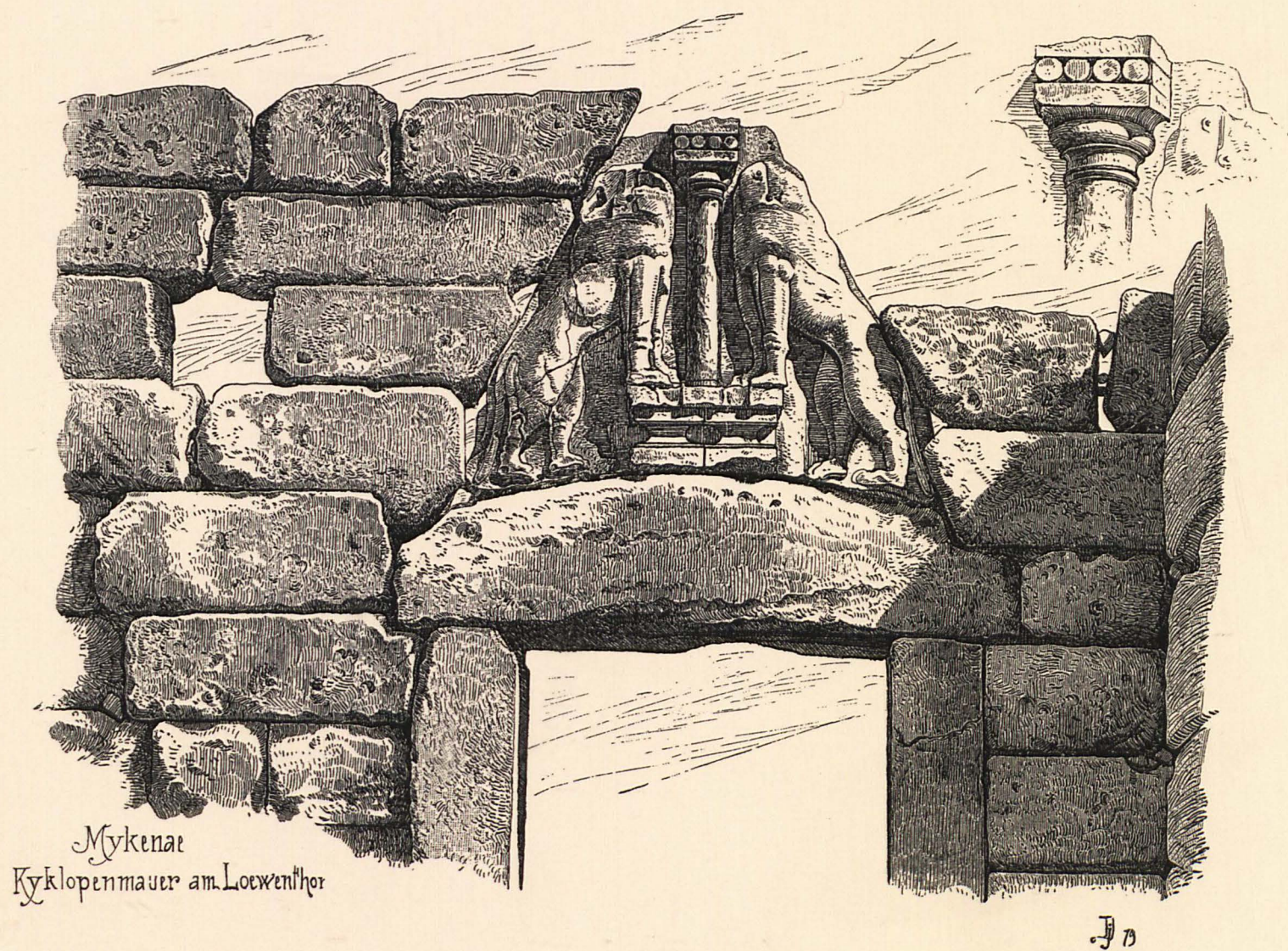


ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF MYCENAE



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OF MYCENAE

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF MYCENAE



ATHENS 2003

Ἡρώων ὀλίγαι μὲν ἐν ὄμμασιν, αἱ δ' ἔτι λοιπαὶ
πατρίδες οὐ πολλῶ γ' αἰπύτεραι πεδίων·
οἷήν καὶ σέ, τάλαινα, παρερχόμενός γε Μυκλήνην
ἔγνων, αἰπολίου παντὸς ἐρημοτέρην,
αἰπολικὸν μῆνυμα· γέρων δέ τις, “Ἡ πολύχρυσος”,
εἶπεν, “Κυκλώπων τῇδ' ἐπέκειτο πόλις”.

*Few heroes' homes to sight remain;
The rest stand low above the plain.
Mycenae thus I saw again,
A herdsmen's mark, a barren fold;
But one old man remembering told
«Here stood the Cyclops' town of gold».*

Alpheios of Mytilene, *Anthologia Palatina* IX 101



To the Memory of BERNHARD STEFFEN

*in appreciation of the map compiled during the winter of 1881-1882,
a work of great beauty and formidable accuracy.*

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PREFACE

In 1887 King George the 1st of Greece asked the then newly founded German Imperial Archaeological Institute to make a survey and archaeological map of Attica. To this end the General Staff of the German Army dispatched to Greece eight officers, among whom the artillery captain Bernhard Steffen. Steffen, having finished his assignment of plotting the Hymettos area, became interested in Mycenae, recently brought to the world's notice by the excavations of H. Schliemann. Working on a grant from the Archaeological Institute in Berlin, Steffen surveyed, during the winter of 1881-1882, the Citadel of Mycenae and the region around it. His maps, drawn on a scale of 1:1,750 for the Citadel and 1:12,500 for the general area, together with a commentary by Steffen and, as an appendix, a description of the region by H. G. Lolling, were published with the title *Karten von Mykenai* in 1884 by H. Reimer in Berlin. Comprehensive, painstakingly exact and masterfully drawn these maps have been ever since the basic reference for the study of the site.

Meanwhile, however, excavations by the Archaeological Society at Athens (Tsountas, Keramopoulos, Papadimitriou, Mylonas, Iakovidis), the British School at Athens (Wace, Lord William Taylour) and the Greek Archaeological Service continued to reveal additional evidence, sometimes published but mostly dispersed in brief and not always easily accessible reports. The need for a fresh up to date survey became increasingly felt.

In 1989 the British School at Athens acquired, thanks to a most generous benefaction in honour of Dr. Hector Catling, an Electronic Distance Measurer (EDM), suitable for quick and accurate surveying. The then director of the School Dr. Elizabeth B. French proposed to the Archaeological Society at Athens that the School should cooperate with them in a survey of the area in order to produce an Archaeological Atlas of Mycenae which would incorporate Steffen's

material as also all the additional evidence unearthed over the years or detected during limited local surveys.

The work would cover two different aspects: first a literature search including excavation notebooks for mention of individual tests and excavations; second a field survey of visible remains using the EDM. This proposal was accepted by the Archaeological Society and the necessary permit was issued to the Society in the name of Professor Iakovidis who has overall responsibility for the site of Mycenae. Moreover the Society engaged to publish the Atlas. They also funded the transport for each field season and the lodging of some members of the team. Other funding was supplied by the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries and the British School. The project was readily accepted by the authorities of the Fourth Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Nafplion. Field work, directed by Dr. E. B. French and supervised by Prof. S. E. Iakovidis began in 1991 and went on at full strength in 1992 and 1993. In 1994 and 1995 Dr. French and Dr. Shelton incorporated some new discoveries and commenced the task of organizing the material for publication. Some 703 various remains of all periods of antiquity (tombs, buildings, roads, quarries) were located and plotted. Their particulars (kind of monument, form, dimensions, construction, orientation, preservation, excavation data, bibliography etc.) were recorded and entered in an electronic data bank. They had been found after a careful and often laborious search over a 4.5 km long and 3.5 km wide area, namely from Khania to the South to the foot of Profitis Ilias to the North and from Fikhtia to the West to Plesia and Monastiraki to the East. To them were added Steffen's findings as well as information gleaned from excavation notebooks and from the accounts of early travellers or simply from the reminiscences of local residents. In this we were fortunate to have the ready and effective collaboration of the

then Ephor of Antiquities of the Argolid Mrs F. Pachiyianni, the archaeologist in charge of the Mycenae area Mrs E. Palaiologou as well as other members of their staff. The chief guards J. Christainas and P. Kosmas and the guards of the site –particularly An. Kolizeras– provided willing and valuable help. The survey team used as its basis and working space the Melathron building at Mycenae, generously put at their disposal by its owners, the Mycenaean Foundation of St. Louis, Mo, USA.

The actual survey, based on the triangulation point of the National Datum on the Panagia hill, was at first set up by the assistant director of the British School Mr Guy Sanders and the surveyor emeritus of the School Mr David Smyth. Subsequently the main task was carried out by the surveyor Dr. Arzen Gedeon assisted by Mark Southgate of Manchester University. Based on maps provided by the Hellenic Military Geographical Service the architect-recorder Mrs Agnes Kaddibo plotted the surveyor's readings on enlarged versions of the maps. The field work was carried out by two teams of archaeologists led by the former students of Prof. Iakovidis Dr. Kim Shelton and Dr. A. Jansen. They were assisted by Chloe Dontos of Cardiff University and Jan Verstraete of the University of Leuven (who was also invaluable for his computer skills). Imogen Grunden and Claire Pickersgill of the BSA, Heidi Dierckx and Christophilis Maggidis of the University of Pennsylvania also took part in individual years. Dr. Iphigeneia Tournavitu was with the team less than originally projected; she carried out the first stages of the Greek literature search, later completed by Dr. Shelton and Dr. French (who also dealt with the notebooks in illegible English). Dr. Jan Driesen of the BSA was able to join the team only for a week in the first year. John Lavery of the West Sussex College, who has been exploring the area and its road systems, has contributed greatly both in the field and with the study of the early travellers. Mr William M. Frick kindly allowed us to make use of his unpublished translation of Steffen's text (1990) with commentary and photographs, among which Steffen's photograph in the frontispiece. The photographs which illustrate the text are the work of Elias Eliades, of Athens.

While the maps were being prepared for publication it was decided to add to the Atlas plans of the Citadel, based on a survey financed by the Managing Fund for the implementation of Archaeological Projects of the Ministry of Culture and carried out by the Photogrammetry Laboratory of the National Technical University of Athens under the direction of Dr. Ch. Ioannides. The Laboratory team coordinated the existing plans of the various excavation areas in the Citadel, combined them with the National Reference System, made an overall survey based on a polygonometrical net-

work of 25 stations from which measurements were made and on aerial photogrammetric photographs, thus creating a detailed plan of the Citadel on a 1:100 scale aiming at a three-dimensional reconstruction of the Citadel area. The results were incorporated in the Atlas with the consent of the Fund and the Central Archaeological Board of the Ministry.

In its final form the Atlas consists of a text beginning with a chapter on the accounts of early travellers from de Monceaux (1669) to Agnes Smith (1883). It is further divided into two parts, the first dealing with the Citadel and the second describing the area around it. The information on the points plotted on the plans of the Citadel and on the sheets of the maps is supplemented with a description of the Citadel and with chapters on topography, chronology and geology of the area, on roads, on houses and on tombs. It concludes with indexes, bibliography and a list of abbreviations. The Citadel is illustrated by a general plan, further divided into 10 sections drawn on a 1:400 scale. The surroundings are mapped on 12 sheets drawn on a 1:2,500 scale but reduced in print to 1:5,000, with the areas where the remains are too many and too close together enlarged separately for clarity. The entries on the maps are numbered in concordance with the catalogue in the text and are represented by symbols according to type (wall, tomb etc.) coloured according to the historical period to which they belong.

It should be emphasized that the resulting publication is a cooperative effort; individual sections bear the names of those largely responsible for them but all members of the team have contributed effectively and in many ways to the whole, at to both the field work and discussion stages.

The final tracing of maps and plans was done by the experienced draughtsman of the Archaeological Society Mr Evangelos Olympios, who worked with his usual skill and infinite patience and was supervised and guided by Prof. Iakovidis and Dr. Shelton. The editorial supervision was entrusted to Mrs Electra Andreadi whose meticulous care and vast experience have contributed decisively to the value of this publication. The artistic layout and the quality of its presentation are due to the skill and the high standards of the seasoned editress, Mrs Lucy Braggiotti. Professor Iakovidis coordinated the editing and printing process.

The Board of the Archaeological Society, represented by its Secretary General Dr. Basil Petrakos who was in charge of the entire proceedings, contributed decisively to the realization of the project. The result is the exact and, as far as the findings of 125 years of systematic research allow, the complete picture of Mycenae in antiquity. It is hoped that it will prove to be as useful to antiquaries and scholars who have worked at Mycenae as has been the work of the pioneer, B. Steffen.

SPYROS E. IAKOVIDIS

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF MYCENAE

A search for useful information concerning the site in both literature and art was an integral part of the original survey scheme. A catalogue of early visitors has been compiled and the most relevant information retrieved so far from their accounts is presented here¹.

The Homeric descriptions of the site are well known, have been widely discussed² and are hardly of relevance to our particular study³. Classical references too are largely irrelevant though Schliemann (1878, 37) suggested that Euripides must have known the site to be able to describe it so tellingly. Problems arise with the comments by Diodorus (XI 65: [Mycenae] «has remained uninhabited down to our own times») and Strabo (VIII 6, 10 = C372: «now not a trace of the city of the Mycenaeans is to be found» and VIII 6, 19 = C377: «Mycenae no longer exists»). Baladie (1980, 313) in his commentary on Strabo suggests that the terminology used implies only that Mycenae was no longer a city. It would appear that the Hellenistic *koma* was relatively short-lived and that the site was again deserted or almost deserted by the 1st century BC⁴. Diodorus' ignorance of the Hellenistic settlement, probably based on a misunderstanding of his sources, need not occasion surprise.

Pausanias' description is more detailed but it too indicates that the site was deserted at the time of his visit, whereas the archaeological evidence indicates at least some visitors in the following centuries⁵. Wace (1949, 7-8; 1954), among others, has discussed the interpretation of Pausanias' text. Perhaps the prime importance of his description, however, lies in the fact that it formed the basic guidebook for visitors, particularly after the first translations became readily available to scholars in the late 18th century.

No visits are recorded before 1500 (*per* Simopoulos 1970 and Van der Vin 1980) as Cyriacus of Ancona in his trip of 1447-1448 seems to have mistaken Katsingri for Mycenae (Wolters 1915). Even after 1500 information is very scarce: Niger (1557, 341), though he gives an adequate account of Cleonae, says of Mycenae only that it was called Charia. No detail either in Stochove (1668, 196) who says merely: «Ce n'est présentement qu'une méchante bourgade»⁶ – a statement which must refer to the original village which lay immediately S of the modern car park. Nowhere is there description other than references to the fertile land. The apparent failure of experienced travellers to mention the site could relate to the Citadel itself being heavily overgrown as it was later (Ukert 1810, 86; Stephens 1838, I, 108) and thus

indistinguishable from a distance. For the site did lie at some distance from the normal routes⁷. We may note that Curtius' first impression (in 1838) was of Mycenae being «eine versteckte, unscheinbare Winkelstadt» (1851, II, 400). Indeed the site was not obvious from the modern road in the valley to the W until the walls were cleared and restored in the 1950's. The dependence of early travellers on local guides who did not know or could not be bothered to find the site⁸ is a contributory factor.

The site is correctly listed on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* but does not appear at all on some maps prior to 1650; on others it is not correctly placed. Speed (1626), for example, places it S of Argos. It seems probable that this may be the result of an error in Ptolemy's coordinates. Even before the Venetian reconquest, however, the position is shown correctly though de Wit (*ca* 1680) seems to have used a different source to Visscher (1682). De Wit labels the site: «Charia - Cast. Ag. Adrianos - Mycene»⁹.

The first definite identification was by M. de Monceaux¹⁰ on 26.6.1669 when he journeyed from Nauplion to Athens via Argos. At one point he wrote «Nous ne pusmes rien découvrir de Micènes» (Omont 1902, II, 1195). But in a posthumous memoir of this journey¹¹ (de Bruyn 1725, 381-493) he declared: «Entre Argos et Mycènes, le haut de la plaine est sur un fonds ingrat et presque abandonné. Il n'y a qu'un ou deux villages dans la montagne, qui est sur la droite. On y voit les Ruines d'une assez grande ville¹² à 6 milles d'Argos: on y voit même un Amphithéâtre¹³. L'auteur croit que c'est Mycènes; elle regarde à l'Ouest.»

What is astonishing is that no one mentions the Lion Gate. Our first witness is the Venetian engineer Francesco Vandeyk whose report of 1700¹⁴ (Beaudoin 1880, 206-210) is, for the most part¹⁵, concerned with stone. Various sources (starting with Fourmont) comment on the depredations of

1. EBF undertook the task of collecting photographs and making the actual data base; this is based on JL's research on early texts and illustrations, using as a key source the unpublished PhD of M. Seve (1979) and on the list of visits published by Wace (*BSA* 25, 286-7 for references to the tholos tombs) expanded from the detailed information in Sandys (1887) and that gleaned from Tsigakou (1981). The information concerning Mycenae, when thus compiled, fits well into the outline of the discovery of Greece given by Stoneman (1987). The list on p. 4 represents the present state of our research; corrections and additions are welcome.

2. e.g. Wace in Wace and Stubbings 1962, 386-98.

3. Except in giving a possible reason for the emphasis on roads towards the gulf of Corinth.

4. Compare also the *Anthologia Palatina* IX 101-3 even allowing for poetic licence.

5. Coins: Dengate 1974, 102; lamps: *BSA* 48, 17.

6. His note that Thevet called the site Grebigny is inexact. Thevet in fact (1575, xviii, 801) like Belleforest (1575, ii, 185) calls Mycenae «Charie» with Grebigny a former «fort de Micène».

7. Evliya Celebi (1668) returned from Nauplion to Corinth via a caravan-serai at Kotsia (mod. Argoliko) then turning west across the plain «with its handsome villages and cifikia» over the pass and across the plain of Ag. Georgios (mod. Nemea) – a route now planned for a new offshoot of the motorway.

8. Pouqueville 1820-21, 148.

9. It is possible that this designation may be linked to the misidentification of Mycenae with Katsingri (Ag. Adrianos) probably on a mixture of local information and Ptolemy.

10. For his background see Seve 1993, 9-11.

11. Published under the name «des Mouceaux» as Omont (1902, I 27 n. 1) explains.

12. This impression of size is similar to that of Mirabal, a French officer in Venetian service who found Mycenae «de la grandeur de Soissons» (1698, 102).

13. Any doubt as to what he meant by «l'amphithéâtre» is solved by his use of the term on the same page of the same work for the theatre of Argos, with «les degrés taillés dans le roc» for seating. Interestingly no further reference to the theatre is made by anyone.

14. This report forms the introductory section of the cadaster for 1700. It is perhaps of importance that in the actual entry for the territory of «Crovatia» the description of the boundaries leaves a blank for the name of the ancient site and mentions the Treasury of Atreus but not the Lion Gate: «Nelle confine di questa villa arrivano (?) le vestige dell'antichissima città [blank] e la cubba sotto alla collina come si a (?) detto nella descrizione di tutto il territorio d'Argos...». Mycenae is not shown on the map that accompanies the cadaster (information kindly supplied by Stella Chryssochoou).

15. For his report on the Treasury of Atreus see Lavery forthcoming.

the Venetians in search of stone for building in Nafplion¹⁶. The well cut blocks of both the theatre and the Hellenistic temple may have suffered in this way. A ramp-like track leading into the Citadel north of the Hellenistic tower appears in Rottmann (Kat. no. 354ff of 1834) as well as du Moncel (pub. 1843) and Lear (Drawing no. 96 of March 31, 1849), though it is not shown on the maps of Gell and Blouet¹⁷. It might have been built for the removal of the stone. This ramp may also be depicted in Fourmont's earlier illustration (1729/30) (BN Ms 1892, 460).

The overall implication might be that Vandeyk, who is the first person since Pausanias to mention the Lion Gate, had uncovered it in his general search for «marble». The gate was still partially buried at the beginning of the 19th century as is shown in three almost identical drawings of 1800¹⁸, 1802¹⁹ and 1803²⁰ as well as the better known illustrations by Gell and by Dodwell who visited together in 1805. More rubble had been removed by the time of Rottman's watercolour (no. 360) of 1834 and the gate shows distinctly in that of von Klenze (cover for Fitton 1995) dated 1837. We know that it was finally cleared by Kyriakos Pittakis for the Archaeological Society at Athens in 1841 (Mylonas 1983, 18)²¹. But were the top of the Gate and the relief itself buried until 1700? Was this, then, why the main feature of the Mycenae Citadel went undescribed for so long?

In 1729 there followed the visit of the notorious²² Michel Fourmont with his nephew Claude-Louis. Fourmont, like de Monceaux, had been dispatched to make acquisitions for the French Royal collections. The tribulations of his journeys, his problems with his paymasters and the means by which he tried to alleviate them have left much confusion. Both Stoneman in general (1987, 95-107) and Seve in particular (1993, 31-3, with regard to his work at Argos) try to account for the unevenness.

Perhaps his most important contribution is his sketch map of the plain of Argos, for d'Anville according to his pupil Barbie du Bocage (who edited and ordered his papers) made use of a «calque de la carte levée par Fourmont» (Seve 1993, 39). Fourmont, moreover, (and/or his nephew) made a series of naive drawings which seem to be the earliest illustrations of the site of Mycenae²³.

Despite this improved information, the site eluded some travellers. Chandler managed to miss it in 1765/6; he reached the Tretos pass only to realize that he had not noted Mycenae (1776, 231), an omission which caused comment by both Chateaubriand (1827, 113) and later Mahaffy (1887, 397). Scrofani (1801, I, 154) mistook one of the pyramids (Lessa or Helleniko) for the site. Fauvel on his first trip of 1780²⁴ also omitted the site (perhaps in his excitement with the temple at Nemea) as he says he headed on to Argos «sans rien penser à Mycènes» (Lowe 1936, 217).

The early 19th century brought a change of emphasis. As well as the collector or his agent, there are now serious topographers and many more artists. Many are strongly influenced by the text of Pausanias which was by now readily available to them.

The «collectors» at Mycenae seem to have confined their attentions to the Treasury of Atreus. Luckily the very size and weight of the Lion relief prevented Hunt from trying to remove it (Smith 1916, 200). Following their visit to Mycenae, so vividly described by Lady Elgin (Smith 1916, 213-5), the Elgins had Vlassopoulos, «our protected 'baratly' in Argos»²⁵ continue to clear the dromos. Lusieri reports on the payment for this in a letter of 1805 (Smith 1916, 260-1). Elgin had also dispatched Ittar to make drawings. In another report to Elgin, Lusieri described the work of Veli Pasha at the tomb, work in which he was later joined by the Marquis of Sligo. Shortly afterwards Cockerell investigated the construction of the dome though the drawing by Donaldson based on this research (called «most faithful» by Cavanagh and Laxton 1981, 110) was not published till 1830 (Stuart and Revett 1830, 30 whence it was copied by Leake 1830, 377).

Vlassopoulos can also be seen as the source of one of the first Mycenaean pots to be illustrated; it formed part of a supposed tomb group from «Pesopode» (now Koutsopodi) presented by Vlassopoulos to E. D. Clarke in 1801 (Clarke 1812, 664 no. 2) though, as Wace in the foreword to Ventriss and Chadwick (1956, p. xvii n. 1) points out, Thomas Burgon (1809) was the first to publish Mycenaean pottery from the site found during his visit in 1809.

The date when the dome of the Tomb of Clytemnestra was damaged and the tomb looted is more difficult to establish. Schliemann (1878, 42) gives an erroneous date of 1820 saying that he cannot ascertain whether this was accidental or the work of Veli Pasha. Both accounts were current in his day as today²⁶. Belger (1887, 30) notes the error and points out that Veli Pasha left the Argolid in 1812. Gell marked the site as a tumulus though it is omitted in Leake's sketch from his second visit the next year (1806). Both, however, mark the water channel which on Gell's map can be seen running immediately NW of the tomb and would therefore seem not to be involved in the discovery. North in his letter of 19.vi.1810 speaks of the Pasha opening a second tomb «but not so large» (as the Treasury of Atreus). Laurent who visited in 1818-9 notes the destruction and calls it the work of an excavator! On Blouet's map (1833, pl. 63) the area looks more like a bomb site though correctly identified as a tholos and this allows the suggestion that the feature just behind the figures on the right of von Stackelberg's view may also be this tomb²⁷.

16. Belle (1881, 264-70) says there was no Venetian or Turkish damage to the walls of Mycenae but it is unlikely that by this late date he had any hard evidence for this statement or else he is distinguishing between the limestone/conglomerate of the actual walls and poros used elsewhere.

17. The early version of Drossinos plan of the Citadel in the Schliemann album (Demakopoulou 1990, 95) shows the wall covered here.

18. By Thomas Hope (Tsigakou 1985 no. 47).

19. By Leake in the back of his notebook *Cerigo to Athens* 1802, 3 dating from his first visit to the site in 1802 (Misc. Papers in the Classics Faculty Library, Cambridge). He also illustrates the Treasury of Atreus.

20. Ittar's drawing in the British Museum collections (Fitton 1995, 74).

21. The entry to the Treasury of Atreus on the other hand was cleared at the Voivode's instigation during the Elgin visit of 1802 (Smith 1916, 213-5) and Vlassopoulos (who may in fact have carried out the first work) continued work after Ittar's drawing session of the following year. The extent of this clearance may be seen in a comparison of the Thomas Hope drawing of 1800 (Tsigakou 1985 no. 53 which she mistakenly reassigns to the Tomb of Clytemnestra) with that of Dodwell (1805), all illustrated by Fitton (1995, 77).

22. e.g. Spawforth 1976.

23. His main text is missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale (Mss Fr. n.a. 1892) but his visit is recorded in letters (Omont 1902, 595, 607). See also Seve 1993. Drawings (some in a poor state of preservation) are in the BN: (A) Ms Fr. 22878 f 21: *Descriptio Topographica Mycenarum et Vicinorum Locorum*, 1: Le Tombeau d'Atrée/Souterrain; 2: Torrents; 3: Mandre; 4: Panagia; 5: Grands Débris; (B) Ms Suppl. Grec 853,51, f 6 *Descriptio*

Topographica Mycenarum et Vicinorum Locorum, 1: Le Tombeau d'Atrée souterrain etc; 2: Torrents; 3: La ville de Micène; 4: Mandre; 5: Panagia [These are deeply damaged but of a far greater skill than A and C, and show some features useful to the Survey]; (C) Ms n.a. 1892 f 460 (no legend) [This is a smaller version of A].

24. He of course visited later and supplied the long description used by Pouqueville (1820 IV, 151).

25. The modern Turkish spelling would be 'beratlı'; the word means a warrant holder, see also Clarke 1812, 457 n. 5.

26. Mylonas 1983, 175-7; Frick 1990, 96 n. 136.

27. This view (Rodenwaldt 1957 no. 16) is a composite but accurate nonetheless. It probably dates from 1810.

Gell, who visited with Dodwell and Pomardi in 1805, though he is primarily a topographer, advocated excavation but credit for the first serious investigation must be given to Cockerell. Gell's account, on the other hand, with its map and drawings²⁸ might be thought to form the first full description of the site²⁹ to be published since Pausanias. His map in particular is invaluable, showing clearly, for instance, both the ruined village which lay just to the S of the modern car park and a village on the present site named «Krabata»³⁰.

Leake's published text (1830) is a disappointment. His map is poor, a sketch at best and quite obviously made without the use of his instruments. He visited at least twice though there is no published account of the first visit (presumably in 1802). He mentions it himself, however, when writing up the second visit of 1806; he comments there on sections of the Atreus façade having been moved and mentions that he now found four tholos tombs while on the first visit he had seen only two (the Treasury of Atreus and the Epáno Fournos). In his 1846 addenda and corrections³¹ he incorporated several comments which relate his account to that of the French Expedition. Professor Wagstaff (who is writing a biography of Leake) suggests (pers. comm.) that he spent no more than 4-5 hours on the site³². His account of Mycenae is so «reworked» from his notes that only one of his comments is actually of any importance as primary evidence: he says that «All this part of the slope [by the Kato Fournos tomb], which is now ploughed land, is strewn with ancient pottery» (1830, 383).

After a period when many people visited and often illustrated the site but whose work affords us little of substance, a major advance in our knowledge came with the work of the French *Expédition Scientifique de Morée* (started in 1829, published in 1831-3). A good area map, text and illustrations add very considerably to our information. Hardly unexpectedly there are problems correlating the data from the various sources. Leake thought the four tholoi he saw were those recorded by the French but it is clear from his description that he saw the Lion Tomb and Blouet the Tomb of Clytemnestra³³. Gell (1817, 162) saw and marked both. Fourmont appears to show the Ag. Georgios bridge as complete, though these could be schematic representations. By Dodwell's account of 1805 (1819, 243-4) it certainly has only one side, though Mure later appears to mark traces of the bridge on both banks of the rema.

The next generations of visitors could and did use the maps and accounts of their predecessors. They begin to chart detailed itineraries (as of course did Gell when he finally came to publish his work) and regularly to compare the actual site with the account of Pausanias. Their interpretive

comments, largely confined to the Lion Gate and the Treasury of Atreus, are of some interest but of little value as primary evidence. One of the most perceptive was William Mure who visited in 1838. He stressed particularly the size of Mycenae. His maps (1839, 240 and 1842, II, 165) show a considerable mass of remains on the NW slopes of the lower town. He (1842, II, 166) envisaged the early Mycenaeans living in «scattered suburbs» with an indirect reference to Thucydides' description of Sparta (I 10) in his earlier text (1839, 244)³⁴. Mure (1842, 164-5) comments with care on the rock feature along the Atreus ridge concluding that it was a 'Stadtmauer': «though little more than a few stones are in any place preserved, yet its vestiges are distinctly traceable over a considerable portion of the ridge». In their maps Gell (1810, pl. 3) and Leake (1830, II, pl. 4) had traced this feature down to the Ag. Georgios bridge though the latter also had been careful in his verbal description: «Along the crest ... an excavation in the rock may be traced, intended apparently for the foundation of a wall». Blouet, however, whose map (1833, pl. 63) reappears exactly in Aldenhoven (1841, facing p. 388), records it as a 'voie'. Clark (1858, 74) disputes Leake's interpretation and says «neither I nor my companions were able to see anything else along the ridge but the limestone rock cropping out». This difficulty persists today.

Clark (1858, 66) also (in a work dedicated to Finlay who annotated his own copy) sums up the writings of these travellers tellingly though perhaps with a rather different emphasis from that presented here: Mycenae has been «described minutely by Col. Leake, popularly by Mr Mure, succinctly by the author of the *Handbook* [Aldenhoven] and variously by other travellers».

There are, in addition to more basic information, some intriguing vignettes. Lady Elgin's account of entering the Treasury of Atreus has already been mentioned. Schaub (1863, 228-9) met some German archaeologists on the site (in 1862) who had permission to make a cast of the Lion relief. Jebb (1880, 94-5) when he visited in 1878 met Stamatakis continuing excavation after Schliemann had finished, saw «Agamemnon» under the bed, and noted the teeth. Mahaffy (1887) had to rewrite his whole Mycenae entry for the third (revised) edition to take account of Schliemann's work³⁵. William Simpson of the *Illustrated London News* comments most unfavourably on conditions in the village (*ILN* 14.iv.1877, 358) though others enjoyed their stay. Rottmann (Bierhaus-Rodiger 1979, 126) gives a long and interesting account of his stay in the village in 1834, while from 1850 Bachofen, initially appalled, describes a most wonderful welcome (1927, 95f).

The maps of Hauptmann Bernhard Steffen mark a climax to this gradual increase of information about the site. The site plans in Baedeker's *Handbuch* are clearly based on them though the changing development of the tracks between Kharvati and the site can be seen by comparing the version of 1888 with that of 1904.

A final word may be left with J. J. Bachofen (1927, 121, visit 1850) who expresses tellingly the effect of Mycenae on a visitor a century and a half ago: «Auf dem Burgfelsen von Mykene erschien mir das Alles erst wie in weiter weiter Ferne, es lag vor mir in der Zukunft, nicht hinter in der Vergangenheit». «On the citadel rock of Mycenae the whole thing appeared at first as though in a far far distance – it lay before me in the future, not behind me in the past» (trans. JL) though Bachofen also commented (1927, 117): «Rätselhaft bleibt hier vieles».

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28. The BSA archive possesses Gell's notebooks as well as Finlay's annotated copy of Gell's work.

29. Pouqueville, who had seen the reports and illustrations of Fourmont (now lost) and Fauvel (untraceable) insisted that their precedence to those of Gell be acknowledged (Pouqueville 1826, I, xlv). Also untraceable are the drawings initially made for Choiseul-Gouffier's unpublished third volume which were exhibited in the early 19th century by Petit-Radet (1841, 64).

30. We do not know when the village moved; in 1700 (the date of the Venetian cadaster) it is still north of the Treasury of Atreus but by Gell's map of 1805 this site is in ruins.

31. He takes particularly care to correct his statement that the Lion Relief is of the same stone as the green sections of the façade of the Treasury of Atreus. Mure (1842, II, 163) had correctly identified the stone as limestone. Leake says that he cannot account for his error as there is no mention of this fact in his notes. See above n. 19.

32. This would suit the timings which he gives for that day as he spent some time looking for the Heraion on the way back to Argos.

33. Leake thought he had placed the tomb on the wrong side of the road but he was, in fact, correct.

34. For Tsountas' (and Wace's) adoption of a similar notion and the evidence against it see below p. 35. For Steffen's interpretations see his text p. 37.

35. But was listed by the *ILN* as a useful source book for the site as a result.

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VISITORS TO MYCENAE

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1669	de Monceaux	1829	Blouet, Abel
1691?	Mirabal	1830	Trant, T. A.
1700	Vandyck, Francesco	1831 onwards	Gordon, General Thomas
1729-30	Fourmont, L'Abbé Michel (and Claude-Louis)	1832	Lacour, J. L.
1780-2	Fauvel, Louis Sébastien	1833 onwards	von Klenze, Leo
1787-95	Hope, Thomas	1834	Burgess, The Rev. Richard
1795, 1797	Hawkins, J. (of Bignor)	1834	Lange, Ludwig
1799-1800	Pouqueville, François Charles H. L.	1834	Rottman, Karl
before 1810	Ukert, F. A.	1834?	Cammerer, A. A.
1801	Clarke, Edward Daniel	1838	Curtius, E.
1801	Hunt, Philip	1838	Mure, W.
1801-1810	Lusieri, Giovanni Battista	1838?	Stephens, G.
1802	Ittar, Sebastian	1839	Carnarvon, Third Earl of
1802	Elgin, Lord and Lady	1839	Ross, Ludwig
1802, 1806	Leake, William Martin	1839	Skene, James
1803	Bartholdy, Jakob Ludwig Salomon	1839	Wordsworth, Christopher
1804-5	Gell, William	1840	Buchon, Jean-Alexandre
1804-6	Pomardi, Simone	1841	Aldenhoven, F.
1805	Dodwell, Edward	1842	Welcker, F. G.
1806	de Chateaubriand, François-René	1843, 1845	du Moncel, Vicomte Théodore
1809	Burgon, Thomas	1849	Lear, Edward
1809	Sligo, Lord	1850	Bachofen, J. J.
1810	North, the Hon. Frederick and Henry Gally Knight	1852	Hettner, H.
1810?	Haller von Hallerstein, K.	1853	Vischer, W.
1810-11	Haygarth, William	1856	Clark, William George
1810-14	von Stackelberg, Otto Magnus	1860	Conze, A.
1810-17	Cockerell, C. R.	1861, 1868, 1874	Belle, Henri
1812-13	Holland, H.	1862	Schaub, Charles
1813	Turner, William	1876?	Mahaffy, John Pentland
1813	Hughes, T. S.	1877	Simpson, William
1817	Williams, H. W.	1878	Jebb, R. C.
1818-19	Laurent, Peter Edmund	1880	Farrer, R. R.
1825	Prokesch von Osten, Anton	1883	Smith, Agnes

PART I

THE CITADEL

TOPOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The aim of the project³⁶ was to compile a single digital map containing all of the spatial and elevation data needed for the 3-D reconstruction of the Citadel of Mycenae in its present state, with the degree of accuracy required for a scale of 1:100. The project was accomplished in four stages.

1. All available relevant data were collected, such as large scale survey plans (1:500), excavation planimetric records of the site (25 plans at scales varying from 1:50 to 1:250), and all available spot elevations of the ground surface. All this information was converted to digital form by scanning and vectorizing the raster data, which was then rectified to a common scale to create a single plan. The adjustment and combination of the plans met with problems in matching details common to their overlapping parts, due to different dates and methods used in compiling them and to the lack of scale and orientation in most of them. More problems arose because of the incompleteness and lack of accuracy of the planimetry of large parts of the Citadel, and the scarcity of levelling data defining the ground surface.

2. In order to acquire consistent 3-D data, photogrammetric methods were applied involving the use of large scale photographs taken from a helicopter carrying a 100mm focal length, 13×18cm format UMK Zeiss photogrammetric camera. Field measurements for the determination of 50 control points on a digital photogrammetric workstation were taken, to orientate the stereo pairs covering the entire Citadel area. This was followed by detailed photogrammetric mapping, and the resulting data has been used to create a digital ter-

rain model. On this base, a complete and accurate amalgamation of all the pre-existing individual plans was effected, orientated and calibrated to the National Coordinate System.

3. Additional field survey was undertaken in order to document correctly and in detail those particular points and structures not visible or not clearly definable on the air photographs. A network of 25 benchmarks (nodes) was established at locations all over the Citadel area, from which 7,000 point coordinates were measured. Thus a single comprehensive and accurate digital dataset was created which contains 3-D information about all visible features and each datapoint.

4. Final editing of the digital data, combined with proper classification and representation of all distinct types of information was made in order: a) to enable the production of accurate plans of any part of the site on scales of 1:50 or 1:100; b) the selective plotting of any chosen features or types of information and c) to enable the creation of perspective representations of the Citadel. For these images, minor adjustments of the planimetric data were made, to account for the surface damage of structures or slight irregularities of the masonry, etc. Using the proper software, the surfaces of structures and of the terrain as well as the volumes of the spatial digital model of the site can be visualised. Also, by specifying the location of the light source and the angle of view, a photo-realistic representation of any view of the Citadel is possible.

Ch.I.

THE CITADEL AS A WHOLE

Mycenae was neither a fortified city like the city states in Asia Minor, Canaan and Mesopotamia nor was it a settlement protected by rubble walls such as occur in Mainland Greece in Neolithic, EH and MH times. It was, like Tiryns, Midea, and later Athens, a Citadel, one of the characteristic, if uncommon, features of the Mycenaean period. Built on a naturally strong hill protected by ravines on its N and S sides and accessible only from the W, it dominated the surrounding rugged countryside and part, at least, of the Argive plain. It evolved from a MH settlement like all the others into a fortified Palace with its dependencies, occupying the entire available space within the walls, built in the Cyclopean manner. Thus it became the capital of an extensive area, the residence of the ruler and his retinue, his seat of authority, and, at the same time, the centre of the economic activity of his realm. His subjects lived outside the walls, either in nearby groups of houses, whose activities seem to have been connected to those of the Palace, or in small settlements and rural villages, also controlled by it. It is widely held that in times of war the inhabitants of the surrounding areas sought refuge in the citadels. But in Mycenae, as elsewhere, the

entire space was given over to the Palace proper and its associated buildings such as workshops, storerooms, a Cult Centre and the homes of the ruler's entourage. The fortified area was extended twice after it was walled for the first time, and, as each extension was added, it was at once filled with structures serving similar purposes.

It is possible to reconstruct on the existing evidence a satisfactory picture of the evolution of the Citadel during the LH period both in its general lines and in a good many points of detail.

The remains of the earliest period show that the summit of the hill was occupied or, at least, visited already in NL and EH times. During the MH period the settlement spread over the whole of the hill, and, wherever excavations reach bedrock, the undisturbed early levels yield as a rule abundant quantities of MH pottery. The MH cemetery, with royal grave enclosures at each end, extended over the W slope of the hill, and the MH period is also represented by remains of buildings, such as the walls beneath the Ramp House and Tsountas' House, the MH wall under the fill of the N terrace of the Palace, the basement with pithoi full of grain by the side of the processional road to the Cult Centre or the rooms between the House of Columns and House Delta to the E, by several graves in different parts of the Citadel and by abundant sherds all over the hill.

The surviving LH I-II remains were discovered in more or less the same areas, especially beneath the Ramp House and near House N. More important is the fact, however, that during this phase, the kings who were buried in the two circular enclosures erected a Palace on the highest point of the hill, probably facing S. The evidence is too scanty to permit a more positive reconstruction and even this one must remain

36. This work was under the direction of Dr. Charalambos Ioannides, Lecturer in the Laboratory of Photogrammetry, Department of Rural and Surveying Engineering, National Technical University, Athens. We thank Dr. Todd Whitelaw of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, for help in rendering this section in comprehensible yet accurate English.

hypothetical. Whatever the original form, it underwent a radical remodelling in LH IIIA2, using an ambitious building programme, based on the construction of spacious terraces, which adapted the site to the buildings and not, as before, the buildings to the site. The Palace complex was extended and the Megaron was moved to the S and re-erected facing W.

In the middle of the 13th century BC, the fortified area of the Citadel was extended to the W and the defences strengthened by the construction of the W Cyclopean wall and the two gates. A staircase was built next to the Lion Gate and Grave Circle A was raised, remodelled, and provided with a new parapet. The W retaining wall of the Lion Gate, the South House and the shrines on the W slope were then built, and the clearing at the bottom of the staircase to the Palace was adapted to accommodate the new road from the North Gate. At the same time, the entire E wing was added to the Palace including the Artisans' Quarter, the House of Columns with its terrace, House Delta, the North Storeroom and the retaining walls between them and House Gamma, which seems to be contemporary with the other structures. It was a period of sudden expansion. The area of the Citadel was virtually doubled and it was immediately filled with buildings of various purposes, mirroring no doubt the vast increase in the activities of the Palace. It was clearly then that Mycenae reached the height of its prosperity. The period ends with the fires that destroyed the Pillar Basement and large areas of the Palace, including the Artisans' Quarter, Houses Gamma and Delta, the North Storeroom and the basement room of the House of Columns. At the same time, the shrines on the W slope, Tsountas' House and some of the rooms adjacent to it were also destroyed by an earthquake which devastated the whole countryside and brought about a few fires, which, however, left most buildings unscathed. The NE Extension was added to the enceinte in order to protect the underground cistern which provided the Citadel with a direct and easy supply of water for the first time in its history. In the area inside the Lion Gate, the two ramps now received their final form. The Granary, the terraces and storerooms in the N Cyclopean wall, House M and the road next to it were all built at this stage, and the Palace restored on a grander scale, with the construction of the Grand Staircase. Finally, Houses Alpha and Beta were erected inside the NE Extension, and almost all the structures that had suffered from the fire were repaired or remodelled.

During LH IIIC (the 12th and part of the 11th century) the Granary, the area above the shrines, the area of House M and within the former House of Columns, Houses Gamma and Delta and Houses Alpha and Beta as well as, in all probability, the Palace continued to be inhabited or used. Several houses were added to those in the SW Quarter and the ruins of the North Storeroom were overlaid by a road leading from the North Gate to the clearing in the E wing of the Palace

and thence to the NE Extension. The old road along the Cyclopean wall was blocked by the construction of the rooms next to House Gamma. This phase lasted to the end of the Mycenaean period, when another great fire or fires completely destroyed the major buildings along the W wall: the Granary and the structures by the later Hellenistic tower and over the House of the Warrior Vase. The buildings that did not burn down, such as the House of Columns, were nevertheless abandoned at this date.

The place went into a gradual decline but was never totally deserted. The early historical periods, Geometric and Archaic, are poorly represented by sporadic finds of pottery, a number of graves, the remains of Geometric houses in the area of the Great Court (inferior structures with no connection whatsoever with the Palace), an Archaic temple on the summit of the hill, a few inscriptions and, outside the Citadel, by the sanctuary of Enyalios (Ares) at Aspra Khomata and that of Agamemnon on the left bank of the Khavos. Mycenae had shrunk into a small village but the Mycenaeans, conscious thanks to Homer and local tradition of their glorious past, laid claims to a leading role in the affairs of the Argive Heraion and of the Nemean Games. They also joined with small detachments the Greeks who fought the Persians at Thermopylae (480 BC) and at Plataea (479 BC) and had the name of Mycenae engraved on the tripod supporting the trophy of the victorious Greeks at Delphi. Their demands and their attitude antagonized the Argives who had sided with the Persians. They attacked Mycenae in 468 BC, besieged the Citadel and starved the garrison into surrender. Those inhabitants who did not manage to flee to Kleonae or to find refuge with King Alexander I of Macedon were sold into slavery, the Cyclopean fortification was partly dismantled and Mycenae ceased to exist.

One and a half centuries later, at the beginning of the Hellenistic era, the Citadel was occupied again under the auspices of Argos. The fortification walls were repaired, a new temple was built on the top and the site developed into a thickly populated agrarian township whose houses, olive presses, cisterns and graves occupied the entire surface of the hill covering and, in many cases, obliterating the Late Helladic ruins. The township split over into a Lower City around the fortress; a theatre and a fountain house fed from the same source as of old were built right outside the Lion Gate and the sanctuaries of Enyalios and Agamemnon were revived and filled with offerings. The township (whose remains have suffered heavily from the earlier excavators who were interested mainly – or only – in Mycenae's era of greatness) continued to be inhabited, although on a reduced scale, to the time of Pausanias (2nd century AD) but there is no evidence for later occupation.

S.E.I.

THE EXCAVATED AREAS WITHIN THE CITADEL

To accompany the detailed plans of the Citadel, short accounts have been prepared of the excavated areas based on the published accounts. The excavators of the Citadel are, in chronological order: Schliemann, Tsountas, Wace, Papadimitriou, Mylonas, Taylour, Iakovidis. The information given is based on their accounts, one often superseding another: Schliemann 1878, Tsountas in the *Praktika*, Wace in *BSA* 25 and Wace 1949 (rep. 1964), Papadimitriou in the *Praktika*, Mylonas in the *Praktika*, in *Ephemeris*

1958, 1962 and Mylonas 1966 and 1983, Mylonas and Iakovidis in the *Praktika*, Iakovidis 1978 and in the *Praktika* (1988, 1989, 1991) – all of which are detailed in the bibliography pp. 69-70.

Specific to the Citadel are: Iakovidis, 1977, 1983 (both with very full bibliographies), Mylonas 1968a, 1968b, 1972, 1983, Taylour *et al.* 1981.

Only essential additional bibliography is given in the text.

THE FORTIFICATIONS

The fortification wall is Mycenaean in its entirety with the exception of three sections which were destroyed by the Argives in 468 BC and restored in Hellenistic times. Though collapsed and covered in many sectors, the walls have always been to some extent visible. Major clearance and reconstruction was undertaken by the Anastelosis Service from 1950 to 1960. Detailed study was undertaken by Mylonas.

Two types of stone were used. Conglomerate, called *brecchia* by Schliemann, was used in the enceinte of the second period at the main points of the fortifications which needed to be emphasized; thus the surroundings of the Lion Gate, the North (or Postern) Gate and a tower in the SE wall (by the House of Columns) were all built of large ashlar blocks of conglomerate laid in more or less regular courses. In general however, the walls were made of untrimmed limestone boulders, larger on the face and smaller towards the core of the wall; they were laid usually without any binding agent (though there are some traces of yellow clay) forming perfect joints which were sometimes levelled with small stones in the interstices (the so-called Cyclopean system). The Hellenistic repairs (the curved section within the Lion Gate bastion and in the curve of the wall W of Grave Circle A, the Polygonal Tower beside Tsountas' House and part of the Northeast Extension) are easily distinguishable because the stone has been cut into polygonal blocks with straight edges fitting together with perfect precision, without the need for intermediate wedging stones.

The LH fortifications of the Citadel can be assigned to three different periods. The early circuit (dating from ca 1350 BC) enclosed only the upper slopes of the hill, leaving out Grave Circle A; its main entrance must have been just above the Lion Gate and have led into the Citadel from the SW. From this period, only the N part of the wall has survived, pierced later by the North Gate. The rest was demolished, leaving only few and practically undistinguishable traces. Then (ca 1250 BC) the Lion Gate was built at a lower level, together with the W section that included Grave Circle A. A little later (ca 1200 BC) an L-shaped extension was added to the narrow NE part of the fortification, the so-called Northeast Extension.

With these additions and extensions, the fortified area came to comprise 30,000 sq.m, with a circuit of some 900m in length. It survives to this day almost in its entirety (with the exception of the stretch above the Khavos ravine). This heavy and impressive enceinte had an average width of 5.50-6m and a maximum of 8m, and follows the contours of the rock so faithfully that it appears like an organic part of it. It has not however survived at any point to its full height (though the height of 18m of the Polygonal Tower may give some indication). We have therefore no indication how the top of the wall was finished, though quite probably it was uniform throughout with a brick superstructure and without battlements.

The main excavated areas within the Citadel will be described clockwise starting at the Lion Gate.

THE LION GATE

The Lion Gate, which formed the main entrance to the Citadel, was built during the 13th century BC. With its triangular relief over the lintel it comprises one of the most imposing structures of all times. The gate was heavily obscured by fallen debris, possibly completely (see above p. 2), until the early 19th century. It was finally cleared in 1841 by Pittakis for the Archaeological Society. The two blocks on the right of the relief were replaced in position by the Anastelosis Service in 1950.

An approach which followed a natural uphill path, led to a small forecourt between the smooth, steep rock on the left and a long, narrow bastion (14.80 × 7.23m) on the right. At

the far end of this narrow space, where aggressors would have been forced to huddle together, exposed on three sides to attack from the guard, stands the gate, consisting of four single blocks of conglomerate. The opening is 3.10m high and 2.95m wide at the bottom, narrowing to 2.78m at the top. The lintel (4.50 × 2.10 × 1m in the middle, the thickest section) and the threshold (4.60 × 2.40 × 0.85m) each weigh over 20 tons. The two jambs (3.10 × 1.95 × 0.50m) are smaller. These enormous blocks, like the stones that were used in the construction of the wall, were rolled into place on ramps and the finishing was carried out on the spot.

The threshold shows several cuttings. There are three, slightly irregular grooves, which were once thought to have been ruts from chariot wheels, but which were in fact cut at a much later date in historical times to assist the drainage of rainwater from the inner part of the gate. It is also covered with shallow cuttings to prevent animals from slipping; there is a shallow square hole in the middle of the front edge and a smaller, circular hole further in. These cuttings too were all made later; they belong to the Archaic or perhaps even to the Hellenistic period. The only Mycenaean features are two cuttings at the inner angles of the jambs, originally round in shape, but later disfigured; two corresponding cylindrical holes are in the lintel. These accommodated the pivots of the doors; two rounded vertical beams with protruding ends which rotated within the holes as the leaves of the door opened or shut. The jambs have a projecting border on the outer surface, about 0.10m deep, which continues along the length of the lintel; this formed a frame that stopped the leaves of the door from swivelling outwards. On the inner face of the jambs there are two square holes; they fitted the ends of a square wooden beam which kept the door securely bolted shut. Other oblong holes, two on each jamb, were probably intended to fit the handles of the doors so that they could be pushed wide open.

In order to relieve the lintel of some of the weight of the superstructure, the ashlar courses above either end, resting on the door jambs, corbel out progressively leaving a triangular empty space – a so-called relieving triangle, characteristic of Mycenaean architecture. For practical as well as aesthetic reasons, this empty triangle was filled with a slab of hard limestone bearing in relief two lions after which the gate is named. This is the earliest example of monumental sculpture known to us in Europe. The lions stand erect, facing each other, with their front paws on two small concave altars. Their heads, which were apparently shown frontally, have not survived; the size of the dowel holes on the slab indicate that they were made of some heavy material, possibly steatite. On the small altars and between the lions, there is a column that supports the entablature of a building. This shows that the column was not meant to represent a deity (as was once suggested) but symbolizes a building, most probably the Palace itself, the royal house of Mycenae, which the lions had been appointed to guard. The relief is therefore more or less the equivalent of a coat of arms of later times. Although executed in low and somewhat stylized relief, its plastic planes and surfaces are very marked and carefully executed; in spite of the symmetry of the representation, its robust and sufficiently naturalistic style cannot but impress the visitor and clearly symbolizes the power and prestige of the Palace of Mycenae.

Beyond the gate, there is a small square courtyard, which was originally roofed; it is flanked on the right by a free-standing wall and on the left by the rock, masked by a conglomerate facing. This facing is broken by a small niche, which was once thought to have been used by the guard of the gate or to have housed a watch-dog, but has now been identified as the gate sanctuary, similar to those discovered on other ancient sites. The Great Ramp leads beyond this court to the top of the hill and the Palace.

To the W of the righthand wall of the Lion Gate court, there is a small square, stone-paved space which housed a staircase leading to the top of the wall; it was discovered under a pile of rubble which was all that remained of the

staircase and above that lay part of the upper storeys of the neighbouring Granary. This debris contained stratified pottery similar to that found in and below the Granary.

THE GREAT RAMP

The Great Ramp lies immediately beyond the area inside the Lion Gate and is, in its present form, contemporary with it. The Ramp was only partially cleared by Schliemann; it was finally studied in detail by Mylonas.

This is a Cyclopean structure, with a low parapet on the right and a 20% inclination which indicates that it was constructed to be suitable only for pedestrians. The ashlar wall concealing the face of the rock on the E belongs to the Hellenistic period, but it was built over an older, Mycenaean wall, made of mud brick with timber framing. A large drain to take away water from the top of the ramp was constructed within it with an outlet to the S of Grave Circle A. The ramp stops abruptly at the S end where the route to the top of the Acropolis must have turned left by 90°.

This latest ramp runs in the opposite direction to the original one and had an earlier phase itself: it was much narrower and less steep, thus allowing a passage leading S next to the Grave Circle parapet. However, it was later broadened until the foundations encroached on one or two slabs of the parapet, and the passage was consequently obstructed.

The three rooms at a lower level immediately S of the upper end of the Great Ramp are known as the Hellenistic Chambers; they were investigated by Wace in the 1920's and from the southernmost came an important inscription (in reuse) giving information about the foundation of the Hellenistic township.

THE LITTLE RAMP

In order to reach the area S of the Great Ramp, a second, smaller ramp, the Little Ramp, was built at the end of the passage beside the Grave Circle. It was excavated by Schliemann. This ramp led to the terrace above and immediately E of the South House Annex, where there are the remains of a building as yet unexcavated with a large conglomerate threshold and two huge conglomerate column bases. It is the probable source of the Linear B tablets found fallen into the lower area.

When the passage by the Grave Circle was blocked in the widening of the Great Ramp, the Little Ramp would have become redundant. It was then blocked at the N end and a more tortuous ascent to the upper terrace was constructed further to the S from the courtyard in front of the Ramp House.

THE NORTH QUARTER

To this complex belong the buildings in the area enclosed by the curve of the Cyclopean fortification wall above the Lion Gate and bounded to the E by a strong straight wall running parallel to the row of Rooms Lambda and House M in the N part of the Citadel.

The site was first excavated in 1890 by Tsountas who cleared it down to bedrock, leaving only a few strips and corners untouched, and also a large baulk straddling Rooms II 1 and II 2. He gave a very brief account (*Ephemeris* 1981, 21-30 and pls 2, 3) of the excavation proper, mentioning a fill containing pot sherds, ash and animal bones, earth floors laid on stone packing into which six children's graves were sunk during the Early Geometric period and commenting on the lack of timber framework (*xylodessia*) in the stone walls. The latter were preserved to a height of ca 2m with no openings for doors, which led him to believe that the rooms were

storage basements accessible only from above. He also lists and illustrates some of his more important finds, such as two hoards of bronze objects (various tools and implements, weapons, a piece of an ingot, and two violin bow fibulae), two terracotta bull's heads, a bronze Reshef statuette and two fragmentary plaques bearing the cartouche of Amenophis III. He dates the whole «to the transition from the proper Mycenaean period to the next».

