molding only preserved. Pl. 5.6. Length 2.90, th 0.30–0.80. Bronze. Fibula with button. Single bead molding with two fillets both above and below. Stem, round in section.

Found on an LC–EO exterior surface southeast of Temple B (52A/16).

22 (B 262). Fibula fragment, spring and pin only preserved. Pl. 5.6. Length 4.90, th 0.20. Bronze. Fibula spring and pin, round in section.

Found in seventh-century B.C. fill north of Building Q (51A1/64).

23 (B 284). Fibula(?) fragment, bow and beginning of stem only preserved. Pl. 5.6. Length 5.50, th 0.40. Bronze. Arched asymmetrical fibula(?) with solid bow, round in section, and flat stem. Found in the seventh-century B.C. layer of stone building chips north of Building Q (56A1/45).

Miscellaneous, Bronze

24 (B 320). Ornament attachment chain, fragment. Pl. 5.6. Length 1.80, d 0.40. Bronze. Two interlocking links from an ornament attachment chain.

Found with Iron Age pottery mixed in Late Minoan IIIA2 destruction debris above House X,
Rooms X1 and X2 (66A/11). It is possible that could be from the LM period. 24

Beads, Glass

25 (Mi 75). Bead, intact but burnt and surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 1.56; d 1.30–0.90, of perforation 0.30. Reddish brown and yellow banded glass. Scaraboid bead (Beck XXXVI) with single plain perforation (Beck IV). Bands of glass forming wire-drawn chevrons (Beck 1928: 66, fig. 72 on p. 67).

Found on the late-ninth–early-eighth-century-B.C. Floor 1 of Temple B (33C/58). A scaraboid bead of banded glass was also found in a PG (ninth-century) dump at Kommos (see 3). J. W. Shaw 1981a: 241, where published as a scarab.

26 (Mi 58). Bead, complete profile restored from three-quarters of bead, surface eroded. Pls. 5.4, 5.10. Pres length 1.85, restored length 2.05; d with decoration 1.10, without decoration 0.80, of perforation 0.25. Yellow surface (10 YR 8/8) on brown glass. Circular long cylindrical bead (Beck I.D.2.b) with round ends and single medium-large plain perforation (Beck VI.a). Decorated with added wire of glass encircling transverse section at the lengthwise center.

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century-B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/85).

27 (Mi 60). Bead, profile restored from one-quarter of bead, surface eroded. Pres length 0.80; d without decoration 0.80, of perforation 0.35. Yellow (10 YR 8/8) glass. Circular long cylindrical bead (Beck I.D.2.b) with single medium-large plain perforation (Beck VI.a), as restored by comparison with 26. Decorated with added wire of glass encircling transverse section.

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century-B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/87).

28 (Mi 56). Bead, totally decomposed flakes and earth preserved in form of perforation. Pres length 0.60; d of perforation 0.45. Green and yellow glass. Cylindrical bead with single plain perforation.


29 (Mi 59). Bead, intact but surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.92; d 1.12, of perforation 0.34. Yellowish white and brown (burnt) glass. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single medium large plain perforation (Beck VI.a).

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century-B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/85). A similar bead was found in Temple A at Kommos (see 4). Other spherical glass beads were found in the Orientalizing period Tomb II–2 at Fortetsa near Knossos (Brock 1957: 100, 208, cat. nos. 1152, 1157–59) and in vases nos. 57 and 104 among the early-seventh-century tombs at Khaniale Tekke near Knossos (T. J. Dunbabin 1944: pl. IX top center; Boardman 1954: 227, cat. nos. 16, 43, 44).

30 (F 30). Bead, about half of bead preserved in three nonjoining fragments, surface slightly eroded. Pl. 5.4. Pres length 0.65; d 0.55, of perforation 0.25. Blue faience. Circular long cylindrical bead with two convex ends (Beck I.D.4.b) with single medium-large perforation (Beck VI). Faience granulated bead (Beck XXV.A.5) effect created by being gadrooned and segmented.

Found on the seventh-century-B.C. court between Temple B and Altar U (42A/13).

31 (F 31). Bead, intact but surface eroded. Pls. 5.4, 5.10. Length 1.05; d 1.35, of perforation 0.45. Yellow faience (glass?) with reddish brown and white banded glass inlay. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single medium-large, slightly conical perforation (Beck VI). Inlaid decoration of a diagonally striped band around the perimeter.

Found on the late-ninth–early-eighth-century-B.C. exterior surface east of Temple B (42A/41). A similar inlaid stripe on a fluted globular bead was found in the Classical–Roman votive Deposit H at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Coldstream 1973a: 116, cat. no. 11, fig. 25, pl. 79b).

32 (F 12). Five miniature beads, intact but surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.12–0.17; d 0.23–0.25, of perforation 0.80–0.15. White (and brown from burning) faience. Circular short cylindrical
bead (Beck I.B.2.b) with tubular single plain perforation (Beck VII) or single medium-large plain perforation (Beck VI.a); circular short barrel bead (Beck I.B.1.b) with single medium-large plain perforation.

Found in association with the Sekhmet figurine (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 3, Section 1, ABB85) in the Floor 2 (seventh-century B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/85). Miniature faience beads were found in early-seventh-century tombs at Khaniate Tekke near Knossos (Boardman 1954: 228, cat. no. 78).

33 (F 9). Bead, intact but surface eroded, traces of glaze (now burnt) on surface of perforation. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.80; d 1.00, of perforation 0.30. Greenish white faience. Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single medium-large plain perforation (Beck VI.a).

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/78).

34 (F 13). Bead, intact but surface eroded. Pl. 5.4. Length 0.20; d 0.50, of perforation 0.20. White faience. Circular short cylindrical bead (Beck I.B.2.b) with single medium-large plain perforation (Beck VI.a).

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/85). Similar beads were found in Temple A at Kommos (see § and 6) and in the Orientalizing period Tomb R34 at Arkades (D. Levi 1927–29: 222, pl. XIII:TR 34).

35 (F 11). Bead, intact but surface eroded. Pls. 5.4, 5.10. Length 0.90; d 1.15, of perforation 0.20. Yellow and green faience with traces of brown (from burning) glaze. Circular short barrel bead (Beck I.B.1.b) with single plain perforation (Beck IV). Decorated with twelve flutes (Beck XXIII:A.2.a).

Found in the Floor 2 (seventh-century B.C.) level in the vicinity of the base slab of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B (29A1/71). Fluted globular (“melon”) faience beads were found in the PG Chamber Tomb 1 at Vrokastro in east Crete (Hall 1914: 136–37, cat. no. 3, pl. XXXV) and in the Classical–Roman votive Deposit H at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (but Minoan–Archaic in date of manufacture; Coldstream 1973a: 115–16, cat. nos. 2, 11, fig. 25, pl. 79b).

Temple C and Contemporary Deposits

Wreath, Bronze and Ivory

36 (B 95, B 100, B 101, B 158, B 195, B 281, and B 293, HM X 4764). Wreath, seven band fragments, one preserving a joint between two sections, with eighteen attached and thirteen unattached leaves and seventeen attached and three unattached beads. Pls. 5.7, 5.11. Est min d of wreath 24.34. Band fragments: length (straightened) 5.15, 6.45, 9.00, 15.20, 17.15, 23.50; th 0.27–0.31. Leaves: length 4.00, w 1.50, th 0.04. Beads: length 0.95; d 0.70, of perforation 0.15. Bronze wreath with ivory beads. Wreath formed of bands, square in section, joined by rivets at circular perforations on flattened ends. Ribbed and flexed laurel leaves attached to the bands by rivets through a folded end. Beads (Beck XXVI:A.2), representing the fruit of the laurel, attached to the bands by wires.

Found primarily to the south of Temple C in the Hellenistic (later-first-century B.C.) dump (34A/5 [B 95], 7 [B 100], and 10 [B 101]; 34A3/75 [B 158]; 39A/surface [B 195], and 60B/39 [B 281]), but one leaf (B 293) was found in the fifth–fourth-century B.C. level at the Shrine in Temple B (29A1/71). Fluted globular faience beads were found in the late-fourth-century “Cenotaph of Nicoreon” at Salamis on Cyprus (V. Kara-georghis 1973: 95, 100, 156, pls. CLXXV:391A, CLXXVIII:391). Similar bronze leaves, probably from a votive wreath, were found in a votive dump on the Altar-hill at Praesos in Crete (Bosanquet 1901–2: 259).


Rings, Bronze

37 (B 2). Ring, intact with surface eroded. Pl. 5.7. D of ring 1.70, of band 0.20; length of bezel 1.10; w of bezel 0.60. Bronze. Circular, round in section, with a narrow oval bezel formed by flattening section of band.

Found in the Hellenistic (first-century B.C.) fill above the lower floor of the Building B, western


**Pins, Bronze**

39 (B 207). Pin, head and upper section of shank preserved in three nonjoining fragments. Pl. 5.11. Length 3.10; 2.20; d of head 1.10; of shank (2.20). Bronze. Hollow, hemispherical pin head; shank round in section, tapering toward end. Found in the upper (fourth-century-b.c.) levels in Round Building D (14A/10). Similar pins and pin heads were found in Hellenistic votive deposits at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Coldstream 1973a: 149–50).


41 (B 125). Pin, intact. Pl. 5.7. Length 17.3; h of head 0.55; d of head 1.80, of shank 0.60–0.25. Bronze. Low conical disk head; faceted shank, roughly round in section, tapering to sharp point. Found with fifth–fourth-century-b.c. votives dumped in the second–first century to the south of Temple C (34A1/18).

42 (B 85). Pin, reused as a tool, intact. Pl. 5.7. Length 13.4; h of head 0.55; d of head 1.20, of shank 0.60–0.30. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering to flattened triangular point. Found in clearing sand southwest of Temple C (29A/46), with a Roman lamp (early second–late first century after Christ) and much Hellenistic and some fourth-century pottery.

43 (B 289). Pin, intact, except shank bent. Pl. 5.7. Length 11.80; d of head 1.90, of shank 0.35–0.20. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering to blunt point. Found in the fourth–second-century-b.c. dump north of the retaining wall bordering the sanctuary court on the south (63A/1).

44 (B 144a). Pin, intact, except shank slightly bent. Pl. 5.7. Length 9.80; d of head 1.30, of shank 0.50–0.22. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering to blunt point. Found in an eighth–fourth-century b.c., but primarily seventh-century, votive dump south of Temple C (34A2/31).

45 (B 161). Pin, intact, except shank bent. Pl. 5.7. Length 6.70; d of head 1.00, of shank 0.40–0.20. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering to blunt point. Found in second-half-of-the-first-century-b.c. (Augustan) fill between Buildings B and D (14A/7).

46 (B 279). Pin, head and upper section of shank preserved. Pl. 5.8. Length 3.60; d of head 1.60, of shank 0.60–0.40. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering toward point. Found in the fourth–second-century-b.c. dump south of Altars I and M (56A1/40).

47 (B 246). Pin, head and upper section of shank preserved. Pl. 5.8. Length 2.90; d of head 1.35, of shank 0.70–0.40. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section, tapering toward point. Found in Hellenistic sand accumulation south of Temple C and north of Building W (51A/5).

48 (B 116). Pin, head and upper section of shank preserved. Length 0.85; d of head 1.30, of shank 0.40. Bronze. Rounded disk head; shank, round in section. Found in the fourth–second-century-b.c. dump south of Temple C (34A1/22). Cf. 47.

49 (B 267). Pin, intact, except shaft bent. Pl. 5.8. Length 8.00; d of head 0.90, of shank 0.60–0.20. Bronze. Flat disk head; shank, round in section, tapering to blunt point. Found on site surface east of Altar H (54A/ surface).

50 (B 283). Pin, head and upper section of bent shank preserved. Pl. 5.8. Length 4.50; d of head
1.00, of shank 0.40–0.30. Bronze. Flat disk head; shank, round in section, tapering toward point. Found in fourth-century-B.C. (to Early Hellenistic?) dump above Building Q, Room 31 (60B/59).

