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Where did they put it all?
Incorporation of storage in the Palace of Nestor

The palaces of the Mycenaean civilizations[1] have long been recognized as the administrative centers for the various regions of Bronze Age Greece, concerned with such tasks as the collection of taxes and the overseeing of land tenure. With their elaborate structure and large open courtyards they were also a popular site for ceremonial feasts and religious activities. In association with these various activities was the exceptional amount of space throughout these palaces that was dedicated to storage, ranging from small pantries for pottery to large magazines for wine and olive oil. It is the intent of this paper to examine the incorporation of these storage spaces into the general conception of the palaces, as well as investigate the relationship between these features and the activities that took place within the palace. The research will take an in-depth look into the use of space within the Palace of Nestor with special attention being paid to those spaces designed for storage. The contents of these individual storage spaces will then be analysed with a specific interest in what they may indicate about the activities that were conducted in the palace. The overall aim of this paper is to examine the element of storage in the Palace of Nestor in the late Pylian Kingdom, and more specifically the importance of storage in understanding the functionality of the palace.

Spatial Analysis of Palaces

Architectural Layout of Main Building

In the Mycenaean palaces a new room known as the *megaron* became the heart of these elaborate structures. The *megaron* at the Palace of Nestor

[1] The period that this paper will concentrate on is that of the Late Bronze Age (1680-1050 BC), more specifically the middle of the Late Helladic from 1400-1200 BC, which is considered that high period for Mycenaean palaces. The Mycenaean civilization was heavily influenced by the earlier Minoan society that had settled on Crete. At the onset of the Bronze Age on the mainland there was a substantial increase in trade between the mainland and Crete, which reached a pinnacle during the two hundred years know as the "Golden Age" of Cretan palaces. This increase in contact led to the establishment of much more complex civilizations throughout the mainland, and in turn a great number of similarities between Cretan and Mycenaean palaces can be witnessed. From 1400-1200 BC these Mycenaean palaces were at their peak which coincides, not surprisingly, with the height of Mycenaean prosperity.

was located in the centre of the main building of the palace and consisted of a large hearth in the middle of the room, surrounded by four pillars which supported a second- storey balcony (Number 6 on Key Plan, Appendix A). There is a void in the floor to the northeast of the hearth where the throne for the *wanax*[2] was situated. The decorations flanking the throne, as well as the overall elegance of the room, lend to the belief that *megarons* were used to hold formal audiences.[3] The *megaron* was surrounded by storage rooms, staterooms, and stairways, which were all at one point in the evolution of the palace connected by two long corridors to the northeast and southwest of the *megaron*. The main entrance into the palace was located to the southeast on the linear axis of the *megaron*; a visitor wanting an audience with the king would have to proceed through three guarded propylons and an open courtyard before being allowed to enter the *megaron*. This room would have been at the center of a number of functions that occurred within the palace,[4] most of these concerning elite members of societies and, therefore, had a formal tone to them.[5] The highly decorated frescoes on the walls of the *megaron* display a high degree of craftsmanship, and are also indicative of the events that took place in the palace (Fig. 1).[6] The incorporation of storerooms into this structure is a key element in trying to understand the role of storage in the palace.

Fig.1 Fresco from *megaron*, lyre player. (Blegen & Rawson 2001: 14)

[2] In Mycenaean civilization the wanax was the ruler of a designated community.
[3] Shelmerdine, "Administration in the Mycenaean Palaces: Where's the Chief?" in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty & Parkinson (1999), 19
[4] The importance of this structure is evident in the objects recovered during excavations: many pieces of gold and silver, jewelry, and painted vessels.
[5] Ibid., 19
[6] Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (1994), 306 and Palaima, "Sacrificial Feasting in the Linear B Documents" in The Mycenaean Feast, ed. Wright (2004), 112

Storage in the Main Building

This paper will concentrate on the two largest buildings of the Palace of Nestor, the main building and southwest building, due in part to the large amount of interplay between these two buildings and because these two structures make up the bulk of the palace. In the main building there is by far the most amount of space dedicated to storage, with an abundance of this storage being allocated to the western corner of the building (Fig. 2). In analysing the storage spaces it is important to discuss whether the space is public or private, the indication of function based on items being stored, and the flow of pedestrian traffic in these areas. By examining these three aspects it will be possible to get a clear picture as to how the builders of the later Mycenaean palaces incorporated storage into their design and what role they played in the functionality of the palaces.

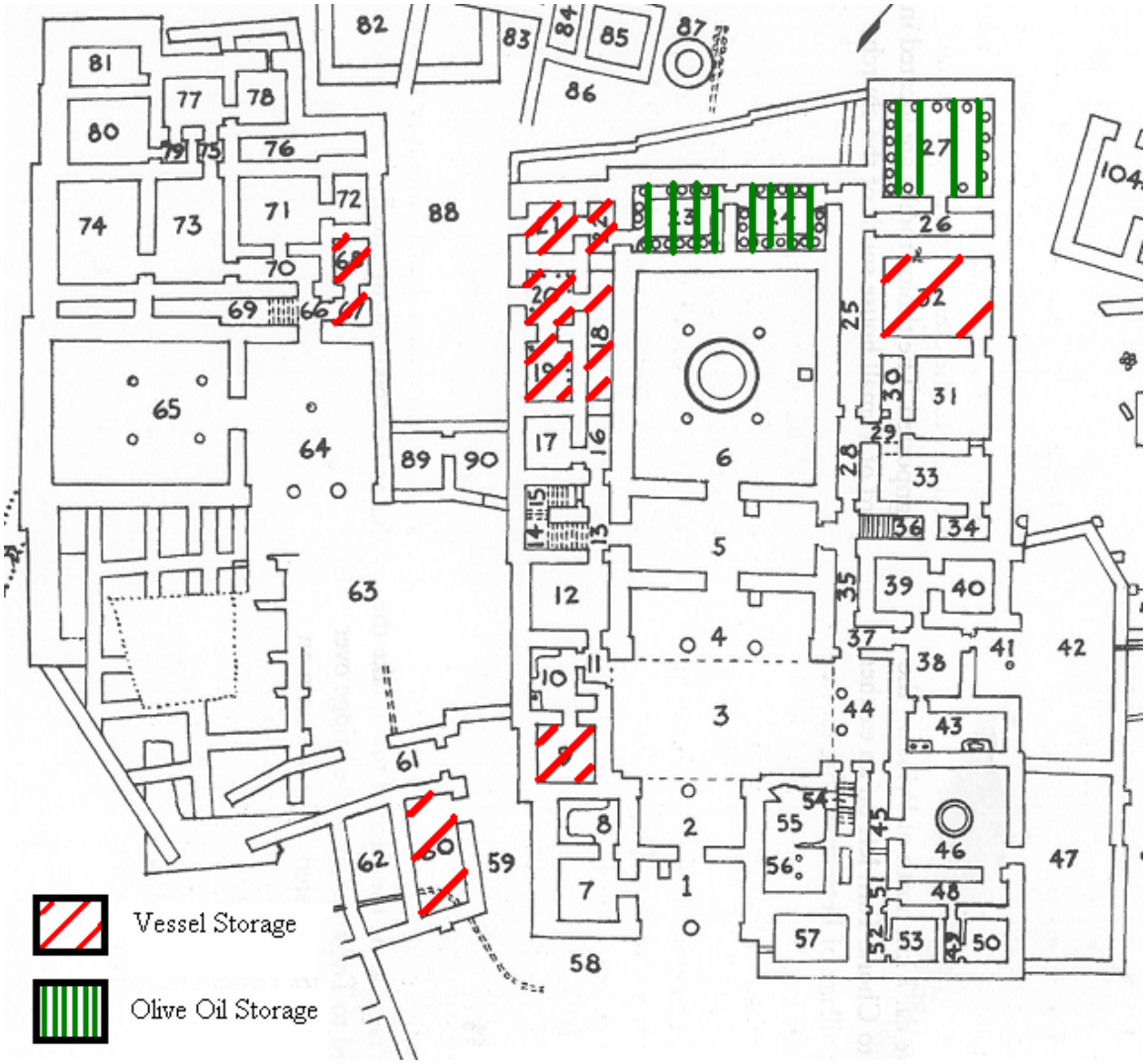


Fig.2 – Storage Areas throughout the palace.

Rooms 9 and 10

The first room being analysed is room 9 on the key plan of the Palace of Nestor, which is located in the southern corner of the main building. Room 9, along with the adjoining room 10, appear to have functioned together, with the former being a pantry stocked full of drinking vessels and the latter furnished with seating for guests of the palace, perhaps waiting for an audience with the king.[7] The waiting room, as room 10 is frequently called, was clearly a public space, as can be seen by the lack of evidence that a doorway ever existed between rooms 10 and 11 (Appendix B, ii), indicating that there was a constant flow of traffic in and out of the room. The absence of a door also leads to the conclusion that this room lacked the ability to be locked and shut off from the public. Room 9, on the other hand, appears to have been a private storage room with limited accessibility to the public. The doorway connecting rooms 9 and 10 consisted of a threshold and jambs, both containing pivots for what would appear to have been double swinging doors (Appendix B, i).[8] This would have allowed access to the room to be monitored, and if necessary, locked off from the public completely. The fact that 43 kylix stems, along with 28 bases of cups and bowls, were found in the deposit from room 10 indicates that the guests waiting in room 10 would have had an ample supply of all the necessary vessels without needing access to the adjoining storeroom.

