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PAST AND MEMORY IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

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Edited by Elisabetta BORGNA, Ilaria CALOI, Filippo Maria CARINCI and Robert LAFFINEUR

PEETERS
LEUVEN - LIÈGE
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THE DUNGEON. RECALLING THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE PROTOPALATIAL PALACE AT MALIA*

The Dungeon, a structure provided with a sturdy masonry facing the North-West Court of the Palace at Malia, remains enigmatic. Its association with the surrounding walls and the originality of its building components have long suggested that it marked the presence of early standing architectural remains within the Neopalatial edifice. In this paper, I argue that the Dungeon was created by the assembling, during the Neopalatial period, of grey blue limestone blocks obtained from the dismantling of the Protopalatial façade on the West Court. I suggest that it represents a deliberate act of remembrance in the Neopalatial edifice of the earlier, Protopalatial Palace.

Historical and chronological framework

The Palace at Malia was discovered in 1915 by J. Hazzidakis, who was attracted to a place known as *Azymo* by the discovery by local shepherds and farmers of clay *lamakes*, fragments of gold foils, copper alloy cauldrons, and numerous sealstones.¹ He started the excavation of a low prominence in the plain, the *Zourokephali*, and encountered walls almost immediately identified as part of the West Wing of a Minoan Palace. A second excavation campaign was led in 1919, but the French School at Athens was soon invited to take part in the exploration of the site and from 1922 onwards the Palace was excavated under the direction of F. Chapouthier. The monument was unveiled in its entirety by 1936, and sporadic soundings made by F. Chapouthier and P. Demargne up until 1956 aimed at clarifying the chronology of the edifice. Between 1964 and 1992 a systematic program of investigation of the earliest levels of the Palace at Malia was conducted under the direction of O. Pelon. This paper presents some of the results of the new research project started in 2014 under the aegis of the French School at Athens. The project aims at reconsidering the architectural sequence and at publishing the stratigraphy brought to light by O. Pelon's thorough work in the edifice over several decades. Before this project is successfully completed, a broad chronological outline of the occupation of the Palace can be provided based on previous research (Pl. XIIIa).

Scattered Early Minoan (EM) I sherds have been identified in the earliest levels under the Palace, but evidence suggests occupation really started during the EM IIA phase (*ca* 2650-2450 BCE).² Architectural remains under the Hypostyle Hall (Rooms IX 1-2) and Central Court of the Palace indicate the presence of an EM IIA domestic habitat, which is eradicated in EM IIB (*ca* 2450-2250 BCE) by the laying of a first revetment in the court and the erection of new walls.³ Two structures under and in the Palace can be dated to the EM IIB phase: Building X under the Hypostyle Hall (Rooms IX 1-2) and the mudbrick walls remains of the 'casemate' or Room I 1. The size, plan and masonry of Building X have

* The research upon which this paper is based was supported by the French School at Athens, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, the Onassis Foundation, and INSTAP. I want to thank the organisers of the MNEME conference, as well as Matthew Buell, Sylviane Déderix, Jan Driessen, Alexandre Farnoux, John McEnroe and Sylvie Müller-Celka for discussing several of the aspects presented in the oral communication. I also want to thank Colin Macdonald, Joseph Maran, Daniela Novaro, and Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, whose remarks following my communication have been taken into account in the published version of the text, and Hilary Tysoe for correcting my English. Any error or omission is of course mine.

¹ On the history of the excavations in the Palace at Malia, see O. PELON, *Le Palais de Malia. V* (1980) 13-42 and H. VAN EFFENTERRE, *Le Palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne : étude de synthèse* (1980) 5-24.

² Based on the preliminary observations of the ceramic material from O. Pelon's soundings by I. Caloi.

³ O. PELON, "La Salle à piliers du Palais de Malia et ses antécédents : recherches complémentaires," *BCH* 117.2 (1993) 532-534; J. DRIESSEN, "IIB or not IIB: On the Beginnings of Minoan Monument Building," in J. BRETSCHNEIDER, J. DRIESSEN and K. VAN LERBERGHE (eds), *Power and Architecture. Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean* (2007) 73-92.

