

The Reconstruction of the Northeast Building at Pylos.

A different View.*

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In the course of the 1957 to 1958 excavations of the palace of Ano Englianos in south-western Messenia, a free-standing building complex was discovered north-east of the palace.¹ This building complex lies at right angles with the palace and its megaron. Its facade faced towards a court which also served the palace. In spite of its separate location, the so-called ‘northeast building’ formed an integral part of the palace complex.

The architectural remains provided the basis for the reconstruction of the ‘northeast building’. In his preliminary excavation reports from 1958 and 1959, and in the final publication from 1966, Blegen reconstructed the building as a rectangular, single storey complex consisting of six rooms. Its north-eastern wing was accessible by a central corridor. The architectural remains, regular stone foundations, and an almost square stone base forming the north-eastern anta of room 93 in the south-western half of the facade, have been reconstructed as a pillar colonnade.² Behind the colonnade 94, and the corridor 95 lay the three rooms 98-100 whose back walls also served as the outer north-east wall. Corridor 95 also gave access to rooms 96 and 97 in the north-western wing. Room 93 had been interpreted as a shrine due to its content. All of this room opened up towards court 92 in front of the colonnade. Blegen was unable to determine if there had been a second entrance to the colonnade as there are no traces indicating whether the north-western walls of rooms 97 and 98 had been connected.³ With no stair remains visible, Blegen reconstructed it as a single-storey building with a flat roof.⁴

The excavators believed in a uniform architectural plan for both the north-east building and the palace, thus dating the building to early LH IIIB or slightly later. The north-east building was in continuous use until its destruction through fire at the turn of LH IIIB:2/IIC, which also destroyed the rest of the palace.⁵ Finds of bronze and ivory made Blegen conclude that he had found a workshop. The abundance of Linear B tablets complemented the material evidence with references to leather working, and the manufacture and repair of chariot parts, wheels in particular.⁶

* First of all I wish to express my gratitude to Sabine Westerburg-Eberl, München/ Heidelberg, who draw the plan in fig. 2. The english translation was critically revised by Ina Berg, Manchester/ Cambridge. All errors are mine.

The following literature is cited in abbreviation:

PN I = C.W. Blegen, M. Rawson, *The palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, vol. I (Princeton 1966);

PN III = C.W. Blegen et al., *The palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia*, vol. III (Princeton 1973);

PCA = C.W. Shelmerdine and T.G. Palaima eds., *Pylos Comes Alive. Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace* (New York 1984).

¹ AJA 62 (1958) 175-77; PN I 299-325; PN III 25 for the later excavated sector S12, fig. 302.

² AJA 62 (1958) 175-77; for the identification as a colonnade see PN I 305 and fig. 223; AJA 63 (1959) 123-24.

³ PN I 310.

⁴ AJA 62 (1958) 177, roof-terrace; PN I 299, a flat roof.

⁵ PN I 35; the relative chronology is still uncertain and is based on information given by Blegen, PN I 32-33, 421, 423; according to Blegen, the LH III palace had been rebuilt after a fire destruction, beginning with the southwestern wing, the megaron, the Wine Magazine and the northeast workshop; ongoing investigations promise a more differentiating chronology, F.A. Cooper, E. Swain, AJA 98 (1994) 288.

⁶ C. Blegen, M. Lang, AJA 62 (1958) 177, 190-91; PN I 299, 311 (Room 97), 316 (Room 98), 321 (Room 99 as storage area), 324-25 (Room 100).

Scholars have generally accepted the identification of the north-east building as a palatial workshop. Research therefore focused primarily on the organisation and the localisation of work and workgroups within the building.⁷ The analysis of the Linear B material unveiled the strict and centralised control of labor by the palatial administration.⁸ The textual evidence grants us a privileged view of the palatial links with the hinterland, and of the obligations the hinterland had towards the palace. Based on evidence from Linear B tablets, Imre Tegyey attempted to show in 1984 that the north-east building had had close relations with a sanctuary, and thus gained a certain degree of independence from the palatial economy and administration.⁹

Above and beyond the interpretation of the north-east building as a workshop, scholars have also generally agreed on LH IIIB as a date for the complex.¹⁰ Its reconstruction proposed by Blegen as a single-storey building erected according to a uniform plan, with a pillared colonnade added in front of the south-eastern wing, found unanimous approval.¹¹ However, it is the aim of this paper to critically review this reconstruction with the help of the remaining architectural evidence.

In comparison with the north-western wall of room 98, the north-western wall of room 97 follows a conspicuously slanting course. Blegen points to continuing north-western walls, and the location of a drain, as an explanation for this phenomenon. At the same time, however, Blegen was uncertain whether to reconstruct the outer wall as closed, or to assume a second entrance.¹² The area 92, in front of the so-called shrine, slopes slightly to the south and southwest. The stucco-floor between colonnade 94 and court 92 compensated for a height difference of 0.15m. A sloping floor level could be discerned in the centre of the entrance area, which was particularly noticeable at the threshold to the shrine and at the so-called altar.¹³ The fresco-ornated altar was carelessly covered by several layers of stucco.¹⁴ We could explain the sloping floor level with the slight downwards gradient towards south-east. A third point, however, questions the building sequence itself.

