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APPROACHING MONUMENTS IN THE PREHISTORIC BUILT ENVIRONMENT: NEW LIGHT ON THE MINOAN PALACES

Summary. The palaces are the most distinctive feature of the Minoan civilization, although their functions and meanings remain enigmatic. This paper explores these inhabited monuments with the application of a phenomenological approach. By constructing a series of categories based on data collected from all the entrances, not just the main ones, we can highlight the myriad everyday experiences encountered upon approaching and entering them. Categories based on function, yet also sensitive to experiential qualities of the use of space, are utilized in order to draw out the varied ways in which people perceived four different Minoan palaces (Knossos, Malia, Phaistos and Zakros).

INTRODUCTION

There is an ancient axiom that the entrance to a building sets the mood of the visitor. Feelings of awe, wonder, puzzlement, even terror can be motivated by the combination of approach, entrance, and façade.

(N. Platon 1971, 89)

There is a long tradition in Minoan architecture of focusing on formal qualities such as the use of space and construction techniques. In this, it is a fair criticism that Minoanists have over-emphasized the palaces at the expense of neglecting their contexts, both on the urban and regional scale. However, this bias is to be seen in excavations as well as interpretive overviews, and the basic database that we have at our disposal forces us to sustain this prejudice for the time being. Spatial analyses may shed light on urban relations and organization (treating the cities as containers of power: Giddens 1984, 262; Herzog 1997), but they offer little sense of how the buildings were perceived and experienced (e.g. Adams (2004) on the Minoan palaces). Central buildings served as a template for the urban landscape, crystallizing people's statuses by physically defining where they could go and what experience they had. By exploring how these central buildings were physically approached, we may gain insights into their urban roles. Entrances may serve as a social blocker as well as an opening; they are highly charged filtering devices for the enactment of social discourse.

APPROACHES TO ARCHITECTURE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Lawrence and Low (1990) have set out four methodological approaches to the built environment: 1) social organization (functional); 2) symbolic approaches; 3) psychological

approaches; and 4) social production and reproduction (or the relationship between power and space) – see also Parker Pearson and Richards (1994) and Steadman (1996) for further overviews. Archaeology has traditionally focused on functionalist approaches, such as the overall function of a building (e.g. defining a ‘palace’), architecture as the material expression of power, or the functions or activities that occurred within buildings (e.g. storage or ritual). Approaches that perceive buildings as theatres for social discourse both on the everyday and ceremonial level are becoming more common (e.g. Moore 1996; Johnson 2002; Saunders 2002; Letesson and Vansteenhuyse 2006). In Minoan studies, the iconographical evidence has long shed light on large-scale social interactions (e.g. Davis 1987). The reconstruction of these activities helps to avoid emphasizing the function of these buildings to the extent that they are personified, rather than understanding them as the setting for myriad economic, religious and socio-political relations between *people*.

It is true that archaeology (like many disciplines) privileges sight over the other senses (Hamilakis, Pluciennik and Tarlow 2002). Furthermore, recent work has explored how the ‘Western gaze’ affects our understanding of other societies (Bender 1999; also Barrett 1999; Thomas 2001; Merleau-Ponty 2004). This in turn influences research questions: the etic, detached observations by the modern scholar will result in an emphasis on the more abstract and/or ‘ceremonial’ qualities of busy inhabited buildings. It also shapes methodology and the presentation of buildings: they are depicted with as much architectural information portrayed as possible rather than the restricted, ‘real’ view from the ground. For example, 2-D reconstructions of the palaces have the tendency to employ a bird’s eye view or one from an elevated angle, which would not have been experienced by a Minoan (see Driessen’s (1999) comments on Klynne’s (1998) suggested reconstruction of Knossos). All maps and plans are selective representations of geographies; the focus in archaeology is normally on architectural detail. This paper will contribute to the debate by focusing on the active movement into monuments rather than passive viewing of them.

The focus on movement entails an account of phenomenological approaches in archaeology, but not necessarily sensory archaeology. Phenomenological approaches are not anti-empirical, based on vague conjectures of past emotions and experiences. On the contrary, if they are to succeed, they require a deep immersion in the data (e.g. Baldwin 2004, 7–8), of which Mediterranean contexts provide an overwhelming amount. The Minoan palaces have particular preservation and interpretative problems, but the data remain rich, particularly in comparison with fields such as the British Neolithic where phenomenological approaches have flourished (e.g. Edmonds 1999).

There is a clear distinction between monuments in the landscape, such as Stonehenge, and urban (inhabited) monumental architecture that was experienced in terms of routine practices as well as symbolically-charged, infrequent ceremonies. Experienced, everyday time flows at a different rhythm from monumental time (e.g. Gosden 1994; Foxhall 2000; Robb 2002). Tilley (1994, 204) argues that ‘what the monuments did, in their different ways, was to freeze perspective through the architectural lens of the monuments themselves – their orientations, entrances and exits, façades, forecourts and passage-ways’. This view of monumental time in the landscape is somewhat distanced from the bustle of daily life as occurs in the urban context.

The urban environment is in a continual state of formation: ‘instead of being a solid thing, the city is a becoming, through circulation, combination and recombination of people and things’ (Crang 2001, 190). The tension between public and private is also complex in the urban

setting; in particular, it has been argued that palaces bridge the categories of public versus residential architecture (Demarest *et al.* 2003, 120). The public nature of the Roman household indicates how culturally specific our polarizing notion of public and private is (e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17–37; Zanker 1998; Hales 2003), as does Bahloul's (1996) historical anthropological work on an Algerian household inhabited by several multi-ethnic family groups. In inhabited monuments like the Minoan palaces, social interactions occurred orchestrated in carefully designed locales, blurring the public/private divide.

This paper focuses on entrances, or thresholds. Thresholds have been argued to be the physical embodiment of rites of passage (e.g. Casey 1996, 39–40), where social identities and statuses are performed, reassessed and negotiated (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 25; Lang 2000; Johnson 2002, 71–3). Parker Pearson and Richards (1994, 24) argue that walls, gateways and entrances serve to mark transitions between domains, not only inside/outside, but also 'sacred/profane, female/male, public/private, enemy/friend, elite/commoner or initiate/uninitiated', which is suggestive of a close, but not necessarily deterministic, socio-spatial relationship.

The problems with reconstructing the form, function and experience of prehistoric access systems are considerable, but I have suggested some broad categories for heuristic reasons (see below). We should bear in mind a) how different types of entrance were experienced; and b) how various people experienced them differently. This paper will focus on the first issue. Certain phenomenological approaches have been criticized for assuming a unitary, human experience, for example Brück (1998) and Yaeger (2000, 123). I justify the attempt to create a sense of the overall cultural experience rather than that of the individual, since the cultural and generalized perception of space is more attainable in prehistory.

ACCESSING MINOAN PALACES IN NEOPALATIAL CRETE (c.1700–1450 BC)

Minoan palaces are distinguished by their standardized form (central court surrounded by four wings, with a west court). This standardization has resulted in the tendency to treat the complexes as monolithic entities, existing in direct contrast to 'the town'. Schoep (2004, 243–4) points out that previous approaches to the architecture of Neopalatial Crete have focused on the typology of buildings (e.g. McEnroe 1979; 1982) or architectural techniques (Shaw 1971). Important work has been done on specific architectural features, such as the Minoan hall, in terms of their proliferation (e.g. Driessen 1989–90) or function (e.g. Driessen 1982; Marinatos and Hägg 1986; Palyvou 1987), and Preziosi (1983) has applied a modular approach to Minoan architecture with significant results. However, by studying the full range of access points in combination with the kinds of spaces that each led into, we may develop a more nuanced sense of how varied the social functions and impacts of particular Minoan palaces were.

Minoan palaces have been described as a city-within-a-city (Preziosi 1983, 138). The palaces formed a striking focal point within the urban landscape, to the extent that many roads ultimately led to them (Driessen *in press*). This is reminiscent of Geertz's portrayal of the 'doctrine of the exemplary center' of the Negara, where court-and-capital 'is not just the nucleus, the engine, or the pivot of the state, it *is* the state' (1980, 13). While it is not possible to demonstrate that the palaces were perceived as micro-urban entities, analysing them in such terms will enable us to appreciate the *variety* of ways in which the palaces were used.

The palaces are best perceived as multi-functional. Paul Halstead (1981, 201) suggests that the Minoan palaces could have performed the roles of Buckingham Palace, Whitehall,

Westminster Abbey and Wembley Stadium. The general assumption that there was a palatial elite that had access to the entire palace all of the time is a by-product of the deep-rooted assumption that the central authority was an individual, specifically a 'priest-king' (Bennett 1961–62; Waterhouse 2002). These assumptions have recently been reassessed (e.g. Driessen, Schoep and Laffineur 2002), in line with similar developments elsewhere (e.g. Christie (2003) concerning Mayan palaces). By thinking about the buildings in terms of how those living around the palaces approached them, it is clear that the palaces did not function purely as the residence of a ruler(s) (if they did that: Driessen 2002). It is likely that different people were allowed access to various zones of the palaces at different times.

