

EXCAVATIONS AT MYCENAE.

§ VIII.—THE PALACE.

(PLATES II., XXII.—XLIH.)

I. INTRODUCTION.

THE Palace at Mycenae was first found and excavated by Tsountas in 1886, although Schliemann had previously in 1874 dug one or two trial pits on the summit of the Acropolis here. His shafts are shewn on Steffen's excellent plan.¹ Tsountas published a full report of his excavations in the *Πρακτικά*,² and in succeeding campaigns cleared more of the ruins of the Palace,³ and also laid bare the foundations of the Doric temple which was built over the ruins of the Palace in later times. Unfortunately, no full account or plan of these supplementary excavations has ever been published, so that our knowledge of the Palace at Mycenae was incomplete. In 1914 Dr. Rodenwaldt re-examined the painted stucco floors in the Court and in the Megaron,⁴ and at the same time republished, together with important new fragments which he was lucky enough to find, all the known pieces of wall-painting from the Megaron.⁵ We began work on the Palace in 1920, and continued our re-investigation of the ruins during the three following campaigns, of which that of 1923 was very short. The results of our observations and the few new points discovered by us are here set out. We have to thank Dr. Leicester Holland for the splendid plan published here (Plate II.). In it all the foundation walls of the Doric temple are omitted and most of the Hellenistic and other late walls, so as not to confuse the plan of the Mycenaean Palace. Where any Greek walls have had to be indicated, such are shewn in a summary manner by

¹ *Karten von Mykenai*, Pl. II.

² *Πρακτικά*, 1886, pp. 59 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 29.

⁴ *Jahrbuch*, 1919, pp. 87 ff.

⁵ *Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai*.

dotted lines only. The sections and reconstructions seen in Pls. XXIV., XL., and Figs. 34, 37, 38 are the work of Mr. De Jong.¹

We have already pointed out² that the roadway, which ascends the Great Ramp on the east of the Grave Circle, cannot be followed once it reaches the head of the Ramp. It cannot have continued due south because there was nothing to carry it above the sharply sloping rock. Like the road which comes up the corresponding ramp at Tiryns, it probably turned at right angles eastwards at the head of the Ramp, and then gradually climbed the slope of the acropolis in a south-easterly direction to the south side of the Palace.

In 1895 Tsountas discovered³ the upper part of this roadway, and traced it to just below the Grand Staircase which ascends to the Court of the Palace from the south. The road is supported by a massive retaining wall built in the Cyclopean style, and though it is clear that its general line is that of the east side of the Great Ramp, yet the intervening area between the head of the Ramp and the point where Tsountas picked it up again has been destroyed by Hellenistic houses. Tsountas' investigations thus proved that the road continued beyond the Ramp leading slantwise up the hillside towards the foot of the Grand Staircase. The road does not actually approach the entrance to the staircase, but passes some little distance below it. Probably it ran past the entrance at a lower level, and then turned back and reached the level of the entrance by a series of zigzags. This cannot now be ascertained, as the space between the entrance to the staircase (65)⁴ and the road below has been disturbed and built over in archaic Greek and in Hellenistic times. Just to the south-west of the entrance to the Staircase (65) there is a heavy retaining wall (64) which is clearly originally of Mycenaean construction. This runs at an oblique angle to the entrance, but comes close to the outside corner of the West Lobby (63), which it supports. It is further to be noticed that by the angle of the West Lobby it has a

¹ The account of the architectural remains and the pottery is the work of Mr. Wace, who was assisted throughout in his observations by Dr. Holland and Dr. Blegen. The frescoes are described by Miss Lamb, who was in principal charge of the operations in the Palace in 1921, but she has assisted in many other ways as well. Dr. Boethius too took an active part in the examination of the Pithos Area, Pillar Basement, and North-Western Propylon. Other members of the School, notably Mr. A. W. Gomme, have helped in the work on which this report is based.

² See pp. 67 ff., above.

³ *Πρακτικά*, 1895, p. 24; 1896, p. 29.

⁴ The figures in heavy type refer to the Plan, Pl. II.

set-back so as to bring it yet nearer to the wall of the lobby. On the other hand, in front of the entrance (65) it runs away south-eastwards at such an angle as to leave a wide space there. This wall (64) would thus mark the end of the roadway leading up from the Great Ramp.

2. THE STAIRCASE.

The actual entrance (65) to the Grand Staircase passes between big blocks of dressed poros,¹ which were once the base for wooden beams let into an ashlar wall, as can be clearly seen by the dowel-holes on their upper surfaces. As shewn by the central bosses on the two blocks to the left of the entrance, the wooden beams were laid along the edges of the blocks and also tied by cross-beams running between the bosses. The wooden beams at the sides of the doorway also served to hold the door-frame in place. The threshold is missing.

THE WEST LOBBY.

The West Lobby (63), which one now enters, is floored with a layer of hard cement. Along the western and northern walls ran a low bench (.45-.50 m. high, .50 m. wide) of limestone blocks covered with stucco. The bench was a later addition, because, as can be very clearly seen in the north-west corner, it is laid over the cement floor. In the stonework of the bench, in the actual corner of the walls, and just above the cement floor, we found some broken pottery, all of which, with one or two exceptions, are unmistakably of L.H. III. date. Among them unpainted one-handled kylikes (Fig. 33 *a*) were common. On the cement floor of this lobby we found a fair amount of L.H. III. pottery, including kylikes (painted and unpainted), deep bowls and mugs. Miscellaneous finds comprise one steatite and one clay whorl of the ordinary conical type, a bone bead shaped like a small washer, and a piece of worked limestone .035 m. long and triangular in section, which was probably part of some inlaid work. We also sank a pit below the floor of the lobby at a point where the cement had perished, with the following result. The cement floor is laid over a well-packed layer of earth from .45 to .50 m. thick, below which is a heavy fill of rough limestone blocks

¹ For the difference between 'limestone' and 'poros' see *A.J.A.*, 1923, p. 445.

running down to the rock, which is at a depth of 2 m. (or at a level of 63·92) below the floor (cf. Pl. XXIV.).

Our first layer, from 65·92 to 65·72, gave us :

Middle Helladic, Minyan (Yellow Minyan and plain polished ware), twenty-nine sherds: some of the Yellow Minyan and polished ware is probably L.H. I. in date.

Matt-painted, Group B.I., seven sherds.

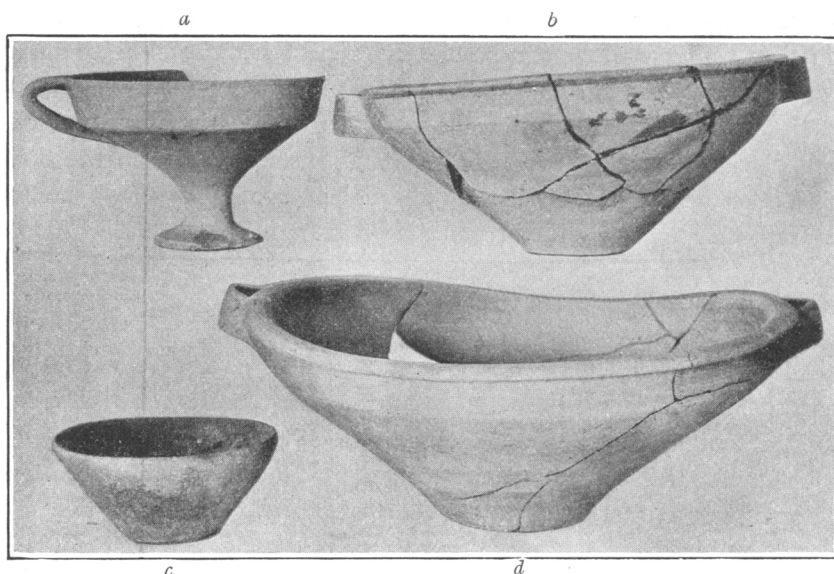


FIG. 33.—KYLIX (*a*) FROM WEST LOBBY OF GRAND STAIRCASE; BOWLS (*b*, *d*), HANDLELESS CUP (*c*) FROM ROOM NORTH OF WESTERN PORTAL. (Scale 1:4.)

Late Helladic I., six sherds, including the fine pieces with a large double-axe-pattern on a spotted ground (Pl. XXXI. *q-s*).

Late Helladic III., fragment of unpainted kylix.

The second layer, 65·72 to 65·47, yielded :

Early Helladic, one sherd.

Middle Helladic, Minyan, four sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B.I., five pieces.

Yellow Minyan and plain polished ware (some of which is L.H. I.), twenty-two sherds.

Late Helladic I., painted, one piece.

Handleless cups, five fragments. This type of cup is illustrated in Fig. 33 *c*, and is extremely common in all the deposits below the

floors of the Palace. As has been mentioned already,¹ this type of handleless cup, showing all the signs of the quick wheel and with pronounced string-marks on the base showing how it had been cut off from the wheel, and at the same time with strongly marked ribs on the sides caused by the pressure of the finger while the clay was turning on the wheel, seems to be very characteristic of L.H. I.-II. deposits. They occur in L.H. I.-II. strata at Korakou,² and one was found with the earliest group of interments in Tomb 517, which were accompanied by nothing that could be dated definitely as later than L.H. II. At Knossos and other Cretan sites cups of this shape are extremely common³ at the end of the Middle Minoan Period and in L.M. I.-II.⁴ Here too below the floor of this lobby we find them with L.H. I. sherds. On the other hand, in tombs which contain typical L.H. III. pottery, cups of this type are as rare as they are common in the earlier period. For instance, in the deposits of the early strata by the Lion Gate, cups of this type hardly occur.⁵ This type of handleless cup begins at Mycenae in L.H. I., was common throughout L.H. II. and died out at the beginning of L.H. III., and can therefore be used as valuable evidence in dating deposits when painted pottery is lacking.

Coarse ware, four pieces.

The third layer through the stone-fill down to the rock (65.47 to 63.92) yielded :

Early Helladic, two sherds.

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., six sherds

Matt-painted, Group D. I., light-on-dark, one piece.

Plain and polished ware, twenty-four sherds.

Late Helladic I., six sherds.

Handleless cups, one piece.

Coarse domestic ware, four fragments.

Another test gave us similar results.

The conclusion that this part of the Grand Staircase is built on a vast mass of stone-fill thrown in on the native rock is confirmed by the evidence obtained below the floors of the Central and East Lobbies (66, 67), but when the fill was put down we cannot define with any certainty. It is at least sure that it must have been put in not earlier than the end of L.H. I., otherwise L.H. I. pottery would not be found

¹ *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 208.

² Blegen, *Korakou*, Fig. 81.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 570, Fig. 415A, p. 588 ff.

⁴ Cf. *B.S.A.* vii. p. 75; x. p. 8.

⁵ See pp. 20 ff. above. One was found in Tomb 521, which is early L.H. III.

stratified in it. On the other hand, the presence of L.H. III. pottery in the bench shows that the Grand Staircase took its final form in L.H. III.; and one small piece of evidence from the Central Lobby confirms this.¹ Thus we can say that a staircase may have been built early in L.H. II. when the stone-fill was thrown in, and then remodelled in L.H. III. times. Of course, the stone-fill when first put in may have been intended to serve as a terrace for some other building and not for the Grand Staircase, which was first built here in L.H. III. Or we could say that the whole was built in L.H. III. times, and that the presence of L.H. I. pottery below the floor and in the fill is due to the fact that during the levelling operations the builders dug into deposits of that period for their fill. From the evidence so far before us the first view seems the more reasonable, but we shall have to review it when we have considered the evidence of the Pithos Area (62) and of the Pillar Basement (61).

This West Lobby (63) is of rather curious shape, consisting of a small and a large rectangle side by side. The entrance leads directly into the smaller rectangle, and then turns to the left into the larger rectangle to reach the actual bottom of the stairs. The lowest steps are separated from the small rectangle or entrance proper by a low balustrade which was probably open, so that from the entrance one could look straight through to the stairs (Pl. XXII. *a*, Fig. 34). At the west end of this balustrade wall is a large block of dressed poros, and another similar block is set in the wall of the balustrade, just by the side of the sixth step of the stairs, which is wider than any of the others. The block by the sixth step, to judge by the dowel-holes, probably held the wooden uprights for the anta at the end of the supporting wall of the staircase. The western poros block probably supported either a round wooden column as in the Knossos staircase,² or else formed the base of a square rubble pier bound with vertical wooden posts at the angles to carry the roof-beams above.

In the west wall there is a row of large ashlar blocks of poros with dowel-holes in the upper edges. These should have carried horizontal wooden beams, with most probably a window above them to light the lower flight of the staircase (see the restored plan, Fig. 34).

¹ See below, p. 154.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 325 ff., Figs. 237-247.

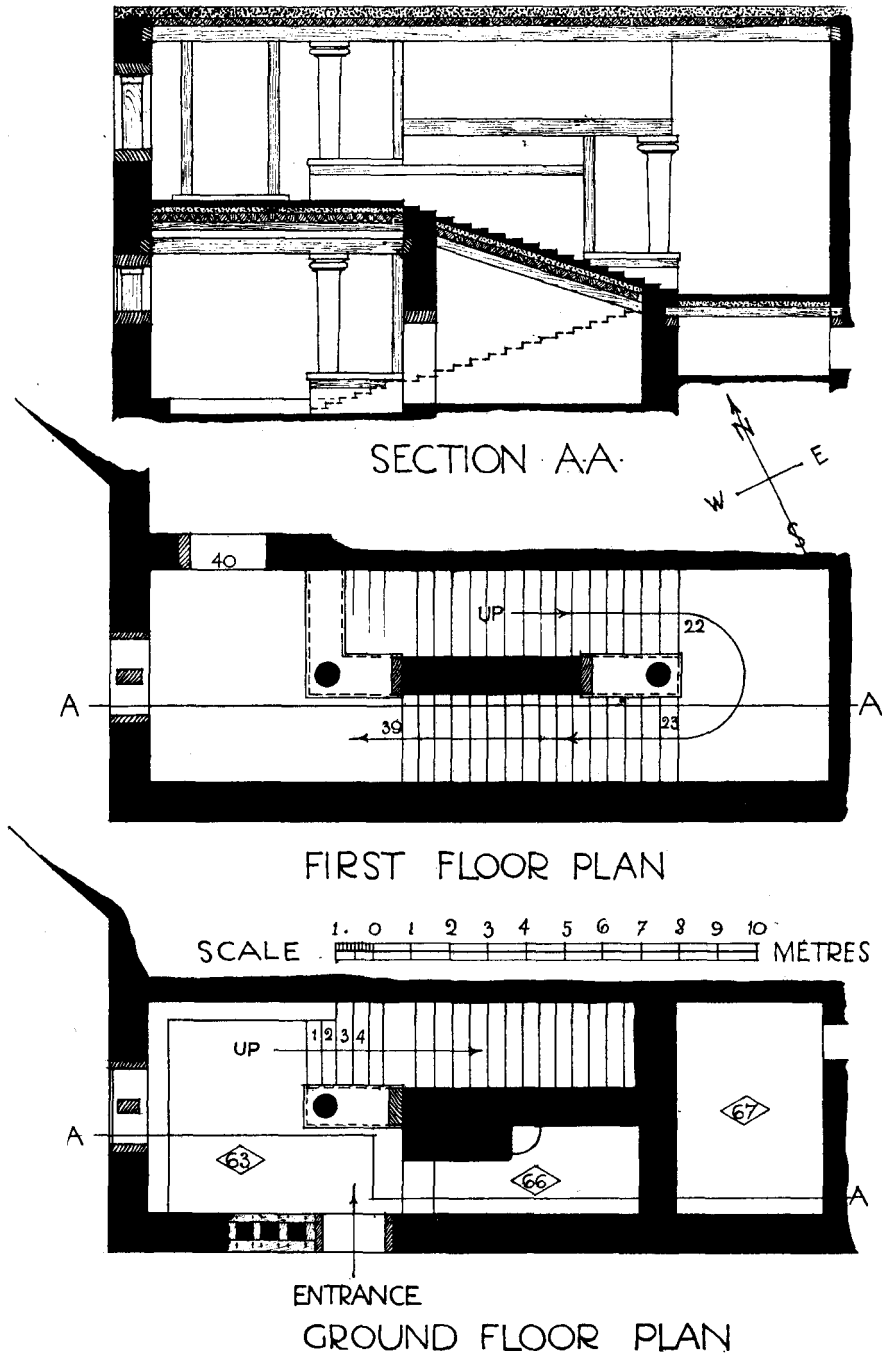


FIG. 34.—GRAND STAIRCASE, RESTORED. PLANS AND SECTION.

THE CENTRAL LOBBY.

If, instead of passing from the entrance through the West Lobby to the foot of the stairs, we turn sharp to the right or east, we step up over a slightly raised threshold of poros, probably once covered with stucco, into an oblong room (cf. Pl. XXII. *a*) (66) which lay underneath the upper flight of the staircase (see Fig. 34). There are large blocks of dressed poros on either side of the doorway which probably were the bases of piers to support the upper flight of the staircase, with a big buttress on the east side of the northern pier. This Central Lobby was floored with cement, and in the north-west angle by the buttress we found a shallow semi-circular basin or sink in the cement floor. This basin had been disused, filled up with rubbish, and the cement floor carried above on a level with the rest of the lobby. In this basin we found one handleless cup like those found under the West Lobby, the foot and two fragments of the rim of unpainted kylikes, and one piece of a plain bowl similar to those from under the floor of the room north of the Western Portal (42, 43, see p. 218 below), and six sherds of coarse domestic ware. With them was a fragment of an altar or movable hearth of painted stucco,¹ and a few other small pieces of unburnt fresco.

This evidence agrees well with that of the pottery found in the stone bench in the West Lobby, and confirms the idea that the staircase took its final form in L.H. III. A test-pit was also sunk below the floor of the Central Lobby down to the rock with the following result. A layer of earth below the cement floor some 20–30 m. thick was revealed, and then a heavy mass of stone-fill similar to that below the West Lobby and presumably running down to the rock. We dug to a depth of 2.20 m. below the floor without reaching the rock, and were unable to go deeper owing to the narrow space and dangerous state of the sides of the pit, which threatened to fall in. We found a considerable amount of pottery classified thus:

Late Helladic I.–II., six sherds similar in character to the pottery from below the floor of the East Lobby (67).

Handleless cups, sixteen sherds.

¹ Side (*a*) .055 × .018 m., orange stripe, probably originally red. Above, in black on white, traces of pattern similar to the fresco, *B.S.A.* xxiv. p. 199, I., and the vase, Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 157, Fig. 142 *b*.

Side (*b*) .06 × .033 × .023 m., crescents, black on white, cf. the M.M. II. *b* fresco fragment with crescents from Knossos, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I. p. 251, Fig. 188 *b*.

Late Helladic III., at least ten pieces of kylikes.

Unpainted ware L.H. I.-III., forty fragments.

Coarse domestic ware, sixteen fragments.

The presence of rather more L.H. III. ware here strengthens the impression that the staircase was not finished till that period, and may even then have been built on a foundation (the stone-fill) laid down at an earlier date. The south wall of this Central Lobby has vanished, and its place has been supplied by a poorly-built Hellenistic wall. The east wall still exists and shews that there was no direct communication between the Central and the East Lobby, the floor of which is considerably higher.

THE EAST LOBBY.

The East Lobby (67), which, as we shall see, lay below the landing at the top of the first flight of the staircase, was entered by a small door at the north end of its east wall, where there is a rough limestone threshold. Unfortunately, all to the east of this door has been disturbed or destroyed. Apparently this part collapsed after the destruction of the Palace when the south side of the Megaron fell down the precipice; a glance at the plan shows that this part was immediately adjacent to the west end of the substructures of the Megaron. This collapse must have occurred soon after the burning of the Palace, because the ruins just to the east of this East Lobby are held up by an oblique wall which acted as a terrace wall to retain the south end of the foundations of the Doric temple. In the heavy fill behind this wall, which renders further examination of this region impossible, we found one or two fragments of L.H. III. pottery, and one piece of a terracotta female figurine, but also a certain amount of archaic Greek pottery of the orientalisising period. Thus this wall would have been built in the seventh or sixth century B.C., a circumstance which indicates clearly that all this part of the Palace had by then already fallen away into the ravine.

In the centre of the base of the west wall of the East Lobby there is a large rectangular poros block 1.40 m. long, which was presumably the foundation for a rubble pier to support a similar pier or a wooden column in the storey above.

As can be seen in the restored plans and section of the staircase, Fig. 34, the distance between the floor and the probable roof of the

East Lobby is so short that the lobby can never have been much more than a cellar. This idea is strengthened by the fact that access to it was obtained not from the Central Lobby, but from other basement rooms further east. The walls of the lobby were covered with a plaster of rough clay well mixed with chopped straw. At the base of the north wall just above the floor level there is a wooden beam carbonised and much decayed. It seems to have been of pine or cypress, and at least .15 m. thick. In the upper part of the west wall just under the top step of the first flight of stairs there are three holes .08 to .10 m. in diameter to take the ends of horizontal wooden beams.¹ They would have been too slender to give much support to the floor of the landing above, unless they in turn had rested on heavier beams below. They are at a height of 1.30 m. above the level of the floor, which was of earth trodden hard with a thin clay layer over it. The idea that this East Lobby was merely a sort of cellar thus has every justification. The lobby when excavated was filled with a mass of *débris*, fallen rubble masonry, decomposed mud brick, discoloured fresco fragments and so on, all burnt and calcined and welded together in a solid mass by some violent conflagration, as shown by the disintegration of the limestone blocks among it. On the floor and above it we found a certain amount of miscellaneous pottery as follows :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., five sherds.

Yellow Minyan and plain polished ware, seventeen sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. III., one sherd.

Late Helladic I., six, including one piece painted inside with a design of leaves in the Cretan manner.²

Handleless cups, four.

Late Helladic III., fourteen.

Late Helladic, plain ware, seventeen.

Coarse domestic ware, two

The thin clay floor mentioned is .05 to .10 m. thick, and below this was a layer of black earth at least .25 m. thick, which in turn rested on a heavy mass of loose fill of rough limestone blocks. We dug into this fill for a depth of 2 m. below the floor without finding the rock, but could go no deeper owing to its insecurity and the narrow space. In the earth

¹ The first and second are .42 m. apart in centres, the second and third .97 m. apart.

² Cf. the Zakro pottery, *J.H.S.* 1903, pp. 251 ff., and that from Palaikastro, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, pp. 24, 27.

which lay on the fill to form a backing for the floor (and therefore had presumably been laid there deliberately after the fill was put in) we found a few fragments of fresco and a great quantity of pottery, nearly all of L.H. I. date, and of other household refuse, including bones of sheep, pigs and other animals, oyster and mussel-shells. All the animal-bones were broken for the extraction of the marrow and they and the shell-fish give us a glimpse of the Mycenaean dietary.

Pottery.

The pottery, which was very homogeneous in character, may be classified as follows :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., a few pieces, but rare compared with the L.H. I. ware described below. Such Matt-painted ware, as pointed out by Blegen,¹ not infrequently occurs in L.H. I. deposits as a partial substitute for the coarser ware.

Grey Minyan, very few sherds.

Yellow Minyan, there were great quantities of this and the plain polished ware allied to it.² The presence of this in a deposit of unmistakable L.H. I. pottery shews clearly that Yellow Minyan Ware is the immediate descendant of the plain polished Middle Helladic Ware of which it is a refinement. This pottery is the intervening link between the plain polished M.H. wares akin to grey Minyan and the unpainted vases of good technique with a yellow-buff fine-polished slip of L.H. I.-III. The biscuit of this ware is red-buff and well-baked and firm, though the clay is not always very well levigated. It is covered with a yellow-buff slip which takes a good polish and is smooth and consistent. In spite of the shapes and clay, which are at times rather clumsy and coarse, this ware is well made and as pottery is excellent. Not all of it is wheel-made : at all events it shows no signs of the quick wheel like the corresponding unpainted ware of L.H. III. The shapes that could be recognised are :

I. Goblets of a Minyan type, but with a low ringless stem. The profile is sharp and metallic; and the vertical ribbon handles often have a stud at the top showing the influence of the metal technique. A restored specimen of this shape, which is very characteristic of the late M.H. and the L.H. I. periods, is seen in Fig. 35.³

II. Shallow bowls of a kantharos type with high swung handles (cf. *Korakou*, Figs. 18, 19).

III. Jugs with cutaway necks (cf. *Korakou*, Fig. 51, 1, p. 41).

Among the coarser domestic ware there were many handleless cups in

¹ *Korakou*, p. 44.

² Cf. Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³ Cf. the similar vase from the Sixth Shaft Grave, Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Tongefässe*, Pl. X. 49.

red clay of the type already discussed (p. 150, above), many legs from three-legged cooking-pots or chafing-bowls, and the bases of two jars with potters' marks, one with ||| and the other with three dots.

Late Helladic I., painted ware : these shapes were recognised :

I. Cups of the Vaphio or Keftiu shape (*Korakou*, Figs. 53, 54), with patterns of spirals, stars and conventional foliage designs (Pl. XXIII. *c*, *d*, *g-k*) ; some of the pieces have added white.

II. Shallow spreading cups of fine fabric and of a teacup type (Pl. XXIII. *a* ; cf. *Korakou*, Fig. 51, 2, 3). These are imitations of metal cups similar to the silver bowl from the South House at Knossos,¹ which,

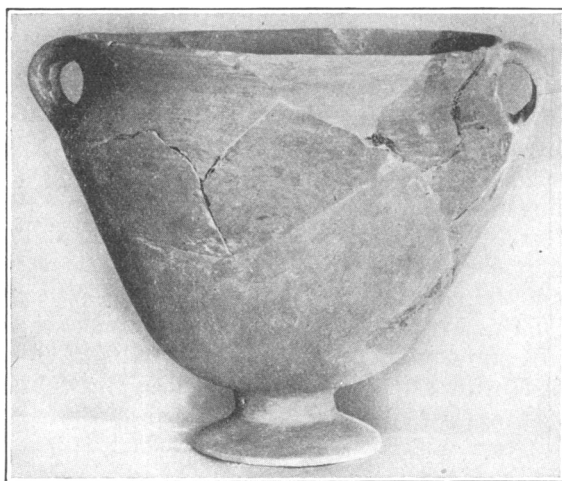


FIG. 35.—GOBLET (L.H. I.) OF YELLOW MINYAN STYLE
(restored) FROM EAST LOBBY OF GRAND STAIRCASE.
(Scale 1 : 3.)

like the examples from this deposit and the fine specimens from Tombs 518 and 529, are decorated with an elegant spiral design. One is glazed inside in the Cretan manner, and the example here figured has added white.

III. Small jars with narrow necks (no fragment large enough to make the shape certain) ; patterns employed are hatched leaves, running spirals (Pl. XXIII. *p*) and the double-axe (Pl. XXIII. *l*). This last piece recalls some of the vases from the First Shaft Grave.²

IV. Shallow open bowls decorated with foliage patterns or curved rippling lines set rather wide apart (Pl. XXIII. *e*, *n*). One piece is of

¹ Gillieron, *Nachbildungen Mykenischer und Kretischer Altertümer*, Pl. XXIII, No. 122.

² Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Tongefässe*, Pl. III. 10, 11.

very early style and recalls some fragments from Korakou in style, fabric and paint (Pl. XXIII. *o*).¹

The tall open jar seen in Pl. XXIII. *b*, with a fine spiral pattern and added white paint, is covered with red glaze paint inside in the Cretan manner. Another small piece is decorated within and without in the Cretan style like the Zakro pottery (Pl. XXIII. *m*). There is part of a large vase adorned with a pattern of hatched leaves and big dots in the interspaces (Pl. XXIII. *f*). The stippled or thrush-egg pattern and the grained or rippled pattern are represented by one small sherd each.

Fresco.

There were some coarse fragments of floor-plaster and some unimportant fragments of wall-plaster, all burnt, and the following unburnt fragments :

(i) Pl. XXV. 1, $\cdot 07 \times \cdot 037 \times \cdot 007$ m. Grey-black on white ground with a red patch in the right-hand corner. The dark markings suggest buds or part of a floral pattern : the piece might be connected with No. 1 from the Pitthos Area.

(ii) Pl. XXV. 2, $\cdot 085 \times \cdot 035 \times \cdot 006$ m. Black and red on white. Probably the black indicates the stalk of a plant, and the red, the ground from which it springs.

As none of the pottery found under this floor is later than L.H. I., these fragments of fresco can be considered as belonging to the First Palace.

The conclusions to be drawn from this deposit support the observations already made on the similar though less rich layer beneath the floor of the West Lobby. It is especially worth noting that one fragment of a cup of the Vaphio or Keftiu shape from this deposit joins another fragment found below the floor of the West Lobby. This indicates that these two deposits belong together, and that the soil laid above the stone-fill in the West and East Lobbies to back the clay and cement floors was dug out of the same place.

THE STAIRS.

A flight of twenty-two steps leads up the Grand Staircase from the West Lobby (Pl. XXII. *a*). These are made of small pieces of a very light sandstone ash-grey in colour, carefully cut and fitted together.² Each tread was covered with firm white stucco, which required constant repairs, for some of the treads show even now as many as five coats. At the top of this flight was a landing directly above the East Lobby (Fig. 34).

¹ Blegen, *op. cit.*, Fig. 49. 3, 8, 9.

² Below the wide step the treads are $\cdot 12$ m. high and $\cdot 37$ – $\cdot 40$ m. wide; above the wide step they measure $\cdot 15$ – $\cdot 16$ m. \times $\cdot 44$ – $\cdot 45$ m.

Here the staircase turned at right angles to the right, and perhaps, though it does not seem likely, owing to the difference in width between the landing and stairs, ascended two more steps in the floor of the landing. Such an arrangement exists in the staircase at Knossos. From the landing there was another flight of probably seventeen steps. At the east end of the dividing wall between this upper flight and the lower flight there was possibly a low open balustrade with a wooden column at the end carried on the pier based on the big poros block in the centre of the west wall of the East Lobby, in order to correspond with that already noticed in the West Lobby at the bottom of the first flight. The upper flight would have come to an end as indicated in the restored plans and section (Fig. 34) directly above the entrance which leads to the Central from the West Lobby. It is more likely to have stopped here because the head of the stairs would then have been carried on piers based on the big poros blocks on either side of the entrance door. Otherwise if the upper flight had ended in a line with the beginning of the lower, there would be no suitable foundations strong enough to bear it. Probably the upper flight was supported on wooden beams resting in walls of rubble masonry, and any superstructure above necessary to roof the staircase was of crude brick. Another consideration is that an upper flight of seventeen steps would bring one to a level of 72, which is more than enough to attain the level of the floors of the Court (53) and Room of the Throne (52) (see Pls. II., XXIV.). The staircase may have ascended yet another flight, but this seems unlikely, for its purpose apparently was to enable one to reach the Court from the roadway coming up from the Ramp.¹ It presumably was roofed, but there is no indication how this was achieved. Thus from the upper landing at the head of the staircase the visitor would enter the anteroom (61) or open space in front of the Room of the Throne (52). Before, however, we discuss them we must first consider the Pithos Area (50, 62) which lies beyond the staircase to the north-west and on a level approximately with the floor of its West Lobby.

3. THE PITHOS AREA.

The west wall of the West Lobby of the Grand Staircase at its north end meets at an obtuse angle the southern end of the long terrace wall

¹ See p. 148, above.

which supports the Palace area on the west, and (see plan, Pls. II., XXII. *b*) is built with a long series of set-backs. The first set-back reckoning from the south occurs some 6 m. to the north of its junction with the west wall of the staircase. The second set-back is 3.50 m. further north. From this angle, close to where the remains of the five pithoi still stand (Pl. XXII. *b, c*) which have given their name to this area, the terrace wall runs west for 2.50 m., then north again for 1.50 m. and then west for 2.50 m. more. Here it turns definitely northwards, and this point (level 68.15) marks the end of the roadway leading up to the Western Portal (45) from the north-western Propylon (9). From the first set-back right along to the north-western Propylon this terrace wall is built of large blocks of limestone laid in the usual Cyclopean manner, the interstices being filled with smaller stones and tough yellow clay. The angles are well built, and for Cyclopean work the construction is comparatively regular. The remaining piece of the wall, between the first set-back and the north end of the west wall of the staircase, is quite different in style. The stones are less big, rougher and nothing like so carefully laid. At the first set-back this ruder stretch of wall runs behind the other and does not bond with it. Also there is no proper angle to the better built wall just by the southernmost of the five pithoi. Evidently there are two walls of different dates or at least belonging to different schemes. As at the first set-back by the southernmost pithos the ruder wall runs behind the other, and leaves very little space between them, it would have been impossible to build the ruder wall while the other was standing. Therefore the ruder wall should be the older, and the long northern stretch running along to the Propylon (9) a later widening of the terrace on this side (Pl. XXII. *b, c*).

The five pithoi at the northern end of this area were found by Tsountas,¹ who unfortunately does not say what was found with them, and gives no clue to their date. The foundations of a wall, consisting of small stones, run parallel to them on the west, and possibly were the base of a wall which enclosed the space where they stand. It is clear that the pithoi must be later than the terrace wall, since it would have been impossible to build the wall by the two southernmost pithoi without destroying them completely. They do not appear to be of Mycenaean fabric, and as they are later than the terrace wall, it is very likely that

¹ *Προκτίδα*, 1886, p. 73.

they are not older than the period of Geometric pottery, and it is quite possible that they are Hellenistic. Immediately to the west of them there are several Hellenistic constructions, and we found on the same level as the pithoi a small amount of Hellenistic pottery. Thus we can conclude the pithoi are at all events later than the Mycenaean age, and do not concern the Palace, or any discussion of the problems connected with the Terrace Wall and its relation to the Grand Staircase.

The whole area from the west wall of the Grand Staircase (62) to the actual place where the pithoi stand (50) is a kind of terrace retained on the west by walls that are Hellenistic, but such must have replaced earlier walls. The earth of this terrace is very curious. It is a soft greyish-yellow fine earth with no big stones, though many small pebbles, in it. It is also remarkable for the fact that save for the exception noted below it contains practically no potsherds or other débris. It seems to be a thick homogeneous layer of earth unmixed with refuse. It would thus seem to have been deliberately placed there at some period in the construction of the Palace.

Frescoes.

On the surface of this earth, that is to say, at about or slightly below the level on which the pithoi stand, Tsountas found large quantities of fresco fragments; probably most of the unburnt fresco fragments from Mycenae in the Athens and Nauplia Museums come from this area, where nothing to the contrary is known. Many other pieces were found there by ourselves: of these, two, Nos. A. 2 *a* and *b* in the list below, join pieces now in Athens from Tsountas' excavations, and others belong to the coarse spiral, B. 12 (i).

Therefore, though it is probable that the burnt pieces Nos. B. 6, 7, and 14 i., come from other parts of the Palace, we have assigned to the Pithos Area all unburnt fresco the provenance of which is unknown, and have described them in list B. below. In the same list we have included the few burnt pieces, and also the fresco with horses and men (Pl. XXVII.) from outside the Western Portal, which cannot well be discussed apart from the rest. Under A. are described the fresco fragments found by ourselves in 1921.

A. Fresco found by the British School in 1921.

1. Pl. XXV. 3, $\cdot 027 \times \cdot 028 \times \cdot 007$ m. Black on yellowish-white ground.

Part of plant: it may derive from an original like the fragment with grass in seed from Knossos; ¹ its style suggests an early period.

2. (a) $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 047 \times \cdot 022$ m. (b) $\cdot 046 \times \cdot 044 \times \cdot 02$ m.

Blue circle, about $\cdot 03$ m. wide, on a white ground. The inner line of the circle is incised; on the outer side are groups of red lines at regular intervals; on the blue, an inner and outer row of black scallops.

There are twelve or more ² pieces of the same fresco in the National Museum, Athens,³ from Tsountas' excavations. These he found west of the Western Portal and the Throne Room,⁴ presumably on the terrace of the pithoi itself. They show portions of rosettes, slightly irregular in size and detail. Two join our fragments, and are illustrated together with four others on Pl. XXV. The reconstruction produces a rosette pattern: the centre is blue with a red border and stamens, the blue stripe has faint traces of black scallops and incised borders which are not always carried round the circle; outside are the groups of red lines and a blue circle. The pattern is practically the same as that on the dado illustrated in Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. IV. p. 31, of which the rosettes, like ours, were uneven in size; it differs only in having more carefully drawn scallops, two colours in the central spot, and an outer ring of blue. Its stamens are of the earlier type; in the Tirynthian example they have degenerated into dots.⁵

The thickness of the plaster suggests that it came from a dado; it may be reconstructed with the rosettes arranged flower-like on stalks on the analogy of the dado from Tiryns. For a possible fragment of the lower border see below, p. 171.

The Tiryns dado comes from the First Palace, and ours must be of approximately the same period, or slightly earlier.

3. Pl. XXV. 4, $\cdot 063 \times \cdot 048 \times \cdot 015$ m. Grey (originally black) leaves and ovals on light yellowish-red ground. The black has sunk into the plaster and must, therefore, have been put on when the plaster was wet. The plaster is corroded, and other colours and black retouches, if any, have been lost. Probably part of background.

A considerable number of similar fragments were found.

4. Pl. XXV. 5, $\cdot 063 \times \cdot 038 \times \cdot 012$ m. Below, red stripe, with border of darker red. Above, two wavy black lines on grey-blue ground, and red line on yellow ground. On the right, a black line and blue ground.

Probably imitation marbling ⁶ against a strip of imitation woodwork.

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 537, Fig. 390.

² The number is uncertain, as some of the fragments show merely blue on white, and may therefore belong to another fresco; see below, p. 171, No. 14 (v).

³ Inv. 2783. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, note 154, B. 3.

⁴ See p. 162. ⁵ For development of the rosette see Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 56–58.

⁶ Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 28; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 356.

Two fragments of the same fresco were found.

Of the fragments not important enough for publication, some shew imitation marbling, among which are several thin pieces with grey lines on white. Many come from the coarse spiral pattern mentioned above (p. 162) and described below as B. 12 (i). Most were rubbed, badly discoloured, and of very small size.

The style of the Pithos Area fresco, being earlier than L.H. III., confirms the evidence of the pottery, that the deposit of which they form part was laid down at the time of the building of the present palace in L.H. III., when the Pillar Basement and adjoining rooms were first constructed.

B. Fresco found by Tsountas in 1886.¹

1. *Frieze with Warrior, Grooms, Horses and Chariots*, Pls. XXVI. *b*, XXVII. Rodenwaldt, *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 239, and *Der Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 2. The fragments are at Athens, including the fragments of chariot-wheel formerly at Nauplia from the same frieze.

This fresco is one of the most important found at Mycenae, partly owing to the subject, which is similar to that of the Megaron frieze, partly to the style and unburnt condition, which suggest a comparatively early date. Though Rodenwaldt considers it less carefully executed and therefore later than the Megaron frieze, its smaller scale is in favour of an earlier period. The Megaron frieze is to be dated by the archaeological evidence much later than Rodenwaldt suggested. We would therefore place this frieze B. 1 in the Second Late Helladic period, to which Rodenwaldt also assigns it. He, however, considers the frieze of the Megaron to be Late Helladic I.

All the fragments of this frieze are illustrated on Pls. XXVI. *b*, XXVII. i-vii. They are combined into a reconstruction partly because some of the newly-published pieces are more comprehensible if completed, partly in the hope that a reconstruction, even though largely conjectural, may give a clearer impression of the frieze as a whole than detached pieces.

Most of the details have been supplied from the Megaron frescoes. The relative positions of the horses are of course uncertain; while the chariot on Pl. XXVI. *b*, presumably unyoked, may be thought of as awaiting a pair of horses like those illustrated on Pl. XXVII.

In the following notes, the letters preceded by R. refer to the items as arranged by Rodenwaldt in *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 239, where descriptions and a discussion of details will be found.

(i) and (ii) = R. *a*. Rodenwaldt thinks only one horse is represented. He explains the black as the colour of the horses, the red as part of the preliminary sketch revealed by the flaking off of the black.

Given the combination of a red and a black horse in fragment iv, and

¹ In list B. measurements are only given to assist identification. They are omitted when the fragments are illustrated or have been previously published. The fragments are unburnt, unless it is otherwise stated.

comparing the fragments from Tiryns which shew a pair of horses,¹ it seems probable that our fragment likewise illustrates a pair. It is not strange that the red of the further horse should underlie the black of the nearer horse in various places, *e.g.* in ii, where the black has been rubbed away. It is not, of course, certain that fragments i and ii belong to the same pair as fragments iii and iv.

(iv) = R. *b*. The illustration on Pl. XXVII. shews the small fragment in the lower right-hand corner mentioned in *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 241. The red object behind the groom, as to the meaning of which Rodenwaldt was uncertain (*loc. cit.*), is the hind-quarters of another horse. The groom holds two objects that look like spears, though there is no trace of them above, and a single rein which forks near the horses' heads and is attached to each bridle.

(v) = R. *d*. Here and in (i) the men's legs in the reconstruction should probably have been shewn on the same level as the horses' legs.

(vi) = R. *c*. The red object in front of the horse's ear may be the forelock, tied into a knot in the same way as the mane. If so, it differs from the horse in *c*, but can be compared with *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. II. 1.

(vii) Fragment with leg and foot on blue ground.

(viii) = R. *e*. On the blue ground are : (i) in the upper right-hand corner, yellow and black marks which remain unexplained ; (ii) hand holding a spear, red ; (iii) what may be the hind part of a chariot, red, with black markings spotted white. For the black markings a parallel has been found in the chariot on the tablet from Knossos, *B.S.A.* vi., Fig. 12.²

(ix) Lower part of chariot and wheel. Formerly in Nauplia, Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 2. Blue ground ; wheel yellow, chariot red. Any markings which may previously have been on the wheel are lost, but a red line can be detected belonging to the preliminary sketch.

(x) = R. *f*. Part of the framework above the chariot-pole. Yellow on blue with black and red markings. Behind, part of the chariot in red. The position is shewn in the reconstruction ; cf. *Tiryns*, ii. p. 98, Fig. 40.

The last three fragments have been combined in the reconstruction (Pl. XXVI. *b*), but as all possible arrangements make the chariot longer in proportion to its height than is usual in fresco painting, they probably come from different chariots.

2. *Uncertain object*, .053 × .032 × .018. At Athens. The style connects it with No. 1, to which it may well belong. Yellow ground spotted with red ; curved blue line with black marks ; blue and red objects on white ground.

3. *Charioteer*. Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 4 ; *Tiryns*, ii. p. 10, n. 1. At Athens. Small scale, and connected in style with fragment No. 5 from the first Palace at Tiryns.

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 98, Fig. 40 ; Pl. XI., 4 ; p. 110 ; Pl. XI., 11, p. 99. The strongest argument in favour of there being one horse is that there are black marks on the red.

² Rodenwaldt, *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, p. 245, n. 1. For chariots see E. v. Mercklin, *Der Rennwagen in Griechenland*.

4. *Hand and part of dress of female charioteer.* Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 5; *Tiryns*, ii. 108, Fig. 46. At Athens. Small scale: assigned to period of earlier Tiryns frescoes.

5. *Woman's Head.* Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 5; *Tiryns*, ii. p. 108, Fig. 45. At Athens. Assigned to period of earlier Tiryns frescoes and compared with type of head on the bull-leaping fresco, Knossos.

6. *Fragments of women, burnt, life size.* Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 8. At Athens. Six or seven pieces of fairly fine style: the blue is burnt to violet and the colouring resembles that of some burnt fragments from the Porch. They may have decorated the Porch: on the other hand, if, as seems probable, they are the remains of a procession of women, they would have come from the walls of a corridor.¹

They include: (i) part of a crown, $\cdot 098 \times \cdot 063 \times \cdot 01$ m. (including backing of coarse plaster = $\cdot 07$ m.). This is used in Rodenwaldt's reconstruction, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 50, Fig. 26; (ii) part of a belt, $\cdot 06 \times \cdot 033 \times \cdot 027$ m., blue-grey, white and red; (iii) fragment with scales, possibly from sleeve, $\cdot 115 \times \cdot 085 \times \cdot 027$ m.; (iv) fragment with scales, possibly from skirt, $\cdot 067 \times \cdot 053 \times \cdot 022$ m.; and (v) piece presumably from border of this frieze, $\cdot 055 \times \cdot 042 \times \cdot 01$ – $\cdot 035$ m. with edging of stripes.

The "Sacral Knot" used in Rodenwaldt's reconstruction (*loc. cit.*) is of different style and belongs to No. 7.

7. *Fragments of women, burnt, life size.* Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 8. At Athens and Nauplia. Six or seven pieces so much coarser in style and burnt in such a different manner from those of No. 6 that it seems necessary to separate them. They include (i) the "Sacral Knot,"² $\cdot 15 \times \cdot 103 \times \cdot 13$ m., Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, Fig. 26; (ii) a fragment with red stitching (?) on a red ground, $\cdot 175 \times \cdot 08 \times \cdot 013$ m., and (iii) part of the border of a bodice, $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 065 \times \cdot 013$ m.

8. *Frieze of women, half life-size.* About 70 fragments may be assigned to this with certainty. Pl. XXVIII. At Nauplia. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megarons*, p. 69, n. 154, A. 11; *Tiryns*, ii. p. 92 (where the various friezes of women from Mycenae are not yet distinguished).