been correctly defined as quite impressive for the period,⁴ suggesting to some a Prepalatial date for a palatial edifice at Malia.⁵ Premonitory features and functions of the Minoan palaces appear in the 3rd millennium BCE,⁶ but as far as the Palace at Malia is concerned, no coherent structure surrounding a court has yet been identified in the Prepalatial period. The construction date of the ‘first’ or Protopalatial (ca 1900-1700 BCE) Palace is debated. O. Pelon has suggested that it may already have been erected at the end of the Prepalatial period during the Middle Minoan (MM) IA phase, *i.e.* before the Palaces at Knossos and Phaistos were erected in MM IB, the Palace at Petras was built in MM II, and the Palace at Gournia was built after MM IB.⁷ However, no ceramic and stratigraphic evidence is published to support such an early date, and it is generally accepted that, although the intention to undertake a large-scale building project may have been initiated at the end of the Prepalatial period,⁸ the Palace at Malia was built in MM IB. This Protopalatial edifice was used, perhaps with architectural and occupational modifications that present evidence has not yet allowed us to identify, until the end of the MM IIB phase, when the Palace was destroyed in a seemingly violent event in ca 1700 BCE.⁹ The reconstruction of the edifice into a new, Neopalatial (ca 1700-1430 BCE) structure may have started soon after the Protopalatial destruction. This is suggested by the remains of an impressive MM III (ca 1700-1600 BCE) wall discovered under Rooms III 7b, IV 4 and 6 but, considering the present state of evidence, remains of this phase are often described as ‘chimerical’ and it is possible that the MM III rebuilding was never completed.¹⁰ It seems the thorough reconstruction as well as the possible extension of the Palace in the Neopalatial period took place at the transition between the MM III and LM IA phases (ca 1600 BCE).¹¹ Most of these changes remain visible now, although they incorporate to some extent the vestiges of earlier periods, and belong to the Neopalatial Palace, the destruction of which is dated by O. Pelon to an advanced stage of the LM IA phase (ca during the late 16th BCE).¹² However, P. Darcque and A. Van De Moortel have argued that the Palace was functioning in LM IB (ca 1510-1430 BCE), based on the data provided by the

⁴ PELON (*supra* n. 3) 534.

⁵ I. SCHOEP, “Bridging the Divide between the ‘Prepalatial’ and the ‘Protopalatial’ Periods,” in I. SCHOEP, P. TOMKINS and J. DRIESSEN (eds), *Back to the Beginning. Reassessing Social and Political Complexity on Crete during the Early and Middle Bronze Age* (2012) 408.

⁶ S. TODARO, *The Phaistos Hills before the Palace: a Contextual Reappraisal* (2013) 263-264, 281; S. TODARO, “Craft Production and Social Practices at Prepalatial Phaistos: the Background to the First ‘Palace’,” in SCHOEP *et al.* (*supra* n. 5) 195-235; P. TOMKINS, “Behind the Horizon: The Genesis of the ‘First Palace’ at Knossos (Final Neolithic IV-Middle Minoan IB),” in SCHOEP *et al.* (*supra* n. 5) 39-54.

⁷ For a summary of the evidence brought by O. Pelon on the MM IA date of the Palace at Malia, see M. DEVOLDER, “The Protopalatial State of the Western Magazines of the Palace at Malia (Crete),” *OJA* 35 (2016) 154. On the construction of the Palaces at Knossos, Phaistos, Petras and Gournia, see C.F. MACDONALD, “Palatial Knossos: the Early Years,” in SCHOEP *et al.* (*supra* n. 5) 83; P. MILITELLO, “Emerging Authority: A Functional Analysis of the MM II Settlement of Phaistos,” in SCHOEP *et al.* (*supra* n. 5) 239; M. TSIPOPOULOU, “Before, During, After: the Architectural Phases of the Palatial Building at Petras, Siteia,” in P.P. BETANCOURT, V. KARAGEORGHIS, R. LAFFINEUR and W.-D. NIEMEIER (eds), *Meletemata. Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters his 65th Year* (1999) 848-851; D.M. BUELL and J.C. MCENROE, “Community Building/Building Community at Gournia,” in Q. LETESSON and C. KNAPPETT (eds), *Minoan Architecture and Urbanism. New Perspectives on an Ancient Built Environment* (2017) 210-212.

⁸ M. DEVOLDER, “Essai de synthèse,” in M. DEVOLDER and I. CALOI, *Le Bâtiment Dessenne et les abords sud-ouest du palais de Malia au Pré- et au Protopalatial* (forthcoming).

⁹ O. PELON, “Les deux destructions du palais de Malia,” in I. BRADFER-BURDET, B. DETOURNAY and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *Kris Technitis. L’artisan crétois. Recueil d’articles en l’honneur de Jean-Claude Poursat, publié à l’occasion des 40 ans de la découverte du Quartier Mu* (2005) 186-190.

¹⁰ J. DRIESSEN, “Malia,” in E.H. CLINE (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca 3000-1000 BC)* (2010) 563.