The aspects of access systems analysed in this paper include: 1) preservation issues; 2) monumentality of entrances; 3) control of access; 4) kinds of spaces entered and functions performed there; and 5) degree of connection to the central courts (see Appendices). Due to lack of space, we will focus on entry into the palaces, and not access systems within. Neither will we here consider the impact of *leaving* the palaces, although these openings were exits as well as entrances. Such an analysis is hindered by the fact that excavation bias has generally focused on the palatial building itself, with less attention to the immediate surrounding area. We will first examine the broader categories of entrances, and then consider the overall nature of each palace.

THE FOUR CASE STUDIES: CHRONOLOGY AND INTRODUCTION

However preliminarily palaces have been published, details such as door pivot holes are normally noted. Yet it remains a surprisingly formidable task to clarify where there were openings to the palaces, and to which phase of the Neopalatial period they belong. The four palaces discussed here are not fully contemporary, and since publication of *The Troubled Island* (Driessen and Macdonald 1997), we should be wary of treating Neopalatial Crete as a monolithic entity. Driessen (1995) argues that palatial entrances became more restricted over the course of the Neopalatial period; in fact, the palaces themselves date to different parts of the Neopalatial period.

The three main phases of the Neopalatial period are Middle Minoan (MM) IIIB, Late Minoan (LM) IA and LM IB. The palaces at Knossos and Malia were thriving during the first two phases of the Neopalatial period, but it is unclear whether they were *fully* used in LM IB (see Macdonald (2005) for a revised version of his LM IB 'ghost' or 'ruined' palace at Knossos). In contrast, the second palace at Phaistos does not appear to have been completed until mature LM IA (Carinci 1989; Van de Moortel 2002, 190) or early LM IB (La Rosa 2002, 80, 89), after a gap in occupation or very long period of building work (Carinci 1989). The palace fell out of use at the end of LM IB (La Rosa 2002, 88). The palace at Zakros was also built in mature LM IA or LM IB (L. Platon 1999a; 2004), but no palatial predecessor has yet come to light (L. Platon 1999b); again it fell out of use at the end of LM IB. Throughout the discussion of each category in turn, the palaces will be examined in the order of Knossos, Malia, Phaistos, and Zakros to reinforce this chronology.

The south and east sides of the palace of Knossos have shifted down the Kephala hillside, and Evans' reconstructions lead to confusion for scholar and tourist alike (Graham 1987, 26; Papadopoulos 1997; Hitchcock and Koudounaris 2002). There are five clear Neopalatial entrances and five further possible or probable ones (Fig. 1; Appendices 1 and 2); the north and west entrances are the main ones. Most entrances have a nearby room that may have been used

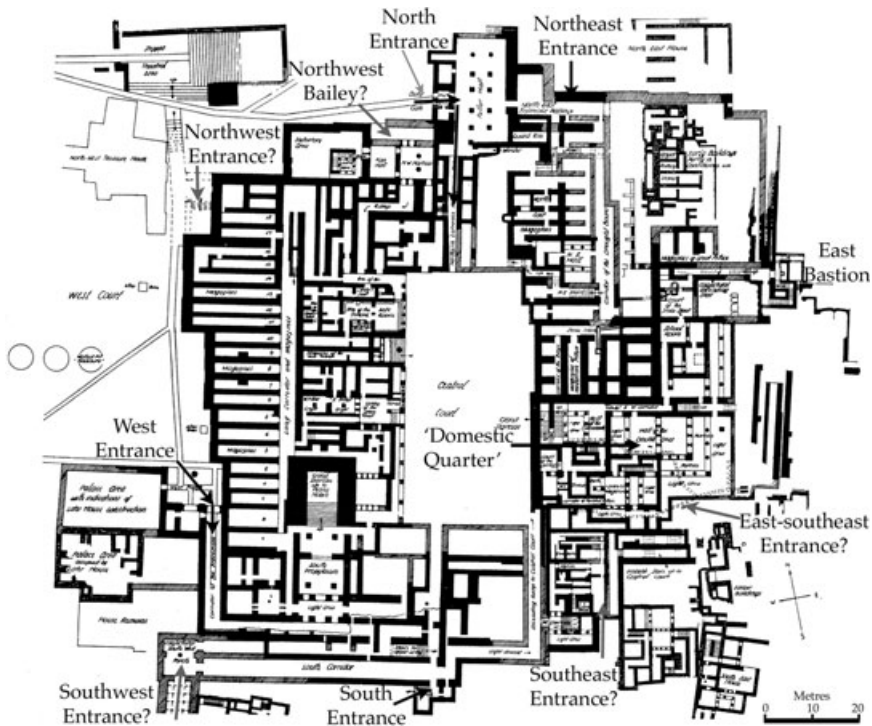


Figure 1
Plan of Knossos palace with entrances marked (after Evans 1935, preface).

in a similar way to a 'porter's lodge'. These are spaces that could have functioned as a station for an official to regulate access into the complex.

The palace at Malia is better preserved architecturally than Knossos but has not yielded abundant finds, probably due to pillaging (Poursat 1988, 80). It had five certain entrances and a further, debated one (see Fig. 2; Appendices 3 and 4). The main entrance appears to be the north entrance (Pelon 1980, 67; Driessen 1995, 76; however Graham (1987, 44) suggests the south entrance). The north and south entrances may have had porters' lodges.

The palace at Phaistos is notably empty and the south-eastern corner has collapsed down the slope of the hill. There is evidence for five certain entrances and four possible ones (Fig. 3; Appendices 5 and 6). The main entrances (northeast (53), west propylaeum (67) and corridor 7) have evidence for porters' lodges.

The palace at Zakros was unlooted, but its architectural limits unclear, particularly to the south and east. It is the only palace that does not have an entrance to the west. The main entrance lies to the northeast and opens onto the harbour road (see Fig. 4; Appendices 7 and 8). 'Porters' lodges' do not appear to be a feature of this complex.

PATTERNS AND CATEGORIES OF ACCESS SYSTEMS

Different types of entrances have been classified in previous work; for example, Evans distinguished between main, service and port entrances. The categorization designed here is

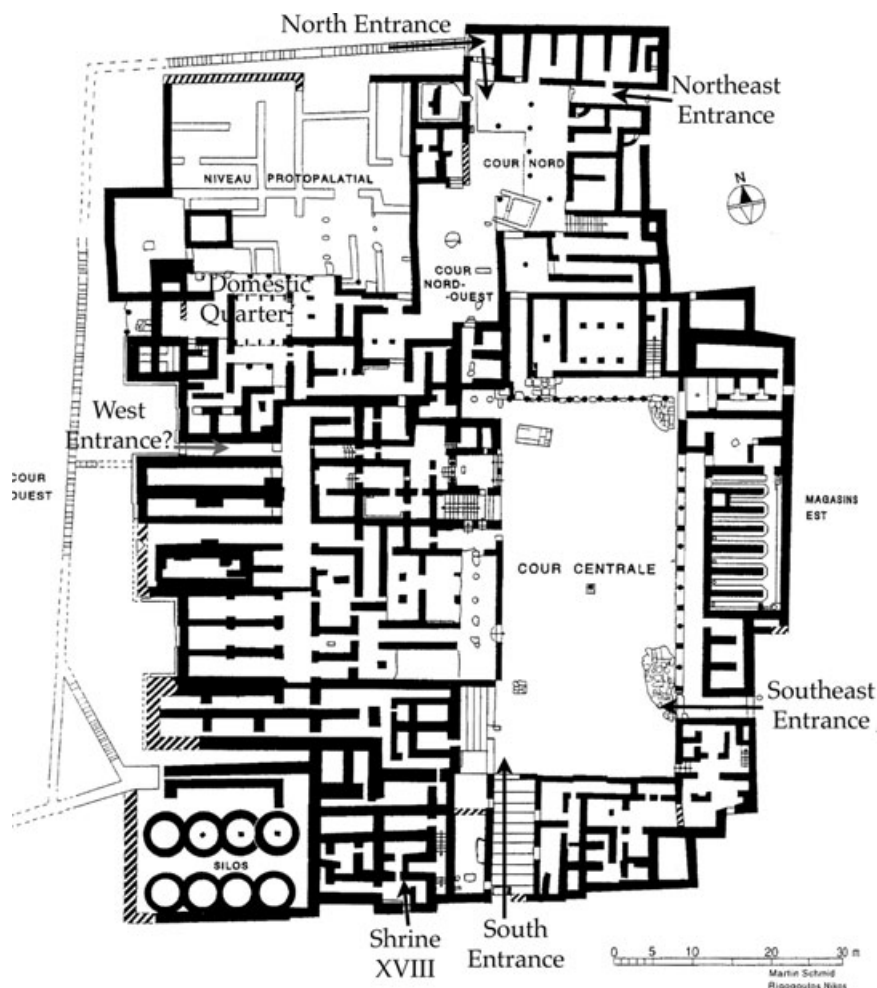


Figure 2

Plan of Malia palace with entrances marked (after Pelon 2002, pl. XXXII. Plan by M. Schmid based on a detailed survey by E. Andersen).

based on formal and functional similarities, as traditional in archaeology (even when contextual, hermeneutic and behavioural accounts are advocated, e.g. Kent 1990; Locock 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994). These categories are: 1) entrances with direct access to the heart of the palaces (the central court); 2) entrances into other courts; 3) approaches to halls, the locales of interaction, hospitality, feasting and the articulation of social status, etc.; 4) entrances and purification rites (lustral basins); 5) annexes that looked outwards rather than inwards, thereby blurring the line between palace and town; and 6) openings that appear to have served for the movement of produce not people. There are certain qualities of the design that produced carefully controlled impacts on those entering or even looking into the palaces, such as the effect of being funnelled up a narrow ramp. These will also be taken into account.