The majority of objects found in room 9 were long-stemmed kylikes[9], perhaps as many as 500-600 in total, which would clearly indicate that the drinking of wine was an activity carried out in the adjoining room 10. This version of the long-stemmed kylix was similar to the ones found in room 19 and was the typical style of vessel used for drinking wine and by far the most abundant in the palace, as fragments of this style can be seen from rooms all over the palace. It is clear that rooms 9 and 10 would have been associated with activities directly related to the *megaron*, with the main functions being drinking and perhaps eating, evident in the fact that cooking pots were found in both rooms as well as a brazier discovered in room 9.

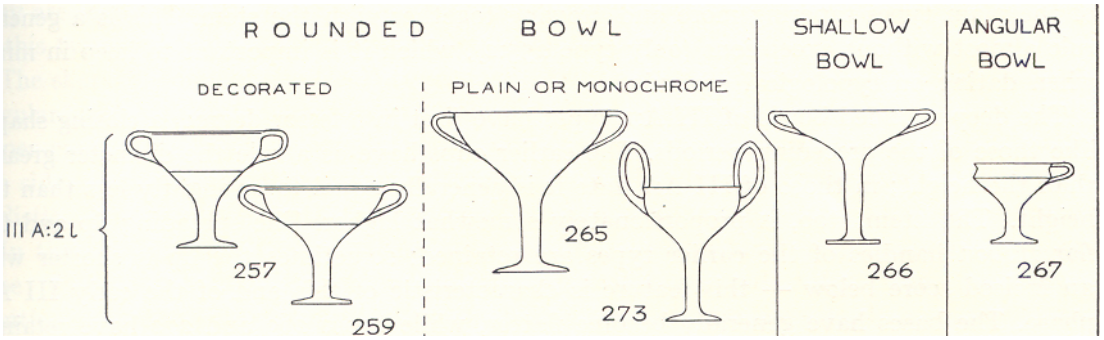


Fig.3a – Kylikes from period III A: 2 l (Furumark 1941:61).

[7] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 100-05
[8] Ibid., 103
[9] The long-stemmed kylix (Fig. 3b) dates to the LH IIIB and is a modified version of the LH IIIA: *2 l* shape (Fig. 3a), with a more shallow and angular bowl. Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery, Analysis and Classification (1941), 63

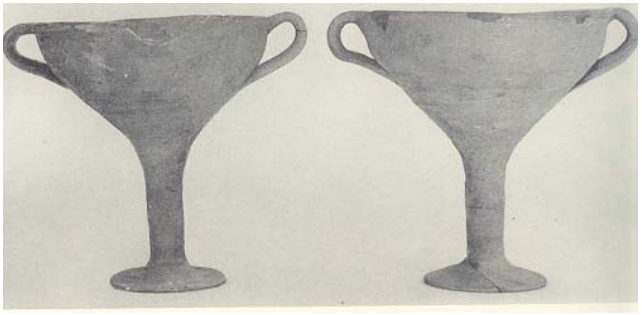


Fig. 3b – Kylix style 29c

Rooms 18, 19 and 20

The next areas of storage that will be examined are rooms 18, 19, and 20 in the western corner of the main building. The first of these three rooms, room 20, has been labeled as a pantry by the excavators due to the large quantity of pottery vessels found within the room. Room 20 is linked to the southwest building through a doorway leading into the open court 88, and it is quite possible, by observing the threshold, that a physical door may have existed in this doorway allowing access to this room to be closed when deemed necessary (Appendix B, iii). Accessibility to this room was most likely only granted to the servants who were responsible for carrying out the activities that took place in this section of the palace. The lack of decoration and overall utilitarian appearance of the room lends itself to the fact that this was a private room that would have been kept out of sight of the guests of the palace whenever possible. Within the room were discovered a variety of vessels, more than 500 in total, all of which can be associated with feasting, and more specifically drinking activities. There are vessels present in the room that represent all phases of the preparation of wine: amphora for transportation of the wine, basins for carrying water, kraters for mixing, jugs for pouring, dippers for extracting, and kylikes and cups for consumption. J. Walter Graham has suggested that rooms 64 and 65 of the southwestern building served as a banquet hall for the palace, and if this theory is to be accepted it is easy to see rooms 18-20 serving as the wine preparation area.[10] The remains of a stucco floor in room 20 also support the theory that wine may have been mixed in this room, with the stucco floor allowing for easy cleanup. The flooring in the oil magazines 23 and 24 has been noted to serve a similar purpose.[11] From room 20 a person would have had access into both rooms 18 and 19, and archaeologically there is no evidence for the existence of doors between these rooms. That is not to say for certain that there were no doors, but it would make sense for the movement from one room to the next to be unrestricted as they were probably used in conjunction with one another.

Room 19 is known as the "kylikes pantry" an appropriate name considering that there were a total of 2,853 kylikes[12] found in this room on the

[10] Graham, "A Banquet Hall in Mycenaean Pylos," *AJA* 71, no.4 (1967), 353-60
[11] Blegen and Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 136
[12] The kylix was a very typical wine drinking vessel during the Mycenaean times, which was used throughout Classical and Hellenistic Greece, with modifications occurring regularly.

day the palace was destroyed.[13] The room itself has a stucco floor, once again indicating its utilitarian use, as well as a number of postholes for supporting the shelves that would have held the kylikes.[14] Access to this room may have been regulated again by using the door between room 20 and courtyard 88, hinting at the idea that this massive collection of kylikes was not at all intended for display or to enhance the prestige of the ruler, but instead can be seen to suggest the scale of the banquets and feasts held at the palace.

The last room to be analysed in this group is 18, which during the earlier phases of the palace was linked with rooms 16 and 13 forming the corridor to the southwest of the megaron. In the last phase of the palace, however, walls were constructed at both the northwest and southeast ends separating it from rooms 16 and 22, and in turn creating room 18. Room 18 connects to room 20 through a doorway in the southwest wall that appears to have never had a proper door, suggesting an unrestricted range of movement between these three rooms. The finds in this room follow the pattern of the previous two rooms in that they are all associated with the preparation and drinking of wine, as can be seen by the large number of kylikes, jugs, amphorae, and bowls/basins. There was an interesting find made in room 18 consisting of a part of a table of offerings surrounded by small pots, many of which appear to be the bases of small votive kylikes.[15] It may be that this area was used to perform some sort of ritual having to do with the blessing of the wine before it was distributed to guests. Further evidence for the use of votive kylikes in ritual practices can be seen in room 7 where a number of miniature kylix were found in the excavations associated with burned animal remains, and it is believed that the miniature kylikes played a significant role in the rituals of feasting.[16]

Rooms 18, 19 and 20 appear to have functioned as a wine preparation area used extensively in the event of a large banquet or feast due to the large number of vessels. It has also been noted by J. Walter Graham that, during the last phase of the palace when the southwest corridor of the megaron was divided up into rooms 13, 16, and 18, this storage area had a much closer connection with the large courtyards 88 and 63 than it did with the megaron complex.[17] It is quite possible that there were other areas in the palace that housed the vessels to be used by the ruling family on a daily basis.

Rooms 21 and 22

Moving directly northwest of rooms 18, 19 and 20, there is a pair of rooms devoted to storage that also function together as a group; rooms 21 and 22. The entrance into room 21 is quite similar to the doorway leading into room 20, and it does appear that there is evidence for a pivot in the form of a rough hole that was gouged out of the inner of the two stones forming the threshold.[18] Therefore it would have been possible for this section of rooms to have been shut off from

[13] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 124
[14] Ibid., 124
[15] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 129
[16] Stocker & Davis, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. Wright (2004), 70
[17] Graham, "A Banquet Hall at Mycenaean Pylos," *AJA* 71, no.4 (1967), 358
[18] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 129

court 88 creating a private storage space with limited access. The fact that the walls lacked decoration and the floor was made of trodden earth also leads one to believe that this would not have been an area that the ruling family would have wanted guests of the palace to wander into.

This room was coined the "bowl and cup department" by Blegen and Rawson due to the large quantity of these vessels discovered in the room, 1,024 "teacups" and 1,099 shallow angular bowls. These cup and bowls were undecorated and most likely used in association with larger banquets, and used by the people of lower status who were present at the banquet. It may well be that the cups and bowls functioned together due to the closeness in numbers; however, their exact function is unclear. The room appears to have been used for storage and then distribution during feasts, as the bowls and cups were found in stacks one inside the other demonstrating the way in which they were stored. There were also two pithoi discovered in the room, both containing no evidence as to what they may have held; cleaning being one possibility.

The doorway leading into room 22 appears to have been just an opening with no physical door presence, which indicates that there was an uninhibited flow of movement between rooms 21 and 22. In room 22 a total of 601 pots were found, of which 399 were dippers. The remaining number was comprised of bowls and cups of the same style found in room 21. The number of dippers found most likely has something to do with the room's close proximity to the oil magazines, and it may be that rooms 21 and 22 were used to distribute olive oil to guests at feasts.