The area was investigated again in 1984 and 1985 by Mylonas and Iakovidis. It is occupied by three buildings: House N taking up the SW part of the space available, House I to its E and House II located N of Building N and to the W of I. House I consists of two rooms and an open court in a row, all trapezoidal in shape in order to adapt to the space between Houses N and II on one side and the boundary wall on the other. One more child burial was found in the stone-packed floor of the Room I 2, which had also two column or pillar bases along its axis. House II consists of two rectangular rooms side by side. The wall of the E one were strengthened by a timber framework construction. The rooms had open courts between them and the fortification wall to the North.

There are as well two small rectangular rooms (II 5 and II 6) with their respective court (II 7) attached to the W side of II 2. House N is divided from the other buildings by narrow lanes running along its W, N and E sides, lettered respectively as Alpha, Beta and Gamma.

The area was drained by three drains, built within the stone packing of the floors, 0.30-0.50m broad, reaching down to bedrock and covered with large flattish boulders. Their sides and covers were cemented with yellow clay. The southernmost drain emerges from under the S end of the boundary wall and proceeds westwards along the S wall of House N, continuing within the fill of the Cyclopean Terrace to the W of it and most probably down to the inner court of the Lion Gate. The second drain originated with a funnel-like arrangement at the E end of lane Beta, runs westward along the middle of this passage and turns at a right angle northwards along the W wall of Room II 1 and Court II 3 towards the N Cyclopean wall. The third is the shortest. It starts at the NE corner of the Court I 3, runs obliquely across Court II 7 and turns N, meeting the curve of the fortification wall.

The investigation of the baulk, the few spots untouched by Tsountas and the drains produced a quantity of pot sherds and some other finds, among which were several small bronze and stone tools, hundreds of glass and amber beads, a rosette pendant, a number of pan and cover roof tiles, a boar's tusk from a helmet, a handful of olive stones and another of well-preserved almonds. The pottery includes a whole pithos standing *in situ* against the E wall of Room II 1, a number of EH, MH, LH IIA-B and LH IIIA sherds and thousands of LH IIIB1 advanced - LH IIIB2 sherds suggesting that the houses were built around the middle of the 13th century BC and were used until the end of this period, when they were damaged by an earthquake (signs of which are obvious on the S wall of II 1 and the E wall of II 5 - II 6) and abandoned. In Hellenistic times the area was occupied again at a much higher level by buildings with a slightly different orientation, leaving behind them a cistern built into the fill of Court I 3, a few loom weights, some pottery and a coin of Argos of the 3rd century BC.

THE NORTH SLOPE

A triangular area some 50m from the NW corner of the Citadel wall had been cleared by Tsountas to the Hellenistic overbuilding but has now been fully cleared by Mylonas to reveal a complex of structures which includes several groups of storerooms and House M. The buildings are separated from the Citadel wall to the N by a wide corridor which lies between two high terraces so that the corridor is at least 2m deep.

HOUSE M

This house lies on the terrace to the S of the corridor but at an angle to the Citadel wall. The ground floor was divided into four rooms, and it had a well-made staircase leading to the upper floor. The entrance to the ground floor is at the NW corner of the building and is flanked by a double porter's lodge. Both to the E and to the NW of House M are storage buildings of which the latter is more regular in plan.

GALLERIES

At the E end of the terrace by the Citadel wall there were several storerooms of which three were built right inside the wall; next to these there was added another similar but smaller room with a corbelled roof with a double drain under the floor. These rooms resemble the vaulted galleries at Tiryns and like the casemates of the Lower Citadel at Tiryns remained in use until the end of LH IIIC.

THE NORTH STOREROOMS

To the W of the Northeast Extension ran a roadway supported on a retaining wall which ran above the North Gate. Immediately S of this road and facing it and backing against the rock slope were a row of storerooms. They contained jars *in situ* which, as one had been mended in antiquity with a little clay, would seem to have been used for dry products such as cereals. Other vases *in situ* as well as items from the upper storey, among which two fragments of an inscribed tablet, were found in considerable quantity sealed by burnt destruction debris. The building was overlaid by a levelled fill of LH IIIC date which was used as a terrace for a roadway connecting the North Gate and the Northeast Extension by way of the triangular clearing.

THE NORTH (OR POSTERN) GATE

This gate was constructed in the second phase of the fortification of the Citadel to give direct access to the roads leading N and NE from the Citadel and to serve the growing community outside the walls to the N. The gate was restored along with the Citadel wall by the Anastelosis Service.

It was a faithful replica of the Lion Gate, built in an opening deliberately made into the N wall for this purpose. On the one side, a bastion of conglomerate blocks (6.54m long and 3.25m wide) was constructed parallel to the opposite section of the old wall. A narrow passage was thus formed between them (2.30m wide), similar to the outer courtyard of the Lion Gate, and the gate erected at the inner end. Here again the frame consisted of four conglomerate blocks forming a doorway 2m high, 2m wide and 1.5m deep. On either side of the threshold and lintel one can still see the pivot holes for the hinges of the double leaved wooden door (the Anastelosis Service has installed exact replicas in their place), as well as the two holes in the jambs for the great wooden bolt beam that kept the door shut. A drain runs out beneath the threshold. The only difference between the North Gate and the Lion Gate is that instead of the single relief slab in the relieving triangle above the lintel, there are two conglomerate slabs with an empty space between them (which helps to relieve the weight considerably) and with a slightly convex lower surface, so that only the two ends actually rest on the lintel, where it is supported by the jambs.

On the inner side of the gate, there is a small sanctuary niche as at the Lion Gate. The staircase leading to the Store-room and the Northeast Extension runs over this niche.

THE NORTHEAST EXTENSION

During a third and final building phase the fortifications were enlarged to include a small but vital extension at the

NE end. This section of the Citadel was originally excavated by Tsountas, though Schliemann had put a vast trench across this area also. In 1964 Mylonas carried out a complete restudy of the whole area. The walls were restored with the rest of the circuit by the Anastelosis Service in 1957-58.

THE UNDERGROUND CISTERN

Fresh water springs existed in the hills E of the Citadel; there was no difficulty in channelling the water through conduits to the foot of the hill, but there was no way of cutting the hard rock in order to provide a cistern within the fortified area. The only suitable place for the construction of an underground cistern, at a level deep enough to keep it safe from attack (about 18m) was a crevice in the rock at the NE corner of the old wall. However, the opening leading down to the cistern had to be placed inside the fortified area, and this is the reason for which the extension was built. Like the rest of the wall, it was adapted to the contours of the rock and encircled a small piece of flat, level ground which had remained unfortified until then. The descent to the cistern runs under the wall of this later addition; covered by a corbel vault, it leads down to a Cyclopean portal, the lintel of which (cracked at the left end) is supported by a monolithic pillar. This portal opened onto a landing, followed by the remaining stretch of the descent, divided into two sections. The second section has its walls coated with hydraulic mortar and ends up in the underground cistern itself, which was supplied with water from the Perseia spring by a system of pipes.

PASSAGEWAYS

The boundaries of the extension as a whole were determined by the configuration of the rock. The wall, which was extensively repaired in Hellenistic times, was added to the older wall in such a way that the joints are visible. At the S end of the wall, the lower courses of the old wall continue well within the extension. At two points on the N and S sides, vaulted openings cut through the wall. The one on the S, which is the largest, was thought to be a secret emergency exit (Sally Port); but it is quite visible even from a great distance and led to an outer terrace overhanging the banks of the Khavos. The opening on the N runs obliquely through the wall and is low and narrow; once believed to have been a drain, it can be shown to have been an exit by the method of construction and the wear on the inner and outer thresholds. These two openings are supposed to have acted as protection to the North Gate and the water supply but would have been easily blocked in case of emergency.

HOUSE ALPHA

This structure of which only the basements survive lies at the S side of the path that led to the Underground Cistern and the passageways through the Citadel wall. It appears to be built directly against the Citadel wall. Storage jars were found *in situ* in the S rather irregular room and a terracotta bathtub in the other to the E, though this had been cut in half by Schliemann's trench. No dating evidence has been published or, indeed, kept.

HOUSE BETA

This is a large structure to the N of House Alpha, rectangular in plan with an extension to the E apparently abutting against the Citadel wall. There are four rooms: a large rectangular room to the N, two narrow rooms along the S side and the blind extension to the E. The entrance was at the SW corner and opened onto the first of the narrow rooms. Pottery *in situ* allows the abandonment of the house to be closely dated well into the 12th century BC. The walls of the house were used as foundations in the Hellenistic period.

THE EAST COMPLEX

The area immediately E of the Palace Megaron lies at a lower level. It is very heavily eroded but the level below this to the E has important remains. A branch of the road from the North Gate to the Palace led off to the E to an irregular 'square' or rocky clearing, which was probably also approached by a second road from the summit of the hill. On the S side of this clearing there were two large buildings: the Artisans' Quarter and the House of Columns. To the E and N stood House Delta and House Gamma respectively. The area was originally excavated by Tsountas; Wace restudied the House of Columns in 1939; Mylonas has completely re-cleared and studied the area.

HOUSE GAMMA

The N side of the triangular clearing to the N of the Artisans' Quarter is occupied by a structure built along the road that runs parallel to the N Citadel wall at an oblique angle to House Delta to the S. The rooms preserved are at basement level and were adapted to the configuration of the rock which is very uneven at this point. At the E end there is a rock outcrop rising sharply which restricted the building but which seems, with the basement terrace, to have served to support the upper storey. The plan is unusual and not readily interpreted. The entire width of the W end is occupied by an L-shaped room, the long narrow section of which resembles a corridor while the other section is almost square. To the E there is a row of three small rooms, followed by four more which though wider are somewhat irregular because of the rock outcrop. The penultimate one is very narrow indeed. The angle of the L-shaped room on the SW is occupied by two more rooms at right angles to the rest. The walls are preserved to a good height and in places floor deposits were still intact. The occupational history is similar to that of the other adjacent structures.

HOUSE DELTA

This house marked the E end of the triangular clearing to the N of the Artisans' Quarter and the House of Columns. It was an irregular four-sided structure which occupied the whole area between the clearing and the Citadel wall. It faces the clearing with a low open veranda; an inlet in the NW corner marks a drain that runs under the passage between it and the House of Columns before exiting through the Citadel wall. The rooms behind the veranda are built in relation to the Citadel wall as it was before the construction of the Northeast Extension. They are basements which communicate neither with each other nor with the outside. There are two rows of three rooms and a further row of two rooms at the S; in the Western of these are the remains of a staircase to the upper floor, the layout of which is uncertain. Dating evidence (from sherds) is similar to that of the other adjacent structures.

THE HOUSE OF COLUMNS

Between the Artisans' Quarter and the E Cyclopean wall, there is another building, with a central court surrounded by a colonnade (hence the name) which communicated with the workshop and similarly belonged to the Palace complex. The only remains are basements and the foundations of the ground floor. One can still see quite clearly the entrance marked by the bases of the door jambs, made of conglomerate (one of these still shows traces of the saw with which it was cut) and the wide threshold of the outer door. Crossing this threshold one enters a narrow passage which ends in the central court, on the N side of which there is a large square megaron-like room, which was later divided into smaller rooms. Opposite, the basement storerooms still survive; this is where one of the few inscribed Linear B tablets from with-

in the Citadel was found. Other finds include pithoi and transport stirrup jars, one with an inscription in Linear B.

The building lay on a massive artificial terrace which covered earlier buildings. The pottery from the fill gives a construction date in the second half of the 13th century BC. The house was destroyed by fire after which the entry to the Artisans' Quarter was sealed off and smaller structures built over the main rooms.

The House of Columns was the principal building of this wing of the Palace complex, but it has not been possible to determine with any certainty what purpose it served.

THE ARTISANS' QUARTER

This is an extensive building complex, almost square in shape, which originally had two and perhaps more storeys. It is bounded on the E by a strong retaining wall separating it from the House of Columns. Though only the basement level is now preserved, the thickness of the walls, timber framing in the walls, fallen debris including fresco fragments, and a staircase in the NW corner give evidence of the upper storey.

In its present form it consists of two wings separated by a narrow court from which rain water was drained off through the Citadel wall. At the N end of this was the stair and the entry to the building itself by a small ramp. To the W of the court there was a narrow covered corridor roughly the same length as the court itself. To the S of this corridor lay an irregular room which at this level opened only onto the external passage by the Citadel wall. A row of four rooms lay beyond the corridor and this room to the W; all appear to have been basements entered from above. To the E of the court lay another corridor and beyond it four more rooms which do not communicate with one another nor with the internal corridor. They do seem to have opened onto the side passage of the House of Columns though at a much higher level. At the N end of the E corridor was a short passage at right angles which communicated directly with the House of Columns (though it was later sealed off).

Intact floor deposits lay under the burnt debris on the floors. This included, as well as whole pots, ivory chips, cuttings of gold leaf, slag from bronze smelting and fragments of semi-precious stones. From these finds the building is identified as the workshop of the Palace craftsmen.

THE PALACE

The Palace complex occupied the summit of the hill, an extensive uneven plateau which slopes relatively gently to the E but has sheer sides to the N, W and S. Consequently the buildings stood at different levels and were partly erected on massive artificial terraces roughly following the line of the slope. The area was first tested by Schliemann, then excavated by Tsountas. Wace in the 1920's tested further and had the area planned. Mylonas (with Iakovidis and Shear) made further full and detailed studies. Restoration has taken place at various stages, notably when the missing section of the Megaron was restored in 1952-54, but the area is still vulnerable to the weather and work has had to be carried out as recently as 1998-9.

There were two approaches to the Palace, the earlier on the N and a later official entrance on the S. From the N the area was reached by two roads. One began at the Lion Gate and wound its way up the W slope; the other started at the North Gate and ran W along the N wall of the Citadel. They meet ca 90m W of the North Gate where a staircase was constructed in a fissure in the rock. The two roadways can be traced at intervals. In a second stage of development the area at the base of the steps was converted into a paved courtyard. At the top there was a landing and the stair is presumed to have continued. It can next be traced at the stepped begin-

ning of a ramp supported by a series of curved retaining walls which end at the Northwest Propylon.

Four small rectangular rooms lay below the terrace wall on the N. The two at the W lie between the terrace wall and the rock slope; they interconnect and appear to have been entered from the W. For this reason they have been thought to have formed some kind of guardroom. Those at the E are at an oblique angle and underlie the later Temple terrace; here the deep foundations rest on the rock. Both pairs are noted for the finds associated with them: a floor deposit of pottery *in situ* on the floor of the Western with loomweights and handleless cups containing pigments under it; a deposit of possible cult significance over the Eastern.

The actual entrance is formed by a Propylon. There was a central door and a column on a conglomerate base (at the S a double one) on the central axis in either porch. To the N the Propylon overlooked a small cobbled terrace, with a wider open space beyond. A further small court lay to the S and from this a stepped entrance led into the North Corridor.

The area between the North Corridor and the N Terrace wall, the highest terrace of the Palace complex, is almost completely denuded, partly from its position and partly because it served as the foundation for the later temples. Traces of structures dating to several building phases exist but are difficult to restore even on paper.

The entrance passage at the W continued S past the end of the middle terrace of the complex to the entry known as the Western Portal, another structure of propylon type with a handsome conglomerate threshold. Immediately inside this entry on the N side another conglomerate threshold led into a square room, again of indeterminable function. Further E lay an area now plausibly suggested to have been an open terrace court in front of the higher rooms to the N.

The South Corridor was in the last phase of the Palace blocked at the E end and led nowhere. Earlier it sloped up to a large threshold over which access would have been possible to the E end of the middle terrace, now almost completely denuded.

A second passage led from within the Western Portal through to the Great Court. Immediately N of this leading from the Court upwards to the W was a flight of stairs; the space beneath opened to the W as a storage area. These stairs indicate that at least this part of the Palace was of two storeys or that access to the roof terrace was required. The floor of the Court was decorated with multi-coloured stucco. The N wall was built of ashlar-cut poros stone held to the rubble backing by wooden tie beams. To the S, there was probably only a low parapet allowing a general view of the Argive plain; to the E lay the main Megaron of the Palace of which the SW corner has tumbled down into the Khavos together with the corresponding section of the terrace and the fortification wall that overlooked the ravine. This part of the wall has been restored.

The Megaron complex consists of a columned porch (*aithousa*), a vestibule (*prodomos*) and the main chamber (*domos*). The porch was shallow, opening onto the courtyard: it had two columns at the front, a floor made of gypsum slabs, and a small passage on the N leading to steps by which a room with benches, a hearth and a staircase beyond could be reached. This is considered to have been the approach in the final building phase to the domestic quarters of the Palace at the E end of the middle terrace. At the S end of the porch was a decorated base and a basin for libations. A large single-leafed door led to the vestibule; only the threshold has survived, made of a single block of conglomerate with two small square holes at the ends which were meant to accommodate the wooden posts of the jambs. The vestibule had a floor of painted stucco bordered with gypsum slabs, and a doorway leading to the Megaron, similar to the one described above. To the right of the door is a raised slab similar to those in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. The *domos*, almost square in shape, was the principal room in the Palace. The floor was also decorated with coloured stucco and bordered with gypsum slabs on all four sides and the

walls were covered with frescoes. In the middle of the room, there was a large round hearth; its painted stucco surface was renewed ten times, but the decorative motifs of flames and spirals remained unchanged. The hearth was encircled by four wooden columns probably shod in bronze, which supported the roof; their stone bases have survived (the NW base which had fallen into the Khavos ravine has been replaced in its original position). In accordance with the arrangements in the megara of other Mycenaean palaces, the throne must have stood in the middle of the S wall of the room; but nothing remains of it.

Opposite the Megaron, on the W side of the court, there is a square room with double doors leading to an irregular forecourt at the top of the Grand Staircase. From this forecourt at least one door opened directly onto the court. This complex has been identified as the Guest Suite with a bathroom to the W.

The Grand Staircase was the second official access to the Palace, this time from the SW and was the last feature to be built. It was a four-sided structure which contained a spacious, imposing staircase divided into two flights, a stone one which has survived with a wooden one above. The wooden flight rose parallel to the stone flight and reached a landing that crossed over the top of the staircase to lead into the forecourt of the Guest Suite.

UPPER WEST SLOPE

This slope between the Grand Staircase and the Processional Way is largely covered by buildings of the Hellenistic period which have not been restudied. Two areas however have been excavated.

THE RHYTON WELL

Found in 1920 and cleared to a depth of 9m by Wace, this well is one of the very few within the Citadel. The upper section (to a depth of 7.75m) was cut directly through hard limestone before a level of soft water-bearing conglomerate was reached. The well is notable for the high quality objects found in it: the lower part of a funnel shaped rhyton in *Lapis Lacedaemonius*, the foot of an alabaster cup, two fragments from bull's-head rhyta of steatite and a seal impression. The unusual and high quality construction as well of the finds have led to the suggestion that this well may have been used for cult activities.

THE MIDDLE HELLADIC STOREROOM

Beside the upper part of the Processional Way Mylonas found a basement storeroom filled with crude pottery and pithoi containing burnt stores of barley, vetches and unidentified seeds.

THE SOUTHWEST QUARTER

The lower levels of the W slope of the Citadel to the S of Tsountas' House (and the stairway and drain alongside it), within the fortifications of the second phase, were densely occupied by at least 11 houses numbered by the letters Alpha to Lambda of the Greek alphabet. They were excavated by Tsountas, who left them unpublished and, indeed, unmentioned in his diaries. Practically everywhere Tsountas' excavation reached bedrock but a few pockets and floors were left untouched here and there – enough to justify a fresh investigation by Mylonas (1966-74) and Iakovidis (1988-9). Sherds, remnants of walls and a burial under the floor of Room Zeta 3, showed that the area was inhabited in MH times and then abandoned to be occupied again in the 13th

century by houses. These houses, built on a rather steep gradient, are divided into 2-3 superimposed levels by straight lanes, ca 1.25m wide, and into blocks of 5-6 houses, separated by stairways built over drains which run downhill to meet the Cyclopean wall.

On the upper part of the slope bedrock is still near enough to the surface to preclude basements. Instead, floors, consisting mainly of a coat of yellow clay mixed with lime, were laid on the rock which showed through in places, or on a fill of earth and rubble of varying thickness as in Room Beta 1. This room, moreover, virtually the only one left untouched by Tsountas, had benches built along its sides and a rectangular fireplace in the middle with faint traces of burning, which suggest an altar rather than a hearth.

Lower down the slope the rooms are obviously basements, communicating with the lanes along their sides but not connected to each other. The lower part of the walls is built of rubble and they had superstructures of mudbrick strengthened with a timber framework (*xylodeissia*). The building nearest to Tsountas' House had been damaged by the earthquake which devastated Mycenae in LH IIIB2, burying under the debris of its N wall a young man. It had also been affected in part by the fire which destroyed Tsountas' House, without, however, spreading further S. The house was decorated with frescoes of which only fragments survived. In a corridor running along its W side the nearly life size painting of a goddess (the 'Lady of Mycenae') and of two figure-of-8 shaped shields were found. Higher up the slope in House Gamma, a small room, Gamma 3, heavily overbuilt in Hellenistic times, proved to be a kitchen, with ash and cooking vessels on its floor.

The untouched spots such as the fill in Room Beta 1, the floor deposits in Gamma 3, those in Houses Zeta and Kappa and the odd corner here and there yielded enough pottery and other evidence to indicate that some buildings were irreparably damaged by the earthquake which left its traces all over Mycenae and by the conflagration which destroyed Tsountas' House. Overall, however, they did not meet an abrupt end but were abandoned and left to decay and to fall into ruin.

The houses at the S end of the quarter, where the fortification wall turns E along the crest of the Khavos ravine, adapted more or less to the line of the wall. They have a slightly different orientation, less regular ground plans and thinner rubble walls. Their pottery, among which a small krater with pictorial decoration of quadrupeds, birds and a man, dates their construction near the end of LH IIIB, i.e. to a somewhat later phase than the rest. They show no traces of burning or demolition other than Hellenistic overbuilding and exposure after the excavation.

This is especially true for the parts that continued to be in use during LH IIIC, such as the houses at the S end of the quarter and three rooms built across the drain running alongside Tsountas' House. Mainly, however, it applies to the accumulation of this period on top of the burnt rooms of House Alpha next to the Hellenistic Tower. This accumulation resulted from three successive building levels involving several superimposed floors and resulting in a 2.90m thick deposit, additional evidence for the considerable length of the LH IIIC period. In the upper (and last) layer the fresco of a woman's head was found, similar in style and quality to the earlier examples, showing that the art of wall painting continued to be practised successfully to the very end of the Mycenaean period. This layer was topped by the floor and cistern of a Hellenistic house which crowned the Tower. More Hellenistic structures, which had caused a great deal of damage to the Late Helladic buildings beneath them were observed overlying House Gamma and Houses Iota and Kappa. Judging from the state of some other houses, there must have been more Hellenistic activity, the traces of which seem to have been removed by Tsountas' excavations.

THE CULT CENTRE

A group of five complex structures identified by Mylonas as the Cult Centre is separated from the houses further S by a stone staircase next to an open drain descending towards the wall, the outer face of which was repaired at this point during the Hellenistic period in polygonal style. These buildings were built at various times from the end of the 14th century BC to the middle of the 13th. At this point some kind of disaster overtook the area followed by extensive restoration and alteration. Some buildings remained in use after this until a great fire at the end of the century. This devastation filled the whole area with debris and reoccupation took place only at a much higher level. Excavation of the area was started by Tsountas (after whom one of the two structures is named), continued by Wace and then Taylour, and completed by Mylonas. Some conservation of the structures has taken place.

The area can be approached in three ways: from the upper slopes of the Citadel (i.e. the Grand Staircase of the Palace area) by the Processional Way, from the N by the corridor that runs to the E of the South House Annex and from the W through a spacious open court. Several of the structures appear to have been built before the Citadel wall and thus the court would have been open to the W. Later it could only have been approached from both N and S by passages along the inside of the fortification wall.

The furthestmost section of the Processional Way to have been excavated runs at a gentle incline from N to S. After a flight of 14 poros steps and a landing it turns back on itself and runs N. This section of the Processional Way was roofed and the wall running along the slope was coated with plaster which retained fresco decoration *in situ*: marbling and a chariot scene facing left, i.e. N toward the Cult Centre. Beyond this was a threshold with the circular cuttings for doorposts at either end, indicating that the passage could be closed off at this point by double doors. From here the passage slopes down towards the S end of the corridor by the South House Annex. Here it again doubles back and slopes down past the entrance to the Megaron to a small court leading directly into the Shrine exposed first by Tsountas.

THE MEGARON

This structure, named from its restored plan, is entered from the last section of the Processional Way over a well cut threshold of laminated limestone with a handsome anta block preserved beside it. At this point the floor of the main level has collapsed into a series of basement rooms. Over these an anteroom is restored leading to a large room at the N which was built on a heavy terrace. In the centre was a square hearth. There seems to have been an exit at the NW corner leading to storage rooms at a lower level. The contents of the basements (pottery, scrap ivory, glass jewellery etc) compares with the material found in other areas of the Cult Centre. At least two building stages were identified before the building was destroyed by a devastating fire.

S of the Megaron a flight of five poros steps led to a passage that may have served as a means of access to the upper levels of the Temple to the W.

SHRINE GAMMA

The higher of two buildings lying on a terraced slope (and the earlier to be built) had a cult function. The plan is rectangular, oriented roughly N-S and consisting of two rooms, one opening into the other behind. In the first and larger room (Gamma 1), constructed and utilized in two phases, were a horseshoe shaped plaster altar with an installation for libation offerings and a large unworked stone sunk into the floor in the room's centre, the purpose of which is unclear. The rear room (Gamma) is small and square with no obvious floor before the uncut rock; it has been interpreted as

the *adyton* or inner sanctuary. In the open area just outside the building and immediately to the left of the entrance was another altar apparently made of a stone slab base and an upper portion which has not been preserved whether it was of stone, wood or other ephemeral material. In front of the altar was a low platform or step of plaster. This is the spot to which led the «Processional Way» from higher on the slope.

TSOUNTAS' HOUSE

The second building on the S of the complex was built downslope and after the construction of Shrine Gamma; it is more likely to have been of a domestic nature. The house consists of two levels built on adjacent terraces from E to W. The upper level or storey has the typical megaron plan of Mycenaean domestic structures with the addition of two small rooms on its W side, while on the lower terrace is preserved a basement of three rectangular rooms opening onto a corridor and reached by a stone staircase from the terrace above. There was originally above the basements an upper storey of unknown plan.

THE CENTRAL COURT

On the lower terrace beside the basement level of Tsountas' House, there is a forecourt in which was found a round altar of clay mixed with small stones. The southwest side of the court was lined by a shallow stoa roofed by thin slabs of schist. To the west was found a pit with remains of offerings. The whole area was covered by a thick layer of plesia covered in its turn by deep levels of later reoccupation.

THE TEMPLE

At this lower level facing the Central Court was the Temple, so-called because it is a «free standing building of cult purpose». It is entered from the S through an anteroom equipped with various features (a hearth, a basin and a bench). Immediately W of the entry was an alcove which seems to have been the start of a stair to the upper floor, thus linking with the passage from the poros steps. The main room had three wooden columns along the E side, a central platform (there was no sign of burning) and a series of small platforms or benches along the N side. At the E end of these were displayed *in situ* a red painted terracotta figure and a small portable altar. Rising from the NE corner was a stair leading up to a small storeroom which was found filled with idols and other cult paraphernalia. The door to this room had been sealed with polished plaster. A similar deposit of cult material was found behind the platforms at the NW corner of the room in an alcove, stacked on a section of naked rock that had originally been visible from within the room, lit by light from a passage to the W. The entry to the whole building is angled so that the line of sight is directed to the figure *in situ* at the NE. After the small room was sealed the main room remained in use until being destroyed by the devastating fire which characterized this part of the site.

THE ROOM WITH THE FRESCO COMPLEX

Slightly lower still lay a further cult complex. The central room with an elaborate hearth with wooden columns at either end was originally approached from the Central Court by a passage to the E. In alterations which seem to have occurred very soon after the first construction, entry was moved to the NW through an anteroom, a small shrine (an inner *sanctum* where items of significance were also stored) was built at the E and the wall S of the entrance to the shrine decorated with a fresco. W of the main room lay a square room in which nothing was found; the area of the anteroom and the approach from the N have not been fully excavated.

Also reached by the passage which ran between the Temple and the Room with the Fresco was, at a higher level, an area, possibly open or only partially roofed, where items very comparable with those from the actual cult rooms were stored. Three further rooms lay to the S of the Room with the Fresco; that at the E seems to have been a small shrine but the other two, which are exceptionally sturdily built, appear to have had an independent function. The main part of the complex was taken out of use at the time of the «disaster» and was not used during the last years of the 13th century BC.

THE NORTHWEST AREA

THE SOUTH HOUSE AND ANNEX

The South House is the largest and probably the earliest building in this part of the Citadel and it is at a quite different orientation from the cult buildings immediately to the S. The House of the Warrior Vase abuts against the NW corner. The complex comprises three sets of rooms all of which open onto the small courtyard in front of the Ramp House; the larger group at the W belong to the South House proper (excavated by Schliemann and then Wace) with the two groups to the E forming the South House Annex (excavated by Taylour). The main section has been consolidated and the Annex, where considerable mudbrick remains, was conserved in 1998-99, and again in 2002.

The house itself stands on a massive free standing terrace from the fill of which the evidence for a construction date early in the 13th century BC has been obtained. The entry lay at the NE corner over a handsome threshold into a long room from which three others, almost square, are entered. Beyond the Eastern of these two further rooms can be reached. The walls of the ground floor are of stone and have the recesses for the vertical and horizontal timbering by which the upper storey of mudbrick was stabilized.

Possible evidence for a stairway of cist slabs to the upper storey was recovered as well as for the construction of the ceilings and floors.

The Annex has three separate entrances leading to two independent sections. Immediately E of the main structure there is the entry to a basement which may have been separate (like that of the Ramp House) or opened to the S to stairs. Further E at a higher level an entrance leads into a series of corridors and small storage rooms from which access would have been possible to a larger room over the basement. At a higher level still and forming the easternmost section of the Annex was a storeroom with emplacements for large vats and amphorae including an imported one of the Canaanite type.

The small courtyard which divides the South House Annex from the Ramp House is crossed by a series of drains but its most notable feature is a rock cut causeway edged by poros blocks which leads from the Ramp House to a roofed corridor that connects this part of the site with the Processional Way and the Cult Centre to the S.

THE RAMP HOUSE

The Ramp House lies to the E of the House of the Warrior Vase beside the Little Ramp on a terrace supported by an extension of the retaining wall of Grave Circle A. It was first cleared by Schliemann and has since been studied by Wace with some further work by Taylour in 1962. The frescoes were first published by Lamb (BSA 24) but have recently been restudied by Shaw (BSA 91).

The remains are both scanty and badly preserved but a small megaron house of at least two storeys with storerooms to the W is suggested by the plan. A basement room under one of the storerooms was entered from outside the house to the W. The heavy irregular room without a doorway at the

SW corner may have been some kind of tower; the «corridor» to the E may have been another store or a staircase to the upper level. Considerable evidence of alteration and reconstruction was found.

The house overlay graves of the Prehistoric Cemetery as well as Middle Helladic walls and a small structure of Early Mycenaean date. From the early levels came fragments of a miniature style fresco depicting women watching a bull leaping scene and pieces of a full size procession of elaborately dressed women and other typical motifs.

THE HOUSE OF THE WARRIOR VASE (fig. 10)

This is a building lying directly S of Grave Circle A, excavated by Schliemann and now heavily restored. It was built on the low level rock at the W and abuts against the South House to the S. The indented façade, hugging the curve of the terrace wall of the Grave Circle shows that it was built after the Citadel wall and the Circle as well as after the South House. The jog at the NW corner accommodates one of the few wells within the Citadel, though another probable well under the E wall seems to have been abandoned when the house was built. Only the basements remain today; they have strong rubble walls once covered with mud plaster reinforced with straw. Schliemann believed it to be part of Agamemnon's Palace but it has no connection with the Palace which lies at the high point of the Citadel. Unfortunately the lack of primary excavation information makes interpretation of the remains difficult. The basement level is entered directly from the N and from a central passage. Two rooms of this floor have no obvious entries and may have been entered by ladders from above or to have served only as terraces for the upper level. This was approached by a long passage at the S.

Among Schliemann's finds (which may have originated in the house itself or the wash above it or even be associated with a later burial) were not only the fragments of the large late Mycenaean krater decorated with the figures of warriors after which the building is named, but also a handsome Naue II type sword and two large bronze vessels, one a tripod. Underlying the house were several graves of the Prehistoric Cemetery.

GRAVE CIRCLE A

This can now be seen as a group of high status burials which were specially respected and later enclosed within the walls as a unique monument. First excavated by Schliemann, it was restudied in detail first by Karo³⁷. The whole area has been heavily restored and few original details are now obvious.

Originally - i.e. in the 16th century BC - a group of large shaft graves, unquestionably used for «royal» burials were dug on the slope in the centre of the «Prehistoric Cemetery» (Middle Helladic to Early Mycenaean), and were demarcated by a low circular rubble wall at the W of which only a very small section has remained. Later in the mid 13th century BC when the fortifications were to be extended it was realised that the natural line of the new W fortification wall would have run along the rock ridge immediately E of these graves, so the wall was taken in a curve further W. Then because the graves would thus have been relegated to the bottom of a large, artificial hollow, practically inaccessible and possibly dangerous, owing to the water that gathered there, and in order to bring the burial ground to the level of the Citadel entrance, a stout wall with distinct inward batter was built on the slope over the old enclosure, to retain the fill covering the graves. This wall levelled the ground artificially, and was topped by upright slabs of soft stone - a shelly sandstone - forming two concentric circles, approximately

1m apart. The slabs were of equal height, and the interval between the two circles was roofed by similar, horizontal slabs supported by small wooden beams set in sockets cut in the vertical slabs. Thus the slabs form a circular, apparently compact parapet. Facing almost due N and near the Lion Gate, there is an entrance with three threshold slabs, between the two square cross-walls which terminate the circle on either side.

The later enclosure, some 26m in diameter, contained the six large shaft graves, numbered from I to VI, and some seven ordinary graves, small and shallow, which were largely destroyed in the course of the early excavations, as well as one, discovered by Papadimitriou in 1956, half-covered by the slabs of the parapet. Schliemann excavated five out of the six graves; Stamatakis excavated the sixth grave, nearest to the entrance; the inner row of parapet slabs passes across the angle of this grave. All six were family tombs; they are large rectangular pits measuring from 3×3.50m (II) to 4.50×6.40m (IV). On either side, the tombs had low rubble walls upon which lay horizontal beams that supported the roof of the grave, about 0.75m from the pebble floor. The roof was made of slate slabs or wattle (reeds and twigs), covered with an insulating layer of clay. The dead were buried at the bottom of the pit, and the dug-out soil was piled over the roof; finally the place was marked by an upright stone stele, either plain or adorned with relief work. Circle A contained the remains of nineteen people: nine men, eight women and two children. At least eleven stelae were erected over the tombs, of which some survived whole and others in fragments. They had already been removed from their original position when the later circle, contemporary with the Lion Gate, was built in the 13th century BC; it is therefore not possible to ascertain whether the sculptured stelae were destined for the men and the plain ones for the women, as some scholars have maintained.

THE GRANARY

An unusual structure named from the plant remains found in its basements, but perhaps best known for the pottery style of LH IIIC Middle named after it. The original excavation by Schliemann was completed by Wace; consolidation of the structure was carried out at this time.

The building is small and cramped; its façade was clearly planned in relation to Grave Circle A, showing that it was built later than the Circle. The walls are founded on the rock but the floors lie on an earth and stone terrace fill; only the lowest floor, probably a basement with plastered walls, has survived. Here were found a number of storage vessels containing carbonized wheat, barley and vetches which gave the building its name. Nevertheless it is more probable that it was used by the guard of the gate; there is evidence for the upper floor, which communicated with the store-rooms by means of an inner staircase, of which only the first two stone steps remain. Windows in the W and S face gave some internal light. None of the mudbrick of the upper walls remains.

On the NE side of the building - facing the courtyard of the Lion Gate - there are two narrow parallel corridors that led to the upper floor and which were extended, at a later stage, on a slightly different axis; the joint is clearly visible. The fact that the terrace on which the Granary stands abuts against the Citadel wall and that there is no passage along the wall at this point indicates that it was built at a late date; it was in use until a major destruction that foreshadowed the final collapse of the Citadel.

The pottery found in it and particularly in the two basements, and generally speaking, the class to which it belongs is known as the Granary Class, comprising particularly monochrome painted and rough plain wares. Many fragments of the elaborate miniature Close Style, which exemplifies a last *floruit* of Mycenaean civilization, were found in the fill of the basements and are usually associated with the pottery from the destruction levels.

S.E.I.-E.B.F.

37. AM 1915, Karo 1930-33.

PART II

THE AREA OUTSIDE THE WALLS

INTRODUCTION

After Steffen's monumental work of 1881-2, no detailed topographic survey, with archaeological input, of the area as a whole had been carried out. This had left us without an accurate record of the position of most of the chamber tombs and of many buildings which form an important part of the archaeological remains. Non-burial structures outside the walls were first investigated in the 1920's when work started on the Cyclopean Terrace Building. Since then seven further areas have been excavated and give information on the settlement pattern: in 1939 Lisa's House was cleared but its exact whereabouts have been lost; after World War II work continued on the Cyclopean Terrace Building and three major groups of «houses» have been excavated (Petsas' House, the Oil Merchant group and the Panagia Houses). In addition other structures such as the House of Lead, the Plakes House and the complex next to the Museum site have been cleared.

In the last decade, moreover, it had become clear that much was being said about Mycenae which was based on misunderstanding of the inadequate data³⁸. In 1989 the then Director of the British School at Athens, Dr. E. B. French, proposed to the Archaeological Society at Athens that the School should cooperate with them in an archaeological survey of the site³⁹.

It was decided not to attempt a collection survey as soil and stone from all the excavations from Schliemann on have been sold and redistributed widely. Notable surface concentrations were of course recorded and the few finds handed in to the Ephoreia. The project concentrated on recording the visible remains and attempting to refind those previously known. As the EDM was not available for the 1994 and 1995 seasons positioning has been made by bearings and by topography. Chance finds made up to the end of July 1995 have been included. No study has yet been made of the quarries though this would be of interest and importance⁴⁰.

The last 110 years had taken their toll of the surface remains though thanks to the vigilance of the Archaeological Service and the hardness of Mycenaean construction a surprising number of the things marked by Steffen could still be identified on the ground. Other items marked by him can now be better understood. Remains marked by Steffen but no longer visible have been included on the maps.

The area to be covered was chosen in relation to what was already known. The particular aim was to clarify the territory of Mycenae and to work out the relationship between tomb and settlement areas. Both these aims have been achieved and we have learnt considerably more about the use that the Mycenaeans made of their territory and the skill of their engineers. In addition to what was thought to be the core area, the survey was extended to the S to include important sites related to the centre and the survey team spent two weeks in 1992 specifically recording the Mycenaean roads leading both N and S. To the E there is some overlap with the Berbati Survey conducted under the overall direction of

Dr. B. Wells (1990, fig. 8) as they used modern village boundaries to define the limits of their exploration.

The basic method was for each archaeological team to explore an area using field copies of Steffen's map which had been enlarged to 1:5,000. Their task was to note all standing remains and the absence of remains marked by Steffen and to work out whence the remains to be recorded could be sighted. Subsequently the survey team would position the instrument and the archaeological team would hold the mirror for recording the coordinates. This allowed maximum archaeological input and, particularly, exact information on the position on which the reading was taken.

The area surveyed was covered largely by three types of vegetation all of which presented problems though of very different kinds. Much of the area to the W and NW of the Citadel is elaborately terraced and thickly planted with olive trees (fig. 5). It proved difficult to be certain that all terraces had been searched and the olive foliage was a great hindrance to taking readings. The slopes of the two mountains and much of the NE area is covered with dense and almost impenetrable garigue (figs. 5, 6)⁴¹. The areas both to the W in the plain and at the S around Monastiraki are now under heavy cultivation; remains have largely been removed but stone piles by the roadside indicate what was once there.

Immediately after the actual survey the coordinates were entered on the maps by the draughtsman and the positioning checked by the archaeologists. The army 1:5,000 maps⁴², obtained by the Archaeological Society, were available to us and in 1991 we worked only to this scale. It became obvious however that this was too crowded and before the 1992 season accurate enlargements to 1:2,500 were made. The published maps are reduced back to 1:5,000 from 1:2,500. Because the coordinates for the area covered by the survey were negative both N and E, it was decided to set up a site grid based on the Mycenae Trig point N of the Panagia Church and to give it an arbitrary positive reading of 5,000 N, 5,000 E. The readings in the archival data base are on this grid. In the published indexes the coordinates have been recalculated by computer to their correct format. Only the first reading, if several were taken, is given in the Concordance (pp. 64-68). The data bank is held by the Fourth Ephoreia, the Archaeological Society and the British School; the original archive is divided between the Archaeological Society and the British School.

In the text longer entries have been given to the major monuments. One aim of these has been to rectify certain misunderstandings and clarify excavation reports; points where controversy exists have been made explicit. In the text spelling has been adjusted to current transliterations; the word *rema* (plural: *remata*) meaning torrent bed, has been retained as there is no close simple English translation which does not presume the presence of water.

E.B.F.

38. Including such basic works as Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979 and Hope Simpson 1982.

39. Comparable to Hood, S. and Smyth, D. *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area*, BSA Suppl. 14 (1981).

40. Frick 1990 (particularly 59 n. 93) gives useful information on these.

41. Frick who explored the area in the years following 1976 comments frequently on this undergrowth.

42. The sheets used for the main area were: 6375/5-8.

TOPOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The settlement at Mycenae extended for an area of ca 32 hectares to the N, W and SW of the Citadel covering upper levels of the Atreus (Panagia) ridge and the extension of this ridge curving round to the NW of the Citadel; the settlement also included the triangle to the N between the Plakes and Kokoretsa remata. What may be termed *Greater Mycenae*, i.e. what we may consider to have been a single directly administered district, covered a region of some 350 hectares including chamber tomb cemeteries and natural resources (e.g. clay and stone). This region comprises the foot hills of Profitis Ilias extending some 1.7 km N of the Citadel and just over 1 km to the W. The mountains, Profitis Ilias and Sarra, between which the Citadel lies, form a natural eastern boundary and on the S the limit of Greater Mycenae would seem to be the Khonia/Gouvia rema which encircles the Atreus ridge and the modern village⁴³.

The survey zone was extended to cover the plain at the W and the stretch at the S toward the village of Monastiraki (form. Priphtiani) to include two important sites related to Mycenae: Khania and Plesia. The connection of the former complex (J1:01-2) with the other settlements is still unclear as is the question whether Plesia is a resource satellite of the settlement at Monastiraki rather than of Mycenae itself. It may be noted that if, as Steffen suggested (1884, 10), Pausanias' statement that Mycenae was 15 stadia from the Heraion is taken to measure from the edge of the territory then the boundary would lie just N of the lesser Profitis Ilias placing both of these areas outside the territory of Mycenae itself.

The most important results of the survey lie in our understanding of the nature and extent of the settlement outside the walls and of the relation of the settlement to the tombs. The expanse of the settlement has been closely defined and the nature of the chamber tomb cemeteries analysed. Tsountas was quite right in thinking that the cemeteries could be related to the road network, though this idea has been denied recently (Mee and Cavanagh 1990, 228-9). On the other hand no evidence has been found to support his suggestion that the distribution of cemeteries reflects that of subsidiary settlements (*Ephemeris* 1888, 123-4). Sufficient remains of structures datable to the Mycenaean period have survived to make it unlikely that there were any such subsidiary settlements. There are almost no Mycenaean structures beyond the boundaries given above.

In addition a field of Mycenaean expertise previously unrecognized has been identified: management of the water flow in the remata which are such a prominent feature of the area. This consists of revetments along the stream bank at points of danger and «weirs», low walls across the stream bed just sufficient to cut the speed of flow⁴⁴ but not apparently connected to irrigation or other water usage⁴⁵. Examples of both types of feature have been widely found throughout the area (fig. 19)⁴⁶.

MAP 1: SHEET A0/C1

This area in the plain of the Dervenaki (Kefisos) may be considered to lie outside Greater Mycenae. The remains further W (outside our area and W of the modern road and railway) belong to a separate entity, perhaps centred on the

Fikhtia area. Except for the few known features the survey ended at the railway. One interesting site at Ekklioules (B1:01) has been partially investigated in a rescue excavation. The foundations and grave marked by Steffen could not be reidentified.

MAP 2: SHEET A2/C3

This area is now within the bounds of Greater Mycenae, though largely on its outskirts. Several cemeteries and two quarries lie here. Of particular interest are the later shrines: an apparently Geometric one on the Koutsoumbela slope (C3:05) and the important Sanctuary of Ares on the height at Asprokhoma (B3:03, fig. 27) (one of the few structures totally misidentified by Steffen). There is no way of telling whether the former is in any way connected either to a settlement on the top of the ridge or to the adjacent chamber tombs.

Some routes leading here must have existed but these are not yet clear⁴⁷.

Steffen marks little in the area that was not refound except on the ridge between Koutsoumbela and the Asprokhoma rema. Here the first of the identified stream revetments may be noted. The reason for the weirs on the SW slope of Batsourorachi is not clear. The lower slope at the W has a rock outcrop similar to that at Gouves and at Plesia.

MAP 3: SHEET A4/C5

It is likely that the Plakes rema at the S and the rock scarp above to the E mark the outer edge of the main settlement district. At least one major structure marked by Steffen lies immediately S of the rema⁴⁸ and terracing to the E probably indicates further houses or workshops. The terrace walling at the E found by the survey does not appear to be the same as that recorded by Steffen.

The stretch both below the scarp and above is traversed by roads (M3 and M2) and by secondary routes (M3W). The latter seems particularly intended to serve the settlement. A fire in September 1994 cleared scrub on the slope above the rock scarp and revealed both tombs not previously reidentified and the route of M2 which had been thought to have been destroyed by the modern road to Stefani.

N of the Plakes rema the locality is of similar usage to that immediately to the W, i.e. an outer area with tombs, resources and outposts. Several chamber tomb cemeteries lie here (see detailed map 3) and it is of particular importance that the large Souleimani cemetery at the N was founded at least in LH IIA and is by no means a poor cemetery. It should be noted that Tsountas transposed the name Souleimani from hill and stream where they are marked by Steffen (and still currently in use) to the upper ground between M3 and M2 at the head of the rema.

On the slope of Profitis Ilias lie quarries of both limestone and conglomerate. Another revetment wall, this time on the S bank of the Kokoretsa, may be noted. Water sources are reported variously in the area particularly by Tsountas.

Of interest is the extensive later (but not accurately dated) cemetery that extends from W of the Asprokhoma rema (map 2) throughout the zone between the Agriosyikia and Plakes remata.

MAP 4: SHEET A6/C7

This section is occupied by the steep slopes of Profitis

43. Schliemann's idea of the boundary is marked by Drossinos (plan D, Schliemann 1878) though there seems to be some confusion among remata, roads and «limits».

44. Frick (1990, 18 n. 27) had already noted these.

45. Eleni Palaiologou has reminded us that such constructions have been used as places to do laundry within living memory.

46. This information has been passed to Dr. Claire Loader who is making a study of Bronze Age water usage with a Michael Ventris Award. Now see also Knauss 1997.

47. Lavery (1995) extends his M7N to this area along the track marked by Steffen which is now out of use. Particularly puzzling is the «Road to Corinth» marked by Drossinos (plan D, Schliemann 1878).

48. One of Lavery's (1995) «Mansions».

Ilias. At the S overlooking the road running E is the Gortsoulia chamber tomb cemetery which may be linked both to quarries and to the clay bed just to the S. This would appear to be the furthest extent to the E of Greater Mycenae. This area was also included by the Berbati/Limnes survey (Wells 1990) and thus no search was made for the «weirs» marked by Steffen on SE slope on Profitis Ilias and on Koutsoyianni.

MAP 5: SHEET D0/F1

Again this region lies outside Greater Mycenae. Steffen marks various foundation walls which could not now be identified because of heavy cultivation. Later graves are also known in extended cemeteries which continue to the E on the flat of the plain in notable contrast to Mycenaean, and indeed Hellenistic, graves. No traces of roads/routes have as yet been identified though several are postulated.

MAP 6: SHEET D2/F3

This zone belongs largely to Greater Mycenae with important chamber tomb cemeteries (fig. 23) and areas of natural resources but at the W, above the tomb line along the W slope of the Atreus ridge, the settlement proper begins. The Atreus or Panagia ridge has always been considered a central part of the town of Mycenae. The dating of visible remains constitutes a serious problem. Steffen marks structures in red and black⁴⁹ to show date. Contrasting masonry styles have generally been used to differentiate the periods but the difficulty was clearly brought home to us in 1992 when we cleared a structure (D4:35) where Hellenistic rebuilding rested immediately on Mycenaean walling. Thus the date of the structures on the top of the Kalkani and Pera Sfalakhtra hills is quite unknown though some others have been assumed on the basis of the masonry to be Mycenaean. Various other structures not found by the team have been reported.

Tsountas gave the name Panagia to a very large number of his tombs. Though this designation can now be subdivided (Shelton 1993), three major groups of tombs were cut into the hill, two (Panagia immediately S of the Panagia Tholos, and Ag. Georgios) on the W slope and one (the 3rd km cemetery) on the E (fig. 24).

A new roadway (M6) running diagonally NW from the Epáno Pigadi junction has recently been identified (Lavery 1995); other routes seem to run NE and SE from this same intersection but the traces noted are of uncertain date.

It would seem that the rock of the Pera Sfalakhtra hill must differ from that of the surrounding region as this hill is apparently unused for chamber tombs. It should be noted that Alepotrypa lies N of the track from the Kato Pigadi to the village (as marked by Steffen) and that the chamber tomb cemetery lies here and not to the S as mistakenly shown on some recent maps.

Water sources are known at the Epáno and Kato Pigadia; the latter has some ancient masonry in its structure. Some have assumed that there was a Mycenaean settlement on the Kalkani hill but the results of tests made during the excavations of the 1920's do not give any confirmation of this⁵⁰.

MAP 7: SHEET D4/F5

This forms the heart of Mycenae with the main settlement lying around the Citadel both in the Mycenaean and Hellenistic periods (see below p. 31). The density and solidity of the structural remains, particularly in the Pezoulia area⁵¹, are particularly striking. There seems to be a clear differentiation between zones of settlement and of burial, at least in

the main period (LH IIIA2-IIIB)⁵². Only one chamber tomb, that immediately S of Grave Circle B⁵³, and one of the three groups of tholoi lie within the settlement area.

In modern terms the Atreus/Panagia ridge can be considered to be the area between the car park at the N and the outstanding rock outcrop, Makri Lithari, at the S. In 1991 a special study of the ridge was initiated⁵⁴ though further work would undoubtedly be worthwhile. In 1992 three structures were cleared: Steffen's «Thor» at the S (E4:16) and two of his «Häuser Ruinen» at the N (D4:33 and 35). The Mycenaean structures, a series of at least ten major buildings, lie along or slightly below the crest of the ridge. The two areas apparently without remains (between the Makri Lithari structure and the House of Lead and between the House of Lead and the Church) may be some kind of «no man's land» reflecting the separation of usage. Some form of terracing or boundary walls extend diagonally from the N corners of the House of Lead but the presence of another major structure just to the SE of the main terrace makes it likely that the diagonal terraces contribute to the function of the House of Lead itself rather than having a more general significance.

Obviously this territory has seen the most extensive testing and trial trenching in all periods of excavation for which we have detailed records (i.e. 1920 on) and references have been given in the listing though the exact whereabouts of all the trenches is not known. No trace of the Schliemann tests marked by Drossinos (Schliemann 1878, plan D) either along the ridge or at the N was found.

The Hellenistic structures lie within the area of the postulated «town wall» while only one tomb (T509) seems to lie within it, possibly, as suggested by Boethius (BSA 25, 421) antedating the wall, the others of this group being just outside the wall line. The problem of the W city wall is discussed below p. 27.

The major roads from the Citadel must be presumed to have had their *caput viae* at the Lion Gate. Unfortunately all traces have gone except for those running E along the north side of the Acropolis (fig. 15). These can be reasonably traced and serve the natural resources (here water and food crops as well as clay and stone). They also connect the site to important areas to the N and E (Lavery 1990, 1995). We have no information either near the Lion Gate or at the difficult steep junction that must lie near the NW exit of the modern car park for the roads that served the settlement. The problem of access to the ridge is much complicated by the traces left by relatively modern tracks (including those marked by Steffen and the built terrace for a ridge track) and by the various water channels (Turkish to contemporary). A Ridge Road along the west side of the top of the Atreus ridge has been postulated and a Town Road serving the large structures of the Pezoulia slope and ending at a crossing of the Kokoretsa rema has been identified⁵⁵; the former remains annoyingly illusive and thus a matter of debate. Several routes for M4 running S can be identified (see p. 31) and may indicate heavier settlement of this area than Steffen noted or we found. An Archaic tomb beside the upper road line was an important chance discovery by bulldozer in 1992 (E4:29). It is possible that the presence of a blockhouse near the Ag. Georgios bridge marks the entry into the city's ter-

49. Some of these may be the remains of the deserted village noted by the travellers, see below p. 31.

50. Wace 1932, 21 implies that there was evidence of LH settlement but a detailed search of the notebooks shows that no evidence of this was actually found.

51. This feature was also noted by several of the travellers.

52. Occasional LH II and LH IIIC cist tombs exist.

53. This is reported to have been in use during LH IIIA and B; the fact that the tomb under the House of Shields was never completed and was covered by a fill in which the latest material was of the very beginning of LH IIIB1 may be relevant to this suggestion.

54. Under Dr. Jan Driesen; unfortunately his commitment to excavation at Mallia prevented his working with the Survey in the subsequent seasons.

55. This might, however, be the track marked by Drossinos (Schliemann 1878, plan D).

ritory and the group of structures S of the rema by the bridge may also mark a S extension of the settlement⁵⁶.

MAP 8: SHEET D6/F7

This area is dominated by the steep and difficult slopes of Sarra though the pass at the N carrying the road to the E is clear and easily traceable. The roads and routes beyond the Mycenae Survey zone have been studied recently both by the Berbati/Limnes survey (Wells 1990) and by John Lavery (1990, 1995). One which would repay further exploration is the road to Berbati from Plesia which runs between Sarra and Koufou Rachi and emerges at the SE corner of the area mapped.

The function of the «house» at the Tsekouras site (BSA 48, 18) is uncertain.

MAP 9: SHEET G0/J1

Overall this region is similar to the W sections further N and is certainly not part of Greater Mycenae. Little trace could now be found of the Khan mentioned by Leake and others and marked by Steffen. The recently discovered burial platform or «tumulus» and adjacent farmhouse to the S are of great importance as both are, at present, unique. It may be wondered if the farmhouse was in any way a Mycenaean inn or *mansio* on the route to Argos. Though no roadway has been identified in this area the crossing of the Vathyrema marked by Steffen (G2:01) should be noted.

MAP 10: SHEET G2/J3

Though new evidence continues to come to light in this district (e.g. a group of Archaic tombs in 1995), it would seem that it is probably outside of Greater Mycenae. It is crossed by the M4 roadway (studied by Frick, Lavery and Jansen, see pp. 29-30) which roughly follows the contour from the Ag. Georgios bridge to the Heraion. The road would appear to have remained in use at least until Archaic times. Other burials found here previously may be of similar or later date. We would suggest that Monastiraki is a separate settlement (though undoubtedly a satellite of Mycenae) with its own tomb cemeteries. The quarries at Magoula (both

poros and conglomerate) are not a unique source for these materials. The clay source at Tserania with adjacent Mycenaean tombs echoes similar relationships of tombs and natural resources N of the Citadel.

MAP 11: SHEET G4/J5

On the apparently barren SW slope of Sarra lie problem areas, particularly the old settlements marked by Steffen (Gouves, Plesia and Sklaveika) to which no date can be given. Plesia, moreover, has a chamber tomb cemetery cut into the rock bluff and a similar bluff seems to be similarly used S of Gouves. Plesia is, of course, one of the noted clay sources of the E side of the valley⁵⁷. M4 continues across this area though unfortunately the important crossing of the Plesia rema has been obscured by very recent bulldozing. The heavy cultivation of the plain has covered and destroyed any remains that may have been in this part of the area.