Blegen identified the north-eastern antablock of shrine 93, with its characteristic dowel holes, as the north-western end of a pillared colonnade. Within the south-western wall of corridor 95

⁷ T.G. Palaima, C. Shelmerdine, "Mycenaean Archaeology and the Pylos Texts" in *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 3 (1984) 84-85; K. Kilian, "Pylos – Funktionsanalyse einer Residenz der späten Palastzeit" *ArchKorrBl* 14 (1984) 43 fig. 3-4; K. Kilian, "Zur Funktion der mykenischen Residenzen auf dem griechischen Festland," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos eds., *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the fourth international Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 1982* (Stockholm 1984) 25 fig. 2b, 3a; J.-P. Olivier, *Die beschrifteten Tonplomben (Klasse Wr)* in I. Pini ed., *Die Tonplomben aus dem Nestorpalast von Pylos* (Mainz 1997) 72-76.

⁸ T.G. Palaima, *The Scribes of Pylos* (Incunabula Graeca 87, Rome 1988) 152-59, 179-80 fig. 19, 20. C.W. Shelmerdine, "Industrial Activity in Pylos" in P.Hr. Ilievski, L. Crepajac eds., *Tractata Mycenaea. Proceedings of the eight International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies 1985*, (Skopje 1987) 333-42; C.W. Shelmerdine, J. Bennet, "Two new Linear B Documents from Bronze Age Pylos" *Kadmos* 34 (1995) 123-36.

⁹ I. Tegyey, "The Northeast Workshop at Pylos" in PCA 65-79.

¹⁰ J. Wright, "Changes in Form and Function of the Palace at Pylos" in PCA, 20, n. 2; C.W. Shelmerdine, "Architectural Change and Economic Decline at Pylos" *Minos* 20-22 (1987) (Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek presented to John Chadwick) 564-65; counter M. Popham, "Pylos: Reflections on the Date of its Destruction and its Iron Age Reoccupation" *OJA* 10 (1991) 315-24; P.A. Mountjoy, "The Destruction of the Palace of Pylos Reconsidered" *BSA* 92 (1997) 109-35, who agrees with Blegen's dating.

¹¹ J. Wright in PCA 20; C.W. Shelmerdine in *Minos* 20/22 (1987) 563-64, believes that the northeast building is the latest of the palace complex; G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur. Studien zur Architekturgeschichte des griechischen Festlandes in der späten Bronzezeit* (Mainz 1989) 130-31 fig. 98.

¹² AJA 62 (1958) 176; PN I 310-11; the outer wall of room 97 formed "an obtuse angle".

¹³ PN I 301-02 fig. 227; Blegen stated a difference between the northwestern and the northeastern part of court 92 with 0.47m, PN I 302, see fig. 227; between altar and the southeastern pillar foundation is a step of 0.15m, PN I 302 fig. 225.

¹⁴ PN I 302 fig. 227.

lies another stone block, which is situated in line with the first preserved pillar base of the colonnade.¹⁵ Both blocks, set in the wall of corridor 95, with measurement of 0.85m and 0.90m are almost identical in size, and both blocks show the typical dowel holes for a timber construction which would have supported the pillar's stability.¹⁶ The location of the second, north-western block is conspicuous as it is bound on its three sides by the walls of rooms 93, 95, and 96, and lies in line with the colonnade.¹⁷ This position is unique in the palace. According to the thickness of the joining walls (0.85m-0.90m)¹⁸ this block with its lost wooden structure lacks any static function here. In addition, the expenditure for this stone block does not justify its carefully planned position.

As mentioned above, Blegen reconstructed a colonnade of pillars only for the south-eastern wing of the northeast building. The existence and position of the second block in the wall of corridor 95 with its dowel holes calls this theory into question. Is it possible to reconstruct the original layout of a first phase with a colonnade for the entire building? New investigations into the architecture of the palace were carried out by the Minnesota Archaeological Research in the Western Peloponnese - Pylos Project (MARP) and provided the necessary measurements to assess this hypothesis.¹⁹ Measurements given in Fig.1 seem to support our claim for an original colonnade in front of the north-western wing. Unfortunately, individual measurements such as pillar bases, stone settings, and the distances between pillars deviate to same degree. The distance between the north-western side of the integrated stone base and the north-western wall of the building has been measured as 11.14m by MARP (see A in Fig.1). We can therefore assume another three pillars, thus extending the colonnade further to the north-west. A reconstruction can be accomplished either by using absolute measurements or by taking the calculated average measure for a pillar and the distance between pillars. If we add together the measurements for the three preserved pillars or stone foundations and their respective interspaces we get a total length of 10.94m (B in Fig.1). The difference between the two measurements A and B is 0.20m or 1.8%. Alternatively we could reconstruct an average width of the pillars (0.85m; 0.90m) and their respective interspaces (2.57m; 3.10m). The sum of 7.42m (C in Fig.1) puts the average width of a pillar plus its interspace to 3.71m. The distance between three pillars therefore adds up to 11.13m.

Specific architectural features of rooms 98 and 99 might also indicate a different reconstruction of the building. Room 98 is the only one in the entire building with a stucco pavement, albeit partly discoloured through fire and heat.²⁰ Its entrance roughly corresponds with the second pillar of the proposed colonnade. The floor level of room 99 could not be determined exactly

¹⁵ PN I 304 fig. 222-223.

¹⁶ PN I 304 n. 4 for the northeastern antablock of room 93; n. 3 for the northwestern stone block within the corridor wall; cf. for Mycenae A.J.B. Wace, "Excavations at Mycenae 1921/23" BSA 25 (1921/23) 204 at the western corridor and room 48; for the Southhall of the central court at Tiryns see K. Müller, Tiryns III. (Augsburg 1930) 134-35, Pl. 5.

¹⁷ Position see PN I fig. 151, 223.

¹⁸ PN I 304.

¹⁹ It is a great pleasure to thank Michael C. Nelson and Frederick A. Cooper, who generously provided the necessary information, gained in the course of the Minnesota Archaeological Researches in the Western Peloponnese - Pylos Project. Without their liberal help, this argument would lack the necessary data; cf. AJA 96 (1992) 362.