¹¹ O. PELON, “Le Palais,” *BCH* 108 (1984) 884; IDEM, “Un dépôt de fondation au palais de Malia,” *BCH* 110 (1986) 3-19.

¹² PELON (*supra* n. 9) 191-196.

excavations of the Abords Nord-Est. The existence of a main access to the building in this area indeed suggests that at least the north-eastern part of the Palace was still in use during the LM IB phase.¹³

The Palace at Malia underwent significant architectural transformations after its Protopalatial destruction. The first excavators and O. Pelon pointed at the Protopalatial date of the north-western area of the Palace, which remained abandoned after 1700 BCE, and they also shed light on the presence of Protopalatial architectural remains erased, reused or emulated by the Neopalatial edifice (*Quartier d'apparat*; Eastern Magazines; Hypostyle Hall). Additionally, the ongoing architectural study has revealed the presence of a series of parallel layered-rubble walls which delimited a series of narrow elongated rooms in the West Wing of the Protopalatial Palace and were incorporated in the Neopalatial edifice to form what is generally identified in the literature as the Western Magazines (Rooms I 1-7, II 1a, 2-3, III 5, 6 and 8, VI 11-12, VII 7-9, 13 and 14, and VIII 1-3).¹⁴ I have argued elsewhere that these elongated rooms were bordered to the West with a façade equipped with a levelling course made of regular blocks of non-local grey black crystalline and grey sandy limestone, most of which were reused in the form of thresholds, column bases, steps, or lintels scattered over the Neopalatial Palace.¹⁵ Even though their original, Protopalatial shape was altered for the sake of their Neopalatial reuse, it was still obvious that their front, upper, and side faces were carefully shaped for the blocks to fit neatly next to each other. This levelling course provided a strong parallel with the Protopalatial West façades of the Palaces at Knossos and Phaistos, where a limestone levelling course supported orthostate blocks of gypsum and limestone, respectively.¹⁶ At Malia it was suggested that orthostate blocks reused in the Neopalatial Palace (two specimens) and in the possibly early Neopalatial walls of the Chrysolakkos building (*ca* 30 specimens) may have initially formed the first course of the elevation of the Protopalatial West façade of the Palace.¹⁷ However, the varying heights of the orthostate blocks reused in the Chrysolakkos building make it difficult to associate them with the proposed levelling course, since they would not have provided a regular level for the setting of a horizontal wooden element. I suggest that the elevation of the Protopalatial West façade of the Palace at Malia was not made of carefully cut orthostates but of massive and roughly shaped blocks of grey blue limestone.

The grey blue limestone walls of the Dungeon

When they discovered the walls delimiting Area V to the south of the North-West Court of the Palace in 1922, the French excavators were struck by their impressive, sturdy appearance. They could not help but notice the large dimensions of the blocks composing these walls, their uneven shape, the irregularity of their layout, and most of all the way these elements contrasted with the carefully cut pink sandstone blocks of the surrounding walls (Pl. XIIIb).¹⁸ These walls were erected using massive blocks of a hard limestone ranging in colour from light grey to dark grey-blue and known locally as *sidheropetra* or 'ironstone'. This grey blue limestone forms the core of the geological substrate of the settlement, and it is

¹³ P. DARCQUE and A. VAN DE MOORTELE, "Conclusions," in P. DARCQUE, A. VAN DE MOORTELE and M. SCHMID, *Fouilles exécutées à Malia. Les abords Nord-Est du palais I. Les recherches et l'histoire du secteur* (2014) 178-182.

¹⁴ M. DEVOLDER (*supra* n. 7) 141-159.

¹⁵ M. DEVOLDER, "L'assise de nivellement en calcaire de la façade Ouest protopalatiale du palais de Malia," *BCH* 141 (2017) 447-484.

¹⁶ L. PERNIER, *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs: scavi e studi della missione archeologica italiana a Creta dal 1900 al 1950* 1, *Gli strati più antichi e il primo palazzo* (1935) 184-185, figs 76-78; A. EVANS, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* 1 (1921) 129, 209, figs 95-96.

¹⁷ S. MÜLLER-CELKA, "The Chrysolakkos Building at Malia (Crete): An Update," communication to the AIA Annual Meeting held in Toronto, 5-8 January 2017; J.W. SHAW, "The Chrysolakkos Facades," in *Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Ρέθυμνο, 18-23 Σεπτεμβρίου 1971)* (1973) 319-331.