MAP 12: SHEET G6/J7

This area was included in order to cover the branch road leading from Plesia to Berbati (a version of Lavery M4) which is currently under study, as well as the furthest W extensions of features adjacent to the E.

OUTSIDE AREAS

Considerable survey work was carried out, particularly in 1992, with the aim of tracing the system of roads and block-houses already noted by Steffen⁵⁸. To the N coordinates were taken as far as the boundary of the village land and of the nomos while to the E and S information was linked with that of other projects.

There are several groups of outlying chamber tombs to N, S and W. Dr. Shelton considers that at Boliari to the N to belong to Greater Mycenae. That at Plakes N is more isolated and little is known of this region though Lavery postulates a settlement near here. The groups at Monastiraki and by Fikhtia are thought to belong to satellite communities.

No work was done either on the summit of Profitis Ilias (BSA 25, 427-34) or on the slopes⁵⁹ except for recording the Gortsoulia cemetery.

E.B.F.

56. Lavery 1995 but see also Steffen (1884, 10) for a more southerly limit.

57. Though possibly only for architectural purposes; material from here was in use for brick and tile until at least 1953.

58. This information formed part of Anton Jansen's dissertation (Jansen 1994). Information supplied by John Lavery was incorporated in the data base; most features were visited but it was not possible to survey them all.

59. The Berbati-Limnes survey included part of the area within its territory (Wells *et al.* 1990).

CONCORDANCE OF NOTABLE FEATURES

Bridge:

M3 Vythisma crossing A4:02
 M3 Souleimani W bridge B4:11
 M3 Souleimani N bridge B4:13
 M3 Agriosykia crossing C4:06
 M3 Plakes crossing, lower C4:12
 M3 Plakes crossing, upper C4:13
 M3 Kokoretsa crossing C4:16
 M3W Kokoretsa crossing D4:06b
 Kokoretsa rema crossing D4:24
 Paleogalaro stream crossing D5:03
 M3 crossing D5:07
 M1 Drakonera bridge D7:01
 M4 N crossing E4:19
 M4 N crossing E4:20
 M4 Ag. Georgios bridge F4:12
 Vathyrema crossing G2:01
 M4 crossing G4:02
 M4 crossing G4:03
 M4 old Monastiraki crossing G7:01
 M4 Plesia crossing J5:02

Clay:

Longaki clay bed D5:20
 Longaki clay beds D6:02
 Tserania clay source G4:10
 Plesia clay bed H5:02
 Plesia clay bed H5:06

Culvert:

M1 E7:01
 Ridge Road E4:09

Excavations:

Petsas' House D4:10
 Cyclopean Terrace Building D4:13
 Plakes House D4:29
 Panagia NW structure N D4:33
 Panagia NW structure S D4:35
 The rock D4:50
 West House – Oil Merchant group D4F
 Museum site D4G
 Tsekoura site D6:03
 Lisa's House? E3:11
 Panagia Houses E4:06
 House of Lead E4:11
 Makri Lithari structure E4:16
 Khania farmhouse J1:01
 Khania tumulus J1:02

Quarry:

Vythisma quarry A3:02
 Batsourorachi quarry B2:02
 Asprokhoma quarry B4:01
 Agriosykia quarry C4:31
 Paleogalaro quarry C5:05
 Paleogalaro cuttings, quarry? D5:04
 Patimata quarry D6:01
 Rock cutting, quarry? E3:09

Ruts/grooves quarry? traces E3:17
 Kharvati quarry F3:06
 Sarra SW quarry G4:08

Revetment:

Asprokhoma stream revetment C3:12
 Kokoretsa revetment C4:02
 Agriosykia revetment C4:05
 Kokoretsa revetment C4:23
 Elies revetment D3:01
 Elies revetment D3:02
 Kokoretsa S revetment? D4:07
 Kokoretsa S revetment D4:23
 Kokoretsa revetment E D4:49
 Vathyrema revetment H2:01
 Plesia revetment J5:02

Shrine:

Temple of Ares B3:02
 Koutsoumbela Shrine C3:05
 «Agamemnoneion» F4:16

Site:

Priftiani: Gourmades EH? Site H3:02

Tholos:

Kato Fournos ThT D3:06
 Cyclopean ThT D3:18
 Genii ThT D3:19
 Epáno Fournos ThT D3:23
 Lion ThT D4:17
 Clytemnestra ThT D4C
 Aigisthos ThT D4D
 Panagia ThT E3:12
 Treasury of Atreus ThT E4:07

PM tombs:

Tsalikali Ts D2:05
 T512? D4:38
 Tserania cist grave cem. G4:09
 Single tombs: C1:01, C3:11, C4:03, D3:07, D3:08, D4:41,
 D5:16, D6:02, E4:29, E4:34, F1:01, F1:02, F2:01, F4:02,
 F4:11, H5:01, J5:01

Wall:

Hellenistic city wall D4:16, E4:33

Water:

Water channels D4:51
 Persia Spring D5:15

Weir:

Koutsoumbela W weirs C3:01
 Souleimani weir B4:08
 Souleimani weir B4:09
 Agriosykia weir C4:07
 Agriosykia weir C4:08
 Tserania weirs G4:12
 Gouves S weir G5:11
 Plesia weir H5:07
 Plesia weir H5:08

E.B.F.

CHRONOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

EARLY AND MIDDLE HELLADIC

One new possible EH site was identified (by an obsidian scatter) N of Monastiraki in addition to that already known on the Kalkani hill but otherwise the survey has not added significantly to our previous knowledge. No EH graves are known and the source of the significant amounts of EH pottery from the area of the Tomb of Aigisthos (*BSA* 52, 195) and elsewhere to the SW of this is uncertain. It is now clear that the extent of the Middle Helladic Prehistoric Cemetery was extremely large. On the other hand there is only very sporadic evidence for MH settlement away from the Citadel, notably on the Kalkani hill and NE of the Citadel though structures are of course known by Grave Circle B and under the West House group. On the Atreus ridge MH sherds occurred in the Atreus bothros and the Panagia Houses but it was noted that there was no MH material as far S as the House of Lead.

EARLY MYCENAEAN (LH I to LH IIIA1)

The information that has now been brought together gives a much enlarged picture of the physical extent of the settlement in this period and the range of the population enjoying a high economic status. The realization that the chamber tomb cemeteries in the N date back to LH II and are in no way inferior in finds or architecture to the Kalkani cemetery has caused a revolution to the accepted thinking⁶⁰. The six early tholos tombs thus mark only the top of a social hierarchy which included many family groups of wealth and status. Settlement is definitely attested from the Atreus Ridge and the Cyclopean Terrace Building area and was certainly not confined to the Citadel.

THE PALATIAL PERIOD (LH IIIA2-B2)

For this period the new evidence concerns the overall extent and density of the settlement and the quality of what Dickinson (1994, 160-3) terms «utilitarian architecture» including the excellence of the road engineering and the control of water resources. The degree of technical expertise displayed in all fields is unparalleled. Mycenae was in this period a highly organized and extremely competent state. No evidence was found of outlying production areas/ workshops or of kilns though «Petsas' House» (D4:10) is thought to have been a pottery store. The series of «Mansions» at the edge of the suggested settlement area (Lavery 1995) deserve further study to determine their function.

THE POST PALATIAL PERIOD (LH IIIC)

Though, once again, the survey itself has not increased the existing evidence the compilation of information now makes it clear that settlement did continue outside the walls during LH IIIC, though perhaps only until LH IIIC Middle⁶¹. There was a clear increase in the deposition of pottery in chamber tombs during this phase, as also increased diversity in burial practices: the use of cist graves reappears and the burial «tumulus» at Khania contained the earliest cremations known from the Argolid. That the farmhouse at Khania is thought to continue in use to this period is of particular importance.

60. Cf. Mee and Cavanagh 1990.

61. It should be noted however that at Tiryns the settlement seems to reach its greatest extent in LH IIIC Early. Material of this phase is notoriously difficult to identify and the impression given by our present knowledge of Mycenae that this phase is not well represented may well prove inaccurate.

THE GEOMETRIC AND ARCHAIC PERIODS

Recent finds and restudies⁶² have considerably expanded our information about the habitation of the site after the destruction in LH IIIC Middle. Submycenaean remains are elusive but the pot from the Panagia Houses may indicate a grave; Protogeometric tombs have been found in the area of the Oil Merchant group and by the Citadel wall. Geometric has been widely found⁶³. Wace (1949, 27) suggested a Geometric settlement by the Ag. Georgios bridge but no new evidence for this has come to light⁶⁴. There is widespread suggestion of cult. Shrines in the area of the Oil Merchant group have been dated to Protogeometric onwards (by the E House) and Archaic (over the West House Megaron). The so-called «Agamemnoneion» originates in Late Geometric and the Temple of Ares in Late Geometric/Early Archaic. The Geometric shrine on Koutsoumbela awaits publication. The relation of all these to the adjacent chamber tombs or underlying Mycenaean structures has yet to be discussed. Archaic dedications are known from the surround wall of the Treasury of Atreus (*BSA* 51, 118-9). The cult activity even extends, though in much reduced degree, to the later 5th and 4th centuries (*BSA* 48, 34).

Thus evidence of various kinds exists down to the historical capture of the town by the Argives in 468 BC and on occasion beyond. It will be of particular interest to see whether the finds from the newly excavated Archaic tombs (E4:29 and G4:09) confirm the date of eclipse. Some of the material from these graves indicates considerable wealth. The position of such tombs beside the road to the Heraion allows further speculation on the relations of that sanctuary to Mycenae⁶⁵.

It should be emphasised that the Argives did not destroy Mycenae or even its fortifications. They disabled them, i.e. rendered ineffective the most strategic or important points: the Lion Gate, the guard posts on the ravine to the E and beside the Grave Circle, and whatever lay where the Hellenistic tower now stands⁶⁶.

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD⁶⁷

Though Diodorus (XI 65) and Strabo (VIII 372, 377) have been understood to imply that Mycenae was deserted, Bala-die (1980, 313) has shown that Strabo, at least, implies only that it was no longer an active city state. We know from epigraphic evidence that Argos established a *kome* on the site in the early 3rd century BC and this is, by now, more than amply confirmed by the archaeological evidence. The evidence for the end of the settlement is not as decisive. Rudolph (1978, 233) assigns the latest pottery to the second

62. Particularly Antonaccio 1995 who surveys in detail the evidence for possible tomb cult.

63. Antonaccio's discussion of the later material from the tholos and chamber tombs must supercede all previous discussions, many of which contained inaccuracies.

64. It may be suggested that this idea originated with the find of Geometric sherds by the bridge on the eve of the excavations in 1920. These may have come from a grave or from the «Agamemnoneion».

65. Cf. Hall 1995.

66. Several archaeologists working closely on this area have postulated, independent of one another, a West Gate of the Mycenaean period on this spot.

67. The plan *BSA* 69, 98 which gives the distribution of coins found between 1939 and 1969 is misprinted with the overlay misplaced. Unfortunately this was not rectified when the plan was reproduced in *WBM* 36. The plan should be ignored.

half of the 2nd century and the presence of an inscription dated to about 195 BC reused in the last construction period is consistent with this (Bowkett 1995, 52). On basis of the coin evidence, however, Dengate (1974, 97 n. 17) suggests that the Hellenistic settlement may have come to an end in the first half of the 2nd century BC. The absence of coins dating from the last and very flourishing period of the settlement is surprising and the evidence needs to be carefully checked.

The new enterprise led to repairs of the Citadel walls, the development of a Lower Town and reestablishment of cult areas both within and without the Citadel (like the Temple and the Agamemnoneion). Two major stretches of the Lower Town wall can still be seen, that running E-W along the ridge S of the Lion Tomb (with a good section immediately N of the present entrance) and that also running E-W up the Atreus ridge N of the Treasury of Atreus. Steffen marks this section further to the E reaching the Citadel wall S of the Hellenistic Tower. Wace (1949, 24) mentions a S gate but does not enlarge on this. Surprisingly no trace of the N-S wall, along the top of the Atreus ridge, nor any distinctive blocks from it was identified. The map in *BSA* 25 (fig. 49) as well as Steffen, shows it clearly along part of the line of the ridge and Frick in 1976 (1990, 29 n. 50) thought he could identify «several low stretches parallel to and a short distance W of the [modern] road that runs along the ridge-top»⁶⁸.

The lower town is known to have included the Perseia Fountain House⁶⁹, a theatre and several small structures, poss-

ibly shops or workshops, as well as some large enough to have been houses. Some graves lay within the circuit and it has been suggested that these may antedate the building of the wall (*BSA* 25, 421). A considerable number of graves lie outside the circuit in various areas.

Good terracing of this period is marked N of the Town wall E of the Lion Tomb (Northwest Survey no. 3); a major structure lay to the E of the Citadel and several large buildings have been identified on the W side of the Atreus ridge. The quality of these is surprising in contrast to the structures inside the wall and they seem very vulnerable in view of the military campaigns fought over Mycenae's territory in this period⁷⁰. On the other hand, the absence of Hellenistic sherd material was noted in the Panagia tests, the House of Lead area and parts of the Prehistoric Cemetery area. If the structure at Ekkliissoules belongs to this period it must have been very isolated.

LATER MATERIAL

Tombs which have been assigned to the Early Christian period (largely on the basis of lack of finds) are known from various quarters and Mylonas (*Praktika* 1962, 65) suggests activity of this period for the area of his Panagia tests. Lamps of the 3rd/4th centuries AD had been identified from near the Cyclopean Terrace Building (*BSA* 48, 17). As has been pointed out, this contrasts with the impression given by Pausanias that the site was by then uninhabited.

E.B.F.

GEOLOGY OF THE MYCENAE AREA⁷¹

In the Argolid, as in the rest of Greece, the Alpine orogeny was preceded by a long phase of submergence and accumulation of marine sediments. Therefore, when the mountains to the North and East were created during the Upper Triassic-Dogger the limestone carbonate rocks, in medium to thick beds, were uplifted to their present heights. The limestone is grayish, white, yellowish and crystalline or pseudolithic with clastic materials in the Lower Jurassic horizons. These pass into intensely folded thin beds of primarily hard limestones consisting of Radiolaria and Filaments with nodules and intercalations of chert. There is very little soil on the middle to upper slopes of these mountains and therefore the vegetation, if any, is low and sparse scrub. The lower slopes of Profitis Ilias and Sarra are characterized by old and recent alluvial fans and scree conglomerates with slightly better soil in some areas creating arable land primarily for grains and occasionally for olive groves. The remainder of the slopes is blanketed in an extremely thick low scrub. This area also contains numerous outcrops of limestone and conglomerate used for quarrying and a rather extensive claybed at Longaki.

The hills and low ridges to the North, West and South of

the Acropolis are fluvial or torrential in origin and were created during the Lower Diluvium-Pleistocene and Pleistocene. They are made up of fluvial marls, marly sandstone-conglomerates, and conglomerate fans, often in combination. There is also Paleocene limestone. As part of their torrential character, these hills are marked with many remata, or torrent beds, created by flash floods over time which can be rather deeply cut and present a major geologic feature of the landscape. The soils are often rocky but arable, used now predominantly for olive groves. In some areas, especially to the S, are clay beds of reddish (Tserania) and whitish (Plesia) color, and in all directions are outcrops of limestone and conglomerate. This is also the primary zone for archaeological remains, including the Citadel itself, and contains settlement material, cemeteries, quarries, utilized clay beds and signs of ancient agriculture and land manipulation.

The Argolid plain was created by rather recent Quaternary deposits of torrential conglomerates, gravels, sands, terra rossa and clays. The soil is rather thick and good with some stones, and is now heavily utilized for fruit orchards of apricot, pear and especially citrus.

K.S.

68. For similar disagreement in the last century see above p. 23.

69. Originally thought to be a gymnasium but correctly identified in 1952 (*BSA* 48, 19) (pace *WBM* 36, 51).

70. Boethius, *BSA* 25, 423-6.

71. This section is based on the Argos and Nauplion sheet of the Geological Map of Greece 1970, on Bintliff 1977 and Zangger 1993.

THE MYCENAEAN ROADS IN THE SURVEY AREA⁷²

As part of the Mycenae survey a reconnaissance of highways and secondary roads⁷³ in the vicinity of the Citadel of Mycenae was carried out. A substantial part of this work involved examining the remains of the four highways which Steffen had identified⁷⁴ in his search for the strategic importance of Mycenae. Lavery has given them convenient abbreviations which are used here. The relevant recorded points from the Survey are summarized in the table on p. 31.

The best preserved sections of the road system are those of M1 running E from the Citadel. In the area of Kondovouni, Steffen determined that the road was originally 3.58m wide. The lower foundation consists of a fill of large unworked fieldstones and earth of varying depth depending on the steepness of the hill slope retained by a strong terrace wall sometimes as high as 1m. Over the foundation was placed a layer of small stones and earth to a depth of about 25cm. The road surface was set above this and is said by Mylonas (1966, 86-7) to have been paved with a mixture of pebbles, earth and sand⁷⁵. This road also has a number of culverts at 3 to 6 metres intervals under the roadbed⁷⁶. These culverts are constructed of orthostat blocks or corbelled layers topped with a flat lintel stone, a standard Mycenaean technique for water channels⁷⁷. Bridges associated with the roads near Mycenae are similar in design to that called Lykotroupi, E of Kondovouni (Mylonas 1966, pl. 79). They are constructed of courses of large blocks stepped inward to form a corbelled arch and then topped with a lintel block. A good example within the survey area is the Drakonera bridge (D7:01).

Near the Citadel

All the highways examined by Steffen were assumed to have begun at the Lion Gate. This seems reasonable since the only other confirmed access is the Postern Gate on the N, which provides access only to the E. Any road to the N or E from the Citadel would have to have followed a course running due E along the N slope of the Citadel hill. The road terrace marked by Steffen has been identified in two possible sections (D4:20) along the slope though a rock slide has partially obliterated the line. This terrace is 4.5m wide and is visible in the western stretch for a length of approximately 50m. It is the only place on the steep N slope of the Citadel where such a highway could pass.

Marks identified as wheelruts or cambering are located N of the Postern Gate (D5:10, fig. 15) and it is at this point that the main highway N of the Citadel must have forked with one branch (M3) turning N. The other road continued E passing the Perseia spring and following the upper Khavos. A new country road and a great deal of modern terracing and water installations make it difficult now to follow the exact line of the road here. Approximately 1 km E of the Citadel the high-

way forks again. One branch (M2) turns N and then loops around the W side of Profitis Ilias while the other (M1) continues E.

The first highway (M1)

A short distance beyond the fork, the route crosses the Khavos at the Drakonera bridge (D7:01). Immediately E of the bridge, the highway must have encountered some difficulty. Steffen shows it following the contour around the S slope of Kondovouni⁷⁸, but to reach this line a steep climb up the slope of Kondovouni from the bridge would have been necessary⁷⁹. The modern road here has to detour into a loop in order to gain elevation. The more direct route can only be negotiated by tractors. Our survey indicated a possible course based mainly on topography and the presence of undatable terraces on the Kondovouni hill (D7:02). Another terrace line, 30m NE of the first, may indicate a yet higher course for the highway or be the remains of a secondary route.

Approximately 250m SE of the Drakonera bridge a section of terrace wall with a culvert was discovered (E7:01, figs. 16, 17). This wall crossed the saddle between Kondovouni and Voriki Diaselo. The presence of this culvert may indicate that the highway did not descend directly along the projected terrace line to the Drakonera bridge. Instead, it may have crossed the saddle between Kondovouni and Voriki Diaselo. In fact such a route would have avoided the steep descent which the alternate course encounters by descending the N slope of Voriki Diaselo to the Drakonera bridge. This suggestion must, however, remain provisional.

From Kondovouni this well-constructed road turned N and crossed the rema between Kondovouni and a spur of Koutsoyianni at the Lykotroupi bridge.

It is beyond this along the S and E slopes of the Limniatis hill that one of the best preserved sections of M1 is to be found (Mylonas 1966, 86). The roadbed and terracing are clearly visible for a distance of about 0.5 km. The terracing at the SE point of Limniatis is particularly impressive. An outer terrace wall 1m thick and 2.2m high supports a roadbed 3.3m wide. Part of the pebble road fill survives about 90cm above the top of the terrace. Therefore, the terrace wall must originally have been at least 3.1m high. The terrace wall supporting the roadbed along the E slope of Limniatis had culverts placed every 2 to 3 metres (Mylonas 1966, pl. 80). Some of these are very well preserved. The highway can thus be easily followed until the terracing is lost under heavy Kermes oak and oleander scrub on the N side of Limniatis, above the rema of Kalogherikos Mylos.

The second highway (M2)

The second highway branched off from the first a short distance W of the Drakonera bridge and rounded the W (C5:06) and N sides of Profitis Ilias at about the 380m contour level. It had been thought that most of the highway had been destroyed by a modern road (Mylonas 1966, 86) but a fire in the autumn of 1994 has revealed long stretches parallel to and just below the modern road (C5:07-A5:01)⁸⁰. On

72. For detailed information, particularly on the areas beyond that of the main survey area, see Jansen 1994 *passim* and also Lavery's preliminary study 1990.

73. Recent work by John Lavery (1995) has increased the number of possible roads identified; the points recorded in the survey data are included in the table on p. 31. His Map 1 is a useful outline of the road system though some features are problematic.

74. See also Hope Simpson 1982 15-7 (including a useful map) and Frick 1990 for illustrations and commentary.

75. Steffen 1884, 10 notes that there were no remains of the original surface identifiable. A modern highways engineer has told us that an excellent top surface could be made of limestone chips which would have been readily available.

76. See now Wells 1990, 223 and figs. 19, 21.

77. See also Steffen 1884, 10; Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 36, fig. 8; Wace 1949, 23 and pl. 38b.

78. Recently reidentified by the Swedish team, Wells 1990, 223 and fig. 19.

79. Both Steffen (1884, 11) and Frick (1990, 23 n. 41) comment on this. The large number of «weirs» marked by Steffen in this area should be noted. They were not reidentified.

80. John Lavery has recorded this stretch in detail with photographs. Also in this area he noted (following the fire clearance) a route which he calls «Rho» running from Steffen's point 343 past Paleogalaro to Patimata; «ruts» on this route are recorded at C5:09.

the N slope of Profitis Ilias it passes near a spring and block-house constructed on the Mathi spur before continuing to the NE.

The third highway (M3)

Steffen's third highway branches N below the Postern Gate. A line of terracing (D5:09) loops to the N away from the course of M1/2 and reaches the Kokoretsa at a point where this steep gully can be easily crossed (D5:07). There are a few boulders in the gully just downstream of the crossing point, which may have belonged to a retaining structure. From this point, the highway must have followed the 200m contour line around the Paleogalaro spur (D5:01, D4:54, C5:01). The exact line is difficult to follow because of the multiplicity of terraces on this slope, but the survey points indicate the most probable one. There is much evidence for Bronze Age habitation in this area and M3 may have serviced this upper part of the N settlement.

More secure evidence for the existence of this highway was discovered on the N bank of a small rivulet which flows into the Kokoretsa. Here there was a terrace of large un-worked boulders which seems to have supported the road (C4:16). The road must then have retained this elevation in order to clear a rock outcrop just to the W (C4:15). Other features in this area may indicate alterations or repairs to the road (C4:17, 18). There are two crossings of the Plakes rema: one on this level (C4:13) and one somewhat lower (C4:12). This latter may belong to the W branch which joins this route N of the rema.

The Western route (M3W)

The existence of a lower western route for the road to the N is based largely on the evidence marked by Steffen. It may, however, be presumed to start⁸¹ at the W crossing of the Kokoretsa (D4:06b) though access would certainly have been possible for foot or mule traffic from the crossing at the foot of the Skala (D4:24). Traces of the line marked by Steffen have been found (C4:28) and the large Mycenaean structure beside the road by the rema may mark the boundary of the settlement here. It would not however, be possible to cross the Plakes here and the road would have to turn E to reach a possible crossing point. Beyond the Plakes this route joins the main M3 road.

Here to the N there are some terrace walls which appear to correspond to the sections of highway which Steffen indicates on his map. The road apparently went around a spur below Kapsala at approximately the 210m contour level. The visible terrace here is about 5m wide (C4:11). The highway would have crossed the Agriosykia stream where marked by Steffen at approximately the same point as the modern road, since this is the only feasible crossing (C4:06), the banks of the stream being far too steep at other points. Beyond, after following the contour for a stretch (C4:04, B4:04), there would have been a substantial climb for the highway to reach the Asprokhoma saddle between Profitis Ilias and the Batsourorachi. The modern track has been bulldozed in a steep gradient; the course of the ancient road gained elevation more gradually following the contour of the spur about 10m below the modern track. This route would have provided good access to the various groups of Asprokhoma tombs.

The sanctuary of Ares on the Asprokhoma saddle seems to confirm that the highway must have still been in use in the Hellenistic period. But the road was not simply an access route to this area because it continues N of the saddle. On these slopes of Profitis Ilias at the 240m contour level was a very well-preserved section of road terrace (B4:10). This terrace was approximately 3.1m wide, supported by a retaining wall 1.5m high and about 0.5m wide. The terrace survives

over a distance of about 200m and arrives at a well-preserved bridge (B4:11), indicated on Steffen's map, immediately W of the Souleimani chamber tomb cemetery; a path possibly linking the road to the cemetery was noted (B4:15). It should be noted that this section of roadway is constructed without water channels and culverts, possibly an early feature. It may be noted that the tombs here were first used in LH II.

The course of M3 continued N at about the same elevation along a small terrace wall (B4:12) reaching the Souleimani stream where Steffen indicates another Cyclopean bridge (B4:13). Here are a few boulders which may have come from a bridge in the stream at the point indicated on Steffen's map. After this, there is no longer any solid evidence to show the line of the highway. The probable course can, however, be picked out. Further N along the slopes of the Stroungitsa spur at the Vythisma rema there are a series of terrace walls built of stone rubble (A4:02). They are not Mycenaean in date, but their presence confirms the impression that the Vythisma rema could have been easily crossed at this point. Its banks are gentle and provide easy approaches for any road.

N of the Vythisma lies the Marta hill. This hill is the most northwesterly spur of Profitis Ilias, and it marks the point where the route of the third highway must have descended towards the NW. The exact course of the route cannot be determined although suggestions based on topography can be made.

The fourth highway (M4)

A good deal of our survey involved examining the remains of Steffen's fourth highway running S from the Citadel to the area of the Argive Heraion. This highway was thought by Steffen to run S from the Lion Gate along the Panagia ridge, crossing the Khavos at the Ag. Georgios bridge SW of the Citadel. The exact course of the highway in the vicinity of the Citadel is open to some question⁸². The terrain S and W of the Citadel slopes down fairly steeply into a horseshoe-shaped valley with the Khonia/Khavos rema at its S edge. To the W of the Lion Gate a road might run along the ridge above the tombs of Aigisthos and Clytemnestra until it reached the area where the main gate to the site is now situated. From this point the road would either have continued further W to reach the Panagia ridge before turning S, or descended to the region of the House of the Oil Merchant and continued from there along the lower E flank of the Panagia ridge. Alternatively (BSA 48, 5) the route would have zigzagged down the terraces W of the Lion Gate bastion to run in front of the tombs of Aigisthos and Clytemnestra to reach the roadway E of the House of the Oil Merchant.

It does not seem likely that the actual highway ran as far W as the Panagia ridge, because, although this route gives access to the length of the ridge and to a rocky descent to the Epáno Fournos tholos tomb and the chamber tomb cemeteries to the W, it does not afford easy access to routes to the S. The problem is that any route S along the Panagia ridge must make a very steep and sudden descent at the S end of the ridge. If, on the other hand, one follows the route to the tombs, one is then in the valley between the Panagia and Kalkani hills. The only easy exit from this area is to the E, passing near the Kato Pigadi. Thus, while it seems certain that this was an important secondary route providing communication between the Citadel, the Panagia settlement and the cemetery areas around the Kalkani hill, there is little archaeological or topographical evidence to support the idea that a main highway travelled along this route.

The evidence that we do have indicates that the route in the vicinity of the House of the Oil Merchant is perhaps the most likely one for the main highway. There are very large terraces supporting the House of Shields and the House of

81. Steffen is not clear how he thought this route descended from the Lion Gate (Frick 1990, 18 n. 26).

82. Pace Lavery 1995.

the Oil Merchant with a probable road terrace E of the latter (*Praktika* 1963, 110-1).

Our examination showed that one possible route (using the terrace at E4:21b) runs due S from the terrace below the House of the Oil Merchant. The highway would then have followed the W bank of the Khonia/Khavos (E4:27) before crossing it at the Ag. Georgios bridge (F4:12). The problem with this route is that theoretically it should run higher up the slope than this terrace so as to pass directly in front of the Treasury of Atreus and the chamber tombs to the S.

Another possibility is a route on the E side of the Khonia/Khavos. Mylonas (1966, 87) felt that the Ag. Georgios bridge was preceded by an earlier bridge which crossed the Khonia/Khavos much closer to the Citadel⁸³. Very little evidence for such a bridge was discovered (E4:19), but there is an easy crossing over the Khonia/Khavos at the point where the rema turns S, approximately 200m SW of the Citadel walls (E4:20). At present there are only a few medium-sized blocks in the stream bed to mark this position⁸⁴. There are lines of terrace walls which approach this point from both the Citadel hill and Mt. Sarra indicating that a road could easily have proceeded S from this crossing. Some confirmation for this route is the fact that approximately 125m to the SE of the House of the Oil Merchant there are remains of a very large retaining wall supporting the slope on the upper side of the terrace (E4:21a). The lowest blocks of this retaining wall are very large and appear to form part of an earlier retaining wall which does not run along the same line as the present terraces. The line of this retaining wall appears to descend toward the area of Mylonas' bridge, and it may be a remnant of a retaining wall for a road connecting the buildings in the vicinity of the House of the Oil Merchant with this crossing.

S of the possible bridge and E of the Khonia/Khavos there is a preserved terrace approximately 4.6m wide which runs for a distance of approximately 150m. There are fragmentary remains of stones which may have formed parts of upper and lower retaining walls for this highway (E4:28). This route would have passed close by blockhouse V, (E4:31), before continuing further S.

Two other terrace lines on the W slope of Sarra were traced. These may have provided access to the slopes of Sarra to the S (Lower terrace E4:24, F4:05; Upper terrace E4:23, F4:06).

Our work thus holds out the possibility of several routes running along both sides of the Khonia/Khavos. Perhaps the western one running to the Ag. Georgios bridge was more convenient for the people living on the higher slopes of the Panagia ridge while the eastern one was more convenient for those dwelling in the valley below the Citadel walls⁸⁵.

By now the physical remains of the highway S of the Ag. Georgios bridge are few, consisting mainly of remains of crossings over the remata coming down from the slopes of Mts. Sarra and Euboia. At present the route of M4 can only be followed by referring to Steffen's map and attempting to find some of the terraces and bridges which he indicates⁸⁶.

A line can be followed S of the bridge to the point Steffen identifies as Ag. Ioannis (F4:21)⁸⁷. Approximately 200m to the S is a terrace line which may form the road line (G4:01) approaching a small stream crossing. Further S, there are two possible stream crossings over small remata (G4:02,3). The discovery in 1995 of an Archaic tomb enclosure (G4:09) close by would seem to indicate the road line at this period.

Higher up the S slope of Sarra is a well-preserved terrace wall retaining a wide path, possibly a secondary road. This road (G5:03) would have provided access to the settlement of Gouves to the S.

Further S traces of the road have been found recently (H4:02) NW of the church of Ag. Paraskevi showing that the main route continued along the same contour which allows it to cross the remata just before they deepen. The next secure evidence for the highway lies at the Plesia rema, 2.5 km S of the Citadel of Mycenae. Recent construction work in this area has removed (or covered⁸⁸) many of the remains seen by Steffen but the features he marked can be worked out and related to the original crossing system (J5:02). There is today a 6.5m cutting on the N bank which has the appearance of an approach for a roadway but is extremely steep; the approach at an angle from the NE is clearly visible. There is a square cutting in the rock of unknown date immediately to the E of the broad approach on the N side of the stream. On the S bank of the Plesia stream the remains of the ancient retaining wall noted by Steffen are still visible.

S of Plesia, the road must have followed roughly the contour line to take advantage of relatively easy stream crossings. It is very likely that a modern road follows approximately the course of Steffen's highway, but at a slightly higher elevation. The survey team recorded such traces as are still visible of the route as far as the Heraion.

Roads within the Settlement

The Town Road

A possible roadway which we felt could be associated with the road system N of the Citadel was noted as a succession of terrace lines (D4:06b) (the dates of which are indeterminate) leading around the slope from the vicinity of the Cyclopean Terrace Building to a crossing of the Kokoretsa (D4:06a). This road is conjectural but its course allows for a gentle gradient and services an important section of the Mycenaean settlement.

The Ridge Road

It has always been assumed that a road must have served the structures on the top of the Panagia ridge but the remains of tracks⁸⁹ and water channels of several periods have complicated the identification. The Hellenistic city wall is also thought to have run along this line (see above pp. 26-27). The only certain trace of a road found by the survey was a rock cutting (E4:15) at the S; a culvert/drain (E4:09) belongs to a terrace of uncertain purpose.

Other routes

m4: a route to Berbati running S of Sarra. It is not clear whether the routes along the W slope of Sarra to the Gouves area link with the road remains at H6:08 and the crossing noted by Steffen at G7:01. It may be that the latter belong to a side road starting from the Plesia crossing (J5:02). The routes running S along the slopes would then be little more than subsidiary tracks.

83. Hope Simpson 1982, 17: point G on his map.

84. It should also be noted that, if one stays on the W side of the Khonia/Khavos, this point also marks the terminus of a modern shepherds' path which gradually ascends the E slope of the Panagia hill. Mylonas is, therefore, undoubtedly correct in his estimation of the importance of this crossing based on the local topography.

85. The other possibility is that the two routes we have noted are not contemporary. Mylonas (1966, 87) felt that the remains of the bridge which he had discovered in the Khonia/Khavos rema were earlier than those of the Ag. Georgios bridge. If the Ag. Georgios bridge was built toward the end of the Mycenaean period, this might help to explain its well-coursed masonry.

86. In 1976 Frick thought he could trace almost the whole route on the ground; he identified a bridge on the rema running from old Monastiraki which would place this crossing further W than the route suggested by the survey team.

87. The whole area around the bridge was known locally as Ayian-nis in the 1950's (*BSA* 48, 30).

88. The bridge or viaduct was seen (after some difficulty) by Frick in 1981 (Frick 1990, 20 n. 33) and Lavery has also been told that the crossing lies buried.

89. See Frick 1990, 91 on the various tracks.

M6: The terracing which marks this route, with the exception of the extensive section at D3:15, is of uncertain date. There is as yet no firm evidence of the N spur which would follow the line of the track to Asprokhoma marked by Steffen.

M7: This forms a likely route as far as the village (or at

least the quarry on which the modern village is situated). Further S the line is complicated by traces of the Ottoman aqueduct. Khania was certainly a known point on the route to Argos but features such as the crossing of the Vathyrema (G2:01) must be taken into consideration.

MYCENAE ROAD NETWORK

DESCRIPTION		MAP REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION		MAP REFERENCE
Citadel	Stretches marked by Steffen	D4:20	M3 West	From Kokoretsa crossing	D4:06b
	Ruts (cambering)	D5:10		Across lower Plakes area as Steffen	C4:28
	Fork of M1/2 and M3			Also from crossing below Skala	D4:24
	Stretch	D5:14		Plakes crossing, lower	C4:12
M1	Fork of M1 and M2		M4	Joins M3	
	Drakonera bridge	D7:01		Possible N crossing	E4:19
	Around Kondovouni (Agrilo Vounaki)	D7:02		Probably N crossing	E4:20
	Culvert?	E7:01		Retaining walls	E4:21
M2	Look-out?	E7:02	Town Road	E bank upper line	E4:23,F4:06
	Lykotroupi bridge			E bank lower line	E4:24,F4:05
	Limniatis			Terracing for road?	E4:28
				Ag. Georgios crossing?	F4:13
Road Rho: from Steffen' point 343 past Paleogalaro to Patimata	Terrace for road?	C5:06		Ag. Georgios bridge	F4:12
	Route after fire to Stroungitsa	C5:07-A5:01		Ag. Ioannis	F4:21
	Mathi			Stretch	G4:01
	Vounaki onwards			Crossing	G4:02
M3				Crossing	G4:03
				Upper terrace or track	G5:03
				Stretch N of Ag. Paraskevi	H4:02
				Plesia crossing and embankment	J5:02
M3	From 'ruts' by Postern Gate	D5:10	Ridge Road?	Onward to Heraion	
	Stretch	D5:09			
	Crossing of Kokoretsa	D5:07			
	E crossing high on rema	D5:03			
JOINS M3 W	Stretch	D5:01,D4:28,C5:01	m4	From CTB to Lower Kokoretsa crossing	D4:06a
	Crossing	C4:16		Crossing toward M3 W	D4:06b
	Altered line/repairs	C4:18			
	Support terrace?	C4:17			
JOINS M3 W	Stretch	C4:15	M5		
	Plakes crossing, upper	C4:13		M1 to Berbati	
JOINS M3 W	Stretch	C4:11	M6	From Ag. Georgios to the NW via	E3:16,E3:15,
	Crossing of Agriosykia	C4:06		Epano Pigadi	D3:15,D2:04
	Stretch	B4:04,C4:04			
	Temple of Ares	B3:02			
JOINS M3 W	Stretch	B4:10	M7	From car park via Epano Pigadi	
	Crossing	B4:11		to village? and thence to Khania	D3:29,E3:18
	Possible path to ChT cemetery	B4:15		Vathyrema W crossing	G2:01
	Terrace above road	B4:12			
JOINS M3 W	Crossing	B4:13			
	Vythisma crossing	A4:02			
	Marta onwards				

A.J.

THE HOUSES

ARCHITECTURE

At Mycenae as elsewhere (eg. Tiryns, Midea) the name of "House" is given to buildings both inside and outside the Citadel which are structurally, if perhaps not administratively, independent of the Palace complex. As a rule they consist of 4-5 residential and auxiliary rooms built at ground level or on massive terraces, and of a corresponding number of basements beneath them or lower down the slope. These last, which may or may not have supported an upper storey, communicated with the main part of the house by stairways and trap-doors. Due to the inevitable ruination with the passage of time and/or later overbuilding, upper storeys have disappeared, ground floors or basements being the only surviving parts of the original building. Many of them, especially those within the walls, were uncovered in the early years of excavation but few have been published or even mentioned as having been investigated. Most of them were left exposed and suffered further damage so that little information can be gained now from their ruins.

Twenty eight such houses have been located and investigated up to now within the walls: the Granary, the Ramp House, the House of the Warrior Vase and the South House between the Lion Gate and the Cult Centre of the Citadel; Tsountas' House, the so-called House of the High Priest and ten more houses, numbered A-K in the SW Quarter; the House of Columns, the Artisans' Quarter, Houses Gamma and Delta to the East of the Palace complex; Houses Alpha and Beta in the NE Extension and House M, Rooms Lambda and three more houses on the North slope of the Citadel. In addition, twelve houses have been found to date in the countryside to the W and N of the Citadel: Panagia Houses I, II and III, the West House, the Houses of Sphinxes, of the Oil Merchant and of Shields on the East slope of the Panagia ridge, the House of Lead on the top of the ridge and Petsas' House, the Cyclopean Terrace Building, the Plakes House and the House of the Tripod Tomb on the N slope of the hill. There are, moreover, a few scant remains of habitations destroyed by the construction of the Treasury of Atreus, at a spot named Lisa's House on the W of the Panagia ridge and on the top of the ridge immediately to the W of the modern car park.

Eleven buildings (Ramp House, High Priest's House, Houses Beta and M, Rooms Lambda, the Artisan's Quarter, the Panagia group, the House of the Tripod Tomb and the West House) are preserved at ground floor level. Three more (House of Columns, Tsountas' House and the Plakes House) have both ground floors and basements. The rest survive only at basement level and the existence of upper storeys can be inferred only from the presence of staircases leading upstairs or from the fact that the basements do not communicate with one another and had therefore to be accessible from above.

The houses in the Citadel are built close to one another and cover, together with the Palace, practically the entire surface of the rock. They are divided into blocks by narrow level winding passages and by stone built stairways going down the slope or they are grouped around small open spaces like the triangular court between the House of Columns and Houses Gamma and Delta. Some were placed at a distance from the fortification wall but several are built right up to it and many others have connecting spur walls. The houses outside the walls were arranged in tight groups of 3-4 buildings each, sometimes with common party walls. These groups, at some distance from one another, were connected by roads.

When talking of Mycenaean domestic architecture it is customary to think in terms of a *megaron*, i.e. of a suite of rooms consisting of a shallow porch, more often than not

open to a courtyard, succeeded by a somewhat deeper vestibule and a large main room with a hearth in the middle. But of the thirty nine houses under discussion only five (the House of Columns, House M, the Ramp House, Tsountas' House and, closest to the model, the West House) may qualify as having a *megaron* for their central unit. The others are more or less asymmetric and crowded agglomerations of disproportionate rooms, mostly without hearths and, sometimes, of no apparent residential function.

Corridors were a frequent and important feature of the houses. As a rule they run between the central unit of the building and the auxiliary rooms to which they provide access. This concept is best illustrated by the plan of the West House but may also be observed in the House of Columns, the Artisans' Quarter (where the corridors connect the workrooms to each other and to the central court), between House M and Rooms Lambda, in Tsountas' House, Panagia Houses I and II and in the basements of the House of Sphinxes and that of the Oil Merchant.

Another component of the Mycenaean house is the open courtyard, placed either in front (House M, Ramp House, Tsountas' House, West House and Plakes House) or at the back, usually between the house and the fortification wall (houses in the North and the Southwest Quarter). In the House of Columns the court is central, surrounded by colonnades, and it gives access to the residential quarters to its N and to the basements to its S. In the Artisans' Quarter it is long, narrow and runs the length of the building, providing light and air to the roofed corridors and the workrooms on either side of it. Houses Gamma and Delta share a common triangular clearing on whose sides they are built. House Delta, moreover, has an enclosed yard at its back, between its S side and the fortification wall. The House of Sphinxes has a large open air vestibule at its S end and Panagia House I an open court in front of its entrance.

Mycenaean doors vary considerably both in size and location. Main doors are mostly placed at the front of the building, but House M has two entrances at the side, protected by a double porter's lodge. Buildings Beta in the NE Extension, Beta, Delta and Epsilon in the SW Quarter and, most probably, Panagia House I were entered from the side. The doorways, as far as they have been measured and published, seem to differ little in width (1.10m in the House of the High Priest to 1.15m in the Plakes House) but it must be kept in mind that the information available is scanty. Inner doors are very diverse, ranging from 1.70m (Sphinxes, Room 2) to 0.90m (Plakes, between rooms). One door only (West House, Room 3) had a threshold stone base with a pivot hole on it, which implies the existence of a revolving wooden doorleaf. There may have been more such arrangements but they left no traces, and most doors, especially those in the basements, seem to have been mere openings closed with curtains or screens or perhaps not closed at all.

The houses had windows, but only four have survived or left traces: two in the stone masonry of the Granary, one in the E wall of House Zeta in the SW Quarter and one more, in the form of a fragmentary stucco window frame in Room 3 of the Plakes House. There must have been many more in all the houses (see, e.g. representations of buildings in Mycenaean art) but they have disappeared along with the walls in which they had been placed.

The existence of columns (or piers) in Mycenaean architecture is deduced rather than established from their limestone or conglomerate bases, found as a rule resting on a rubble underpinning. Their forms vary from the worked examples in the House of Columns with their typical smooth round level tops and rough undersides to the large unworked blocks with a more or less level top in Room I 2 in the N

Quarter. To the first category belong the column bases in the House of Columns and, to some extent, a cylindrical stone base from Room II 6 in the N Quarter and that from Room 9 of Panagia House II. To the second belong the bases from the LH IIIC layer on the processional road to the Cult Centre, the square limestone base in the courtyard of the Tsountas' House, the similar base from Room 3 at Plakes and the two large shapeless bases in Room I 2 of the N Quarter. The base in Panagia House II was given a special treatment: being placed so near the hearth that it had been scorched by the flames, it was turned around and covered with a protective layer of stucco.

The column shafts themselves and their capitals were obviously wooden and have left very few traces in the form of burnt or decayed matter.

Only a few houses and certainly none of the basements had hearths or built fireplaces of any kind. On the other hand, earlier excavations reaching down to bedrock have left little such evidence, so it is possible that some may have been obliterated by the excavators. Be that as it may, only five such fixtures have been discovered: a rectangular hearth (or altar) in the SW Quarter (Room B1) measuring 1.10 × 1.60m, built of poros stone and plesia clay, which retained a few traces of fire; Panagia House I had in Room 5 a central round or oval hearth, 0.71m across, made of layers of earth coated with clay; in Room 9 of House II there was a rectangular hearth of 1 × 1.71m, made of clay and flanked by two columns; another square clay hearth, 0.80 × 1.10m and 9cm high, was built in the centre of the main room in Tsountas' House; finally, a large fireplace with five thick logs still *in situ* on it was found at the NE corner of Room 3 in the West House, going through the wall into the adjacent corridor. This was obviously no simple hearth but a home industry installation. In this context the heating provision for one of the oil pithoi in the basement of the House of the Oil Merchant may also be mentioned. So, out of eleven houses preserved at ground floor level only four had fixed hearths. The rest must have used portable braziers.

Some houses had rooms with benches or platforms. One such room is B1 in the SW Quarter, which had a 0.40m wide and 0.45m high bench running along its N and E walls. Panagia House II, Room 21, had along its W side a 1.69m long, 0.83m wide and 0.5m high bench of rubble set in clay. Similar benches were found in Room 32 of Panagia House III and in the partially excavated Room 25. The basement Room 1 in the House of Sphinxes had a 0.64m wide and 0.40m high bench built of small stones and clay along its N side. Finally, Room 28 in Panagia House III and Room 1 of Plakes House were provided with small low platforms, probably stands for vessels and the like.

Stairs and stairways were built either of stone and have survived, at least partially, or of wood, in which case they have disappeared, leaving behind burnt matter and ashes. In the SW corner of House M there is a flight of six well-cut poros steps, 1.30m wide, with 0.26m deep treads and 0.16m high risers. A similar staircase, of which only three bottom steps remain, led from the N side of the Artisans' Quarter upstairs. The steps, also of poros, were 0.16m high and 0.41m deep. The stairs leading from the courts of the House of Columns and of Tsountas' House down to their respective basements, those between the blocks of houses in the SW Quarter, the stairway connecting the House at Plakes with the road below it and that going up between the House of Sphinxes and the House of the Oil Merchant to the West House had steps made of unworked limestone slabs of irregular shape and size. Wooden stairs destroyed by fire have left traces in the Granary and the NE corner of the House of Columns. To these should be added the ladders used, no doubt, to reach the otherwise inaccessible basements. In the West and Central rooms of the South House many thin light limestone blocks were found (similar to ones found in the Palace) which were interpreted as the remains of a conjectured staircase to an upper floor no longer preserved.

In the houses of the N Quarter, of Petsas, at Plakes and in

the House of the Tripod Tomb fragments of terracotta pan and cover tiles were found which, together with their counterparts found at many other Mycenaean sites (Tiryns, Midea, Berbati, Thebes, Gla etc.) are a strong indication that Mycenaean buildings had sloping roofs.

They had also terracotta chimney pipes, such as those found at Pylos: two come from Panagia Houses I and III, which had fixed hearths, and one more from the House of Columns, which had not. This shows, no doubt, that portable heaters, which would have to be used there, also needed flues.

Mycenaean houses were efficiently drained. In the SW Quarter the stairways between the house blocks have drains built beneath them or gutters alongside, leading to the foot of the fortification wall, without visible outlets other than the joints between the Cyclopean boulders. A similar construction, 0.60m wide, lay along the stairway at Plakes. In the West House a channel, of which the stone-built walls were coated with plesia clay, ran underneath the paved court and continued through the vestibule and the main room (the 'Megaron') till it joined a gutter between this house and the House of the Oil Merchant. A partly rock cut and partly stone-built open conduit ran N-S through Rooms 3-5 of the House of Sphinxes. In the Panagia group an open drain 0.40m wide and 0.40-0.50m deep, joined by two short sections coming from Houses I and II, was built in the space between the two houses. Another one led from the E side of House I into the courtyard outside. A channel, starting from the space between the South House and the Ramp House proceeded westwards to the wall through the N hall of the South House. From House M the outflow went from the triangular courtyard through two drain holes towards the fortification wall to the N. A similar conduit started from the drain hole in the courtyard of the Artisans' Quarter and ran southwards to the wall. Another, more complicated one, started from the court of the House of Columns, proceeded northwards underneath the 'Megaron' and turned E in the space between the house and the fortification wall. House Delta had a drain running E-W under the veranda of the house to the courtyard in front of it. Finally, the area of the N Quarter is drained by three different systems: one, which starts outside Room I 1 and proceeds westwards along the S wall of House N down to the terrace below the building, ending in the inner court of the Lion Gate; another, which begins in the passage between Houses N and II, runs west and then north through Room II 1 and Space II 3 to the N Citadel wall; and a third short drain served Room I 3 and Space II 7, ending up against the curve of the Citadel wall. One more covered drain ran across the House of the Tripod Tomb towards the Kokoretsa ravine.

With the exception of the open gutters and conduits in the SW Quarter, the drains in the Plakes House, the Sphinxes and the Panagia Houses were built of flattish stones within the fill of the houses or the terraces on which they stood. They were on an average 0.30-0.50m wide, 0.40-1.30m deep and had bedrock for a floor. Their walls were carefully coated with clay, mostly plesia, which sealed effectively the joints between the stones. They were covered with large unworked boulders thickly plastered with an isolating mixture of gritty clay. This plaster proved so effective that, wherever preserved, it kept the inside of the drain empty except for a little sediment on the bottom.

Houses at Mycenae (as elsewhere) had the stucco on their walls painted, monochrome or, more often than not, decorated with frescoes. Plaster, painted or not, is notoriously friable and likely to disintegrate and perish, which is why the *argumentum ex silentio* (it was not found, therefore it did not exist) hardly applies. Be that as it may, more than a dozen houses, for the most part recently excavated (the House of the High Priest, the LH IIIC layer in the Hellenistic Tower area, the Artisans' Quarter, the Plakes House, the West House, the Oil Merchant, Sphinxes and Shields Houses, the Panagia Houses, Tsountas' House and the houses destroyed by the construction of the Treasury of Atreus) had been decorated with pictorial compositions, some of outstanding

quality. Another fourteen or so houses (House M, House Delta, Petsas' House, the House of the Tripod Tomb and the houses in the SW Quarter) yielded fragments of monochrome plaster. This material confirms the evidence from other Mycenaean sites, namely that fresco decoration was a common practice in Mycenaean architecture, regardless of the type and importance of the building and the use of the rooms.

BUILDING METHODS AND MATERIALS

Some houses had walls founded in shallow trenches dug into bedrock and levelled with a layer of rubble, on which the foundation course of the stone wall was laid. Such trenches were used at the House of Shields and the House of Sphinxes, which was built in a deep cut into the hillside. The trench at this point was 1m wide and 0.30m deep, except for Rooms 3-5, whose walls were bedded straight on the surface of the bedrock. In the Panagia Houses bedrock was left projecting to form a socle for the wall. Where the rock was too hard to be cut, as in the NW Quarter and at places in the House of the Oil Merchant, the wall socle rested straight on it or on a layer of rubble and clay, 0.20-0.30m wider than the wall. In the W wall of Room I 1 this layer had slipped away, dragging down part of the socle and of the wall itself. In the Cyclopean Terrace Building the W wall and the central cross-wall, too heavy to need a foundation, rested on the surface soil. The other buildings (Houses in the SW Quarter, the Houses of Columns and at Plakes, the West House, the House of the Oil Merchant, the Granary, the Ramp House, Tsountas' House, the House of Lead and the House of the Tripod Tomb) were built on artificial terraces, their stone walls resting straight on the terrace fill, which in the House of Columns had a double coating of two kinds of isolating clay overlaid with lime plaster.

Wall socles, which were meant to protect the walls from ground moisture, were built of unworked stones of all sizes bedded in clay (fig. 10). Their height varies from one or two courses as in the E wall of the South House Annex to 2.37m, that is practically to ceiling level, in the House of Sphinxes. On an average they reach 1.13 to 1.34m but they differ not only from house to house but, in some buildings, from wall to wall. The stone socle supported the upper part of the wall, built of crude mudbrick. This had mostly collapsed or had been dissolved by the rains into shapeless mud but at places parts of brick walls had been preserved, as for instance in the SW Quarter, in Room I of the House at Plakes, the West House and in the Houses of the High Priest, of Shields, of Sphinxes, of the Oil Merchant, the Panagia group and Petsas' House. The best such remains, amounting almost to entire walls, were those exposed to the fire which had destroyed the buildings, baking the bricks hard, as happened in the South House Annex (fig. 12).

Bricks were moulded of coarse clay mixed with pebbles, chaff and potsherds and were obviously produced for each building *ad hoc*, as shown by their size which varies from one house to another and sometimes from wall to wall in the same building. An example from Panagia House III is 0.31m long, as preserved 0.25m wide and 0.08m thick. Another fragmentary one from the basement of the Oil Merchant measures 0.40×0.25×0.15m. The complete bricks from the E wall of Room 1 of the South House Annex are 0.39-0.40m long, 0.23m wide and 0.07-0.09m thick. Those of walls of Rooms 9 and 10 are 0.53-0.55m long, 0.40-0.44m wide and 0.07-0.09m thick. They are bedded in clay mortar 0.03-0.05m thick, which equalized the courses of bricks of irregular thickness. The mortar in the vertical joints rarely exceeds 0.01-0.02m.

The thickness of the walls differs, too. The stone socles are usually, but not everywhere, a little wider than the mudbrick superstructure. Generally speaking, walls in the Panagia Houses are 0.45-0.55m thick, in House M 0.65m, in the House of the High Priest 0.80-1.20m for the stone socle and 0.55m for the mudbrick, in the House of Sphinxes 0.70-0.80m and in Petsas' House 1.20-1.40m.

The walls were held together by a framework of horizontal and vertical wooden beams bedded in the masonry flush with its surface and bonded by cross-ties (chases) going through the wall from face to face. As a rule this system started at the level of the stone socle (fig. 11), bonding it to the mudbrick above, but there are some instances (the rooms along the corridor in the West House, the Houses of Shields and of the Oil Merchant) where it is confined to the mudbrick alone. Horizontal beams begin at various heights above the floor: in the House of Shields at 0.80m, in the House of Sphinxes at 1.40m, and in Rooms II 1 and II 2 at the N Quarter, where the floor slopes strongly from N to S, at 0.75-1.50m. Vertical beams, 0.15 by 0.20m were inserted some 0.05m into the thickness of the wall, being sometimes wedged into place with large potsherds or flat stones. In the House of the High Priest they were placed every 1.64m and in Room II 2 at the N Quarter every 0.85m. The principle was the same but it was applied differently from house to house.

After having been built and bonded together with the beams of the framework, walls were faced with a coat of plaster of varying thickness, depending on the irregularities of their surface. In basements and lesser apartments they were coated with mud or clay plaster, mostly plesia or white clay mixed with chaff and more or less carefully applied (fig. 11). But the walls in the Artisans' Quarter, the House of Columns, Room 2 in the House of the Oil Merchant, the 'megaron' in Tsountas' House and the House at Plakes had a lime plaster facing which, at Plakes, was coloured. The same applies, of course, to all the walls decorated with frescoes.

Thresholds vary in materials and construction. In the House of Columns they had used conglomerate blocks sawn into shape with rough undersides and smooth polished surfaces, the same as in the Palace. The doors of Room 4 in the West House and in Rooms 8 at Panagia House II and 33 in House III had thresholds made of three irregular stone slabs bedded and originally covered with clay. In Panagia House II, Room 21 and in House I of the N Quarter, thresholds were made of rubble coated with plesia clay. The West House, the Houses of the Oil Merchant, Sphinxes, Tsountas' House and the Granary had wooden thresholds. Rooms 29-30 in Panagia House III and the House at Plakes had no thresholds at all.