²⁰ PN I 315-16, Blegen compared this floor with the stucco pavement of the Archives Complex 7/8; the other rooms do not provide stuccoed floors, PN I 304 (93), 307 (95), 309 (96), 311 (97), badly damaged room 99, 319, 324 (100); 305 for Colonnade 94 which provides remains of the floor's stucco, which might, according to Blegen, be renewed a few times during the last phase, see PN I 302.

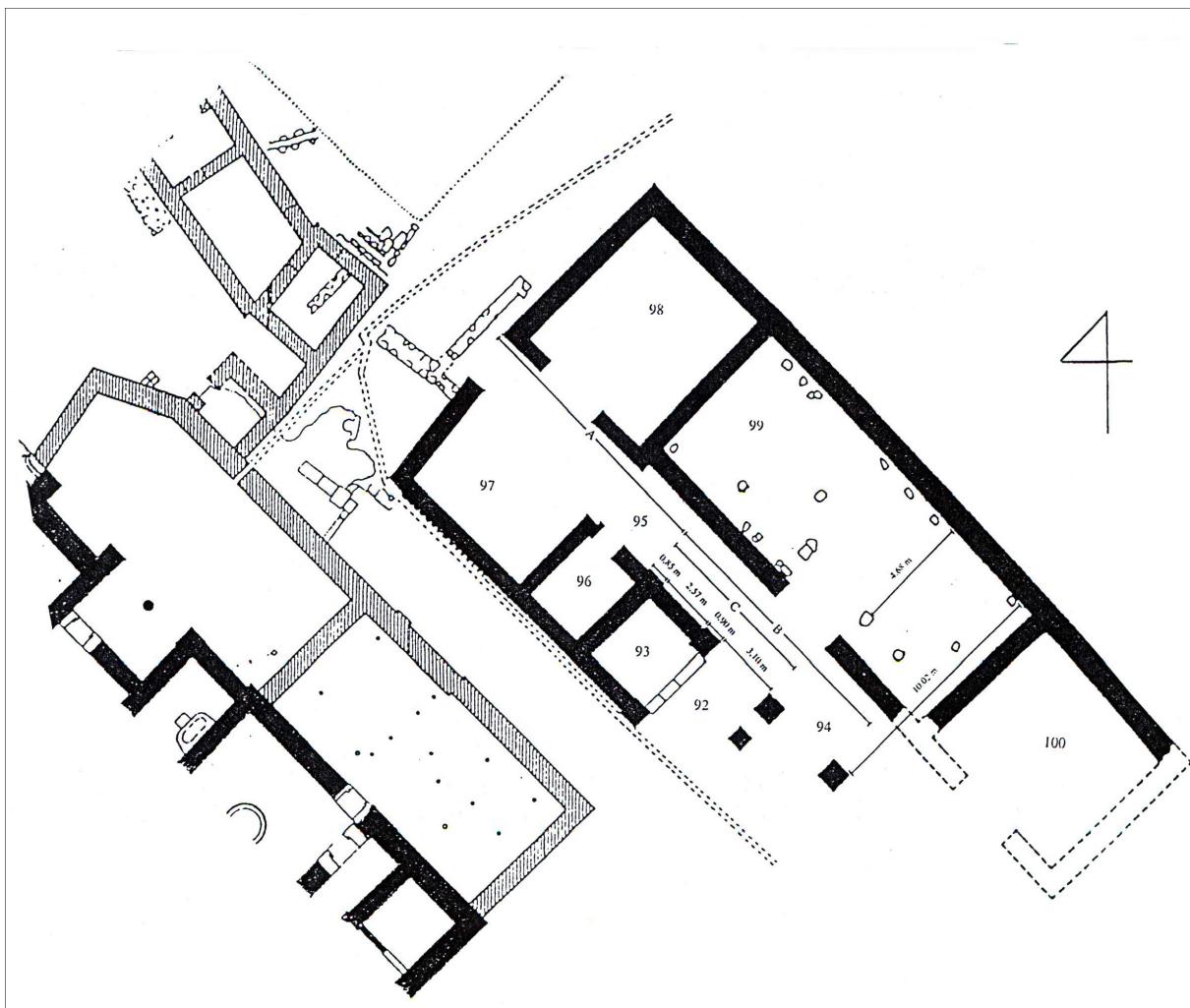


Fig. 1: The Northeastbuilding (after PN I)

as the intense heat of the fire destruction baked the remains of the fallen walls to the floor.²¹ Along the north-east back wall and along the wall to corridor 95 Blegen discovered stone settings which he interpreted as flat bases for wooden shelves. Two further flat stones along the axis of room 99 were identified as support for a wooden roof structure.²² Another three similar stone settings are situated in the south-western part of this room. Blegen again interpreted them as shelf supports, although the stones are between 1.35m and 1.40m away from the wall.²³ Interestingly, the separating wall between room 99 and the corridor is not aligned with its neighboring room 98. According to Blegens excavation report this wall did not rest on natural soil, *stereo*, but had been built on a mixed earth-stone-sherd layer.²⁴ The distance between the north-east back wall and the stone foundations along the axis of room 99 is 4.68m; the width of room 99 with the colonnade is almost double in length, 10.02m (s. Fig.1).

The measurements paved the way for a different reconstruction of the history of the northeast building and allowed the differentiation of two architectural phases. The colonnade, so far

²¹ PN I 319, "No continuous black deposit remained to mark the floor level."

²² PN I 320 fig. 222.

²³ PN I 320, it was not easy to determine their function.