The plaster is fine (usual thickness, $\cdot 005$ – $\cdot 01$ m.), the drawing neat and careful. The fresco is probably to be dated to the Second Late Helladic Period, on the analogy of the other unburnt fragments found by Tsountas. The style is remarkably different from the somewhat coarse style of the procession of women from Tiryns (L.H. III.),³ but not far removed from the delicate style of that from Thebes (L.H. I).⁴ The motive would no doubt be the same as that of the Theban and Tirynthian frescoes: women in procession holding offerings.

¹ On the analogy of the processions from Knossos (*B.S.A.* vi. p. 12) and Thebes ('*Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1909, Pls. I. and II., p. 90).

² Cf. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 430.

³ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 69 ff.

⁴ '*Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1909, p. 90; '*Αρχ. Δελτίον*, iii., p. 339, Fig. 193.

The figures move both to the right (*a*) or to the left (*b*). In common with the Theban and Cretan frescoes, some at least of the figures are depicted with the upper part of the body full face.

The more important pieces are illustrated on Pl. XXVIII.

(*a*) Inner corner of woman's eye; part of eyebrow and of hair. Black on white except for the red interior markings of the eye; cf. *Tiryns*, ii. p. 85. The woman faced to right.

(*b*) Hair and headband, on blue ground. The curls on the forehead are shewn, and the lower part of the puff of hair which rises like a top-knot above the fillet.¹ The complete arrangement is seen in *Tiryns*, ii. p. 82, Fig. 34. The headband is red with white spots.

(*c*) Strand of hair (?), black on blue ground. It is crossed by a blue band bordered with red, probably a ribbon. In one corner is a rosette, yellow with red border and centre, perhaps a pin in the hair; cf. pins from Mochlos.²

(*d*) The junction of necklace and sleeve. The necklace has two chains: of the upper we see part of a blue pendant and a red mark belonging perhaps to another bead, though its position is not easily explained; the lower chain consists of a red and yellow pendant between small black beads threaded on red. Part of what is probably the upper border of a sleeve—an outer red stripe, a yellow and a black-and-white stripe as in (*e*). Blue ground. The stripes are outlined in black with the exception of the red stripe where it meets the background.

(*e*) Part of neck with necklace, and of border of jacket. The border is of red, yellow, and black-and-white stripes with black outline. The necklace is of small round black beads and red, blue and yellow pendant beads on a red cord. The beads have no outline. The chain is probably the upper row of two (see *f*).

For the shape of the beads the best analogies are in the actual objects. The necklace pendants may represent carnelian, faience or lapis and gold,³ which would most simply explain each colour, without postulating any colouristic convention, and the small black beads may represent the round beads of paste, stone or other materials so common in all Mycenaean tombs.⁴

(*f*) Border of bodice and part of neck. The bodice is red, with a border as in (*d*) and (*e*). The white ground to the right is probably part of the neck: on it is a yellow mark outlined with black, which may be the pendant of a necklace. Though the pendants are not outlined in (*d*) and (*e*) there is a black line on the yellow pendant of (*d*); moreover, details vary in individual figures.

A red and black line crossing the white may be the lower thread of the

¹ For discussion of arrangement of hair, see Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 83 ff.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i., Figs. 67, 69, pp. 96, 98.

³ For carnelian, see Tombs 518, 526, 529 in the Kalkani Cemetery. For lapis, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1909, p. 295, Fig. 12, 1. For gold, cf. Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises* I., Pl. XVIII.

⁴ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 89, discussing similar beads on bracelets, explains them as amber.

necklace: if so, it is a variation of the usual form of necklace where the beads begin at once.

(g) Part of bodice. Red, yellow and black and white borders: on the right, blue and white ground marked black.

(h) Part of hand, the black outline painted directly on the white plaster. The position of the hand is that of one of the Theban fragments;¹ the fingers point upwards, grasping an object—in the Theban fragment it is a handle. The black lines below the joint of the fingers at the bottom of the fragment can hardly be the part of the hand: they may belong to another hand or to the object carried. Black and white suggests a pyxis, but the position of the fingers requires something with a handle. We recall the curious fragment of hand and object in *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. X, 7. Or if it is a case of two hands, we may compare the fragment at Thebes of two hands supporting a flower.

(i) Fingers of hand on red ground—evidently extended over an object, as in *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. X, 2, and in unpublished fragments from Thebes.

(j) Part of pyxis, black on white. The scale pattern is the same as that on the pyxis illustrated in *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. X., 3; the pyxis being thought of as ivory. For discussion, cf. *Tiryns*, ii. p. 88.

(k) The angular end of a red bodice above a blue girdle with black markings. The fragment is explained by one from Thebes which has the same pattern on the girdle. The ground is yellowish-white.

(l) Part of bodice, belt and skirt. This is the most probable explanation of the fragment. A reconstruction can be made on the analogy of a fragment from Thebes.² The bodice will have a border at its central opening, of blue (as at Thebes), and a lower border of black and white. The belt will be composed of the three stripes of red, yellow and red with black lines. Below is the upper part of the skirt, with wavy red lines on yellow.³

Fragments of wavy black lines on blue, of which there are a considerable number at Nauplia, come either from other dresses or belong to a different fresco.

(m) Frills of skirt: above, plain frill; below, frill of yellow, blue and red, decorated with black lines. The white ground to the right is part of the background.

(n) Uncertain object. On the left, two white objects with black lines and red tips, the ground being blue. Next a red line between two blue and two black, crossed by red marks. On the right, white ground, black line, red spot.

The style and technique connect this fragment with the rest of the frieze. Is it part of an object one of the women is carrying?

9. *Part of woman's profile*, .03 × .035 × .015–03 m. Pl. XXVIII. p. At

¹ 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, iii., p. 339, Fig. 193.

² Incorporated in reconstruction, 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, loc. cit.

³ The patterns for this upper part of the skirt vary considerably: in Tiryns we have scales and small black arcs, and the latter occurs at Thebes; cf. *Tiryns*, ii. p. 95. For discussion of skirt cf. *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 76–9.

Nauplia. Small scale; the eye is black, the outline very faintly rendered in black, and the background blue. The scale is distinctly smaller, and the style different from that of No. 8.

10. *Part of border of dress (?)*. $\cdot 067 \times \cdot 055 \times \cdot 02$. At Nauplia. Red, with border of scale pattern in red, white, blue and yellow: black outlines, white ground.

11. '*Spiral and Lotus Patterns*':¹

(i) A large quantity of fragments came from a 'spiral and lotus' ornament: some of these are combined in a reconstruction on Pl. XXIX. At Nauplia.

The colours are as follows: red ground, white spiral with red centres; the petals blue; the filling between them white, blue, yellow, blue. On the white and yellow filling, the lines are red; other lines black.

The lower border is yellow, red and black; the upper, yellow and black. Above the black stripe on the reconstruction is a red stripe followed by blue, white, red, white, blue and red.

The height of the spiral pattern must be about $\cdot 17$ m., to allow for proper proportion. The black and red stripes above are $\cdot 025$ wide, the yellow and red below $\cdot 028$. It will be seen that the relative position of some of the stripes is conjectural: we are sure of the three below and the two above.

It would have been more usual for the spiral pattern to have been bordered above and below with white; the use of the red and black and the want of symmetry above and below is uncommon² and a proof of comparatively early date.

The plaster is thin (usually about $\cdot 006$ m.) and of good quality: the execution exceptionally neat and pleasing, though more so in some places than in others. There is a slight irregularity in style, as in most Mycenaean friezes; the red lines on the yellow are sometimes single, sometimes in pairs, and the black outline is sometimes omitted (this may, however, be due to its having been rubbed off).

For discussion of the pattern and parallels see Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 47–52, 175–9. The pattern is one of the most popular in the Late Helladic period—the earlier form, like the example on Pl. XXIX, has the lower row of flowers on the ground line; the later, as the example found by Schliemann at Tiryns,³ has both rows of flowers springing from the space between the spirals and pointing downward and upward alternately.

This fresco, in common with the other unburnt fragments found by Tsountas, should be attributed to the earlier Palace and dated Late Helladic II. Rodenwaldt likewise assigns this fresco to an early date⁴ and suggests it may be by the same hand as *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. VII.

(ii) One fragment, $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 055 \times \cdot 018$ m. At Nauplia. White spiral with

¹ See Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 49, n. 1.

² Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* p. 29.

³ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. V.; Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* p. 49, n. 1.

⁴ Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.* p. 49, n. 1.

black lines and red centre. Blue flower, with blue, yellow and white filling : black and red lines : red background. Above, blue stripe with black bars. Coarser style than 11 (i).

(iii) One fragment, from a step, $\cdot 07 \times \cdot 05 \times \cdot 033$ m. At Nauplia. Part of black-and-white spiral with white centre, of blue flower and red filling.

12. *Spiral Patterns* :

(i) About fifty-seven fragments from a large-scale spiral pattern, $\cdot 02$ to $\cdot 03$ thick. The original height must have been about $\cdot 70$ m., and the upper edge is smooth, as though it had touched a beam : hence it is probable that this fresco comes from a dado.

The style is coarse and the state of preservation comparatively poor. It is difficult to believe that this fresco is early in date, though, naturally, inferior work was done at all periods.

Most of the fragments came from the filling between the spirals : scallops of the usual shape, composed of bands of blue, yellow, red and blue : small triangles, red bordered with yellow. Above and below, three stripes measuring together $\cdot 08$ cm. Of these, the innermost is white, the next yellow with red bars, the outermost blue with black bars.

Of the remaining spiral patterns discovered by Tsountas, the most important are the following :

(ii) Spiral decorating fragment of altar : (a) horizontal face, $\cdot 083 \times \cdot 07 \times \cdot 037$; (b) vertical face, $\cdot 07 \times \cdot 042$; the spiral has a blue-black centre, red and black fill, a yellow stripe above and a red below. The vertical face has a red stripe and remains of a black-and-white pattern. At Nauplia.

(iii) Spiral decorating fragments of step, about eight pieces, the largest $\cdot 145 \times \cdot 03 \times \cdot 015$ m. Red centre, black-and-white spiral. Spirals disconnected, as in *Tiryns*, p. 60, Fig. 22, b and c. Wide blue stripe above, bordered with black. At Nauplia.

(iv) From step : coarse spiral with blue centre. Two fragments, the largest $\cdot 095 \times \cdot 07 \times \cdot 013$ m. At Nauplia.

(v) Three fragments of spiral resembling (ii), but thinner, and not from an altar. The largest $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 035 \times \cdot 015$ m. At Nauplia.

(vi) Fragment from steps, $\cdot 085 \times \cdot 085 \times \cdot 02$ m. Red and yellow fill below blue stripe. Thick black lines. At Nauplia.

(vii) Two fragments from step. The largest (a) $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 045 \times \cdot 013$ m.; (b) $\cdot 055 \times \cdot 027$ m. Spiral with red and yellow filling above blue stripe : a red stripe on the vertical face. At Nauplia.

(viii) Spiral with red and yellow fill below yellow stripe. Four fragments, the largest $\cdot 085 \times \cdot 09 \times \cdot 009$ m. At Athens.

(ix) Spiral with blue and white fill below red stripe. Five or more pieces, the largest $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 05 \times \cdot 013$ m. At Nauplia.

13. *Fragments of steps or altars* : decorated with irregular spirals or circles not running parallel to the edge.

(i) Pl. XXVIII o. Horizontal face, $\cdot 062 \times \cdot 06$ m. Decorated with spirals

or circles: the centre is red, the lines are black and yellow, and give the impression that the spiral is not running parallel to the edge, but obliquely.

Vertical face, $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 02$ m. decorated with blue, yellow and red overlapping scales (see 17 (iii)). At Nauplia.

(ii) Horizontal face, $\cdot 02 \times \cdot 02$, decorated with small white circles with red centres on black ground, arranged obliquely to the edge. Vertical face, $\cdot 04 \times \cdot 03 \times \cdot 01$ m.; blue stripe, black line, yellow stripe. At Nauplia.

14. Rosettes:

(i) Part of two rosettes with stripes below: burnt. $\cdot 08 \times \cdot 082 \times \cdot 013$ m. Apparently one rosette was blue, one yellow, and the fill red. A blue stripe with black bars and a yellow stripe can be distinguished. At Athens.

(ii) Fragment of a rosette with yellow centre, and blue petals marked with black lines and dots, $\cdot 075 \times \cdot 065 \times \cdot 017$. At Nauplia.

(iii) Fragment with blue petals edged with black scallops. $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 03 \times \cdot 017$. At Nauplia.

(iv) Fragment with blue petals against black scallops or black ground and the end of a red stamen, $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 033 \times \cdot 022$. At Nauplia.

(v) See p. 163, A. 2. At Athens.

15. *Border* (?). If, as seems probable, 14 (v) was part of a pattern like that on the dado at Tiryns,¹ we may recognise part of its border in the following fragment:

$\cdot 093 \times \cdot 06 \times \cdot 015$. Blue ground, originally covered in part with some colour. A black band decorated with a network of white spots; remains of two red stripes, one at right angles to it, one parallel to it.

16. Marbling:

(i) Fragments of dado: (a) $\cdot 10 \times \cdot 08 \times \cdot 23$ m., black lines, red spots on yellow and white ground; (b) $\cdot 075 \times \cdot 052 \times \cdot 032$ m., black lines on grey, red lines on yellow; (c) $\cdot 145 \times \cdot 13 \times \cdot 035$ m., grey, black or red on white. The lines and markings are irregular.² At Athens.

(ii) Fragments of dado—black wavy lines on yellow, black on white, red on yellow, red on white, black on red. Six or more fragments, the largest $\cdot 16 \times \cdot 075 \times \cdot 02$ m. At Nauplia.

17. Marbling in the form of overlapping scales:³

(i) Part of step or edging. Horizontal face, $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 06$, white. Vertical face, $\cdot 07 \times \cdot 03 \times \cdot 013$ m., blue, red and yellow overlapping scales. At Nauplia.

(ii) $\cdot 068 \times \cdot 085 \times \cdot 013$. Similar pattern, red and white. At Athens.

See Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 63, n. 2.

(iii) = Vertical face of No. 13 (i).

18. Fragment of step, with argonauts:

(a) $\cdot 098 \times \cdot 04$. Pinkish-yellow stripe: spirals with yellow and red filling.

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. IV.

² One of these fragments probably accounts for the supposed animal's head on the upper left-hand corner of 'Eφ. 'Apx., 1887, Pl. XI.

³ As Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. pp. 62–3.

(b) $\cdot 105 \times \cdot 06$ m. Between an upper red and a lower blue-grey stripe, argonauts in black; both stripes outlined in black. At Athens.

Pottery.

With the fresco fragments (A) we found a good deal of pottery which may be classified thus:

Middle Helladic, a fair amount of Matt-painted ware, Groups B. I. and II., and about the same quantity of plain polished M.H. ware, some of which might be classed as L.H. I yellow Minyan and rank as L.H. I.

Late Helladic I.-II., a fair amount and a few handleless cups of the type already often referred to.

Late Helladic III., painted ware: more of this than of the painted L.H. I.-II. ware, and with it two or three fragments of terracotta figurines; a good deal of indeterminate painted L.H. ware, most of which should probably be ranked as L.H. III.; a great deal of unpainted L.H. III. ware, including very many fragments of kylikes; a little coarse domestic ware, including the handle of a large pithos and several legs from three-legged cooking-vessels.

The general impression given by the finds on the surface in this area was that of a Hellenistic occupation and alteration of a layer which had been created in L.H. III. times by throwing down rubbish from earlier buildings during the reconstruction of the parts of the Palace above the terrace wall. Tsountas' suggestion¹ that the outer walls of the Palace were covered with fresco seems hardly feasible. The fresco fragments had presumably been stripped off the walls during repairs, alterations or redecoration. Similar cases are known from Tiryns and from Knossos. We can on this evidence assume the Pithos Area to have been made in L.H. III. times.

To test this still further we dug several pits through the terrace of grey earth down to rock. The principal tests were at the middle of the west edge of the Pithos Area, a little south-west of the southernmost pithos and along the north foot of the west wall of the Grand Staircase. The test in the west edge gave these results (see diagram, Pl. XXIV.).

For a depth of 1.75 from the level of the pithoi we found no pottery or any other remains at all. The trench was dug down through the grey earth already described, and nothing whatsoever was found in it. It is possible that this earth might be soft powdered rock like the very soft grey rock on the slope of the hill where the Cyclopean Tholos Tomb is.

¹ *Προκτικά*, 1886, p. 74.

In the next layer, from 1.75 to 1.85 m. below the level of the pithoi, the earth changed to soft black earth well mixed with refuse, and here we found the following pottery :

Middle Helladic, Grey Minyan ware, four sherds.

Matt-painted Group B. I., five sherds.

Group B. II., eight sherds.

Group D. I. (light-on-dark on a red ground), two sherds.

Plain and polished ware, thirty-eight sherds.

Coarse domestic ware, a fair quantity.

This deposit seems to belong to the later part of the Middle Helladic age. The scarcity of grey Minyan ware, and the presence of two sherds of light-on-dark ware, one of which (Pl. XXXI. *d*) shows a very elaborate spiral paralleled by that on one of the dark-on-light sherds (Group B. II., Pl. XXXI. *g*), indicate that we have to deal here with a late rather than an early M.H. stratum. At this level, about 1.70–1.75 m. below the level of the pithoi, a floor of white clay was found, and consequently the pottery just described was found on or in the clay floor. It was much mixed with oyster-shells and bones of sheep and pigs, and therefore is the débris left by human habitation.

As we dug down, another white clay floor appeared at 2.15 m. below the level of the Pithos Area. In the black earth which lay above this floor we found more refuse, such as oyster-shells and the bones of sheep and swine, with a great quantity of vase fragments and many stones. The pottery can be classified thus :

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, six very small sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., eight sherds.

Group B. II., eight sherds.

Group B. III., one very fine sherd illustrated in Pl. XXX.

This is part (.32 m. long) of a large vessel shaped like a krater and is of exactly the same style as the vases of this group from the Sixth Shaft Grave.¹ We see on this fragment a flight of wild duck drawn for all their crudeness in a very vivid manner. The biscuit is grey in the centre, but reddish at the edges. It is covered with a well-polished slip varying in colour from yellow to pink. The ducks are drawn on this in thin grey-black for the wings and outlines, and in purple-brown for the bodies and inner lines. The tooth pattern on the lip is in dull grey and lined by purple-brown. These ducks closely resemble the similar birds on the vases from the Sixth Shaft Grave.² This fragment is of considerable

¹ Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Tongefässe*, Pls. VIII., IX., X.; cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 28 ff.

² Furtwängler-Loeschke, *op. cit.* Pl. IX.

importance, as it enables us to say that this deposit between the two floors is approximately contemporary with the Sixth Shaft Grave.

Polished and plain yellow, yellow-buff and red-buff ware, a great quantity; this includes goblets of a Minyan shape, but intermediate between the grey Minyan and the Ephyraean goblets (they are like Fig. 35); jugs with cutaway necks, kantharoi and large jars of a hydria type also occur. In general this plain and polished ware recalls the unpainted ware from the later M.H. and the L.H. I. strata of Korakou (*Korakou*, pp. 18, 43). There is one base from a jar of coarse reddish ware with a potter's mark consisting of three vertical strokes.

Late Helladic I., one piece. That there should be one fragment of L.H. I. pottery in this stratum is not inconsistent with the Sixth Shaft Grave, since one L.H. I. ewer¹ was found in it, though some think it is of Cretan fabric.

Below this clay floor there was another stratum of débris from human habitation, containing as before oyster-shells, animal bones and a quantity of pottery and many stones. This deposit went down to the native limestone rock of the acropolis, which here slopes in a general south-westerly direction. We dug this layer in two levels. The first—from 2.15 to 2.20 m. below the surface of the pithos area—yielded:

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, one sherd.

Matt-painted, Groups B. I. and II., eleven pieces, of which most belong to Group B. II.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, three sherds.

Polished and plain ware, a great quantity of the usual shapes just described.

The next layer, from 2.20 below the surface to the rock at 2.35 m. from the level of the pithoi, again gave nothing but M.H. pottery. This was:

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, one piece.

Matt-painted, Groups B. I. and II., twenty sherds, including one or two pieces apparently with added white paint.

Polished and plain ware, a great quantity, all of the characteristic shapes described above.

The general impression to be gathered from a study of this pottery and that yielded by other tests near by which verified the details just given, is that the whole stratum, including the two floor levels, belongs to the latter part of the M.H. period, and perhaps like the Sixth Shaft Grave just overlaps into the beginning of L.H. I. The scarcity of Minyan ware shows that it does not belong to the early part of the M.H. period, and the light-on-dark sherds confirm the view that this stratum with the two floor levels belongs to the end of the Middle Helladic Age.

¹ Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 88, Fig. 74.

The other trench, dug along the west face of the foundations of the west wall of the Grand Staircase, gave confirmatory results, but also yielded additional information about the dating of the staircase and of the yellow-grey earth of the Pithos Area, and their relations to one another. This trench was dug in five levels thus :

The first level from the surface (the level of the pithoi, about 66.40) to .70 m. down, produced a considerable amount of fragments of plain white stucco, and the following pottery :

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, three sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., five pieces.

Group B. III., three sherds.

Plain and polished ware, twelve fragments.

Late Helladic I., five pieces.

Handleless cups, five fragments.

Late Helladic III., two sherds and six pieces of unpainted kylikes.

There were six painted sherds of L.H. ware which could not be more closely classified, and about forty sherds of plain ware of the same period, late rather than early in style. Finally, there were two small pieces of classical Greek pottery.

The second level, from .70 to 1.50 m. down, gave with a number of fragments of plain white or pale yellow stucco the following :

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, two sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., three sherds.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, one piece.

Plain and polished, including yellow Minyan, eighteen sherds.

Late Helladic I., five sherds.

Handleless cups, three fragments.

Late Helladic III., one piece.

There were also nine plain or indeterminate pieces of L.H. pottery and one Hellenistic sherd. The Late Helladic I. ware included the fine sherd with a leaf pattern on a spotted ground shewn in Pl. XXXI. *p*; this seems to have been part of a bowl. In style and fabric it is unmistakable, and is consequently important for dating purposes.

The third level ran from 1.50 to 1.85 m., that is to say, it comprised the upper clay floor which here was at a depth of 1.50 about from the surface and the stratum directly beneath it. This gave :

Early Helladic, three sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, two sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., nineteen pieces.

Group B. II., six sherds.

Group B. III., two sherds.

Plain and polished ware, a great quantity, which includes all the usual shapes, both goblets of the intermediate type, Fig. 35, and of the Yellow Minyan shape (*Korakou*, Fig. 58), kantharoi, and jugs. The ware as usual varies in colour from yellowish to reddish-buff.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

Among the sherds of Group B. I. jugs of a hydria type were common; two such pieces are seen in Pl. XXXI. *h, i*, which might from their spiral patterns be classed as Group B. II. Typical sherds of Group B. II. from this stratum are shewn in Pl. XXXI. *a, b, f*.

In this layer, at a depth of 1.70 m. from the surface, a low wall appeared, and since the lower floor mentioned above was not found on the south side of it, see the diagram Pl. XXIV., it was probably the floor of some building of which this wall was part.¹

The fourth level, from 1.85 to 2.00 m. from the surface, gave:

Early Helladic (?), three sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six pieces.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., twenty pieces.

Group B. II., fifteen pieces, of which two characteristic sherds are illustrated in Pl. XXXI. *c, e*.

Group B. III., one sherd.

Group D. I., light-on-dark with white and purple-red on a dark ground, two pieces.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

Late Helladic III., three sherds.

The fifth and last level, which ran from 2.00 m. to the rock at 2.15 m. deep, gave the following:

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., twelve pieces.

Group B. II., seven sherds.

Group B. III., one sherd.

Minyan ware, grey, three sherds.

Plain and polished ware of the usual type, fifty-two pieces.

The stratification here from the upper clay floor to the rock corresponds exactly with that observed in the other test, but the conditions of the upper strata, that is, from the surface down to the upper floor, are quite different. The presence of L.H. pottery with fragments of fresco against the face of the wall points to a disturbance of the grey earth of the Pithos Terrace. We therefore carefully examined the stratification along the face of the staircase wall foundations down to the level of the upper

¹ The clay floor of this trench (corresponding to the upper floor of the trench described above, p. 173) is above this wall. To the north of the wall was found a floor corresponding to the lower floor, pp. 173, 174.

clay floor, to see how far this disturbance affected the soil of the Pithos Terrace. We found that this disturbance did not extend further than .50 m. from the face of the wall westwards and did not go any lower than 1 m. or 1.50 m. from the surface, where the upper part of the foundation wall rests on a loosely-built wall or rather fill of rough stones which project some .50 m. from its face. The disturbed section is sharply divided from the rest of the soil of the Pithos Area, and the change in character of soil and deposit is very abrupt (see diagram, Pl. XXIV.).

We have presumably to deal here with the remains of the trench dug when the foundations of the west wall of the staircase were laid (what the Germans call a *Baugrube*). Consequently, the finds in this narrow section become of the highest importance for dating the staircase, for they are the rubbish thrown in to fill up the surplus width of the foundation trench after the foundations were laid. This rubbish then should presumably be contemporary with the building of the staircase. We dug two further tests in this narrow section with these results :

Test A. From the surface of the Pithos Area to .50 m. deep.

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., three sherds.

Late Helladic I., two pieces

Plain ware (yellow Minyan), two sherds, and a large number of fragmentary handleless cups.

Late Helladic III., four sherds, and four pieces of unpainted kylikes and other unpainted ware.

There was also much coarse domestic ware and many pieces of plain white stucco.

At a depth of .50 m. adhering to the face of the wall were a great many fragments of plain white stucco and this pottery :

Late Helladic I., two pieces.

Late Helladic II., two pieces of the alabastra ¹ typical of this period and a great quantity of handleless cups. There were five stems of short-stemmed drinking-cups of a primitive kylix type and much plain and coarse domestic ware.

From .50 to 1.00 m. there were two sherds of painted L.H. ware, about fifteen fragments of handleless cups and much L.H. plain ware, which did not include any kylikes.

Test B. From the surface to .90 m. deep.

Early Helladic (?), one sherd.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

Handleless cups, sixteen pieces.

¹ Similar to those from Tombs 515, 518 and 529.

Late Helladic III., three fragments of unpainted kylikes and one with a murex pattern.

There was also a good deal of unpainted pottery of L.H. style, and a number of pieces of plain white stucco.

From .90 to 1.50 m. deep we found :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. II., two sherds.

Plain and polished ware, a little.

Late Helladic I., two sherds and part of a large bath.

Handleless cups, about twenty pieces.

There was also a good deal of plain L.H. ware.

Finally, lying on the surface of the upper clay floor we found several M.H. sherds. Below the upper floor level, except in the disturbed section, nothing but M.H. pottery was found, and between the two floor levels also nothing but M.H. pottery except for the one sherd of L.H. I. ware already mentioned. These M.H. deposits everywhere yielded a great number of oyster and mussel-shells, especially by the side of the M.H. wall, and broken and split bones of animals such as sheep and swine.

As the two clay floors come at the end of the Middle Helladic period we must conclude that the grey earth of the Pithos Area Terrace was laid down not earlier than the end of M.H., or early in L.H. I. But naturally it may have been laid down later in the L.H. period. To judge by the rubbish-filled trench that runs along the west face of the west wall of the staircase, it seems that the staircase is later in date than the Pithos Terrace, since it has disturbed it. This trench contains L.H. I. and II. pottery, among which the handleless cups are again prominent, and a little L.H. III. Taking this evidence into consideration with that derived from the tests below the lobbies of the staircase we may make the following suggestion.

DATE.

At the end of the Middle Helladic period the grey earth was laid down to form a terrace, with what object is not known. Possibly about the same time a fill of rough limestone blocks (see above, pp. 151 ff.) was thrown on to the space adjoining the Pithos Area to the south-east, but whether this fill was designed to form the foundation of a staircase or not is uncertain. Probably some structure belonging to the first (L.H. I.) Palace stood on this fill. Later, at the end of L.H. II. or early in L.H. III., reconstruction was undertaken here, and the west wall of the staircase was built, and for this purpose extra foundations were laid, thus cutting into the

grey earth of the Pithos Area, for the L.H. III. sherds from the trench along the west wall, though few, shew that the building of this wall took place in L.H. III. Had the building been done late in L.H. III. we should have expected more L.H. III. pottery. As it is, the considerable quantity of L.H. I. and II. pottery with the handleless cups, in contrast to the few L.H. III. sherds, shews that the L.H. III. period was just beginning. The many fragments of plain white and yellow fresco, which are unburnt, shew that the Palace underwent some alterations and reconstruction at this time. We could, of course, adopt another line of argument and cut the Gordian knot by branding the L.H. III. sherds as intrusive, and assuming that they had insinuated themselves into this foundation trench at some later time. Such an argument would merely burke the problem and not solve it; besides, we have to take into consideration the evidence from the Pillar Basement.

4. THE ANTEROOM AND THE PILLAR BASEMENT.

From the uppermost landing of the Grand Staircase,¹ which would have been directly over the West Lobby (63), we reach the space (61) in front of the Room of the Throne (52). Unfortunately this area has suffered much from denudation, and even when Tsountas first excavated here there was not much soil over the ruins.

ANTEROOM TO ROOM OF THE THRONE.

To the north the space is bounded by the twin thresholds of conglomerate which mark the entrance to the Room of the Throne. On the east it is shut off from the Court by a wall pierced by a doorway with a sill of red sandstone, a very unusual material. On the south it is now open, but was originally enclosed on this side by the north wall of the staircase. To the west it is also now open and extends as far as the "Old Wall," which forms the eastern limit of the Pithos Area (50, 62) at the south end of the West Terrace Wall. This Anteroom to the Room of the Throne is thus an irregular quadrilateral. The line of its west wall cannot now be ascertained. In the north wall between the twin thresholds probably stood a square pier of rubble masonry. This seems to have collapsed in the conflagration which destroyed the Palace and now lies prone projecting

¹ See above, p. 160.

southwards between the twin thresholds like a low wall. The red sandstone threshold in the east wall seems far too small—the door opening is only about 1·20 m. wide—to have been either the main means of communication between the Grand Staircase and the Court or between the latter and the Room of the Throne. It is very likely ¹ that in the latest phase of the Palace, when conglomerate thresholds were the rule, this entrance was blocked up and another and larger door provided more in keeping with the importance of the communication it afforded. Tsountas ² has already suggested that an enormous sill of sawn conglomerate (Pl. XXII. *d*), which, according to Steffen's plan ³ (where it figures as *antiker Baustein*) and to Tsountas' particulars, lay just over the big poros block (level 71·07) in the foundations of the south end of the west wall of the Court, was in fact the threshold between the Court and the Anteroom. The sill was unfortunately pushed down the hill to prevent it falling on the workmen clearing the Grand Staircase during Tsountas' excavations. Its original position is known and it had the same alignment as the west wall of the Court. It is broken, but is too big to have been moved far and measures 1·67 m. long, ·35 m. thick and 1·21 m. wide. There is a sawn door ledge cut on each side, and at the end of one of the ledges there is a hole for the insertion of a pivot. We know the Court extended as far south as this point from the evidence of the cement floor, for it reaches the line of big blocks (59) which probably mark the foundations of its south wall. If then we follow Tsountas in placing the entrance to the Court here, it would balance the other entrance (49) from the Western Portal (45) in the north-west angle. It also corresponds with the plan of the Palace at Tiryns, where the principal entrance to the Court from the outer court and propylaea is in the south-west angle.

This Anteroom or forecourt to the Room of the Throne is floored with cement resting on a layer of crude brick (·16 m. thick), which in its turn is laid above a heavy fill of rough limestone blocks. We cannot now be sure whether it was roofed or not; perhaps it was only partly roofed over. A column may have stood somewhere in front of the rubble pier between the twin thresholds, for we found a broken column base of conglomerate lying on top of the fill, but not *in situ*. Such a column would have helped to carry the roof of a portico before the thresholds.⁴ The rest of the

¹ Cf. Dr. Holland's observations below, p. 275.

³ *Karten von Mykenai*, Pl. II.

² *Практика*, 1886, pp. 63, 64.

⁴ See further, below, p. 275.

Anteroom was probably not roofed, because it is drained by the small outlet that runs through the east wall into the Court and so makes the beginning of the Main Drain ¹ (58).

THE PILLAR BASEMENT.

We dug through the fill below the floor in hopes of finding something which would give a date for its construction and discovered clear evidence of a disused basement below (Pl. XXXII). This was bounded on the north by a wall once faced with mud plaster well mixed with chaff, which runs directly under the twin thresholds to the Room of the Throne, and on the east by a similar wall which is below and a little in front of the wall that separates the whole of this space from the Court. The north wall of the basement apparently had a wooden beam set in it not far below the thresholds, about 1 m. approximately.² In the north-east angle below and just to the east of the eastern threshold, at a depth of about 1.35 m. from the top of the threshold, there is a drain built with small limestone slabs about .30 m. square, running from the north southwards through this wall (Pl. XXXII. *b*). This drain does not continue through the limestone fill and therefore presumably should be earlier in date.

About the centre of the basement at level 68.69 we found a square pillar of rubble masonry, much burnt and damaged, but still about 1.30 m. high. It is about 1.10 m. square, and rests on a dressed block of conglomerate about .35 m. high (Pl. XXXII. *a*). A white clay floor lay round the Pillar Base to its west and north, and was about .05 m. thick and rested on a layer of black earth and clay in places as much as .30 m. thick. This stratum was spread partly over the rock, partly over a fill of rough limestone blocks, and contained a number of small fragments of fresco,³ a quantity of split and broken animals' bones, chiefly of sheep and swine, some oyster and other shells, and a great quantity of pottery which can be classified thus :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. II., three sherds.

Late Helladic II. (?), handleless cups, forty-four fragments.

¹ See below, p. 202.

² Owing to the insecure state of the upper part of the wall no accurate measurements were possible.

³ This consisted of : (i) coarse plaster, red ; (ii) finer plaster, red, black and white, all burnt.

Late Helladic III., painted sherds, including kylikes and stirrup vases, fifty-seven pieces, and part of a jug with a fine leaf pattern; the better pieces are shewn in Pl. XXXI. *j-o*.

Unpainted kylikes, at least forty fragments.

There was also a small amount of coarse domestic ware, including pieces of three-legged cooking-pots, a great quantity of plain L.H. pottery, practically all of which can hardly be dated later than the beginning of L. H. III. There were also two conical spindle whorls with bevelled bases, 0.016 m. of terracotta, one complete and one broken, similar to those from the earliest interments in Tomb 517.¹

This deposit is most important, because it gives us a *terminus post quem* for the building of the Pillar Basement, and consequently for the whole section of the Palace to which it belongs. To judge by the burnt condition of the Pillar Base itself and of the walls to the north and east of it, this basement was destroyed by fire, perhaps an accidental fire that damaged part of the Palace. The Pillar Basement was thereafter abandoned and filled in with rough limestone blocks, sunk among which we found one broken threshold of conglomerate, partly fashioned by the saw. In the fill we found some pottery.

In the western part in the upper part of the fill we found six L.H. III. sherds, two fragments of handleless cups, one Proto-Corinthian and one Hellenistic sherd. In the lower part of the fill there were four painted and many unpainted L.H. III. sherds, including kylix fragments, and a piece of a Hellenic stamped pithos.

In the eastern part below the floor of the Anteroom (60) we found three handleless cups, one L.H. III., and one Geometric sherd, a quantity of unpainted ware that seems to be mainly L.H. III., and some bits of coarse plaster much burnt.

Lastly, at the west end of the drain which begins just on the west side of the wall separating this area from the Court (level 71.32) and then runs obliquely across the southern part of the Court drained by it, we found the following :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. II., one sherd.

Late Helladic II., one sherd.

Handleless cups, three or four pieces.

Late Helladic III., three sherds of painted ware, part of a female terracotta figurine, and a good amount of unpainted ware, including kylikes.

¹ In early tombs (L.H. I.-II.) terracotta whorls are found, in late (L.H. III.) tombs steatite whorls; see below, p. 385.

This drain could not have been laid before the Pillar Basement was filled, therefore the evidence of the pottery found in it shews that the filling in of the Pillar Basement took place in L.H. III. times.¹ We know from the evidence of the pottery found below its floor that the Pillar Basement itself was made early in L.H. III. times, and was apparently not long in use. What then were its relations to the Grand Staircase and to the west wall (or "Old Wall") which supports the Pillar Basement

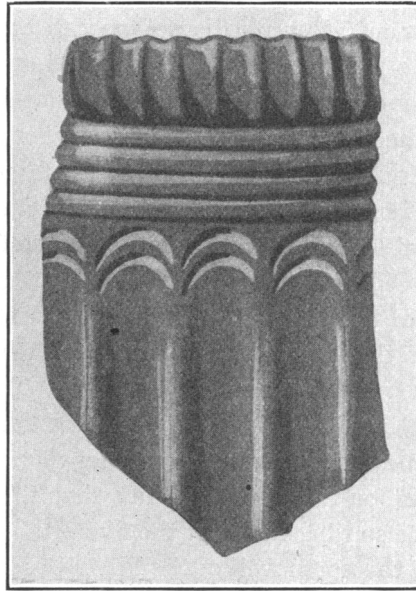


FIG. 36.—PILLAR BASEMENT: FRAGMENT OF FUNNEL-SHAPED RHYTON. (Scale 2:3.)

above the Pithos Area? A glance at the plan² shews that if the walls of the Pillar Basement followed the lines of the wall as they stand now on its west and south it would have had an extraordinary shape.³ It seems incredible that anyone would build the Grand Staircase obliquely instead of parallel to the walls of the Pillar Basement. Further, the north

¹ The post-Mycenaean sherds clearly cannot be taken into account, as we should otherwise have to assume the filling in to have been done in Hellenistic times. The floor of the Anteroom is not intact, and so later pottery could penetrate into the gaps in the fill.

² Cf. Pl. XXIV. and Fig. 38.

³ It must be confessed that in the final phase of the Palace when this space (61) served as Anteroom to the Room of the Throne, it would still have had a curious shape.

wall of the staircase stands even now high above the floor of the Pillar Basement. It has no face towards the Pillar Basement, and acts merely as a revetment for the fill behind it. In the fill directly behind this wall we find M.H., L.H. II. and L.H. III. ware and one piece of incised pottery, probably contemporary with Proto-Corinthian ware. There was also a number of fragments of fresco, white, blue-and-white and dull red, and the piece of the fine fluted rhyton in red stone seen in Fig. 36. Since behind this wall there is nothing but the limestone fill which was poured into the Pillar Basement after its disuse, we can only assume that the Grand Staircase in its present form is later in date than the Pillar Basement, and come to the conclusion that as the Pillar Basement was made early in L.H. III., the Grand Staircase must fall some time later in that same period; a conclusion which agrees with the observation made above when we discussed the staircase.

The north wall of the Pillar Basement at its west end does not bond with the top of the " Old Wall " (the section of the Terrace wall which here forms the west limit of the Pillar Basement, and looks down on the Pithos Area). Neither does this north wall go down to the rock, for it rests on the fill below the floor of the Pillar Basement. That fill, however, is held up on the west by the ' Old Wall ' referred to. The ' Old Wall ' then must either be contemporary with or earlier than the Pillar Basement. It might at first sight be tempting to think that the West Terrace Wall at the set-back by the southernmost of the five pithoi was once prolonged to the south and met the north wall of the Pillar Basement at right angles, and that after the collapse of the Pillar Basement the ' Old Wall ' was built to retain the ruins. This hardly seems likely. The rock just to the south of the southernmost pithos slopes down sharply and there are no remains of any building on it. Secondly, if the north wall of the Pillar Basement had bonded with this hypothetical extension southwards of that portion of the West Terrace Wall we should expect the north wall of the Pillar Basement to be founded on the rock and not on the fill.

The more probable view is perhaps this. The ' Old Wall ' is really an old terrace wall of an early stage (perhaps L.H. I.) of the Palace. Early in L.H. III., when some rebuilding and extension took place, the Pillar Basement was built on part of the level it held up. Its west wall would then have run at right angles to the north wall and made the Pillar Basement a long parallelogram with the Pillar Base not quite in

the centre, but about 1 m. nearer its west wall than its east; or perhaps another Pillar Base stood just to the east of the existing one, so that the two together occupied the centre of the basement. Then we can assume the Pillar Basement to have been bounded on the side towards the staircase by a wall no longer in existence at right angles to its east wall, not oblique like the present north wall of the staircase. Some little time later, a fire occurred in this part of the Palace, in which the Pillar Basement suffered together with whatever building (perhaps an earlier staircase) stood on the site of the existing Grand Staircase.¹ In the ensuing reconstruction the Pillar Basement was abandoned and filled in up to the level of the thresholds of the Room of the Throne, and in front of this the Grand Staircase was built on the pre-existing foundation of fill. The unburnt fresco fragments found in the Pithos Area would have been stripped from the walls and have been thrown down there during the alterations which took place when the Pillar Basement was built. The foundation trench along the outside of the west wall of the staircase, and the L.H. III. ware found in it, indicate the construction of the staircase during the repairs after the fire. This agrees well with the observations already² recorded, that though the fill on which the staircase stands seems to be earlier, yet its transformation to its present shape occurred in L.H. III.

SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE FOR DATE.

This explanation does not clash with any of the evidence either of the pottery or of the actual ruins.

The most important points in the first class are, (1) the L.H. I. pottery below the floors of the lobbies of the staircase, (2) the L.H. III. and other earlier pottery from the foundation trench of the west wall of the staircase, and (3) the L.H. III. pottery from below the clay floor of the Pillar Basement.

In the second class the outstanding points are that the 'Old Wall' antedates the rest of the West Terrace wall, and that the Pillar Basement was damaged, disused and filled in not long after its first construction.

That the Pillar Basement dates from the beginning of L.H. III. is an

¹ Perhaps on its south side the Pillar Basement was an open portico supporting a terrace above; see below, p. 275. The door to which the red sandstone sill belonged, would have given access to this terrace from the Court.

² Pp. 151 ff. above.

important fact too for the general history of the Palace. It suggests that the whole part of the Palace, of which it is one unit, should be dated to the same period. The walls of the Pillar Basement clearly belong to the same scheme as the Room of the Throne, the Court and in all probability the Megaron, for the Court and the Megaron hang together. The Megaron could not have been built unless the Court was there, for its plan and position prove that it forms part of the same system as the Court. The latter from the plan, and from the fact that part of its west wall rests on the east wall of the Pillar Basement, again clearly forms part of the same design as the Pillar Basement and the Room of the Throne. In fact, in the last stage of the Palace the entrances to the Court and Room of the Throne from the Grand Staircase depended on the Pillar Basement having been filled in. If then the Pillar Basement was built early in L.H. III., and the ceramic evidence is decisive on this point, the Court and all that goes with it cannot be earlier; that is, they were built not earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C.

5. THE ROOM OF THE THRONE.

Over the twin thresholds of conglomerate ¹ on the top of the north wall of the Pillar Basement one enters a square room (52) known as the Room of the Throne. It was floored with painted stucco laid above a stratum of earth and small stones resting in turn on a fill of rough limestone blocks thrown in on top of the native rock. The stucco with its backing is about .025 m. thick, and the layer of earth below it is some .20 m. thick. We dug a test to the rock, which was found at 1.20 m. below the floor, to see if there was any room here corresponding to the Pillar Basement. No such room was found, and apparently the north wall of the Pillar Basement serves as a retaining wall for the stone-fill on which the Room of the Throne is erected. In the earth below the floor we found a few fragments of fresco similar in style of those of the Pithos Area and unburnt, and the following pottery :

Early Helladic (?), one.

Middle Helladic. Matt-painted, Group B. I., eight sherds.

Plain and polished ware, including some yellow Minyan which may be L.H. I., twenty-four sherds.

¹ The western threshold has a pivot-hole for a door, but no certain pivot-hole can be seen in the eastern threshold.

Late Helladic I., eleven sherds.
Handleless cups, three fragments.

As this earth is not naturally stratified, but an artificial layer laid down over the stone-fill, it is not easy to draw any conclusions from it. As far as this evidence goes, this room might have been built at the end of L.H. I.; but it is clearly part of the main scheme of the Palace, and the fixing of its date must depend on that of the Court, the Megaron and the Pillar Basement.

Tsountas found a tiled drain beneath this room. Its source is unknown; it runs obliquely under the south half of the room from west to east, passes under the wall which separates this room from the Court, and its subsequent course has not been ascertained. No connection between it and the main drain (58) or between it and the north-south drain east of the red sandstone threshold has yet been found. The tiles of which the drain is composed are shaped like an inverted Π and roofed with thin slabs of limestone. The tiles are .20 m. high and .22 m. wide inside, the actual thickness of the walls being .02 m. Drains of this type are not uncommon in Mycenaean buildings. Other examples have been found at Mycenae and at Tiryns,¹ and one was discovered in the American excavations at Zygouries near Kleonai, also in an L.H. III. building.

The painted stucco floor² is very badly damaged and is now only preserved round the edges of the room, though traces of it can be found nearly all over it.

Against the north wall is an oblong space, .82 m. from east to west, 1.08 m. from north to south (Pl. XXXIII. a). It was originally sunk about .015 m., the depth of one layer of plaster, below the level of the rest of the floor, as can be seen by the remains of plaster on the west side of the oblong. On the south is a plaster rim projecting .02 to .03 m. above the surface of the floor, broken at the top, and about .015 m. wide; it is preserved for the length of .17 m.

The floor to the west is ornamented against the wall with a rosette pattern (Pl. XXXIII. a). The rosettes, which are drawn free-hand, are blue and white with red centres;³ they are on a reddish-yellow ground

¹ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 234; cf. also *Phylakopi*, p. 61, Fig. 57.