Most doorways were formed by the ends of the walls which may or may not be plastered with clay, as they were, e.g., in Room 3 of the House of the Oil Merchant. Some had additional wooden doorjambs, either reaching down to the threshold (Oil Merchant Room 7, West House, Houses of the North Quarter) or resting on bases of conglomerate (House of Columns), poros (Tsountas' House) or limestone slabs (House of Sphinxes). Several poros bases, carefully sawn into cubes and provided with square dowel holes, were found lying about in the area of the N Quarter, having obviously been brought to light by previous excavators.

Generally speaking, floors were laid according to the importance and the employment of the room to which they belonged. The simplest way was to level the bedrock and leave it at that, as in Room 3 of the House of Shields. More often the rock or the stone fill on which houses were built was covered with earth packed hard (Rooms 7 and 8 in the House of the Oil Merchant, the House of Sphinxes, the House of Lead, Petsas' House and the less important rooms of the Panagia group). The usual practice, however, was to cover the stone and earth underpinning with a layer of white clay mixed with gravel, thus creating an even, hard and moisture-proof surface. This sort of floor was applied to most rooms in the West House, the House of the Oil Merchant, the House of Sphinxes, the House of Shields, House M (Rooms M 1 and M 4), House Beta in the NE Extension, where the mixture included plenty of potsherds, the House of Columns, House Gamma, the Ramp House, the South House, a number of rooms in the Panagia Houses, the House of the Tripod Tomb and in Rooms II 1, II 2, II 4, II 5 of the N Quarter. A more sophisticated and much less frequent kind of floor, in which the coating is of lime plaster, was found in House M (Rooms M 2, M 3), the adjacent Room Lambda 11, in the main room

of Tsountas' House, at places in the SW Quarter, in the House at Plakes and, apparently, in the upper floors of the Panagia Houses. Finally, the later floor of the House Beta in the NE Extension and the court in front of the West House were paved with stone slabs.

With very few exceptions houses at Mycenae were built on terraced levels because of the sloping ground in and around the Citadel. They combined the function of living quarters with that of work and storage space, the former being located on the upper level while the latter were relegated to the basements. In most buildings the distinction between residential and service rooms is clear. Such is the case with House M, the House of Columns, the House of the High Priest, Room B 1 in the SW Quarter which was placed on the top of the basements below, the House at Plakes, the West House and the House of the Tripod Tomb, where the residential wing was at the same level as the service rooms, the

House of the Oil Merchant, the Granary, the South House and Tsountas' House. In the Panagia group it is not always easy to distinguish between residential and service rooms and the Ramp House does not seem to have had any of the latter. The Artisans' Quarter, the West House, the House of Shields, of Sphinxes and Petsas' Houses were also used for industrial purposes. The remains of House Alpha in the NE Extension, Houses Gamma and Delta, the House of the Warrior Vase, the Granary, the Cyclopean Terrace Building and practically the entire N and SW Quarters consist of basements used only for storage, while Room Gamma 3 in the SW Quarter served for cooking. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the use of space in houses of that time may not have been as specifically defined as it was in later periods and that rooms may have been and, indeed, were most probably used in more ways than one.

S.E.I.

THE CHAMBER TOMBS

One of the major aims of the Mycenae Survey was to record the locations of the many chamber tombs (fig. 2) which have been excavated in the area over the last 100 years, and therefore do not appear on Steffen's map made during winter 1881-82. The known chamber tombs at Mycenae, both excavated and unexcavated, now number over 250, with certainly more still undetected. They appear in 27 multi-tomb cemeteries which are located among the many hills surrounding the Citadel. They do not appear, however, within the area immediately adjacent to the Citadel, which apparently contained the settlement exclusively. Exceptions to this are the single chamber tomb excavated by Papadimitriou immediately to the South of Grave Circle B (*Praktika* 1952, 465-470; 1953, 207-209) and a dromos cutting found under the House of Shields (Tournavitou 1995, 20).

A primary factor for the location of the chamber tombs seems to have been geological, since their construction required the presence of a rock ledge or outcrop under which the chambers were carved. The preferred rock type seems to have been conglomerate (fig. 22), into which most of the tombs were cut, especially the largest and best preserved examples, but limestone and poros were also utilized. In only a few cases were the tombs cut simply into the hard earth, and those tend to leave little if any trace of their existence. One of the most important results of the Survey's investigation of the chamber tomb cemeteries is that the long existing belief that each cemetery belonged to an individual settlement, first proposed by Tsountas (*Ephemeris* 1888, 123-124; Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 131), and upheld by Wace throughout his work (e.g. *BSA* 51, 120), must be abandoned since there is simply no evidence for so many distinct areas of settlement. It is much more likely that the existence of different cemeteries reflects the tribal or family divisions of the community and

their individual land holdings. In addition, we have discovered that in some cases there may be a relationship between the location of some of the cemeteries and the utilized natural resources, such as rock quarries and clay beds. We have also seen that there is certainly a relationship between the location of the cemeteries and the Mycenaean roads, which was first recognized by Tsountas (*Ephemeris* 1888, 123).

As a result of the Survey's investigation of the chamber tomb cemeteries, many of the tombs excavated by Tsountas have been identified, at least by cemetery and in some cases by individual tomb number (Shelton 1993). Those tombs that have not been positively identified, but were certainly excavated by Tsountas, appear on the cemetery diagrams labelled with letters. It was hoped that the identification of Tsountas' tombs would lead to a better understanding of them, which it has in some respects, but dating the tombs is still problematic. Tsountas alone excavated at least 103 tombs, from which only a small number of whole vases were kept and no sherd material at all (*Ephemeris* 1888, 121-180; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 53-291). Many more tombs, both from previously known cemeteries and new ones, have been excavated during the last 20 years by the Greek Archaeological Service, but none have been fully published. In addition, there is still a large number of tombs, including entire cemeteries, which remain unexcavated, and some have been illegally opened and cleared of remains. In spite of these problems, an attempt at dating has been made for those cemeteries which have been published in some way. A range of dates for the apparent use of the cemeteries will be presented based on those artifacts which were recovered, but these dates should be in no way considered definitive. They are rather a probable reconstruction of the currently available information which is certainly subject to change.

K.S.

THE CEMETERIES (fig. 23)

PANAGIA (E3:13, E4:04), on the W slope of the Panagia ridge below the Panagia church, extending from the area of the House of Lead to the Panagia tholos tomb. It consists of at least ten tombs excavated by Tsountas (15, 26-29, 30-32, 88, 89) (*Ephemeris* 1888, 142, 144-148; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 75-79, 89-108, 243-253), one chamber tomb, one failed chamber tomb consisting only of a dromos and one cist tomb excavated by Mylonas (*Praktika* 1972, 115-116), and to date, four unexcavated tombs. The tombs in the Panagia cemetery are primarily of medium to large size with well-cut square to rectangular chambers, and many have niches

and/or benches. This cemetery began to be used at least as early as LH IIA and some tombs indicate a long history of use, perhaps into LH IIIC. (See also Shelton 2000.)

EPANO PIGADI/FOURNODIASOLO, on the tongue of land extending from just N of the Epáno Pigadi to the area of the Fournodiaselo to the east of Pera Sfalakhtra hill. It contains twelve to fourteen tombs excavated by Tsountas (46-54, 90-92, and probably 96 and 100) (*Ephemeris* 1888, 151-158; 1891, 1-44; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 119-132, 165-168, 254-263, 273, 276-278), two excavated by Filadelfefs (1 and 2) (*Deltion* 5,

1919, para. 34-35), and at least nine unexcavated tombs. These tombs may actually be part of two different cemeteries: those oriented to the N and NW making up one group, and the remainder oriented to the SW possibly forming a second cemetery. In addition, the latter group should probably be seen in combination with the Bouzioti cemetery (see below), since no topographical division exists. The tombs are mostly of medium to large size with square to rectangular chambers. A few however are small. Some of the larger examples contained niches and benches, one had a second chamber behind the first, and three of these tombs had painted doorways. The cemetery seems to have begun in LH II and continued in use until at least LH IIIB (*Deltion* 5, 1919, para. 34-35 and fig. 3).

BOUZIOTI (Kalkani North Bank) (E3:03), on the S slope of the Fournodiaselo below Pera Sfalakhtra hill and opposite the Kalkani hill, in the area of the Spilia tou Bouzioti. It consists of two tombs excavated by Tsountas (97 and 98) (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 273-275), six excavated by Wace (520-524 and 531) (Wace 1932, 21-45), one excavated by Verdelis (I) (*Praktika* 1963, 111) and the Spilia itself which was a chamber emptied prior to the time of Tsountas. The tombs are of small to medium size with generally square to rectangular chambers. The cemetery may have begun in LH II, and was certainly in use during LH IIIA and IIIB. As mentioned above, these tombs may be part of a larger cemetery along the southern part of the Fournodiaselo.

KALKANI SOUTH BANK (E3:04) (fig. 23), on the NE slope of the Kalkani hill. The cemetery consists of fifteen tombs excavated by Wace (513-519, 525-530, 532 and 533) (Wace 1932, 45-120), and probably a few still unexcavated. The tombs are generally of medium size with a variety of chamber shapes, including oval, semi-circular and rectangular. There were not many chamber features present except for two tombs with benches, one of which also had a small second chamber behind the first. This tomb, 518, was constructed during LH I, and at present is the only example at Mycenae which can be securely dated to this period. This cemetery continued to be used throughout all Mycenaean periods until LH IIIC Late, presenting a full series of tomb deposits. It may be significant that the cemetery can be divided by the apparent dates of construction, with the earlier tombs (LH I and II) to the west, and the later (LH III) to the east.

AGHIOS GEORGIOS (E3:14), on the W slope of the Panagia ridge at its southern end, to the north of the Aghios Georgios church and the modern cemetery. It contained eight or nine tombs excavated by Tsountas mostly in 1892 or 1893 (for which his notebooks are missing) and tomb 81, excavated in 1895 (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 38, 224-226). These tombs are probably to be equated with numbers 62-69 from 1893 (*Praktika* 1893, 8), but could also be identified with tombs 55-61 from 1892. They are all of medium to large size with extremely fine cut rectangular chambers. Many have benches of worked stone. 81 is remarkable in that both the doorway and the chamber walls were painted. No matter with which tombs they are to be equated, there is some evidence to indicate that this cemetery was used early in LH II and continued in use through much of LH III.

3rd KILOMETRE (E4:14) (fig. 24), on the E slope of the Panagia ridge to the S of the Treasury of Atreus. This cemetery has six tombs, three excavated by Tsountas (101-103) (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 278-291), and three by Wace (502, 504 and 505) (Wace 1932, 3-18). The tombs have generally rectangular chambers of medium to large size, and the cemetery appears to have been in use from LH II through LH IIIC Late.

ALEPOTRYPA (F3:01), to the W of the Kato Pigadi on the SE slope of the Kalkani hill, and on the slope directly opposite,

to the S of the Kato Pigadi and its rema⁹⁰. It consists of fourteen tombs excavated by Tsountas (70, 78, 79, 82-87 and five tombs excavated in 1892 or 1893) (*Praktika* 1893, 9; *Ephemeris* 1896, 1-22; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 201-204, 215-222 and 231-243), the Aspria tomb excavated by the Archaeological Service (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99) and at least five tombs as yet unexcavated. They are generally of medium to large size with chambers of varying shapes, including three round. Several of the tombs had niches, and one had a bench. The rock in this area is a poor quality conglomerate that crumbles easily, therefore many of the tombs have collapsed, and some appear to have disappeared entirely. This cemetery began to be utilized at least as early as LH IIB (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99) and continued in use until LH IIIC, the period to which also dates the secondary use of the painted stele from tomb 70.

KALKANI SOUTH WEST (E3:07), on the SW slope of Kalkani, on either side of the track from the village of Mycenae to Kalkani. The cemetery is made up of four tombs, one excavated by Filadelfefs (3) (*Deltion* 5, 1919, 35) and three excavated by Verdelis (A, B, and C) (*Praktika* 1962, 67-78). They are all rather small tombs and tomb B is only a dromos. The earliest tomb of the cemetery appears to have been constructed in LH IIIA1 and another tomb has a final burial dating to IIIC Middle, giving a date range exclusively in LH III.

KATO FOURNOS (D3:05), on the slope to the N and NW of the Kato Fournos tholos tomb, and to the S of the Elies rema. It contains ten tombs excavated by Tsountas (22-25, 42-45) and two from 1892 or 1893 (*Ephemeris* 1888, 142-144, 150-151; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 82-88, 115-119), and at least two unexcavated tombs. The chambers are all rectangular of medium to large size, and several have niches. In most of the tombs signs of burning or fumigation were found, which suggests a long history of use. The cemetery seems to begin in LH II and may perhaps extend into IIIB.

ASPROKHOMA/AGRIOSYKIA (C4:01), on the lower slope to the E of the Asprokhoma rema and to the N of the Agriosykia rema. The cemetery consists of seven tombs excavated by Tsountas (1, 5, 40, 41 and 93-95) (*Ephemeris* 1888, 136-138, 150; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 53-54, 59-61, 113-115, 266-273). Tsountas included four more of his tombs (2-4 and 39) in this cemetery, but as can be seen, topographically they belong to the next cemetery, Asprokhoma East (see below). The tombs in the Agriosykia cemetery are generally of small to medium size with square chambers, one of which has also a second chamber behind the first. This cemetery may have begun to be used sometime during LH II, but was certainly utilized during IIIA1 and continued through IIIB.

ASPROKHOMA EAST (B4:03), on the upper slope to the E of the Asprokhoma rema. It consists of eleven tombs excavated by Tsountas (2-4, 6-12 and 39) (*Ephemeris* 1888, 136-142; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 54-58, 61-74, 113), and two excavated by E. Palaiologou (VII and VIII). The tombs are of small to medium size with square to rectangular chambers. One tomb consisted of two chambers and another had both steps in its dromos and a chamber bench. This cemetery appears to have begun at least as early as LH IIA and there is evidence from one tomb for utilization as late as LH IIIC Middle.

ASPROKHOMA WEST (B3:03), in the upper bank to the W of the Asprokhoma rema. It contains five tombs excavated by Tsountas (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 80-82), and six tombs excavated by E. Palaiologou (I-VI). They are all small tombs

90. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, pl. XIV. On the map, these tombs are marked incorrectly on the south slope of Kalkani.

without features, but some have been said to have contained a lot of material, although probably dating only to LH III.

ASPROKHOMA SOUTH WEST (C3:08), on the lower slopes to the W of the Asprokhoma rema. The cemetery contains two small tombs excavated by Tsountas (13 and 14) for which there is no information as to what, if anything, was found in them (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 75).

KOUTSOUMBELA (C3:04), on the E slope of the hill, above the W bank of the rema. The cemetery consists of four tombs excavated by E. Palaiologou (1-4) and several unexcavated.

LOUPOUNO (B3:01), on the lower NE slope of Batsourorachi, to the W of a southern spur of the Souleimani rema. It contains eight tombs excavated by E. Palaiologou (I-VIII), which contained many important finds such as Minoan seals (Palaiologou in Morris 1995, 195-9⁹¹).

BATSOURORACHI (B2:01), on the W side of the N slope of the hill, at the beginning of a small rema. There are three tombs excavated by E. Palaiologou (1-3), which again contained important and wealthy finds, and possibly other tombs still unexcavated.

PALEOMANDRI (C2:01), on the lower SW slope of Batsourorachi. At present there is a single tomb excavated by Verdelis (D) (*Praktika* 1962, 78-81) which dates to the LH IIIA1 and IIIA2 periods.

SOULEIMANI (B4:14), to the NE of Asprokhoma on the lower slopes of Profitis Ilias, between two remata and to the S of the southern one. The cemetery contains nine tombs excavated by Tsountas (35-38, two from 1892 or 1893 and three probably unnumbered tombs) (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 111-113), eleven excavated by Z. Aslamatzidou (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99), and several unexcavated tombs. They are all small with rectangular chambers, and two have side chambers. The cemetery began to be utilized in LH IIA (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99) and seems to have continued in use into LH IIIC.

VYTHISMA NORTH (A4:01), on the N side of the Vythisma rema/valley head. There is at present only a single unexcavated tomb.

VYTHISMA SOUTH (A3:01), on the N slope to the S of the Vythisma rema/valley. There are four tombs cut into the poros rock of the hillside, which were excavated by E. Palaiologou (1-4), and one just above the rema bank, NW of the others, which has been completely ruined by ploughing.

BOLIARI (Outside N), on the NW slope to the N of the Souleimani hill and to the W of Marta⁹². The cemetery contains one tomb excavated by Verdelis (*Deltion* 19B, 1964, 118-121) and at least two still unexcavated. The small rectangular tomb may have been constructed in LH IIIA2, but was certainly used during LH IIIB.

KAPSALA NORTH/VLAKHOSTRATA (B5:01), on the lower slope of Profitis Ilias, to the E of the Souleimani cemetery and the modern road to Stefani. It consists of two tombs excavated by Mylonas (1 and 2) (*Praktika* 1972, 114) and seven tombs excavated by Aravantinos (I-VII). They are generally small with square to rectangular chambers. The only datable finds

that have been published (*Praktika* 1972, 114) give a utilization date of LH IIIB for the cemetery.

KAPSALA SOUTH (B4:18), on the lower slope of Profitis Ilias known as Kapsala, to the E of Asprokhoma and to the S of Souleimani. There is a single small tomb excavated by Tsountas (cemetery X) for which there is no information (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 38), and at least one tomb still unexcavated.

PALEOGALARO WEST (C5:08), on the lower SW slope of Profitis Ilias, in the area known as Paleogalaro. The cemetery consisted of four tombs, two excavated by Tsountas (33 and 34) (*Ephemeris* 1888, 148-150; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 109-111), and two left unexcavated. Only tomb 33 is still visible. It is large with a bench in its chamber, and seems to have been constructed sometime during LH II and to have continued in use into LH III.

PALEOGALARO EAST (C5:04), on the lower SW slope of Profitis Ilias, to the E of the previous cemetery and to the W of the modern road to Stefani. The cemetery comprises three tombs excavated by Mylonas (1-3, only tomb 2 had not been robbed) (*Praktika* 1972, 115), and at least three more tombs probably unexcavated. The tombs are cut into the poros rock of the hillside and are rather small. A single vase was recovered from tomb 2 giving a date of LH IIIB for the final burial.

GORTSOULIA (C7:01) (fig. 25), on the middle to lower S slope of Profitis Ilias, to the W of a rema and the Gortsoulia hill. It contains four tombs excavated by Mylonas (1-4) (*Praktika* 1964, 68), and at least two unexcavated tombs. The tombs were small, and two had niches in their dromos. The cemetery appears to have first been utilized during LH IIIA and the last burials perhaps belong to LH IIIC Middle.

SARRA (F4:20, G4:07, G4:11, G5:09), in several somewhat widespread areas on the lower W slope of Sarra, especially in the area known as Gouves. Several tombs as yet unexcavated have been identified, as well as a dromos cutting, perhaps one of those seen by Tsountas (*Ephemeris* 1888, 123). It is still unclear how many different cemeteries they represent, and there is no indication of date.

Other areas which contain possible unexcavated chamber tombs are: LOWER PALAEOGALARO (C4:16), S of the Plakes rema and below a rock scarp; UPPER KAPSALA (B5:02), to the E of Vlakhostrata on the middle slope of Profitis Ilias; BATSOURORACHI SW (C2:02), in the rock outcrop on lower SW slope of Batsourorachi; PEZOULIA (D3:09), to the NW of the settlement area NW of the Citadel; SFALAKHTRA (E2:01), on the S slope of the hill; PLESIA REMA (J5:03), to the W of the ancient crossing; and PRIFTIANI/GOURMADES (H3:02), on the S slope of the hill.

There remains one further chamber tomb cemetery, completely unexcavated, whose relationship to Mycenae is still not clear. These tombs, cut into a large rock outcrop, are located in the general area of PLESIA (H5:09), to the E of the village of Monastiraki. Plesia was the source for the clay used extensively in the buildings at Mycenae, and it is hard to imagine that the area would not be under direct control of the Citadel, even though it lies far to the S, in the supposed realm of the settlement at Monastiraki. Therefore, it is not possible at this time to know whether or not this cemetery belonged to Mycenae itself, or to a satellite settlement, presumably controlled from the centre.

It should also be mentioned that at least two chamber tomb cemeteries existed for the settlement at Monastiraki: on the S slope of the hill where the modern village is located, and on the S slope of the Lesser Profitis Ilias hill, near the modern village cemetery (*Deltion* 5, 1919, 35-38; *Ephemeris* 1952, 19-30).

The settlement at Fikhtia also seems to have had at least three chamber tomb cemeteries: one in the general area of the Aghios Georgios church, well to the W of the modern

91. Where the position is wrongly given as SW of the Citadel.

92. Not on the Pera Sfalakhtra hill as stated by Verdelis. Syriopoulos 1995, III, 1195 suggests that the tomb included LH IIIC on the basis of Verdelis' statement (*Deltion* 19B, 1964, 118-121) so that all periods were represented.

village (*BCH* 55, 1931, 476); another at some distance to the SE from the first; and the third in the area to the N of the modern village, known as Plevra. In addition, a group of finds in the British Museum, consisting of four vases (BM A 1053-6), seal stones and beads of glass and stone⁹³, are said to have come from a tomb at Fikhtia early in this century; the exact location is not recorded.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from this examination of the chamber tombs is that during the LH II period at Mycenae the tombs and cemeteries were much more numerous and widespread than previously thought. The cemeteries that were established at least this early were located not only around the central area of Citadel and settlement, such as along both sides of the Panagia ridge and at Kalkani, but also at a distance to the N, at Asprokhoma and Souleimani, and to the S at Alepotrypa. It has also become apparent that the belief that earlier tombs were smaller and of a lesser technical quality than those constructed later (LH III), is in most cases untrue, since the majority of the finely built medium to large tombs, quite often with special chamber features (second chambers, benches, niches) seem to have been constructed during LH II. The tombs which appear to have been constructed and used only during LH III, on the other hand, are generally smaller and more simply constructed⁹⁴.

As mentioned above, it was repeatedly noticed during the survey that there must be a relationship between the location of some of the chamber tomb cemeteries and the areas containing utilized natural resources. For example, some cemeteries which were found in close proximity to rock quarries (conglomerate, limestone, and poros) were Vythis-

ma South, Batsourorachi, Asprokhoma, Gortsoulia, Paleogalaro East and possibly Kapsala North (Vlakhostrata). The same holds true for clay sources, such as at Gortsoulia, which is in the area of the Longaki clay beds, some of the Sarra tombs, and of course at Plesia. It should also be noted that cemeteries occur in areas with probable water sources: at Gortsoulia, Agriosykia, and surrounding both the Epano and Kato Pigadia.

Based on the currently available evidence, there appear to have been only a few chamber tomb cemeteries which were used only during LH III and, interestingly, many of them are the same cemeteries which are located near natural resources, such as at Vythisma South, Paleogalaro East, Gortsoulia, Asprokhoma West, and possibly also Kapsala North (Vlakhostrata) and Batsourorachi. It would be interesting to see if future research in the Plesia area supports this point. Other cemeteries which seem to date only to LH III are at Kalkani Southwest, Paleomandri and Boliari. The latter two are at present only single tombs, and further excavation could of course change the dating. One further observation resulting from this analysis concerns the use of chamber tombs during the LH IIIC period. Other than the fact that burials of this period occur in cemeteries fairly widespread in the N, central and S areas, the majority are located among the cemeteries which were long established and used during LH II and III: Panagia, 3rd km (IIIC Late), Asprokhoma East (IIIC Middle), Souleimani, Alepotrypa and Kalkani South Bank (IIIC Late). Certainly, no new cemeteries were established at this time. This seems to support the argument for continuity of the settlement at Mycenae during LH IIIC, and not simply reuse of the tombs.

K.S.

93. Our thanks to Lesley Fitton and the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for this information and for arranging for us to see the material. There is no additional information in the archives. It is, of course, not certain that the group forms a unit; the stone seals, except BMC 63 (*CMS* 205), seem intrusive (if not «touched up») but some of the glass ornaments and the steatite beads could well be residual from earlier burials of late LH II.

94. This might relate to the general fall off in the quality of grave goods in LH III.

CATALOGUE BY MAP/SQUARE

MAP 1: A0-C1

SQUARE B1

B1:01 – Hell?

Ekkliissoules: structure

Multi-room structure considered by excavator to be burial building.

Partially cleared by E. Palaiologou in 1993.

B1:02 – ?

Ancient foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

SQUARE C0

C0:01 – ?

Terrace wall

Area not specifically visited.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE C1

C1:01 – Presumably PM

Ancient grave

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

C1:02 – ?

Foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

MAP 2: A2-C3

SQUARE A3

A3:01 – Myc

Vythisma S ChT cemetery

Four ChTs: One excavated with three adjacent illegally opened and an isolated tomb ca 80m NW, now completely ruined.

One excavated by E. Palaiologou in 1980; three, apparently illegally opened, excavated by E. Palaiologou in 1995 with important finds. The isolated tomb was visited with the chief guard following report; a whole stirrup jar and fragmentary bones indicated the original position.

A3:02 – Myc

Vythisma quarry

Quarry for poros slabs revealed by illegal trenching (in search of chamber tombs?); cuttings deep below surface.

Visited with chief guard following report.

A3:03 – ?

Walling

Three metre stretch of ancient walling above Vythisma/Souleimani remata junction.

Noted by JL.

SQUARE B2

B2:01 – Myc

Batsourorachi ChT cemetery

Group of three ChTs on NW slope of ridge at head of small rema, one on W and two on E; traces of other local interference.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou in 1989; important finds presented at postgraduate seminar in London.

B2:02 – Myc

Quarry (fig. 21)

W slope of Batsourorachi.

Named by Steffen.

B2 – ?

Tomb?/Unusual walling

On W side of Batsourorachi, with other unusual rock features adjacent; short stretch of walling in rock niche.

Recorded by JL.

SQUARE B3

B3:01 – Myc

Loupouno ChT cemetery

Group of eight ChTs lying N of Asprokhoma saddle and further robbed tomb on opposite bank to E. Tomb VII is LH IIB-III A2.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou in 1984 and 1989; Palaiologou in Morris 1995, 195-9 where the cemetery is wrongly described as SW of the Citadel.

B3:02 – LG-Hell

Temple of Enyalios (Ares, fig. 27)

Temple precinct with a small temple building, auxiliary building with stoa and three altars.

Temple: one room structure oriented N-S, with main entrance on the S (a 2m opening with poros slabs and two small flanking poros columns); another entrance at the centre of the E wall; in centre of temple was a base set into a cutting in the bedrock presumed to be for the cult statue.

Altar Gamma: about 5m to S of temple fragments remain of an altar constructed of poros slabs placed on a N-S axis facing East.

Auxiliary building: L shaped, consisting of a square corner room with two long sections on either side; in the corner room were found (1965) two fragmentary dedications – a shield of Pyrrhus (3rd century BC) and a helmet with the inscription «to Enyalios»; stoa on the E (12.4×3m) open on the W and fronted with the remains of five columns on square plinths; on N side two rooms (one of similar dimensions to stoa); floor was covered with poros slabs.

Altars A and B: in front of the E section of the building were the remains of two altars of similar alignment to altar Gamma; the earlier dates to the end of the Geometric – beginning of the Archaic period; the later was built of poros slabs; many bones were found in area.

Near the SW corner of the stoa was uncovered an area paved with stones, the purpose of which is unknown. In between the temple and auxiliary building is an open court. No temenos wall was identified.

The area began to be used in late Geometric/Early Archaic times (Altars A and B); the first temple, however, seems to have been built around the beginning of the 5th century BC (helmet inscription) and was possibly destroyed by the Argives in 468 BC. The present structure was rebuilt at the beginning of the 3rd century BC (shield inscription).

Marked by Steffen as «Reste einer antiken Pass-Befestigung»; early 5th century dedicatory inscription found in 1933 in a field belonging to the site guard Aristoteles Tsetsekos, published by M. Mitsos, *Hesperia* XV, 1946, 115-9; XVI, 1947, 88; I. Papadimitriou investigated the area in 1951 (*Praktika* 1951, 196); inscribed tile (name Thersimeneos) published by S. N. Koumanoudis, *Néon Athínaion* III, 1958-60, 16; excavated in 1965-66 under direction of T. L. Shear Jr (*Praktika* 1965, 95-96; 1966, 111-4).

B3:03 – Myc

Asprokhoma W ChT cemetery

Group of eleven ChTs on E slope of Batsourorachi facing Asprokhoma rema.

Five excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1888 (of which two not found/destroyed?); remainder by E. Palaiologou in 1980 (*AR* 1981-2, 13); Shelton 1993.

SQUARE C2

C2:01 – Myc

Paleomandri ChT

On lower SW slope of Batsourorachi.

Excavated by N. Verdelis in 1962 (*Praktika* 1962, 78-81).

C2:02 – ?

Possibly area of tombs

Rough bluff at SW end of Batsourorachi.

Area known to authorities.

SQUARE C3

C3:01 – Myc?

Koutsoumbela W weirs

Three possible weirs across the rema W of the Koutsoumbela ridge of which only the middle is at all well preserved.

Survey only.

C3:02 – ?

Koutsoumbela terrace wall

On SW slope of Koutsoumbela, line of medium-sized stones with tumble below.

Survey only.

C3:03 – ?

Koutsoumbela S structure

At S end of Koutsoumbela ridge, lines of walls of small stones.

Steffen's «Grundmauer».

C3:04 – Myc

Koutsoumbela ChT cemetery

Group of seven plus ChTs on W slope of Koutsoumbela ridge facing the large rema.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou in 1986.

C3:05 – G

Geometric Shrine

Rock niche at base of high scarp at SW end of Koutsoumbela rema.

Excavated by V. Kaliodi.

C3:06 – Myc?

Structure, Kokoretsa

In S bank of Kokoretsa rema E of modern road; rough 'L' of limestone blocks and stone scatter.

Steffen's «Ruine eines kyklop. Gebäudes».

C3:07 – ?

Rock niches, Kokoretsa

At base of scarp 30m NE of C3:09, NE of modern road; two shallow niches.

Survey only.

C3:08 – Myc

Asprokhoma SW ChT cemetery

Group of two ChTs on E slope facing the Agriosykia rema.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1887; Shelton 1993. E. Palaiologou with survey team found a G sherd in front of the northern tomb.

C3:09 – Hell, R

Koutsoumbela settlement area

Field W of ChT cemetery with scatter of sherds and tiles, called Hellenistic and Roman by survey team which included E. Palaiologou.

Presumably Steffen's «Grundmauerreste».

C3:10 – ?

Ancient foundation

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

C3:11 – PM

Ancient grave

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

C3:12 – Myc

Stream revetment

Along E bank of Asprokhoma rema.

Named by Steffen.

MAP 3: A4-C5

SQUARE A4

A4:01 – Myc

Vythisma N ChT cemetery

Isolated tomb on N bank of stream bed, S slope of Marta.

Survey only.

A4:02 – Myc

M3 Stream crossing

Two terrace walls bridging stream with large blocks beneath.

Possible site of Steffen's N bridge on M3.

A4:03 – ?

Ancient foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

SQUARE A5

A5:01 – Myc

M2 Road system

Line of roadway running around upper slope of Profitis Ilias.

Marked by Steffen; thought to have been largely destroyed by modern road to Stefani (Mylonas 1966, 86) but many traces revealed by fire September 1994 and recorded by JL.

SQUARE B4

B4:01 – Myc

Asprokhoma quarry (fig. 20)

Limestone exposure with cuttings, ca 100m SE of Sanctuary.

Noted by I. Papadimitriou, *Ergon* 1957, 65-6.

B4:02 – Myc

Asprokhoma E ChT cemetery

W section of group of thirteen ChTs on the lower slopes of the ridge between the two remata; this section was called Agriosykia by Tsountas.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1887, 1888; Shelton 1993.

B4:03 – Myc

Asprokhoma E ChT cemetery

E section of group of thirteen ChTs, high on slope overlooking rema on the E.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1887 and E. Palaiologou in 1980 (*AR* 1981-2, 13) and 1983; Shelton 1993; the group includes what Steffen names as «Höhle». The tombs recently excavated were handsome and well equipped.

B4:04 – Myc

M3 Road terrace

N of Agriosykia rema wide level terrace now with much scattered rubble (part of C4:04).

Survey only.

B4:05 – ?

Rock cuttings

«Grotto» in the rockface with two smaller openings in the back.

Survey only.

B4:06 – Myc?

Foundations of structure

High on Agriosykia spur; lowest courses of very large blocks.

Survey only.

B4:07 – Myc?

Foundations of structure

High on Agriosykia spur; medium to large stones; entire area is littered with foundation walls.

Survey only.

B4:08 – Myc?

Weirs on Souleimani rema

Two rows of blocks crossing stream line.

Survey only.

B4:09 – Myc?

Weir on Souleimani rema

Row of blocks crossing stream line, 50m SE of B4:08.

Survey only.

B4:10 – Myc

M3 Road terraces

Along S side of Souleimani rema.

Marked by Steffen.

B4:11 – Myc

M3 Bridge

Across S branch of Souleimani rema.

Marked by Steffen.

B4:12 – Myc?

Terrace wall

Possibly retaining wall for the bank above M3.

Survey only.

B4:13 – Myc

M3 Bridge N of Souleimani cemetery

Across N division of rema.

Marked by Steffen as stretch of road not named as bridge.

B4:14 – Myc

Souleimani ChT cemetery

Group of eighteen plus ChTs on slopes either side of upper Souleimani rema, probably extending up to M2 and the Kapsala cemetery. LH IIA-B and LH IIIA-B.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1888 and later and by Z. Aslamatzidou in 1981 (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99); Shelton 1993.

B4:15 – ?

Path from M3 to Souleimani cemetery

Line along natural terrace forming possible approach.

Identified by J. Lavery but not confirmed as ancient.

B4:16 – ?

Ancient terrace wall

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

B4:17 – ?

Rock cleft

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

B4:18 – Myc

Kapsala S ChT cemetery

Single excavated and one small unexcavated tomb on Kapsala slope.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas as Cemetery X; Shelton 1993.

SQUARE B5

B5:01 – Myc

Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata ChT cemetery

Group of nine ChTs on slope of Profitis Ilias above (E) of line of M2.

Excavated by G. E. Mylonas in 1972 (*Praktika* 1972, 114) and B. Aravantinos in 1977; Shelton 2000.

B5:02 – Myc?

Kapsala? ChT

Single possible ChT high on slope to E of Vlakhostrata.

Survey only.

SQUARE C4

C4:01 – Myc

Asprokhoma/Agriosykia ChT cemetery

Group of seven tombs low on the slope E of the rema.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1887, 1888, and later; Shelton 1993.

C4:02 – Myc?

Revetment to Kokoretsa rema

Large unworked blocks in stream bed 150m E of modern road.

Survey only.

C4:03 – PM

Cist tombs

At least two poros cist tombs, part of more extensive cemetery area extending to the W.

Steffen's «antiker Begräbnisplatz».

C4:04 – Myc

M3 Road terrace

Terrace in slope just below (W of) modern road on SW slope N of Agriosykia rema and well-preserved worked cutting on E edge of modern road, N of Agriosykia rema; continuation of M3 up to Asprokhoma saddle.

Survey only.

C4:05 – Myc

Revetment on Agriosykia rema

Five courses of rough stone in N bank of rema, including several large stones collapsed into stream bed.

Survey only.

C4:06 – Myc

M3 Crossing of Agriosykia rema

At point where modern road crosses rema.

Survey only.

C4:07 – Myc

Weir on Agriosykia rema

Rough blocks in line crossing stream bed on 220m contour.

Possibly bridge marked by Steffen.

C4:08 – Myc

Weir on Agriosykia rema

Line of five blocks across stream bed and many collapsed boulders.

Possibly bridge marked by Steffen.

C4:09 – ?

Cave

On NE slope facing S overlooking Agriosykia rema.

Survey only.

C4:10 – PM

Structures

On ridge between Agriosykia and Plakes remata, stone pile with Archaic/Classical sherds and tiles; remains of square building on rock outcrop; line of limestone blocks.

Marked by Steffen as «Ruine eines antiken Befestigung Thurms» and «antike Stützmauer».

C4:11 – Myc

M3 Road terraces

Wide terraces with walling of variously sized limestone blocks; on 210m contour line.

Survey only.

C4:12 – Myc

M3 Possible crossing of Plakes, lower

No structural remains but possible crossing point.

Survey only.

C4:13 – Myc

M3 Possible crossing of Plakes, upper

No structural remains at crossing point but terrace on S flank of Kapsala ridge some 40m NW.

Survey only.

C4:14 – Myc

Lower Paleogalaro ChT

Rectangular cutting into the rock on the highest terrace of the slope between the Plakes and the Kokoretsa tributary.

Survey only.

C4:15 – Myc

M3 Road terraces

Series of points along M3 between the Plakes and Kokoretsa remata.

Survey only.

C4:16 – Myc**M3 Bridge over Kokoretsa tributary**

Terrace of limestone blocks now only intermittently preserved.

Survey only.

C4:17 – Myc**M3 Terrace below road**

Line of unworked limestone blocks, with some «Cyclopean» blocks on N side, running along slope between the Plakes rema and the Kokoretsa tributary.

Survey only.

C4:18 – Myc**Revetment/road terrace**

Wall of unworked limestone blocks and collapsed blocks in rema on N bank of Kokoretsa tributary; possibly alteration/repair of road line.

Survey only.

C4:19 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Line of unworked limestone blocks of various sizes running along curve of slope between the Plakes rema and the Kokoretsa tributary.

Survey only; the terrace walls found by the survey are higher than those marked by Steffen.

C4:20 – Myc?**Terrace wall**

Two courses of medium to large limestone blocks just N of tributary of the Kokoretsa.

Survey only; see C4:19.

C4:21 – Myc**Terrace wall**

SE of rock outcrop N of Kokoretsa tributary, well preserved wall covered with stone pile.

Survey only; see C4:19.

C4:22 – Myc**Building**

«Semi-rectangular» building with possible double facing on SE; overgrown and covered with rubble.

Survey only.

C4:23 – Myc**Kokoretsa rema: revetment walls (fig. 19)**

Pair of retaining walls of unworked limestone blocks facing one another on either side of Kokoretsa rema.

Southern one marked by Steffen.

C4:24 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Partially collapsed wall of unworked limestone blocks following the slope between the Plakes rema and the Kokoretsa tributary.

Survey only.

C4:25 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Wall of unworked blocks running NE-SW; well built in some places.

Survey only.

C4:26 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Single course of large unworked limestone blocks running NE-SW; after a break wall continues in SW direction.

Survey only.

C4:27 – Myc**Building**

Line of blocks running E-W of medium to very large-sized blocks; at least three courses; probably corner at W side; bottom course has «Cyclopean» blocks (conglomerate) and is probably the only ancient one *in situ*; the others look modern.

Survey only.

C4:28 – Myc**M3 West, Lower roadway**

Running across triangle between the Kokoretsa and Plakes remata.

Marked by Steffen.

C4:29 – Myc**Structure**

Large building to S of Plakes rema.

Steffen's «Grundm. eines antiken Gebäudes».

C4:30 – Myc**Terrace walling**

Along and below (i.e. W of) scarp.

Marked by Steffen.

C4:31 – Myc**Quarry**

Steffen's «St. Br.»; JL records ancient paths/tracks relating to the quarry.

C4:32 – Myc**Structure**

Corner of masonry SW of C4:18 on S side of small rema.

Survey only.

SQUARE C5**C5:01 – Myc****M3 Roadway**

Point on traces of wide level road terrace and other features running on 220/210m contour around Kokoretsa rema and circling to N.

Noted at several points by Steffen; surveyed by Lavery and Jansen, see Lavery 1990 and 1995 and Jansen 1995; see also D4:28 and D5:01.

C5:02 – Myc?**Terrace/retaining walls**

Group of partially collapsed terrace walls along W slope of Paleogalaro.

Marked by Steffen.

C5:03 – Myc**Paleogalaro structure**

Two courses of «Cyclopean» blocks to W of road to Stefani.

Survey only.

C5:04 – Myc**Paleogalaro E ChT cemetery**

Group of three ChTs with one definite and one possible some 50m S.

Excavated by G. E. Mylonas 1972 (*Praktika* 1972, 114; Shelton 2000).

C5:05 – Myc**Paleogalaro quarry**

Cutting into rock outcrop, conglomerate?

Marked by Steffen.

C5:06 – Myc?**Terrace wall**

Long line of terracing on upper slope of Paleogalaro.

Survey only.

C5:07 – Myc**M2 Roadway**

Running around slopes of Profitis Ilias.

Marked by Steffen; thought by Mylonas to be almost totally destroyed by modern road (1966, 86) but revealed parallel to track by recent fires and recorded by JL.

C5:08 – Myc**Paleogalaro W ChT cemetery**

Group of four ChTs (one now visible); obscured by undergrowth until fire of September 1994.

Excavated by Ch. Tsountas in 1888; Shelton 1993 addendum.

C5:09 – Myc

Roadway Rho: ruts/grooves

Most obvious feature of secondary roadway running from Steffen point 343 on M2 S to small rema above Kokoretsa and then SE to plateau above the Perseia spring.

Recorded by JL 1995.

C5:10 – Myc?

Walling

Row of big blocks upon smaller ones, some 30m SW of C5:08.

Recorded by JL 1995.

C5:11 – Myc?

Structure

Long N-S wall with doorway in W wall; other large blocks scattered to S; very dominant and exposed position.

Survey only; surprisingly not marked by Steffen but perhaps heavily overgrown.

C5:12 – Hell?

Structures

Much scattered building remains with red tile scatter.

Survey only.

C5 – ?

Other remains

In area around C5:11, reports of routes, structures and terracing.

Reported by JL only.

MAP 4: A6-C7

SQUARE C7

C7:01 – Myc

Gortsoulia ChT cemetery

Six tombs on both sides of rema between Gortsoulia and Profitis Ilias.

Excavated by G. E. Mylonas in 1964 (*Praktika* 1964, 68; Shelton 2000).

C7:02 – ?

Structure

Wall on the N bank of the rema with two faces of medium-sized limestone blocks and packing of rubble between them; possible returns at S and at N.

Survey only.

MAP 5: D0-F1

SQUARE D1

D1:01 – Post Myc

Chapel foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

D1:02 – ?

Foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

SQUARE F0

F0:01 – ?

Structure

Foundations lying across line of track from Khani to Fikhtia.

Named by Steffen.

SQUARE F1

F1:01 – ?

Foundations

On E side of old Nafplion-Corinth road: no longer visible.

Steffen's «Grundmauer».

F1:02 – Post Myc

Ancient graves

On W side of old Nafplion-Corinth road; no longer visible.

Steffen's «antike Gräber».

F1:03 – ?

Foundations

On E side of old Nafplion-Corinth road: no longer visible.

Steffen's «Grundmauern».

F1:04 – ?

Ancient foundations

On W side of old Nafplion-Corinth road.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauer».

F1:05 – Post Myc

Ancient graves

On E side of old Nafplion-Corinth road; no longer visible.

Steffen's «antike Gräber».

F1:06 – ?

Ancient foundations

On E side of old Nafplion-Corinth road.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauer».

MAP 6: D2-F3

SQUARE D2

D2:01 – ?

Foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

D2:02 – ?

Foundations

Area not specifically visited.

Named by Steffen.

D2:03 – ?

Ancient wall remains

Two areas marked by Steffen on the W slope of the Kato Fournos spur could not be located though there were large piles of stones and modern boundary walls with stones removed for cultivation.

Steffen's «antike Mauerreste».

D2:04 – Myc

Roadway M6 NW

Traces of roadway in various states of preservation following track marked by Steffen to NW out into plain.

Survey only (JL).

D2:05 – Early Christian

Tombs

Two cist tombs, said to be Early Christian, in plain between Batsourorachi and Pera Sfalakhtra; the cemetery is said to continue to the W.

Excavated by M. Agritelli of the Ephoreia (finds in Argos).

SQUARE D3

D3:01 – Myc

Wall, retaining?

Long wall, quite well preserved (top probably modern) with the lower part consisting of fairly large stones; possibly bank revetment matching D3:02.

Steffen's «Stützmauer».

D3:02 – Myc

Retaining wall

On S bank of Elies stream, wall of roughly cut and built small to medium sized limestone; possibly revetment to stream.

Opposite Steffen's «Stützmauer».

D3:03 – Myc

Structure (fig. 9)

Well preserved foundation (heavily overgrown) on S bank of Elies stream; NW corner of large well-constructed series of walls built with large roughly rectangular blocks of limestone up to six courses; two wall faces with packing of small stones.

Steffen's «Ruinen eines kyklop. Gebäudes».

D3:04 – Myc**Foundation**

On S bank of Elies stream bed and immediately E of D3:03 and probably part of same complex; one course clearly visible as foundation wall of building.

Marked but not named by Steffen.

D3:05 – Myc**Kato Fournos ChT cemetery**

Group of twelve ChTs extending along ridge by tholos tomb.

Excavated by Tsountas 1888; Shelton 1993.

D3:06 – LH IIA Late**Kato Fournos tomb**

Tholos tomb, probably the second of the second constructional group as it displays a growing sophistication in the use of ashlar masonry in the dromos and doorway.

Dromos: 12×3m; lined with poros ashlar masonry; blocking at W end of rectangular poros blocks.

Doorway: simple façade of fine-grained conglomerate; lintel of three conglomerate blocks; no superstructure preserved.

Chamber: Di. 10m; dome collapsed; walls with a foundation course of rectangular conglomerate blocks and small slabs of limestone above (a few scattered conglomerate blocks among them); some dressing of the blocks; floored with plaster; grave-pit in S sector.

Presumed construction: LH IIA Late.

Evidence for later use: Tsountas found a considerable number of Archaic terracotta female figurines (NM 3071); Antonaccio 1995, 36.

Long known e.g. Blouet 1833, pl. 69, fig. 11; marked by Steffen; excavated by Tsountas in 1893 (*Praktika* 1893, 8), in 1922 Wace re-examined the dromos and tholos (*BSA* 25, 320-5).

D3:07 – Post Myc**Grave**

Traces visible in bed of track to Asprokhoma. Possibly remains of other graves nearby; definite edge of another tomb in field 4m to W of track.

Steffen's «antikes Grab».

D3:08 – Post Myc**Cist grave**

NW slope of Panagia ridge, illegally opened grave partially filled with stones; three sides preserved: one short side is rock face of slope, both long sides are conglomerate slabs.

Found in survey; checked by E. Palaiologou for Ephoreia 1992.

D3:09 – Myc?**ChT?**

NW slope of Panagia ridge, semicircular opening in rock outcrop (possibly doorway) partially collapsed and filled with debris; possibly tomb, illegally opened but also possibly animal hole.

Survey only.

D3:10 – Myc**Terraced house**

Bottom of NW slope of Panagia ridge by track to Asprokhoma, heavily overgrown area of very small sections of walls. Most of what originally recorded by Steffen appears to have been ploughed away. Area is littered with large fragments of domestic pottery.

Steffen's «Mauertrümmer».

D3:11 – Myc**Terrace walls/structures**

On NW slope of Panagia ridge, a) one to two courses of largish limestone blocks which follow a slight curve in the landscape. The terrace above has a heavy cover of coarseware sherds and a few decorated pieces, also one leg of a tripod cooking pot with signs of burning on interior; b) one to three courses of largish blocks following curve of the terrace; c) further section 30m to N partially preserved with

sections of five courses of large blocks at base of high terrace. a and b are the central and western sections of Steffen's «antike Stützmauern» (the eastern could not be located); c is possibly site of trial (1939) «below CTB and above Kato Fournos by big blocks» considered Classical.

D3:12 – Myc**Wall, terrace?**

NW slope of Panagia ridge, one course of four medium blocks of limestone.

Survey only.

D3:13 – ?**Rock cutting**

Rock cutting in terrace lined with four large «Cyclopean» limestone blocks at SE side; blocked by modern terrace at S.

Survey only.

D3:14 – Myc?**Terrace wall**

N slope of tongue above small stream bed, small section of wall of medium to large limestone blocks, one or two courses curving with slope.

Survey only.

D3:15 – Myc**Terrace wall/roadway**

NE slope of Pera Sfalakhtra, three sections of terrace/retaining walls of medium to large limestone blocks; lower courses preserved with modern additions on top.

Survey only; part of JL's M6.

D3:16 – ?**Building on Pera Sfalakhtra summit**

Parts of fragmentary walls of medium limestone blocks.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauern».

D3:17 – Myc**Epano Pigadi/Fournodiaselo ChT cemetery N**

Group of fourteen-fifteen ChTs on NW of tongue between tracks to W of Panagia ridge.

Excavated by Tsountas 1888, 1890, 1895 and Filadelfefs 1919 (*Deltion* 5, 1919, para. 34-5); Shelton 1993.

D3:18 – LH IIA**Cyclopean tomb**

Tholos tomb of the first constructional group, perhaps the earliest.

Dromos: 13×2m; rockcut, unlined.

Doorway: rough undressed limestone and conglomerate blocks with somewhat larger blocks at the angles; three lintel blocks of undressed conglomerate (one fallen 1994); no pivot holes or threshold perhaps indicating no door; doorway closed by rough wall of masonry between the outer jambs.

Chamber: Di. 8m; dome collapsed, walls built in same manner as doorway but with somewhat smaller stones.

Presumed construction: LH IIA Early.

Evidence for later use: in the doorway was one Geometric sherd and one fragment of a Hellenistic tile with a stamp; Antonaccio 1995, 32.

Long known; marked by Steffen; cleared by Tsountas (*Praktika* 1891, 19), and re-examined by Wace in 1922 (*BSA* 25, 287-292).

D3:19 – LH IIB-IIIA1**Tomb of the Genii**

Tholos tomb, probably the earliest of the third constructional group showing the prevalent use of conglomerate for both structural and ornamental purposes and façade with relieving triangle but also with features more closely linked to the second group of tholoi, e.g. rubble masonry lining the dromos (although here very well built) and poros blocks used to mask the relieving triangle.

Dromos: 16.60×2.60m; lined with well-built rubble masonry, crowned with carefully adjusted slabs of limestone;

at W end blocking wall of ashlar poros on a rubble foundation.

Doorway: built of ashlar conglomerate; two large lintel slabs; the underside of the inner block has pivot-holes for double door; the threshold originally consisted of three conglomerate blocks in a wedge system, but only the two side blocks remain; façade of ashlar conglomerate with relieving triangle above lintel blocks, masked inside and out with small blocks of poros.

Chamber: Di. 8.40m; walls of conglomerate ashlar masonry; three cists in floor roofed with rough slabs of limestone, all three found empty.

Presumed construction: ca 1400 BC (LH IIB-III A1); the sherds illustrated in *BSA* 25, pl. XLV l-m are LM II (Dickinson pers. comm.).

Evidence for later use: two Geometric sherds and a bronze pin of Geometric or Archaic date; Antonaccio 1995, 37.

Not marked by Steffen; discovered and excavated by Tsountas in 1896 (*Praktika* 1896, 29-31); in 1921 Wace tested under walls of tholos and dromos and in 1922 he planned the tomb and cleared the outer face of the blocking wall at the end of the dromos (*BSA* 25, 376-87).

D3:20 – Myc?

Terrace walls

Walls of medium to large blocks following curve of landscape on W slope of Epáno Pigadi/Fournodiaselo tongue.

Survey only.

D3:21 – Myc?

Terrace wall/structure

One to two courses of large and medium limestone blocks with possible corner at W on NW slope of Epáno Pigadi/Fournodiaselo tongue.

Survey only.

D3:22 – Hell

Hellenistic house

Large, multi-room house.

Steffen's «Häuser Ruinen».

D3:23 – LH IIA Early

Epáno Fournos tomb

Tholos tomb of the first constructional group, closely related in technique to the Cyclopean tomb.

Dromos: 10×4m; rockcut, unlined.

Doorway: largish blocks of conglomerate and limestone, all undressed and packed roughly together, largest stones built into jambs; roofed with five large lintel blocks of undressed conglomerate, no door or threshold.

Chamber: Di. 11m; dome collapsed, walls built of small slabs of limestone carefully packed together.

Presumed construction: LH IIA Early.

Evidence for later use: Dromos, fifteen sherds of Geometric date in Argive style. Doorway, eighty eight sherds of Geometric and ordinary Hellenic ware, scraps of thin lead plate, ceramic warrior head with conical helmet and crest. Tholos, in SW Quarter (Tsountas) glass bottle neck, axe, coin of 1882 (Wace) over fifty fragments of Late Geometric vases, Corinthian sherds of 7th century, fragments of Archaic glazed vessels, 5th century black glaze kylix rim and two pieces of 4th century Argive kotyle; Antonaccio 1995, 32-4.

Long known e.g. Blouet 1833, pl. 69 F.V.; marked by Steffen; excavated by Tsountas, who cleared dromos, outer end of doorway and upper part of the chamber (*Praktika* 1892, 56); in 1922 Wace re-examined the dromos and cleared much of doorway (*BSA* 25, 292-6), and in 1950 cleared more of the doorway and chamber (*BSA* 48, 69-83).

D3:24 – Hell

House

Rectangular room with tiles incorporated below and among stones of W wall; terrace walls surrounding and some possibly connected. The possibility that this like D4:35 is built on Myc foundations should be noted.

Steffen's «Häuser Ruinen».

D3:25 – Myc

Terrace wall

On W slope of Panagia ridge just beyond lower end of D4:39; one course only of large to medium blocks (extension N in smaller stone probably of different date).

Survey only.

D3:26 – ?

Ancient wall remains

Two areas marked by Steffen on the W slope of the Kato Fournos spur could not be located though there were large piles of stones and modern boundary walls with stones removed for cultivation.

Steffen's «antike Mauerreste».

D3:27 – ?

Terrace wall

Wall marked by Steffen seems to have been destroyed by ploughing.

Steffen's «Stützmauer» to E of track from Pera Sfalakhtra as it enters the bed of the Kokoretsa stream.

D3:28 – Myc?

Foundation walls

Sizeable building about 25m down the W slope with external wall of large blocks and internal of smaller ones; a terrace wall two terraces down from the ridge, against the W slope, ca 50m N of the Panagia chapel, in a stretch of 7m long. Not reidentified in 1992. Further N (NW of the Trig Point) lies the remains of another structure now only three courses of small limestone blocks.

Marked but not named by Steffen.

D3:29 – ?

Roadway

By Epáno Fournos tholos.

Postulated M7 road (N) following line of modern track (which itself contains edging blocks probably from the Tourkokratia).

D3:30 – ?

Structures

Walls marked on Steffen's map to left of track to Asprokhoma, just beyond the small rema bed between Pera Sfalakhtra and the Kato Fournos spur could not be located; heavy ploughing and possible grading for track has destroyed any structures in this area, though there are many large stones in piles along side of track. Found was the SW corner only of small structure of unknown type immediately N of the small rema.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauern» and marked structure.

D3 – Myc

Kato Fournos area kilns?

Wace (1950 notebook) quotes Tsountas as saying Myc kilns were known near here.

Presumably personal communication.

D3 – ?

Pezoulia region trials

«Trials in the Pezoulia region had proved fruitless» (Wace gives region as «in hollow SE of Kato Fournos and to E of road»).

1921 Excavations.

D3 – 1st cent. BC-1st cent. AD

Stele with inscription (inv. n. 50-512)

Below (i.e. down slope from) Cyclopean Terrace Building
1950 Excavations; *BSA* 52, 205-6.

SQUARE E2

E2:01 – Myc

Sfalakhtra ChT group

Two chamber tombs isolated in saddle between the E slope of Sfalakhtra and the W slope of Kalkani.

Survey only; apparently unexcavated.

SQUARE E3

E3:01 - Myc

Epano Pigadi/Fournodiaselo ChT cemetery

S section with ten plus tombs of extensive cemetery spread over tongue of land between the Epano Pigadi track and the Fournodiaselo ridge.

Excavated by Tsountas (1888, 1890, 1895); Shelton 1993; a tomb seen by Wace in 1921 and shown in Daybook map, described as «very ruinous with short dromos», could not be located.

E3:02 - Myc

Wall

Wall segment of very large (Cyclopean) limestone blocks, one to two courses, running app. N-S.

Survey only.

E3:03 - Myc

Bouzioti ChT cemetery

Small group of chamber tombs on SW slope of Fournodiaselo between Pera Sfalakhtra and Kalkani.

Steffen's «Busioti (Bouzioti) Spilia», two excavated by Tsountas T97 and T98; noted by Wace 1920 notebook and 1932, 19; six of Wace's Kalkani N bank and one excavated by Verdelis 1963 (*Praktika* 1963, 111-113).

