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"LAST PALACE" AND "REOCCUPATION" AT KNOSSOS

It was the final belief of Evans that the "Last Palace" at Knossos was destroyed by fire about 1400 B. C., shortly before the beginning of the "Amarna" period in Egypt¹. The occupation of Ikhnaton's capital of Tell-el-Amarna with its deposits of imported Aegean (Mycenaean) pottery was dated by Evans about 1377—1332 B. C.² The Palace at Knossos in his opinion was never rebuilt or reoccupied as a palace after its destruction about 1400 B. C. But certain parts of it, notably parts of the "Domestic Quarter", which had been less damaged by fire than others, were settled by "squatters" who repaired the walls and in many places used the floors of the former Palace. This "Reoccupation", as it came to be called, was brought to an end and the site of the Palace was deserted some time before

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations used

AC	Pendlebury, <i>The Archaeology of Crete</i> (1939)
A Delt	'Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
AE	'Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Arch. Reports	
for . . .	Archaeological Reports for . . .
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
Chron MP	Furumark, <i>The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery</i> (1941)
ILN	The Illustrated London News
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
K Chron	Κρητικά Χρονικά
MP	Furumark, <i>The Mycenaean Pottery</i> (1941)
OTKT I/II	Palmer and Boardman, <i>On The Knossos Tablets</i> (1963)
PM	Evans, <i>The Palace of Minos I—IV</i> (1921—35) and <i>Index Volume</i> (1936)
SM I	Evans, <i>Scripta Minoa I</i> (1909)

¹ PM *passim*. Evans had previously given a date "not later than the first half of the fourteenth century" or "about the beginning of the fourteenth century B. C." (SM I (1909), 53). The date of about 1500 B. C. which he had suggested before that was based upon an earlier dating for the reign of Thotmes III (*ibid.* 52 note 2).

² Furumark (Chron MP 113) dates it about 1365—1350 B. C.

the end of the Bronze Age. But Evans and his assistant Mackenzie were vague as to the date when the final desertion of the Palace site occurred — it was not a point of great interest to them, — although in general they seem to have thought that the pottery which they assigned to the "Reoccupation" was contemporary with or not very far removed in time from that of the Amarna horizon of the mid-fourteenth century B. C.

The aim of this article is to point out the difficulties in the way of the hypothesis of a "Reoccupation" of the Palace site at Knossos. It will be suggested that there is no convincing stratigraphic evidence for such a "Reoccupation", and that the large amount of pottery assigned by Evans and Mackenzie to the "Reoccupation" belonged in fact to the fire-destroyed "Last Palace" along with the rest of its furniture, the pithoi of the West Magazines, the frescoes and stone vases, the clay sealings and Linear B tablets. The Palace was destroyed at a time when pottery of ordinary household use was being decorated in styles assignable on Furumark's classification both to L. M. III A 2 and L. M. III B 1. But great 'Palace Style' jars, decorated in a distinctly earlier style (L. M. II—III A1), were also found in the ruins of the Palace and may have been quite old at the time of its destruction. This may have taken place about the same time as the destruction of the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes³. A provisional date is suggested for the destruction of both palaces during the Amarna period about 1350 B. C. or not much later.

When Evans and Mackenzie had completed their first season of work in the Palace at Knossos in 1900, Evans at least appears to have taken it for granted that they were dealing with a building which had been destroyed by fire and never afterwards reoccupied or reconstructed⁴. But Mackenzie in his notebook for 1900 had already foreshadowed the theory of the "Reoccupation". He writes of a "somewhat later floor-level" in the area of the South Propylaion (B)⁵, and suggests that the pithoi found there "would seem to belong to a period when the palace was no longer inhabited as such"⁶. In contrast to this Evans in an eloquent passage towards the end of

³ New excavations are now taking place in the area of the Palace at Thebes (ILN November 28, 1964, p. 859—61; December 5, 1964, p. 896—7). On the basis of these Platon has indicated a date for the destruction of the "Palace of Kadmos" about 1300 B. C. or not much later. But the evidence for this is not yet available.

⁴ BSA 6 (1899—1900), 63 ff.

⁵ OTKT I.75, 16 April 1900. Cf. *ibid.* II 18

⁶ OTKT II 13

his first report for the year 1900 makes it quite clear that he regarded the pithoi in the South Propylaion (B) as belonging to the same fire-destroyed palace as the pithoi in the West Magazines (C) and the Linear B tablets⁷. This rather suggests that it was Mackenzie and not Evans who evolved the theory of the "Reoccupation" in the first instance.

If so, he convinced Evans. For in the report which Evans wrote after the end of the second season of work at Knossos in 1901 he outlined the theory of the "Reoccupation" as it from then onwards came to be accepted in all its details⁸. On this theory the "Last Palace" with the Linear B tablets and the great pithoi of the West Magazines (C) was destroyed by fire. But the ruins were afterwards reoccupied by "squatters". When these "squatters" eventually abandoned the site they left behind some of their vases decorated in an inferior and degenerate style compared with the "Palace Style" assignable to the period of the Last Palace. Vases of this "Squatter Reoccupation" had been found during the first year of the excavation in 1900 standing on the floors of the South Terrace Basements (A)⁹; others were recovered from the eastern parts of these basements in 1901¹⁰. Comparable "Reoccupation" vases had been found in 1900 in the area of the Early Keep, in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1) and in the North Entrance Passage (E. 3) a few metres away to the east of it.

It is clear that this division between the "Last Palace" and the "Reoccupation" was not made in the first instance on stratigraphic but on stylistic grounds. The fine "Palace Style" pottery it was felt, and correctly felt as will be seen (p. 28), could not be contemporary with the pottery assigned to the "Reoccupation"¹¹. But there was little besides pottery to attribute to the "Reoccupation", little in the way of architecture for instance. In the South Terrace Basements (A) some partition walls, and some "buttresses" which formed an extra skin of walling to strengthen the inside face of the north wall of the Basements against the pressure of the fill behind it, were now thought to be of "Reoccupation" date¹². Some rectangular foundations (D. 1) to the north of the South Propylaion were at

⁷ BSA 6 (1899—1900), 68—69

⁸ BSA 7 (1900—01), 12—13

⁹ BSA 6 (1899—1900), 8—9

¹⁰ BSA 7 (1900—01), 12

¹¹ *Ibid.* 12, 35, 51ff.

¹² *Ibid.* 9, 12

one time interpreted by Evans and Mackenzie as the remains of a "megaron" of the type found in the Mycenaean palaces of the Greek Mainland; but these later proved to belong to a temple of the Archaic or Classical periods¹³. In the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1) at the north end of the Palace a mud-built wall and the floor which went with it were assigned to the "Reoccupation" in 1901. Some "Reoccupation" vases together with Linear B tablets had been found above this floor during the previous year. In 1901 more Linear B tablets were allegedly found on a floor at a lower level¹⁴. At this time Evans and Mackenzie seem to have thought that Linear B tablets were occurring in association both with this floor and with the "Reoccupation" floor above it. It was not until 1903 that the theory of the "Reoccupation" in this area was systematized. In the section which accompanies the account of it in the report for that year the "Reoccupation" vases have been relegated to an upper clay floor, while the tablets are assigned to a clay and plaster floor below it¹⁵.

In 1901 when the report for the second year of the excavations was written and the theory of the "Reoccupation" first published, over half of the Palace area had been cleared. The whole of the West Wing had been excavated together with the NE quarter (F), including the northern part of the Domestic Quarter (G). But the greater part of the Domestic Quarter with large deposits of pottery assignable to the "Reoccupation" had not yet been uncovered. Nor had the Shrine of the Double Axes (H. 1), nor any of the great houses outside the Palace like the Little Palace and the Royal Villa with alleged "Reoccupation" material. This is important to bear in mind when considering the evidence for the "Reoccupation". *All* the reports and publications about the Palace *except* the report for the first year (1900) were composed with a firm belief in the "Reoccupation" in mind. This of course also applies to the extracts recently published from the note-books of the excavations.

The theory of the "Reoccupation" of the Palace site at Knossos has never been seriously challenged. But that theory in any form raises very great difficulties, some of which have long been apparent,

¹³ OTKT I 66, 15 May 1907, p. 79. Cf. SM I (1909), 54. Professor Palmer curiously persists in this view (OTKT I 63, 223ff.) in spite of the evidence later found to show that the building was a temple (PM II, 5ff.).