51 (B 260). Pin, head and upper section of bent shank preserved. PL 5.8. Length 7.50; d of head 1.10, of shank 0.50–0.30. Bronze. Flat disk head; shank, roughly round in section, tapering toward point. Found in fourth-century-B.C. fill between Temple C and Building W (51A1/49).

52 (B 117). Pin, shank bent, point possibly missing. PL 5.8. Length 12.30; d of head 1.00, of shank 0.50–0.20. Bronze. Flat disk head; shank, roughly round in section, tapering toward point. Found in fourth-century-B.C. (or possibly second-century) fill south of Temple C (34A1/18).

53 (B 253). Pin, shank bent, point missing. PL 5.8. Length 7.20; d of head 1.90, of shank 0.30–0.20. Bronze. Flat disk head; shank, roughly round in section, tapering toward point. Found near site surface in a first-century-B.C. level over Building V (54A1/19).

54 (B 208). Pin, upper section of bent shank preserved. PL 5.8. Length 7.10; d of shank 0.35–0.20. Bronze. Square in section near head changing to round in section, tapering toward point. Found with eighth–seventh-century-B.C. finds on the fourth-century exterior surface south of Temple C (44A/25).


57 (Mi 127). Fibula, missing spring and pin, corroded. PLs. 5.8, 5.11. H 2.70; w 2.20, of catchplate 1.80–1.60; length 8.00; th of bow 0.70. Iron. T-shaped bow fibula; low square catchplate. Found in the Hellenistic (later-first-century-B.C.) dump to the southeast of Temple C (34A/7).

Miscellaneous, Bronze

58 (B 6). Fibula or bracelet fragment, surface eroded. PL 5.8. Length 6.50, d 0.40. Bronze. Arched band, round in section. Found in the Hellenistic (first-century-B.C.) fill above the lower floor of Building B, western inner room (10A/35).


59 (A 3). Bead(?), two joining fragments. PL 5.11. Max dim 1.10. Silver. Fragments with round shape, perforation not visible due to corrosion. Found on the Hellenistic court surface on the western side of Altar C (10A/26).

Bead, Ivory(?)

60 (Bo 51). Bead, completely preserved in two joining fragments, chipped. PL 5.8. Length 0.70; d 1.70; of perforation 0.60. Ivory(?). Circular short oblate bead (Beck I.B.1.a) with single medium-large perforation (Beck VI).

Found in a primarily late-fifth–mid-fourth-century-B.C. (with one first-century sherd) dump in the sand south of the retaining wall bordering the sanctuary court on the south (64A/3).
Scarabs

4. Scarabs

Nancy J. Skon-Jedele and Mary K. Dabney

Scarab 1 may be genuine Egyptian, since the hieroglyphic sign-group inscribed on its flat underside—Re nb (“The Lord Re”) with royal crown—is known from Egypt. Further, the legend can be read as the name of the god Amun by the most basic principles of Egyptian cryptogrammatic writing. The fact that the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, the dsˇrt crown, is written on the Kommos scarab suggests that the piece may have been manufactured in the Egyptian Delta. The scarab is in very poor condition, however, and in the absence of any additional preserved details, manufacture in the Levant or in the Aegean cannot be ruled out.

Scarab 2 is likely an Aegean product made on Rhodes. The hieroglyphic text is a variant of the common Egyptian good-wish formula ht nbt nfr, “Every Good Thing.” The Kommos example shows ht nb m3ct, “Every True Thing” or “Every Just Thing,” with the m3ct feather replacing the nfr sign of the standard Egyptian formula. The inscription is made up of a group of common hieroglyphic signs, probably cut by craftsmen in the Aegean who had some acquaintance with inscribed Egyptian imported goods. Scarabs bearing this particular legend are restricted in their distribution to Aegean sites; they are found in some quantity at Perachora and on Rhodes, and current consensus favors their manufacture on Rhodes.

For comparanda and bibliography on both scarabs, see catalogue entries. For scarabs in the Iron Age overall, see Höbl 1979; Skon-Jedele 1994; Gorton 1996.

1 (F 6). Scarab, completely restorable, one end missing and surface eroded. Pls. 5.12, 5.13. Length 1.10, h 0.45, w 0.96, d of perforation 0.15. Whitish yellow faience with blackened surface. Hieroglyphic inscription on underside: Re nb dsˇrt (“Re, Lord of the Red Crown”). Found in Temple B, Floor 3 (seventh-century B.C.) level west of Hearth 5 (29A1/68). Other faience scarabs found in IA contexts in Crete are listed by James Broc (1957: 208). For the inscription on 1, compare an Egyptian faience scarab now in Basel (Hornung et al. 1976: 315, cat. no. 627, with White Crown of Upper Egypt); on Egyptian cryptograms for Amun, see Drioton 1957; J. W. Shaw 1981a: 241; Skon-Jedele 1994: 1881–82, cat. no. 2943.

Among the clay loomweights found in post-Minoan contexts of the Southern Hillside at Kommos (Tables 5.2, 5.3; Pl. 5.14), it is difficult to separate Minoan survivals from post-Minoan creations. The loomweights made from potsherds (1 and 2) and the biconical loomweights (25 and 26) are definitely post-Minoan creations, based on the similarity of their fabrics to post-Minoan pottery. The majority of examples found in both Minoan and post-Minoan contexts, however, are made of coarse fabrics that are visually indistinguishable by the range of colors and inclusions. The most common shape (discoid) in both contexts is the same. Among the discoid loomweights, only 18 is made of fine ware, recognizably similar to the fabric of Hellenistic pottery and the two biconical loomweights (25 and 26). The light weight, thin profile, and small perforation of 18 also characterizes 17, which therefore is considered a post-Minoan creation. Thick discoid loomweights with indentations at the perforation (4, 6, 9, 21, and 24) are also considered post-Minoan creations because of their uniformly excellent preservation and because no discoid loomweights with these particular features were found in purely Minoan contexts. A third group of loomweights that might be post-Minoan creations are the partially preserved discoid loomweights (5, 14, and 15) that, when reconstructed, resemble the combined large size and thin profile of the loomweights made from potsherds (1 and 2). The other discoid loomweights could be either Minoan survivals or post-Minoan creations. Loomweights found on the Southern Hillside in Minoan contexts and those found in post-Minoan contexts but that are definitely Minoan survivals, based on their shape, were included in the previously published catalogue of Minoan loomweights (Dabney 1996a).

There are no spatial concentrations of loomweights in post-Minoan contexts at Kommos to suggest that fabrics were woven there. The find locations of 4 in the Floor 3 (seventh-century-B.C.) level west of Hearth 5 in Temple B and 18 in the late-first-century-B.C. votive dump south of Temple C, however, suggest that loomweights were used as dedications in the sanctuary.

In the following catalogue of loomweights and spindle whorls (Table 5.2), the publication catalogue numbers are followed by the Kommos inventory numbers (C 8320, for example) and the percentage of the original object estimated to be preserved. Dimensions are in centimeters, and weights are in grams. Boldface dimensions and weights are completely preserved; other dimensions are as preserved, except weights and diameters of perforations, which are restored to the total. Actual weights can be obtained by multiplying the percentage preserved by the weight given. Characteristics, when preserved, are noted. Findspots are indicated by the trench and pail numbers. “LRelDate” and “ERelDate” are, respectively, the latest and earliest date of the pottery found in the same stratigraphical context. Absolute dates are B.C.
Table 5.2. Catalogue of loomweights and spindle whorls excavated through 1986.
Dimensions and weights in boldface are completely preserved; otherwise measurements are as preserved, except for weights and diameters of perforations, which are restored to the total. Dates are B.C., unless otherwise specified.

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<th>Kommos No.</th>
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<th>W</th>
<th>Th</th>
<th>Wt</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
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<th>ERelDate</th>
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<td>Ninth century</td>
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Note: Pls. = Preserved; H = Height; W = Width; Th = Thickness; Wt = Weight; D = Diameter; F = Face; T = Thickness; P = Preserved; I = Infilled; LRelDate = Late Relative Date; ERelDate = Early Relative Date; Location = Site Location; Nature = Nature of Find.
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<th>Wt D</th>
<th>G F T P I</th>
<th>Trench / Pail</th>
<th>LRelDate</th>
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<td>Location</td>
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<td>Lentoid Spindle Whorls</td>
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<td>42A/37</td>
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<td>Below Building Q, Room 3</td>
<td>60B/81</td>
<td>Seventh century</td>
<td>Fill</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Diam.</td>
<td>EM</td>
<td>LM</td>
<td>MM</td>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>Wt</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<td>50A/6</td>
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<td>0.60</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>49A/ Not datable</td>
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**Notes:**
- EM = Early Minoan
- LM = Late Minoan
- MM = Middle Minoan
- Pres = Preserved
- H = Height
- W = Width
- Wt = Weight
- D = Diameter
- Th = Thickness
- Cat. No. = Publishing catalogue number
Table 5.3. Addenda to the catalogue of loomweights.
Dimensions and weights in boldface are completely preserved; otherwise measurements are as preserved, except for weights and diameters of perforations, which are restored to the total. Dates are B.C., unless otherwise specified.

<p>| Kommos No. | Pres | H | W | Th | Wt | D | G | F | T | P | I | Pal | LRelDate | ERelDate | Location                                  | Nature        |
|------------|------|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|------|----------|----------|-------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Discoid Loomweights                                          |        |    |    |    |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |        |          |                                          |               |
| C 9248      | 100  | 5.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 | 40.0 | 0.5 | N | Y | N | N | N | 76C/34 | Hellenistic | Minoan | Area above Minoan Building P, Gallery P1, in Space 26 | Fill          |
| C 9502      | 100  | 6.0 | 6.15/5.8 | 1.2 | 60.0 | 1.0 | Y | Y | Y | N | N | 87A/22 | Seventh century | Minoan | Above Minoan House X | Fill          |
| Fragmentary Loomweight                                       |        |    |    |    |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |        |          |                                          |               |
| C 9226      | 15   | 4.1 | 3.0 | 1.4 | 20.0 | 1.07 | N | N | N | N | N | 77A/11 | Seventh century | Minoan | Area above Minoan Building P, Gallery P2, in Space 27 | Fill          |
| Pyramidal Loomweight                                        |        |    |    |    |    |   |   |   |   |   |   |    |        |          |                                          |               |</p>
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<th>Kommos No.</th>
<th>Pres</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Wt</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Pal</th>
<th>LRelDate</th>
<th>ERelDate</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Nature</th>
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<tr>
<td>C 9549</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>79A/11</td>
<td>Sixth century</td>
<td>Minoan</td>
<td>Near north wall of Building P, Gallery P1</td>
<td>Surface</td>
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</table>

D = Diameter
ERelDate = Earliest relative date
F = Flattened (top)
G = Grooved (top)
H = Height
I = Incised
Kommos No. = Excavation number
LRelDate = Latest relative date
Max = Maximum
P = Painted
PG = Protogeometric
Pres = Preserved
T = Tabular (top)
Th = Thickness
W = Width
Wt = Weight
Bases and a Movable Altar

Of the “furniture” found in connection with the temple, two bases similar to those that held elevated tables or basins, fragments of a movable altar, and a terra-cotta stand with sphinxes may add to our impression of what the sanctuary looked like when actually in use. Of these, three were found within Temple C, and one was a discard, in fragments, in the temple dump.

1 (S 654). Tripod. Pl. 5.19. Pres h 54.5, pres d of base 55.7. Limestone. Tripod with a central column with three sculptured legs projecting from it and spilling out to the outer edge of a circular base. Top broken away and weathered, leaving no trace of its form. Upper portions of the legs eroded back almost to the central column; their lower portions preserved extending to the base, which is eroded and flaked all around. Underside well preserved, probably an indication that the weathering took place when the tripod was set on its base as originally intended.

The moldings of the base not preserved, but their form resembling a standard Ionic torus-scotia-torus. Underside leveled with chisel strokes with a chisel width of 2.1 cm. Exterior of the undersurface drafted 2.1 cm wide and 0.3 cm deep. At the center, an empolion cutting 4.5 by 5 cm and 4 cm deep, cut presumably so that the base could be doweled to a plinth that may itself have had moldings.