² Tsountas, *Πακτιδα*, 1886, p. 68.

³ Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.* 1919, p. 106, notes that there were black markings on the blue similar to those on the rosettes; cf. *Tiryns*, ii. Pl. VIII.

between blue stripes. Beyond are first white stripes, then red. The whole border measures about $\cdot 14$ m. : there may have been other details now lost.

The oblong itself is undecorated, but was bordered at the side by a blue stripe between red lines, and beyond, at a distance of $\cdot 07$ m., by an incised line. This is preserved on the west; on the east the upper coating of plaster is lost.

The wall above the oblong is red; elsewhere it appears to have been white with a dark stripe below, but is too badly preserved for us to judge with certainty.

The sunk oblong must have held some object, and the parallel case of the larger Megaron at Tiryns¹ suggests that the object was a throne,² standing on a base with a plaster covering of which the rim mentioned above was part.

This room might have served as an audience chamber where the ruler of Mycenae received envoys and guests introduced up the Grand Staircase. This suggestion finds support in the recent discovery of a similar audience chamber just within the west entrance at Knossos.³

To the west of the Room of the Throne in clearing the top of the fill (51) thrown in behind the West Terrace Wall we found a few fragments of fresco as follows :

(a) Coarse fresco, c. $\cdot 02$ to $\cdot 03$ thick, some with traces of colour, some obviously burnt, some doubtful.

(b) Fine fresco, c. $\cdot 004$ thick. Possibly burnt.

(c) Fragment of spiral B. 12 (i) unburnt, of which part was found by Tsountas, and several pieces by ourselves. The latter came from the Pithos Area, which was probably the source of Tsountas' fragments too,⁴ though some might easily have been found here above the West Terrace Wall, and to the west of the Room of the Throne.

6. THE COURT.

We believe the entrance from the head of the Grand Staircase into the Court lay through the Anteroom (61) over the large conglomerate threshold⁵ (Pl. XXII. d) in the south-west angle of the latter. That the

¹ Described, Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 223.

² Tsountas considered it was a hearth, *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 68.

³ Evans, *Antiquaries' Journal*, ii. p. 323.

⁴ See p. 162, above; the fresco is B 12 (i).

⁵ See p. 180 above.

entrance to the Court should be placed in one angle is analogous to the inner Court at Tiryns, where the entrance is in the south-west corner. The visitor, on passing this threshold, which supported a door, found himself in a large rectangular Court over 15 m. long and nearly 12 m. wide. It lay open to the sky and into it looked windows from the apartments and corridors adjoining on the west, north and east, for which it served as a kind of light shaft. This part of the Palace had at least two storeys, and a light shaft, therefore, was a necessity. The south wall of the Court no longer exists owing to its position on the edge of the sloping hillside. On the plan, Pl. II., the extreme extent of the cement floor of the Court towards the south is shewn, and just beyond this lies a row of large limestone blocks (59). These rest on a heavy mass of fill packed in behind the north wall of the staircase and run parallel with the north wall of the Court. It is very probable that they formed part of the foundation of the south wall of the Court. It seems indeed strange that an architect building on this magnificent site should have deliberately built a wall across the south side of the Court and so shut off the wonderful view of the Argive Plain which the modern traveller enjoys from this spot (Pl. XXXIV. *b*). The north wall and roof of the staircase must in any case have risen above the level of the floor of the Court. The lords of Mycenae were probably more concerned for their comfort, which would depend on privacy and safety, than with the scenery. In any case they would have enjoyed exactly the same views, perhaps to better advantage, from the loggias and flat roofs of the upper storey of the Palace.

The east side of the Court is the front of the Megaron.¹ The north is formed by one continuous wall running from the north anta of the Porch of the Megaron (the so-called *aithousa*, 55) to a threshold in the north-west angle of the Court, where a corridor coming from the Western Portal enters over a threshold of sawn conglomerate. Behind the north wall of the Court runs the South Corridor (37) which leads from the Western Portal towards the Domestic Quarters, and rises gradually from west to east. Thus the north wall of the Court served in a way as a retaining wall for this South Corridor. This wall (Pl. XXXIV. *c*) is built of rubble faced with ashlar masonry in poros. Above the lowest row of ashlar blocks, which all have dowel-holes on their upper edges, ran a wooden

¹ See below, pp. 232 ff.

beam.¹ This has now perished, for the whole of this wall has been much damaged and the stones themselves disintegrated by some violent fire, probably that which destroyed the Palace. In the middle of the wall is a set-back which may have had a structural purpose in connection with the arrangement of the roof and windows.² To the east of this set-back most of the ashlar work of poros has disintegrated and fallen away owing to the wall falling forwards during the conflagration. Enough, however, is left, including the whole of its lowest course, to make it certain that this section also was faced with ashlar work in poros.³ In the west half of the wall the ashlar still stands to a height of about 2.50 m. Many of the blocks have on the inner edges of their upper surface sinkings for dowels of a half double-axe shape. As in the case of the west wall at Knossos⁴ and that of the double ring of slabs of the Grave Circle,⁵ these undoubtedly served to keep the two faces of the wall vertically parallel to one another, and at the same time helped to prevent the facing blocks of poros from falling away. The uppermost block still *in situ* has a small rectangular dowel-hole towards the outer edge of its upper surface. Dr. Duncan Mackenzie has pointed out that this was to fasten a horizontal wooden beam which may have served as a window-sill, as in the ashlar work in the west wall of the Grand Staircase, or may have been merely a reinforcing beam like that in the lower part of the wall. Such a window, like the somewhat similar window on the staircase by the Queen's Megaron at Knossos,⁶ would serve to light the South Corridor behind, and the chambers entered from it. We could then supply a similar window in the ashlar work of the east part of this north wall. This window, however, must have been at a slightly higher level in order to suit the rise in the level of the floor of the South Corridor (see the suggested reconstruction in Fig. 37). The roof of the South Corridor would have been in a series of horizontal steps. The set-back already noticed probably marks the position of one such step, for the increased height of the wall should demand increased thickness.

¹ As at Tiryns; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 255 ff.

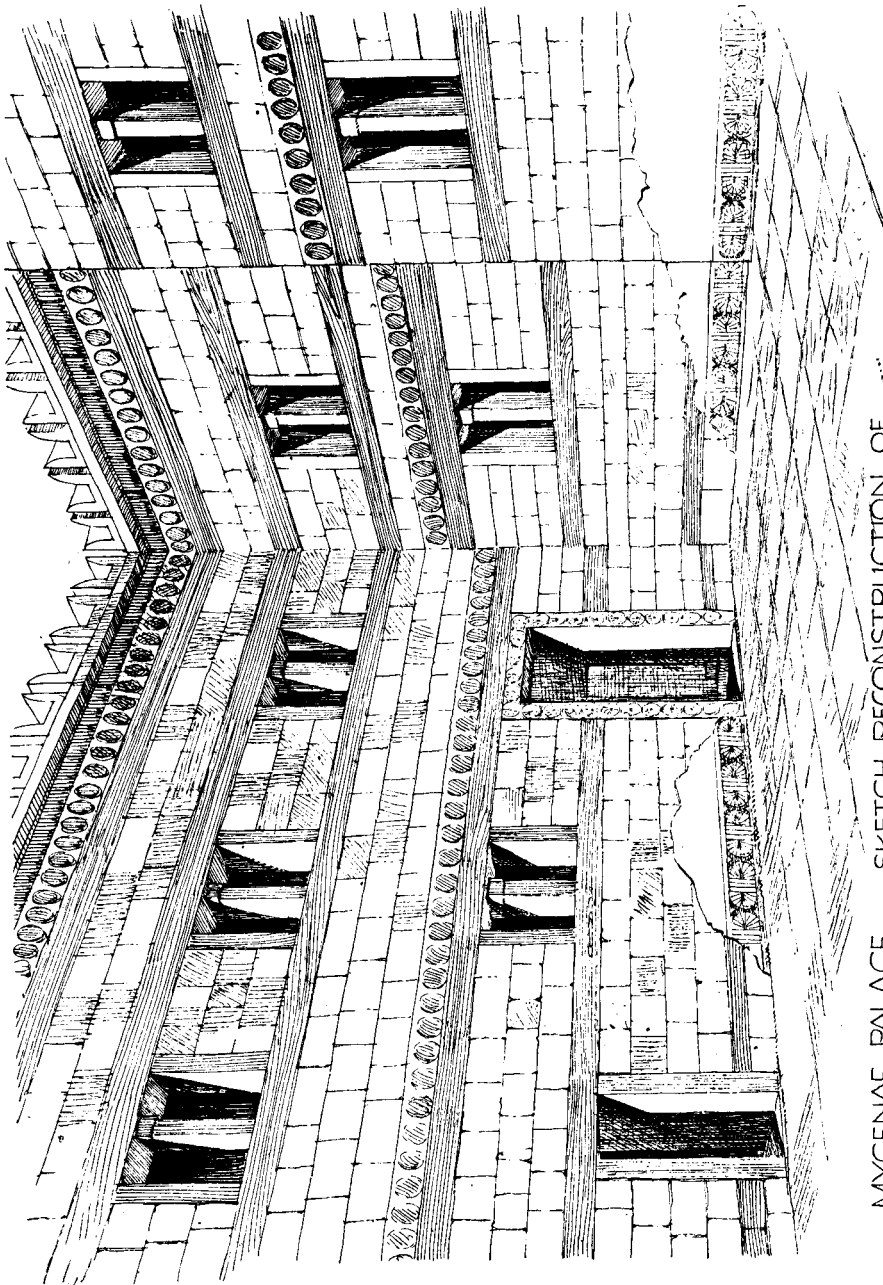
² See further below; cf. Fig. 37 and Pl. XXXIV. c.

³ Rodenwaldt's difficulties (*Jahrbuch*, 1919, pp. 93 ff.), owing to the apparent absence of ashlar facing to the east part of this north wall, need therefore no longer trouble us.

⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 128, Fig. 95.

⁵ See above, p. 112.

⁶ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. Figs. 239, 240.



MYCENAE PALACE SKETCH RECONSTRUCTION OF
NORTH WEST ANGLE OF COURT

FIG. 37.

The ashlar work of the west part of the wall ran as far as the north-west angle of the Court. Its apparent stop just short of the angle is due to the disintegration of the blocks in the fire. Careful examination reveals the existence of much-damaged poros blocks reaching to the angle. Apparently the whole of this ashlar work was in the latest period covered with painted stucco. The fire, however, has so discoloured and calcined it that no traces of the pattern are now visible except at the bottom of the lowest row of poros blocks on the east. Here one can see clearly how far the line of burning came down the wall. It seems that the small piece of stucco which has preserved its design was protected by the fallen débris from the upper stories. The pattern was a belt of the favourite Mycenaean rosette and triglyph design like that in the north-east angle of the porch of the Megaron (see below, p. 235). The lowest row of poros blocks below the horizontal wooden beam are much blackened, whereas those above, though much damaged, are brown. The question arises, Was this wall twice damaged by fire? This is possible. An earlier fire, perhaps other than that which destroyed the Pillar Basement and led to its being filled in, damaged part of the Palace here. On reconstruction the upper part of the wall was repaired. The destruction of the wooden beam would render this inevitable, while the lowest row of poros blocks though damaged remained in place; the whole was then covered with painted stucco, a proceeding which also served to conceal the traces of the fire. A further suggestion may be made as confirming this view. The whole Court is paved with a thick layer of excellent white cement, hard and firm like the corresponding pavement in the courts at Tiryns. Later this cement floor was for some reason or other covered all over with a layer of painted stucco. Though this is now only preserved in a much-damaged and burnt condition under the north wall, yet there are clear signs that it extended all over the Court. Perhaps the same fire which damaged the north wall also damaged and discoloured the cement floor of the Court, and so after the repairs it was covered with painted stucco to hide the signs of the disaster. It seems odd that walls and floors which were exposed to the weather¹ should have been covered with such perishable ornament as painted stucco.

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Jahrbuch*, 1919, p. 95, assumed that the whole Court was roofed over in the period contemporary with the decoration in question; this was before the removal of the walls of later date from the Court conclusively proved the absence of the supports necessary for a roof.

In an open court this stucco could not have lasted long even on the sheltered north side and therefore must have been laid down only a comparatively short time before the destruction of the Palace, to the latest phase of which it thus belongs.

THE PAINTED STUCCO FLOOR.

This stucco, consisting of painted squares, is preserved against the north wall as far as the return west of the staircase. Its total length is 11.9 m., its greatest depth 2.55 m., but it must have covered the whole floor. It lies directly on the cement floor which was the original floor of the Court in its present form.

Rodenwaldt examined it in 1914, and published a description and suggested reconstruction in the *Jahrbuch* for 1919. In 1920 and 1921 we examined it again, and owing to the removal of walls of a later period,¹ and other débris which encumbered the area of the Court, were able to make some important discoveries. The fresh evidence, especially with regard to squares Nos. 3 *b*, 4 *a*, 7 *a*, and 8 *a*, does not bear out Rodenwaldt's reconstruction, and suggests the new one published on Pl. XXXV. Between 1914 and 1920, however, some pieces from the eastern end of the floor were lost, including the scanty remains of square No. 1 *c*, a loss particularly unfortunate, as No. 1 *c* is one of the places where our conclusions and Rodenwaldt's differ.

The squares are coloured (from right to left) yellow, blue, red, blue; the sequence repeated in each line one square further to the right. They are bordered by red lines about .05 m. wide with incised edges, and vary remarkably in width. The decorator used no measure apparently, and the last square at the west end is not half the average width. Patterns are drawn on the squares in red, white and black. The surface is chipped, burnt and discoloured.

It will be seen that wherever the pattern can be definitely traced it reappears in the second row on squares of different colours, removed two squares horizontally and one vertically, like the knight's move in chess. This gives the key to the reconstruction, which is in accordance even with the squares of which the patterns are less distinctly marked, with the exception of No. 1 *c* in the third row seen by Rodenwaldt, but not by ourselves.

¹ Probably the period of Geometric pottery; Tsountas, *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 62.

Nos. 2 *a*, 4 *b*, 6 *a* and 2 *c* have been reconstructed with a wavy line of the type of imitation marble, a combination of that on the Tiryns floor,¹ and that on a wall fragment from Tiryns.² Such a pattern would leave traces in the form of the 'concentric bows' mentioned by Rodenwaldt in connection with Nos. 2 *a* and 2 *c*, as well as of the *Wellenlinien* noted by him on No. 4 *b*.³

At square No. 7 *a* the sequence is interrupted by the diamond pattern: it starts afresh presumably with the circles on square No. 8 *a*, but the scale pattern on the small square No. 11 *a* is in correct sequence with the order of squares Nos. 1 *a* to 6 *a*, not with the order of squares Nos. 8 *a* to 10 *a*. Perhaps the artist decorated the end square, No. 11 *a*, before the pattern was interrupted at No. 7 *a*. This interruption, curious though it is, may be explained by the fact that it occurs exactly opposite the setback in the wall discussed on p. 190.

In the illustrations on Pl. XXXV. the squares on which the patterns are certain are drawn with a darker wash, those on which the patterns are inferred are drawn with a lighter wash. This gives the reader the opportunity of following (i) the 'knight's move' on squares 1-7, and (ii) the broken sequence of squares 7-8: also of suggesting, if he wishes, alternative plans for the more hypothetical part of the floor west of square 7.

Description of Squares.

First Row:

1 *a*. Yellow ground: spots with red centre surrounded by white, red and black ring.⁴ Notice the irregular arrangement of the spots.

2 *a*. Blue ground: the end of wavy lines, white, red and possibly black.

3 *a*. Width 1.07 m. Light-red ground: scale pattern, white, dark-red and black.

4 *a*. Width 1.1 m. Blue ground: herring-bone pattern (colour lost) as in Vestibule.⁵

5 *a*. Width 1 m. Yellow ground: spots as in 1 *a*.

6 *a*. Width 1.04 m. Blue ground: wavy lines, red and white.⁶

7 *a*. Width 1.11 m. Light-red ground: arcs of circles with central diamond in red.

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 234, Fig. 83.

² Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 23, Figs. 2, 3.

³ *Jahrbuch*, 1919, p. 102.

⁴ For detail of the various patterns see *Jahrbuch*, 1919, p. 97 ff.

⁵ See below, p. 238. The ground is mostly so burnt that the colour can only be distinguished in small patches.

⁶ Probably in all cases the lines were black, white and red, the red being most often preserved.

- 8 *a.* Width 1·17 m. Ground discoloured : circles.
- 9 *a.* Width 1·23 m. Ground discoloured : slight traces of lines.
- 10 *a.* Width 1·21 m. Ground discoloured : pattern lost.
- 11 *a.* Width ·44 m. Light-red ground : scale pattern, in dark-red.

Second Row :

- 1 *b.* Blue ground : traces of curved lines.
- 2 *b.* Light-red ground : herring-bone pattern, as in Vestibule.¹
- 3 *b.* Width 1·07 m. Ground discoloured : spots.
- 4 *b.* Width 1·1 m. Wavy lines, red and white.
- 5 *b.* Width 1 m. Ground discoloured : no pattern shewing.
- 6 *b.* Width 1·04 m. Ground discoloured : in one place slight traces of red and white, suggesting a spot, which would be improbable owing to the spots on 5 *a.*

The other squares in the second row, and the few remains of the third row, are completely discoloured.

EARLIER NORTH WALL.

Immediately behind the rubble core of the north wall we found another wall face (Pl. XXXIV. *c*, *d*) beneath the floor of the South Corridor (35, 37). This is a rubble wall faced with clay plaster well mixed with chaff. It rests on the rock (Fig. 38), which here rises rapidly northwards. Its base is therefore ·45–·50 m. above the level of the floor of the Court. This wall (see plan, Pl. II.) is in the same line as the south wall² of the Antechamber to the Domestic Quarters (33), which is not parallel with the north wall of the Megaron. Thus since it runs behind the north walls of the Court and of the Megaron, and was once obviously meant to be seen (for it is faced with plaster), it should be older than the Megaron and the Court. Further, the base of the wall lying ·45 m. higher than the floor of the Court shews that the level immediately to the south of this wall (the space now occupied by the Court) was originally higher.³

The traces of burning shew that there are two periods in the floor of the Court and of its north wall. The first of these periods we suggest may be contemporary with the construction of the Pillar Basement and the whole of the complex of apartments comprising the Court, Megaron, Room of the Throne and adjoining parts. The second period, due to repairs

¹ See p. 238.

² This lies immediately to the north of the Megaron and its Vestibule (56, 57).

³ The rock has been cut away to make the present level of the Court, as also to support the staircase (34) from the Porch (55) (see below, p. 257, and the Section, Fig. 38).

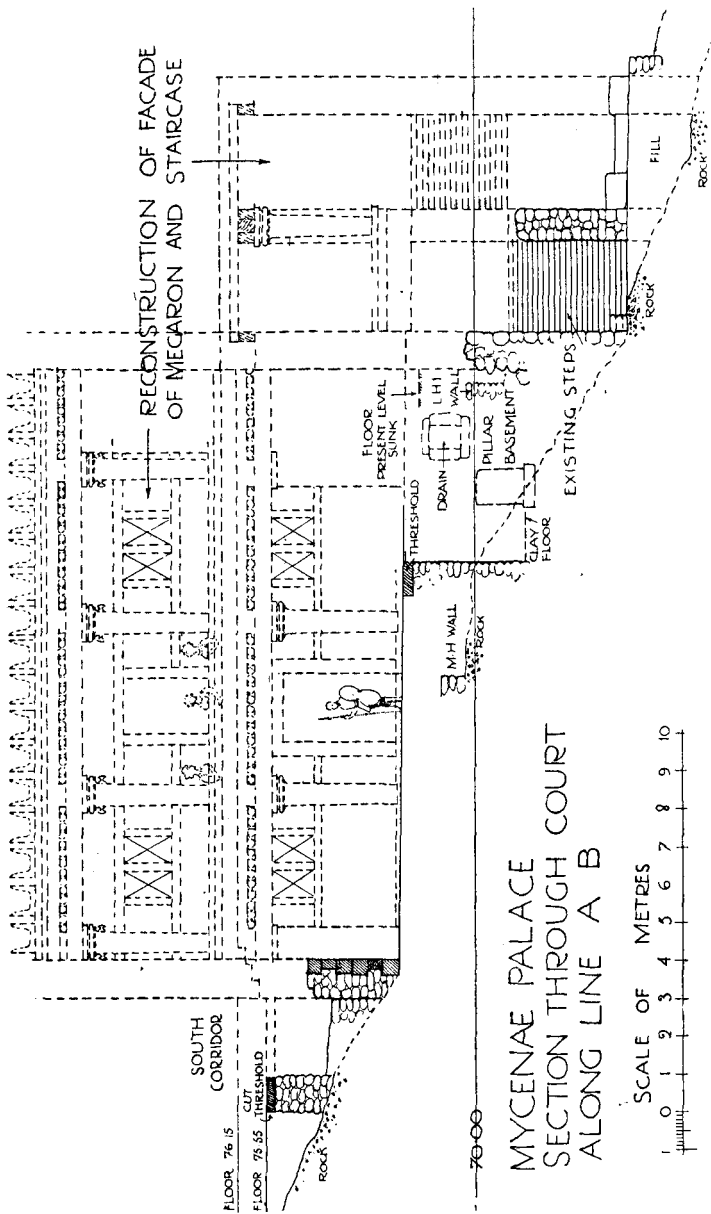


Fig. 38.

after a fire which destroyed part of the Palace, might be contemporary with the filling in of the Pillar Basement.

Following this argument, then, the wall behind the north wall of the Court must belong to some previous phase of the Palace before the Court and Megaron were laid out. As the Pillar Basement which belongs to that scheme of laying out dates from the beginning of the L.H. III. period, then the wall behind the north wall of the Court should be older, either L.H. I. or II. It may then be considered as belonging to a first or at least an earlier Palace of which other possible remains are to be recognised elsewhere. The lay-out of the Court and the Megaron would have taken place at the beginning of L.H. III. at the same time as the acropolis wall, the Grave Circle, Lion Gate and other great erections. It is very tempting to assume that in that great time of building activity the Palace was rebuilt and enlarged. Then the old high level to the south of this wall was cut down and by means of fill the terrace was extended further south to make a larger Court. It was naturally advisable to cut down the level. It meant that the made ground to the south had to be built up less high and also provided earth and rubbish which could be used as fill.

We must now consider whether the evidence obtained from below the floor of the Court supports these tempting theories.

In the centre of the Court, in a place where the cement floor was damaged, we dug a pit (54) right down to the native rock below with these results :

The first layer below the floor of the Court from 71·94 to 71·64 gave :

Early Helladic, three sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, one sherd.

Matt-painted, Groups B. I. and II., five sherds.

Plain and polished, ten sherds.

Late Helladic, four painted sherds ; nearer dating is not possible, but they appear rather to be L.H. I. or II.

Yellow Minyan, six sherds.

Handleless cups, thirteen fragments.

Handle of a skillet or dipper of plain red ware ; and two indeterminate pieces.

The general character of this layer is that it is earlier than L.H. III., probably L.H. I.-II.

The second layer from 71·64 to 71·34 gave :

Early Helladic, four sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, nine pieces.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., eighteen sherds.

Group B. II., six sherds.

Plain and polished ware, thirty-four pieces.

Late Helladic, indeterminate painted, one sherd.

Handleless cups (L.H. I. or II.), six pieces.

Miscellaneous coarse ware, four sherds.

The general character of this layer is early L.H. I. or late M.H.

The third layer from 71.34 to 70.92 gave :

Early Helladic, two sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, two sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., eight sherds.

Group B. II., seven sherds.

Plain and polished ware, seventeen sherds.

Coarse domestic ware, two sherds.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

The fourth layer from 70.92 to 70.54, gave :

Early Helladic, one sherd.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey and Argive, ten sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., thirteen sherds.

Group B. II., five sherds.

Plain, polished and domestic ware, fifteen.

This layer is in character late M.H. It runs from the top of the wall visible in the side of the pit to a floor (level 70.62-70.54) of yellowish-white clay which seems to be in connection with it. We followed up the line of the wall above the floor level both east and west for a short distance, and found the following pottery :

Early Helladic, five sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, seventeen sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., twenty-eight pieces.

Group B. II., two sherds.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, one.

Plain polished and domestic ware, seventeen.

The fifth layer from 70.54 to 70.19, which is the average level of the rock gave :

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey and Argive, sixteen.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., fifteen sherds.

Group B. II., five sherds.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, two sherds.

Plain, polished and domestic ware, twenty-two.

This layer from its general character and the quantity of Minyan ware seems to belong to the early Middle Helladic age.

Finally, in clearing the irregular surface of the rock, which is full of holes at this point (the deepest hole goes down to 69.86), we found more pottery, as follows :

Early Helladic, ten sherds, most with red paint.

Middle Helladic, grey Minyan ware, one sherd.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., two sherds.

Polished and plain, nine sherds.

Coarse domestic ware, nine sherds.

We also made tests on the north and south sides of the drain (58) about the middle of its course. Here we found a layer of earth containing débris, potsherds, oyster-shells and animal bones, similar to that under the floor of the East Lobby of the Grand Staircase. Both the test to the north of the drain and that to the south found at a depth of one metre a fill of rough limestone blocks. This is what we should expect, since the southern half of the Court is built on an artificial terrace

In the earth over the fill we found on the north side this pottery :

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, two sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., two sherds.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

Handleless cups, four pieces.

Plain ware, either M.H. or L.H. I., thirteen pieces.

On the south side of the drain we found this pottery :

Early Helladic, four sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, five sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., twelve sherds.

Group B. II., two sherds.

Group B. III., three sherds.

Plain, polished and coarse ware, forty-two sherds.

Late Helladic I., ten sherds.

Handleless cups, ten fragments.

Indeterminate but not L.H. III., eight pieces.

On the south side of the drain towards the south-west angle of the Court we made another test. From below the cement pavement to a depth of 70.18 we found this pottery :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., six sherds.

Polished and plain ware, thirteen sherds.

Late Helladic I., six pieces.

Handleless cups, four fragments.

At this level we found the top of a wall running east and west, and built

of small stones; we dug down on the south side of it for over a metre and found this pottery:

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, two sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., seven sherds.

Group B. II., ten sherds.

Polished and plain ware, nine sherds.

Late Helladic I., three sherds.

Owing to the narrow space and the fear of disturbing the drain and the foundations of the south wall we could not go deeper than 69·15, but had not reached rock at this depth. This wall seems thus from the evidence of the pottery found by it to be of L.H. I. date.

In clearing the line of big limestone blocks (59) which we have suggested above formed the foundations of the south wall of the Court we found much pottery ranging from Early Helladic down to L.H. III., and there were even a few Hellenic sherds here, including a loom weight of the usual pyramidal type inscribed $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\upsilon\sigma$. Thus although L.H. I. and II. ware was found among these foundations it would be better not to base any argument on their presence, as this part has been heavily denuded and much disturbed.

The south end of the west wall of the Court has disappeared except for its foundations. The central piece between the red sandstone threshold (level 71·88) and the conglomerate threshold in the north-west angle where begins the corridor (49) which leads to the Western Portal (45) still has one row of ashlar blocks of poros *in situ* on a rubble foundation (Pl. XXXIV. a). Only the side of the wall towards the Court is faced with poros; the other side towards the Room of the Throne is built of rubble. These ashlar blocks all have dowel-holes on their upper surfaces, obviously to fasten horizontal wooden beams as in the case of the north wall. These blocks, however, are slightly lower than those of the north wall, being 40–45 m. high as against 45–50 m. Above the horizontal wooden beam which lay on these blocks, there was in all probability ashlar work in poros just like that in the north wall. In fact, Tsountas found two rows of poros blocks lying on the floor of the Court in front of this wall having all the appearance of an ashlar wall fallen on its face.¹ This west wall was possibly, as suggested in the sketch reconstruction (Fig. 37), pierced with a window to light the Room of the Throne, and with other windows above to light the chambers on the upper storey. Between the conglomerate threshold and

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 65.

the north wall there was another short piece of ashlar work of which the lowest course only is preserved. The red sandstone threshold ¹ has a pivot-hole for a door, but the conglomerate threshold seems to have had no door.

Lying along the north side of the Court under the wall Tsountas found three column bases of conglomerate which he believed to have fallen from the upper storey. This is very likely. They may have belonged to a gallery in or above the South Corridor ² (35, 37), or possibly to a loggia above the porch of the Megaron as suggested in Fig. 38. We could find only one of these bases. It measures .57 m. in diameter, and is .30 high. So it could not have supported either a very tall or a very thick column.

Above the floor of the Court we found nothing but L.H. III. pottery, including characteristic shapes such as deep bowls and jugs of a hydria type. When Tsountas excavated here he found in the Court a complex of late walls very roughly built of limestone and poros. Among them he found Geometric pottery, which unfortunately cannot now be identified, but Tsountas' report ³ shows clearly that these walls are posterior to the destruction of the Palace. When we re-examined the Palace, with the permission of the Greek Archaeological authorities we removed the Geometric walls after they had been carefully planned, since they were of no value and impeded the study of the Mycenaean Palace. In removing them we found no Geometric sherds, nothing but the L.H. III. pottery already mentioned.

THE DRAINS.

Another test was sunk directly to the east of the red sandstone threshold which leads into the Court from the Room of the Throne. At level 71.00 below the cement floor we found a slab-built drain about .30 m. wide and high running from north to south. We could not find any junction between this drain and that which runs under the Room of the Throne, and we equally failed to find an outlet for it to the south. It certainly does not run into the Main Drain (58) of the Court, because at the west end the level of its floor is 70.84, or some .10 m. higher than the floor of

¹ This was possibly walled up in the latest phase, see above, p. 180.

² Cf. the gallery windows in the frescoes, Pls. XLII., XLIII., and Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, Pl. 1.

³ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 60, Pl. 4.

this north-south drain. Perhaps this lower drain belongs to some earlier system later discarded. In digging down to this drain we found this pottery :

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., six sherds.

Minyan ware, three sherds.

Polished and plain ware, eighteen sherds.

Late Helladic I., about twenty sherds.

Late Helladic II., one sherd.

Handleless cups, seventeen pieces.

Late Helladic III., four sherds.

Further investigation of this drain was unfortunately impossible without great damage to the cement pavement.

The Main Drain, which runs from the west wall against the Pillar Basement obliquely along the south side of the Court and out through the rough limestone fill immediately to the south of the south anta of the Porch (55) of the Megaron, has one noticeable peculiarity. It is about .70 m. wide and increases in depth eastwards from .75 to 1.30, and finally to 1.50 m. Where it runs through the Court its sides and floor are built of well-dressed rectangular blocks of poros and roofed with flat limestone slabs. Just by the south anta of the porch the walls are built of rough, well-packed undressed limestone blocks, and the drain narrows to about .40 m. It is floored throughout with limestone slabs. Below these slabs at the east end we found seven sherds of M.H. ware, three of L.H. I., and three of L.H. III. ware, which seems to prove that the drain at least is not earlier than L.H. III., and consequently that the cement floor, which crossed it, belongs to the same period. The rectangular blocks of poros just referred to have in one or two cases dowel-holes on their upper surfaces. These dowel-holes are exactly like those cut in the ashlar work of the north and west walls of the Court or of the west wall of the Grand Staircase to hold horizontal wooden beams. As these blocks were covered by the ends of the limestone slabs that roofed the drain, the dowel-holes have here no meaning. No one would want to use wooden beams in the construction of a drain. These blocks seem then to have come from some earlier ashlar construction which was destroyed, and were re-used to build the Main Drain. As the extreme west end of this drain rests on the fill of the Pillar Basement, the drain should be approximately contemporary with the filling in of the Basement. We have already suggested that the Pillar Basement was damaged in a fire which also ruined the north wall

of the Court. It is possible then that the poros blocks of the drain were originally part of the ashlar work of the north wall before it was rebuilt.

DATE OF COURT.

The drain runs through a layer of earth which rests on a fill of limestone blocks. In this earth L.H. I. pottery is found. Further north under the floor of the Court where there is a natural deposit resting on rock little or no L.H. I. ware was found, but quantities of Middle Helladic pottery. Below the floor of the drain at its east end L.H. III. pottery occurred. It thus seems that the Court was laid out and the cement floor put down after L.H. I. The presence of so many handleless cups in the earth on either side of the drain suggests that the Court was made not earlier than the end of L.H. II., since such cups are commonest in L.H. II. We can then imagine that when the earlier and higher level which lay at the foot of the earlier north wall was cut away to make a lower and wider level, and the area of the Court was extended to the south by a terrace of limestone fill, the earth then dug away from the north side was thrown down on the south to obtain an even surface over the fill and a good backing for the cement floor (cf. Fig. 38).

We thus get three clear stages. The first stage is represented by the earlier wall behind the north wall of the Court, and the L.H. I. wall in the south-west corner below the cement floor (level 70·18), and these must be part of an earlier building, perhaps a palace. We can thus speak henceforward of a First Palace and a Second Palace.

The First Palace.

The First Palace would probably have been of L.H. I. date, because behind the earlier north wall M.H. pottery is found, and below the floor of the Court we have the L.H. I. wall and M.H. walls and floors, which have no connection with the earlier wall behind the north wall. The M.H. and E.H. pottery below the floor of the Court show that the site was inhabited long before the building of the First Palace. This, since it falls between the Middle Helladic and Late Helladic III. periods should date from L.H. I., and was probably the home of the princes who were buried in the Shaft Graves.

The Second Palace.

The Second Palace seems to have had two phases at least. The first phase is represented by the Pillar Basement and the damaged north

wall of the Court; the second by the filling in of the Pillar Basement, the building of the Grand Staircase in its existing form and the reconstruction of the Court. These two phases both belong to L.H. III. The covering of the floor of the Court and the north wall with painted stucco could not have been done long before the final destruction of the Palace. When the slight alterations such as the bench in the West Lobby to the Grand Staircase were made we cannot tell, except that they took place in L.H. III. They with the stucco floor might represent yet a third phase of the Second Palace.

7. THE WEST CORRIDOR AND STAIRCASE.

Leaving the Court over the conglomerate threshold in the north-west angle we enter a narrow corridor (49) floored with cement. This corridor is 1.50 m. wide and runs westwards for more than 8 m., and then turns at right angles to the north (or right) into the west end of the South Corridor (40). Directly on the right (or north) after crossing the threshold from the Court we pass a small staircase (48). Of this two steps (.15 m. high and .40 m. deep) still exist in good condition. They, like those of the Grand Staircase, are composed of several pieces of soft grey sandstone fitted together, and are covered with at least three coatings of white stucco. They lead on to a small landing about 1.0 m. by 1.10 m., also floored with white stucco. On the landing the staircase turned at right angles westwards and led up to the apartments over the Room of the Throne. This upper part of the staircase was obviously supported on wooden beams, and collapsed when they were burnt. In fact, one can still see in the top of the wall of the corridor the remains of two or three treads of badly broken pieces of soft grey sandstone. These may have formed part of some of the treads of this staircase, and when it collapsed fell sideways on to the wall.

By the side of the lowest step of this staircase, at the east end of the north wall of the corridor, is a large square block of poros with four dowel-holes in it for fastening upright wooden beams which formed the angles of a rubble pier. A similar poros block with three dowel-holes which served a similar purpose is set at the west end of the same wall. Rubble piers such as these strengthened with wooden beams at their angles helped to carry the superstructure and to give firmness to the wall.¹

¹ Cf. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 212, 234.

How far this West Corridor ran westwards beyond the turn to the north we do not know. The whole area west of the Room of the Throne (46 and 51) now shows no remains of walls at all; it is a mass of fill held up by the south end of the West Terrace Wall immediately to the east of the Pithos Area (50). The heavy denudation which has taken place here renders vain all hope of recovering details of the Palace plan in this region.

THE CLOSET UNDER THE STAIRS.

Just where the West Corridor turns northwards it passes the opening to a small closet under the stairs leading to the upper storey (47). The entrance to it lies between the poros block at this corner and a similar block which lies at the west end of the wall separating this closet from the South Corridor (37). This other poros block also has dowel-holes for the wooden supports of a rubble pier to carry the beams spanning these openings and corridors. The floor of the closet has disappeared. It lay above a heavy mass of rough limestone fill which ran down to the native rock, on which lay a thin stratum of black earth containing M.H. sherds. In the limestone fill we found the fragment of the bull's head rhyton of steatite published in Section IV,¹ and the following pottery :—

Early Helladic, six sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, five sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., eleven sherds.

Group B. II. four sherds.

Plain and polished, nine sherds.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

Late Helladic II., two sherds (one of a handleless cup).

Late Helladic III., kylikes, two painted and nine plain fragments.

Deep bowls, four pieces.

Jugs of a hydria type, three pieces.

Other painted sherds, five.

Terracotta figurines of animals, two.

There was in addition a quantity of plain and coarse domestic ware which cannot be classified more closely; and a small button-shaped steatite whorl.

Of this pottery the Early Helladic and Middle Helladic was principally found in the soft black earth right on the rock, while the rest was scattered in the limestone fill. The general impression is that it is not later in

¹ *B.S.A.*, xxiv. pp. 203-4, Pl. XIII. 3, *d*, *e*.

date than the deposit below the floor of the Pillar Basement. Though from the circumstances we cannot make too much of this evidence, yet it is of some little value in conjunction with that afforded by the adjoining parts of the Palace, with which it agrees. The cumulative value is thus all the greater, especially as regards the date of the Second Palace, to which this closet belongs.

8. THE SOUTH CORRIDOR.

Going from the Court along the West Corridor and turning northward at right angles past the closet (47) under the Staircase, we reach the west end (40) of the South Corridor (40, 37, 35) just inside the West Portal (45). This corridor seems originally to have run straight through from the Western Portal to the Antechamber of the Domestic Quarters (33) lying to the north of the Megaron, as suggested by Tsountas.¹ Later this plan was altered, and the South Corridor cut short immediately to the north of the Porch to the Megaron (55) by the figure 35 on the plan. From the Western Portal it is entered over a gigantic threshold of conglomerate,² which has at its south end a pivot-hole for a door as well as a sawn ledge for the door to rest against (Pl. XXXVI. c). Thence the Corridor, which is floored throughout with cement, rises steadily as it runs eastwards. Unfortunately, the eastern part has been almost completely destroyed by Schliemann's trial pit, which was driven right down to the rock here in the area indicated by the figure 36. We thus do not know the height reached by the Corridor. Its floor just within the Western Portal is at a level of 71·35, somewhat further east it is at 72·25, and at the highest point preserved to the east it is at 74·21. This last point is directly behind the ashlar work in the east part of the north wall of the court, and is only about ·70 m. below the level of the horizontal wooden beam for the window-sill in the north wall of the Court. As in this distance of 10 m. we know the corridor rises 2 m., we can assume that for the remaining 10 m. as far as the figure 35 it would have risen at least another metre-and-a-half.

This would have been quite enough to bring the level up to that of the end of a conglomerate threshold block which projects from the wall at the east end of the South Corridor by the figure 35. Behind this to

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 70.

² It is 3·17 m. long, 1·10 m. wide and ·30 m. thick.

the north in an angle a very small piece of the floor and clay-plastered walls of a room is to be seen. The level of this floor is 75.55 and it is below the level of the North Corridor (17–20) and of the cement floor (76.15) which lies just to its east. Therefore it seems that the room now represented by this small piece of floor was entered from the South Corridor by a door no longer preserved, but which lay in all probability directly behind the suggested east window in the north wall of the Court. This room (36) cannot have been much more than a storeroom because it was in the substructures of the upper storey, but we have no clue to its exact size or purpose. The conglomerate threshold lies at a height of 75.50 and thus its level agrees with that of the floor. We can assume then that the threshold when complete was that of some entrance to the east to which the South Corridor gave access. The threshold had a sawn ledge for a door on its west side, but the piece still remaining in the wall has been sawn off the main part, or rather the latter was sawn three-parts of the way through and then broken off by its own weight. Probably the South Corridor, in its first stage, ran direct from the Western Portal to the Domestic Quarters north of the Megaron, and this threshold was that of a doorway by which the private apartments were approached.

From the Corridor one would have entered not only the Antechambers to the Domestic Quarters at a point above the west end of Lobby 33, but perhaps also, as suggested in the restored view shewn in Fig. 38, the conjectured loggia above the porch of the Megaron. Then something must have occurred which caused an alteration of plan, perhaps the fire which damaged the north wall of the Court.¹ In any case the South Corridor was cut short by the figure 35. The conglomerate threshold could not be removed bodily as its north end was embedded in a wall which supported the upper storey. Consequently, the threshold was sawn through, the main part removed and the north end left *in situ* in the wall where it still is (Pl. XXXIV. d). In place of the threshold a wall was built across to retain the east end of the Corridor. Then to provide access to the Domestic Quarters a door was made from the north end of the Porch (55) of the Megaron, and the staircase (34) and the Antechamber (33) were dug out to a lower level.² This arrangement was an

¹ See p. 192, above.

² The Antechamber (33) may have already been in existence and this reconstruction may simply have altered the means of approach to it.

improvement, for it gave direct communication between the Megaron and the Domestic Quarters to the north, while it was easy to reach the Western Portal by the Court and the West Corridor. The South Corridor, however, ceased to have any purpose except to give access to the basement rooms which lay on its north side.¹

When the South Corridor was first built the level up which it runs seems to have been lowered, for below its floor (by the figure 37) and under its north wall the only pottery found was Middle Helladic, including Grey Minyan ware. Similarly, just to the north of the South Corridor by the figure 38, a small piece of wall about .60 m. high and .60 m. wide is to be seen below the west line of the foundation of the Doric Temple. All the pottery found by it, except for one kylix stem, was M.H., and included some Minyan and a fine piece of Matt-painted, Group B. I. So this wall is probably of Middle Helladic date, and it appears that when the Second Palace was built, the level was cut down on the slopes here so that the floors of the Palace now lie for the most part directly above the Middle Helladic stratum.

9. THE WESTERN PORTAL.

Outside the big conglomerate threshold which lies at the west end of the South Corridor was a small entrance porch now known as the Western Portal (45), since in connection with a Propylon and roadway (7, 9, 10, 44) it provided an entrance to the central parts of the Palace from a higher level than the Grand Staircase. This porch, which was probably roofed, was faced at either side with ashlar work in poros, of which a few blocks of the lowest course are still *in situ*. Another block was found by us lying directly outside the threshold, and there are other similar blocks built into a late Greek wall just to the west of the figure 45. The depth of the porch we do not know, but it probably extended at least as far west as the south-west angle of the room immediately to the north of the Portal (41). Just at the angle on the outside are two big limestone blocks (level 69.83). They seem to be still *in situ*, and to have once helped to support the roadway, which, as it ran southwards from the north-west Propylon, here turned at right angles eastwards to enter the Western Portal. It is just to the south of the Western Portal that the West Terrace Wall turns in eastwards,² as though its

¹ Compare, however, Dr. Holland's opinion, p. 281, below.

² See above, p. 161.

main purpose was to carry the inclined roadway leading up to the Western Portal.¹ It is unfortunately impossible now to obtain more details since not only has the area been badly denuded, but also considerably disturbed by later Greek, especially Hellenistic, building. Between the Western Portal and the West Terrace wall there is a heavy mass of fill of rough limestone blocks thrown in on the sloping rock. We drove a test pit down to the rock here with the following results.

The first layer from the surface to a depth of .75 m. gave :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, eleven sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., six sherds.

Group B. II., four sherds.

Plain and polished, thirteen sherds.

Late Helladic (no closer definition possible), six do., including part of pithos.

Hellenistic, four fragments.

The second layer from .75 to 1.40 m. gave :—

Early Helladic, two sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, four sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., two sherds.

Plain and polished, two sherds.

Hellenistic, part of a late terracotta figurine.

The third layer from 1.40 to 2.00 m. gave :—

Early Helladic, twelve pieces.

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., two sherds.

Polished and plain, five sherds, and eight pieces of coarse ware.

The fourth layer from 2.00 to the rock at about 2.20 m. gave :—

Early Helladic, fourteen sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan, grey, one sherd.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., six sherds.

Plain and polished, two sherds.

Coarse ware, two sherds.

Once again we see that almost immediately below the floors of the Second Palace M. H. pottery is found, thus confirming the suggestion that when the Second Palace was constructed, large schemes of terracing took place.

¹ The lack of parallelism between the West Terrace Wall and the section of the Palace comprising the Western Portal and the Room of the Throne (and therefore the Court and Megaron) is noted below by Dr. Holland, pp. 273 ff.; but it does not necessarily follow that the Terrace Wall is later than this group of buildings, for the mere existence of the Western Portal and of the roadway leading up to it from the Propylon presupposes a terrace wall.

The Copper Ingot.

To the west of the Western Portal and above the West Terrace Wall Tsountas found the well-known ingot of copper which has been published by Svoronos,¹ and is similar to those found at Hagia Triada and near Kyme and elsewhere.² Copper ingots of this type are carried by Keftiu and other folk in paintings in Egyptian tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty.³ This Mycenaean ingot was found just below the surface of the ground, and may be regarded as part of the metal treasures of the Palace dropped by plunderers. One side of the ingot is rough and bears a sign impressed in it. The other side is smooth, with raised edges. Like all the ingots of this class, it is oblong and has curved projections at each angle. Its shape was originally thought to be that of the double-axe, but recently Mr. C. T. Seltman has pointed out that it is far more that of an ox-hide.⁴ In the same neighbourhood Tsountas found some interesting fragments of unburnt fresco, representing a frieze of grooms and horses, which have been already described and discussed in connection with the Pithos Area.⁵

10. THE NORTH-WEST PROPYLON AND GUARDROOM.

Leaving the Western Portal we turn immediately at right angles to the north, descending what was originally no doubt an inclined roadway floored with cement. The Western Portal itself was doubtless roofed, but the roadway which ran (44, 10) above the West Terrace wall was probably open to the sky like the somewhat similar roadway at Tiryns leading from the great gate of conglomerate to the outer propylaea. That this roadway was inclined is proved by the survival of a small fragment of its cement floor just at the north-west angle outside the room (41) north of the Western Portal. This cement floor has a level of 70.68, whereas the threshold of the Western Portal has a level of 71.29, indicating a fall of over .50 m. between the two points.