¹⁴ BSA 7 (1900—01), 35

¹⁵ BSA 9 (1902—03), 25f. fig. 13. See p. 34f. for a discussion of the problems in this difficult area.

while others have recently had attention drawn to them¹⁶. In the first place there is the difficulty that very few walls and floors are assignable to the "Reoccupation". The lack of walls is not so serious a problem as the lack of floors. Evans and Mackenzie believed that the "squatters" only reoccupied parts of the Palace site. It was fair to assume on that hypothesis that the "squatters" settled in parts where the walls were standing to a sufficient height to allow of their reuse, or that they repaired them. Thus at Arkhanes just south of Knossos Minoan walls standing to a height of several metres have been incorporated in the houses of the modern village¹⁷.

A more serious problem is the lack of distinct floors assignable to the "Reoccupation". In some places, notably in the Domestic Quarter (G), no floor was recognized separating the debris of the "Last Palace" from the vases assigned to the "Reoccupation". In a number of cases the floors assigned to the "Reoccupation" were admittedly the same, or on exactly the same level as those of the "Last Palace". But the "Last Palace" was a building in places several storeys high. It was destroyed in a great conflagration which in many parts of it preserved clay tablets and sealings by baking them hard¹⁸. The destruction of the building must have left deep deposits of burnt debris. It would be natural to expect that in many places the "squatters" of the "Reoccupation" would have made their floors above the debris of the "Last Palace". But there are only one or two places where there is any suggestion that floors of the "Reoccupation" were found stratified above debris of the "Last Palace". In the case of the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1) the alleged "Reoccupation" floor was only some 10 cms. above the floor assigned to the "Last Palace", and it was not apparently recognized as a floor at the time it was excavated in 1900¹⁹. What was thought to be a "Reoccupation" floor was recognized at the time of excavation (1902) in the narrow cupboard-like space formed by the south leg of a stairway, the Wooden or Service Staircase of the Domestic

¹⁶ Professor Palmer has drawn attention to most of the difficulties in the way of the theory of the "Reoccupation" as conceived by Evans and Mackenzie. But his own ideas about the relationship of "Last Palace" and "Reoccupation" are not altogether clear.

¹⁷ Mr. I. Sakellarakis kindly showed me these walls during a recent visit to his new and important excavations at Arkhanes.

¹⁸ For the distribution of finds of Linear B tablets in the Palace, see OTKT *passim*, and Mr. Boardman's convenient plan, *ibid.* II 82 fig. 17.

¹⁹ See p. 34 below

Quarter (G. 1)²⁰. This was published as a floor of the "Reoccupation" in the report for the excavations of the year that it was discovered²¹. But if there really was a later floor here above the debris of the fire-destroyed "Last Palace" it raises further difficulties. This stair space is one remote and very small part of the Domestic Quarter. Throughout the southern part of the Domestic Quarter pottery assignable to the "Reoccupation" period was found in exceptionally large quantities. In the northern part of this area on the other hand the burnt debris of the "Last Palace" was several metres thick. How is it that nowhere else in the Domestic Quarter except in this isolated cupboard-like space was a floor of the "Reoccupation" found stratified above debris of the "Last Palace"?

This is not a problem which Evans or Mackenzie appear to have considered. But they do not give the impression of having any very clear or detailed picture of the relationship of the deposits of the "Last Palace" to those of the "Reoccupation". In a general way they seem to have thought that parts of the "Last Palace" had survived more or less intact with the upper floor or floors in place, while in other more damaged parts the "squatters" of the "Reoccupation" had merely cleared away the ruin debris of the "Last Palace" to the level of its floor which they had then reused. Even where floors of the "Reoccupation" period were believed to have existed at a higher level above those of the "Last Palace" Evans appears to have had the idea that the "Reoccupation" began with the floors of the "Last Palace" still in use, and that debris gradually accumulated above them to an average depth of about 25 cms. during the time that the "Reoccupation" lasted²². This curious idea seems unnecessary to account for the deposit separating the floors of the fire-destroyed "Last Palace" from those of the Reoccupation. Does it perhaps reflect the fact that Evans was aware that in many places pottery assignable to the "Reoccupation" had been found above the floors of the "Last Palace" and stratified below alleged floors of the "Reoccupation"?

It may be argued that floors of the "Reoccupation" existed above the burnt debris of the "Last Palace", but that they were not recognized at the time of the excavations. The floors would have been of earth or clay, or if of plaster perhaps ill-preserved, and might

²⁰ OTKT I 148. 1 May 1902; 132f., 227; II 55

²¹ BSA 8 (1901-02), 70, PM III (1930), 403; cf. IV (1935), 736, where Evans appears to be thinking of this floor.

²² PM IV, 736

therefore have escaped notice. This is not naturally enough a hypothesis to which the excavators themselves drew much attention. But it is true that at Knossos simple earth or clay floors can sometimes be extremely difficult to detect in excavation. It is therefore on the face of it quite possible that Evans and Mackenzie failed to observe such floors where they occurred in some instances. But against any wholesale application of this hypothesis is the fact that Evans and Mackenzie did recognize simple earth floors of earlier periods than the "Reoccupation" during their excavations in the Palace, while the recently published extracts from their note-books emphasize the degree of care and observation with which those excavations were conducted. And why is it that only the floors of the "Reoccupation", not those of earlier periods, are so elusive?

In some cases the floors on which "Reoccupation" vases were standing were evidently the same as, or had replaced at the same level, the floors of the "Last Palace". Thus vases assigned to the "Reoccupation" had been standing on the floors throughout the South Terrace Basements (A). But there is no suggestion that any floor of the "Last Palace" existed in this area stratified below the floors on which the "Reoccupation" vases were found. Another example is the Blocked Corridor (F. 1) leading south from the School-Room (F. 3) on the east side of the Palace. A store of "Reoccupation" vases was found in this Corridor and they appear to have been standing on the same floor as that which was in use during the period of the "Last Palace"²³. But in an adjoining room to the east (F. 2) was a deep fill of ruin debris of the "Last Palace" with large unfinished stone vases which had been in a Sculptor's (or Lapidary's) Workshop on an upper floor above a ground floor room containing some of his raw material in the shape of blocks of Spartan basalt (*lapidis lacedaemonius*). It is difficult to believe that the adjacent Corridor (F. 1) escaped being filled with debris at the time of the destruction of the "Last Palace" when the Sculptor's Workshop and the store of Spartan basalt beneath it were buried in ruins. On the hypothesis of the "Reoccupation" the "squatters" must therefore have tunnelled or cleared away a considerable amount of ruin debris before they reached the floor level of the "Last Palace". This is an activity out of keeping with the character of "squatters" of the kind that Evans and Mackenzie envisaged. And what was their object? The space thus gained was eventually

²³ BSA 7 (1900-01), 97f.

used as a store for "a number of 'rustic' vases of the usual character" as Evans calls them²⁴!