Found within the southwestern corner of Temple C, set upon the slab floor (29A1/30; Pl. 1.83, lower left; Pl. 1.97, lower left; Pl. 1.108). There it served as a support for an extension of the third stage of the wall benches (Temple C, Phase 4). It is likely that the weathering had already taken place by then, for a small block that otherwise might have protected it had been set upon it in order to raise the level. Since even the top of the added block (at +6.39 m) does not reach the height of the top of the bench there (+6.54 m), it is reasonable to suggest that another, similar block was once placed upon it.

The base’s original positioning is unknown, but the weathering on all sides and the likelihood that at least some of it did not take place within the temple suggests that the base was set outside, perhaps in the sanctuary court.

The context date is at least Late Hellenistic. The original quality of the base, almost melted away now by erosion, is such that it probably belongs to the early years of Temple C. Early Hellenistic.


2 (S 653). Rounded base, probably a support for a table or basin with a rounded undersurface. Pls. 5.15, 5.19. Max h 66.5, d of base 57.9, est d of molding at top 27.8. Limestone. Top preserved, the moldings of the base not preserved, but their form resembling a standard Ionic torus-scotia-torus. Underside drafted 2.1 cm wide and 0.3 cm deep. At the center, an empolion cutting 2.1 cm wide and 0.3 cm deep, cut presumably so that the base could be doweled to a plinth that may itself have had moldings.

Found within the southwestern corner of Temple C, set upon the slab floor of Temple C next to the cult-statue base at the western end of the cela (29A1/30 and 50A/3; Pl. 1.83, left center; Pls. 1.86, 1.97). The planning and carving of the base were done with some sophistication. First, the inward-tilting upper and lower faces of the stand, at the lower and upper edges, are aligned with each other. (These faces measure 8 cm and 9 cm, respectively.) Second, the upper surface of the base (ca. 36.4 cm in diameter) was not designed to be level. Rather, in the fragment preserved there is a slight tilt toward the center, which, when reflected around the circumference, creates an unusual
Sanctuary Furnishings

concavity, as if the surface were calculated so as to receive a bowl with a very slight curve. In the center of the concavity was a relatively deep, round cutting, about 10 cm deep and 13.6 cm in diameter.

Until the joining fragment was set upon it by Joseph P. Clarke in 1989, our interpretation of this stand was that it held up a basin like those found in the temple area (for the basins, see §5–12). The deep round cutting in the top of the column, however, must still be explained. If it was cut so that only the edge of the bowl was to rest on the stand, and not its middle, why is the hole so deep? The socket was probably designed to accommodate a projection from the slightly round-ed basin set upon it, such as certain basins reported from Olynthos (D. M. Robinson 1930: fig. 174; D. M. Robinson and Graham 1938: 319, pl. 78 [6]). None of the fragmentary basin fragments from Kommos has such a projection, but then usually only the rims have been preserved, nor, assuming that basin and stand were of the same material, do we have a basin of the same fine-grained limestone as that used for the stand. Nevertheless, one must conclude that the stand probably was designed to support a now-missing basin of some quality.

Like 1, this piece probably served as a support, in reuse, for an extended platform in the final built-bench period of Temple C. Like 1, although its context date is LH, it is likely to have been brought to the sanctuary, perhaps to the temple itself, during one of the early phases of Temple C. A somewhat similar base fragment, although only the upper part, has been reported from the Athenian Agora (H. A. Thompson 1968: 53, fig. 7, pl. 9). It is interpreted as having held the tenon of a marble offering, presumably a rectangular slab with a relief, and it dates to the fourth century B.C. Unlike the example from Kommos, the surface is flat rather than concave. The Athenian piece is smaller than 2.


3 (C 2648). Base with sphinxes. Pls. 5.15, 5.20. Max pres h 18.1, h of base (excluding sphinxes) 14.2; max length of base (excluding sphinxes) 30.6; d of perforation 10.5, of foot 9.3. Terra cotta, 5 YR 6/2–7/2; YR 3.5/2. Red slipped. No traces of burning. Triangular base with incurved sides, a central perforation, and a modeled sphinx at each corner. Upper surface and the three walls of the base are joined clay slabs. The square edge of the upper surface projecting 1.5 cm beyond the side walls. Each side wall concave with a rounded lower edge; each wall merging with the modeled figures and supporting the spool-shaped feet. Vertical surfaces of the upper and two lower edges decorated with a stamp-impressed tongue design; one lower edge decorated with a series of vertical bars. A single stamp-impressed rosette at either end of the lower edge of the walls. Shallow finger-impressed grooves (0.7 cm) on the upper surface outlining the central perforation and the square edge of the base.

A modeled figure of a sphinx originally at each corner of the base. One sphinx surviving; one head and wing fragments remaining from the other two figures. Sphinx seated on a hollow spool-shaped foot that extends 3.0 cm below side walls. Head an oval shape with hair tucked beneath a diadem and a snakelike cord looped and twisted around the neck. Wings rising from the upper body; a feather pattern marked by diagonal slashes similar to the decoration of the diadem. Head and wing pieces of the two fragmentary sphinxes with the same facial and decorative characteristics as the surviving. Small balls adorning the front of the sphinx feet. The breasts, front legs, and hooflike feet of the figure not leonine, but then usually only the rims have been preserved, nor, assuming that basin and stand were of the same material, do we have a basin of the same fine-grained limestone as that used for the stand. Nevertheless, one must conclude that the stand probably was designed to support a now-missing basin of some quality. Unlike the example from Kommos, the surface is flat rather than concave. The Athenian piece is smaller than 2.


3 (C 2648). Base with sphinxes. Pls. 5.15, 5.20. Max pres h 18.1, h of base (excluding sphinxes) 14.2; max length of base (excluding sphinxes) 30.6; d of perforation 10.5, of foot 9.3. Terra cotta, 5 YR 6/2–7/2; YR 3.5/2. Red slipped. No traces of burning. Triangular base with incurved sides, a central perforation, and a modeled sphinx at each corner. Upper surface and the three walls of the base are joined clay slabs. The square edge of the upper surface projecting 1.5 cm beyond the side walls. Each side wall concave with a rounded lower edge; each wall merging with the modeled figures and supporting the spool-shaped feet. Vertical surfaces of the upper and two lower edges decorated with a stamp-impressed tongue design; one lower edge decorated with a series of vertical bars. A single stamp-impressed rosette at either end of the lower edge of the walls. Shallow finger-impressed grooves (0.7 cm) on the upper surface outlining the central perforation and the square edge of the base.

A modeled figure of a sphinx originally at each corner of the base. One sphinx surviving; one head and wing fragments remaining from the other two figures. Sphinx seated on a hollow spool-shaped foot that extends 3.0 cm below side walls. Head an oval shape with hair tucked beneath a diadem and a snakelike cord looped and twisted around the neck. Wings rising from the upper body; a feather pattern marked by diagonal slashes similar to the decoration of the diadem. Head and wing pieces of the two fragmentary sphinxes with the same facial and decorative characteristics as the surviving. Small balls adorning the front of the sphinx feet. The breasts, front legs, and hooflike feet of the figure not leonine, but then usually only the rims have been preserved, nor, assuming that basin and stand were of the same material, do we have a basin of the same fine-grained limestone as that used for the stand. Nevertheless, one must conclude that the stand probably was designed to support a now-missing basin of some quality. Unlike the example from Kommos, the surface is flat rather than concave. The Athenian piece is smaller than 2.

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surface for a lamp, a basin, a statue, or various utensils (Leibundgut 1976: 93–94, no. 103, pl. 58), although the narrow diameter of the perforation (10.5 cm) suggests that the base supported a pole for a lamp or a censer (Daremberg and Saglio 1919: V.542–44, turibulum or thymiaterion; and L869–77, candelabrum; Perruce 1925: 43–56).

Some marble candelabra have carved sphinx supports, and sphinxes were often guardians of sacred Hellenistic furniture, protecting offerings, fires, or cult images (Demisch 1977: 110–13). This sphinx base, with its triangular shape, incurved sides, and narrow perforation, mimics the tripod form of a bronze candelabrum base and probably is a terra-cotta version of a stand used to elevate a lamp or a thymiaterion.

There is little question that the base was used in connection with the temple, and it may have been placed in the temple, perhaps on the platform south of the statue base or on the floor, or it may have been set on the court floor. If the base did support a vertical pole for a lamp or a censer, perhaps the placement on a floor would have been more convenient.

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 229, pl. 58g–h, where the sphinxes were first identified as sirens.

4 (f. 9). Fragments of inscribed limestone altar or thymiaterion with a relief depicting a tripod or tetrapod. Pls. 2.5, 2.6, 2.12. See Csapo et al., Chap. 2, 78.

Stone Basins and a Tabletop

Basins and tables played major roles in houses as well as sanctuaries. In the latter, basins contained the lustral water for purification, in which case they can be referred to as perirrhanteria (Deonna 1938: 32; Ginouves 1962: 77–99; Iozzo 1985). Tables were for setting things on, usually offerings of food or ex-votos such as crowns (Deonna 1938: 15). Tables and perirrhanteria were made of stone and a variety of metals; the former were made of wood as well.

As for shape, basins or tables were often round or rectangular. The most common form of basin was round, wide, and rather shallow (7–11). Tables could take the form of a shallow, almost flat basin (12), but the most common form used in Greek sanctuaries was large and rectangular. Usually these were set in front of the cult statue, where they have often been found. At Delos there was often one for each divinity worshipped (Deonna 1938: 15). There is little published evidence for the larger table type in Cretan sanctuaries, although this may be due to incomplete information rather than an indication of a departure from the custom known elsewhere.

With the exception of 6, found east of the altar area, all the stone basin fragments were recovered in the vicinity of Temple C. Most came from dumps south of the temple in Trenches 34A, 44A, and 63A. None were found west of the temple. A large fragment of a basin, 11 (Pls. 5.17, 5.22), was found within the northeastern corner of the temple, right side up, and can be associated with the final temple occupation, although its use there is unknown. The single inscribed table top, 12, was found in a number of fragments, one on the southern bench of Temple C, one in the reuse level of the temple’s interior, and another in the temple dump to the south. Some fragments (5 and 10) have signs of burning. The general pattern of the distribution of the fragments suggests that the basins and table top were used in the temple area. Use within the temple itself might be suggested by the number of fragments in the...
dump south of it, where so much ritual material from within the building was thrown. Although none was found directly outside the temple to the east, that area might also be a likely spot for use by those taking part in the sanctuary rituals.

The contexts of the basins date from the second century B.C. (in the dumps south of the temple) through the second century after Christ (within the temple). None of the contexts is earlier, nor are there any from the two earlier temple periods (of Temples A and B) on the site. Since those found in the late contexts are broken up, a Hellenistic use for all of them seems reasonable. They would have been set upon stands such as 2, as discussed in Chapter 8, dealing with ritual.

There are two basin types, the first, Type A (5 and 6), being relatively small, with diameters ranging from 38 to 40 cm. These basins are also rather deep in relation to their diameters (estimated at 6.8–7.8 cm), with thickish walls. Although only single lugs are preserved, it is reasonable to suggest that each bowl had at least two opposite lugs, perhaps to facilitate its being carried easily from one spot to another. Since these basins were relatively small, it is possible that they served some purpose different from that of the larger basins, perhaps the serving of food or the washing of feet (as podanypteres). The basins 5 and 6 could have been set on small tripods and used for the ritual washing of feet. Most examples of podanypteres known, however, are of metal but of about the same size as those from Kommos (Cinouvès 1962: 61–75). The profiles of the two examples from Kommos can be compared to the somewhat larger examples of the globular basin type from the Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek 1949: 370–72, Group 4), although those are not lugged.10

The second type, B (7–12), is larger than the first (diameter range 96–110 cm). They are without lugs and have relatively thin walls. They are also quite shallow (estimated range 3.8–10.6 cm). Usually the rims and interiors are carefully smoothed, with the bottom being more roughly cut. These are the usual type of shallow bowl found elsewhere in Greek sanctuaries and normally used there for ritual purification.11 Although such bowls are not commonly reported from Crete, two are known from the temple at Dreros (S. Marinatos 1936: 226–27, figs. 10–11). The first, an irregularly shaped basin about 90 cm in diameter and 12 cm thick, had a depth of 5 cm. It was found in pieces around a squared base, upon which it was set, probably to receive offerings.12 Another, finer example was found in pieces inside and outside the Dreros temple. Like a series from the Athenian Acropolis (Raubitschek 1949: Groups 1–3), it had a picked area in the center of the bowl, but a ca. 10 cm strip around the inner edge of the rim was carefully polished.