E3:04 - Myc

Kalkani S bank ChT cemetery

Fifteen chamber tombs S bank of rema, i.e. N slope of Kalkani. Notable for distinctive rich early tombs.

Wace 1932 Ts 513-519, 525-530, 532, 533.

E3:05 - ?

Kalkani structure

Two lines of large rough limestone blocks marking NE corner of structure.

Steffen's «Reste eines ant. Befestgs. Thurms»; called «modern» by Wace (1949, 42).

E3 - MH-Byz

Kalkani Hill: testing

Trials during the 1920's excavations revealed extended usage of the area; material not published in Wace 1932 includes: EH-MH settlement suggested by the presence of sherds in the upper levels of the ChTs. The EH sherds were kept and included EH III dark on light ware.

MH grave? One grave without pots was thought to be possibly MH.

LH ChTs. The tops of three probable further chambers and another dromos came to light. Two tombs were identified by Mylonas (*Praktika* 1974, 92).

LH Settlement. No trace of LH settlement has ever been found.

«Greek» sherds from the N and E sides.

Roman/Byzantine graves. Three late slab graves untouched and one damaged came to light W of T515; local information that such graves contain nothing is quoted; further such tombs were excavated by Mylonas (*Praktika* 1974, 2).

E3:06 - ?

Epano Pigadi structure

Two lines of stones, forming an angle, near crossing of tracks just S of Epano Pigadi.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauern».

E3:07 - Myc

Kalkani SW ChT cemetery

Four chamber tombs isolated on S slope of Kalkani hill.

Excavated by Filadelfefs (T3; *Deltion* 5, 1919, 35) and Verdelis (Ts A, B, C; *Praktika* 1962, 67-78).

E3:08 - Myc

Terrace wall

Terrace wall with one course of seven large limestone blocks, running diagonally down slope to S.

Survey only.

E3:09 - Myc?

Rock cutting, quarry?

Flattened area on the limestone outcropping along the E edge of the hill crest, with two straight/horizontal sides and one or two corners cut into the rock, possible tool marks; function indeterminable. Other similar features adjacent.

Survey only.

E3:10 - Hell

Hellenistic house

Long rectangular room, doorway offset on E side of S wall.

Steffen's «Häuser Ruinen».

E3:11 - Myc

Lisa's House?

Area with a thick concentration of surface sherds, many decorated fine ware pieces (LH IIIB1?), material thins out towards the E. This area is one terrace too low according to the sketch in the 1939 notebook but could contain the dump of the 1939 tests.

Tests 1939 (14 39/NBK with rough diagram); Wace 1949, 127; actual site lost post WW II.

E3:12 - LH IIA Late

Panagia tomb

Tholos tomb possibly the first of the second constructional group.

Dromos: 12×3m; lined with rubble masonry ending 1.13m from the façade where it becomes poros ashlar masonry resting on two courses of conglomerate; the ashlar does not bond with the rubble.

Doorway: built of conglomerate blocks laid in fairly regular courses; lintel of two conglomerate slabs for the lintel; relieving triangle above.

Chamber: Di. 8m; dome collapsed; walls built of small slabs of limestone.

Presumed construction: LH IIA Late.

Evidence for later use: sixteen sherds of Geometric and Classical date found by Wace with eleven sherds of the same types from Tsountas' dump; Antonaccio 1995, 36.

Not marked by Steffen; discovered and excavated by Tsountas in 1897 (T 16) (*Praktika* 1887, 65; *Ephemeris* 1888, 121-22); in 1922 Wace cleared the dromos and chamber of earth fallen since the time of excavation (*BSA* 25, 316-320).

E3:13 - Myc

Panagia ChT cemetery

Fourteen tombs of extensive area of sixteen identified chamber tombs on W slope of ridge; a further tomb was noted in 1991 but not later refound.

Excavated by Tsountas Ts 15, 26-32, 88; Shelton 1993; the tombs excavated by Mylonas in 1972 (*Praktika* 1972, 114-6) may belong to this group (Shelton 2000).

E3:14 - Myc

Ag. Georgios ChT cemetery

Northern four tombs from group of large well-cut tombs.

Excavated by Tsountas (1892 or 1893); Shelton 1993.

E3:15 - Myc

Road terracing

Various stretches of road walling along Fournodiaselo spur in bank on E side of modern Asprokhoma road.

Marked by Steffen.

E3:16 - Myc?

Road terracing?

Long line of cut stones (both conglomerate and limestone), sloping down to the E.

Survey only.

E3:17 - Myc?

Ruts/grooves

Two sets of traces in the rock vertically above path NE from the Epano Fournos tomb. The N seem to relate to the possible quarry E3:09; the S may be natural.

Survey only.

E3:18 – ?**Road terrace?**

Three sections (no longer linked) of stones in track to E of Epano Pigadi; possibly S section of D3:29.

Survey only.

E3:19 – ?**Walling**

Part of roadway or structure low in the bank of the track.

Survey only.

E3:20 – ?**Walling?**

Wall of two differently built but linked lengths, with unusual offset and steps?

Survey only.

E3 – Early Christian *et al.***Gourounospilia trial**

Trial in cave in rock ridge to W of Epano Fournos tomb produced a Christian child burial, hearths etc.

Tests for Wace 1939.

E3 – ?**Structures**

In the area near the Epano Fournos tomb a circular tumble of blocks from a square building (corners clearly visible) and a «free standing stone circle».

Reported by Dr. Michael Conway.

SQUARE F2**F2:01 – Post Myc****Cist graves**

Traces of tombs, on N side of road running NW out of village, much eroded out; stones showing in side of track.

Steffen's «antike Gräber».

SQUARE F3**F3:01 – Myc****Alepotrypa ChT cemetery**

Seventeen tombs mainly on N side of rema.

Excavated by Tsountas 1893, 1895 and 1892? and Demakopoulou and Aslamatzidou 1981 (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 99); Shelton 1993; various areas thought possibly to be tombs but later proving not to be are included in the data base. The Aspria T is a closed LH IIB context.

F3:02 – Myc**Wall and rock cutting**

Wall of large to medium blocks of rough conglomerate, one course, runs app. N-S, perpendicular to N at lower part of rock face is a horizontal cutting and corners at each end, app. E-W.

Survey only.

F3:03 – ?**House**

Stone lower part of house walls, preserved up to a height of 0.50-1m; heavily overgrown; one rectangular room to the N, to which has been added, another larger room of inferior workmanship, using bedrock in some places.

Noted by Alden (1981, 127).

F3:04 – ?**Terrace wall**

Terrace wall of unknown date made up of five large blocks.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauern».

F3:05 – Myc**Ag. Georgios ChT cemetery**

Five chamber tombs of high quality lying at the SW end of the Panagia ridge.

Excavated by Tsountas 1895 (T81) and perhaps 1892 or 1893; Shelton 1993.

F3:06 – Myc**Kharvati quarry**

Area of conglomerate with cuttings lying under and to E of village.

Steffen's «antike Steinbrüche».

F3:07 – ?**Wall remains**

By rema some 100m SW of Ag. Ioannis; no longer visible.

Steffen's «antike Mauerreste».

MAP 7: D4-F5**SQUARE D4****D4:01 – Myc****Terrace wall**

One course of large limestone blocks, following the curve of the hill.

Survey only.

D4:02 – Myc**Structure**

Heavily overgrown.

Survey only.

D4:03 – Myc**Terrace wall**

High wall of unworked blocks running NE-SW; various sizes; large limestone blocks set closely together, but with some of the interstices filled with smaller blocks; smaller stones and rubble as filling behind the wall.

Survey only.

D4:04 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Reasonably well preserved wall of unworked blocks of various sizes, one terrace higher than D3:15.

Probably that cleared during excavation of the Cyclopean Terrace Building (BSA 56, 81-7).

D4:05 – Myc?**Structure?**

Walls at obtuse angle, not terrace, but possibly land division or part of structure.

Marked but not labelled by Steffen.

D4:06 – Myc**Lower Town roadway**

Traces of possible road (terraces) leading from CTB area to lower Kokoretsa crossing.

Survey only.

D4:07 – Myc**Retaining wall**

Wall of unworked limestone blocks running E-W; size of stones and number of courses vary; follows the curve of the slope; just N of Lower Town roadway.

Survey only.

D4:08 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Wall of unworked limestone blocks running NE-SW; various sizes of stones; max. six courses visible.

Survey only.

D4:09 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Wall of unworked limestone blocks running SE-NW; size of stones and number of courses vary; follows the curve of the slope.

Survey only.

D4:10 – Myc**Petsas' House**

A building complex comprising three rows of rooms extending from SW to NE. Partially excavated by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950-51 (*Praktika* 1950, 203-33; 1951, 192-6), and

further investigated since 2000 by Iakovidis and Shelton (*Praktika* 2000, 2001, 2002 ff forthcoming). Recent research brought to light four rooms (Mu, Nu, Omicron, Pi) at the SW end of the complex belonging to the upper row, built against the steeply sloping bedrock above the first two basements of the middle row (Gamma, Alpha). Stone steps led from the upper Room Mu to the basement Gamma below. The middle row consists of six rooms (Alpha, Epsilon, Iota, Theta, Zeta, and Delta), while to the W are three more excavated rooms (Gamma, Beta and Kappa). Further away to the W at a much lower level was excavated a small section of another Room Eta, which does not appear to be directly connected to the building above. The terrace wall (apparently ancient) to the N and W of the house is set at an unusual angle, with offsets, in relation to the angle of the building and the slope. Most of the rooms were used as storerooms for new (unused) vases which were found broken on the floors in a layer 20cm deep and were originally on shelves arranged by shape thus giving important and so far unique evidence of commercial activity. Apotheke Alpha, the first to be excavated, had over 700 vases of twenty different shapes on three sides of the room. The E side was thought to have contained a large amount of wood, as evidenced by the heavy burning which occurred in this area during the fire that destroyed the building. The walls were built in timber-frame construction throughout. Rooms Beta, Delta, Epsilon and Eta were certainly also pottery storerooms, and perhaps also Room Gamma from which whole vases were recovered, but in which was also found a large number of figurines, female and animal. In addition to the abundant pottery small objects which included clay stoppers with seal impressions and fragments of an inscribed stirrup jar and a fragmentary Linear B tablet suggest Late Mycenaean usage.

Evidence for earlier and later use: under the floors of some rooms, especially Zeta, were found sherds of the LH II period, indicating the earlier use of this area. In addition, two deposit pits of LH IIIB were revealed, a rectangular one at the SW corner of the building and a circular one in Room Pi, both full of discarded potsherds and miscellaneous small objects. Later usage of the area was found above Rooms Epsilon and Gamma where burials of Classical and Archaic times, respectively, had been placed.

The pottery suggests that the buildings, or part of them, were constructed at the beginning of LH IIIA and destroyed by fire at the end of this period.

D4:11 – Myc

Terrace walls

Six separate lines of unworked limestone blocks of varying sizes and one of big cut blocks running E-W, largely destroyed by modern features and usage in area served by town roadway.

Survey only.

D4:12 – Hell

Terrace wall

Wall of big well-cut limestone blocks; three courses ancient with modern on top.

Northwest Survey no. 3 West.

D4:13 – LH II - LH IIIC Late

Cyclopean Terrace Building area

Complex of two major terrace buildings (North and South Megarons) overlying earlier buildings (Unnamed below the North Megaron, House of the Wine Merchant below the South Megaron) with test trenching to N (I-IV), E and SW. General plan BSA 56, p. 82 (fig. 1) and SW trench p. 84 (fig. 3).

The CTB itself is important as the first of the settlement buildings outside the walls to be excavated but further work has not fully elucidated the settlement history of the area though there is clear evidence of buildings (as opposed to tombs) from LH IIA through to LH IIIB.

The North Megaron (the *Cyclopean Terrace Building* proper): tested 1922, 1923 (BSA 25, 403) and completely cleared 1950-3 (BSA 49, 267-91). A heavy two room terrace with no

N wall preserved (but assumed BSA 49, 274). The terrace was completely filled with stones and overlay the remains of earlier buildings. The structure for which it was intended is thought to have continued at a higher level toward the E. No trace of the superstructure was found and it is not certain if the building was completed.

The South Megaron: excavated 1951, 1952 (BSA 48, 16). Terrace wall running N-S to SW of the North Megaron of similar construction to the walls of that structure. No trace of superstructure or other features.

House of the Wine Merchant: excavated 1951, 1952 (BSA 48, 16). Storeroom with settings for pithoi and fifty plus transport stirrup jars lying under and W of the South Megaron (correction to GAC A1 II 2 p. 33). No walls were preserved and may have been of mud brick or robbed out to make the later terraces; no trace of other rooms preserved.

Earliest occupation attested: LH II from traces of burnt building on rock below the North Megaron. Above this are remains of two buildings assigned to mature LH IIIA on the basis of pottery below a floor below the North Megaron and in use in the House of the Wine Merchant. The two terrace buildings cannot be closely dated except for a *terminus post quem* of sherds in a well and in the fill of the North Megaron which are assigned to Early LH IIIB. The test trenches produced evidence of similar type with the additional evidence that some of the LH IIIB structures were destroyed by fire. LH IIIC Late burials occurred in the upper fill of the North Megaron. Some Hellenistic is mentioned as well as lamps of the 3rd-4th century AD (BSA 48, 17); the terrace walls in the area are Myc with modern overbuild.

Possibly terrace wall marked by Steffen; excavated by Wace in 1922-3 (BSA 25, 403-7); and by Hood and E. Wace for Wace in 1950-3 (BSA 48, 16; 49, 267-91).

D4:14 – Myc

Terrace wall

Wall of unworked limestone blocks running NE-SW following a curve along slope; size of blocks varies; at bottom large boulders; at SW end very large boulders.

Survey only.

D4:15 – ?

Dressed blocks

Corner of a dressed stone block with a raised border and a hollowed centre, fragment of dressed stone with part of a corner and one curved face.

Survey only.

D4:16 – Hell

Town wall

Wall of fairly large blocks running NE-SW; nicely cut; max. four courses.

Hellenistic outer town wall: Northwest Survey no. 5.

D4:17 – LH IIA Late

Lion Tomb

Tholos tomb, apparently the last of the second constructional group with continued use of ashlar poros masonry combined with extended use of conglomerate; the first with clear evidence of a door.

Dromos: 22×5m; lined with poros ashlar masonry; at N end blocking wall of poros.

Doorway: built of conglomerate blocks; four lintel blocks of conglomerate of which the outer one has fallen; on its underside are pivot-holes for a door which would have been flush with outer line of the doorway; no superstructure preserved; cuttings for threshold; the façade of the doorway is formed by a veneer of ashlar poros blocks (with double fascia) set in front of the conglomerate construction.

Chamber: Di. 14m; dome collapsed; walls built of small dressed limestone blocks on a base course of conglomerate; in the E sector were three grave-pits, one lined with well-cut slabs of poros.

Stamatakis (AM 1878, 273) says that the tomb had a wall around the top on the NW side to support the earth mound

over the dome; this apparently no longer exists as it was not found either by Wace in 1954 (*BSA* 50, 180-1) or by the Archaeological Service in recent excavation (1993).

Evidence for later use: Many sherds of Geometric and Hellenistic date found in dromos and tholos at various times (inc. 01 53/NBK); Antonaccio 1995, 37.

Marked by Steffen; cleared by Tsountas in 1892 (*Praktika* 1892, 56; 1897, 124-6); in 1922 Wace recleared the dromos and tholos (*BSA* 25, 325-30). Recently made more accessible for visitors.

D4:18 – Myc

Heavy terrace wall

Wall of very large «Cyclopean» unworked limestone blocks running E-W; smaller ones fill gaps between them; very large to medium limestone blocks set in rough courses with smaller blocks in some of the interstices.

Survey only.

D4:19 – Myc

Structures

Group of four sections of structures; heavily overgrown.

Survey only.

D4:20 – Myc

Road terrace for M1/M3

Immediately below NW corner of Citadel and along N face of Citadel about 50m above road; rough line of small stones, rubble and cuttings.

Marked by Steffen, in two separate stretches.

D4:21 – ?

Rock feature

Big slab with small opening under it facing N; surrounding area covered with sherds.

Survey only.

D4:22 – Myc?

Building

Rectangular building, overgrown and partially collapsed; walls of unworked limestone blocks; at one place, wall preserved up to five courses; two (?) rooms; in middle of smaller room, pile of stones.

Survey only.

D4:23 – Myc

Revetment

In rema of Kokoretsa, line of stones running SW-NE; at SW end huge boulder.

Survey only.

D4:24 – Myc

Kokoretsa rema crossing

Very large boulders put on top of each other creating a crossing, possibly related to Steffen's «Skala».

Survey only.

D4:25 – ?

Stone scatter/tumble

Areas of stone tumble, heavily overgrown: 1) a large number of stones, which seem to have been used for the building of a structure; possible steps visible as well as dividing walls of rooms; possible remains of terrace wall at bottom of fall; 2) a scatter of unworked limestone blocks of various sizes, some apparently in line; 3-4) two similar piles to E.

Survey only though the steps may be part of Steffen's «Skala».

D4:26 – Myc

Terrace wall

Well preserved, short wall of large stones; two courses.

Survey only.

D4:27 – ?

Circular structure

Circular structure with remains of plaster on inside of wall at S; possible kiln or cistern.

Survey only.

D4:28 – Myc

M3 Roadway

Traces of wide level road terrace and other features running on 220m contour around Kokoretsa rema and circling to N.

Much noted by Steffen; surveyed by Lavery and Jansen, see Lavery 1990, 1995 and Jansen 1994.

D4:29 – Myc

Plakes House

A house built partly on bedrock and partly on an artificial terrace 28m long N-S and 13.5m wide E-W on the slope above the Kokoretsa rema, some 200m N of the Postern Gate, which furnishes important evidence of destruction by earthquake and unusual frescoes.

A stair at the SE corner of the building, connected to a road (2.5m wide) running along in front of the terrace, led to a court at the S and to four rooms in a row beyond it. In front of them lay three basement rooms. The NW end of the last two upper rooms had fallen down the slope to the W. In the room next to those which had been precipitated downhill, the wall facing the slope had broken away at the corner and was leaning outwards. The basement wall of this room had tilted even more strongly, leaving a gap at its joint with the dislocated wall. The basements were found full of stones which covered the skeletons of three adults and a child crushed beneath them. All along the edge of the terrace a long and heavy heap of stones had been amassed after the disaster in an obvious effort to keep the building from collapsing further. All this is clear evidence for a devastating earthquake not accompanied by fire.

The house had floors of lime plaster, white-washed or monochrome painted walls and window frames and, on the lower part of some walls remains of what seems to be a sort of dado representing procession of unarmed but helmeted men bearing gifts, painted in an unusual simple style similar to vase painting.

The construction of the house is dated by the pottery in the terrace fill to LH IIIB2. The destruction, according to the floor deposits, occurred towards the end of this period. A final assessment must await full publication.

Test trench dug in 1972; excavated under direction of S. Iakovidis in 1975 (*Praktika* 1972, 116; 1975, 158-61; *Ergon* 1975, 95-101; Iakovidis 1986).

D4:30 – Myc

House on terrace immediate above Plakes House

Terrace on ca 210m contour with terrace wall and traces of structure, partially overgrown.

Survey only.

D4:31 – Myc?

Terrace walls

Very well preserved wall of medium to large stones; three to four courses; on a line running E-W from bedrock to bedrock; evidence of another running parallel; further wall of unworked limestone blocks (varying size), overgrown and partially collapsed.

Survey only.

D4:32 – ?

Wall with large slabs

On NW slope of Panagia ridge some 30m NW of D4:33, wall of small to medium stones with three large slab-like pieces above and to the left and another almost certainly related displaced; overgrown and only partially preserved.

Survey only.

D4:33 – Myc

Houses

Northern two of three structures on NW slope of Panagia ridge; the northernmost is square with thick walls and possible corner stone; the middle was cleared of heavy undergrowth and debris in 1992.

Marked by Steffen but not separately labelled.

D4:34 – Myc**Terrace walls**

Series of heavy terrace walls, lines of small to medium blocks and traces of construction between edge of car park and road. At least two are major Myc terraces.

Area tested in 1955 see below D4F.

D4:35 – Myc/Hell**House**

Structure on W slope of Panagia ridge, cleared in 1992. Hellenistic construction built on top of Mycenaean with Myc tiles incorporated into NW wall.

Southernmost of three marked by Steffen but not separately labelled.

D4:36 – Myc**Building**

Substantial building on three terraces heavily overgrown and mistreated by tourists.

Steffen's «Häuser Ruinen».

D4:37 – Myc**Building**

Substantial building on three terraces on W slope of Panagia ridge; many walls preserved to five to seven courses; all wall lines very clear. The building has possibly been excavated at some point.

Marked but not labelled by Steffen.

D4:38 – Hell**Tomb 512?**

Two walls of rough limestone blocks; two to three courses high; there are larger blocks N and S of these lines; between the two lines there is a line of small stones blocking the way between.

Possibly one of the Hellenistic tombs excavated by Wace in 1921.

D4:39 – Myc**Possibly ChT or tholos cutting**

On W slope of Panagia ridge; «dromos» type cutting filled with medium to large stones but no sign of chamber; cross-walls at top and bottom.

Survey only.

D4:40 – Myc**Building remains**

Bedrock has been specially cut to receive the first course of a 9m long wall; only one course (60cm) preserved of hard grey limestone blocks, roughly shaped. Originally other walls to E but now destroyed by track. A wall parallel to this and a S boundary suggests that these remains form the SE part of the construction surveyed by Steffen.

Marked by Steffen but not labelled.

D4:41 – Hell?**Cist grave**

Small rectangular cist with poros cover slab *in situ*. Possible traces of other tombs were noted in 1991 but not refound.

Survey only.

D4:42 – ?**Terrace/retaining walls**

1) Line of limestone blocks; unworked; set about three courses high; the line runs N-S from near grave; the blocks are set into the slope in steps; the upper course has the largest stones and is furthest W. 2) Two parallel lines of limestone blocks running N-S; the blocks are small and set together in rough courses; there may be a cross-wall connecting the two lines.

Survey only.

D4:43 – ?**Wells or cisterns**

Two round wells (or cisterns); S well is deeper with limestone blocks forming a wall around its W half (double faced).

Survey only.

D4:44 – ?**Walls, of structure?**

Group of limestone blocks, possibly the end of a wall; test trenches have been dug on either side of the wall; the wall runs E-W.

Not identified.

D4:45 – ?**Terrace walls**

At N end of Panagia ridge one parallel to car park small thin rubble wall, 12m long; one 3m below ridge and 20m long, one course of well-faced limestone blocks.

The latter marked but not named by Steffen.

D4:46 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Wall about 4m long of large roughly dressed limestone blocks on W slope of Panagia ridge near crest.

Survey only.

D4:47 – Myc**Massive walling**

Massive walling running down W slope of Panagia ridge; much denuded, down slope from D4:44.

Survey only.

D4:48 – Hell/Recent**Houses**

Line of small structures, heavily overgrown and two cut by fence; one may have traces of earlier masonry at base.

Marked by Steffen but not labelled; these have generally been supposed to be Hellenistic but they may be the remains of the abandoned village, which itself may have been built on earlier foundations.

D4:49 – Myc**Revetment**

On S bank of Kokoretsa rema.

Marked by Steffen.

D4:50 – Myc/Hell**«The Rock»**

Clearing for building a shelter by the rock outcrop W of the Lion Tomb disclosed Hell (antefix *et al.*) and Myc (sheet of lead and two pots) remains, also a poros wall of nine blocks then limestone, tiles and a burial.

Possibly marked by Steffen.

D4:51 – ?**Water channels**

Channels of various dates noted by several authors and still visible.

D4 – All periods**The Atreus ridge**

The importance of the area has led to repeated testing.

1. 1920's Tomb trials along the NW slope producing evidence of burials thought to be Hellenistic, a house terrace and a refuse pit with sherds of LH I-III A1 date.

2. 1939: Trials made on the ridge, mainly to investigate the construction of the tholos and the poros blocks from its surround wall which were not then understood. Wace (1949, 125) reports the find of stone vase fragments on the surface. Some evidence of metal working was also found.

3. 1955: Two sets of trials were made in this year: at the NE to investigate the slope opposite and W of the House of Shields and House of Sphinxes (see D4F) and to study the dome of the tholos and the settlement of the ridge itself; the latter resulted in further excavation of the House of Lead and the terrace on which it is built. Trial F revealed a burial.

4. 1962: Series of seven trial trenches (1.50m wide) were excavated under Mylonas running down slope between the church and a point 20m from the Treasury of Atreus; no Hellenistic occupation or sherds were found but mention is made of possible Byzantine farming (*Praktika* 1962, 65).

5. 1964: Mylonas mentions the finding of foundations

which were to be further investigated (*Praktika* 1964, 68).

6. 1972: A chamber tomb, a dromos with niche and a cist grave were excavated (*Praktika* 1972, 115-6).

7. 1986: During the excavation of a water channel there were found a cist grave (dated to the 1st quarter of the 5th century BC, perhaps largely on historical grounds) and a Mycenaean wall and floor with signs of burning dated by a stirrup jar to LH IIIB (*Deltion* 40B, 91-2).

In addition many more terrace walls are marked by Steffen and more than could be recorded still exist along the ridge.

D4 - Myc

Pezoulia area: rock cutting for house

Rock-cut terrace for a house «like those found near Atreus in 1921» with good LH III sherds.

Noted 1922 but not reidentified in survey.

D4A - 1650-1550 BC

Grave Circle B

The earlier of the two enclosed burial precincts containing twenty six graves.

Once completely enclosed by a circular wall which is reasonably preserved only on the NE but is traceable on the SE and S. An entrance to the «peribolos» could possibly have existed on the W side, the direction to which most of the stelae faced. Most of the twenty six graves enclosed in the precinct were oriented roughly N-S, but the actual burials, which were often multiple, do not seem to have been deliberately arranged. The earlier graves are simple rectangular pits. Growing gradually larger they were given the form and size of deep shafts, having near the bottom a rock-cut ledge or a rubble or mudbrick lining supporting a roof of beams, sometimes covered with stone slabs or matting coated with water-proof layers of clay.

The earliest graves (Alpha 1, Alpha 2, Zeta, Eta, Theta, Xi 1, Lambda 2, Sigma, Tau, Phi) were small and shallow and contained few goods, if any. Their small size necessitated a contracted burial. Only the later among these graves have pebble floors and evidence for beams in the roofs.

The later graves, those with side walls and roof beams, were generally much larger, but the grave goods were not always very impressive, being predominantly pottery. Due to the increase in size of the graves, the burials, often multiple, could be in an extended position. During the latest phase the burial goods became increasingly elaborate.

Almost all of these graves (middle phase: Beta, Iota, Kappa, Lambda, Lambda 1, Xi, Upsilon; late phase: Mu, Pi, Alpha, Gamma, Delta, Epsilon, Nu and Omicron) had stone-outlined perimeters and heaps of stones as markers above the centre of the grave. The four latest graves were marked with upright rectangular stelae.

Evidence for burial customs is widespread: they include the pushing aside of older burials for the placement of later ones, and signs of funeral meals and toasts connected with the closing of the graves. The skeletal evidence could suggest the existence of several families or branches of one family, but those with common «family» traits do not seem to have been grouped together (Musgrave *et al.* 1995).

Evidence for earlier and later use: Earlier use of the area is indicated by traces of MH structures preceding the circle, some with possible cult connections. Later usage is evidenced by Tomb Rho, a built tomb constructed into a much earlier shaft grave. The earlier grave was enlarged and the burials were removed and packed against the side of the grave or on the roof shelf. Within the enlarged shaft was built in poros a tomb with entrance passage and chamber, still preserved including the roof. The walls of both passage and chamber were vertical and then inclined until only 30cm apart at the top, where the opening was spanned by horizontal slabs, the joints of which were filled with clay. The slabs of the chamber were covered with painted stucco with bands of red and black. No burial or goods were found, but sherds of Palace Style amphorae of LH IIA were recovered. Later use continued in LH III with the cutting of a

chamber tomb to the South (see below) and the construction of the Tomb of Clytemnestra, the mound of which would have completely covered Circle B.

Discovered in 1951 during restoration work on the Tomb of Clytemnestra when one grave (Alpha) was excavated by Kharitonidis (*Praktika* 1951, 197-203), though a tomb had been found previously at the NW edge when the waterpipe to the village was renewed in the 1950's. From 1952-1954 excavated by Papadimitriou and Mylonas (*Praktika* 1952, 427-72; 1953, 205-37; 1954, 242-69); Mylonas 1957; 1966, 97-109; 1972-3; Dickinson 1977, 40-6.

D4B - Myc

Chamber tomb

Apparently isolated chamber tomb located immediately S of GCB, important for its position and for the evidence of reuse (cult?) in the Geometric period.

Dromos: 13×1.80-2.10m; depth in front of doorway 2.40m.

Doorway: blocked with wall of small stones of which the upper part had fallen; façade decorated with coloured plaster, red, black and blue, in simple linear decoration.

Chamber: 2.50×4.5m; irregular rectangle with a large rectangular niche along S wall; full of debris from collapsed roof.

This is the only ChT within the main settlement area of Mycenae though the dromos of an apparently unfinished tomb lay beneath the House of Shields 75m further S. This latter would date from before LH IIIB1.

Evidence for later use: after the collapse of the chamber roof, a circular structure of small stones (Di. ca 2m, H. 0.30m) was built above the NE side of the tomb. The sherds found within and around it were Protogeometric or Geometric. Below and into the chamber were found three layers of blackened earth, and bones mixed with many Late Geometric and early Protocorinthian sherds. At some point the circular structure began to sink, perhaps together with the continuing collapse of the chamber, and a replacement structure was built on the NW, 1.30m away. Papadimitriou believed it to be an altar from a Geometric cult of a dead hero.

Used in LH III (A and B according to the excavator).

Discovered and excavated by Papadimitriou in 1952-53 (*Praktika* 1952, 465-70; 1953, 207-9), also discussed by Mylonas (1973, 18); Antonaccio 1995, 47-8 (called Tomb 222).

D4C - LH III

Tomb of Clytemnestra

Tholos tomb, probably the last of the third constructional group, exhibiting the most advanced features, notably extensive use of sawn conglomerate.

Dromos: 37×6m; lined with ashlar conglomerate; at S end blocking wall of small rectangular poros blocks; grave-pit at W side of N end.

Doorway: built of ashlar conglomerate; three lintel slabs of conglomerate with two pivot-holes on underside for double doors.

Façade: doorway flanked by fluted gypsum half columns on conglomerate bases⁹⁵.

Chamber: Di. 13.40m; built of ashlar conglomerate of relatively small size except for one course at the height of the lintel of larger blocks; dome originally covered by a mound of earth plastered with clay which was supported at ground level on the E (where the rock drops sharply) by wall of rubble and ashlar poros. The dome was restored in 1950-51.

95. Wace (1949, 36) at one time thought that the gypsum sculptures (BM A 56, 57) came from here. This must be mistaken as they reached London in 1803 before the tomb was cleared. He later (1953, 313-4), after Marinatos reported finding gypsum chips near the tomb, assigned them to the inner chamber of the Treasury of Atreus.

Evidence for later use: sherds found mainly in the dromos date from Geometric through the Hellenistic; **Hellenistic theatre** (as yet largely unstudied) constructed above the dromos. In addition, twelve terracotta figurines (female and animal) and one lead female figurine were found dating to the Archaic period; Antonaccio 1995, 39-41.

Dating disputed, between 1300 and 1220 BC; generally agreed to be later than the Treasury of Atreus; often dated by *terminus ante quem* from a deposit of Early LH IIIB1 pottery found against the N end of the surround wall and thought to be dedicatory. Much LH IIIB2 pottery associated with the surround wall further S. Possibly damaged by LH IIIC (*Praktika* 1954, 268).

Mound marked by Gell; robbed, possibly after accidental damage, by Veli Pasha before 1810; dromos partially excavated by Sofia Schliemann in 1876 (Schliemann 1878, 118-21, 139-41); in 1891, 1892 and 1897 further excavated by Tsountas (*Praktika* 1891, 19; 1892, 57; 1897, 25); doorway supported between 1897 and 1915, girders repainted 1915 (Ktenas, *Deltion* 1, 1915, 53-4); in 1921 Wace tested below the walls and in 1922 cleared the tomb for measuring (*BSA* 25, 357-76); in 1950 during the restoration of the tomb (*Ephemeris* 1948-9, 43-5) he investigated under the threshold (*BSA* 50, 194-7); poros wall excavated by Taylour in 1952-3 (*BSA* 50, 209-23).

D4D – LH IIA

Tomb of Aigisthos

Tholos tomb, probably the latest of the first constructional group as it exhibits, in addition, features of the second group such as a relieving triangle, blocked on the inside. Very unstable, latest collapse 1994.

Dromos: 22×4-5m; cut out of the hillside, partly in earth and partly in rock; the earth faces above the rockcut walls were lined with rubble masonry and packed tightly with yellow clay; a drain runs along the E side of the dromos from in front of the doorway. Floored with slabs at S end.

Doorway: original façade and doorway constructed of rubble masonry which bonded with the dromos walls; roofed with three lintel blocks, outer two of rough limestone and inner of conglomerate; an ornamental (non-functional) façade was added later consisting of large rectangular conglomerate blocks as a foundation on which rise piers of ashlar masonry, the two lowest courses of which continue the use of conglomerate, the other seven courses being of poros; the joints were coated with stucco as was now all the original rubble masonry; the E side is still in place, the W side has collapsed.

Chamber: Di. 13m; dome collapsed; walls of rubble masonry; pit was found just inside doorway lined with big blocks of stone and packed with yellow clay; dome was originally covered by a mound of earth which was in turn covered by a layer of clay.

Evidence for later use: at the S end of dromos: 4th century bronze coin and much Hellenistic pottery (possibly deriving from ruinous houses and a Hellenistic tomb), 6th century structure to W. Doorway: two Protocorinthian and ten Hellenistic sherds. Possible grave pit in doorway: Hellenistic pottery mixed with Geometric and Mycenaean. Tholos: Hellenistic sherds found close to floor, fragments of black-figure, fragments of Megarian bowls, loom weights, Archaic and later terracotta antefix fragments *et al.*; Papadimitriou (1955, 219) specifically notes the absence of Geometric and Early Archaic material; Antonaccio 1995, 34-6.

LH IIA Early (for discussion see Dickinson 1977, 62; Pelon 1976, 159-62, 380); only LH I and II with MH below the clay cap (*BSA* 49, 232).

Thought to have been discovered by Tsountas in 1892 (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 124) but possibly first noted by Welcker in 1842 (1850, 335 n. 5) though it is surprising that no one else, especially Schliemann (with Drossinos) and Steffen record any sign of it; Tsountas cleared only the upper part of the doorway (*Praktika* 1892, 57); restored 1915 (*Deltion* 1, 1915, para. 53-4); in 1922 Wace excavated the dromos and part of the chamber (*BSA* 25, 296-316); Papadimitriou

completed the excavation in 1954 and 1957 (*Praktika* 1955, 218-26; *Ergon* 1955, 125-29; 1957, 129-131); clay covering noted by Wace (*BSA* 50, 207-9); under study for preservation 1995. Preserved, tholos partly restored and relieving triangle exposed 1998-99 (Iakovidis 2001).

D4E – MH-Hell

The Prehistoric cemetery area

Area W of the Lion Gate as far as the tholos tombs of Aigisthos and Clytemnestra, investigated by Wace in the 1920's, 1939 and 1950's on Tsountas' hypothesis that the Citadel wall cut an extensive earlier cemetery. The cemetery (MH to LH IIB) itself will be discussed in detail by Alden, *WBM* 7, forthcoming. Plan (overall): *BSA* 50, pl. 36.

The features include (in chronological order):

LH II Deposit «Trial (to E of Tomb of Aigisthos) to test the idea that an LH I-II dump might have been shot in this region does not seem to hold good. Sherds LH I-II, no Hellenistic and LH III far less common.» (1922) Cf. material found in 1952 (*BSA* 48, 8).

The East-West wall built between the time of the construction of the Tomb of Aigisthos and the Tomb of Clytemnestra possibly to delimit the cemetery area at the N (*BSA* 50, 203-7).

Deposit by N end of wall surrounding the Tomb of Clytemnestra: Considered votive and giving possible *terminus ante quem* for the tomb (*BSA* 61, 217-38).

Mycenaean walls and other settlement material largely at the E end of the area outside the Lion Gate (1921), including the pottery deposit of LH IIIB2 (*BSA* 52, 206-19) and fresco fragments (*BSA* 85, 213-23). Mention of burnt Myc houses. The Perseia Trench L deposit published in *BSA* 64 is thought not to come from habitation in the immediate area (*BSA* 64, 72).

Mycenaean roadway thought to run in front of the tholos tombs of Clytemnestra and Aigisthos and to zigzag up via visible terracing to below W bastion of Lion Gate (*BSA* 48, 4-5); possible ramp noted.

LH IIIC graves and habitation/SMyc graves overlying the E end of the E-W wall (*BSA* 49, 258-66) and possibly another against the West Citadel wall uncovered by the Anastelosis. Papadimitriou (*Praktika* 1954, 268) found LH IIIC structures E of the Tomb of Clytemnestra with a carved spiral block in the wall, from which he deduced that the tomb façade was already damaged by this period.

Protogeometric pottery in pit near the Citadel wall (Desborough 1952, pl. 28b).

Geometric graves overlying the E end of the E-W wall (*BSA* 49, 260; 50, 204 n. 6c) and E of the Tomb of Clytemnestra (Evangelidis, *Ephemeris* 1912, 127; Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1954, 268).

Archaic period «Sacred Building» W of the Tomb of Aigisthos (*Praktika* 1955, 222-3; Antonaccio 1995, 36 and Chap. 3); tiled pavement and structure over graves by Citadel wall (*Praktika* 1955, 223-4).

Walls of unknown date but thought to be earlier than Hellenistic at a higher level than the poros wall around the Tomb of Clytemnestra (*BSA* 50, 199-237).

Hellenistic walls, graves and two cisterns, mainly at the E near the Lion Gate (1921, 1955). Wace expresses surprise at the presence of a grave within the settlement area (*BSA* 48, 9) though cf. Boethius (*BSA* 25, 421; for contents of grave by Tomb of Aigisthos see 04 22/NBK). Hellenistic sherds are also mentioned (1920). A further much destroyed Hellenistic cistern near Grave Circle B is mentioned in *Praktika* 1953, 209.

The Perseia Fountain House: As preserved, a Hellenistic construction once thought to be a Gymnasium but later shown clearly to be the Fountain House seen by Pausanias. For detailed analysis of the architectural history see *BSA* 48, 19-29. There is a possible relationship to a temenos of Hera (*BSA* 48, 26). In 1892 Tsountas found a painted circular cap of poros associated with a water installation; the area was investigated by Wace in 1922 (*BSA* 25, 420) and 1939 and fully excavated by M. S. F. Hood and M. Holland for Wace in 1952.

Area under use variously from MH to Hellenistic.

Extensively tested by Wace 1920-22 (Notebooks) and 1950-54 (Notebooks and *BSA* 48-52); excavation subdivisions include PCEast (Cemetery and Houses), PCCentral (the deposits S of the Fountain House) and PCSouth (the trenches along the Poros wall); see also Taylour, *BSA* 50, 199-237; Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1955, 223-5.

D4F – MH-Hell

West House Group (also called the «Ivory Houses»).

Group of four major buildings running N-S, South of GCB and the Tomb of Clytemnestra just to the E of the modern road and facing a Mycenaean roadway at the E. A full study of the architecture and the function of the group has been published by Tournavitou 1995. The pottery dating is given in *BSA* 60, 185-193 and 62, 151-178.

The group is particularly important for the diverse functions exhibited, combined with the presence of Linear B texts; a connection to the Palace bureaucracy is assumed. The roadway with two open areas at the entrances to the House of the Oil Merchant and to the House of Sphinxes and West House is at present unique in or out of the Citadel.

The West House: The latest of the group to be found and excavated, as it was not discovered until the widening of the road to the Citadel in 1957, lying to the W of the others. It was, however, probably the first to be built. The house is built on the rock without a terrace but overlay traces of MH III/LH I building (a definite house was found to the S). Entry seems to have been from a passage at the E into the court and from the S into a long corridor. The E side, much disturbed by later (mainly Hellenistic) overbuilding, consisted of a court with stoa on the N and W; the N porch seems to have led to a megaron complex. The amount of debris and the presence of a stair suggest that this part of the building was two storeyed. This porch had been reused as a shrine in Archaic/Early Classical times (a handsome deposit of votive figurines). On the W a series of rooms opened off the corridor; these do not seem to have had an upper storey. The first three rooms were interconnected by an anteroom; the contents of the rooms comprised: in the S room a unique series of small fine ware stirrup jars and other pots as well as Linear B tablets (eleven here and two others high in disturbed soil elsewhere on the site); in the middle room two unpainted kraters containing raw clay; in the Northern of the three (probably a storeroom) pithoi and other large vessels. North of these lay a long thin kitchen with a series of domestic vessels and an elaborate hearth in which a unique burnt deposit comprising seeds, five logs and other material was preserved. A square room at the N contained unpainted kylikes and an inscribed transport stirrup jar.

There is no evidence for the construction date of this house (except that it antedates the House of Shields) but the contents give a date for the destruction (by violent fire) of Mid LH IIIB. Hellenistic overbuilding and tombs were widespread over the whole area.

Excavated by N. M. Verdelis 1958-61 (*Ergon* 1958, 129-34; 1959, 100-6; *Praktika* 1958, 157-64; 1959, 146-54; 1961, 161-6; *Archaeology* 14, 1961, 13; 13-29 in Chadwick 1962).

The House of Shields is the Northernmost of the group and is built on a substantial terrace extending the rock to the E. The house consists of two parallel rooms at the S running N-S and a third room running E-W across the two at the N; features outside this to the N are speculative. The W room had a bench running along the W side onto which had fallen quantities of ivory inlays (including the figure of Eight Shields from which the House is named) and other rare luxury items (notably stone and faience vessels). One Linear B tablet was also found. Below the W room was a cutting which resembled the dromos of a chamber tomb but without any sign of a chamber; a robbed grave lay under the N wall. There was no sign of earlier occupation though sherd evidence from MH on was found. The fill of the East Terrace gives a date of very Early LH IIIB for the construction of the

house. It was destroyed by fire in Mid LH IIIB along with the others of the group. Protogeometric and Geometric graves had been cut into the debris and there was heavy Hellenistic overbuilding.

Excavated by T. L. Shear Jr and L. A. Witherill for Wace 1953-5 (*BSA* 49, 235-8; 50, 180-4; 51, 107-13; MT II, 5-6).

The House of the Oil Merchant was divided from the House of Shields by a narrow street into which pottery debris of the occupation period of the houses had been thrown. The house consisted of a heavy terrace wall at the East (monumental in some places including a monumental entrance way, *Praktika* 1962, 82-3) on which lay a series of semi-basement rooms entered from a corridor at the W which in its turn lay alongside another heavy terrace wall which supported the West side of the house. A series of well-cut poros blocks in the East terrace wall are thought to be reused. Tests below the floor of the corridor produced pottery of LH IIIA2 and Early LH IIIB and many fragments of decorated wall plaster. The Northern room (1) was arranged as a depot for the storage of olive oil in pithoi with the means of warming the oil in cold weather; outside at the North end of the corridor was a group of three large fine ware stirrup jars and twenty seven heavy transport stirrup jars (now shown to be of Cretan origin) many of which were stoppered and capped with clay bearing seal impressions. One Linear B tablet was found in Room 1 and thirty seven others were found fallen into Room 2, otherwise empty. Room 4 was another storage area of unusual layout. The pottery confirms the destruction date of Mid LH IIIB for the group of houses. Apart from the tablets only painted wall plaster had fallen into the basement from the floor above. The West terrace was again a very strong construction filled with stones supported in part by internal division walls. A megaron type plan for the main storey has been suggested by the arrangement of walls within the terrace but no trace survived of the main floor (which would have lain at the level of a floor over the basements at the East).

The whole house had been heavily overbuilt in Hellenistic times. Subsequent work to the East revealed an apsidal building thought to be a shrine from the votives it contained; the earliest sherds recovered were Protogeometric and usage in the Geometric, Archaic and Hellenistic periods is attested.

Terrace wall marked by Steffen; originally tested at the suggestion of Blegen in 1950 and thus first called Blegen's House; name changed to House of the Stirrup Jars in 1952 and then to House of the Oil Merchant (because too many houses contained stirrup jars!).

Excavated by J. M. Dow, B. Kistruck and E. B. French for Wace 1950, 1952, 1954, 1959, 1961 (*BSA* 48, 9-15; 50, 184-5; MT II, 6-9; MT III, 30-2) and N. M. Verdelis 1962, 1963 (*Praktika* 1962, 81-3).

The House of Sphinxes is the Southernmost of the group and abuts against the South wall of the House of the Oil Merchant. In the first testing of 1952 it was thought to be an annexe of that house (then called the House of Stirrup Jars). As preserved the house is a long relatively narrow stretch of basement rooms opening off both sides of a corridor running N-S, three large and one small on the W and one on the E. There is an East terrace wall built against the rock and packed with stone and clay but no terrace fill as in the buildings to the N; there is thus no evidence for a construction date for the house nor of any earlier buildings below it. Material *in situ* came from Room 1 (an elaborate storeroom), Room 4 (four storage jars) and Room 8 (a small cupboard); nine Linear B tablets had fallen from above into Room 6 and one into Room 4; seven inscribed sealings were found in the doorway of Room 1 of which the source is a matter of discussion. Into Rooms 1, 2 and 4 as well as the intervening corridor had fallen from above a mass of wood and of ivory, mainly inlays but including the Sphinx plaque (probably box lid?) from which the House is named. The SE part of the

basement level appears to have been open and is hard to interpret; the entrance appears to have been from a probable court at the S where there is evidence also of a stair. The house was destroyed by a violent fire dated clearly by the fine ware pottery from Room 1 to Mid LH IIIB.

Scattered sherds of LH IIIC were recovered from the upper levels and a Protogeometric tomb had been cut into debris at the South end. As well as other Hellenistic over-building a very well-built Hellenistic latrine (or wool working floor) lay over Rooms 4 and 6; deep pits running at least 5m into the rock cut down from this through the Mycenaean levels causing much disturbance.

Excavated by J. M. Dow and E. B. French for Wace 1952-5, 1959, 1961 (*BSA* 48, 14; 49, 238-43; 50, 185-9; 51, 113-6; *MT* II, 9-13; *MT* III, 32-4).

The East House: Traces of at least one other building, destroyed by the same fire, were revealed in 1962-3 20m to the E of the House of Sphinxes on the other side of the Mycenaean road. Earlier occupation of MH and of LH IIIA is reported and later usage of the area is shown by the presence of Archaic? tiles.

Excavated by N. M. Verdelis 1962-3 (*Praktika* 1962, 88-9; 1963, 107-111; *Ergon* 1963, 74-7).

Trials to W of modern road: In 1955 extensive trial trenching was carried out in two series opposite the House of Shields and House of Sphinxes. Finds included G graves (*BSA* 51, 128-9) and sherds, Hell walling, cistern and coins (*BSA* 69, 95-107); there was little depth of deposit.

Excavated by L. A. Witherill and E. B. French for Wace.

D4G – Myc

Museum area

Three areas of LH III structures were excavated in preparation for the building of the site Museum, lying below and to the W of the building and including:

The House of the Tripod Tomb

A building complex extending over a narrow area of ca 450m² at the foot of the N slope of the Citadel, still preserved under the entrance court of the Museum building. It went through three successive phases. The first left some ruined walls and parts of floors bearing traces of fire. Some of these walls were incorporated into the second phase, a few were reused as foundations and added to; new floors were laid, higher than before. This remodelling resulted in the construction of some twenty rooms built in a row, supported by a strong Cyclopean retaining wall which runs parallel to the Citadel rock at a distance of 13-15m from it. The rooms are divided by passages into two or three units which may or may not have been independent. They contained pottery, roof tiles, an oven, a millstone, cooking and storage vessels and lead utensils.

Built in Early LH IIIB this complex was destroyed or, at least, damaged in advanced LH IIIB2, probably by an earthquake.

The third phase is represented by a few walls at the E end of this area. They were erected during the transition of LH IIIB to LH IIIC and were abandoned at the end of LH IIIC Early, before the appearance of the Close Style. Later, but still during LH IIIC, seven pit graves were sunk in the ruins. One contained two bronze tripod cauldrons, twenty double axes, a bronze tool and a few clay pots. The other interments were furnished sparsely, if at all.

Evidence for earlier and later use: Some remains were discovered of earlier building/occupation at lower levels, including a LH II child's grave. Hellenistic structures had been constructed above the Mycenaean remains, extending to the Lion Tomb, outside of the Hellenistic city wall.

Excavated by A. Onassoglou in 1984 (*Deltion* 40, 1985B, 93; *Ergon* 1984, 116; and full publication 1995).

Buildings W and NW of the Museum

Ca 30m NW of the Tripod Tomb, between the Museum and the Lion Tomb remains of a building, considered to be a

workshop, were uncovered in 1979 by A. Dragona and G. E. Mylonas. Mentioned and illustrated by Onassoglou 1955 (16 n. 1b, 18, plan V, pl. 5); unpublished. Next to the Museum a terrace wall and some house walls below it were brought to light by E. Palaiologou; unpublished.

SQUARE D5

D5:01 – Myc

M3 Roadway

Traces of wide level road terrace and other features running on 220m contour from Postern Gate, around Kokoretsa rema and circling to N.

Much noted by Steffen; surveyed by Lavery and Jansen, see Lavery 1990, 1995 and Jansen 1994.

D5:02 – Myc?

Terrace walls

Five of the many lines of small to medium size stones curving along slope, often of considerable length.

Survey only; note that those marked by Steffen lie at a different level.

D5:03 – Myc

Stream crossing

Line of medium size stones on W side of upper crossing of Kokoretsa; at E side concentration of stones and pebbles.

Steffen's «Bachübergang».

D5:04 – Myc

Wall cuttings/quarry

Almost rectangular cutting in bare rock outcrop; cuttings parallel with and perpendicular to slope. Possible wall cuttings or quarry marks.

Survey only.

D5:05 – Myc

Retaining wall, for road?

Wall of limestone blocks of various sizes, one to three courses high, built on bedrock; from position possibly related to M3; rock cuttings adjacent.

Survey only.

D5:06a – Myc

Terrace wall with stair

On slope opposite Plakes House, below Postern Gate, terrace wall of large unworked limestone blocks; about three courses preserved; at the middle there is an opening in the wall; blocks are set below this opening to form a stairway; the wall curves to the N after the opening.

Survey only.

D5:06b – Myc?

Terrace walls

Overgrown lines of unworked limestone blocks of varying sizes running NE-SW, probably part of settlement area.

Survey only but cf. Steffen.

D5:07 – Myc

M3 Crossing

Crossing/bridge over Kokoretsa rema.

Probably that marked by Steffen.

D5:08 – Myc

Terrace walls

Line of six large blocks of rough limestone and wall of unworked medium size limestone blocks; two to three courses.

Former presumably Steffen's «antike Stützmauern», latter survey only.

D5:09 – Myc

M3 Roadway

Traces of wide level road terrace and other features running on 220m contour from Postern Gate, around Kokoretsa rema and circling to N.

Much noted by Steffen; surveyed by Lavery and Jansen, see Lavery 1990, 1995 and Jansen 1994.

D5:10 – Myc**Grooving on M3 roadway**

Rock outcrop with grooves, now partly obscured by concrete; apparently intended to guide wheeled traffic across difficult rock surface.

Noted by Iakovidis (*Ephemeris* 1961, 194-5).

D5:11 – Myc**Structures**

Two separate wall lines of fairly large unworked limestone blocks.

Survey only.

D5:12 – Myc**Terrace walls**

Two parallel walls of unworked limestone blocks running E-W; size of stones and number of courses vary.

Survey only.

D5:13 – ?**Terrace wall incorporating reused material**

Wall of limestone blocks running N-S; at S end reused blocks; nicely cut; rectangular and large; surface «roughened» on purpose, part of a ledge and a circular protrusion.

Survey only.

D5:14 – Myc**M1 Road terraces**

Walls of unworked limestone blocks; size of stones and number of courses vary.

Steffen's «Hochstrasse».

D5:15 – Myc to modern**Perseia Spring**

The natural spring originating in the saddle below the S slope of Profitis Ilias is the source from which the underground cistern in the Acropolis was supplied with water by way of a buried conduit of terracotta pipes.

Steffen marks the spring in another location where it apparently came to the surface to the NE of the Citadel but it is not actually the source (Wace 1949, 47; Mylonas 1966, 87). Steffen also marks two other sources.

D5:16 – ?**Graves**

Outside Postern Gate.

BSA 45, 204-6.

D5:17 – Recent**Collapsed water mill**

On slope opposite E end of Citadel.

Marked by Steffen.

D5:18 – MH-Hell**Sykies trials**

Various trials to E of Acropolis; in the area now called Sykies (1994) on the slope opposite the NE Extension only one fig tree remains but the area is heavily tree'd (contrast Wace 1949, fig. 36b).

1922: Trial to look for building from which Hellenistic blocks came.

1939: Tholos tomb trials near two conglomerate blocks amid the shrub *Agnus Castus*, above, a flat bevelled block; in field above? slab grave; kiln trial (Wace 1949, 47, 135).

D5:19 – ?**Cistern/kiln**

Stone built upper surround to rock-cut cavity, now half obscured by foliage; reported locally to be a modern kiln but resembling the Hellenistic cistern from the E end of the Citadel.

Possibly the «well» mentioned by Alden 1981, 136.

D5:20**Clay bed**

Part of Longaki clay outcrop appearing N of the Neromanna plateau on the path leading N.

Survey only.

D5**Cave**

In bluff opposite E end of Citadel.

Report by JL not reidentified.

SQUARE E4**E4:01 – Myc, Hell****House**

Incomplete rectangular structure covering an entire terrace with two long parallel walls along line of slope, and one cross-wall. In SE corner of structure is a square platform with walled sides, and several large limestone blocks with the inclusion of tiles at the foundation level.

Survey only.

E4:02 – Hell**Hellenistic structure**

Impressive building, approx. 28×6m. The W wall is in fact the modified bedrock of the plateau of the ridge, filled with rubble. The walls are ca 65cm wide and are made of upright standing limestone boulders. The nature of this construction is not Mycenaean.

Marked by Steffen as post-Mycenaean.

E4:03 – Myc**Structure**

Remains of a substantial building 4m W of the entrance porch of the Panagia chapel; only the corner of a building 1.2m E-W and N-S is discernible. The blocks are roughly shaped limestone boulders, quite massive.

Survey only.

E4:04 – Myc**Panagia ChT cemetery**

Two Eastern tombs of extensive area of sixteen identified chamber tombs on W slope of ridge (E3:13).

Excavated by Tsountas; Shelton 1993, Shelton 2000.

E4:05 – ?**Terrace or retaining walls**

Line of small to medium sized limestone blocks running N-S; at S end three courses visible/stepped; upper two courses set back into slope from bottom one; probably extended S with similar line.

Survey only.

E4:06 – Myc**Panagia Houses**

Group of three houses lying immediately N of the Treasury of Atreus, built closely together and giving important evidence of destruction by earthquake.

House I abuts a terrace wall on the W and is divided from *House II* by a very narrow passage; it consists of five rooms, a courtyard and a corridor (off which may have opened further rooms which have been destroyed). It was built at the beginning of the LH IIIB period and was occupied for long enough to need refurnishment of the plastered floors in two of its rooms. *House I* was suddenly and violently destroyed by an earthquake but there was no fire. It was never rebuilt. The skeleton of a middle-aged woman whose skull had been crushed by a falling stone was found in the doorway between the main room and the anteroom.

House II was built shortly after *House I* and its plan was adapted to conform to the existing *House I*. It consisted of thirteen rooms, and exhibited two clearly defined periods of use. The first period ends with the earthquake, which destroyed *House I*, but in this instance only damaged the house enough to require somewhat extensive repairs. *House II* was then rebuilt, some new rooms were added and others abandoned. It was shortly thereafter destroyed by fire.

House III of which only basement rooms are preserved was built later than the other two, being squeezed into the space between them and the terrace behind them, but still prior to the earthquake in which it was slightly damaged. It seems to have been occupied long after this as it was not affected by the fire and thus lasted longer than *House II*.