Oil Magazines 23 and 24

The next areas under examination are the oil magazines found in rooms 23 and 24, directly to the northeast of rooms 21 and 22. Room 23 was separated from room 22 by a doorway consisting of a threshold of stucco and two door jambs; the southeastern jamb contained a pivot for the door (Appendix B, iv), indicating that the magazines could be deliberately closed off from room 22 when needed. This type of doorway is consistent throughout the oil magazine, exemplifying the fact that oil was an important commodity and heavily regulated within the palace. Olive oil was the base for a number of perfumes and oils, which were highly regarded and considered a valuable trade commodity, leading to the highly regulated production of olive oil.[19] It is also important to note that access to the oil magazines could be achieved both from court 88 through rooms 21 and 22, as well as directly from the corridor to the northeast of the megaron, 25 on the plan. This is evidence that the oil magazines had a direct relationship both with the megaron complex and with courtyard 88 from the southwestern building, which gives an indication of the widespread use of oil throughout the palace. Therefore depending on how the doors were set the oil magazines could be completely shutoff, open only to the northeast, only to the southwest, or they could be traversed from one end of the main building to the other (Fig 4). Which arrangement occurred on a daily basis most likely correlated with the events, or

[19] Hamilakis, "Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production and Consumption in Bronze Age Crete," *World Archaeology* 31, no.1, 47

lack thereof, that were planned for that day. For example on large feast days where court 63 was being used the doors may have been set as in figure 4 iii., so that access into corridor 25 could not be achieved.

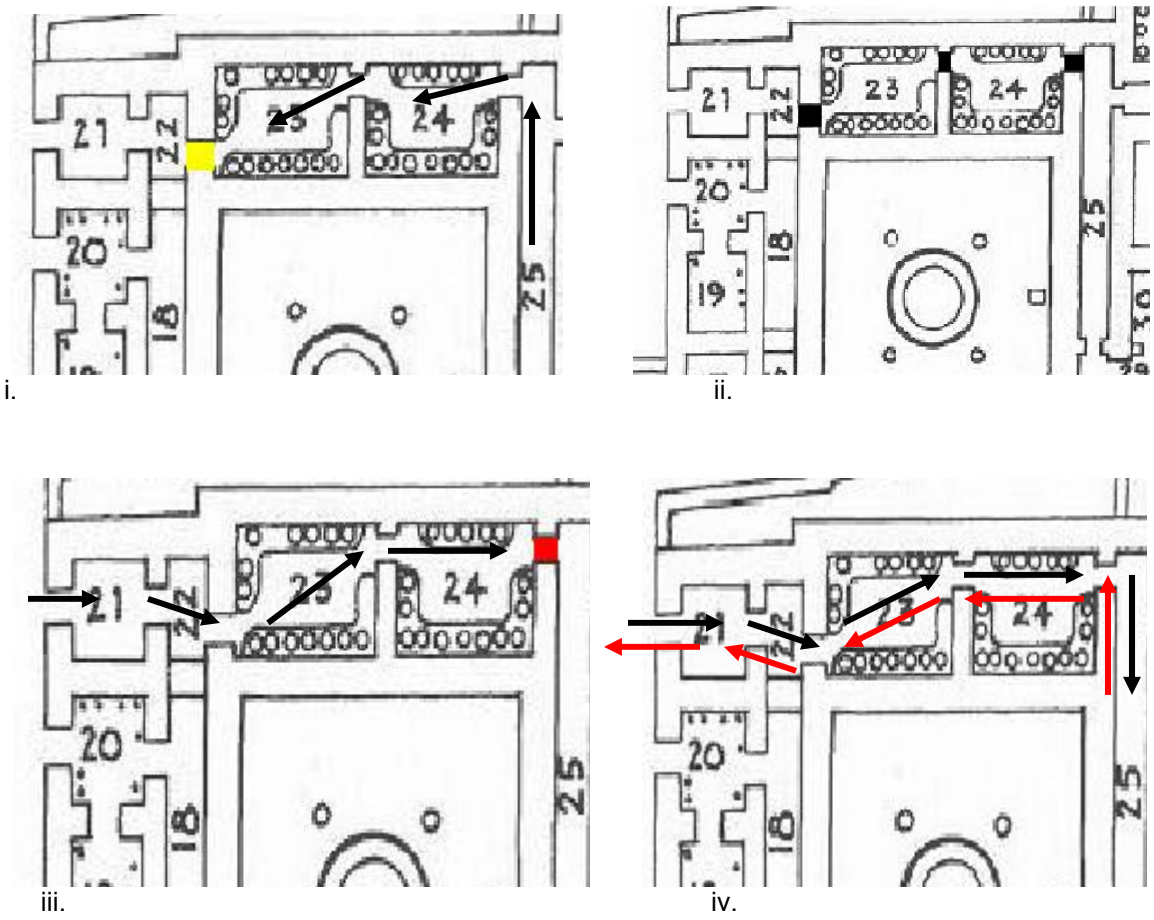


Fig.4 – Variable routes of traffic depending on state of doors. i: Access only from *megaron*; ii: No access allowed; iii: Access only from court 88; iv: Access from both *megaron* and court 88 (area able to be traversed).

The main features in both rooms 23 and 24 were the stucco stands holding the pithoi where the oil would be stored, 17 in room 23 and 16 in room 24 (Fig. 5).[20] The activities that took place within these rooms focused on the distribution of oil, whether this was refilling the pithoi, extracting oil from the pithoi, or both. The fact that the floor and the stand were covered in stucco to expedite the process of wiping up spilt oil supports this theory. There is also a circular platform in the western corner of the room, positioned in front of the pithos in the corner, which may have been used as a support to hold vessels that were either being filled or emptied.[21]

[20] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 134-40
[21] Ibid., 136

Fig.5 – Oil magazines in foreground, *megaron* in background (photograph by Alison Frantz).

Room 27

Oil storage tends to be a popular practice in Mycenaean palaces, supported by the fact that the next room to be examined, room 27, also was used for the sole purpose of olive oil storage, but does not appear to have functioned in exactly the same way as rooms 23 and 24. Room 27 opens off of corridor 26, and excavations uncovered the remains of two lateral bases for the door jambs leading into room 27, which would have held a large wooden doorframe.[22] This would have allowed access to the room to be prohibited. Room 27 follows the trend of storage having the ability to be locked and shutoff from the public's eye. This is emphasised by the fact that there would have also been a door between corridor 25 and 26. The doorway to room 27 is quite wide, at approximately 1.66m, perhaps to allow for the movement of larger pithoi in and out of the room. There is a small drain in the northwest wall of the room, accompanied by a sloping floor.[23] This would indicate that a thorough washing of the floor may have been necessary from time to time, perhaps due to the spillage of oil that occurred while transferring the substance from one container to another. In room 27 the bases for 16 large pithoi, much larger than those found in rooms 23 and 24, were discovered which may indicate that this room was used to store the bulk of the oil resources. Whatever the exact function of this room, it is clear that by constructing it in close proximity to rooms 23 and 24 the planners were designating the entire northwest section of the palace for storage of olive oil. There is also a doorway at the end of corridor 25 allowing this northwest conglomeration to be separated from the remainder of the main building.

[22] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 147
[23] Ibid., 147

Room 32

Immediately before the aforementioned door there was a small lobby (29 on the plan) that led into room 31, which in turn connected to the next storage area to be discussed, room 32. Access into room 31 appears to have been quite public due to the lack of any evidence that an actual door was present; however access into room 32 appears, on the other hand, to be quite private. This theory is supported by the remains of a socket for a pivot and the fact that the door itself must have been a single leaf door approximately a meter wide.[24] The majority of the vessels discovered in room 32 are associated with the transportation of materials, one in particular, the stirrup jar, is widely associated with the transportation of oil (Fig. 6).[25] A number of small pithoi were also recovered from room 32, leading Blegen to believe that they may have stored a highly refined form of olive oil.[26] Couple this with the high proportion of decorated vessels from this room and it would appear that room 32 would have been used to prepare vessels for transportation and trade, most likely dealing in the high-end of the olive oil market. This may have been one of the few areas of storage that was utilised by the *wanax*, not only as storage, but perhaps also as a way of impressing upon guests the power and wealth that he possessed.

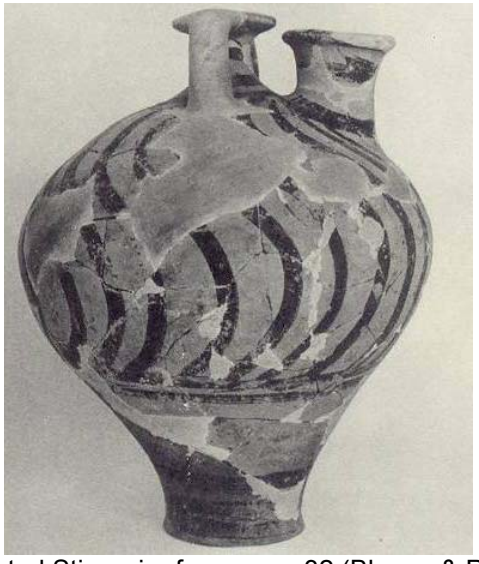


Fig.6 – Decorated Stirrup jar from room 32 (Blegen & Rawson 1966).