²⁴ PN I 305, it "seems to rest on stereo-like earth, which contains a few potsherds and itself lies on stereo 0.25m deeper"; Blegen, PN I 318 mentioned only, that the northeastern exterior wall rest on natural soil; the wall between 99/100 had not been built on *stereo*, PN I 323-24.

only proven for the south-western wing, shall be extended along the entire facade of the building. At least three spacious rooms can be proposed: the central room 99 which was open to the court, and two further rooms 98 and 100 with wide entrances either side.²⁵ Rooms 93-97 are additions made during a second building phase. Together with these new rooms, a wall might have been added, thus separating room 99 from the colonnade.²⁶ The three original roof supports became unnecessary. Instead, two new roof supports had to be built in the centre of a newly created room.²⁷ Room 100 was probably the southeasternmost room and marked the end of the building. As a result of the restructuring process, the three north-west pillars became obsolete and were torn down. The orientation of the shrine 93 towards court 92 is remarkable since we assumed this to be the only entrance to the building. The details of the roof's reconstruction are still up for debate, but a flat terrace roof is most probable.

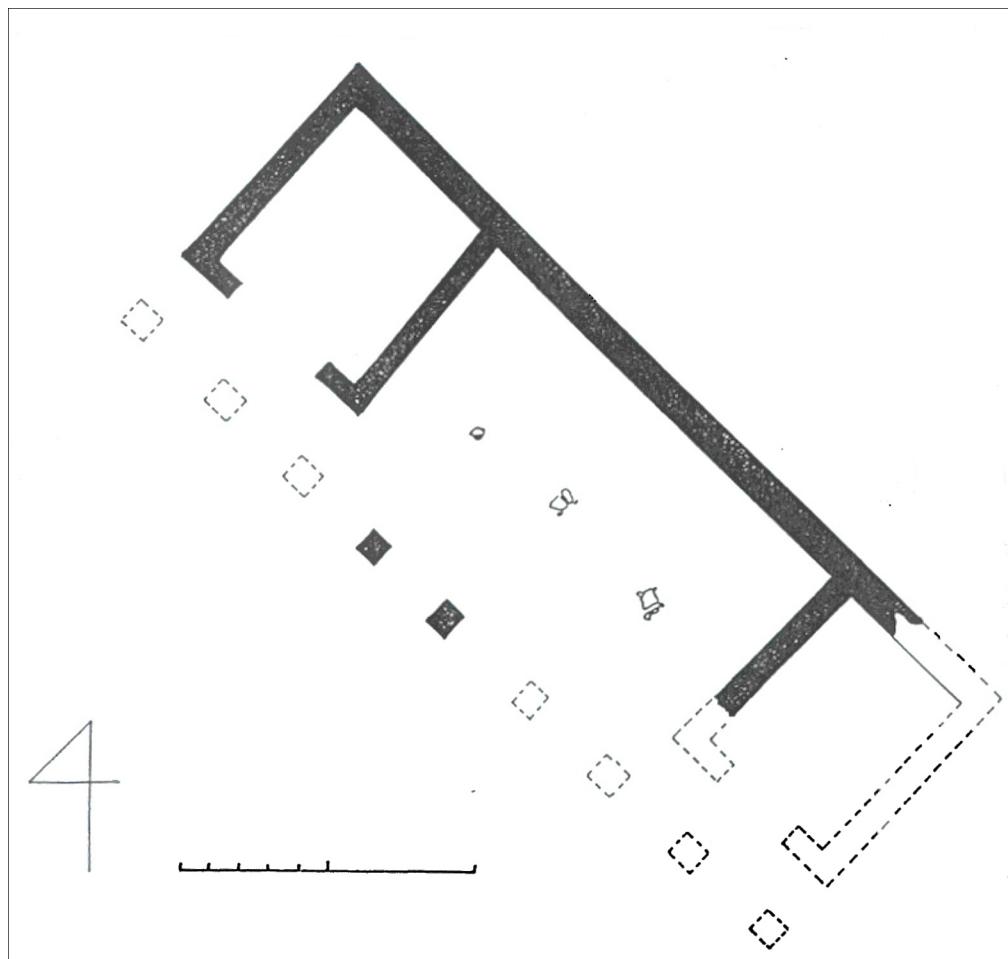


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of a first phase of the Northeastbuilding

The proposed original layout for the northeast building can be described as a stoa. This type of building can be traced back to MM III/LM I Crete. It was an invention exclusively used in

²⁵ PN I 314, both entrance walls "terminate in a more or less finished end"; possibly these walls had been extended during the remodelling.

²⁶ PN I 318, 319 probably a wooden lintel and casing.

²⁷ J. Mylonas Shear, Mycenaean Domestic Architecture (Diss. Univ. of Bryn Mawr 1968) 476-77, rooms with more than 5m width made it necessary to install a roof support.

palatial context or in ‘Villas’ and required a high degree of architectural expertise.²⁸ Neopalatial examples came from Haghia Triada and, a special variant, from Kommos, and can be dated to LM I.²⁹ The stoa at the Piazzale at Haghia Triada is a free-standing building with little depth and a facade of five pillars framed by a wall on either side. The example at Kommos was integrated into a larger building, which itself surrounded a wide court to the south. Six columns and two pillars constituted the respective ends of the colonnade and served as a passage onto the court. The passage was thus aptly called a colonnaded hall by its excavator.³⁰ Rows of possibly alternating columns and pillars are characteristic of Neopalatial architecture. These alternating fixtures were used to order the space rhythmically. They are most often found in front of a wall or framing open spaces.³¹

The Minoan stoa is an architectural feature that outlasted the end of the Neopalatial period and survived in similar form into LM III. The stoa near House C at Tylissos and the building F-G at Haghia Triada retained the stoa as a single room structure with a colonnaded facade into LM III.³² Both examples have rows of columns set between the side walls thus forming a continuous room. These buildings developed directly out of the Neopalatial prototype.