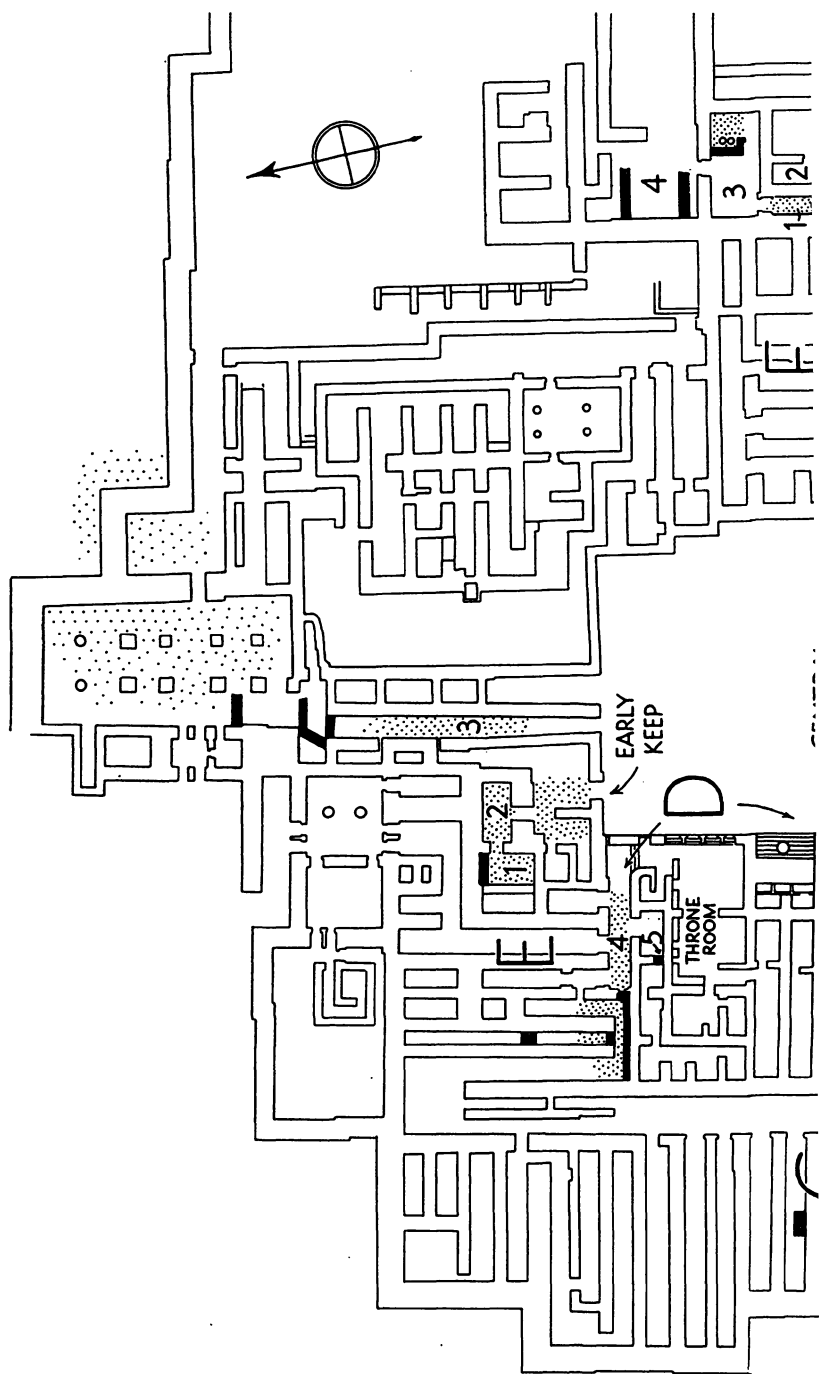
Another major difficulty in the way of the theory of the "Reoccupation" as conceived by Evans and Mackenzie is this. On the one hand it envisaged the "Last Palace" with its frescoes, with many stone vases and other objects including great deposits of inscribed clay tablets and sealings. But in contrast to this it left an almost complete lack of clay vases assignable to the destruction level of the "Last Palace" apart from large store jars (pithoi) and "Palace Style" amphorae²⁵. The comparative lack of clay vases of ordinary domestic use, and in particular of small fine decorated vases, was explained by Evans on the assumption that during the flourishing period of the "Last Palace" vases of metal were common²⁶. This might help to account for the lack of small fine decorated vases such as drinking cups, but will hardly suffice to explain the almost complete absence of store vases of moderate size, large stirrup jars, oval-mouthed amphorae and the like, assignable to the "Last Palace"²⁷. In striking contrast to this comparative dearth of clay vases assignable to the period of the "Last Palace" was the abundance of pottery given to the "Reoccupation". It is to be noted that the largest deposits of "Reoccupation" pottery were found in the Domestic Quarter (G) in 1902, the year *after* the hypothesis of the "Reoccupation" had become canonical. Both the quality and the amount of the "Reoccupation" pottery found in

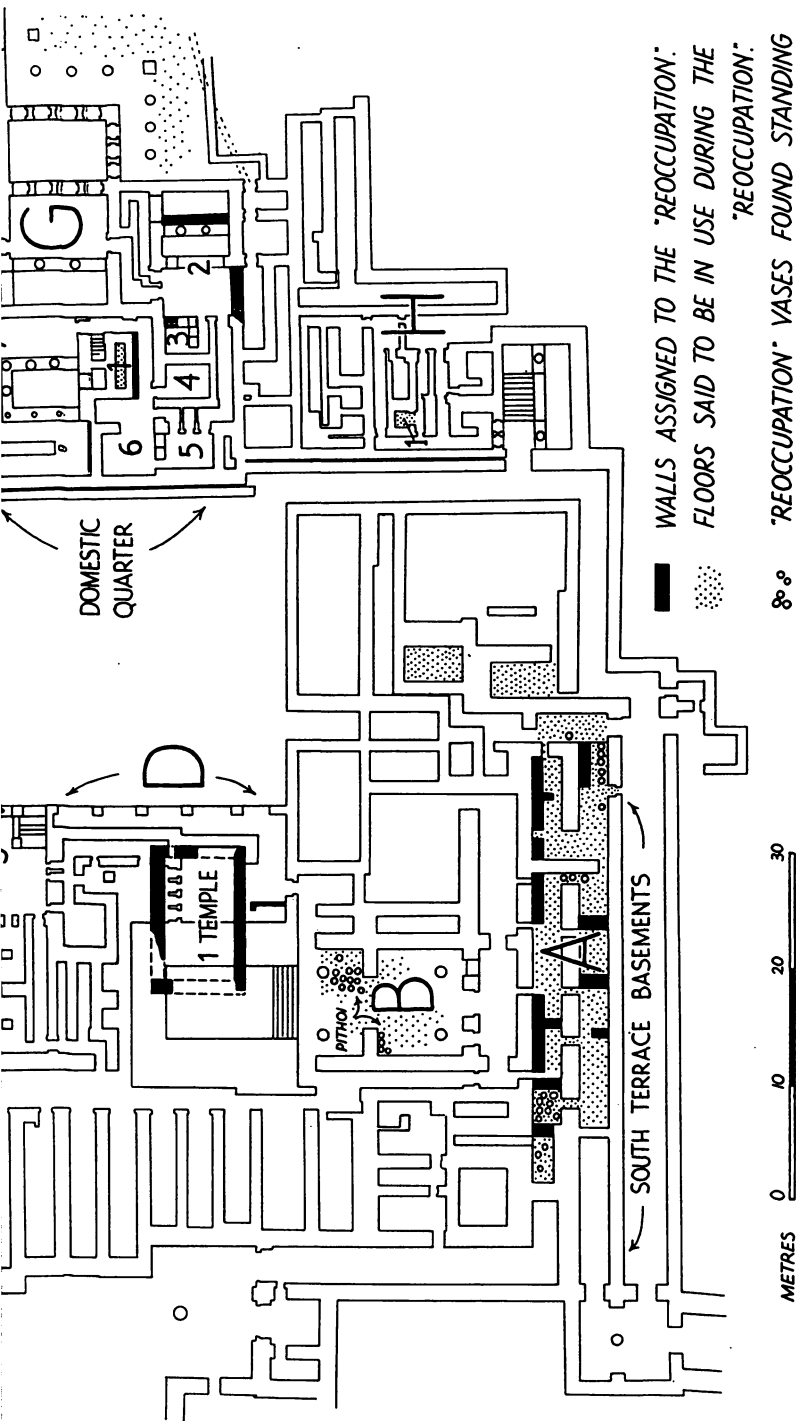
²⁴ Professor Palmer has emphasised the difficulties in the way of believing that the "Reoccupation" vases belonged to a later horizon of destruction than that which overwhelmed the Sculptor's Workshop (OTKT I 179f., 183). The upper floor with the Sculptor's Workshop had collapsed; but the debris must have been deep above the level of the ground floor at the time of excavation since the larger of the unfinished stone vases was found only 25—30 cms. below the surface (OTKT II 51—52).

²⁵ Evans (PM IV, 359ff. fig. 301) published a number of fragments of low-footed goblets with painted decoration assignable to the period of the "Last Palace". But these came from a deposit just outside the SW corner of the Palace and may have been, as Evans thought, the remains of vases used in some Palace sanctuary and afterwards thrown away here. They are not from vases which were actually in use at the time of the destruction of the Palace.

²⁶ PM IV, 353

²⁷ A solitary stirrup jar of moderately large size was found in the Room of the Tall Pithos (D. 2) (BSA 6 (1899—1900), 28). This vase was evidently in association with debris of the "Last Palace" which included some Linear B tablets here (D. 3). But the vase has not been identified and cannot therefore be compared with the stirrup jars of similar size assigned by Evans and Mackenzie to the "Reoccupation" (OTKT I 79, 81, 177f., 221f.; II 26f., 32. Cf. II 72ff., 93).





"REOCCUPATION" VASES FOUND STANDING ON FLOORS.

the Domestic Quarter are difficult to reconcile with the theory that it belonged to squatters.

Very little of the fine decorated pottery which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the "Reoccupation" has yet been published²⁸. But several of these "Reoccupation" vases have been identified by Mr. Popham, and others have been restored by him from their fragments in the Stratigraphic Museum; they are now on exhibition in the Museum at Herakleion. Besides this fine decorated pottery there were vast quantities of plain undecorated "Reoccupation" vases like those illustrated by Evans from the Corridor south of the School-Room (F. 1)²⁹. In this deposit there were no remains of plain high-footed goblets or kylikes, but these were evidently abundant elsewhere on the Palace site. Among the different kinds of store vessels assigned to the "Reoccupation" were numbers of large stirrup jars, some with stylized octopus decoration. From the area of the Queens' Megaron (G. 2) alone Mackenzie noted the remains of about 70 such storage-type stirrup vases, some of them of very large size³⁰; and this figure did not include the similar stirrup jars and other types of storage vessel found in adjacent parts of this southern section of the Domestic Quarter and almost certainly belonging to the same deposit. These numerous store vases had evidently been lodged on the upper floor above this section of the Domestic Quarter³¹.