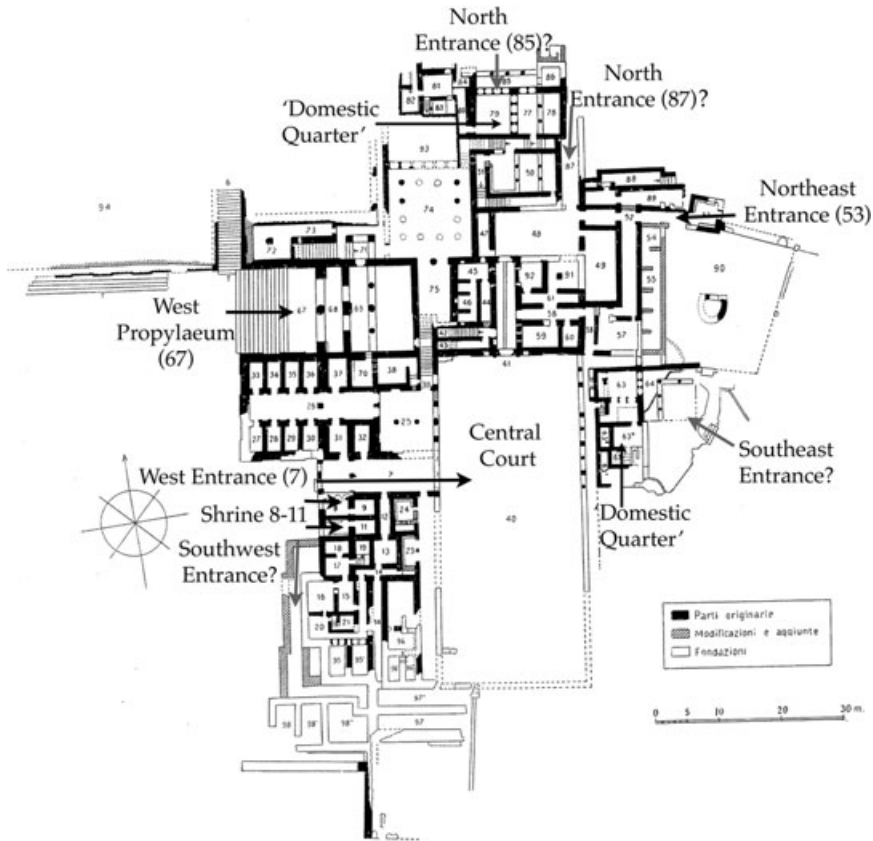


Figure 3

Plan of Phaistos palace with entrances marked (after Pernier and Banti 1951, fig. 285. Plan by E. Stefani).

ENTRANCES WITH DIRECT ACCESS TO THE CENTRAL COURT

Central courts are the defining element of Minoan palaces (Davis 1987; Palyvou 2002; 2004; Driessen 2004; Cavanagh (2001) for Mycenaean courts), so the ways in which they are approached will set the tone for how the palatial elite(s) wished the complex as a whole to be perceived. Also, we will explore how easily the activities performed in the central courts could be viewed, and how this might lend an air of mystery to them.

Only the north entrance at Knossos funnels traffic straight in and out of the central court. Access was increasingly restricted over the course of the Neopalatial period (Driessen 1995, 80–2; Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 142–5). One enters from the Theatral Area via a substantial twelve-columned hall, and is then channelled up a narrow ramp (c.1.75 m wide) to the central court (see Evans 1930, fig. 106 for a section of the elevation by Piet de Jong). Moore (1996, 98–101) points out that when one's point of view is forced upward it becomes more difficult to both look around and walk; it limits one's mobility. This combination of the narrowing corridor and the limited visibility resulting from the upward ramp signals a strategy of intimidation. Upon entering the central court, the ritual site of Mount Juktas lies on the horizon (provided the south

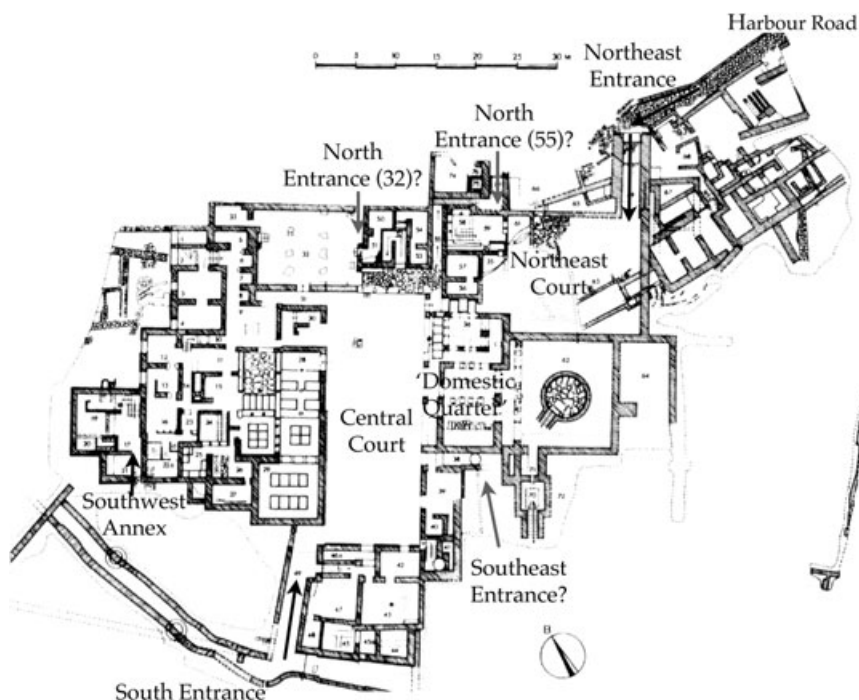


Figure 4

Plan of Zakros palace with entrances marked (after Platon 2002, pl. XLIV).

wing did not block this line of vision; the number of storeys in this wing is unknown). Knossos and Juktas are the only Minoan sites to have yielded monumental horns of consecration (d'Agata 1992), and a 'special relationship' seems clear. The remains of a relief bull were found on the upper part of Bastion A of the north entrance (Immerwahr 1990, 85, 88, 174; Hood 2000, 199: the latter states that the Bull Relief fresco may have been buried in fill pre-dating the Bastion, the precise dating is unclear). Hallager and Hallager have highlighted the importance of the bull in Knossian iconography – 'the big strong bull would on official documents everywhere in Crete signal the power of Knossos' (1995, 550).

This entrance provides a good example of how such systems tend to be represented in archaeological publications. Figure 5 shows a reconstruction by Piet de Jong, depicting how the narrowness of this long corridor funnelled those entering. However, the perspective is from a point considerably higher than that actually experienced (Fig. 6; Evans 1935, fig. 7), more or less on the first floor (Evans 1921, fig. 284 and Evans 1930, fig. 105 show the correct viewpoint). This higher angle enables a clearer view of the bull fresco, the façade of the south wing and more details of the architectural design to be depicted rather than the restricted perception of lived experience (for a related discussion of the function of isometric drawings see Palyvou 2003, 210–1, 232–3 note 7). The higher viewpoint fails to portray the effect of the steepness of the ramp in terms of concealing the events of the central court and intimidating those entering.

