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What Happened at the Old Palace of Knossos?

by
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Abstract

This is a short attempt to consider what happened at the Old Palace of Knossos by using contemporary evidence rather than by extrapolating from the New Palace. Though the evidence is small, we may see something of the following functions: administration; storage; agriculture; industry, arts and crafts; foreign relations; religion; public assembly; relations with the town; defence; and relations with the Knossos region and Crete as a whole. The Old Palace of Knossos does not seem to have had the pre-eminence in Crete that the New Palace did.

This will be a short, but I hope summary, attempt to discern what happened at the Old Palace of Knossos, using the contemporary evidence rather than extrapolating from the New Palace period. For present purposes, I shall not include Mr. Hood's 'proto-Palace'¹ but I think it is reasonable to consider at least what Evans ascribed to MM IIIA (without going through the issue of MM IIB and MM IIIA again), especially as some things in MM IIIA deposits could have been made in MM II.² The evidence is rather small. It comes from the palace itself (where there is much still to be done in seeing what it was really like, and how much of a unit, and whether it did in fact begin as a group of *insulae*), and from the town of Knossos and its hinterland, the rest of Crete and, to a very small extent, the Aegean and the Near East. It includes both agriculture and objects.

I think we may see something of the following functions, many of which are interdependent or related:

(1) *administration*. The Hieroglyphic tablets and other documents suggest that Knossos was an administrative centre. Their coming principally from the North end of the Long Corridor on the West side³ may suggest that bureaucracy was already settled in that part of the building(s) in Old Palace times, where it continued into New Palace times.

(2) *storage*. It is impossible to quantify the capacity of the Old Palace for the receipt, storage and disbursement of contributions. There were some early storerooms on the West side⁴ and the koulouras—whatever their function⁵—and, on the East, other storerooms with pithoi, including the giant ones, and the so-called Royal Pottery Stores.⁶

(3) *agriculture*. It is reasonable to assume the palace's control of farming and grazing, at least in the region of Knossos, to fill what storage there was, but the evidence is weak, not least as Hieroglyphic is not deciphered. Contrast the Linear B texts, and the ideograms and quantities in Linear A.

(4) *industry, arts and crafts*. The people among whom the farm produce could have been distributed should have included: artisans; scribes; builders of the palace and other monumental structures⁷—a flourishing industry with trickle-down effect in the economy⁸; potters, whose productivity may be seen in the Royal Pottery Stores; and workers in cloth, faience, metal, seal stones, stone vases and wall painting, for all of whom we have some evidence.⁹

(5) *foreign relations*. We can see the reception at Knossos of raw materials from the Levant, such as semi-precious stones and probably metal,¹⁰ and possibly some technology,¹¹ and the exporting from Knossos (and Phaistos) of

¹ My term: but see *ArchRep* 1973—74, 34; S. Hood and D. Smith, *Archaeological survey of the Knossos area*, 2nd ed., London 1981 (BSA, Suppl. Vol. 14) (hereafter *Survey*), 6—8; also G. Cadogan, 'Why was Crete different?', in *The end of the Early Bronze Age in the Aegean*, ed. by G. Cadogan (Cincinnati Classical Series), Leiden 1986, 133—171.

I am very grateful to Mr. Hood for advice on this paper.

² Cf. recently G. Cadogan, 'Early Minoan and Middle Minoan chronology', *AJA* 87, 1983, 510 f. We look forward to the publication of J. A. MacGillivray's important research on the sequence of Old Palace pottery at Knossos.

³ A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa I. The Hieroglyphic and Primitive Linear Classes*, Oxford 1909, 19—22; S. Hood and W. Taylor, *The Bronze Age Palace at Knossos. Plan and sections*, London 1981 (BSA, Suppl. Vol. 13) (hereafter *Palace*), p. 19 no. 147.