¹⁸ F. CHAPOUTHIER and J. CHARBONNEAUX, *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Premier rapport (1922-1924)* (1928) 18, fig. XII 2; "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l'Orient hellénique (nov. 1921-nov. 1922)," *BCH* 46 (1922) 524.

procured by pry-levying irregular stones from the natural bedrock.¹⁹ It is the decomposition of this hard limestone that produces the iron-rich soil or *terra rossa* so emblematic of the Malia plain. The use of this material first suggested to the French excavators the name of ‘Iron Gate’, which was quickly changed into ‘Dungeon’, because of the tower-like projection of Area V against the surrounding façades. Its grey blue limestone walls were then interpreted as standing remains of the Protopalatial Palace,²⁰ but O. Pelon and his collaborators, based on a new study of the ceramic material discovered in early soundings in the Dungeon, suggested that these walls were Neopalatial.²¹ In fact, it seems that neither of these views is entirely wrong. I argue here that the grey blue limestone walls of the Dungeon are the product of the deliberate reuse in the Neopalatial Palace at Malia of building components procured from the Protopalatial façade on the West Court.

The architectural study focusing on the relation between the Dungeon’s façades and the surrounding walls indicates that the grey blue limestone walls belong to the Neopalatial reconstruction program of the Palace. Their setting against the sandstone eastern façade on the North-West Court indicates that they were part of a later phase in the construction sequence, but structural connexions with the surrounding walls demonstrates that the Dungeon is an integral element of the master plan of the Neopalatial Palace. The Neopalatial date is further confirmed by the reuse in the walls of the Dungeon of several of the grey black crystalline and grey sandy limestone blocks which originally formed the levelling course of the West façade of the Protopalatial edifice (marked with an asterisk on Pl. XIVa). The detailed observation of the grey blue ironstone blocks of the Dungeon indicates that all of them were roughly worked on several faces with the use of lithic tools. Percussion marks are visible which testify the impact of the stone tools with which the hard limestone was struck, and it is possible that the blocks were also polished with the help of an abrasive.²² In several instances the worked faces of the grey blue limestone blocks are literally hidden in the masonry, thus indicating that these blocks were reused. It is especially obvious in the case of three blocks set in header (one) and stretchers (two) in the first and second courses of the north wall of room V 1 of the Dungeon, whose most regular surfaces now form the lower or upper face of the block (Blocks A, B and C in Pl. XIVa).²³ In the case of six other grey blue limestone blocks set in the north and east walls of room V 1, reuse is probable but cannot be fully demonstrated by the concealing of the most carefully worked faces in the Neopalatial masonry (Blocks A’, B’, C’, D’, E’ and F’ in Pl. XIVa).²⁴

The conjoint reuse of grey blue limestone blocks with blocks coming from the levelling course of the Protopalatial West façade is a feature which is not only characteristic of the walls of the Dungeon, but also appears elsewhere in the Neopalatial Palace at Malia. In the *Quartier d’apparat*, a grey sandy limestone block of the Protopalatial levelling course is set next to a reused grey blue limestone block to support a cut sandstone block of the Neopalatial North Portico (Pl. XIVb).²⁵ The grey blue limestone block is set on what was initially its back face, and its original front, side, top and bottom faces were worked with a stone percussive tool. The former top face unveiled during one of O. Pelon’s soundings shows a mortise hole

¹⁹ E. DIMOU, A. SCHMITT and O. PELON, “Recherches sur les matériaux lithiques utilisés dans la construction du palais de Malia : étude géologique,” *BCH* 124 (2000) 438-439, 448-449.

²⁰ “Chronique des fouilles ...” (*supra* n. 18) 524.

²¹ DIMOU *et al.* (*supra* n. 19) 448.

²² J. W. SHAW, *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques* (2009) 46, 49.

²³ Block A is 1.11 m long, 0.49m wide and 0.94m high (initial front surface is now the top face of the block); Block B is 1.01/1.14m long, 0.45m wide and 0.94m high (initial front surface is now the bottom face of the block); Block C is 1.02m long and 0.69 by 0.76m (initial front face is now the top or front face of the block).

²⁴ Block A’ is 1.54m long and 0.88m high; Block B’ is 1.08m long and 0.86m high; Block C’ is 1.07m long, 0.51m wide and 0.94m high; Block D’ is 1.04m long, 0.65m wide and 0.63m high; Block E’ is 0.85m long, 0.54m wide and 0.70m high; Block F’ is 1.29m long and 0.77m high.