Type A

5 (S 660). Stone basin, fragment. Pls. 5.16, 5.20. Est d of rim ca. 38, th at rim 3, projection of lug 3.7, h of lug 5.9. Shelly limestone, ivory color but reddish on bowl and handle as if burnt. Lugged, with single preserved lug projecting out from just below rim. From dump south of temple, Hellenistic level (34A1/21).

6 (S 1589). Stone basin, fragment. Pls. 5.16, 5.21.
From east of the altars, west of Building E (58A/2). Second-century B.C. context.

From Temple C dump area to the southeast (63A/1). Second-century B.C. context.

From Temple C dump area to the southeast (58A/2). Second-century B.C. context.

From Temple C dump area to the southeast (63A/1). Second-century B.C. context.

From Temple C dump area to the southeast (63A/1). Second-century B.C. context.

From the votive deposit in the Temple of Hera, where they are connected with the cult of Apollo Archegetas, of the seventh or sixth century B.C. (Gianfrotta 1977: 286–88). The examples range in date from the sixth to the latter part of the fourth century after Christ. J. W. Shaw 1980a: pl. 61a; Pimpl 1997: 271.
century, marble stocks from Gravisca and Reggio Calabria being of Attic marble, an indication of the origin of the ships that carried them west (Gianfrotta 1977: 291).

Early Roman context (in the temple), but the piece probably relates to earlier temple use. The time during which the stock could have been placed within the temple ranges from the early fourth century B.C., when the temple was built, to the LH period, when Building B was constructed. A date early in the period is preferable, for the general time range for stone stocks is ca. 600–350, after which they were replaced by lead stocks (Gianfrotta 1977: 289).

7. Bronze and Iron Tools and Weapons

Joseph W. Shaw and Deborah K. Harlan

The over forty catalogued iron and bronze tools and weapons from the Greek Sanctuary at Kommos represent objects dedicated and/or used there. Among the categories there are some objects, such as the bronze shield (6), that recall the Cretan warrior and his class, as do the other arms, for instance, the seven arrowheads (1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 32, and 33) and the eight spearheads (2, 12–16, 29, and 31), although they may have also been used for hunting. It is reasonable, judging from the tradition known from other sites, that we should consider that these objects were dedicated, a tradition best described by Christopher Simon (1986: 253–59).

As he has indicated, weapons may have been dedicated by a warrior for numerous reasons, such as the result of a battle, or retirement from fighting. The arms may have been his own or those of a vanquished foe.

The place where most of these objects were dedicated at Kommos was probably within the respective temples, A and B, since that was the center of cult activity, as shown through the study of the architecture (by the presence of hearths, the known or assumed positioning of the figurines, the carrying out of ritual meals within the temples, and so on). Also, the shield already mentioned (6) and a spearhead (12) were found in situ, with parts of the former behind the Tripillar Shrine of Temple B and the latter within the hearth associated with it, along with numerous other offerings. A number of arrowheads (1, 4, 5, and 11) were found inside or just outside Temples A or B. The tradition of dedicating arms seems not to have continued during the period of Temple C. See Plate 5.23 for a distribution plan of bronze and iron tools and weapons.

Knives and a few daggers form the largest category of object, with some seventeen listed in the catalogue from the sanctuary periods, including that of Temple C. It is possible that some of the knives, especially the daggers, might be classed as weapons, but it is more likely that, agreeing with Simon (1986: 258–59), “they are better explained as culinary or sacrificial equipment.” The fragmentary obeloi, or spits (43 and 44), from the dump south of Temple C, would fall into the same category of equipment dedications.

The remaining objects described could be termed a miscellany. They consist of a few curved blades (9 and 28), probable sickles; a probable chisel (34); a possible axe or wedge (35); a
hammer or double adze (36); and a probable saw blade (37). Part of a horse bit (38) found near Hearth 3 of Temple B may have been a dedication.

Comparative material is provided either in the catalogue listing itself (usually when there is one or only a few examples from the site) or, in the case of the larger groups, in the discussion that follows the catalogue.

The tools and weapons from the sanctuary are listed in the catalogue in order of their material (bronze or iron) within each temple phase. As is clear from the illustrations, many of the objects are fragmentary. The bronze objects were treated at the Herakleion Museum. Later, the lacquer that had been applied was removed with acetone, and then they were stabilized in 3% alcoholic benzotriazole and relacquered with Acryloid B72. When possible, the iron objects were cleaned manually with a scalpel, and relevant pieces were joined with HMG glue (cellulose nitrate).

**Temple A, Phase A1**

1 (B 149). Arrowhead, intact blade and hafting shaft, chipped edges. Pls. 5.26, 5.29. Length of blade 4.85, of blade and hafting shaft 6.3; w of blade 1.5, of shaft 0.35; th of center of blade 0.25, of blade edge 0.05. Bronze. Arrowhead with laurel-leaf-shaped blade with a central rib that extends from the hafting shaft. End of shaft, square in section, cut at an angle.

Found inside the temple (33C/82).

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 238, 239, pl. 60a.

2 (B 218). Spearhead, four joined and two non-joining pieces. Pl. 5.26. Max pres length 9.2, length of flanges 1.5, d 1.3. Bronze. Lower portion of a spearhead, with the metal serving as the socket for the shaft. As the lower end of the preserved flanges would seem to indicate, the spearhead flared out before tapering to a point.

Found north of the temple (44B/7).

3 (Mi 173). Knife, blade and tang. Pls. 5.24, 5.28. Length 10.4, w of tang 0.7–0.9, of blade 2.1; th of tang 0.6, of blade 0.5–0.1. Iron. Knife with slightly curving blade and small rectangular tang; evidence for one small iron rivet in center bottom of tang.

Found south of the temple in the area of the Tri-pillar Shrine (29A1/58).


**Temple A, Phase A2**

4 (B 150). Arrowhead, intact except for broken hafting end. Pls. 5.26, 5.29. Length of blade 5.1, of blade and shaft 6.8; w of blade 1.4, of shaft 0.3; th of blade center 0.3, of blade edge 0.1. Bronze. Arrowhead with laurel-leaf-shaped blade with a central rib that tapers from shaft to point. Shaft square in section.

Found just outside the temple on its small court (33C/85).

J. W. Shaw 1981a: 238, 239, pl. 60a.

**Temple B, Phase 1**

5 (B 15). Arrowhead or possible javelin point, nearly complete; hafting end broken, chipped around edges. Pls. 5.26, 5.29. Max pres length 7.65, w of hafting section 0.81, max w of point 1.53, th 0.22. Bronze. Flat point and broad rib extending from the hafting end, with fine hatching across rib, narrow barbs where point meets hafting end on upper surface only. Tip of point broken and bent back slightly.

Found inside the temple in the area of the Tri-pillar Shrine (29A1/58).


**Temple B, Phase 2**

6 (B 21). Shield, decoration 90% preserved in many fragments, no remains of wooden and leather framework. Pl. 5.30. D of inner edge of shield ca. 69.0, to midrib of decorative band 62.0,
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of inner edge of shield 55.0; w of bands ca. 7.0 (3.5 each); h of individual bosses 2.1–2.7; d of central boss 2.0, including surrounding rosette 10.0; max w of rosette petals 2.7; h of central boss 0.4; d of perforation 0.25; th of metal sheet 0.2. Iron. Corroded fragments of a knife with a curving blade tapering to a point. Hilt curving in the opposite direction, producing a slight S-curve to the knife. Two iron rivets piercing the hilt.

Found within the temple (33C/72).

9 (Mi 123). Probable sickle, two joined fragments. Pls. 5.25, 5.28. Max pres length 7.8, max pres w 1.9, max pres th 1.1. Iron. Corroded fragments of blade with a triangular cross section that curves slightly.

Found within the temple (33C/72).

10 (Mi 74). Arrowhead, two joining fragments. Pl. 5.26. Max pres length 4.4, max pres w 1.1, max pres th 0.9. Iron. Corroded fragments of an arrowhead, one, the head, broken off at the tang, and the other apparently part of the tang.

Found far south of the temple within Geometric Building Z (36B/21).

11 (Mi 124). Arrowhead, mostly intact. Pl. 5.26. Max pres length 8.6, max pres w of head 1.9, of shaft 0.9, max pres th of head 1.7. Iron. Arrowhead with elongated triangular shape and shaft attached.

Found within the temple (33C/72).

12 (Mi 63). Spearhead, in one piece, broken at end. Pl. 5.26. Max pres length 9.5, d of center 1.5; w of flattened end 1.9; th of end 0.7, of cylindrical section 0.5; wt 35 g. Iron. Spearhead flattened and square at one end with circular central section. Evidence of wood in shaft interior.

Found near Hearth 3 (29A1/76).

J. W. Shaw 1980a: 231 n. 51 (erroneously printed as Mi 62).

13 (Mi 217). Spearhead in four fragments, all but tip preserved. Pl. 5.29. Max pres length 28.7, length of socket 8.5, w of blade at widest point 2.7, pres internal depth of socket 1.0, wt 130 g. Iron.

Found together with 14–16 in a small heap in Middle Geometric Building Z, 3.87 m from the south wall and in about the middle of the building (82A/8. Pl. 1.58). They were found at +4.35–+4.40 m, among the refuse that had accumulated with time above the first floor (at +4.00 m) during the period of Temple B, Phase 1 or early Phase 2.

J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 177, pl. 39b.
14 (Mi 218). Spearhead in three fragments and two small bits, intact except for part of tip. Pl. 5.29. Max pres length 23.0, w of blade at widest point 2.8, pres internal depth of socket 1.0, wt 115 g. Iron. Socket collared with bronze. See 13.

15 (Mi 219). Spearhead, entire in four fragments. Pl. 5.29. Length 27.0, of socket 8.5; w of blade at widest point 2.5; pres internal depth of socket 1.0; wt 85 g. See 13.

16 (Mi 220). Spearhead, entire except for tip. Pl. 5.29. Max pres length 20.4, length of socket 7.7; pres internal depth of socket 1.0; wt 80 g. See 13.

17 (B 209). Dagger, broken at both ends. Pl. 5.25. Length 2.2, w 2.9, th 0.9. Bronze. Part of a dagger blade or spearhead with a curved profile. Cutting and opposed edges of equal thickness. Found south of the temple (44A/25).


21 (Mi 129d). Knife, one fragment of blade. Pls. 5.24, 5.28. Length 3.4, w 1.6, th 0.5. Iron. Surface corroded. Context as 18.

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**Temple B, Phase 3**

22 (Mi 83). Knife, two joining pieces. Pl. 5.24. Max pres length 13.7, max pres w 2.9, max pres th 0.7. Iron, corroded. Fragments of knife with triangular cross section, slightly curving along both edges. Found south of the temple (44A/9). A wood sample taken from the blade, probably from the handle, has been identified as conifer by Janusz Zwiazek.

23 (Mi 88). Knife, fragment broken at both ends. Pls. 5.24, 5.28. Max pres length 5.1, max pres w 2.5, max pres th 0.5. Iron. Knife fragment with triangular cross section. Two iron rivets through the middle of the hilt fragment. One end showing the beginning of a sharp curve toward the blade, the other, wider end straight. Found east of the temple (42A/25).


24 (Mi 141). Knife, two nonjoining and two joining fragments. Pls. 5.24, 5.28. Max pres length 8.4. Iron, bent, split, corroded, and encrusted. Knife blade with straight top edge and curving bottom edge, narrowing to a point. Found southwest of the temple (50A/41). A wood sample taken from the knife, probably the remains of the handle, was identified by Janusz Zwiazek as being from a hardwood.

25 (Mi 122). Knife fragment. Pls. 5.24, 5.28. Max pres length 4.8, max pres w 1.6, max pres th 0.7. Iron, corroded. Blade fragment with cross section apparently triangular, although corrosion prevents certainty. Found west of the temple (37A/33a).