⁴ To include *Palace*, 15 nos. 49, 50, 52 and presumably, by the end of the Old Palace, all the West storerooms. Cf. in general Evans, *PM I*, opp. p. 203, fig. 152 (= J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The archaeology of Crete*, London 1939, 128, fig. 20).

⁵ For the koulouras (*Palace*, p. 16, nos. 87—89; also p. 17, no. 97 and p. 20, no. 165) use as granaries S. Damiani Indelicato, 'A new kouloura at Phaistos', *AJA* 88, 1984, 229, and for a use as sacred depositories S. Alexiou, Μυροκόκοι ποταμιού, Heraklion 1964, 141. Cf. N. Marinatos in this volume.

⁶ *Palace*, p. 20, no. 178; also pp. 20, 176, 179, 181, 187—188, 207 and Evans, *PM I*, 321 f., fig. 234; lower floor.

⁷ *Survey*, pp. 8, 53—55, nos. 240—241, 282.

⁸ Cf. Fluit., *Per.*, 12.4—6.

⁹ For cloth (over 400 loom weights in the Loom Weight Basement, *Palace*, p. 21, no. 209) see Evans, *PM I*, 253, and for wall painting (painted dadoes in the Basement), *ibid.*, 251 f., fig. 188—and see also S. Hood, *The arts in prehistoric Greece*, Harmondsworth 1978, 246, n. 18.

¹⁰ E.g., for seal materials P. Yule, *Early Cretean seals. A study of chronology*, Mainz am Rhein 1980 (Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 4), 192—203 (with refs.).

¹¹ As argued for metallurgy by N. K. Sandars, 'The first Aegean swords and their ancestry', *AJA* 65, 1961, 17—29, and K. Branigan,

almost all the MM pottery that went abroad, and particularly that in Syria, Lebanon, Cyprus and the Aegean.¹² It is difficult to assess what inferences may be drawn from the lid of Khyan or from the statuette of User, if its context is good; but it may be the statuette of an offering of an Egyptian who actually visited Knossos.¹³ The prevalence of Knossian and/or Phaistian pottery abroad would suggest that Knossos, perhaps with Phaistos, was in some way a leader in trade and foreign relations.¹⁴

(6) *religion*. Apparently sacred deposits, such as in the Vat Room (which is not wholly Prepalatial) and the Loom Weight Basement and nearby and perhaps in the koulouras,¹⁵ show some practice of religion at Knossos. The cult included doves and pillars, and there may have been links with the sea—which are more obvious in the New Palace period.¹⁶

(7) *miscellaneous*. In general it is extremely difficult to show the uses of the individual parts of the building(s). The construction of the West Court and of the earlier court at the Theatral Area¹⁷ suggests *public assembly* outside the building(s). It could have been regimented or informal. The same may have held for the Central Court inside, or its role may have been that of a private means of access and communication, like a college quadrangle. There is also some evidence of *gaming*.¹⁸

(8) *relation with the town*. Some of the roads in the town of Knossos belong to Old Palace times or earlier and lead to the palace,¹⁹ which would have dominated the probably large settlement.²⁰

(9) *defence*. Evans thought the Keep had some defensive purpose as the base of a tower, a possibility we should not exclude altogether.²¹ Of course its prime purpose may have been just to be a piling for the buildings on the North slope of the hill. The Town Mosaic shows some evidence for war.²²

(10) *relations with the Knossos region and Crete as a whole*. There was probably considerable regional diversity in Crete in MM times. I think we may isolate cultural groups, from pottery and other evidence, in the far East of Crete, around Lasithi and Mallia, in the centre, North and South (where, despite many similarities, there are marked differences), in the West.²³ If the differences reflect political differences, then we may see separate states, or other sorts of unit, of one of which Knossos could have been the capital. Its region would have stopped somewhere to the West of Mallia²⁴ and, I suppose, extended about as far as the Ayia Varvara pass and the Psiloriti massif.²⁵ This means that Knossian pottery found elsewhere in the island should be seen as exports, whatever the means of exchange, and that in no way may we see Knossos as capital of Crete in Old Palace times, even though it was probably even then considerably larger than Phaistos or Mallia—let alone the possibility of its having a commanding position in the whole South Aegean.