²⁵ VAN EFFENTERRE (*supra* n. 1, 293-294 and fig. 397) suggested this block was set as a support for the North Portico after a remodeling of the northern access to the Dungeon. See, however, the questioning by O. Pelon of such remodeling the Dungeon, O. PELON, “Palais et palais à Malia (Crète),” *Revue des archéologues et historiens de l’art de Louvain* 15 (1982) 67-68.

drilled in the hard limestone (Pl. XIVb, right), a feature not found on any similar blocks in the Palace.²⁶ Indeed, other examples abound in the Neopalatial edifice, although it is not always easy to demonstrate the reuse of the hard, grey blue limestone blocks. In 13 cases such reuse is made indisputable by the fact that the best worked surface is hidden in the masonry of the Neopalatial walls, but in 21 others evidence for reuse is less unequivocal (Pls XIIIa and XVa). Again, in the southern façade of the Neopalatial Palace, the possibly or definitely reused grey blue limestone blocks are often associated with reused blocks of the Protopalatial levelling course. Based on such evidence, I propose that the elevation of the West façade of the Protopalatial Palace at Malia was partly made of large grey blue limestone blocks shaped with lithic tools, the height of which varied from 0.63 to 0.94m (Pl. XVb).²⁷ The limited number of reused blocks of the elevation of the Protopalatial West façade may be explained by the fact that only the lower part of this elevation was made of roughly worked ironstone blocks, while the superstructure was composed of smaller elements. The use of mudbricks cannot be entirely rejected, but the absence of indication of a wooden system topping the grey blue limestone blocks rather supports the view that the elevation continued with smaller stone elements, such as rubble or small blocks. One may not exclude the possibility that some of the grey blue limestone blocks of the Palace were reused in other Neopalatial structures at Malia, as suggested by similar blocks set in a secondary position in the walls forming the northern and western façade of House ΔβΙ.²⁸

The use at Malia of these large, only roughly regular blocks is markedly different from the carefully cut orthostate blocks of gypsum and limestone forming the Protopalatial West façades of the Palaces at Knossos and Phaistos. Indeed, the side faces of the hard limestone blocks at Malia are almost never regular enough for each block to be set in full contact with the neighbouring ones. Rather a large joint, perhaps filled with mortar, must have remained (Pl. XVb). This difference is very likely due to the nature of locally available materials at Malia, and the privileged use of the easily procured but hard-to-work local limestone. In their initial use the grey blue limestone blocks were set to show their largest and best worked face, so that they were similar in appearance to the visual effect of orthostates. In other terms, despite local idiosyncrasies, strongly similar West façades were erected in the Palaces at Knossos, Phaistos and Malia during the Protopalatial period.

The Dungeon as a mnemonic device

If the present study offers original and hopefully convincing data for the reconstruction of the Protopalatial façade on the West Court, the topic explored in the present volume enjoins me to address the following question: ‘Does the reuse of grey blue limestone blocks in the exterior walls of the Dungeon reflect a deliberate and meaningful act of remembrance of the Protopalatial West façade in the Neopalatial edifice, or is it simply the indication that the builders of the Neopalatial Palace at Malia wanted to save time and energy by reusing available building materials?’ Several aspects highlight the deliberate mnemonic role of the Dungeon in the Neopalatial edifice.

Firstly, in no other area of the Neopalatial Palace is there such a concentration of reused grey blue limestone blocks (Pl. XIIIa-b). Many of these blocks are definitely or possibly reused in the southern façade

²⁶ A detailed view of the northern part of the eastern face of the same block provided by H. van Effenterre (*supra* n. 1, fig. 397) suggests a second mortise hole there, but it might just represent a natural regular depression in the block.

²⁷ See *supra* notes 23 and 24 for the heights of the blocks. Note that recurring heights make it possible that blocks of similar heights were used in stretches of the façades.

²⁸ I. Bradfer-Burdet and M. Pomadère indeed stress the similarity between these blocks and those of the Dungeon (I. BRADFER-BURDET and M. POMADÈRE, “Δβ at Malia: Two Houses or One Large Complex?,” in K.T. GLOWACKI and N. VOGELIKOFF-BROGAN [eds], *ΣΤΕΓΙΑ. The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete* [2011] 102, figs 9.3 and 9.4). Further observation by the author of the grey blue limestone blocks in ΔβΙ indicates that in several instances their carefully worked faces are hidden in the masonry, thus suggesting their reuse. The initial use of the ΔβΙ blocks remains to be determined, but the West façade of the Protopalatial Palace constitutes an interesting possible candidate.