The character of this pottery, even as briefly described and published, has long been apparent as a difficulty in the way of the hypothesis of a "Reoccupation" by "squatters". Mr. Popham has tentatively suggested that some, if not most, of the fine decorated pottery, which on stylistic grounds he would assign to the stage immediately preceding the beginning of the Amarna period early in L. M. III A 2, really belongs to the "Last Palace"³². This is in harmony with the considered opinion of Evans who thought that some pottery decorated in a distinctly later style than that of L. M. II might fall within the limits of the "Last Palace" before its

²⁸ The *locus classicus* is Mackenzie's article in JHS 23 (1903), 194f. figs. 13, 14.

²⁹ PM I, fig. 279 and 365ff., wrongly assigned to M. M. III b. Corrected to L. M. IIIb (Reoccupation Period) in PM III, 265.

³⁰ OTKT I 142—43, DM/Pot II 1902, p. 40

³¹ See p. 21

³² OTKT II 93—94; cf. AJA 68 (1964), 352

destruction³³. It would also do something to mitigate the lack of fine decorated clay vases assignable to the "Last Palace" apart from large "Palace Style" jars. But this would still leave in the "Reoccupation" the great deposits of octopus-decorated and other store jars which are equally difficult to imagine as the furniture of "squatters". It also incidentally emphasizes how inadequate is the stratigraphic evidence for any clear separation of the pottery of the "Last Palace" from that of the "Reoccupation".

There are therefore serious difficulties in the way of the hypothesis of a "Reoccupation" of the Palace site by "squatters" after the destruction of the Last Palace. The difficulty about the quality and quantity of the pottery to be assigned to the "Reoccupation" would be removed if it could be assumed that the "Reoccupation" was "palatial" in character. The great deposit of stirrup jars and other store vessels in the Domestic Quarter is best paralleled by the stores of similar jars in the Mycenaean palaces of the Mainland at Thebes or Pylos. On the face of it therefore, when the character and quality of the pottery assignable to it are considered, the idea that the "Reoccupation" was really palatial is attractive. In respect to the Domestic Quarter Evans himself appears to have been aware of the difficulties in the way of the "squatter" hypothesis, and he at one point suggested the possibility that the "reoccupation" of that area was virtually palatial in character. In the Domestic Quarter he noted that there were "signs of attempts at restoration on a large scale which make it probable that dynasts of the old stock still maintained a diminished state on the Palace site"³⁴.

While the hypothesis that it was palatial would agree best with the character and quality of the pottery assigned to the "Reoccupation", it makes still more inexplicable the comparative lack of "Reoccupation" floors and walls. If the "Reoccupation" was palatial, why were there so few traces of floors and substantial walls assignable to it? And why were only parts of the Palace site reoccupied? That only parts of it were reoccupied was the constant belief of Evans and Mackenzie, and the fact that they could not recognize traces of "Reoccupation" over many large areas of the

³³ Notably a jar with "degraded water fowl" from Knossos and vases with comparable birds from Phaistos (PM IV, 335f. figs. 278, 280). Furumark however assigned these to his L. M. III A 2 and therefore on his system beyond the limits of the "Last Palace".

³⁴ SM I (1909), 53

Palace no doubt helped to confirm them in their opinion that the "Reoccupation" was the work of "squatters" who settled here and there in the ruins where it was convenient³⁵. If the idea of a partial reoccupation is rejected it is necessary to assume that over great areas of the Palace site all traces of the "Reoccupation" had disappeared owing to erosion before the excavations began in 1900. It is true that much has been removed by erosion round the edges of the Palace. But on the whole the areas in which Evans and Mackenzie failed to recognize traces of "Reoccupation" tend to be those parts of the site which have suffered least from erosion, like the West Wing and round the Central Court³⁶.

On any hypothesis therefore the concept of the "Reoccupation" raises difficulties. If the "Reoccupation" was palatial, where are the walls and floors, not to mention the frescoes, stone vases, and other objects of virtue belonging to the reoccupied palace? If on the other hand the site of the former palace was reoccupied by "squatters", how explain the quality and the quantity of the fine decorated pottery, and the great deposits of store jars, like that of stirrup jars and other vessels in the Domestic Quarter, or that of the peculiar "couple amphorae" in the North Entrance Passage (E. 3)? An attempt to rearrange the material as between the "Last Palace" and the "Reoccupation" may eliminate some difficulties but accentuates others.

Why, then, in the face of these difficulties did Evans and Mackenzie in 1901 adopt and never afterwards abandon the hypothesis of the "Reoccupation"? It seems clear that the hypothesis of the "Reoccupation" was in the first instance suggested by stylistic rather than by stratigraphic considerations. That is to say it was felt in 1901 that vases with "Palace Style" decoration assignable to the "Last Palace" must be considerably earlier in date than those with a more degenerate style of decoration which were henceforth attributed to the "Reoccupation". Vases decorated in the "Palace Style" had nowhere been found stratified below those assignable to the "Reoccupation". The most that Evans could claim was that in the South Terrace Basements (A) where many "Reoccupation" vases were recovered "there was no trace . . . of any example of the finer Palace style"³⁷. But Evans and Mackenzie were entirely justi-

³⁵ Boardman and Popham are also inclined to believe that the "Reoccupation" was the work of "squatters" (OTKT II 85. 94).

³⁶ See Boardman's instructive plan, OTKT II 82 fig. 17

³⁷ BSA 7 (1900—1), 12—13

fired when in 1901 they declared that the "Palace Style" pottery which they assigned to the "Last Palace" with the tablets must be considerably earlier in date than that which they from then onwards attributed to the "Reoccupation". This may appear paradoxical, but the explanation is simple.

When the term "Palace Style" is used today it tends to be used specifically of the great jars with very elaborate decoration of a rather florid kind assignable on Furumark's system to L. M. II—III A 1³⁸. The remains of such jars were found in the burnt ruins of the "Last Palace" and in a few instances they were in a firm association with Linear B tablets³⁹. But the term "Palace Style" when it was used by Evans in 1901 was much more comprehensive. It covered not only the great "Palace Style" jars of the "Last Palace", but also the fine decorated pottery of what was eventually recognized as an earlier phase in the history of the Palace, Late Minoan I B. Evans was subsequently aware of this and admitted it⁴⁰. It is in any case clear from the passage in the report for 1901 where he first describes the "Palace Style" in detail⁴¹. The decoration of the Knossian "Palace Style" jars is there compared to that of two large vases from the Mainland, one found in a tomb at Mycenae, the other in the Vaphio Tholos Tomb near Sparta⁴². Both of these jars are classified by Furumark as Mycenaean II A, the Mainland equivalent of L. M. I B. Evans then mentions "numerous specimens of another more purely naturalistic class" of pottery found in the Palace, notably in the "Room of the Bull Hunting Fresco". From the description which he gives of this it is clear that the pottery which he has in mind is not that of L. M. II, but that of the preceding phase, L. M. I B. The "Bull Hunting Fresco" is the "Taureador Fresco" which was found in the Court of the Stone Spout (F. 4) north of the School Room (F. 3). This area produced a certain amount of fine L. M. I B pottery as Evans later noted⁴³. It is in fact

³⁸ Cf. PM IV (1935), 298

³⁹ E. g. in the Eighth Magazine; BSA 6, 25; 7, 38. OTKT II 34—35. Popham, AJA 68 (1964), 349

⁴⁰ PM IV (1935), 298—99 note 2

⁴¹ BSA 7 (1900—01), 51—52, under the heading "Mycenaean Painted Pottery of the 'Palace Style'".

⁴² JHS 23 (1903), 192 fig. 10; 24 (1904), 317f. pl. XI; cf. PM IV, 298—99 note 2

⁴³ PM III (1930), 210; cf. BSA 7, 94

the only find-place of L. M. I B pottery within the limits of the Palace walls listed in the Index Volume to the "Palace of Minos"⁴⁴.