At the same time, the stoa was developed further into a larger building with several rooms. This design has so far only been recognised at the stoa at Haghia Triada, built in LM IIIA:2.³³ This important, 12x47m large building shows remarkable similarities in its architectural layout with the above proposed example from Pylos. Eight chambers, accessible through a colonnaded corridor, have been recognised. The colonnade consists of a row of ten pillars alternating with nine columns. The pillars and columns - just as their counterparts at Pylos - were made up of roughly quadratic stone bases. Dowel holes demonstrate the existence of a wooden support structure to stabilize the rubble fill of the wall. A stairway to the south gave access to an upper storey. The size, the fresco decoration of the front, and the row of alternating pillars and columns underline the importance of this building which outshines the older examples from the Neopalatial Period.

The finding material identifies the ‘great stoa’ at Haghia Triada as a storeroom and workshop.³⁴ The smaller and isolated standing examples appear to have a ritual or ceremonial

²⁸ B.J. Hayden, “The Derivation and Architectural Context of Cretan Bronze Age Stoas” *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 1-2; J. Driessens, “The Proliferation of Minoan Palatial Architectural Style” *ActaArchLov* 28-29 (1989-90) 11 fig. 11.

²⁹ For Haghia Triada B.J. Hayden in: *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 1-2; F. Halbherr, E. Stefani, L. Banti, “Haghia Triada nel Periodo Tardo Palaziale” *ASAtene* 55 n.s. 39 (1977) 204-208 fig. 126, 130; for Kommos J.W. Shaw, “A ‘palatial’ Stoa at Kommos” in Hägg, Marinatos eds., *Function* cf. supra n. 7 103 fig. 2; J.W. Shaw, “Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1984-1985” *Hesperia* 55 (1986) 242-243 fig. 6a-b; M.C. Shaw, “Late Minoan I Building J/T and Late Minoan III Buildings N and P at Kommos: Their Nature and Possible Uses as Residences, Palaces, and/or Emporia” in *Scripta Mediterranea* VI (1985) 19-21.

³⁰ J.W. Shaw, in Hägg, Marinatos eds., *Function* cf. supra n. 7 106.

³¹ J.W. Graham, *The Palaces of Crete* (Princeton 1987) 190-92; cf. Myrtos-Pyrgos, AR (1977/78) 77 fig. 21; Makryialos, K. Davaras, “The Cult Villa at Makryialos”. in R. Hägg ed., *The Function of the ‘Minoan Villa’*, Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 1992 (Stockholm 1997) 119 fig. 2.

³² B.J. Hayden, in *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 2-3; B. J. Hayden, *The Development of Cretan Architecture from the LM IIIA through the Geometric Period* (Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania) 48-49 fig. 28; for Haghia Triada Building F-G see B.J. Hayden, in *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 2; B.J. Hayden, *The Development* cf. supra 52-53 fig. 29, 34; J.C. McEnroe, *Minoan House and Town Arrangement* (Diss. Univ. of Toronto 1979) 275-77 fig. 87, 148, for Tylissos fig. 131.

³³ J.C. McEnroe, cf. supra n. 32 273-75 fig. 129; B.J. Hayden, *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 3-6; B.J. Hayden, *The Development* see supra n. 32 57-59; L. Banti, “L’Agorà di Haghia Triada: La datazione” in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi* vol.I (Rome 1977) 38-40; V. La Rosa, “Haghia Triada in età micenea” in Jean-Pierre Olivier ed., *Mykenaika. Actes du IX^e Colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens* (BCH Suppl. 25, Paris 1992) 619.

³⁴ B.J. Hayden in *ArchNews* 11 (1982) 4; B. J. Hayden, *The Development* see supra n. 32 156.

function. The LM I to LM III buildings at Haghia Triada, Tylissos, and Kommos all opened onto large courts or open spaces. Their enclosed rooms were too small to accommodate workshops or to contain storage facilities. They were thus interpreted as sun protection or observation stands during religious processions or festivals.³⁵

While the LM III stoas at Haghia Triada and Tylissos show strong affinities with their LM I predecessors, the ‘great stoa’ at Haghia Triada of LM IIIA:2 date has been regarded as combining a Minoan layout with Mycenaean building elements.³⁶ The reconstructed stoa at Pylos should be connected with this LM III type from Haghia Triada. The design must have been transmitted from Crete to the Mainland by LM IIIB.

The finds from the destruction debris from the northeast building at Pylos and the Linear B evidence leave no doubt about its use as a workshop. Regarding the proposed first phase, the nature of its use cannot be securely ascertained. In analogy to the above mentioned examples which opened onto open spaces, we may hypothesise that this building was used during religious or secular festivals. Feasts certainly took place at Pylos, although their meaning and sequence of events are still uncertain. It is tempting, however, to connect the presumed festivals with a recent hypothesis by Walter Burkart, who suggested the existence of guest houses nearby Mycenaean palaces. His argument is based on etymological similarities between the historical Greek festival named *leschanasios* and the possible Mycenaean term **leschewanaktios*. This term, argued Burkart, is connected with the feast lechestroterion, known from Pylian Linear B tablets, during which the Pylian wanax might have fulfilled certain obligations of religious hospitality.³⁷