Its probably not being the capital is probably the greatest difference from New Palace times, before or after the LM IB destructions. Its likely position in trade and foreign relations in New Palace times is probably already foreshadowed in the Old Palace period but again, with the evidence we have from

and linked to Phaistos and Mallia and perhaps other places, Knossos does not seem to have been pre-eminent as later. As for what went on otherwise at the palace, it is very difficult to say. The evidence to connect religion with the economy and administration is far weaker than later, but to connect the arts and crafts with religion already quite strong. We have even less idea of what went on in the rooms of the Old Palace than the little we really know of the New Palace. We should remember always that it was begun and built, monumentally, and that such an undertaking must have needed the energy and direction of one person or of a small group, either of whom had considerable power. If Knossos obtained its pre-eminence in the New Palace period by war at the end of the Old Palace period,²⁶ that would have been another manifestation of such power.

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¹² 'Byblite daggers in Cyprus and Crete', *AlA* 70, 1966, 123–126, *idem*. Further light on prehistoric relations between Crete and Byblus', *AlA* 71, 1967, 117–121, and *idem*, *Aegean metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age*, Oxford 1974, 121–123. It would be interesting to develop the case for foreign influences in technology, following for instance K.P. Foster and A. Kaczmarczyk, 'X-ray fluorescence analysis of some Minoan faience', *Archaeometry* 24, 1982, 150, for possible Egyptian influence in New Palace faience working (after the Town Mosaic).

¹³ Cadogan (supra n. 2), 514 f. (with refs.).
¹⁴ W.S. Smith, *Interconnections in the ancient Near East*, New Haven 1965, 14 f.; see now E. Uphill, *BICS* 31, 1984, 213.

¹⁵ Mallia was another: J.-C. Poursat, 'Une thalassocratie minoenne au Minoen Moyen II?', in *Minoan Thalassocracy*, 86 f., and Cadogan (supra n. 2), 511–517.

¹⁶ Discussion of the Vat Room (Palace), p. 16, no. 77 deposit and its date: P. Warren, 'A stone vase maker's workshop in the palace at Knossos', *BSA* 62, 1967, 200, n. 35. Loom Weight Basement: Evans, *PM* I, 221–224, 248–254. Koulouras: Alexiou (supra n. 5), *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Marine links (miniature triton shells): Evans, *PM* I, 221 f., fig. 168 (and cf. Old Palace Phaistos: p. 219, fig. 165; and Mallia: J.-C. Poursat, 'Ateliers et sanctuaires à Malia: nouvelles données sur l'organisation sociale à l'époque des premiers palais', in *Minoan Society*, 279). Discussion of New Palace links: *SCABA*, 172.

¹⁸ Evans, *PM* II, 609–612; IV, 49–59 (especially 50 f., fig. 30, and p. 34).

¹⁹ Loom Weight Basement: Evans, *PM* I, 302, 477–479, fig. 342; and perhaps Vat Room: 169 f., fig. 120.

²⁰ Evans, *PM* IV, 50 f., fig. 30, and 56–61; *Survey*, p. 55, no. 282; *ArchRep* 1971–72, 21; and 1972–73, 28, and 1973–74, 34, for possible viewing stands.

²¹ *Survey*, 8–9; P.M. Warren, 'Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum excavations, 1978–80, Part I', *ArchRep* 1980–81, 74.

²² Evans, *PM* I, 136–141 (Palace), p. 18, no. 139. Cf. block V, formerly *le donjon*, in a fairly similar position at Mallia (O. Felon, *Le palais de Malia V*, *ÉtCrét* XXX, Paris 1980, 98 f.).

²³ Evans, *PM* I, 308–310, fig. 228.