The south entrance likewise provides access to the central court, albeit less directly. Unlike most areas outside the palace, buildings did not surround the central part of the south

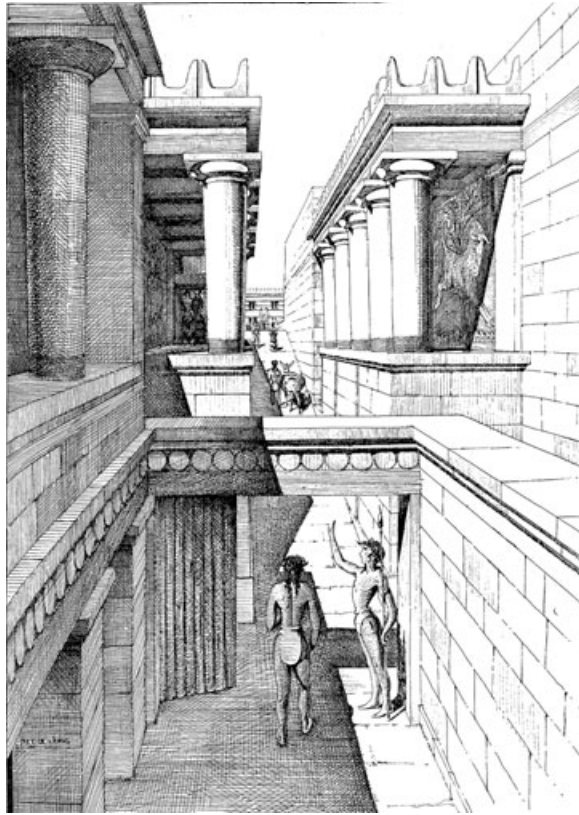


Figure 5

Restored drawing showing inner gateway of northern entrance passage and porticoes overlooking ascending gateway beyond at the palace of Knossos (Evans 1935, fig. 3, drawing by Piet de Jong).

façade (Fotou 2004, 98), so there was an uninterrupted view up to this façade from the area to the south of the palace. This entrance possessed certain features of Minoan architectural elaboration (including remains of a figured relief fresco: Niemeier 1988; Immerwahr 1990, 171; Hood 2000, 201–2). Unlike the north entrance, the south entrance offers a variety of routes after gaining access through the small south porch (although the corridor and ramp in the southeast part are reconstructed and too poorly preserved for comment: Colin Macdonald, pers. comm.). The use of a stairway is required to reach the level of the central court. Evans (1928, 759) questions whether this entrance could have had a central role in the Neopalatial period, but also suggests that the north–south corridor was used in processions from Juktas (Evans 1928, 761; a monumental viaduct led south from the palace: Evans 1928, 96–102). If this were the case, then Juktas features in both accounts of entrances with relatively straightforward (albeit not necessarily easy) access to the central court.

At Malia two wider corridor-entrances offer direct access to the central court, at the south and southeast of the palace (Fig. 2). The width of these doorways and corridors (*c.* 5.50 m and *c.* 2.70–80 m respectively) and flat approach create a sense of openness and accessibility (Fig. 7). Furthermore, the central court is the *only* exit from the south-eastern entrance corridor.



Figure 6

View up to central court from the northern entrance hall of the palace at Knossos (photograph by the author).

However, both entrances had the potential to be tightly secured (Appendix 3). Both also have features nearby that are of a possibly symbolic nature, in the case of the south entrance the ‘bench sanctuary’ with the famous kernos (Pelon 1980, 134–5; Van Effenterre 1980, 61–3; Gesell 1985, 105), and in the case of the southeast entrance a base that may have been used for a flag-pole (Pelon 1980, 74).

The wide west entrance (corridor 7) at Phaistos (*c.*5.20 m) likewise leads straight into the central court, connecting it to the west court (Fig. 8; Pernier and Banti 1951, 41–7, 451). A double doorway in the western part of the corridor could restrict both access to and visibility of the central court.

Finally, the south entrance at Zakros gave direct access to the central court. This entrance, as at Knossos, had a funnelling impact due to the narrowness and length of the corridor (passage *c.*0.80–1.70 m wide). Unfortunately, the area outside this part of the palace is difficult to understand, although it is clear that access was blocked at some point during the life of the palace (Appendix 7). The possible north entrance (55) led fairly directly downhill into the central court, but was blocked before the final destruction of the palace. One’s mobility is less restricted when looking and moving downhill, and so this experience is less intimidating, empowering even (Moore 1996, 98–101).



Figure 7

The south entrance to the palace at Malia (photograph by the author).



Figure 8

The west entrance (corridor 7) to the palace at Phaistos (photograph by the author).

The study of this type of entrance alone indicates that each palace offered (and still offers) a different experience for those approaching. The funnelling effect noted in the two entrances at Knossos implies a strategy of intimidation, and that one is crossing a transitional passage between outside the palace and its inner core. At Malia and Phaistos, no such funnelling system operated, and the greater width of the entrances allowed diagonal movement within the corridor and for several people to walk abreast. The south entrance at Zakros may have acted as some kind of funnelling device, but the precise use of this entrance is unclear.



Figure 9

The palace at Zakros, view from the town (photograph by the author).

Furthermore, direct entrances into central courts enable not only straightforward physical access, but also potentially a fleeting and partial view from the palace's exterior of the activities being performed. Zanker (1998, 10) writes of the Roman house that 'during the day, when the front door stood open, the lines of sight were purposely designed to allow glimpses deep into the interior of the house from the entrance', a point that may have relevance for some of the palaces. Knossos is notable in that both the south and north entrances are set at a lower level than the central court, so the internal activities would only have been visible *after* one had already gained access. Knossos illustrates Driessen's point (2004, 80) that 'what went on in the Central Courts was carefully screened off'. However, in the case of Malia, part of the central court could be viewed at times even though access might be denied. We see this at Phaistos as well, although this palace is unique in having potential intervisibility between the central and west courts. The case differs again at Zakros (Fig. 9). The central court was probably visible from certain areas of the town, since the latter was built on the hill overlooking the palace, so the palatial elite did not control who could view what and when. If the ability to witness both 'ceremonial' and 'mundane' activities is linked to knowledge and therefore power, Knossos most effectively set an intimidating tone, Zakros the least.

ENTRANCES THAT LEAD INTO OTHER COURTS

Central courts were not the only courts that featured in Minoan palaces. The impact of entering the palace into an open space from which a variety of exits was offered would create a sense of openness, even if access were still controlled. In this light, it is not surprising that there are no entrances at Knossos that lead solely into other open-air courts. At Malia, the north entrance from the causeway leads into the north court, and then a variety of spaces, including the northwest court beyond. However, visibility from the causeway into the north court would be rendered difficult by the sharp angle turning south at the north entrance. The northeast entrance



Figure 10

The northeast entrance to the palace at Zakros, looking down to the northeast court. The lustral basin lies to the right of the photograph (photograph by the author).

(53) at Phaistos leads into both the east court (90) and the north court (48). It is unclear how the east court was surrounded and whether the court was visible from outside the palace. A partial view of the north court could have occurred from the possible north entrance (87). The northeast entrance from the harbour road at Zakros (Fig. 10) leads into and overlooks the north court.

The palaces at Malia, Phaistos and Zakros, but not Knossos, possessed entrances that led into courts from which there was a choice of exits, and these were the main entrances at Malia and Zakros. While this suggests a high level of accessibility, there is evidence that these entrances were then restricted during the life of the palaces (during the Neopalatial period at Malia (Driessen 1995, 76) but probably within the LM IB period at Zakros and Phaistos). Furthermore, the choice of access itself could be intimidating for the uninitiated, who did not know which route to take.

ENTRANCES THAT LEAD INTO HALLS

Palatial hall systems offered a potential setting for interactions between palatial, urban and extra-urban elites and non-elites. Crete's climate is unsuitable for open-air activities all year round (as could be conducted in the courts and Theatral Areas); halls would offer cover during bad weather. They could have acted as the forum for activities similar to the Roman *salutatio*, during which part of the 'household' was semi-public for a certain period of the day. It has been suggested that there were client-patron relationships with strong religious overtones focused on Minoan households (Marinatos and Betancourt 1995) or that factional competition played an essential role in social structure (Hamilakis 1997-98; 2002).

The relationship between entrances and halls will be examined. On the one hand, these liminal or interactive zones are likely to be close to an entrance (not necessarily a monumental, main one), enabling access to be carefully controlled and confined to that particular area of the

palace. Graham (1960; 1961; 1987) has reconstructed many halls that are located close to entrances. On the other hand, Zanker (1998, 13) notes that the wealthy Roman household was strategically designed so that the more important visitors would be led past spectacular reception areas before reaching the interior parts of the house, as architectural conspicuous consumption. Similarly, Hitler's office in the new Chancellery in Berlin was deliberately placed at a great distance from the entrance as an intimidation strategy (Trigger 1990, 127; Smith 2003, 235–6).

There are several sub-groups of halls that have been analysed. For example, 'Domestic Quarters' are hall systems that have traditionally been distinguished from other halls. We shall maintain this distinction in the following analysis and re-evaluate whether it holds.

Access systems to 'Domestic Quarters'

Domestic or Residential Quarters (marked on Figs. 1–4) are so-called because of the belief that they were private, an assumption based on their distance from the main entrances (e.g. Graham 1959, 47). However, we should not underestimate the potential day-to-day use of minor entrances by non-palatial personnel, and must be cautious regarding the relationship between accessibility, political significance and cultural notions of public/private.

The Knossian Domestic Quarter lies in the east wing (Fig. 1). It is situated at some distance from the main north and west entrances, leading to the implication by Graham (1959, 47) that the complex was inaccessible. However, two possible entrances on the east side of the palace (southeast and east-southeast) and the narrow East Bastion would have provided fairly direct access to this unit. Many of the excavated grand urban mansions lie to the south and east of the palace. Lack of evidence for agricultural storage in these buildings may indicate a degree of dependence on the palace (Adams 2004, 209–10), and the functions of residency and meeting-place in the east wing are not mutually incompatible. In this case, one might question the traditional assumption that the monumentality of entrances reflects routine political significance as well as ceremonial importance. Managerial discussions might not be conducted with the pomp and circumstance of more infrequent ceremonial events, although the Domestic Quarter could be reached via the more impressive Grand Staircase (and central court) when the occasion warranted it.