How does our reconstruction of the northeast building fit into the historical development of the palace at Pylos? This question is of great importance especially since we reconstructed its first phase as resembling an older Minoan building type; the northeast building would thus have been the first of its kind on the Mycenaean Mainland. Cultural influence of Neopalatial Crete on Messenia has been demonstrated by many scholars, and its impact on the early Mycenaean period has generally been recognised. Material remains from early Mycenaean Messenia point to a Minoan influence similar to that detected in other regions of the Mainland particularly during the Shaftgrave period.³⁸ The architectural layout and the workmanship of the LH IIIB palace as well as the traces of its predecessors have been investigated with this question in mind. An ashlar block below the floor level of room 7 engraved with a double axe as a mason's mark seems to proof the Minoan-inspired building tradition.³⁹ The fresco

³⁵ J.C. McEnroe cf. supra n. 32 229-31, 235, 274, 278-80 points to connections with open spaces and location at entrance ways; B.J. Hayden in ArchNews 11 (1982) 3; for the connection between courts and free spaces with Minoan processions see N. Marinatos, “Public Festivals in the West Courts of the Palaces” in Hägg, Marinatos eds., Function cf. supra n. 7 135-142; G.C. Gesell, “The Minoan Palace and Public Cult” in ibid. 123-127.

³⁶ B.J. Hayden, The Development see supra n. 32 118-19; cf. J.C. McEnroe see supra n. 32 265-66 for the threshold of Sanctuary H comparable with Pylian examples.

³⁷ W. Burkart, “Lescha - Liška. Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland” in B. Janowski, K. Koch, G. Wilhelm eds., Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposium Hamburg (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 129, Göttingen 1993) 26-33; cf. L.R. Palmer, The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts (Oxford 1963) 251-52; C. Trümpy, “Nochmals zu den mykenischen Fr-Täfelchen. Die Zeitangaben innerhalb der pylischen Ölrationenserie” SMEA 27 (1989) 230-31; for possible festivals within the palace G. Säflund, “Sacrificial Banquets in the ‘Palace of Nestor’” OpAth 13 (1980) 237-46.

³⁸ R. Hägg, “On the Nature of the Minoan Influence in Early Mycenaean Messenia” OpAth 14 (1982) 27-37; G.S. Korres, “The Relations between Crete and Messenia in the Late Middle Helladic and Early Late Helladic Period” in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos eds., The Minoan Thalassocracy. Myth and Reality, Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens 1982 (Stockholm 1984) 141-152.

³⁹ PN I 94 fig. 16; PN III 35-36; remarkable are five conical cups that had come to light in a jug under room 55, PN I 223 fig. 337.

decoration of the Pylian throne room shows antithetic griffins either side of the throne and resembles the Knossian arrangement where a lion and a griffin flank the throne.⁴⁰ The question of which was the prototype for the other still influences the ongoing debate about the Minoan or Mycenaean character of the Knossian throne room in LM II/IIIA.⁴¹ Some of the Pylian Linear B tablets, unfortunately from uncertain find contexts, represent an earlier graphic tradition and might show influence from Knossos.⁴²

The architectural design of the Pylian palace has also been the focus of scholarly research. In 1967 James W. Graham proposed that rooms 64 and 65 formed part of a banquet hall, inspired by Neopalatial Crete and originally known from Egypt. He reconstructed a room with a hearth supported by six columns.⁴³ The plan published by Blegen and Rawson in 1973 furnished Klaus Kilian with the opportunity to join the LH II or IIIA wall remains underneath court 62 to long and narrow magazines. Kilian thus alluded to the magazine complexes in the west wings of Neopalatial palaces which are a characteristic of the Minoan palace layout. Furthermore, Kilian reconsidered the use of wall structures beneath the LH IIIB palace and reconstructed an inner central court for the LH IIIA palace according to the Minoan prototype.⁴⁴ According to the information gathered by the excavators and uncertainties in the dating of the older remains make this reconstruction doubtful. The palace is principally a helladic structure.⁴⁵

Minoan features can also be seen in the building techniques of the palace. The outer walls of the central palace building are one example. They were constructed in the more sophisticated ashlar technique whilst the inner walls, the walls of the Wine Magazine, and the walls of the northeast workshop were built in a rubble-timber construction.⁴⁶ The ashlar blocks were smoothed at the front only, their reverse was left unworked and padded with rubble. Gaps were filled with rubble too. This specific masonry is known for Crete since at least MM III and was particularly used for outer walls. Ashlar masonry is regarded as a typically palatial element in the Neopalatial period as it is representative in character and labour-intensive. In some cases, ashlar masonry has also been used for ‘Villas’ or town houses.⁴⁷ The high quality and dimension of the facade at Pylos and of the inner court at Mycenae demonstrate the use of ashlar in palatial contexts on the Mainland too.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ M. Lang, Palace of Nestor II. The Frescos (Princeton 1969) 99 Cat.nr. 20c6 Pl. 53-54; C. W. Blegen, “A Chronological Problem” in E. Grumach ed., *Minoica, Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Johannes Sundwall* (Berlin 1958) 61-66; arguing for Minoan traditions on the ground of iconographic arguments see H. Reusch, “Zum Wandschmuck des Thronsaales in Knossos” in E. Grumach ed., *Minoica* cf. supra 334-58.

⁴¹ M. Lang, Palace of Nestor II supra n. 40 101-102, influential predecessor of Pylos; S.A. Immerwahr, Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age (Philadelphia 1990) 96-98; W.-D. Niemeier, “Zur Deutung des Thronraumes im Palast von Knossos” AM 101 (1986) 63-95; W.-D. Niemeier, “On the function of the ‘Throne room’ in the palace of Knossos” in Hägg, Marinatos eds., Function cf. supra. n. 7 163-68, following H. Reusch for iconographic reasons.