[24] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 156
[25] Haskell, "The Origin of the Aegean Stirrup Jar and Its Earliest Evolution and Distribution (MB III – LB I)," *AJA* 89, no.2 (1985), 221
[26] Blegen & Rawson, The *Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 158

Incorporation of Storage

Southwest Building

Now that each storage room of the main building has been analysed it will be possible to discuss how each one of these storage areas was incorporated into the overall design of the palaces, as well as the different roles that they may have assumed at different times. In order to understand why certain items were stored where they were it becomes necessary to examine how the design of the palace lent itself to the interactions and activities associated with storage.

The major components of the southwest building are rooms 64 and 65, and courtyards 63 and 88, flanked by smaller rooms to the northwest and southeast, as well as the main building to the northeast. There are three doorways that connect the southwest building to the main building; two being the aforementioned doors leading into pantries 20 and 21, the third is a doorway off of court 63 leading into lobby 12 of the main building. It is necessary to mention here that the doorway between court 63 and room 12 revealed no evidence for pivots and it is likely that a physical door actually never existed,[27] which places this doorway in the public category. However, it is also worth noting at this point that, even though travel between rooms 63 and 12 does not appear to be very restricted, further access into the main building is controlled by two doors, one in the northwest wall leading into corridor 13, the other in the southeast wall adjoining it to court 3.[28]

Palatial Entrances

In order to understand how the design of the southwest building incorporated the storerooms of the main building the first area that must be examined are the two entrances into the palace, numbers 59 and 1 on the plan. It becomes quite apparent when analysing the remains of the storage areas that the Palace of Nestor stocked an abundant number of vessels,[29] which raises questions concerning the stocking and usage of these various vessels. As Todd Whitelaw has observed, 77.2% of the accumulated vessels were stored in rooms 18-22, and these rooms would have had to have been restocked a number of times.[30] Where exactly the pottery for the Palace of Nestor originated from is undetermined, but it has been suggested that certain finewares, such as kylikes, were produced at a single site, with the palace exhibiting a degree of control over production.[31] There is also evidence in the Pylos tablets for the receiving of

[27] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 244
[28] Ibid., 107, 110
[29] There were at least 8,540 vessels at the time of the destruction according to excavation reports. Blegen & Rawson, The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I (1966)
[30] Whitelaw, "Reading Between the Tablets: Assessing Mycenaean Palatial Involvement in Ceramic Production and Consumption," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Suppl. 27 (1999), 52
[31] Galaty, "Wealth Ceramics, Staple Ceramics: Pots and the Mycenaean Palaces," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty and Parkinson (1999), 49

utilitarian wares from different cities throughout the region.[32] It has also been calculated that the Palace of Nestor consumed in the neighborhood of 12,000 vessels per year.[33] Due to the lack of evidence indicating any certainty of pottery production occurring at the palace, it is reasonable to suggest that massive amounts of pottery were being brought to the palace regularly throughout the year.

In order to accommodate the import of pottery it appears that the entrance to the southwest building (59 on the plan) was constructed to create a much more accessible route for wheeled transportation, i.e. wagons, carts, etc., as well as creating a more direct path to the storerooms. In the excavation reports it is stated that ramp 59 broadened as it ascended and was also provided with a good stucco floor.[34] Both of these features would have aided in the movement of goods into the palace. It is also worth noting the width of the doorways along this ramp, ranging from 1.60m – 2.80m, compared to the doorway at the entrance to the main building, which had a width of 1.21m (1 on the plan). When the column in the middle of the outer propylon is factored in it becomes quite clear that maneuvering a wagon or cart around the column and into entrance number 1 would have been very difficult, if not impossible, whereas navigating ramp 59 with a wagon could have been accomplished with relative ease (Fig. 7). The accommodating nature of the southwestern building to more public and commercial needs and the main buildings lack thereof is not only evident in the entrances to the two structures, but can also be observed in the way that the two interiors are laid out.

After ascending the ramp into the southwestern building people would enter upon the large open courtyard (number 63 on the plan) and from this courtyard access to all other areas of this building could have been achieved. With regards to the movement of pottery vessels throughout the palace, it is much easier to imagine one proceeding through court 63 and then 88 to access the main pantries consisting of rooms 18-22 then it is to envision the ordeal of weaving through the various tight corridors and doorways of the main building (Fig. 7). When examining the layout of the southwestern building in more detail it becomes quite evident that this structure was designed to facilitate much more public activity, whereas the main building is designed for much more private and intimate encounters to be had by more prestigious guests.

[32] Vn 130 was thirteen lines of text each consisting of a city and the number of vessels contributed to the palace. Ibid., 51

[33] Whitelaw, "Reading Between the Tablets: Assessing Mycenaean Palatial Involvement in Ceramic Production and Consumption," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Suppl. 27 (1999), 62

[34] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 236

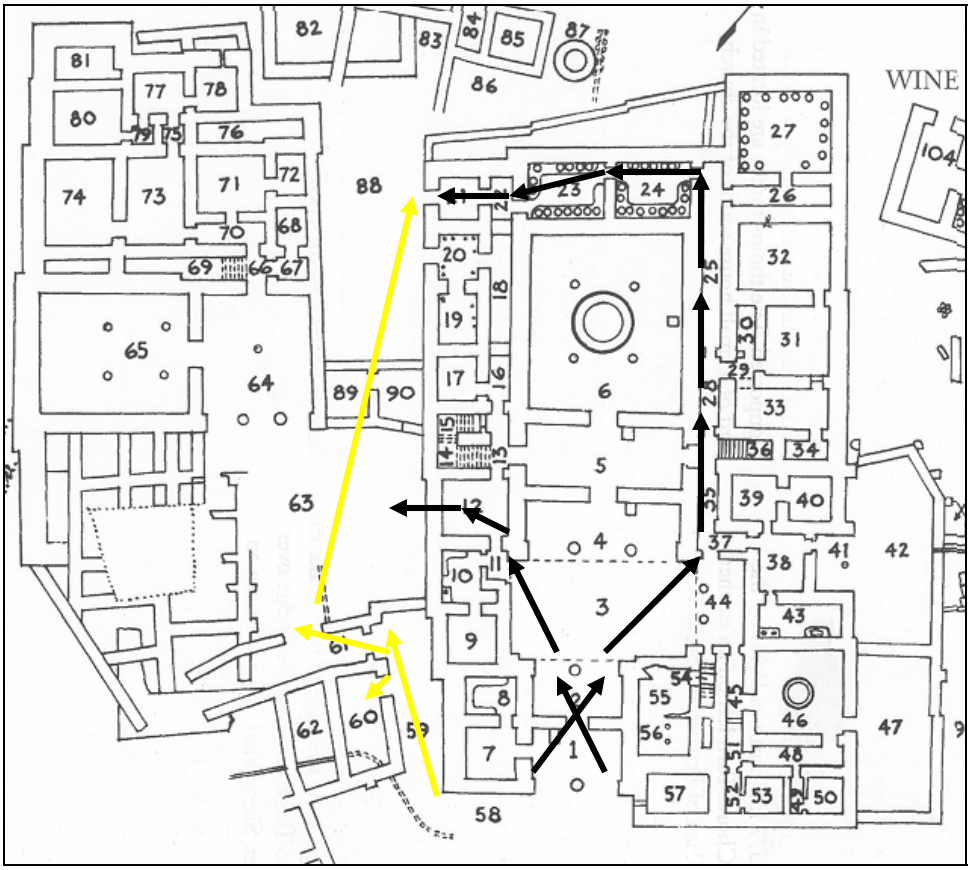


Fig.7 – Routes to the storerooms from the two external entrances.

Feasting in the Southwest Building

It is widely accepted that there was a hierarchy of drinking vessels during the Mycenaean times with precious metal vessels at the top, followed by intricately painted finewares and undecorated plain ware.[35] This can be emphasised by the discovery of a number of fragments of silver and gold cups in the propylon of the main building[36] (Fig. 8a and b), which would have been the entrance associated with the *wanax* and, therefore, used most likely by guests of an elite status. However, the vessels associated with the southwestern building are, for the most part, undecorated plain ware, which is very typical of nearly seventy percent of all Bronze Age collections.[37] This lends to the idea that the general public were partaking in the various activities that occurred in this area of the palace. It should not be assumed, however, that these storerooms were not as impressive to guests as the more aesthetically pleasing metal vessels and painted pottery. The sheer number of vessels, which indicates the ability of the wanax to throw large feasts, is what is most impressive. These feasts would have served a number of purposes in the Pylian kingdom, both sociopolitical and economical[38] and it would have behooved the *wanax* to have the ability to hold

[35] Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (1994), 101-30
[36] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 237
[37] Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (1994), 102
[38] Wright, "A Survey of Evidence for Feasting in Mycenaean Society," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. Wright (2004), 28

these feasts whenever the need arose. The deposit of burnt cattle bones found in room 7, indicative of a feast occurring shortly before the destruction of the palace of Nestor,[39] supports the idea that the storerooms in the palace were regularly restocked. This is quite evident when considering the quantity of vessels recovered from the palace during excavations, even though a feast that may have resulted in a number of vessels being destroyed had recently occurred.[40]