²⁴ S. Andreou, *Pottery groups of the Old Palace period in Crete*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Cincinnati 1978; G. Walberg, *Provincial Middle Minoan pottery*, Mainz am Rhein 1983; Cadogan (supra n. 2), 509–511, 513–517.

²⁵ Gournes being about on the border between the Knossos

scany: Zois (supra n. 24), 25–34; Walberg (supra n. 23), 104 f. ²⁶ For Knossos's not being pre-eminent in the Old Palace period 1969, 1–24; and Walberg (supra n. 23), 106–109.

²⁷ Presumably to the West of Tylissos, though the evidence is

General Discussion

Ch. Dourmas: Is there any relation between the genesis of palaces and the early urbanization of Crete?

P. Warren: The palaces were created within an already existing urban environment, although their building triggered some changes in the urban planning.

Ch. Dourmas: In this case the palaces are an indigenous development in Crete.

V. Waroux: The problem is that urbanization alone does not explain the emergence of the palaces. It cannot be seen as a causative factor since there are many urban centres in the Mediterranean which didn't develop palaces.

P. Warren: This was precisely the point in my paper: to seek a means to understand the social mechanism, which led to the emergence of the palaces in Crete.

H. van Effenterre: I wonder why nobody spoke about the difference of orientation between the town buildings and the palace which, in fact, can only be explained if the palaces were planned within an already existing town. In addition, there is such a special organization around the central courts of the palaces, that it cannot be explained by indigenous development. Note also that it is the same in all the palaces.

D. Levi: I see a gradual development from the prepalatial to palatial organization. Excavations under the first palace at Phaistos have revealed complete continuity with the prepalatial period. We have even found something that might qualify as an audience hall (similar to the hypostyle crypt at Mallia), where the representatives of the community would speak. It is possible to postulate an evolution to palatial hierarchy after that.

A. Zois: Regarding P. Warren's paper: I found it really exciting, as it is the first attempt to offer some kind of general explanation of social processes in Minoan Crete. But I wonder how far we can go with the help of the very young science of human ethnology. (Very useful in this respect is the volume on *Human ethnology*, ed. by M. v. Cranach and others, Cambridge 1978.)

I believe that we can achieve more substantial results if we concentrate our efforts on things more manageable for us (cf. my contribution), particularly by studying settlement patterns, distribution and hierarchy, environmental factors,

economic variables, and so on, with renewed theoretical preparation and methodology.

Concerning social organization on the family level I would agree with P. Warren that there is strong evidence for an organization in small units ('nuclear families'), as the study of architecture and settlement organization indicates. But this is not a MM I evolution. During the first occupation phase (EM IIA) at Vasiliki, there are small houses, built side by side, which can be plausibly interpreted as houses of nuclear families tied together in a unit, which we can conveniently call a 'community'. Even for Myrtos-Phournou Korythi I have suggested (*Palast und Hütte*, p. 123) that the agglutinative aspect of the settlement may be nothing but an impression due to the present state of the ruins.

And now concerning evolution: If one compares these modest buildings, which each family could build for itself with, say, some help from relatives or neighbours, with the very elaborate and imposing houses in LM towns like Palaikastro and Zakros, the difference in size and material used (e.g. very large worked stones) is quite substantial and reveals a different social situation, where a lot of labour is spent on each of these mansions. Obviously, we are now dealing with a hierarchical society, where the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, although the social organization on the family level clearly remains the same. These are the facts. And now one of the problems arising regards the source of that wealth being concentrated gradually in the MM—LM towns and transforming them in a kind of 'proto-capitalist' nucleus. Was it intensification of agriculture and export of surplus production, eventually accompanied by the rise of specialized industry of luxury items and parallel export of them, as the Kefi frescoes of Thebes indicate? And how did this intensification of production take place? Could we apply here Marx's concept of the 'Asiatic mode of production' or the 'hydraulic hypothesis' as these models have been evaluated in the extensive modern marxist and non-marxist research?