⁴² T.G. Palaima, Evidence for the influence of the Knossian graphic Tradition at Pylos in P. Oliva, A. Frolíková eds., Concilium Eirene, Proceedings of the 16th International Eirene Conference, 1982 Vol. 3 (Prague 1983) 80-84.

⁴³ J.W. Graham, “A banquet hall at Mycenaean Pylos” AJA 71 (1967) 353-60 Pl. 108.

⁴⁴ K. Kilian, “L’Architecture des résidences mycéniennes: origine et extension d’une structure du pouvoir politique pendant l’âge du bronze récent” in E. Lévy ed., *Le Système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1985* (Strasbourg 1987) 213-17 fig. 12.

⁴⁵ PN III 39; cf. G. Hiesel, *Späthelladische Hausarchitektur* see supra n. 11 111-112; O. Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge 1994) 153-54.

⁴⁶ PN I 35-36, 43-54 fig. 18, 40, 413-415.

⁴⁷ J.W. Shaw, “Minoan Architecture. Materials and Techniques” ASAtene, 49 n.s. 33 (1971) 92-107; G. Hult, *Bronze Age Ashlar Masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus, Ugarit, and Neighboring Regions.* (SIMA 66, Göteborg 1983) 45; J. Driessen, *Proliferation* see supra n. 28 8.

⁴⁸ PN I 41; A.J.B. Wace, “Mycenae. Report of the Excavations of the British School at Athens 1921-1923” BSA 25 (1921/23) 189 Pl. 34c, 196 fig. 38.

Blegen explained the dowel holes in the stone blocks of the second row with the existence of horizontal wooden beams. James Wright confirmed this reconstruction in 1984. More recently Michael Küpper modified this assumption.⁴⁹ He interpreted the varying position of the dowel holes as proof for a rebuilding phase of the south-western wing in LH IIIB:1. Blegen and Wright explained this method of construction in the facade as an attempt to loosen up the front optically, although a static function or an protection of the ashlar blocks cannot be excluded. A further architectural element known from Minoan buildings are projecting wall fronts. These offsets are visible at the outer walls of Minoan palaces and the so-called 'Villas'. They are also present at Mycenae and Tiryns, although, in the case of Tiryns, they seem motivated by the building sequence.⁵⁰ The north-eastern facade at Pylos provides yet another peculiarity pointing to the transmission of specific Minoan architectural features. Outside room 33 there is a setback of 0.18m for a length of 2.49m.⁵¹ This niche is comparable to Neopalatial prototypes and has been explained with the existence of windows.⁵²

The architectural forms and the technical details of the palace facade mentioned above are related to Minoan models thus underlining the representative character and the outstanding position of the palace. During the last phase the palace changed dramatically. The new courtyards 42 and 47 in front of the north-eastern facade did not any longer take into consideration the optical effect they might have had on this facade.⁵³ At the same time, ramp 91 was constructed which narrowed the passage between the northeast building and the palace. Cynthia Shelmerdine and James Wright interpreted these remodeling activities as a result of economic processes at the end of LH IIIB. The addition of room 27, the courts 42 and 47, and the rooms 59-60 in the south-western wing provided an extension of storage facilities and made room for further areas devoted to craft production. At the same time, the entrance area 42 and the freely accessible court 80 were cut off. The courtyards 42 and 47 together with ramp 91 also narrowed direct access into the palace. Shelmerdine and Wright explained this development with the necessity to tighten the controll over the storage capacities and the craft production.⁵⁴ Evidence of from Linear B tablets seemed to confirm this general tendency towards a stricter controll of the palatial domain.⁵⁵

The two building phases of the northeast building proposed here can be placed into the wider context of developments at the close of LH IIIB. In the first phase, the 'stoa', deviating from Minoan examples, was situated at right angles to the palace with its Minoan-inspired ashlar facade. During the very last period of LH IIIB:2, the northeast building was remodelled, extended, and closed off to the outside. The additional rooms 93-97 increased the available

⁴⁹ PN I 43; A.J.B. Wace in BSA 25 (1921/23) 190, 240; J. Wright in PCA 26-27 fig. 8b, 9; M. Küpper, Mykenische Architektur. Material, Bearbeitungstechnik, Konstruktion und Erscheinungsbild (Diss. Univ. Marburg 1993) 67-69; cf. G. Hult supra n. 47 50; J.W. Shaw, Minoan Architecture see n. 47 104; J.W. Graham, The Palaces of Crete supra n. 31 151-52.

⁵⁰ PN I 50-51, 0.12-0.17m fig. 413; cf. A.J.B. Wace in BSA 25 (1921/23) 190, 191 fig. 37; J. Wright, "Mycenaean Palatial Terraces" AM 95 (1982) 59-86.

⁵¹ PN I 52 fig. 33.

⁵² J.W. Shaw, Minoan Architecture see supra n. 47 100-01; cf. A.J.B. Wace in BSA 25 (1921/23) 190, at court 53; for Pylos see PN I 51 fig. 413 stone block Nr. 55 with 0.33m length and a finely worked outer edge.

⁵³ J. Wright in PCA 22, 27-28.

⁵⁴ J. Wright, "The History of the Palace at Pylos during the Thirteenth Century" in Praktika tou 3. Diethnous Synedriou Peloponnisikon Spoudon 1985, vol. 2 (Athen 1987/88) 346-347; J. Wright in PCA 27-29; C.W. Shelmerdine in Minos 20/22 (1987) 559-564; for the additional and remodelled rooms 27, 42/47, 60-62 s. PN I 47, 181, 232, 291, 296, 423; PN III fig. 303, 306.