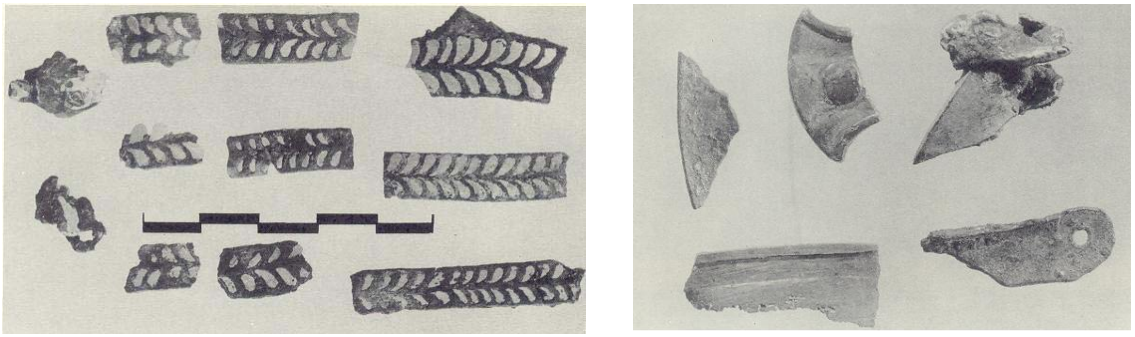


Fig. 8 – Fragments of a silver cup with gold decoration (Blegen & Rawson 1966).

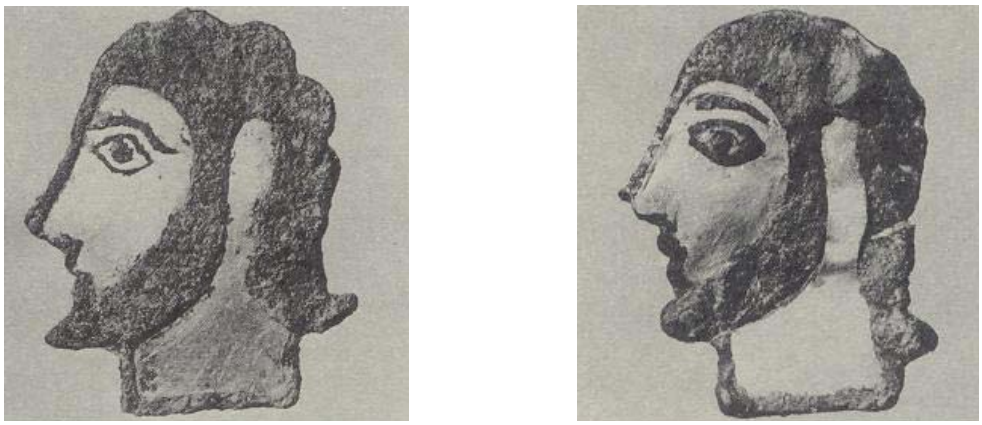


Fig. 8b – Decorative heads of silver cup (Blegen & Rawson 1966).

It has been suggested that the southwestern building served as the banquet hall for the Palace of Nestor,[41] and when the layout is examined it is noticeably open with ample space for a number of people. This large amount of space would have been necessary in accommodating the general public attending these feasts. This may have consisted of the entire population of the town around the palace, judging by the amount of meat that the animal remains in room 7 would have produced.[42] The population of the community during this

[39] Stocker & Davis, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. Wright (2004), 59
[40] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 124
[41] Graham, "A Banquet Hall at Mycenaean Pylos," *AJA* 71, no.4 (1967), 355
[42] Stocker & Davis, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. Wright (2004), 72

period has been estimated at anywhere from 850[43] to 3,750[44] with the most accepted number falling somewhere in the vicinity of 2,500-3,000 individuals.[45] This would have necessitated a large area like that of court 63 and 88 where these people may have congregated. The entranceway of the southwest building would also have aided in the movement of this many people into the palace, again, due to its wide berth and large doorways.

The southwestern building and its flanking rooms would have been incredibly conducive to an event like a feast that would have catered to the masses, due to its close proximity to all the necessary items and ease of movement between rooms. Graham suggests that rooms 64 and 65 in conjunction with each other served as the primary banquet hall for the palace.[46] There is, however, no mention of court 63 accommodating any guests. In light of the above mentioned number of guests that may have attended such a feast it seems that it would be more likely that room 65 would have been used by the *wanax* and distinguished guests, while the open court would facilitate the remaining guests. Stocker and Davis note the fact that the TA tablets record the acquisition of 22 chairs and 11 tables. This supports the idea that there may have been a "hierarchy of feasting" at Pylos (Fig. 9), which may have taken place in room 65.[47] As has been discussed above the items in rooms 18-22, as well as the oil magazines in rooms 23 and 24, were all associated with the feasting ritual. The close association of these rooms to the remainder of the southwest building would have made it much easier for the servants to attend to the guests of the feasts. One room that has not yet been mentioned is number 60 on the plan, which appears to have been another storeroom of the palace, which may have supplemented the vessels stored in rooms 18-22.

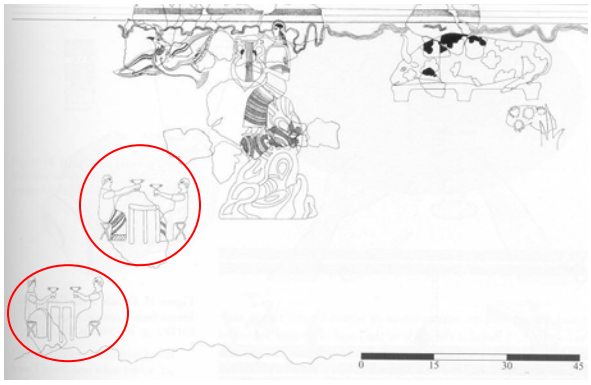


Fig. 9 – Feast fresco from *megaron*, highlighted setup of 2 chairs and table (Wright 2004: 43).

[43] Carothers & McDonald, "Size and Distribution of the Population in Late Bronze Age Messenia," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6, no.4 (1979), 435-36
[44] Renfrew (1972), 251
[45] Whitelaw, "Reading Between the Tablets: Assessing Mycenaean Palatial Involvement in Ceramic Production and Consumption," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society,* Supple. 27(2001), 63-4
[46] Graham, "A Banquet Hall at Mycenaean Pylos," *AJA* 71, no.4 (1967), 356-57
[47] Stocker & Davis, "Animal Sacrifice, Archives, and Feasting at the Palace of Nestor," in *The Mycenaean Feast*, ed. Wright (2004), 71

Room 60

The majority of vessels found in room 60 were, once again, kylikes accompanied by a large number of spouted bowls and jugs accounting for 95% of the total number of spouted bowls found in the palace.[48] What exactly these spouted vessels were used for is undetermined, but it definitely has to do with the pouring of liquids. Bowls of similar shape to these have been called 'teapots' by some scholars.[49] Perhaps these pots were associated with the pouring of hot liquids requiring a spout to avoid spilling, or it may be for the dispensing of a valuable liquid once again requiring a spout to assist in pouring. It has been suggested by Graham that this may have been a room where vessels were stored from local potters and then distributed to the kitchen and pantry staff as needed.[50] However, when the homogenous characteristics of the vessels are taken into account it seems more appropriate to associate this room with a specific function associated with the feasting events. Its incorporation into the southwest building and the plainness of the vessels would attribute this room to the serving of the masses. It may have even acted as a way to distribute drinks to guests as they arrived due to its proximity to the entrance.

Rooms 66-81

The last section of the southwest building to be discussed consists of rooms 66-81, located in the western corner of the building and most likely associated with the preparing of food for the feasts.[51] Graham's claim gains validity when the numbers of cooking related vessels found in these rooms are brought to light, especially those of room 67, which contained braziers and small tripod pots used for cooking. This room actually contained 98% of the braziers[52] in the entire palace and all of the tripod cups found in the palace. This is particularly indicative of room 67's association with cooking. The finds from room 68, which adjoins room 67, also indicate cooking as being the primary function of this section of the southwestern building. The majority of the finds were kraters and domestic wares, as well as three broad pans, which are similar to the pans used today by modern Greeks in baking.[53] The last room in this section of the palace that was used as storage was room 71, which housed at least six pithoi, most likely containing water, oil, and perhaps wine. This section does appear to be the primary candidate for the area of food preparation, and its close proximity to the dining areas during feasting once again emphasizes the role of the southwestern building in the feasting activities.

[48] Room 60 contained 89 spouted jugs out of a total of 94 discovered in the palace.
[49] Dickinson, *The Aegean Bronze Age* (1994), 103
[50] Graham, "A Banquet Hall at Mycenaean Pylos," *AJA* 71, no.4 (1967), 359
[51] Ibid., 358-59
[52] Room 67 contained 51 braziers out of a total of 52.
[53] Ibid., 359

Flow of Traffic

Entrances into the Main Building

To examine how storage is incorporated into the main building of the palace it is necessary to look at each point of access to the main building and determine who would have been using these entrances and for what purpose, or purposes. It will then be possible to investigate how traffic would have maneuvered through the main building, and what role the storage would have played in the various activities that occurred in this structure. There are three entrances into the main building, however only one of these entrances is located externally, the other two both being accessed via the southwestern building. By examining each individual entrance and the progression of rooms that would have followed it will become possible to evaluate who had access to certain storerooms, which storerooms communicated with each other, and how they were significant in the various functions of the palace.