In contrast, the Domestic Quarter at Malia is very isolated (Fig. 2). The main north entrance is the nearest one to the area. It is not possible to reach it from the west entrance without finding one's way into the central court and re-entering the complex by the north corridor. This might argue against the unit being accessed by outsiders on a regular basis, but if it were then the openness of the main route (through two courts) does not suggest a deliberate strategy of intimidation.

There are two units that have been defined as 'Domestic Quarters' in the palace at Phaistos: in the north and east wings (Fig. 3). The approach to the palace from both directions is unclear, but it has been suggested that the palace was accessible in the north (areas 85 and 87; although the latter does not lead straight into the hall system: Graham 1959, 48). In any case, the north Domestic Quarter is reached fairly directly from the northeast entrance (53). Furthermore, the possible southeast entrance led into the eastern 'Residential Area'. The situation in this palace is ambiguous. While this is mainly due to preservation factors, it may also point to multi-functionality and ambiguity concerning concepts of residency and reception.

The northeast entrance and court at Zakros have direct access to the east wing's 'Domestic Quarter' (Fig. 4). The approach from the harbour may reflect that the area was

accessible to groups wider than the immediate palatial elite. Graham (1987, 251) describes the hall system in the west wing as 'reception' rather than residential halls, although it is juxtaposed to dense concentrations of prestige artefacts and the archives, for which security was presumably an issue. The logic behind the identification of 'Domestic Quarters' is unclear – the situation between the west wing at Zakros and the east wing at Knossos is comparable, and yet the areas are given different mono-functional labels.

The category of Domestic Quarters highlights the problems with formal categorizations in Minoan architecture, and the arbitrary manner in which certain identifications are made. While function remains the corner-stone of categorization systems, the incorporation of basic experiential qualities, such as how the hall systems were accessed, highlights flaws in the inflexible application of our cultural categories. The relationship between access systems and Domestic Quarters also demonstrates the importance of bearing in mind *all* entrances, however minor, rather than simply relying on the main ones for understanding how the palaces were used.

Entrances into other halls

Today, the southwest and west entrances at Knossos enter the heavily reconstructed south propylaeum, although the evidence for this area is unclear (Hiller 1980; Hitchcock and Koudounaris 2002, 44–5; Appendices 1 and 2). The embellished reconstruction of this area for the Protopalatial period (Evans 1928, fig. 75) gives a sense of approaching up to the palace from this angle.

The west porch, where Evans (1928, 679) pictured the priest-king receiving visitors, is impressive not least in that it runs off the west court (Hägg 1987; Marinatos 1987; Van Effenterre 1987). Palyvou (2004, 214) describes the continuation of the west court's causeway into the palace as a symbolic penetration, 'as if the town is invading the Palace', although she stresses that access to the central court could still be controlled (2004, 215). The paving of this area would suggest that traffic was channelled through to the corridor (a 'red carpet': Driessen *in press*). Its access system differs greatly from the Protopalatial entrance from the west court, which led straight into the palace (Evans 1928, 660–4). Figure 11 depicts the entrance into the Corridor of the Procession, and the palace proper, on the left-hand side. The column in the foreground has been severed, presumably so we can benefit from a clearer view of the doorways, despite this being an unreal visual experience.

There is a funnelling effect since the west porch itself is around 3.4 times wider than the Corridor of the Procession (a similar impact was seen in the north entrance corridor). In this corridor, a stream of people walking individually or in pairs is most suitable. This is supported by the iconography found on the walls of the Corridor of the Procession and the so-called south propylaeum, where the (mostly reconstructed) figures are depicted single-file or two abreast. The dating of these frescoes is unclear. Evans (1928, 734–6) dated them to the Neopalatial period, but they should probably be dated to LM II (Peterson 1981, 39–40; Immerwahr 1990, 88–90, 174–5; Hood 2000, 203–4). The programme may date back to the Neopalatial period, since the bull-grappling scene from the west porch revealed three layers of plaster and so some continuity of iconography (Immerwahr 1990, 176; see also comment by E. Davis after Hood 2000, 208 and Macdonald 2005, 188). There is a Neopalatial example of a procession fresco from the Grand Staircase (Cameron 1978, 588–9), although this differs stylistically.

The figures on the fresco were life-sized with their feet at ground level. The narrowness of the corridor means that the fresco would have been clearly visible and in close proximity to

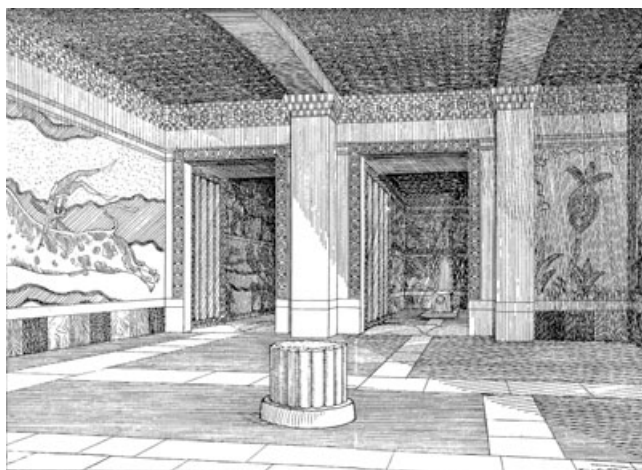


Figure 11

Restored view of west porch of the palace at Knossos (Evans 1928, fig. 429, drawing by F.G. Newton).

the people who passed it – they would not have viewed it frontally at a given distance, as we do today. This would create the impression for the onlooker of being in a crowd. Only 22 figures have survived in the corridor itself, with a further two from the south propylaeum. However, Evans (1928, 720) has estimated that if the entire corridor had been decorated in this manner, then there would have been as many as 536 figures (but see Peterson 1981, 38). Of the surviving figures, more face towards the interior than look outwards, which suggests an emphasis on proceeding into the palace and the south propylaeum rather than leaving it. As one moved into the palace, the forced funnelling effect caused by the narrowness of the corridor would have heightened one's sense of physical individuality, while the iconography simultaneously reinforced the individual's participation in a much larger, collective ceremony. None of the entrances to the palace at Malia enters straight into a hall, so there is no opportunity or desire for a similar orchestrated system of entry into a reception area.

The propylaeum (66–9) at Phaistos is an extremely monumental entrance hall, wider even than the west porch at Knossos (see Appendices). The generous proportions and the flight of steps leading up to it caused Preziosi (1983, 127) to suggest that it functioned as a Theatral Area (as at Knossos) rather than a grand entrance. However, access into the inner depth of the propylaeum was controlled by the pier-and-door partitions and there are two narrow exits from it in addition to the 'porter's lodge' (Fig. 3). There are clear performative elements to this *trompe l'oeil*. The relative anonymity experienced in the large propylaeum after moving up the grand and intimidating flight of steps contrasts with the narrow, and presumably highly controlled, nature of the exits from it.¹

1 Furthermore, Graham (1956) reconstructed halls at Phaistos on the second floor above the west magazines, which could be reached via the staircase to the north of the propylaeum (but see Hitchcock 2000, 142–5). The halls reconstructed above the west wings at Knossos (Graham 1979) and Malia (Graham 1960; 1979) were probably accessed from the direction of the central court rather than outside the complex.

The situation at Zakros is markedly different again, and there is little sense of the desire to strongly impress visitors entering a reception area or hall. The 'kitchen' (32) in the north wing appears to have been directly accessible from outside, and led to the 'Banquet Hall' above. This would have provided an excellent forum for palace–town interaction, but the fact that one had to walk through the kitchen suggests that the focus was on convenience rather than creating a daunting impression.

Halls in Minoan architecture are best assumed to be multi-functional, not least because of the flexibility allowed by the pier-and-door system common to them. One of the most important functions is reception (e.g. Driessen 1982, 57–8). By examining how they were accessed, especially through various funnelling techniques and iconography where available, we may reconstruct the impression that the palatial elites wished to create for those visiting their complexes.

ENTRANCES AND LUSTRAL BASINS

Lustral basins are sunken areas often found in association with Minoan halls (Driessen 1982), as seen in the Northwest Bailey and the probable southeast entrance areas at Knossos. It is unclear what practices occurred in them. 'Oil flasks' for bodily cleansing were found in these two lustral basins, which would support the interpretation of purification units (Evans 1921, 411, 422; Gesell 1985, 90, 92). Purification 'is one method of negotiating transitional zones' such as entrances, 'particularly where there is a sharp gradient between profane and sacred' (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 25). Both of these Knossian lustral basins fell out of use in the early Neopalatial period, and the use of the Northwest Bailey throughout the Neopalatial period is uncertain (Appendix 1).

The single lustral basin from the palace at Malia is located in the 'Domestic Quarter', at considerable distance from any entrance; clearly any purification function of these units was not confined to entrances. The palace at Phaistos contained four (LM IB) lustral basins, none of which were by an entrance (the MM III lustral basin in the propylaeum area was actually located on a lower level).