Evidence for earlier and later use: early grave beneath House II; later graves (Mycenaean, Geometric and presumably Hellenistic); little later sherd evidence but complete Submycenaean amphoriskos illustrated (Mylonas Shear 1987, 3 and pl. 52).

Constructed in LH IIIB1; earthquake in Mid LH IIIB; final usage of Houses II and III uncertain.

Excavated under direction of I. Mylonas Shear in 1962-63, 1965-66, and 1977 (*Praktika* 1962, 65; 1963, 104; 1964, 68; 1965, 94; 1966, 111; Mylonas 1966, 83; Mylonas Shear 1987).

E4:07 – LH III

Treasury of Atreus (fig. 1)

The largest and most impressive of the tholos tombs at Mycenae (the second of the third group) completely constructed of large blocks of ashlar conglomerate with elaborately decorated façade and a side chamber.

Dromos: 36×6m; lined with ashlar conglomerate; floored with clay plaster; at E end low blocking wall of ashlar poros; massive conglomerate terrace in front of dromos entrance.

Doorway: built of ashlar conglomerate; two lintel blocks, the inner of which is enormous; relieving triangle; the floor of the doorway was paved with limestone slabs in middle of which is the threshold, consisting of four stones, conglomerate at each edge and in between these, two wedge blocks of poros. Pivot-holes exist on underside of the lintel for double doors which must have been covered with wood or bronze but none exist in the threshold.

Façade: decorated with half columns on two levels and slabs masking the relieving triangle in red and green stone; various reconstructions by Perrot and Chipiez 1894, Wace 1953, Marinatos 1953-54, Mylonas 1966, in the National Museum and the British Museum. Restudied by C. K. Williams II in 1955 (unpublished).

Chamber: Di. 14.50m; walls of ashlar conglomerate; single capping stone; possibly internally decorated; the dome projected above the surface of the hillside and was covered with a mound of earth covered by clay and supported by a poros wall.

Side chamber, on the N side: doorway with two lintel slabs and a relieving triangle above; chamber: 6.50×6m, rockcut; once lined with dressed stone; shallow pit in the centre of the floor; grave pit in NW corner; two dressed conglomerate bases.

Evidence for later use: Antonaccio 1995, 37-8; for the Archaic vessels, possibly dedications, against the poros surround wall which may indicate later cult see BSA 51, 118.

Dating disputed, between 1350 and 1250 BC; domestic rubbish from a rock cleft covered with chippings from the cutting of the dromos gives a *terminus post quem* of LH IIIA1; a single patterned sherd from a LH IIIB stemmed bowl was found under the threshold. It is considered decisive by some (Mylonas, *Ephemeris* 1958, 194-200; 1966, 120) and intrusive by others (French, BSA 68, 331).

Long known e.g. Blouet 1833, pls. LXVI-LXXI *et al.* (for discussion of early history see Lavery forthcoming); Schliemann 1878; Stamatakis cleared the dromos in 1878; in 1920-21 Wace tested under the threshold and in the dromos (BSA 25, 338-57) and in 1939 reinvestigated the dating evidence (1949, 119-340); testing for poros surround wall etc. (BSA 51, 116-9).

E4:08 – ?

Terrace walls

One running N-S, 14m long, of two to three courses of well-faced grey limestone blocks, no internal face visible; the other a stretch of ancient retaining wall, ca 1m thick, with two faces, about 15m long which does not run straight; five courses preserved, 1.10m high, made of smaller unhewn limestone blocks.

Marked by Steffen and investigated by Wace (BSA 51, 116-22).

E4:09 – Myc

Culvert/drain

Opening in retaining wall flanked by two large conglomerate

blocks; smaller limestone and conglomerate stones on top of it. Identified as culvert under roadway or drain at base of terrace.

Survey only.

E4:10 – Myc

Terrace wall

A long line of retaining walls can be followed starting from the NW corner of the House of Lead. It is built of hard grey limestone blocks, roughly shaped, up to two courses high, running N-S along the edge of the ridge.

Marked by Steffen and investigated by Wace (BSA 51, 116-22).

E4:11 – LH II-LH IIIB

House of Lead (fig. 26)

Terraced house at S end of upper Panagia ridge. Heavy terrace walls on W, S and E enclose the rock which rises at the centre giving the erroneous impression of a roadway passing through the building. Two rooms at the NW corner, considered basements, have been excavated; the northern contained ten domestic storage vessels, six unpainted vessels and a globular stirrup jar from which the burnt destruction can be dated to Mid LH IIIB (i.e. one phase earlier than suggested by Wace); the southern contained the lead vessel from which the house takes its name. Pottery from within the terrace (south end where there was no overbuilding preserved) gives a *terminus post quem* of LH IIIA2 for the construction of the building (BSA 60, 174-84). A ramp appeared to lead into the house from the NE.

Two sherds of MH/LH I were identified and there was clear evidence of LH II. There were no traces preserved of occupation after the burnt destruction. A few sherds of possible Geometric were noted but no Hellenistic.

Marked by Steffen but not labelled (though Wace mistakenly thought the legend «Grundm. eines kyklopischen Festungs Thurmes» applied to this building). Partially excavated by R. Higgins for Wace in 1955 (BSA 51, 120-1).

E4:12 – Myc?

House

A rectangular room, ca 2.5×3.5m against which a 8m long wall abuts from the S. The walls are built of rough limestone blocks, one course preserved.

Marked by Steffen.

E4:13 – ?

Terrace wall

Double faced wall of small stones, running NW-SE diagonally across the terrace.

Survey only.

E4:14 – Myc

Third km ChT cemetery

Line of five chamber tombs along line of modern road forming N part of this cemetery.

Excavated by Tsountas and Wace (T502, 504); Shelton 1993.

E4:15 – Myc

Road cutting

Possible remains of a Mycenaean road cutting with terracing are preserved within the modern track. The outcropping bedrock, leaving a passage through which surface waters must have passed, leaves a passage of ca 2.50m wide, where the bedrock slopes down considerably (i.e. about 1m from a to b). Thus, to make the slope more suitable, flat blocks were placed in the passage thus providing a gently sloping flat paved causeway. The E bedrock has been cut.

Survey only.

E4:16 – Myc

Makri Lithari structure

A construction (or pair of constructions) which is not a house as surveyed elsewhere on the Panagia ridge and could conceivably be a gate as Steffen proposed, lying at the S end

of the Panagia ridge; approx. 10m N of the Makri Lithari rock outcrop.

The area was cleared in 1992 and all foundation stones are clearly visible; plan made.

In general it is a rectangular construction made up of a series of parallel walls dividing the area in a series of longitudinal areas, as well as an oblique wall running from the NW.

The *West building* consists of two heavy walls meeting at an acute angle; at the far W end the S wall turns abruptly to accommodate the rock outcrop beyond. These walls appear to have supported a terrace on which another structure would have been built.

The *S wall* probably continues some 10m E (making ca 16m in all).

The *central «road» area* is inexplicable – very wide for a road (6m) and unparallelled.

The *East building* is, as exposed, another terrace with long parallel walls forming a narrow corridor but, as both edge walls seem clearly to face inward, it is most probably part of the terrace for a large multi-terrace building.

A rock cutting on the N side of the rock feature has been reported but is not immediately identifiable. The drop to the SE is far too steep for a *road* to the Ag. Ioannis bridge without curves.

Sherds from the clearance were almost all Myc, mainly unpainted, some heavy, some «early looking».

Marked by Steffen as «Grundm-reste eines Thors».

E4:17

Rock feature

Makri Lithari: prominent rock feature sometimes thought to resemble a lion's head.

E4:18 – Myc?

Terrace wall

Wall of large unworked limestone blocks; wall runs roughly parallel with the modern road.

Survey only.

E4:19 – Myc

Road crossing?

There are no blocks visible on S bank, but a few large boulders are visible in the stream bed downstream of this position; a line of large blocks is present at the very edge of the ravine on the N; one course only surviving. The line of blocks on the N bank may have been part of the substructure for a bridge.

Possibly Mylonas' (1966, 87) early crossing though this seems more likely to be E4:20.

E4:20 – Myc

Crossing over the Khavos stream

Gentle slopes on both banks of the Khavos. Some stones are present in the bed just downstream. On N bank there is a stone fall at the edge of the stream bed with apparently one course of terracing remaining; relatively easy crossing, but no stones on S side.

The position corresponds to those described for the bridge by Mylonas and Hope Simpson; Mylonas 1966, 87; Hope Simpson 1982, 17, point G.

E4:21 – Myc?

Retaining walls, for roads?

Two courses of large blocks with, on E side, a dogleg in the terrace line going S which then turns E again; line of medium to large-sized stones running E-W (one course preserved).

Survey only.

E4:22 – ?

Cut block

Limestone block with a rectangular cut socket in one of the corners.

Survey only.

E4:23 – Myc

Upper terrace for road

The upper of the two built terraces along the E flank of Sarra, consisting of large unworked boulders.

Survey only.

E4:24 – Myc

Lower terrace for road

The lower of two built terraces along the E flank of Sarra, now consisting of rough large stones of various sizes.

Survey only.

E4:25 – ?

Structure or wall

Single (as far as can be seen) line of unworked limestone blocks; a small group of stones 1.75m long continues the line slightly further to the N.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou 1992.

E4:26 – ?

Rock shelter

Rock cutting; almost square corner at E side; at the S end there seems to be two large holes, which go deeper.

Survey only.

E4:27 – Myc

Terrace walls, for road?

Lines of limestone blocks of fairly large size; up to two courses preserved.

Survey only.

E4:28 – Myc

Terrace wall, for road?

Line of medium to large-sized blocks, at least two courses, possibly supporting lower road terrace.

Survey only.

E4:29 – Archaic

Cist tomb

Four poros slabs forming a rectangular tomb.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou 1992 following damage by bulldozer.

E4:30

Trial trench

Rectangular pit with Myc sherds found.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou after being exposed by a bulldozer.

E4:31 – Myc

Structure

Rectilinear structure; at least two corners; min. two courses of limestone blocks.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauern».

E4:32 – Myc

Terrace wall

Line (7.65m long) of limestone blocks running NNE-SSW (NE of T505) of medium to large size; one course of large stones survives; these have been set with smaller stones.

Survey only.

E4:33 – Hell

Hellenistic wall

Retaining wall of small roughly squared grey limestone blocks, up to three courses high (60cm) running approx. E-W.

Steffen's «Abschnitts Mauer».

E4:34 – ?

Cist tomb

Cist tomb and other remains.

Excavated by A. Onassoglou 1986 (*Deltion* 41B, 1986, 91-2) but not reidentified.

E4:35 – Myc

Cyclopean tower

Steffen's «Grundm. eines kyklopischen Festungs-Thurms» on the E bank of the Khonia rema, level with the House of Lead.

Mistakenly confused with the House of Lead by Wace (*BSA* 51, 119); no longer identifiable.

SQUARE F4

F4:01 – Myc

Third km ChT cemetery

T 505; only trace of dromos preserved; destroyed by widening of modern road.

Excavated by Wace 1921-2 (1932, 3-18).

F4:02 – Post Myc

Cist tombs

Group of four cist tombs in various states of preservation.

Survey only.

F4:03 – Myc?

Building

Rectilinear structure; one course preserved at two sides; at S side natural bedrock.

Survey only.

F4:04 – Myc

Revetment for stream

Line of large boulders lining the riverbed; just opposite a rockface at the other side of the riverbed.

Survey only.

F4:05 – Myc

Lower road terrace

Final point on line of E4:24.

Survey only.

F4:06 – Myc

Upper road terrace

Final point on line of E4:23.

Survey only.

F4:07 – Myc

Building

Large limestone blocks in N and W walls; perhaps in the E wall; W wall preserved up to two courses.

Steffen's «Grundmauern eines kyklop. Gebäudes».

F4:08 – ?

Building

Partially preserved structure with only top of blocks visible; corner of two walls, the N and the E; blocks are medium-sized.

Survey only.

F4:09 – ?

Terrace wall

Line of large blocks running almost N-S; two to three courses preserved.

Survey only.

F4:10 – Myc

Retaining wall

Line of very large to medium-sized blocks running N-S; max. two courses preserved.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauer».

F4:11 – Post Myc

Possible cist tomb

Depression of roughly rectangular shape; limestone blocks at its SE side; bearing: app. N-S; another possible tomb to N.

Survey only.

F4:12 – Myc

Ag. Ioannis/Ag. Georgios bridge (fig. 18)

The bridge is constructed of very large blocks of limestone laid in courses (very visible on the S side). A wide and level roadway is present on the upper surface of the bridge.

Steffen's «grosse kyklop. Brücke»; see now Knauss 1997.

F4:13 – Myc?

Possible stream crossing

Ca 20m NE of bridge at end of rock terrace coming from Ag.

Georgios chapel, conglomerate rock ledge on S with rock sloping gradually up to the modern road on the N.; there are two large boulders preserved.

Survey only.

F4:14 – Myc

Debris of building

Immediately S of the track near the bridge, much overgrown and disturbed, a line of medium-sized blocks (one possibly worked) running ca N-S; the field above is littered with sherds.

Marked by Steffen but not labelled.

F4:15 – Myc?

Stone scatter

Stone scatter of medium limestone blocks, on the S side of the Khavos ravine, SE of the Ag. Georgios bridge; there appear to be the remains of a line of stones running E to W parallel to the Khonia rema.

Steffen's «Ruinen kyklop. Gebäude».

F4:16 – G-Hell

«Agamemnoneion»

Terrace running NE some 30m from the Mycenaean bridge in area locally known as Ag. Ioannis where Geometric sherds had been found. Long terrace wall (Archaic in style) along the S bank of the rema (clearly visible from the other side) with amorphous cross walling; entry apparently from the E; Hellenistic paving on the E; tiles indicate that the building was at least partially roofed in Hellenistic times. Good votive pottery but few other finds. The dedication to Agamemnon is derived from inscriptions on sherds of the 4th century and later.

Dedications of the 8th to early 5th century BC, a little later 5th and 4th century; rebuilt as public shrine in the Hellenistic period.

Not apparently marked by Steffen unless as «antike Stützmauern»; excavated by J. M. Cook 1950 and E. B. Wace 1952; published by Cook (1953 and *BSA* 48, 30-68). Recent discussion Antonaccio 1995, 147-52 (whose appellation «Shrine at the Khaos» is unfortunate), Hall 1995.

The interpretation by Knauss (1997) appears to ignore the dating evidence.

F4:17 – ?

Wall of building?

Double faced wall running N-S; only top of blocks visible.

Marked by Steffen but not labelled.

F4:18 – Myc

Terrace wall

Line of «Cyclopean» blocks going approx. N-S; ca 16 blocks are still visible; maximum two courses preserved.

Survey only.

F4:19 – Myc

Terrace wall

Line of eight «Cyclopean» blocks going ca N-S.

Survey only.

F4:20 – Myc

Trial cutting for ChT dromos

Long 'ditch' running E-W cutting into the higher terrace; rounded end; 'line' of stones at both sides.

Tsountas, *Ephemeris* 1888, 121; apparently seen by Alden (1981, 139).

F4:21 – Post Myc

Ruined chapel of Ag. Ioannis

Low bump with stone and group of three very large worked limestone blocks.

Steffen's «verf. Kapelle mit grossen ant. Blöcken».

MAP 8: D6-F7

SQUARE D6

D6:01 – Myc

Patimata quarry

Steffen's «antiker Steinbruch».

D6:02 – Post Myc

Cist grave

In path from Gortsoulia to Citadel, broken; ca 120m ESE of D5:19.

Survey only.

D6:03 – Myc?

Tsekouras site and Longaki clay beds

Clay source in shallow ravine to N of spring; curved rock cutting faced with clay plaster (like House of the Oil Merchant) burnt kiln, excavated 1952.

Area marked Longaki by Steffen; Noted 1950; excavated by F. H. Stubbings and W. D. Taylour for Wace 1952 (*BSA* 48, 17-8).

SQUARE D7

D7:01 – Myc

Drakonera bridge

Bridge of large limestone blocks with corbelled arch. Stone blocks well preserved and visible, but the upper road surface is no longer present.

Named by Steffen; Mylonas 1966, 86.

D7:02 – Myc

M1 Road terraces

Sections of irregularly preserved road terracing.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE E7

E7:01 – Myc

Culvert

Rectangular opening in road terrace ca 200m E of the Drakonera bridge. A large flat block is positioned over the opening as a lintel.

Survey only.

E7:02 – ?

Lookout

Square rock cutting with entrance at NW corner, possibly lookout, near point 425 on Steffen's map.

Survey only.

MAP 9: G0-J1

SQUARE H1

H1:01 – Post Myc

Khania

Ruins of Ottoman Han.

Named by Steffen, noted by Leake *et al.*

SQUARE J0

J0:01 – ?

Foundation walls

Small structure to E of track from Fikhtia to SE.

Named by Steffen.

SQUARE J1

J1:01 – Myc

Farm house

Partially excavated multiroom farmhouse destroyed by fire at end of LH IIIC (pers. com. of excavator), now covered with a shelter.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou 1983-7; *AR* 31, 1984-5, 21; *BCH* 109, 1985, Chron. 776.

J1:02

Burial tumulus

Fully excavated burial tumulus at Khania used for the deposition of cremation burials.

The structure was some 20m in diameter with an enclosing wall 1m thick with orthostat blocks of limestone/poros on the outside only; it was filled with rubble inside the wall and had a central fill of stones of all sizes though the whole was subdivided by internal walls to facilitate filling. What may be assumed to be the primary burial lay in an urn in a circular hole in the floor of the tumulus covered by a cup and a poros plaque; all the others were dug into the stone fill, some 45cm deep, some only 10cm from the surface. There were no remains of cremations outside urns. There is no evidence that the actual cremations were carried out on site. There were nine cremations in all of which six lay in the SW quadrant. Originally there had been two openings into the circle but these were later closed and a clay insulation against rain water sealed the outer layers. The whole may have been roofed with tiles though there is also the possibility that the burials were marked with cut poros blocks as markers. The vases used as urns were of varied shapes and covered variously; no grave goods other than pottery accompanied the burials though there is some evidence of burial ritual.

From the pottery evidence the use of the tumulus can be dated to LH IIIC Middle.

Excavated by E. Palaiologou 1981-7 (*Deltion* 36B, 1981, 85, *AR* 31, 1984-5, 21; *BCH* 109, 1985, Chron. 776; Mycenaean Seminar, London, 3/12/86).

J1:03 – ?

Foundation walls

Three very large stones and several smaller, displaced.

Steffen's «antike Grundmauer».

J1:04 – ?

Walling

Four large stones, displaced.

Steffen's «antike Grenzmauer».

J1:05 – ?

Foundation wallsNothing *in situ*, blocks scattered in different areas along road.Steffen's «Grdmauer» (*sic*).

MAP 10: G2-J3

SQUARE G2

G2:01 – Myc

Crossing/retaining wall

Three very large limestone blocks in line along stream bank, one block further to W, smaller stones into S bank opposite.

Steffen's «Reste eines antiken Bachüberganges».

G2:02 – ?

WallingW of road that follows the Turkish waterchannel; no longer *in situ*.

Steffen's «antike Mauerreste».

G2:03 – ?

Foundation

Within fenced area.

Steffen's «Grundmauerreste».

G2:04 – ?

Walled enclosure

To W of Mycenae-Monastiraki road where road crosses Gouvia stream bed; area now occupied by a fenced off sheep farm; no visible remains.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE G3

G3:01 – ?

Retaining wall

Line of medium-sized blocks going N-S; max. two courses preserved.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauer».

SQUARE H2

H2:01 Myc

Retaining wall by crossing

One course of medium-sized limestone cut blocks, wall curves slightly with curve of bank.

Survey only.

H2:02 – ?

Foundation

On Plevra hill, no traces remaining.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauer».

SQUARE H3

H3:01 – ?

Foundation wall

Line of blocks running NW-SE.

Steffen's «Grundmauerreste».

H3:02a – Myc

ChT

Small circular chamber with a domed ceiling and straight sides; possibly one of a line of tombs.

Survey only.

H3:02b – EH

EH? site

Obsidian scatter in olive grove SE of H3:02a.

Survey only.

H3:03 – ?

House

Not found.

Steffen's «verf. Haus».

MAP 11: G4-J5

SQUARE G4

G4:01 – Myc

Road terrace

Three or four large Cyclopean blocks in terrace wall on direct line of M4 from crossing to Ag. Georgios bridge; at small stream crossing, about 100m N on terrace immediately to the W, three very large stones visible; may have been moved from upper road terrace.

Marked by Steffen.

G4:02 – Myc

Stream crossing

There is an easy crossing of the rema at this point, but there are no identifiable remains of a structure; possible position of a bridge on the approximate route of Steffen's fourth highway.

Survey only.

G4:03 – Myc

Stream crossing

Nothing remains of any constructions. The banks of the rema at this point are less steep than other areas; rocky outcrops afford relatively easy access to the stream bed; Steffen's Cyclopean bridge at point 134 now no longer in existence.

G4:04 – ?

Walls of building

Overgrown and partially disturbed; hardly recognizable; two parallel walls.

Steffen's «verf. Haus».

G4:05 – Myc

Retaining wall

Line of 'Cyclopean' blocks following contour line making a curve.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauern».

G4:06 – ?

Retaining wall

Line of large to medium-sized blocks, following the contour line running NW-SE; single course.

Steffen's «antike Stützmauern».

G4:07 – Myc

ChT

SW of Gouves on lowest slopes of Sarra ca 300m E of quarry. Rounded collapsed chamber, filled dromos; apparently cut into flat surface.

Survey only; bearings, corrected to topography by air-photo.

G4:08 – Myc?

Quarry

SW of Gouves on lowest slopes of Sarra; small section of limestone exposed with cutting visible at NE edge.

Survey only; bearings, corrected to topography by airphoto.

G4:09 – Archaic

Cist tomb cemetery

Group of cist graves beside M4; Archaic pottery and metal items.

Rescue excavation by E. Palaiologou 1995.

G4:10 – ?

Clay bed

Many outcrops of buff clay E of M4 in area called Tserania.

Survey only.

G4:11 – Myc

Chamber tomb

Isolated tomb in Tserania area, apparently shallowly dug into bank of anc.? track.

Information of site guard.

G4:12 – Myc

Weirs

Series of at least fifteen weirs on upper Vathyrema in Tserania area.

Survey only.

SQUARE G5

G5:01 – ?

Rock cavity

Hemispherical hole in rock outcrop with a small terrace in front of it: inside at the back there is a cavity, which goes even deeper; at the back of this there is a crack; left above of the hole is a small grotto covered with a slab.

Survey only.

G5:02 – Myc

Possible ChT

Shallow depression and apparent dromos; another possible tomb 25m NW.

Possibly one of those noted by Tsountas, *Ephemeris* 1888, 121; see also Alden 1981, 139.

G5:03 – Myc

Retaining wall for track

Line of medium-sized to 'Cyclopean' blocks going N-S following the contour line; minimum two courses. This path reaches the rema below the Citadel and is evidently that used by Frazer 1898, III, 165 which «keeps well up on the mountain-side» on his way to the Heraion (cf. Lavery 1990, 160).

Survey only.

G5:04 – ?

Settlement

Line of three 'Cyclopean' blocks against rockface going NW-SE on highest terrace; highest boundary of Steffen's settlement.

Steffen's «Ruinen einer antiken Ortschaft».

G5:05 – ?**Building**

Collapsed structure; complete plan visible; roughly trapezoidal of three to four courses; small to medium-sized stones in limestone; entrance at S end of W wall.

Marked by Steffen.

G5:06 – ?**Retaining wall**

Line of medium to large-sized stones running N-S; two to three courses.

Survey only.

G5:07 – Myc**Terrace wall**

Line of six 'Cyclopean' blocks running SE-NW; one block at SE end could be a corner.

Survey only.

G5:08 – ?**Rock shelter**

Hemispherical hole cut back into the rock; possible second one S of it in the same rockface.

Survey only.

G5:09 – ?**Chamber tomb cemetery?**

In bluff of broken conglomerate facing SW, above well built terrace wall, various cut holes, dromos shapes and animal dwellings.

Survey only.

G5:10 – ?**Terrace wall**

Line of medium to large-sized stones (conglomerate); unworked; max. two courses.

Survey only.

G5:11 – Myc**Weir**

Wall of medium to large-sized stones (conglomerate) running across the streambed; several courses preserved.

Survey only.

G5:12 – ?**Terrace wall**

Not found.

Steffen's «Stützmauern».

G5:13 – ?**Conglomerate blocks**

Two rows of thin blocks running along terrace line.

Survey only.

SQUARE H4**H4:01 – ?****Stone scatter**

Probably site of remains now destroyed.

Steffen's «antike Reste».

H4:02 Myc**Roadway M4**

Traces of roadway running along visible line and linking known sections.

Survey only.

SQUARE H5**H5:01 – ?****Graves?**

Two rock cuttings, one at the N and one at the W side of the rock outcrop.

Steffen's «antike Felsengräber»?

H5:02 – Myc**Plesia clay bed**

Outcrop of light dried soil and little vegetation.

Survey following report by Wace (1950 notebook).

H5:03 – Myc?**Structure**

Line of five blocks running NW-SE; possible corner at NW end with a possible wall (four Cyclopean blocks) running SW-NE.

Survey only.

H5:04 – ?**Lime kiln**

Circular structure cut out into the rock; inside plastered; burnt; entrance at SE side, built of loose stones; widens and opens to the outside.

Steffen's «Kalkofen».

H5:05 – ?**Terrace wall/foundation**

Line of six large boulders.

Steffen's «Grundmauern».

H5:06 – Myc**Plesia clay bed**

Outcrop of light dried soil and little vegetation.

Survey only.

H5:07 – Myc**Weir**

Two courses of medium stones, three above two, into stream bed perpendicular to banks of stream, creating two level terraces in bed.

Survey only.

H5:08 – Myc**Weir**

Two to three courses, small to medium stones, from N bank to large fallen boulder on S bank, at slight angle to course of bed, some clay remains below lowest course of stones.

Survey only.

H5:09 – Myc**Plesia ChT cemetery N**

Thirteen northernmost chamber tombs of group cut into rock outcrop.

Reported by JL 1992; unexcavated; one marked by Steffen as «Höhle».

H5:10 – ?**Structure**

Only two walls discernable, possible remains of E wall incorporating large hunk of bedrock at SE corner, very overgrown with weeds, walls collapsed.

Marked by Steffen.

H5:11 – ?**Terrace wall**

Curving terrace wall (one course) of app. twenty five medium limestone blocks (unworked) in semicircular arrangement supporting terrace above to E. To W at lower level is area of exposed bedrock (quarry?).

Survey only.

H5:12 – ?**Brick kiln**

Not found.

Marked by Steffen.

H5:13 – ?**House remains**

Not found.

Marked by Steffen.

H5:14 – ?**Chapel of Aghia Paraskevi**

Remains presumably under modern construction.

Marked by Steffen.

H5:15 – ?**Foundation walls**

Not found.

Marked by Steffen.

H5:16 – ?

«Quelle Cisterne»

Not found.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE J4

J4:01 – ?

Building

Pile of stones, roughly square in outline, heavily overgrown with weeds and bushes, line of walls indistinguishable.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE J5

J5:01 – Post Myc

Cist tombs

Three tombs in a line, with broken poros slabs in area.

Survey only.

J5:02 – Myc

Crossing

On the N bank of the Plesia rema there is a rock cutting which slopes down into the bed of the stream and might be the road access; immediately to E a roughly square cutting in the rock of the N bank of the stream; traces of the embankment on S bank are also preserved. The other wall marked by Steffen was still visible as stray large blocks until the latest destruction; this could have been either the road itself approaching the crossing at an angle or the start of a side road linking to the stretch at old Monastiraki.

Bridge and auxiliaries marked by Steffen; seen by Frick in 1981 (1990, 20 n. 33); the area has been heavily bulldozed most recently in 1994. Bridge possibly preserved under terracing.

J5:03 – Myc

Possible ChTs

Only partially exposed, small openings into rock of upper bank some 50m apart; presumably unexcavated; well worked ceiling of one visible.

Survey only.

J5:04 – ?

Structure

Rectangular building; extraneous walls indicated on Steffen's map could not be recognised. Walls collapsed, original W and H unmeasurable. Possible entrance at W side of wall.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:05 – ?

Structure

Very ruined, appears now as stone heaps, lines of walls not connected, and generally not recognisable, crossed by modern terrace wall.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:06 – ?

Structure

One long rectangular room, one small square room at the S part of W wall of large room. Walls collapsed, width and height of walls are not measurable. Walls were originally made of small to medium stones.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:07 – Myc

Plesia ChT cemetery S

Six southern chamber tombs of series cut into rock bluff; see H5:09.

J5:08 – ?

Structure

Two perpendicular rooms of rectangular shape which adjoin only at SE corner of N room, and NW corner of E room. E room divided into two by cross-wall, room at S end small and square and filled with stone rubble. Long wall extends from S wall of E room and appears to turn to N but then is

destroyed? Possible entrance in middle of S wall, N room. Original width and height unmeasurable.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:09 – ?

Structure

Small rectangular structure totally unmeasurable.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:10 – ?

Structure

Squarish building with walls of small to medium stones, walls collapsed, original width and height of wall unmeasurable.

Marked by Steffen.

J5:11 – ?

Structure

No longer in position, area contains three stone piles.

Marked by Steffen.

MAP 12: G6-J7

SQUARE G7

G7:01 – Myc

Bridge

Overgrown and mostly collapsed with line of big stones running N-S in S bank upstream; 100m upstream series of weirs.

Steffen's «Spur einer kyklopischen Brücke».

G7:02 – ?

Cave

Hole with oblong entrance and opening high in the roof; two openings at the back.

Survey only.

G7:03 – Myc?

Structure

Rectilinear structure with parts of four walls and all corners visible built against the rockface.

Steffen's «antike Mauerreste»: 100m NW of G7:01.

SQUARE H6

H6:01 – ?

Wall/structure

Stones of small to medium size, somewhat piled with earth in a short line for app. 10m, width and height are indistinguishable.

Marked by Steffen.

H6:02 – ?

Wall/structure

Stones of medium size and earth somewhat piled in a line for app. 25-30m at bearing 50°.

Marked by Steffen.

H6:03 – ?

Building

Now only three stone piles.

Marked by Steffen.

H6:04 – Myc

Chamber tomb

Chamber tomb with platform and niche in rock outcrop in rema on W tongue of Koufourachi above and to E of Plesia/Sklaveika.

Steffen's «Höhle Kanaki».

H6:05 – ?

Terrace wall

Three-four courses of stones, varying size but some very large where the wall abuts a rock outcrop; 3m W of H6:04 and crossing line of dromos.

Survey only.

H6:06 – ?

Terrace wall/structure?

One course of medium-sized limestone blocks with short turn at W end above and E of H6:04/5.

Survey only.

H6:07 – ?

Terrace walls

Single course of medium to large limestone blocks on lower W tongue of Koufourachi.

Survey only.

H6:08 – Myc

Roadway

Small section of road ascending along edge of rock outcrop

which is cut on the N side for the road; wall of two to three courses on S to create level surface; width 1.5m.

Survey only.

H6:09 – ?

Lime kiln

High on N branch of Plesia stream.

Marked by Steffen.

SQUARE J6

J6:01 – ?

Building complex

Totally overgrown multiroom building complex, totally unmeasurable.

Marked by Steffen.

AREAS OUTSIDE THE MAP

During the period of the survey some exploration and some recording was carried out beyond the limits finally decided upon for the published maps. The field recording was mainly aimed at giving more accurate data for the study of the road system by Anton Jansen, but literature searches also produced information which it seems worthwhile to present. The data is discussed clockwise starting at the NW corner.

1. Ag. Athanasios/Liofata area: Both the roads named M3 and M6 are thought to continue in this direction; they would ultimately reach the Nemea valley. Mycenaean material is known from here. Chamber tombs are known from Boliari and Plakes N and a small settlement from a mound by the 37 km marker on the modern Argos-Corinth road. This lies at a similar distance from the Citadel to Khani and may be another *mansio*. Wace mentions a clay source and a good spring at Boliari.

2. Marta area: The recorded remains here concern the N extensions of both the M3 and M2 roads but comprise a wide range of type. Wace followed the M2 route in 1939 and makes general remarks in his notebook.

3. Kephalaria/Stephani: The roads M2 and M1 continue in this direction. An experimental GPS reading was taken for

Kephalaria but the survey's more accurate recording did not extend to this area.

4. Eastern blockhouses: Readings were taken for both the Koutsoyianni and Mourtesa blockhouses.

5. Road to the Heraion: Readings were taken along the line of M4 all the way to the Heraion along the route marked by Steffen.

6. Monastiraki area: Four previously excavated chamber tombs were found by the survey and other tombs in a field by the modern road to Ag. Paraskevi have come to light in 1994/5. Readings were also taken in the Ag. Dimitrios area discussed by Kharitonidis (*Ephemeris* 1952, 30-32) and on other remains S of the excavated Khani complex. Magoula was visited but access is currently very difficult.

7. Fikhtia: The railway proved to be the furthest to which the EDM would read from the main Trig point and in the absence of any obvious points for a Temporary Bench Mark in the tree covered plain it was decided not to attempt EDM readings for the material beyond; the listings, however, include old and new (1994) chamber tombs and the previously known structures.

CONCORDANCE OF CHAMBER TOMB CEMETERIES

Catalogue number - field survey number - coordinates

SQUARE	NAME	EXCAVATOR	YEAR	TOMB	IDENTIFICATION	PUBLICATION
A3:01	Vythisma S	Palaiologou	1980	(1)	71 93/KS-CD	
A3:01	Vythisma S	Palaiologou	1995	2	72 93/KS-CD	
A3:01	Vythisma S	Palaiologou	1995	3	73 93/KS-CD	
A3:01	Vythisma S	Palaiologou	1995	4	74 93/KS-CD	
A3:01	Vythisma S	—			04 94/KS	
A4:01	Vythisma N	—			24 93/AJ-JV	
B2:01	Batsourorachi	Palaiologou	1989	1	229 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B2:01	Batsourorachi	Palaiologou	1989	2	239 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B2:01	Batsourorachi	Palaiologou	1989	3	238 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1984	I	255 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1984	II	257 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1984	III	256 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1984	IV	259 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1984	V	260 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1989	VI	258 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1989	VII	254 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	Palaiologou	1989	VIII	253 92/CD-AJ-JV	
B3:01	Loupouno	—			7 95/KS	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Tsountas	1888	17	73 93/AJ-ChM <i>et al.</i>	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Tsountas	1888	18	73 93/AJ-ChM <i>et al.</i>	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Tsountas	1888	19	73 93/AJ-ChM <i>et al.</i>	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Tsountas	1888	20	73 93/AJ-ChM <i>et al.</i>	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Tsountas	1888	21	73 93/AJ-ChM <i>et al.</i>	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	I	22 91/AJ-CD-JV	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	II	13 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	III	14 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	IV	15 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	V	16 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B3:03	Asprokhoma West	Palaiologou	1980	VI	17 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B4:02	Asprokhoma East (A/A)	Tsountas	1887	2	11 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:02	Asprokhoma East (A/A)	Tsountas	1887	3	12 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:02	Asprokhoma East (A/A)	Tsountas	1887	4	10 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:02	Asprokhoma East (A/A)	Tsountas	1888	39	23 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	8	5 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	9	7 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	11	8 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	12	24 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	A = ?7	9 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	B = ?6	6 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Tsountas	1887	10	Not found	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Palaiologou	1980	VII	3 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B4:03	Asprokhoma East	Palaiologou	1983	VIII	4 91/AJ-CP-JV	
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas	1888	35	?47 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas	1888	36	48 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas	1888	37	49 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas	1888	A = ?38	57 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas		B	56 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas		C	91 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas		D	95 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas		E	96 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Tsountas		F	59 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	1	54 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	2	53 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	3	93 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	3A	94 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99

CONCORDANCE OF CHAMBER TOMB CEMETERIES

QUARE	NAME	EXCAVATOR	YEAR	TOMB	IDENTIFICATION	PUBLICATION
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	4	55 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	5	50 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	5a	51 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	6	58 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	7	60 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	8	50 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	Aslamatzidou	1981	9	52 92/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
B4:14	Souleimani	—			001 95/JL	
B4:18	Kapsala S	Tsountas		X	2 95/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B4:18	Kapsala S	—		X	3 95/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Mylonas	1972	1	69 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Mylonas	1972	2	72 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	I	67 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	II	66 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	III	64 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	IV	65 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	V	68 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	VI	70 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
B5:01	Kapsala N/Vlakhostrata	Aravantinos	1977	VII	71 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C2:01	Paleomandri	Verdelis	1962	D	2 91-2/EBF	<i>Praktika</i> 1962, 67
C2:02	Batsourorachi SW	—			009 94/JL	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	Palaiologou	1986		27-30 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	Palaiologou	1986		27-30 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	Palaiologou	1986		27-30 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	Palaiologou	1986		27-30 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	—			31-32 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela	—			31-32 91/AJ-CP-JV	
C3:04	Koutsoumbela			?Tomb	33 91/AJ-JV	
C3:08	Asprokhoma SW	Tsountas	1887	13	25/26 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C3:08	Asprokhoma SW	Tsountas	1887	14	25/26 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1887	1	19 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1887	5	20 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1888	40	18/21 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1888	41	18/21 91/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1896	93	?29/30/31 93/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1896	94	?29/30/31 93/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
C4:01	Asprokhoma/Agriosykia	Tsountas	1896	95	?29/30/31 93/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
C4:16	Paleogalaro, Lower				173 92/AJ-CD-JV	
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	Mylonas	1972		73 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	Mylonas	1972		74 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	Mylonas	1972		75 91/AJ-CP-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	—			26 93/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	—			27 93/AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C5:04	Paleogalaro E/Kapsala	—			005 95/JL	
C5:08	Paleogalaro W	Tsountas	1888	33	Not found	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C5:08	Paleogalaro W	Tsountas	1888	34	001 95/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
C5:08	Paleogalaro W	Tsountas	1888	—	Not found	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
C5:08	Paleogalaro W	Tsountas	1888	—	Not found	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
C7:01	Gortsoulia	Mylonas	1964	1	241 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1964, 68, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C7:01	Gortsoulia	Mylonas	1964	2	244/6 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1964, 68, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C7:01	Gortsoulia	Mylonas	1964	3	244/6 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1964, 68, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C7:01	Gortsoulia	Mylonas	1964	4	243 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1964, 68, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C7:01	Gortsoulia	—			242 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
C7:01	Gortsoulia	—			245 92/CD-AJ-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	22	113 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	23	115 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	24	116 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	25	118 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	42	117 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	43	117 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	45	114 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993

CONCORDANCE OF CHAMBER TOMB CEMETERIES

QUARE	NAME	EXCAVATOR	YEAR	TOMB	IDENTIFICATION	PUBLICATION
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	A = ?44	112 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas	1888	B = ?44	111 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	Tsountas		C	110 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:05	Kato Fournos	—			108 92/KS	
D3:05	Kato Fournos	—			109 92/KS-JV	
D3:09	Pezoulia			?Tomb	70 92?KS-JL	
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	46	76 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	47	77 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	48	78 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	49	79 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Fidalfefs	1919	1	124 92/KS-JV	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Fidalfefs	1919	2	Not found	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1895	A = ?80-3	80 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1895	B = ?80-3	81 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1895	C = ?80-3	83 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas		D	88 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D3:17	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	? 50/51	119 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
D4B	By GCB	Papadimitriou	1952-3			<i>Praktika</i> 1952, 465; 1953, 207
D4F	below House of Shields			Dromos		<i>BSA</i> 49, 235
E2:01	Sfalakhtra			?Tomb	37 91/IG-KS	
E2:01	Sfalakhtra			?Tomb	38 91/IG-KS	
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1888	52	101 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1890	53	100 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1890	54	99 92/KS-JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1897	E = ?100	92 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1896	F = ?96	94 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:01	Ep.Pigadi/Fournodiaselo	Tsountas	1896	G = ?96	98 92/KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Tsountas	1896	97	153 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Tsountas	1896	98	152 92/KS-JV	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	520	87 92/KS-JL-HD	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	521	148 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	522	149 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	523	146 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	524	145 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Wace	1921	531	75 92/KS-JL	Wace 1932
E3:03	Bouzioti (Kalkani N Bank)	Verdelis	1963		150 92/KS-JV	<i>Praktika</i> 1963, 111
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	513	133 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	514	130 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	515	134 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	516	132 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	517	140 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	518	139 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	519	141 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	525	131 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	526	144 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	527	142 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	528	143 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	529	138 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	530	135 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	532	136 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:04	Kalkani S Bank	Wace	1921	533	137 92/KS-JV	Wace 1932
E3:07	Kalkani SW	Verdelis	1962	B	32 91/IG-KS	<i>Praktika</i> 1962, 67
E3:07	Kalkani SW	Verdelis	1962	C	31 91/IG-KS	<i>Praktika</i> 1962, 67
E3:07	Kalkani SW	Filalfefs	1919	3	39 91/IG-KS	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
E3:07	Kalkani SW	Verdelis	1962	A	40 91/IG-KS	<i>Praktika</i> 1962, 67
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1887	15	09 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	26	16 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	27	12 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	28	?13 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	29	15 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1888, 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	A = 30-32	11 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	B = 30-32	007 94/JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993

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QUARE	NAME	EXCAVATOR	YEAR	TOMB	IDENTIFICATION	PUBLICATION
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1888	C = 30-32	10 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1895	D = ?88	17 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:13	Panagia	Tsountas	1895	89	Not found	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:13	Panagia	—			14 91/IG-KS	
E3:13	Panagia	—			50 92/KS	
E3:13	Panagia	Mylonas	1972	ChT		<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
E3:13	Panagia	Mylonas	1972	Cist		<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
E3:13	Panagia	Mylonas	1972	Dromos		<i>Praktika</i> 1972, 114, <i>Ephemeris</i> 2000
E3:14	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		D	03 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:14	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		F	04 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:14	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		G	05 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E3:14	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas			06 01/KS-IG	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
E4:04	Panagia	—			53 92/KS-JL	
E4:04	Panagia	—			55 92/KS-JL	
E4:14	Third Km	Tsountas	1897	101	16 93/CD-AJ	Gerry's tomb
E4:14	Third Km	Tsountas	1897	102	18 93/CD-AJ	<i>JHS</i> 24, 1904, 322
E4:14	Third Km	Tsountas	1898	103	19 93/CD-AJ	Fig Tree tomb
E4:14	Third Km	Wace	1921	502	15 93/CD-AJ	Wace 1932
E4:14	Third Km	Wace	1921	504	20 93/CD-AJ	Wace 1932
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	78	33 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	79	41 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	82	23 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	84	24 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	86	?26 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	A = ?85/7	30 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	B = ?85/7	20 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1893	C = ?70	19 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas		D	18 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas		E	29 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas		F	28 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa	Tsountas		G	27 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:01	Alepotrypa-Aspria	ZA/KD	1981	1	44 91/IG-KS	<i>Deltion</i> 36B, 1981, 99
F3:05	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas	1895	81	08 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:05	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		A	07 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:05	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		B	01 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:05	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		C	02 91/IG-KS	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F3:05	Ag. Georgios	Tsountas		E	006 94/JL	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
F4:01	Third Km	Wace	1921	505	21 93/CD-AJ	Wace 1932
F4:20	Sarra			Dromos	57 93/AJ-JV	
G4:07	Sarra				12 94/KS	
G4:11	Tserania				5 95/KS	
G5:02	Sarra				232 92/AJ-CD-JV	
G5:09	Gouves Cem?				016 94/JL	
H3:02	Priftiani	—			25 93/AJ-JV	
H5:09	Plesia	—			23 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			24 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			28 93/KS-CD	Steffen's Höhle
H5:09	Plesia	—			29 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			30 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			31 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			32 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			33 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			36 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			37 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			38 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			39 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			40 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			41 93/KS-CD	
H5:09	Plesia	—			45 93/KS-CD	
H6:04	Koufourachi	—			64 93/KS-CD	Steffen's Höhle Kanaki
J1:02	Khani	Palaiologou	1983-7		70 93/KS-CD	
J5:03	Plesia rema			?Tomb	23 93/KS-CD	

CONCORDANCE OF CHAMBER TOMB CEMETERIES

QUARE	NAME	EXCAVATOR	YEAR	TOMB	IDENTIFICATION	PUBLICATION
J5:03	Plesia rema			?Tomb	24 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			46 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			47 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			48 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			49 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			50 93/KS-CD	
J5:07	Plesia	—			51 93/KS-CD	
Outside N	Boliari	Verdelis	1964		3 91-2/EBF	<i>Deltion</i> 19B, 118
Outside S	Vraserka	Tsountas	1896	99		
Outside S	Monastiraki	Filadelfefs	1919	4	69 93/KS-CD	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
Outside S	Monastiraki	Filadelfefs	1919	5	Not preserved	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
Outside S	Monastiraki	Filadelfefs	1919	6	Not preserved	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
Outside S	Monastiraki	Filadelfefs	1919	7	Not preserved	<i>Deltion</i> 5, 1919, para, 34-8
Outside S	Monastiraki	Kharitonidis	1952	1	21 93/KS-CD	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1952, 21
Outside S	Monastiraki	Kharitonidis	1952	2	22 93/KS-CD	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1952, 19
Outside S	Monastiraki	Palaiologou	1994		05 94/KS	
Outside S	Monastiraki			?ChT	20 93/KS-CD	
Outside W	Fikhtia	Karouzou	1931			<i>BCH</i> 1931, 476
Outside W	Fikhtia	Karouzou	1931			<i>BCH</i> 1931, 476
Outside W	Fikhtia	Karouzou	1931			<i>BCH</i> 1931, 476
Outside W	Fikhtia	Ephoreia	1990?		98 91/AJ-CP-JV	
Outside W	Fikhtia	Ephoreia	1990?		99 91/AJ-CP-JV	
Outside W	Fikhtia	Ephoreia	1990?		100 91/AJ-CP-JV	
Outside W	Plevra (Fikhtia)	Palaiologou	1990		06 94/KS	
Outside W	Plevra (Fikhtia)	Palaiologou	1990		07 94/KS	
Outside W	Plevra (Fikhtia)	Palaiologou	1990		08 94/KS	
Outside W	Plevra (Fikhtia)	Palaiologou	1990		09 94/KS	
	Kapsala, upper			?Tomb	13 92/JL	
		Tsountas	1892	55	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	56	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	57	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	58	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	59	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	60	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1892	61	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	62	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	63	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	64	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	65	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	66	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	67	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	68	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	69	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	71	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	72	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	73	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	74	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	75	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	76	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
		Tsountas	1893	77	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
	Road to Kalkani	Tsountas	1895	80	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993
	Alepotrypa	Tsountas	1895	83	Not identified	<i>Ephemeris</i> 1993

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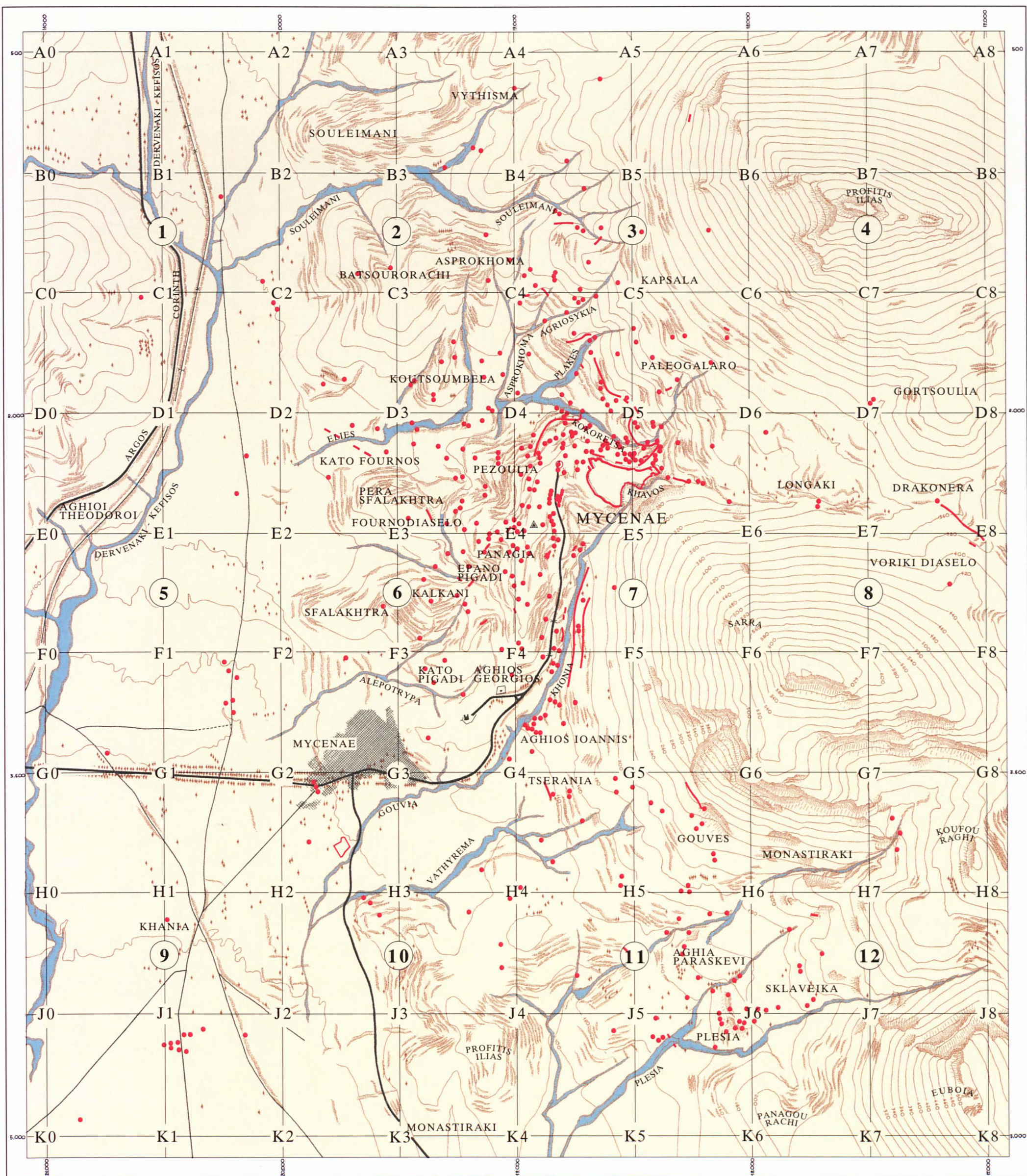
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ABBREVIATIONS

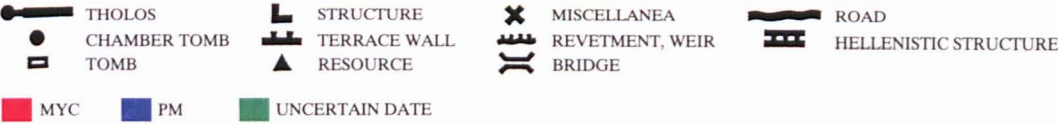
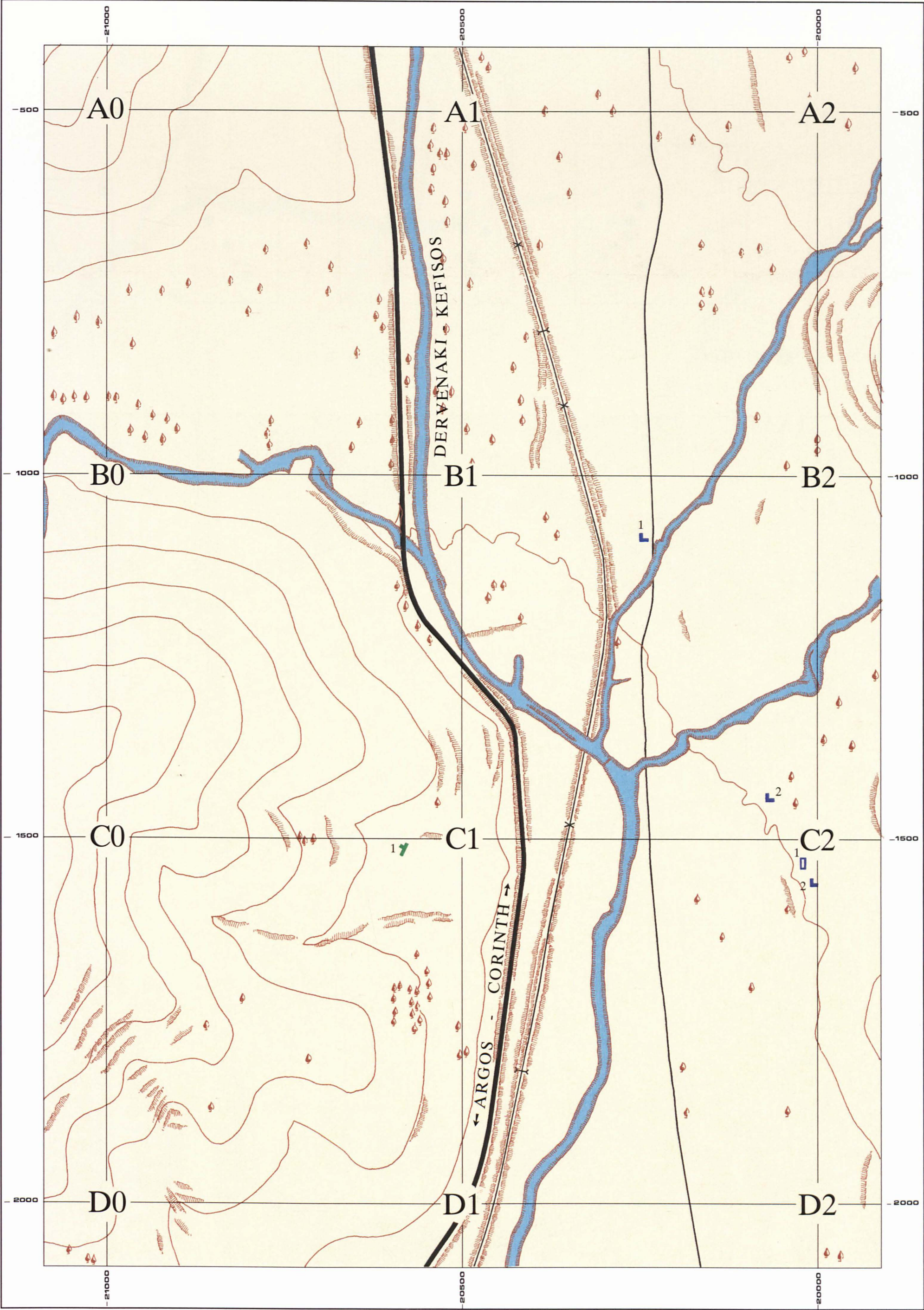
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i> published annually by the British School at Athens and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies	NBK	Notebook
		Neo	Neolithic
		PM	Post Mycenaean
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>	<i>Praktika</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</i>
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale	R	Roman
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>	S	South
ChT	Chamber Tomb	W	West
CTB	Cyclopean Terrace Building	<i>WBM</i>	<i>Well Built Mycenae</i> (publication of the Helleno-British Excavations, 1959-69)
<i>Deltion</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i>		
E	East		
EH	Early Helladic		
<i>Ephemeris</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς</i>	In the CONCORDANCE (pp. 64-68) the following members of the team are identified by their initials:	
<i>Ergon</i>	<i>Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας</i>		
G	Geometric		
<i>GAC</i>	R. Hope Simpson, O.T.P.K. Dickinson, <i>A Gazetteer and Atlas of Aegean Civilisation in the Bronze Age</i> (Göteborg 1979)	AJ	Anton Jansen
		CD	Chloe Dontos
		ChM	Christophilis Maggidis
		CP	Claire Pickersgill
GCB	Grave Circle B	EBF	Elizabeth Bayard French
GPS	Global Positioning System	HD	Heidi Dierckx
Hell	Hellentistic	IG	Imogen Grunden
LH	Late Helladic	IT	Iphigeneia Tournavitou
M1 etc	Major Mycenaean Roads as numbered by Steffen	JL	John Lavery
MH	Middle Helladic	JMD	Jan Driesen
MT	Mycenae Tablets (published in the <i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>)	JV	Jan Verstraete
		KD	Katie Demakopoulou
Myc	Mycenaean	KS	Kim Shelton
N	North	ZA	Zoe Aslamatzidou