From here onwards to the north-west angle of the Palace the roadway has been very badly damaged by Hellenistic constructions; for instance, just beyond the piece of cement floor there is a Hellenistic olive press (10) cut out in the foundations of the Palace. There is here one large

¹ *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.*, 1906, Pl. V.; Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, pp. 4, 5, Figs. 3, 4.

² Svoronos, *op. cit.*, Pls. II. and III.; Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.

³ Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.; Seltman, *op. cit.*, p. 2, Fig. 1.

⁴ Seltman, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff.; 112 ff.

⁵ So Prof. Tsountas kindly informs us. See pp. 164 ff., above, and Pls. XXVI. b, XXVII.

limestone block (just by the figure 10) *in situ* which might have carried a column or an anta. Further northwards still lie two large column bases of conglomerate ¹ no longer *in situ*, but they are so large (1.10 m. in diameter and .40 m. thick) that presumably they cannot have been moved very far (Pl. XXXVI. b). Their workmanship is similar and so probably contemporary with that of the conglomerate used in the Megaron. By the side of them lies a broken block of conglomerate (measuring .80 by .60 m.) which carried a column .40 m. in diameter. This may have been moved some distance, but the other two bases may easily have been connected with a propylon which we shall see once probably stood here. If we may judge by Knossian analogies the columns that stood on these bases would have been about 3.50 m. to 4 m. high.² The column bases of the outer propylaea at Tiryns measure about .65 m. in diameter, so these two bases could well have carried columns of sufficient height for a propylon. Just by them the West Terrace Wall turns west for 2 m., and then runs north again for about 8 m., when it comes to an end. This turn westwards has the effect of widening the terrace supported by the wall. In other words the terrace widens out just before it comes to an end, or rather just where it begins. That is to say, at the very point where we should have expected a propylon we find not only two large column bases but a widening of the terrace by 2 m. (9).

At the north end, or rather at the beginning of the West Terrace Wall, we find 7.50 m. to the east, on the other side of a rectangular area (9), another terrace wall which runs northwards and then turns round the corner along the north side of the acropolis. Midway between these two walls a conglomerate block, roughly rectangular, which lies at a level of 68.87, indicating a descent of 2.50 m. from the Western Portal, stands *in situ* in a foundation of rough limestone blocks. By the side of this lay a much-damaged conglomerate column base about 1.10 m. in diameter and .15 m. thick, which may once have stood on the rectangular block.³

¹ These are quite unlike those of the early high type at Knossos, which are .58 m. in diameter and .34 m. high; see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 212, Figs. 156, 157.

² On the staircase at Knossos the column bases are .47 m. in diameter, and the columns 2 m. high. In the Hall of Colonnades the column bases are .60 m. in diameter, and the columns 3 m. high. In the Queen's Megaron the column bases are .63 m. in diameter, and the columns about 3.07 m. high. In the Royal Villa the bases are .47 m. in diameter, and the columns could not have been more than about 2.70 m. high.

³ The column bases of the Megaron and of its Porch rest on rectangular blocks of conglomerate.

A propylon or porch with one column would not be at all surprising, for we find an exactly similar arrangement in the West Entrance at Knossos; ¹ the late L.H. III. houses at Korakou ² have a porch with one column *in antis*, and a similar arrangement existed in the reoccupation of the Megaron ³ at Tiryns late in L.H. III. We might then suggest that there was here a propylon with one column to the north, the outside, and two columns to the south, the inside. This would be an unusual arrangement, but although this and other details must remain undecided it seems quite likely that there was a propylon at this point; and this becomes yet more probable when we look outside it to the north.

Immediately to the north of the outer rectangular column base *in situ* lies a rectangular area (7) paved with cobble-stones which extend almost to the corner where the eastern terrace wall turns eastwards along the north side of the rock.⁴ In the western part of this area is a line of limestone slabs, certainly the roof of a drain, as is proved by the difference in level between the most northern and most southern slabs. To the north-west below this paved cobbled area lies a sloping terrace (8) supported by a wall of good Cyclopean work. This terrace slopes up from south to north, and may be taken as the end of a roadway which after zigzagging up the hillside from the Great Ramp ended here at the north-west angle of the Palace before a small cobbled court across which one approached the Propylon. This would have provided a way for pack or perhaps even wheeled traffic right up to the higher level at which most of the Palace stood. The other entrance up the Grand Staircase involved a steep climb up the stairs before any part of the Palace could be reached. This north-western entrance gives immediate admission to the principal level of the Palace by an easy gradient.

Before we leave this propylon there is one other point to observe. The West Terrace Wall from the Pithos Area to the set-back by the two large conglomerate column bases is built in one homogeneous style. The blocks of limestone are packed together in a careful Cyclopean manner with well-built angles. Some attempt was made to course them and generally speaking the masonry is good. The north end of this West

¹ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 214, Fig. 158.

² Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 80 ff.

³ Blegen, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

⁴ Among the cobbles some pieces of cement flooring were found, but there is nothing to shew where it originally lay.

Terrace Wall, where by its widening it would have supported the Propylon, is much less careful and rougher in construction. The blocks show no signs of dressing, and are not well laid. The same is also generally true, as regards construction, of the further piece of terrace wall beyond the Propylon to the north-east by the Guard-room (3),¹ where, however, the blocks are somewhat more carefully laid. We thus see that there is a difference in appearance and style of building between the north-west angle and the rest of the West Terrace Wall, which may perhaps indicate a difference in date. If the main part of the West Terrace Wall goes with the Western Portal, it is of L.H. III. date, because L.H. III. pottery was found beneath the floor of the Room (41) to the North of the Portal.² The actual terrace wall of the Propylon and of the north-west angle looks older.

Perhaps the earliest entrance to the Palace lay here and the Grand Staircase was an afterthought to provide more direct access to the Room of the Throne, the Court and Megaron without disturbing the main part of the Palace. If the earliest entrance to the L.H. III. or Second Palace lay here, it may well have been a remodelling of a yet earlier entrance belonging to the First Palace. The difference in style between the Propylon Terrace Wall and the main West Terrace Wall indicates an earlier date for the Propylon walls, while the conglomerate column bases suggest a date as late as or later than the Megaron. These two points together indicate a remodelling. If the West Terrace Wall belongs to the L.H. III. or Second Palace, we might assign the earliest form of entrance here to the First Palace which centred round the summit of the citadel, for after all the easiest and most natural ascent of the acropolis from the north, south or west is by way of this north-west angle.

In clearing the ruins of the Propylon we found a piece of decorative stone-work carved with a version of the favourite Mycenaean rosette and triglyph pattern (Fig. 47, *a*). This will be described in connection with the decoration of the Porch below (p. 237).

THE GUARDROOM.

As already stated, the other terrace wall to the east of the cobbled area (7) runs northwards for some 5 m., and then turns at right angles eastwards for 6 m. Next it turns north again for 4.50 m., and then finally

¹ See p. 216, below.

² See p. 218, below.

turns east and can be followed for some 9 m. more before it loses itself against the steep rocks of the acropolis. Just before its final turn eastwards and directly to the east of the open space (2) before the cobbled area there is a break in the upper part of the Terrace Wall indicating an entrance to two rooms built between the rock and the terrace wall at this angle (Pl. XXXVI. *d*). These chambers are quite small. The two together form an apartment of the Megaron type. There is a western or outer chamber (3) from which one passes over a conglomerate threshold into an eastern or larger room (4). Both had floors of clay and the walls were coated with the usual clay plaster well mixed with chaff. The floor of the eastern chamber is broken towards the south and south-east by the projection of the native rock. Above the floor of this room at its east end were found the remains of a number of vases still *in situ* which, except for two possible pieces of plain handleless cups, were all of L.H. III. style and date. There was one piece of a kylix with a murex pattern, but all the rest was unpainted pottery. There were about seven kylikes, a large jug of the hydria shape, and fragments of vases of other characteristic shapes of L.H. III. ware. This deposit found *in situ* on the floor was certainly L.H. III. and late rather than early in that period.

Some fresco fragments were found close to the south wall among burnt débris which appeared to have collapsed into the room from a higher terrace behind it to the south. These, as part of the fill of an upper terrace, would probably belong to an earlier date than the first phase of the Second Palace and appear to be contemporary with the deposit below the floor. The fresco is burnt till it has almost the hardness of cement, but its colours have only been slightly affected. The majority of fragments were decorated with parallel stripes, one fragment shewing as many as eight, and keeping to the comparatively sober scheme of red, blue, black, white, and a thin line of yellow. This recalls the borders of many stripes in the passage west of the Queen's Megaron and other rooms in the Palace at Knossos.¹ The fragments included the edge of a step and part of a black and white rosette. The execution is neat and pleasing, and suggests an early date.

Below the floor of this same room, another deposit of pottery and other remains came to light. This comprised :—

¹ Fyfe, *J.R.I.B.A.*, x. pp. 110 ff.; see also Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 29, No. 41.

Pottery.

Middle Helladic, two sherds, one of which is Minyan.

Late Helladic I.-II., two pieces of a cup of the Vaphio or Keftiu shape.

In addition there were at least twenty-five handleless cups, many of which contained the remains of paint, blue, red, grey, white, black and pink, probably the palette of some long-forgotten fresco painter. There were also eight fragments of fine plain reddish ware with the characteristic L.H. II. rim (see Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 59, Fig. 82).

Late Helladic III., thirteen pieces, mostly from kylikes, part of a small charcoal brazier like those from Tomb 532, and the remains of at least three three-legged cooking vessels.

Miscellaneous.

Other finds here included nineteen large loom-weights of terracotta. Fourteen of them were of a flat oval shape and vary in size from $\cdot 11 \times \cdot 10 \times \cdot 04$ m. to $\cdot 09 \times \cdot 08 \times \cdot 035$ m. All are pierced at one end for suspension, and at the same end a shallow groove is visible along the edge. The other five are of a rough, flat, rectangular shape, and vary in size from $\cdot 115 \times \cdot 08 \times \cdot 025$ m. to $\cdot 105 \times \cdot 06 \times \cdot 025$ m. They taper off slightly towards one end, where there is a hole pierced through for suspension.

Fresco.

Among these there were also a quantity of small fragments of fresco.

A large proportion was burnt, hardened, and welded into lumps exactly like that from above the floor. A small proportion shews no trace of burning at all: the two best examples are (i) a fragment with part of a blue spiral, and (ii) a small rosette; $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 037 \times \cdot 013$ m. with red petals outlined in darker red and black lines on a white ground (Pl. XXV. b, 6).

The fresco from below the floor must come either from a late phase of the First Palace or from an early phase of the Second Palace: to judge by the character of the pottery, especially the cups which contained paint, the former suggestion is the more probable. The fresco from above the floor, being part of the same deposit,¹ is also of the same period.

This deposit below the floor certainly provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the construction of these two rooms in their present form. The presence of very little L.H. III. pottery with the handleless cups shews that it cannot fall late in the L.H. III. period. This deposit should then have been laid down very soon after the beginning of L.H. III. The whole of the débris above the floor was so calcined and hardened into a solid mass by the effect of fire that it is possible, since the conflagration

¹ See p. 214, above.

must have raged furiously, that it may have affected the fresco found below the clay floor, which had been baked hard by the fire.

The two rooms in their present form are obviously L.H. III. in date, and we note again the use of conglomerate thresholds at this time. These rooms are built at the angle of the terrace wall and form a kind of basement. They can have had no communication with the rest of the Palace except through the Propylon, since the rock rises immediately to the east and south of them. As they are placed so conveniently to the Propylon and by the side of the cobbled area before it, it is possible that they formed a kind of guardroom, housing the detachment of the royal bodyguard which provided the sentries to guard the Propylon. This north-west angle also provides a fine look-out station for watching the roads northwards to Corinth and Kleonai. Directly to the south of the guardroom in the mass of calcined débris from the Palace, and among the heavy limestone fill thrown in to support the platform on which the later Doric temple was built, there is a short stretch of Mycenaean wall (6); but all around it is so much destroyed that nothing more can be known about it than that it was probably the wall of another room that stood on the terrace at this angle.

With the Propylon and the inclined roadway that ascends from it towards the Western Portal we have now recovered another entrance to the Palace. The stranger would climb a zigzag road from the Great Ramp, and reach its final bend (8, 1) in front of the cobbled courtyard before the Propylon. Here he would find posted at the angle a sentry of the royal bodyguard, while other members of the same corps sat in the sun before the entrance to the guardroom. Passing over the cobbled court he would enter the Propylon on one side of the central column (9), having on his left a mighty terrace wall that supported the upper levels of the Palace. Emerging from the Propylon by a porch which possibly had two lofty columns, he found himself ascending an inclined roadway open to the sky and floored with hard white cement. To his left again was a terrace wall to carry the higher portions of the Palace. Somewhere at this point between the figures 10 and 44 there may have been a side entrance ¹ to the east leading up into the North Corridor (17, 18, 19, 20). The edge of the roadway along the top of the West Terrace Wall was

¹ We have not found, however, any sign of such an entrance, and it is perhaps more likely that the North Corridor was reached from the South Corridor by the passage to be described below, p. 221.

probably protected by a stepped parapet like the Great Ramp,¹ which in time of need could serve as a defence. Looking over this to his right the stranger would have a splendid view over the houses on the slope below within the citadel wall, and beyond over the fertile plain towards Argos. Early in the fourteenth century B.C., he could have seen on the further hillside the engineers and masons with crowds of workmen (whether free or slave) busy constructing the Treasury of Atreus. Then the roadway before him turned in sharply at right angles eastwards into a deep porch, the Western Portal, which was the actual entrance to the Palace.

We can now consider the two rooms that lie immediately to the north off the South Corridor (39, 41) and just within the Western Portal itself.

II. THE ROOM NORTH OF THE WEST PORTAL.

At the very end of the extreme west end of the South Corridor and directly on the left (or north) of anyone entering by the Western Portal lies another large conglomerate threshold with a pivot-hole for a door. Over this access was obtained to a small room roughly square (41). This was floored with cement, which is still preserved in three places, just inside the threshold, in the north-west angle (level 71.21) and in the south-west angle (level 71.31). The threshold lies at level 71.49, and would naturally be somewhat higher than the floor, so the difference in level need excite no remark, especially when one remembers the great differences in level in the cement floor of the court at Tiryns. The north and east walls of the room are quite clear, and the south wall was not difficult to find, but the west wall was far from easy to trace. We believe its line has now been definitely established as shewn on the plan (Pl. II.). In the east part of the room, which had been partially cleared by Tsountas, the floor lay partly on earth and partly on the rock, which rises gradually here. In this part of the room below the level of the floor and on the rock (near the figure 41) we found the following pottery :—

Early Helladic, five sherds, two of which are patterned, one in the light-on-dark, and one in the dark-on-light style.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., four sherds.

Group B. II., two sherds.

Polished and plain ware, nineteen.

Late Helladic I., one sherd.

¹ See above, p. 67.

With this we found two small steatite spindle whorls of the shanked or button type. These are usually of L.H. III. date, at least they do not appear in L.H. I. or II. tombs. But steatite whorls are so common in the later deposits at Mycenae that no importance need be attached to them, especially since this room had already been partially cleared. We have, however, in this deposit another case of M.H. and L.H. I. pottery being found immediately below the floors of the Second Palace. This is one more small piece of evidence which helps to confirm the conclusions derived from a study of the stratification of the Court.

Along the inside of the west wall of the room below the floor level, between it and another wall that is not parallel to it, we found a deposit of soft black earth which was full of broken pottery and other refuse from human occupation. The small space where this was found (42, 43) is bounded by other walls to the north and south, and is even divided by a row of stones into two parts. It is clearly earlier in date than the room and its floor. The walls are probably those of some structure of the First Palace which were abolished during the terracing required for the broader levels of the Second. This may possibly have been the base of a shaft from a latrine in an upper storey.

The pottery can be classified thus :—

Painted Ware, kylikes, one piece with a chevron pattern similar in style to the pottery from Tomb 505.

Deep bowls, several pieces with stylized patterns, including chevrons and octopuses.

Kraters, one specimen painted all over with brown-black glaze paint; a similar vase was found in Tomb 518.

Unpainted ware.

Handleless cups (Fig. 33, *c*), with string marks on the base and often well-defined horizontal ribbing on the sides caused by the pressure of the fingers while revolving on a rapid wheel: very common and like the other specimens of this shape from the staircase, the Pithos Area and the Guardroom. One specimen was found in Tomb 517 (first interments L.H. I.–II.), and another in Tomb 521.

Amphora, one specimen, upper part only.

Shallow bowls (Fig. 33, *b*, *d*) with horizontal ribbon handles, many specimens, which vary in diameter from .14 m. to .23 m.

Large bowl of krater type, one specimen, base missing; diameter .25 m.

Kylikes; these were very common and might be divided into two groups, small kylikes with short stems and big kylikes with tall stems. The first class usually have only one handle, and the curve of the bowl is

inclined to be angular. The others have more regularly curved bowls and two handles. Both groups have handles of the vertical loop type. The smallest specimens are .09 m. high all over, but the stems alone of the tall examples are often taller than this.

Jar of coarse ware, with two semi-circular handles; height .185 m., diameter .35 m., tall and narrow-necked.

Of all these shapes the commonest were handleless cups, kylikes and the shallow bowls with ribbon handles. In view of the presence of painted and so many unpainted kylikes, the deposit can hardly be earlier than the beginning of L.H. III. On the other hand, so many handleless cups (which belong mainly to L.H. II.) were found with them that this deposit cannot be later than the very beginning of L.H. III.

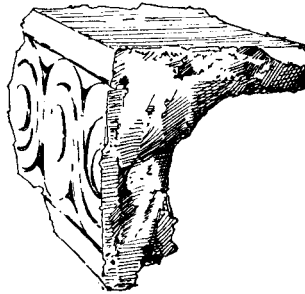


FIG. 39.—STEP OF PAINTED STUCCO FROM ROOM NORTH OF WESTERN PORTAL. (Scale about 1 : 3.)

With the pottery was found a fragment of a plaster step .22 × .107 × .11 m. (Pl. XXV. *a*, Fig. 39). It is unburnt and decorated with a spiral pattern between two stripes, the upper stripe yellow, the lower red. The scallops between the spirals are red above, yellow below; the spirals are white with black lines and filling, and centres alternately blue and yellow.

When clearing inside the west wall some small fragments of unburnt fresco were found, several with traces of pattern, one with imitation stone-work.¹

A bronze knife (Fig. 40) was also found here. It is broken into several pieces, but is complete. It is .27 m. long with blade and haft all in one piece. At the end of the haft there is a flat knob, and it and the rest of the haft have a raised edge on each side, thus making a sinking

¹ To judge by the condition of the frescoes the western part of the Palace seems on the whole to have suffered less from fire than others; as for instance, the Megaron, the Room of the Throne and the Court.

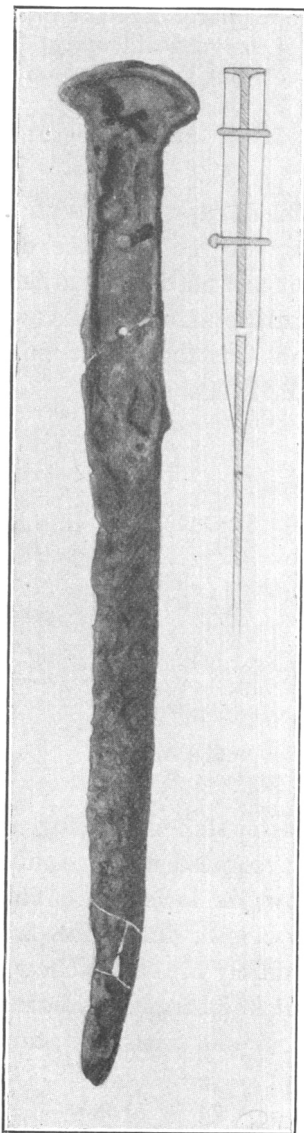


FIG. 40.—BRONZE KNIFE FROM ROOM NORTH OF WESTERN PORTAL. (Scale 1 : 2.)

to hold the wooden hilt. The hilt was composed of two pieces of wood, one laid into the socket on each side. Then they were bound together by long rivets (two of which are still preserved) fastened through them and the bronze haft from side to side. The blade has only one cutting edge and was about .02 m. wide, tapering towards the tip. This has a slight curve, which may, however, be accidental. This knife is not of an early type since it does not occur in the Shaft Graves; no exactly similar knife has been found at Mycenae. The nearest parallel to it is the so-called double knife found by Schliemann in the Grave Circle, but that is two-edged.¹

DATE OF THIS PART OF THE PALACE.

The evidence of the fresco and of the knife, added to that of the pottery, confirms the opinion already expressed that this deposit belongs to the period at the end of L.H. II. and beginning of L.H. III. Since it was found well below the floor of this room we cannot date the room and the section of the Palace to which it belongs earlier than the beginning of L.H. III. The Western Portal in its present form must be of the same date as the south wall of this room, which is common to both and not earlier than the floor of the room. This date for the laying out of the plan of the Palace as we see it to-day agrees excellently with the observations already made above in discussing the finds in the Pithos Area and the Court and adjoining apartments. The wall below the floor to the east of the deposit probably belongs to an earlier form of the Palace, and since M.H. and

¹ Athens, *Nat. Mus.*, 1000; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 164, Fig. 238.

L.H. I. pottery was found immediately to the east of it above the sloping rock, we can assign the wall in question to the First Palace.

12. THE NORTH CORRIDOR.

Immediately to the east of the doorway to the room just discussed there lies another threshold in the north wall of the South Corridor (level 72·07). This is composed of two blocks of conglomerate, one of which has a pivot-hole for a door. Once we enter the space to which it gives access (39), we find that the rock rises very rapidly, so that it would have been impossible to have had here a room with a floor at the same level as the threshold. Tsountas, who excavated this part, suggests, without giving any detailed evidence, that there was a staircase leading up to a higher level of the Palace to the north. The evidence of the existence of a door does not vitiate this theory. The threshold at the north end of the porch of the Megaron (55) has two pivot-holes for a double door, which gave access to a short staircase leading into the Lobby to the Domestic Quarters.¹ A similar staircase leading into the Northern Corridor (17, 18, 19, 20) might have stood here against the sloping rock. We have already suggested the possibility that the Northern Corridor ran due west down the slope into the inclined roadway leading up from the Propylon, but investigations here revealed no sign of anything whatever. Tsountas' suggestion is extremely attractive.

The plan shews that the space just within the West Portal (40) would thus have been a central starting-point for passages giving access to different parts of the Palace. Thence run the West Corridor leading into the Court, the South Corridor which originally ran direct to the Domestic Quarters, and, if we accept Tsountas' suggestion, the staircase that led up into the North Corridor.

The line of the North Corridor can now only be traced by the remains of its cement pavement, and here and there of its walls. Its ruins lie close below the foundations of the Doric temple, which have been responsible for so much damage to the Palace.

At the north end of the space (39), where we assume the staircase to have stood, there is a double wall. The southern wall is short and

¹ See below, p. 233.

in the same line as the north wall of Room 41, and may have served as a support for the staircase. The other wall, from the point where we enter the North Corridor (level 74.96, near 18), can be followed for nearly 13 m. eastwards, and beyond there is a cutting in the rock (21) running east in the same line for another 10 m., and shewing where the wall once was. Immediately to the north of this wall we found several patches of hard white cement pavement similar to that of the South Corridor. It rests on a solid packing of smallish rough limestone blocks, and we note that the level of the pavement rises rapidly from west to east. Thus this North Corridor corresponds closely with the South Corridor, to which it runs parallel. Both rise from west to east, and must have been main arteries of the Palace. The South Corridor was 1.70 m. wide, while the North seems to have about 2 m. wide so far as we can judge by measuring (by figure 18) between the threshold on its north side and the edge of the cement pavement to the south.

Just to the east and west of this same point (18) wall lines are to be seen running across from north to south in the fill below the cement pavement of the North Corridor and at a lower level than the threshold just mentioned. Further west again at a lower level (17) other remains of walls exist below the cement pavement, but running east and west. In one of these, just by figure 17, four grooves for thin transverse wooden beams running from side to side of the wall are still preserved in the clay mortar now baked hard by fire. The grooves are .70 m. long and .10 m. wide by at least .06 m. high. The height was probably originally greater. The ends were covered with clay plaster spread over the two faces of the wall. Some of the other pieces of wall recognizable in the fill further west are also covered with clay plaster. That these walls are plastered on their faces, and have wooden transverses, a method of building common at Tiryns, shews that they cannot have been intended originally to lie below the pavement of a corridor. Woodwork certainly, and clay plaster almost certainly, must have been intended to be above the ground level. We can perhaps recognize in these *dissecta membra* of earlier walls other remains of the First Palace which were robbed for building material and built over when the Second Palace was laid out.

In testing below the floor of this corridor we found very little pottery, but in one place by an earlier wall, probably one of those of the First Palace, we found the following :—

- Early Helladic, one sherd.
- Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, twelve sherds.
- Matt-painted, Group B. I., nine sherds.
- Group B. II., seven sherds.
- Plain and polished ware, ten sherds.
- Late Helladic I., one sherd.

This wall is just to the east of the threshold of the Shrine (between **17** and **18**) and its top is only .30 m. above the level of the rock. The shallowness of the deposit on the rock in this region and the constant rebuilding have disturbed and swept away the stratification.

It is clear that the Second Palace was laid out on a uniform plan. The two great parallel corridors were an important feature of it. The South Corridor became somewhat atrophied in the later phase if it was cut short as suggested,¹ but the North Corridor still continued to be important. The whole of the terraced summit of the acropolis was occupied by the Palace, and this North Corridor was one of the principal, perhaps *the* principal avenue for reaching the highest terraces. At its east end (by figure **21**) we see that the rock cutting which marks the line of its south wall meets at right angles with the wall running northwards from the South Corridor by the sawn threshold. Further on the north side of the North Corridor we find the remains of a row of chambers.

13. THE SHRINE AND ADJOINING CHAMBERS.

On the north side of the North Corridor (by figure **18**) lies a large threshold of conglomerate, and on its east side a small slab of limestone with a dowel-hole. This threshold lies at right angles to a wall of crude brick (Pl. XXXVIII. *b*)² which is still partly preserved *in situ* to a height of .25 m. on a foundation of rubble masonry (level 75.75). Near this wall and along the west edge of the Doric temple foundations is part of a pavement of cement which clearly also belonged to a room (**16**), one of a series of chambers opening off the North Corridor. The southern part of the room near the threshold had been cleared by Tsountas; we excavated the northern part (Pl. XXXVIII. *a*). Above the cement floor we found a quantity of pottery, as follows :—

¹ See p. 207, above.

² The bricks are about .085 m. high, .575–.60 m. long and .315 m. deep, as far as can be ascertained.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, five sherds.

Matt-painted Ware, Group B. I., seven sherds.

Group B. II., nine sherds, including part of a panelled cup similar to *Korakou*, Fig. 34.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, one sherd.

Polished and plain ware, thirteen.

Late Helladic I., two possible sherds.

Late Helladic II., handleless cups, a great number.

Late Helladic III., thirty-three sherds and part of a plain kylix.

Proto-Corinthian, fourteen sherds from at least two vases of a small skyphos type and four rough hand-made saucers, very small, and decorated with incisions; they are like biscuits. Fragments of others were also found.

With this pottery some small objects were found comprising two spindle whorls of the ordinary Mycenaean (L.H. III.) type, two terracotta spindle

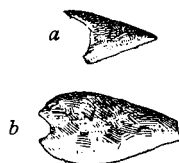


FIG. 41.—OBSIDIAN (a) AND FLINT (b) ARROWHEADS FROM THE SHRINE. (Scale 2 : 3.)

whorls of a conical shape, a small triangular piece of stone possibly from some inlay, two or three scraps of gold foil, a small carnelian bead, diam. .05 m., an amygdaloid bead of glass paste, length .015 m., another glass paste bead shaped like a grain of wheat, length .012 m., part of a small plaque of glass paste, a lead disc (.02 m. in diameter and .004 m. thick), a rolled bronze band (.02 m. in diameter, .007 m. wide), and an obsidian (.02 m. long) and a flint (.03 m. long) arrowhead (Fig. 41). The arrowheads are tangless, but have curved barbs: in the North Corridor near the Shrine a similar arrowhead of obsidian was found.

STUCCO ALTARS.

The same deposit also contained the remains of two movable altars, hearths, or tables of offering of painted stucco on a clay backing. One of these we were able to reconstruct. Tsountas found part of a similar altar in his excavations in the Palace in 1886.¹ These altars are of the

¹ See below, p. 226, No. III.

same type as those found in Crete, notably at Knossos in the Shrine of the Double Axes and in the L.M. I. house at Nirou Chani.¹

I. Fig. 42, Pl. XXXVII. *d*. Reconstructed. Diameter, c. .40 m. Width of raised rim, .045 m.; depth of vertical face (broken), .045 m.; height of legs, about .14 m.

The raised rim is decorated on the top with a wavy black line between an exterior blue and an interior red stripe. The vertical face has a red wavy line between an upper red and lower blue (or black) stripe. The

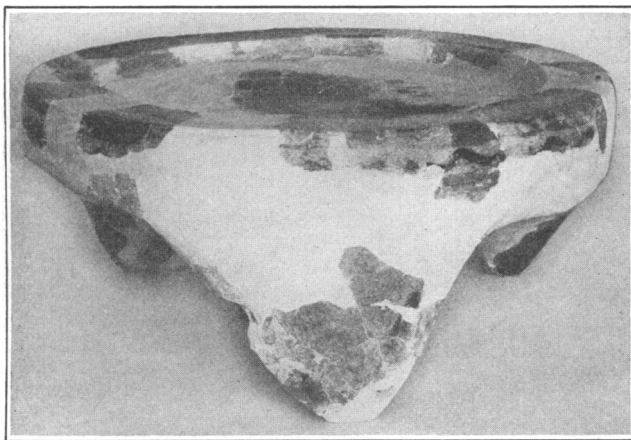


FIG. 42.—STUCCO ALTAR I. (reconstructed) FROM SHRINE. (Scale 2 : 9.)

identical pattern is found on a fragment from Tiryns.² The centre of the altar is red.

On the leg, drawn in fine black lines, is a boar's tusk helmet (Pl. XXXVII. *a*). This is proved by a ring from Vaphio,³ and another from Tomb 518, which shew a helmet of the same shape. That a helmet was used to decorate cult objects is shewn by the vase from the Tomb of the Polychrome Vases at Isopata,⁴ to which this altar affords an important parallel. The leg is bordered by a wide black stripe.

II. Pl. XXXVII. *c*. Diameter, uncertain. Width of raised rim, .045-.06 m.; depth of vertical face (uncertain owing to break), c. .45 m.

¹ B.S.A. viii. p. 96; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 437; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1922, pp. 15 ff., Fig. 12; cf. Evans, *Prehist. Tombs*, p. 37, Fig. 33; *Antiquaries' Journal*, ii. 327; 'Αρχ. Δελτ., iv. p. 77; Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 63.

² Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 63, Fig. 25.

³ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889, Pl. X. No. 37.

⁴ Evans, *Tomb of the Double Axes*, pp. 25, 27, Fig. 37, *b*.

On rim, alternate bars of red and blue; white ground. On vertical face a very indistinct, wavy red line¹ between two blue stripes; colour of ground uncertain. The centre of the altar is dark red.

III. Pl. XXXVII. *b*. Found in the Palace by Tsountas; the exact provenance is not known.² Diameter, c. .36 m. Width of raised rim, .055-.06 m.; depth of vertical face, .055 m. Athens, Nat. Mus. No. 2761.

The raised rim is decorated by a wavy red line between two red stripes; the stripes have each an inner edging of black. The decoration of the vertical face is uncertain; a blackish stripe can be distinguished and some red marks. The usual wavy line is suggested in the drawing, in which case the red marks noted above would be accidental. The centre is a red circle bordered by two black circles and with an outer circle of white.

Here we also found fragments of coarse plaster, mostly yellow or white, one or two blue, probably from the walls. From a total of fifty-one pieces, only five shew definite signs of burning, eight are definitely unburnt, the rest probably unburnt.

STRATIFICATION.

Some .20 m. below the cement floor appeared a clay floor, and on it lay a small slab of limestone, measuring .46 × .35 × .07 thick, which shewed signs of having once been covered with red stucco. We accordingly made a test of the stratification of this room from above the cement floor down to the rock, with the following results.

The first layer above the cement floor gave :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, one or two small sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., two sherds.

Group B. II., one sherd.

Late Helladic II., handleless cups, fourteen fragments.

Late Helladic III., three pieces.

Proto-Corinthian, two sherds.

And a quantity of plain ware of the M.H. and L.H. periods.

The second layer between the cement floor and the clay floor below gave :—

¹ The red line is so much rubbed away that it is impossible to tell for certain whether it is a tooth pattern or a wavy line, but the latter is more probable.

² See also p. 170 for fragment of altar with spirals found by Tsountas.

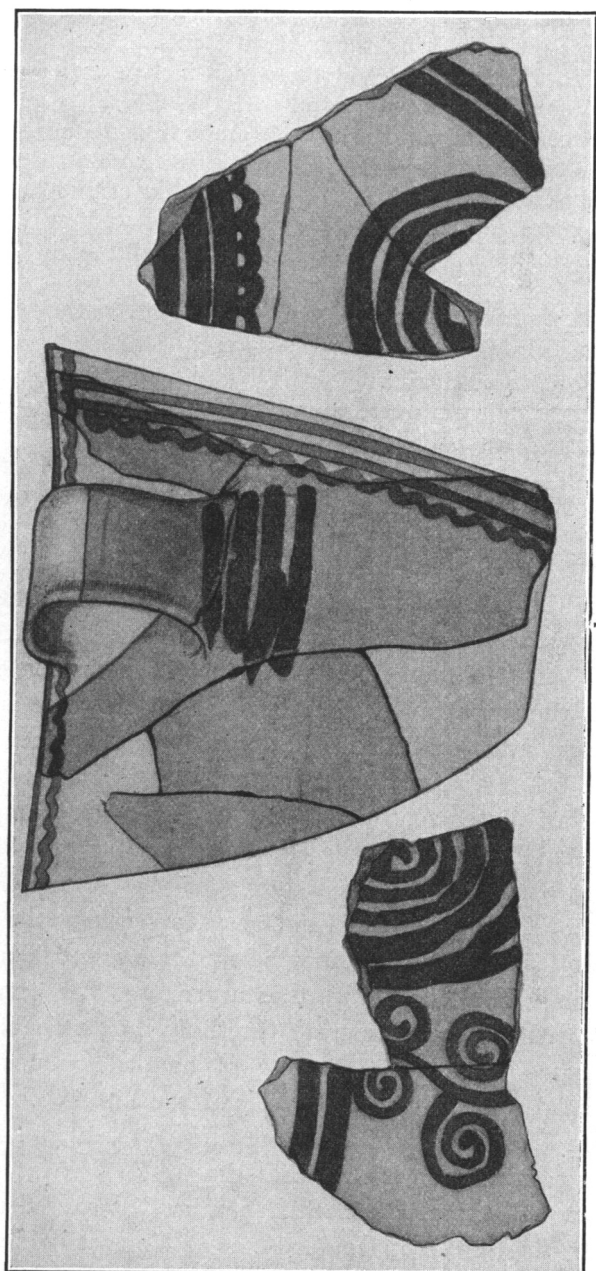


FIG. 43.—MIDDLE HELLADIC POTTERY (MATT-PAINTED, GROUP B. II.) FROM THE SHRINE. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, two or three sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., thirty-three sherds.

Group B. II., seventeen sherds, which include two fragments from an interesting vase with spiral patterns, Fig. 43, *a, c*.

Plain and coarse ware, a considerable amount, including a tall, narrow-necked, two-handled jar of red ware, with a potter's mark of three vertical strokes incised at the base of one of the handles (height .39 m., diam. .265 m., Fig. 44).

This seemed to be a Middle Helladic stratum with slight Late Helladic intrusion.

The third layer from the clay floor down to the uneven surface of the rock some .20 m. below gave :—

Early Helladic, three sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., seven sherds.

Group B. II., seven sherds, including a fine fragment of a panelled cup, Fig. 43, *b*, of a metallic type like one from Korakou (*Korakou*, Fig. 34).

Plain, polished and coarse ware, a good deal.

Late Helladic III., one possible sherd, perhaps intrusive.

The general impression given by this stratification is that the uppermost level above the cement floor is late L.H. II. or early L.H. III., the second layer is late M.H., and the third or lowest layer is late M.H. also, for in spite of the appearance of three E.H. sherds there is practically no Minyan ware here. The soil, however, was not deep and there seems to have been some disturbance, first due to the building of the Second Palace and later to the building of the Doric Temple; it has also been affected by the previous excavations. We get, however, the impression that here too, at the building of the Second Palace some levelling was done, otherwise it is not easy to see how the strata telescoped, so that L.H. III. ware comes below the cement floor with M.H. pottery with no L.H. I. or II. ware intervening. The cement floor is contemporary with the conglomerate threshold and probably also with the wall of crude brick. The finding of handleless cups above the cement floor need not surprise us. We put the building of the Second Palace early in L.H. III., and we have already seen (pp. 150 ff., 218) that such cups continued in use till that time.

The presence of the altars in this chamber has caused us to dub it the Shrine. In the Shrine of Double Axes at Knossos, which is of L.M. III. date, a great number of small cups and jugs of clay were found.¹

¹ *B.S.A.* viii, pp. 96 ff.

It is unfortunate that this very interesting part of the Palace has been not only telescoped, but also partly built over by the Doric Temple. The temple runs north and south, though with a slightly different orientation from this supposed Shrine. This is the more remarkable when we reflect that the builders of the temple had to throw in great masses of

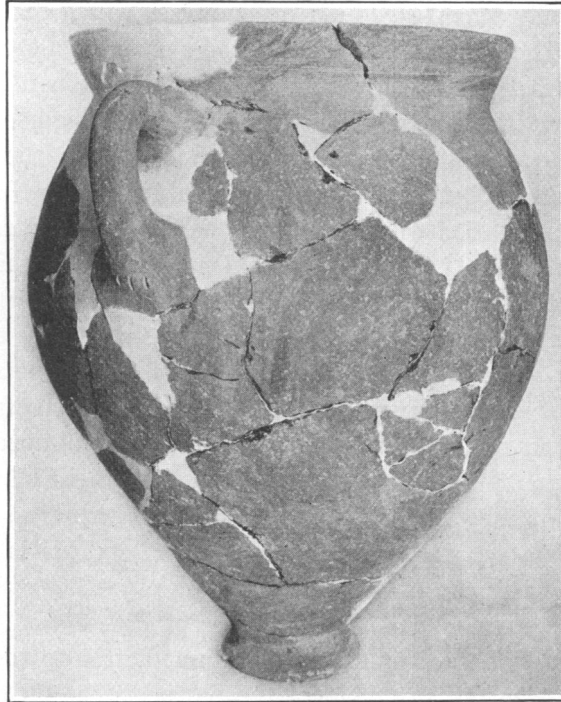


FIG. 44.—JAR OF DOMESTIC WARE (M.H.) WITH POTTER'S MARK, FROM SHRINE. (Scale 1 : 4.)

fill on the north and south slopes to support the foundations, whereas if they had built east and west they could have founded it on the solid rock from end to end, and there would have been no need to make artificial terraces.

THE CHAMBER OF PITHOI.

Directly to the west of the Shrine is part of another chamber (11) with floor and walls covered with white stucco. Part of its east wall is

preserved, but it does not run parallel with that of the Shrine, and thus suggests there was probably some alteration of the Palace here in the L.H. III. period. On the floor against the east wall we found the fragments of two large pithoi of coarse ware which had stood on the floor upside down, and had suffered much from fire (Pl. XXXVIII. *a*). The larger pithos was .55 m. in diameter at the lip, and the smaller about .40 m. By them we found other pieces which came from yet a third pithos. The cement floor of this room is broken off to the west, where it can clearly be seen to rest on a layer of rough limestone fill. In this fill below the cement floor we found many fragments of painted stucco much burnt, which must have come from an earlier stage of the Palace and in all probability belonged to the First Palace, as it includes some fragments of good quality with remains of patterns, a spiral, a rosette, and stripes. All to the west and north-west of this chamber is obscured by the heavy mass of rough limestone fill which was thrown in by the builders of the Doric Temple. It seems that after the fire which destroyed the Second Palace, the corners of the building collapsed, especially in its higher levels and those resting on artificial terraces. Then the builders of the temple threw in limestone fill over the ruins, at the same time robbing them of any material that might be useful.

Just west of the threshold of the Shrine another threshold block of conglomerate lies on the slope (near figure 17). This is no longer *in situ*, but may easily be only a little out of place. We would suggest that it was the threshold of this Chamber of Pithoi, and lay originally in the north wall of the North Corridor immediately to the west of and in the same line as the threshold of the Shrine. The fill to the west of this (and north of the North Corridor) is probably Mycenaean in origin, but has been disturbed in archaic Greek and Hellenistic times. At one point we found E.H. pottery, including a few pieces of sauceboats,¹ on the rock below it, and at another point late Greek tiles.

To the east of the Shrine, just beyond figure 12, the line of a Mycenaean wall is visible between and below the temple foundations. This may have been the east wall of the Shrine. Further east still, among the temple foundations (by figure 13), we have part of a cement floor (level 76.49), of an east wall and of a possible north wall. Both the walls seem to have the same general orientation as the Shrine and

¹ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, Pl. I. (1), Figs. 4, 6, pp. 6, 7.

Chamber of Pithoi and may very well have formed part of another chamber opening off the North Corridor.

Among the substructures of the temple we found a few pieces of fresco: (*a*) coarse fragments, red, yellow and white; (*b*) fine fragments, white or red. All were more or less burnt. Two large conglomerate column bases ($\cdot 35$ to $\cdot 40$ m. thick, and about 1.10 m. in diameter) are to be seen built into the north-east angle of the temple foundations. Near by is yet a third base built into the same foundations, but in such a position that it cannot be measured; it seems, however, to have been approximately of the same dimensions. These column bases taken in

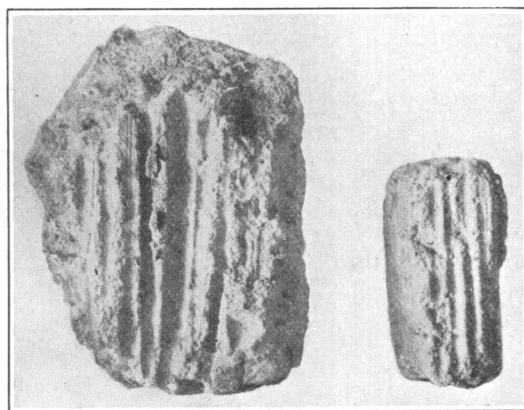


FIG. 45.—FRAGMENTS OF CLAY ROOFS OF PALACE, SHEWING IMPRESSIONS OF REEDS. (Scale 1 : 3.)

conjunction with a rectangular slab of conglomerate in the north-west angle of the temple foundations would indicate that a colonnaded hall once stood here. The bases, which are almost of the same size as those by the Propylon (see above, p. 211), are too large to have been moved far even by the temple builders. From their size they should have carried columns between 3 and 4 m. high, to judge by the Knossian analogies (see above, p. 211).

Unfortunately, all the rock here (14) lies almost directly below the temple foundations. Those who built the Doric Temple seem to have shaved off the uppermost summit of the acropolis and therewith practically every vestige of the Palace buildings. We must be thankful at least that they built these column bases into their foundations, for from

them we can imagine one of the larger and more important halls of the Palace to have crowned here the very summit of the citadel of Atreus. Such heavy column bases would have been more likely to have been part of a colonnaded hall or court on the ground floor, but with the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos before us, we cannot omit the possibility that they might perhaps have stood in some *piano nobile* on the first floor.

Among the débris covering this part of the Palace we found four fragments of the clay ceilings or roofs. They had been baked hard by the fire which destroyed the Palace, and so (Fig. 45) still preserve the impressions of the reeds and brushwood which were laid across the flat roof beams to support the thick clay roof.¹

14. THE MEGARON.

Having surveyed all the rest of the Palace to the west and north-west of the Court we now return thither to consider the Megaron itself which once adorned its east side.²

The Megaron as usual is divided into three parts, the Porch (55), the Vestibule (56), and the Megaron proper (57).

THE PORCH

The Porch forms the east side of the Court, and opens directly on to it between two columns *in antis*. The column bases are of conglomerate and are .57 m. in diameter, and about .37 m. thick. When we began our re-examination of the Court and Megaron, we found the northern column base out of place. This gave us an opportunity to examine its foundations. It rests on a flat rectangular slab of conglomerate with its long sides parallel to the north wall of the Court. The slab is about 1.09 m. × .74 m., and well cut on three sides. The under side of the column base is rough, but sits well when wedged up on the level surface of the conglomerate slab below. The southern column base rests on a similar conglomerate slab, as do the column bases in the Megaron proper. The rest of the Porch is floored with slabs of gypsum which lay with their long sides running north and south, except in the north-east angle where the gypsum slab

¹ Cf. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 274.