Mackenzie's basic article on the pottery of Knossos published two years later (1903) shows in an even more striking manner how the term "Palace Style" was being used to include material later recognized as belonging to the earlier horizon of L. M. I B⁴⁵. Here a large "Palace Style" jar from Knossos (Fig. 10 A)⁴⁶ is described as illustrating "the later more sketchy phase of the Palace Style". But as well as this twelve sherds are reproduced by Mackenzie with the implication that they are normal "Palace Style" (Figs. 11, 12). One of these (Fig. 11, 7) is perhaps assignable on Furumark's system to L. M. III A: but the rest all appear to be L. M. I, and some are certainly, all may be, L. M. I B⁴⁷. They include for instance a fragment with characteristic L. M. I B "Marine Style" decoration (Fig. 12, 3)⁴⁸, and the decoration on the other fragments can most of it be paralleled from the deposit recently excavated by the British School at Athens on the north side of the Royal Road at Knossos⁴⁹.

The term "Palace Style" was first used in 1901. In 1905 Evans outlined his system of nine periods for the Minoan civilization⁵⁰. "Late Minoan II" was from now onwards to be the equivalent of "Palace Style" as the name for the type of pottery which Evans and

⁴⁴ PM Index (1936), 134. Evans comments on the rarity of pottery which could be assigned to L. M. I B in the Palace (PM IV, 291). But there was little assignable to L. M. II apart from "Palace Style" amphorae and pithoi. It seems that very little "Mycenaean" (i. e. L. M. I—III) pottery of any kind was found on the Palace site during the first year of the excavation in 1900 (BSA 6, 91).

⁴⁵ JHS 23 (1903), 157ff.

⁴⁶ Note that Fig. 10 is the jar from a tomb at Mycenae to which Evans refers in BSA 7, 51; cf. JHS 24 (1904), 322. It is assigned by Furumark to Myc. II A = L. M. I B.

⁴⁷ It is difficult to distinguish isolated sherds or vases of L. M. I B from those of L. M. I A except in the case of the finest decorated ware. The similarity of the pottery suggests that the destructions of L. M. I A and L. M. I B at Knossos were close in time.

⁴⁸ Mackenzie was not however consistent about assigning the "Marine Style" to the "Palace Style" in this article. The fine "Marine Style" rhyton from Zakro's placed in an earlier horizon (JHS 23, 187 note 29).

⁴⁹ Arch. Reports for 1960—61, 26f.; 1961—62, 25ff.; KChron 15-16 1961—62) 96f.; A Delt 17 (1961/2) Khronika 294f.; cf. Popham, AJA 68 (1964), 350ff.

⁵⁰ (1) *Système de Classification des Époques successives de la Civ. Minoenne*, published in Athens (P. Petracos), no date; (2) *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civ. Minoenne: résumé d'un discours fait au Congrès d'Archéologie à Athènes*. Edition révisée. Published by Quaritch (London), 1906.

Mackenzie thought to be contemporary with the period of the "Last Palace". Like "Palace Style" before it the term "L. M. II" was henceforth used to include L. M. I B material. Many examples of this confusion of L. M. I B and L. M. II could be cited. There is a particularly striking case of it in the report of the later excavations at Phylakopi (Melos) in 1910. Some very fine L. M. I B vases, two of them with "Marine Style" decoration, were found in one of the areas excavated that year. They are called L. M. II⁵¹. Gradually some of the finer decorated pottery characteristic of L. M. I B came to be recognized as belonging to an earlier period than L. M. II and was separated from it. Thus in the Palaikastro report published in 1923 many fine vases were correctly attributed to L. M. I B⁵². But a bowl with typical L. M. I B papyrus decoration was there assigned to an advanced phase of L. M. II⁵³. Evans however was aware that this style of papyrus dated from L. M. I, although he classified it as L. M. I A instead of L. M. I B⁵⁴.

Evans came to understand that the main destruction of most of the important sites throughout Crete apart from Knossos had taken place in L. M. I B, and he realized that this horizon of destruction was considerably earlier than the end of the "Last Palace" at Knossos⁵⁵. Pendlebury however in his "The Archaeology of Crete" published in 1939 resurrected the confusion between L. M. I B and L. M. II in a new form by suggesting that L. M. I B was merely a provincial style contemporary with L. M. II at Knossos⁵⁶. Furumark in his great work on "The Mycenaean Pottery" (1941) follows Evans in recognizing that L. M. I B is a style different from that of L. M. II, although he suggests that the pottery from the L. M. I B destruction levels of two sites in the Knossos area, Tylissos and Nirou Khani, is contemporary with that of the "Last Palace" at Knossos⁵⁷. This is a distinct retrogression from the true understanding of events which Evans had achieved. For Evans had correctly seen that Tylissos and Nirou Khani were destroyed at the same time as Phaistos, Ayia Triadha, Gournia and Mallia in L. M. I

⁵¹ BSA 17 (1910—11), 14f. pl. XI

⁵² BSA Suppl. I (1923), pls. XVIII—XXI

⁵³ Ibid. 59 fig. 47: "Late Minoan II Bowl of Advanced Style"!

⁵⁴ PM II (1928), 477 fig. 285 D = IV, fig. 264 D

⁵⁵ PM IV (1935), 786, 885

⁵⁶ AC (1939), 180. The "L. M. II vases of Knossian fabric in L. M. I deposits at Psira, Palaikastro, Gournia, and elsewhere" are in fact L. M. I B.

⁵⁷ Chron MP 82ff.

B⁵⁸. Since the war there has been a tendency to follow Pendlebury and regard L. M. I B as merely a provincial variant of L. M. II at Knossos⁵⁹. It is only with the recent discovery of a large L. M. I B deposit outside the Palace at Knossos that the stylistic character of this period has been clarified and the views of Evans vindicated⁶⁰.

Evans and Mackenzie were therefore right in 1901 when they decided that the pottery of L. M. I B and L. M. II which they grouped together as "Palace Style" must be earlier than that which they from then onwards assigned to the "Reoccupation". Their error was in assuming that the L. M. I B pottery which they had found, mostly it would appear in the Court of the Stone Spout (F. 4),⁶¹ belonged to the same horizon of fire destruction as the great L. M. II—III A "Palace Style" jars and the Linear B tablets. But at least this error helped to give a reasonable picture of the furniture of the "Last Palace". For most if not all of the L. M. I B sherds illustrated by Mackenzie⁶² appear to come from the smaller types of vase. The "Last Palace" therefore as Evans and Mackenzie then conceived it was equipped at the time of its destruction with some small clay vases with fine decoration as well as with the large "Palace Style" jars and the pithoi of the West Magazines.

The removal of the L. M. I B material to an earlier horizon deprives the "Last Palace" of all, or virtually all clay vases, except for the great pithoi and "Palace Style" jars⁶³. The existence moreover of a horizon of destruction on the site of the town at Knossos, and also it would appear to some extent in the Palace, assignable to L. M. I B, with pottery comparable to that from the L. M. I B destruction levels (c. 1450 B. C.) at the other chief sites in the island, leaves a final destruction of the "Last Palace" at Knossos at the end of L. M. II—III A 1 (c. 1400 B. C.) in isolation. It need hardly be said that there is no question of the destruction of the "Last Palace" at Knossos dating from L. M. I B. The Linear B tablets were in some instances found in clear association with fragments of L. M. II—III A "Palace Style" jars in the fire-destroyed ruins of

⁵⁸ PM IV, 885. Evans realized the L. M. I B character of some of the pottery from Tylissos (PM II, 426; IV, 286) and Nirou Khani (PM II, 284 note 4); although he also speaks of that from Nirou Khani as entirely L. M. I A (PM II 478, 511 note 1).

⁵⁹ E. g. *Études Crétoises* IX (1953), 100. Cf. XI (1959), 153. Hutchinson, *Prehistoric Crete* (1962), 291. Matz, *Minoan Civilization: Maturity and Zenith* (1962)

⁶⁰ See p. 30 note 49

⁶¹ Cf. p. 30 note 44

⁶² JHS 23 (1903), 195—96 figs. 11—12

⁶³ But see p. 23 note 25

the "Last Palace"⁶⁴. On the other hand nothing comparable to the true "Palace Style" of L. M. II—III A 1 was apparent among the many fine decorated vases from the recently excavated L. M. I B deposit on the Royal Road⁶⁵. At the same time the dozen or so fragments of Linear B tablets recovered in the Royal Road excavations all came from a later horizon, a fill of rubbish with pottery assignable to L. M. II—III above the L. M. I B ruin debris. The one inscription from the Royal Road L. M. I B deposit, two signs in ligature inscribed on a votive cup, is more comparable to the Linear A scripts attested from L. M. I B deposits elsewhere than to Linear B⁶⁶. The view of Mr. Popham that some of the fine decorated pottery of a type hitherto generally assigned to the "Reoccupation" and for which he would suggest a date early in L. M. III A 2 really belongs to the period of the "Last Palace" would do something to supply the lack of small clay vases. It would also involve a slightly later date for the destruction of the "Last Palace", about 1375 B. C. instead of 1400 B. C.⁶⁷; but it would still leave it in isolation.