26 (Mi 175). Knife, fragment of haft broken at both ends. Pl. 5.25. Length 5.2; w at narrowest point 1.9, at widest point 2.6; th of narrow end 0.8, of wide end 0.4. Iron, corroded. Tang of implement; narrow and pointed at one end, tapering to a wide flattened end, where the tool was broken, although corrosion prevents certainty. Possibly mineralized wood adhering to tang. Found in upper fill of Building Q, Room 37 (64A/42).

27 (Mi 160). Dagger(?), possibly broken at one end. Pl. 5.25. Max pres length 8.9; w of widest end 2.9, of pointed end 0.7; th 1.1. Iron, corroded. Tang of implement; narrow and pointed at one end, tapering to a wide flattened end, where the tool was broken, although corrosion prevents certainty. Possibly mineralized wood adhering to tang. Found far east of the temple, south of Building V (58A/10).

28 (Mi 163). Sickle, broken at both ends. Pl. 5.25. Max pres length 7.9; max pres w 1.0, max pres th 1.0. Iron, corroded. Fragment of blade with triangular cross section, curving slightly; one end preserving two iron rivets. Found far east of the temple (59A1/49).
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29 (Mi 176). Spearhead, four pieces, complete. Pl. 5.27. Length 24.3; w at widest point 4.4; th at
thickest point 1.2; circumference at end of haft
2.8. Iron, corroded. Complete spearhead; long
narrow spear with slight midrib and rounded tip
tapering three-quarters of the way down until
it returns and meets the haft. Haft end conical,
hollow, and split near the lower end.
Found southeast of the temple (68A/24).

30 (Mi 91). Knife or dagger blade, or spearhead,
broken at one end. Pl. 5.25. Max pres length 10.0,
max pres w 3.0, max pres th 0.8. Iron, corroded.
Tip of a two-edged blade tapering to a point.
Slightly bulging midrib.
Found west of the temple (43A/57).

31 (Mi 137). Spearhead, two fragments. Pl. 5.29.
Max pres length of spearhead 5.0; of haft 7.8; max
pres w of spearhead 2.75; th 0.5; d of haft 1.75.
Iron, corroded. Tip of spearhead and haft with
the head triangular in shape, flat with a rounded
tip. Haft hollow at its wider end with traces of
organic matter on the interior; tapering to an end
that is flattened and broken where it may origi-
nally have joined the spearhead.
Found southwest of the temple (50A/36).

32 (Mi 135). Arrowhead, one fragment. Pls. 5.26,
5.29. Max pres length 6.2; max pres w of tang 1.1,
of blade 1.5. Iron, corroded. Fragment of arrow-
head with the tang preserved. Blade section worn
and badly corroded, widest at the juncture of the
tang, tapering slightly to the tip.
Found southwest of the temple (50A/33).

33 (Mi 174). Arrowhead broken at shaft end. Pl.
5.26. Length 8.6; w of shaft 1.0; of head at widest
point 2.1; th of shaft 1.0, of head 0.7. Iron, badly
corroded. Arrowhead; badly preserved with a
roughly circular tang leading into a wider, flatter
head that tapers to a point.
Found in Building Q, Room 37 (64A/57).

34 (Mi 130). Chisel, two joined and one isolated
fragment. Pls. 5.27, 5.28. Max pres length of larger
piece 5.9, of smaller 3.5; w of chisel end of larger
piece 3.4, of tapered end of larger piece 0.7, of
smaller piece 0.9. Iron. Chisel with one large
piece, wide and flat at one end with a notch,
possibly intentional. Tapering to an end, square
in section, where it probably attached to a handle.
Small piece possibly part of the tapered end.
Found southwest of the temple (50A/33).

35 (Mi 150). Axe or wedge. Pls. 5.27, 5.30. Max
pres length 10.1; max pres w 9.2; max pres th 6.1,
wt 1.24 kg. Iron, layers fragmented and surface
corroded. Axe or wedge with no haft visible. Pos-
sible billet.
Found east of the temple (42A/13). If the axe
or wedge was hafted, however, the handle could
have been set in either of two ways, like that of
36 or of an axe (cf. Brock 1957: nos. 1602–5, 1641–
42, pl. 172; also, D. M. Robinson 1941: nos.
1628–30 on pl. CV). Such tools may have been
used for ordinary tasks at the sanctuary, such as
building, although they could also have been
used in the process of sacrifice to slay large ani-
mals. They may also be associated with the
blooms and billet (Mi 6, Mi 7, and Mi 76) found
scattered in front of Temple B, Phase 3, and with
the ironworking for which there is some evidence
in the sanctuary, especially in the area of Archaic
Building V (see Rehder, Chap. 1, Appendix 1.2).

36 (Mi 151). Hammer or worn double-adze. Pls.
5.27, 5.30. Max length 9.8, max w 4.1, th 3.2. Iron,
heavily corroded. Head of hafted instrument.
Hafted end concave, tapering slightly to a rounded
blunt end.
Found west of the temple (27B/4). If this is
only a fragment of a tool (about half), it is similar
to what was termed a hammer at Olynthus (D.
M. Robinson 1941: no. 1634 on pl. CVI) and what
is commonly a digging tool in the Minoan period

37 (Mi 166). Saw blade or knife in several pieces.
Pls. 5.25, 5.28. Max pres length of large piece 4.4,
of small piece 3.8; max pres w of larger of 3.6, of
smaller 2.7; max pres th of large 0.7, of smaller
0.6. Iron, broken and corroded. Fragments, with
possible rivet hole at one edge of large piece.
Found in Building Q, Room 31, in fill above
floor (60B/74). The small saw could have had a
number of functions, including cutting the bones
of larger animals such as cattle during the butch-
ering process. For a much larger iron saw from
Fortetsa, see Brock 1957: 202, no. 1600, pl. 170.

38 (Mi 62). Half of a horse bit, with two joined
pieces. Pls. 5.27, 5.30. Length 16.0; w at end 2.3,
in center 1.6; th at end 0.8. Iron. Bit with looped
ends that are flattened and unaligned, center
twisted.
Found near Hearth 3 in Temple B (29A1/82).
Parts of jointed bits of bronze have been reported
from Prinias and Arkades on Crete (Donder 1980: nos. 64–65; a possible terret for the reins, no. 266, is known from Knossos). To our knowledge, however, 38 is the first actual bit (that which fits into the horse’s mouth) reported from the island. It was probably made of an iron rod that, when still hot, was doubled up and twisted so as to provide strength and at the same time loops for attachment at either end. In fact, 38 is probably only half of the actual bit, with another, similarly twisted piece fitted into one of the two looped ends. At each end of the joined pair were probably set other metal attachments with three holes pierced for the reins. Close contemporary parallels are the iron bits from the Salamis cemetery on Cyprus (Donder 1980: nos. 5, 11–22). For other bridle bits found dedicated at sanctuaries throughout Greece, see Simon 1986: 299 f.

Although no other portions of harnesses have been found at Kommos, the horse clearly played a role in minds of the worshippers, and thus in the dedications at the sanctuary, for instance, in the figureine of the bronze horse (M. C. Shaw, Chap. 3, Section 1, AB83) found wedged between the two southern pillars of the Tripillar Shrine, also belonging to Temple B. Figureines of horses are particularly common at Kommos in the Early Iron Age. A few horse bones are noted by David S. Reese (see Chap. 6, Section 3). The partial bit described here may be a chance discard or may have once been part of a more elaborate dedication.

J. W. Shaw 1983a: 231, pl. 62g (erroneously identified as an obelos and printed as Mi 63).

Temple C

39 (B 205). Knife, broken at both ends. Length 2.4, w 1.2, th 0.45. Bronze. Part of a knife showing a tapering blade, thinnest at the cutting edge than at the opposing edge. Profile curved. Found within Altar C (10A1/31).

40 (Mi 161). Knife in two large fragments, larger one broken at both ends. Pl. 5.25: Max pres length of larger piece 9.6, of smaller 7.1, max pres w of larger 4.4, of smaller 3.6; max pres th of larger 0.8, of smaller 1.0. Iron. Fragments of a knife, the larger of the two showing possibly two edges with a slightly thickened midrib and tapering slightly. The smaller fragment possibly part of a haft. Found southeast of Temple C (56A1/19).

41 (Mi 168). Knife or possible sword, two joined pieces. Pl. 5.25: Max pres length 10.5, max pres w 3.7, max pres th of blade 1.0, of haft 1.3. Iron, corroded. Fragments of a knife with a haft finished at one end, blade broken off at the other. Traces of wood or leather covering on haft with well-defined line at beginning of blade. Two parallel iron rivets ca. 6 cm beyond line on blade. Line of the two rivets at right angles to the length, rather than parallel to it, as in most knives.

Associated with a mass of amorphous iron lumps southeast of the temple in a dump (63A/2). Because of the placement of the rivets, we may be dealing, therefore, not with a knife but with another type of object, such as a sword, which often is reinforced in this way to counter the lateral pressure (e.g., Brock 1957: no. 1629, fig. 170).

42 (Mi 29). Knife with ivory handle, blade broken off. Pl. 5.25: Max pres length 6.0, max pres w 1.9; max pres th of blade 0.6, of haft 1.3. Iron, corroded, with ivory and bronze or copper. Knife with straight blade and triangular cross section. One iron rivet on haft surrounded with traces of organic remains, identified by Harriet Blitzer in 1984 as ivory. Fragments of bronze or copper sheeting around haft.


43 (Mi 117). Spit, broken at shaft end. Pls. 5.27, 5.30: Max pres length 16.7, max pres w of shaft 1.7, max pres th 1.5. Iron, corroded. Spit with rolled end and square-sectioned shaft.

Found south of Temple C in the dump (34A/15). The two rods 43 and 44 are probably spits used for roasting pieces of meat, as discussed in Chap. 8, Section 1, under “Animal Sacrifice at Kommos,” and depicted on vases, one shown in Plate 8.10. The preserved end of each is rolled; the shafts are round or square in cross section and were originally much longer. The rolled end is not common, but examples have been found at Philia (Kilian 1983: 135, no. 15) and Sardis (Area MMS: Greenewalt et al. 1990: 147, 151; Acropolis Site: Waldbaum 1983: 59, no. 216, pl. 16). Elsewhere, as at the Argive Heraeum, they are knobbed (Waldstein 1902: 61–63), or, at Chios, flattened or simply bent (Boardman 1967a: 231, fig. 152). Possible fragments of iron spits have been reported from the Demeter shrine at Knossos (Coldstream 1973: 161, no. 250, pl. 94), as well as the Fortetsa Cemetery at Knossos (Brock
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1957: 202 [five listed]. Spits are common at many Greek sanctuaries, as documented by Simon (1986: 346–52).

The two spits from Kommos may be discards from the temple meals, for they were found along with the pottery and votives in the dump south of Temple C. Perhaps they were used in connection with the hearth within Temple C, although they may have been held over a fire on an exterior altar. Evidence for use of spits at hearths comes from the Hestiatorion at Perachora (Jeffery and Johnston 1990: 122–23). None were found, however, near the altars in the court. It is perhaps significant that none were discovered in connection with Temple B.

44 (Mi 116). Spit, shaft broken. Pl. 5.27. Max pres length 12.1, max pres w of shaft 2.1, max pres th 1.7. Iron, corroded. Spit with rolled end and a flattish shaft.

Found south of Temple C in the dump (34A/12). See 43.

Discussion

WEAPONS

As Simon has pointed out (1986: 234 f.), weapons are characteristic dedications in Geometric and Archaic Greek sanctuaries. At Kommos at least they appear to cease after that period, since none can be ascribed to the time of Temple C. From the time of Temple A, only bronze weapons (three; 1, 2, and 4) were recovered. From that of early Temple B (Phases 1 and 2) iron (seven; 10–16) predominate over bronze (two; 5 and 6). From Temples A and B, arrowheads (seven; 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 32, and 33) and spears (eight; 2, 12–16, 29, and 31), are about even; there is only one shield (6). No swords have been recognized from the sanctuary, although fragments of them may be among those classified here as knives (e.g., 41).