of the edifice, but its masonry is less regular and several smaller blocks are sometimes combined in order to form one course. Perhaps more importantly, the excavators stressed that the Neopalatial south façade of the Palace was coated with plaster, so that its reused grey blue limestone blocks were not even visible.²⁹ No such coating was found on the walls of the Dungeon,³⁰ where the concentration of grey blue blocks is made more prominent by their use in several superimposed courses. It is also striking that the base of the Dungeon façade walls shows a levelling course, or rather a protruding foundation course, that echoes the levelling course on the Protopalatial West façade, although one must admit it is quite irregular here (Pls XIIIb and XIVa). Secondly, the location of the Dungeon at the southern limit of the North-West Court, *i.e.* along the passage leading from the north entrance of the Palace to the *Quartier d'apparat*, emphasises its role as a mnemonic device in the Neopalatial edifice (Pl. XIIIa). Any individual wanting to reach the Minoan Hall and elaborate surrounding rooms would have to pass in front of the walls of the Dungeon, immediately visible once he or she stepped from the vestibule of the northern entrance towards the *Quartier d'apparat*. Thirdly, the architectural setting of the Dungeon is made to emphasise the effect of the large, grey blue ironstone blocks reused from the Protopalatial Palace (Pl. XIIIb). The walls around the Dungeon are made of pinkish beige ashlar blocks of sandstone. It is very likely that these sandstone walls were once coated with a layer of plaster, but be it white or pinkish, this light-coloured background surely enhanced the visual impact of the dark grey blue blocks.

These features support the assertion that the grey blue limestone walls of the Dungeon are not the result of the meaningless reuse of Protopalatial spolia in the Neopalatial Palace but reflect the deliberate incorporation of elements of the Protopalatial façade on the West Court. The walls of the Dungeon really anchor the Neopalatial building into the long-term occupation of the Malia Palace and settlement. They bridge the gap caused by the destruction of the first Palace at the end of the Protopalatial period and its thorough reconstruction during the Neopalatial, stressing the need for the builders and users of the Palace to maintain a semblance of continuity between the two edifices. Cases of a similar, obviously deliberate incorporation of early elements into later palatial structures proves to be more recurrent than generally outlined in research on Minoan architecture. Amongst the most prominent examples highlighted by recent architectural studies, one may cite the new phasing proposed by J. McEnroe and D.M. Buell at the Palace at Gournia, where Protopalatial walls are left standing and incorporated into the Neopalatial edifice, as well as the EM III walls in the North-West Terrace of the Palace at Knossos, ostensibly left visible when incorporated into the Protopalatial Palace.³¹

What is especially striking in the case of the Palace at Malia is that the Protopalatial West façade was thoroughly dismantled and erected again, in a similar fashion, to create the Dungeon. It is perhaps important to stress here the versatility of the Dungeon's anchorage in the biography of the Palace. Although grey blue limestone is still used consistently in the Neopalatial building, in the form of unworked stones of various but generally small dimensions, worked blocks are then made of sandstone, a material procured by the channel-extraction technique from local quarries along the shore. Cut sandstone is already attested in the settlement of Malia during the Protopalatial period, but its consistent use and the quality of its fashioning in the Palace is a Neopalatial feature. The ashlar sandstone blocks bear marks related to the individuals or teams who quarried, shaped and set them into place, and I have argued elsewhere that the use of sandstone ashlar masonry in the Neopalatial Palace of Malia may have required

²⁹ PELON (*supra* n. 1) 67.

³⁰ J. Charbonneaux, while describing this masonry mentions a plaster coating on the back face of the walls only, to hide the rubble masonry filling the irregularities between the blocks (J. CHARBONNEAUX, "L'architecture et la céramique du palais de Mallia," *BCH* 52 [1928] 350). No plaster coating is mentioned in the excavators' archives, preliminary report ("Chronique ... [*supra* n. 18] 524) or publication of the excavations (CHAPOUTHIER and CHARBONNEAUX [*supra* n. 18] 18). O. Pelon recognises that there is no trace on the Dungeon's façades of a plaster coating, but suggests there must have been one initially, based on the fact it was common practice in the palace and the suggestion that the face of the grey blue limestone blocks was worked to increase the adherence of the coating (PELON [*supra* n. 1] 87, n. 4).

³¹ D.M. BUELL and J. MCENROE, this volume; MACDONALD (*supra* n. 7) 87.