There is however a comparatively simple way in which this complex of various difficulties can be resolved. That is by assuming that there never was a "Reoccupation" of the Palace site after the destruction of the "Last Palace" there, and that the pottery which Evans and Mackenzie assigned to the "Reoccupation" belonged in fact to the same horizon of burnt destruction as the great "Palace Style" jars, the pithoi in the West Magazines, the stone vases, the sealings and Linear B tablets⁶⁸.

In the first instance this is a question of stratigraphy. That is to say, it must first of all be considered whether there are any compelling grounds for believing that the material assigned to the "Reoccupation" came from deposits stratified above, or in other ways demonstrably later than, those of the "Last Palace". In the case of a vast amount of the pottery found in the Palace and assigned to the "Reoccupation" the stratigraphic position was admittedly

⁶⁴ See p. 29 note 39

⁶⁵ Arch. Reports for 1961—62, 27

⁶⁶ Kadmos III 2, p. 111ff.

⁶⁷ OTKT II 94 note 1

⁶⁸ Professor Palmer has already made a similar suggestion. But he has retained the term "Reoccupation" and appears to believe that there were in places two or three successive floors of the "Reoccupation" period stratified above one another. For the final destruction of the "Reoccupation" palace he has implied a date about 1150 B. C.

ambiguous. It was assigned to the "Reoccupation" on stylistic, not on stratigraphic grounds.

On the other hand in many parts of the Palace Evans or Mackenzie at one time or another described walls and floors as being of "Reoccupation" date. Most of these are shown on the Plan (Fig. 1). In the case of floors this might be because "Reoccupation" vases had been found above them, or because they showed signs of extensive repairs, like the Corridor to the north of the Throne Room (D. 4)⁶⁹. Walls were assigned to the "Reoccupation" because they were flimsy or of poor construction, or obviously later than other walls in the area. Some of the alleged "Reoccupation" floors and walls were ultimately assigned to an earlier horizon⁷⁰. The remains of the "Pelasgian Megaron" on the other hand were eventually recognized as being the foundations of a Hellenic temple⁷¹. It was natural that Evans and Mackenzie should ascribe walls and floors to the "Reoccupation", since if there was a "Reoccupation" there ought to be some walls and floors which belonged to it. On the whole Mackenzie appears to have been more generous in recognizing such "Reoccupation" floors and walls than Evans. This may be because the theory of the "Reoccupation" was in the first instance his idea⁷².

There are however very few places where it was ever suggested that floors of the "Reoccupation" had been found at a higher level stratified above those of the "Last Palace". The two most convincing examples of such floors were in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1), and in the southern leg of the Wooden Staircase of the Domestic Quarter (G. 1), as already noted (p. 20). The clay floor in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1) was alleged to have existed about 10 cms. above the clay and plaster floor of the "Last Palace" there. But it appears that this upper "Reoccupation" floor was not recognized as such at the time that it was excavated and removed in 1900. At this time it seems clear that Evans and Mackenzie believed that the Linear B tablets found in the Room of the Stirrup Jars were above the same floor as the stirrup jars and other vases later assigned to the "Reoccupation". This floor appears to have

⁶⁹ OTKT I 112f., 1923 I, pp. 33ff. This whole passage from Mackenzie's notebook of 1923 is instructive. There is no mention of any traces of "Reoccupation" in this area in the published accounts.

⁷⁰ E. g. the lower series of plaster floors in the area of the Early Keep (E), which Mackenzie had assigned to the Reoccupation (OTKT I 126, 1923 II, p. 11), were later dated by Evans to M. M. II B (PM III (1930), 15ff.).

⁷¹ See p. 19

⁷² See p. 17

been the clay and plaster floor which is the one down to which the excavators cleared in 1900⁷³. The existence of the clay floor was first announced in 1903⁷⁴. It was necessary to suppose that such a floor had existed if the Linear B tablets assigned to the "Last Palace" were to be separated from the "Reoccupation" vases⁷⁵. By this time both Evans and Mackenzie firmly believed in the "Reoccupation". There is nothing dishonest therefore in their assumption that the clay floor had been there: if they were right about the "Reoccupation" it must have been.

Only one example of a "Reoccupation" floor stratified above debris of the "Last Palace" is cited by Evans and Mackenzie in their contemporary reports and notebooks. This was in the southern compartment of the Wooden (or Service) Staircase in the Domestic Quarter (G. 1). The difficulties raised by the acceptance of this floor as later than the deposits of the "Last Palace" below it have already been discussed (see p. 20). But the account of the supposed "Reoccupation" floor here as given by Mackenzie in his notebook suggests that it was merely a section of the upper floor of the "Last Palace" which had collapsed into this narrow space more or less intact together with a group of vases which had been standing above it⁷⁶. In various parts of this area sections of the upper floor were recognized, sometimes only slightly sunk from their original position, notably at the west end of the long East-West Corridor (G. 7) and in the Room of the Stone Bench above that of the Plaster Couch (G. 5)⁷⁷. The vases from the Wooden Staircase (G. 1), including an octopus-decorated stirrup jar, were evidently a part of the great deposit of "Reoccupation" stirrup jars and other vases which were admittedly stored on an upper floor in this area⁷⁸. Other vases

⁷³ This seems the most likely interpretation of the evidence in this admittedly difficult area. The "clay" may have been dissolved mud brick from the mud-built wall at the north end of the room which had formed a thin layer over the actual plaster floor. The Linear B tablets, evidently fallen from an upper floor, appear to have been found in and above this clay.

⁷⁴ BSA 9 (1902-3), 25

⁷⁵ Professor Palmer (OTKT I 210ff.) believes that the Linear B tablets were found in the same horizon as the "Reoccupation" vases. But he appears to accept the clay floor as genuine and projects it eastwards into the Room of the Saffron Gatherer (E. 2). This is difficult to reconcile with the published accounts and with the notebooks.

⁷⁶ BSA 8 (1901-02), 70; OTKT I 148, 1 May 1902; cf. 132f., 227; II 55

⁷⁷ BSA 8, 34ff., 78f.

⁷⁸ The store of stirrup jars found in the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes had also fallen from an upper floor.

from this deposit were found precipitated from above in the fill of the Queen's Bathroom (G. 3)⁷⁹, and the fragments of many of them had been scattered throughout the area of the Queen's Megaron (G. 2)⁸⁰. Others again were noted in the fill of the Treasury (G. 4)⁸¹, others "somewhat above the original floor level" in the Court of the Distaffs (G. 6) and the Room of the Plaster Couch (G. 5)⁸².

In two cases Linear B tablets assigned to the "Last Palace" were thought to have been found below later walls. This if substantiated might prove that the walls in question were of "Reoccupation" date. One of these instances was in the Queen's Megaron (G. 2) of the Domestic Quarter. Some tablets were found on top of the northern end of the balustrade separating it from the Bath Room (G. 3). They were beneath what was thought to be a wall. But the "wall" appears to have been merely the collapsed debris of the anta which rose from the north end of the balustrade⁸³. There is no evidence to suggest that any traces of such "walls" were found above the southern end of the balustrade, or above the other (south) balustrade of the Bath Room⁸⁴. In the other instance some Linear B tablets were found below an apparent blocking in a doorway north of the Throne Room (D. 5). The excavations of 1900 stopped on the east side of this doorway which was opened in 1901. The evidence here is more impressive; but the "blocking" may have been collapsed rubble from the sides of the door or from a wall on the storey above. If there was a wall built on top of ruin debris of the "Last Palace" in the doorway, there must surely have been floors above similar debris in one or both of the rooms either side of it. But neither here nor in the Queen's Megaron was any floor detected at a higher level than that of the "Last Palace" to go with the supposed "Reoccupation" walls.

⁷⁹ BSA 8, 46—8; cf. OTKT II 56 and Boardman's plate XIV b

⁸⁰ OTKT I 142—3, DM/Pot II 1902, p. 40. The "Area of the Fish Fresco" is that of the Queen's Megaron.

⁸¹ BSA 8, 68; cf. OTKT I 148, 14 May 1902

⁸² BSA 8, 66

⁸³ Restored in position on the site today; cf. PM III, fig. 252

⁸⁴ Mr. Boardman states that "There were later walls built over the east and south balustrades of the bathroom" and marks them on his plan (OTKT II 56, 53 fig. 11). But there is no mention of these in the notebooks nor in any publication apart from the "wall" at the north end of the east balustrade. The existence of other walls here is virtually ruled out by the very detailed account with plans (unpublished) made at different stages during the excavation of the area in Mackenzie's notebook for 1902.