Room 21 Entrance

The first entrance to be examined will be the doorway between court 88 and room 21, which, as was discussed earlier, would have had limited accessibility to the public. The basis behind determining the flow of traffic through the palace, as observed by Thomas Palaima and James Wright, is "that it is possible to infer patterns of movement by analysing the architecture…," as well as "the direction in which doors open into the rooms and corridors indicates the primary direction of traffic."[54] If we follow this pattern, beginning from the doorway into room 21, there is a continuous pattern of the doorways opening inward into the following room through the oil magazines into corridor 25 (Fig.10). Once corridor 25 is entered the flow continues to the northeast into corridor 26 and then again into room 27. The pattern, however, stops when the doorway between corridors 25 and 28 is reached. It is within corridor 25 that a convergence between two separate routes of traffic occurs, which will be discussed below. First it is necessary to consider what can be indicated by the pattern of movement from doorway 21. An important observation is that the two pantries 21 and 22 seem to function directly with the three oil magazines, 23, 24, and 27, and only with these oil magazines.

Olive Oil Industry

Olive oil was an important resource during the Bronze Age in Greece, and was used in a variety of ways including consumption, perfumed oil production, and prestige trade.[55] Due to the significance of olive oil in the Mycenaean

[54] Palaima & Wright, "Ins and Outs of the Archives Rooms at Pylos: Form and Function in Mycenaean Palace," *AJA* 89, no.2 (1985), 89

[55] Haskell, "The Origin of the Aegean Stirrup Jar and Its Earliest Evolution and Distribution (MB III – LB I)," *AJA* 89, no.2 (1985) 221-29 and Halstead, "Towards a Model of Mycenaean Palatial Mobilization," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty and Parkinson (1999), 36

economy it has been suggested that the palatial centers may have exhibited a certain amount of control over its production and consumption.[56] Olive oil also would have been used extensively during the great feasts that were discussed above, which is supported by the fact that olive oil appears on tablet *PY Un 2*, which is a list of goods required for a ceremonial banquet.[57]

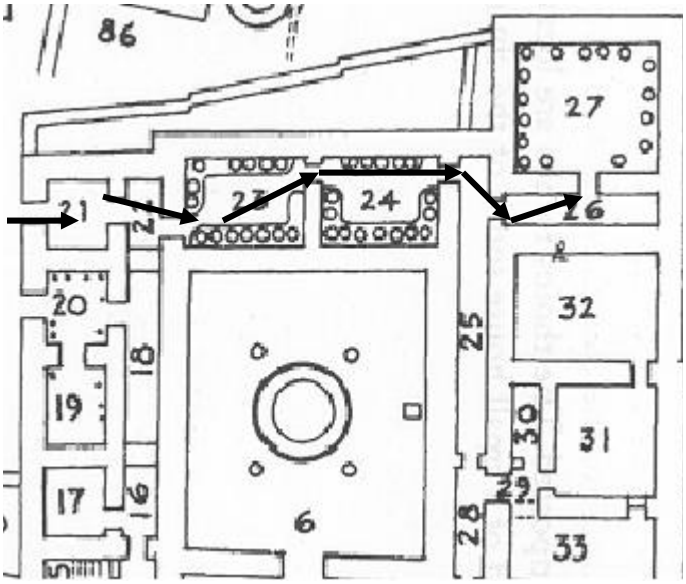


Fig.10 – Inward pattern of doorways from room 21 – 27.

There has been some question as to the extent that olive oil was used as a food product, but due to the positioning of olive oil magazines 23 and 24, as well as 27, it becomes apparent that they had a definite connection with the feasts. If olive oil was not needed as a food during these feasts then there would have been no reason to grant access to the oil magazines from room 22. It has been argued that the oil was being used for lamps, but after residue analysis was carried out on a number of Bronze Age lamps it became evident that beeswax and not olive oil was used.[58] The discovery of perfume tablets in rooms 23 and 32, known as the *PY Fr* tablets suggest that these magazines contained a variety of oils, some suitable for consumption and others used in the perfume industry.[59]

Perfumed oils were an important commodity in the Mycenaean world and were a valuable trade item distributed throughout the Aegean and beyond.[60] It has been speculated by Cynthia Shelmerdine that the perfumed oil industry of the Messenian region was centralized at the Palace of Nestor and was produced

[56] Halstead, "Towards a Model of Mycenaean Palatial Mobilization," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty and Parkinson (1999), 36
[57] Shelmerdine, "Administration in the Mycenaean Palaces: Where's the Chief," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty & Parkinson (1999), 20
[58] Hamilakis, "Food Technologies/Technologies of the Body: The Social Context of Wine and Oil Production in Bronze Age Crete," *World Archaeology* 31, no.1 (1999), 46
[59] Shelmerdine, "The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland," in *Aegean Prehistory a Review*, ed. Cullen (2001), 360-61
[60] Bennet, "The Expansion of a Mycenaean Palatial Center," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty and Parkinson (1999), 9-10

in rooms 42 and 47 of the palace.[61] This area of the palace, which comprises the eastern corner of the main building, appears to have undergone a number of renovations during the latest phase of the palace; the addition of courts 42 and 47 are evidence of these changes.[62] The incorporation of these two courts can be analysed through the observation of the flow of traffic in this section of the palace in attempt to understand how the space created here was used during the last phase of the palace.

Entrance Number 1

It is important to begin by looking at the closest entrance to this section of the palace, which is the main entrance to the structure, number 1 on the plan, which would have opened onto courtyard number 3. Upon entering the courtyard a guest would be confronted with a number of choices as to which direction they would proceed depending upon the intent of their visit and their knowledge of the palace (Fig. 11). There are a total of six doorways that interacted with courtyard 3, not including the external entrance number 1, that a visitor could attempt to proceed through. However, access to all of these entrances may not have been granted to all visitors of the palace. Three of the doorways would have had physical doors, while the other three were simply open entranceways. It is the three unrestricted entrances that would have serviced visitors of the palace. The previously discussed entry into room 10 would be the logical progression of a visitor, since this is the, appropriately named, waiting room of the palace. From here a guest would most likely proceed through the second of the open entries, which leads into the small courtyard 5 on the plan and then through into the megaron. This would appear to be the most likely route taken by one who was seeking an audience with the *wanax*, and the sentries in the area may have also assisted in making sure that a guest did not wander into a restricted area.

If the guests did not wish to speak with the *wanax* they may have proceeded through the last open doorway that led off of the stoa in the northeast of court 3, and into corridor 35. Upon entering the corridor they could either continue down corridor 35 or they could turn down corridor 37. The doorway at the end of 37, however, would have indicated to the traveler that they were entering a restricted area. The only logical route, then, would be down corridor 37 and up stairway 36, which most likely would have led to the upper balcony around the megaron. There are two major reasons why this would seem to be the most appropriate scenario. First is the fact that, in proceeding from doorway 1 to the staircase, there is not a single door that would have restricted the accessibility of the visitor to these areas. Upon reaching the top of the stairs it appears that they would have come upon an elaborate, ivory decorated, room, which is evident in the discovery of a number of pieces of carved ivory, fallen from this room, in rooms 30-33.[63] The evidence for an ivory decorated room at the top of staircase 36 supports the second reason for this being the likely

[61] Shelmerdine, "The Perfumed Oil Industry at Pylos," in *Pylos comes alive: Industry and Administration in a Mycenaean Palace,* ed. Shelmerdine and Palaima (1984)
[62] Lupack, "Palaces, Sanctuaries and Workshops: The Role of the Religious Sector in Mycenaean Economies," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty & Parkinson (1999), 30
[63] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966) 152-63

destination for a number of visitors, which is the display of foreign prestige goods.