Arrowheads

A number of arrowheads, characteristic of Cretan archers, who were well known in the Greek world, were recovered from the sanctuary, both from within the temples and from temple dumps. At least two of the bronze ones (1 and 4), both from Temple A, are of a usual, basic type found in many cultures, with leaf-shaped, tanged heads (Snodgrass 1964: 154–56, type 5; McLeod 1966: 292, type 1). On Crete a few similar ones from the Dictean Cave have been reported by John Boardman, as well as some from the Herakleion Museum (1961: 21, nos. 116, 117). One blade from Kommos (5), longer than the two from Kommos just mentioned, may be an arrowhead, but it may also have been used for a javelin or a small spear.

Arrowheads of iron first appear at Kommos during Phase 2 of Temple B, when they seem to have displaced those of the softer bronze. The four recovered (10, 11, 32, and 33) are similar in size, with triangular profiles and tanged rather than socketed ends for attachment to the arrow shaft. There is no evidence for barbs on either the bronze or the rusted iron arrowheads from Kommos. Two-barbed bronze arrowheads are known, however, from the Dictean Cave (Boardman 1961: e.g., nos. 114, 122–25 on pl. XII), the shrine at Kastello (see Mortzos 1985: 50, pl. 59(n), of bronze), the Fortetsa Cemetery at Knossos (Brock 1957: 202 [no. 574, of iron], is illustrated), and the acropolis at Gortyn (D. Levi 1955–56: 262, fig. 34, of iron).
370 Miscellaneous Finds

*Spearheads*

Of the eight spearheads (2, 12–16, 29, and 31), all provided with sockets for the wooden shaft, 2, of bronze, is by far the earliest, since it was found in a level contemporary with Temple A, Phase 1. The other seven, of iron, date to the periods of Temple B, Phases 2 (12–16) and 3 (29 and 31). Spearhead 12 is missing its end and is very corroded, but its general form, although smaller, may have been like that of complete 29, found in a dump south of the temple area. Another, 31, of intermediate size, was probably similar, although the blade may have been broader. Spearhead 12 was found near Hearth 3, in the ashy layers in front of the Tripillar Shrine, and can be interpreted as having been a votive offering there. The somewhat later cup depicting a warrior holding a spear, possibly barbed (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, 240), is also from the Tripillar Shrine. The other spearheads were found to the north (2) and south (29 and 31) of the temples, from which they may have been dumped, and in Building Z (13–16).

Quite a few spearheads of the post-Minoan period have been reported from elsewhere in Crete. One can point out examples from the Dictean Cave (Boardman 1961: no. 99, pl. XII) and from the Gortyn acropolis (D. Levi 1955–56: 262, fig. 34). They were especially common in Protogeometric and Geometric graves at Fortetsa near Knossos, where over twenty were reported (Brock 1957: 201, pl. 171). At Kommos, 15 and 29, the only complete spearhead from the site, would probably fall into Brock’s Category 2 of average-size spears. Eleven somewhat later and smaller examples from the Kastello sanctuary in Western Crete (Mortzos 1985: 50, pls. 59a–b) are perhaps to be associated with hunting. There are also possibly two fragments of the larger type (Mortzos 1985: pl. 59 theta, i).

*Shield*

The simple boss and concentric circle design of 6 is present on other actual shield specimens and may be seen in the artistic rendering or modeling of warriors on other shields, on pottery, in reliefs, or from miniature votive figurines. Etruscan shields from Cumae, Veii, and Tarquinia provide some parallel for the Kommos shield, the most striking perhaps being the one found in Archaic Tomb A from the necropolis at Cumae (Pellegrini 1903: 226, 245–48, fig. 24). With a diameter of 70.0 cm, a similar reinforced rim, a concentric groove and boss design, and a central umbos, the Cumae shield provides an interesting comparison to the Kommos specimen. The sixth-century B.C. portico on the acropolis at Sparta also yielded bronze finds such as a disk with concentric circles, several thin bronze strips, and other pierced or bossed fragments. Other miscellaneous fragments there included, interestingly enough, an eight-petaled repoussé rosette not unlike the one at Kommos (Woodward and Hobling 1923–24: 246–47, 270, fig. 14).

The Prinias stelae, the Hunt Shield from the Idean Cave, some lead figurines from Sparta, and an incised cup from Kommos provide pictorial and sculptural comparanda for 6 and illustrate how prehoplite and hoplite equipment was pictorially represented. On the Prinias
stelae three shields (B6, B7, and A6) are most like the Kommos example with their more symmetrical and simple design, as well as the plain central omphalos, and have been identified by Angeliki Lembessi as being prehoplite (Lembessi 1976c: 171). Some of the small figures pictured on the Hunt Shield (Kunze 1931: no. 6, pls. 10–20, Beilage I) are also shown holding three varieties of the bossed omphaloi shields (see discussion in Lorimer 1950: 178–79). From the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta the lead figurines from groups Lead 0 (late eighth century B.C.) and Lead 1 (700–635 B.C.) represent warriors armed with the shields of the omphalos-and-concentric-circle type as well as those decorated with enlarged rosettes (Dawkins 1929: 263, pls. 178, 179, 183). H. L. Lorimer identifies the equipment of the figurines as prehoplite (Lorimer 1950: 179). From Kommos itself, one of two incised cups (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, 240) of a seventh-century B.C. date shows a hoplite warrior with helmet, spear, and a shield resembling those held by the Sparta figurines. This representation is particularly interesting, since the cup, decorated with this warrior in full military regalia, was found in Temple B, as was the bronze shield. The question has been raised whether the cups were simply dedications or if they were offerings made because of the relevance of their theme to the cult (M. C. Shaw 1987: 443, pl. 1, p. 447). The fact that the shield, and a spearpoint (12) found not far from it, were part of the ritual deposit left at the shrine would seem to strengthen the validity of the latter suggestion.

TOOLS

Daggers

Two possible dagger fragments (17 and 27), in effect tapering knives with cutting blades along each edge, were recovered. Whether they should be classed as weapons or tools remains ambiguous, for they may have served a number of purposes. The one of bronze (17) is a fragment from south of Temple B, Phase 2. That of iron (27) was recovered far east of the same temple. Of some interest is the fact that although many knives are reported from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Coldstream 1973a: 158–60, pl. 94), daggers were not recovered. Four are reported, however, from the Fortetsa Cemetery (Brock 1957: 201 [three], 202, no. 1639 [knife, type 2]).

Single-Bladed Knives

Many knives have been recovered from the Greek Sanctuary, with seven (3, 7, 8, and 18–21) from Temple A, Phase 1, and Temple B, Phase 2; ten from the period of Temple B, Phase 3 (22–26 and five uncatalogued); and four from the period of Temple C (39–42). The earliest (3) is from a dump south of Temple A, Phase 1, and is unlike the later Kommos knives to the extent that the entire blade, including the upper edge (which is usually straight), curves upward. Like most of the others, however, at least one iron rivet held the wooden handle to the iron tang. The shape of the cutting edge of 3 can be compared to that of a bronze knife,
Miscellaneous Finds

perhaps Minoan, from the Dictean Cave (Boardman 1961: 19, no. 61, fig. 4), as well as to that of a larger Geometric knife from Fortetsa (Brock 1957: 202, no. 1611 [type 3], pl. 172).

In her preliminary study of the knives from the seventh century B.C. (Temple B, Phase 3), Deborah K. Harlan discerned two basic types, not including what we have termed sickles (for which see following). The most common type has a straight back, curved blade, and rectangular handle end with iron rivets. The rivets are normally along the length of the haft and tang. These objects are usually the larger knives and may have been functional butchering knives. Knives 7, 18–21 (from Phase 2), 22–23, and 25, as well as uncatalogued examples, fall into this category.

The second category included knives that can be differentiated on the basis of their unusual hafting techniques. They are usually the smaller knives. Included are 26, with a blade that is considerably narrower than the tang, and 24, which has a hollow socket like that of a spear, into which the wooden handle would fit.

The generally poor preservation of the knives from Kommos, however, leads no doubt to the oversimplification of the typology. For instance, 23, which has a blade that widens just beyond the tang, may have been similar in shape to the earlier 3, already compared to knives from Fortetsa (Brock 1957: 202, type 3, fig. 172, no. 1611). The back of 8, found inside Temple B, Phase 2, may have curved down toward the blade, thus being comparable to Brock’s Type 4 (1957: 202, no. 1594, pl. 172).

Although knives are plentiful during the time of Temple B, Phases 2 and 3 (perhaps 150 years), there are only four—and those probably of the common type—from the six-hundred-year period of Temple C. This difference can perhaps be attributed to the popularity of the sanctuary during the Temple B period, or perhaps to the practice then of having meals of limpets, mentioned below. Knives 39–42 are from the Temple C period. The first, a fragment of a bronze knife, was found in the fill inside Altar C, perhaps the fortuitous result of earlier ritual activity. Knife 41 is interesting because of the unusual placement of the two rivets, suggesting that it may not be a knife (see catalogue listing). The ivory handle and single (rather than double) riveting of 42 are notable. This last knife may date to the occupation of Temple C (Phase 5) during the Roman period.

The knives in the Kommos sanctuary conform to a pattern known from a number of Greek sanctuaries, as partially documented by Simon (1986: 257, 262 n.32), who thinks of them, as already noted, as chiefly culinary or sacrificial equipment.19 Of all the Kommos knives only one (8) was found within the temple and might be considered an offering, although it was not found in close proximity to the Tripillar Shrine, the center of worship.

Of special interest in this regard are 18–21, which were found northeast of Temple B, Phase 2, near the double hearth where cooking was going on (Pl. 1.53; J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 3, under “The Sanctuary Area during Phases 2 and 3”). A reasonable explanation would be that they were used in connection with the cutting up and preparation of meat and other foods (the former is depicted in a black-figure representation in Pl. 8.10). Another possible
Table 5.4. Sanctuary nails by category, including uncatalogued nails and various large fragments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Archaic</th>
<th>Classical/Hellenistic</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>All Periods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bronze</td>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Bronze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (Common)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (Iron spike)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (Bronze, pinlike)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (Tack-like)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

function is that knives were used in connection with the meals of limpets consumed especially during the Archaic period. Knives 25 and Mi 157 (not catalogued here) were found along with the piles of limpets west of Temple B. Whetstones, such as S 594B (27B/10), S 1763 (63A/37), or S 722 (Blitzer 1995: GS 271, pls. 8.14, 8.91), from seventh-century contexts, may have been used to sharpen them and other bladed instruments in use in the sanctuary.

Sickles

The two curved blades, 9 and 28, both of iron, are probably sickle blades. Although 28 was found far east of Temple B, Phase B3, 9 was found within Temple B, Phase 2. It may, therefore, have been a dedication. Perhaps such sickles were used to clear the sanctuary of bushes and other growth before celebrations took place. Sickles with broader blades than those from Kommos have been reported from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Coldstream 1973a: 160, pl. 94, nos. 247, 248). Those from Olynthus are particularly well preserved (D. M. Robinson 1941: 340–41, nos. 1623–27, pls. CIII–CIV). See also Waldstein 1905: 299, no. 2263, from the Argive Heraeum, with references.