² Tsountas, *Πρακτικά*, 1886, pp. 65 ff.; Tsountas-Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, pp. 56 ff.; cf. Doerpfeld's account of the Tiryns Megaron in Schliemann's *Tiryns*, pp. 208 ff.

is replaced by a rectangular piece of cement flooring. Presumably, the gypsum was imported from Crete, since, so far as is known at present, no gypsum is to be found in the Peloponnese or elsewhere on the mainland of Greece.

The south wall of the Porch is ruined, all but its foundations. The north wall was pierced by a doorway marked by a large threshold of conglomerate with two pivot-holes for a double door. The east wall is pierced by a doorway in its centre (Pl. XXXVIII. *c*). This is paved with a large threshold of sawn conglomerate, which has at each end two dowel-holes for fastening the wooden door-frame in position, and on the inside a ledge for the door to rest against.¹ There is also a pivot-hole in the south-east corner for a single door. In this pivot-hole Tsountas found remains of the round bronze knob which apparently tipped the lower pivot of the door, which he thinks was of wood.²

The east wall is built of rubble and faced on the west side with two rows of ashlar blocks of poros which are still *in situ* in the north part—there are signs that such existed in the south part too. A horizontal wooden beam probably rested on the lower row of ashlar blocks as in the Court. Above the upper row of ashlar blocks (which unfortunately have been much damaged by fire and have lost their outer edges so that one cannot now tell whether they once had dowel-holes like those in the west wall of the Court) there was possibly another horizontal wooden beam. This may have served as the sill of a window, to light the vestibule within, balanced perhaps by another on the other side of the door. This is indicated in the sketch reconstruction seen in Fig. 38.

According to the diameter of the column bases and the Knossian analogies,³ the columns of the Porch would have been not more than 3 m. high. This would make impossible any such restoration of the front of the Megaron as those given by Perrot and Chipiez.⁴ On the other hand, the columns of the Tomb of Clytemnestra were over 6 m. high, and stood on bases only .39 m. in diameter. Still we must remember that those columns were decorative and not an organic part of the structure like these two in the Porch which had to carry the roof above. Two slender wooden columns 5 or 6 m. high, carrying the beams which spanned the opening of the Porch to the Court, would not make for the stability of the whole.

¹ The door opening was nearly 2 m. wide.

² Πρακτικά, 1886, p. 66.

³ See above, p. 211.

⁴ *Hist. de l'Art*, vi. p. 689, Fig. 302, Pl. XI.

There is one other point to be noted. The sawn conglomerate threshold imbedded in the north wall of the South Corridor (35) is at level 75.50 (see above, p. 207), and the cement floor to its north is at level 76.15. It would be reasonable to imagine that the roof of the Porch would be about on a level with the threshold of the South Corridor or of the floor just behind it, if, as suggested above, one of the original objects of the South Corridor was to give access to a loggia over the Porch. As the level of the

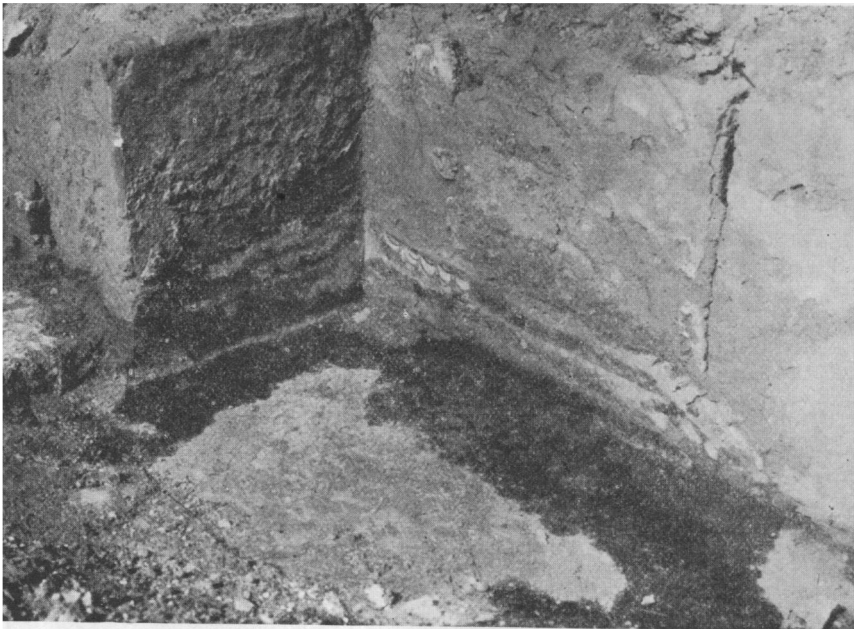


FIG. 46.—N.E. CORNER OF PORCH: ASHLAR WORK IN POROS WITH REMAINS OF PAINTED STUCCO COATING.

floor of the Porch is 72.15, we see that a roof (the upper surface of which would serve as the floor of a loggia above) on the same level approximately as that of the threshold or the cement pavement behind it would require columns 3 m. high, carrying an architrave about .50 m. thick, and a floor *also .50 m. thick*. *The sketch restoration, Fig. 38, is based on these calculations, and the levels of both the threshold and the cement pavement behind it are shewn.* Above the Porch then of the Megaron we could restore a loggia with a balustrade over which the royal household could

watch the games in the Court below, as seen in the well-known fresco found by Schliemann below the Ramp House.¹

DECORATION OF WALLS.

In the north-east angle of the Porch part of the painted stucco decoration is still preserved although considerably damaged by fire (Fig. 46). This consists of a dado identical with that of the Court, and the two may fitly be described together. They are placed under this heading because more of the pattern is preserved in the Porch than in the Court.

The dado was originally .55 to .65 m. high. It was bordered above, presumably by the wooden beam mentioned on p. 233, which would most probably be covered by a plaster imitation of woodwork. The socket left by this beam in the east wall measures .30 to .35 cm. The main frieze must have begun at the height of almost 1 m. The dado was decorated with the so-called 'triglyph' pattern: a fan-shaped ornament between upright bars. This is preserved in two places:—

(i) Court: on the north wall, above square No. 1a of the floor, west of the return by the staircase. Length .75 m.

(ii) Porch: north-east corner, and east wall. Length .53 m. on north wall, and .87 on east wall. Pl. XXXV. a.

The half-rosette ornament is white on a black ground,² with red and black lines. The triangular filling is red and yellow. Of the upright bars, the two outer ones are orange (originally yellow), the central one, where visible, red. Below is first a white stripe, then a grey (probably once blue).

The plaster is applied to the face of the ashlar work. It is preserved to a maximum height of 20 cm., the two stripes being .115 to .135 m. high. It has not suffered from fire to any great extent.

The lower edge of the half-rosette ornament is sufficiently preserved to indicate the nature of the pattern but not to define its proportions. The middle half-rosette appears broader than those on the right and left. In the case of the one on the right, this is probably due to the fact that the Mycenaean decorator worked mainly by eye. The one on the left is on the north wall and therefore comes against the north-east corner. Was it shortened to fit into the space and end at the corner? This would be contrary to the usual practice of Mycenaean decoration, where corners are regularly ignored.³ It is, however, consistent with the remains of the painting and with the architectural character of the motive.⁴

¹ *B.S.A.* xxiv. pp. 189 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.* 1911, Pl. IX.

² On the north wall the black is now a dull brown.

³ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 33; e.g. the rosettes, *op. cit.* Fig. 72.

⁴ The motive is generally agreed to be architectural both by those who regard it as a frieze and those who regard it as a dado; *A.J.A.* 1917, p. 127.

The type of the half-rosette seems to be that on the red porphyry border from Mycenae.¹ Its discovery *in situ* is particularly interesting, for it affords additional evidence that the half-rosette ornament is connected with the base rather than with the top of a wall.²

A list of other examples of the half-rosette pattern is given by Holland.³ To this add :

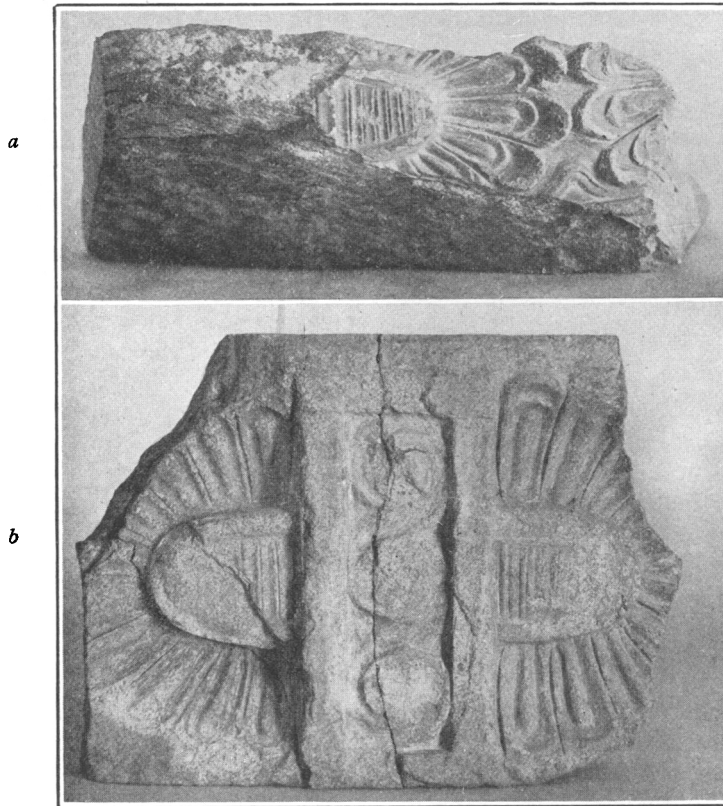


FIG. 47.—FRAGMENTS OF DECORATIVE FRIEZES IN STONE; *a*, FROM PROPYLON OF PALACE; *b*, FROM HELLENISTIC GYMNASIUM. (Scale *a* 3:7, *b* 4:9.)

(i) The fresco from the Ramp House.⁴

(ii) Fig. 47, *b*, found in the Gymnasium, measuring $\cdot 18 \times \cdot 137 \times \cdot 035$ m. It is of yellowish limestone, with traces of a dark blue stain, probably paint, all over it. Such a covering of paint would naturally account for its unfinished style.

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 151.

² *A.J.A.* 1917, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *B.S.A.* xxiv. Pl. VII. 2, p. 192.

(iii) Fig. 47, *a*, from the Propylon,¹ measuring over all $\cdot 21 \times \cdot 14 \times \cdot 035$ m.; but only the narrowest face is decorated, and the decoration measures only $\cdot 112 \times \cdot 045$ cm. The relief is so deep as to give the impression, wrongly, that the surface is curved. The limestone is a dark grey. This must have been part of a larger decoration, but what the object was we cannot tell. Another fragment of the same stone, worked but without the decoration, was found in the Propylon.

In the earth immediately covering the floor of the Porch were found five pieces of burnt fresco and two pieces unburnt.

The burnt pieces were rather coarse, grey, blue, purple, or yellow, resembling these from the Vestibule.

Of the unburnt pieces, both appear to come from the edge of a step, and must have been brought into the Porch by some fall of earth. The larger is illustrated on Pl. XXV. *b*, 7. The top is $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 052$ m., showing a yellow stripe and the red centre of what was once a spiral. The side is $\cdot 03 \times \cdot 05$ m.; with white arcade pattern on blue ground containing a red rosette. The outline of the white and the centre of the rosette are black; below, a yellow stripe. The pattern is only interesting as being a small edition of that on the dado in the Lesser Megaron at Tiryns.²

THE VESTIBULE.

The Vestibule (56) is entered from the Porch by the doorway already mentioned (Pl. XXXVIII. *c*, *d*). In the centre of its east wall is another doorway paved by a large slab of sawn conglomerate which has two dowel-holes at each end for fastening the door-frame.³ This threshold has no pivot-hole and no ledge for a door to rest against. It probably was not closed by a door, but masked simply by a curtain hung over the opening when required. The walls of the north end still stand to a height of over 2 m. The east, north and west walls are built of rubble faced with painted stucco, and the process by which this was applied can be seen very clearly. Directly over the rubble work is laid a coat of clay plaster with a scored surface to enable the stucco to bite on to it. Over this came a layer of coarse stucco and finally a thinner coat of smooth fine stucco was laid over all and then painted. Some of this is still preserved *in situ* on the walls in the north-east angle, and many other pieces were found on the floor at the north end of the room lying as they had fallen from the wall when the Palace was destroyed by fire.

¹ See above, p. 210.

² Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. Fig. 72, p. 167.

³ The opening is about 1.80 m. wide.

They are much calcined and very badly discoloured, being burnt to a greyish-purple or yellow, so that no pattern can now be distinguished. An incised line ran round the walls at a height of .83 m. above the floor.

The floor is covered with painted stucco enclosed by a border of gypsum slabs, which are set with the short sides always against the wall. The painted area is divided into a series of rectangular panels and has been described by Tsountas¹ and Rodenwaldt,² but the removal of the ruinous temple foundation at the north end revealed the uppermost row of panels and necessitates a fresh publication, Pl. XXXIII. *b*.

As some of the rectangles are incomplete, measurements were not always possible.

The eastern row measures .685 m. from east to west : from north to south the top row measures .67 m., and the second row .708 m. The row on the west is now burnt black, but the sequence of ground-colour can be deduced from the others : blue, red, blue (top row) ; yellow, blue, red (second row) ; blue, yellow, blue (third row). The red and yellow are burnt to almost the same tone.

The dividing lines are dark red ; the pattern is the 'herring-bone' or zigzag pattern in alternate black and red lines with white spots on the black, as in the Court.

Above the floor of the Vestibule at the north end, in clearing away the débris which from its calcined state showed clearly that the fire which had destroyed the Palace had raged furiously just here, we found a little pottery as follows :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, one sherd.

Late Helladic I.–II., three sherds, including two fragments of handleless cups.

Late Helladic III. ; all the rest was of this period and included much coarse ware. There were several pieces of deep bowls, one of which has the head of a man executed in the usual style.³ There were, however, no whole vases, so that this pottery cannot be considered to represent the floor deposit at the time of the destruction of the Palace, but rather casual accumulation after the fall of Mycenae.

In the south part of the Vestibule where the stucco floor is damaged we made a test down to the rock in the hope of finding pottery to date it, and also to ascertain whether it rested on an artificial terrace or not. Below the floor was a thin layer of earth about .30 m. thick. Under this

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 66.

² *Jahrbuch*, 1919, p. 90.

³ Cf. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pls. XIV, XV, XVII *b*.

comes a layer of limestone chips, and then begins a fill of rough limestone blocks with a little earth and some potsherds among it, which runs down to the rock. The fill goes below the gypsum slabs, and so is the original fill of the artificial terrace which was here constructed to carry the Megaron. We thus see that, like the Court, the Room of the Throne and the Pillar Basement, the Megaron was built on an artificial terrace partly cut out of the sloping hillside, and partly made up of fill thrown in behind heavy retaining walls. The south wall with part of the Vestibule itself has fallen away down the precipice on this side owing to the collapse of the retaining wall.

The pottery was :—

First layer, 72·01 to 71·36 :

Early Helladic, two sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., four sherds.

Polished and plain, sixteen sherds.

Late Helladic II., handleless cups, one piece.

There was also part of a coarse rectangular tile, wide at one edge so that it can stand and tapering towards the opposite edge. There is a hole bored through it about the middle; it does not look like a drain tile, but perhaps may have been a spit rest.

Second layer, 71·36 to 70·64 :

Early Helladic, one sherd.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., ten sherds.

Polished and plain, thirteen sherds.

Late Helladic, two pieces.

The third layer from 70·64 to 69·92, when rock was reached :

Early Helladic, three sherds.

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, three sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., one sherd.

Group B. II., two sherds.

Plain and polished, fifteen shreds.

THE MEGARON PROPER.

The Megaron is entered only by the doorway in the centre of its west wall, where the absence of a pivot-hole seems to indicate that there was no door but only a curtain or some similar hanging to close the opening when necessary. The Megaron is a large room about 13 m. long by 12 m.

wide. The walls are of rubble and were covered with painted stucco of which only small traces remain here and there on the north and west walls. Both walls shew traces of having once had horizontal wooden beams set in them and also, especially the north wall, transverse timber ties running through the thickness of the wall. These timbers all doubtless were connected with a wooden framework set, like that in the South House,¹ in the masonry base and, projecting above it, to strengthen the superstructure of crude brick. Just beyond the north wall of the Megaron a certain amount of burnt crude brick from the upper walls can be seen. The north and west walls still stand to a height of about 3 m. (Pl. XXXVIII. *d*).

THE FLOOR.

The floor was covered with a border of gypsum slabs as in the Vestibule, with their short ends always set towards the wall, and in the centre with a floor of painted stucco divided into panels. About this floor a word or two should be said by way of supplement to the description by Rodenwaldt.²

There appear to be at least five layers of plaster, which can most easily be counted where broken near the hearth. The sectional drawing, Pl. XL. shows how each layer of floor plaster ran right under the layer of plaster on the hearth to which it corresponds: this indicates that the floor was always decorated first.

Of the five layers which can be distinguished, the lowest (*a*) runs to the poros foundation of the hearth; a red stripe surrounded the hearth. (*b*) is probably contemporary with the second layer, (*c*) is uncertain, (*d*) is the layer described by Rodenwaldt with red lines forming squares which do not run in a line with the axis of the Megaron. It probably belongs to the eighth layer of the hearth. (*e*) appears to belong to the ninth rather than to the tenth layer of the hearth; though there are no traces of a pattern on the piece preserved near the hearth, it is probably identical with the remains in the north-west corner described by Rodenwaldt as decorated with a zigzag pattern.³

The other three places where the floor plaster can be distinguished are: (i) on the north side by the gypsum slabs; (ii) in the north-west

¹ See above, pp. 87 ff., Fig. 20.

² *Jahrbuch*, 1919, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

corner : the details are given by Rodenwaldt ; (iii) to the west of the south-west column base, where the floor has sunk owing to the fill beneath it giving way ; in consequence it is much broken.¹

THE HEARTH.

In the centre of the room is the painted hearth, the re-examination of which was carried out in great detail. Fresh breakages, which had occurred since Tsountas discovered it in 1886,² enabled us to determine its structure and distinguish the ten layers of painted stucco of which its moulded border is composed (Pls. XXXIX., XL.). These are of particular interest, for it had been originally supposed that there were only five. They are the result of constant redecoration, each fresh layer being superposed on the old one. Conservative taste or religious associations made the decorators reproduce again and again, with very few exceptions, the 'wave and star' or 'notched plume' ornament found on small movable hearths and tables of offering of clay overlaid with stucco from Knossos and elsewhere.³ The resemblance between these and the Mycenae hearth suggests that the latter should itself be regarded as a large immovable altar or table of offering rather than as a hearth for purely domestic uses.

Another discovery was that it is built up on a ring of poros enclosing a clay centre, all being overlaid with plaster.

Of the whole hearth, once a perfect circle, only an arc remains ; at the western and the eastern end are the breakages where the inner layers can be seen. The total diameter is calculated to have been 3.70 m. A trench dug across the space once covered by the whole of the hearth shewed first a stratum of red clay (burnt), below this a stratum of black earth, burnt matter, and pebbles : below this, again, was the loose limestone fill which forms the supporting terrace of the Megaron.

In the central portion of the hearth, which is framed by the moulded rim, it is only possible to count six layers. The upper three are burnt ; the next below these shews incised lines, once part of circles running parallel to the moulded rim ; the two lowest are very close together. Probably here also were originally ten layers, some being now indistinguishable

¹ Above the floor of the Megaron we found two fragments of painted deep bowls of ordinary L.H. III. style. They prove nothing but that the Megaron was in use at that period.

² *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 67.

³ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 551 ; see above, p. 225.

because welded together by the action of fire. Ten layers, therefore, are shewn on the section, Pl. XL.

The ten layers of the moulded rim are described below, numbered from the lowest upwards: the letters refer to the different mouldings, as will be seen from the sectional drawings, Pls. XXXIX., XL. In some cases the pattern can be seen only in the break at one of the two ends of the hearth, but the evidence is never contradictory.

1. (A) Not visible.
(B) .06 m. Red wave-pattern on white; red inner border. Pl. XLI.
2. (A) .055-.075 m. Black and white wave or tooth pattern, with red spots. Blue stripe above, red below. Pl. XLI.
(B) .047-.035 m. Red wave-pattern, white ground, red stripe above. It is possible the ground may have been yellow as in 4 (A). Pl. XLI.
3. (A) c .05 m. Black wave pattern, red rosette, white ground. Red stripe above and below. Pl. XLI.
(B) c .047 m. Plain blue ground with narrow red stripe at inner edge. Pl. XLI.
(C) Height uncertain. Red wave with black rosette and red stripe below.¹ Pl. XLI.
(D) c 18 m. Spiral pattern—centres blue, lines red, scallops red and blue: inner edge red stripe, outer edge red and blue stripes.² Pl. XLI.
4. (A) .09-.095 cm. Yellow ground with traces of black wave pattern. Blue stripe above, red below. Pl. XLI.
(B) .05 cm. Yellow, with red stripe at inner edge, blue at outer edge. Pl. XLI.
5. (A) .075-.085 m. Black wave pattern; red rosette with white centre on white ground. Red stripe above, blue below. Pl. XLI.
(B) .055 m. Red (?) wave pattern on white ground, between blue stripes. Pl. XLI.

N.B. This layer is unusually thick, which suggests there may have been one between it and the fourth layer.

¹ There are traces of an extra layer between 3 (C) and 4 (C) which cannot be accounted for.

² Tsountas' illustration (*Πρακτικά*, 1886, Pl. 5) gives a yellow ground between the spirals; this may be error, or the yellow may have faded since the first discovery of the hearth.

³ A small fragment of a plaster hearth, with a rounded edge, was found in the neighbourhood of the hearth. See Pl. XXV. b, No. 8. The upper surface had a spiral pattern: white spirals, red centres, yellow filling. The side had scallops drawn in black and red on ochre. It is possible this fragment came from (C) and (D) of one of the innermost layers of the Megaron hearth.

6. (A) .80 m. Black wave pattern, red rosette, white ground. Red stripe above, blue below. Pl. XLI.
(B) .07 m. Red wave pattern, black rosette, on white ground, between blue stripes. Pl. XLI.
7. (A) .08 m. Black wave pattern, red rosette, white ground; red stripe above, blue below, as in 6 (A).
(B) .07-.065 m. Not visible.
8. (A) .1 m. Red wave pattern on white ground. Pl. XLI.
(B) .75-8 m. Traces wave pattern (colour lost) with red border above. Pl. XLI.
9. (A) .11. Traces of wave pattern very indistinct.
(B) .75 m. Red wave pattern, bluish-white ground. Pl. XLI.
10. $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} (A) \\ (B) \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ Only a few pieces of plaster remaining.

Notice the variations in the outline of the wave : curved in the first layer, angular in the second, very carefully shaped in the fifth and ninth, very upright in the eighth.

In digging by the hearth we made a trench across its broken edge to see if the pottery found below it would give any evidence for dating it. This yielded :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, six.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., four sherds.

Late Helladic I.-II., painted, three sherds.

Red or black glazed, twelve sherds.

Handleless cups, several fragments.

Late Helladic III., four painted sherds, four fragments of terracotta figurines of animal and two stems of plain kylikes.

There was also a quantity of sherds of polished or plain M.H. ware of the Yellow Minyan style of L.H. I.-II.

Another test near by gave :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, five sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., seven sherds.

Plain and polished and Yellow Minyan (some of which may be L.H. I.-II.), thirty-three sherds.

Late Helladic I.-II., four sherds.

Late Helladic III., four pieces.

Late Helladic, indeterminate painted, six sherds.

Under the hearth itself we found E.H. and M.H. pottery, and one fragment of plain L.H. ware, probably part of an L.H. III. kylix stem.

Round the hearth stood four columns which rested on conglomerate bases (Fig. 48). Only two bases are left *in situ*, the north-eastern and the

north-western, which still bears on its upper surface fragments of bronze plate, perhaps indicating that the end of the wooden column was shod with this metal. Under these we found one L.H. III. piece, and many M.H. sherds. The great mixture of pottery found here by the hearth must be attributed to the fact that it comes from made ground, and was presumably among the soil and stones when they were brought and dumped here to make up the terrace. There is nothing, however, in the pottery which



FIG. 48.—MEGARON: HEARTH AND COLUMN BASES FROM NORTH-WEST.

conflicts in any way with the other evidence for the date of the Megaron.¹ The limestone fill is uniform and gives no hint of any change of level or plan.

Of the south-western base only the foundation block remains. This, like those for the bases in the Porch, is a rectangular slab of conglomerate, $\cdot97 \times \cdot70$ m., with its long sides parallel to the threshold. Of the south-eastern base nothing is left, for the whole of the southern and most of the eastern sides of the Megaron have slid away down the precipice owing to the collapse of the retaining wall.

¹ See below, pp. 245 ff.

THE CONSTRUCTION AND DATE OF THE MEGARON.

We have already seen in connection with the staircase that the terrace wall which held up the fill on which the Megaron was erected must have collapsed fairly soon after the destruction of Mycenae, for the builders of the Doric Temple had to support the temple platform at its south end by the oblique retaining wall which cuts across the south-east angle of the East Lobby of the staircase (67). This wall goes with the Doric Temple, and in it we found Proto-Corinthian pottery, so that it cannot well be much later than the seventh century B.C. This means that the terrace wall which supported the Megaron fell away between the ruin of Mycenae, which may be dated to the later twelfth century, and the building of the Doric Temple, which probably occurred in the seventh century B.C.

A glance at Steffen's plan ¹ shews that below the Megaron to the south the limestone rock of the acropolis falls away very steeply down to the Chaos ravine. The retaining wall for the Megaron terrace should have stood on the brow of this precipice. This particular section of the enceinte of the citadel is the one place where the actual line of the citadel wall can no longer be traced because the wall has fallen down the cliff. The Cyclopean wall of the citadel runs along the south-west side to a corner resting on the top of the black rocky spur which frowns over the precipitous ravine at the most southerly point of the circuit. From this corner the brow of the precipice runs northwards towards the Megaron. As indicated by Steffen, the acropolis wall must have run along its top, and must thus have reached the corner of the hill just below the Palace where the line of the rock turns eastwards below the Megaron. Between this point and the conglomerate tower which crowns a projecting rock further east, Steffen traced the line of the citadel wall along the brow of the precipice where the wild hollyhocks flourish to-day. The tower was clearly an important point, because it is mainly built of ashlar work in conglomerate. It closely resembles in style the walls by the Lion Gate, and the so-called Postern Gate, and should therefore be contemporary with them. We know that the main lines of the wall on the north from the Postern Gate, at least as far as the South House, date from L.H. III. times. It would be natural to assume that the whole circuit was built at one time and all belonged to one system, except for the north-eastern addition already mentioned (see above, p. 12). Thus we can assume that the ruined stretch of wall in

¹ *Karten von Mykenai*, Pl. II.

this corner below the Megaron was also of L.H. III. date. If then we restore the Cyclopean wall along the line indicated by Steffen, who had the opportunity of observing the ruins along this side before they were obscured by the earth thrown out in the excavations of the Palace above, we find that the citadel wall would have run close below the south wall of the Megaron. So close would it have run that there would not have been space between them for a separate terrace wall of the strength required to hold up the deep fill on which the south side of the Megaron rested. Thus we come to the inevitable conclusion that just as the citadel wall by the Lion Gate acts as a retaining wall to hold up the artificial terrace of fill on which the Granary is built, so here the citadel wall running along the brow of the precipice kept up the massive limestone fill on which the Megaron was built. In other words, the Megaron could not have been built till the citadel wall was built.¹

The citadel wall is of L.H. III. date—its acting as a terrace for the Megaron, just as it acts as a terrace for the Granary, supports the idea that the whole circuit is of one date and early L.H. III.—thus the Megaron should also be of L.H. III. date. This conclusion coincides exactly with the dating already derived from a study of the Pillar Basement and the Court. The great wide artificial terrace created for the building of the Court with the Megaron on its east and the Room of the Throne and other apartments to the west all belong to one period of building activity. That period is the beginning of L.H. III., the very time when the Mycenaeans were busily engaged in erecting strong walls, ambitious tombs like the Treasury of Atreus, and houses with spacious chambers. This passion for terracing a site is also to be noted at Tiryns in the laying-out of the later citadel and Palace, both of which date from L.H. III. times, though somewhat later than the corresponding monuments of Mycenae.

One other point deserves consideration. The lowest course of the north wall of the Megaron consists of the living rock cut to shape, and directly below the gypsum slabs along this same wall the top of the

¹ This is not, in fact, quite conclusive, for there might have been a retaining wall here supporting an early Megaron, which could later have been incorporated in the acropolis wall in L.H. III. times. But in view of the other evidence connecting the Megaron with L.H. III.—and especially from its close association with the Court, Pillar Basement and Room of the Throne—it is extravagant to assume the existence of such a retaining wall, isolated as it would have been, built when there was no wall surrounding the citadel.

native rock is trimmed down to a roughly level surface. That is to say, the surface of the rock along the north wall may be taken at about 72·13. We have just seen that under the south end of the Vestibule our test reached rock at level 69·92. That is to say, in a distance of less than 12 m., the width of the Megaron, the rock falls over 2 m., or one in six, an extremely steep gradient. At the south-east corner the level of the rock is 67·65, that is, nearly 5 m. below the level of the north-east corner, an even steeper gradient. Land such as this would not have been selected by the earliest builders on the summit of the acropolis for one of the most magnificent apartments of the Palace. They would naturally have chosen the more level ground on the summit where they would not have to indulge in such extravagant terracing as was necessary here. The Megaron too, lies in a remote corner of the Palace, and from the plan of the whole looks somewhat like a later addition. The traces of earlier constructions attributed to the First Palace are to be found, as we should expect, on the more level ground under the North Corridor and adjoining parts, where the column bases built into the temple foundations shew that one of the more important halls of the later Palace also stood.

The Megaron then, and the system of which it forms part, belongs to a comparatively late stage of construction, or, in other words, to the Second Palace. Here again we find a correspondence with Tiryns where the Megaron belongs to the last Palace, and dates from L.H. III. Both Megara employ sawn conglomerate for thresholds and other important points. The use of sawn conglomerate is not found before the Third Group of Tholos Tombs,¹ the earliest of which falls in the beginning of L.H. III. Wherever we look, the correspondence is complete. The Palace, the walls and the tombs of Mycenae, the walls and Palace of Tiryns, all give the same results, and all can be dated to the same period, the Third Late Helladic, when after the fall of Knossos we should naturally expect the mainland of Greece to exhibit great activity and develop freely. If the First Palace at Mycenae—as seems reasonable, though we know practically nothing about it—depended largely on Cretan models, and if the Megaron, as held by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie²

¹ See p. 389. Sawn conglomerate and limestone are characteristic of the palace at Tiryns, which is L.H. III.; see Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pp. 264 ff.

² *B.S.A.* xiv. pp. 386 ff.; cf. Doerpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.* 1907, pp. 576 ff.; Noack, *Ovalhaus und Palast*, pp. 34 ff.

and others, is a Mycenaean and not a Minoan feature, then we can understand the late introduction of the Megaron at Mycenae and Tiryns. We also see why it was necessary to make artificial ground to build it, since the rest of the available area was already occupied by essential parts of the Palace. However, while it is almost certain that the Court and Megaron would not have been built where they are had the higher, and at the same time more level, part of the summit been available, we cannot fail to admire the genius of the architect who could, in a space so confined, and on such very unfavourable ground, boldly turn the very difficulties to advantage, and conceive and carry out the idea of erecting here on the brow of the precipice one of the finest specimens of Mycenaean architecture.

Certain general considerations all tend to the same conclusion, that the Palace with the Megaron in its present form dates from the Third Late Helladic Period. There must have been a palace for the kings who were buried in the Shaft Graves, for, as Sir Arthur Evans has already claimed, a palace is a correlative of royal tombs.¹ This argument applies with equal force to the kings who built the third group of tholos tombs. It is almost inconceivable that the great builders of the later tholos tombs, of the Lion Gate, of the Grave Circle, and of the Cyclopean wall, should not have built themselves a new palace. There is a new architectural epoch at the beginning of L.H. III., and a palace would naturally find a place in it. Great terracing and levelling are characteristic of L.H. III. times at Mycenae and Tiryns alike, and both are well illustrated by the Palace. It is highly improbable that a single building constructed largely of timber, crude brick and rubble masonry could have existed from the end of the seventeenth century (the end of the Middle Helladic period), when the Shaft Grave Dynasty arose, right down to the fall of Mycenae in the twelfth century. Even the Palace of Knossos, which was a very substantial building, was reconstructed and enlarged many times during its career from its first building in M.M. times down to its overthrow at the end of L.M. II. If there was a change of rulers at Mycenae from the Shaft Grave to the Tholos Tomb Dynasty, there would naturally be changes in the Palace.

Finally, it is by no means strange that the pottery evidence from the Court and Megaron is not as full as could be wished. Such evidence

¹ *Times Lit. Supp.*, July 15, 1920.

frequently disappears in the process of terracing and levelling, especially on the top of a steep and rocky hill. For instance, in the Grave Circle there is practically no L.H. III. pottery to be found on the east side, though fortunately on the west the supporting wall and the acropolis wall are both standing high enough to have preserved sufficient stratification on that side to prove that the whole Grave Circle is of L.H. III. date, proof which, in this case, is supplied by the pottery from the Pillar Basement.

It has been suggested that the earlier palace stood lower down the hill to the south-west, where it would have been shielded from the violent north winds that sweep round Mycenae, but of this there is as yet no evidence. We believe that the Palace always occupied the commanding site in and around the summit of the citadel.

THE FRESCOES FROM THE WALLS.

Tsountas ¹ in his excavations found a quantity of burnt fragments of fresco lying on the floor of the Megaron, especially in the north-west angle. Rodenwaldt, in his re-examination of the hearth and floors in 1914,² found other pieces lying on the gypsum slabs about 3 m. west of the north-east angle, and we in 1921 found yet other pieces close to the same spot (by level 72.13 ³) lying face downwards, broken, but of considerable size. To lift, remove and mend them was no easy matter, for they were badly burnt and inclined to crumble. It has, however, been possible to join those fragments of which the decoration was visible so as to compose a large piece measuring .65 × .33 × .023 m. (Pls. XLII. XLIII.). The colours have been affected by fire, which has turned the blue to green, the red to brown, producing a sobriety of effect which did not exist in the original.

The fresco represents a building of several stories, marked into narrow vertical divisions by walls of which the ends are seen in section, and with women standing either at the windows or outside. It is therefore part of the same building, or a similar one, as that on the fresco fragment discovered near by, in 1914, by Rodenwaldt.

¹ *Πρακτικά* 1886, p. 73; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. II.

² *Fries d. Megarons v. Mykenai*, pp. 23 ff.

³ *I.e.* close to where Rodenwaldt found his new pieces of fresco, *Fries d. Megarons v. Mykenai*, p. 23.

It has some of the characteristics of the high, many-towered type of building shewn on the Zakro sealing,¹ others of the apparently lower and wider type seen in the fragment from the Thirteenth Magazine, Knossos,² and associated fragments. The framework is of wood, probably filled with rubble and decorated with stucco imitating stonework. Below, to the right, is part of the rock on which the castle stands—spots indicating conglomerate,³ scallops, the customary finish to a conventional landscape, and faint traces of a tree. The resemblance to the silver rhyton from Mycenae,⁴ already pointed out by Rodenwaldt in connection with his own fragments,⁵ is particularly striking.

For convenience of description, letters have been marked at the top of the plate, indicating the vertical divisions separately. Unless otherwise stated, the wood is drawn in brown.

Description. Plate XLIII.

A. On the extreme left, the end of a wall of rubble or crude brick with black markings indicating wooden ties.⁶ Two horizontal beams bordering an undecorated oblong of blue-green, and a chequer pattern of black and blue-green, the latter probably a plaster imitation of slabs of stone;⁷ the former, and similar undecorated spaces elsewhere, may have been originally adorned with some pattern now lost, perhaps spots imitating stone as in the fresco with part of a pillar shrine from Knossos.⁸ On the other hand, they may have been undecorated, as in the fragment from Orchomenos.⁹

B. Two wall ends with black markings as in A. That on the right is double. Between them, on blue-green ground, is what appears to be a pillar, tapering towards the base. Traces of the walls are found lower down, and near the left-hand wall, between it and the pillar, a brown mark, perhaps the remains of an inner wall corresponding to that on the right so that the column is *in antis* (see Reconstruction).

There are also indications of two horizontal beams; the surface between these has flaked off; that below them is first green, then shews traces of a

¹ *J.H.S.*, xxii. Pl. X. No. 130.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 445–6, Figs. 319, 321. Rodenwaldt also very aptly compares the fresco fragment from Orchomenos (Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. Pl. XXVIII), *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, pp. 26–27.

⁴ Stais, *Ath. Mitt.*, 1915, pp. 45 ff.

⁵ Rodenwaldt, *Fries d. Megarons*, p. 54.

⁶ Fyfe, *J.R.I.B.A.*, x. 1903, p. 114; Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. p. 73. The black markings on our fresco are oblong and comparatively close together.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, x. pp. 41–42.

⁸ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. pp. 445–6, Fig. 321.

⁹ Bulle, *Orchomenos*, i. Pl. XXVIII.

chequer pattern, and finally becomes partly yellow, partly green and blue, the remains of some object now lost. On the left is the head of a woman, apparently bending, with hair of a dull brown or black.

C. On the upper section, vertical posts which do not appear to be carried down to join the horizontal beam below them (see Reconstruction).¹ Next, an oblong space of green, traces of a beam, and a chequer pattern, colour uncertain. Partly overlapping the chequer, partly on yellow ground, the head and bust of a woman.² The hair is red-brown, the face and body white: she wears a jacket with sleeves and a necklace. The details have flaked off as well as the actual surface below the woman; the latter reveals a ground of blue and yellow, perhaps part of an earlier picture underlying ours, perhaps merely the result of a correction.³ The colour of the woman's hair is curious.⁴ It cannot have been originally black, now burnt red, because the black paint on other parts of this drawing has survived the fire.

This part of the structure is finished off on the right by a wall end which is carried down at least as far as the woman's head. At its upper end is a black mark indicating a cross tie; presumably there were others, now lost. Exactly where the wall ended below is uncertain.

D. A space enclosed by the wall ends bordering C and E. There are indications of a beam crossing it at right angles near the top; the ground is greenish, changing to ochre-yellow near the bottom.

E. Two wall ends both shewing traces of black marks indicating wooden ties. The black marks on the left are not carried to the edge of the wall, either because rubbed off, or because the corners of the wall were covered. The former alternative is the more probable. It is not certain how far down the walls are carried.

The wall ends frame an area crossed by three wooden beams. In the uppermost section was, apparently, a frame or wooden support; the second shews traces of a pattern that cannot be distinguished; in the third the ground has

¹ They may resemble the wooden construction on the upper part of a fragment from Knossos, *J.H.S.*, 1901, p. 136, Fig. 18.

² The motive of women looking from windows has an interesting history. It develops from illustrations like the Knossos miniature fresco of women seated in a loggia watching some function (*J.H.S.*, 1901, Pl. V., *J.R.I.B.A.*, xviii. p. 290, Fig. 1). In the next stage, that of the Mycenae miniature fresco found by Schliemann under the Ramp House (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, Pl. IX; *B.S.A.*, xxiv. pp. 189 ff.), the windows reveal only the heads, arms and shoulders of the spectators. In the fragment of the Megaron fresco found by Rodenwaldt (*Fries d. Megarons*, p. 30, coloured plate) is a window framing the head alone. This bears a striking resemblance to a type in Phoenician art, of a woman's head in a window. Examples are given by Poulsen (*Orient u. d. frühgriechische Kunst*, p. 144; *Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 232), who suggests a connection with the Knossos miniature fresco on the one hand and the framed women's heads on Melian vases on the other. The discovery of the new parts of the Megaron fresco strengthens the theory that the Phoenician type is derived from the Mycenaean, perhaps by way of Cyprus.

³ It may be explained by the process described, *Ath. Mitt.* 1913, pp. 187-8.

⁴ Rodenwaldt, *Fries d. Megarons*, p. 69, note 154 (10).

flaked off; the fourth is ornamented with a chequer pattern, black-and-white and blue-and-white, finished by a black line. Ground blue above; below, ochre-yellow.

F. Traces of a pillar tapering downwards, on blue ground. Below, a stripe of white, scarcely distinguishable, indicating a stone coping, and traces of a beam, finished by a line of black. Lower down, on very discoloured blue-green ground, what may be remains of a chequer pattern; below this the ground becomes yellow.

G. Here the surface is so poor that it is possible only to distinguish a horizontal beam, possibly with another immediately above it.

H. Between wall ends, with black cross markings, a white stripe, indicating, perhaps, a stone sill or coping, and outlined above with a black line. From it rises a straight post or pillar or possibly two posts side by side (see Reconstruction, where the one on the left shews more clearly). Immediately below is a wooden beam, and a plaster chequer pattern, colour uncertain. The chequers are on a larger scale than those in other parts of the drawing.¹

Lower down there are no traces of architecture, but a patch of green suggestive of a tree (cf. the silver rhyton from Mycenae),² and scallops³ of the type usually found in landscape; also an irregular mass, black, with white and yellow markings, representing the rock on which the castle stands.

At the bottom of the fragment are remains of the stripe which originally bordered the picture. Judging from all analogies, this must have been white, though it now shews only the blue under-surface.

Reconstruction. Pl. XLII.

In the reconstruction, the wooden beams and plaster chequer pattern have been completed. Dotted lines are used for the less distinct or more conjectural parts of the fresco. The horizontal hatchings indicate brown, the vertical hatchings blue-green.

In B an extra anta, making an inner frame, has been supplied between the left-hand wall end and the pillar. Of this, the brown mark mentioned on p. 250 was presumably part. Its existence is necessary in order that the pillar may come in the centre of the space. This makes the opening in which the pillar stands 0.45 m. wide; the opening in the fragment of the same fresco published by Rodenwaldt is 0.43 m. wide. The right-hand wall end is 0.13 m. wide at the top, and 0.07 m. wide when it reappears

¹ This suggests that the fragment of chequer pattern, illustrated by Rodenwaldt, *Fries des Megarons*, p. 35, Fig. 17, may after all come from this fresco.

² *Ath. Mitt.*, 1915, pp. 45 ff.

³ Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 22, suggests that the fragments with scale or scallop pattern found by Tsountas in the Megaron came from the frieze; this is still more probable in view of the scallop described above,

lower down. This cannot be due to irregularity of drawing: the conclusion is that what we have is two adjacent wall ends in the upper part and in the lower one only. The capital of the pillar is copied from that on Rodenwaldt's fragment.¹

In C and E the number of posts in the upper section is uncertain. The black marks have been carried in the drawing right across the post on the left of E, as this is more probable than the other alternative described on p. 251.

In H a faint black line can be distinguished below the chequers and has been emphasised in the reconstruction. Following Rodenwaldt's fragment, the chequers have been drawn white above, blue below.

The lower extremity of the architecture is uncertain. As the ground on which the building stands is shewn in the right-hand corner, G and H must belong to the lower stories of the building. The proximity of the border below the picture suggests that the same is true of sections A to F, though the ground may have dropped slightly on this side. It seems highly probable that the ochre ground in D and E marks the beginning of the landscape and the end of the architecture; similarly that the women in B and C are standing before the castle, not inside. Two different methods of arranging the junction of a building with the ground are shewn by the fragment of a steatite vessel from Knossos,² and the silver rhyton from Mycenae.³ *A priori*, we should expect the fresco to be of the latter type; while such traces as the fresco preserves—the straight line bordering the chequer pattern in E and H, and the fact that the walls in C, possibly also in E, appear to be carried below the rest of the architecture—suggest a resemblance with the former.

Relation to other Fragments.

It has been known since Tsountas' excavations in 1886 that the Megaron at Mycenae was decorated with a frieze representing battle-scenes.⁴ That the battle-scenes included a besieged castle was discovered during the German investigations in 1914, when some important new fragments came to light.⁵ These were published by Rodenwaldt, together

¹ Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, coloured plate.

² *B.S.A.*, ix. p. 129, Fig. 85.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1915, pp. 45 ff.

⁴ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, Pl. XI.

⁵ Fighting before the walls of a besieged castle is in accordance with Homeric practice as described in the *Iliad*. There, the Trojan army is camped before the walls of Ilion, which we know from the excavations of Schliemann and Doerpfeld to have more nearly

with remarks on the reconstruction and arrangement of the whole frieze.¹

Rodenwaldt's architectural fragments and ours are presumably from the same building. Ours appear to be on a slightly larger scale, but this is partly due to loss of detail, especially in the case of some of the vertical wooden frames that would narrow the intervening spaces; partly to the fact that Mycenaean artists never aimed at exact symmetry. The height of the left-hand pillar on section B² would, if complete, be the same as that of the pillar on his. The most notable differences between the two series of fragments are, that Rodenwaldt's fragments shew more architectural detail, *e. g.* the superposed cross-beams and round beam-heads, but fewer oblong spaces, which are frequent in ours. This may be due to their better preservation, but more probably to the fact that they illustrate the upper storeys of the building, and ours the lower.