For the right application of the 'hydraulic hypothesis' in the Aegean we should, of course, take into account the differences of environmental factors (geography, climate) in each region and the existence of possibilities of intensive cultivation of different crops (drainage systems = mainly cereals in the Kopais and the Argolid; hill-terracing = mainly oil and vines in Crete and other regions).

Ch. Boulouis: A methodological point regarding the architectural genesis of the Minoan palaces. It is necessary to make

a list of all the features of the palaces which have precedents in prepalatial architecture and of all those elements that have parallels in the Orient or Egypt and, finally, of those features without parallels. A main feature of the Minoan palace is the west court with the theatral area and the causeways, which are alien to Oriental and Egyptian palaces.

A. Michailidou: I accept the precedence of urbanization over the palaces, but must also stress that the latter gave a further impetus to urbanization, as towns without a palace, like Palaikastro, clearly indicate.

G. Kopcke: Many speakers have mentioned the possibility of architectural ancestors to the palaces in Crete. Yet it seems to me essential to distinguish between a central administration building and a palace. Indeed some significant changes are taking place towards EM III. This is evident in the change of artifacts (iconography on seals, for example) which means that some new ideas are introduced.

Another point concerns the function of the central courts. It has been suggested that they were used primarily for religious purposes and that the population would be gathered there. There may have been residences of central administra-

tion before the "palaces", which we may not recognize as such. EM III as a possible date for the beginning of the palaces has been suggested by many scholars. What are we to make of yet earlier times? Could there have been in places initial steps towards central administration which would explain, e.g., houses with courts at Vasiliki and the prosperity and activities of Mochlos? If this were so, this would mark an important innovation relative to the purpose of palace courts in the Orient. Crete may have owed the idea to the East, but much more striking would be the apparently very different needs to which it was adapted.

M. Cameron: The one distinctive feature about the first palaces is the central court and it seems to me that a key question regarding the function of the palaces is the function of the central court.

W. Helck: We have a letter from Mari, where the king of Ugarit wants to look at the palace of Mari because it is world-famous. Perhaps this is how the Cretan palaces acquired their uniformity, if one ruler copied the other or used the same famous architect. Remember that in the 18th century A.D. many European palaces copied Versailles.

Town and Palace at Malia in the Protopalatial Period

by
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(Summary)

The discovery of some original buildings (crypte hypostyle, the so-called agora, Quartier Mu) in the Minoan town at Malia has provided new information, and raised new problems, concerning the relations between town and palace and the nature and extent of the palatial power in Crete during the protopalatial period.

Relations between town and palace

We know almost nothing about the functions of the first palace at Malia: no record-keeping attested in that period, no sure evidence for workshops, just some storerooms; the beautiful Malia swords, if they date to that time, would be the best indication for palatial functions. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence for a political function of the agora-crypte hypostyle complex. As for Quartier Mu, situated in the town not far from the palace, it consists of two administrative buildings which have yielded sealings and tablets and of several workshops; its economic functions are clearer than those of the palace: production, storage, record-keeping, redistribution of goods.

How were these buildings and the palace included in the urban organisation? Although the possibility of an intrusion of the palace in a pre-existing urban plan has been suggested, it seems that the main elements of the town developed at the same time as the palace and belong to the same ceramic phase (the "Malia Town group"); moreover, some similarities between the first palace, the "crypte hypostyle" and Quartier Mu point to a functional complementarity of buildings issued from the same general programme and not to a political duality as suggested by H. van Effenterre. The emergence of a centralized power seems to have been associated with the growth of the town.

Town, palace and territory

It has been demonstrated by H. van Effenterre and L. V. Vassinos that a relationship of economic interdependence existed between the Minoan town of Malia and the upland plain of Lasithi, and that the development of Malia as an urban and palatial centre has been connected with the establishment of permanent farming communities in Lasithi.