8. Bronze and Iron Nails

Joseph W. Shaw

Typology

About one hundred nails have been recovered from the Late Archaic and Greco-Roman levels of the Greek Sanctuary. Of these some 60% were of bronze and 40% of iron (Table 5.4). These numbers obviously represent only a portion of those actually present in the sanctuary during its use, since many of the iron nails probably rusted away upon exposure after the collapse of the buildings, especially of Temple C. The rusting process was clearly accelerated.
Table 5.5. Catalogue of sanctuary nails, both bronze and iron, by type.
Measurements are given in centimeters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Kommos Number</th>
<th>Plates</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter of Head</th>
<th>Section of Shank</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Trench/Pail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>B 204a</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.6-0.23</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>44A/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B 204b</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.7-0.4; bent</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>44A/26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mi 144</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.6</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>51A/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>B 5b</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.2</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, western room</td>
<td>10A/38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>B 32a</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Square, 0.3; bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
<td>10A/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B 32b</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Square, 0.3; bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
<td>10A/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>B 170</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Square, bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, western room</td>
<td>10A/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>B 294</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Square, 0.3; bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building E, interior</td>
<td>67A/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>B 296</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Square, 0.4; bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Court</td>
<td>62D/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mi 96</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Square, 0.8; bent</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building D, interior</td>
<td>20B/2/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>B 47</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Square, 0.7-0.3</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Building D, interior</td>
<td>20B/2/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>B 48</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.5-1.5</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Near Building D</td>
<td>208/6</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>B 110</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Square, 0.42-0.15; bent</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>34A/1/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>B 160</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Cylindrical</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Building B, interior</td>
<td>10A/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>B 164</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 0.8</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Building A1, interior</td>
<td>14A/1/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>B 273</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>Square, 0.3; bent</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Near Building E</td>
<td>60A/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>B 314</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>Square, 0.3; bent</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Near Building E</td>
<td>67A/45</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Mi 86</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Rectangular, 1.2-0.9</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Court</td>
<td>34A/3/72</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mi 109</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Square, 0.9</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mi 130</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Square, 1.2</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type 2, Iron Spike</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Mi 3</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 1.2-0.8</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
<td>10A/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mi 4</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
<td>10A/66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi 66</td>
<td>5.31</td>
<td>10.6 pres</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 1.0</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>34A/10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mi 120</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>5.3 pres</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Square, 1.4</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Building A1, interior</td>
<td>44B/1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mi 102a</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>5.8 pres</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Rectangular, 1.2–1.0</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A1/19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mi 103a</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>9.2 pres</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Square, 0.9</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A1/19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi 103b</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>7.3 pres</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>Rectangular, 0.8–1.1</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A1/19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 198</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>7.4 pres</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Square, 0.4–0.15; bent</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>44A/5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Type 3, Pinlike**

| B 208 | 5.32 | 7.1 pres | — | Cylindrical, 0.35–0.2; bent | A | Southern dump | 44A/25 |
| B 230 | 5.35 | 15.3 | 1.2 | Cylindrical to square, 0.6–0.15; bent | C/H | Court | 44A/10 |
| B 242 | 5.35 | 6.8 | 1.15 | Cylindrical to square, 0.5–0.7; bent | C/H | Court | 52A/1 |
| B 246 | 5.35 | 11.6 | 1.55 | Cylindrical to square, 0.65–3.0 | C/H | Court | 52A/5 |
| B 85 | 5.33, 5.35, 5.37 | 13.4 | 1.2 | Cylindrical to flat, 0.6–0.3 | R | Southern dump | 39A/46 |
| B 105 | 5.35 | 10.9 | 0.9 | Cylindrical, bent | R | Southern dump | 34A/15 |
| B 127 | 5.35 | 12.3 | 1.0 | Cylindrical to square, 0.5–0.2 | R | Southern dump | 34A/18 |
| B 122 | 7.5 pres | 1.3 | 1.0 | Cylindrical to square, 0.55–0.22 | R | Southern dump | 34A/16 |
| B 144a | 5.33, 5.35 | 9.8 pres | 1.3 | Cylindrical, 0.5–0.22 | R | Southern dump | 34A/31 |
| B 144b | 5.35 | 7.25 pres | 1.4 | Square, 0.6–0.11; bent | R | Southern dump | 34A/31 |
| B 161 | 8.7 pres | 1.0 | 1.0 | Cylindrical, 0.4–0.2 | R | Near Building D | 44A/7 |

**Type 4, Tacklike**

| B 5a | 5.40 | 1.7–3.1 | 1.5–2.0 | Cylindrical, 0.3–0.15 | C/H | Building B, interior, western room | 10A/38 |
| B 58 | 5.33, 5.38 | 2.0 | 1.6 | Cylindrical, 0.4–0.17 | C/H | Building A1, interior | 23A/10 |
| B 242 | 3.6 | 1.6 | 1.6 | Cylindrical, 0.5–0.2 | C/H | Court | 52A/1 |
| B 321 | 5.36 | 6.0 | 1.6 | Square, 0.5 | C/H | Southern dump | 68A/1 |
| B 322 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.7 | Cylindrical, 0.3–0.15 | C/H | Southern dump | 68A/2 |
Table 5.5 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Kommos Number</th>
<th>Plates</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Diameter of Head</th>
<th>Section of Shank</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Trench/Pail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Mi 97a</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Cylindrical, 1.6–1.3</td>
<td>C/H</td>
<td>Near Building D</td>
<td>34A/11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>B 166</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Near Building D</td>
<td>20B/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>B 169</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>On Altar C</td>
<td>10A/12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>B 178</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Court</td>
<td>34A3/68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>B 241</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Southern dump, surface</td>
<td>34A2/surface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Mi 108</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Square, 0.6</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A = Archaic
B = Bronze
C/H = Classical/Hellenistic
Mi = Iron
pres = Preserved
R = Roman
by the salt-laden moisture from the nearby sea. Bronze nails, by contrast, were less affected by the elements and were often quite well preserved.21

The typology proposed here is based on the shape, relative size, and to some extent material, without immediate connection with either findspot or possible function. Four types are isolated.

The first, Type 1, is the common nail, a medium-size nail of bronze or iron, with a normal rounded, disklike head and a rounded or squared shank (e.g., Pls. 5.32 [1 and 3], 5.42).22 This type represents some 40% of the total number of nails recovered. Within this category there are somewhat more bronze nails (26) than iron nails (21).

Type 2, about 15% of the total number of nails recovered, consists of large iron nails or "spikes," often found in fragments. The large heads and thick shanks help to identify this type. Sometimes, as within Temple C, spikes were found in rusty, sandy masses of two to as many as four nails. They had likely been used next to each other to help bind one beam to another (Pl. 5.34). Often found adhering to these and other iron nails were bits of wood, preserved through the process of the iron corrosion (see "Further Discussion" following). Sometimes the distinction between iron nails placed in Types 1 and 2 is not certain.

Type 3, again about 15% of the total, describes long bronze nails only. These are usually well preserved and are characterized by a round shank that becomes square or rectangular in section toward the pointed end (Pl. 5.35). They might have been classified as "bronze spikes," and thus fallen into Type 2, but their particularly thin, if not delicate, section was thought to be sufficient to place them in a category of their own.

Type 4, about 25% of the total, consists of small nails, usually of bronze, with unusually large heads (Pl. 5.36). They could be called "tacks." As will be seen, because of their relatively small size, their main function does not seem to have been structural, unlike those in Type 2.

All nails from the sanctuary area are listed generally by type and date in Table 5.4, and Table 5.5 lists about half of the better-preserved nails individually, giving measurements, contexts, and dates, especially if the nails were found in interiors and/or dump contexts. Table 5.6 lists all the nails individually by period and context.

TYPE 1: COMMON NAILS

Of the some 47 common bronze and iron nails from the sanctuary, 20 of the most representative are catalogued individually in Table 5.5. The earliest of these are Archaic (1–3) and are from the dump south of Temple B, Phase 3 (Pl. 5.32). From the Classical/Hellenistic period there are both bronze and iron common nails (4–10), the bronze ones from both rooms of Building B (4–7; 14 is from an upper, later level; see Pl. 5.39, lower right), from Building E (8; Pl. 5.42), and from the general court area (9). The single iron nail catalogued (10; Pl. 5.41) is from the interior of Round Building D. Of those from the Early Roman period of use (11–20), the bronze nails come from within Building D (11; Pl. 5.41) or near it (12), from within Building B (14; Pl. 5.39), from within Building A1 (15; Pl. 5.30), from near Building E to the east (16 and 17);
Table 5.6. Bronze and iron nail types and their findspots in the Greek Sanctuary.

Within each period, the order is by temple, interior, court in front of the respective temple, or southern dump. For the post-Archaic period, the listing is continued by interiors and exteriors of associated buildings (A1, B, D, and E) or altars (C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Inventory Number</th>
<th>Plates</th>
<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Trench/Pail</th>
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<tr>
<td>Archaic (Time of Temple B, Phase 3)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Temple B, interior (rod?)</td>
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<td>33C/66</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>Court</td>
</tr>
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<td>L, 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>204 (2)</td>
<td>5.32</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>79</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>Court</td>
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<td>236</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>296</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>290</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>291</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>292</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>321</td>
<td>5.36</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>322</td>
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<td>Mi</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Mi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mi</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>Southern dump</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Mi</td>
<td>115</td>
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<td>Mi</td>
<td>132</td>
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<td>4 B 58</td>
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<td>23A/10</td>
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<td>Mi 120</td>
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<td>Building A1, on south</td>
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<td>40-53</td>
<td>4 B 5a (14)</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>Building B, interior, western room</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 B 5b</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>Building B, interior, western room</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 B 170</td>
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<td>Building B, interior, western room</td>
<td>10A/38</td>
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<td>5, 6</td>
<td>1 B 32 (2)</td>
<td>5.39 (5)</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Mi 3</td>
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<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Mi 4</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td>Building B, interior, eastern room</td>
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<td>Mi 104</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>Mi 97 (2)</td>
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<td>B 294</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>Building E, interior</td>
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Roman (first to second century after Christ)²

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<td>29A/1/26</td>
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<tr>
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<td>29A/1/27</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mi 109</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/28</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mi 110</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/38</td>
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<td>5.34</td>
<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/28</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mi 128</td>
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<td>Temple C, interior</td>
<td>29A/1/28</td>
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<tr>
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<td>B 177 (2)</td>
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<td>Court</td>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>3A/1/7</td>
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<td>3A/1/22</td>
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<td>3A/1/16</td>
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<td>B 116</td>
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<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>3A/1/22</td>
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<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>3A/1/18</td>
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<td>B 122</td>
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<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>3A/1/16</td>
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Table 5.6. (Continued)

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<td>34A2/31</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>B 192</td>
<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>44A/3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>Southern dump</td>
<td>49A/0</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<td>Building B, interior, upper level, eastern room</td>
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<td>10A1/27</td>
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<td>20B2/52</td>
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<td>20B/6</td>
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<td>B 161</td>
<td>Near Building D</td>
<td>14A/7</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>B 166</td>
<td>Near Building D</td>
<td>20B/2</td>
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<td>5.42</td>
<td>Near Building E</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>B 314</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>Near Building E</td>
<td>67A/45</td>
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1In very upper levels and not included: B 8, B 66, B 107, B 154, Mi 95, Mi 98, and Mi 99
B = Bronze
Mi = Iron

Pl. 5.42), or from the later levels south of Temple C (13). In Temple C, two nails (19 and Mi 121; the latter in Pl. 5.34) come from the central hearth, where the wood within which they had been driven may have been burnt. One (20; Pl. 5.34) was found on the eastern bench of the same building, and another (18) in the court area. Numerous other, but uncatalogued, common nails were mostly found within the upper, latest levels of Temple C (Mi 104, Mi 105, and Mi 107 [four]; Pl. 5.34). Together with the larger iron nails in Type 2, they probably represent all that remains from the construction of the timber framework of the temple.

Fully preserved nails, of bronze or iron, range in length from 2.9 to 8.6 cm (16 and 1), the average being 4.0 to 6.0 cm. The heads are invariably disklike, ranging from 0.8 to 2.5 cm in diameter (4 and 10), the larger heads being those of the iron nails. bronze nail heads fall in the 1.0- to 1.5-cm range. In the case of the tapering shanks, the bronze nails are either cylindrical (usually round), or square in section, being about evenly distributed among the periods represented. The shafts of the later iron nails in this group are squared.

The nails from this category, as can be seen, were rather evenly distributed on the exteriors and interiors of the sanctuary, but with many found within Temple C.
Bronze and Iron Nails

TYPE 2: SPIKES

Of some seventeen large iron nails or spikes discovered, seven were catalogued (Table 5.5). There were none from the Archaic period. One (23) came from the Temple C dump, another (24; Pl. 5.38) was the sole large nail from within Building A1. Of special interest are 21 and 22 (Pl. 5.39), since the actual function of at least one of them can be determined with reasonable confidence. The spike (21) was found within the cutting in the stone threshold of the eastern room of Building B (J. W. Shaw et al. 1978: 139, pl. 40a). The cutting (12.5 cm² and 6.0 cm deep) was clearly for setting a wooden pivot block for the door to swing upon. The nail (7.7 cm long as preserved) would have projected up beyond the block and perhaps 10.0 cm into the vertical door beam, having been originally perhaps twice as long. After the abandonment of Building B, either the door rotted in situ or, more likely, was removed, leaving the pivot block and nail in the cutting. The other, similar spike (22) was found nearby. On analogy with the inferred function of 21, 22 may have been used as the upper pivot nail of the same single door, perhaps projecting down from the top of the doorframe into the doorpost.