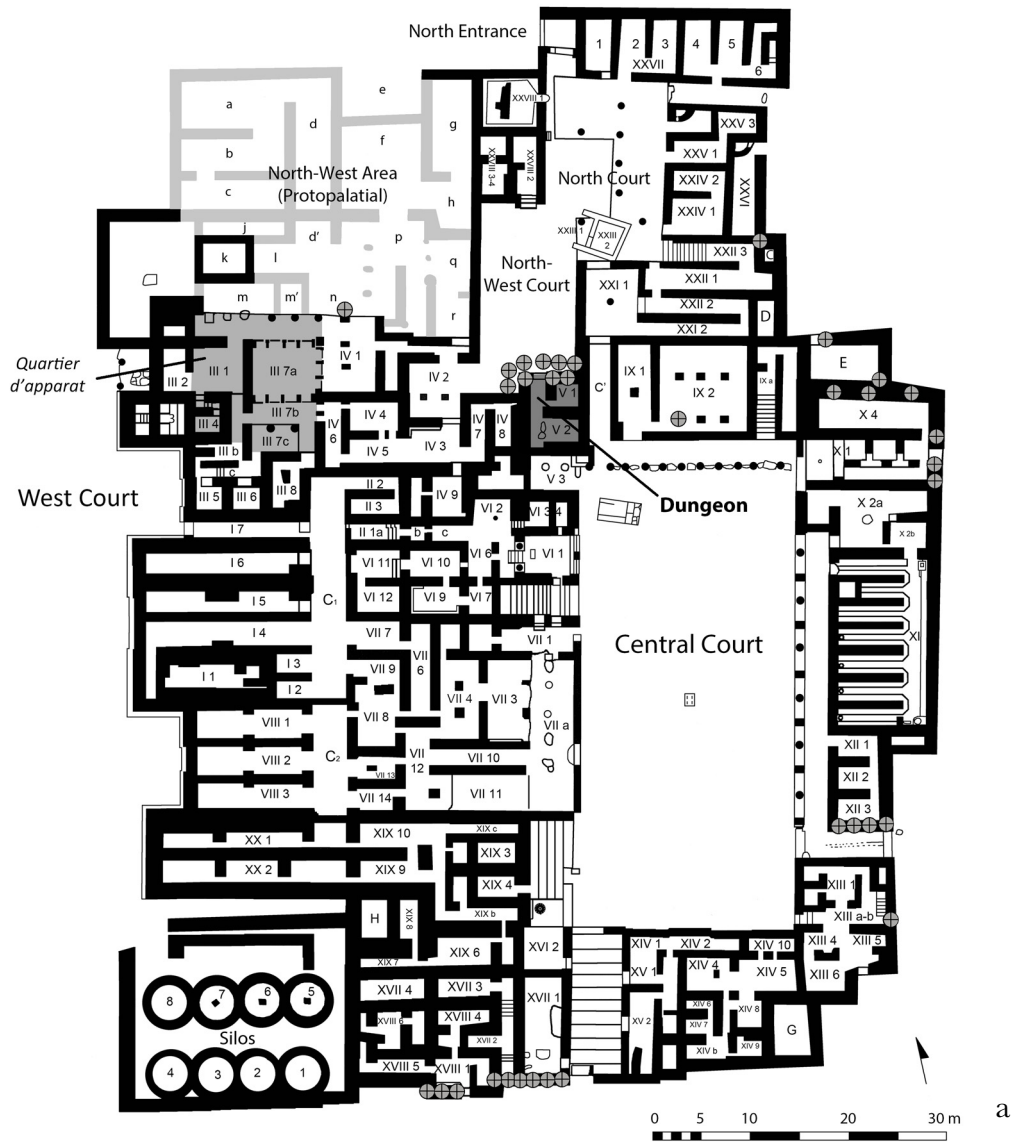
the participation of Knossian builders.³² Indeed, masons' marks appear in the Palace at Knossos from the Protopalatial period onwards, and it is striking to notice that only the most common signs used at Knossos are carved on blocks of the Neopalatial Palace at Malia. If the contribution of Knossian workers to the reconstruction of the Palace at Malia in the Neopalatial period proves to be a correct hypothesis, the Dungeon not only served as a mnemonic device of the Protopalatial grandeur of the Malia Palace, but it also reminded the Neopalatial users what was to build as a Maliot during the Protopalatial period.

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³² M. DEVOLDER, "The Functions of Masons' Marks in the Bronze Age Palace at Malia (Crete)," *AJA* 122 (2018) 343-365.