⁵⁵ T.G. Palaima, The Scribes of Pylos, see note 8 172-73, 187; T.G. Palaima, J. Wright, "Ins and Outs of the Archives Rooms at Pylos: Form and Function in a Mycenaean Palace" AJA 89 (1985) 251-62.

space by about 40%.⁵⁶ The large open room 99 had been separated from the corridor 94 with an inner wall and was now accessible only by a doorlike passage. In the course of these alterations, the shrine 93 was installed. Similar developments can be recognised in room 18. Originally serving as a corridor, this passage was closed off at the end of LH IIIB. Room 18 now seems to have functioned as a shrine, as an offeringtable suggests.⁵⁷ What previously had been a corridor was now turned into a room with sacral function which, at the same time, was directly adjoined to storage rooms.

Certain features of the architectural design of the Pylian palace alluded to Minoan parallels. The palace layout reflects a helladic Megaron with adjacent groups of rooms and additional free-standing buildings. In its technical building elements, however, it already displays architectural features known from Minoan palaces. The ‘stoa’ is one of these palatial features. The Pylian stoa, as proposed above, may be modelled on Cretan LM III examples which, in turn, took their inspiration from a LM I predecessor.

Finally, we need to answer the question about how this building type had been transmitted from Crete to the Mainland. Interrelations between Minoan Crete and Messenia have been explained with intensifying commercial exchange up to the Neopalatial period,⁵⁸ this is most certainly also true for the Postpalatial period. An important source of evidence for these contacts are ceramics. Exchange between western Crete and the Mycenaean centres is particularly frequent.⁵⁹ Comparable contacts existed between western Crete and southern Italy whose frequency and intensity have become clearer over the last decades. LH IIIA-B ceramics from the Mainland and western Crete reached south Italian settlements, thus demonstrating the existence of connections between the Mainland and Crete, and Sicily, south Italy, the Liparian islands, and the Ionian gulf.⁶⁰ Of interest is in this particular context also the so-called grey- or pseudo-Minyan ware, as it has been discovered on the Mycenaean Mainland, the Aegean islands, Troy, and Crete in the LH IIIA-C (contemporary with Troy VI/VII). This distinct ware has also been found at sites in southern Italy, where it occurs in affiliation with indigenous shapes in the Late Bronze Age. This ware as well as other Mycenaean ceramic was imitated locally.⁶¹ Interestingly, at Khania in western Crete, this grey-Minyan ware was unearthed together with south Italian shapes made of local clay. The presence of immigrants from southern Italy has therefore been suggested, although this hypothesis has been criticised by some.⁶² The ware has also come to light at Kommos and Hagia Triada. The tight

⁵⁶ Cf. the measurements of the rooms PN I 303-24 result in 81.36m²: 93 (10.29 m²), 95 (20.16 m²), 96 (9.06 m²), 97 (41.85 m²); but cf. 98 (4642 m²), 99 (103.35 m²), 100 ca. 44 m²) result 194.49 m².

⁵⁷ PN I 120 fig. 95.

⁵⁸ G.S. Korres, "Messenia and its Commercial Connections in the Bronze Age" in C. Zerner, P. Zerner, J. Winder eds., Wace and Blegen. Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age 1939-1989, Proceedings of the International Conference, American School at Athens, (1993) 231-248.

⁵⁹ H.W. Haskell, "Stirrup Jars and the International Oil Trade" in PCA 105-06; H.W. Catling et al., "The Linear B inscribed Stirrup Jars and Western Crete" BSA 75 (1980) 49-113; E. Hallager, "The Inscribed Stirrup Jars. Implications for LM IIIB Crete" AJA 89 (1985) 182-83.

⁶⁰ E. French, "The Mycenaean Spectrum" in C. Malone, S. Stoddart eds., Papers in Italian Archaeology IV. The Cambridge Conference, III. Patterns in Prehistory (BAR 245, Oxford 1985) 295-303; A.M. Bietti Sestieri, Contact, Exchange and Conflict in the Italian Bronze Age in ibid. 305-37; L. Vagnetti, Ceramiche del Tardo Minoico III rinvenuti in Italia in M. Liverani, A. Palmieri, R. Peroni ed., Studi di Paletnologia in onore di Salvatore M. Puglisi (Rome 1985) 825-31.

⁶¹ K. Kilian, Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/83 AA 1988 146-48; G. Bergoni, A. Caldarelli, Due Produzioni dell'Artigianato Specializzato in R. Peroni ed., Ricerche sulla Protostoria della Sibaritide 3, (Rome 1984) 113-29; E. Fisher, "The Trade Pattern of the Mycenaeans in Southern Italy." AJA 89 (1985) 330.

⁶² B.P. Hallager, "Crete and Italy in the Late Bronze Age III Period" AJA 89 (1985) 293-303; B. P. Hallager, "A new social class in Late Bronze Age Crete: Foreign Traders in Khania" in O. Krzyszkowska, L. Nixon eds., Minoan Society (Bristol 1983) 110-116; contra Lucia Vagnetti, "Late Minoan III Crete and Italy: Another View" PP 40 (1985) 29-33; on the impact of Kommos in LM IIIB E. Hallager in AJA 91 (1987)

connection between the grey ware, and Cretan and Mycenaean vessels as well as their mutual influence demonstrate intense contact - most likely following commercial trends - between these regions during the Late Bronze Age. Exchange might have followed a route along the south-western Peloponnese to Italy via the Ionian islands. The transmission of Minoan building types might thus have followed commercial trade routes.

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184; L. Vance Watrous, "Late Bronze Age Kommos: Imported Pottery as Evidence for Foreign Contacts" in *Scripta Mediterranea VI* (1985) 9-10, and discussion 12-13, 14.