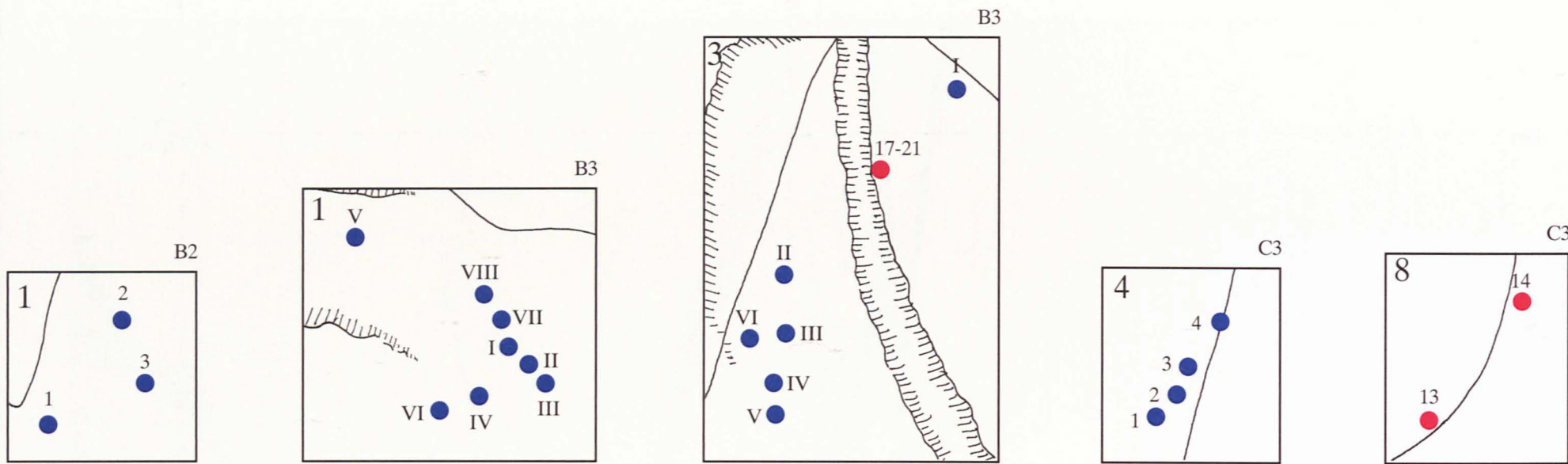
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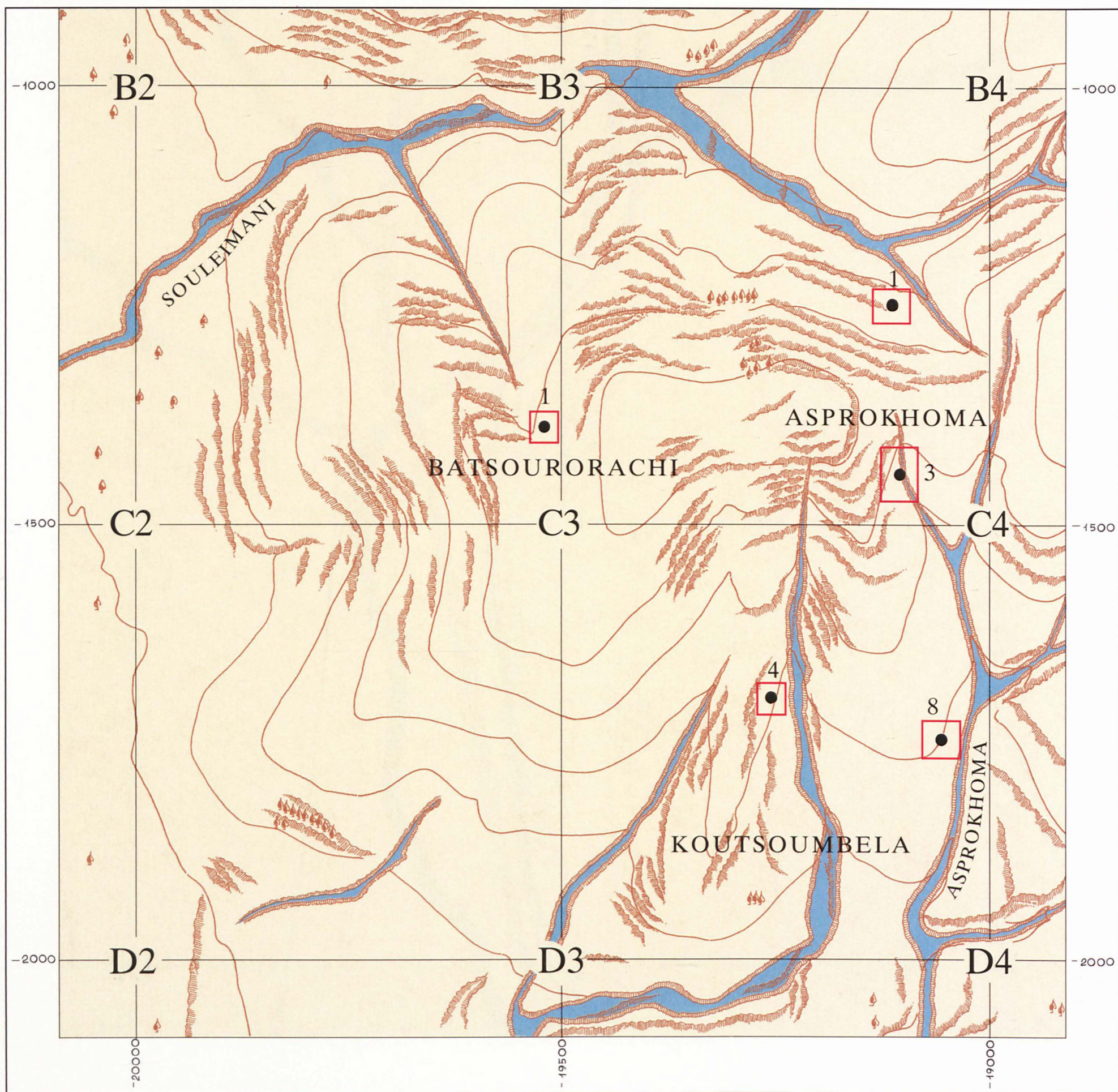
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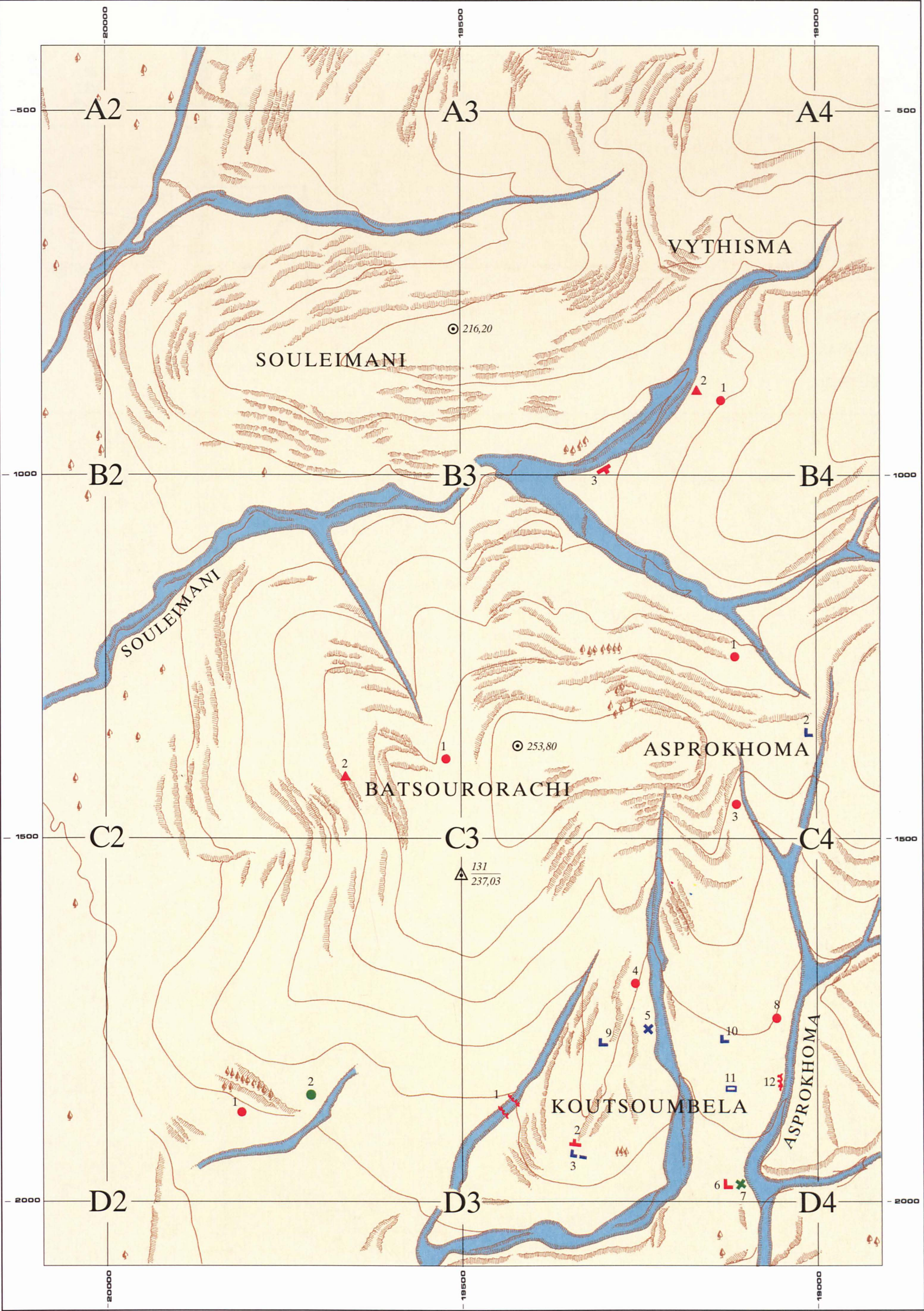


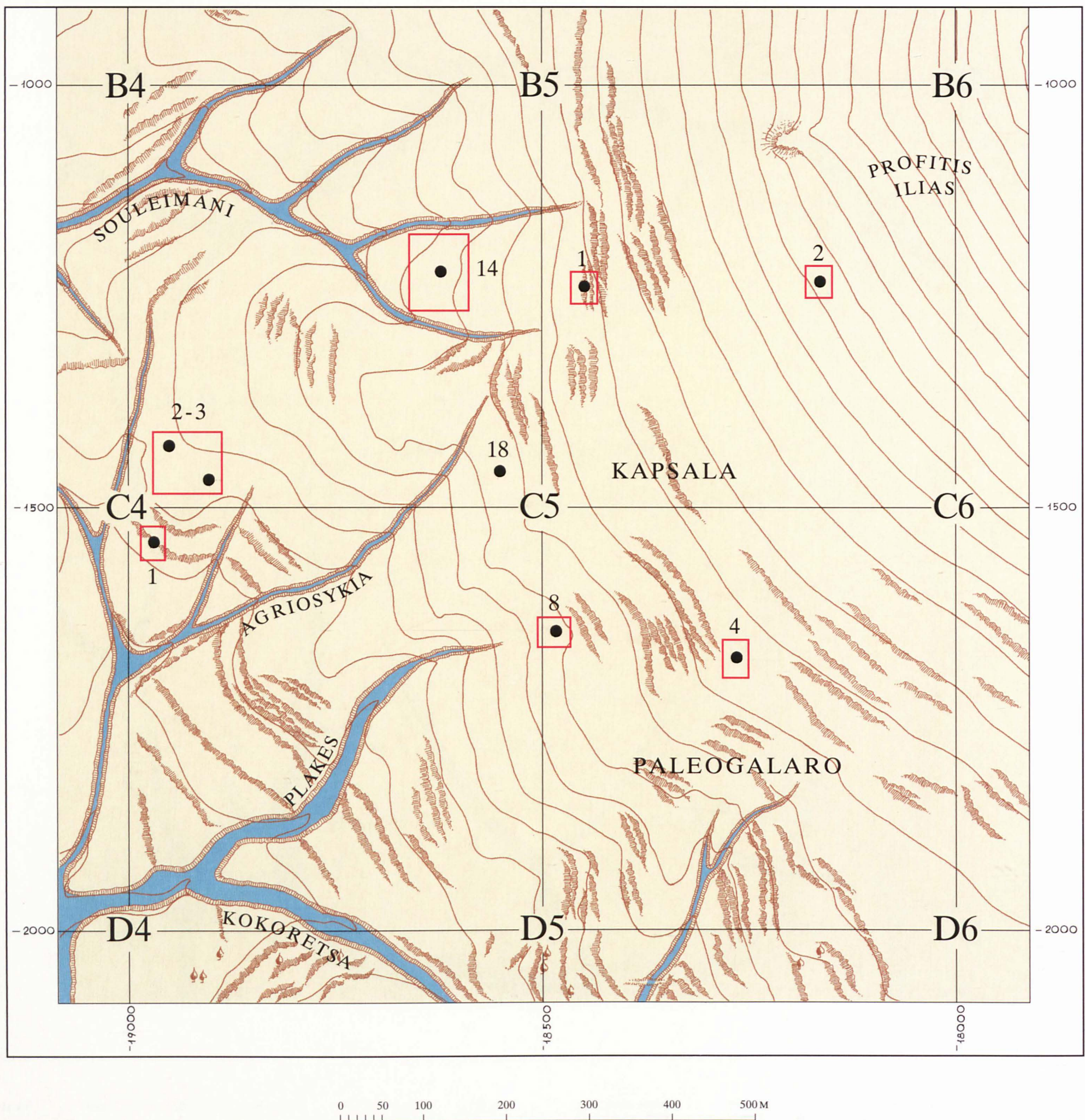
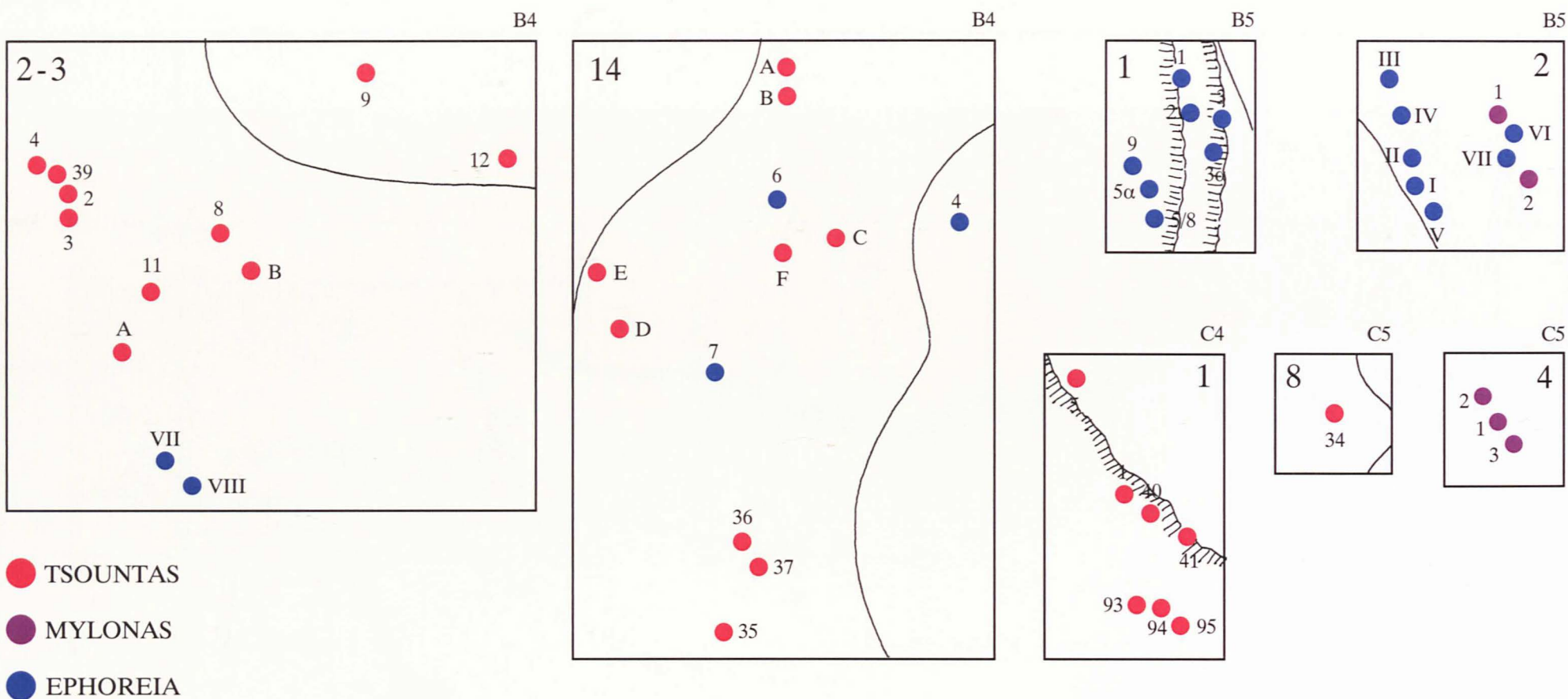


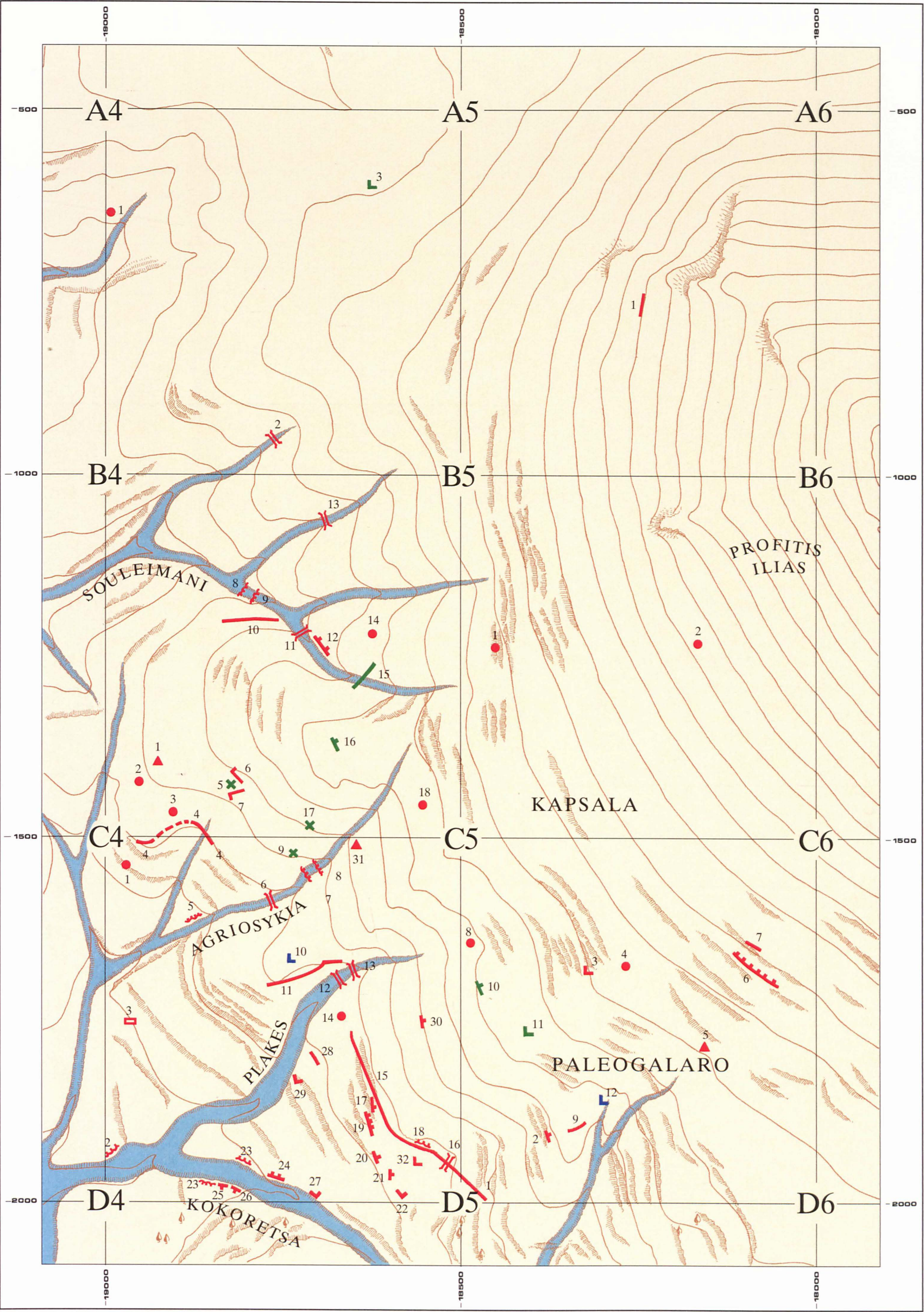


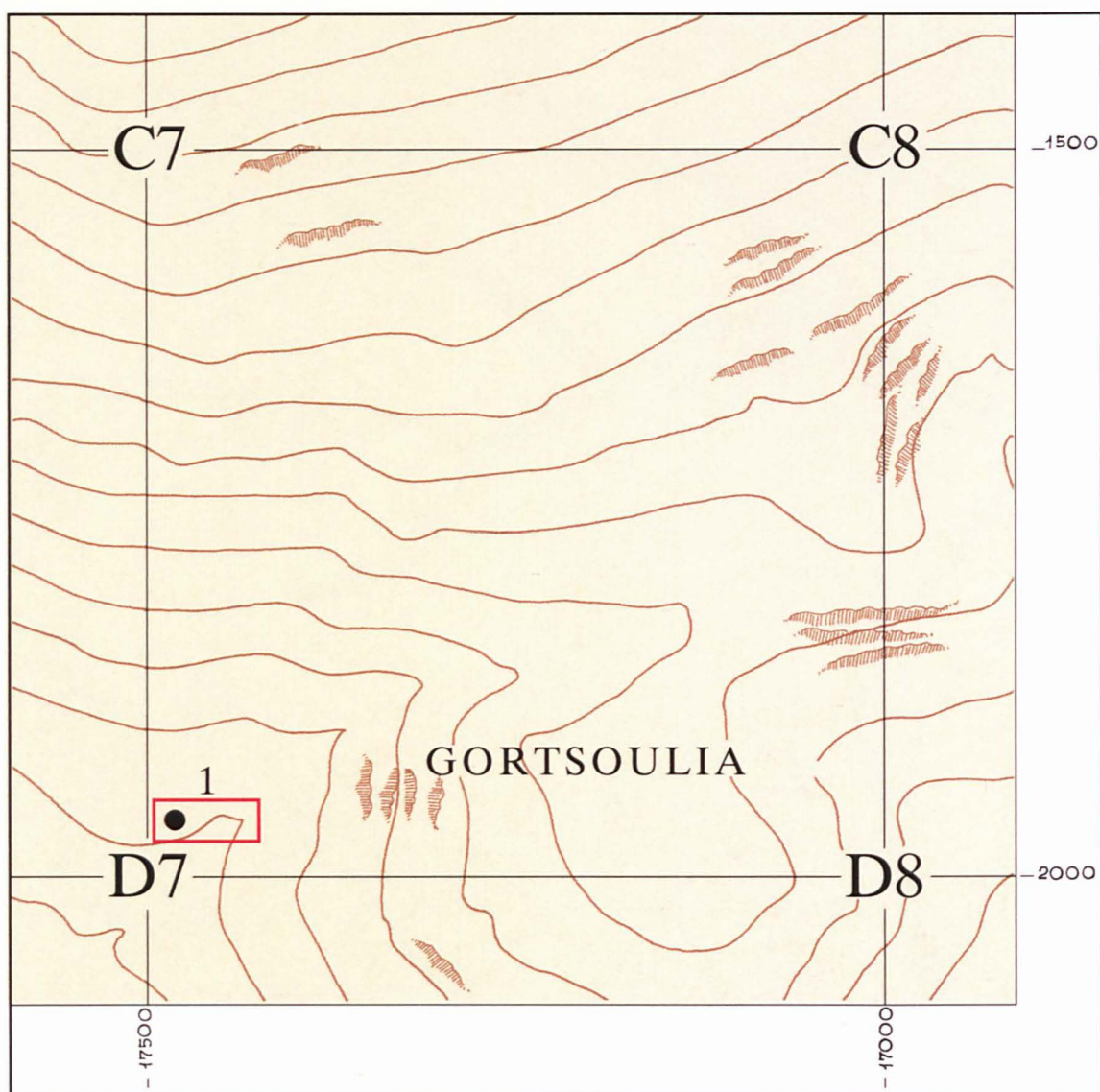
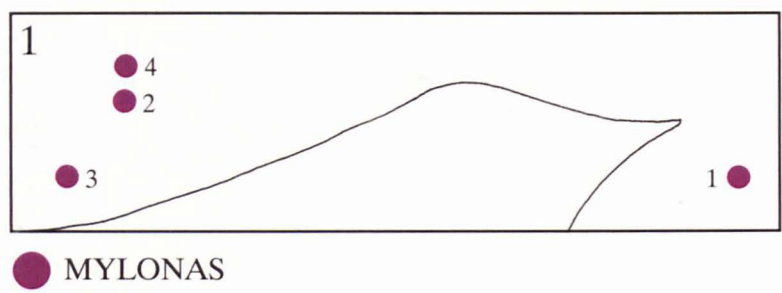
● TSOUNTAS ● EPHOREIA

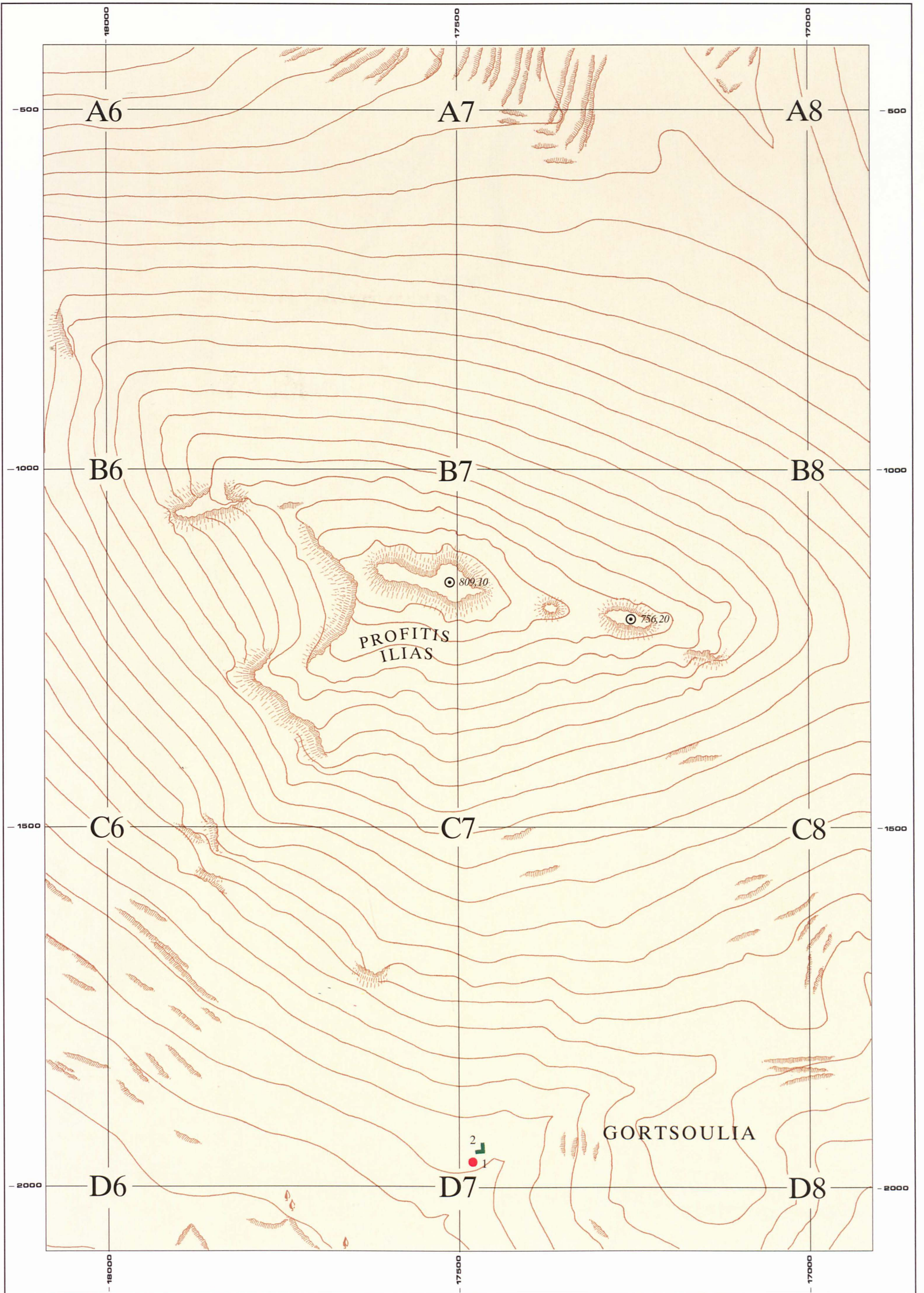


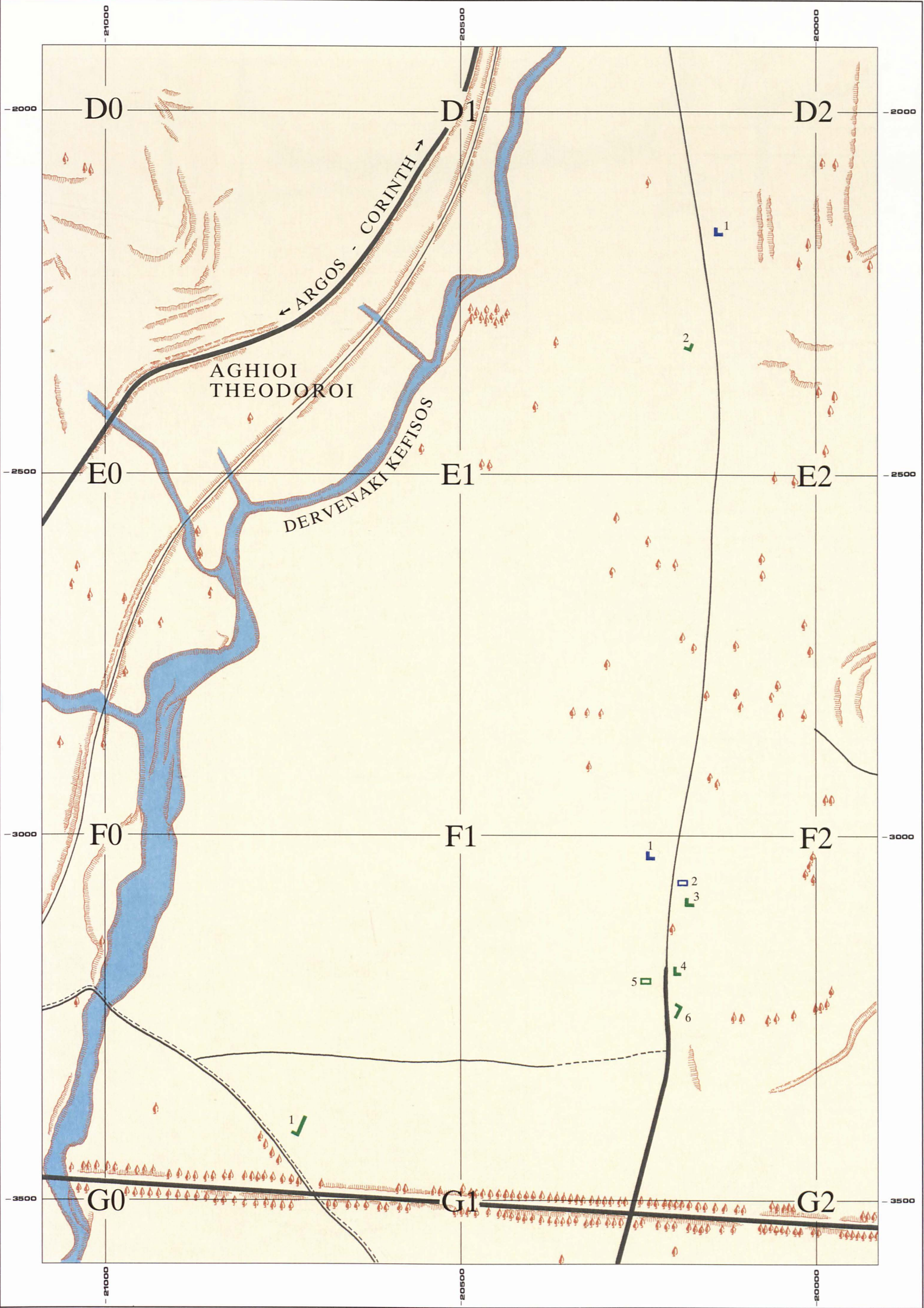


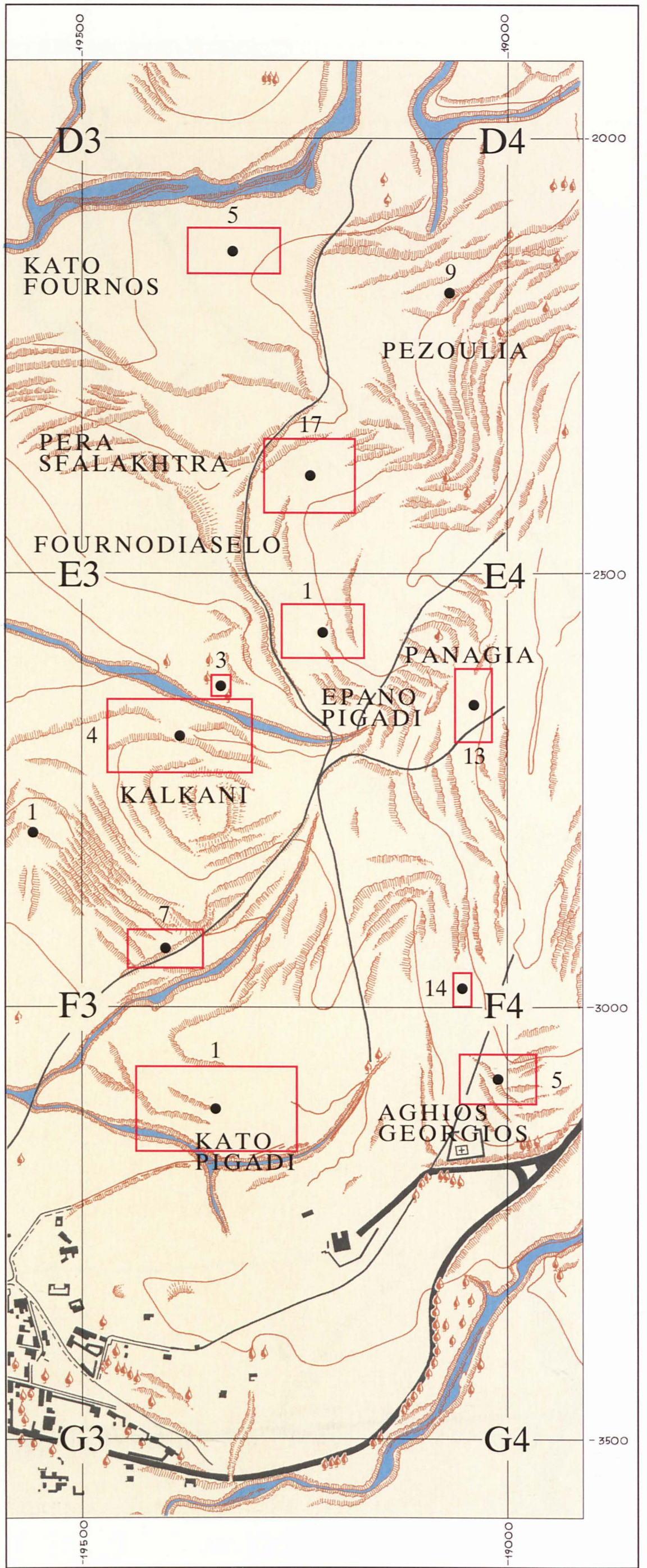
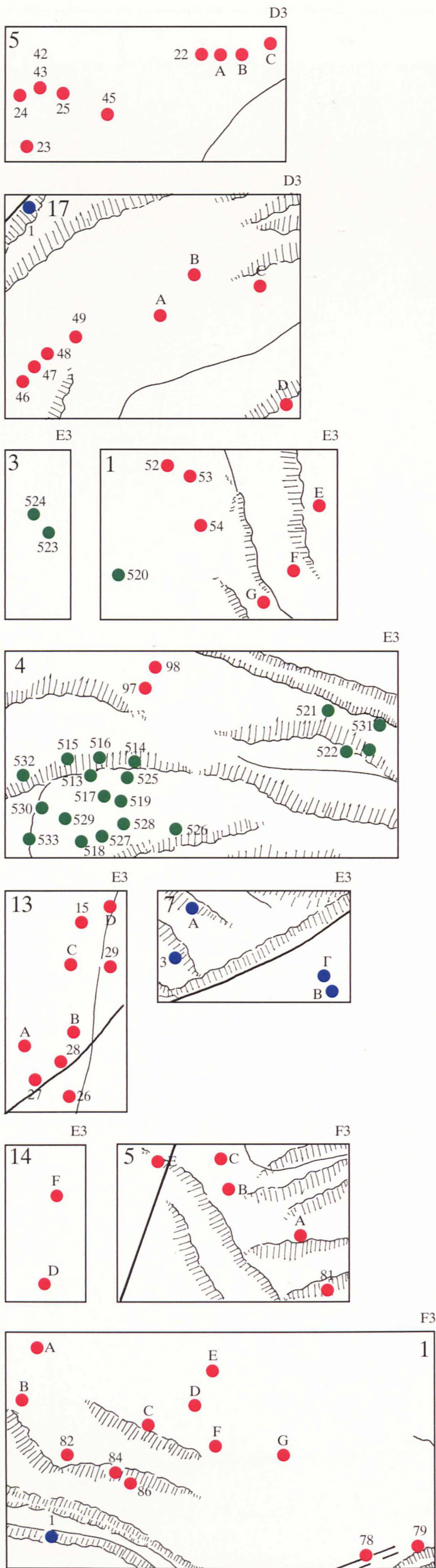






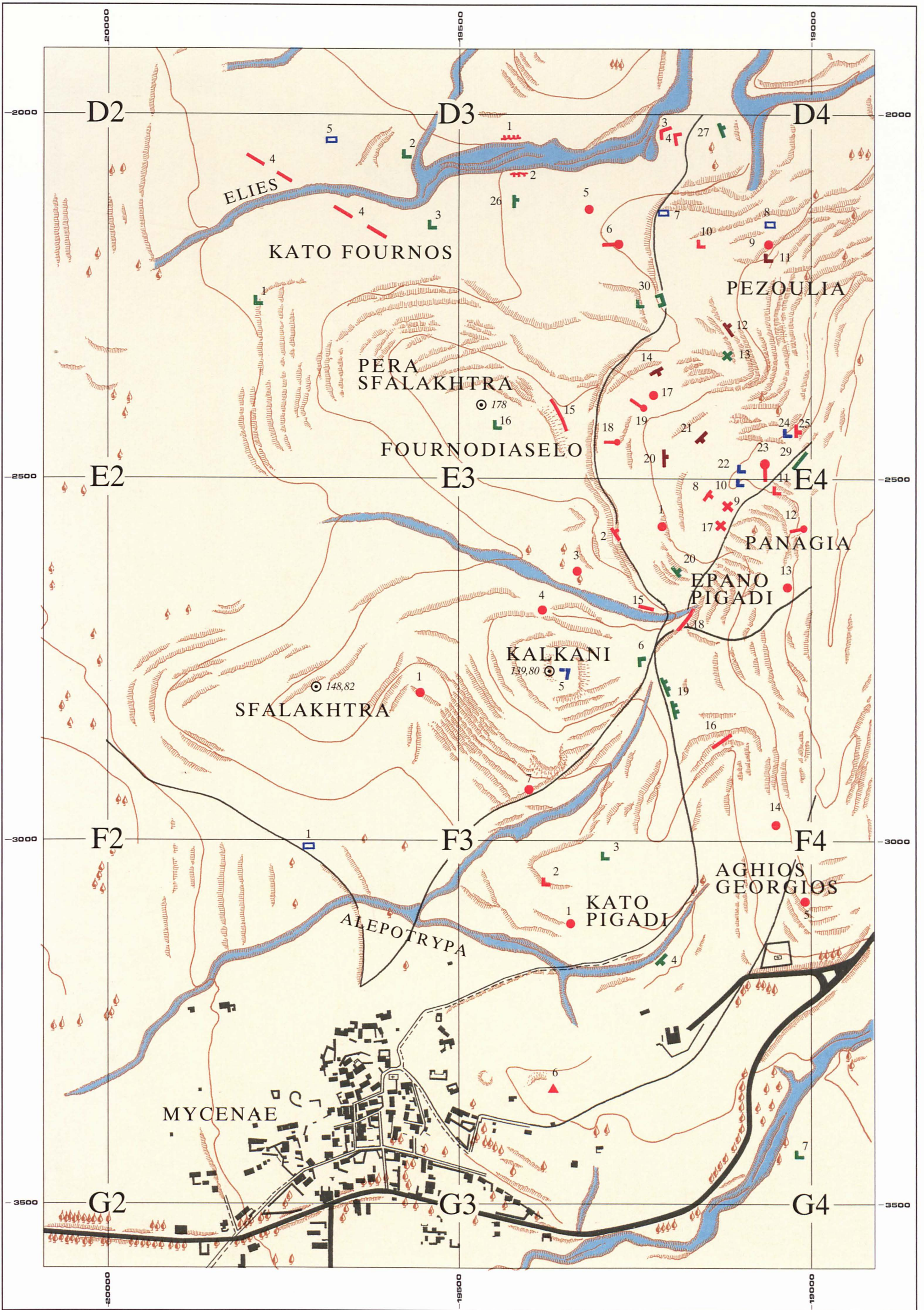


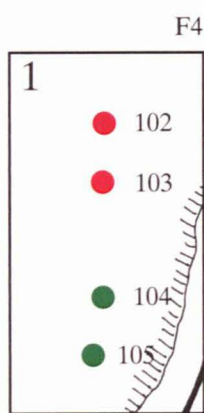
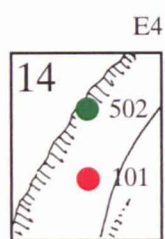




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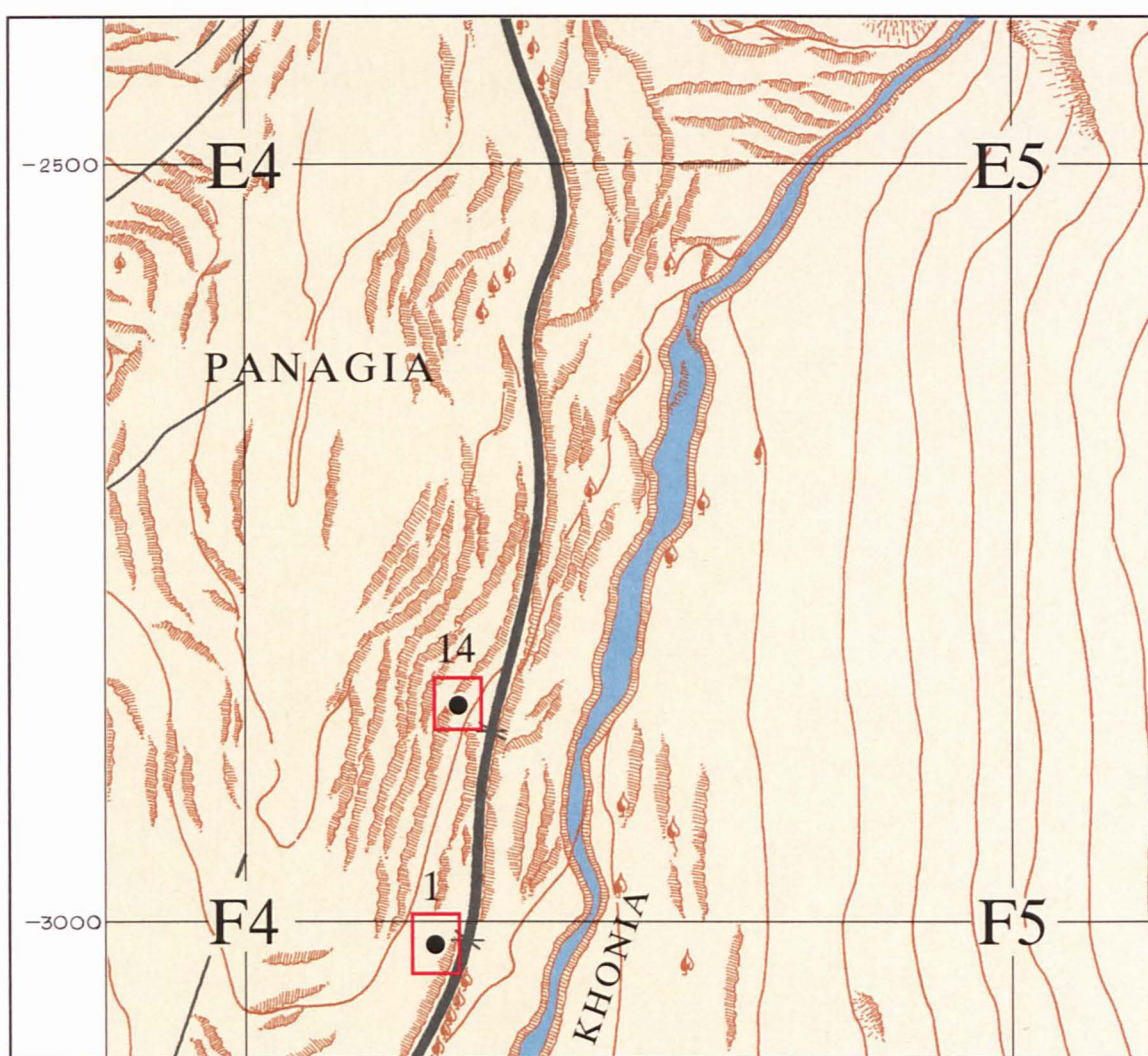
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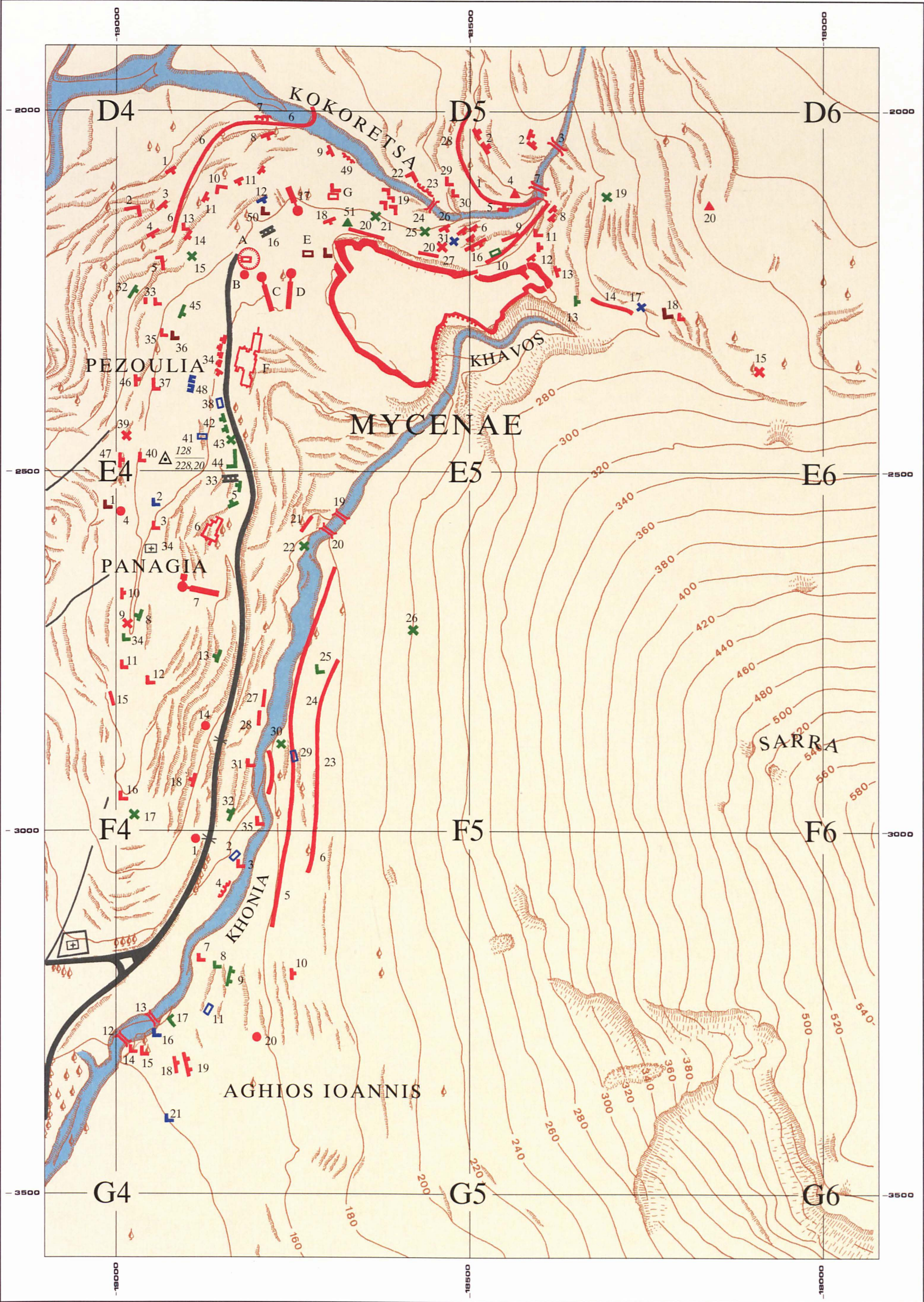


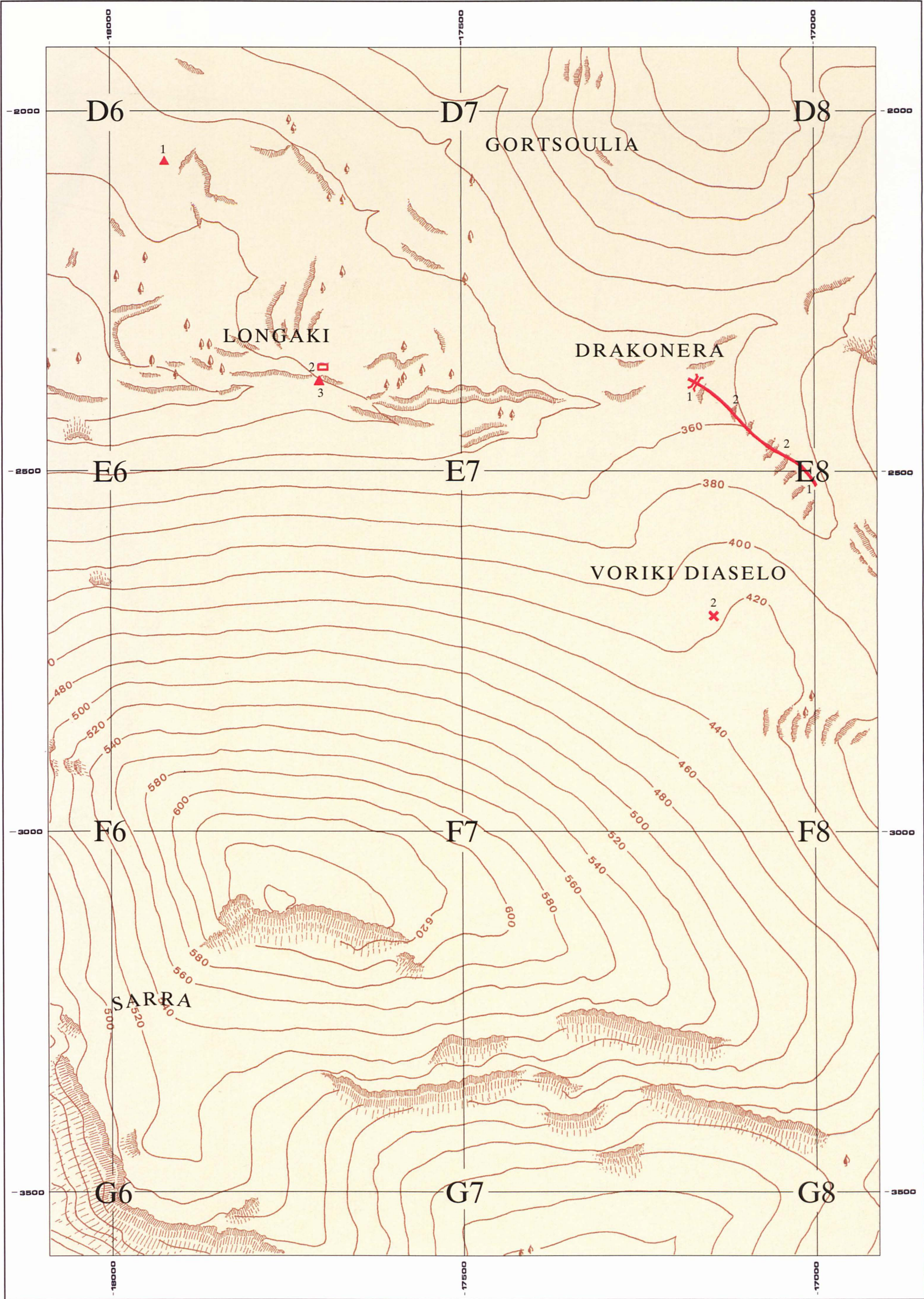


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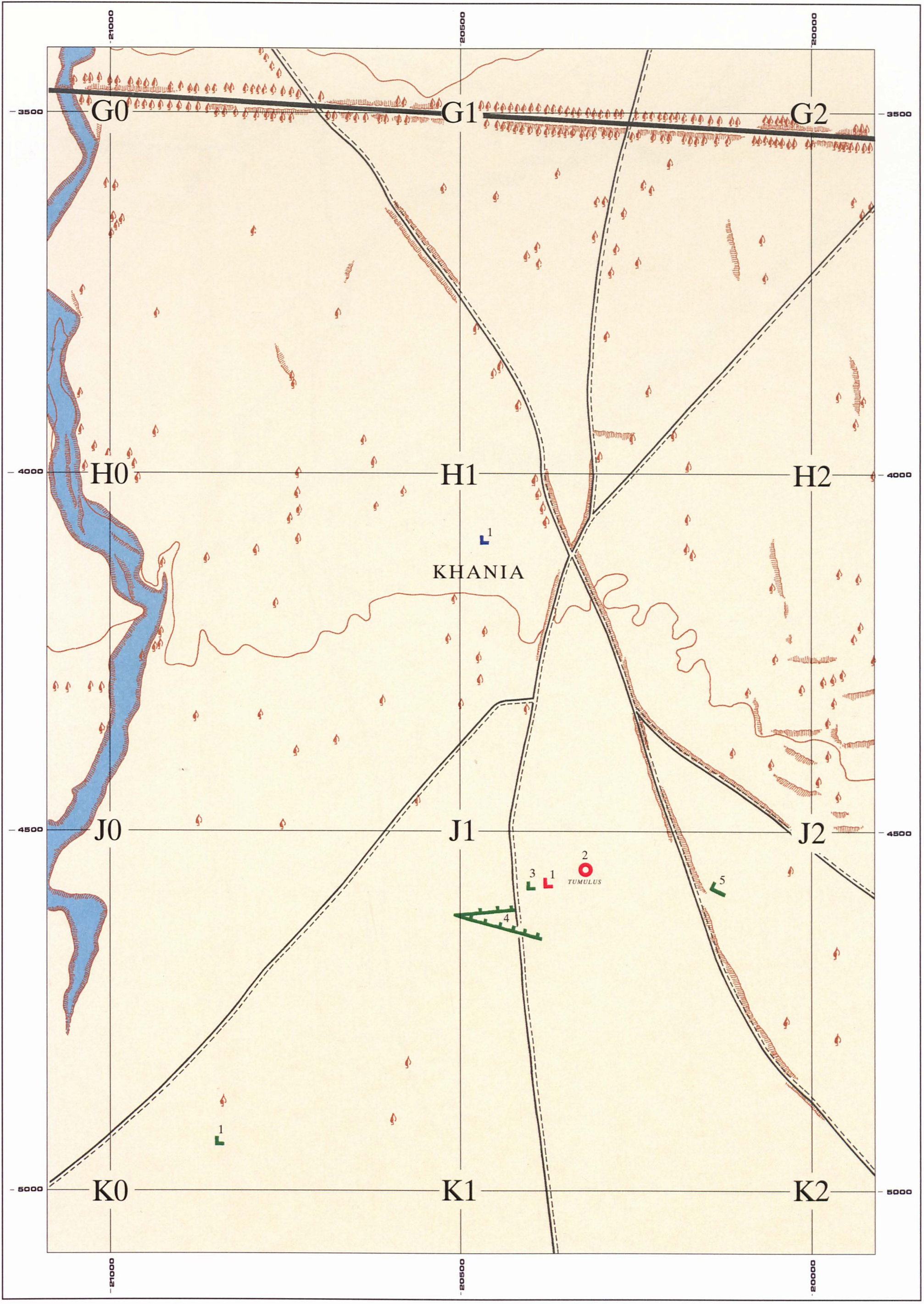