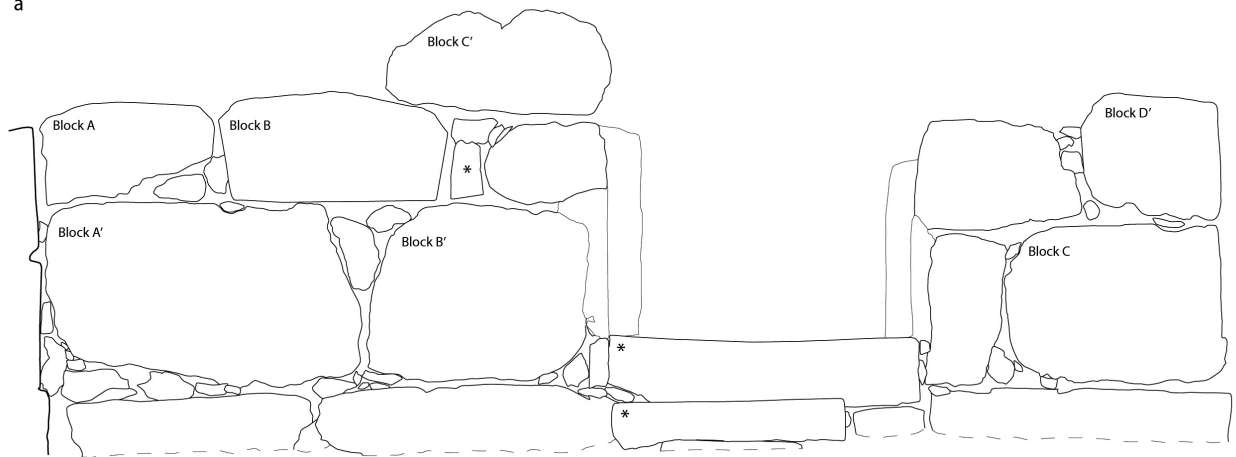
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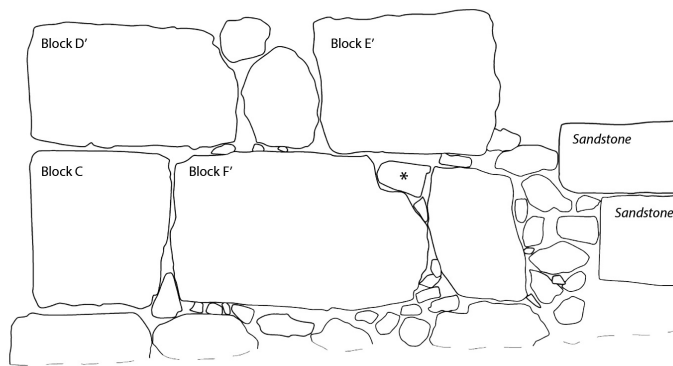


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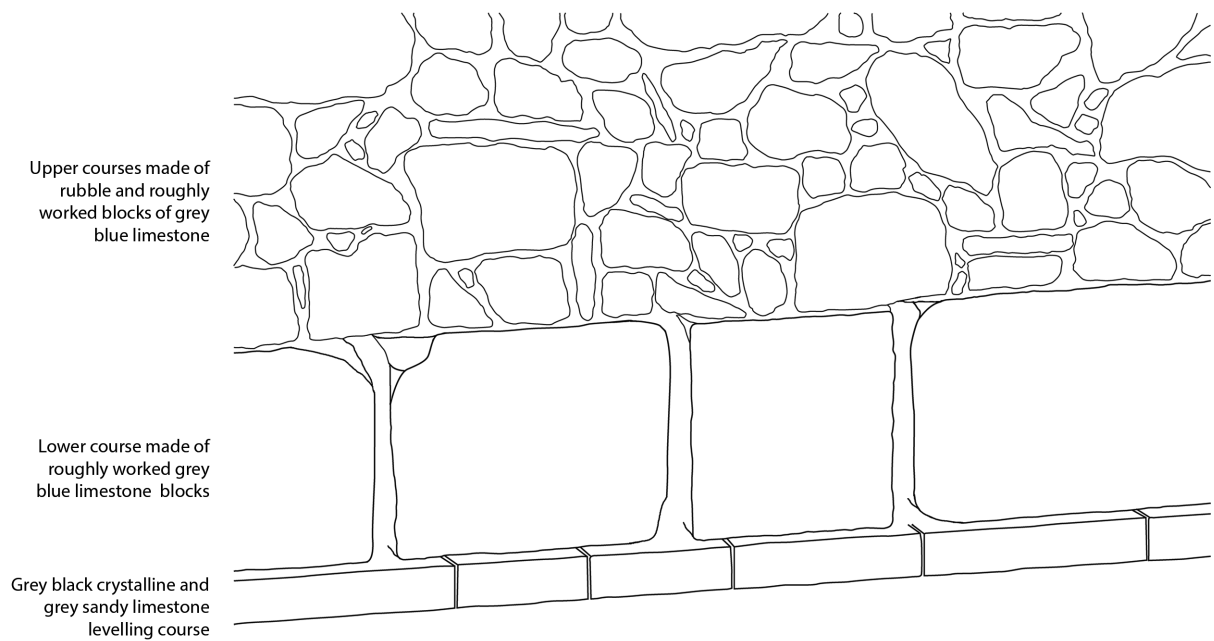
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