There is a lustral basin in association with the northeast entrance at Zakros, decorated with a fresco depicting horns of consecration on altar bases. The paving of this entrance (Fig. 10) is remarkably similar to that of the west entrance at Knossos, although at Zakros this short strip of paving does not lead from an external causeway but from the roughly cobbled harbour road. Therefore, both Zakros and Knossos had lustral basins located at entrances, unlike Malia and Phaistos. It has been suggested that the construction of the palace at Zakros was a Knossian initiative. Features cited in support of Knossian involvement include aspects of architecture, ceramics, administration and stone rhyta (N. Platon 1971, 240; L. Platon 2004). A further similarity is this proximity of lustral basins to entrances.

The crucial difference is that the Knossian examples of lustral basins located at entrances fell out of use during an early phase of the Neopalatial period, whereas the one at Zakros dates to LM IB. Many lustral basins were filled in during the Neopalatial period, particularly in the Knossian region (Adams 2007). If the palace at Zakros was indeed a Knossian initiative, then this chronological gap could be highly significant. Why resort to a practice that had fallen out of use in the larger centre? Why reintroduce a purification rite by the main entrance at Zakros that had previously been spurned by the inhabitants of Knossos and the surrounding region? This embrace of neglected practices could indicate panic, confusion and

insecurity on the part of Knossian and/or local elites, rather than reflecting incontestable Knossian power. In other words, when we witness the recommencing of rites associated with neglected authorities, they may not always indicate the straightforward manifestation of political control as generally assumed, but instead a more desperate attempt in troubled times to be *recognized* as having power.

ENTRANCES INTO ANNEXES WITH NO FURTHER COMMUNICATION WITH THE PALACE

This category of entrance demonstrates the shortcomings of viewing the palaces as monolithic entities. These annexes looked outwards rather than inwards, and have no further access to the rest of the palace. They were used for a variety of functions, and generally comprised a set of small rooms. Knossos is the only example of these four palaces that does not possess an external annex, emphasizing the remote and intimidating tone of the building.

At Malia, the entrance to shrine XVIII highlights the openness of the southern and eastern areas of the complex. Gesell (1985, 106) labelled this a bench sanctuary complex with storerooms, although Van Effenterre (1980, 446) remarks that the bench was poorly placed to receive votives. It may have been an urban shrine attached to the palace, since a small stone altar and terracotta feet (from statuettes) were found in it.

Just south of corridor 7 at the palace of Phaistos is a 'shrine' complex, which is only accessible from outside and looks out onto the west court (Pernier and Banti 1951, 104–18; Gesell 1985, 127–8). Entered by areas 8 and 10, storerooms 9 and 11 lie behind them. Room 10 contained a libation table (or 'olive press': Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 197) and figurines, while area 8 contained three small libation tables. Hitchcock (2000, 73) notes that the threshold to room 8 did not have a pivot hole, whereas that to 10 did, rendering access easier to control to this side.

The west annex of the palace at Zakros is directly accessible from outside, with no apparent access to the rest of the west wing. It was mainly used for production, possibly including dyeing fabrics (N. Platon 1971, 103). The workshop area added in the southwest part of the palace testifies to the need for workspaces in the palace, especially since it was placed over the west court. Thus, while it was common to have annexes open to the outside only, the functions these had varied. This external face to the complex acts as an extension of the palatial 'message', whether or not by design.

OPENINGS ALLOWING THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS

Some openings (rather than entrances) appear to have been for the transactions of goods rather than for people to pass through them. For example, a window (rather than a door) could allow the exchange and/or delivery of goods as well as letting in light and air. This interpretation is especially attractive if the window leads to the main storage areas of the palace, which were generally dark and enclosed secured spaces (windows are assumed to have existed on the upper floors of the west façade, but not the ground floor with storerooms, e.g. Hägg 1987; Macdonald 2005, 93). Small rooms/spaces would also provide space for such transactions. The precise nature of such exchanges (e.g. markets, rations or taxation) and even the quantities involved are beyond us (but see Schoep (2002) for the Linear A evidence).

The northeast entrance at Knossos is not well preserved, but there is a small room or porter's lodge where goods could have been exchanged to and from the northeast magazines (Evans 1921, 391, fig. 282). Evans (1928, 588–96) suggested that a northwest entrance led

straight up to the halls on the first floor above the west magazines. However, Graham suggests that the entrance served as a ramp for animals to deliver produce to the west magazines level, not the halls above (1979, 62–3; also Begg 1975, 22). The space to the west of magazines 15 and 16 would be suitable for acting as a sorting area, and the width of the ramp would allow burden animals (or wide loads generally) to approach. A ramp leading to the west magazines would help to explain how goods were exchanged and processed, and, aside from the north entrance, no other Knossian entrance is suitable for animals or wheeled traffic (Colin Macdonald, pers. comm.).²

The west entrance at Malia was partially blocked at the eastern end of the corridor running west–east into the complex (c.60 cm), to the extent that it is difficult to manoeuvre further in, but goods could be passed over. Alternatively, transactions could have been made into the northeast magazines from the northeast entrance. At Phaistos, there is an opening in space 31 of the west magazines, leading from corridor 7 (Pernier and Banti 1951, 89–90; Preziosi 1983, 129; Hitchcock 2000, 136). This opening could allow goods to be exchanged without people entering the complex. This hypothesis is supported by the probability that room 32 was a porter's lodge (Pernier and Banti 1951, 66–7); in this case it could be used as the base for personnel monitoring the transactions. The northeast court at Zakros may have been used in the same way.

This category emphasizes the fact that openings do not always serve as physical entrances for people, and that, in some cases, one's dealings with palaces may not have involved access into them. Despite the hypothetical nature of this category, it is likely that all palaces offered some way of delivering/obtaining goods. It is intriguing that a wide section of Minoan society may have encountered some palatial officials on a regular, if not necessarily day-to-day, basis, without fully entering the complex.

AN OVERVIEW OF EACH PALACE

The above categories have indicated some of the various ways that access into Minoan palaces might be understood. In this section, we shall examine the palaces in turn in order to reassess the overall design of each complex.

Knossos

Preziosi (1983, 105) states that 'despite the great size of this megastructure, one is seldom very far from an entrance either to the periphery or to the Central Court'. However, entering the palace was clearly an intimidating experience, especially through the main, funnelling entrances that have also yielded evidence for iconography (the north, west and south entrances). The interface between palace and town was carefully orchestrated. While direct access to the central court was possible, it is the most secluded of central courts in terms of visibility. Some entrances opened into halls, but none opened into a court that then offered a choice of exits; this again demonstrates concern for control. In some senses this is the most inward-looking palace, since no part of the complex is accessible only from outside (without further communication with the rest of the complex), in contrast to the other palaces. At Knossos, all zones are accessed from only one entrance. The proximity of the north and northeast entrances is misleading, as in fact they led into different areas. There are, however, certain

2 A similar support for an entrance running along the south side of the west façade at Phaistos has been reconstructed (Appendices 5 and 6).

structural ‘mirrorings’ that occur at Knossos, most notably the north and south entrances, and the Northwest Bailey and the southeast entrance with lustral basins. These highlight the careful design of the complex.

Malia

The main north entrance complements the open feel to the palace at the south and east. Upon entry from the north, the north court offered access into many areas. At Malia, many entrances led into courts, but none directly entered a hall. The north and northeast entrances lead into the same area. Preziosi (1983) has explored the tendency for the architectural layouts of Minoan palaces to form distinct zones, which rarely had more than one entrance (see Appendices). When there is more than one, we may explore how various groups would have experienced the same area differently. The northeast entrance at Malia enabled basic economic activities to be conducted via an access system separate from the main north entrance. Thus, less attention would have been drawn to the industrial nature of the complex, with storage and production evident throughout, and to the fact that it contained few halls. There was no mirroring of entrances in this complex. Overall, this palace was well planned, but operated under less of a programme than Knossos.

Phaistos

Preziosi (1983, 137) states that ‘in contrast to the clustering pattern . . . for Knossos and Mallia . . . , the organization of Phaistos is simpler and more block-like’. There is a tendency to have just one entrance per block, although the evidence is too poorly preserved to judge whether a mirroring system operated as at Knossos. The palace at Phaistos appears to have had entrances that led straight into both courts and halls. It exemplifies the theatrical qualities of Minoan architecture, such as the propylaeum and corridor 7. Entrances could be multi-functional in this palace. For example, corridor 7 offered direct access to the central court and the means to exchange goods between outside the palace and the west magazines.

Zakros

The short-lived palace at Zakros does not possess the block-like features of some of the longer-established examples, and neither were the entrances designed to ‘mirror’ each other in any way. While the palace may share some Knossian features, it does not possess the Knossian System. Both movement and vision were less controlled in this palace; even the activities occurring in the central court could have been viewed from the town. Entry into the palace at Zakros from the north appears to have been segregated between town people (via 32) and those arriving from the harbour (via the northeast entrance and court).