When considering the relative positions of Rodenwaldt's fragments and ours, there is a certain difficulty, for the women who are presumably watching the fight should face outwards. This would suggest that our fragments be placed on the left. On the other hand, so much space on the right of the picture is devoted to landscape as to produce a strong impression that the building ended here; in this case, our fragments (if part of the same building as that in Rodenwaldt's) should be placed on the right. Unfortunately, the pieces do not appear to join. They must have been found very close to each other by the north wall, but we cannot tell the exact relation to each other in which they had been lying.

Date.

The Megaron frieze cannot be Late Helladic I., as has hitherto been supposed,³ since archaeological evidence indicates that the Megaron should be placed in Late Helladic III.

resembled a castle than a fortified city (cf. Durm, *Zum Kampfum Troja* (1890), Pl. I.). Here we have a frieze with the besieged castle at one end of the wall, the armies fighting before it, and the camp of the besieging army beyond. It may well be considered as illustrating a siege like the siege of Troy.

¹ Rodenwaldt, *Fries d. Megarons*; see also *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 232. In addition to the fragments described, the following should be added to Rodenwaldt's list: (a) .055 × .03 m. Part of neck and mane of horse, joining Rodenwaldt's No. 15 of the Megaron frieze. At Athens. (b) .055 × .06 m. Pl. XXVI, c. Boar's tusk helmet finished above with ring. The helmet is yellowish-white, the ring white, the background bluish-black. At Athens.

² See p. 250.

³ Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 55; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 248.

The arguments for putting it early were as follows :—

(i) The Composition; the free arrangement of figures above each other without reference to ground line, particularly noticeable in that part of the frieze which represents arming and fighting scenes. This convention was common in Crete in L.M. I.¹ and II., and in Greece in L.H. I., but it appears to be extinct by the later half of L.H. III. (= later half of L.M. III.), for it is not found in the Second Palace at Tiryns.

(ii) The absence of black contours for the figures; the symmetrical arrangement of the dentil pattern on the framing borders; the alternation of blue and yellow background;² the ochre tone of the yellow.³ These are points which it has in common with the frescoes from the First Palace at Tiryns, but not with those from the Second, which dates from about the middle of L.H. III.

So far the evidence is against the frescoes belonging to the second half of L.H. III. This leaves a wide margin, *i.e.* L.H. I. to the first half of L.H. III.

Rodenwaldt's other argument for an early date is: (iii) the resemblance in style of the Megaron fresco to those from the First Palace at Tiryns,⁴ which he assigns to Late Helladic I. But whereas the resemblance is undeniable, the date of the First Palace at Tiryns is uncertain.⁵

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the frescoes were on the walls when the Palace was destroyed, presumably not before the twelfth century B.C., and it is highly improbable that they should have remained in that position for more than a couple of hundred years at the most; had they been painted in L.H. I., they would have been there for four hundred.

Any conclusion as to their date must in any case be subordinate to the decision concerning the date of the Palace. There is no justification for using the frescoes as an argument for assigning an early date to the Megaron.

¹ See *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, pp. 246, 247.

² Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 185.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1911, p. 248.

⁴ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 185. In *Fries d. Megarons*, pp. 54–55, he speaks of the connection between the style of the fresco and of objects from the Shaft Graves, *i.e.*, the dagger with the lion hunt and the fragments of silver vessels. Though they have many motives in common, the resemblance in style is not sufficient to affect the date of the fresco.

⁵ That is to say, it is earlier than L.H. III., but its position in L.H. I. or L.H. II. cannot yet be defined. And in spite of the resemblance our frescoes are later in style.

THE LIGHTING OF THE MEGARON.

Before leaving the Megaron there is one more point to consider, how was it lighted? So far as we can see there were no windows between it and the Vestibule, so that from the west the only direct light obtained would have come in through the door. There may have been windows in the east or south walls, the latter of which would, of course, have given a magnificent view down the precipitous Chaos ravine and over the Argive plain beyond.

It has usually been assumed that on the four column bases round the hearth there stood four tall columns, the tops of which projected above the main part of the roof, and so formed a kind of clerestory for the admission of light and the emission of smoke. The column bases have the same diameter as those of the Porch, .57 m., and therefore should have carried columns of the same height, that is, not more than 3 m. high according to the Knossian analogies.¹ The Megaron, however, is not a Cretan feature, and we might therefore imagine that these bases carried the tall columns suggested, for which we have analogies in the engaged columns of the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra. But a clerestory, such as that usually assumed here, would have prevented the construction of any other storey above. Put briefly, the problem is this. The Megaron at Mycenae either had two storeys, as we have assumed for the Porch and Vestibule, or it had only one. In the first case the ground-floor room, Megaron proper, must have been lit either by such light as came in through the doorway, or else by windows in the east or south walls.

A fire on the central hearth does not demand, although it suggests a hole in the roof. If we assume that the Megaron was lit by a hole in the roof, thus deriving its lighting from the upper floor, exactly the same problem arises for the upper room. How was that lit? This merely shelves the difficulty. We may thus take it that if the Megaron had two storeys the ground floor was most probably lit by windows in its east or south wall. Such windows looking out over the citadel wall would have formed an excellent vantage point from which some Rahab could let down spies.

If, on the other hand, there was only one storey this would pre-

¹ See above, p. 211.

sumably have been as high as the two storeys of the Porch and Vestibule together. We should then have had in the Megaron a large room going right up to the roof with what was practically a gallery (over the Porch and Vestibule) on its west side, and with the rafters visible, as suggested by Odysseus' house. In this case the lighting must have been by windows, a hole in the roof or a clerestory, preferably the former, as they let in less rain and more light. The column bases of course suggest columns only as high as those of the porch; in other words their evidence, so far as it goes, is in favour of two storeys. It is hardly likely that they carried open timber rafters from wall to wall while the Megaron went right up to the roof, although Homer's account of Odysseus' house might be held to support this solution. At any rate, till we know more about the upper structure of the Megaron it would be fruitless to discuss further the problem of its roofing and lighting.

15. ANTE-CHAMBER TO DOMESTIC QUARTERS.

At the north end of the Porch of the Megaron lies a threshold of sawn conglomerate,¹ which has two pivot-holes, one at each end, for a double door. Immediately behind it the rock rises sharply to the north, and some 3 m. due north of the threshold we find a cement pavement laid on a thin stratum of earth above the rock (34). This pavement is at a height of 73·65, whereas the threshold lies at 72·22. The sloping rock surface between the two points shews obvious traces of having been cut down. Just within the north-east corner of the threshold we found the carbonised remains of a wooden post, either of pine or cypress, and traces of a similar post against the north-west angle. These two posts probably supported a short staircase laid against the sloping surface of the rock to give access to the cement floor or landing just noted. This landing is shut off to the north by a rubble wall, which supported a higher terrace of the Palace and carries a cement floor at a level of 76·15. Turning eastwards from the landing (34) we pass through a short narrow corridor which gradually slopes up from west to east like the North and South Corridors, till we reach a level of 73·92, when the narrow passage widens out into an Ante-Chamber (33) some 6 m. long by 3·50 m. wide. Against the west wall of this room is a bench of stone, about ·55 m. wide

¹ See p. 207, above.

and .33 m. high, covered with four or five layers of white stucco. This seems to have run along the north wall also, but is there much damaged. In the middle of the south wall is a similar bench about .48 m. deep, .25 m. high, and 1.90 m. long, and also covered with four or five coats of white stucco. It is interesting to observe that this second bench was originally 1.50 m. long and had rounded ends, of which the western was afterwards lengthened, and made rectangular.

This Ante-Chamber, like the landing before it, is bounded on the north by a rubble wall which holds up a higher terrace of the Palace to the north (23) where there are remains of a cement floor at level 76.25. To the east the Ante-Chamber is bounded by a short wall which separates it from the basement (32), while to the north of the short wall the cement pavement stops abruptly against the unpaved area of 31.

Tsountas in his excavations found here large pieces of the wall decoration lying face downwards on the ground.¹ There are four main groups of fragments :

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | Nat. Mus. Athens | 2786, .85 × .62 m. |
| 2. | „ „ | 2787, .52 × .39 m. |
| 3. | „ „ | 2788, .55 × .17 m. |
| 4. | „ „ | 2789, .39 × .31 m. |

They have been affected by fire, though not to any great extent. The fire is probably responsible for the grey-green colour, otherwise unusual; cf. the case of the grey-green on the frieze from the Megaron.

These fragments are unparalleled. Rodenwaldt's suggestion that they come from representations of hanging rugs is the most convincing hitherto offered. The narrow zones of colour decorated with conventional patterns, argonauts and others, are divided by stripes and finished at the bottom with what appears to be a rounded piece of wood like that used for hanging objects to weight them when hanging, or to roll them on when not in use. They are crossed by diagonal lines which may represent the strings supporting the rugs. Down the centre runs a stripe marked with crosses, perhaps cross-stitching joining two narrow lengths.

With regard to the patterns Rodenwaldt remarks on their suitability for embroidery. But what is most striking, though irrelevant

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, Pl. XII; Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, ii, p. 232.

except for dating purposes, is their resemblance to the decoration of L.H. III. stirrup vases. This is especially noticeable in the case of the conventionalised flowers on the grey-green ground, and the triangles on the red ground.¹ The argonaut also is especially common in L.H. III. glass-paste ornaments.

Of the remaining patterns the wavy red lines on the red ground are more suggestive of imitation stone-work than of embroidery.² The pattern with the irregularly arranged wavy lines on the red ground, and that with horizontally arranged lines on the green ground, though usual motives for imitation stone-work, would also be suitable for embroidery.

In this chamber Tsountas found three beads of gold and several of glass paste and stone.³

We made a small test below the floor of the Ante-Chamber and found the following pottery :—

Middle Helladic, Minyan ware, grey, eight sherds.

Matt-painted, Group B. I., ten sherds.

Group B. II., three sherds.

Group D. I., light-on-dark, one piece.

Plain and polished ware, a good deal, some probably L.H. I—II. One piece is mended with a lead rivet, and there is part of a spit support (?) like that from the first layer below the Vestibule of the Megaron.

Late Helladic I., three sherds.

Late Helladic II., handleless cups, twenty-seven.

Late Helladic III., painted sherds, about five; kylikes, mostly unpainted, seven pieces.

The M.H. ware here was found low down close to the rock which lies 1 m. below the level of the floor. Most of the other pottery was in a stratum of black earth which went .35 m. below the floor, and lay above a fill of rough limestone. Here again the ceramic evidence indicates that the Palace took its present form in L.H. III. We also found a number of fragments of plain red stucco in this chamber. The unpaved space, which is shut off from the small basement (32) by a wall, seems, to judge by the fragments of treads of soft sandstone lying here, to have been a short staircase⁴ to give

¹ Cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXX.

² Cf. *B.S.A.*, xxiv. Pl. X. 27.

³ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 70. One of the gold beads is perhaps 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1887, Pl. XIII., No. 26, Athens, Nat. Mus. 2501. The others cannot be identified.

⁴ This is also Tsountas' opinion, *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 70.

access from this low level to the terrace to the north (23, 25), to the upper storey of the buildings further east (30), and perhaps even to the rooms lying above the Megaron itself. If this were a staircase as suggested, the small basement (32) lying between it and the Megaron would then have been below either a landing approached by the staircase or perhaps an upper flight. The latter was hardly needed here to reach the higher level to the north; but there may have been an upper hall over the Ante-Chamber (33). For if square landings are put at the ends of the two flights of the suggested staircase the resulting total height would be about 3 m. This gives sufficient headroom for the Ante-Chamber itself and height enough to reach such an upper hall.

In the Basement (32) Tsountas found a double axe and a handleless pot, both of bronze.¹ We dug below its earthen floor down to the rock, which was only .55 m. below. At .35 m. under the floor was a layer of black earth similar to that below the cement floor in the Ante-Chamber. The pottery found was as follows :—

Early Helladic, one sherd.

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., three sherds.

Plain and polished, three sherds.

Late Helladic I.—II., six sherds.

Handleless cups, eight fragments.

Late Helladic III., five sherds.

In addition there were twelve other sherds of L. H. ware which could not be placed more precisely.

The south wall of this basement and of the Ante-Chamber is of rubble masonry, and shews clearly the gap where a horizontal wooden beam was once inserted. This was the lowest part of a wooden frame which, like that in the South House, stood above the masonry base of the wall to strengthen the superstructure of crude brick, of which many fragments now baked hard by the fire that destroyed the Palace lie on the top of the south wall of the Basement. This wall is not parallel to that of the Megaron, but is in the same straight line as the earlier wall behind the north wall of the Court, which we have already decided must belong to the First Palace. This view is confirmed by an examination of the case here. A double wall of this thickness was not necessary, and is quite unusual in Mycenaean architecture. The double wall was only

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 70.

necessitated by the addition of the Megaron to some of the structures of the First Palace which were incorporated in the Second. It is also remarkable that this wall does not go beyond the basement, whereas the north wall of the Megaron runs nearly 6 m. further east. Beyond the Basement there are two other rooms which look like additions tacked on after the building of the Megaron, since they both rest against its north-east angle.

We thus have here once again unmistakable signs that there are two stages in the Palace, the First, built we do not exactly know when, and a Second built at the beginning of L.H. III. That L.H. III. pottery should be found below the floors of this Ante-Chamber (33) and the Basement (32) shews that the final alterations here were made in L.H. III. times. We have already, in discussing the South Corridor, put forward the suggestion that it originally ran right through at a level of 75.50 so as to give access to the higher level which lies immediately to the north of this Ante-Chamber, which is about 76.00. Later, perhaps after the fire which damaged the north wall of the Court, it was decided to cut short the South Corridor (by figure 35), and so the threshold was sawn through and most of it removed. Then the Ante-Chamber (33) with its approach (34), and the Basement and staircase (31, 32) by it were constructed and a door to it was broken through the north wall of the Porch of the Megaron. The south wall, like its westward extension now below the South Corridor, is probably a terrace wall of an earlier palace. We can now suggest on the evidence before us (cf. pp. 195 ff., 207) that this alteration was carried out about the middle of the L.H. III. period or perhaps even later, in advanced L.H. III. times, and the presence of L.H. III. pottery below these floors in no way conflicts with this explanation of the sawn threshold and the cutting short of the South Corridor, which Tsountas¹ rightly suggested must have been designed to give direct access from the Western Portal to the Domestic Quarters of the Palace.

ROOM 30.

The Basement is entered by a small door—at least the east wall is not continuous—from another small room to the east (30). This had a floor of whitish-yellow clay, and possibly had a stone bench some .60 m.

¹ *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 70.

wide along its north wall, and another perhaps along its east wall. These benches, however, are very problematical, and may be only extra foundations for the walls. The level of the clay floor 73.68 shews that this room formed part of the same system as the Basement (32) and Ante-Chamber (33) just described. Perhaps another reason for cutting out the Ante-Chamber was to enable the builders to attach these additional rooms at the same level further east. Below the floor of this room we found a quantity of pottery, mostly of L.H. III. date, and on the uneven surface of the rock a little M.H. pottery. The details are these :—

Middle Helladic, Matt-painted, Group B. I., nine sherds.

Group B. II., one sherd.

Plain and polished ware, a little.

Late Helladic II. (?), handleless cups, not more than six pieces.

Late Helladic III., painted, about thirty-eight sherds, and twenty-seven fragments of kylikes mostly unpainted.

There was also a great quantity of unpainted L. H. ware, and the broken handle of a bowl of white marble.

ROOM 29.

Beyond this room to the east lies yet another even smaller (29). This has remarkably thick walls for its small size. It is only 1.50 m. wide and not more than 5 m. long, while the walls are .75 m. to 1.00 m. thick. In the outside of its north-west angle there is an ashlar block of poros with a dowel-hole in its upper surface. This block may be re-used like those in the drain, or may have been the base of a pier to strengthen the angle of this room. The floor was cemented and many fragments of plain red and blue stucco were found in it, with a good deal of pottery as follows :—

Early Helladic, one sherd.

Middle Helladic, one sherd.

Late Helladic II (?), handleless cups, two pieces.

Late Helladic III., much painted and a very considerable amount of unpainted ware.

The purpose of this room is obscure owing to its small size. Dr. Holland suggests with some probability that it served as a cistern or tank, the thick walls being specially designed to resist the pressure of the

water. This would explain as well its cement floor and the traces of cement on the walls. The corners, however, are not rounded.

16. THE RED BATH.

The Staircase (31) ¹ which led up to the high terrace to the north from the Ante-Chamber (33) was presumably the main line of communication between the Megaron and adjoining region, and the whole of the north-eastern part of the Palace, where, following Tsountas, we place the Domestic Quarters. Unfortunately, previous excavations have cleared the space (25) directly to the north down to the rock, though fortunately the remains of cement flooring further west (23, 24) give us an idea of the level (76·20 approximately) of this part, which would have been slightly lower than the east end of the North Corridor, the highest point of which is 76·67. Thus we must imagine this part (23, 24, 25) to have formed a kind of intermediate terrace midway between the Ante-Chamber (33) and the highest level of the Palace, which would have been approached by the east end of the North Corridor.

The whole Palace was thus clearly built up on the sloping rock in a series of terraces. Towards the summit we see that these terraces are small and rather uneven. Lower down on the south side where the Court is we have one large artificial terrace. We have shewn that this is of later construction and that the First Palace was on the summit. We thus get a glimpse of the advance towards unity of design made by the builders of the Palaces. The First is laid out as the ground allowed; in the Second more drastic measures were undertaken to suit the ground to the plans of the architect. The accuracy of measurement displayed by the Court, the Megaron and adjoining apartments is most remarkable and betrays a high degree of architectural skill.

To the north-east of the Staircase (31), the southern part of the intervening space adjoining it to the north (26) has been dug out to the rock in previous excavations, so here too, like the part further west (25), it is now impossible to attempt even to recover the plan of the Palace. Just on the north edge of this space (26) a curious stepped construction covered over with red stucco has been discovered (Pl. XXXVI. *a*). On the west we have the remains of three steps which seem to have been,

¹ See pp. 259 ff., above.

so far as we can judge, about .50 m. deep and .23-.34 m. high. On the north there is one step running along the base of a wall covered with red stucco, like the steps and the flat rectangular space they enclose. At the east end of the wall a stone-built drain runs down through the wall from north to south. This is the continuation of a cement drain (27) which lies along the north side of the wall and vanishes into a kind of trap, whence it emerges on the south side as the stone-built drain referred to. Its width and alignment correspond well with the wall on the east of Room 30, which may therefore have been the southern limit of the area in question. It is not certain what this stepped space may have been. It resembles very much the tank baths or lustral areas at Knossos, and taking into consideration the drain that runs by it we have suggested that this also may be one or the other. If we take it as a bath, it is noteworthy that it lies away to the left of one entering the Megaron in a very similar position to that of the bathroom at Tiryns.

To the north-east (28) we found some fragmentary walls, and by them a deposit of soft black earth containing a great quantity of pottery, oyster and other shells, broken animal-bones, and other household refuse. There was practically no painted pottery except part of an alabastron of late L.H. II. or early L.H. III., and two other sherds of approximately the same date. The coarse ware, which was plentiful, included pieces of three-legged cooking-pots, tall narrow-mouthed jars like Pl. VI. *a*, and parts of tiles with one broad edge for standing tapering to the opposite edge and with a hole through the centre, which may be spit-rests.¹ The finer pottery comprised a great number of fragments of kylikes or of goblets of a shape intermediate between the Yellow Minyan goblet and the L.H. III. kylix. There were many handleless cups, shallow bowls with horizontal handles, and many pieces of rims of vases with a metallic profile like Blegen's L.H. II. class at Korakou (*Korakou*, Fig. 82).

This deposit, which lies on the rock on the east side of the broken walls (28), was not entirely dug, as it seemed advisable to leave part of it for future reference if necessary. It agrees in composition very closely with the similar deposits already noticed below the floors of the Pillar Basement and of the room north of the West Portal, and like them its general character is late L.H. II. or early L.H. III. The finding of these three deposits below floors or on the rock as here, by the foundations of

¹ See p. 239.

walls seems to indicate that the Palace was rebuilt or at least largely remodelled at that time. This would agree with the suggestions already made, that there was a First Palace which lasted till the end of L.H. II. and a Second Palace, the one the ruins of which we have just surveyed, built at the beginning of L.H. III. To the east of this on the rocky slope which runs down to the north-east angle of the citadel there are no further remains which can connect with the Palace. All walls here have long since vanished and the nakedness of the living rock is very scantily concealed with soil.

There was no doubt yet another entrance to the Palace from this side, leading down towards the North or Postern Gate. We can hardly imagine that, when we have already two entrances, one to the south and one to the north-west, there should have been no means of approaching the Palace from the east, especially as the north-east part of the citadel, with its many remains of L.H. III. houses,¹ is so much separated from the rest by the steep summit of the rock which the Palace crowned. We assume then that there was somewhere on this east side a third entrance to the Palace, of which all definite traces are now lost.

North-west of the Red Bath, between it and the range of chambers lying on the north side of the North Corridor (11, 12, 13, 14), is the highest point of the acropolis, which here reaches a level of 78.00. The only signs of any kind of building now left here are two dressed blocks of conglomerate, marked by Steffen as 'antike Bausteine.'² They are no longer *in situ*, but are so large that one can hardly imagine that they have been transported here in later times merely for amusement. The builders of the Doric Temple did not cut and use conglomerate, it was too hard and heavy. If they found conglomerate blocks among the ruins of the Palace lying conveniently to hand, they incorporated them in their foundations,³ but they would not have gone to the trouble of bringing conglomerate any distance. We can thus take these two blocks as all that is left of that part of the Palace that stood here. The old theory, put forward in the days when it was held that the men and women had separate quarters or *megara* in Mycenaean Palaces,⁴ was that the men

¹ Including the interesting house with a colonnaded court, dug by Tsountas but still unpublished. We had hoped to re-examine this area as well.

² *Karten v. Mykenai*, Pl. II.

³ See above, p. 231.

⁴ See the early accounts of the Palace at Tiryns, quoted by Frazer in his commentary on Pausanias, Vol. III. p. 230. Cf. Tsountas, *Πρακτικά*, 1886, p. 71.

at Mycenae had the Court and Megaron which we have described on the sheltered terrace to the south. Here, protected by the summit of the acropolis and the higher parts of the Palace from the cold winds that sweep Mycenae in winter, the men might bask in the sun, or in the summer obtain the full benefit of the cool breezes blowing up from the Gulf of Nauplia. The women on this theory were relegated, as being the weaker sex, to a women's megaron lying on the summit of the hill to the north, exposed to the icy winds from Kyllene in winter, and shut off from the cooling sea breeze in summer. This view must be abandoned, and we suggest below where we conjecture the different quarters of the Palace to have been. On the summit, where we now see nothing but rock covered with a sparse vegetation, once stood an important section of the Palace. To-day this rock, in spite of its thin soil, is at the due seasons so gay with flowers, such as cyclamen in autumn and scarlet anemones in spring, that it has been nicknamed 'Clytemnestra's Rock Garden.'

17. SUMMARY.

From this survey of the ruins of the Palace as they exist to-day and from the evidence provided by the pottery and other objects found among them, we see that, though the Palace seems to possess a carefully thought out plan, its actual development is not so clear.

THE PLAN.

The two entrances, the Propylon at the north-west angle, and the Grand Staircase on the south (leaving out the highly probable, but conjectural east entrance), both lead directly to the Court and the apartments adjoining it.¹ The broad passage that runs from the Propylon through the Western Portal into the Palace leads almost directly into the Court, where on one side we find the Megaron, and on the other the Room of the Throne. These apartments (the Grand Staircase, in its present form at least, was probably built later so as to give independent access to them from outside) seem from their plan, from the care taken in constructing them, and from their decoration, to have formed the public part of the

¹ The north-west Propylon was perhaps the original entrance, while the Grand Staircase seems from our examination of it, and of the Pillar Basement, to have been an addition made in almost the latest phase of the building, though it may have replaced an earlier staircase.

Palace. These would have been the official reception rooms where the ruler of Mycenae would have sat in state to give audience to his people, to envoys and to other distinguished visitors. The terrace on which these stand is artificial, partly cut out of and partly built up against the sloping hillside. From its plan alone it appears, when contrasted with the rest of the Palace, to be a later addition, and the stratification supports this view. Possibly after the fall of Knossos about 1400 B.C., when Mycenae became the great centre of dominion and wealth in the Aegaeon area and her rulers constructed the Palace, this range of state apartments was added to meet the need for increased accommodation which the greater business of the realm demanded.

The north-east part of the Palace, that most remote from either of the two entrances known, was probably occupied by the Domestic Quarters, which no doubt also ran over storerooms along the South and North Corridors. These two Corridors with two series of store and other rooms could be entered immediately from the Western Portal, and below both traces of earlier building are to be found. The Domestic Quarters may also have been approached by the suggested eastern entrance. This scheme of a Court and two long sloping Corridors was specially designed to give easy access to all parts of the Palace as quickly as possible. The two Corridors have the same orientation as the Court system and therefore they are all part of one homogeneous plan. The remains of earlier walls below the two Corridors indicate, however, that this was not the original plan of the Palace. There was, before the lay-out of the existing plan, an earlier Palace designed on less broad and convenient lines. The First Palace was adapted to the slopes of the rock; for the Second Palace the hill was terraced to suit the plan desired.

In contrast to the Tiryns Palace, which seems cramped and ill-designed, the Mycenae Palace is laid out on broad, harmonious lines. The wide outlook and comprehensive scheme of which we have the skeleton before us in the arrangement of the Court, the two Corridors and the two entrances, is worthy of the Mycenaean architects, who, to judge from their other achievements in laying out the Lion Gate, the Grave Circle, and the Cyclopean walls of the citadel, were bold and imaginative designers. They, unlike the builders of Tiryns, did not allow their plans to be hampered by narrow spaces, they compelled the rock of Mycenae to adapt itself to their needs. The Palace of Mycenae, like that of Knossos,

thus falls, if our suggestions are right, into two well-defined sections, an official and a domestic quarter. Mycenae in this, as in so much else, is the heir of Crete.

THE DATE.

The Lion Gate, the Grave Circle and the whole scheme of the Cyclopean enceinte of the citadel with most of the buildings within it, and also the Third Group of Tholos Tombs, all date from the beginning of the Third Late Helladic Period. The Shaft Graves, on the other hand, date from the end of the Middle Helladic Age, and do not quite reach the end of Late Helladic I. We have thus two marked periods in the history of Mycenae after it had attained a position of importance. We have attempted to differentiate these periods by calling the dynasty which ruled during the first, the Shaft Grave Dynasty, and the dynasty which ruled during the second, the Tholos Tomb Dynasty. As these two periods are clearly expressed in the other monuments of Mycenae we should naturally expect to find them reflected in the Palace also.

The Megaron with the adjoining parts, the Court, the Room of the Throne, Pillar Basement and Grand Staircase, is certainly of L.H. III. date. All indications point to this conclusion. The Megaron rested on a terrace which was retained by the citadel wall. The Court is supported at its south-west angle by the east wall of the Pillar Basement, which, from the pottery below its floor, dates from the beginning of L.H. III. The Staircase, from the evidence of the Pillar Basement and of the deeper levels of the Pithos Area, is, in its present form at least, an L.H. III. addition to the original plan. The Court and the apartments to east and west of it belong to one homogeneous design, and should therefore be contemporary. The dating of one part dates the whole, and there is ample evidence that this ambitious laying out of state rooms on a wide, artificial terrace was carried out in the heyday of Mycenae at the beginning of L.H. III., about 1400 B.C. This Palace was the home of the later kings of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty. The Shaft Grave Dynasty must have had a palace. We have recognised traces of earlier building below the floor of the existing Palace, especially in the North and South Corridors and Domestic Quarters, and have assigned them to a First Palace, which we can now attribute to the kings of the Shaft Grave Dynasty.

As far as pottery alone is concerned, certain portions of the Second

Palace, such as the Court, the Throne Room, the two Corridors, Shrine and Propylon, might be Late Helladic II.; but the Megaron and Pillar Basement are L.H. III., and the Court and the Room of the Throne are too closely connected with them to be of different date. The South Corridor shews two stages and has earlier walls below it. If we assigned all the remains of the First Palace to L.H. II. we should deprive the Shaft Grave Dynasty of a home, and the L.H. I. pottery found here indicates that there was then a palace of some kind on the summit of the acropolis.

In view, therefore, of all the evidence, we can give all the earlier remains to a First Palace, which probably had its main entrance by the Propylon at the north-west angle. The Second Palace represented by the ruins before us dates from the beginning of L.H. III., the great age of building activity at Mycenae. As this Palace, notably in the Staircase and Pillar Basement, was slightly remodelled in the L.H. III. period, so we can imagine the First Palace to have undergone changes in L.H. II. under the rule of the earlier kings of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty.¹ The disappearance of most of the First Palace and absence of L.H. II. pottery is due to the levelling and terracing carried out at the beginning of L.H. III. to adapt the terrain to the architects' bold designs. There are unmistakable signs of this terracing: the heavy fill below the Megaron is alone sufficient witness. Troy and Tiryns are both similar examples of big artificial terraces which have overlaid or removed the earlier remains.

CONCLUSIONS.

We can then sum up our results thus. In L.H. I. under the Shaft Grave Dynasty a First Palace stood on the summit of the acropolis. This, with alterations, would have served in L.H. II. for the earlier kings of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty. Later, at the beginning of L.H. III., under the most powerful and wealthiest kings of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty, a Second Palace was built here and we have before us to-day the ruins of one of its sections. This Second Palace seems to have lasted till the fall of Mycenae, and it would thus have been the home of the Atreidai, if, as we now believe, they were historical. Schliemann's imagination, which dreamt of the home of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, was not far wrong. If there was an Agamemnon, if Homer did not

¹ See further Dr. Holland's commentary below, pp. 270 ff.

write pure fiction, it was in this Palace that the King of Men lived and hither he brought home his bride Clytemnestra from the banks of the Eurotas.

A. J. B. WACE.
WINIFRED LAMB.

18. ARCHITECTURAL COMMENTARY.

The existence at Mycenae of nine Tholos Tombs built consecutively over a period of about two hundred years, suggests nine kings at the least, who ruled and died at Mycenae from the end of the First Late Helladic period to the fall of Mycenae. It would be absurd to suppose that kings as wealthy as these must have been, as luxury-loving as the relics of their civilisation shew, and possessing as skilful architects and engineers as the erection of the tombs demanded, would have been content to limit their building activities to tombs. It would be very strange if each one had not tried to leave his dwelling-place more beautiful or more commodious than he found it; just as in Rome each emperor added his quota to the magnificence of the imperial residence on the Palatine, or as, in continuous development, one royal builder after another left his mark upon the Louvre. Some may have done much, some little, and some by accidental fire may have been compelled to do their work twice over. We may be sure, at any rate, that the Palace as it stands is the result of many alterations, much pulling down and setting up and many new constructions in the time that elapsed between the rise and fall of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty; and this without necessarily implying any overthrow or large-scale destruction at any time.

The sepulchres of the Shaft Grave Dynasty tell little of the architectural abilities of their occupants. Probably they dwelt on top of the citadel, but it is open to question whether their palaces were anything more than 'hoop-roofed' houses of the curvilinear Middle Helladic type,¹ built on a royal scale. The square-planned, flat-roofed palace of which we have the ruins, laid out on a complex scheme of many rooms, smacks very much of Crete. This distinct change in the type of building occurred between the end of Middle Helladic and the beginning of Late Helladic III. At Mycenae there is a change in the type of tomb

¹ *A.J.A.*, 1920, p. 326; cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 76 ff.

and it would be natural that the two should go hand in hand, and that the kings who built the tholos tombs, though not themselves Cretans, had taken over from that island much of value in men and things; or at any rate being relatively *βάρβαροι*, had encouraged Cretan immigration—probably by the quick statesmanship of piracy.¹ It can hardly be doubted, for example, that the school of Mycenaean fresco painting was founded by Cretan artists, and it is not impossible that the sack of Knossos about 1400 B.C. furnished craftsmen and architects to materialise the aesthetic inspirations of Late Helladic kings.

It is doubtful whether more than a few very fragmentary walls at best within the Palace area at Mycenae can be attributed to the Shaft Grave Dynasty; but from Late Helladic II. to the end of Late Helladic III. the building activity there must have been practically continuous. Mr. Wace distinguishes a First and a Second Palace, the latter shewing work of at least two phases. To me the matter does not seem anything like so simple. I do not believe that there was ever a wholesale destruction or rebuilding of the Palace here before the final catastrophe, nor do I believe that there was ever a time in its history when the Palace stood for long unchanged. If the remains of the Palace were complete, and it were possible by some touchstone to determine the exact date of each particular wall, I believe that we should find many periods of more or less extensive building.² Of course any such analysis is impossible, and it is unsafe even to say that such and such a wall or room or corridor in one section of the Palace is just contemporary with such and such another somewhere else. All that one can say with assurance is, that of two superposed or adjacent constructions one is the earlier. In practically all such cases I think that Mr. Wace's conclusions are entirely correct, but I should be inclined to go a little further and distinguish a greater number of individual operations than he has done, while admitting that my distinctions are largely hypothetical.

For example, the great circular column bases of conglomerate, of which three still lie at the top of the hill among the foundations of the Doric temple and three more by the Propylon (9),³ do not look to me contemporary with the column bases in the Megaron. They are all

¹ It is my personal belief that the men of the Tholos Tomb Dynasty came to Greece by sea and may have raided Crete before they reached the mainland.—L. B. H.

² As many perhaps as there were kings who built tholos tombs.

³ See above, pp. 211, 231.

dressed like column drums to a correct circle for their full depth, while those in the Megaron are in general of quite irregular outline with only a low raised circular area on the upper side; besides which they are very much larger, the diameter being 1.10 m. as opposed to .57 m. I should conclude that the larger, more carefully worked bases are the later; and since they cannot have been moved very far from their original positions—certainly those on top have not been carried up the hill since the Palace was destroyed—I feel quite confident that they belonged to some great structure that crowned the citadel,¹ built at a later date than the Megaron. At Tiryns we have an example of the addition of megaron to megaron in an increasing scale of splendour, the oldest structures being pulled down to make room for the newest. So here I would suggest that the earliest Palace once stood on top of the hill, probably facing south as all good buildings should in Greece, with long terraces in front. Then at the beginning of Late Helladic III. some king desiring a more sumptuous hall than any his forefathers knew, and finding little unbuilt space available, extended the Palace area to the south-east by means of great terrace walls and built there the Megaron (55, 56, 57). And still another king, perhaps his direct successor, fired with the same desire to surpass anything his world had seen before, cleared off the oldest structures on the upper level and built himself another Megaron. If the comparison of the column bases is any indication, it must have outshone the existing Megaron in magnificence, as the Tholos Tombs of the third period surpass those of the second.² I should think that, like the earlier structures on the summit, it would have faced the south; its remains may have caused the Doric Temple built upon it to be similarly set with quite uncanonical orientation.

Two of the great column bases found in the Propylon (those between 9 and 10, see plan, Pl. II.) are similar to those on top of the hill; all are 1.10 m. in diameter and .40 m. thick. Presumably they all belong to the same building period. But the third one, to the north of 9, though it has the same diameter, is only .15 m. thick. This suggests that it was not the exact contemporary of the others, and yet the uniformity of size indicates that it belonged to the same structure as the two near by.

¹ See above, pp. 231 ff.

² See below, pp. 388 ff. In point of scale and workmanship they seem closely related to the masonry of the Treasury of Atreus; probably they are not very far apart in date.

Now Mr. Wace has pointed out that the retaining walls to the east and west of the third column base are of inferior workmanship to the main West Terrace Wall running south from where the other column bases lie.¹ He believes the poorer work to be the older; yet as the third column base can hardly antedate those in the Megaron (which have a thickness of .37 m.), he suggests that it belonged to a remodelling of an older Propylon. But the poorer walls are built of larger stones than the others and it is my opinion that they are later; that when the great hall was built on the top of the hill a propylon was also built hereabouts, perhaps at 10; and that the two heavy column bases belonged to it. Now if all these great works were built by the king who built the Treasury of Atreus, it is probable that the work of any succeeding king would be less massive in structure, just as the Tomb of Clytemnestra is less massive than the Treasury of Atreus, while the Tomb of Genii marks a great decline in art and wealth. It may be that the king who ordered this last tomb, building as best he could with straitened means, added the Propylon (9), matching the earlier column bases with one of equal area but of less than half their weight. The pavement (7), the massive terrace corner north-west of 6 and the Guardroom (3, 4)² may also belong to this or to a slightly earlier reign.

Apart from the size and quality of the masonry there is another difference between the wall flanking 9 and the main West Terrace Wall. The latter is laid out in a series of rectangular offsets, of various sizes but all with faces strictly parallel, running north and south or east and west, except for a corner south-west of 45, which curiously enough is just parallel to the 'Old Wall' west of 51. But the walls west of 9 and east of 7 shew no such parallelism, either with each other or with the main southward stretch. Evidently the two sections are not contemporary, the more careless wall must be earlier or, as I think, later than the other. Furthermore it seems hardly possible that the southern stretch of the West Terrace Wall can be contemporary with the Western Portal (45) or the room north of it 41, or the Room of the Throne to the south (52); for while it shews such remarkable accuracy in its own alignment, it is not at all parallel to any of these other structures.

And yet there is a sort of relation between the terrace wall and the buildings within. The Western Portal can be restored with reasonable

¹ See above, p. 213.

² See above, pp. 213 ff.

accuracy. In plan it was probably like a letter **H**, with the conglomerate sill forming the cross bar. The south wall would have run west for a distance equal to the north wall and also the same distance eastwards. This would bring the south-east anta opposite an anta at the end of the wall between **41** and **39**, at which point there was a set-back in the north wall of the South Corridor. The gate-house of the Western Portal was certainly roofed, the area to the east probably unroofed, and the South Corridor (**37**) and passage (**49**) roofed again. Where the figure **40** is, there was probably some sort of a sill or step running from anta to anta. The plaster floor seems to stop at that line; it has been more or less preserved where there was a roof, but in the open area it is noticeably gone.¹ The open area I believe to have been bounded on the south by a continuation of the wall south of **49**; this would have run westwards until it met a wall at right angles coming southwards from the south-east anta.² Now if we correlate the Western Portal and forecourt thus restored with the existing West Terrace Wall, we find that there is a break, a small bit of east-west wall and a re-entrant angle in the latter directly east of the north-west anta of the Portal. Following the Terrace Wall south we find a similar, though smaller, break due east of the south-west corner of the Portal; then comes the bias angle of the Terrace Wall, and then due south of the same south-west corner of the Portal the terrace resumes its normal north-south direction. And at the next break the Terrace Wall turns east on a line due east of the projecting exterior corner of the forecourt. It seems to me that this correspondence can hardly be the result of mere chance; on the other hand, it does not seem probable that the Western Portal and forecourt were controlled in their design by any such queer relation to a pre-existing terrace wall. But it does seem to me quite reasonable that the Terrace Wall, if it were a later construction, should break and bend in relation to the older Palace

¹ It must, however, be remembered that this region has not only suffered from continuous denudation and Hellenistic disturbance, but also from exposure to the weather since Tsountas' excavations.—A. J. B. W.

² I seriously question Tsountas' suggestion that a stair led north from the little forecourt thus formed up through **39**. Unless the stair were of wood, which seems hardly probable considering the size and importance that a stair in this position would presumably have, there should be traces of masonry left, or cuttings in the rock, and there is absolutely no evidence of either. I think it more likely that **39** was a low unfinished space left when the terrace above was built, and served perhaps as a guardroom like the porter's hole similarly placed inside the Lion Gate.

structures. On account of the excellence of its workmanship and the remarkable accuracy of its rectangularity and parallelism I should consider it contemporary with the massive column bases of the hall which crowned the hill and with those of the Propylon.¹ Apparently the wall was built from north to south and was left with an unfinished end at its southern extremity.²

There remains to be explained the bias bastion south-west of the south-west corner of the Western Portal. This has the same orientation as the 'Old Wall' south-west of 51, which, as Mr. Wace has shewn, is as old as or older than the Pillar Basement, which in turn is older than the Grand Staircase and at least as old as the Room of the Throne (52). The 'Old Wall' then, though I should hardly think it earlier than Late Helladic II., is certainly older than the Western Portal, which may very well be contemporary with the Room of the Throne. Now if its line be continued straight to the north-west, it will be found that the south-west anta of the Portal would project slightly beyond it. I suspect that the 'Old Wall' did actually once follow this line and probably continued to the north as a retaining wall for an earlier inclined approach. Then when the Portal was built a bastion had to be stuck on to the west face of the 'Old Wall,' at right angles to it, to provide for the projection of the new south-west anta. Then, when the later West Terrace Wall was laid out, the line of the bastion, though bias to the new system, was retained in order to maintain circulation around the still existent south-west anta of the Portal.

The Pillar Basement I think was originally an open portico facing south, with a pier at the point where the 'Old Wall' now forms a re-entrant angle with the later west wall of the Grand Staircase and two more piers (the base of one of which has been found) between it and the west wall of the Court. The object of this portico would be to carry a terrace in front of the Room of the Throne (52), without the expense of building a solid retaining wall and filling in behind it, as was done later when the Grand Staircase was built. The door of the red sandstone sill would have given access to this terrace from the Court on the east. The present Room of the Throne with its conglomerate sills seems to me contemporary with the monumental scheme of Court and Megaron, but I suspect that the pillared portico below was slightly earlier and that an

¹ See, however, above, p. 209, note 1.

² See above, p. 161.

earlier room, of the same dimensions and in the same situation as the existing Room of the Throne, was built here when the portico was built. My reasons for thinking this are that the foundations of the west and south walls of the Room of the Throne and the wall to the east of the Pillar Basement seem to deviate very slightly from the line of the upper walls; and in particular it seems doubtful if the red sandstone sill can be contemporary with the conglomerate sills used everywhere else.

It seems to me unquestionable that the Room of the Throne had some interior support for the ceiling, especially as there was a storey above it, yet two columns would make the span of the beams much smaller than in the Megaron. A single column in the centre of the room would be excellent from the structural point of view, but since it would come directly in front of the throne, it seems rather a preposterous arrangement. In the great square room¹ formed by the upper landing of the Grand Staircase (above 63) there is now only one certain position for a support, that is, directly over the pier or column which stood like a newel-post at the foot of the stairs below. A lone support thus asymmetrically placed, though not impossible, would certainly be queer. On the other hand, to balance this one column with a second one would require a support below, just about where the figure 63 now is. This in turn might seem odd in the lower room, but taking both floors into consideration, it seems to me the more probable arrangement. Either scheme might have been used in the Room of the Throne.

The restoration of the Megaron raises some questions also. First, had it a second storey? To me this seems more than improbable. The great hall has an area of about 12.75 m. by 5.75 m., and there are only four supports about .50 m. in diameter to hold up the superstructure, with spans between them reaching 4.40 m. in the clear. The front wall is only .90 m. thick, the east and south walls were probably no heavier. No builder at the present day would think of setting masonry walls in an upper storey on a ceiling so lightly borne, without steel girders for the bearing spans. But if no masonry walls were carried on the ceiling beams, then an upper storey would have been one great hall exactly like that below. Similarly the idea of a clerestory above the central area between the columns is structurally unsound, for the clerestory walls would have to be of stone or crude brick, and even with many windows

¹ This was almost the same in shape and size as the Room of the Throne.

in them, their weight would be too great to be safely borne by beams 4.50 m. in length resting on isolated columns. At Tiryns, where the Palace had certainly the same arrangement as here, a clerestory seems even less probable, for the longest span between columns there is five metres in the clear. And earthquakes are not rare in Greece. The same objections apply to a storey above the Porch, though with slightly less force, since no spans there exceed four metres. The Vestibule (56) is the only section which could well carry a storey above it, and even there internal partitions would not be safe.

The second question is whether the ceiling of the Megaron was continuous or open in the central area above the hearth, which probably served more than purely ceremonial uses. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus advises Telemachus that if the suitors should ask him why he had removed all weapons from the Megaron, he should say that he was putting them away from the smoke, 'for they are wholly marred, so mightily hath passed upon them the vapour of fire.'¹ Again, a chair is set for Penelope in the hall 'before the fire,' though the fire here is apparently in braziers and not directly upon a hearth;² and in the same scene Odysseus 'sat apart from the hearth' that he might not be recognised by Eurycleia.³ Melanthius lights the 'never-resting fire' in the halls in order to melt a ball of lard to grease the bow of Odysseus.⁴ So unless the ceilings were extremely high or had outlets in them for the smoke, the halls of Homer must have been almost uninhabitable. Apart from this, the very plan points to a central opening in the roof of the Megaron, for the spacing of the columns is not uniform. At Mycenae the clear spans are, approximately, from front to rear:—3.60 m., 4.40 m., 3.60 m.; and from side to side:—3.25 m., 3.90 m., 3.25 m. At Tiryns the spans from front to rear are, approximately:—2.90 m., 4.75 m., 2.90 m.; and from side to side:—2.60 m., 3.40 m., 2.60 m. Such an irregularity in spans, particularly that from front to rear at Tiryns, would be quite unreasonable in a room with a continuous roof, as it would involve the use of considerably heavier material to cover the large central area than would be necessary if the spans were evenly apportioned.⁵ With an open

¹ xix. 4-9.² xix. 55.³ xix. 388-389.⁴ xxi. 181.