Was the territory controlled by the palatial administration restricted to this economic area of the town? The distribution map of two series of objects may indicate the extension of the palatial territory. First, the so-called Chamaizi pots which probably come from Malia and have been found along the coast from Gournes to Chamaizi, in the area of the Gulf of Mirabello, in and around Lasithi. Their contexts—groups of 10 to about 20 pots, one of them inscribed, in buildings or cult places; funerary offerings; associated with pithoi in magazines—indicate that they probably contained aromatic substances and were related to the industry of perfumes; in most cases they do not seem to correspond to an ordinary trade. The distribution map of the carpenter's hoards, found at Chamaizi, Samba Pediados, Selakanos and Malia (Quartier Mu), coincides closely with that of the Chamaizi pots. Thus it can be suggested that the territory of Malia extended at least to the Gulf of Mirabello and to the outer fringes of Lasithi: the area of the recently defined "Malia group" of pottery corresponds quite well and it would be most interesting to precise the relationship between the palace centre at Malia and the small town of Pyrgos, where the pottery is so similar.

Town and palace economy

Did the royal administration control the whole economy in the town and in the territory? The existence of at least one redistributive unit (Quartier Mu) in the town of Malia, separate from the palace and associated with workshops, rules out the possibility of a complete economic centralisation. The main function of this unit—religious administration in the author's opinion—can be inferred from material found in the Quartier Mu workshops: an unfinished stone kernos, the first known at Malia, has been discovered in one of them, and it is significant that in the potter's workshop clay moulds from shells and horns of agniri have been found: we can notice that at Vrokastro, for instance, horns of agniri and triton shells were the "invariable accompaniment of figurines and indicate a shrine".

It could be assumed that there was a highly specialized administrative organisation at Malia in the Old Palace period. The palace did not control, at least directly, all the economic

activities, and there were probably religious as well as royal estates and workshops: even if the king was a "priest-king" in Evans' sense, kingship and priesthood must have been distinct in that period.

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Discussion

J. Shaw: You posit an administrative and religious separation for the first palace at Malia and you see Quartier Mu as having primarily the religious function. What happened to the function of Quartier Mu after it went out of use?

J.-C. Poursat: It was taken over by the palace itself.

J. Moody: Are there more workshops in the old palace period at Malia than in the new palace period?

J.-C. Poursat: We know only of a few in the new palace period but O. Pelon is going to speak of some more at this symposium.

P. Warren: I agree with J.-C. Poursat's attempt to define a territory by means of artifact distribution: this is how we can arrive at organizational and demographic capacities.

G. Gesell: The only two figurines I know in the EM III period that have pouring spouts through the breasts come from Malia and Mochlos. Would you put the influence of Malia as far as Mochlos?

J.-C. Poursat: Yes.

H. van Effenterre: I am in agreement with J.-C. Poursat as regards the last part of his paper, but with the first part there is a difficulty. If you look at the plan, it is obvious that there

is a difference in the orientation of the palace when compared with Quartier Mu and the "agora". This difference is also reflected in the lay-out of the west court, where the architect had to give it a peculiar shape in order to integrate the N-S orientation of the palace with the older buildings around it.

J.-C. Poursat: Difference in alignment does not exclude contemporaneity, as H. W. Catling has also argued about the Mycenaean palace at Thebes.

V. Waroux: Many of the objects you showed us, demonstrating the relationship of Malia to the outlying areas in MM II, are cultic. What kind of relationship do you envision between Malia and the area around it?

J.-C. Poursat: It is difficult to be precise about the type of control, but I would think it is an administrative/religious system, judging also from the fact that some of the material from Malia finds its equivalent in peak sanctuaries.

I. Pini: I can add one piece of evidence from the MM II period: a seal from Trapeza which seems to come from a Malia workshop.

J.-C. Poursat: Yes, this is a good piece of evidence. The workshop at Quartier Mu produced seals for religious administration.