CONCLUSIONS

By emphasizing the role of the palatial façades as fronts, standing in opposition to the urban surroundings, Minoan palaces have traditionally been presented as both monolithic and homogeneous. Prehistoric monumental buildings need to be viewed beyond the reconstruction of two- or three-dimensional plans and the attribution of function. An experiential approach

emphasizes the partial nature of how buildings are actually encountered, rather than the 'scientific' and holistic view of the Western gaze. The manner in which architecture is represented will colour any further interpretation.

Recreating the solemn march of large-scale ceremonies and the noisy hustle of daily life, such as reconstructed by Edmonds (1999) for the British Neolithic, is a threshold yet to be crossed in Minoan, and indeed Mediterranean, archaeology, but one that needs to be approached. While it is unclear whether the palaces have been peopled in this article, I have attempted to recreate a sense of palatial life while focusing on a specific but comparable set of data. Several conclusions can be drawn.

First, the construction of heuristic, functional categories is appropriate for this topic, but equally one must acknowledge that certain features based on experiential qualities crosscut these categories. In particular, both static viewing and active movement must be taken into consideration. There appear to be certain categories of entrances that have relevance to the four complexes examined, such as those that lead straight to the central court. These intertwine with other factors, such as the impact of funnelling or sloping gradients, or evidence for control mechanisms. However, the traditional category of 'Domestic Quarter' illustrates the potential problems with the imposition of certain etic categories, reflecting assumptions about the relationships between access, 'public' interaction and 'private' inhabitation. Nonetheless, the choice to examine entrances as a category in itself (despite neglecting to consider these openings equally as exits) has been repaid.

Second, I have stressed the importance of gathering the data for *all* entrances, rather than maintaining a bias on the more 'important' and monumental ones. Such a bias will result in an overly aggrandized and ritualized interpretation of the palaces – an essentially circular argument. The palaces also provided the setting for more routine practices and interactions, and this study highlights the myriad ways in which people experienced the palaces, according to activity, personnel or occasion. It breaks down homogeneous analyses of these complexes, while the annexes in the palaces of Malia, Phaistos and Zakros provide good examples of how only parts of the palaces would have been accessed and experienced by certain people at certain times.

Third, this study of Minoan palatial entrances emphasizes not only that these complexes were multi-functional entities, but also that they were substantially different in nature among themselves. It is clear that the palatial elites set up their social theatres in different ways and to achieve different impacts. They differ in terms of the degree of planning and extent to which they have a coherent 'system', extent and type of control, iconographical programmes and intimidation strategies. While variations among the palaces were previously recognized, a more phenomenological approach highlights these differences in a rather more nuanced manner than purely functional comparisons. Chronological change is more difficult to assess – the different trajectories of the palaces suggest that statements about change within the Neopalatial period should not over-generalize. Probable purification rites in lustral basins at entrances have specifically illustrated this here.

The rich urban material in Minoan archaeology is well placed to contribute to the application of phenomenological approaches in prehistory; indeed, such methods demand to be securely grounded in data. The twist here has been to focus on the urban built environment, rather than the ritual landscape. One result of this has been a stronger sense of everyday experienced time, rather than ceremonial tempos. Inhabited, monumental complexes are not just physical entities, but are also continuously reshaped by bodily movements and activities that form a central part of living architecture.

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APPENDIX 1. KNOSSOS: PRESERVATION DETAILS

	Preservation	Date/temporal change	Width (approx.) of doorway	Evidence for control	Architectural elaboration	Select references
North	Good	MM III/LM IA construction. Over LM IA: access restricted	West outer doorway: 0.70 m; 0.70 m; 1.25 m. Present passage to central court: 1.75 m (variable)	Bastions, porter's lodge, 'tower', access restricted over time	Ashlar masonry. Gypsum. Bull Relief fresco above Bastion	Driessen 1995, 80–2; Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 142–5; Evans 1921, 393–400; Evans 1930, 158–67; Graham 1961, 169; Hitchcock 2000, 83–5; Macdonald 2002, 42–4; Raison 1988
Northwest Bailey?	Good (uncertain Neopalatial use)	Protopalatial, MM III. Entrance then (partially?) blocked	Double doorway: 2 × 1.15 m. Doorway to porter's lodge: 1.40 m	Porter's lodge; partially blocked after MM III earthquake	Ashlar masonry. Early: gypsum and mosaiko paving	Evans 1921, 215–17, 405–22; Evans 1930, 6–15; Macdonald 2002, 44–5
Northwest?	Reconstructed	LM IB/LM II (Colin Macdonald, pers. comm.)	4.80 m	–	Stone triglyph and half-rosette decorative reliefs	Driessen 1995, 80; Evans 1928, 588–96; Graham 1960; 1979; 1987, 249–50; Macdonald 2005, 184; Preziosi 1983, 87
West	Good (entrance); poor (corridor)	MM IIIB (rebuilt over Protopalatial remains). Procession fresco – Neopalatial?	Porch: 11.23 m. Corridor: 3.34 m then 2.6 m	Outer veranda area? Evidence for doors. Porter's lodge	Ashlar masonry. Floor pattern. Bull fresco. Corridor of the Procession fresco; Cupbearer fresco	Driessen 1995, 77; Evans 1921, 214–15; Evans 1928, 660–85; 758; Hitchcock 2000, 75–80; Macdonald 2002, 37–9
Southwest?	Reconstructed	MM IIIB sherds in drain. MM III–LM IA encroachment by South House?	5.25 m: Evans' reconstruction splits the width in the northern part	Porter's lodge, door-jambs	Heavily reconstructed. Relief rosette bands	Driessen 1995, 77, 80; Evans 1928, 160–6

APPENDIX 1. CONTINUED

	Preservation	Date/temporal change	Width (approx.) of doorway	Evidence for control	Architectural elaboration	Select references
South	Reconstructed/ good	Road leading to it built in MM IIIB	Porch 4 × 5 m. Stairway 2.6 m	Porch as porter's lodge	Ashlar masonry, Gypsum. Flooring similar to Corridor of the Procession. 'Priest-king' relief fresco	Evans 1928, 363–4, 758–62
Southeast?	Reconstructed/poor (above artificial cavity). Blocked at present	MM III; area given up after earthquake	–	–	–	Evans 1921, 573–6; Evans 1928, 326–31; Macdonald 2005, 99–100; Preziosi 1983, 89, 104, fig. II 30
East-southeast?	Reconstructed/poor	LM IA rebuilding of area	Reconstructed stairs south of eastern light area: 1.35 m	Conjectural bastion similar to East Bastion	–	Evans 1921, 206, 329, 355; Evans 1930, 328. (See Preziosi 1983, 89, fig. II 30 for a possible entrance at the East– West staircase not mentioned elsewhere)
East Bastion	Reconstructed/good	Post-MM IIIB: LM IA	Steps leading up 1.05 m plus runnel 0.25 m	Recess 'for warder'	Ashlar masonry	Driessen 1995, 80; Evans 1930, 233–44
Northeast	Reconstructed/good	MM IIIB/LM IA (Colin Macdonald, pers. comm.)	Doorway – unclear. South stairs: 1.15 m; east stairs: 1.65 m	One door-jamb preserved. Porter's lodge	Ashlar masonry	Evans 1921, 386–7, 391–3

APPENDIX 2. KNOSSOS: ACCESS

	Exits onto	Space directly accessed	Zone entered/indirect access	Access to central court
North	West: raised causeway leading to Royal Road/Theatral Area. East: River Kairatos. North: North Pillar Crypt. 'Sea-gate'	North hall and entrance passage; axial entry into hall	(Dining?) hall above north entrance hall?	Direct, via funnelling corridor
Northwest Bailey?	Route leading between Theatral Area and north entrance	Early: lustral basin and Minoan hall. Later: uncertain	Northwest quarter	Stairs up to northwest entrance passage. Corridor of the Stone Basin then to Throne Room area/central court
Northwest?	Theatral Area	Reconstructed loggia	West magazines (Driessen (1995, 80 and figs. 18 and 19); bridge to the Northwest Treasury	Tortuous
West	West court (causeway)	Corridor of the Procession	(Reconstructed) south propylaeum	Corridor from propylaeum joins corridor running from south porch to central court. Doorway northeast part of south propylaeum
Southwest?	Direction of Vlychia stream	Reconstructed: entrance to south corridor and entrance to presumed staircase	South propylaeum area (reconstructed)	Could have connected to corridor leading to central court from south porch
South	Exit on west side facing road to bridgehead over Vlychia stream	South corridor	Basement areas; access to central court. Southeast ramp reconstructed	Staircase to upper south-north corridor leading to central court
Southeast?	Area of House of the Chancel Screen	Corridor outside lustral basin	Lustral basin (early) and Minoan hall	Conjectural staircase to central court
East-southeast?	'Water-gate' to Kairatos	–	Domestic Quarter	From Domestic Quarter up the east-west corridor
East Bastion	Direction of River Kairatos	Steps running east-west, passage to Court of the Stone Spout	Via Court of the Stone Spout to Domestic Quarter	Heavily reconstructed, but northeast stairs probably led to central court
Northeast	Pavement west to north entrance. East: direction of Kairatos	Stairs, one leading east, one south and then west	Northeast magazines; northeast hall	Stairs to central court at southwest angle of quarter