In a relatively large number of cases fragments of pottery assignable to the "Reoccupation" period have been reported from contexts stratified below later floors or walls, or built into later walls⁸⁵. If these fragments really were so stratified it would prove the existence of at least two phases of "Reoccupation". Alternatively much of the "Reoccupation" material would have to be assigned to the period of the "Last Palace". The idea of two successive phases of "Reoccupation" is one which Evans and Mackenzie contemplated, but which Evans at any rate on the whole seems to have rejected (see p. 40 below). The existence of two "Reoccupation" phases would obviously still further augment the problems and difficulties which have already been discussed. But in many instances these "Reoccupation" sherds prove too much. That is to say, they are alleged to have come from below what are admittedly floors of the "Last Palace", or sometimes from what appear to be still earlier contexts. An uncritical acceptance of their evidence can only produce chaos. In a large number of cases, however, the "Reoccupation" pottery in question came from what were evidently disturbed areas; it was in effect unstratified. In several cases it can be shown that the lot in the Stratigraphical Museum did not actually come from the place to which it was assigned on the plan in Pendlebury's Guide⁸⁶. It must be remembered that Pendlebury in assigning the different lots of pottery to their places on the site had to rely for the most part not upon direct knowledge, but upon the memory and notes of the foreman, E. Akoumianos, or upon his own interpretation of what the labels meant⁸⁷.

One argument which has recently been developed in favour of maintaining the division between the "Last Palace" and the "Reoccupation" is that whereas the "Last Palace" was destroyed by a fire so intense that it baked and preserved the clay sealings and Linear B tablets, none of the "Reoccupation" vases show any signs of burning and they must therefore belong to a different and fireless horizon of destruction or abandonment⁸⁸. But the effects of fire are inconstant⁸⁹. And how much of the pottery assigned to the "Last

⁸⁵ Many examples are cited by Professor Palmer, OTKT I *passim*. Their number is considerably greater than appears from Pendlebury's Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum. More L. M. III sherds of a type assignable to the "Reoccupation" occur in some of the boxes than Pendlebury records, and they occur in boxes from which he lists none.

⁸⁶ Pendlebury, *A Guide to the Stratigraphical Museum in the Palace at Knossos I—III* (1933—35).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 1, 2

Palace" and admittedly involved in its fire destruction, like the great "Palace Style" amphorae and the pithoi of the West Magazines, shows indisputable traces of burning? In any case there are sherds of a type which Evans and Mackenzie would have assigned to the "Reoccupation" with marked signs of burning in the Stratigraphic Museum⁹⁰. It might be possible to defend the hypothesis of a fireless "Reoccupation" if these and any other burnt sherds of types hitherto assignable to the "Reoccupation" could be transferred to the "Last Palace". Alternatively it might be reasonable to argue that the "Reoccupation" also ended with a conflagration.

The stratigraphic evidence for a "Reoccupation" is therefore very far from compelling. Furthermore the accounts of the excavations in the North Entrance Passage (E. 3)⁹¹ and the Domestic Quarter (G)⁹², both of which yielded substantial deposits of clay sealings and Linear B tablets of the "Last Palace" as well as large quantities of "Reoccupation" pottery, read like descriptions of a single catastrophe in which the "Reoccupation" pottery together with the sealings and Linear B tablets were all involved. In the case of the "Royal Villa"⁹³ outside the Palace some of the vases assigned to the "Reoccupation" were lodged on the ground floor of the house, while the two vases of the "Last Palace" came from an upper storey and were found above a landing of the stairs⁹⁴. There is no hint that any part of the Royal Villa was rebuilt by those who are supposed to have "reoccupied" it. The one floor which it was suggested might be of "Reoccupation" date was admittedly at the same level, if indeed it was not the same clay floor, as that in use during the period of the "Last Palace"⁹⁵. It is all the more remarkable that the detailed accounts of the excavations in the Domestic Quarter (1901—02) and the Royal Villa (1903) should give the impression that they describe a single destruction involving material assigned to the period of the "Last Palace" together with "Reoccupation" vases, since they were written in the full belief that the

⁸⁸ Boardman, OTKT II 83f.

⁸⁹ Palmer, OTKT I 204ff., and Blegen, *ibid.* 230f.

⁹⁰ London Institute of Classical Studies, Mycenaean Seminar, Minutes 30 September, 1964, pp. 300, 303

⁹¹ BSA 6 (1899—1900), 50—1. Cf. OTKT I 119f.

⁹² BSA 7 (1900—01), 99ff.; 8 (1901—02), 32ff.; cf. OTKT I 137ff.

⁹³ BSA 9 (1902—03), 130—53; cf. OTKT I 195

⁹⁴ BSA 9. 136—38

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 14f.

"Reoccupation" vases belonged to a later horizon than that of the "Last Palace".

When the "Last Palace" absorbs the material hitherto assigned to the "Reoccupation" it emerges with a complete range of clay vases comparable with the repertory of clay vases found in the Mycenaean palaces of the Mainland. It is now equipped, not only with the great storage pithoi and "Palace Style" jars already assigned to it; but also, as it would be natural to expect, with large numbers of medium-sized store vessels — stirrup jars, oval-mouthed amphorae, couple amphorae and the like; — together with quantities of smaller clay vases, many of them, notably the drinking cups, decorated, but the majority plain without decoration, including highfooted goblets or kylikes and low-footed "champagne cups" as Evans called them⁹⁶.

There is however another aspect of the question which must now be considered. Even in the absence of compelling stratigraphic evidence, it may be necessary to accept the hypothesis of the "Reoccupation" for stylistic reasons. The L. M. I B pottery which was originally assigned by Evans and Mackenzie to the "Last Palace" has now been relegated to an earlier horizon. But this still leaves to the "Last Palace" the "Palace Style" amphorae and the pithoi of the West Magazines. Some if not all of these pithoi and "Palace Style" amphorae appear to be considerably older than the great mass of the "Reoccupation" pottery which it is proposed to assign to the destruction of the "Last Palace" with them. But pithoi can remain in use for a very long time as Evans noted⁹⁷. One or two pithoi comparable with those from the West Magazines (C) were found in the South Propylaion (B) together with others of different types which Evans assigned to the "Reoccupation"⁹⁸. In the same way the "Palace Style" amphorae, vases large in size and elaborately decorated, rare except in the Palace and not common even there⁹⁹, were no doubt highly prized and may have been quite old at the time the Palace was destroyed. Their possible earlier date is therefore no obstacle to believing that they were found together with the "Reoccupation" pottery in the same horizon of destruction.

This is on the assumption that the "Reoccupation" pottery itself forms a homogeneous group assignable to one chronological period.

⁹⁶ PM II, 336

⁹⁷ PM IV, 633f.

⁹⁸ PM II, 689 note 1

⁹⁹ AJA 68 (1964), 349 and note 4

But if on the contrary the pottery hitherto called "Reoccupation" proves to belong to two stylistic groups of widely different character it may suggest that it comes from two stratigraphic contexts and reflects two successive horizons of destruction or abandonment on the Palace site. In that case the earlier of the "Reoccupation" pottery groups can still be assigned to the period of the "Last Palace"; but it will be necessary to assume a "Reoccupation" of some kind to account for the later material.

Furumark indeed has divided the "Reoccupation" material from Knossos into two such stylistic and chronological groups¹⁰⁰. The one, consisting for the most part of fragments of fine decorated ware, he has attributed to the Amarna horizon, his L. M. III A 2. But the deposits of plain undecorated vases and the storage vessels, including the octopus-decorated stirrup jars, he has assigned to a later phase, his L. M. III B 1. This division, with a period (L. M. III A 2) of fine decorated ware followed by one (L. M. III B 1) consisting of plain ware and storage vessels, may in itself appear suspect. For it leaves virtually no decorated pottery from the Palace site assignable to the same L. M. III B 1 horizon as the storage vessels. Mr. Popham has suggested that "decorated pottery of this period from the palace site is slight as might be expected of 'squatter' occupation"¹⁰¹. But this dearth of fine decorated pottery is in striking contrast to the most unsquatterlike deposits of store jars, e. g. in the Domestic Quarter (G), attributed by Furumark to his L. M. III B 1 horizon.