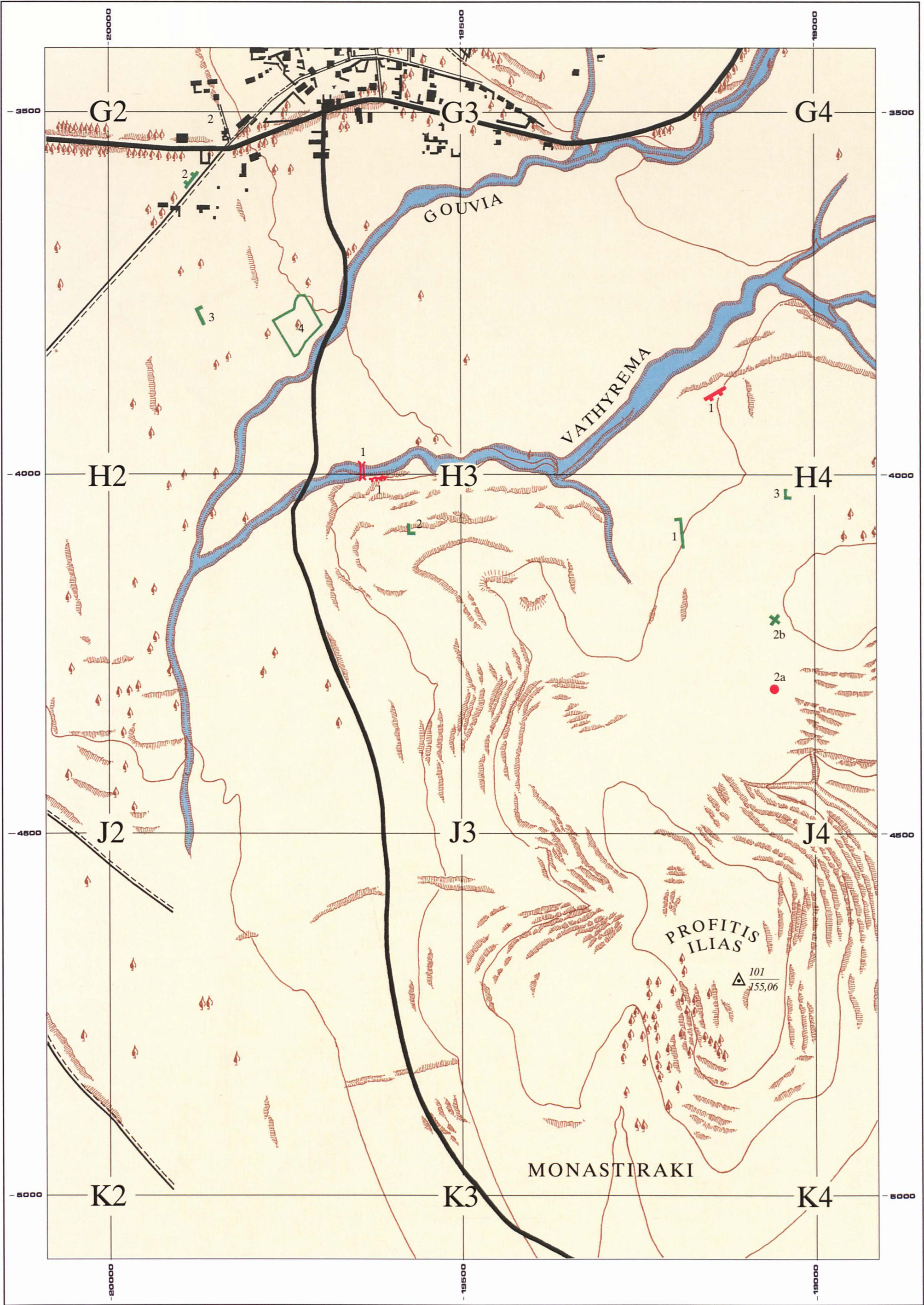


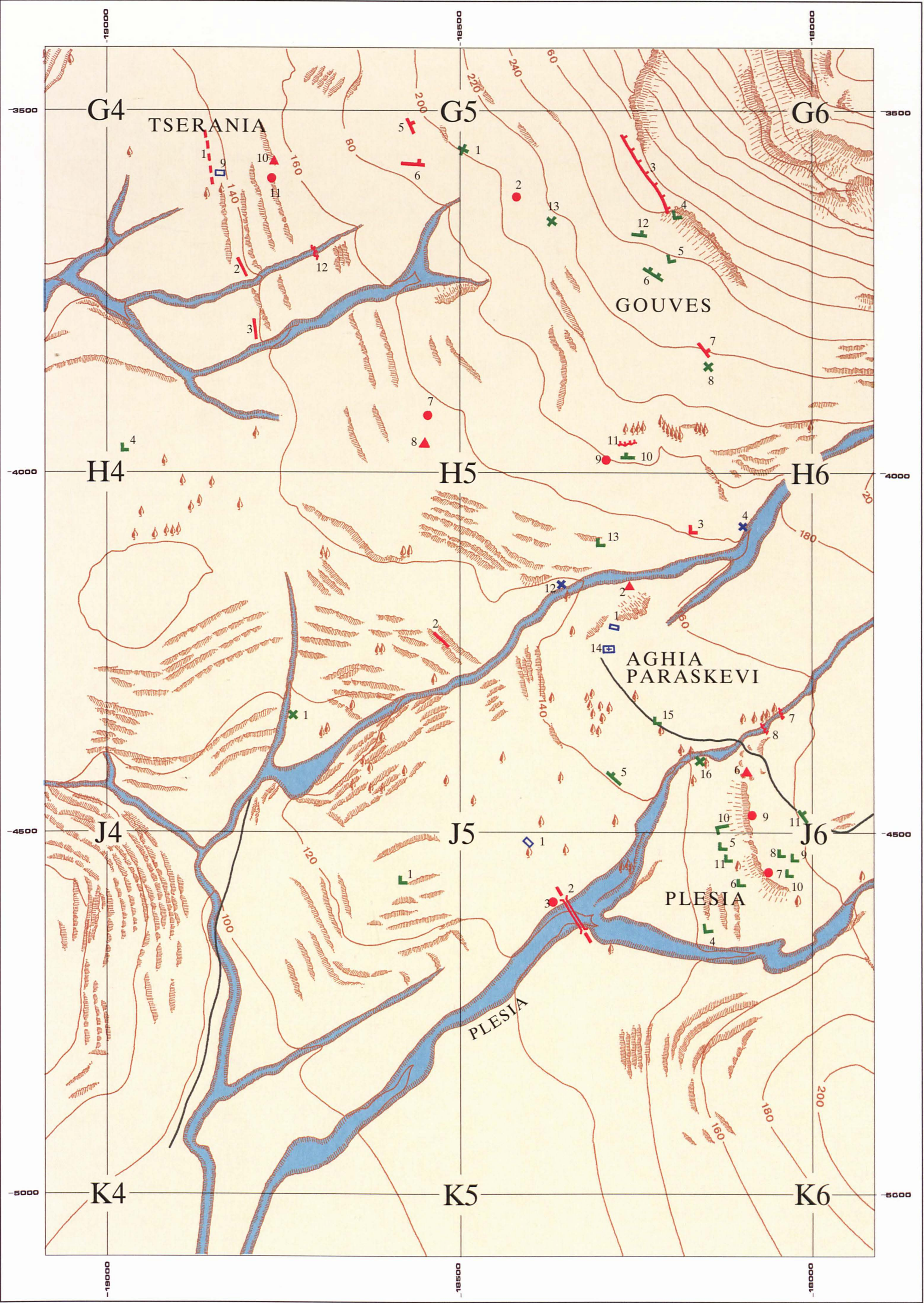
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CHAMBER TOMB
TOMB
STRUCTURE
TERRACE WALL
RESOURCE
MISCELLANEA
REVTMENT, WEIR
BRIDGE
ROAD
HELLENISTIC STRUCTURE

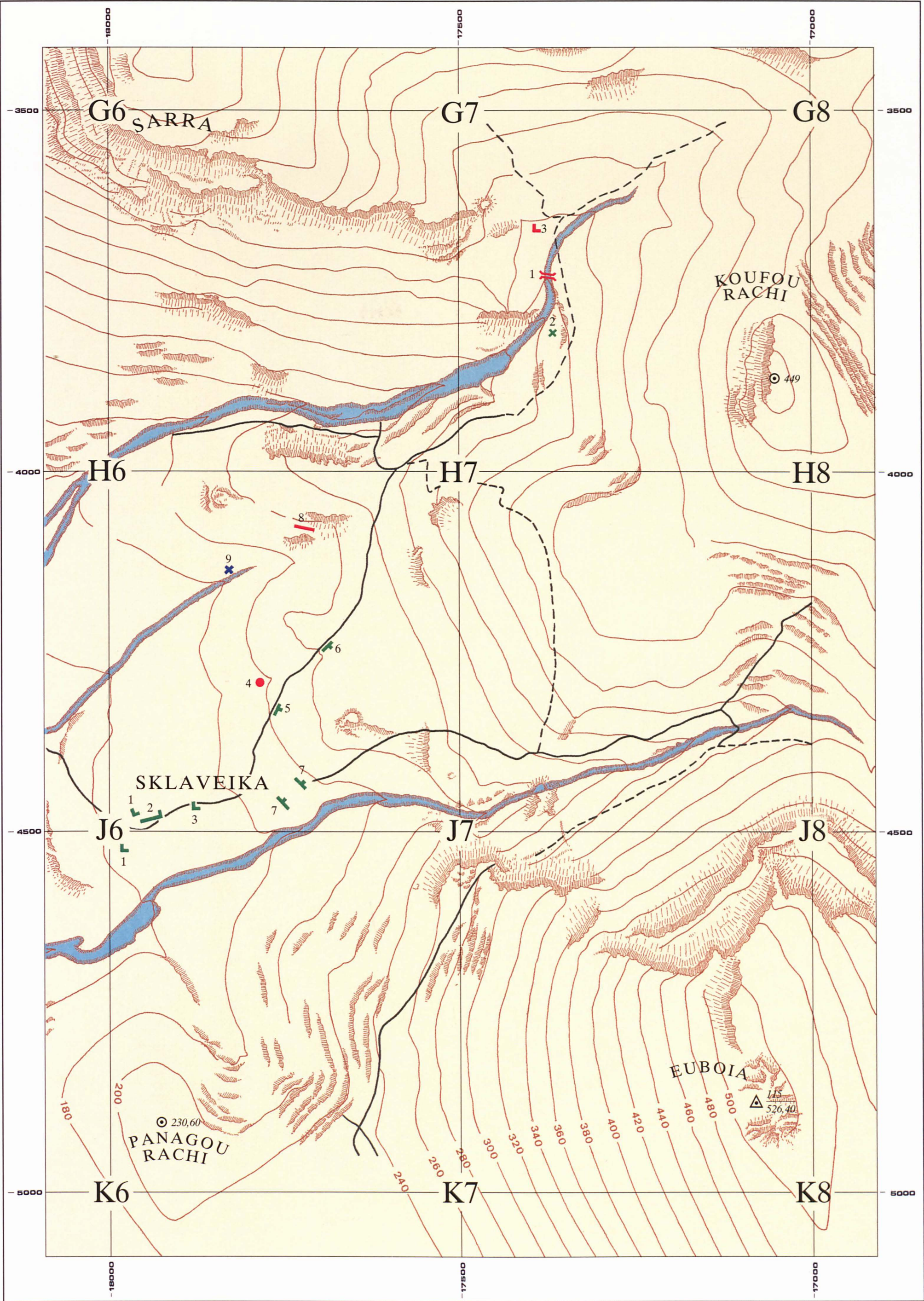
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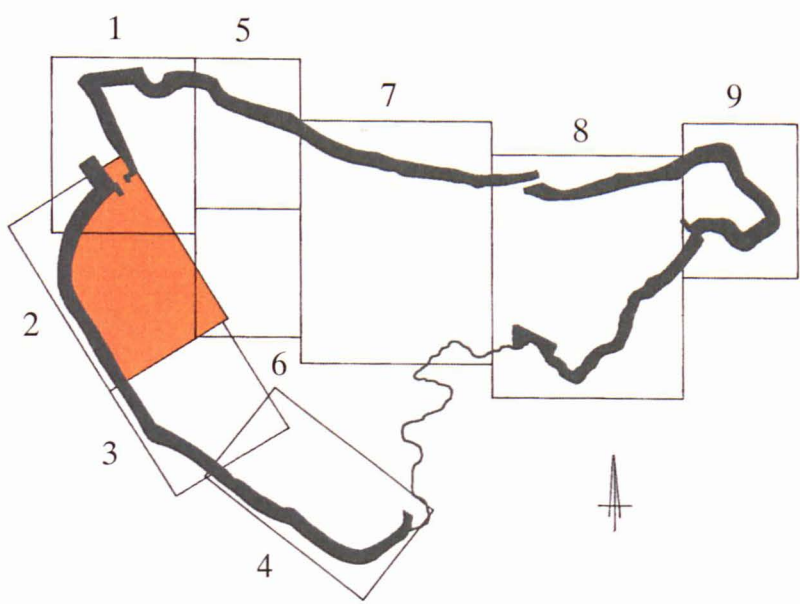
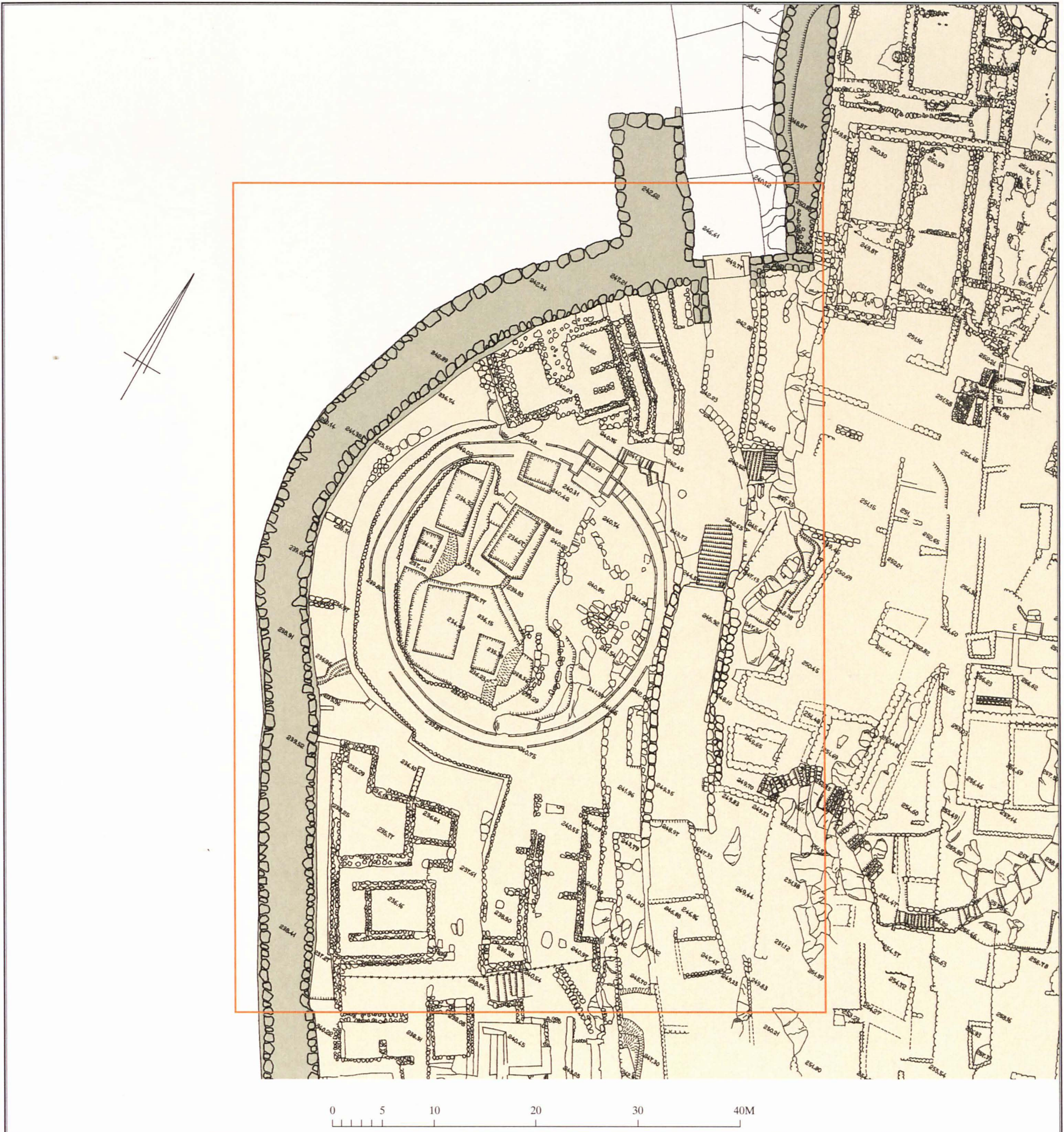




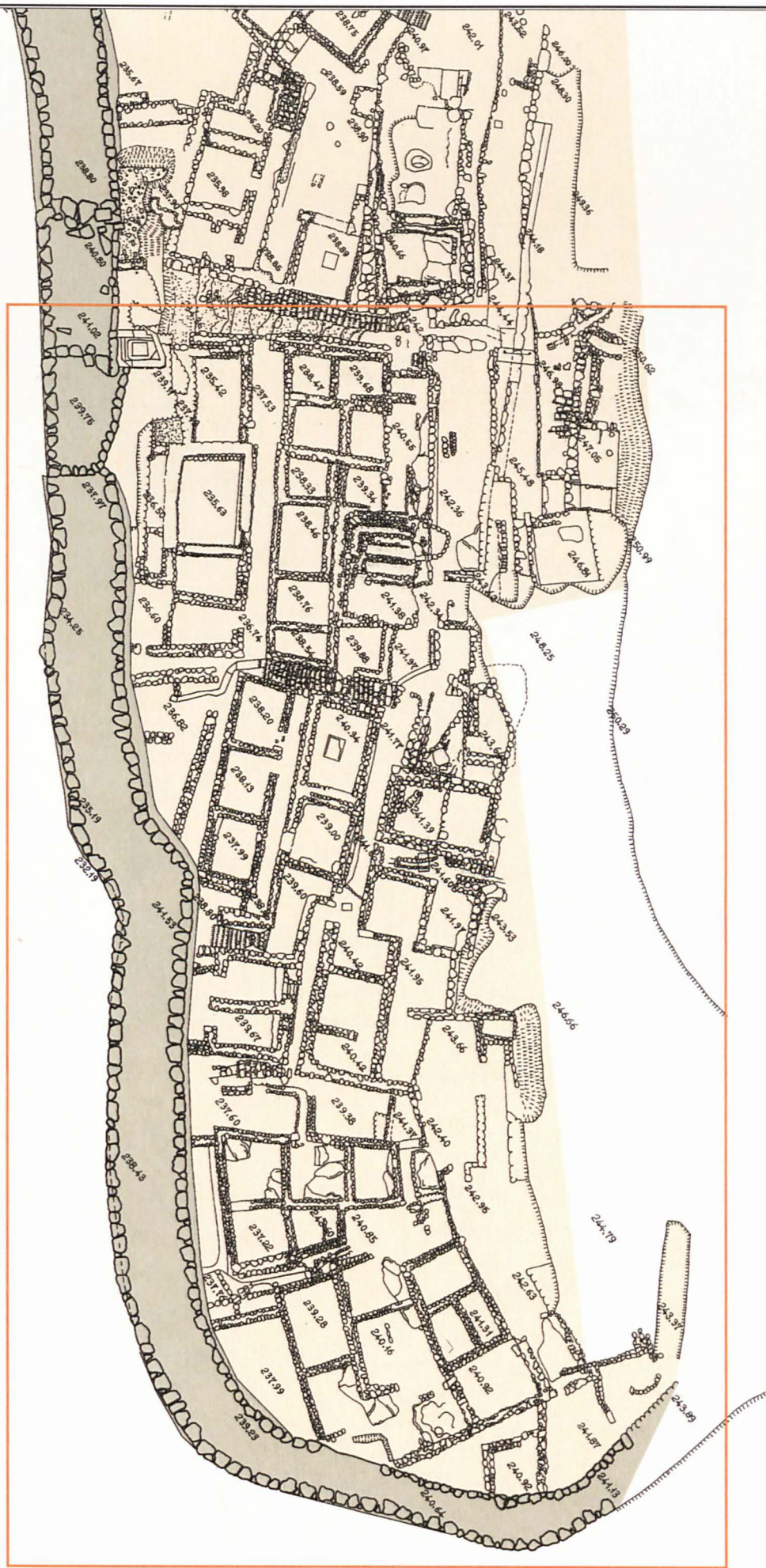




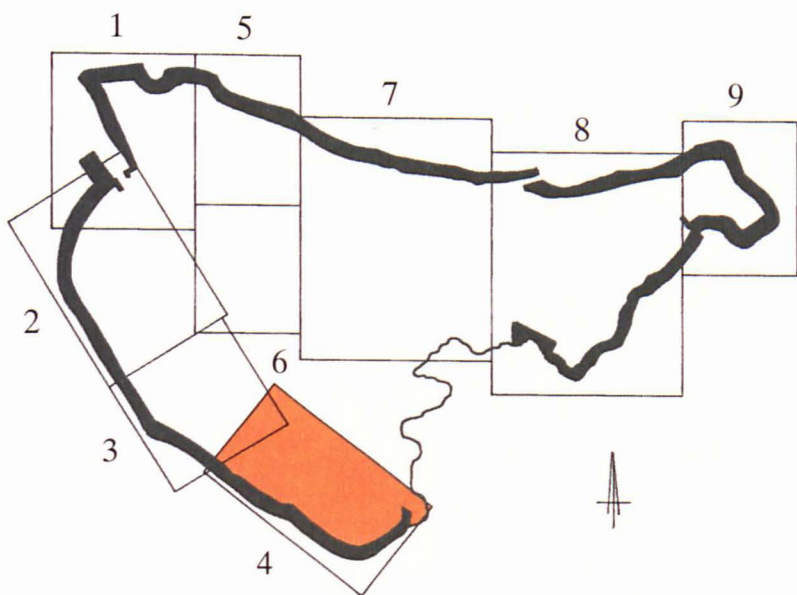




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2

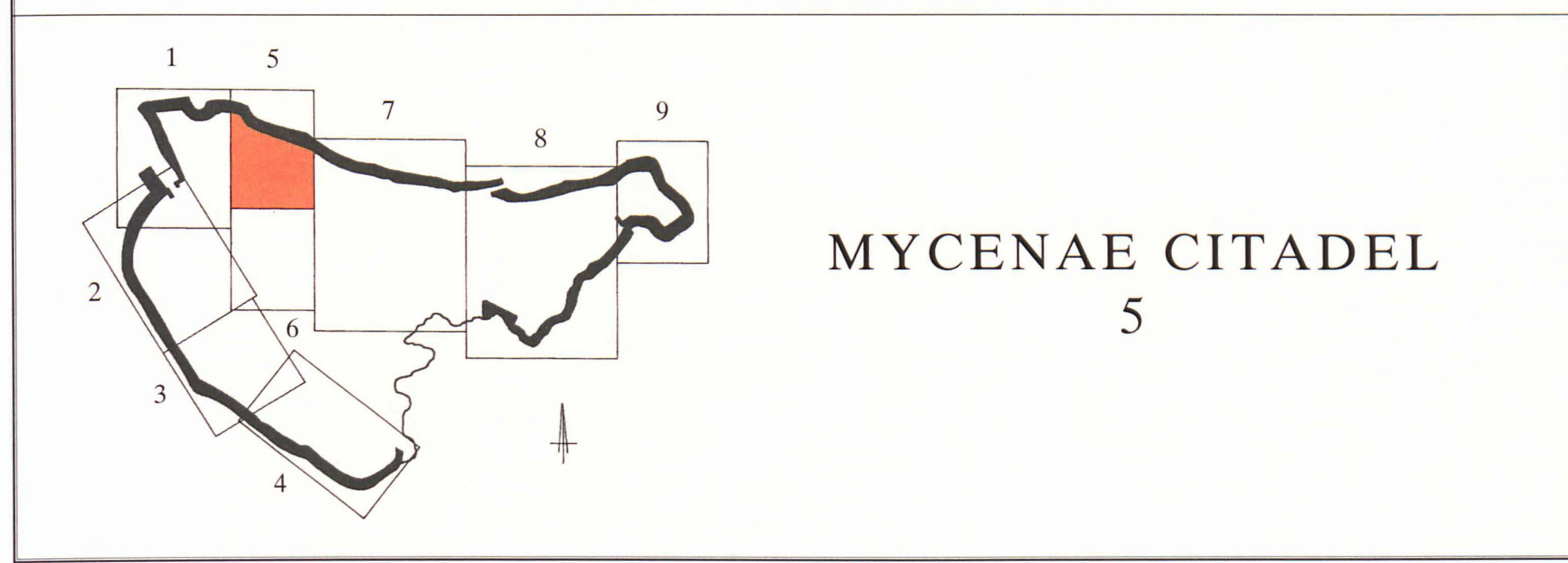


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MYCENAE CITADEL

4



MYCENAE CITADEL
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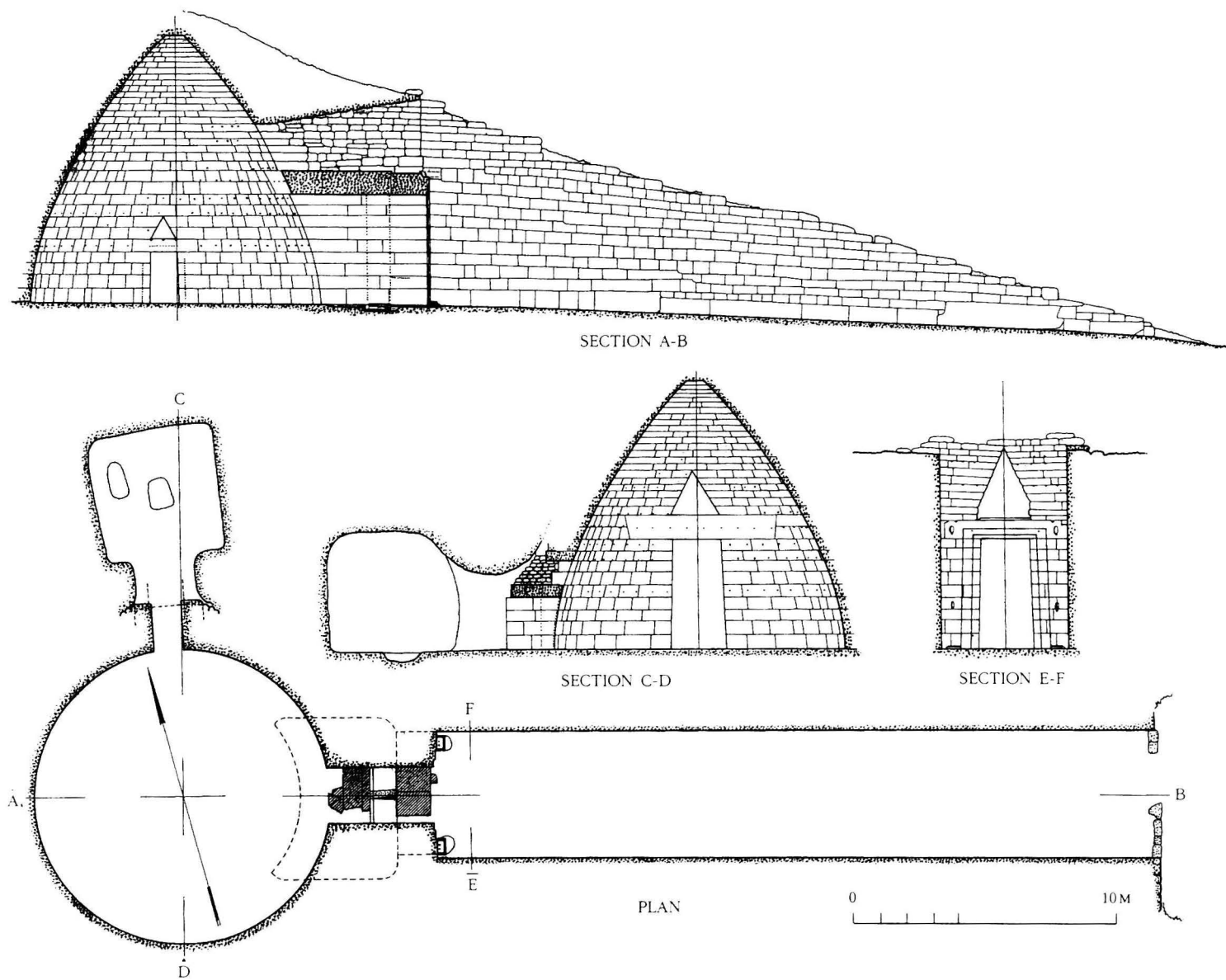


Fig. 1. Drawing of tholos tomb (Atreus).

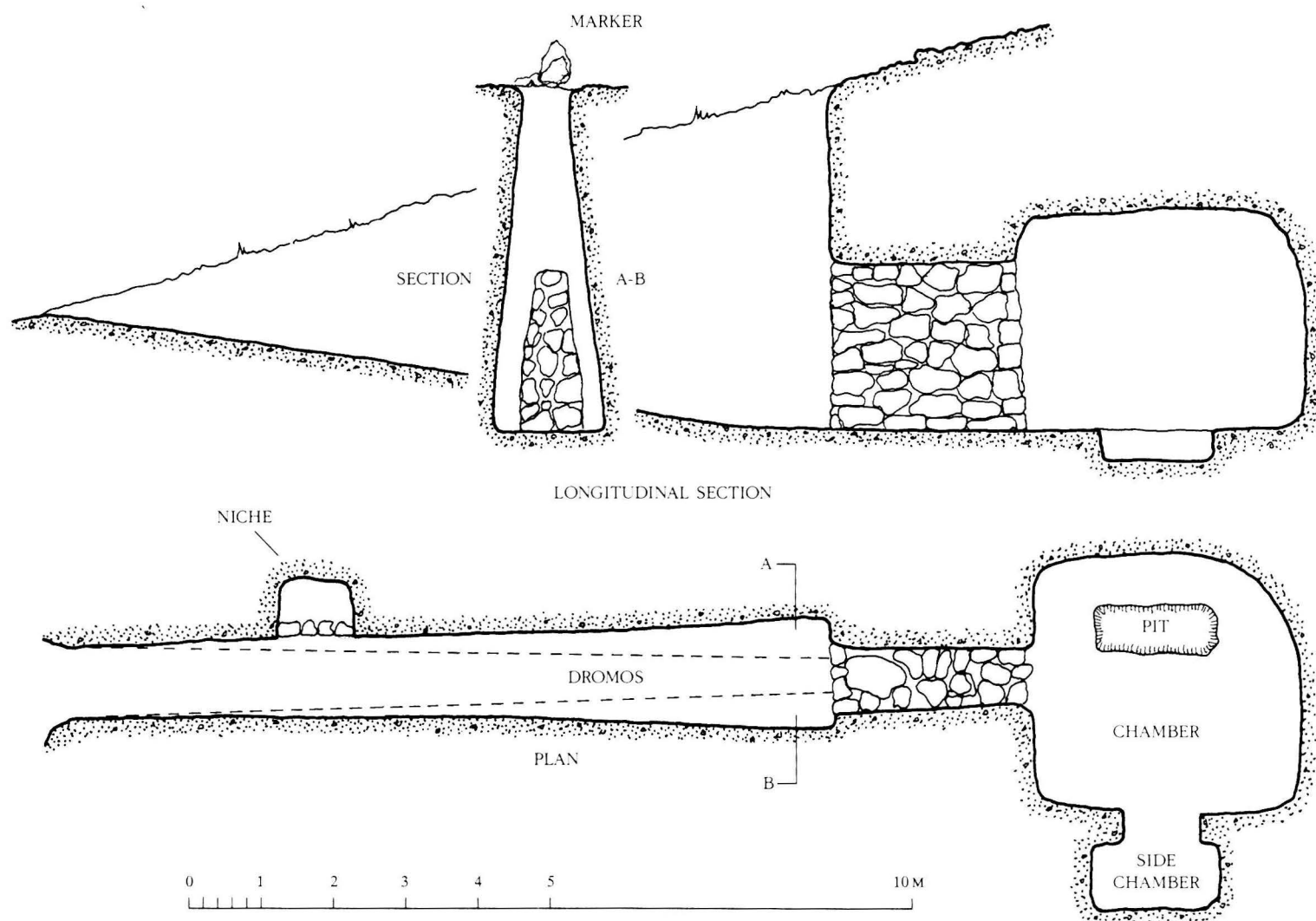


Fig. 2. A typical chamber tomb.

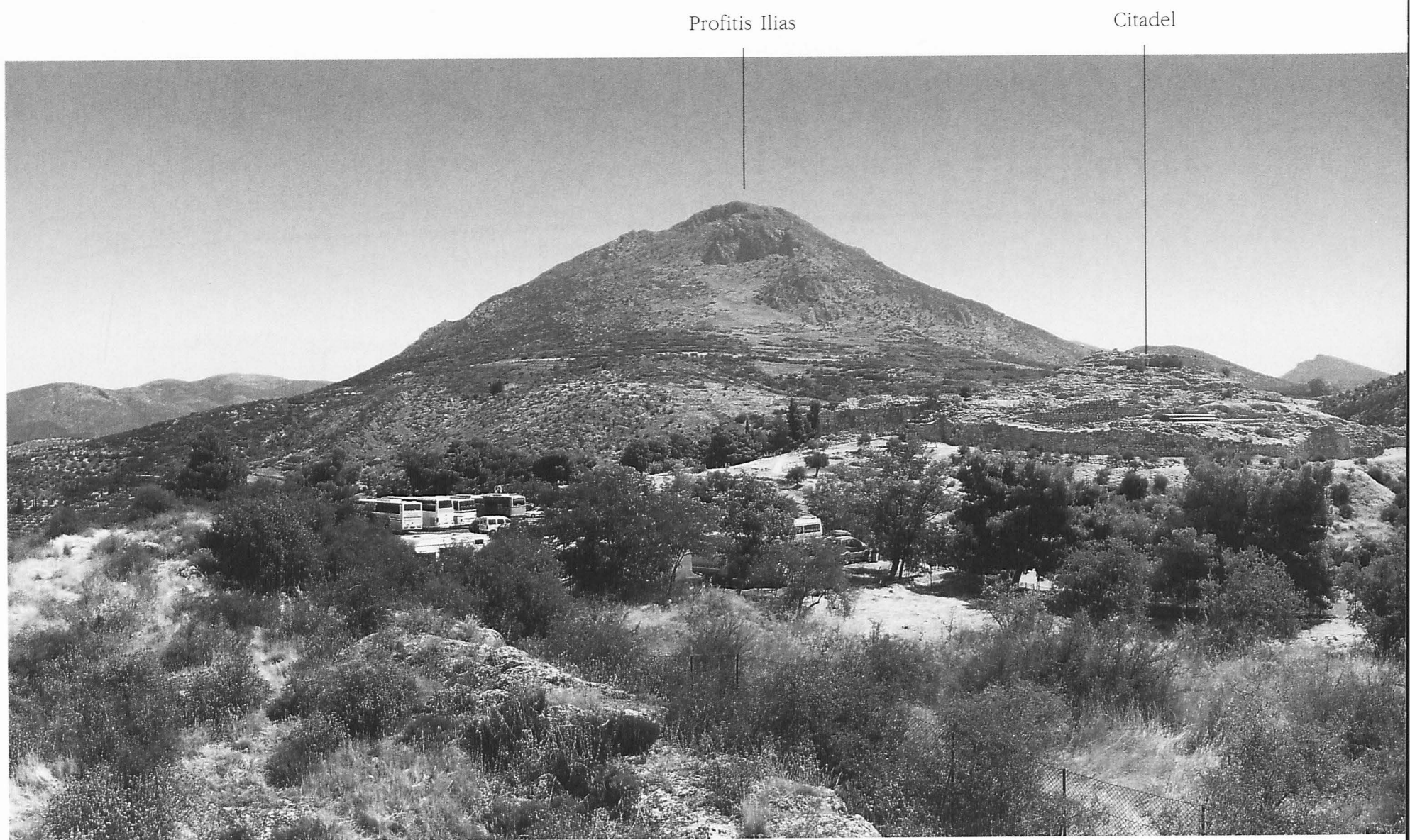


Fig. 3a. Panorama, looking East.

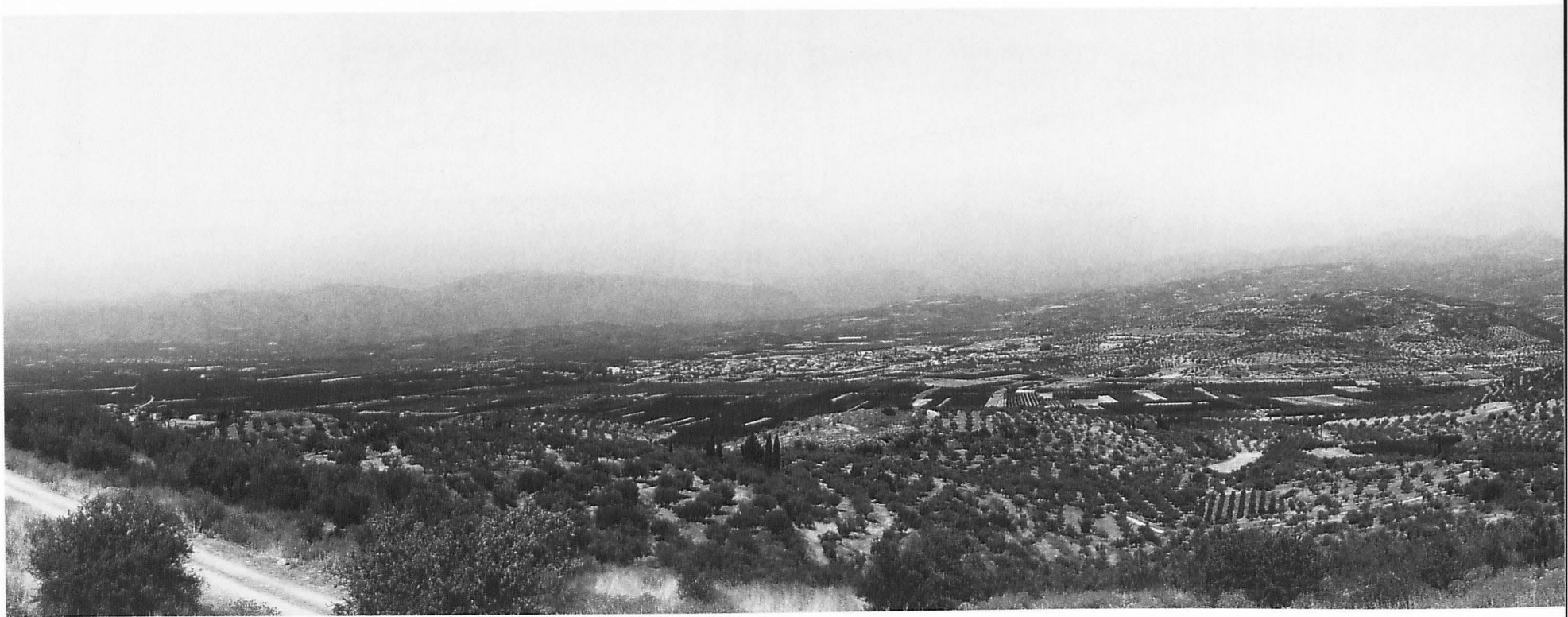
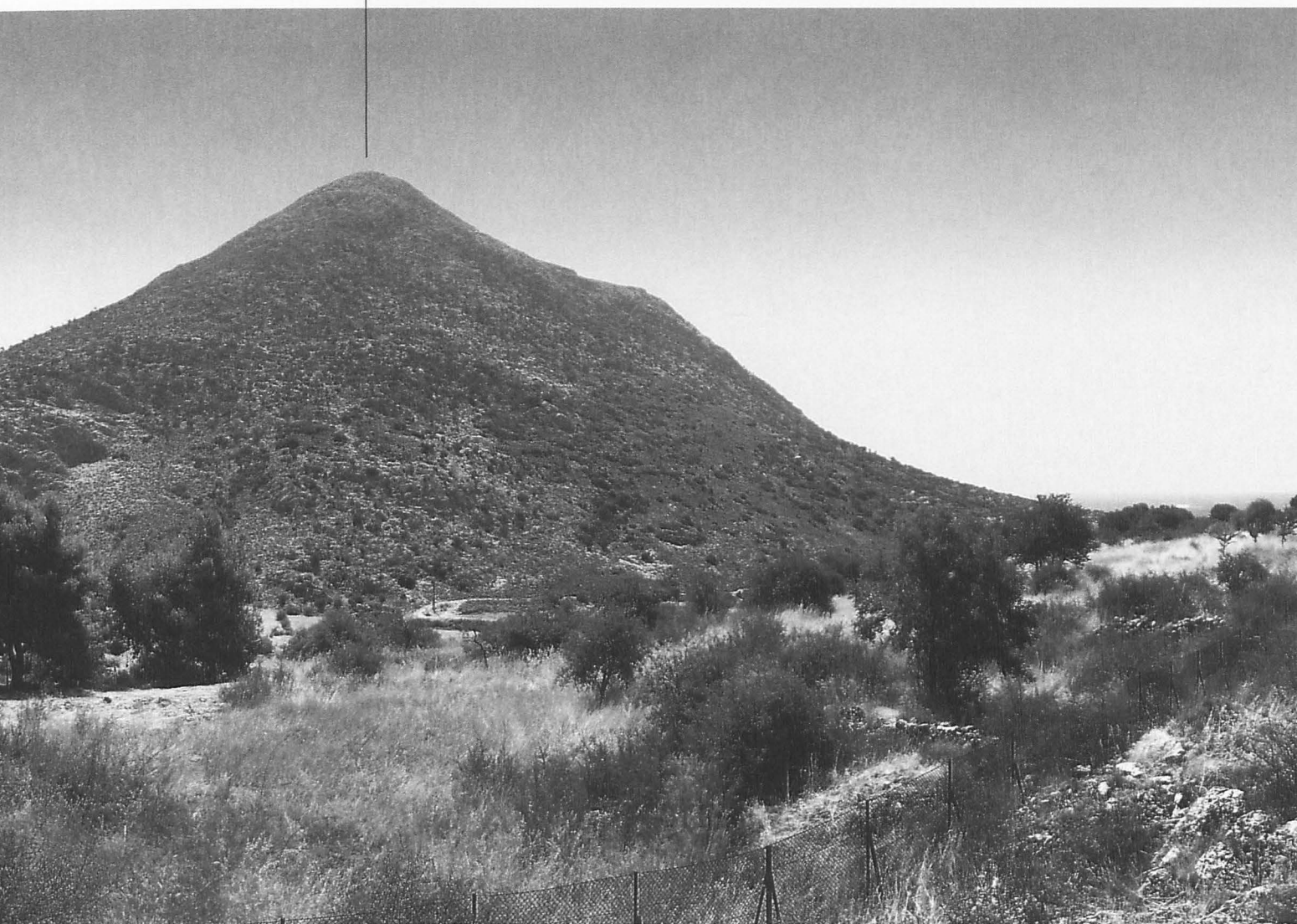


Fig. 3b. Panorama, looking West.

Sarra



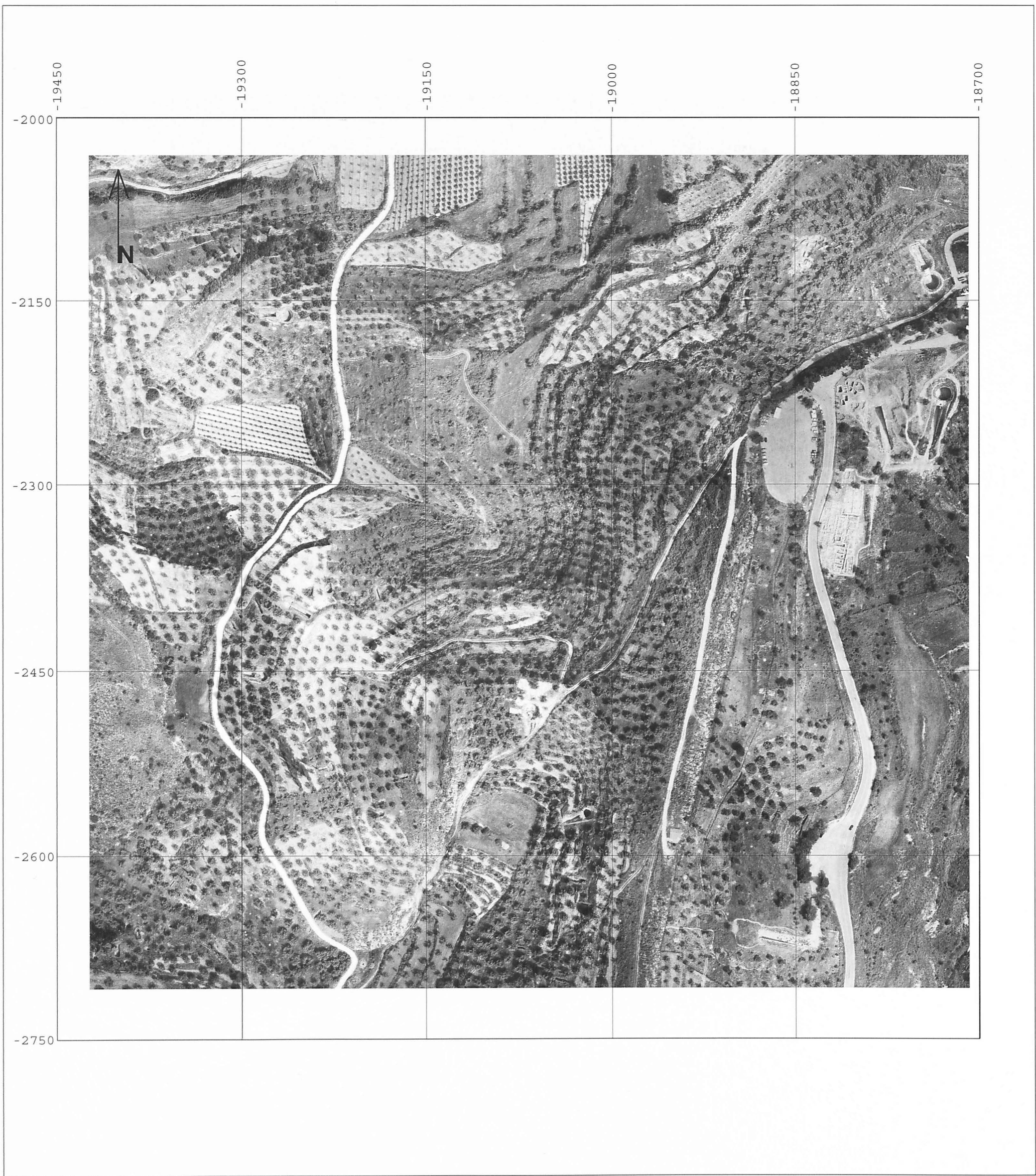


Fig. 4. Orthophotomap of Panagia ridge.



Fig. 5. Vegetation types: Olive trees, scrub and thyme, on foothills of Profitis Ilias.



Fig. 6. Vegetation types: Kermes oak near Asprokhoma.

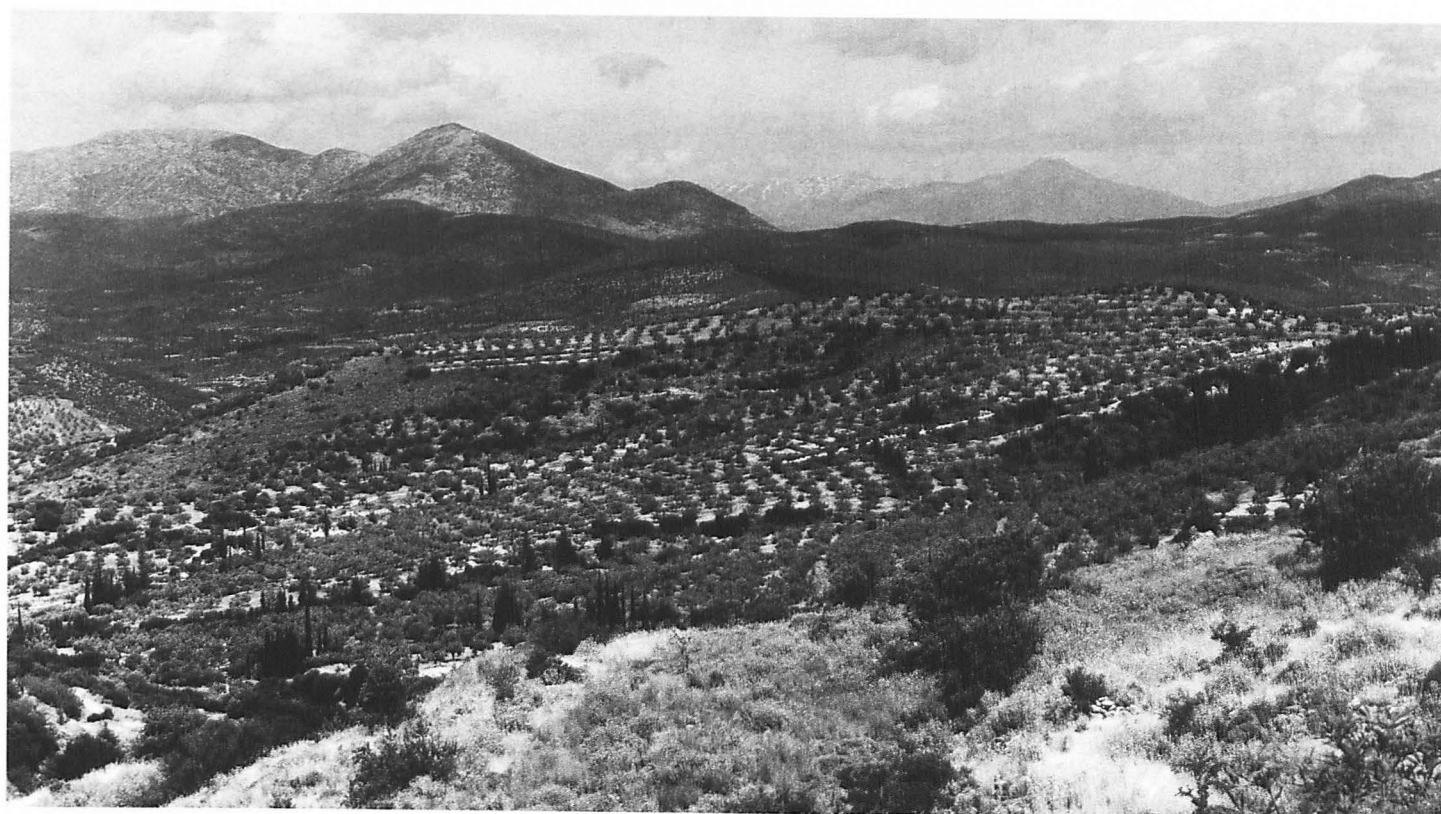


Fig. 7. Vegetation types, West of Citadel.



Fig. 8. Terrace wall.



Fig. 9. Structure on S. bank of Elies stream.



Fig. 10. Stone masonry (House of Warrior Vase).



Fig. 11. Stone wall with grooves for timber frame.



Fig. 12. Mudbrick wall with groove for timber frame and clay plaster (South House, Annex).

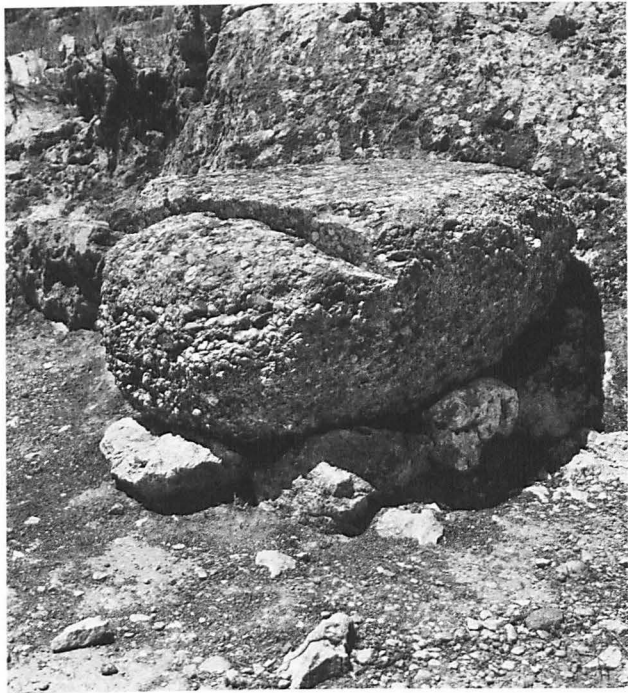


Fig. 13. Sawn block at entrance to House of Columns.

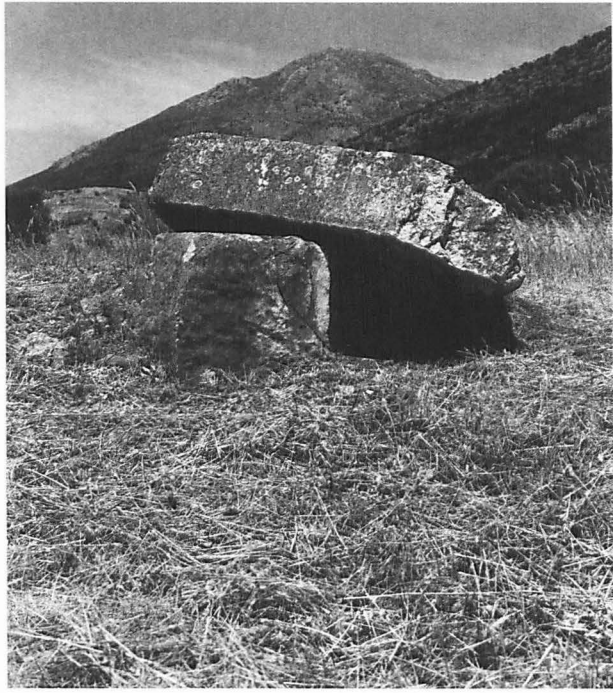


Fig. 14. Sawn block near Citadel.



Fig. 15. Road, ruts worn on rock.



Fig. 16. Road at Drakonera.



Fig. 17. Culvert at Drakonera.



Fig. 18. Bridge across Khavos and revetment wall.



Fig. 19. Weir and revetment on bank of Kokoretsa.



Fig. 20. Quarry at Asprokhoma.



Fig. 21. Quarry at Batsourorachi.



Fig. 22. Rock for tombs at Asprokhoma.



Fig. 23. Kalkani cemetery from N. (after A.J.B. Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, *Archaeology* 82, 1932, frontispiece).



Fig. 24. Large chamber tomb at 3rd km.



Fig. 25. Small chamber tomb at Gortsoulia.



Fig. 26. House of Lead with village road running over it.



Fig. 27. Sanctuary of Enyalios.

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