Perfumed Oil in the Palace

Trade and display of foreign prestige goods played a large role in the economy and politics of the Mycenaean world, and were crucial in the indication of status among the elites of society.[64] Objects such as ivory, which came from the Near East, would

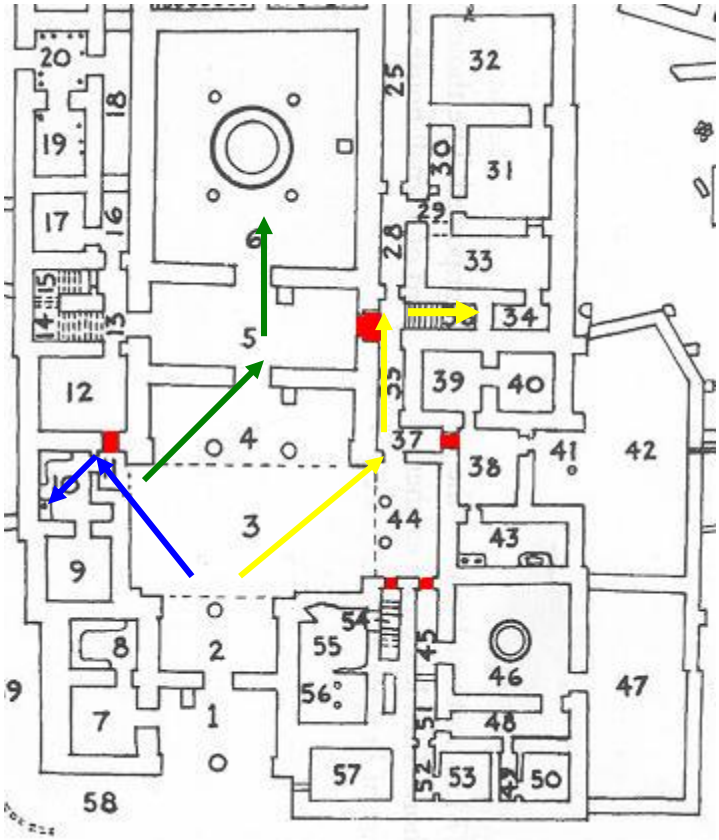


Fig.11 – Viable routes for guests from main entrance.

have been displayed throughout signifying the wealth and status of the head of the household. The trading and exchanging of prestige items among the elite was another way for the *wanax* to demonstrate their status, where instead of exhibiting wealth through possession it was displayed through the exchange of one's native prestige items.[65] In the case of the Palace of Nestor this would have most likely been perfumed oils.

The perfumed oil industry, as mentioned above, appears to have taken place in rooms 42 and 47 and then stored in room 32. When the flow of traffic around these areas is investigated it becomes quite evident that these were private operations occurring within the palace not meant to be witnessed by the

[64] Shelmerdine, "The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland," in *Aegean Prehistory a Review*, ed. Cullen (2001), 353
[65] Halstead, "Towards a Model of Mycenaean Palatial Mobilization," in *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces*, eds. Galaty & Parkinson (1999), 37

guests of the palace. The outward movement associated with rooms 42 and 47, as well as the disbursement of doorways within such a small area, are both indicative of the restricted access to these areas (Fig. 12). Perfumed oil was used as an item for gift exchange amongst local and regional elites,[66] and for long distance trade, evident in the discovery of stirrup jars in the Near East.[67] These are all reasons for the amount of control that the palace placed on perfumed oil, which would have been invaluable to the economy of the Pylian kingdom. Couple this with the close proximity of room 32, the storeroom for perfumed oil in highly decorated stirrup jars, to the *megaron* and the importance of perfumed oil to the Mycenaean world becomes quite apparent. The *megaron* had direct access to the perfumed oil supply. There were also decorated stirrup jars recovered from the *megaron*.[68] The flow of traffic from the megaron to room 32 shows the careful planning that went into incorporating storage into the palace (Fig. 12).

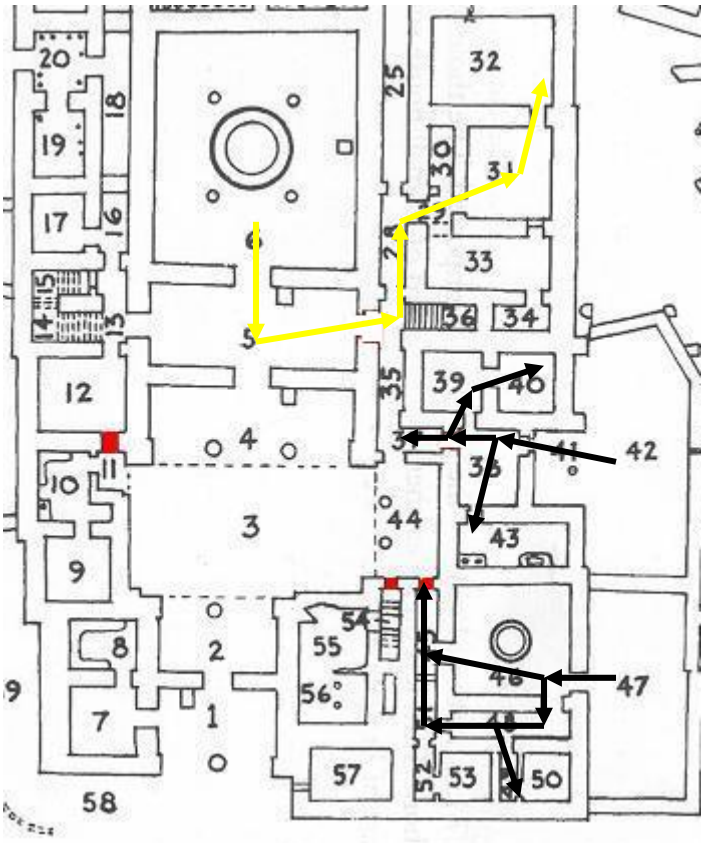


Fig.12 – Routes involving perfumed oil production and access to room 32 from the *megaron*.

Room 12 Entrance

[66] Ibid., 37
[67] Haskell, "The Origin of the Aegean Stirrup and Its Earliest Evolution and Distribution (MB III – LB I)," *AJA* 89, no.2 (1985), 221
[68] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I* (1966), 90-1

The last area to be examined will include the second entrance into the main building from the southwestern building, leading into room 12 on the plan, and then into corridors 13 and 11 (Fig. 15). This entrance would have been used extensively for communication between the two buildings, whereas the entrance into room 21 was used primarily for access to storage, as previously discussed. The doorway between court 63 and room 12 was a large open entrance allowing traffic to flow through freely. However, once into room 12 it is probable that the majority of traffic would have proceeded through into lobby 11, instead of into corridor 13. This is based on the fact that the door leading into corridor 11 opens inward towards the adjoining lobby, while the door into corridor 13 opens outward into room 12. This is indicative of flow into room 12 from corridor 13. Upon entering corridor 11, the guest would have the same options as one who had entered through the main entrance (Fig. 13). However, corridor 13 reveals one last aspect of the movement through the main building and how the storage was incorporated.

The key element of storage associated with corridor 13 appears to be rooms 16 and 17. Room 16, specifically, was filled with a number of remains of painted kylikes.[69] The flow of traffic between rooms 17, 16, and 13 is actually quite unusual because the natural progression would be from the interior of 17 outwards toward room 12 and court 5. This may be attributed to the renovations made in this section of the palace in the last phase, specifically the blocking of the southeastern end of corridor 18. It is easy to imagine the southwestern corridor feeding traffic southwesterly as the northeast corridor fed traffic northwesterly, creating a circular flow around the *megaron*, in the earlier phases of the palace. However, with the construction of walls to the northwest and southeast of corridor 18, room 16 was created. There is a shift in the origin of traffic in this area, but there was no need to reconstruct the doorways to reflect this. When room 16 was created and converted into a storeroom for what appears to be painted kylikes, the proximity and easy access to the megaron made it an obvious choice for this type of storage.

[69] Blegen & Rawson, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia I, 2* (1966), 166

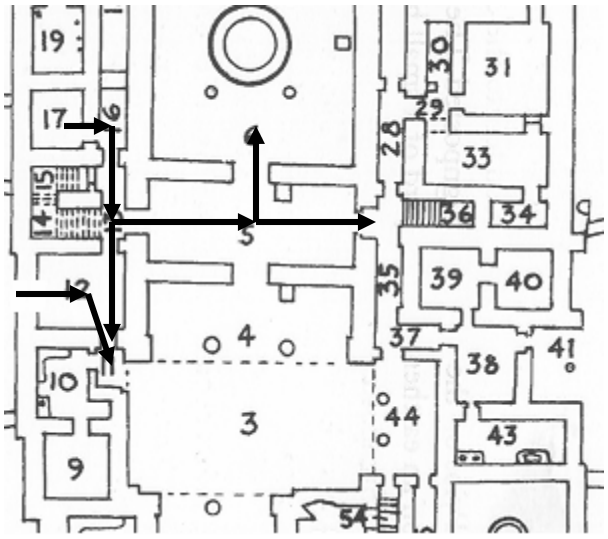


Fig.13 – Flow of traffic from entrance 12 and storerooms 16 & 17.