The views of Evans and Mackenzie about the "Reoccupation" are not always clear. At first they do not seem to have envisaged more than one period of "Reoccupation". By 1903, however, Mackenzie appears to have been thinking in terms of a main period of "Reoccupation" to which the fine decorated pottery was to be assigned followed by a later and very degenerate stage with only plain undecorated vases or vases with simple stripes. "At last," he writes, "in the latest period of partial habitation, all of decoration that remains is in the shape of the occasional groups of horizontal bands, representing the architectonic frame-work of earlier design, . . . In this latest period thousands of kylix-cups, amphorae and jars exist . . . without any decoration"¹⁰². This division of the

¹⁰⁰ Chron MP 105

¹⁰¹ OTKT II 94. But see Appendix p. 44

¹⁰² JHS 23 (1903), 199

"Reoccupation" material by Mackenzie anticipates, although in a somewhat cruder form, that of Furumark.

It is Evans perhaps who comes nearest to the truth in his estimate of the "Reoccupation". In his account of the excavations in the Royal Villa (1903) he appears to allow for two stylistic phases in the fine decorated pottery which he found there, one "of the same late character" as the octopus-decorated stirrup jars on the ground floor, the other showing "a somewhat nearer relation to the 'Palace Style'"¹⁰³. But he distinctly implies that the sherds of fine decorated ware which he illustrates are those "of the same late character" as the octopus stirrup jars¹⁰⁴. Furumark however divides them, assigning the octopus jars from the Royal Villa to his L. M. III B 1, and the fine decorated ware which Evans illustrates to his L. M. III A 2.

The final views of Evans are those explicit in the Index Volume to the Palace of Minos (1936). From this it seems as if he ultimately believed in only one actual horizon of "Reoccupation" in the Palace, although the pottery in his opinion had gone through two identifiable stages of development before the end of the "Reoccupation" period¹⁰⁵. These stages he called "L. M. III A", and "L. M. III B: Reoccupation", distinguishing it from a later phase of L. M. III B which began after the "Reoccupation" had ended and which he called "L. M. III B: Late Revival".

Furumark adopted the terminology employed by Evans, but to some extent altered its content. Like Evans he assigned the "Reoccupation" period to the first part of L. M. III B which he called L. M. III B 1. But by his L. M. III B 1 he did not mean quite the same as Evans had meant by "L. M. III B: Reoccupation". It seems that from the very first Evans thought of the fine decorated "Reoccupation" pottery from the Palace site at Knossos as standing close to the imported "Mycenaean" ware (assigned by Furumark to Mycenaean III A 2) found at Tell el Amarna in Egypt. This is clear from the first report of the excavations in 1900 where the material which was in the following year (1901) given to the "Reoccupation" is still regarded as belonging to the destruction of the

¹⁰³ BSA 9 (1902—03), 142

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 153 fig. 92

¹⁰⁵ PM Index Vol. (1936), 138—39. As Furumark has noted (Chron MP 104 note 3), Evans only once speaks of a vase as coming from "an early Reoccupation deposit" (PM IV, 369).

Palace with the Linear B tablets¹⁰⁶. The same view is explicit over 30 years later in the Index Volume to the Palace of Minos (1936). Here under the heading of "L. M. III B: Reoccupation", are also grouped the Amarna horizon and the destruction of the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes. That is to say, what Evans in 1936 meant by "L. M. III B: Reoccupation" in many ways corresponds rather to what Furumark has called L. M. III A 2 than to Furumark's L. M. III B 1. As Evans was aware, this classification of his left a very short space of time, only about a generation, between the end of the "Last Palace" in L. M. II about 1400 B. C. and the beginning of the Amarna period (and of his "L. M. III B: Reoccupation") which he dated about 1375 B. C.¹⁰⁷. But the stylistic difference between what Evans was then calling L. M. II and what he assigned to his "L. M. III B: Reoccupation" would have been greater if some of the pottery which he had in mind as L. M. II was actually L. M. I B.

It is clearly premature to attempt the discussion of these problems in any detail without a thorough study of the great mass of unpublished pottery from Knossos assignable to L. M. II—III in the Museums at Herakleion and on the site¹⁰⁸. But it is worth considering whether Evans was not perhaps the nearest to the truth in his final estimate of the character and date of the "Reoccupation" pottery of Knossos. At the same time it is possible to wonder whether Furumark's division of the "Reoccupation" material from the Palace site between two periods, one contemporary with Amarna (L. M. III A 2) but the other later (L. M. III B 1), can be maintained. The octopus on the published example of an octopus-decorated stirrup jar from the Palace of the type which Furumark assigns to his L. M. III B 1 looks remarkably like those which appear on the more sumptuous kraters and amphorae which he attributes to his L. M. A 2¹⁰⁹.

It will clearly be of interest to compare the material hitherto assignable to the "Reoccupation" at Knossos with that from so-called "Reoccupation" horizons at the great coastal sites like Mallia,

¹⁰⁶ BSA 6 (1899—1900), 65—66

¹⁰⁷ PM IV, 748

¹⁰⁸ The study and publication of this material are being undertaken by Mr. Popham.

¹⁰⁹ PM IV 735, fig. 720a; cf. *ibid.* 1017 fig. 965k, and BSA Suppl. I, 83 fig. 66b. But Evans also assigns these two vases to an earlier phase, his L. M. III A (PM Index Vol. 138, and IV, 311 note 2). The krater from the Temple Tomb does indeed seem to be earlier.

Gournia and Palaikastro. Furumark has assigned deposits from Gournia and Palaikastro to the same L. M. III B.1 horizon as that of his final "Reoccupation" period at Knossos¹¹⁰. It may be possible therefore to identify a horizon of destruction on these sites contemporary with that to which the "Reoccupation" material from Knossos belongs. On the assumption that the "Reoccupation" pottery found on the site of the palace at Knossos belongs to the "Last Palace" with the tablets, the destruction of the "Last Palace" will then no longer appear as an isolated event, but as the central episode in some great catastrophe which overwhelmed the whole island at the time.

This horizon of catastrophe may not have been confined to Crete. Evans saw the material from the old excavations (1906—29) in the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes. He assigned it to the same horizon of the Amarna period as his "L. M. III B: Reoccupation" at Knossos¹¹¹. Furumark who also saw this material ascribed it to an earlier phase, his Mycenaean III A 1¹¹². But this dating to a period before the Amarna horizon (his Mycenaean III A 2) was only achieved by excluding the very few sherds of fine decorated pottery which had been found during the old excavations. One of these rare fine decorated sherds is figured by Evans who correctly assigns it to the Amarna horizon; on Furumark's system it is also attributable to this period, his Myc. III A 2. The original excavator of Thebes, Keramopoulos, had no doubt that this particular sherd, which he discusses at some length, came from the destruction level of the Palace¹¹³. In the ruins of the palace and evidently fallen from an upper floor was a great deposit of large stirrup jars. M. Raison has now reported that some of these jars bear octopus decoration¹¹⁴.

In conclusion it is suggested that the pottery hitherto assigned to the "Reoccupation" period at Knossos really belonged to the "Last Palace" with the Linear B tablets. The division of this "Reoccupation" pottery, so as to place the fine decorated ware in one period, and the plain vases and store jars in another, does not appear to be

¹¹⁰ Chron MP 105—06

¹¹¹ PM IV, 747f.

¹¹² Chron MP 52. Furumark thereby made the destruction of the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes contemporary with that of the "Last Palace" at Knossos which he placed in his L. M. III A 1.

¹¹³ AE 1909, 71, 82, pl. 3, 10

¹¹⁴ OTKT I 203 note 1

warrantable. The character of the pottery indicates that the "Last Palace" was destroyed some time within the horizon of the Amarna period. This is in harmony with the evidence of the frescoes and of the seals which made the sealings found in its ruins¹¹⁵.

Appendix

In *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* V (1964), 14—15, Nos. 8—15, Mr. Popham has published some complete vases from the south edge of the Palace site, the area of the Lapidary's Workshop just to the north-east of the South Terrace Basements (A). Evans does not mention these vases, and they have never before been published; but they can be identified from Mackenzie's Pot Notebook. They seem to be L. M. III B in style and date as Mr. Popham claims, and would indicate true re-occupation in this particular area. Mr. Popham argues that the vases identifiable from the South Terrace Basements (A), the Shrine of the Double Axes (H. 1), the School Room Corridor (F. 1), the North Entrance Passage (E. 3), and the Room of the Stirrup Jars (E. 1), all assigned by Evans and Mackenzie to the "Reoccupation", belong to the same L. M. III B horizon as this group of vases. But it is my own belief that these other vases are earlier in style and contemporary with the fine decorated L. M. III A 2 ware which Mr. Popham has in my opinion correctly transferred from the "Reoccupation" to the period of the "Last Palace".

¹¹⁵ Kenna, OKTII 96ff.; Kadmos III 1, p. 29ff.