⁵ The front and rear porticoes are slightly deeper than those on the sides, but the span of the central bays is longer at the sides than at the front and rear. It follows, therefore, that the areas of the central bays on all four sides and the consequent loads to be borne by the architraves are equalled. At Mycenae the areas are 14.04 sq. m. in front and rear and 14.30 sq. m. at the sides.

centre, however, the plan becomes perfectly intelligible.¹ The arrangement is similar to that of a Roman *atrium*, which was a living room in a colder climate. There what amounts to a small court is surrounded on all four sides by porticoes of nearly uniform depth.²

In Mycenaean restoration there is always danger of being over-influenced by the well-known architecture of Knossos. This, I think, is rather an uncertain guide for the mainland, for the Palace at Knossos is some two centuries older than the main development of that at Mycenae. It can hardly be doubted that the Mycenaean architectural style owes its origin at least to actual Cretan builders working on mainland palaces; for while styles in pottery and fabrics and small wares in general may be diffused by trade, with architecture, as with fresco painting, the case is different. In these arts it is much more easy to transport the craftsmen than their products. The immigrant Cretan architects, however, would be working in a new climate and probably for masters of different race and habits of life. New programmes, new materials and the developments of two hundred years of building would inevitably cause noticeable changes in any architectural style.

The proportions of some of the columns at Knossos are known.³ On the Staircase there, in the Hall of Colonnades, the Queen's Megaron, and the Royal Villa, they range in height from four-and-a half to over five times the diameter on the base. The stone columns applied to the façade of the Treasury of Atreus, presumably copies of contemporary wooden ones, are in height about eight times the width of the lower square base and about twelve times the diameter of the shaft itself at the bottom. Those in the Tomb of Clytemnestra are about thirteen times the diameter of the base and about fifteen times the diameter of the bottom of the shaft. On the tombs of the Persian kings at Naksh-i-Rustum⁴ the rock-cut columns, also presumably reproducing wooden originals, and the actual examples from the palaces⁵ range from ten to twelve times the lower diameter of the shaft, or from a little under seven

¹ Regularly spaced spans would necessitate a smaller hearth; perhaps the irregular spacing was demanded by the size of the hearth.—A. J. B. W.

² Assuming the Megaron to be a living-room, a hole in its roof 4.40 m. by 3.90 m. in area would be extremely inconvenient in the rainy season, when a fire on the hearth would be most needed.—A. J. B. W.

³ See above, p. 211.

⁴ Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, V, Pl. 1, pp. 623, 628, Figs. 386, 392.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 497, Fig. 318.

to a little over eight times the diameter of the base, as in the Treasury of Atreus. But the situations of the Knossian examples are not quite analogous, for they bear in every case the heavy load of superposed storeys, whereas the others are from one-storey structures and carry nothing but their own entablatures and roofs. It is natural that the more heavily loaded shafts should have the more sturdy proportions. The spans between, as well as the proportions of the columns, are also affected by the loads to be carried. At Knossos in the examples cited the spans range from 2.00 m. to about 2.50 m. in the clear; at Mycenae in the Room of the Throne, which surely had a storey above it,¹ the spans (if there were columns) seem probably to have been about 1.25 m. to 2.75 m., and in the Staircase, another two-storey structure,¹ the spans would be about the same. On the other hand, in the Megaron the spans run from 3.25 m. to 4.40 m. in the clear, and at Knossos in the West Portico and the South Propylaea there are spans of nearly 5.00 m. I think that this indicates and is explained by the fact that in all these latter cases the columns bore no upper storey.

In spite of this variation in the actual width of the spans and in the individual proportions of the columns considered, the proportion of span to column height shews a reasonable uniformity. The height of the known columns at Knossos is slightly greater than the clear span. On the Treasury of Atreus they are about one-and-a half times the span, on the Tomb of Clytemnestra about one-and-two-thirds, and in the Persian examples from one-and-three-quarters to a little over two times the span. For the Megaron at Mycenae, approximately contemporary with the Treasury of Atreus, we may safely assume a height for the columns equal to one-and-a quarter times the clear span. Since the height of all the columns must obviously be the same, we must reckon from an average span, say 3.60 m. This would give us a column height of 4.50 m., just about eight times the width of the base, so that the columns would be very nearly of the proportions of those at the Treasury of Atreus.

Another indication of the height of the columns of the Megaron may be gained from the proportions of the doorway. In all the tholos tombs the height of the door opening is equal to twice its width at the bottom, with only very slight variations above and below this standard, in spite of wide variations in actual size. The proportions seem so fixed

¹ There were not necessarily any partition walls here.—A. J. B. W.

that we may safely assume them to be those of non-mortuary doorways. The sills of the Megaron shew that the door openings there, at the bottom, were about 1.75 m. wide. The height then should have been 3.50 m.; to which the trim round the opening, the width of which is indicated at the bottom of the jambs, would add another .75 m. Supposing that the round ends of the ceiling beams of the Vestibule had come directly above the door trim, as they are shewn in the Tomb of Clytemnestra, and that, as is most natural, the bottom of the architraves of the Porch had come at their upper line, we must include the thickness of the beam ends, say .20 m., in the total height of the columns. This gives us 3.50 m. + .75 m. + .20 m. = 4.45 m., just .05 m. less than the height arrived at by proportioning it to the span. Of course the roof of the Vestibule might not have rested directly on the lintels of the doors, in which case the columns would have been somewhat higher, but they could hardly have been lower, and I doubt much greater height.

Fifteen feet (4.50 m.) would warrant the epithets 'lofty pillars' and 'high-roofed hall' found in Homer. The architrave, ceiling beams and thick clay roof above would add another metre and bring the upper surface of the roof about 5.50 m. above the floor, or in this instance to about level 77.55. This is about 1.40 m. higher than the cement floor to the north at **24**, but it must be very nearly the level of the floor above the Ante-Chamber (**33**). It is obvious that **33** and **34** and the stairway at **31**, **32** must have been roofed, to keep the whole area from draining as a stream into the Porch of the Megaron. The level of **33** is 74.07; the floor above must have been at least 3.00 m. higher to allow for headroom. The Grand Staircase has a rise of 1 to 3 of run; the little stair (**47**) about 1 of rise to $2\frac{2}{3}$ of run. The length of the runs of **31** and **32** minus the necessary stair landings is about 8.50 m.; using the steeper gradient this would give a total rise for the stairs of 3.20 m., and .28 m. more would bring the upper storey up to the assumed level for the roof of the Megaron. This extra height could easily be gained by a step or two across the landing as at Knossos. At a minimum the floor above (**33**) must have been .75 m. above the cement floor to the north (**23**). The top of a roof above **34**, allowing 2.00 m. in the clear for headroom, could not have been lower than 76.65 or .50 m. above the level of the area to the north.

In view of all this I should be inclined to restore a floor above **33** flush with the roof of the Megaron, at level 77.55 or thereabouts. Over

the upper floor of **33** and the stairs (**31, 32**) there would be a roof carried on upper walls. The ramping South Corridor (**37**) at one period reached a height of 75.50 at **35**, where the remains of a conglomerate sill still are. It does not seem reasonable to me that the South Corridor should ever have been wholly abandoned as a means of access to the upper levels of the Palace. I think it more likely that when the entrance (**34**) to the Porch of the Megaron was made,¹ a flight of steps carried on beams was built above to lead from the east end of the South Corridor to the floor above **33**. This would require a rise of 1.05 m. from the conglomerate sill and a consequent run of 5.45 m. to 6.15 m. according to the gradient used. Now from the west end of the abandoned sill (**35**) to the east face of the wall at the west end of **33** is 5.50 m. There is no room to spare, and it may be that it was in order to allow sufficient run for this stair that the west wall of **33** was thickened by doubling—at least I can find no other reason for this curious bit of construction. It may also be that the conglomerate sill was cut and the earth removed from under it back to the remnant of wall across the South Corridor, just east of **35** in order to leave the wooden staircase free on its underside.

If the stairs (**31, 32**) were built primarily to serve the area to the north it seems very strange that they should have been carried to a height of .75 m. above the pavement there. It may be that when the stairs were built the level to the north was raised and bits of pavement now seen there were covered up, or it is just possible that another stair at **24** led from the west end of the room over **33** up a metre or so to the terrace or building over **36**, the floor of which must have stood at least at level 78.53. In the latter case the area to the north of the stairway would only be secondarily served by this system of circulation. The evidence here is too scanty for me to feel very much confidence in any definite restoration.

This, however, seems certain; the great rectangular construction above **36** and **38** antedates the building operation which laid out the Court, the Megaron and the Room of the Throne as they now stand. And I think that it is also fairly obvious that it is not so ancient as the building about **39** and **41**. The walls of the latter are not continuous with the other walls, but are built on a narrower plan, and further are not aligned with anything like the rectangularity and parallelism of the

¹ See above, p. 261.

other work. The piece of wall between **41** and **42** is probably still earlier than the building about **39** and **41**, though if it formed part of a latrine or some such structure it might be contemporary. The fact that the pottery found here shews the work in this region to be older than the Court and Megaron bears out the evidence of the walls themselves. To the north beside the figure **17** there is a bit of wall which shews at one place the marks of small pieces of wood imbedded across it in clay. The masonry is of small stones not laid evenly to a line, and the wall as a whole is not quite parallel to the wall north of **38** nor to that north of **41**. I do not think then that it can be contemporary with either of them. On the other hand, it is almost exactly at right angles to the west wall of the structure built over **41** and **39**, which fact could be explained on the grounds that it preceded the other and dictated its alignment. As Mr. Wace points out,¹ the presence of clay plaster on the face of the wall by **17** below the level of the North Corridor shews that it is older than the corridor. He assigns it tentatively to the First Palace; it is certainly one of the oldest fragments of any considerable size, but I do not think necessarily earlier than Late Helladic II.

A few parts of the Palace then can be arranged in chronological sequence with reasonable assurance thus :—I. Wall by **17**; II. Structure over **41** and **39**; III. Structure over **38** and **36** and probably **37**; IV. Megaron, Court, and Room of the Throne; V. Structure employing the great conglomerate column bases on top of the hill. Another series can be formulated thus :—I. 'Old Wall' south-west of **51**; II. Pillar Basement and perhaps an early room at **52**; III. Main section of West Terrace Wall, Propylon, Terrace (**6**) and Guardroom (**3**, **4**). I believe that the Pillar Basement antedates the general lay-out of the Megaron, Court and Throne Room, and I believe that these in turn antedate the main section of the West Terrace Wall, though in these cases the proof is not so definite as in the case of the two sequences given above. I am inclined to group as contemporaries :—I. The Pillar Basement, and early room at **52** and the large rectangular structure above **36**, **38**; II. The Western Portal, the Megaron, Court and Throne Room; III. The column bases on top of the hill, the similar bases between **9** and **10**, and the West Terrace Wall. I should certainly hesitate to suggest any other sequences or groups.

LEICESTER B. HOLLAND.

¹ See above, p. 222.

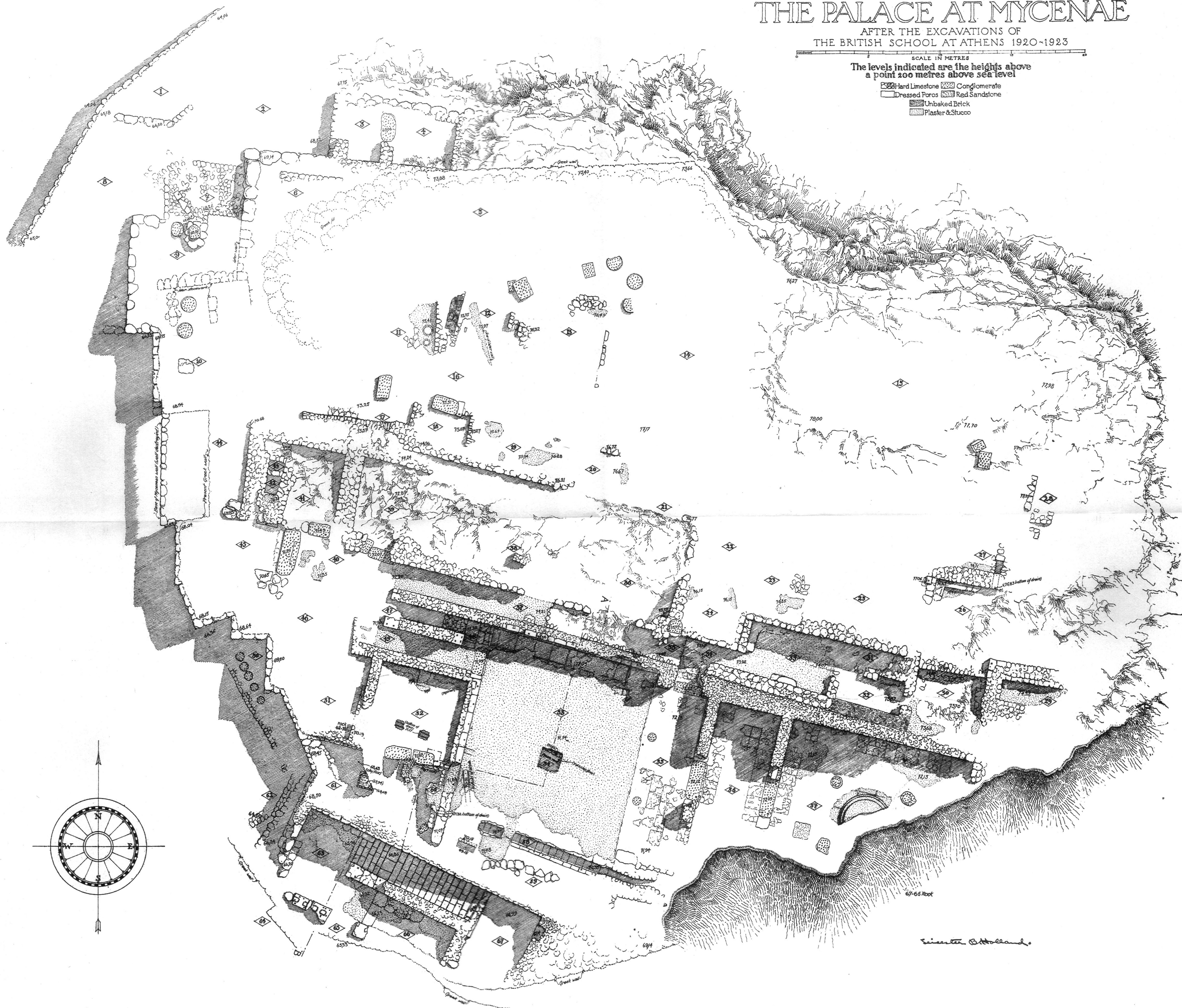
THE PALACE AT MYCENAE

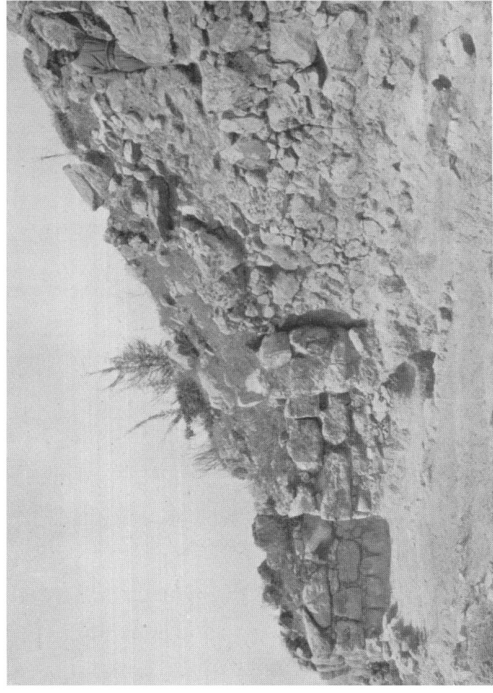
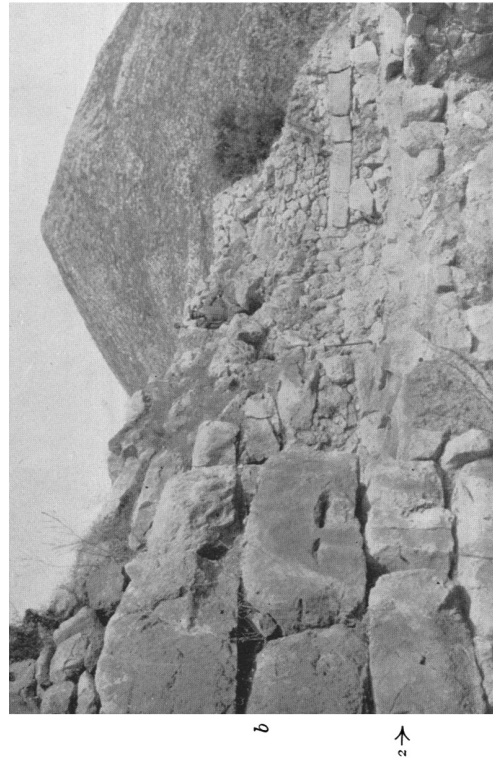
AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF
THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS 1920-1923

SCALE IN METRES

The levels indicated are the heights above
a point 200 metres above sea level

Hard Limestone Conglomerate
 Dressed Poros Red Sandstone
 Unbaked Brick
 Plaster & Stucco





↑ 2

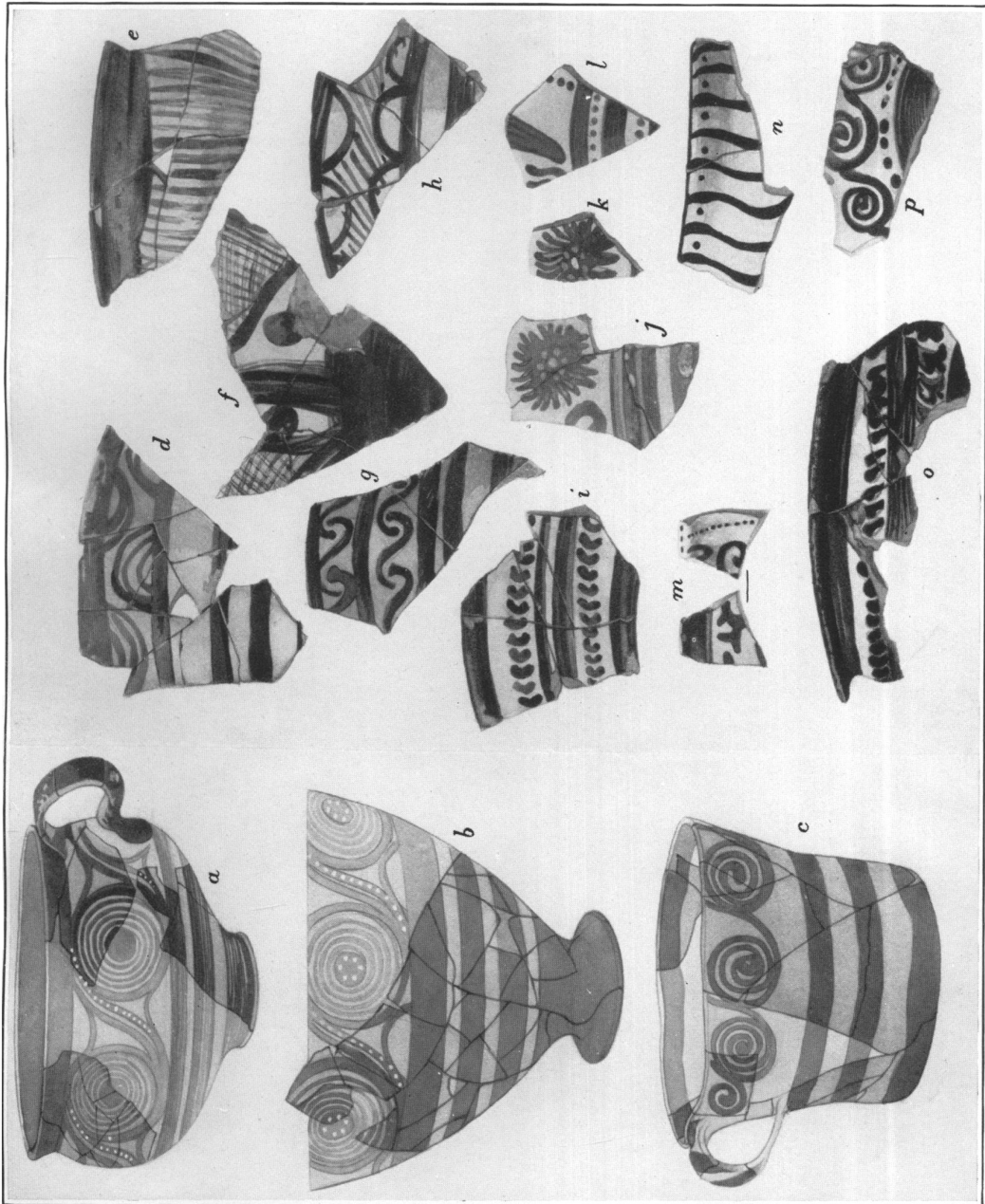
↑ 4

↑ 3

↑ 6

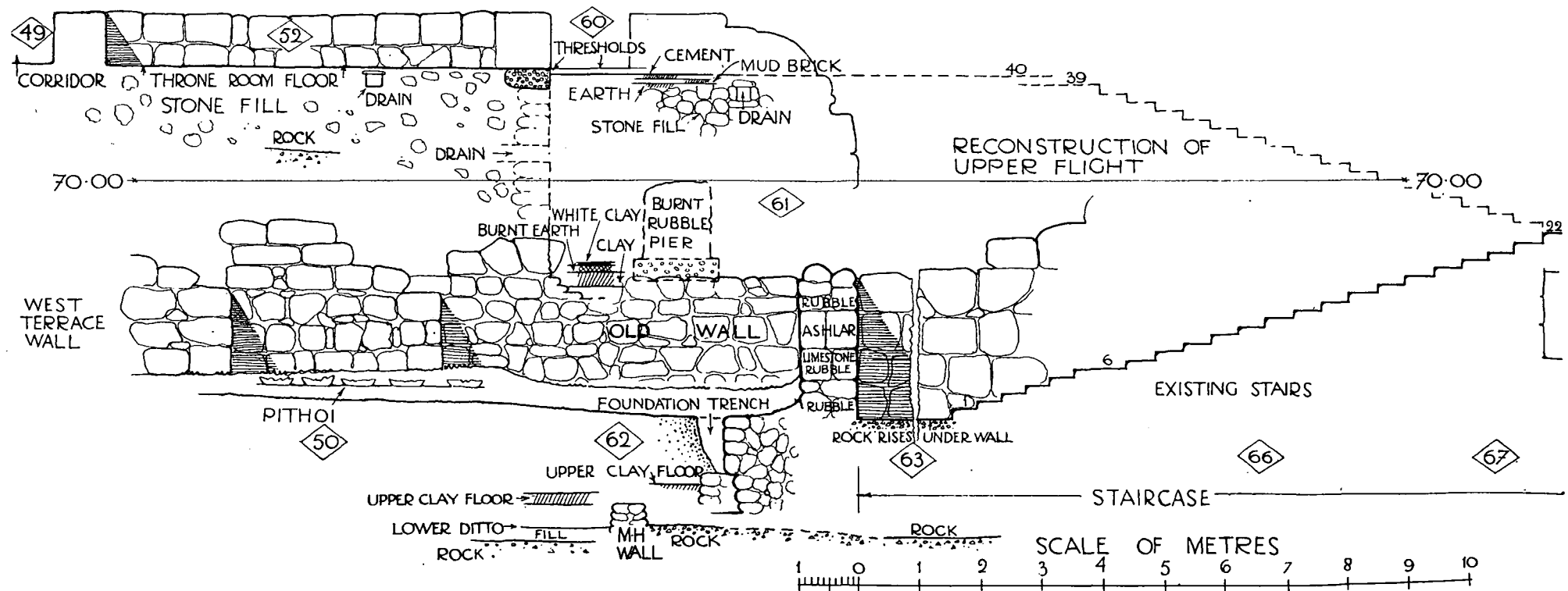
PALACE : GRAND STAIRCASE AND PITHOS AREA.

a, GRAND STAIRCASE FROM W.; *1*, Bench, *d*, CONGLOMERATE THRESHOLD.
b, *c*, PITHOS AREA, *b* FROM N.; *2*, Pithos; *3*, W. Wall of Staircase; *4*, W. Terrace Wall; *5*, 'Old Wall'; *6*, Man standing by N. Wall of Pillar Basement.

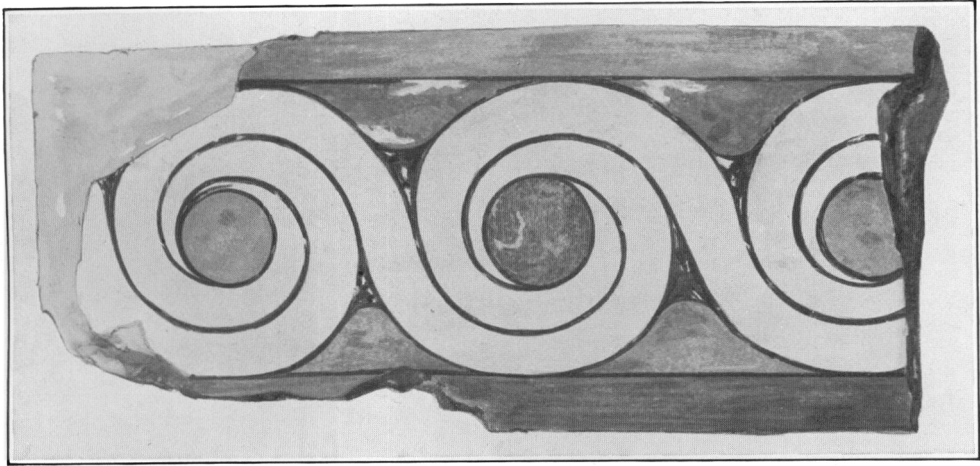


PALACE: L.H. I. POTTERY FROM BELOW FLOOR OF EAST LOBBY OF GRAND STAIRCASE. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 2.)

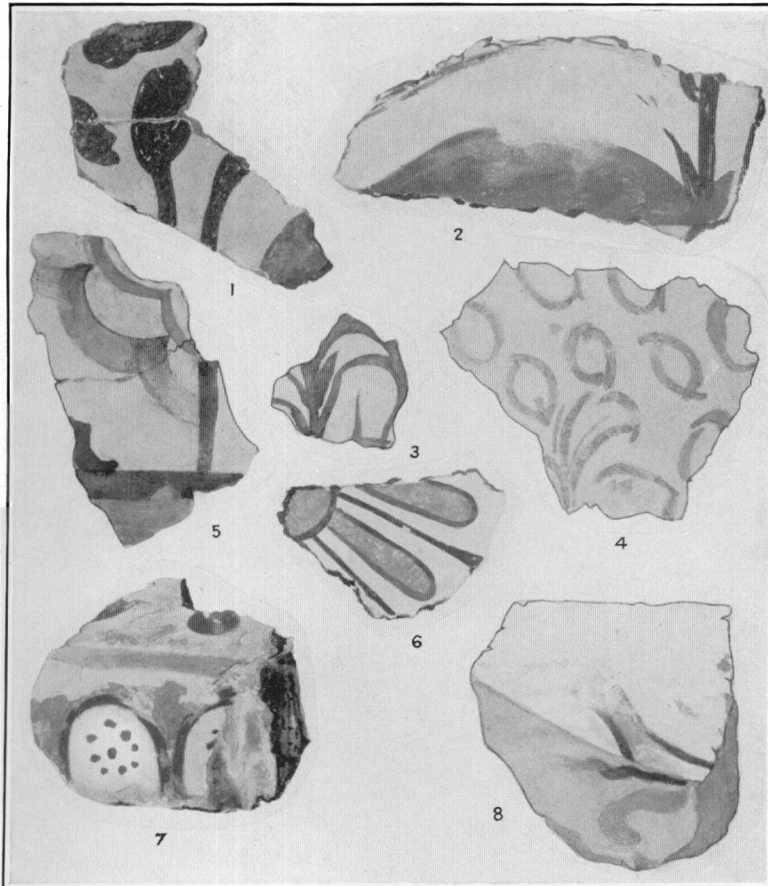
· MYCENÆ · PITHOS AREA · DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION · PALACE ·



PALACE: DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION OF PITHOS AREA.

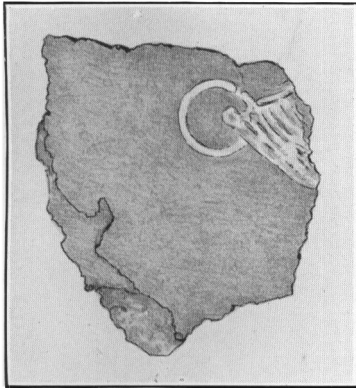


PALACE : *a*, STUCCO STEP FROM ROOM N. OF WESTERN PORTAL. (Scale 1 : 2.)

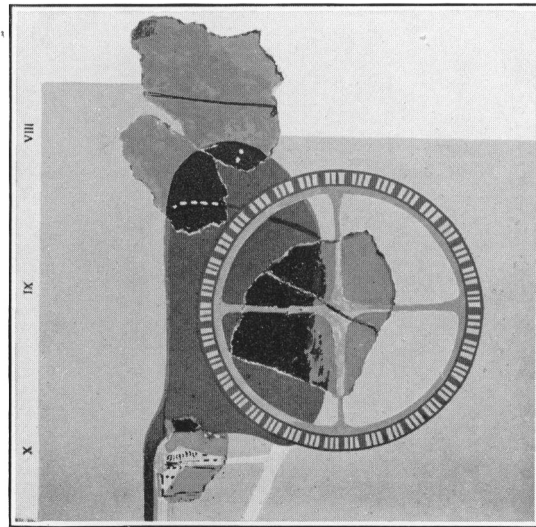


PALACE : *b*, FRESCO FRAGMENTS. (Scale 2 : 3.)

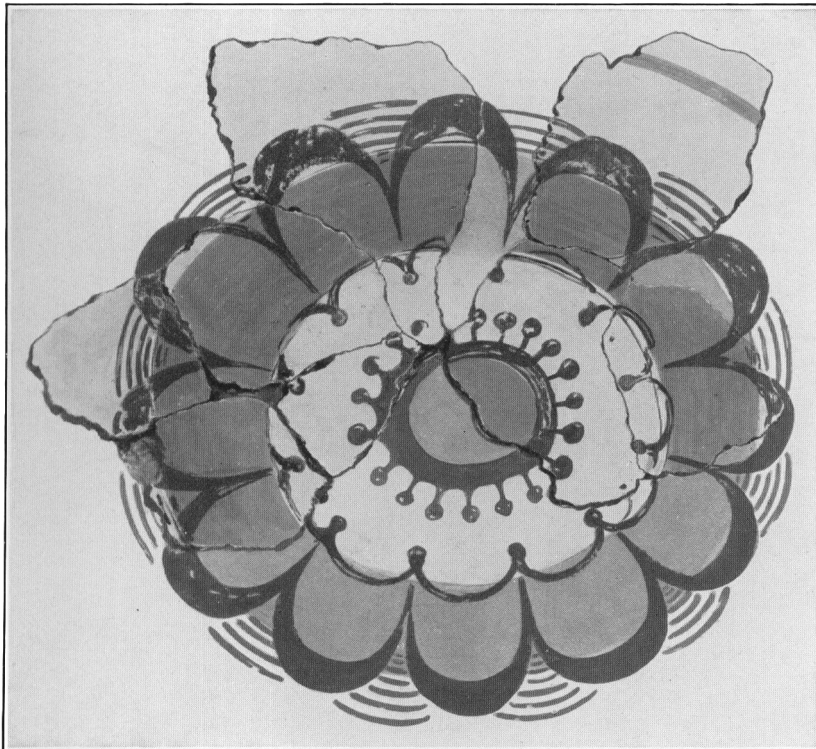
1, 2, FROM EAST LOBBY; 3-5, PITHOS AREA; 6, GUARDROOM; 7, PORCH; 8, MEGARON.



c

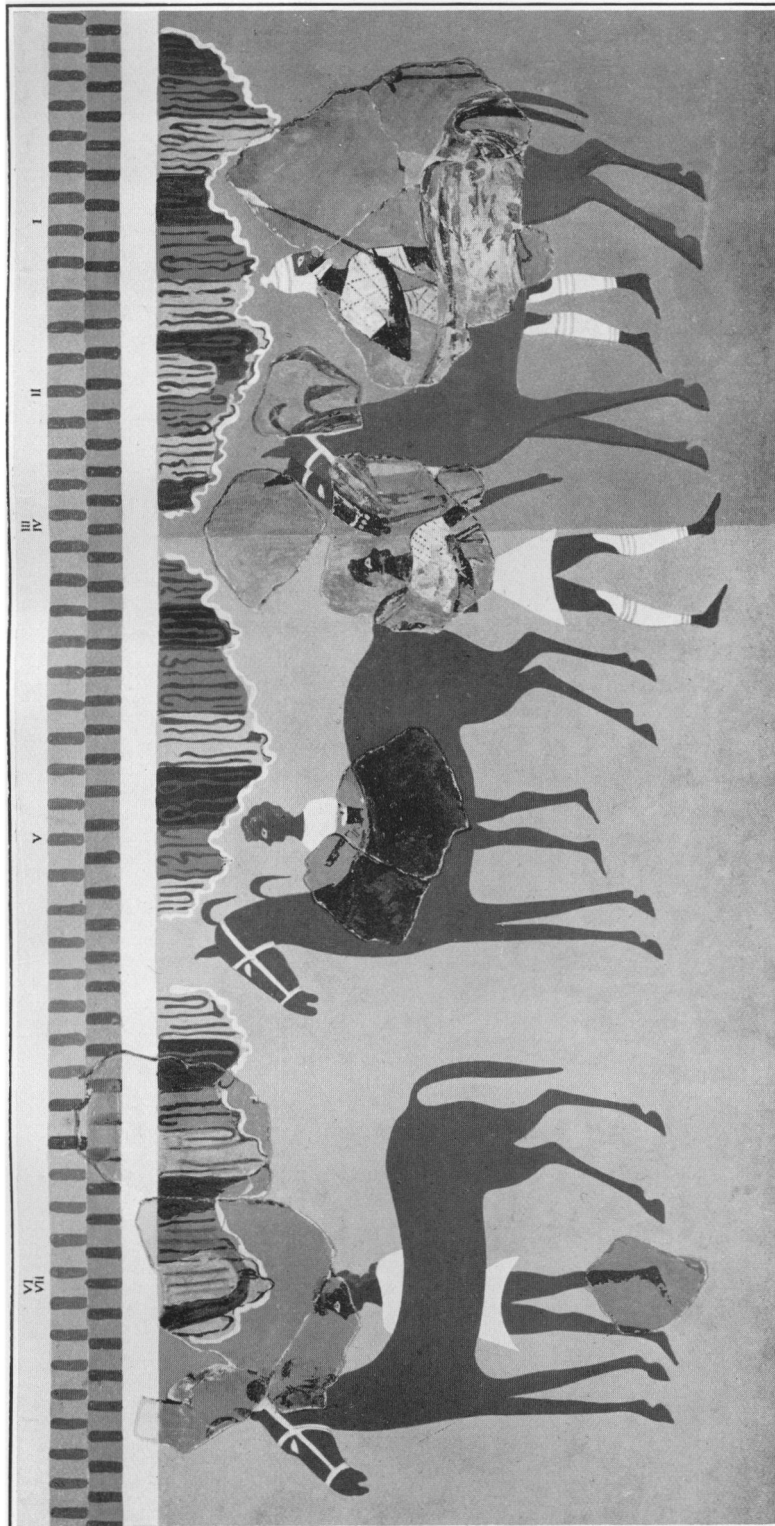


b

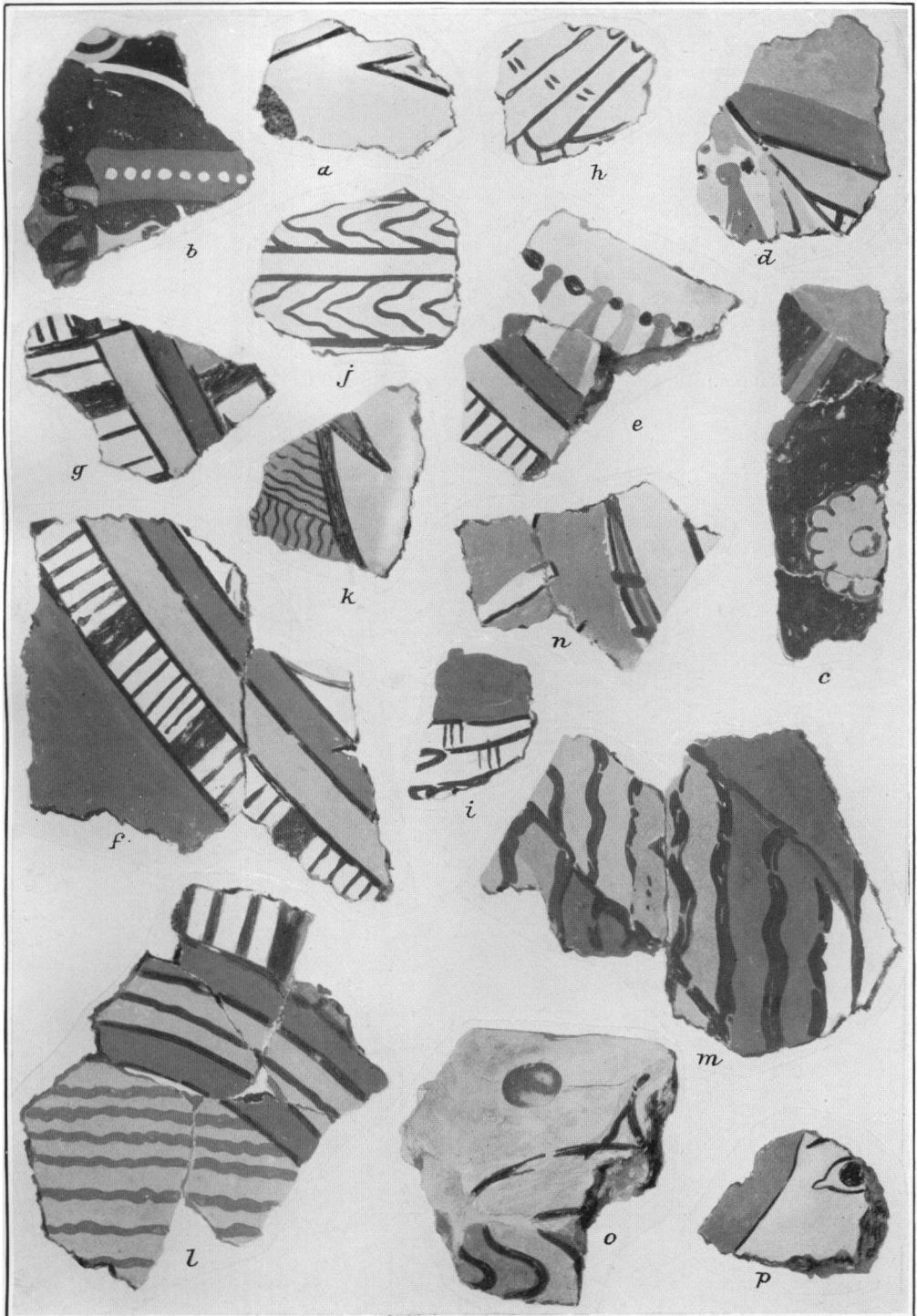


a

PALACE : FRESCO FRAGMENTS.
a, RECONSTRUCTED FRAGMENTS FROM PITHOS AREA, A2, B14 (v). (Scale 1 : 2.)
b, DITTO CHARIOT FROM FRIEZE. (Pl. XXVII.) (Scale 1 : 3.)
c, HELMET ON FRAGMENT OF MEGARON FRESCO. (Scale 2 : 3.)
 Athens Museum.



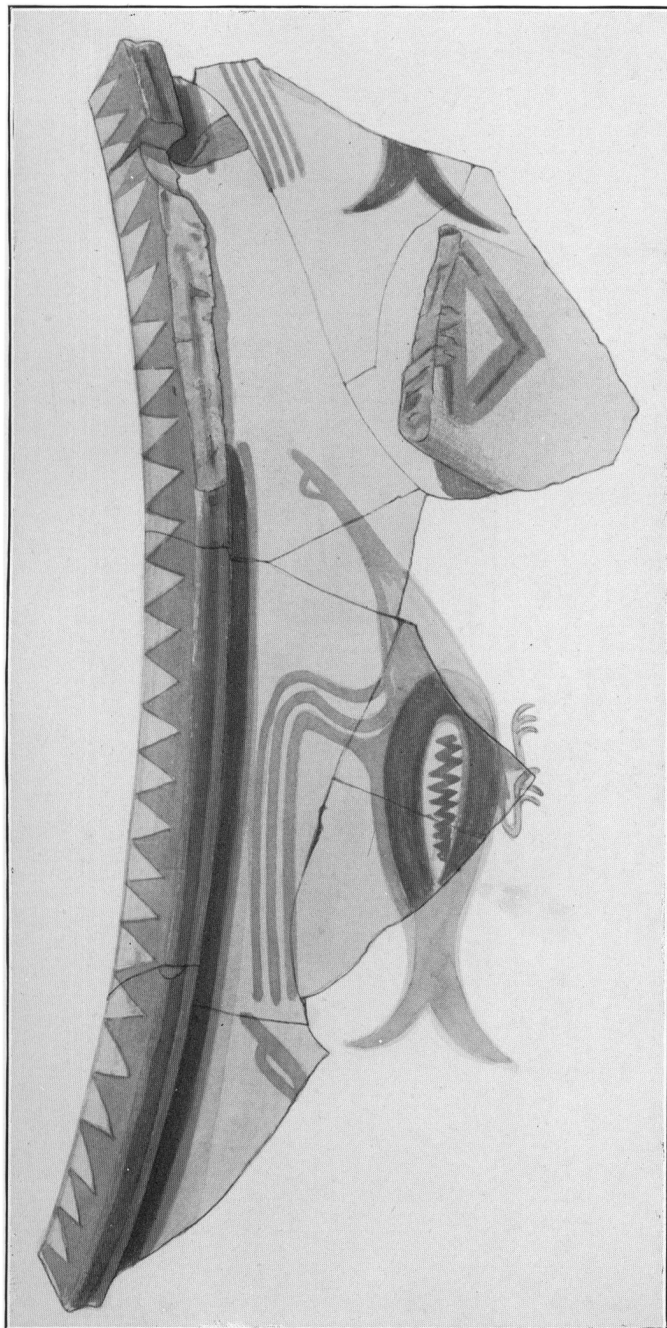
PALACE: RECONSTRUCTION OF FRESCO FRIEZE OF WARRIOR, GROOMS AND HORSES (B. I.). FROM TSOUNTAS' EXCAVATIONS. (Scale 1 : 3.)
Athens Museum.



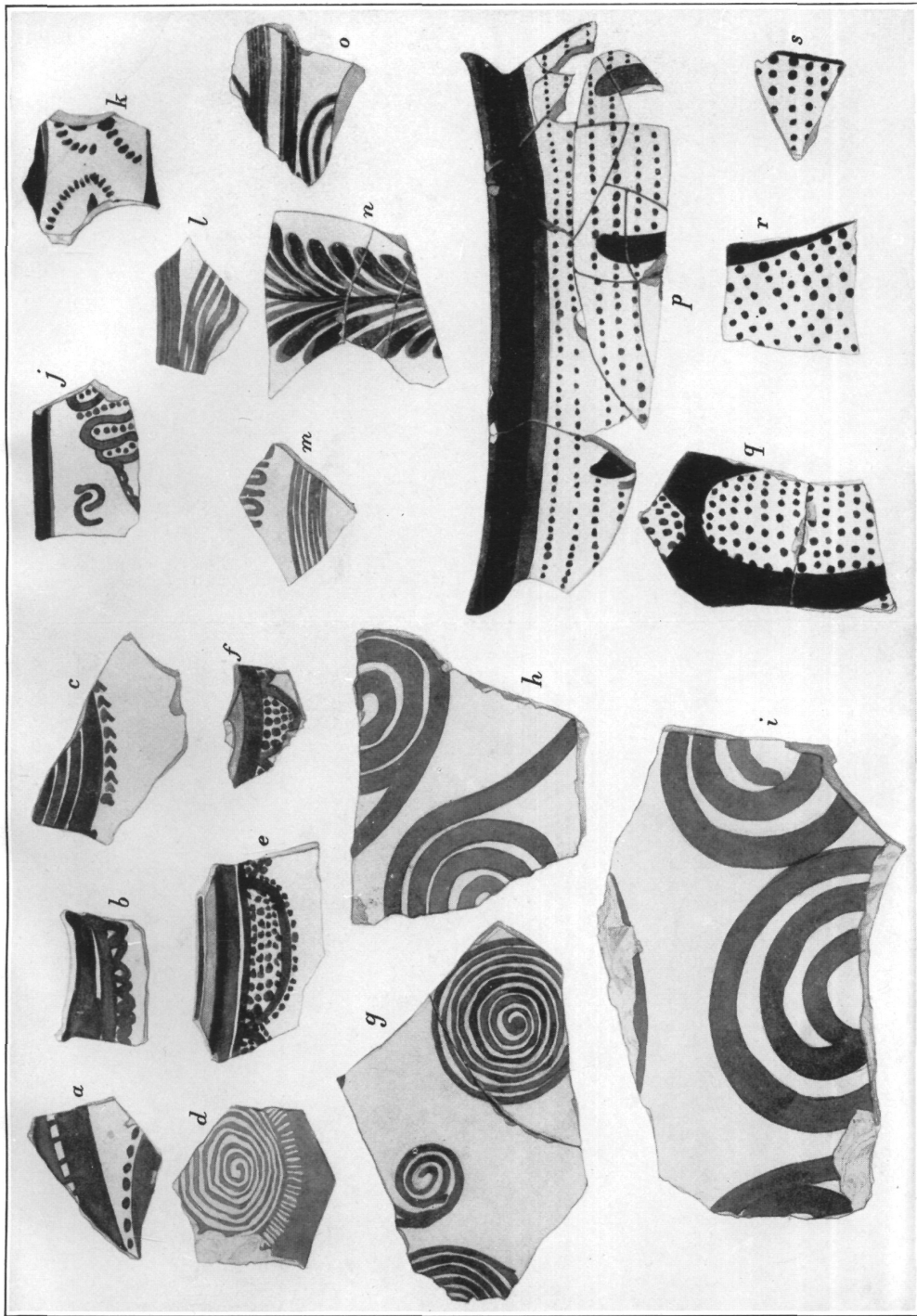
PALACE : FRESCO FRAGMENTS FROM TSOUNTAS' EXCAVATIONS. (Scale 2 : 3.) Nauplia Museum.