There was a significant concentration of iron spikes in the area of Temple C. Some were found in the Classical/Hellenistic levels of the dump to its south (23 [Pl. 5.31], Mi 111, Mi 115, and Mi 132), where they may have remained after timbers in which they had been affixed rotted. Of some interest is that no spikes are reported from the Roman levels of the same dump. Instead, along with the many smaller nails of Type 1 already reported above, many spikes were found within the temple itself. Representative of the group are 25–27, to which can be added Mi 100 (three), Mi 153 (three), and probably Mi 128. Most of these are from the upper levels within the building and can probably be attributed to the remains of the roofing structure. That structure, to judge from our understanding of the gradual deterioration of the building, was in the process of decay and eventual collapse during the final phases of Temple C (see J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 5, Temple C, Phases 5 and 6).

In no instance has the original length of a spike been preserved. The longest one recovered is 10.6 cm (23); 15.0–20.0 cm may have been their average length, long enough to serve as a pivot or to tie two fair-sized beams together.²⁵ Their heads are invariably round, ranging from 2.5 to 3.6 cm in diameter. In a few instances (25 and Mi 111), the head seems to have been set off-center on the shaft, as if the result of a mistake by the ironsmith. The nail shafts, which are sometimes of uniform width (rather than neatly tapering as is usually the case with the bronze nails in other categories), vary in thickness from about 0.8 to 1.4 cm, 1.1 cm being the average. The cross sections of the shafts vary from cylindrical to square, as far as can be determined. In contrast, the smaller iron nails of Type 1 are almost invariably square in section.

TYPE 3: PINLIKE NAILS

Aside from their length, the sixteen possible examples in this category, eleven of which are catalogued in Table 5.5, are similar to the bronze nails in Type 1. The disklike heads, for
instance, are similar in size (0.8–1.5 cm [Type 1] versus 0.9–1.4 cm [Type 3]). The often elegant shank, however, differs, for it usually begins by being either cylindrical or round near the nail head and then becomes square further down, after which it usually tapers to a point. The post-Archaic examples that are completely preserved range from 10.9 to 15.3 cm long. Their thickness ranges from 0.65 cm at the head to 0.11 cm near the tip, although 0.5–2.5 cm might be the average.

Of some interest, although not easily explained, is that no such nails were found within buildings. Three of Classical/Hellenistic date that were catalogued (30–32; Pl. 5.35) and another (B 244) were found on the court. These from the Roman period (33–39) were found near Round Building D (one), in the dump south of Temple C (six), and in the court (B 177 [two]; Pl. 5.35).

A few should be mentioned in particular. Two nails of Archaic date (28 and 29; Pl. 5.32) are without heads and may simply have been pointed rods. Type 3 therefore may actually have been used at the sanctuary beginning in post-Archaic times. Also, 33 is unlike the others to the extent that its end is peculiarly flattened (Pls. 5.33, 5.37), rather than round and pointed like the rest.

The function of these delicate nails remains to be explained. If they actually are nails, they seem too thin to have penetrated solid wood. The only other way that they might have been used to bind wood together would be if a hole had first been bored by an auger and then the nails, like wooden dowels, were set into the bored holes, after which the nails might have been crimped or bent. Some of the type, indeed, were found bent (30, 34, and 38; Pl. 5.35), as were the possible Archaic examples (28 and 29). Others, although often not straight, do not seem to have been bent.

Another possibility is that these pinlike artifacts were actually pins for use with cloth or other similarly light materials. This applies particularly to those objects with cylindrical sections in Type 3. In the past they have often been identified as pins rather than nails, whereas both square and cylindrical sections are present in what are obviously nails in our Types 1, 2, and 4.24 This inherent ambiguity is reflected in the double listings here and in the section on jewellery (see Table 5.7; Dabney, Chap. 5, Section 3).

**TYPE 4: TACKLIKE NAILS**

Of the some 25 tacklike nails in this category, 24 of which are listed in Table 5.5, only 3 are of iron (58, 63, and the possible Mi 77), all of which have large heads (2.2–3.2 cm) but short shanks (1.6–3.5 cm), which appear intact but may well have been longer. Nail 58 was found near Round Building D, 63 inside Temple C, and Mi 77 in the court area.

More characteristic, however, are the bronze tacks.27 Their hammered, disklike heads range from 1.5 to 2.0 cm in diameter. Their shanks are usually cylindrical, although a few (e.g., 56 and 59–62) are squared and, like the others, taper to a point. The lengths of most range from 1.7 to 3.85 cm.26
The earliest contexts for the bronze tacks are Classical/Hellenistic (40–57), with the remainder from the Roman period (59–62). Three are from the southern temple dump (56, 57, and 62), and two are from the court (55 and 61). One is from the interior of Building A1 (54), but the largest group of some fourteen (40–53) was recovered from the original floor of the western room of Late Hellenistic Building B.

This last group deserves special attention. These tacks (Pl. 5.40) were found, along with a common nail (4), scattered on the floor of the small interior room in the western half of Building B (J. W. Shaw et al. 1978: 138, pl. 38e). That they belong together not simply as a findgroup but as a functional one is ensured by the unusual markings on the underside of each head around the shaft, markings that were on the mold or forge that originally formed them. These markings are like a Maltese cross in relief with four small dots above and below the arms of the cross, one to each quadrant (Pl. 5.40).27

The function of the group of fourteen remains to be determined, as does that of the other tacks. Concerning the group of tacks as a whole, their length (1.7–3.85 cm) is considerably less than the average range of the common nails in Type 1 (4.0–6.0 cm). The latter, with their smaller heads, presumably often joined small wooden members together. This seems an unlikely function for most of the tacks, however, because of their limited length and also because of their large heads. The heads are larger than those of the common nails because they were probably designed, as tacks are now, to hold a material such as cloth or leather, or even a lattice of wood, to a wooden backing. Thus it is likely that the tack group from Building B is mute evidence for some kind of equipment or furnishing. In their present number the tacks might have been used, for instance, to retain the cloth on the side of a folding stool, with seven tacks to a side. If there were more than actually recovered, a chair or bed would be a possibility, perhaps to be used by the seikouros, or caretaker, who, it has been suggested, may have used the room.28

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### Table 5.7. Objects listed as both nails and pins in Chapter 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J. W. Shaw, Section 5, Nails, No.</th>
<th>Inventory No.</th>
<th>M. Dalney, Section 3, Jewellery, No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>B 204a</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B 204b</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>B 208</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>B 85</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>B 117</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>B 144a</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>B 161</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Further Discussion

Bronze and iron nails were introduced to Kommos in the LA period, one assumes after Temples A and B had been built without nails. The flat roofs of these buildings would, of course, have been simpler than the gable roof that was introduced later with Temple C, erected in the fourth century B.C. When Temple C was built, small common nails (Type 1) were used on a regular basis, and the spikes (Type 2) associated with the temple imply that they bound members of its wooden framework, probably framing used to hold up the tiled roof. Tacks (Type 4) were introduced as early as the LH period, when they most likely attached material to a wooden backing, perhaps in connection with furniture, as suggested for Building B. The pin type of nail (Type 3), the function of which still remains to be determined, was in use concurrently.

As compared with iron, bronze would have been preferred for its lasting quality. It might also have been more easily crimped, without breaking, because it was more malleable. A number of bronze nails recovered, for instance, appear to have had their ends bent after having been driven in (2, 5–10, 13, 16, and 17, all common nails). Iron nails, however, could have been driven more easily into dense wood and could have been used to attach the larger wooden members. No spikelike bronze nails were found, and it is assumed that they were not used.

In some cases the process of corrosion of the iron nails caused adjacent materials to become fused to the nail, usually to its shaft. In one case (23; Pl. 5.31), a bronze strip adhered to the nail, and a bronze wire became attached to its point. Perhaps this nail, recovered from the first- or second-century-B.C. dump south of Temple C, had originally been used to hang up materials within the building. Of some interest is that during the same process of corrosion parts of the wood adjoining the nail also became fused to it. Aside from carbonization through burning, this process was the only other one that preserved Kommos wood in the variable climate of southern Crete.

Other nails, all of iron, preserved fragments of wood. Traces were usually found next to the head and up to 4.0 cm down the shank. This wood probably remains from the first wooden member, beam or board, penetrated by the nail. Of these, three probable common nails are from the Archaic dumps south and east of Temple B (Mi 79, 3, and Mi 148). Another example (22, a spike), is from the eastern room of Hellenistic Building B, where it may have served as a pivot pin. Of the fourteen examples preserving wood, the largest group, however, comes from the ruins of the interior of Temple C. Of these ten nails, six were common nails (Mi 105, Mi 107 [two of four], 19, 20, and Mi 121) and four, the larger spikes (Mi 108 [three] and 25).

Although the context of the nail group from within C is Roman, at least some of the nails are probably earlier. Some of them may have been used when the temple was constructed in the fourth century B.C., since there is no evidence that the original roof was replaced, for instance, after a collapse or burning. Of some interest in this regard is the direction of the
wood graining in relationship to the shaft of the nail, for the angle between nail and grain can serve as an indicator of the angle between the nail and the wooden member with which it was used. In an instance where the grain is at right angles (or vertical) to the nail, the nail must have been driven into the side of the wood (a beam or rafter, for instance, which is invariably cut along the grain). Where the grain runs parallel to the nail’s length (as in 23; Pl. 5.31), the nail was driven into the end of a wooden piece, in this case perhaps a peg or plaque fastened to the wall inside the temple.

On the ten examples from within Temple C, the wood grain on five (Mi 100a-c, Mi 105, and 20) is at right angles to the length of the nail, indicating that the nail was driven into the side of the board or beam. Examples of heavy frameworks where spikes may have been used are the framework for the eastern door (unless the joining method was by means of wooden pegs) and the roof structure. Perhaps spikes Mi 100a-c were used on the latter. A likely spot would be where crossbeams and slanting roof rafters met above the cela wall; the nails would have been driven in from below, into the horizontal crossbeams, perhaps before they were set in place. Another possibility would be below a vertical prop set between a horizontal beam and the ridge beam, as for instance above one of the columns. Of the remaining nails with wood from within Temple C, the grain on four (25, Mi 107b, 19, and Mi 121) was preserved on a diagonal. Of these, one spike (25) may have been used near the temple eaves, where it was driven into one of the slanting rafters from above. The three other nails in this category, all small, may have secured smaller rafters near the same point. The single common nail remaining (19), with grain parallel to its length, probably served some other purpose such as that of 23 (Pl. 5.31), already discussed.

Of the twelve examples of wood remains adhering to nails that were examined by a botanist, only four could be identified, and these were all conifer (e.g., fir, pine, or spruce). Of them, three were from the interior of Temple C: 25, an iron spike, as well as Mi 105 and Mi 107a, both common nails. The fourth, an iron spike (22), is from the floor level of the eastern room of Building B.

The significant groupings of nails in certain contexts has been discussed, but the lack of nails or certain types of nails has not. For instance, no bronze nails were found within Temple C, where iron nails abounded. This might be explained if we assume that the interior of Temple C, during a penultimate period, had been cleared of any offerings with wooden framing bound by nails. These could have been thrown into the dump to the south, where both iron and bronze nails were found. Then, when the roof collapsed, beams in which iron nails had been used exclusively rotted out and only the nails remained.

Another curious absence is that in contrast to the situation in Temple C, very few nails were found within Building A1 bordering it to the north (only those in Pl. 5.38). It is possible, of course, that the timber from the roof was salvaged and taken elsewhere for use. On the other hand, there is evidence for a major burning in the northwestern part of the court at about this time, and those very beams could have been burnt then. If so, no nails were left,