APPENDIX 3. MALIA: PRESERVATION DETAILS

	Preservation	Date/temporal change	Width (approx.) of doorway	Evidence for control	Architectural elaboration	Select references
North	Good	Pre-LM IA: open system that was later blocked	Earlier phase: 6.45 m. Second phase: outside threshold: 2.80 m (including base blocking threshold; 2.20 m not). Threshold into second vestibule 1.80 m	Single opening to double system – increased restricted access. Threshold. Porter's lodge?	Paved causeway. Serpentine door-jamb base. Ashlar	Driessen 1995, 76; Hitchcock 2000, 86; Pelon 1980, 67–72
West?	Unclear	Neopalatial	1.20 m	Unclear. Blocking stone at east end of corridor. Blocking of area during Neopalatial period	–	Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 184; Pelon 1980, 56, 67; Van Effenterre 1987, 87 and comment following
XVIII shrine annex	Good (possibly window not door?)	Gesell: all pottery MM III. Driessen and Macdonald: suggest LM IB destruction	1 m	Step up into XVIII 1, presumed door	First room (XVIII 1); flagged floor	Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 184; Gesell 1985, 106; Pelon 1980, 213–20
South	Good/unclear how controlled	Neopalatial	5.50 m (but narrower at half-blocked parts at the north and south points)	Porter's lodge. Entrance half blocked on the north and south sides (to the east)	Schist threshold (only 1.75 m wide). Paving. Nearby kernos and bench sanctuary	Driessen 1995, 76; Pelon 1980, 75–7; Van Effenterre 1980, 328
Southeast	Good	Restricted access during Neopalatial period	2.70–2.80 m (corridor)	Thresholds (both east and west). Door-jamb	Paving. Base outside east threshold (for flag-pole?)	Driessen 1995, 76; Pelon 1980, 72–5
Northeast	Good	Restricted access during mature LM IA	2.10 m (corridor)	Restricted access over time. Rudimentary threshold	–	Baurain and Darque 1990; Driessen 1995, 76; Driessen and Macdonald 1997, 183; Pelon 1980, 72

APPENDIX 4. MALIA: ACCESS

	Exits onto	Space directly accessed	Zone entered/indirect access	Access to central court
North	Paved causeway leading west to west court	Sharp turn right prevents visibility into palace from outside. Two vestibules leading to court. Window to storeroom XXVIII 1?	North court. Access to storerooms, upper floor or Domestic Quarter via northwest court	North court, then through corridor
West?	West court	West magazines	West magazines (blocking during Neopalatial period)	Tortuous
XVIII shrine	Unexplored	XVIII 1	Ritual block XVIII (4 rooms)	None
South	Unexplored	Corridor leading to central court. Side exits into south wing	Central court. Storerooms in south wing	Direct
Southeast	Paved way to Quartier Zeta	Corridor leading to central court	Central court only	Direct
Northeast	Area with depression in ground (filled in second phase). Second phase: area around enclosed	Corridor leading to storerooms and north court	Storerooms or areas accessed from north court	North court, then through corridor

APPENDIX 5. PHAISTOS: PRESERVATION DETAILS

	Preservation	Date/temporal change	Width (approx.) of doorway	Evidence for control	Architectural elaboration	Select references
Southeast?	Unclear/unexplored	Neopalatial	Steps: 3.50–2.50 m	Unavailable	–	Pernier and Banti 1951, 186–7
Northeast (53)	Good	Access restricted	53 east: 1.50 m; north: 1.20 m; west: 2 m. South to east court: 2.80 m	Porter's lodge placed obliquely with enclosure wall during last phase	Ashlar. Paving and benches. Gypsum	Pernier and Banti 1951, 210–13; Driessen 1995, 76
North (87)?	Unclear/unexplored	Neopalatial	Doorway (reconstructed): 1.15 m. Corridor: 2.50 m then 1.55 m	Reconstructed doorway at south end of corridor	Ashlar	Graham 1959, 48; Pernier and Banti 1951, 255–8, 451
North (85)?	Unclear/unexplored	Neopalatial	Portico: 9.50 m (depth 2.10 m)	Porter's lodge (86). Pier-and-door partitions to 79 and 77 (hall)	Gypsum. Paving	Pernier and Banti 1951, 288–91
Northwest (67)	Good	Neopalatial	Opening of propylaeum: 13.70 m. Doors from it: 2 × 1.40 m, 1 × 1.00 m (to guardroom)	Pier-and-door arrangements in propylaeum. Porter's lodge (70). Three narrow doors from propylaeum	Ashlar. Paving	Graham 1987, 40–1, 181; Hitchcock 2000, 69–71; Pernier and Banti 1951; Preziosi 1983, 127
West (7)	Good	Neopalatial	5.20 m. Initial vestibule 5.20 × 4.40 m	No evidence for control at west end. Two sets of double doors c.5.10 m further in and at the east side. Porter's lodge (32)	Ashlar. Gypsum. Paving	Hitchcock 2000, 85; Pernier and Banti 1951, 41–7
West (8/10)	Good	Neopalatial	8: 1.60 m 10: 1.60 m	8: no visible evidence 10: pivot hole	Ashlar. 8: paved. 10: gypsum benches. Paving	Gesell 1985, 127–8; Hitchcock 2000, 73; Pernier and Banti 1951, 104–18; Preziosi 1983, 130
Southwest?	Unclear/unlikely; supporting wall?	Neopalatial	Unknown	Unavailable	–	Pernier and Banti 1951, 39, 135–7, 452–5

APPENDIX 6. PHAISTOS: ACCESS

	Exits onto	Space directly accessed	Zone entered/indirect access	Access to central court
Southeast?	Unknown	Hall 64	East 'Residential' area	Through halls 64 and 63
Northeast (53)	Latest phase: enclosure wall with kiln. Space 103	'Guardroom' 53	East court (90) and corridor 52, leading to court 48 with several exits	Through court 90 and corridor 62
North (87)?	Unknown	Corridor 87 then court 48 with several exits	Court 48 with several exits	Court 48 then corridor 41
North (85)?	Unknown (but area had been levelled)	Minoan hall (77–79)	'Domestic Quarter' in north wing	Tortuous
Northwest (67)	West court, stairs 6 to 94	Propylaeum	Stairs to central court, stairs to court 74, stairs to upper floor (halls?)	Through narrow doorway/stairs 39
West (7)	West court	Corridor to central court. Exits off corridor, window to west magazines	West magazines (via 25). South of west wing (including ritual areas)	Direct
West (8/10)	West court	Rooms 8/9; 10/11 only	Rooms 8/9; 10/11 only	None
Southwest?	West court	Unknown – similar route around palace as the west entrance at Knossos?	Uncertain	Unknown

APPENDIX 7. ZAKROS: PRESERVATION DETAILS

	Preservation	Date/temporal change	Width (approx.) of doorway	Evidence for control	Architectural elaboration	Select references
Northeast	Good	Gateway added	2.30 m	Gateway added and entrance narrowed. Probable door. Bastions nearby?	Ashlar. Patterned paving ('carpet' effect)	Driessen 1995, 74–5; N. Platon 1971, 89–92
North (to 55)?	Fair	Blocked during life-time	1 m	–	–	Driessen 1995, fig. 11; N. Platon 1971, 209
North (32)?	Fair	–	0.80 m	–	Some ashlar in hall but uneven base pillars	Hitchcock 2000, 87; N. Platon 1971, 204
Northwest?	Unclear	Blocked during life-time	–	–	–	Driessen 1995, fig. 11; not mentioned in N. Platon 1971
Southwest annex	Good	Annex added after main palace	1 m	–	–	N. Platon 1971, 103
South	Entrance: good; outside area: unclear	Enclosure walls added, which were later blocked	Threshold to central court: 2 m; threshold to south wing: 1 m. Passage: 0.80–1.70 m	Enclosure walls added, which were later blocked	Some ashlar blocks	Driessen 1995, 74; N. Platon 1971, 92 (and later reports in <i>Praktika tis Archaologikis Etaireias</i>)
Southeast?	Unclear/unexcavated	–	–	Enclosure walls added	–	N. Platon 1971, 89

APPENDIX 8. ZAKROS: ACCESS

	Exits onto	Space directly accessed	Zone entered/indirect access	Access to central court
Northeast	Harbour road, leading to port	Corridor leading to northeast court	'Domestic Quarter'. Northeast lustral basin area	Through northeast court and narrow corridor
North (to 55)?	Town	Corridor 55	Portico north of central court	Portico north of central court
North (32)?	Town	Kitchen 32 (and hall above)	Food preparation areas (50 and 51). Stair (52) via portico (34) to reconstructed hall on upper floor	Through Hall 32
Northwest?	Town	Room from kitchen 32 (33)	Food preparation area	Through Hall 32
Southwest annex	Unexcavated	Room 21	Workshop area	None (on ground floor)
South	Corridor 49. Enclosed passage. Opening at southwest part of 49. Passage leading east and west. South: enclosed well	Central court/south workrooms	Central court/south workrooms	Direct
Southeast?	Unexcavated	–	Corridor to central court	Corridor to central court

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