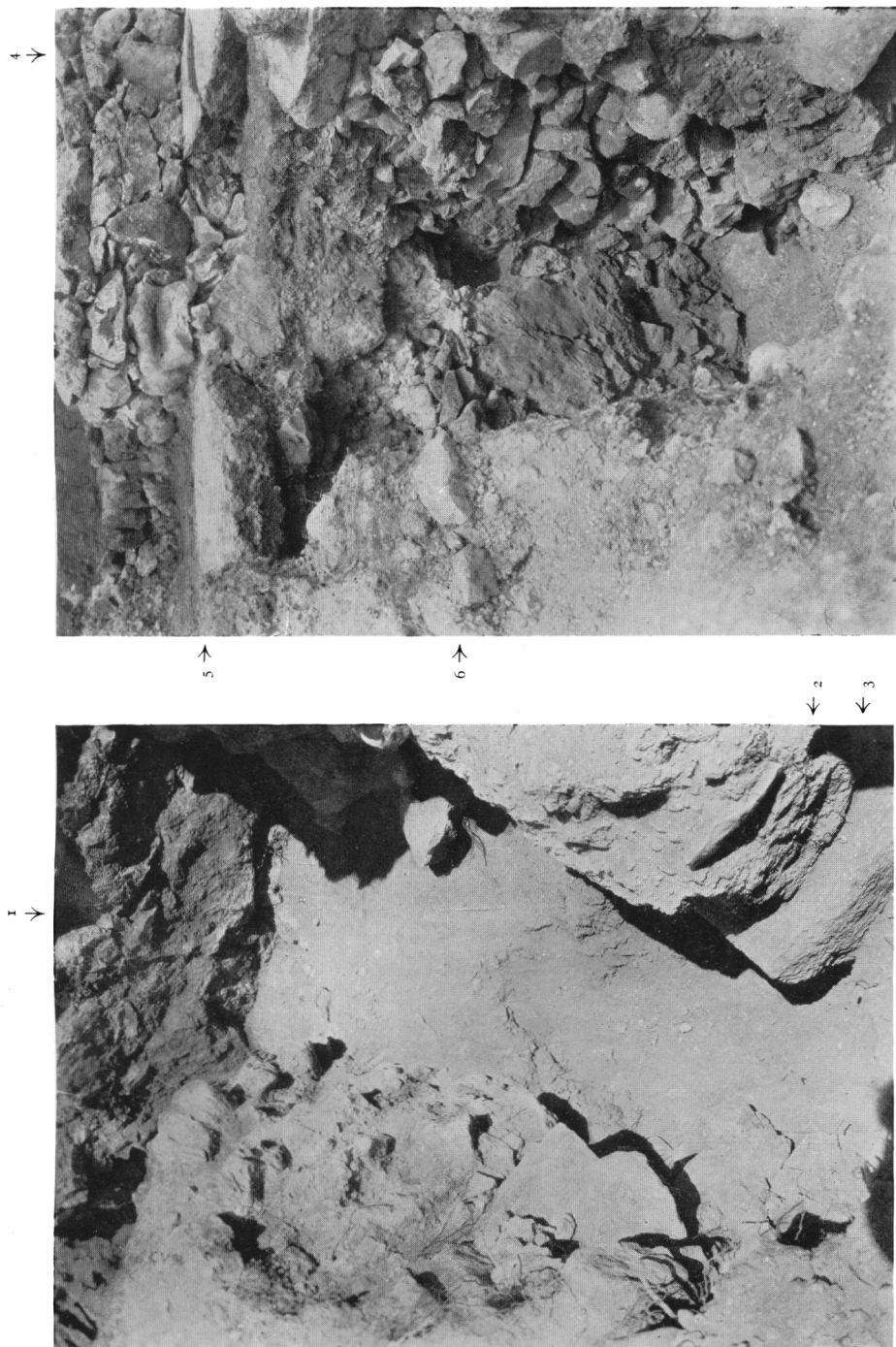
PALACE : FRESCO, RECONSTRUCTION OF SPIRAL AND LOTUS DESIGN (B. II.) FROM TSOUNTAS' EXCAVATIONS. (Scale 1 : 4.)
Nauplia Museum.



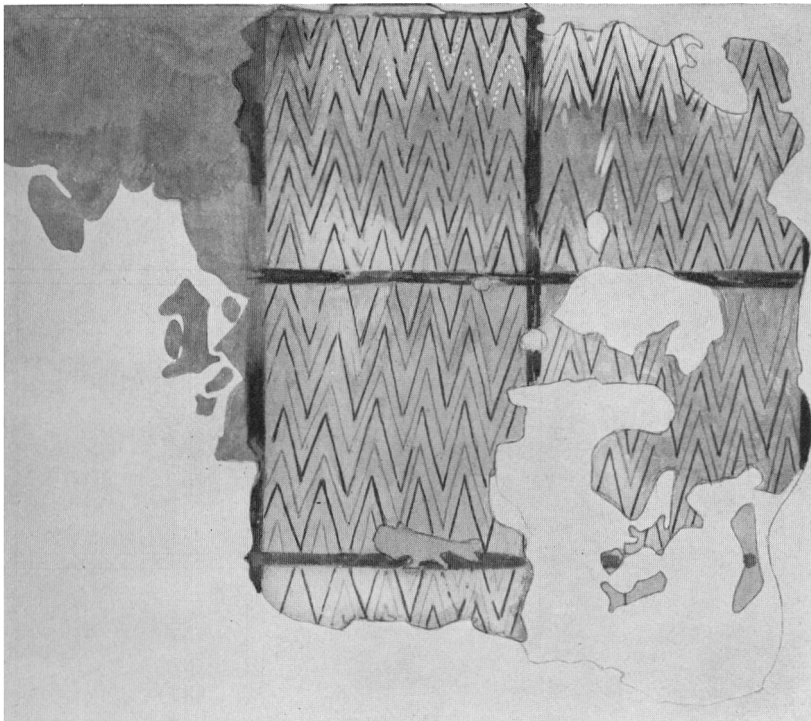
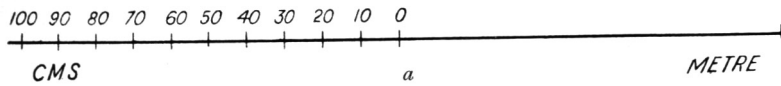
PALACE : PITHOS AREA, FRAGMENT OF M.H. VASE (MATT-PAINTED GROUP B. III.) (Scale 1 : 2.)



PALACE: M.H., L.H. I. AND L.H. III. VASE FRAGMENTS. (Scale *ca.* 1 : 2.)
 M.H.: *a-c*, *e-i*, MATT-PAINTED GROUP B. II.; *d*, GROUP D. I., FROM PITHOS AREA.
 L.H. I.: *p*, FROM PITHOS AREA; *q-s*, FROM WEST LOBBY OF GRAND STAIRCASE.
 L.H. III.: *j-o*, FROM PILLAR BASEMENT.



a PALACE : THE PILLAR BASEMENT.
 WESTERN PART. 1, North Wall; 2, Rubble Pillar; 3, Conglomerate Base.
b, N.E. ANGLE. 4, Red Sandstone Threshold; 5, Room of Throne, E. Threshold; 6, Drain.



b

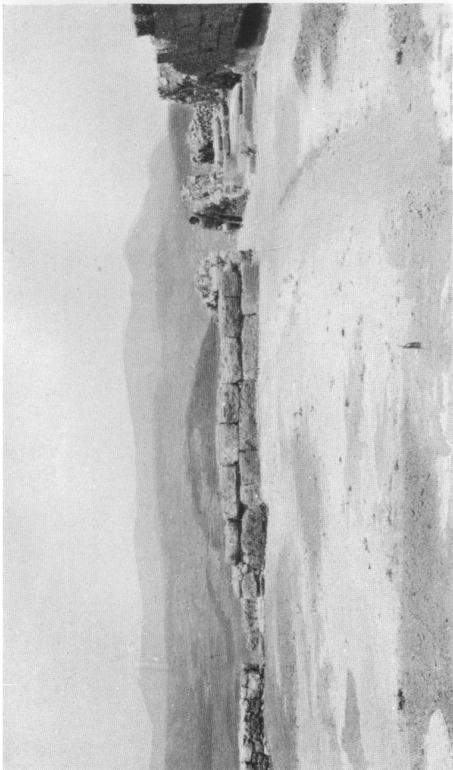
PALACE : PAINTED STUCCO FLOORS.

a, FROM ROOM OF THRONE.

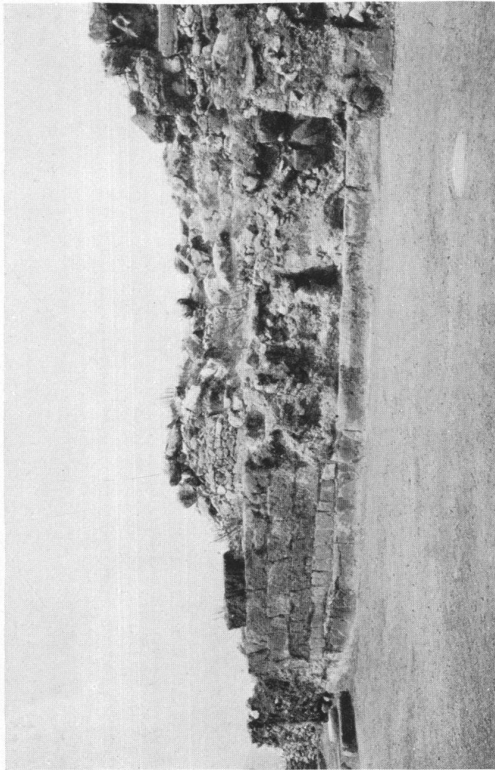
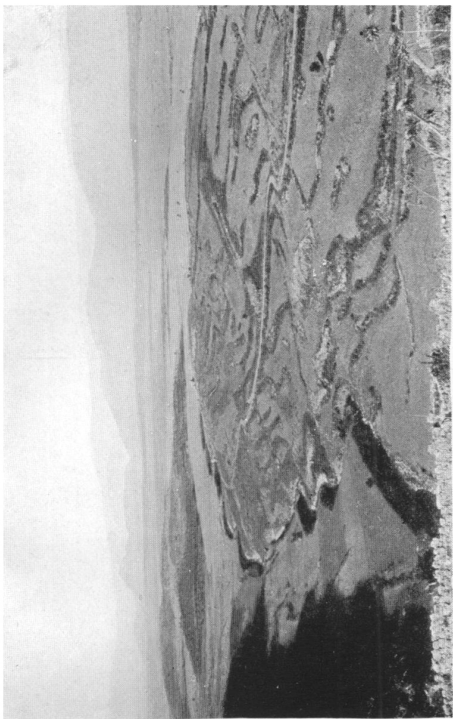
b, FROM VESTIBULE. (Scale 1 : 20.)

1
2
↓
↓

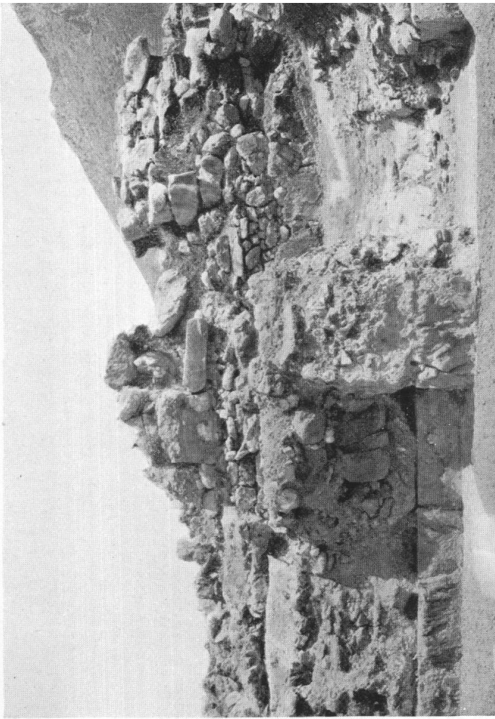
b



a



c



8

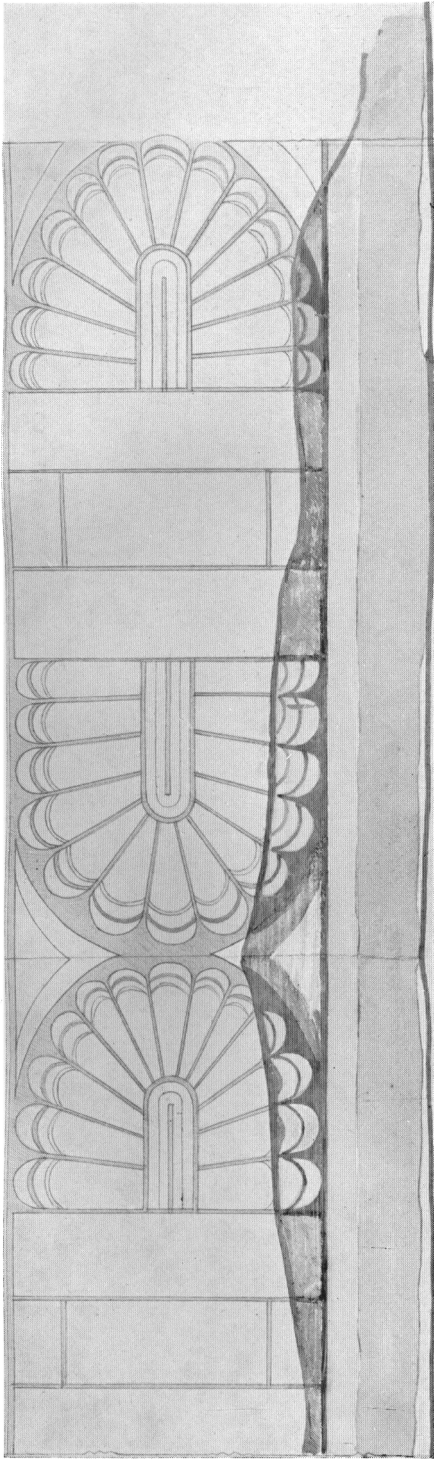
7

d

5

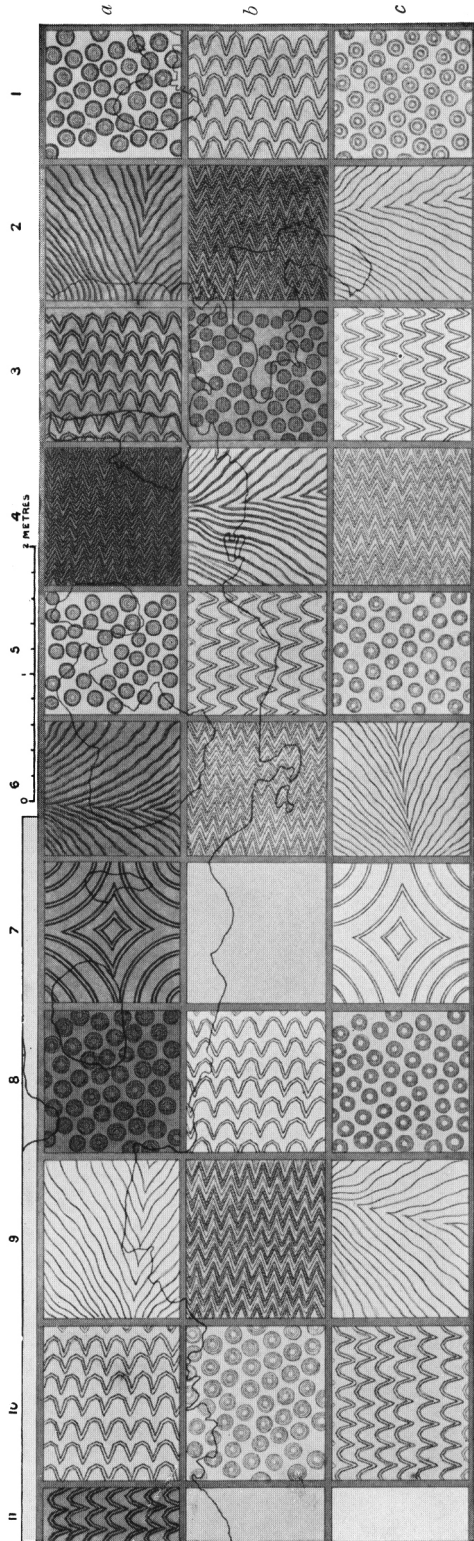
PALACE: THE COURT.

4. WEST SIDE. 1. Foot of Stair; 2. West Corridor; 3. Red Sandstone Threshold.
 5. VIEW OF ARCHIVE PLAIN TO N. WOODEN BEAM; 6. N. COLUMN BASE.
 7. NORTH WALL. 8. EARLIER WALL BEHIND; 9. STAIRCASE; 10. SAWN THRESHOLD.
 11. NORTH WALL (E. END) AND STAIRCASE. 12. Anta of Porch; 13. Staircase; 14. Sawn Threshold.



10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
CENTIMETRES

a



1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

METRES

a

b

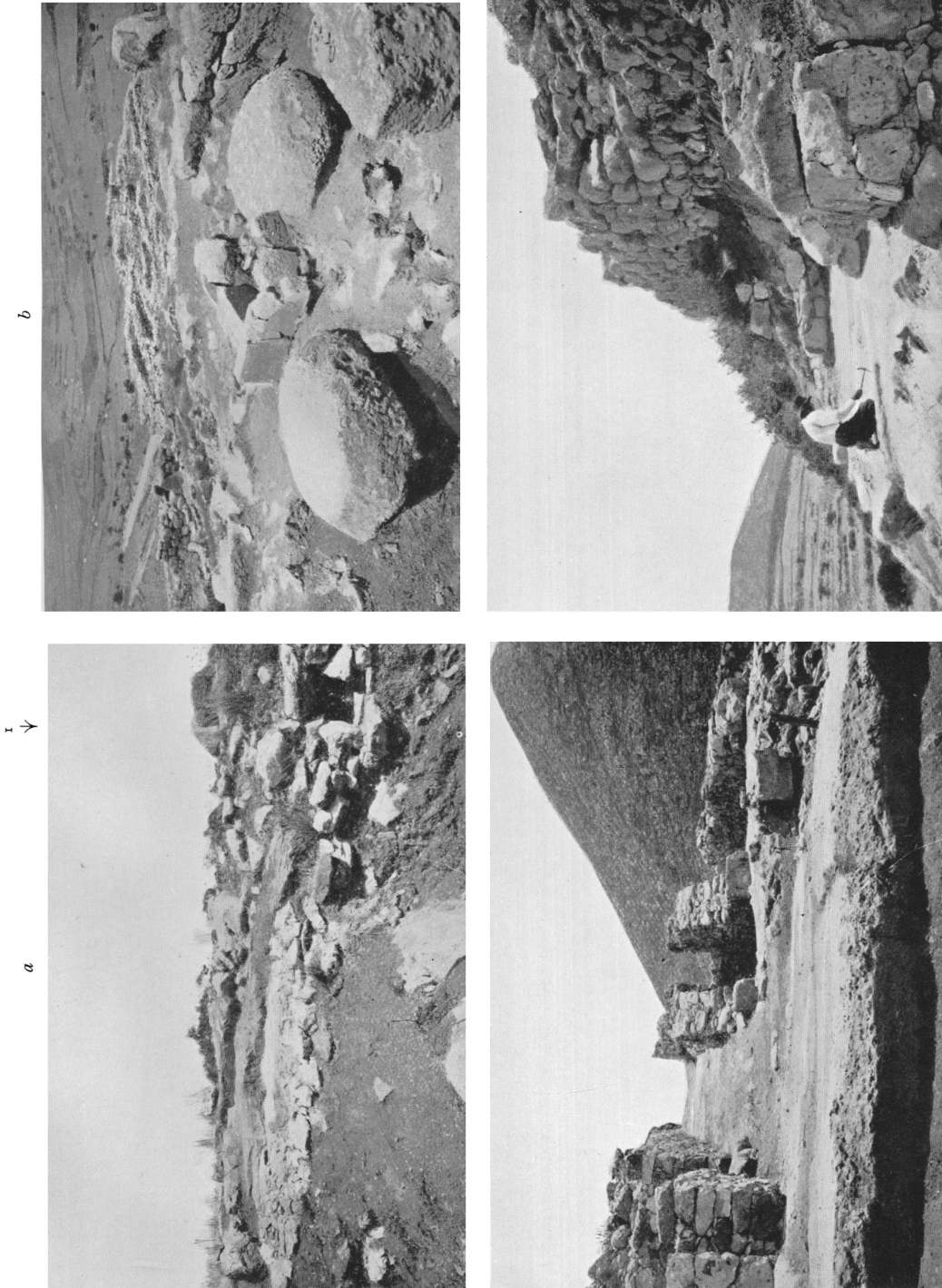
c

b

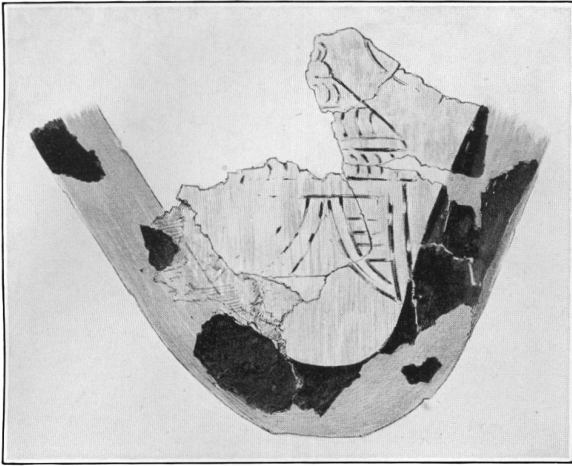
PALACE : PAINTED STUCCO.

a, DADO OF PORCH.

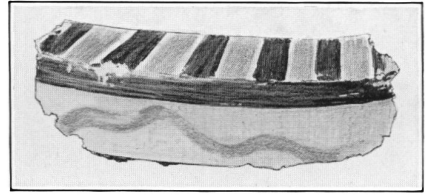
b, RECONSTRUCTION OF FLOOR ON N. SIDE OF COURT.



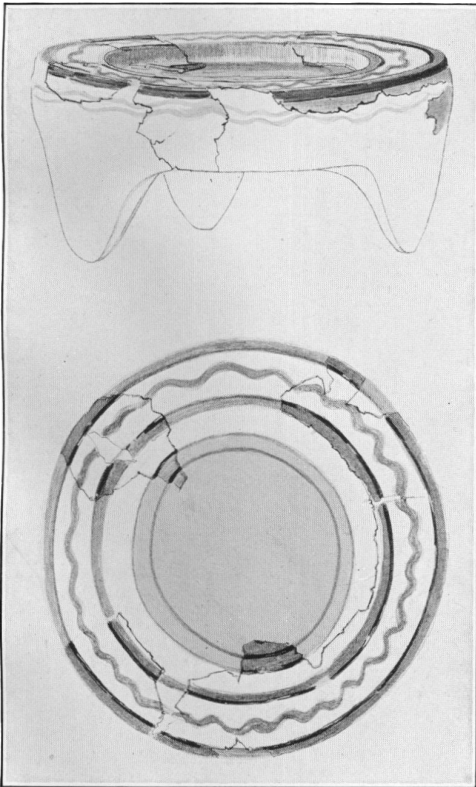
PALACE : WESTERN PORTAL, N.W. ANGLE AND RED BATH.
 a, THE RED BATH FROM S. 1, Drain.
 b, COLUMN BASES BY PROPYLION FROM E.
 c, WESTERN PORTAL FROM W. 2, Conglomerate Threshold; 3, S. Corridor; 4, W. ditto; 5, Closet under Stairs.
 d, GUARDROOM FROM W. 6, Supporting Wall at N. End of Doric Temple.



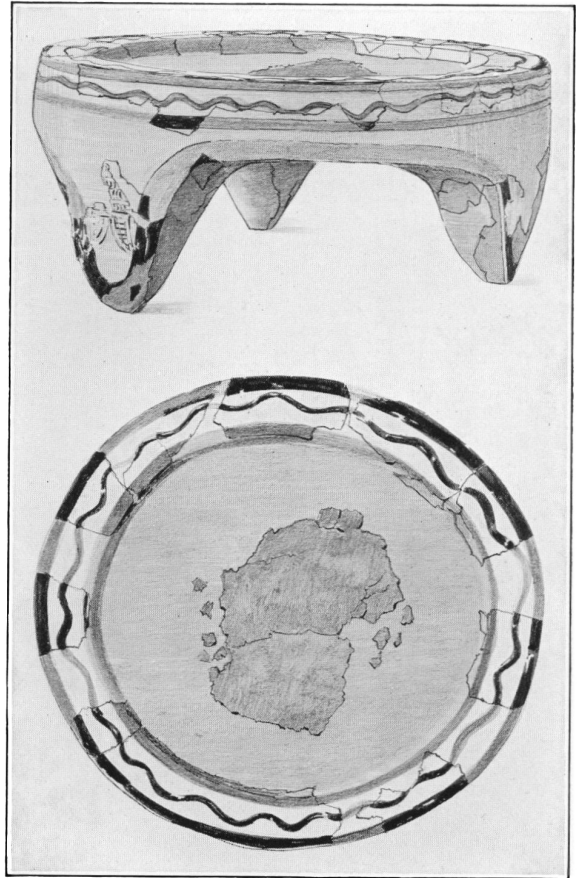
a



c



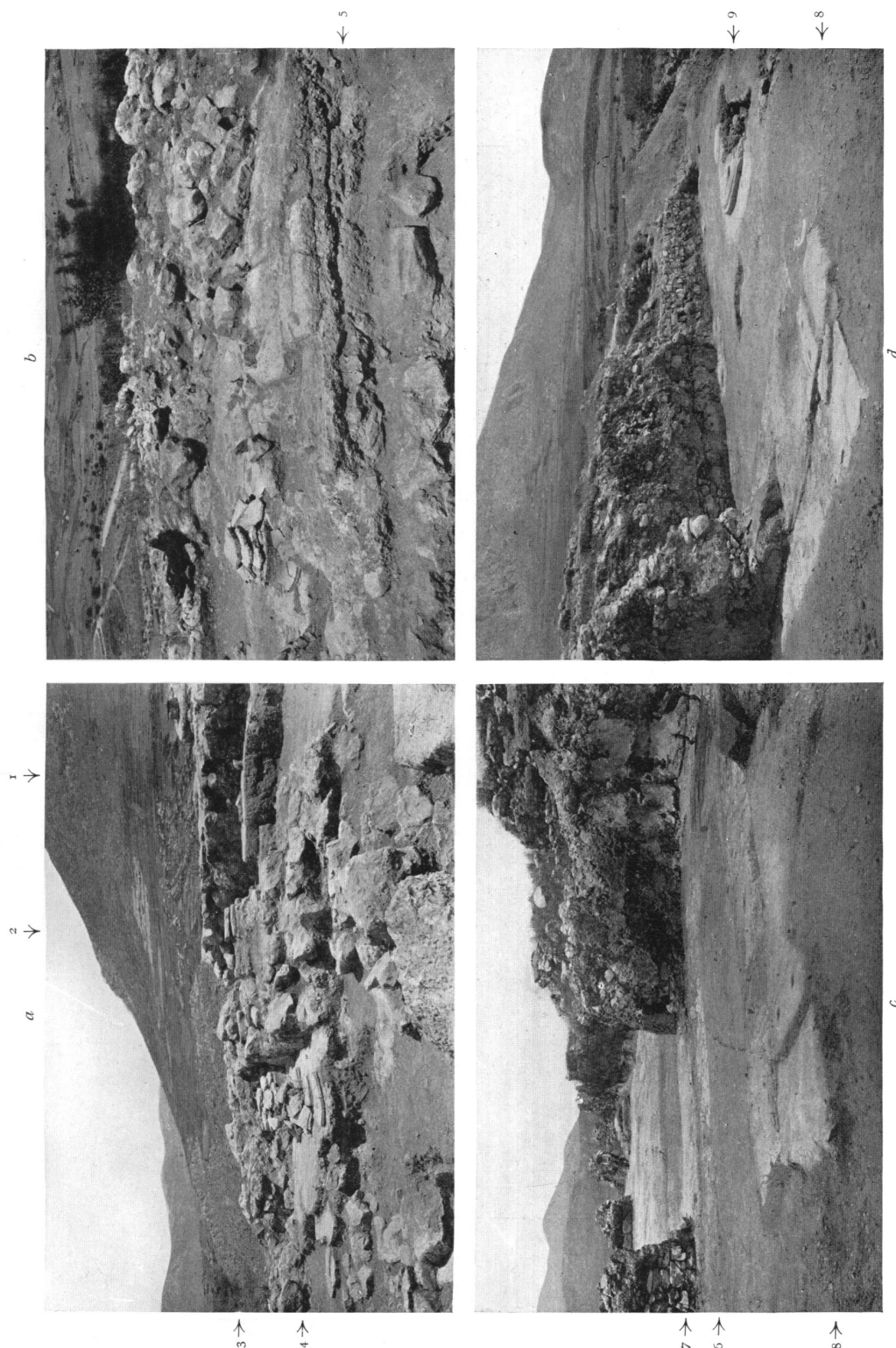
b



d

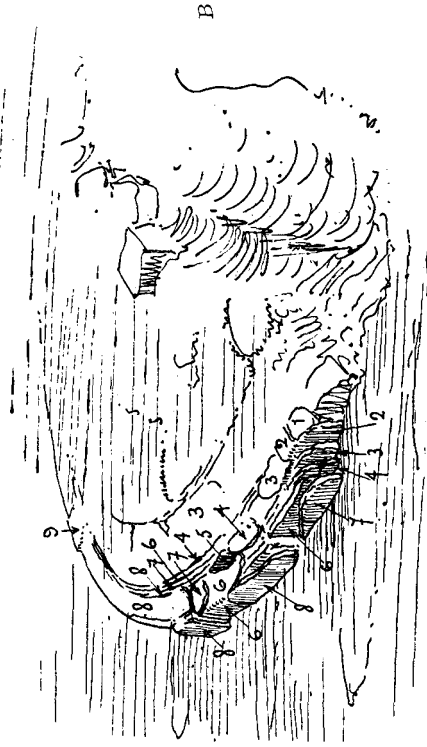
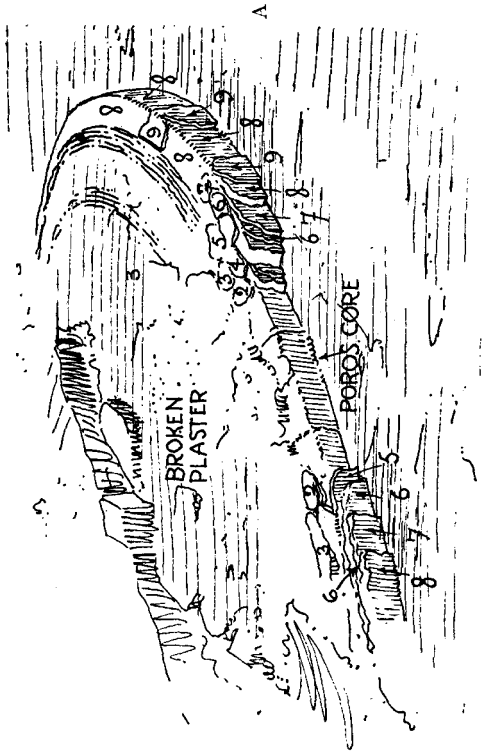
PALACE: STUCCO ALTARS.

- a*, LEG OF ALTAR I (*d*) FROM SHRINE. (Scale 1:2.)
b, ALTAR III. FROM TSOUNTAS' EXCAVATIONS. (Scale 1:6.)
c, FRAGMENT OF ALTAR II. FROM SHRINE. (Scale 1:3.)
d, ALTAR I. FROM SHRINE. (Scale 1:6.)

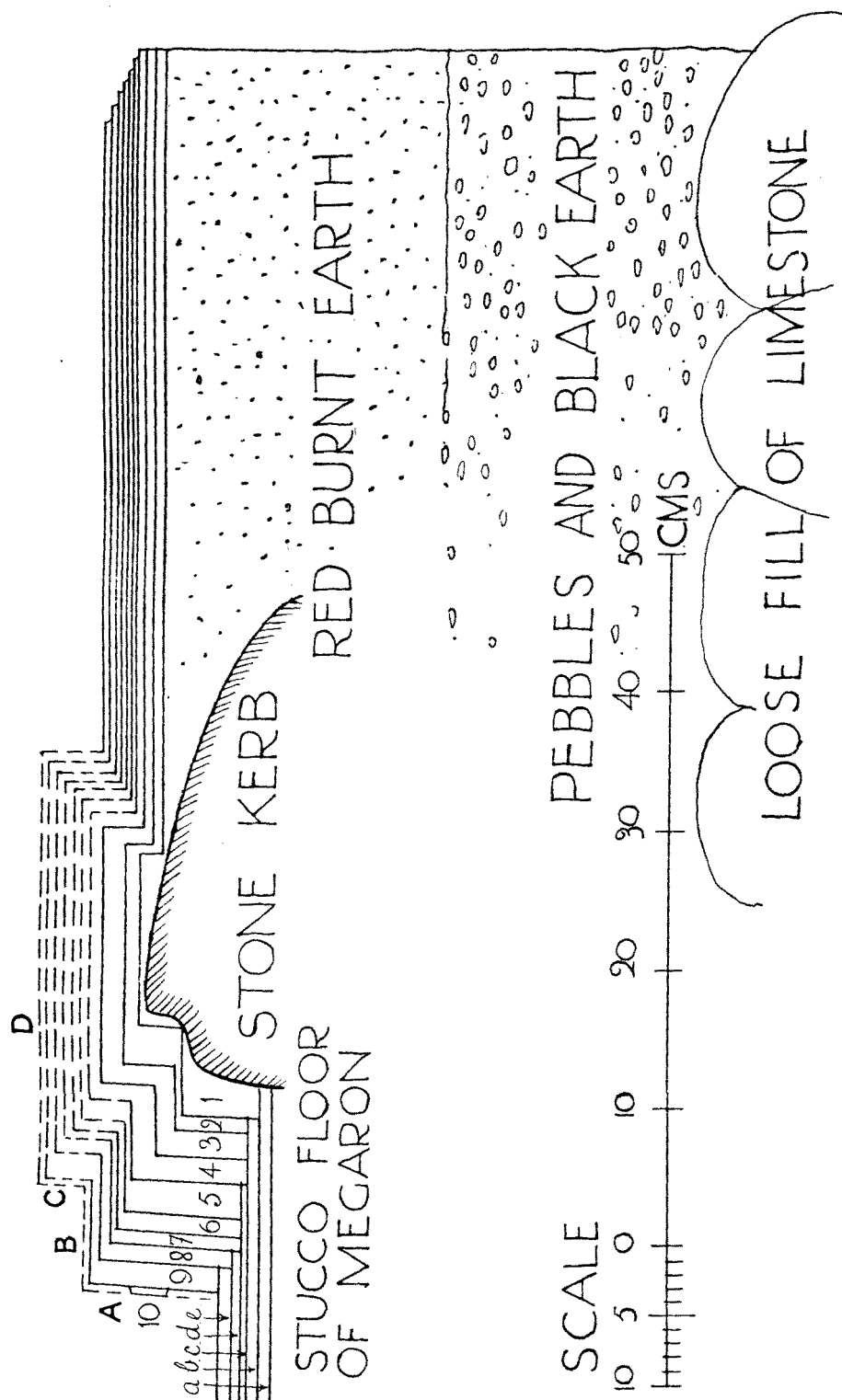


PALACE : SHRINE AND MEGARON.

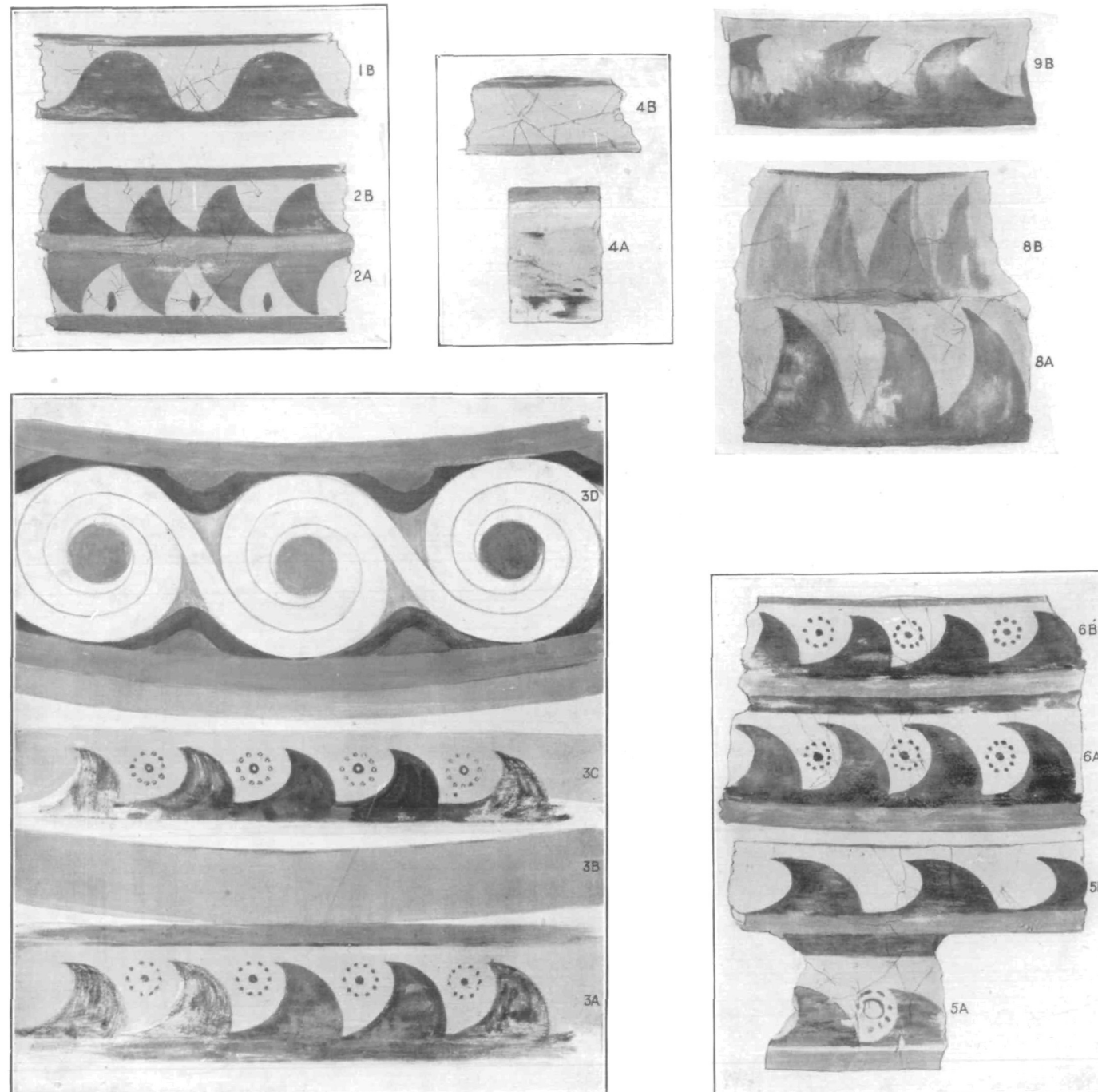
- a, SHRINE AND CHAMBER OF PITHOI. 1, Doric Temple Foundation; 2, West Wall, and 3, Cement Floor of Shrine; 4, Pithoi.
 b, CRUDE BRICK WALL OF SHRINE. 5, Crude Bricks.
 c, VESTIBULE, PORCH AND COURT. 6, Vestibule; 7, Threshold from Porch; 8, do. to Megaron.
 d, MEGARON FROM VESTIBULE. 9, Hearth; 10, Threshold to Megaron.



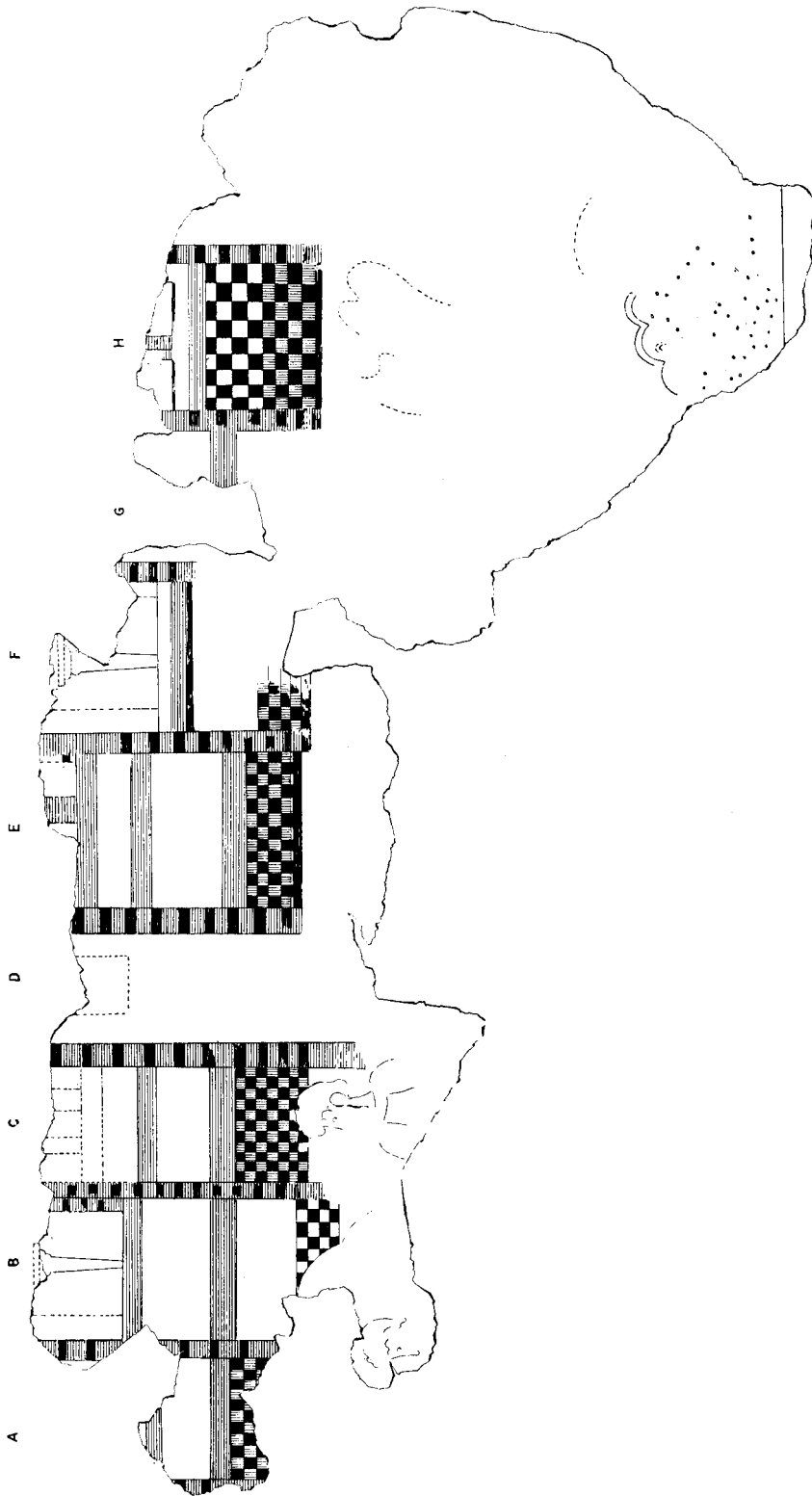
PALACE : HEARTH IN MEGARON.
 A, FROM E. } Numbers indicate the successive Layers of painted Stucco.
 B, FROM W. }



PALACE : MEGARON. SECTION ACROSS HEARTH.



PALACE : MEGARON. PATTERNS PAINTED ON SUCCESSIVE LAYERS OF STUCCO HEARTH. (Scale 1 : 4.)



PALACE: SKETCH RECONSTRUCTION OF FRESCO FROM MEGARON. (Scale 1 : 3.)



PALACE: FRESCO FROM MEGARON. (Scale 1 : 3.)