Relations between the Town and Palace of Zakros by Stella Chrysoulaki and Lefteris Platon

Abstract

The town of Zakros spreads over the slopes of three hills which surround the palace. It seems to dominate the palace which is built on a lower level and on even terrain. Zakros gives an impression of a harbour town, such as Palaikastro, rather than of a town organized around a palace.

There are extensive blocks and a system of main streets with side streets and narrow alleyways. The main axis of the street system, built already in the period of the old palace, is the Harbour Road. The arrangement of the majority of the houses suggests an earlier conception of interior architecture, but features of a new conception can also be discerned in some of the houses.

The axis of the palace deviates from that of the town which is oriented precisely north-south. This difference in orientation, the difference between the premeditated layout of the palace and the planning of the town and the architectural conservatism of most of the houses, all render it probable that the town was initially designed as a harbour town and not as a town organized around a palace.

In the palace a number of organized workshops for the production of precious objects for sacred use have been identified. Valuable imported materials were kept in the Shrine area of the west wing. In the town there is no evidence of the manufacture of precious materials and costly stone vessels. The existence of isolated traces of the working of stone does not present evidence for workshops, but rather suggests the activity of individuals.

On the other hand, many houses have special areas for the production of food, such as the grinding of wheat and barley. Wine and oil presses were found in 6 or 7 houses in the town. No wine or olive presses were found in the area of the palace. This can only mean that the town supplied the palace storerooms with produce. The concentration of goods in the palace and especially in the west wing is indicative of the central authority of the palace and emphasizes the theocratic nature of Minoan civilization.

PART ONE: TOWN-PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE

Introduction

The town of Zakros spreads over the slopes of three hills which surround the palace. On the northeast hill the buildings are directly connected with the northern part of the palace, while on the southwest and northwest hills two non-connected quarters have been excavated.

The buildings which have come to light on either side of the Harbour Road show that the town continued further towards the east, while from the façades which can be seen north and east of the excavated town it is certain that the town extended much further than is apparent today. The town, in

fact, seems to dominate the palace which is built on a lower level and on even terrain.

The destruction of the town of Zakros coincided with the destruction of the palace at the end of LM IB, but portions of the quarter on the southwest hill were reoccupied for a short time during the LM IIIA2 period.¹ The buildings which extend along the slope of the northeast hill, in direct contact with the palace, give further evidence of the relations between the palace and the town.

1. Town-planning

Zakros gives an impression of a harbour town more than of a town organized around a palace. Just as at Palaikastro,² here also we have extensive blocks, each comprising two to four houses, and a system of main streets with side streets and narrow alleyways. The necessity of adapting to the slope of the hillside makes the town-plan seem irregular, and the streets either follow the contour of the hill as "Ringstrassen" or are perpendicular to them. The perpendicular streets on the sloping terrain take the form of ramps or stairways. The original street-system appears to have been more complicated, but in the neopalatial period several sections of the streets were covered over by the construction of new houses or by extensions: an example is the southern part of the "Sturdy Building".³ In this period the plan of the town becomes noticeably more dense, swallowing up open spaces, streets and even alleyways.

The main axis of the street-system, built already in the period of the old palace, is the Harbour Road⁴ which led from the north harbour to the northeast gate of the palace. Two other main streets encircle the upper terraces. The largest of the perpendicular stepped streets begins at the West Court and continues in a northerly direction.

The town on the northeast hill communicates with the

¹ N. Platon, "Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου", *Praktika* 1962, 143, 151; *idem*, "Ανασκαφή Ζάκρου", *Praktika* 1963, 163.

² R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Palaikastro I", *BSA* 8, 1901-02, 306-316; R.M. Dawkins, "Excavations at Palaikastro II, III, IV", *BSA* 9, 1902-03, 290-296; 10, 1903-04, 202-226; 11, 1905-06, 272-290.

³ N. Platon, *Praktika* 1972, 179, 183.

⁴ For the date of the Harbour Road see N. Platon, Ζάκρος, Τὸ νεὸν μινωικὸν ἀνάκτορον, Athens 1974, 224.