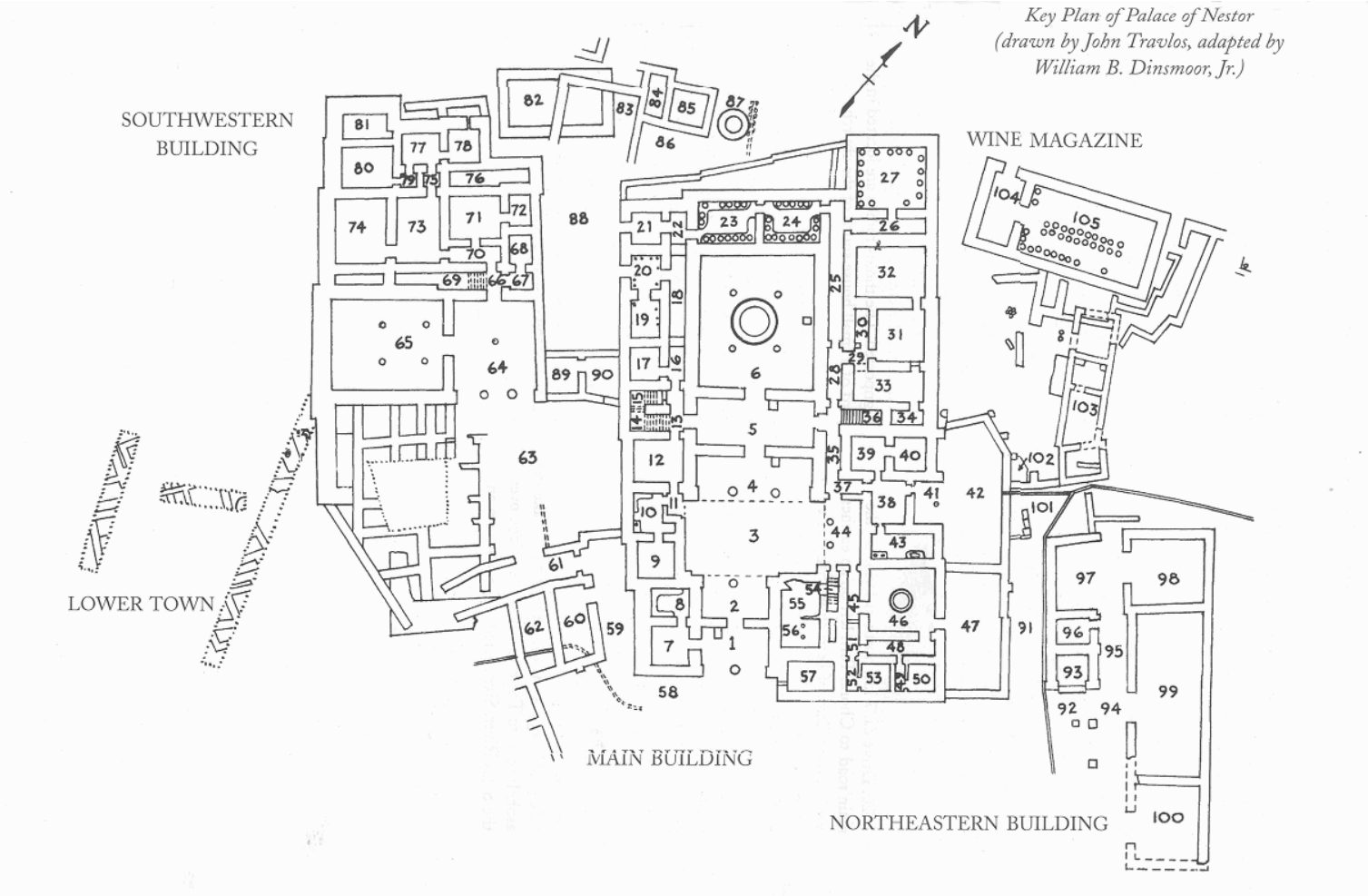
Discussion

Storage was clearly an important aspect in the organization of the Palace of Nestor, and it is through its examination that one can infer certain details about the Mycenaean economy. When the incorporation of storage is looked at in detail it becomes evident that the Palace of Nestor, in its last phase, was designed to accommodate large elaborate feasts, while at the same time maintaining a certain degree of privacy in parts of the palace. It is also evident in the layout of storerooms that specific areas of the palace were designed to function together and had a specific purpose designated to them. Different storerooms communicated with distinct areas of the palace as well as including varying degrees of accessibility to the public. It has been shown that the two entrances to the palace were designed to accommodate disparate guests of the palace; the southwest building entrance serviced the mass public and was more associated with utilitarian needs. The main entrance was for the elite and high status guests of the palace seeking business with the *wanax.* The storage rooms associated with each building supports this theory, with the majority of storage in the southwest building consisting of mass produced undecorated vessels, whereas the storage rooms connected with the main building displayed elaborate painted vessels, and metal vessels. Through this investigation it becomes apparent that the two biggest aspects of the economy during the final phase of the Palace of Nestor were the high demand and volume of resources necessary for large public feasts, and the display of wealth and status through valued commodities such as perfumed oil.

Clearly the architects responsible for the last phase of the Palace of Nestor were explicit in the adjustments they made and why they were made. The main concern appears to have been designating the necessary amount of space to the storage of vessels and, surprisingly, not goods, except for wine and olive oil. This suggests that the economy and society of the Pylos region did not depend on the palace to redistribute goods. They, rather, saw the palace and the activities that occurred there as an assurance to the prosperity of their region, as well as a display of control that the palace possessed. It was the

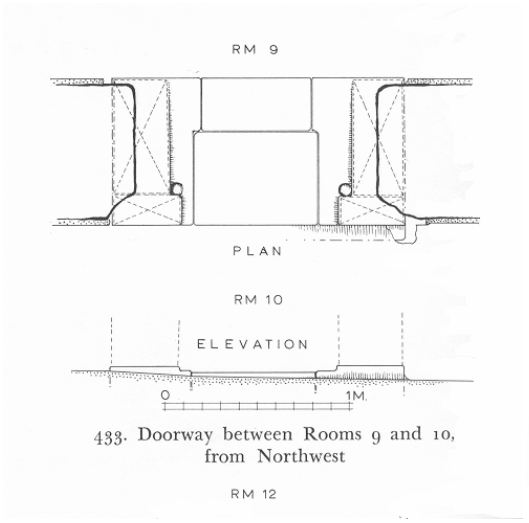
responsibility of the *wanax* to make sure that this was evident to all guests of the palace. Further research conducted on the areas outside of the palace may shed light on certain aspects of the storage in the palace, i.e. where did it all come from and how widespread was the palace's influence. It would also be beneficial for more extensive analysis of the vessels of the Mycenaean world and exactly what certain vessels' functions were. With this knowledge it would be possible to make a better assessment on the incorporation of storage into the palace and what role it may have played in the economical, social, and political arenas.

Appendix A



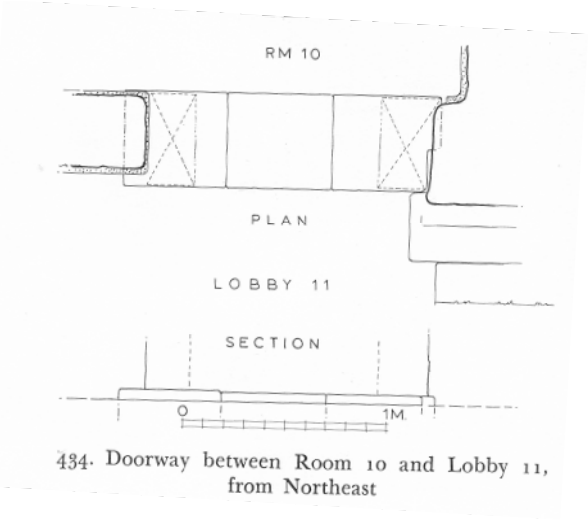
Key Plan of the Palace of Nestor with associated room numbers

Appendix B



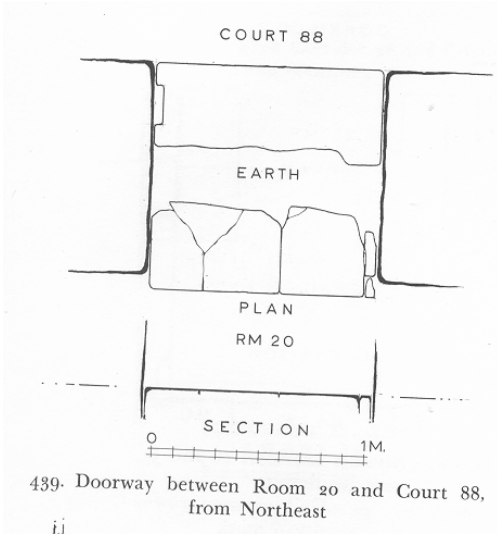
433. Doorway between Rooms 9 and 10, from Northwest

i. Double leaf doorway on pivots



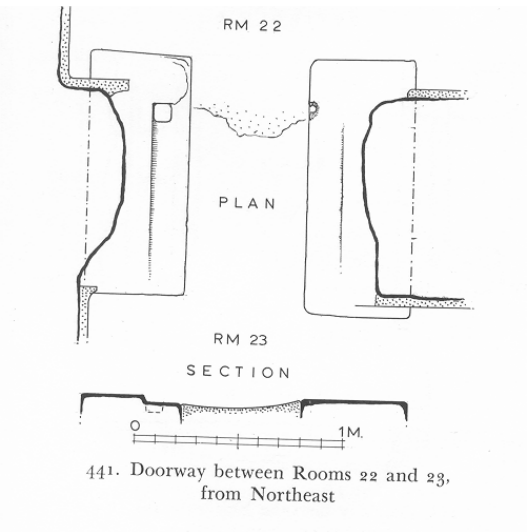
434. Doorway between Room 10 and Lobby 11, from Northeast

ii. Absence of a physical door



439. Doorway between Room 20 and Court 88, from Northeast

iii. Doorway with socket evidence for a door jamb



441. Doorway between Rooms 22 and 23, from Northeast

iv. Single leaf doorway on pivot

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